DEVELOPMENT OF DISCOURSE MARKERS IN KOREAN AND ENGLISH MONOLINGUAL CHILDREN AND IN KOREAN–ENGLISH BILINGUAL CHILDREN

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By
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ABSTRACT

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Doctoral Advisory Committee Chair: Dr. Aneta Pavlenko

The present study explores the use of discourse markers (DMs) in talk-in-interaction of Korean–English bilingual children and their monolingual peers in two languages. The corpus-driven analysis proposes a core meaning of the two DMs as signaling contextual divergence in two monolingual groups. Both similarities and differences coexist in the bilingual data. While the core meaning of *well* was contextual divergence, that of *isscanha* was of the cognitive thinking process. The bilingual children utilized the first language DM as an additional resource for their own interactional purposes, such as for searching words and reasoning. The statistical analyses revealed that bilingual children used both DMs in a similar frequency to both monolingual groups. In both monolingual and bilingual data, age affected the use of *well* but gender did not, and neither age nor gender affected the use of *isscanha*. Bilingual children's use of the English DM had a correlation with the length of exposure to school context. In addition, awareness of socio-cultural factors in the use of Korean DM appeared differently from that of their monolingual peers. The study uncovered that bilingual children developed interactional competence through the use of DMs in various natural interactions.

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DEDICATION

To God my Father
Psalm 1:1-3
Blessed is the man
Who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly,
Nor stands in the path of sinners,
Nor sits in the seat of the scornful;
But his delight is in the law of the LORD,
And in His law he meditates day and night.
He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water,
That brings forth its fruit in its season,
Whose leaf also shall not wither,
And whatever he does shall prosper.

Psalm: 72:17
His name shall be endured forever;
His name shall continue as long as the sun.
And men shall be blessed in Him;
All nations shall call Him blessed.

To my mother
박 말엽 권사님

To my sisters
이 정희
이 양희
To my husband and children
Abraham
Isaac
Joseph
Grace
David

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ROMANIZATION SYSTEM
Yale

Consonants	Vowels and Diphthongs
ㅂ = p ㅍ = ph ㅃ = pp ㄷ = t ㅌ = th ㄸ = tt ㅅ = s ㅆ = ss ㅈ = c ㅊ = ch ㅉ = cc ㄱ = k ㅋ = kh ㄲ = kk ㅁ = m ㄴ = n ㅇ = ng ㄹ = l ㅎ = h	ㅣ = I ㅟ = wi ㅔ = ey ㅖ = yey ㅞ = wey ㅚ = oy ㅐ = ay ㅒ = yay ㅙ = way ㅡ = u ㅓ = e ㅕ = ye ㅝ = we ㅏ = a ㅑ = ya ㅘ = wa ㅜ = wu ㅠ = y(w)u ㅗ = o ㅛ = yo ㅢ = uy

ABBREVIATIONS

ADV	Adverb Marker
ATTR	Attributive
CLSF	Classifier
COMM	Committal
COND	Conditional
CONN	Connective
COP	Copula
CRM	Cognitive Realization Marker
DC	Declarative
DEF	Deferential
DM	Discourse Marker
FML	Familiar
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HON	Honorific
IE	Informal Ending
IMP	Imperative
IN	Indicative Mood Marker
INSTR	Instrumental
INT	Intimate
INTERR	Interrogative
MDL	Modal
NML	Nominalizer
NONPST	Non Past
OM	Object Marker
ONM	Onomatopoeia
PL	Plural
POL	Polite
PROG	Progressive
PROP	Proposative
PSS	Passive
PST	Past
Q	Question Marker
QT	Quotative
SE	Sentence Ending
SM	Subject Marker
SUP	Suppositive
TC	Topic contrast Particle
TM	Topic Marker
VOC	Vocative

Adapted from Strauss (2005, p. 438). *Language Science 27*, 437-480.
H. M. Sohn (1999). *The Korean Language*.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

All the audio data are transcribed verbatim while keeping their original sound or grammar.

Transcription conventions are adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984) as follows:

A	Adult speaker
Ps	More than two persons
[	Simultaneous utterances; S1 and S2 are talking at the same time in the sample here: S1: [yes S2: [yeah
	Place where the discourse markers occur in the conversation
=	Continuous utterances of a speaker; turn continues at the next identical symbol on the next line; if it is inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and the beginning of the next speaker's adjacent turn, it indicates that there is no gap at all between the two turns
(.)	Pause and intervals within and between utterances

Characteristics of speech delivery:

?	Intonation; it is not necessarily a question
!	Strong emphasis with falling intonation
,	Low-rising intonation suggesting continuation
::	Lengthening of the preceding sound; each additional colon represents a lengthening of one beat
…….	Omissions for brevity
_____	Marked stress
CAPITAL LETTERS	Increased volume
(hh)	Laughing
((unintelligible))	Talk that is not understandable
( )	An unclear or probable item

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

> "I vividly recall the baffled reaction of a native French speaker during an international telephone conversation several years ago. I had been speaking quite fluent French for some ten minutes, but inadvertently using Dutch "filler" like ja, ja, instead of the expected French pause-noises" (Heny, 1994, p. 82).

My daughter (referred hereafter as G) came to the United States at the age of four and began to attend kindergarten at the age of five.[1] She was very excited about going to an English-speaking school. She would wake up early to catch the school bus at 7:30 a.m. and come home straight after school to talk to me about what she learned. She talked until her chocolate ice cream, her favorite treat, melted completely. However, after three months, G suddenly looked like she lost interest in school. She stopped talking about school life and did not even want to get up in the morning. She no longer wanted to go to her kindergarten class. The following excerpt from the journal on my daughter's English development shows her desire as well as her frustration in learning English.[2]

> "Mom, I am happy because I go to American kindergarten. I can learn a lot of English. I can speak English well…"
> (Field notes, January, 2001)

> "Now I don't want to go to school… because I don't know English. I think other kids think I am a stupid person. So does the teacher… By the way, what does *Okay* mean? Kelly says it to me, '*Okay*? *Okay*?' repeatedly. When she makes me do something for her, she says, '*Okay? Okay?'* "
> (Field notes, April, 2001)

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[1] Names of children have been changed and appear in single-letter initials for purposes of anonymity.
[2] The excerpt originally was written in Korean because that is the language used at the time it was spoken. Her original talk was translated into English. Hereafter, all excerpts are transcribed just as they were spoken.

My daughter seemed so very frustrated, just because she did not know the little word *okay*. After that, she did not go to the school for a week. Since then, G worked hard to use whatever words her friends were using during school playtime. She also just wanted to talk in English. She created English-like sounds as if she knew everything in English.

This increased consciousness about using English words appeared three years later in G's talk during school playtime. She tended to overuse some expressions, such as *like*. She used such terms more frequently than her English-speaking peers, as shown in the following excerpt from the script of her school play.

> C: What do you mean?
> G: *Like* totally, *like* Hello totally! So *like*, who are *like* totally you? Oh yeah, *like* Charlotte. You're *like* totally *like* unpopular *like* unlike popular *like* me. I am so *like* popular. *Like* you're not making *like* sense. So you're totally *like* weird. *Like*, see ya!
> (Field notes, April, 2004)

Conversely, Korean decreased rapidly in G's daily interactions. She did not seem to want to speak in Korean anymore. In fact, second grade was a turning point, where English became the dominant daily language. She usually responded to me in English even when I spoke only Korean. She became receptive and not productive in terms of using her home language; she understood Korean but spoke in English. Thus, ever since G was in the second grade, multiple English discourse markers (DMs) suddenly appeared in her talk, such as *oh, okay, anyway, actually, but, so, you know, like*, or *well*. The DMs are recurrent linguistic expressions in spoken interaction, such as *but, I mean*, and *like* (Andersen, 2001).[3] Despite this increase in G's use of English DMs, her use of Korean DMs rapidly decreased. Her dominant language had changed to English.

[3] In this study, discourse markers are expressed in italic type and grammatical elements in underlined type.

This difficulty in appropriate use of DMs appears in other examples of children experiencing language transition. A 10-year-old bilingual boy, J,[4] who came to the United States when he was 8 years old, had been attending a mainstream school for more than two years and taking English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. He had difficulty understanding certain spoken expressions. For example, J was never aware of *well* as a DM. Although he knew the meaning of the adverb well, he did not know the usage of the DM *well*. In other words, second language speakers who are proficient in grammar might still have difficulty in using DMs in casual conversation (Fuller, 2003; Sankoff et al., 1997; Trillo, 2002).

Although the boy J had knowledge of English grammar, there was a gap between that knowledge and the comprehension of DMs as used by his peers in spoken language. His incomprehension arose when his friends talked, as shown in the following excerpt from my journal on English language use by bilingual children.

> S: Oh, this is awesome. Let's play with this.
> D: *Well*, I don't like it.
> S: *Well*, I like it.
> J: Why do these kids say *well* ? …Doesn't *well* mean 'excellent' or 'do good'? But, why do they say *well well* when they are talking?"
> (Field notes, August, 2005)

A similar example was found in the use of the Korean DM *isscanha,* which monolingual Korean children used frequently in this study. Most of the bilingual Korean children did not use *isscanha*, nor did they understand the meaning of *isscanha* in spoken language. A few bilingual Korean children overused *isscanha* in their Korean conversation in a very different way from their Korean monolingual peers. No matter

[4] Definition of bilingual children, according to Shin (2005), includes children who were born in the United States as well as children who immigrated to America learning English and their parent language.

whether there is a tendency in not using DMs or a tendency in the overuse of DMs, both extremes may indicate lack of competence in language use.

Discourse markers are linguistic expressions related by function in spoken language, such as particles (*well* and *oh)*, clauses (*you know* and *I mean*), and connectors (*and, but* and *so*) (Schourup, 1999, p. 227). These related functions appear in the following conversation examples (Fraser, 1990, p. 390):

> Example A: Mary left.
>
> Example B: (1) John stayed. (2) *And* John stayed. (3) *But* John stayed. (4) *So* John stayed. (5)*Well*, John stayed. (6) *Then*, John stayed.

In Example B2-B6, where DMs are present, the hearer is provided with an explicit orientation of what the speaker takes to be the discourse relationship. In contrast, in Example B1, the relationship is not signaled by any DM. Thus, the hearer's interpretation should be based on the utterance context (Fraser, 1990). The following example shows how a DM can qualify an assumption (Smith & Jucker, 2002, p. 151):

> Example C: Is it raining?
> Example D: *Well*, it is drizzling.

In Example D, the DM *well* facilitates the interaction by serving as a warning signal that assumptions behind the original query are going to be challenged and need to be reassessed (Smith & Jucker, 2002). Therefore, DMs play important roles for conveying intention and enhancing the interactional relationship between interlocutors.

Despite the fact that DMs have functions in interactions, DMs have been regarded as lexically empty, syntactically optional, and stylistically stigmatized (Andersen, 2001; Brinton, 1990, 1996; Cameron, 2002; Fox Tree, 2000; Holker, 1991; Jucker, 1993; Judd, 1999; Kotthoff, 1993; Ostman, 1981; Schiffrin, 2001; Schourup, 1985, 1999; Stubbe &

Holmes, 1995). The stigma behind DMs is based on the perception that DMs are meaningless expressions to be used sparingly, and that their use is a sign of disfluency (Schourup, 1985).

Yet, when speakers omit DMs in their speech, they may be judged as unnatural, awkward, disconnected, impolite, unfriendly, rude, dogmatic, less personal, or even "mission impossible" (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003; Brinton, 1996, 2001; Cameron, 2002; Fox Tree, 2000; Prechter, 2001; and Stenstrom, 1994). The lack of DMs in spoken conversation may cause a breakdown in communication (Brinton, 1996; Cameron, 2002; Fraser, 1990; Fuller, 2003; Trillo, 2002). This is true particularly in dispreferred conversation,[5] where speakers may want to seek facilitation from the interlocutors, enhancement of politeness, and solidarity (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003; Andersen, 2001; Brinton, 1996; Holtgraves, 2000; Jucker & Smith, 2002).

Korean-American bilingual school children experience communication problems with regard to the use of DMs. Korean-American children include those children born in Korea who immigrated to the United States as well as those children born in the United States to Korean parents. The number of Korean immigrant children who are elementary school age in the United States has increased (Min, 2000; Moon & Park-Lee, 2001). Also, approximately 85% of American-born Koreans are under the age of 19 (The Korean American Resources and Cultural Center, 2004). First language learners (L1) as well as second language learners (L2) experience difficulty in using linguistically and

[5] Generally, actions such as agreement and acceptance are treated as "preferred," and disagreement and rejection are treated as "dispreferred" response types (Davidson, 1984; Pomerantz, 1978, 1984; Sacks, 1973), though there is a controversy between the concepts of preferred and dispreferred conversation (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Blimes, 1988; Pomerantz, 1978; 1984; Lerner, 1996; Schegloff, 1988; Seedhouse, 2004). For details, see Chapter 4.

socially appropriate DMs in spoken communication. Like the L2 children who struggle to adjust to the L2 school environment, American-born Korean children also can experience the same language pressure in the L1 society.

The majority of bilingual children in the United States continue to acquire English language skills beyond their childhood years all the way into adulthood. However, they tend not to continue learning their home language, meaning their home language learning is curtailed or even stagnates through the adolescent years (Lynch, 2003). Other investigations in language acquisition among Korean-American bilingual children indicate that the limited grasp of Korean prevents the bilingual children from learning the appropriate way to use their first language (Hurr, 1998; Min, 1995, 2000; Min & Hong, 2002; Moon, 1999; Shin, 2005; Shin & Milroy, 1999). Thus, bilingual children face dual language barriers due to their limited grasp of both English and Korean (Min, 2000; Min & Moon, 1998; The Korean American Resources and Cultural Center, 2004). Although monolingual L1 children are sensitive to the meanings of different DMs by the time they enter school (Andersen, Brizuela, Dupuy, & Gonnerman, 1995, 1999), the bilingual L2 users experience difficulty using DMs properly. The use of DMs in a second language is difficult to acquire because DMs can have implicit social meanings (Andersen, 2001; Jucker & Smith, 1998).

Therefore, using DMs is important in the everyday interaction of Korean-American bilingual children with both Korean-speaking and English-speaking people. When L2 learners are unable to speak socially appropriate DMs, their hearers may perceive them as harsh or abrupt in their social interactions. Improper use of DMs may be misinterpreted as incompetence, impoliteness, or brusqueness (Brinton, 1996; 2001;

Cameron, 2002; Fraser, 1990; Prechter, 2001; Stenstrom, 1994). Regardless of the linguistic and social values of DMs (Fox Tree, 2000; Hutchinson, 2003; Jucker, 1993; Kotthoff, 1993; Ostman, 1981; Pretcher, 2001; Schiffrin, 2001; Stubbe & Holmes, 1995), literature on the use of DMs in child language has been scarce. Development of DMs has been studied insufficiently in L1 child language acquisition (Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996; Prechter, 2001), and even less attention has been paid to the expression of DMs in bilingual children. Some researchers have thought that DMs do not play any critical role in syntax or semantic content in language development (Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996).

However, DMs require attention in the study of language acquisition because the interplay between form and function is important in issues of language acquisition (Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996). When learning a language, it is not sufficient to learn just the grammar. It is important to learn the relationship between forms and meanings as well as the use of those meanings and intentions in appropriate ways (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994). The study of DMs can provide information to integrate semantic, syntactic, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic knowledge in the process of language acquisition (Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996; Schiffrin, 2001). Also, the use of DMs involves an interactive process between linguistic and social aspects, which means that studying DMs can inform the whole picture of language acquisition.

Insight into the role of DMs in second language learning is important (Prechter, 2001) because there may be differences in the use of DMs between the first language (L1) and the second language (L2). The social implications are relevant to language acquisition, especially among L2s. Differences in DM usage lead to cross-cultural

misunderstanding, and thus, possible pragmatic failures arise (Andersen, Brizuela, Dupuy, & Gonnerman, 1999; Fuller, 2003; Fraser, 1990; Trillo, 2002). The lack of DMs as well as the overuse of DMs may result in misinterpretation and a perception of incompetent speakers (Andersen, 2001; Kent, 2003; Schourpu, 1985).

1.2 Statement of the Purpose

The significant role that DMs play in spoken interaction clearly indicates the need for more research in the use of DMs among bilingual children. Appropriate use of DMs among bilingual children would show they are competent speakers in two languages. Social interaction involves more than accuracy of grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary. The L2 users need to learn DMs as functionally related linguistic expressions in spoken language. If DMs are indices of the underlying cognitive, expressive, textual, and social organization of a discourse (Schiffrin, 2001), it falls in the category of language development as well as interactional competence. It would be valuable to study how Korean-American bilingual children learn DMs in natural discursive interactions and how the use of DMs links their development of interactional competence in two languages.

Regarding the bilingual children's difficulties in DM use in their two languages, the present study addresses two major gaps found in the literature. One is the scarcity of research on the use of DMs among bilingual children. Despite the surge of interest in bilingualism, there is still a lack of research on spoken language development, particularly on naturally occurring everyday interaction. Previous research on bilingual acquisition mostly has focused on lexical, phonological, and grammar development

(Meisel, 1990b). Little attention has been paid to the use of DMs in first language acquisition (Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996; Pretcher, 2001), and even less in bilingual acquisition.

Research in the acquisition of naturally occurring spoken language is in high demand in the field of children's language development. Comprehending the use of language in society is highly relevant to the development of children living in a bilingual world. Their competence in communication and interaction is compromised constantly. Missing the subtlest linguistic cues, such as DMs, may signal incompetence regardless of the speaker's intention (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The study of recurrent linguistic patterns in spoken interaction is inseparable from the study of social interaction patterns (Ford & Wagner, 1996, quoted in Karkkainen, 2003, p. 1). This study addresses an area of DMs that has received insufficient attention with regard to understanding language development in bilingual children. The research here investigates how Korean–English bilingual children use certain DMs in their everyday conversation.

The other gap that this study aims to address is the methodology of previous studies. Research methods in previous studies include (1) reliance on elicited data rather than on naturally occurring data; (2) analyzing only bilingual children's data rather than comparing them with monolingual counterparts' data; and (3) studying only one language rather than both languages. Hence, previous research does not provide authentic information on DM use among bilingual children. De Houwer (2000) argued that there are too few comparisons of bilingual and monolingual children's language development, and part of the reason for this is the lack of comparable data for monolingual and bilingual acquisition (p. 236).

The purpose of this study is to determine the similarities and differences in the use of DMs between Korean-speaking and English-speaking children as well as between monolinguals and bilinguals. It presents an overview of DM functions in corpora of naturally occurring conversations in both monolingual and bilingual children. The study examines the functions and consequences of DMs during discursive interactions, and it advocates for the use of DMs as evidence of the children's interactional competence during the development of spoken language skills. This study examines factors that may impact the use of DMs across the selected linguistic groups of bilingual children and monolingual counterparts of two languages. Two different variables are considered here: child's age and child's gender.

Consequently, the goal of the present study is to add to the body of literature on language acquisition among children as well as on their bilingual development. This study's focus on everyday verbal interaction contributes to the field of bilingual research by examining the corpora collected from spontaneously occurring conversations of both bilingual and monolingual children. It is significant particularly in the use of naturally occurring, spoken corpora in a select age group.

1.3 Research Questions

The present study proposes three research questions dealing with the phenomenon of the bilingual children's use of DMs in comparison with their monolingual counterparts. The questions also encompass sociolinguistic aspects that may impact the use of DMs of both monolingual and bilingual participants.

Research question 1: What are the functions of the discourse markers *isscanha* and *well* in spoken interaction of English-speaking and Korean-speaking monolingual children between the ages of six and eleven?

The first question addresses a methodological issue in the field of bilingual development research. Recently, it has become an important issue to compare bilingual data with monolingual data to understand how bilingual children learn two language systems (Andersen et al., 1999; Bialystok, 2001; De Houwer, 1990, 2000; Goldstein, 2004; Paradis, 2000; Perez-Vidal, 1995). De Houwer (2000) argues that bilingual development in each language should be compared to the development of either language in monolingual children. Specifically, Bialystok (2001) suggests tracing the bilingual learning process individually, and then comparing each language with the progress made by monolingual children learning the same system (p. 61). This question establishes a baseline for such a comparison. Barnes (2006) also points out that it is possible to follow the acquisition of specific areas of language by monolingual children and compare them to the progress seen among bilinguals in the same languages (p. 13). To establish comparative parameters for the use of the two previously mentioned DMs between the monolingual and bilingual children, this study first explores their occurrences in the monolingual data.

Research question 2: What are the similarities and differences in the functions of the same discourse markers in monolingual children and in Korean–English bilingual children of the same age?

The main concern of the second question is to uncover whether the bilingual children in this study use the same DMs in the same way as their monolingual

counterparts. This study not only compares the two markers in the bilingual group but also it compares the two markers between the bilingual group and each monolingual group. The comparison is made within the bilingual groups as well as across the individual linguistic groups. Thus, this question also reflects a vital issue of bilingual research regarding the relationship between the bilingual children's two languages (DeHouwer, 2000). The study bases the analysis on parameters established in the monolingual data. These parameters enable a true comparison and explication of similarities and differences. Whether language acquisition in the bilingual children acquiring two languages is comparable to the monolingual children is rooted in understanding the nature and acquisition of a first language (Bialystok, 2001).

Research question 3: What factors may influence the use of discourse markers in everyday speech of monolingual and bilingual children?

The question investigates what sociolinguistic aspects may be involved in the use of DMs among the children. This study investigates two variables, age and gender, to see how those variables impact the use of DMs in the different linguistic groups. A further purpose is to see if the bilingual data show any particular features not found in the monolingual data. The answer to this question gives some insight into the differences in DM use among bilingual children and monolingual children.

1.4 Organization of the Present Study

Having proposed the problems, objectives, and research questions, this section presents the organization of the present study as follows: Chapter Two provides an overview of the literature on first-language and second-language development in

children. It also discusses DMs in general and reviews the target markers of *well* and *isscanha*, respectively. Chapter Three introduces two theories that are pertinent to the interpretation of DM use. Chapter Four introduces the methodology and analytic framework of the data analysis. The analytic framework includes two relevant analytical tools, Conversation Analysis (CA) and discourse functions analysis. Chapters Five, Six, and Seven delineate the data analysis for this study. Chapter Five analyzes the monolingual children's use of the DM *well* in the English-speaking children and the DM *isscanha* in the Korean-speaking children, respectively. Chapter Six analyzes the bilingual children's use of the same DMs. Chapter Seven discusses several factors involved in the use of the DMs in the different linguistic groups. Finally, chapter Eight summarizes the overall findings of the study and suggests some implications of the children's use of DM as well as the role of DMs in bilingual acquisition.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter recognized that the use of DMs can be interpreted as the speaker's communication awareness improves during spontaneous discursive interaction. It is because DM use indicates an aspect of pragmatic competence that underlies a speaker's ability to use language in culturally, socially, and situationally appropriate ways. In that respect, DM use is closely related to the growth of pragmatic competence during the course of spoken language development for first and second language acquisition.

In essence, early pragmatic competence is based on the child's understanding of meaning in contexts (Barnes, 2006). This competence can be summarized as (1) the acquisition of communicative intents and the development of their linguistic expressions; (2) the development of conversational skills and the acquisition of rules that govern turn-taking, interruptions, back channeling, signaling topic relevance, or topic switch; (3) the development of control over the linguistic devices used to organize discourse in ways that are cohesive and genre-specific; (4) the acquisition of rules of politeness and other culturally determined rules for using speech; and (5) pragmatic factors influencing language acquisition, such as the interactive context of language use in early childhood (Ninio & Snow,1996, pp. 10-11).

As such, the use of DMs arises as a communicative strategy in discursive interactions, carrying out multiple functions depending on context. Use of DMs can be

viewed as the speaker's ability to better communicate during a variety of naturally occurring conversational interactions. The ability to use DMs can indicate the speaker's competence for communication. Hence, studying children's DM use will provide insight as to how children use DMs for achieving their communicative needs and how they develop competence for interaction during language development. This study claims that DMs are communicative and interactional resources during conversation.

After briefly discussing some issues on bilingualism, the present chapter explores bilingual development compared with monolingual development. Focusing on similarities and differences, it deals with the development of linguistic areas as well as pragmatic areas. In consideration that DM use is more likely related to pragmatic competence, it pays particular attention to pragmatic aspects that are the main concerns of this study. It further provides a general introduction of discourse markers (DMs) and research on DMs of L1 children and bilingual children followed by the two focal markers.

2.2 Bilingual Acquisition

Bilinguals do not have the same ability in two languages. De Houwer (2009) explains that bilinguals are not the sum of two monolinguals in one, and monolinguals are not the standard for bilinguals. Montrul (2008) adds that bilinguals are not balanced both in their language use and in their linguistic knowledge. Having different knowledge of two languages and communicative purpose is possible, Montrul broadly defines bilingualism as a "knowledge and command of two or more languages although different

degrees" (p. 17). Extending from Haugen's (1953) definition,[6] Butler and Hakuta (2004) propose the definition of bilinguals as "persons who obtain communicative skills with various degrees of proficiency in order to interact with speakers of one or more languages in a given society" (p. 7). These definitions provide a wider category of bilingualism under which more individuals would be defined as bilinguals not only by considering the different needs of bilinguals in their everyday interaction, but also by recognizing a possibility of different proficiency in two languages in the same bilingual speaker.

Therefore, the present study considers the possibility of different knowledge of two languages and communicative purpose. Understanding the speaker's use of language can only be accomplished in conjunction with understanding the speaker's own purpose of communication. Speakers may have different communicative needs and a different degree of language use according to context and interactional purpose. The definition also should include the ability to which bilingual speakers can adjust their language use to their given situation. Bilinguals do not necessarily need to possess the same skill level or proficiency in each language (De Houwer, 2009; Grosjean, 1998; Shin, 2005; Wei, 2000).

There are two types of bilingual acquisition: simultaneous versus sequential language acquisition. Different criteria have been proposed to distinguish simultaneous from sequential bilingual learners. De Houwer (1995) proposes the stringent cut-off of exposure to two languages within one month of birth, whereas Genesee and Nicoladis (2007) propose the cut-off to be up to four years of age. McLaughlin (1984) made a distinction between simultaneous and sequential acquisition of two languages.

[6] Haugen (1953) defined bilinguals as "individuals who are fluent in one language but who can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" (cited in Butler & Hakuta, 2004, p. 7).

Simultaneous language acquisition occurs when a child has been exposed to two languages before the age of three years. Sequential language acquisition occurs when exposure to the second language takes place after the age of three years. However, these criteria seem arbitrary. The clear-cut distinction based on age does not account for the concept of critical time to distinguish between the child's first language and the second language (Bhatia & Ritchie, 1999). It is important to investigate and understand the impact of different time periods to gain insight into children's critical periods of language acquisition, which, in turn, determine substantive and qualitative differences in children's acquisition of two languages (Bhatia & Ritchie, 1999, p. 632).

In that respect, categorization only based on biological age is problematic to describe bilingual children's acquisition in reality. Bilingual children usually learn their parent language first in their home, and then they learn a second language at a nursery or elementary school (Baker, 1997; Shin, 2005). In this context, sequential acquisition of the second language usually occurs through natural interaction with the native speakers of that second language. Thus, language acquisition in most bilingual children can be categorized as sequential acquisition in terms of being second language (L2) learners. Yet, in the literature, sequential acquisition is treated as a separate field of study applicable to L2 learners, not bilingual children (Montrul, 2008; Shin, 2005). Thus, there is a shortage of systematic studies on sequential bilingual acquisition in childhood (Montrul, 2008; RomainE, 1995).

Therefore, both age and sequence of acquisition should be considered in childhood bilingual language acquisition. In that sense, the present study takes the position held by Montrul (2008), who considers age and sequence. Age is differentiated

as early in childhood versus late after puberty. Sequence is differentiated as two languages being acquired simultaneously versus languages being acquired successively (Montrul, 2008, pp. 17-18).

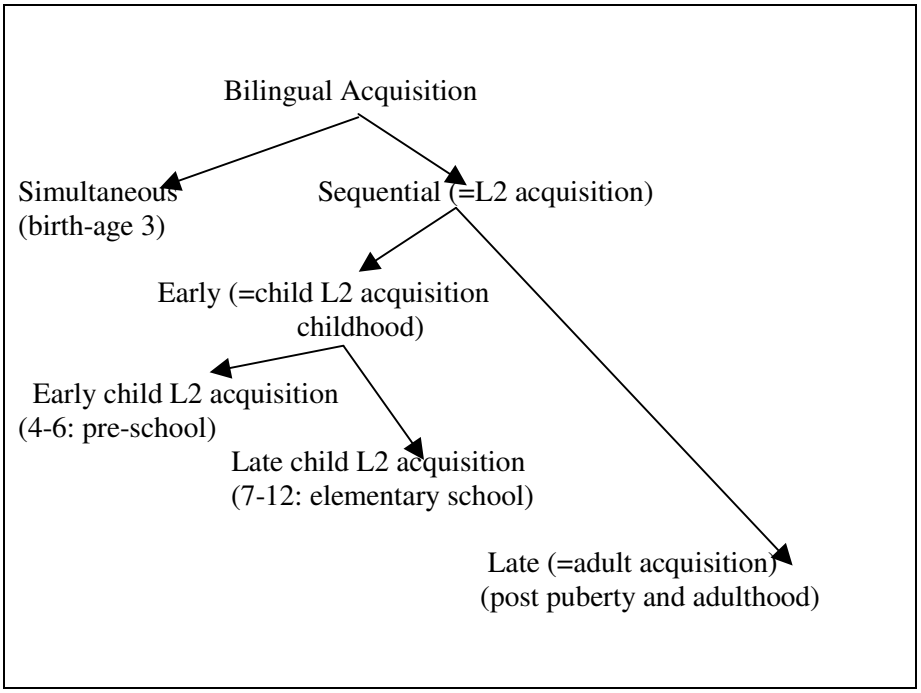

Figure 2-1. Types of Bilingualism by Age and Sequence of Acquisition
(Adapted from Montrul, 2008, p. 18, originally appeared as figure 1.2)

As figure 2.1 illustrates, early bilingualism takes place before puberty and can be simultaneous or sequential. Simultaneous bilingualism occurs in early childhood, before the linguistic foundations of the language are in place. It is also referred to as bilingual L1 acquisition (Genesee, 2000; Meisel, 2001; Montrul, 2008), because the two languages develop together as first languages.

Sequential bilingualism, on the other hand, happens after the individual has acquired basic command of the first language, which for monolingual acquisition is typically taken to be roughly the age 3-4. In this situation, there is a first language (L1)

and a second language (L2) sequentially ordered. Sequential bilingualism can occur early during childhood or late adulthood. Early childhood bilingualism is equivalent to child L2 acquisition in the L2 acquisition field. Early child L2 acquisition probably spans about two years and occurs between the ages of 4-6, when spoken language is practically fully developed but the children have not yet received formal schooling. Late child L2 acquisition spans the elementary school years, when children are receiving formal instruction in one or in the two languages.

2.3 Similarities and Differences between Monolingual and Bilingual Children

In order to comprehend bilingual children's acquisition, the way that bilingual children acquire two languages should be examined in comparison with monolingual children. It can be said that a better understanding of monolingualism is a key to an understanding of bilingualism (Barnes, 2006; Bialystok, 2001). That is, learning about monolingual children is crucial to understanding what exactly bilingual children at this age miss when they do not obtain the full advantage of receiving academic training in one of the languages. The review of monolingual children's development is important in the study of bilingual acquisition to find any relevant aspects to bilingual development (Bialystok, 2001), for it is possible to follow the acquisition of specific areas by monolingual children and compare it to the progress of the bilinguals in the languages concerned (Barnes, 2006, p. 13). Accordingly, the aim of this section is to review the most significant findings on bilingual language acquisition in terms of vocabulary, grammar, sound, and pragmatic area to date.

2.3.1 Lexical Development

The majority of the research has reported the similarity in lexical development in terms of first words, rates, and size of the acquisition. Bilingual children produce their first words at about the same age as monolingual children at 12 to 13 months (Clark, 2003; Cruz-Ferreira, 2006; Genesee, 2003a; Paterson & Person, 2004). Specifically, Cruz-Ferreira (2006) found that the three Portuguese-Swedish children produced several different words from around their first birthdays and added on words at a steady rate. In addition, the distribution of lexical categories in the early lexicons of bilingual children is similar to that observed in monolingual children (Nicoladis, 2001).

However, they do not necessarily produce their first words in both languages on the same day (De Houwer, 2009). For instance, De Houwer et al., (2007) studied 31 Dutch-French bilingual infants and three of them did not say any words at the age of 13 months. The majority of the children did, however, and 26 of these 28 produced more than one word. Four of the 28 children who were producing words only produced them in one language, and not yet in the other. Another group study of bilingual children, this time of 15 Spanish-Catalan bilingual infants, shows that all children produced words between the ages of 12 and 14 months (Aguila et al., 2005). Seven of the children produced words in only one language.

Meanwhile, differences between the rates of change in bilingual children's languages were also found (David & Li, 2003; Holowka et al., 2002; Yip & Matthews, 2008). Yip and Matthews (2008) report an early vocabulary development of Cantonese but gradual lexical development in English for a Cantonese-English child. A similar

result was found in French-English bilingual children (David & Li, 2003). In the study, at first, Anna used more English than French words, and English words increased more than French words. After her second birthday, Anna used more French than English. Oliver showed a different pattern with first equal numbers and rates of learning of English and French words, but after his second birthday, English developed more than French. In addition, the relative amount of time spent in each language can affect the relative vocabulary size in each language of a bilingual (Pearson, Fernandez, Lewedag, & Oller, 1997).

More importantly, literature reports that bilingual input can speed up the rate of word learning. Word learning is different for bilingual children and monolingual children. Because the learning of new words means conversation in interaction, bilingual children are able to learn new words quite fast especially after age two. That is, young bilingual children may generally be at an advantage compared to monolingual children in their word learning. They learn new words much faster than monolingual children do in both comprehension and production.

Regardless of whether or not there are two separate lexical systems developing in the minds of young bilingual children, there is substantial evidence that such children build up comprehension and production lexicons in each of their languages at the same time, that they use similar semantic processes in each language, and that sometimes they can even translate actively between them. They are not necessarily at the same skill level in the other language, and the balance between each of their languages can change over time.

De Houwer (2009) suggests that bilingual children comprehend and produce one language more for one particular set of domains, and the other one for others. Oller (2005) and Oller et al. (2007) named it as 'distributed characteristic' of bilingual word learning. Bilingual children will increasingly have specialized vocabularies in each language. This implies several things (1) that assessing just one language generally underestimates bilingual children's lexical knowledge and, hence, (2) that comparing bilingual children's lexical knowledge in just a single language to norms made for monolingual children is unfair comparison. Therefore, bilingual children's total lexical knowledge should be taken into account (p. 223).

In summary, bilingual children produce their first words within the same age range as monolingual children. Simultaneously, they develop two languages in a different rate. The different developmental rate in bilingual acquisition can imply that at any given age, the numbers of words produced in one language may differ from the number produced in the other (De Houwer, 2009). Withstanding the different acquisition, however, the research seems to be limited to the age of before four; there is still lack of research on the age above four. Because the vocabulary studies mostly rely on the data of rather younger age children, the question on the acquisition of school-aged children, particularly kindergarten and elementary children remains unanswered yet.

2.3.2 Morphosyntactic Development

Morphosyntactic development of early bilingual children also generally corresponds to that exhibited by same-age monolingual children. Findings from research on bilingual children exhibit the same rate of morphosyntactic development as

monolingual children at least in their dominant language (De Houwer, 2005; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1997; Paradis & Genesee, 1996; Paradis, Crago, Genesee, & Rice, 2003). Paradis, Crago, Genesee, and Rice (2003) found that French-English bilingual children in Quebec with specific language impairment exhibited the same pattern and degree of impairment in each language as similarly impaired monolingual English and French children of the same age.

Paradis and Genesee (1996) studied 2- to 3-year-old French-English bilingual children, and found the same patterns with the performance of monolingual children acquiring French and English. Bilingual children (1) used finite verb forms earlier in French than in English; (2) used subject pronouns in French exclusively with finite verbs; and (3) placed verbal negatives after lexical verbs in French. This is evident even in bilingual children who are identified as having specific language impairment.

As shown in lexical development, however, there are differences in the early use of grammatical categories in each of their languages. De Houwer (2009) claims that bilingual children's morphosyntactic development may not be the same in the two languages. That is, bilingual children who have regularly heard or overheard their two languages as spoken by the same person also develop two separate morphosyntactic systems. Separate system hypothesis is also supported when children seem to push the limits of their two languages further apart than is needed. That is, even when their two input languages are fairly similar with regard to a particular aspect, children may use forms that are quite different in each. For instance, a Dutch-English child did not attempt to impose any sort of gender distinction for English nouns even though she marked gender for Dutch nouns through the use of different articles. Even studies that focus only

on those bilingual children's sentences possibly showing an influence from the other language (e.g., Yip & Matthews, 2007) did not find that bilingual children generally produce sentences according to a mixture of rules from both languages.

In summary, morphosyntactic development is also consistent with the separate system hypothesis. Considering the various factors as mentioned above, it is more likely to say that bilingual children develop grammar in two languages in a different way. More than that, bilingual acquisition of morphosyntactic elements is involved in different factors such as individual differences, first language differences or grammatical elements. The current study, therefore, takes the latter position that bilingual acquisition of grammar is not developing in the same way with the monolingual acquisition.

2.3.3 Pragmatic Development

Pragmatic development of bilingual children involves how to use language appropriately in two languages. Learning to use languages properly is important, for it requires more than just learning word meanings and grammatical rules (Johnson, 1985). In other words, pragmatic expressions constitute a very important aspect of the verbal development of children so they are one of the manifestations of a child's growing interaction with other individuals (Otsman, 1981). Regarding the issue, Bialystok (2001) ascertained that a plausible view of language acquisition is achieved by incorporating both linguistic and pragmatic aspects.

Nicoladis and Genesee (1996a) found an initial stage before the age of two when bilingual children do not differentiate their languages pragmatically in relation to language choice. They observed four French-English bilingual children between the ages

of 1;7 and 3;0 to see if the children used their languages more with the respective parent speaker of that language in spite of themselves having a higher or lower proficiency in that language. The results show that, at the beginning of the period under investigation, none of the children differentiated pragmatically, whereas by later sessions all were able to do so.

Nicoladis (1998) examined the way a Portuguese-English bilingual child aged 1;0 to 1;6 came to pragmatically differentiate between the two languages in the input he received. The child used more of the parent's language with each particular parent than would be predicted on the basis of his own language dominance in each language, and before the child showed evidence of lexical differentiation. It is suggested that pragmatic differentiation precedes lexical differentiation.

Barnes (2006) interpreted the research finding that the child was able to use questions for functional purposes from an early age and to express a variety of communicative intents. The child was able to draw attention, avoid the truth, initiate and maintain conversation, ask about new words, initiate play, express humor, show surprise, interest, enthusiasm, and use strategies to obtain information she needed through the pragmatic use of questions (pp. 215-216). Also, the child became increasingly proficient at using information questions to initiate and maintain conversation. The child's use of questions also seemed to fulfill the criteria of solving the five problems[7] of getting attention, keeping clarity, being persuasiveness, maintaining social relations and performing repairs. The child made use of reformation and repetition to modify the function of the question in order to achieve her communicative aim. Barnes concluded

[7] Ervin-Tripp and Gordon (1986) proposed the five questions.

that the child demonstrated communicative competence in that she not only asked for knowledge of the language but also had the ability to use the language appropriately.

Meanwhile, research on the pragmatic development of bilingual children has dealt with a dynamic point of view. It views code-mixing or code-switching as the evidence of pragmatic ability of bilingual children. Language choice according to interlocutors as well as a variety of speech acts was approached as pragmatic development. Developmental pragmatics with reference to bilingual children is the approach for pragmatic differentiation in language mixing and language choice and the perspective of developing commutative competence (Barnes, 2006; Genesee et al., 1996; Meisel, 1994; Nicholadis, 1998; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1996). Meisel (1994) viewed the ability to code-switch as a pragmatic competence in young bilingual children. According to Meisel, pragmatic differentiation precedes syntactic differentiation, and the evidence is that at least by age 2;6, children's mixing in discourse has similar underlying pragmatic and grammatical principles to those found in adult code-switching.

A review of the literature on bilingualism in children shows that the research was focused on the area of linguistics. Coma and Genesee (2001) pointed out that most research has focused on children's ability to differentiate their two languages and on their syntactic development. Little attention has been paid to the development of their communicative competence, that is, how bilingual children learn the various pragmatic abilities necessary for effective communication. Those issues are major concerns of the present study that will deal with use of DMs.

As such, the majority of bilingual research seems to be fairly limited to the area of morphosyntax, grammar, lexicons, phonology, metalinguistics, or some pragmatics.

Thus, language use, the use of DMs in everyday interaction, has not been fully paid attention to. Research on the use of DMs is rare in the field of childhood bilingualism, in general, and in spoken language development, specifically. It is required, however, because research on DMs in bilingual children can be an effective means of tracing language acquisition because the use of the DM is involved in an integrative ability of syntax, semantics, pragmatics and even sociolinguistic knowledge (Schiffrin, 2001).

2.4 Discourse Markers

> "Discourse markers tell us not only about the linguistic properties (semantic and pragmatic meanings, source, and functions) of set of frequently used expressions, and the organization of the social interaction and situations in which they are used, but also about the cognitive, expressive, social, and textual competence of those who use them" (Schiffrin, 2001, p.67).

Research on DMs has flourished in the last two decades. It has widely expanded into various areas of linguistic inquiry such as the analytic aspect of semantics and discourse, and the study of language acquisition, pedagogy, sociolinguistic topics, and language change (Brinton, 1990; Schiffrin, 2001; Schourup, 1999; Traugott, 1995). Despite the considerable quantity of research on native adult speakers, bilingual acquisition in respect to spoken language development has not been paid attention to yet. Regarding the poverty of research on school aged bilingual children, Montrul (2008) clarified that even though the literature states that basic linguistic knowledge is acquired by age 3-4, this is an overstatement. Obviously, there are many complex and subtle aspects of meaning and pragmatics that children do not fully master and comprehend until much later. More research should explore the acquisition of DMs not only in the second language but also in the first language.

Also, there has been little consensus among researchers on fundamental issues such as terms and components of the linguistic expressions of spoken language (Andersen, 2001; Blakemore, 2004; Brinton, 1996; Fraser, 1999; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Schourup, 1999; Schiffrin, 2001; Zavala, 2001). In what follows, those issues are discussed from a theoretical point of view in order to establish the appropriate definition for the present study.

2.4.1 Terms of DMs

DMs appear in literature under a plethora of different names. Brinton (1996) provided a list of as many as 23 names and other authors made frequent reference to this great variety (Andersen, 2001; Andersen & Fretheim, 2000; Blakemore, 2004; Fraser, 1999; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Schiffrin, 2001; Schourup, 1999). The variety of names is a reflection of a disagreement in the literature regarding whether some items can be identified as DMs. For example, Andersen and Fretheim (2000), Brinton (1996), and Schourup (1999) pointed out that the term 'discourse particle' is problematic because 'particle' is more likely to be a syntactic or morphological term rather than a disparate set of linguistic expressions or a functional class. In addition, the term "discourse particle" sometimes refers to conjunctions, prepositions, interjections, and adverbs.

Many authors agreed that the term "marker" would be more appropriate because it can capture broader functions of communication and it encompasses either a word or a particle (Andersen, 2001; Andersen & Fretheim, 2000; Brinton, 1996; Schiffrin, 1987). On the other hand, Blakemore (2004) explicated that the term "marker" is intended to reflect the fact that meaning must be analyzed in terms of what it indicates or marks,

rather than by what it describes. The same author also stated that the term "discourse" is intended to underline the fact that the role of the DM must be described at the level of discourse rather than sentence.

Therefore, the present study adopts the term "discourse marker" or DM for the concepts of "function" and "discourse," which are essential criteria in describing DMs. In other words, the term discourse markers should be understood in terms of a functional class at the discourse level. Based on these two criteria, I adopt the inclusive term discourse marker, which will enable me to broadly delineate the discursive functions as well as interactional strategies that bilingual children develop during the research period.

2.4.2 Components of Discourse Markers

Another problem regarding the definition of DMs is that there is little agreement on what counts as the components of DMs (cf. Blakemore, 2004, Fraser, 1990, 1999; Schiffrin, 2001; Schourup, 1999). That is, forms of DMs can be varied in terms of lexicality, syntactic categories and positions. Specifically, some researchers restricted DMs to lexical expressions (Bell, 1994; Benchinson, 2003; Fraser, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 1999; Kroon, 1995), whereas others included non-lexical expressions such as *oh*. Recently, Fraser (1999) exclusively limited DMs to three syntactic classes: conjunctions, adverbs and prepositional phrases, while the majority of researchers include non-lexical items, particles and comment clauses (Brinton, 1996; Schiffrin, 1987; Redeker, 1990; Schourup, 1999 and others). In addition, Brinton (1990, 1996) and Schiffrin (2001) confined the position of DM to an utterance-initial place unlike others (Andersen, 1995, 1996, 1999; Fisher, 2000; Fraser, 1990; Redeker, 1990).

Considering their pragmatic functions, however, DMs should be understood as a functional class, which, in turn, is comprised of various syntactic classes (Schourup, 1999). Redeker (1990, 1991) presented DMs as 1) conjunctions for pragmatic functions (e.g., *but, so, and*); 2) interjections that signal pragmatic relations, which include utterance-initial uses (e.g., *oh, all right, okay, anyway,* and *well)* as well as utterance-final tags (e.g., *okay?* or *right?*); 3) comment clauses (*you know* and *I mean*); and 4) adverbs (e.g., *now* and *then*). Fraser (1990, 1999) also included as DMs adverbials, verbs, interjections, conjunctions, prepositional phrases, and comment clauses. Brinton (1996), Fox Tree (2004) and Fuller (2003) included *like* as a DM while Siegel (2002) named it as a discourse particle. Brinton (1996) and Schourup (1999) added connective particles to the syntactic categories. Also, the occurrence of DMs cannot be restricted to the utterance-initial position (Andersen et al., 1995, 1996, 1999; Fraser, 1990; Redeker, 1990; Park, 1998) because several DMs such as *like, you know, I mean,* and *anyway* frequently occur at the utterance-middle and utterance-final position at the same time in naturally occurring spontaneous speech.

Therefore, the present study takes the position that encompasses "either word or particle as well as single-word items or clauses in the range of functions filled by connectives, initiator and filler" (Brinton, 1996, pp. 29-30). Also, since DMs are a functional class expressed with a variety of syntactic classes that connect the discourse segments, their components can be put together as conversational particles, lexical and non-lexical interjections, conjunctions, commentary clauses, perceptive verbs, prepositional phrases, and adverbials (Brinton, 1996; Schourup, 1999; Schiffrin, 2001; Redeker, 1991; Fraser, 1990, 1996, 1998, 1999; Fuller, 2003; Trillo, 2002). It should be

noticed, however, that the components are heterogeneous with respect to a syntactic class (Andersen, 1998; Schourup, 1999).

2.4.3 Characteristics of DMs

In addition to the terms and the components, the characteristics frequently used to define DMs are still controversial. One of the most prominent characteristics of DMs is the connectivity in discourse (Blakemore, 2004; Fraser, 1990, 1996, 1999; Schiffrin, 1987, 2001; Schourup, 1999). The connectivity, however, is conceived in different ways according to the different concepts of discourse and communicative intention (Schiffrin, 2001; Schourup, 1999). As an example, by claiming that DMs are exclusively signaling discourse relationships, Fraser (1990) excluded *oh, you now, I mean* and *because*. According to Schiffrin (2001), Fraser's exclusion of *you know* and *I mean* resulted from his belief that they are only signaling a speaker's attitude of solidarity, not a sequential discourse relationship (p. 66).

In contrast, by emphasizing the vitality of discourse level in understanding DMs, Schiffrin (2001) asserted that as long as the environments of the occurrence of certain linguistic expressions like *I mean* and *you know* relate discourse segments, then these connections certainly involve discourse (pp. 65-66**).** Therefore, Schiffrin confirmed that the appearance of DMs can be necessary when speakers want to establish communicative solidarity by connecting discourse segments. Likewise, Fraser's account of DMs has been criticized because of the exclusiveness on his definition and functions (Andersen, 1998, 2001; Andersen & Fretheim, 2000; Schiffrin, 2001; Schourup, 1999). In other words, by restricting to the textual functions and excluding broader pragmatic aspects of

communication (Andersen, 1998; Andersen, 2001; Andersen & Fretheim, 2000; Schourup, 1999), the definition downplays the multiple functions of markers including social interactional functions and, thus, overlooks the interdependence between content and pragmatic meaning (Schiffrin, 2001).

Another remarkable characteristic of DMs can be non-truth conditionality. DMs are usually considered to contribute nothing to the truth-conditions of the proposition expressed by an utterance (Brinton, 1996; Schourup, 1999, 2001; Fraser, 1999). That is, removal of DMs from the utterance does not impact the semantic meaning of the utterance. Quite the opposite, however, some DMs affect the propositional meaning of utterances (Andersen, 1998, 2001; Siegal, 2002; Schiffrin, 1987). According to Andersen (1998) and Siegal (2002), the DM *like* has important meaning so if it is removed, a semantic change will occur. Andersen (2001) demonstrated that some DMs (e.g. *I mean* and *you know*) are interpretable in relation to propositional meaning that is fundamental to the interpretation, analysis and understanding of DMs. Similarly, according to Schiffrin (1987), all markers except *well* and *oh* have their primary functions on the ideational meaning relying on content meaning (p. 317). That is to say, the semantic meaning of DMs can contribute to the identification of the propositional content of utterances and to their truth condition (Andersen, 2001).

Still another noticeable characteristic of DMs is grammatical optionality, and removal of DMs does not change the grammaticality of its host sentence (Andersen, 2001; Brinton, 1996; Fraser, 1998; Fuller, 2003; Schourup, 1999). In other words, they are usually thought to occur either outside the syntactic structure or loosely attached to it so they can be detachable (Brinton, 1996; Schiffrin, 2001; Schourup, 1999). Yet,

Schiffrin (2001) emphasized the importance of the interaction of the semantic and syntactic properties of markers with the properties of discourse. Accordingly, Schiffrin (2001) decided that the marker status of *and* based on the function. Namely, she accounted *and* as a DM when the tokens have both structural and additive roles because of their comparable functions.

The most outstanding characteristics of DMs are summarized as the connectivity in discourse, non-truth conditionality, and grammatical optionality in spoken expressions. In other words, DMs appear when speakers want to establish communicative solidarity by connecting discourse segments. Discourse markers are more intended to convey communicative functions in spoken discourse rather than propositional meaning. Also, the existence of DMs does not impact the syntactic structure; rather it affects interactional meaning. Having informed those important characteristics of DMs, DMs can be defined as functional property.

2.4.4 Definition of DMs

Summarizing all of the perspectives, the present study adopts the definition from the perspective of discourse connectivity. Schiffrin (1987) defined DMs as "sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk" (p. 31). In a similar vein, DMs are used to signal relationships between discourse units or between the assumptions which underlie utterances (Schourup, 1999, p. 230). More specifically, Fraser (1990, 1998, 1999) functionally approached the definition of DMs by defining that "discourse markers function to signal the relationship between the segment of discourse they introduce, S2, and the prior segment of discourse, S1" (1998, p. 302). According to Fraser, each DM

provides information on how to interpret the message conveyed by S2 vis-à-vis the interpretation of S1 during discourse. Therefore, particularly based on the definition of Fraser, the current study analyzes the functions of DMs in on-going conversation.

2.4.5 Functions of Discourse Markers

Having acknowledged that DMs are functional properties, this section seeks to find the various functions. It should be reminded that a single DM can carry out several functions at the same time according to contexts. The multifunctionality of DMs can possibly indicate their functional complexity; that is, there are a variety of different approaches to analyze the functions of DMs such as textual and interpersonal functions (Brinton, 1996; Kroon, 1995; Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp, 1999; Muller, 2005; Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996; Redeker, 1990; Waltereit, 2002). Nevertheless, their approaches tend to be rather dichotomous seeing the functions separately not interactively.

Other researchers also have given analytical frameworks based on their semantic approach (Bell, 1995; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Hansen, 1998) or pragmatic approach (Fraser, 1993, 1996, 1998, 1999). As Schiffrin (2001) pointed out, however, by restricting analysis of markers to the signaling of a message based on relationships across sentences, both the semantic and pragmatic approaches fail to capture the multiple functions of markers including interactional functions and the interdependence between content and pragmatic meaning.

A few researchers have attempted integrative analyses of the multifunctionality of DMs (Andersen, 2001; Schiffrin., 1987, 2001). Schiffrin (1987) introduced five planes for discourse functions: ideational structure, action structure, exchange structure,

participation framework and information. As Redeker (1991) criticized, however, in spite of her understanding of DMs as serving an integrative function in discourse and as contributing to discourse coherence, her definition of DMs lacks clarity and consistency. Schiffrin (2001) recently has proposed a holistic view by which the use of DMs integrates cognitive, expressive, social and textual functions. Similarly, Andersen (2001) presented a framework that describes the functional complexity of the markers in terms of the notions of subjective, interactional and textual functions.

Aiming at informing bilingual children of the whole picture of the functions of DMs, the present study combines the two integrative approaches: Schiffrin's (2001) holistic approach and Andersen's (2001) analytical approach. This combined approach will enable us to present the integrative functions of cognitive/linguistic aspects (meaning, structure and function) and social aspects (interactional and social norms) by scrutinizing the discursive functions, in general, or discourse strategies, in particular, of bilingual children. Andersen proposed a conceptualization of DMs, in which the functions of a particular item can be described as a synthesis of three basic aspects of pragmatic meaning, referred to as textual, subjective, and interactional functions.

2.4.5.1 Textual Functions

DMs play an important function for the establishment of textual coherence in discourse (Andersen, 2001; Brinton, 1996; Kroon; 1995; Lenk, 1998; Schiffrin, 1987). According to Brinton (1996), textual functions can be represented by 'ideational mode' or 'propositional mode' in which the speaker structures meaning as text, creating coherence of discourse (p. 38). A DM with a textual function describes what the speaker

perceives as the relation between sequentially arranged units of discourse (Andersen, 2001).

According to Lenk (1998), however, conversational coherence is not a text-coherent property, but instead, the result of a dynamic process between the participants in conversation (p. 246). Lenk's idea of conversational coherence can be restated as interactional coherence (Buhrig, 2002) that sees the use of DMs as motivated interactively between interlocutors. Similarly, Kroon (1995) presented coherences that include interactional relations in the relation of a discourse unit to the communicative situation.

Schiffrin (1987) reported that several DMs are used to indicate the relation between immediately adjacent units of speech as a local level of discourse coherence. On the contrary, Lenk (1998) demonstrated that causal markers such as *anyway, however,* and *still* were effective with global coherence relations, mostly with topic shifts and topic drifts in the use of DMs in British and American conversation. The findings of both studies implicate that DMs are both semantically and structurally important in understanding the coherence of a particular conversation.

On a textual level, DMs indicate referential relationships between verbal activities before and after a DM. The DMs indicated relationships of various kinds such as cause, consequences, contrast, disjunctions, digression, or comparison. Those functions echo most of the distinctions suggested by Halliday and Hasan (1976), Quirk et al. (1986) and Fraser (1990).

DMs also provide information about the cognitive state of speakers (Fung & Carter, 2007). Cognitive DMs instruct the hearer to construct a mental representation of

the discourse. DMs in this category serve to denote the thinking process, reformulate, elaborate, mark hesitation and assess the listener's knowledge about the utterances, allowing a co-construction of meaning.

2.4.5.2 Subjective Functions

Discourse markers have a capacity for expressing a speaker's attitude that is commonly associated with speech act functions (Andersen, 2001; Andersen & Fretheim, 2000; Brinton, 1996). Although Schiffrin (2001) did not provide a specific description of the expressive functions in detail, this can be understood with Andersen's (2001) attitudinal/subjective functions. According to Andersen (2001), the subjective functions of DMs capture and make explicit the attitudinal relation that exists between the speaker and the proposition contained in the utterance. Subjectivity comprises a number of different types of meaning, such as the epistemic stance of the speakers, their affective attitude, and their evaluation of the propositional content (p. 67). In addition, as Brinton (1996) implied, "the function of DMs subjectively expresses a response or a reaction to the preceding discourse or attitude towards the following discourse, including signals of understanding and continued attention spoken while another speaker is having his or her turn" (p. 37).

2.4.5.3 Interactional Functions

Discourse markers arise from the speaker's strategies related to the structure of the discourse or the interaction (Hansen, 1998). Andersen (2001) noted that interactional functions refer to what the speaker perceives as the hearer's relation to a communicated

proposition. That is, use of DMs is an interactive process that requires speakers to draw upon several different types of communicative knowledge in interpersonal and interactional relationships (Anderson, 1998, 2000; Biber et al., 1999; Brinton, 1996; Cameron, 2002; Fischer, 2000, Hansen, 1998; Smith & Jucker, 1998; Jucker & Ziv, 1999; Kroon, 1995; Park, 1998; Strenson, 1994). According to Schiffrin (2001), communicative meaning is co-constructed by speaker/hearer interaction and emergent from jointly recognized sequential expressions and contingencies of talk-in-interaction (p. 67). Similarly, Lenk (1998) underlined that conversational coherence is the result of a dynamic process between the participants in conversation (p. 246).

Bazzanella (1990) presented a classification of DMs according to their interactional function by speaker and addressee. The functions of DMs for the speakers are a turn-taking device, an attention getting device, an assumption of agreement of shared knowledge, and a request for comprehension, whereas the functions of DMs for addressees is an interrupting device, an attention confirmation, agreement or shared knowledge confirmed, a comprehension confirmed, and a confirmation granted.

According to Andersen (2001), DMs with interactional functions can frequently be associated with directive speech acts such as agreement or disagreement, belief or disbelief, endorsement or rejection, conviction or doubt (pp. 70-71). Andersen distinguished the dichotomies of DM function as A-signal, which are expressions of contextual alignment between the interlocutors, or D-signals, which are expressions of contextual divergence (p. 72).

The interactional functions can also be associated with social functions of language, such as the interlocutors' mutual recognition of the conversational relationship

and the expression of solidarity (Andersen, 2001). While Schiffrin (2001) approached each function separately, Andersen approached the three functions—attitudinal, interactional and textual—conjunctively. Andersen reassured us that interactional functions cannot be separated from subjective functions as both are part of the communicative content of utterances and part of the speaker's informative intention. Analogously, textual functions are inseparable from subjectivity as well.

Taken together, the use of DMs requires the interactive process of the speaker's knowledge (Andersen, 2001; Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996; Schiffrin, 2001; Trillo, 2002) of syntax, semantics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics. The review of the properties of DMs is essential in order to be aware of the interdependence of linguistic, interactional, and social knowledge in DM use. In summary, an integrated model of DM functions can be drawn as Figure 2-2.

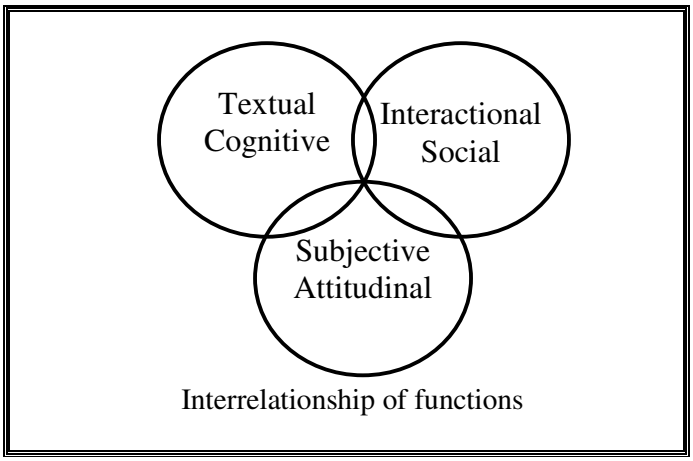

Figure 2-2. Integrated Model of DM Functions

[Integrated with the analytical approaches of Andersen (2001) and Schiffrin (2001)]

2.5 Research on DMs of Bilingual Children

Although use of DMs arises as a strategy in a communicative context (Andersen, 1998, 2001; Blakemore, 2004; Brinton, 1996; Cameron, 2002; Hansen, 1998; Heeman & Byron, 1997a; Heeman, Bryon, & Allen, 1998; Jucker & Smith, 1998), children's use of DMs for pragmatic competence has been little noticed in relation to spoken language development. Studying children's DM use as interactional competence will give us an insight to understand how DMs are used for achieving communicative needs and developing the interactional competence during language development.

Studying children's DM use as interactional resources needs to be done in order to help bilingual or L2 speakers use appropriate DMs in everyday interaction. In other words, it is important to notice that children's DMs can be associated with speech acts to perform communicative needs (Andersen, 1998, 2001; Blakemore, 2004; Brinton, 1996; Cameron, 2002). Additionally, despite the subtlety of the differences in DM use in different speech contexts (Andersen, 2001; Fuller, 2003; Trillo, 2002), there is little attention given to acquisition of DMs in two languages. Bilingual children may learn and use differently DMs from monolingual children, and thus may go through different development paths of DMs in first and second language. Therefore, it implies the necessity of comparative study in a parallel way (Fraser, 1999; Redeker, 1991; Andersen, Brizuela, Dupuy, & Gonnerman, 1999).

Also, despite all the characteristics and functional properties of DMs, DMs have not received sufficient attention on bilingual acquisition yet. In fact, the vast majority of the research on DMs has relied on native adult speakers; the rarity of research on DMs can be a typical example in bilingual acquisition. Regarding this matter, Otsman (1981)

commented that because DMs have not been considered part of the competence domain of linguistics in the first place, it is understandable that they have received hardly any attention from the point of view of how children acquire them. DMs have been set aside from the children's language development in the field of childhood bilingualism because they have been disregarded as unnecessary elements of grammatical, semantic, and lexical development. The following studies were exceptions.

Maschler (1997a) studied the process by which a new bilingual grammar emerges in interaction in an English-Hebrew bilingual conversation and found that more than half of English markers are used in clusters, and the English markers throughout the conversation are less varied than the Hebrew markers. Some of the English markers such as *well* have no equivalent in Hebrew and are used in Hebrew speech as a marker of dispreferrence. It is noteworthy that such a variety of Hebrew contrastive discourse markers are used in the conversations in comparison to the only English contrastive discourse marker *but*, even though equivalents to the Hebrew expressions often do exist in English.

Maschler (1994) studied the conversation of Hebrew-English bilingual women and one child. She found that the use of the marker *klomar (I mean)* indicates the speaker's modification of her own prior ideas or intentions. When the participants return to an earlier point, they usually switched discourse markers: *gam* (*also*), *agav* (*by the way*), and *davka* for which an English equivalent is not found. This finding implies that the correlation between the semantics of an expression and its function as a discourse marker varies from marker to marker and certainly across languages and cultures.

A series of studies by Maschler (1994, 1997a, 1997b) reveal a range of distributions across Hebrew and English languages. Some markers were roughly equivalents, others showed no equivalents; yet others were semantically, but not functionally comparable (Schiffrin, 2001). In addition, despite the previous understanding that a first language exclusively influences DM use in a second language, both languages may mutually influence each other. This would also have another important educational implication for teaching two languages in a bilingual society.

Brizuela, Andersen and Stallings (1999) studied the speech of 20 Spanish-English bilingual children, age six to ten, while playing with puppets in Spanish and found that these children use DMs to specifically mark differences in status and intimacy between interlocutors. High-status roles (parents, teachers) have greater use of DMs than lower-status roles (children). In a similar context, Andersen, Brizuela, Dupay and Gonnerman (1999) compared findings on the acquisition of DMs as register variables in English and French-speaking children with Spanish-speaking children. They demonstrated striking cross-linguistic parallels in the way children learn to use these forms both to convey social meaning and to manipulate the social situation. All children use more lexical DMs and more clusters (*well now then..)* to mark higher status roles than lower status roles, which may be an indication that children use DMs to convey speaker's authority (Erman, 2001).

Withstanding those findings, there is almost no bilingual research that compared the monolingual children in the school aged participants in natural interactions. A few studies that can be found in the literature focus only on one language and no published material can be found on the simultaneous development of DMs in two languages. Since

DM use in two languages is a complex process –because it requires an integrative knowledge of semantics, syntax, pragmatics and social interaction- its study is relevant and merits more attention (Andersen, 1999; Benchinson, 2003; Jucker & Smith, 1998; Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996; Pretcher, 2001; Schiffrin, 2001).

Having discussed the rarity of DM research on bilingual children, the next section provides the information of the two focal markers: *well* in English and *isscanha* in Korean. The main reason for choosing those markers was that the two markers seemed to most frequently occur in monolingual children's talk so both markers should be considered in bilingual children's talk. Moreover, the two markers have not been regarded as functional equivalents just because they are not translation equivalents to each other in spite of a variety of similar functions.

2.6 Previous Accounts of *well*

The DM *well* has probably received attention most frequently in the literature (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003; Klerk, 2005; Muller, 2005; Schourup, 2001). It has been analyzed with a number of different approaches including relevance theory (Blackmore, 2002; Jucker, 1993; Smith & Jucker, 2002; Klerk, 2005), interactional sociolinguistic analysis (Schiffrin, 1987), conversational analysis (Bolinger, 1989; Muller, 2005; Owen, 1984;Watts, 1986), semantic analysis (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), pragmatic analysis (Fraser, 1990, 1998, 1999), lexical approach (Bolinger, 1989), intersubjectivity (Smith & Jucker, 2002), and grammaticalization theory (Andersen, 2001; Blackmore, 2002; Brinton, 1990).

Those different approaches have demonstrated plufunctionality of *well*. In fact, the multifunction is represented by a variety of different names,[8] such as "disjunction marker" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), "dispreferred marker" (Holtgraves , 2000; Jucker, 1993; Levinson, 1983; Pomerantz, 1984), "softener" (Crystal & Davy, 1975), "down toner" (Holmes, 1984), "mitigator" (Jucker, 1993), "response marker" (Schffirn, 1987), "evincive marker" (Schourup, 1985), "attitudinal marker" (Andersen & Fretheim, 2000), and "topic shifter" (Aijmer, 2002; Schourup, 1985; Svartvik,1980).

In order to achieve those functions, however, the DM *well* is to be distinguished from the adverbial well and the additional well. As propositional components, the adverbial well in (1a) and (1b) and the additional well (2a) are generally not omissible without rendering the syntactic construction, whereas the DM *well* in (3a) and (3b) can be omissible without changing the semantic and syntactic property (Muller, 2005, p. 107).

(1) Adverbial well

[Adapted from Schourup (1985, p. 64), originally appeared as (1) and (2)]
- (a) She swims well.
- (b) We were well into summer before the fog lifted.

(2) In addition well

[Adapted from Muller (2005, p. 108), originally as (56) and (57)]
- (a) ….as well as that one fat man who and actually stole the only.
- (b) …and she got uh she got beans as well.

(3) Discourse marker *well*

[Adapted from Schourup (1985, p. 64), originally appeared as (3) and (4)]
- (a) ***Well***, I don't know.
- (b) There were *well*, four of them.

[8] *Well* also has been labeled as interjection, filler, particle, hesitator, pause-maker and initiator (Svartvik, 1980 quoted in Schiffrin, 1987).

Meanwhile, Schourup (2001, p. 1038) remarks that the relationship between the adverb well and DM *well* is very tenuous. Schourup (2001) treated the DM *well* as gestural interjections such as *ouch* or *wow* (p. 1046). What is generally considered a DM *well* appears in several dictionaries such as Webster (1994) and Macmillan (2002) as interjections or exclamations, both of which do not impact syntactic structure (Muller, 2005). This reason is that *well* has lost most of its original meaning and has gained a more contextual meaning in its evolution from a lexical adverb to a DM (Muller, 2005).

Well has acquired the state of DM as a result of the grammaticalization process. According to Traugott (1996, 2002), grammaticalization refers to the process by which independent lexical items develop into function words. In a similar vein, Andersen (2001) views that DMs are manifestations of linguistic processes by which the syntactic-semantic status of originally lexical materials is being altered. *Well* became a so-called DM that is lexically empty, syntactically optional, and contextually meaningful (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003; Muller, 2005; Schourup, 2001). Figure 3-2 illustrates the process of *well* into a DM.

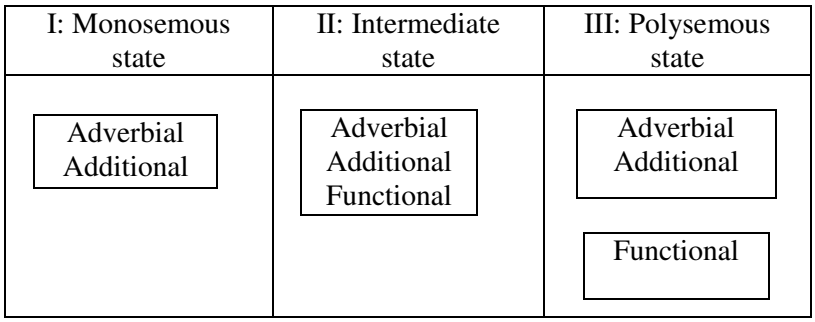

Figure 2-3. Grammaticalization Process of *well*
[Modified from Andersen (2001, p. 7)]

Well was studied with various approaches in the literature. It was approached with the notion of discourse coherence (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003; Fraser, 1993; Fung & Carter, 2007; Goldberg, 1980; Klerk, 2005; Schiffrin, 1987). The coherent function of *well* is viewed broadly in conversation. Schiffrin (1987, p. 22) proposed the notion of 'coherence option' to interpret the function of *well*. *Well* appears to refer to any of the possible ways of filling a particular conversational 'slot' in a way that is coherent (p. 23). Schourup (2001) views that *well* is suitable with a response that diverges from the options specifically invited by foregoing discourse (p. 1027).

> "*Well* anchors the speaker into a conversation precisely at those points where upcoming coherence is not guaranteed" (Schiffrin, 1987, P. 126).

> "*Well* is possible whenever the coherence offered by one component of talk differ from those of another [….]" (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 127).

On the other hand, *well* was approached with the function of topic coherence (Andersen, 2001; Fung & Carter, 2007; Klerk, 2005; Sperber & Wilson, 1995). *Well* signals a shift of topic either in introducing a new topic or closing a preceding topic (Carlson, 1984; Fraser, 1993, 1996, 1999; Jucker, 1993; Klerk, 2005; Svartvik, 1980; Watts, 1986). When there is deviation from a topic (Sperber & Wilson, 1995), *well* is used to signal to the hearer that the forthcoming utterance is not the expected one, and that the speaker is aware of this but still considers it necessary to shift (Klerk, 2005).

Well was also approached with the notion of dispreferred adjacency (Finell, 1989; Jucker, 1993; Norrick, 2001; Owen, 1981; Pomerantz, 1984; Watts, 1986). The researchers found that instances of *well* occur in the second pair-part of an adjacency pair, and they frequently prefaced dispreferred seconds such as disagreement, responses to questions which cancel a presupposition of the question, non-compliances with

requests, and rejections of an offer. In such dispreferred responses, Watts (1986) especially found that *well* is used when there is any possible challenge. Very similarly, Jucker (1993) reported that well indicates a problem on the interpersonal level (p. 444).

Recently, *well* also has been approached with the notion of subjectivity (Andersen, 2001; Andersen & Fretheim, 2000; Jucker, 1997; Smith & Jucker, 2002). It was viewed as an attitudinal marker or epistemic marker (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003; Bolinger, 1989; Jucker, 1997; Schouorup, 1985, 2001). According to Fitzmaurice (2004), speakers recruit markers of epistemic stance to capture their construction of the attitude of their interlocutors. In that respect, *well* can indicate shifts between speakers' stances such as moving from statements to evaluation of those statements (Schiffrin, 1987), and thus illustrates the development of a primary intersubjective attitude.

Smith and Jucker (2002) claimed that DMs are ordinarily used to facilitate the exchange of propositional content and propositional attitude. Discourse markers in interactional sequences provide evidences of intersubjectivity defined by Schegloff (1991) as socially shared cognition. Schourup (2001) also endorsed Bollinger's (1989, p. 321) argument that *well* can soften discord by making it "less abrasive, and it is reasonable to suppose that this softening is attribute to the epistemic quality of *well*." Schourup (2001) explained *well* as an epistemic marker.

> "An utterance-prefatory use of *well* poses an interpretive task for the hearer, suggesting that *well* is deployed as a mental-state interjection used to call attention to a variety of on-the-spot consideration. Prefacing an utterance to which it is attached, *well* can be expected to contribute something worthwhile to the interpretation of the utterance" (p. 1052).

Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003) argued that w*ell* involves taking a particular intersubjective position. The specific function of *well* varies according to the

context of the situation particularly in the preceding context and the relationship between the speaker and hearer. According to the same author, *well* functions as an evidential of counter-expectation within the interpersonal system of engagement. They interpreted that *well* signals the speaker's awareness that the common ground needs to be re-established. It clearly functions not only as a marker of the speaker's 'subjective' assessment, but also as a way of 'intersubjective' positioning."

In addition, *well* was approached with the discourse-functional approach (Muller, 2005). The researchers with this approach tended to dichotomize textual functions and interactional functions. Muller (2005) categorized several functions in textual level such as searching for the right phrase (p. 109). *Well* was also found in self-correction (Biber et al., 1999; Muller, 2005; Svartvik, 1980). *Well* is used when the speaker quoted other speaker's words (James, 1983; Jucker, 1993; Muller, 2005; Svartvik, 1980; Schiffirn, 1987). For instance, *well* marks the orientation shifts created by reported speech (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 124). Muller (2005) found *well* used as a conclusive marker. *Well* appeared when the speaker wanted to give a conclusive statement of one intonation unit, when to summarize a description, a scene or an opinion. *Well* often prefaces a conclusive statement that did not contain a summary.

In summary, the dynamic functions of *well* have been explored in various ways. Despite the dynamicity of the functions of *well*, the results came from monolingual adult speakers, not from children and not even from bilingual children. There is no comparative study between bilingual and monolingual children in everyday interaction. Therefore, not only should research be done for bilingual children in comparison with monolingual peers of school-aged children, but also it should trace the change of DMs of

bilingual children during the course of dual language development, particularly after starting school life. In a word, the question of whether or not bilinguals are using DM in the same way remains unanswered.

2.7 Previous Accounts of *isscanha*

The main reasons for choosing *isscanha* in the Korean language were twofold: one is that monolingual children used *isscanha* very frequently. They used it to adults and peers in almost every interactional context. It was observed that *isscanha* was one of the most frequently used DM by the children in everyday talk in the data base. The investigation of *isscanha* aims at finding if the bilingual children are using it in the same way as the monolingual children are using it or not.

Unlike the English DM *well*, however, the Korean DM *isscanha* has been little studied. Although several researchers mentioned *isscanha* in their research on the interactive sentence ending -*canha* (S. Choi, 1995; Kawanishi & O. Sohn 1993; Kawanishi, 1994; S. Lee, 1999; H. Sohn, 1999), the independent DM *isscanha* is still in need of attention in children's conversation. Despite the dearth of study, *isscanha* has been translated in various ways such as *you know* (Byun, 2003; Integrated Korean: Intermediate 1, 2001; Kawanishi, 1994), *hey, by the way* (H. Sohn, 1999), *you know that* (Kawanishi & O. Sohn, 1993; Yuen, 2001), *isn't it the case….* (H. Lee, 1999), *isn't it?* (You & Cho, 2002), *as you know* (Kawanishi, 1994; H. Lee, 1999), and *don't you think so?* (Yuen, 2001). However, most of these translations are for the sentence ending -*canha*.

The DM *isscanha* consists of two linguistic parts: the verb stem *iss* and the grammatical morpheme *-canh*. The verb stem *iss* has three basic meanings as Martin (1992) presented based on the semantic interpretations: (a) 'stay', 'be', 'exist' (b) 'be located' and (c) 'have' (p. 218). That is, *iss* has the meaning of existence, location, and possession. Below are the examples of each meaning of existence (4a), location (4b), and possession (4c) correspondingly.

(4) [Invented]
  (a) *wuli eni-nun hakkyo-ey **iss**-ta.*
  our sister-TM school-LOC exist-DC
  'My sister is at school.'
  (b) *yakkwuk-i cip aph-ey **iss**-ta.*
  drugstore-SM house front-LOC locate-DC
  'There is a drugstore in front of the house.'
  (c) *na-nun say ipod-ka **iss**-ta.*
  I-TM new iPod-SM have-DC
  'I have a new iPod.'

Meanwhile, *-canh-* consists of a suffix *–ci* and auxiliary negative verb of anh- (S. Choi, 1995; H. Lee, 1999; Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993; Kawanishi, 1994). *Canh-* is originally derived from its 'long form' of negation *–ci anh* (H. Lee, 1999; Kawanishi, 1994; Integrated Korean, Intermediate 1, 2001). *-Ci* has two morphological features (Strauss, 2008 in an academic talk): one is negation and the other is modal. The linguistic feature of *-ci* in a negative sentence is as a nominalizer, whereas that of *-canh* in other sentence types such as positive statements or questions is modal. Sohn (1999) also specifies *-ci* as a nominalizer in a long form negation. The nominalizer suffix *–ci* is attached to the first predicate (*iss*) before the negative word *anh* and produces a nominalized clause (p. 390). The pattern of nominalizing construction is -ci+NEGATION+anh (Strauss, 2008). Examples (5a) and (5b) show the same pattern in negative sentences.

(5) [Invented]

(a) *haksayng-tul-i kyosil-ey iss-ci-anh-ta*
Student-PL-SM classroom-LOC be-NOM-NEG-DC
'Students are not in the classroom.'

(b) *taytosi-nun kongki-ka kkaykkusha -ci anh-ta*
Big city-TM air clean-NOM not-DC
'Air is not clean in a big city.'

On the other hand, *-ci-anh* in a rhetorical pattern is the confirmatory expression (H. Sohn, 1999). The rhetorical pattern and its contracted form *-canh* is similar in meaning to tag questions in English ('doesn't?/didn't ?, isn't?/wasn't?') (p. 394). Also, negation and modal can be differentiated by intonation as the examples (6a) and (6b) (Strauss, 2008). While the first one has a rising intonation for a negation, the second one has falling intonation for a tag-like function.

(6) [Invented]
(a) *nwun-i oci an-h-ass-eyo?* (rising intonation)
Rain SM come-NOM not-PST-POL
'Didn't it snow?'
(b) *nwun-i w-ass-can-h-a-yo.* (falling intonation)
Rain-SM come-PST-NOM not-do-POL rising intonation mark
'It rained, didn't it!?'

As such, the literature treated the forms as modals, both the contracted form *-canh* and the form used as non-canonical negation –ci. However, *-ci* with *anh* ('not') was treated as a nominalizing suffix for a negative construction. Kwanishi (1994) and Kawanishi and Sohn (1993) discuss the tag-like particle *–ci* in its modal function in *–canh*. Kawanishi (1994) refers to it as a "nonchallengeable modal" construction. Meanwhile, H. Lee refers to this particle as a "committal marker" in question forms (1999, pp. 256-257). Lee explicates that *–ci* in questions indicates that the speaker

believes that he or she ought to have the information in question and tries to find an answer that is compatible with that belief."

(7) [Adapted from H. Lee (1999, p. 257), originally appeared as (9)]
Na-l mwe-l cwu oss -ci?
I-OM what-OM give-PST-COMM
'What was it that you gave me?'

Kawanishi (1994) refers to *–canh* as a "nonchallengeable modal" differentiating from *-cianh* as in the following examples. While *–canh* in (8a) is modal, *-cianh* in (8b) is negation.

(8) [Adapted from Kawanishi (1994, p. 100), originally appeared as (5 a) and (5b).

(a) *Wa-ss canh ayo*
Come-PST-CANH-do-POL
'he came, as you know'

(b) *O-cianh-ass-eyo*
come-CI-ANH-PST-POL
'he did not come'

Kawanish (1994) mentions *isscanha* as the DM (p. 108) as shown in the example below.

(9) [Adapted from Kawanish (1994), originally appeared in (13) line 4]

Ku… ***iss-canh-ayo***. *Singchengha-myen*
Well exist-CANH-POL apply do- if
'Well, you know, if you apply (for new services…)'

As such, the three different features of *isscanha* can be understood as the result of grammaticalization. In other words, the interactional meaning of the contracted form *-canh-* is understood as a result of grammaticalization (Kawanishi, 1994; Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993; H. Lee, 1999). Grammaticalization can occur in various aspects such as syntactic, phonological and meaning. For instance, the sentence independent *isscanha* is originally derived from the sentence dependent *iss-ci anha* and then *iss-canha.*

Figure 2-4 presents the process of the grammaticalization in terms of meaning, structure, and sound.

	Forms		Meaning	Process
Stage 1	-ci anha- =*canha*-	Interchangeable	Propositional	
Stage 2	-ci anha≠- *canha*-	Not interchangeable	Interactional	Semigrammaticalization
Stage 3	*Isscanha*	Restructured, fixed expression	Discourse marker	Grammaticalization

Figure 2-4. Grammaticalization Process of *–isscanha*
[Modified from Kawanishi and Sohn (1993, p. 559) and Andersen (2001, p. 7)]

Three different steps involved the formation of the DM *isscanha*. The meaning shifts from –ci anh- to *–canh* presenting a shift from a propositional to interactional function. In the first stage, the two forms –ci anha and *–canha* are interchangeable without changing the meaning (Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993, p. 559). In the second stage, however, they are no longer interchangeable; -ci anha had a propositional meaning but *–canha* acquired a functional meaning. -Ci-anh went through a phonological reduction when changed into *-canha* as well as intonation change (Sohn, 1999). In this stage, *–canh* is in the process of semigrammaticalization (Kawanishi, 1994; Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993). Its semantic meaning and syntactic feature have changed into a functional property.

In the final stage, *-canha* has been restructured into *isscanha,* which had gone through a morphosyntactic change (Andersen, 2001). It became an independent DM and fixed expression (Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993; Kawanishi, 1994), which is detachable from the sentence. As such, *isscanha* is the result of grammaticalization process through which it acquired a new interactional meaning along with phonological and morphosyntactic change in the spoken interaction.

Kawanishi (1994) and Kawanishi and Sohn (1993) claimed that the interactional function of *–canh* is the belief shared by the addressee. According to the same authors, *–ci* indicates a low degree of expectation on the part of the speaker about the likelihood of the addressee's agreement, whereas the contracted form of *–canh* indicates that the speaker has a high degree of expectation that the addressee will agree. While –ci anh- has semantic meanings, *-canh* has interactional meanings.

However, H. Lee (1999, pp. 270-272) pointed out three differences between –ci anh and *–canh-*. *-Canh* occurs only in interrogative contexts, and its interactional functions of soliciting the addressee's agreement comes from its being in the interrogative context. The difference between -ci-anh- and *–canh-* is that with *-ci anh* in the interrogative, the speaker seeks an agreement from the addressee, whereas with *–canh-*, the speaker simply assumes that the addressee will agree or at least the speaker believes that the addressee should agree with his/her belief. Cho et.al (2001) also indicated that the sentence ending *–canh* is used when the speaker assumes that the listener will agree with him/her.

Isscanha has several functions in interaction. Those functions are translated as *you know*, y*ou (should) know that, I told you, isn't it?* or *isn't it the case?* Moreover, it was found that *isscanha* has the same meanings and functions of the French DM *n'est-ce pas*[9], which is considered a tag question. *N'est-ce pas* means *isn't it?, don't they?,* or *can't you?* at the end of sentence depending on the context. It implies affirmative meaning, "*is that not it?",* or "*am I right?"* In a similar way, *isscanha* in turn-final

[9] The similarity with French discourse marker *n'est-ce pas* was suggested by Susan Strauss (2007) during the academic talk.

position affirms the speaker's subjective meaning (Choi, 1995; Kawanish, 1994; Lee, 1999).

In summary, *isscanha* can be illustrated in three different ways. First, *isscanha* is a straightforward negation 'does not exist' as in examples (5a) and (5b). Second, *isscanha* also is a modal, stance marker, or tag-question in the form verb or adjective stem iss+*canha* forms where *issta* as a lexical verb means 'exist' as in examples (6), (7) and (8). Finally, *isscanha* is a DM where *issta* has no lexical meaning with other functions as in example (9).

However, the specific functions of the DM *isscanha* was studied neither in the body of literature nor in bilingual children's spoken language development. Not only was it ignored in spoken language development on L2 in bilingual acquisition, but also it was not explored in terms of interactional functions in the literature to date. Although both H. Sohn (1999) and Kawanish (1994) treated the DM in turn-initial position, they did not consider in turn medial position in spontaneous talk.

Multifunction	*well*	*Isscanha*
Grammaticalization Process	Grammatical element Discourse marker	Grammatical element Discourse marker
Grammatical element	Adverbial In addition	Negation Tag question
Discourse marker	Features	
	1) Turn-initial, turn-medial, and turn-final position 2) Phonologically reduced 3) Semantically vacant 4) Structurally optional 5) Functionally meaningful	1)Turn-initial and turn-medial position 2) Phonologically reduced 3) Semantically vacant 4) Structurally optional 5) Functionally meaningful

Figure 2-5. Summary of *well* and *isscanha*

Figure 2.5 "continued"

	Interactional Functions	
	Disagreement marker Disjunction marker Dispreferred marker Deviation marker Down toner Mitigator Softener Hesitation marker Topic marker Turn taker Conclusive marker Repair marker	Affirms/believes agreement Assumes/ seeks agreement Challenges Hesitation marker Tag question Attention getter

Finally, Figure 2.5 above is a summary of the overall characteristics of *well* and *isscanha* that have been reported in the literature. As noted earlier, unlike *well*, *isscanha* has been rarely studied; accordingly, it is very rare to find its functions in the literature. Therefore, the present study aims at finding the interactional functions of *isscanha*, which will be presented in Chapter 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As presented in the previous chapters, the present study began with the observation of children's use of discourse markers (DMs) in their everyday interaction. While observing the language use, questions arose regarding why and when the children use the DMs, and specifically what was the function of the DMs in children's talk. In this respect, interactional functions in different interactional contexts of DMs became a major inquiry to be explored throughout the study. Having recognized that the same DMs appear in various interactional sequences, the aim of the analysis was to scrutinize the exact functions that the DMs in question perform in the specific interactional environment.

The previous chapters recognized that use of DMs can be interpreted as the speaker's communication awareness improves during spontaneous interaction. It is because DM use indicates an aspect of pragmatic competence that underlies a speaker's ability to use language in culturally, socially, and situationally appropriate ways. In that respect, it is closely related to the growth of pragmatic competence during the course of spoken language development for first and second language acquisition. Accordingly, this study claims that DMs are useful conversational devices, not just for maintaining discourse coherence and communicative effectiveness, but also for interpersonal and cross-cultural interaction.

More specifically, considering the fact that DMs are understood as a functional class at the level of discourse, the use of DMs is primarily linked to discursive functions

as well as interactional strategies. Since the major characteristics of DMs appear as connectivity in discourse, it will enhance communication occurring in any interaction. It is well reflected in the functions of DMs to "signal the relationship between the segment of discourse they introduce, S2, and the prior segment of discourse, S1" (Fraser, 1998, p. 302).

As such, the use of DMs arises as a communicative strategy in discursive interactions, carrying out multifunctions depending on context. The use of DMs can be viewed as the speaker's ability for better communication during a variety of naturally occurring conversational interactions. It can be understood that the ability to use DMs can indicate the speaker's competence for communication, as Brown and Levinson (1987) argued that inability to use the most subtle linguistic cues such as DMs may be unintentionally signaling incompetence. Hence, studying children's DM use will give us an insight to understand how DMs are used for achieving children's communicative needs and how children develop competence for interaction during the language development.

Despite the importance of DMs in interaction, they have been little noticed in relation to the spoken language development of bilingual children. There is a lack of connection between DM use and theories of interactions in the literature of childhood bilingualism. Most research on childhood language acquisition was inclined to analyze the dichotomy between ideational and interactional functions, arguing which one is first. Yet, interactional functions came from semi-experimental data rather than from naturally occurring interactional data.

Considering those important functions of DMs in interactions, the present study adopts interactional competence theory in combination with the notion of communicative competence. The two concepts are relevant to the present study of DMs since both theories mainly concern language use, and DMs are considered as language use after all. A justification of the combination of the two theories in the study of DMs is well supported by Hellermann and Vergun (2007) who argued that DMs serve pragmatic and interactional purposes, so they are more likely to be used to establish more interpersonal relationships in an interaction.

As Ross and Kasper (2002, p. 55) pointed out, however, the theory of interactional competence is the extension of communicative competence. Despite their common interest in language use, the two concepts are different; while the notion of communicative competence characterizes an individual learner's competence, interactional competence theory considers social contexts. The differences are described in what follows.

3.1 Communicative Competence Theory

In the present study, communicative competence refers to an individual's ability to use language in ways that are appropriate to a situation (Hymes, 1972). Hadley (2000, p. 3) said that competence refers to one's implicit or explicit knowledge of the system of the language; performance refers to one's actual production and comprehension of language in specific instances of language use. Likewise, Savignon (1997) distinguishes between the two, with competence being "defined as a presumed underlying ability and performance as the overt manifestation of that ability" (p. 15).

> "Competence is what one knows. Performance is what one does. However, only performance is observable, and it is only through performance that competence can be developed, maintained, and evaluate" (Savignon, p. 15).

Therefore, competence will be used to describe children's language development in the present study. Savignon (1972) defined communicative competence as the ability to function in a truly communicative setting (p. 8). That is, speakers of a language have to have more than grammatical competence in order to be able to communicate effectively in a language. Such knowledge and ability can be applicable to the analysis of the use of DMs, for the use of DMs also needs knowledge beyond just grammatical knowledge.

In this view, communicative competence theory consists of four components of competence: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, strategic competence (Canale & Swain, 1980), and discourse competence (Canale, 1983). Strategic competence refers to strategies which a learner can use in various contexts. Discourse competence is knowledge of rules for the combination of utterances, and the communicative functions may be conceived as knowledge of factors governing the creation of cohesion and coherence (Cook, 1998a, p. 67). Sociolinguistic competence, in turn, is comprised of sociocultural competence, which is knowledge of the relationship of language use to its non-linguistic context.

According to Muller (2005), DMs fit in this framework in the following way. Grammatical competence, strategic competence, discourse competence, and sociolinguistic competence all are manifested in the use of DMs. First, sociolinguistic knowledge is necessary for the negotiation of the relationship between speaker and hearer during a conversation, which can be done through, for example, the use of *well* or *you know*. Second, a wide range of DMs are said to create coherence in discourse, the

knowledge of which is part of discourse competence. Strategic competence manifests itself when non-native speakers use DMs to express or to introduce the expression of lexical difficulties or to appeal for the hearer's understanding.

As such, use of DMs can be part of communicative competence, for communicative competence suggests an ability to communicate a speaker's intention. Savignon (1997) emphasizes that communicative competence is dynamic in nature, pointing out that it is an "interpersonal…trait" (1997, p. 14) that involves two or more persons negotiating meaning together. Hence, analyzing the functions of DMs elucidates a distinct pragmatic meaning which captures a speaker's communicative intention. In this respect, DMs indicate the speaker's potential communicative intentions (Fraser, 1996) so they enable interlocutors to make inferences of one another's communicative intentions and goals (Drew & Heritage, 1992).

By using DMs, children develop pragmatic awareness, in general, and they use DMs as part of their communicative competence. Different communicative purposes of using DMs can be found as part of their communicative competence. Therefore, investigating the use of DMs during dyadic communication allows us to observe manifestations of communicative competence. After all, the use of DMs needs more knowledge beyond grammar or vocabulary. It is not sufficient to learn the linguistic elements; rather, childen are required to know about strategic, discourse and sociolinguistic elements.

3.2 Interactional Competence Theory

In addition to communicative competence, the present study adopts the view of interactional competence as it primarily considers interactions in context (Hall & Young, 2004). Interactional competence was theorized by He and Young (1998) as the extension of communicative competence theory. According to Kasper and Rose (2002), the concept of interactional competence was originally introduced by Schmidt (1983) to refer to the oral, collaborative subset of discourse competence. Since the term 'interactional competence' was used by Kramsch (1986), this theory has argued that language and context are mutually constructed (Chalhoub-Deville, 2003; Hall, 1993, 1995, 1999; He & Young, 1998; Markee, 2000; Seedhouse, 2004; Young, 1992, 2000, 2002, 2004).

Unlike communicative competence, interactional competence theory considers contexts. While the notion of communicative competence deals with the use of DMs in individual competence as a discourse strategy, interactional competence theory takes into account interactional relationships in different social contexts that are involved in more sophisticated interactional knowledge of the speaker. If communicative competence deals with the general discourse functions of DMs, interactional competence takes into consideration the specific functions of DMs in different social actions.

Accordingly, both are relevant to the present study in interpreting the functions of DMs. On the one hand, communicative competence is useful to explain how individual children use DMs in structural, pragmatic or strategic aspects during discourse. On the other hand, interactional competence theory is able to further find how the DMs are utilized and have a particular meaning during social interactions in different contexts.

Interactional competence is useful, in particular, to analyze the interactional functions of DMs. Interactional competence focuses on the structure of interactive practices of face-to-face interaction in context (Young, 2000). According to Young, interactional competence theory aims at explaining the variation in an individual speaker's talk from one discursive practice to another. It comprises a descriptive framework of the sociocultural characteristics of discursive practices and the interactional processes by which discursive practices are co-constructed by participants. Young attempted to explicate interactional competence theory by contrasting communicative competence (Canale & Swain, 1980) that characterizes a learner's competence in a language in terms of linguistics, pragmatic, discourse, and strategic competence in a second language.

More importantly, however, there is a fundamental difference between interactional and communicative competence. Whereas communicative competence has been interpreted as primary an individual speaker's responsibility, interactional competence is co-constructed by all participants in a discursive practice and is specific to that practice (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995). That is, interactional competence starts from the view that participants' knowledge and interactional skills are context-specific.

In this view, interactional competence consists of four components of competence: (1) language used in specific discursive practices rather than on language ability independent of context; (2) a focus on the co-construction of discursive practices by all participants involved rather than on a single person; (3) a set of general interactional resources that participants draw upon in specific ways in order to co-construct a discursive practice; and (4) the investigation of a given discursive practice

consists, first, in identifying the particular pattern of resources that form an interactional structure of that practice and then, comparing the structure of that practice with others in order to discover what resources are situated to that practice and to what extent the practice shares a pattern of resources with other practices (Young, 2000).

Additionally, consistent with the previous research (He & Young, 1998; Nguyen; 2003; Young, 1992, 2000, 2002), Young (2004) presented the framework of interactional competence with six discursive resources: (1) the ways in which participants construct the boundaries of a discursive practice; (2) the selection of speech acts in a practice and their sequential organization; (3) the turn-taking system that speakers use to manage transitions from one speaker to the next; (4) how participants construct roles for themselves and others and, in doing so, construct a participation framework for the practice; (5) the register of the practice, to be understood as the lexis and syntactic structure that characterize it; and (6) the ways in which participants construct meaning in a specific discursive practice (p. 520).

In summary, interactional competence theory views that discursive practice and interactional processes are co-constructed by participants in talk-in-interaction. Participants co-construct a discursive practice through a configuration of interactional resources that are specific to the practice. This approach to language-in-interaction takes the view of social realities as interactionally constructed rather than existing independently of interaction, of meanings as negotiated through interaction rather than fixed in advance, and of discourse as social interaction (Young, 2004, p. 519).

Discourse markers fit in this framework in the way that they play a role as means of enhancing interaction in different context (Judd, 1999). DM use is very sensitive to

social context; that is, there are different interactional needs in different contexts (Fuller, 2003; Sankoff et al., 1997). On the other hand, the use of DMs is an interactive process that requires speakers to draw upon several different types of knowledge of interpersonal and interactional relationship (Anderson, 1998, 2000; Biber et al., 1999; Brinton, 1996; Cameron, 2002; Fischer, 2000, Hansen, 1998; Smith & Jucker, 1998; Jucker & Ziv, 1999; Kroon, 1995; Park, 1998; Stenstrom, 1994). The use of DMs involves integrative knowledge of the cognitive, expressive, social, textual, and interactional competence of the speakers (Andersen, 2001; Schiffrin, 2001).

Such interactional competence can be manifested as communicative functions and conversational competence. Communicative functions deal with the intent or purpose of communicating. Conversational competence, on the other hand, deals with such communicative skills as turn-taking, the initiation and maintenance of a conversation topic, making transitions from one topic of conversation to another, and responding appropriately to the utterances of others (Johnson, 1985, p. 7).

Similarly, interactional competence can be delivered through DMs by function as well as conversation competence. Discourse markers appear in the expressive area include taking turns, initiating and maintaining a conversational topic, making transitions from one topic to another, formulating questions, requesting assistance, expressing feeling, providing information, participating willingly in social conversation adapting a message to the context of a social situation, and honoring established social conversions.

Furthermore, interactional competence theory is particularly pertinent to the present study because it incorporates conversation analysis (CA). The central objective of conversation analysis is to uncover the social competences that underlie social interaction

(Heritage, 1987). More specifically, the primary interests of CA are to explain the organization of talk-in-interaction in conjunction with interactional knowledge (Atkins & Heritage, 1984; Markee, 2000; Seedhouse, 2004).

The notion of social action and sequential interaction is particularly applicable to this study as conversation is viewed as a social action which has a socially shared sequential organization. The organization of sequences is an organization of action that was accomplished through talk-in-interaction. The main reason for this is because DM use can be understood as an account giving socially normative actions in sequential dimension of actions (Heritage, 1988, 1990, 2002; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Schegloff, 1989).

According to Markee (2000), the notion of interactional competence subsumes the conversational structure component of discourse competence, the component of sociocultural competence, and the components of strategic competence. Among them, interactional knowledge involves knowledge of how language is used in talk-interaction, knowledge of act sequential organization of talk-interaction, knowledge of turn-taking organization of talk-in-interaction and knowledge of organization of repair in talk-in-interaction (pp. 65-66). Similarly, Seedhouse (2004) presented four types of interactional organization: adjacency pairs, preferred organizations, turn taking, and repair.

Both Markee (2000) and Seedhouse (2004) corroborated CA's concern with interactional competence that converges with the sociolinguistic notion of communicative competence. Seedhouse (2004) proposed four types of interactional organization with which CA deals: (1) adjacency pairs, (2) preference organization, (3) turn-taking, and (4) repair. Very similarly, Markee (2000) posited that interactional knowledge in-talk-

interaction involves the knowledge of act sequential organization, knowledge of turn-taking organization and knowledge of organization of repair. Also**,** domain of topic organization is involved in interactional knowledge in conversational procedures (Atkins & Heritage, 1984; Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

A major methodological insight in the field of bilingual acquisition can be gained by investigating the extent to which bilingual children acquire two languages. In that respect, De Houwer (2000) specifies that the methodology deals with two vital issues: (a) what is the relationship between the bilingual children's two languages, and (b) how bilingual development in each language compares to the development of either language in monolingual children. In order to represent such issues of bilingual acquisition, the present research adopted a methodology capable of comparing the data of both L1 and L2 of the bilingual children as well as the data of their L1 and L2 monolingual counterparts. Specifically, the research examined the English DM *well* and the Korean DM *isscanha* in the data of both bilingual children and their peers of each language. The comparative method was designed for achieving consistency in research design, analytical framework, analytical typology, and analytical procedure.

4.1 Participants

Bilingual children should be studied with the same research method as the monolingual children. Monolingual speakers can be used as the control group. The literature has emphasized that comparison with the monolingual data is important for the methodology of bilingual acquisition research (Andersen et al., 1999; Bialystok, 2001; De Houwer, 1990, 2000; Goldstein, 2004; Montrul, 2008; Paradis, 2000; Perez-Vidal,

1995; Polinsky, 2006). For instance, Bialystok (2001) suggests that the bilingual process of learning linguistic competence be traced individually, and then the process can be compared with the progress made by monolingual children learning the same system (p. 61). However, De Houwer (2000) reports that there are few detailed comparisons of the language development of bilingual and monolingual children, and part of the reason for this paucity is the lack of comparable data for monolingual and bilingual acquisition (p. 236).

In order to bridge such methodological gaps, the present study included both bilingual and monolingual children as participants. The research included 45 participants divided into three groups: 15 bilingual children speaking Korean and English, 15 monolingual children speaking Korean, and 15 monolingual children speaking English. Several different steps were taken to recruit all the participants. This section details where the participants were located and how consent was obtained from parents or teachers.

Most of the bilingual participants were the friends of the researcher's daughter at school or church. In the same way, the English monolingual participants were also the friends of the researcher's daughter at school or church. Some of the Korean monolingual participants were the researcher's two younger sisters' children and their friends in Korea. Others were the students of a private academic institute that held a session during summer vacation while the researcher was visiting Korea for two months. Other participants were students who were visitors of the United States for two months, attending summer school.

The recruitment methods were similar. While both bilingual children and English monolingual children lived in urban setting in the United States, the Korean monolingual

children lived in a city in Korea. The author became acquainted with the bilingual children because her daughter and the school friends frequently played together at the author's residence or at the school friends' residences. The author and her daughter also attended the same church as the bilingual children. The author became acquainted with the bilingual children at a summer school where the author had been a teacher formerly. The monolingual English-speaking children also gathered at the author's residence or at the children's residences to socialize with the author's daughter after school and on weekends. In order to meet English-speaking children, the author regularly visited the after-school program where her daughter attended school. The Korean-speaking children were recruited at the children's residences or at the summer school where they were studying in the United States, or a private academic institute in Korea.

Permission for study participation was obtained after the author established a close relationship with the children and their parents and teachers whose consent was needed for the study. Permission forms (see Appendix) were distributed in order to obtain consent from the parents and teachers allowing the author to include their children in this study as well as to use audio recordings of the children's speech. In order to obtain data on natural speech, the author instructed the parents and teachers to record the children talking. The children were informed that their conversation would be recorded. The researcher explained the purpose of the research, the confidentiality of the children's information, and how the children's speech would be used. Table 4-1 outlines the demographic information of the study participants.

Table 4-1. Information of the Participants

	Monolingual Groups												Bilingual Group					
	Children speaking Korean only (n = 15)						Children speaking English only (n = 15)						Children speaking Korean and English (n = 15)					
Age (yrs)	6	7	8	9	10	11	6	7	8	9	10	11	6	7	8	9	10	11
Children (n)	2	1	2	3	4	3	1	1	3	4	3	3	2	1	2	3	3	4
Mean (SD)	9 (1.63)						9.06 (1.65)						9.06 (1.69)					
Gender (n)	Boys (7)			Girls (8)			Boys (7)			Girls (8)			Boys (5)			Girls (10)		
School grade (n)	Kinder-garten (2)			Elementary (13)			Kinder-garten (1)			Elementary (14)			Kinder-garten (2)			Elementary (13)		
Relationship	Author's sisters' children and their friends						Author's daughter's friends						Author's daughter and her friends					
Country	Korea						United States						United States					

The research participants consisted of three different linguistic groups: bilingual children speaking Korean and English, monolingual children speaking Korean, and monolingual children speaking English. The total number of participants was 45 children, who were evenly distributed with 15 children in each of the three groups. All three groups were matched by age between groups. Ages ranged from 6 to 11 years old; mean age was 9 years old. School grades were either kindergarten or elementary school.

The reasons for selecting this specific age group were three fold. The author observed that dynamic discourse markers frequently appeared in the bilingual children from the age of seven. The author's anecdotal observation was supported by the literature, which reported that children begin to acquire DMs by the time they enter school (Andersen, 1990, 1996; Andersen, Brizuela, Dupuy, & Gonnerman, 1995, 1999). That age group also provided the accessibility of obtaining authentic conversation data. It was easier to approach the children's talk with adults, such as parents and teachers, as well as peers in natural contexts. Both of these factors motivated the study of observing children's DMs in the context of language acquisition (Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996).

Most importantly, in the literature on school-aged bilingual children, content related to general spoken interaction was extremely scarce, and research on the use of

DMs was even rarer. Montrul (2008, p. 158) highlighted this issue and argued that a vast majority of research on bilingualism is based on self-ratings and reports rather than actual linguistic measures. Although a few linguistically oriented studies show that there are important changes in L1 knowledge when school age bilingual children mainly use the majority language, there is little information about language acquisition in such children during this period.

It is necessary to provide detailed information of bilingual participants, for there may be relationships between DM use and the detailed information. Adopting Grosjean's (1998) proposal, the information is described in terms of participants' history, the functions of languages and the amount of time they use each language. Table 4-2 presents the information in detail in terms of first language and second language.

Table 4-2. History of the Bilingual Participants

Name	Age	Birth place	Age to come to the U.S.	Age to begin main stream school[10]	Years[11] of main stream school	Years of Korean school	Family's [12]use of languages
JN	6	KOR	4	5	1	1	Korean
EL	6	KOR	4	5	1	1	Korean
SK	8	U.S.	N/A	3	5	3	Korean/English
HW	8	KOR	8	7	1	1	Korean/English
YK	8	KOR	4	5	3	2	Korean/English
YJ	9	U.S.	N/A	3	6	3	Korean/English
JS	9	KOR	7	7	1;5	N/A	Korean
BR	9	U.S.	N/A	3	6	2	Korean/English
TK	9	KOR	6	6	3	0	Korean
EY	10	KOR	5	6	4	0	Korean/English
BO	10	U.S.	N/A	4	6	3	Korean
CL	11	KOR	9	9	1;5	N/A	Korean
YE	11	U.S.	N/A	4	7	6	Korean/English
KY	11	U.S.	N/A	4	7	4	Korean/English
ER	11	U.S.	N/A	2	8	3	English

[10] Mainstream schools include kindergarten, preschool, daycare, and elementary school.
[11] Years of mainstream school were counted from the time when the children began to attend a mainstream school.
[12] Family includes the children's parent, grandparent, or siblings who usually talked to the children at home. Mostly, grandparent spoke Korean and siblings spoke English.

The history of the bilingual participants was similar in terms of language experiences. Their first language was Korean; the home language was Korean regardless of their birthplace. Both Korean born and U.S. born children started to learn Korean as the home language. Among the ten bilingual participants, four were born in the United States and six in Korea. The children born in Korea came to the U.S. at the average age of 4;3. The average age of being exposed to an English-speaking environment was 5;2 as they started English-medium kindergarten. Most of the children started from a Korean-speaking kindergarten, and later moved to an English-speaking kindergarten. However, three of them never attended any kind of kindergarten before going to school. The average length of time speaking English is 3 years and 3 months. There were individual differences depending on the time of exposure to the English-speaking environment.

Therefore, all of the bilingual participants except one are categorized as 'sequential bilinguals' or successive[13] bilinguals (McLaughlin et al., 1995) since they, in fact, began to be exposed to English when they went to pre-school/school at age 4 or 5 (Montrul, 2001, p. 97). On the contrary, one child named ER belonged to 'simultaneous bilinguals', but she was exposed to English far more frequently than Korean as her parents mainly communicated in English. Some children learned English after the age of four or five when they started kindergarten; others after elementary school. The bilingual children of this study generally began to learn English four or five years later than Korean. Although they were born in the U.S., most of the children were not learning English directly from their parents; rather they heard English from TV or other materials

[13] McLaughlin (1984) makes a distinction between simultaneous and successive acquisition of two languages. Simultaneous acquisition occurs when a child has been exposed to two languages before the age of three, and successive acquisition occurs when exposure to the second language has taken place after the age of three.

such as videotapes or televisions. In other words, the primary language was Korean before starting mainstream school with the majority of the children having greater competence in Korean and using it significantly more than English.

The functions of the languages became very imbalanced between Korean and English as the bilingual children learned more English. Once they started to become dominant bilinguals, English played the primary functions in their everyday life. As they were mainly talking in English, they rarely spoke in Korean even to their parents at home. Although their parents spoke to them in Korean, the children responded in English. Both Romain (1989) and De Houwer (2000) claimed that the languages parents speak with their children play a major role in the process of acquisition. However, it seemed that the parents' use of Korean did not have much of an impact on the children's use of Korean. As seen in the table above, fourteen parents reported that they spoke exclusively in Korean.

The frequency and purpose of their use of Korean changed as their competence in Korean changed. Once they felt competent in English, they were reluctant to use their first language that they depended on before school. The children used the Korean language in a very limited way as a means of listening to their parents or to adult monolingual Koreans. English, on the other hand, functioned in everyday interaction at home, school and other public places.

Finally, the amount of time the bilingual participants spent in the two languages was very different. While they predominantly spoke in English, they rarely did in Korean. It was very unusual to see them speaking in Korean even to their parents. Moreover, since the majority of the parents (90% of the participants) were working during the

daytime and came home late, the children did not have enough time to talk to their parents. That is, interactional opportunities to practice Korean even at home were rare for the bilingual participants. The rarity was particularly noticeable in the interaction with their siblings and peers, to whom the bilingual children exclusively spoke in English. Nor did they have many chances to talk to Korean monolingual speakers. Only one of the participants was talking to her monolingual grandmother in everyday interaction. Not only did they code-switch Korean into English while talking to Korean-speaking adults, but also they talked to their bilingual peers exclusively in English.

4. 2 Research Contexts

The main concern of the method was to observe the occurrence of DMs in naturally occurring conversations in the three linguistic groups. It cannot be overemphasized that the data should be from naturally occurring discourse in the research area of DMs (Fraser, 1993). Accordingly, the research contexts of both monolingual and bilingual observations were mainly everyday interactional contexts rather than experimental or semi-experimental contexts. Consequently, the conversation settings were unstructured and informal. The duration of data colleted was approximately 240 minutes for individual children either in groups or individuals.

The rationale of natural context is that dyadic conversations would be proper to give information of DMs that were acquired naturally. This basis is well supported by the literature that children across cultures acquire spoken language in natural settings (Levinson, 1983), in general, and that DMs can be best detected in the natural setting in interactions (Dopke, 2000). The importance of the research design is supported by

Kyratzis and Ervin-Tripp (1999) who suggested that children's naturalistic speech makes more use of markers to support their own speech act. In this respect, the research method was designed to capture the context where the children talk spontaneously and naturally. The research contexts of both monolingual and bilingual children are shown in table 4-3.

Table 4-3. Research Contexts

	Monolingual Groups		Bilingual Group	
	Korean-speaking Children	English-speaking Children	Korean-speaking Context	English-speaking Context
With Peers	School	School	School	School
	play time at class, break time, lunch time, during class	play time at afterschool program, snack time, art craft time	play time at class, during class, snack time, break time	play time at class, during class, snack time,
	Home	Home	Home	Home
	play time, dinner time, story time, or study time	play time, dinner time, story time, or study time	play time, dinner time, story time, or study time	play time, dinner time, story time or study time
With Adults	School	School	School	School
	Two teachers	Two teachers	Two teachers	Two teachers
	during or after class	reading time, free time	during or after class	during or after class
	Home	Home	Home	Home
	Two parents	Two parents	Two parents	Two parents
	dinner time, play time	dinner time, play time	dinner time, play time	dinner time, play time
Approximate Duration of Interaction	240 minutes per person	240 minutes per person	240 minutes per person	240 minutes per person

The contexts were consistent across the groups. The bilingual data, on the one hand, were collected in two different contexts: a Korean-speaking context and an English-speaking context. The monolingual data, on the other hand, were collected in two

different languages from both Korean speaking children and English-speaking children. There were two different types of interlocutors: adults and peers. The occurrences of the DMs were observed while the children were talking to their peers and while talking to adults in natural settings. Also, there were two different contexts: home and school. In both contexts, the conversations were naturally occurring either with peers or with adults. In the home context, conversations were taking place during dinner time or play time. In the school context, the conversations were not taking place during the regular class time; rather most of the conversations were naturally occurring before or after the class.

At school, both English monolingual children and bilingual children in the English speaking context interacted with adults during lunchtime or playtime. English-monolingual children interacted with two school staff and one adult who was the mother of their friend in the same school. The school context was in the after school program in an elementary school. At this program, children were usually doing their homework, reading books, or playing inside or outside under the supervision of several staff. The bilingual children interacted with three English-speaking teachers at a summer school. The children talked to their teachers during lunch time and playtime.

In the same way, Korean monolingual children and the bilingual children in the Korean-speaking context interacted with the adults either in or outside the class. Korean children interacted with two teachers at a private tutoring section held two days a week during the summer break in Korea. The bilingual children interacted with two teachers at a summer school in the same school district as the English monolingual children. In both groups, the talks were taking place during the lunchtime or playtime. As such, all the data

were gathered in similar research contexts with the same research variables. Table 4-4 summarizes the data sources of all groups of the participants.

Table 4-4. Summary of Data Collection

Linguistic Groups	Monolingual Children		Bilingual Children	
	Korean	English	Korean Speaking Context	English Speaking Context
Numbers	15	15	15	
Age	6-11	6-11	6-11	
Languages	Korean	English	Korean	English
Hours of Audio-recording	Individuals: 4-6 hours	Individuals: 4-6 hours	Individuals: 4-6 hours	Individuals: 4-6 hours
	Group total: 60-80 hours	Group total: 60-80 hours	Group total: 60-80 hours	Group total: 60-80 hours
Frequency	Once a week	Once a week	Once a week	Once a week
Total duration of collection data	3 months	3 months	3 months	3 months
Hours of transcripts	Individuals: 4 hours	Individuals: 4 hours	Individuals: 4 hours	Individuals: 4 hours
	Group total: 60 hours	Group total: 60 hours	Group total: 60 hours	Group total: 60 hours
Interlocutors	Adults	Adults	Adults	Adults
	Peers	Peers	Peers	Peers
Context	Home	Home	Home	Home
	School	School	School	School
Types of Talk	Natural/ spontaneous conversation	Natural/ spontaneous conversation	Natural/ spontaneous conversation	Natural/ spontaneous conversation

The data consistency across the groups was achieved in terms of participants and research variables. All the groups consisted of the same numbers of the participants in the same range of age. The amount of data from each group was the same, being collected in the same context while talking to the interlocutors of the same sociocultural factors. This method of data collection was pertinent to the bilingual study that compared L1 and L2, and bilingual children and their monolingual counterparts. The accessibility of the

participants and naturalness of the interaction fit the present study well for observing the use of DMs in naturalistic settings of the interaction. In this light, the school contexts were not regular classrooms but the place where the children were able to talk to adults more naturally and frequently than regular school contexts.

4.3 Data Collection and Transcribing Procedure

Having described the sources of data, the procedure of how the data were compiled and transcribed is explicated in this section. This study followed the general outline for research projects of conversations. The essential steps of collecting spoken data are (a) making a recording of speech in natural interactions, (b) transcribing the tapes, and (c) representing all the speech in written form (Cameron, 2002; Heritage, 1988; Ten Have, 1999 and others). Every step was taken for both monolinguals and bilinguals in the same way.

Recording of natural interactions was the first step to collect data. Both monolingual and bilingual conversations were recorded with an audio player. Audio recordings of naturally occurring spontaneous speech are crucial for this study since DMs can be best detected in the natural setting in interactions (Dopke, 2000). More relevantly, children's naturalistic speech makes more use of markers to support their own speech act (Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp, 1999). In addition, Levinson's (1983) observation that children across cultures acquire spoken language in natural settings inspired the present study to focus on natural interaction.

After obtaining parental and teacher's permission, children's talk in natural settings was recorded while they were playing. The speech of both Korean and English

monolingual children was recorded in the same context with the same variables of the bilingual children. Conversations took place at home or in a school context, both of which were comfortable places where children talked naturally and frequently with both peers and adults. In order to provide a more comfortable environment, the parents and teachers were asked to record the conversations; that means the researcher was not present in the conversation setting. Special attention was paid so that the recording did not interrupt the children's natural talking. In order to avoid distracting the children as well as to collect more authentic speech, the recorder was usually set up before the conversation started.

Capturing the authentic data was also successfully achieved in most cases. Special care was taken by using an audio tape that ran for 60-minutes. Therefore, adults did not need to be bothered to check the recording. Sixty minutes is usually sufficient time for the children to play in one place. Another important treatment was conducted for preventing noise. In order to reduce noise, the recording was usually done in a separate room such as the children's own room, classroom, or dining room that is usually quiet. Also, the sizes of the classes were small because they were summer school, private institute, or after school. The number of children in the small classes was usually 4-5 so the individual speaker was easily distinguished.

The next step was transcribing the recorded conversations. According to Cameron (2002), transcriptions of such recordings provide an excellent record of naturally occurring interactions and preserve the sequence of talk. Transcriptions were utilized as a reliable data source of the participant's own authentic speech (Cameron, 2002; Markee, 2000; Seedhouse, 2004; Silverman, 2001). For the transcripts, the transcribing

conventions of Atkinson and Heritage (1984) were adopted in the current study. This includes the points where interruptions, turn overlaps, conversational gaps, pauses, laughter, inhaling breath and coughing, or external noise took palce. In addition, for the purpose of the transcription, authentic speech was treated as real words. Therefore, repetitions, self-corrections, hesitations, turn-overlaps, or false starts were transcribed by marking with the conventions of Atkinson and Heritage (1984). It is especially important for this study since DMs frequently occur in those situations in natural talking. In a word, all of the audible sounds were included in token counting. Also, the data were Romanized in order to accommodate the conventions, and the Romanization used the Yale system on page xv.

Different persons performed the transcribing in order to capture the children's speech more accurately. While Korean recorded speech was decoded by the researcher, English recorded speech was decoded by three Korean-American college students who were born in the U.S. and had experiences teaching at summer school. The purpose of employing the young college students was to decode the children's voice more accurately. The college students were able to understand the young children's language comprehensively because they had similar experiences by using similar language in English speaking communities. For instance, they quickly understood items of popular youth culture, such as special names of games, food, TV dramas, or movies mentioned in the children's speech.

Another way to achieve a more accurate transcript was to involve the child participants in the study. When the transcribers could not understand what the children were exactly saying or who spoke in the specific moment, the transcribers asked the

children by showing the transcripts. Regardless of all efforts, many parts remained untranscribed due to external noise, distance, movement to other places, unclear sound, or their low voice. Each transcriber reported her estimated percentage of the utterances as 83%, 87%, 81%, and 82%, respectively. Therefore, approximately 83% of the recordings were transcribed.

The transcribed data were written down; that is, the spoken text was converted into a written form. It is important since the written text is representing speech. The collection of written forms was used as a corpus of conversations of each language group. In fact, the compilation of the data became corpora in the present study because use of corpora for the analysis of spoken language enabled the researcher to acquire sound methodological principles in the description of natural language (McEnery & Wilson, 1996; Oakes, 1998; Trillo, 2002). These written data have been used most effectively for analyzing the tokens in the corpora of the children's talk-in-interaction.

As emphasized thus far, the goal of the present study was to explore the nature of how DMs function in natural talk-in-interaction. The study compared the production of DMs by bilingual and monolingual children in two languages entirely relying on the naturally occurring data that were collected for the study. In the same vein, the number of the DMs was counted in the transcriptions of the data as described in section 4.5. Therefore, the size of each corpus was different as mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6. Identifying different corpus sizes was curcial to understanding the functions of each DM just as they were in each linguistic group.

4.4 Combined Analysis

The present study adopted a combined research design with qualitative and quantitative methods (Brown & Rogers, 2002). This research method led to the collection of qualitative and quantitative observations that were analyzed into forms and functions. This combination of techniques was essential to gain a more complete understanding from the data (Creswell, 1999; Nunan, 1999; Silverman, 2001). Qualitative analysis enabled me to understand what the DMs of interest were doing in children's conversational discourse. On the other hand, the quantitative analysis tested if the qualitative assertions were correct, thus strengthening any resulting conclusions and proving a more solid base for extrapolations. The combined method expanded the breadth and depth of the results.

For the quantitative analysis, two statistical analyses were carried out: t-tests and Pearson Correlations. In order to compare the frequency of the use of DMs between the monolingual and bilingual children, independent-samples t-tests were carried out. This analysis compared the monolingual groups to the bilingual group. Within the bilingual group, it also compared English speaking corpora and Korean speaking corpora.

Pearson Correlations were used to determine the relationship between the sociolinguistic factors and the use of DMs. This test showed if the independent variables of age and gender had a relationship with the dependent variables. It also was carried out in order to figure out if there is any relationship between DM use and the length of exposure to the English-speaking school context. The analysis examined both p value and effect size (Larson-Hall, 2009). The effect size (r^2) for correlations is usually described a measure of how much of the variance in one variable is accounted by the other variable.

Cohen (2004) defined effect sizes for r^2=.01 as a small effect, r^2=.09 as a medium effect and r^2=.25 is a large effect. Larson-Hall (2009) agreed that r^2 of 25% or more accounts for a large part of the variance, while an r^2 of 1-5% is seen as a small effect (p. 162). However, in this study, a Bonferroni adjustment was made to the alpha level whereby the alpha level is divided by the number of tests (Larson-Hall, 2009, p. 390.). In this study, the alpha level .05 was divided by 4 because four tests were done. Therefore, the effective alpha is .0125; significance is decided when the result is less than .0125. The statistical test was used to understand the relationship between the DM and the sociolinguistic factors in children's language use.

4.5 Analytical Framework

Qualitative analysis was performed by conversation analysis (CA) and discourse-functional analysis. CA and discourse functional analysis were combined for the present study, for both approaches are interested in language use in actual conversation. Karkkainen (2003, p. 26) mentioned that a recent body of literature of functional linguistics commonly focuses on the interactional use of DMs in discourse. Similarly, CA also focuses on the multiple functions of a single linguistic expression in interaction in conversation.

Many scholars in discourse-functional linguistics have begun to draw upon the research methodology and findings established in conversation analysis. Evidence for the value of both analyses has been provided by several recent studies (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996a; Ford, Fox, & Thomson, 2002a; Ford & Wagner, 1996; Karkkainen, 2003; Ochs, Schegloff, & Thomson, 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001). Not only did this

combined approach reveal the dynamic functions of DMs, but also it shed light on the understanding of the development of interactional competence of bilingual children in comparison with monolingual peers.

4.5.1 Conversation Analysis (CA)

The present study employed conversation analysis (CA) as a major analytical framework (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Davison, 1984; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Jefferson, 1984; Ten Have, 1999; Heritage, 1984, 1988, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2002; Karkkainen, 2003; Muller, 2005; Owen, 1981; Psathas, 1990, 1995; Pomerantz, 1978, 1984, 1986, 1990; Pomerantz & Fehr, 1997; Sacks, 1973, 1987; Sacks & Schegloff, 1973; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1996). CA was particularly pertinent to the study in understanding what the DMs were doing in the children's talk-in-interactions from an interactional point of view.

CA is the study of talk- in-interaction as social actions. The primary objective of CA is to uncover the social competencies that underlie social interaction (Atkins & Heritage, 1984; Heritage, 1987, 1988). CA is also further used to understand interactional knowledge of how language is used in the organization of talk-in-interaction (Atkins & Heritage, 1984; Markee, 2001). It generally attempts to describe the structure and sequential patterns of interaction (Heritage, 1997; Psathas, 1995; Sacks et al., 1974 and many others).

CA starts from data not from preformed theory. The inductive approach is interested in the use of linguistic expressions in the perspective of interaction (Goodwin

& Duranti, 1992; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Have, 1999; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1992). According to Have (1999, p 16), the essential question that leads to the data-driven analysis is, "why that (as actions), in that way (by means of linguistic forms), right now (in a developing sequence)?" More specifically, Heritage (1995) outlined three basic assumptions of CA: the primacy of ordinary conversation, the use of naturally occurring recorded data, and the sequential analysis of conversational practices. The sequential analysis in naturally occurring ordinary conversation involves three major concepts: turns, adjacency pairs and preference organization.

4.5.1.1 Turns as the Unit Analysis

The turn unit was adopted as the unit of analysis in this study. It was because turn-taking is fundamental to conversation (Sacks et al., 1974). It proceeds according to interactional contingencies (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1996, p. 55). The turn unit is relevant to this study because the occurrence of DMs is not limited by the boundaries of syntactic or propositional unit (Schiffrin, 1987). A turn can be a one-word unit (Heritage, 1995; Klerk, 2005; Schegloff, 1993; Schegloff, Sacks, & Jefferson, 1977). That is, a whole turn can consist of DMs (Smith & Jucker, 2002). Accordingly, the encoding of DMs in turns is of fundamental importance in the analysis of their functions (Karkkainen, 2003).

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) describe the characteristics of turn constructional component. The turn constructional component describes basic units out of which turns are fashioned. These basic units are known as turn constructional units (TCUs). According to Schegloff (1996), turns during the interaction can even consist of

just a sentence-initial particle or an interjection. Intonation is also importantly considered in turn-taking organization; any word that is made into a 'one-word' unit-type via intonation can be a turn (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 697). Unit types that complete turns include: lexical, clausal, phrasal, and sentential. Below are the examples of clausal (a), phrasal (b), and lexical (c) turn constructions respectively.

[Adapted from Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974, pp. 702-703]

(a) A: Uh you been down here before [havenche.
B: [Yeh.
→A: Where the sidewalks is?
B: Yeah,
→A: Whur it ends,
B: Goes [all a' way up there?
A: [They c'm up thy the:re,
A: Yeah.

(b) Anna: Was last night the first time you met Missiz Kelly?
→Bea: Met whom?
Anna: Missiz Kelly.
Bea: Yes.

(c) Fern: Well they're not coming,
→Lana: Who.
Fern: Uh Pam, unless they can find somebody.

4.5.1.2 Sequence Organization

A core idea of CA is that utterances in interactional talk are sequentially organized (Atkins & Heritage, 1984; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 1995, 1997; Pomerantz, 1984; Psathas, 1990; Sacks, 1987; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1992; 1996; Smith & Jucker, 2002, Ten Have, 1999 and others). There are two very important notions in the concept of sequence: adjacency pairs and preference organization.

4.5.1.3 Adjacency Pairs

An adjacency pair refers to a pair of conversational turns by two different speakers. It is a minimal conversational sequence in which two utterances are functionally-dependent upon each other (Have, 1999). Many actions in conversation are accomplished through adjacency pair sequences such as 'greeting-greeting,' 'invitation-acceptance/decline,' 'request-grant/refusal,' 'offer-accept/reject,' 'question-answer', and so on (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 716). The 'first pair-parts' set constraints on what should be done in a next turn. For example, when A addresses a first pair-part such as a question or a complaint to B, A expects B to perform a second pair-part of the adjacency pair, i.e., an answer or an apology, respectively (Sacks et al., 1974; Have, 1999).

As such, the important general technique involves the affiliation of an address to a first pair part (Sacks et al., 1974). The interactants can design their own social action by reference to a social norm. A failure to give an immediate response is noticeable and accountable (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Seedhouse, 2004). However, this minimal form of the sequence is not always adjacently paired; it can be expanded in various ways and in various positions during the interaction—pre-sequences and post-sequences (Heritage, 1992).

4.5.1.4 Preference Organization

Preference organization refers to structural preferences for some types of actions (preferred) in conversation over other actions (dispreferred). It is the issues of affiliation or disaffiliation (Heritage, 1984; Seedhouse, 2004), assimilation or dissimilation (Heritage, 1984a), and alignment or divergence (Andersen, 2001) in relation to social

actions. Mostly, in the previous literature, actions such as agreement and acceptance are treated as "preferred", and disagreement and rejection, "dispreferred" response types (Davidson, 1984; Pomerantz, 1978, 1984; Sacks, 1973). Characteristics of preferred or dispreferred responses have also been commonly presented in the literature (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Davidson, 1984; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Jacobs, 2002; Pomerantz, 1978, 1984; Schegloff, 1988, 1990). The preferred turn shape is usually produced immediately is fairly short and direct. In contrast, dispreferred turn shape is typically long, prefaced, delayed, or mitigated.

However, preference organization is not identically applicable to every action sequence (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Blimes, 1988; Pomerantz, 1978; 1984; Lerner, 1996; Schegloff, 1988; Seedhouse, 2004). That is, the preferred and dispreferred turn shapes are not always used for agreement and disagreement respectively (Lerner, 1996). For instance, Pomerantz (1978) advocates that after "self-deprecations", disagreement and rejection are preferred responses, rather than agreement and acceptance. Likewise, agreements of compliment, accusations, or complaint are not necessarily preferred actions (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Blimes, 1988; Heritage, 1984; Pomerantz, 1978; 1984). Also, Schegloff found that "rejection" of bad news is done both as a preferred and as a dispreferred response.

Schegloff (1988, p. 453) insightfully pointed out that two aspects of the notions of "preferred" and "dispreferred" in the previous literature did not fully consider the speaker's motivation. One usage of "preferred/dispreferred" treats it as a property of sequence types, specifically adjacency pairs (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks, 1973; Heritage, 1984). This preference is built into the sequence and

is not a matter of the respondent's construction of the response. In this usage, some "first pair part," such as an invitation or a request is said to "project" some type of "second pair part" as its preferred response, e.g., accept or grant, and others as dispreferred, e.g., decline or deny. However, such structural preference does not refer to the psychological desires or personal motivation of the participants but to institutional properties "built into" the system itself (Jacobs, 2002, p. 226).

The other usage treats "preferred/dispreferred" as a property of the participants' ways of doing or enacting a responsive activity. Pomerantz's work (1978, 1984) tends to rely on the practice in which speakers display the kind of action they are doing and the kind of stance they take toward what they are doing. This is still not the same as motivation and personal desires. In this usage, a recipient of some type of action, such as an invitation or request, is said to do some type of response, such as an acceptance or grant, "as a preferred," or some other response, such as decline or denial, "as a dispreferred."

Having pointed out the issues, Schegloff (1988) challenged the concept of preferred or dispreferred, clarifying how to decide between preferred or dispreferred responses in actual conversation. On the one hand, single sequence types do not necessarily have the same preference for all instances of the type. For instance, offers do not always prefer acceptance; some offers prefer rejection. It may be highly sensitive to what is being offered. Also, guesses do not always prefer confirmation. The sequence makes the character of the particular guess of greater relevance in determining whether confirming or rejecting it will be the preferred response.

On the other hand, there are exchanges in which the form of response does not match preferred or dispreferred. In other words, a "preferred" form of response can be a dispreferred action. It should be understood by virtue of the sequence type involved, what is being done through it, and the status of that activity type for the parties. The case is shown in the example.

> [Schegloff, 1988, p. 454, example 8]
> Bee: Eh-yih hve anybuddy: thet uh:? I would know from the English depar'mint there?
> Ava: Mm-mh. Tch! I don't think so.

Although Ava produces this answer with no delay and in turn-initial position, which are common features of preferred response types, Schegloff suggested this negative response should be understood to be a dispreferred one in this sequence. Ava is doing a dispreferred response type with the sequential characteristics of a preferred response. As such, an analysis along these lines is not possible unless a preference can be understood to characterize the sequence type, independent of the manner in which the response is enacted on this occasion by this speaker (p. 454). However, such a concept of preference in CA has been disregarded in speech act theory.

Interactional sequences create meaning that goes beyond the content of the utterances involved (Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 1991; Smith & Jucker, 2002). Therefore, the analysis looks behind and beyond the sequences to identify the processes that enable this creation of meaning (Smith & Jucker, 2002). Turns are viewed as interactional sequences as the evidence of the critical role of intersubjectivity and socially shared cognition (Schegloff, 1991). That is, they provide evidence of the ability to create and use a model of another person's beliefs and behaviors (p. 153). In a word,

sequentiality turns out to be an invaluable analytical tool. Looking beyond the sequence helps the analysts interpret the DMs.

4.5.1.5 CA vs. Speech Acts

Situated language use as social action in CA is different from speech act theory. The purpose of CA is to understand language use in a larger spate of talk. In contrast, speech act theory analyzes language use from the point of view of an isolated utterance. The latter has been criticized by conversationalists (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Heritage & Atkinson, 1984; Karkkainen, 2003; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 1976, 1984). The plausibility of the approach should be strengthened by broader stretches of conversation (Jacobs, 2002). Smith and Jucker (2002) emphasized that sequentiality turns out to be an invaluable analytical tool.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973) and Schegloff (1976) criticize that face threatening acts (FTAs) are promoted largely by the theory of speech acts. FTAs are interactions built out of units of acts, each of which might be an FTA requiring strategic adjustment, and which might be strung together with only occasional reference to prior acts (as in answers or agreement) or to succeeding acts (as in questions or request). They argue that both local turns and overall conversational structure are crucial determinants of how an utterance is understood. Similarly, Karkkainen (2003) pointed out that speech acts tends to encapsulate an array of DMs into a uniform functional description, rather than focusing on the range of interactional functions in sequence.

In the context of situated language use, linguisitc co-occurrence should be taken into account. According to Karkkainen (2003), analysis of DMs should contain other

markers used by the same speaker or by other participants within the same turn or within a larger sequence. In other words, a full analysis of the interaction should be performed in order to understand the situated interpretation of the functions of the discourse markers (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996; Karkkainen, 2003; Schegloff, 1988). In addition, prosodic features such as stress or intonation and paralinguistic contextualization cues such as pausing or hesitation are relevant for a qualitative analysis of the functions of DMs (Gumperz, 1992).

4.5.1.6 Quantitative Analysis of CA

It has been generally viewed that studies on CA focus on qualitative analysis, rather than quantitative analysis. Recently, several scholars have paid attention to the necessity of quantitative analysis (Heritage, 1995; Karkkainen, 2003; Have, 1999; Schegloff, 1993). According to Have (1999), many CA studies use various kinds of quantifying terms, such as 'frequently', 'often', 'generally', and the like. Such quantitative information is relatively vague; accordingly, explicit debates of issues of codability and classifiability are rare in CA literature (p. 145). It is suggested that while conversationalists discuss some excerpts qualitatively, they base their counts of instances on specified 'objective' criteria.

The criteria for quantification of conversational data have been organized with three notions by Schegloff (1993, pp. 103-114). The first notion is the denominator. It is 'environments of possible relevant occurrences'. Schegloff emphasizes that in order to state whether a certain activity is relevantly present or absent, a full analysis of the interaction should be performed. For instance, what a single object like 'uh huh' is doing

will depend on its environment. The token has to be understood relative to the environments of their relevant possible occurrence. The production has to do with the sequential structure of the turns into which the talk is organized. In this respect, the first pair part of an adjacency pair was understood as the denominator in this study.

The second notion is the numerator. It is the set of types of occurrences whose nonoccurrence should count as absences. That requires an understanding of what sorts of occurrences or practices are alternatives to one another for the participants. According to Have (1999), absences are understood as not doing something when it would be appropriate and 'occurrences' as particular 'filler' that has been created for the slot. However, parties may take action to avoid specific slots from being created in the first place. As such, when clear absences can be observed, the interesting thing is how the participants orient them. Therefore, single case analyses are required with regard to the numerator (Have, 1999, p. 146). In this respect, the second pair part of adjacency pairs was understood as the numerator in this study.

The third notion is the domain from which data are taken. The domain refers to contexts from what the data are driven such as ordinary conversations or interviews and the like. Heritage (1995) explained the domain might have been all the speech data according to contexts. This issue concerns the 'domain' of the data and the analytic claims, since not all talk-in-interaction is similarly organized, and the adequacy of findings derives from the bounding of the domain (Schegloff, 1993). Therefore, to register the full import of a quantitative analysis, the domain should be taken into account. In this respect, different contexts were understood as domains in this study.

Descriptive statistics were employed by presenting both frequencies and percentages as in Schegloff's quantification. The number resulting from the counting method was used for raw frequencies in descriptive statistics. Those numerical figures were presented also in graphical display. Graphing of frequencies was not only useful for data in categories like functions of DMs, but also proved helpful for indicating the differences between the monolinguals and bilinguals, and first and second languages (Brown & Rogers, 2002). The group variation was presented by the mean (M) and standard deviation (SD).

4.5.1.7 The Approaches used for the Present Study

The core ideas of CA in relation to the present study have been summarized so far in three aspects: (1) turn constructional units (TCU), (2) the notions of adjacent pairs and preference organization as sequential analysis, and (3) quantitative approach. Having described those important methodological foundations, the specific approaches for the study were explicated as follows. First, TCU was adopted for a basic unit of analysis. Because DMs occurred basically in every constructional component —sentential, clausal, phrasal, and single word units—every turn unit that comprised the DMs was viewed as a unit of interaction. Second, adjacency pairs were observed by both adjacent and extended pairs such as pre-sequence and post-sequence.

Third, in the preference organization, dispreferred sequences were the primary interest for the present study. The vital issue on how to decide the types of dispreferred turns was based on the sequential understanding. The determination of the functions was done with close attention to the sequential interaction as well as the many attendant

contextualization cues that might impact on its functions (Karkkainen, 2003). In order to differentiate dispreferred actions from preferred actions, what was being done was examined through the use of DMs, and the status of that activity type was examined with respect to the different parties (Schegloff, 1988). Dispreferred responses were examined by virtue of sequential types as well as participants' orientation in the contexts (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003; Karkkainen, 2003; Schegloff, 1988).

Quantitative analysis was based on Schegloff's (1993) three analytically defensible notions: denominator, numerator, and domain. Every possible environment in which DMs would occur was counted as the denominator. The numerator was various actions for which DMs were involved in during the conversational interactions. Finally, the domain was the context in which the data were collected. There were two different domains in terms of types of interlocutors: children-children interaction and children-adult interaction, and in terms of types of contexts: home and school. Constructive uses for descriptive statistics in the analysis of conversational materials were used as a means of characterizing interesting phenomena (Heritage, 1995).

4.5.2 Discourse-Functional Analysis

Discourse-functional analysis was adopted for these spoken data as a supplementary tool (Andersen, 2001; Andersen & Fretheim, 2000; Aijmer, 2002; Budwig, 1996; Gonzalez, 2004; Fitzmaurice: 2003, Jucker & Smith, 1998; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Muller, 2005; Schiffrin, 2001). The discourse-functional approach believes that language is used in relation to the communicative functions it serves (Budwig, 1995; Ritchie & Bhatia, 1999). Karkkainen (2003) ascertains that discourse-functional approach is

relevant to CA since it also examines language use as an interactionally shaped phenomenon in spoken interactions. Discourse-functionalists have analyzed the functions of DMs in a variety of orientations such as textual, subjective, and interactional functions.

Andersen (2001) proposed a synthesized model that views those three functions as interrelated. The functions are interconnected for interaction (Andersen, 2001; Budwig, 1996; Fitzmaurice, 2004; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Muller, 2005). In other words, each function is an essential component for interaction to occur, which is the position the current study has taken.

The relationship between textual and interactional functions is mutually inclusive (Andersen, 2001; Jucker, 1993, 1997; Ostman, 1982; Schiffrin, 1987; Stenstrom, 1994). For example, previously, topic coherence is mainly viewed as a textual domain that has nothing to do with an interactional function (e.g., Brinton, 1996; Muller, 2005 and others). However, topic coherence is involved in interactional knowledge in conversational procedures (Atkins & Heritage, 1984; Buhrig, 2002; Jefferson, 1974, 1984; Karkkainen, 2003; Klerk, 2005; Kroon, 1998; Lenk, 1998; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 1991). According to Lenk (1998), conversational coherence is not exclusively a text-coherent property, but instead, the result of a dynamic process between the participants in conversation (p. 246). Similarly, Kroon (1995) presented coherences that include interactional relations in the relation of a discourse unit to the communicative situation.

Gonzalez (2004) stated that discourse coherence refers to the interactional structure because coherence is inferred by the hearer and speaker of the conversation (p. 11). Therefore, topic change is understood as the speaker's consideration of interlocutors (Schoroup, 1985). Shifts in topic or closure of dialogue have important interpersonal

spin-offs (Klerk, 2005, p. 16), for it is the speaker's intention to engage the hearer's attention (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Therefore, textual function is important in communicative competence (Hickmann, 2000).

The relation between subjective and interactional meaning is also intertwined (Andersen, 2001; Fitzmaurice, 2004; Karkkainen, 2003; Traugott & Dasher, 2002). Andersen (2001) argued that interactional functions cannot be separated from subjective functions, as both are part of the communicative content of utterances and part of the speaker's informative intentions (p. 38). In the same way, Karkkainen (2003) argued that since epistemic items show attitudes towards utterances, they take on interactional functions in discourse (p. 33). The placement of epistemic markers in turn units can be seen as interactionally motivated (p. 183). According to Andersen, interactional features are to be understood as functional properties that concern the mutuality of context between speaker and hearer. Fitzmaurice also (2004, p. 445) advocated that the stance or attitude of their interlocutors can be used in interactive as well as subjective and intersubjective functions. Brinton (1996) considers the interactional aspect of a marker to incorporate subjectivity. Therefore, an epistemic stance is essentially interactively organized and interactional functions deal with the expression of opinion or evaluation.

Interrelatedness of those functions can be explained by the functions of DMs. It is particularly apparent in multifunctionality. According to Andersen (2001), DMs are multifunctional not only in serving different pragmatic functions in different contexts, but also by virtue of displaying several pragmatic features at the same time (cf. Fox-Tree & Schrock, 2002; Ostman, 1981; Schiffrin, 1987). The meaning of a DM in a particular utterance also can involve several of the functional domains (Andersen, 2001). For

instance, DMs can perform subjective functions and interactional functions simultaneously; they can show a speaker's attitudes towards utterances and interactional functions in discourse (Andersen, 2001; Fitzmaurice, 2004; Karkkainen, 2003).

4.6 Analytical Typology

The analysis of the present study will continue with the multi-functions of DMs from the interactional point of view as explicated in 2.4.5. Various functions of textual, subjective, and interactional functions will be drawn in an integrative way. In the textual functions, topic coherence in a local and global level, referential relations such as propositional and interactional meaning, and relationships between verbal activities preceding and following a DM such as contrast, disjunctions, or digression will be examined. The analysis will also investigate the functions of DMs in the thinking process of the speaker. In the subjective context, some functions will be shown in the speaker's attitude.

As mentioned before, the present study is particularly interested in the occurrence of DMs in dispreferred sequences. Dispreferred sequences can be expressed as disaffiliation (Heritage, 1984; Seedhouse, 2004), dissimilation (Heritage, 1984a), or divergence (Andersen, 2001). It is because there is some difference between the previous utterance and current utterance or between the speakers. That message will not be the same as the previous speaker expects in terms of conversation flow, turn-taking, or actions. Among them, this study adopts the notion of 'contextual divergence' (Andersen, 2001). Andersen illustrated 'contextual divergence' as 'D-signal'. In the contextual divergence, the current speakers may be forced to reorganize their cognitive environment,

because they have acquired new information to the effect that previously held contextual assumptions must be rejected. Additional functions should be seen in conjunction with the more basic interpretive functions of marking contextual divergence (Andersen, 2001, pp. 74-75).

As such, the term 'divergence' is a broad term that is able to embrace a variety of differences that can happen during conversational interactions. It includes difference from topic, turn, insistence and contrast. Contextual divergence can be represented by disjunctive environments and disaffiliative environments (Waring, 2003). While the former refers to topical digression or turns, the latter refers to dispreferred seconds or contrastive relationship. As such, contextual divergence is an umbrella term that is able to broadly include possible divergent environments including discursive differences and contrastive relationships between actions and propositions.

The notion of contrast for this section is defined within the rubric of "contrastive" (Fraser, 1998; Fraser & Malamud-makowski, 1996; Maschler, 1997; Park, 1998). Maschler (1997) defined "contrast" as the expression of contrastive differences in meaning in actual language use (p. 280). Similarly, Fraser (1998) proposed the term "contrastive" as a cover term that signals a "contrastive "relationship between a current utterance and a foregoing utterance". According to Fraser (1998), the meaning of contrastive markers[14] signals that the speaker intends the current message S2 to contrast the previous message S1 (p. 302). The meanings of contrastive markers include

[14] Fraser (1998, p. 306-307) defined the meanings of the contrastive markers signal 1) that the speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to contrast with an explicit or indirect message, 2) that the speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to correct a message conveyed by S1, which the speaker accepts, and 3) the speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to be correct while the message conveyed by S1 to be false.

'contrast', 'concessive', 'contradiction', 'denial', 'challenge', 'reject', or 'cancellative' relationships (Fraser, 1998, pp. 302-309).

Therefore, the analysis will focus on the functions of the focal markers in divergent environments of interaction. The specific analysis of the functions will concentrate on the occurrence of divergent context where the functions are inconsistent with the previous utterance either between propositions or actions, and either between different speakers or the same speaker. Finally, it will specify the divergent functions according to topics, turn-taking, and contrast. The functions of contrast will be dynamically explicated in terms of contrastive relationship.

4.7 Analytical Procedure

4.7.1 Word Counting Method

For this study, words were chosen as the most appropriate unit because they are the basic units in creating meaning in conversations, and they are the smallest identifiable units for ordinary speakers (Itakura, 1997). Turns can also be a basis to count a speaker's contribution to a conversation. However, turns of conversation are problematic as a measure of DMs, since different speakers speak at different speeds and lengths. In other words, counting based on turns can be incorrect, for speakers speaking at different speeds could overestimate a slow speaker's utterance and underestimate a fast speaker's utterance (Itakura, 1997).

Identifying DMs, therefore, was based on the distribution of the number of words for the present study. The number of words represents a speaker's total utterance in a conversation. For English data, the number of words is identified by using a computer

'word count.' The English counting system is called 'white space counting, which counts every word of a grammatical category that has a space as one word. For instance, the total number of words is 3 of the phrase in Example (1), and 7 of the sentence in Example (2) as follows;

[Excerpted from the database]

Example (1) at a restaurant 3 words
Example (2) my sister cried at the hospital yesterday. 7 words

However, the 'white space counting' of English does not count the Korean language in the same way. Like Japanese data (Itakura, 2001), Korean data are problematic if the same counting method is applied. This is because a Korean word can be composed of one or several concatenated morphemes of different linguistic features that are equivalent to a phrase in English. According to Kang, Yoon, and Kwon (2004, p. 562), this spacing unit[15] is called a 'word', '*e-cel'*, or 'morpheme cluster.'

In this *'e-cel'* system, the Korean script does not leave spaces between lexical items and particles or prepositions. For transcribing the utterances, the conventions in Maynard (1987) where not all morphemes were separated in the transcription were utilized. In counting words, each independent lexical item or function word such as a particle or preposition was counted as one word, whereas inflections of independent lexical segments were not counted as separated words.

The following examples of the English equivalents show the differences.

[Excerpted from the database]

[15]Korean normative grammar prescribes word-spacing rules: (a) a postposition is attached to a preceding noun, (b) a dependent noun appears with a space in a sentence, (c) a determiner is used with a space on both sides, and (d) an adverb appears in a sentence with a space on both sides. In Korean, sequences of suffixes are productively and successively attached to the ends of word stems and determine most of the grammatical relations (Kang, Yoon, & Kwon, 2004, 566).

Example (3)
White spacing counting: *nay chikwunun ecey pengwoneyse wulessta* 5 words
'Maynard (1987): *nay chikwu-nun ecey pengwon-eyse wulessta* *7words*
'My sister cried at the hospital yesterday.'
Example (4)
White spacing counting: *cey halapecikkeyse cehanthey senmwulul cwusysseyo*.
5 words
Maynard (1987): *cey halapeci-kkeyse cehan-they senmwul-ul cwusysseyo*
8words
'My grandmother gave me a present.'

4.7.2 Mean Rates

Rates were used as a basis for comparison of the frequency of DMs. This counting method measures the tokens and then recounts them of words (e.g. Fuller, 2003; Klerk, 2005; Lauwereyns, 2002; Muller, 2005; Trillo, 2002). The main reason for using rate is that word production is different depending on individuals during the conversations (Lauwereyns, 2002). The average rate per 100 words was used to even out such differences. The rates per 100 words were calculated for each participant individually. The DMs were indentified, were counted, and then divided into total words in the individual data. These individual rates were then totaled to obtain the average rate of the groups. Therefore, the group rates were the mean rates to indicate group variation. Since some of the participants were more talkative than others during the conversations, the average rate per 100 words was used to even out such differences (Lauwereyns, 2002). As such, the DMs were identified in the whole corpora, counted, and then divided by 100.

4.7.3 Coding Methods

As detailed in Chapter 2, the DM *well* is to be distinguished from the propositional component well, because the forms are identical. Several procedures were undertaken in order to count the tokens of DMs. First, all cases of the two tokens were identified, and sorted out by grammatical elements and DMs, and then grammatical elements were excluded from the database. The grammatical elements such as nouns and various types of adverbs were excluded. Because all of the cases contribute to the syntactic structure and lexical meaning, they were eliminated from DMs as shown in the following examples.

[Invented]

(5) Nouns
The water in this well is very clean.
(6) Adverbs
A: How's your mom doing?
B: She is well.
(7) Adverb of quality
He plays the piano very well.
The boy arrived well before his father
(8) In addition well
My brother is good at math as well as science.
After eating ice cream as dissert, I drank coffee as well.

Meanwhile, the DM *well* does not have propositional meaning; rather than a functional meaning. The tokens treated as a DM appear in various forms and contexts such as interjections, exclamation, hesitation, false starts, or self-corrections. DMs do not impact syntactic structure, for they have lost syntactic feature and lexical meaning and gained contextual meaning. The DM *well* has been evolved from a lexical adverb. The DM occurs in various turn positions such as turn-initial, turn-medial, and turn-final

position. The relevance of turn positions is to uncover if the turn position impacts specific functions of DMs (Karkkainen, 2003).

[Excerpted from the database]

(9) turn-initial position
A: What are you going to do during the summer?
N**: *Well,*** we are gonna go to Jamaica.
(10) turn-medial position
G: Ace!
K: Oh yeah? *Well*, I have one too.
(11) turn-final position
R: …. I've never tried them before. Oh ***well***.
S: I decided you cannot leave me by myself….

In addition, a DM co-occurs with other DMs or linguistic elements (Andersen, 1996, 1999; Karkkainen, 2003; Klerk, 2005; Smith & Jucker, 2002; Strauss, 2005). *Well* frequently co-occurs with various lexical and non-lexical markers. The types of linguistic components were classified by the taxonomy of markers (Fraser[16], 1993, 1996, 1999) and epistemic markers (Muller[17], 2005). Fraser's (1993) categories of those linguistic markers are contrastive, topic, elaborative, inference, and vocative elements. The co-occurrence was counted both within the same turn and other neighboring turns that were sequentially related in the conversation. Other than the co-occurrence, a free standing *well* is analyzed in the database. The single *well* consists of a separate turn. The following examples show the free standing *well* and co-occurrence with other markers.

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[16] The elements were counted based on Fraser's classes. (a) Contrastive elements: *but, actually anyway, though, yet, however, instead, still, not, now, kuntey (but), -nun, -un, -nuntey (… but,…), kuchiman (however), haciman (however), -ciman (…but,…), taysin (instead), icey…* (b) Elaborative elements: *I mean, or, too, also, and then, because, ani (I mean), kuleko*…(c) Inference elements: *so, then, since, thus, because, kulaykaciko (so), kulem (then), kunikka (therefore)…*(d) Topic-marking elements: *now, now that, anyway, since, okay, alright, but, kuntey (by the way), -nun (topic particle), -un (topic particle), etten (certain)* demonstrative expressions such as *ceki, yeki , keki …*(f) Vocatives: occupation name, pronominal form, general noun, (h) Others or non-lexical markers *uh, oh, um, hummm* that cannot be easily classified.
[17] Muller's epistemic markers included *I think, I guess, maybe, really, only, just, a little, kind of, com (a little), obviously, too, camkkaman (for a short moment),* or *emcheng (very much).*

[Excerpted from the database]

(12) Co-occurrence with other markers (A/B-4-7-48)
G: Ok, then, thank you. And here's the rest of the money.
K: Oh, **well**, you didn't buy anything else yet. So
(13) Free standing *well*
A: I like to listen to my teacher's story.
K: ***We::ll***

In the same way, all the forms of *isscanha* were identified first. The DM *isscanha* was coded by being separated from the propositional properties. The negative form *iss-ci-anha* and sentences ending *iss-canha* were excluded from the DM *isscanha* because they grammatically and semantically contribute to the sentence structure and meaning. The present study attempted to analyze only *isscanha* as a DM. As explained in Chapter 2, *isscanha* has three different forms. The three forms are summarized here once again as they are complicated because of its identical forms.

It is possible that *isscanha* can be used as negation. The negative sentence *iss+ci+anhta* is a straightforward negation that means 'doesn't exist' or 'does not have.' This has the exactly opposite meaning of *issta* 'to exist' or 'to have'. The lexical verb *issta* can be negated as *iss-ci anha*, but there also exists a separate lexical verb *epsta* that means 'not exist.' The following example that was previously used in chapter 2 shows the negation.

[Excerpted from the database]

(14) *sip-yuwk chung-ey-nun* *moki-ka* ***iss-ci****-lul* ***anh-a***
ten-six floor-LOC-TM mosquito-SM exist-NOM-not-INT
'On the sixteenth floor, there aren't any mosquitoes.

It is also possible for *isscanha* to function like the V+ *canha* forms that we observed in Chapter 2. That can function as modal, stance marker, or tag-question, where

issta as a lexical verb still means "exist." The following examples illustrate the meaning and function of *issta* + *canha.*

[Excerpted from the database]

(15) Stance marker: G: *na incey epsnuntey.*
'I don't have anymore.'
S: ***isscanha.***
'You have it (You should know that).'

(16) Tag-question: C: *na ta naysse*.
'I put everything out.'
S: *a: keki* ***isscanha***.
'Ah it is there, isn't it?'

Finally, we come to *isscanha* as a DM. The meaning of *issta* as a lexical verb 'to exist' has been discounted, and the entire token now serves as a DM, with the many functions that were pointed out in Chapter 2. Therefore, in the present study, *isscanha* only in the third case will be treated as a DM and analyzed accordingly.

The DM *isscanha* occurs in different turn positions. Unlike the English DM *well*, however, the Korean DM *isscanha* can occur only at turn initial and turn medial positions. While the form as negation and modal occur at turn-final position, the DM *isscanha* occurs only turn-initially and turn-medially. Unlike *well*, *isscanha* was not found in a separate turn. Also, *isscanha* co-occurs with other DMs like *well*. Therefore, the token *isscanha* in turn final position will not be counted as a DM. The following examples indicate the DM in turn position and its co-occurrence.

[Excerpted from the database]

Turn-initial position

(17) H: *way naman kwichanhkey hanunkeya?*
'Why does he bother only me?
J: ***isscanha,*** *ne cohahanikka kulay. kuntey.*
'Isscanha because he likes you anyway'

Turn-medial position
(18) M: black hole *pyelinteyyo, hankayeyyo. kuntey **isscanhayo**. enunal mak chwungkyulo inhayse mak khecye kacikoyo…..*
'Black hole is a star, but it is one. But **isscanhayo** one day
like because of shock like, it became big and….'

4.8 Role of the Researcher

Since the primary objective of the current research was to explore the use of DMs in actual conversations, the researcher made efforts to observe the children's spontaneous speech in two languages in natural settings. LeCompte and Preissle (1993, p. 93) classify three different roles as: participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant and the complete observer, depending on the types of engagement. The researcher played the role of a participant-as-observer as she interacted with the children. This role allowed the researcher to act as an "insider" (Brown & Rogers, 2002), with whom the children were sufficiently familiar and comfortable (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Also, the researcher played the role of an observer-as-participant when she talked in limited interactions with participants. The researcher strove to maintain a certain distance from her participants, which could lead to bias in the analysis (Atkinson, 1990; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1997; Jackson, 1990; Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Also, she played a role as a "complete observer" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) in the context where the children were interacting with other speakers.

Simultaneously taking dual roles as an insider/outsider, participant/researcher and speaker/listener, the researcher endeavored to maintain marginality in terms of a balance between participation and research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1997; Wolcott, 1995). As a participant, she was partially involved in interacting with the children in the natural

contexts of both L1 and L2. As a mother and a teacher, the researcher was doubly privileged not only to access the authenticity of accounting for and storing of data (Creswell, 1998), but also to have a variety of interactions with the participants.

In addition, the researcher made an effort to keep a certain distance from the children's language production because the presence of the researcher tended to affect the speaking behavior of the children as Cameron (2002) and Shin and Miloy (1999) addressed. Therefore, the researcher tried to provide various undisturbed environments where the children might not be bothered in speaking to her L1 and L2 interlocutors. As such, the researcher was able to gain more access to the authentic and natural language production of the bilingual children.

4.9 Verification of Methods

This study has a great deal of potential as a research method in bilingual language acquisition. Regarding the nature of case study, Stake (1988) advocates the view that the principle difference between case studies and other research studies is that the focus of attention is the case, not the whole population. Although many researchers are concerned about ethical objection, generality and external validity of a case study (cf. Bailey, 1999; Brown & Rogers, 2002; Cameron, 2002; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Nunan, 1999), it is relatively straightforward to see the language development of the bilingual children.

Reliability of method was verified in various ways. The researcher made efforts to achieve triangulations in a variety of aspects in this study, following Brown and Roger's (2002) guideline and Creswell's (1998) eight verification procedures. Data triangulation was achieved by using different contexts as described in the section on data collection.

Methodological triangulation was achieved as described in the data-gathering procedures of each group with audio-tape recordings. Time triangulation was primarily achieved by using the same amount of data across the groups. Transcripts of audio tape reliability were achieved by the respondent validity (Brown & Rogers, 2002; Maschler, 1994; Silverman, 2001). Overall reliability of transcripts was 83% as mentioned on page 83.

Reliability of raters was achieved by the participation of two adult native speakers of each language. Two native Korean (L1) speakers and two native English (L2) speakers who did not transcribe the recorded conversation were asked to read the transcriptions independently. Gumperz (1982) and Tannen (1984) recommend this interpretive methodology by showing transcribed text to other native speakers who were not present in the original interaction. Hammersley (1992a) emphasized that reliability referred to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers (quoted in Silverman, 2001, p. 225). In order to achieve such reliability, the transcripts in English and Korean conversations were shown to the different native speakers in both languages.

All together, two native speakers of Korean and two native speakers of English participated in achieving the reliability. The two Korean native speakers were female adults in their mid 30s. Both of them came to the U.S. eight years ago after finishing graduate school in Korea and studied TESOL in the U.S.A. The two male English native speakers had professional jobs after finishing graduate school. Both of them were very interested in learning and studying the Korean language as a foreign language with the researcher. One studied it for two years and the other for more than three years. In fact, they were living with Korean spouses.

The reliability was measured by the same method applied to the transcripts of the children's speech in two languages. The transcripts were given to them with the target markers *well* and *isscanha* marked. Each was given two sets of transcripts of the two linguistic groups: monolingual children and bilingual children. The researcher gave them two different instructions. The reason for the two instructions was to get the native speaker's authentic intuition of DM use as well as to verify the divergent functions of interest in this study.

In the first instruction, the native speakers were asked to read the whole transcripts and then to write how *well* and *isscanha* functioned in the talk. In order to obtain a more natural response and not to constrain their interpretation, the researcher wanted them to bring home the transcripts, and read them when they had time or were comfortable. The researcher aimed to get the native speaker's authentic perception of the DMs spontaneously. Therefore, the specific request for this was just to write their insight as they read. This is a good method to obtain the natural response of the native speakers. When they brought the transcripts back to the researcher, the researcher collected the specific functions that she wanted to look at.

In the second instruction, based on the functions derived from the native speakers' perception, the researcher gave them a schema that described the functions in the specific environments. The specific functions were topic change, turn-taking, or contrast in a broad sense as described the previous section. The independent readers were asked to code the specific functions of each marker. For instance, they were to mark when the tokes *well* and *isscanha* appeared in the context of topic change, turn-taking, or contrast. Therefore, this method served to reconfirm the functions that the researcher already had

established and the reconfirmation was based upon the natural intuition of the independent raters.

Finally, the individual interpretation of the functions of the DMs was compared between the raters in each language. In other words, the functions they marked were measured in those categories: topic change, turn-taking, insistence, or contrast. More specifically, the percentage was drawn from the measurement of the functions they marked. Reliability was achieved by high levels of agreement between the raters and the researcher. The agreement between the raters was achieved as 87% in English data and 89% in Korean data. The differences between the researcher and two raters were 5% and 3%, respectively. Therefore, the overall reliability was 85% in English and 87.5% in Korean data.

CHAPTER 5

MONOLINGUAL CHILDREN'S USE OF DISCOURSE MARKERS

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter explores the use of discourse markers (DMs) in the corpora of the discourse of monolingual children. It uncovers the patterns of *well* and *isscanha* and their interactional functions in the spoken usage of English and Korean speaking children in the perspective of the theories of communicative and interactional competence. In order to establish comparative parameters for the use of the two markers between the monolingual and bilingual children, their occurrences in the monolingual data are first explored. This chapter aims at determining what those markers are doing exactly during the discursive interactions of each monolingual group from an interactional point of view. The findings will be used as the baseline for comparison with the bilingual group. The corpus-driven analysis elucidates to what extent the meanings and functions of *well* and *isscanha* are similar between the groups both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The interactional account reveals striking similarities in the use of the two markers between the monolingual Korean-speaking children and English-speaking children. The two different linguistic groups use the DMs *well* and *isscanha* as interactional signals in similar interactional environments. It was prominent that the two tokens occurred in divergent interactional environments such as disjunctive and disaffiliative environments. The principal aim of this chapter is, therefore, to propose a core meaning of the two markers from the interactional point of view. Both of the markers are interactional signals as an evidence of interactional competence. The core

meaning of *well* and *isscanha* signals contextual divergence. A number of interactional functions derived from the core meaning are offered as foreshadowing topic shift, contrast, insistence, and turn taking. In what follows, the commonalities of the two markers are presented in a parallel way both quantitatively and qualitatively.

5.2 Results

The total occurrence of the two markers in the monolingual groups was identified as rates per 100 words in the conversation data of each language group. The token *well* was identified 482 out of 38,175 total transcribed words[18] in the English monolingual corpus. The token *isscanha* was identified 483 out of 42,706 total transcribed words in the Korean monolingual corpus. In other words, the mean rates of *well* were 1.26 in the English children's corpus, and that of *isscanha* was 1.13 in the Korean children's corpus.

This result is noticeably higher compared to the result of Trillo (2002). Trillo reported that the mean rate of *well* was 0.3 in the children's data of first graders. As the same author interpreted, this figure was generally very low because the data were not based on interactional conversation. Moreover, the difference may reflect the age difference. While the age of Trillo's participants was seven years old, the average age of the participants of the present study was nine years old with a range of age from 6 to 11 years old.

Both markers were predominantly used for functional purposes for interaction enhancement in the monolingual data. As explained in section 2.7 and 2.8, *well* and *isscanha* have two different features: grammatical elements and functional elements.

[18] The number of words of the individual children was different depending on how many people involved in the conversation, which activities they did, or how much they were talking. It showed individual differences.

While the former is used for syntactic and semantic features, the latter is used for a functional feature.

Table 5-1. The Distribution of *well* and *isscanha*

	well	Total occurrences	*isscanha*	Total occurrences
Propositional property	Adverbial: Ex. She sings very well. Additional: Ex….and she likes the American girl as well. Ex…I like apple as well as pears.	27 (5.3%)	Negation: Ex. Haksayng-tul-i kyosil-ey iss-ci-anha. 'Students are not in the classroom.' Sentence-ending element: Ex. Haksayn-tul-i kyosil-ey iss-canha. 'Students are in the classroom, aren't they?'	57 (10.5%)
Functional property	Discourse marker: ***Well***, I don't know	482 (94.6%)	Discourse marker: ***Isscanha***, haksayng-tul-i kyosil-ey isse. 'You know, the students are in the class.'	483 (89.5%)
Total occurrence		509 (100%)		540 (100%)

Table 5-1 shows the distribution of the two target expressions in the database, where 94% of *well* were used as DMs, and 89% of *isscanha* were used as DMs. This was evidenced with 27 tokens of *well* for adverbial and additional meaning, and 57 tokens of *isscanha* for a sentence ending position that is a part of grammatical elements. Among 57 occurrences, the negative form, *iss-ci-anha*, appeared 35 times as well.

This result is very similar to the previous findings of both adults and children's studies. Children develop interactional functions before ideational functions (Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp, 1999; Pak, Sprott & Escalera, 1996; Scott, 1984; Sprott, 1992). The result implies that children start to use DMs from interaction and gradually extend to the propositional level, which indicates that children's linguistic forms are more sensitive to social interactional functions than grammatical functions.

Trillo (2002) found that English speaking children used 97.4% of *well* as a DM. Adult studies showed similar findings as 99.4% in Muller (2005), 87.4% in Trillo (2002), and 88% in Popescu-Belis and Zufferey (2006), respectively. A similar finding was reported about *isscanha* in the adult data. Kawanishi and Sohn (1993) found 85.7% were *isscanha* and 14.3% were *iss-ci-anha* although they included the token in sentence-ending position. In that respect, their figure is lower than the present study. The difference can be interpreted that children used *isscanha* for more interactional meaning than adults. The interactional usage of both markers can indicate that both English- and Korean-speaking children acquired the interactional functions far more than the propositional functions.

To illustrate, consider examples (1) and (2) for English and Korean respectively, both of which were extracted from the database of the present study.

[Excerpted from the data base of the monolingual children]
(1) Am I using my imagination really ***well*** today? 'Adverbial use'
I like Kira as ***well*** 'In addition'

(2) *Sip-ywuk chung-ey-nun moki-ka* ***iss-ci****-lul* ***anh-a****.*
ten-six floor-LOC-TM mosquito-SM exist-COMM-OM-not-DC
'On the sixteenth floor, there are not any mosquitoes.'
(3) *Kulentey il-chung-ey-n moki-ka isscanha.*
DM one-floor-LOC-TM mosquito-SM exist-INT.
But, there are mosquitoes on the first floor, aren't there

These represent syntactic constructions, where *well* in (1) functions as an adverb and *iss-ci-anhta* in (2) functions as the negative form of *issta* – 'there is' or 'there are'—. The meanings of *iss-ci-anhta* are 'there is not' or 'there are not'. Meanwhile, *isscanha* in example (3) functions as V+ *canha* forms in which *issta* as a lexical verb still means "exist."

However, examples (4) and (5) represent functional meanings. The functional elements *well* and *isscanha* do not function as syntactic components.

[Excerpted from the data base of the monolingual children]
(4) ***Well*****,** I don't know.
(5) *Kuntey* ***isscanha****, il-chung-ey-n moki-ka isse*.
DM one-floor-LOC-TM mosquito-SM exist-INT.
'But you know there are mosquitoes on the first floor.

As such, *well* and *isscanha* were employed as functional properties rather than propositional properties. Evidently, they were used as DMs (Andersen, 2001; Brinton, 1996; Fraser, 1998, 1999; Fuller, 2003; Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993; Schourup, 1999). In other words, the monolingual children used the DMs mainly for interactional purposes within the conversational interaction.

5.2.1 Discourse Markers in Turns

The survey of the occurrence of the target tokens indicated that they occurred within turn-constructional units (TCUs) in the monolingual corpora. The two DMs appeared in every unit type such as lexical, clausal[19], phrasal and sentential turns. Table 4-2 shows the similar distribution of turn units that the two DMs appeared.

[19] In the present study, a clausal unit was counted into a sentential unit.

Table 5-2. Discourse Markers in TCUs of the Monolingual Groups

Types of Turn	English-speaking Children's *well*		Korean-speaking Children's *isscanha*	
	N	%	N	%
Lexical Unit	13	2.5%	34	6.7%
Phrasal Unit	71	14.9%	63	13.3%
Sentential Unit	398	82.6%	386	80%
Total	482	100%	483	100%

Denominator: Turns, Numerator: Turn-units

The instance of each turn-unit is presented as follows;

[Adapted from 4.4.1, originally appeared as (1) (2) and (3)]

(6) *Well* and *isscanha* appeared in lexical units.
(a) J: ***Isscanha*** *ne tongsayng* ku ay…
'***isscanha*** your younger sister'…
D: *E…*
(b) S: What do you like among these?
R: Chocolate. ***Well,*** ice cream

(7) *Well* and *isscanha* appeared in phrasal units.
(a) E: *Ahim-ey*, ***isscanhayo...***
morning-at **isscanhayo**.
'In the morning ***isscanhayo***.'
(b) G: No, you can't close them.
K: ***Well***, something like that.

(8) *Well* and *isscanha* appeared in sentential units.
(a) C: ***Isscanha*** *ne coha-ha-nikka kulay*.
isscanha you lile-do-CONN so
'***Isscanha*** he does so
because he likes you.'
(b) G: Change the color.
E: ***Well***, how do I change the color?

Additionally, their patterns in turns were structurally similar but different in terms of turn positions. Both markers appeared in various turn positions, although *well* took place in every turn position such as turn initially, medially, finally, and even separately. The DM *isscanha* took place just at the turn initial and turn medial position. The distribution of various turn positions attests that the occurrence of DMs cannot be

restricted to a certain turn position. For instance, Fraser's (1999) canonical form of utterance initial, 'DM. +S', or 'DM, + S' does not exactly represent the positional location of *well* and *isscanha*. Table 5-3 displays the distribution of the DMs in turn positions.

Table 5-3. Positional Distributions of *well* and *isscanha*

Positions	English-speaking Children's *well*		Korean-speaking Children's *isscanha*	
	N	%	N	%
Turn-initial	399	82.9%	411	85.1%
Turn-medial	73	15.1%	72	8.3%
Turn-final	4	0.07%	0	0
Separate turn	9	1.93%	0	0
Total	482	100%	483	100%

Denominator: Turns, Numerator: Positions in Turns

As seen in the table above, both markers were most highly distributed in the turn-initial position. The frequency was identified as 82.9% of *well* and 85.1% of *isscanha,* respectively. However, the difference between the markers is in the distribution in the turn remaining positions. While the DM *well* appeared in every turn position, the DM *isscanha* only appeared in the turn-initial and turn medial position. Although the figure for the turn-intial position is relatively higher than the 67.8% reported for Trillo's (2002) children's data, their percentage is very similar to other studies such as Klerk (2005), Muller (2003) and Schiffrin (1987). However, the highest frequency of *isscanha* in the turn-initial position did not support Kawanishi's (1995) belief that the interactional *-canha* occurs exclusively in the sentence-ending position. This discrepancy was because the same author did not include *isscanha* as a

DM as a sentence independent component in her analysis. The positional distribution is portrayed in figure 5-1 and 5-2.

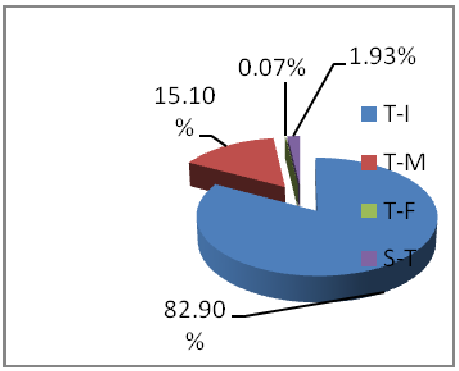

Figure 5-1. Distribution of *well* in Turn Positions

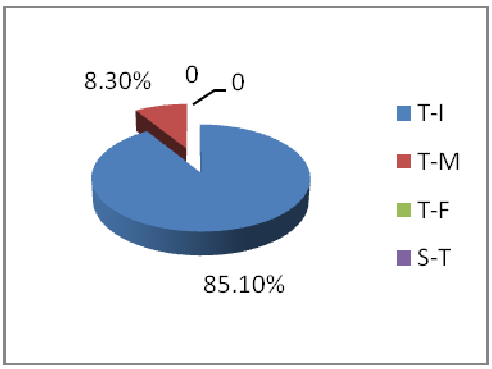

Figure 5-2. Distribution of *isscanha* in Turn Positions

Following are the examples of the occurrences of turn-positions.

[(9)-(12) Excerpted from the data base]
(9) *Well* and *isscanha* occurred in turn-initial positions.
(a) A: What are you going to do during the summer?
N**: *Well,*** we are gonna go to Jamaica.
(b) H: *Way naman kwichanhkey hanunkeya?*
'Why does he bother only me?
J: ***Isscanha*** *ne cohahanikka kulay kuntey.*
'Isscanha because he likes you anyway'

(10) *Well* and *isscanha* occurred in turn-medial positions.
(a) G: Ace!
K: Oh yeah? ***Well***, I have one too.
(b) S: *Sensayngnim,* black hole *alcanhayo. Kukeyyo pichkkaci hupswuhantayyo.*
'Teacher, you know black hole-canhayo. People said that it absorbs even the son.'
M: Black hole *pyelinteyyo, hankayyeyyo.*
Kuntey ***isscanhayo****. enunal mak chwungkyulo inhayse mak khecye kacikoyo…..*
'Black hole is a star, but it is one. But **isscanhayo** one day like because of shock like, it became big and….'

(11) *Well* occurred in turn-final positions.
(a) R: …. I've never tried them before. Oh ***well***.

(12) *Well* also occurred as separate turns.
(a) A: I like to listen to my teacher's story.
K: ***We::ll***

This confirmed the characteristic of DMs as a turn-initial occurrence (Schiffrin, 1987, 2001; Brinton, 1996; Fraser, 1990, 1998, 1999, Klerk, 2005; Schourup, 2001; Trillo, 2001). It may reflect developmental characteristics in terms of age. While Trillo's participants were only first graders, the average age in the present study was nine years old. It may also indicate the children used the linguistic elements for more interaction.

5.2.2 Co-occurrences

As noted by Andersen (1996, 1999), Karkkainen (2003), Klerk (2005), Smith and Jucker (2002), and Strauss (2005), DMs occurred with other linguistic elements in the data base. For example, in the corpora of the two monolingual groups, various linguistic elements frequently co-occurred in the same or surrounding utterances with those two markers. The linguistic types of co-occurrence were characterized by their relational meaning with *well* and *isscanha*. The co-occurrence was counted both within the same turn and other neighboring turns that were sequentially related in the conversation. The total co-occurrences of both markers were similar in terms of frequency. Overall, the co-occurrence of *well* was identified as 37.9% (183 tokens out of 482) and *isscanha*, 41.8% (202 tokens out of 483) in each monolingual corpus.

The specific types that frequently collocated with the target markers were contrastive, topic, elaborative, inference, and vocative elements. Those types in English and their functional equivalents in Korean are classified in table 5-4.

Table 5-4. Co-occurrence of *well* and *isscanha*

Linguistic Elements	English-speaking Children's *well*	Korean-speaking Children's *isscanha*
a. Contrastive Elements	18.9%	33.2%
b. Elaborative Elements	5.4%	1.1%
c. Inference Elements	13.5%	5.6%
d. Topic-marking Elements	10.8%	30.3%
e. Epistemic Elements	18.9%	10.1%
f. Vocatives	0%	17.9%
g. Pro Forma Token[20]	8.1%	0%
h: Non Lexical DMs	24.3%	0.2%
Total Co-occurrence	100%	100%

Both markers occurred with similar types of elements. A considerable number of co-occurrence was seen among contrastive elements, topic elements, and epistemic elements.

However, vocatives appeared only with *isscanha* whereas pro- forma elements appeared only with *well*. The DM *well* co-occurred with contrastive elements (18.9%), epistemic elements (18.9%), inference elements (13.5%), and topic elements (10.8%), respectively. The DM *isscanha* co-occurred with contrastive markers (33.2%), topic-changing elements (30.3%), and vocatives (17.9%).

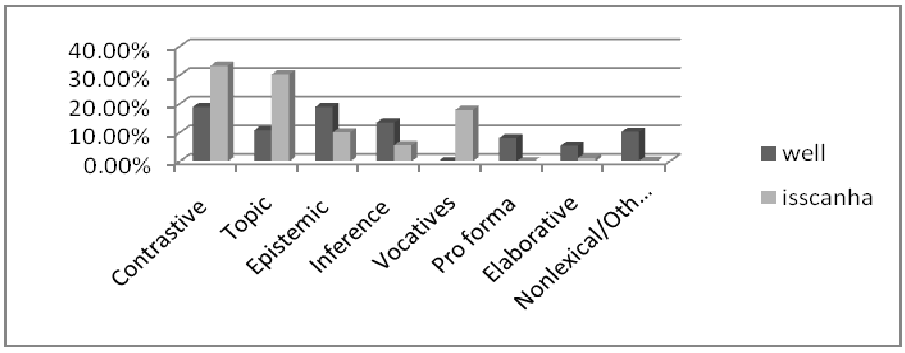

Figure 5-3. Co-occurrence of *well* and *isscanha*

[20] Pro forma token: Those positive expressions *yes* or *okay*, which is preceded or followed by negative expressions (Schegloff, 1988)

Figure 5-3 represents the linguistic types of co-occurrence of both markers. The numerical figures indicated the pattern of co-occurrence of the two markers. For instance, the most conspicuous pattern in the Korean data was that *isscanha* immediately collocated with the contrastive marker or topic marker *kuntey* (27%) and vocatives (17.9%). Also, *well* collocated with certain topic markers and contrastive markers. Similar findings were reported in Klerk (2005) that the New Zealand corpus has 33% of collocations of *well* directly with a personal pronoun. Likewise, children used *isscanha* with other markers. This will be discussed in detail in section 5.4.

5.2.3 Core Meaning

A closer examination of the instances in the monolingual corpora disclosed a common core meaning[21] of *well* and *isscanha*. The majority of the two tokens indicated a difference between the messages or unexpectedness between the interactional sequences to a certain degree. Both English and Korean speaking children primarily used the DMs when there was a possible deviation between propositions, utterances, and interlocutors during the interaction. The markers appeared when the current utterance was incongruent from the previous utterance in terms of topics, interactional sequences, turns, or the speaker's own ideas.

This observation of *well* is supported in the literature (Andersen, 2001; Fraser, 1993; Jucker, 1993; Schourup, 2001). Fraser argued that the core meaning of *well* as signaling "a dissonance between the present message and some information in the foregoing discourse" (1993, p. 2). Similarly, Jucker (1993) believed that it in2dicates that

[21] Fraser (1993, 1998, 1999) claimed that each discourse marker has a core meaning. Fraser defined the core meaning of discourse markers as "signaling the relationship between the segment of discourse they introduce, S2, and the prior segment of discourse S1" (1998, p. 302).

the previous utterance is not very relevant to the current utterance. Also, Schourup (2001) asserted *well* signals divergence from the hearer's expectation. More clearly, Andersen (2001) mentioned that *well* invariably marks contextual divergence.

The divergent function of *isscanha* has not been mentioned in the literature yet. Although H. Lee (1999) suggested that sentence-ending *-canha* can challenge the interlocutor's opinion in disagreement contexts. This is not pertinent to understand the core meaning of *isscanha*, since *isscanha* occurs in a sentence independent position. A thorough analysis[22] of *isscanha* indicates that 71% of the token conveyed inconsistent meanings in the given interactional sequence by taking place in divergent environments. In other words, *isscanha* frequently occurred in the interactional environments where the upcoming utterances would not be consistent with the present utterances.

As such, the markers of *well* and *isscanha* occurred in divergent contexts.[23] In order to represent the core meaning of the two markers in the monolingual corpora, the notion of 'contextual divergence' (Andersen, 2001) for interactional functions is adopted. Andersen illustrated 'contextual divergence' as 'D-signal'. In the contextual divergence, the current speakers may be forced to reorganize their cognitive environment, because they have acquired new information to the effect that previously held contextual assumptions must be rejected. D-signals are expressions of contextual divergence (p.71). Additional functions should be seen in conjunction with the more basic interpretive functions of marking contextual divergence (pp. 74-75).

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[22] This analysis will be presented in Ch 6 in detail.

[23] Andersen defined that 'context' involves not only preceding discourse or situational features but refers to assumptions that are brought to bear in utterance interpretation, the interactional functions of DMs from the point of view of cognitive effects of the hearer-orientation. (p. 71).

Therefore, the present study proposes that the core meaning of *well* and *isscanha* signals contextual divergence as interactional resources. The core meaning marks that the upcoming utterance will be divergent from the foregoing utterance in the discourse. In essence, both markers signaled contextual divergence. Contextual divergence can be represented by disjunctive environments and disaffiliative environments (Waring, 2003). While the former refers to topical digression or turns, the latter refers to dispreferred seconds or contrastive relationships. As such, contextual divergence is an umbrella term that is able to broadly include possible divergent environments.

In the same vein, the present study proposes the two markers as divergent markers in an interactional viewpoint. This umbrella term also is able to represent all possible functions for interactional divergence. This term is very relevant to represent dynamic functions of the two markers in divergent interactional sequences both propositional and sequential during the discursive interactions.

This core meaning of the two markers had several interactional functions. *Well* was decoded as *in that case, okay but,* or *let me think* in the monolingual data. Also Schourup (2001, p. 1033) proposed that insistence might derive from properties of *well* by conveying an invariable meaning of *I won't* or *I can't say anymore*. According to the same author, it is arguably present even when *well* occupies an entire turn with rising intonation.

In a similar vein, the varied meaning of *isscanha* had several functions. Those functions are translated as *you know*, y*ou (should) know that, I told you, isn't it?* or *isn't it the case?* Moreover, it was found that *isscanha* has the same meanings and functions of

the French DM *n'est-ce pas*[24], which is considered a tag question. *N'est-ce pas* means *isn't it?, don't they?,* or *can't you?* at the end of sentence depending on the context. It implies affirmative meaning, "*is that not it?",* or "*am I right?"* In a similar way, *isscanha* in turn-final position affirms the speaker's subjective meaning (S. Choi, 1995; Kawanish, 1994; H. Lee, 1999).

The core meaning was realized with similar functions. The functions were summarized as to focus, highlight, decrease or be insistent; that is, both groups of the monolingual children made use of the markers as attention getter, modifier, and insistence. Although the core functions were similar, their distributions were slightly different. The English speaking children employed *well* as highlighter (43.7%), attention getter (18.7), insistence (11.5%), and decreaser (8.3%). However, the majority of *isscanha* functioned as attention getter (47.2%), intensifier (28.9%), insistence (18.9%), and decreaser (2.4%). The numerical figures indicated that *isscanha* was more systematically distributed in the core functions than *well*.

Table 5-5. Major Functions of *well* and *isscanha* in Divergent Environments

Functions		English-speaking Children's *well*		Korean-speaking Children's *isscanha*	
		N	%	N	%
Attention Getter		90	18.7%	223	47.2%
Modifier	Highlighter	210	43.7%	139	28.9%
	Decreaser	40	8.3%	11	2.4%
Marker of Insistance		55	11.5%	15	18.9%
Others[25]		86	17.8%	12	2.6%
		482	100%	483	100%

[24] The similarity with French discourse marker *n'est-ce pas* was suggested by Susan Strauss (2007) during the academic talk.

[25] Others are items that did not seem to belong to the above categorized functions. This includes markers if they occurred before quotations, conclusions, answers or questions. This also includes fillers that appeared to have any special functions. Speakers usually used fillers when they do not know what to say.

Well and *isscanha* functioned as attention getters per se. The DMs particularly in turn-initial position consistently functioned as making their interlocutors focus on the specific discourse. In other words, the utterance-preparatory uses of *well* and *isscanha* were to call attention (Kawanishi & Sohn, 1993; Klerk, 2005; Mohan, 1979; Schourup, 2001). Also, the two markers were used either for highlighting or weakening the utterance. According to Karkkainen (2003), DMs usually in turn-initial position functioned as pragmatic modifiers which can intensify or decrease the force of an utterance. In addition, the children of the two monolingual groups utilized the markers to convey insistence. It is particularly noticeable that *isscanha* in turn-final position has the same function and meaning as *n'est-ce pas*. *Well* was not limited to the position for this function.

Figure 5-4 delineates the similarity and difference of the core functions of the English and Korean children.

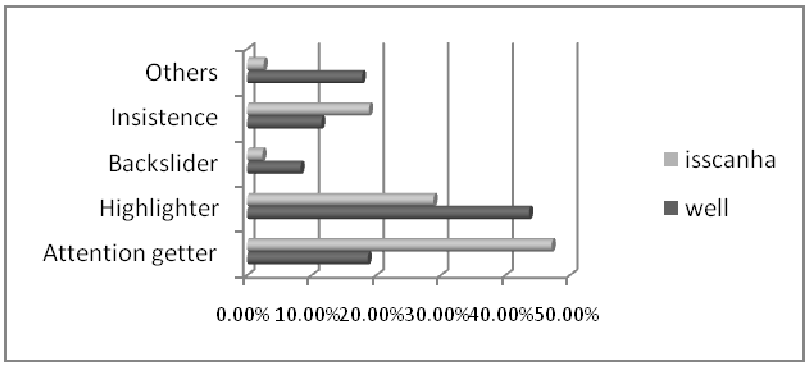


Figure 5-4. Distributions of Major Functions of *well* and *isscanha*

Below are the examples of each case.

[(13)-(15) Excerpted from the data base]
(13) *Well* and *isscanha* functioned as attention getter.
(a) G: You can put it here.
K: Do you want to put it here and wrap it?

G: Yes.
K: ***Well***, wrapping will be a dollar.
G: Ok, then.

(b) A: *Ku taumey yeki poca. kwusuli myes kay isse? neykay….*
'Next, let's see here. How many beads are there? Four……'
S: *Sensayng-nim* ***isscanhayo****. yeki isanghay-yo.*
'Teacher, ***isscanhayo*** (You know that), here, this is strange.'

(14) *Well* and *isscanha* functioned as intensifier.
(a) G: I don't want to go. I don't want to go every day.
K: ***Well***, you have to.
(b) S: *Halapeci-ka isangha-key tway-ss-na-pota*.
'Your grandpa might become strange.'
M*:* ***Isscanha isscanha*** *wulito yel han siey ku news ta pwasse.*
'***Isscanha isscanha*** (you know you know) we watched 11 o'clock news too.'

(15) *Well* and *isscanha* functioned as weakener.
(a) J: You are under arrest….it's over.
M: Wait. It's not over. ***Well*** right now, we could do it later.
(b) S: *Ya na i-kes sse-to tway?*
VOC I this-thing use-can
'Can I use this?'
J: *Na-to sse-ya tway EY:*
Ah I-also use-have to
'Oh I have to use that too.'
S: ***Isscanha*** *camkkan-man ssu-ko cwu-kkey. e?*
isscanha shortly-only use-CONN give-FUT Uh
'***Isscanha*** (you know) I will give you it back after using just for a minute. Uh?'

5.3 Interactional Functions

The corpus-driven analysis discovered the remarkable similarity of the interactional functions in the two markers. The two markers were employed as a communicative medium for the spoken interaction. Overwhelming evidence has shown that these markers contributed to organizing discourse and sequentiality (Beach & Metzger, 1997; Biber et al., 1999) particularly in divergent environments. The markers combined the roles of marking shift in the progress of a conversation such as turns and

topics in disjunctive environments, and the roles of signaling a contrastive relationship between hearers, speakers, and messages in disaffiliative environments.

As such, the core meaning was enriched by the interactional context. The tokens of *well* and *isscanha* were most likely to be found in divergent environments. Both markers presaged turn-taking, topic shift, contrast, and insistence. As such, both markers appeared in disjunctive and disaffiliative environments in interaction. Therefore, the present study proposes the two markers as divergent markers. Table 5-7 outlines the overall functions of *well* and *isscanha* and their interactional meanings particularly in divergent environments.

Table 5-6. Summary of Interactional Functions of *well* and *isscanha* in Divergent Environments

Interactional Functions	Conveyed Meanings	English-speaking Children's *well*		Korean- speaking Children's *isscanha*	
		N	%	N	%
Foreshadowing Topic shift	Achieving Topic Coherence	96	20.1%	224	46.4%
Marking Contrastive Ideas	My saying is not on the same wavelength…	275	57.2%	153	31.7%
Indicating Insistence	Am I not right?	55	11.4%	66	13.7%
Changing Turns	Whose turn is it now?	32	6.7%	29	6.1%
Others		24	4.6%	11	2.1%
Total		482	100%	483	100%

Denominator: Every possible context, Numerator: DMs in divergent contexts

The major functions of *well* were marking contrast (57.2%), foreshadowing topic shift (20.1%), insisting (11.4%), and changing turns (6.7%) respectively. Slightly differently, the major functions of *isscanha* were foretelling topic shift (46.4%), marking contrast (31.7%), insisting (13.7%), and changing turns (6.1%) respectively. That is, while the Korean children used *isscanha* before changing the topic most frequently,

English counterparts used *well* before marking contrast most frequently. Moreover, marking contrast showed a broad range of functions both of referential contrast or dispreferential sequences. Figure 5-5 exhibits the divergent functions of each group.

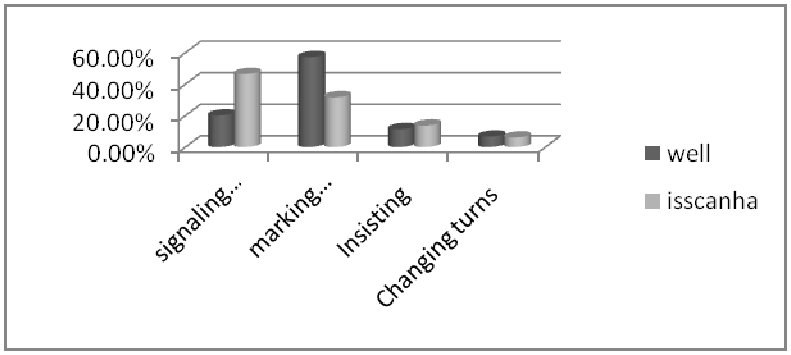


Figure 5-5. Interactional Functions of the DMs in Monolingual Groups

In-depth analysis also showed a general tendency of correlation between the interactional functions and linguistic co-occurrence. Specifically, signaling topic shift was found predominantly in turn-initial position as an attention getter with topic marking elements. Unlike *well*, *isscanha* co-occurred with vocatives for this function. Figure 5-6 shows the correlation with topic shift. Figure 5-7 shows that marking contrast was found also primarily as modifiers in turn-initial position with contrastive elements. Unlike *isscanha*, *well* frequently co-occurred with pro forma tokens for this function. Figure 5-8 shows the correlation aspects of insistence. The function of insistence was frequently found with epistemic and inference elements.

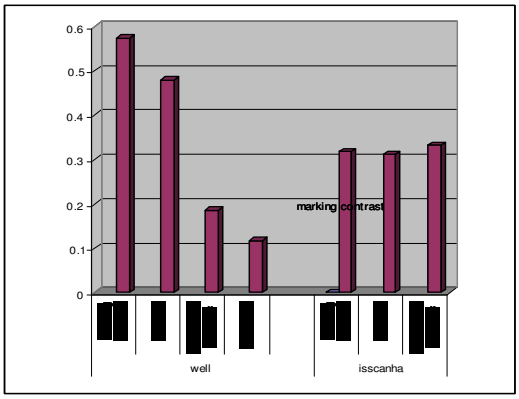


Figure 5-6. Correlation Aspects of Signaling Topic Shift

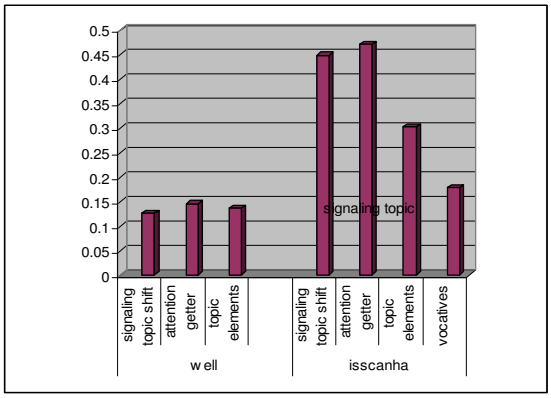


Figure 5-7. Correlation Aspects of Marking Contrast

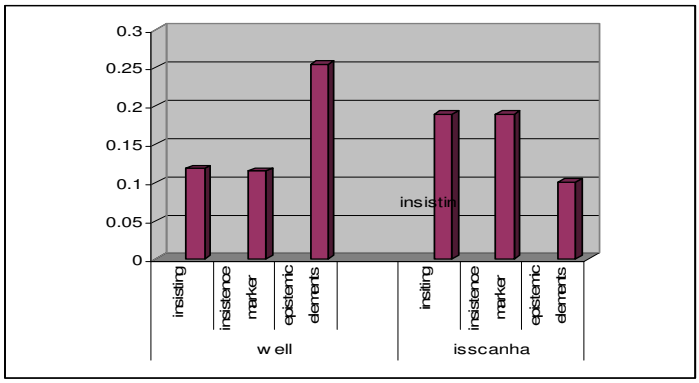


Figure 5-8
Correlation Aspects of Insisting

5.4 Qualitative Analysis and Discussion

It was salient that the monolingual children used the DMs in the fashion of signaling contextual divergence for a better communication during the interaction. The monolinguals' data were inundated with the instances in divergent environments. The findings from the interactional point of view outlined that the DMs emerged in the place of divergent contexts. The DMs conveyed a possible discrepancy between the current utterance and the previous utterance in various ways. As the English speaking children

used *well* for marking counter-expectation within the interpersonal system of engagement (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003), so the Korean speaking counterparts used *isscanha* in the unexpected environment in terms of discourse organization and interactional meaning. The interactional account of *well* and *isscanha* in the monolingual corpora uncovered their plufunctionality derived from the core meaning.

In summary, the core meaning was functioning differently in different contexts. The discourse markers were playing an anchor of the direction of conversation. The crucial elements to interpret those different interactional functions were co-occurrence and sequentiality (Karkkainen, 2003). The markers were doing a crucial role in signaling to hearers what to attend to in discourse and how to interpret messages (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003). In what follows, such interactional functions will be portrayed across different interactional environments.

5.4.1 Foreshadowing Topic Shift

One of the major functions of the two markers was foreshadowing topic shift in the monolingual data (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003, Fraser, 1993; Fung & Carter, 2007; Goldberg, 1980; Jucker, 1993; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1985; Watts, 1986). Turn-initial *isscanha* appeared in a digressive environment where disjunctive topics are introduced to the prior topic (Schourup, 2001; Waring, 2003). That is, the monolingual children employed *well* and *isscanha* to introduce a new topic or change the topic. The attention getter in the turn-initial position functioned as topic marker by signaling a relationship across the discourse and thus contributed to the coherence of the discourse (Andersen, 2002; Fraser, 1993, 1996, 1999; Fraser & Malamud-Makowski,

1996; Schiffrin, 1987). Both English and Korean speaking children used the DMs to achieve conversational coherence[26] both at the local and global level. Therefore, the markers played a role in the organization of discourse.

Conversation Excerpt (16) (AC-AS-6-8-MS)
Context: Five English-speaking girls are playing "American Idols". S plays as the host and the rest the contestants. This conversation is extracted at the middle of the play.

1. S: Okay, what is your age?
2. D: I'm seven years old and I'm going to M elementary school.
3. S: Okay, tell us about your name your age and what school do you go to.
4. I: Okay. My name is Sidney. I'm going to M elementary school and don't forget this, people?
→5. S: ***Well***, since we got all the names, since we got all the names, let let's talk about fashion. What do you like about fashion? Kimberly, what, what, who is your favorite fashion designer?
6. K: ***Well***, I like Raven. She got beautiful, she makes,=
7. S: =Next? Next?
8. Ps: (hh)
9. D: Kimberly you lost!…. Funny! (hh)
10. S: Okay, now the person… I like my favorite my favorite fashion designer is Raven. Not because she has….not because she makes clothes ….but because I like her PERSONALITY.
11. V: (Mimicking) PERSONALITY. (hh)
12. S: Her personality is never never give up….. She tries to do her best best everyday she's just like you and like you and me.
13. I: You have fashions, people? Diane [you know what?
14. S: [well, anyway I'll skip that part.
15. V: People I'm gonna be crazy.
16. I/D: (hh)
→17. S: ***Well,***=
18. I: =Thank you anyway.=
19. S:=Okay. Then, I don't like Raven just because she makes a fashion designer fashion clothes or or she just has faked. I like her because she tries her best everyday.
20. Ps: (Children begin to move around.)
21. S: Okay. Sit down. Stop stop stop!
22. I: Oh my! It's getting wacky.
23. S: I need to go to therapy.

[26] According to Lenk (1998, p. 19), while local coherence indicates those relations between segments in discourse by appearing immediately adjacent to each other, global coherence is those relations between segments in discourse that appear further apart, with other stretchers discourse in between.

24. D: I need Tylenol.
25. S: I need therapy so badly.
26. Ps: (All children talk simultaneously)…….
→27. S: ***Well, well,*** now, since it's got a little wacky, let's talk about jokes. What's your favorite joke?.....

The foregoing exchange displays the tokens of *well* foretelling changing topics. *Well* (line 5 and 27) signals topic shift and refocusing of the topic (line 17). *Well* in line 5 is used for closing the previous topic and moving toward the new topic (Fraser, 1988; Jefferson, 1984; Schourup, 1985). The utterance-preparatory use of *well* is used to call attention from the interlocutor before changing the topic from the introductory talk to topic (Schourup, 2001). When S finished the introduction of each participant, she moved to the main topic of the conversation.

Well in line 27 is used for departing from the previous topic and moving to the different topic. The topic shift occurs immediately after trouble-telling (Jefferson, 1984), which is indicated by "since it's got a little wacky". It marks a move to the new topic, which is indicated by "let's talk about joke" in the same line. It is evident that *well* functions as signaling a topic shift by S's own disjunctive talk. Likewise, both of the instances contribute to global coherence, linking those relations between segments in discourse that appears further apart (Lenk, 1998). *Well* constitutes a shift in topic with the accounts of 'since…..' and another topic marker *now*.

Meanwhile, *well* in line 17 signals a reorienting of the previous topic (Fraser, 1988). It is discontinued by I (line 18) and resumed by the same speaker S (line 19). The interactional sequences from lines 13 through 18 display that the original topic was drifted away from others' talk. In the digressive environment, in fact, S signals to return to her original topic with the utterance of *well*. Therefore, *well* in this context also

established global coherence, linking the relations between segments with other stretchers (Lenk, 1998).

It is particularly noticeable in the digressive environment that *well* co-occurs with other linguistic components. The functions of *well* as a topic shifter are in fact supported by the linguistic elements of co-occurrences. For example, those linguistic elements are 'since…', 'okay', 'now', and 'let's…', all of which are used either for giving the reasons to change the topics or for realizing the topic change. The same patterns are noteworthy in line 5 and 27, after giving the reasons by saying 'since…..,' S moved to the different topic by saying 'let's talk…..' It is even clearer that the topic change needs to be done with the repetition of *well well* and another topic marker *now* in line 27. *Now* as a topic marker (Fraser, 1993) and as a disclaimer of an opinion (Aijmer, 2001) signals the emphasis on the part of the topic at hand. *Okay* (line 19) as a topic marker (Fraser, 1993) helps to signal topic shift by returning to the previous topic.

> Conversation Excerpt (17) (S/M-P-2-88)
> Context: The conversation was taking place in a classroom. When the children came to the class, they smelled the odor of food in the classroom. This segment was excerpted when they began to talk over the smell.
>
> 1. M: *Sensayng-nim, yeki-ey umsik namsay na-yo.*
> teacher-HON here-LOC food smell come-POL
> 'Teacher, I smell food here.'
> 2. A: *Umsik naymsay?*
> 'Food smell?'
> 3. M: *Ocinge mek-umyen naymsay na-yo.*
> squid eat-COND smell come out-POL
> 'If we eat a squid, it smells.'
> 4. A: *Ccikay mek-eto kulay.*
> stew smell-also so
> 'So does stew.'
> →5. M: ***Isscanhayo*** *achim-ey,* ***isscanhayo*****=**
> **isscanhayo** morning-in **isscanhayo**
> **'*Isscanhayo*** in the morning ***isscanhayo*****.'**
> 6. A: **=***Hankwuk umsik mek-umyen an toy-ci*

Korean food eat-COND not can-COMM
'It is not good to eat Korean food, right?'

7. M: *Ney.*
yes: POL
'Yes.'

8. S: *Achim-ey hankwuk umsik meke-to toy-nuntey, thukhi cosimha-l*
morning-in Korean food eat-also-CONN specially careful- ATTR
kes-un toyncang-kwuk.
thing-TM soybean paste-soup
'Korean food is okay in the morning but the thing that should be especially careful about is miso soup.'

9. A: *Achim-ey cereal-i-na ppang muk-umyen coh-untey.*
morning-in cereal-COP-or bread eat COND good-CONN
'It would be good if we eat cereals or bread.'

10. M: *Cereal mek-umyen an toy-yo.*
cereal eat-COND not-become-POL
'It is not good to eat cereals.'

11. A: *Way?*
'Why?'

12. M: ***Isscanhayo*** *cereal-yo eli-n ay-tul-i mek-umyen*
isscanhayo cereal-POL little-ATTR child-PL-COP eat-COND
halapeci-ka malhay cwu-sye-ss-nuntey-yo, an chohu-l swu iss-tay-yo.
grandfather-SM say give-HON-PST-CONN-POL, not good-ATTR-can-QT- POL
*'**Isscanhayo***. My grandpa said that cereals may be not good for little children.'

13. S: *Wuli-nun etten cereal mek-nun-cwi-l ala-yo?*
we-TM which cereal eat-IN-NML-OM know-POL
'Do you know which kind of cereals we eat?'

14. A: *Mwe?*
'What?'

15. S: *Saykkkal-i ccinha-ko mweci coh-un-ke iss-nun-ke.* [*cohun-ke.*
color-COP dark-CONN DM good-ATTR-thing exist-IN-thing good thing
'The thing that has dark color and like (I mean) that has good-thing'
[Good one.'

→16. M: [*Kuntey cereal-un* ***isscanhayo***
DM cereal-TM
isscanhayo
motun-ke ta mantu-l-ttay-yo malli-ko-yo caylyo-lul kkulhye-kaciko
all-thing all make-ATTR-time-POL dry-CONN-POL material-OM boil-CONN
mantu-nun ke-lay-yo.
make-IN thing-QT-POL
'[By the way, cereals ***Isscanhayo***, he said when they make everything, they dry them all,

and boil the materials and then make them.'

17. A: *A:Kule-ntey?*
oh so-QT
'Oh, really?'

The previous exchange displays the occurrence of two tokens of *isscanha* in digressive environments. *Isscanha* plays a role as an attention getter (Kawanish & Sohn, 1993) before topic change. The first instance as foreshadowing a topic shift is identified in line 5. It turns out from the subsequent turns that M's utterance of *isscanha* signals her intention of topic change. This use of *isscanha* before a topic shift is achieving conversational coherence at a local level, since M extends the subject 'food smell' into 'breakfast'. She uses food in prior talk as a trigger (Waring, 2003). Food for breakfast is related to the prior topic of food smell in the consecutive discourse segments.

Another topic change occurs when S introduces his family's cereals in line 13. The local topic change is indicated with the topic marker *-nun*. Since S began to talk about his family's cereals, the topic digressed from M's original topic of the possible reason that cereals might not be good for children. From line 10, M brought new information that it is not a good idea to eat cereals by quoting her grandfather. In order to return to her original topic 'why cereal can be bad', she uses *isscanha* in line 16. *Isscanha* helps M to refocus on her prior topic occurring with other linguistic components such as the 'topic shifter *kuntey*' (Kim & Suh, 1996) and the topic marker *–un*. *Kuntey* has the meaning of *by the way* in the context of topic change. At this time, *isscanha* contributes to global coherence, for it reformulates the prior talk that diverged. This linkage that indicates relationships to the earlier topic before a digression is believed to signal global coherence (Lenk, 1998, p. 247).

5.4.2 Marking Contrast

Another major function of the two DMs in the monolingual data was signaling contrast. The DMs marked a contrastive relationship between the propositions and actions. The notion of contrast for this section is defined within the rubric of "contrastive" (Fraser, 1998; Fraser & Malamud-makowski, 1996; Maschler, 1997; Park, 1998). Maschler (1997) defined "contrast" as the expression of contrastive differences in meaning in actual language use (p. 280). Similarly, Fraser (1998) proposed the term "contrastive" as a cover term that signals a "contrastive" relationship between a current utterance and a foregoing utterance. According to Fraser (1998), the meaning of contrastive markers signals that the speaker intends the current message S2 to contrast to the previous message S1 (p. 302).

Fraser (1998) defined the meanings of the contrastive markers. They signal that the speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to contrast with an explicit or indirect message. The speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to correct a message conveyed by S1, which the speaker accepts. The speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to be correct while the message conveyed by S1 to be false. The meanings of contrastive markers include 'contrast', 'concessive', 'contradiction', disapproval, 'denial', 'challenge', 'reject', or 'cancellative' relationships (pp. 302-309).

Such contrastive meanings present textual information and actions. The contrastive actions can be understood as dispreferred sequences. Biber et al. (1999) and Fraser (1993) viewed *well* a contrastive relationship. Similarly, w*ell* was a preliminary to a dispreferred response (Smith & Jucker, 2002) and dissonance (Schourup, 1985; Schiffrin, 1987; Fraser, 1988; Klerk, 2005). The DMs evolved around dispreferred

sequences such as disagreement, challenge, refusal, or cancellation (Bolinger, 1989; Davidson, 1984; Jucker, 1993; Owen, 1981, 1983; Pomerantz, 1984; Schourup, 2001). Like *well*, *isscanha* appeared to function as contrast and dissonance during interactions.

Well and *isscanha* were functioning more as disagreement markers than as agreement markers. This result was quite different from the previous studies such as Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003), Bolinger (1989), Kawanish and Sohn (1993), and Kawanish (1994). Contrary to Kawanish's (1994) claim, sentence ending *isscanha* appeared more in disagreement sequences in the present study. In fact, *well* and *isscanha* in the monolingual data systematically appeared in the environments where they contributed a somehow inconsistent message with the foregoing discourse (Blackmore, 2002). Both English and Korean speaking children made use of those DMs in conveying the differences from the speaker's own utterances or between the interlocutors. That is, the contrastive relationship between the speaker's utterances is particularly noticeable when conceding, resigning, and self correcting. In what follows, those contrastive relationships will be specified in a detailed notion of contrast.

5.4.2.1 Contrast

Well and *isscanha* marked a contrastive relationship between the utterances of the speakers. The contrast occurs at both the referential and functional level (Maschler, 1997) in the monolinguals' data. Conversation exchange (18) is the example of referential contrast. *Well* marks a contrast between 'smart' and 'not smart'.

Conversational exchange (18) (EC-9- SP-2005)

1. P: I am so smart to win over all the game. I beat you two guys. WUHAHA:
→2. K: You two thought you were so smart! ***Well***, you're obviously not smart

enough to outsmart us!

Conversation exchange (19) (A/B-4-7-48)
Context: The conversation is extracted from when G and K are playing "American Girls."

1. G: And pretend she was so hungry.
→2. K: ***Well***, it's actually nightmare.
3. G: And pretend she is so starving she was like uhm like we should start eating.
4. K: And in real life she was sick too. She is sick, really sick. And she was bad at it.

Conversation exchange (19) is the example of functional contrast. *Well* marks the contrast between the opinions of G and K. The interactional sequences exhibit the two different ideas between the speakers; while G says "hungry", K says "sick". By prefacing *well*, K signals that her idea is different from G's. The contrast function of *well* is supported with *actually*, which is also present as a contrastive marker (Fraser, 1998; Aijmer, 2002) and as an opinion marker with objection (Lenk, 1998). According to Aijmer (2002), *actually* also expresses a discrepancy between reality and what appears to be the case. As such, the co-occurrence *well* and *actually* functions as contrasts.

Conversation exchange (20) (K/C-S-5-2-94)
Context: Korean monolingual speaking children S and M are telling a story to their teacher.

1. S: *Etten ay-ka cip-eyse wul-ko iss-ess-eyo…. ku aki-ka han-pen*
certain baby-SM home-LOC cry-CONN exist-PST-POL…that baby-SM
2. *wul-myen an kuchi-nun aki-ye-yo. Kulaykaciko kulaykaciko,=*
one-time cry-COND not stop-IN baby-COP-POL CONN CONN
'A baby was crying at her home…That baby would not stop crying once She began crying, and then and then='
→3. M: *=Kulentey-yo* ***isscanha-yo*** *kkockam cwu-l kkey kulenikka ttak*
DM-POL **isscanha**-POL dried persimmon give-ATTR-FUT-and then just
4. *kuchi-nun ke-yeyo.*
stop-TC thing-COP-POL
'But ***isscanhayo*** when the baby heard that she will give the baby a dried persimmon, then the baby just stopped crying all of a sudden.'

Similarly, in conversation exchange (20), there is a contrast between the propositions of S and M. The referential contrast is manifested in the utterances *an kuchi-nun…* 'not stopped…' and *kuchi-nun…* 'stopped…' By prefacing *isscanhayo* in turn-initial position, M brings contrastive information. Also, the co-occurrence with the contrastive marker *kulenteyyo* (Park, 1998) and the topic contrast particle *–nun* mark contrast. The contextual cue *ttak* also conveys M's emphasis on the moment of stopping the baby's crying. As such, the co-occurrence *kuntey isscanha* mirrors the sharp contrast.

5.4.2.2 Contradicting

It was the most common case that *well* and *isscanha* occurred in the context of contracting. The DMs frequently constituted contradictory turn shapes. They marked a contradictory relationship between the interlocutors, either directly or indirectly. The contrastive markers functioned as signaling contradiction (Fraser, 1998), disagreeing with the interlocutor's presumption or assessment. Conversation exchanges (21) and (22) show *well,* and (23) and (24) show *isscanha* as marking contradiction, respectively.

Conversation exchange (21) (A/B-4-8-30)
Context: G and K are playing a board game.

1. G: I can swim and catch you.
2. K*:* ***Well***, you can't go in dry land. Though?

In exchange (21), with the preface with *well*, K contradicts G's presumption of the possibility of catching K. *Well* in this contradictory context co-occurs with the contrast marker, *though*, which builds up the function of *well* as contradiction. Owen also (1981) found that *well* prefaces contradictory utterances.

Conversation exchange (22) (A/B-4-7-48)
Context: This conversation is taking place while K and L are playing with G's

pillow.

1. K: Gloria said she wants me to get this. Awesome!
2. G: Yeah, this is amazing.
3. K: My pillow.
4. G: No, my pillow. I bought it.
5. K: Yeah. ***Well***, it's my color too.

The foregoing conversation (22) shows the instance as "pre-disagreement token" (Schegloff, 1988). The contradiction starts when K claims that the pillow is her's (line 3), which triggers G's counterclaim in the subsequent turn. Although occurring with the agreement token with *yeah*, K claims further basis for her ownership by providing the account that she likes the color too (line 5). K uses *well* in the contradictory environment that is already established in the previous sequence. As Schegloff (1988) presented, in a dispreferred response, speakers frequently produce a pro forma agreement (yeah but), prior to the delivery of the actual disagreement sequence. The pro forma agreement can be applied to the utterance "*Yeah. Well…* in this exchange. *Well* signals her preliminary disagreement as it is heard that the upcoming utterance will be dispreferred response. Considering that the real owner is G, K agrees first and then produces an actual disagreement by claiming her ownership.

Conversation exchange (23)
Context: J and Y just came from lunch. They are talking to A about what happened at the lunch time.

1. J: Popular-*ka mwusun ttus-i-yeyo?*
   -SM what meaning-COP-POL
   'What does popular mean?'
   A: *Inkiissta ku mal-i-ya.*
   popular that saying-COP-INT
   'She is popular.'
   Y: *Kuntey mal-i an toy-yo.* ***isscanhayo****……. ku namca ay-tul-i-yo,*
   DM saying-COP not become-POL **isscanhayo** that boy child-PL-COP-POL
   k-ay thek-ul kalikhi-myense-yo, chin-i twu-kay-lako mak wus-ess-eyo.
   that child chin-OM point CONN-POL –SM two-CLS-QT just laugh-PST-

POL
'But it does not make a sense. ***Isscanhayo***……those boys laughed, pointing to her chin and saying that she has two chins.'

In the previous exchange, *isscanha* occurs as a contractory marker. When A's answer is different from what J and Y expected, Y contradicts the answer. Similarly, Lee (1999) claims that using *–canh* does not seek agreement, but assumes the co-participant's agreement. This finding is contradictory with Kawanish and Sohn (1993) and Kawanish (1994) who emphasized the main functions of *–canha* as seeking agreement based on the shared information. In a very opposite way, both instances of *-canha* mark contradiction , which is clearly unshared information between the speakers. The linguistic components in the same turn also mark the discrepancy between the interlocutors. The contrastive marker *kuntey* already indicates that a different idea will enter her utterance, and the negative particle *an* in *mali an twayyo* itself explicates her contradiction. The disagreement account is continued with the utterance of *isscanha*, which specifies the reason in the rest of the turn. Likewise, *isscanha* co-occurring with other linguistic elements functions as contradiction in a divergent context.

5.4.2.3 Disapproval

Well and *isscanha* marked speakers' disapproval towards their interlocutors in the monolingual children's data. The markers appeared to foretell a discrepancy between the speakers.

Conversation exchange (24) (A/B-4-11-13)
Context: The conversation occurs while E and G are playing at G's room. Up to now, the girls have talked about G's belongings that drew E's attention.

1. E: All of them?
2. G: Yeah….My grandpa…and he gets me all this stuff, he gets me this,

these markers, the[se,
3. E: [Everything?
4. G: Yeah, everything.
5. E: Then how come,=
6. G: =So that I can like do something with these.
7. E: Oh cool. (Picking up a cellular phone) Is this real? Is it working? Can [you talk with it?
8. G: [Yeah, except I don't use it.
→9. E: ***Well***, he gave you that?
10. G: Yeah……He also gave me this and he gave [me this,
11. E: [How come?
12. G: And he gave me that…
13. E: If he would gave it to you that, then how come he doesn't give you now?

The previous exchange exhibits the token of *well* as an indicator of the speaker's doubt. It is noticeable that the conversation is proceeding mainly with question and answer pairs in which E is performing the first part. E's continuous questioning may hint her disbelief, implying it is hard to believe that G's grandfather gave G all of the stuff. This presequence is a part of their meaning (Jefferson, 1972; Schegloff, 1972, 1980). Amongst the questions, the turn-initial *well* (line 9) particularly indicates her epistemic stance (Anderson, 2001; Karkkainen, 2003), suggesting her uncertainty. In this context, *well* conveys a "nuance of disapproval' (Bolinger, 1989) along with repetitions and questions. The subjective meaning is conveyed by those extreme case proportional formulations *all* and *everything* (Pomerantz, 1986), and the argumentative question forms *how come,* and *then how come* in the last turn (line 13).

Conversation exchange (25)
Context: Three children are learning linking verbs such as *am, are, is* and their past forms. The example is extracted while they are reading their own answers. S and P have the same answer but J has different one from them.

1. S/P: They [were tired
2. J: [They are tired.
3. P: (hh)
4. S: *Yay-n mwen-ci mollu-nun kes kathay-yo.*

this-kid-TM what-NML do not know-ATTR thing seem-POL
'I think he doesn't know.'

5. J: *E?*
'What?'

→6. S: *Alukhye-cwu-l kkey. i-ke* ***isscanha*** *(.) [um,*
teach-give-ATTR FUT. this-thing **isscanha**
'I will let you know. This ***isscanha***, [uhm,'

7. J: [*A: al-a.*
Ah know-INT
[Uh I know.'

8. S: *I-ke thullye-ss-e.*=
this-thing incorrect-PST-INT
'This is incorrect.'

9. J: =*A: kulay. Ne chencey-ta. Ne chencey-ta.*
ah so. you genius-DC you genius-DC
'Okay okay. You are a genius. You are a genius.'

The foregoing exchange portrays *isscanha* in the context of disapproval. The laugher token in P's turn immediately after J's answer (line 3) foretells that a problem exists (Schegloff, 1988). It is becoming clear in S's turn that it is perceived as trouble-telling (Jefferson, 1984) by presenting her negative assessment (line 3). S, in fact, presents the contrast between J's answer and others' answer by means of the topic particle-*n*. The repair initiator *e?* is also displaying some "trouble" in hearing the preceding talk (Schegloff, 1988). S's offer can indicate her disapproval of J's answer (line 6). More clearly, it is known that S's utterance is the action of disapproval by virtue of J's response in J's subsequent turns. J's responses can be understood as his gesture of resistance; J does not want to accept S's offer at all. In this context, the utterance of *isscanha* is foretelling her disapproval. It is reflected by both the token of pause and hesitation marker *um* (Aijmer & Simon-Vanderbergen, 2005).

5.4.2.4 Denial

The DMs appeared in the context of denial of accusation. The markers were functioning as denial of their interlocutor's assessment (Blackmore, 2002).

> Conversation exchange (26) (AC-H-5-14-3)
> Context: The conversation was taking place between the English-speaking brothers before they just sat down at the dinner table.
>
> 1. V: Hey, what is that? You stepped on my leg on purpose. You could've just stepped over it.
> →2. D: ***Well***, you could go the other way.

In the conversation exchange above, V's utterance, *Hey, what is that?* functions as a trouble shooting (Schegloff, 1988). When V accuses D that D almost stepped over V's leg, D does not accept the accusation. In the perspective of adjacency pairs, when an accusation is addressed in the first part, an apology is expected in the second part (Sack, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Have, 1999). However, D does not apologize; on the contrary, he counterargues that it is V's fault. In this context, disaffiliative orientation has already been presaged by the turn initial *well*. D's counterargument is to attribute the cause of the problem to his interlocutor (Pomerantz, 1986). As such, *well* functions conveying the speaker's defensive stance in this case of accusation.

Conversation exchange (27) exhibits the occurrence of *isscanha* in a more complicated dissonant environment. It displays several instances in the sequences of accusation and denial, conveying the speaker's epistemic stance in dynamic ways throughout the interaction.

> Conversation exchange (27) (S/M-P-2-88)
> Context: Up to now, M has told that cereal might not be good for children. She heard it from her grandfather who had watched the news from the TV. This segment follows the conversation exchange 2. For the sake of space, the prior 17 turns are omitted here.

1. M: *Kulaykaciko an coh-un ke-lay-yo.*
   DM not good-ATTR thing-QT-POL
   'That's why it is not good he said.'
2. A: *Al-ass-e.*
   know-PST-INT
   'I see.'
3. S: *Ani-myen halmeni-ka mweci*?
4. A: *Halmeni*?
5. S: *Yay halapeci*.
6. A: *Halapeci-ka way*?
7. S: *Yay halapeci-ka meli-ka isangha-key tway-ss-na po-ta.*
   not-COP-COND grandfather-SM strange-ADV become-PST-SUP-DC
   'Or there's something wrong with her grandfather, I guess.'

→8. M*: Na **isscanha** ne-ney emma al-ketun. ne-ney emma-hanthey ille-peli-nta.*
   I **isscanha** you-GEN mom know-CONN you-GEN mother-to tell-DC
   'I ***isscanha*** I know your mom you know. I will tell your mom okay?'

9. A: *Halapeci-ka news po-ko malssum hay cwu-sin-ke-lay. yay-ka*
   Grandpa-SM news see-CONN saying:HON-do give-HON-thing-QT.
   calmos tul-ess-na pw-a.
   this-child-SM well-NEG hear-PST-SUP-INT
   'She is saying her grandfather watched the news. I think S misunderstood it.'

→10. M*: **Isscanha isscanha** wuli-to yel han si-ey ku news ta pwa-ss-e.*
   DM DM we-also ten-one o'clock-at that news all see-PST-INT.
   '***isscanha isscanha*** we watched 11 o'clock news too.

11. A: *Yay-ney halapeci-ka po-sye-ss-tay. Na-to moll-ass-ketun.*
   this child-GEN grandpa-SM see-HON-QT I-also not know-PST- CORR
   enu news-eyse po-sye-ss-ci?
   which new-LOC see-HON-PST-COMM
   'She said her grandpa watched it. I didn't know about that either. I wonder which news he watched?'

→12. M: ***Isscanhayo** il cwuil-cen-ey po-sye-ss-tay-yo.*
   isscanha-POL one week-before-TIME see-HON-PST-QUOT-POL
   '***Isscanhayo*** He said he watched it one week ago.'

13. A: *Sayngkak-hay pwa-ya-ci. News-ey nao-n-ke-nikka.*
   think-do see-have to-COMM. news-LOC come out-ATTR-thing-CONN
   'We should think about it because it came on the news.'

→14. M: *A: kuleko **isscanha-yo** yel-han si, pam-ey, yel-han si-nun-yo*
   ah, DM isscanha-POL ten-one o'clock night-at ten-one o'clock-TM-POL
   *hankwuk news nao-**canha-yo**.*
   Korea news come out-canha-POL
   'Oh and ***isscanhayo**,* 11 o'clock, at night, at 11 o'clock, Korean news is On air, isn't it?'

15. A: *Ala-ss-e. ca, yeki-pw-a. treat-[nun… …*
   know-PST-INT. DM here-see-IMP. treat-TM

'I see. Okay. Look at this. The word 'treat' is…'

→16. S: *[Kuntey **isscanhayo**,*
DM: but **isscanhayo**
'[But ***isscanhayo***,'

17. A: (A keeps explaining without responding to S)……

18. B: *Kuntey news cwungeyse-to kecismal news-to iss-tay-yo.*
DM news among-even lie news-even exist-QT-POL
'But I've heard there a chance that some news can be wrong among news.'

19. A: *News-la-ko ta mit-ul swu-nun eps-ci.*
news-DC-CONN all believe-ATTR-NML-TM not exist-COMM
'There can be some news that is not trustworthy'

20. S*: Kunikka ani-l swu-to iss-e.*
DM not-COP-ATTR-NML-also exist-INT.
'That's, why it may not be true.'

21. M: S is mean.

22. S: You are mean.

23. A: *Ne-ney-tul selo nappu-n mal ha-myen selo nappu-n salam toy-nun-ke-ya*.
you-PL-PL each other bad-ATTR word do-COND each other bad-ATTR

24. S: You are mean bad.

→25. M: ***Isscanhayo**, yay-ka te nappa-yo. halapeci kath-un, halapeci kath-un salam-hanthey.*
isscanhayo-POL. This child-SM more bad-POL grandfather be like, grand father be like person-to.
'***Isscanhayo***, he is worse than me. To the person like grandfather, like grandfather'

26. A: *Kulehkey mal-ha-myen an toy-ci.*
like that say-do-COND not become-COMM
'That is not nice to say so.'

The entire exchange seems to be mainly proceeded by the sequence of accusation and denial. It is noteworthy that S is accusing (line 3 and 16), and M is denying by prefacing *isscanha* (line 4, 6, 8, 10, and 21). Each accusation is identified immediately after A's 'acknowledgment token' *alasse* (okay, I see) of line 2 and 11. The response token can serve dually as a continuer and as an assessment (Strauss, 1994, 2005).

The first utterance of dissonance is identified when S expressed the negative comment on M's grandfather (line 3), which can be heard strongly as accusing. In line 3, subtle disapproval is embedded. It is clearly known by the subsequent turns of M, who

confronts S by counterchallenging and justifying throughout her turns until line 10. The contingent use of *isscanha* intensifies her confrontation. The utterances of *isscanha* are decoded as the tokens of the strong gesture of denial. First M forewarns that she will tell his mother of his bad words with the utterance of *pelinta* (line 4). Strauss et al. (2006, p. 192) proposed that *-pelinta* involves the expression of speaker's stance such as emphasis.

The turn-initial *isscanha* marks her adversarial stance when she attempts to counter challenge (line 4). The attention getter *isscanha* (Kawanish & Sohn, 1993) in the turn-initial position foreshadows that upcoming talk may upset expectations (Schiffrin, 1987). The utterance of *isscanha* sounds more challenging or even threatening. *Isscanha* in the next three contingent sequences also functions as a highlighter of her strong denial by claiming her justification (line 6, 8, and 10). *Isscanha* which derives from committal – *ci* in this case is used for affirming what has been assessed by the speaker (M) in the preceding turns (H.S. Lee, 1999). It represents M's rebuttal of the accusation. The instances convey M's defensive stance by providing the evidence. By prefacing with *isscanha*, she claims that her grandfather's information is not wrong. According to Pomerantz (1986), participants involved in extreme cases like accusation are to defend against or to counterchallenge the accusations.

Another trouble shooting is projected by the co-occurrence *kuntey isscanha* in line 12. It foretells dissonance by projecting the probability of falsehood of the information. S's abrupt turn-taking from the sequential point of view may indicate his intention to tell that there can be a problem at that point. His dispreferred action becomes clear by the hearsay *Kuntey news cwungeyseto kecismal newsto isstayyo* (But there can be even wrong news among even news.) (line 23). The contrastive marker *kuntey* is used to bring

contrast information. As Fraser's (1993) description of basic *but*, *kuntey* reflects a sense of "dissonance" His doubt on the news of cereals is clearly depicted by the conclusive account *Kunikka anil swu to isse* (That's why it may not be true) (line 26). *Kunikka* can be the translation equivalent of the 'inferential marker' (Fraser, 1993, 1999) *so*, and the linguistic form *–l swu to isse* indicates this possibility. *Isscanha* in this context functions as a divergent marker of disbelief (Andersen, 2001). The attention getter *kuntey isscanha* as an off-topic account conveys his dispreferred response. In other words, his dissonant stance is presaged by the utterance *kuntey isscanha* through which he conveys that he still does not approve S's information in spite of all the efforts M has made so far.

As such, *isscanha* is revolving around the discord. Also, *kulenikka* as a DM provides subjective ground for disapproval by defining the prior talk for various interactional purposes (Kim & Suh, 1994, p. 124). S reformulates his own prior talk to project his disagreement. The metalinguistic functions of *kulenikka* are interaction motivated to strengthen the speaker's stance to convey his dispreferred actions.

The token occurs as responding to the accusation (line 21). All of the dispreferred sequences bring about accusing each other in the subsequent turns (line 17 through 21). Although both of them engage in the action of accusation, S's utterance is heard more tensely by the lexical choice 'mean' and 'bad' (line 20). M confronts the accusation by denying it (line 21) by prefacing with *isscanha* in order to intensify her denial of the accusation. To support her claim, *isscanha* is used to "invoke a norm" (Bolinger, 1989, p. 315) as found in the English discourse *well*, more specifically to "deliberate comparison" with a norm (Schourup, 2001, p. 1030). That is, by proving the important sociocultural knowledge that they should respect older-aged people, M denies S's accusation.

5.4.2.5 Challenging

Well and *isscanha* appeared as markers of challenging. They signaled confrontation in a disaffiliative environment. As *well* indicated a possible challenge (Klerk, 2005; Smith & Jucker, 2002; Watts, 1986), so did *isscanha*. The following excerpts illustrate the monolingual children's use of DMs such a dispreferred response.

Conversation exchange (28) (AB-A-4-11-15)
Context: The conversation is taking place between two second-grade girls while they are playing at G's room.

1. E: Are we gonna play that library thing?
2. G: Yes, if you help me clean my room.
3. E: Okay, uhm, what do I do? Oh, here's a book.
4. G: That's a Bible.
5. E: It's a Bible? Oh, put it where?
6. G: Put it where? The book?
7. E: Yeah.
8. G: Oh you know what? Just leave it like that…. Hey! Look! What I did. Wait wait!
9. E: Are we done cleaning your room?
10. G: No, I still need some folders. Are you sure that was enough? Because I see a bunch more.
11. E: I don't see any folders.
12. G: I do.
→13. E: ***Well***, you should be working too.
14. G: I'm working on other stuff like my desk.

In the foregoing exchange, a conflict arouse between the speakers. The adjacent pair of question and answer indicates that E wants to play library (line 1), and G wants E to help clean G's room for that (line 2). The interactional flow seems to be smoothly going until G said "Hey! Look! What I did. Wait wait!" (line 9). The utterance indicates that G is distracted, which is somehow problematic to E. G's distraction causes E to propose the clarification check, "Are we done cleaning your room?" (line 10). In fact, the

clarification check adumbrates E's challenge as perceived in the subsequent turns (line 11 to 15).

That is, the interactional goals of the two children are very different; while E intends to finish cleaning, G intends to continue cleaning. Bothered by G who seems not to work so hard but keeps demanding, E finally challenges G by saying, "you should be working too." (line 15). *Well* in this context signals confrontation (Schiffrin, 1987). It functions as intensifying the dispreferred account, invoking that it is G's responsibility as the owner of the room. *Well* is used as an epistemic stance by indicating the speaker's attitude, which is built up with the epistemic modal auxiliary, *should* (Karkkainen, 2003). As Bolinger (1989) states, *well* is heard as demanding because it appeals to the norm of proper behavior (p. 311). As such, the meaning of demanding might be derived from the properties of *well* with the rising intonation, suggesting the need of completion (Schourup, 2001, p. 1033). *Well* intensifies (Svartvik, 1980) E's meaning of challenging purpose.

> Conversation exchange (29) (KC-SS-6)
> Context: This conversation is taking place between two ten-year-old Korean children. The conversation starts when J asks S's blood type.
>
> 1. J: *Hyelayk-hyeng mwe-ya?*
>   Blood type what-INT
>   'What is your blood type?'
> 2. S: B.
> 3. J: *Na-nun ppi-ka ceyil silh-untey. ppi-hyeng-i cceyil silh-te-ntey.*
>   I-TM B-SM first not like-CONN. B type-SM first not like –RETRO-CONN.
>   'I don't like type B the most. I dislike type B the most.'
> 4. A: *Way? Ne-nun mwusun hyeng-i-ya?*
>   why? you-TM what type-COP-INT
>   'Why? What is your blood type?'
> 5. J: O *hyeng-i-yo.*
>   O type-COP-POL
>   'Type O.'

→6. S: O-*hyeng* O-*hyeng-un* ***isscanha****,* O-*hyeng-un miyongsil-eyse mak ca-taka ilena- se……*
O type O type-TM **isscanhayo** O type-TM beauty shop-LOC just sleep-CONN
wake-CONN
'Persons of type O are ***isscanha***, type O is at the beauty shop, when they wake up….'

7. *caki meli-ka isangha-key tway-ss-ul kyengwu kulayto <u>yeppu-ney-yo</u>*
self head-SM strange-ADV become-PST-ATTR case but pretty-CRM-POL

8. *kulehkey chingchan-hay-cwu-myen emchengna-key cohaha-ko,*
like that compliment-do-give-COND great-ADV like-CONN,

9. *B hyeng-un caki syangkak-ul solcikhi mal-ha-n tay.*
B type-TM self thought-OM frankly talk-do-ATTR-QT
'I have heard that even though their hair is done weird, if others give compliments on their hair, type O persons are extremely happy with that, and type B persons express their opinion frankly.'

The prior exchange displays *isscanha* as signaling confrontation. The dissonance seems to be launched by J's subjective opinion (line 3). From the interactional point of view, the immediate response of his personal propensity and the repetition can be heard as a strong indicator that J does not like S's blood type (line 3). Accordingly, as soon as she learned J's blood type, S begins to confront J with the comparison between the two blood types from line 6. *Isscanha* is employed as an intensifier of S's confrontation remark. In this case, the token indicates that the speaker is actively taking into account what is already known or assumed (Schourup, 2001; Svartvik, 1980) because the disagreement environment is already established in the previous sequence.

S's confrontation is supported by several linguistic elements such as the topic marker *–un,* the contrastive maker *kulayto*, and the hearsay *–ntay*. The topic markers are used for contrasting the blood types. *Kulayto* which can be the translation equivalent of the contrastive marker *still* in English (Fraser, 1993, 1998, 1999) signals a sense of dissonance by emphasizing the shortcoming of type O. The employment of the hearsay -

ntay (line 9) is effective for supporting her argument. The connective *–ko* which functions as a contrast connective *but* in this specific context is used for contrasting the characteristics of type B and O. By comparing two blood types with all of those linguistic components, S effectively contrasts the differences. All of the co-occurrences support the function of *isscanha* as marking challenge. The challenge function of *isscanha* contradicts Kawanish (1994), who claimed the interactive function of *–canha* as a speaker's non-challengeability.

5.4.2.6 Non-compliance of Request

It is conspicuous that the monolingual children used *well* and *isscanha* as signaling refusal. As *well* (Davidson, 1984; Owen, 1981), *isscanha* appeared in the dispreferred responses such as refusal of request or non-acceptance of offer.

Conversation exchange (30) (AC-AS-6-4-MS)
Context: This conversation is taking place during the role-play. K acts a teacher and H a student.

1. K: What do you like?
2. H: I'd like to hear my teacher's story.
→3. K: (.) ***Well*****?** (.)
4. H: Plea::se.
5. K: I don't feel like.
6. (Two turns are omitted.)
7. H: Then can you tell Cinderella story?
8. K: Yeah. Cinderella is a good character. Cinderella does good works, right?....

In the previous exchange, the token appears as foreshadowing refusal to the request, which is understood by virtue of the extended turn of the same speaker (line 5). *Well* serves as a form of preliminary refusal (Smith & Jucker, 2002). The use of *well* as a single word utterance with a long and breathy-up glide-down (Bolinger, 1989) before

refusal signals K's reluctance to speak (Blackmore, 2002; Schourup, 1985). The pause as reluctance tokens can be also seen as a sign of potential refusal (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 1990). It is remarkable that while non-compliance of the request is prefaced with *well*, compliance directly occurs (line 8). This case demonstrates the single *well* with a rising intonation signals a violation of expectation (Klerk, 2005) as well as a non-compliance of the request (Owen, 1981).

> Conversation exchange (31) (AB-A-4-11-23)
> Context: The conversation is taking place between E, an English-speaking girl and her school friend, G who is a bilingual girl. The part is extracted before the games.
>
> 1. G: Do you want to play Blink? (Blink is one of children's card games)
> 2. E: Blink? What's Blink?
> 3. G: Or do you know how to play War or something like that? War is really fun.
> →4. E: Uhm, ***well***, I wanna play uhm (.)
> 5. G: Mario Kart?
> →6. E: ***Well***, American Girls. But I need papers.

The foregoing segment exhibits the instances of *well* in the context of non acceptance of offer. The entire conversation consists of three adjacent pairs, and it is perceived that the offers in the first pair parts are rejected by virtue of the next turns. The first rejection is indicated by the repetition *Blink?* and the clarification question *What's blink?* (line 2). Those repair shooters signal a problem on E's side (Schegloff, 1988), and the perceived trouble makes G offer another game by using the alternative token *or* (line 3). However, it is known that the second offer is also rejected along with the tokens of hesitation *uhm, well* and the pause (line 4). *Well* in this case functions as a backslider by which the reject is pushed into the back, which may signal a forthcoming reject. As such, pre-sequence as the preparatory character is part of their meaning, signaling refusal in

this context (Jefferson, 1972; Schegloff, 1972, 1980). In other words, in the pre-sequence, refusal is already projected.

The rejection is explicated in the final turn (line 5) when responding to G's offer of Mario Kart (line 6). Despite G's interactional efforts by those recipient-oriented utterances so far, E eventually turned down G's offer. E proposed her own preferred activity— *American Girls*—with the utterance of a *but* clause which is also unrelated to G's game (line 6). In fact, this rejection has been underway from the first turn and finally arose with the utterance of *well*. In accordance with this function of *well*, such contextual components as repair initiators, tokens of reluctance and pause co-occur in this context. All of the components characteristically precede the non-acceptance (Sacks, 1987). By prefacing with *well*, E foretells her declination to G's offer.

Conversation exchange (32)
Context: Two Korean children and an adult are talking in this conversation just after finishing an art class.

1. S: *I-ke kacta noh-ko o-l-kkey-yo*.
   this bring back put-CONN come-ATTR-FUT-POL.
   'I will put this back.'
2. M: *Holangi ssu-l ke-ntey. Holangi an ssu-l ke-yeyyo wuli?*
   tiger use-ATTR-thing CONN. Tiger not use-ATTR-thing-POL, we
   'We will use the tiger. Won't we use the tiger?'
3. A: *Ili kac-ko w-a. Wuli ha-ko iss-nuntey.*
   here bring-and come: IMP. we do-PROG- CONN
   'Bring that back here. We are using it.'
→4. S: ***Iss-canha-yo*** *yae kes-i te ku-canhayo.*
   Isscanhayo this child thing-SM more big-**canha**-POL
   'There is hers, isn't it?'
5. A: *Wuli ku-ke-l-lo ha-l ke-ya*.
   we that-thing-OM-INSTR do-ATTR-thing-INT
   'We will use that.'
6. S: *Cay ke-y te coh-untey. A: i-ke kulem ike-l-lo ha-sey-yo.*
   that-child thing-COP more good-CONN. oh this thing then this-OM-with do- HON- POL
   'Her thing is better. Oh this, use this then'

The above excerpt contains the instance of *isscanha* in the context of refusal. When A told S to bring it back (line 3), his spontaneous response is refusal, and the refusal is conveyed by the turn final *isscanha*. By insisting that M also has a tiger, he argues they do not need it anymore. The turn-final *isscanha* in this context conveys his refusal by insisting on his opinion. The function of refusal is supported by the subsequent turns of A and S. While A made explicate that she needs the material, S still is reluctant to bring it. The utterance *cey ke-y te coh-untey* 'Her thing is better I think why do you want this?' implies his non-compliance with the request. Furthermore, S offers a different thing; this clearly conveys his refusal.

5.4.2.7 Concession

The discourse markers *well* and *isscanha* shared concessive functions as marking contrast between the speaker's own utterances. The tokens evolved as resigning markers as a result of differences between the speakers. They were backing up the speakers' claim by weakening their opinion or even reversing it entirely (Pomerantz, 1984). They mark a slight contrast between the speaker's own utterances by yielding their position as in the following exchanges (33) and (34).

Conversation exchange (33) (AB-A-4-11-18)
Context: Two seven-year-old girls are playing. E has tried to operate the electronic doll several times.

1. E: Why isn't she working?
2. R: Do you know how to work it? Do you want it fast or normal?
3. E: Fast.
4. G: I don't wanna.
→5. E: ***Well***, maybe only a little fast.

In the foregoing segment, *well* prefaces the conceding remark by reducing the degree of force of the request. *Well* conveys a concessive meaning, resigning the speaker's original position (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2005). The token marks that E has changed her position by weakening her current idea (only a little fast) with her previous idea (fast). When dealing with the noncompliance of the request, K employs *well* as "backing down" her foregoing utterance (Pomerantz, 1984) by resigning her position. The monolingual children used the markers to signal a concessive relationship. It is particularly noticeable that *well* co-occurred with 'understatements' (Hubler, 1983) such as *maybe*, *only*, and *a little*, all of which also decrease the degree of the pragmatic force. Hence, the linguistic elements named 'hedge devices' (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987) or 'understatements' (Hubler, 1983) were incorporated into the conveyance of the speaker's conceding account.

> Conversation exchange (34) (K-SS-A-1-06)
> Context: So far, an audio player has been turned on while the children are talking in the class and the children want to listen to their talking.
>
> 1. J: *Wuli han-pen tule pwa-yo*.
> we one-time listen try-POL
> 'Can we listen to it?'
> 2. A: *Nacwungey*.
> 'Later.'
> 3. J: *A: ccom thul-epwa-yo::*
> ah little turn on try-POL
> 'Ah please turn it on.'
> 4. S: *Ye: yay-ka pangkum mal ha-n ke-y cincca kwungkumhay-yo*.
> yes this kid-SM just now say do-ATTR thing-COP really wondrous-POL
> 'Yes. I am really curious what he just said.'
> 5. A: *I myen-i ta kkuthna-ya toy*.
> this side-SM all finish-have to
> 'This side should end.'
> 6. J: *Ccokkum-man tul-e pwa-yo.*
> little-only listen-try-POL
> 'Please let's listen a little.'
> 7. A: *A: yay tul-i suep sikan-ey way kulay?*

ah this kid-PL-COP class time-at why so?
'I don't understand why these kids do like this.'

→8. S: ***Isscanha-yo****, wuli suep kkuthna-ko thule pwa-yo kulem.*
isscanha-POL we class end-CONN turn try-POL then
'***Isscanhayo***, can you turn it on after we finish the class then?'

9. A: *A ala-ss-e.*
ah know-PST-INT.
'Oh okay.'

10. S: *Kkok-yo kkok. Nuce-to toy-nikka.*
surely surely late-even all right-CONN.
'Please please because it doesn't matter if we're late.'

In the preceding excerpt, *isscanha* evolves as a conceding marker as an outcome of interactional difference. As seen in the interactional sequence until line 7, the children's requests will not be granted. Realizing that A will not comply with her request during class, M is backing down from her original request (Pomerantz, 1984). In other words, M changes her position from 'during class' into 'after class'. *Isscanha* marks a contrastive relation between the speaker's foregoing position and the present position in this context. The preface of the DM is functioning as weakening the degree of the force (Pomerantz, 1984).

The co-occurred linguistic features in her extended turns support the function of concession. *Kulem* (line 8) can be the translation equivalent of the English inferential marker *then*. The concessive token *–to* (Strauss, 2005) with the subjective connective *-nikka* (Kawanish & Sohn, 1993) is a strong indicator of a conceding remark. *-Nikka* is used in giving justification for a request to make it sound more persuasive (Cho et, 2001; Kim & Suh, 1994). Both Kim and Suh (1994) and Sohn (2003) viewed the use of the turn-final *-nikka* as intending to get the interlocutor's collaboration.

5.4.2.8 Cancellation

The monolingual children employed the DMs to cancel their previous utterances. *Well* marked a cancellative relationship between propositional information or actions. The propositional cancellation was found when *well* functions as an editing marker of self-correction (Svartvik, 1980), adjusting content of talk (Schiffrin, 1987), introducing repair to the common ground (Jucker, 1993; Smith & Jucker, 2000), and modifying what was just said (Muller, 2005).

Although both markers indicated a cancellative relationship between the speaker's own utterances, a slight difference was found in terms of turn positions and the domain. *Well* marked the cancellation of actions at turn-initial position and the cancellation of the propositions at turn-medial position. However, there was no example of cancellation of *isscanha* in the data base. Conversation exchange (35) and (36) specify the cases of *well*.

Conversation exchange (35) (A/B-4-7-51)
Context: G is showing K a new computer game.

1. K: …Oh that's good. I can't do that.
2. G: I can do it.
3. K: But I'd like to try.
4. G: I am next. Me next. I'm next. One, two, three…eight. Okay.
5. K: ***Well***, I don't want to go to.

Conversation exchange (35) involves the case of the cancellation of the speaker's own action. It turns out from the interactional sequence that K abruptly cancels her utterance. *Well* signals the unexpected action to her interlocutor. Although K wanted to try the computer game at first (line 3), she withdraws the action later (line 5). By prefacing with the contrast marker *well*, K signals that the following utterance is not congruent with what came before (Fuller, 2003).

Conversation exchange (36)
Context: A second grade-girl is talking about school subject during the playtime at after school program. Up to know, S has told that her favorite subject is science.

1. D: …..My favorite teacher is Mrs. B. She is a great teacher. Don't tell. I'll see her again because ***well*** I don't know. I'm going on to EP and she might not go to EP.
2. R: You can sew your own clothes I can't sew worth a darn. Hmmm…*Well* I AM very good at it.

Conversation exchange (36) contains the token as cancelling the proposition within turn. That is, the turn-internal *well* functions as a 'self-repair marker' (Muller, 2005; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1985) in this context. In line 2, the original proposition "I'll see her again" is cancelled by virtue of the *well*-bearing utterance "*well* I don't know" in the same turn. As such, the turn-medial *well* is used for correcting her own speech, signaling that a different proposition is to come within the same speaker's turn. The monolingual children use *well* to correct an expression and rephrase it with a more appropriate one (Muller, 2005). In other words, *well* signals self-repair by editing the speaker's own utterance (Biber et al., 1999; Muller, 2005; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1985; Svartvik, 1980).

5.4.3 *Well* and *isscanha* as Marking Insistence

Another major function that was derived from the core meaning was indicating a speaker's insistence. The monolingual children used the DMs when they insisted on their argument in disaffiliative environments. As *well* signaled that the forthcoming utterance is problematic in an interpersonal level (Greasley, 1994; Jucker & Smith, 1998; Pomerantz, 1984), so did *isscanha* in the same environment. Bolinger (1989) and Schourup (2001) interpreted *well* as a functioning of insistence. The function of

insistence was apparent as they asserted, demanded or refused to yield (Bolinger, 1989). Insistence of the tokens was interpreted as epistemic markers (Andersen, 2001; Karkkainen, 2003). “Epistemic modality evaluates evidence on the basis of this evaluation assigns a confidence measure to the speaker’s utterance. There is an evidence for the speaker’s utterance” (De Haan, 1999, p. 85, quoted in Strauss, 2005). Epistemicity is explained with reference to a speaker’s belief, opinion, and certainty.

In this case, the use of the DMs expresses the speaker’s stance (Karkkainen, 2003). Recently, the DMs have been approached with the perspective of epistemic stance, *isscanha* (Choi, 1995; Kawanish, 1994; Kawanish & Sohn, 1993; Lee, 1999) and *well* (Aijmer & Simon-Vanderbergen, 2003; Andersen, 2001; Bolinger, 1989; Jucker, 1993; Smith & Jucker, 2002; Schourup, 2001). As previous literature presented different ideas of the turn positions of stance-taking markers in spoken interaction, such as turn-initial position (Karkkainen, 2003) or turn-final (Kawanish & Sohn, 1993; Kawanish, 1994; Schourup, 2001), insistence markers occurred usually turn initially and finally. However, stance-taking of *isscanha* was primarily in this turn-final position, while *well* occurred in the turn-initial position in the present study. The function of insistence stood out as refusal to yield or vehement demands.

5.4.3.1 Refusing to Yield

The instances of *well* and *isscanha* were frequently found as refusing to yield. The monolingual children used the DMs to insist that their ideas are correct over their interlocutors. Use of the markers strongly indicated the speaker had no intention of resignation.

Conversation exchange (37)
Context: In a game, the children were telling good things about their friends in front of a recorder. K kept occupying it and did not want S to use it. After a while, S began to draw K's hairstyle. Looking at the picture, K grabbed S's pen. This conversation was taking place after that.

1. S: This is Kimberly's hair. You will cut your hair like this. You know what, Kimberly?
   This lady is a very very very I mean very annoying person.
2. K: (Took the pen away from S)
3. S: Kimberly, give me that pen.
4. K: No. Stop.
5. S: Give me?
6. K: No. I want to write it. I'm not telling.
7. S: I' m not going to give you the tape.
8. K: ***Well***, I don't care.
9. S: You cannot hear what I am doing.
10. K: I don't care the stupid thing that Sidney is doing.
11. S: Kimberly is the meanest girl on the earth. She will not be quite.

The prior segment exhibits the occurrence of *well* in the context of refusing to yield. There is a dispute between S and K throughout the entire sequence. *Well* functions as the speaker's attitudinal marker. It is perceived that K has no intention to give the pen to S. *Well* indicates that K will never yield, which is explicated at the last turn. The linguistic expressions of the two parties indicate that the conflict is increasing. Their lexical choices *stupid*, *the meanest on the earth*, *will not* tell the intensity of insistence. As such, the use of *well* indicates that S has no intention of resignation.

Conversation exchange (38) (K-SS-A-06)
Context: The conversation is taking place between the children and an adult in English class. So far the children have learned about the comparative forms *-er* and *-est*. After giving the children sometimes to solve the problems, A now wants the children to read their own answers together.

1. A: *Kulay. icey kathi ilk-epo-ca.*
   so now together answer-OM read-try-PROP
   'Ok. Now let's read together.'
2. Ps: (Reading) Some birds are rarer than others.
3. S: *Kuntey way others-nun yele-myeng-i-ntey er-ul pwuchye-yo?*
   DM why others-TM many-CLSF-COP-CONN er-OM attach-POL?

'Others are many people but why do we have to put *-er*?'

4. A: *Ee:: than-i issu-nikka. pikyo-ha-nun ke-nikka than* [*others*
uh uh than-SM exist-CONN, compare do-ATTR thing-CONN than others
'Uh uh because it has 'than', because it compares, than [others'

5. S*:* *[Way-nya-myen-un,*
why-INTERR-COND-TM
['It's because,'

6. A: =*Twu-myeng-man nao-n key [an-i-ko,*
two-CLSF-only come out-ATTR-thing-COP not- COP-CONN
'It has not only two [but'

→7. S: [*Kuntey-yo,* ***isscanha-yo*** *yeki-se-nun-yo, a:*
but-POL **isscanha**-POL here-LOC-TM-POL, ah
kunikka way er-ul pwuchye-yo, est-lul an pwuchi-ko?
so why er-OM attach-POL, est-OM not attach-CONN
'But ***isscanhayo*** (I told you) here, ah anyway, why do you put *–er* here, not - *est*?'

The foregoing exchange portrays the turn-initial *isscanha* as a marker of insistence. From the interactional exchange, it is perceived that there is a discrepancy between S's questions and A's answers. For instance, S seems to understand that*–er* is not to be used for comparing many persons (line 3); instead, *–est* should be used for that (line 7). From her utterance in every turn, she insists that she is right all along. There are abundant demonstrations of insistence. The speaker uses the contrastive marker *kuntey* as turns, and the turns are overlapped, indicating the speaker's impatience.

The trouble-source turn seems to start from S's clarification question (line 3). It shapes the disagreement turn along with those contrastive tokens *kuntey* (Park, 1998) and *-ntey* (Choi, 1995; Park, 1998). The overlapped turn-taking with the argument marker *waynyamyen* (line 4) also indicates S's intention to argue further that she is right. She does not seem to step back from her position because of A's affirmative answer. The reactive token *Ee::* (It can be interpreted as 'I know what you are talking about', or 'Okay, this is the answer.') and the reasoning marker *–nikka* (…because…) give the clear reasons (line 5). Finally, the use of *isscanha* in S' final turn that is again overlapped with

A's turn indicates her insistence. The linguistic components of the co-occurrence make it apparent as insistence. Both the turn-initial *kuntey* and *yekise-nun* were employed to insist on her correctness. Also, *kunikka* (anyway) as a conclusion marker and *a:* (ah) can indicate her emphatic stance regarding the unresolved problem. Those linguistic elements are used for emphasizing her insistence.

5.4.3.3 Demanding

The function of insistence was found in the context of demanding. When the monolingual children demand vehemently, *well* was used.

> Conversation excerpt (39) (A/B-4-7-47)
> Context: G and K are playing school with American girls. Both of them are acting two characters. G is acting as a teacher and K is acting as a student.
>
> 1. G: And then she said I don't want to go. I don't want to go everyday.
> 2. K: ***Well*** you have to=
> 3. G: =And then her and then your teacher was like uh…
> 4. K: She is a student. So she has to listen to the teacher, right?

The prior exchange portrays the instance of *well* as an insistence marker. *Well* in K's utterance is demanding, for it appeals to the norm of proper behavior (Bolinger, 1989, p. 311). That is, K vehemently demands the student's responsibility by using various linguistic elements. The epistemic elements *have to* and *has to* indeed strengthen the function of *well*. The turn-final *right*? functions as affirming the justification of her demand. K uses *well* for demanding a student's proper behavior.

5.4.4 Signaling Changing Turns

Still another interactional function of the two markers in divergent environments is signaling a change in floor–holding. They frequently signal the discontinuity of turns

of the previous speaker. The monolingual children used the DMs for turn organization, either by bidding or by claiming. They were used as a bid for the floor, interjecting in the middle of another interlocutor's turn, or claiming their right for turns. That is, the attention getters *well* and *isscanha* marked off turn taking at non-turn entry positions, while others are still talking. They were employed as 'turn-switching markers' (Ostman, 1981).

As *well* functioned as marking counter-expectation within the interpersonal system of engagement (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003), so *isscanha* occurred in the unexpected environment. The DMs coordinate discourse by signaling a desire to gain access to the floor (Erman, 1987; Holmes, 1986; Klerk, 2005; Schiffrin, 1987; Stenstrom, 1990). As such, they have a capacity for contributing to the structure and coherence of the discourse (Andersen, 2001), and they are used to organize and hold the turn and to mark boundaries in the discourse (Stenstrom, 1994, p. 63).

The following examples exhibit the instances where the speakers claim their ownership of turns in multiparty conversations.

Conversation exchange (40)

1. A: What are you doing during the weekend?
2. I: Oh, oh oh, this this week, I'm going to New York with my aunt. And she is usually out to go with me.
3. A: That's good.
4. K: I'm going to New Jersey,
→5. S:=***Well*** at Saturday,=
6. K:=Stephanie, you are telling mine. Okay, let me go first. On Saturday, I am going to wedding. I'm going to be a flower girl. [What,
7. S: [Why do you want to say without me?
8. K: Anyway…….

Conversation exchange (41)

1. A: *Cwi-ka way nao-nun-ci a-nun salam?*

mouse-SM why come out-IN-NM know-IN person
'Who knows why a mouse comes?'

2. M: *Moll-ayo*.
not know-POL
'I don't know.'

3. A: *Umsik-i issu-myen nathana. ……Umsik [naymsay.*
food-SM exist-if appear……food smell
'If there is food, they come……..food [smell

4. M: ***[isscanhayo**, cey-ka-yo*,=
isscanhayo I:HUM-SM-POL
[***Isscanhayo*** I

5. S: =*Lotte payk[hwa*
lotte department
Lotte depart[ment

6. M: *[Nay-ka mence malha-ko isse-ss-**canha***.
I-SM first talk-PROG- PST-**canha**
'[I was talking first (you should know that).'

In (40), while K is still talking, S initiates her turn by prefacing *well. Well* marks off S's turn taking, which is stopped by K who claims her ownership of the turn. Similarly, in (41), while A is talking, M initiates her turn with the utterance of *isscanha*. When S interrupts her turns, M insists her ownership of the turn. Both markers are employed to mark off the children's turn-taking in a disjunctive way.

As displayed in a variety of conversation excerpts above, the functional similarities of the markers are evident in contextual divergence. The evidences of the core meaning of contextual divergence were compelling in disjunctive and disaffiliative environments (Andersen, 2001; Heritage & Atkinson, 1984; Seedhouse, 2004; Schourup, 2001; Waring, 2003). In a digressive environment, the DMs introduced a disjunctive topic to the prior talk. In a disaffiliative environment, the DMs marked a contrast with either contrastive utterances or dispreferred actions. They indicated the speaker's insistence in a disagreement environment. Also, both of them appeared in a disjunctive

turn-taking. As such, the core meaning allowed a wide interpretation across a broad range of the discourse situation (Fraser, 1993; Schourup, 1999).

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the use of DMs in monolingual children was an evidence of the development of interactional competence in everyday conversation. Their communicative competence was well indicated in a variety of interactional functions of the two markers explored in the monolingual children's data. The analysis from the interactional point of view disclosed a remarkable similarity in the use of the markers. Both Korean and English speaking children used the DMs as turns in a variety of positions, frequently collocating with other linguistic elements. Also, they have a similar core meaning and function. All of those characteristics influence the specific interactional functions of the two markers.

The core meaning of the two markers was found to signal contextual divergence between the foregoing utterance and upcoming utterance. They indicated that there will be a difference between the utterances. Evidently, the DMs occurred consistently in divergent environments such as in digressive and disaffiliative environments. Therefore, it is claimed that the core meaning of *well* and *isscanha* are signaling contextual divergence in the present study.

The core meaning was realized as a means of focus, highlight, and insistence. That is, the conspicuous functions of both markers were summarized as attention getter, modifiers, and insistence. The modifying functions had two different functions as intensifier as well as backslider. In addition to those core functions, the markers also

functioned as fillers, mostly in the English data but not in the Korean data. In addition, there seemed to be a correlation between the functions and turn-positions. They showed a general tendency that attention getters and modifiers occurred in the turn-initial position, insistence markers in the turn-final position, and other fillers in turn-medial position.

As such, the core meaning was functioning differently in different interactional contexts. The conversation analysis based on interactional sequentiality disclosed that the major functions of the two markers were marking off turn taking, foreshadowing topic shift, contrast, and insistence. The monolingual children used the DMs to take turns and to change topic. More intriguingly, both markers carried out a broad overarching contrast such as propositional or functional contrast. In functional contrast, both markers mark dynamic interactional functions, which were adapted into the notion of dispreferred sequences in the present analysis. Finally, the DMs functioned as insistence as affirming, refusing to yield, and demanding. As such, it was highly noticeable, from all the examples discussed in the previous section, that *well* and *isscanha* had a unified 'core' meaning, and within this common core, certain relevant categories of interactional meanings have emerged.

Finally, given that the two markers have similar meanings and functions, it can be stated in two ways: (a) if the argument that bilingual children develop pragmatic competence in a similar way to monolingual children (Nicoladis and Genesee, 1996a; Andersen et al, 1999) is correct, bilingual children should perform DMs as their monolingual peers in both languages, particulary given the similarities in the functions of the two DMs. (b) if bilingual children develop pragmatic competence in a different way

from monolingual children (Nicoladis, 1998), it is possible that there might be different factors that are involved in the use of DMs in the bilingual children.

CHAPTER 6

BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S USE OF THE DISCOURSE MARKERS

6.1 Introduction

The present chapter investigates the use of the same discourse markers (DMs) in the corpora of the bilingual children's conversation based on the parameters that were established in the monolingual data. The comparative parameters enable the analysis to explicate the similarities and differences between the bilingual and monolingual groups. Ultimately, this chapter aims to discover how the bilingual children use the two DMs in each language during the discursive interactions in comparison with their monolingual counterparts.

The comparison of both quantitative and qualitative analyses unveiled the coexistence of similarities and differences between the monolingual and bilingual use of the DMs. The quantitative analysis discovered a similar frequency between the bilingual group and the two monolingual groups, whereas qualitative analysis revealed the difference of core meaning between the two linguistic groups. Similar to the monolingual children, bilingual children used the two DMs as interactional resources, indicating the development of interactional competence. The core meaning of *well* was very similar to that of their English-speaking counterparts, whereas the core meaning of *isscanha* was quite different from that of their Korean-speaking counterparts. In that respect, the distribution of the two markers was not identical in interactional environments. While the functions of the English DM appeared to signal contextual divergence in a systematic

way, the functions of the Korean DM varied into different communicative purposes. In addition to the contextual divergence, they used *isscanha* as an additional means of communication that the monolingual children did not use. Substantial evidences were captured in the distribution of the marker in turn position, co-occurrence, core meaning and interactional functions. In what follows, those characteristics will be specified in terms of similarities and differences of the two markers.

6.2 Results and Discussion

The total occurrence of the two markers in the bilingual groups was identified as rates per 100 words in the conversation data of each language. Three hundred ten instances of *well* were located out of 33,451 total transcribed words in the English data. One hundrend twenty four instances of *isscanha* were located out of 20,558 total transcribed words in the Korean data. In addition, the mean rates of *well* were 0.93, and that of *isscanha* were 0.6. These figures were higher than that of Trillo's (2002) study. Trill found that the mean rate of *well* in the speech of nonnative children speaking English was 0.25. This difference can be understandable considering the age difference. While Trillo's (2002) participants were Spanish speaking first graders, the present study's participants are bilingual children whose average age was nine years old in the U.S.

6.2.1 Comparison of Overall Frequency

To determine if the frequency of the DMs was different between the bilingual and monolingau grop, four independant sample t-tests were completed. To control for the multiple analyses, the error rate per comparison was reduced to .0125 as recommened by

Bonferroni. Independent samples t-tests revealed that the frequency of the use of the DM *well* was similar to the English-speaking children, and the frequency of the DM *isscanha* similar to the Korean-speaking children.

The frequency of the DM for the use of *well* did not differ significantly between the monolingual English-speaking children and bilingual children *(t = .696, p = .101)*

Table 6-1. Group Means of *well*

Language group	N	Mean	St. Deviation
English-speaking children	15	1.3533	1.09772
Bilingual children	15	.7373	.88009

Similarly, the frequency of *isscanha* of bilingual children was similar to the monolingual Korean-speaking children. There was no significant difference for the use of *isscanha* between monolingual Korean-speaking children and bilingual children (*t = 2.22, p=. 035*). (Note: While this difference is statistically significant using the convention .05, it does not mean the .0125 level determined by the Bonferroni correction.)

Table 6-2. Group Means of *isscanha*

Language group	N	Mean	St. Deviation
Korean-speaking children	15	1.0267	.89066
Bilingual children	15	.4207	.56929

In the same way, there was no significant difference between L1 and L2 production in the bilingual data (*t=. 986, p=. 341*).

Table 6-3. Means of *well* and *isscanha* in Bilingual Group

Language	N	Mean	St. Deviation
English DM	15	.7373	.88009
Korean DM	15	.4207	.56929

In sum, the research findings explicated the similar frequency in the use of DMs in two languages. There was no difference between the English-speaking children and bilingual children in the use of *well* and between the Korean-speaking children and bilingual children in the use of *isscanha*. In the same vein, there was no difference between L1 and L2 production in the bilingual data. Although *p* values were different among the three comparisons, it can be inferred from the results that bilingual children produced both L1 and L2 DMs with a similar frequency compared to their monolingual-speaking peers. However, the low number of the participants had a marked effect on power.

6.2.2 Comparison of Linguistic Property

Bilingual data also showed that the two markers were employed as interactional resources, which indicated their interactional competence. Both markers were principally employed for functional purposes in conversation discourse. Ninety five percent of the occurrence of *well* and hundred percent of the occurrence of *isscanha* were used as DMs in the bilingual corpora. That is, while the bilingual children used *well* for both propositional and functional property, they used *isscanha* only for functional property. The bilingual children were able to use the English marker as a grammatical component (4.8%); however, they were unable to use the Korean marker for the same purpose.

Similar findings were reported in the monolingual speakers. Children develop interactional functions before ideational functions (Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp, 1999; Pak, Sprott & Escalera, 1996; Scott, 1984; Sprott, 1992). Trillo (2002) found that 87.4% of *well* were used for DM in the native speaking adults. Very similarly, 87% of *well* were DMs in the London-Lund corpus (Klerk, 2005). Therefore, the present result suggests that the bilingual children used *well* in the same way as native English speakers.

The comparison of Korean-speaking and English-speaking monolinguals' use of DMs with that of Korean–and English-speaking bilinguals revealed both similarities and differences. In English, bilingual children were similar to their monolingual counterparts, while in Korean, they differed from monolingual Korean children in functions of the use of the Korean DM *isscanha*. Figures 6-1 and 6-2 display the similarity in *well* and the difference in *isscanha* between the bilingual and monolingual participants. In Figure 6-2, the use of *well* was very similar between the bilinguals and English-speaking monolinguals; 5.3% of *well* were used for propositional meanings in the monolingual children, and 4.8% in the bilingual children.

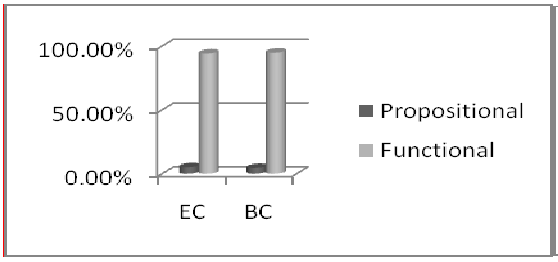


Figure 6-1. *well*

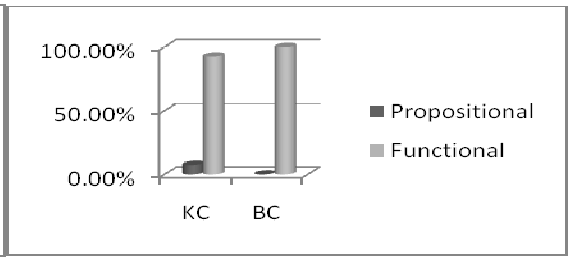


Figure 6-2. *isscanha*

However, there was a slight difference between the Korean children and bilingual children's data. While 35 tokens of *iss-ci-anha* were found as propositional elements in the data of monolingual Korean children, none was found in the data of bilingual

children. Nonexistence of the grammatical property of *isscanha* can indicate that the bilingual children have not acquired it yet. The bilingual children acquired propositional meaning much slower than interactional meaning; that is, it may be the case that the negative form *iss-ci-anha* is hard for them to use in their everyday conversation.

Below are examples of the linguistic expressions in each language in the bilingual data. (1) is the example of the propositional meaning of well. Well in (1a) is an adverbial meaning, and well in (1b) is an additional meaning. (1c) is the example of *isscanha* in the sentence ending position. However, no instance of negative meaning *iss-ci-anha* was found in the bilingual children's data.

[Excerpted from the database of bilingual children]

(1a) V: She doesn't know the room that well 'cause she is just new here.
(1b) G: I like *maywu-n ke* as well. (I like spicy thing as well)
(1c) E: *Hanalum twi-ey ku apat* ***isscanh-ayo*****.**
name of a store back-LOC that apartment exist-**canha**
'You know there is an apartment behind Hanalum,[27] right?'

In contrast, examples (2) and (3) represent functional meanings. The functional elements *well* and *isscanha* do not function as syntactic components.

[Excerpted from the database of bilingual children]

(2) ***Well****,* I'm hungry too.
(3) ***Isscanha****, ne-ka hankwuk mal ha-ko na-nun mikwuk mal hay- to tay?*
DM, you-SM Korea language do-and I-SM America language do-can?
'***Isscanha*** can you talk in Korean and can I talk in English?'

The bilingual children used *well* and *isscanha* for interactional purposes rather than grammatical purposes. It was more evident in the case of the Korean marker. In fact, it seemed that the bilingual children did not know the use of grammatical properties. What can be inferred from the result is that they seem to be rarely exposed to the use of

[27] A Korean grocery market in Philadelphia

the negative form in everyday interaction. It seems that they were more familiar with *epsta* than *iss-ci-anhta* although both have the same opposite meaning of *issta*. The negative form *iss-ci-anhta* involves three different grammatical morphemes, which may inhibit children from using it in a conversation. This result also supports literature that children acquire interactional meaning before ideational meaning (Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp, 1999; Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996; Scott, 1984; Sprott, 1992).

6.2.3 Comparison in Turns

The examination of the forms of the focal markers discloses that they occurred within turn-constructional units (TCU) in the bilingual corpora. As their monolingual counterparts, the bilingual children produced them in every turn unit type. Table 6-5 exhibits the distributions of turn units in which the DMs were realized.

Table 6-4. Discourse Markers in TCUs of the Bilingual Children

Types of Turn Units	*Well*		*isscanha*	
	N	%	N	%
Lexical Unit	25	8.2%	4	2.6%
Phrasal Unit	31	9.6%	22	17.9%
Sentential Unit	254	82.2%	98	79.5%
Total	310	100%	124	100%

The two markers were formed in a similar way. Both markers were distributed in the order of sentential unit, phrasal unit, and lexical unit. Eighty two percent of *well* appeared as a sentential unit, nine percent as a phrasal unit, and eight percent as a lexical unit, respectively. Eighty percent of *isscanha* appeared as a sentential unit, eighteen percent as a phrasal unit, and three percent as a lexical unit, respectively. This distribution is similar to the monolingual data as displayed in Figure 6-3.

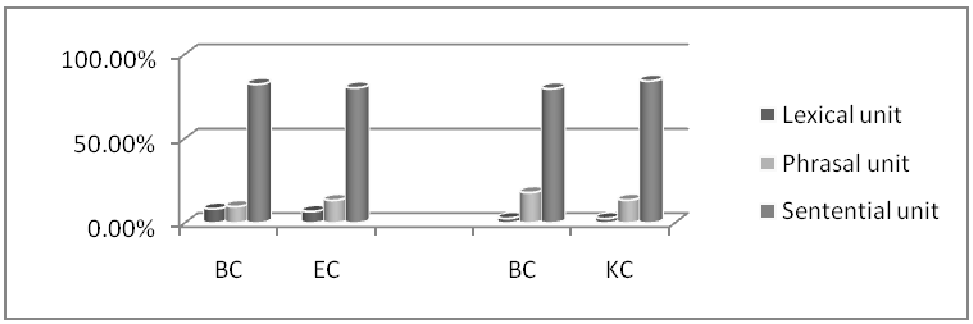


Figure 6-3. Comparison of DMs in TCU in the Bilingual and Monolingual Corpora

The instances of each turn-unit are presented as follows;

[(4)-(6) Excerpted from the database of bilingual children]
(4) *Well* and *isscanha* appeared in lexical units.
(a) C: Witches and Wizards?
M: Yeah.
C: ***Well.***
M: No.
b) S: *Kongkyek cincca sseyney yay*.
'This guy's attack is very powerful.'
G: *Kuntey* ***isscanha***, cikum mechsiya?
'But *isscanha,*' what time is it now?

(5) *Well* and *isscanha* appeared in phrasal units.
(a) K: Are we playing the whole game like the whole game?
V: ***Well***, not the whole game.
(b) E: *Ku kyohoy Willow Grove-eyse kakkawun kyohoy* ***isscanhayo*** *kukey* Summona.
'That church, the church that is close to Willow Grove, that is Summona.'

(6) *Well* and *isscanha* appeared in sentential units.
(a) V: Um, ***well***, sometimes they change.
(b) B: U*m* ***isscanhayo****, kulaykaciko nay khun imoka onun keyeyyo.*
'Um ***isscanhayo***, that's why my eldest aunt is coming.'

As in the monolingual data, the two markers in the bilingual corpora appeared in various turn positions. The two markers were not distributed in the same pattern. While w*ell* was distributed as turn-initially, turn-medially, turn-finally, and separate turn, *isscanha* occurred only in turn-initially and turn-medially. While the majority of *well* took place in a turn-initial position, the majority of *isscanha* was distributed in turn-medial position. Table 6-6 presents the number and percentage of each marker according to the turn positions.

Table 6-5
Positional Distributions of *well* and *isscanha*

Positions	*Well*		*Isscanha*	
Turn-initial	253	81.7%	51	41.1%
Turn-medial	31	10%	73	58.9%
Turn-final	7	2.1%	0	0
Separate Turn	19	6.2%	0	0
Total	310	100%	124	100%

Denominator was turns, and Numerator was positions in turns

The figures below clarify the different distributions of each marker. Figures 6-8 and 6-9 exhibit the distributions of *well* and *isscanha* correspondingly. The bigger discrepancies were found in the turn-initial and turn-medial positions. While *well* is predominantly distributed turn-initially (81.7%), *isscanha* is relatively evenly distributed turn-initially (41.1%), and turn-medially (58.9%).

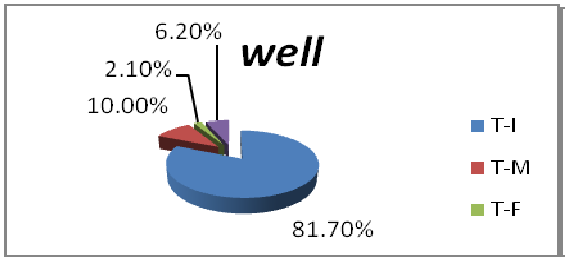


Figure 6-4
Distribution of *well* in Turn Positions

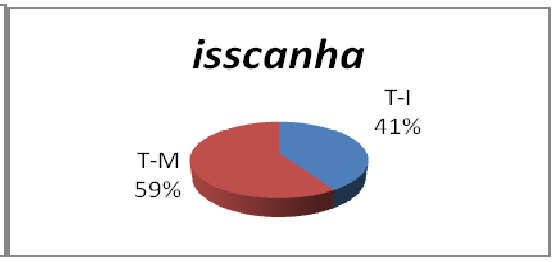


Figure 6-5
Distribution of *isscanha* in Turn Positions

Similarly, differences were noticed between the linguistic groups. While the bilingual children used *well* in turn positions very similarly with the English monolingual children, they used *isscanha* quite differently from the Korean monolingual children. Figure 6-6 illustrates the similarity of the distributions of *well* in the bilingual children and English speaking children's corpora. The distributional pattern of *well* was similar in the bilingual and English speaking group. However, Figure 6-7 illustrates the difference

of the distribution of *isscanha* in the bilingual and Korean speaking children's corpora. Positional distributions in the bilingual data varied compared to the monolingual data. While the majority of *isscanha* in the monolingual corpus was distributed in the turn-initial position, the same token in the bilingual corpus was similarly distributed in turn-initial and turn-medial position.

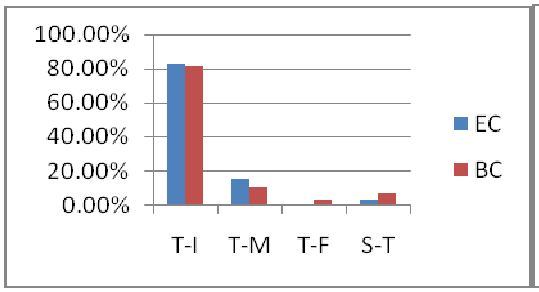


Figure 6-6
Turn Positions in EC and BC

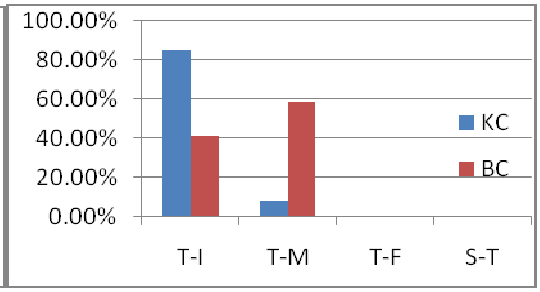


Figure 6-7
Turn Positions in KC and BC

Followings are the examples of the occurrence of turn positions.

[(7)-(10) Excerpted from the database of bilingual children]
(7) *Well* and *isscanha* occurred in turn-initial positions.
(a) C: Remember the dog lady?
M: ***Well***, she was going to the village! So let's go where she went.
(b) A: *Sarahnun way anwa?*
'Why isn't Sarah coming?
H: ***Isscanhayo****, pap mekeyo*.
'***Isscanhayo*** she is eating.'

(8) *Well* and *isscanha* occurred in turn-medial positions.
(a) I see one. I also see a sign that says um (.) ***well*** let's get close to it first.
(b) A: *…neto sticker cohahay?*
B: *Ani nanunyo* ***isscanhayo*** *nay cokhatul omyen sticker cwuketunyo. cokum maltulemyenyo.*
'No, I ***isscanhayo*** am giving stickers to my nieces when they come. If they listen to me well a bit.'
(9) *Well* occurred in turn-final position.
(a) G: I don't think it. ***Well***,
S: I think it. ***Well***,
T: Sunghyen, just let her do it.

(10) *Well* and *isscanha* occurred in separate turns.
(a) K: I need to finish my story.
P: ***Well***, anyway.

6.2.4 Comparison of Co-occurrences

It was observed that the two DMs frequently co-occurred with other linguistic elements in the monolingual data. However, there were differences in the types of linguistic elements. *Well* occurred with contrastive elements most frequently; *isscanha* occurred with elaborative elements and non-lexical elements more frequently than others. Table 6-4 presents the types of the co-occurrence in the bilingual corpora in the two languages.

Table 6-6. Co-occurrence of *well* and *isscanha*

Linguistic Elements[28]	*Well*	*Isscanha*
a. Contrastive Elements	32.3%	9.5%
b. Elaborative Elements	12%	17.4%
c. Inference Elements	4.8%	12.6%
d. Topic Elements	14.3%	15.6%
e. Epistemic Elements	14.6%	9.5%
f. Parallel Marker	3.3%	0
g. Pro Forma Token[29]	2.4%	0
h. Non Lexical Elements	13.5%	19.2%
i. Vocatives	0	0
j. Others[30]	5.8%	14.2%
Total Co-occurrence	100%	100%

[28] Some markers can belong to multiple types. For instance, anyway can be both topic marker and contrastive marker. Oh can be state of change or non lexical marker. (a) Contrastive elements: but, actually, anyway, still, not, yet, even if, though, except for, already, not any more, now, *kuntey, -nuntey, aniyo* (b) Elaborative elements: I mean, because, or, you know, you know like, too, *yeki, kuleko*, (d)Topic elements*: kuntey,* anyway*,-nun*, okay, (e) Inference elements: so, since, then, *kulemyen, kulaykaciko, kulenikka*, (f) epistemic elements: should, I (don't) think, I thought, might, maybe, just, only, sort of, kind of like, *kunyang , cinccalo*, (h) nonlexical elements: oh, ah, uh, um, (j) like, *ttak, pwapwa* (look look), wait, *camkkanman*, ilehkey.

[29] Pro forma token: Those positive expressions *yea, okay* that are preceded or followed by *well* (Schegloff, 1988)

[30] This includes fillers that appeared to have any special functions. Speakers usually used fillers when they do not know what to say.

In addition to the differences between the markers, a more significant difference was evident between the groups. The figures were very similar to the English children's data, but different from the Korean children's data. As delineated in Figure 6-8, no remarkable differences were found between the bilingual children's data and the English-speaking children's data.

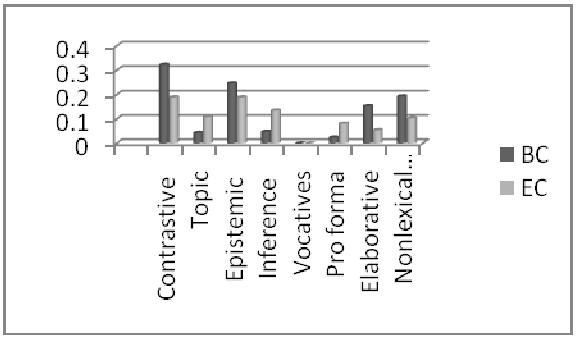


Figure 6-8
Co-occurrence in BC and EC

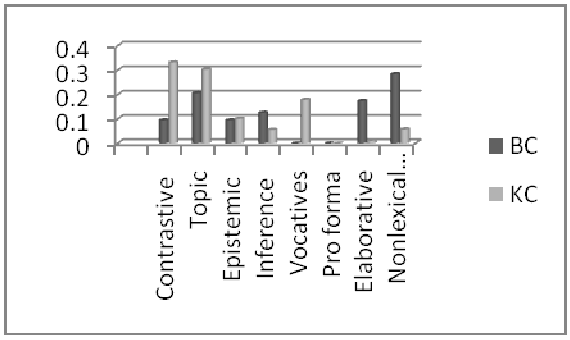


Figure 6-9
Co-occurrence in BC and KC

In contrast, there were considerable differences in the co-occurrence between the bilingual and monolingual children. Figure 6-9 depicts the differences in the linguistic elements of co-occurrence. More specifically, the co-occurrence with several elements was remarkably different between the linguistics groups. For example, the monolingual children were more likely to combine *isscanha* with contrastive elements, topic elements, and vocatives. In comparison, the bilingual children were more likely to combine *isscanha* with inference, elaborative, and non-lexical elements.

6.2.5 Comparison of Core Meanings

A thorough investigation of the tokens in the bilingual corpora uncovered the different core meanings of *well* and *isscanha*. Although *well* had the same core meaning

with the English monolingual data, *isscanha* did not have exactly the same core meaning with the Korean monolingual data. In spite of the commonality of the core meaning of Korean children with that of bilingual children, the core meaning of the bilingual children were still different. In other words, the bilingual children used the DM for 'additional communicative means' while the monolingual children did not use it that way (Meisel, 2004).

Not only were the core meanings of the two markers different, but the interactional environments where the two markers occurred were different. *Well* was most likely to occur when the bilingual children produced a different message from the previous utterance by signposting a divergent relationship of an existing utterance with the preceding one. However, *isscanha* was more likely to occur when the bilingual children encountered a lack of words to say. They seemed to use it as a means of word retrieval as well as word search.

Accordingly, the majority of the instances of *well* systemically occurred in sequentially divergent environments during the discursive interactions. In comparison, *isscanha* did not occur in a divergent environment with a consistency; rather, it occurred wherever the bilingual children needed it in the process of conveying their meaning. In other words, while the bilingual children used *well* to indicate that there would be a possible difference between the utterances, they used *isscanha* to indicate that they are searching for an appropriate word.

In this respect, it is claimed that the core meaning of *well* signals contextual divergence, whereas *isscanha* signals a cognitive state of thinking. *Isscanha* signaled thinking processes such as searching for a word or marking reasoning. The conveyed

meaning of the use of *well* was that the upcoming utterance would be incongruent or unexpected from that of the prior utterance. Meanwhile, the bilingual children used *isscanha* to find a word when they were faced with a lack of words. The conveyed meaning of the use of *isscanha* was that the speaker wants to have time to find a word or to infer the given information.

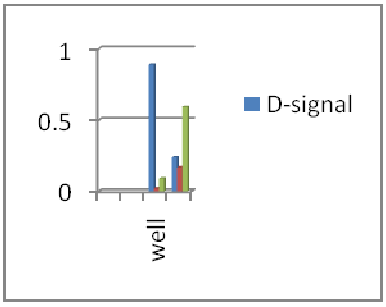
More specifically, the bilingual children used it for finding a word. In this use, the DM signals to the hearer that it is difficult for the speaker to produce words, and thus the speaker needs an extra moment to find words and formulate sentences (Klerk, 2005). The meanings associated with the denoting thinking processes are '*wait, let me find a word*', '*what I should say here*, *allow me to think,* or *'I think that way because'*…. In addition, the meaning of contextual alignment was more obvious than the meaning of contextual divergence. The contextual alignment conveyed the speaker's pre-acknowledgement of the interlocutor's knowledge. Accordingly, the meanings are decoded as *you know whatever I am saying* or *I am saying because you already know that'*.

The core meaning for bilingual children is claimed based on the different percentages as shown in Table 6-8. The comparisons between *well* and *isscanha* explicate the different core meaning. While *well* was concentrated on D-signal, *isscanha* was distributed variously. In other words, the core meaning of *well* is contextual divergence, but the core meaning of *isscanha* is as a cognitive thinking process. The English DM was predominantly distributed in D-signals, while *isscanha* was relatively highly distributed in cognitive thinking processes (59.2%). Although it was not tested statistically, the high percentage of the token can be interpreted that the core meaning of *isscanha* is as a cognitive thinking process.

Table 6-7. Distributions of Core Meanings

Interactional environments	*well*	*Isscanha*
D-signals	89%	23.9%
A-signals	2%	16.9%
Cognitive Thinking Process	9%	59.2%
	100%	100%

Figure 6-10. Comparison of Core Meanings



The different core meanings are reflected in the different core functions. The main function of *well* is as a modifier or as an attention getter, the main function of *isscanha* is as a filler. Table 6-9 outlines the core functions of *well* and *isscanha* in the bilingual corpora.

Table 6-8. Distribution of Core Functions of *well* and *isscanha*

Functions		*well*		*isscanha*	
		N	%	N	%
Attention Getter		37	21.9%	12	10%
Modifier	Highlighter	146	47.1%	17	14%
	Decreaser	25	8.3%	2	2.5%
Marker of Insistance		21	6.6%	10	8%
Filler[31]		21	6.6%	59	47.5%
Others[32]		60	9.3%	25	18%
Total		310	100%	124	100%

The different distribution of the functions indicates that bilingual children used it mainly as filler rather than a divergent marker. *Isscanha* was relatively highly distributed in the functions of filler (47.5%) and others (18%) among the functions. Filler was possibly used when the speakers were seeking a word, and when they do not know what to say

[31] Fillers did not seem to have any special functions related to divergent meanings. Speakers usually used fillers when they do not know what to say (Klerk, 2005; Muller, 2005).
[32] Others are items that did not seem to belong to any of the above categories. This includes markers if they occurred before quotations, conclusions, direct answers, or questions (Muller, 2005). They also were not related to divergent functions.

(Klerk, 2005; Muller, 2005). *Isscanha* was acting as filler after which the contemplation is taking place. As such, *isscanha* did not seem to have any special functions related to divergent meanings in the bilingual data.

Below are the examples of each function.

[Excerpted from the database of bilingual children]

(11) *Well* and *isscanha* functioned as an attention getter.
(a) Ps: (talking and making some things)
B: ***Well*** can I like have a candy?
(b) Ps: (G is playing and M is reading)
G: *Emma, kuntey* ***isscanha****, hard board kathun ke isse?*
'Mommy, by the way ***isscanha***, do you have like a hard board thing?'

(12) *Well* functioned as a highlighter.
(a) J: I don't want to show it to you.
(b) G: ***Well***, you have to.

(13) *Well* functioned as a decreaser.
(a) K: But it doesn't say how much those are.
G: What? What are those?
K: One dollar (really).
G: ***Well***, maybe they don't sell them.

(14) *Well* functioned as an insistence marker.
(a) E: I still don't get it.
G: Oh ***well***, you will get it when we play okay?

(15) *Isscanha* functioned as filler.
(a) *Nappun nappun namcaka ku aylul aylul nappun namcaka um* ***isscanhayo*** *tto* ***isscanhayo*** *change haysssupnita*.
'A bad bad guy was that girl that girl a bad guy um ***isscanhayo*** and ***isscanhayo*** changed.'

In sum, all of the quantifications above are incorporated into a support the claim that *isscanha* had the different core meaning of the bilingual children.

Table 6-9. Interactional Functions and Conveyed Meanings

Interactional Environments	Interactional Functions	Conveyed Meanings	*Well*		*isscanha*	
			N	%	N	%
D-signals	Foreshadowing topic change	Achieving topic coherence…..	54	17.5%	9	7.4%
	Marking contrast	My saying is not on the same wavelength…	177	57.3%	10	8.5%
	Indicating insistence	Am I not correct?	25	8.3%	7	5.5%
	Changing turns	Who's turn is it now?	18	5.9%	3	2.5%
A-signals	Presupposing other's knowledge	I am saying because you already know it	3	2%	40	16.9%
Cognitive Thinking Process	Searching words	Let me find a word…	11	4%	39	40.7%
	Reasoning	I think that way because…	14	5%	13	17.5%
	Others		18	6%	1	1.2%
	Total		310	100%	124	100%

The comparisons between *well* and *isscanha* explicate the different core meaning. While *well* was concentrated on D-signal, while *isscanha* was distributed variously. In other words, the core meaning of *well* is contextual divergence, but the core meaning of *isscanha* is as a cognitive thinking process. The English DM was predominantly distributed in D-signals, *isscanha* was relatively highly distributed in cognitive thinking processes (58%). It was distributed in A-signal (16.9%) as well. Although it was not tested statistically, the high percentage of the token can be interpreted that the core meaning of *isscanha* as a cognitive thinking process.

6.3 Interactional Functions

As found in the monolingual data, a DM was used for interactional enhancement in various communicative contexts in the bilingual data. DM use indicated that bilingual

children were developing their interactional competence in everyday speech. It was observed that those markers were strategically deployed to accomplish different interactional goals. Sequential analysis revealed dynamic interactional functions in various interactional environments. Simultaneously, the corpus-driven analysis disclosed that the bilingual children used the two markers not only in a similar way but also in a dissimilar way in terms of interactional sequentiality. The bilingual children used *well* in divergent environments such as disjunctive and disaffiliative environments. On the other hand, they did not differentiate the environments in the use of *isscanha*. They used it whenever they needed in the process of conveying meanings either for a thinking process or contextual alignment.

Overall, the corpus of English conversation was filled with the interactional functions similar to the monolingual data. In contrast, the corpus of Korean conversation showed a difference rather than a similarity. While the monolingual children's *isscanha* signaled contextual divergence in a very systematic way, the bilinguals' *isscanha* signaled contextual alignment and thinking process in addition to contextual divergence. As such, bilingual speakers vary linguistic practices in degree and functions (Mackey, 2000).

What can be inferred from the results is that bilingual speakers did not always use the two DMs in the same way as their monolingual peers. According to Dopke (2000), although differences between bilingual and monolingual children are mostly small, they need to be considered in light of the claim that when their structures are compared, such DMs never appear in monolingual children or in only very low quantities while their appearance under bilingual conditions is more frequent and more widespread (p. 2). Such

cross-linguistic aspects are indicating aspects of a bilingual child's normal course of development.

The comparison between the bilingual and monolingual data is displayed in Figures 6-16 and 6-17. Figure 6-16 illustrates that the similarity of *well* in interactional functions and their frequencies between bilingual and monolingual participants. The bilingual children employed *well* as a divergent marker as often as the English monolingual peers did.

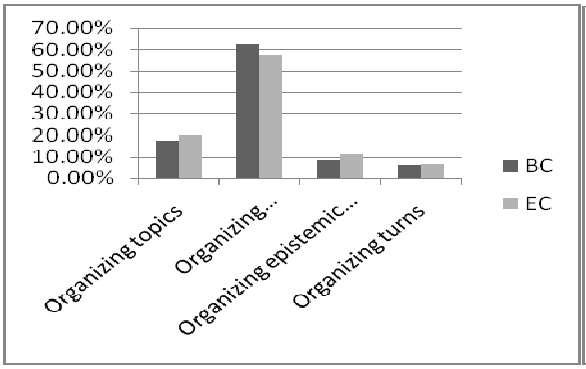


Figure 6-11
Comparison of Interactional
Functions of *well* in BC and EC

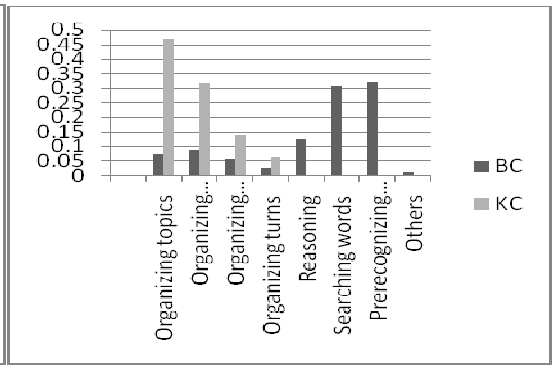


Figure 6-12
Comparison of Interactional
Functions of *isscanha* in BC and KC

6.4 Qualitative Analysis and Discussion

Having outlined the interactional functions of the two markers in the bilingual corpora, this section delves into the specific interactional meanings in various contexts. Despite the multifunctionality of the two markers, they did not perform identical functions during the interactions. The interactional functions varied according to the markers across the two markers and across the linguistic groups. The following sections present the similarities and differences of the two markers. Section 6.4.1 deals with similar functions, whereas 6.4.2 and 6.4.3 deal with different functions. In each section,

those specific interactional functions are scrutinized in various interactional environments.

6.4.1 *Well* and *isscanha* as Contextual Divergence

Regardless of the differences in dynamicity, it was apparent that both markers appeared in divergent environments in the bilingual corpora. The bilingual children frequently used *well* and *isscanha* where interactional sequentiality was divergent. The token *well* was particularly prevalent in divergent environments, consistently and systemically. Despite the low frequency, *isscanha* still performed several interactional functions. A number of interactional functions of both markers in divergent environments are offered as presaging topic shift, marking contrast, insistence, and marking off turn taking.

6.4.1.1 Foreshadowing Topic Shift

One of the similarities in the functions of the two DMs in the bilingual corpora was the occurrence in disjunctive environments. The bilingual children used *well* and *isscanha* before introducing topic shift similar to their monolingual peers of both languages. The two DMs signaled links and transitions between topics. They foreshadowed opening and closing of topics. Both markers were involved in organizing discourse management and discourse sequentiality (Beach & Metzger, 1997; Biber et al., 1999; Fraser, 1999). Consequently, the bilingual children's use of the DMs contributed to coherence of discourse (Andersen, 2001; Klerk, 2005; Lenk, 1998; Schiffrin, 1987; Waring, 2003). The function of foreshadowing topic shift became clear along with the

linguistic co-occurrence such as *anyway, okay,* or *-nun*. However, the linguistic elements of co-occurrence were not rich compared to the monolingual children's data. They were very limited particularly compared to the Korean counterparts.

The following two examples show the cases of foreshadowing topic shift of *well* and *isscanha* respectively.

Conversation exchange (16) (BC-SS-6-E-1)
Context: This conversation is taking place between three ten-year-old bilingual girls (N, E, G) and an adult (A) in the car. G just started to talk about an event of children's Jeopardy.

1. G:.....they said they try to uhm try to uhm test your wits or something and they had signed up the forms for uhm Kid's Jeopardy. And uhm I always used to love Jeopardy and I always saw it…… They have the same questions all over and over again.
2. A: Oh!
3. G: So I obviously knew all the answers to all of them so uhm then uhm I tried to sign it up but I got bad luck.
4. A: No, it's just that a lot of kids probably signed up too.
5. G: I know but I thought.
6. A: So it's hard for them to decide.
7. (A drive follows the circle in the circle way while driving.)
8. E: Why don't we just, why did we circle?
9. A: Oh, 'cause we can't make left on that side.
10. G: Well, they choose people and then they do interviews of them uhm and they uhm they pick it out. And when I grow up I want to go to real one. I will go to Wheel of Fortune.
11. A: Oh!..…. I JU:st love Wheel of Fortune. I LO[::ve,
12. G: [Well, I used to always watch Jeopardy and Wheel of Fortune, but now I don't.
13. A: Hmmhmm.
14. G: I started to watch the Simpsons and the time is basically…the same (.) station.
15. E: Station three….

The foregoing exchange contains two instances of *well* before a topic shift. The first token occurs when the speaker returns to the topic (line 9). The conversation starts from G's experience of a TV show, which becomes the first topic of the conversation. The topic continues with the token of continuer *oh* (Schegloff, 1982) in line 2. However,

the topic discontinues when E asks A why A made a circle (line 7). Immediately after A's answer (line 8), G returns to the previous topic (line 9). *Well* signals refocusing on the original topic from the digression or interruption (Fraser, 1999; Muller, 2005; Norrick, 2001; Schiffrin, 1987; Waring, 2003). As such, *well* on line 7 serves global coherence across the utterance (Lenk, 1998).

Meanwhile, the utterance of the second token (line 11) signals a topic shift at a local level. That is, G extends the topic into another TV show that is related to the previous topic. In line 10, A continues G's topic by showing her interest in the show. The repetition of the name of the show and the token of information state *oh* (Heritage, 1984) are particularly indicating A's continuation of the topic. However, it is discontinued by G's introduction of a new game (line 11), which is prefaced with *well*. The *well*-bearing turn is not the same topic as seen in the utterance "I started to watch the Simpsons." in the next turn (line 13). *Well*, at this time, indicates that she wants to talk to a different game that has been talked.

In this context of topic shift, *well* co-occurs with other tokens of topic change. *But* marks the topic contrast, and *now* marks the emphasis on part of the topic to come (Fraser, 1993). With the co-occurrence, *well* foreshadows the departure of the previous topic and the initiation of the new topic. In this case, both topics are related to each other since that both of them are TV programs. Therefore, the token contributes to the local coherence of the discourse (Waring, 2003).

> Conversation exchange (17) (BC-K-S-6-11)
> Context: Three bilingual children (J, C, and E) and an adult (A) are talking during the play time in the classroom. Before the exchange, they have been talking about what they like. While J was talking about her favorite, there was noise among the children. So the conversation stopped and now A starts the conversation again.

1. A: *Jenifer-nun mwe-ka coh-tako?*
   Jenifer-TM what-SM like-QT
   'Jennifer, what did you say you like again?'
2. J: ***Isscanhayo*** *na-nun-yo TV po-myense Barbie,*
   isscanhayo I-TM-POL TV see-CONN Barbie,
   '***Isscanhayo***, I am watching TV Barbie'
3. (Other kids outside the room started to knock on the door to come in.)
4. C: *Nwukwu-ci? tuleo-cima.*
   who-COMM enter-do not: IMP
   'Who would they be? Don't come in.'
5. E: Can't you go out?
6. I: *Way eni oppa-tul-un way ilehkey keysok twutulyeyo?*
   why older sister older brother-PL-TM why this-like continuously knock-POL
   'Why do they keep knocking on the door like this?'
7. A: *Moll-a.*
   not know-INT
   'I don't know.'

→8. J: ***Isscanaha-yo*** *na-nun Barbie princess coh-a-ha-nikka,* TV *po-myense Barbie kac-ko nol-ayo.*
   isscanha-POL I-TM Barbie princess like-do-CONN TV watch-CONN Barbie have-CONN play-POL
   '***Isscanhayo***, because I like Barbie princess, I play with Barbie while watching TV.'

The preceding excerpt displays the instance of *isscanha* before returning to the topic. In the first two lines, the main topic of the conversation is Jennifer's favorite thing. However, J's turn is interrupted as other children start to knock on the door, and the interruption continues until line 7. In other words, the topic is digressed from line 3 to 6.

After the drift of the topic, J resumes her talk beginning with *isscanha* in line 8. The return of the topic is prefaced with *isscanha* that signals J's intention to reorient her own topic, Barbie. J employs the turn-initial *isscanha* to draw attention from her co-participants. The employment of the DM *isscanha* in this topical digressive environment contributes to the global coherence. In the same turn, topic marker *–nun* indicates J's intention to change to a different topic from the current topic. As *isscanha* marks J's

intent to continue the previous topic, the logical connective–*nikka* (Kim & Suh, 1994) indicates there is a logical relationship between the previous topic and the current topic.

6.4.1.2 Marking Contrast

Another similar function of the two DMs in the bilingual corpora stood out as marking contrast. The bilingual children made use of both *well* and *isscanha* before delivering a contrastive utterance from the prior utterance. The DM-bearing turn disaffiliates with preceding talk (Waring, 2003). They contributed a somehow inconsistent message to the foregoing discourse (Blackmore, 2002). In that aspect, the DMs indicate that the current utterance will be incongruent from the preceding meaning, either in propositional or sequential meaning. The bilingual children made use of the markers in forecasting possible differences between the interlocutors or even between the speaker's own utterances. Therefore, this section for the bilingual data adopts the same rubric for the monolingual data at section 5.4.2.

The notion of contrast for this section is defined within the rubric of "contrastive" (Fraser, 1998; Fraser & Malamud-Makowski, 1996; Maschler, 1997; Park, 1998). Maschler (1997) defined "contrast" as the expression of contrastive differences in meaning in actual language use (p. 280). Similarly, Fraser (1998) proposed the term "contrastive" as a cover term that signals a "contrastive" relationship between a current utterance and a foregoing utterance. According to Fraser (1998), the meaning of contrastive markers[33] signals that the speaker intends the current message S2 to contrast

[33] Fraser (1998, p. 306-307) defined the meanings of the contrastive markers signal 1) that the speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to contrast with an explicit or indirect message, 2) that the speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to correct a message conveyed by S1, which the

the previous message S1 (p. 302). The meanings of contrastive markers include 'contrast', 'concessive', 'contradiction', 'denial', 'challenge', 'reject', or 'cancellative' relationships (Fraser, 1998, pp. 302-309).

Such contrastive meanings can be understood as dispreferred sequences. Contrastive meanings were present as both propositional and sequential contrast. Biber et al. (1999) and Fraser (1993) viewed *well* as a contrastive relationship. Similarly, w*ell* was found as serving as a preliminary to a dispreferred response (Smith & Jucker, 2002) and dissonance (Schourup, 1985; Schiffrin, 1987; Fraser, 1988; Klerk, 2005). The DMs evolved around dispreferred sequences such as disagreement, challenge, refusal, or cancellation (Bolinger, 1989; Davidson, 1984; Jucker, 1993; Owen, 1981, 1983; Pomerantz, 1984; Schourup, 2001).

Similar to the monolingual data, the markers were functioning in different ways in different contexts. They function as intensifying or weakening the meaning of contrast (Jucker, 1998; Karkkainen, 2003; Klerk, 2005; Owen, 1981; Watts, 1981). Their existence led to the contradiction and elimination of a foregoing assumption (Blackmore, 2002). The functions were also specified with other linguistic elements of co-occurrence. As such, the English data were abundant with the instances of *well* in such functions.

Compared to the plufunctionality of *well* in disaffiliative environments, however, the interactional functions of *isscanha* did not appear to be as dynamic in the same degree as *well*. The scope of *isscanha* was very limited in terms of interactional functions in the same environments. In what follows, a series of functions that mark the contrast are spelled out.

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speaker accepts, and 3) the speaker intends the explicit message conveyed by S2 to be correct while the message conveyed by S1 to be false.

6.4.1.2.1 Contrast

The bilingual children used *well* to mark both referential and functional contrast. Conversation exchange (18) displays that the token *well* marks referential contrast. *Well* appeared in the context of sharp contrast. The lexical choice of 'too dark' (line 1) and 'too light' (line 2) incorporates the functions of *well* as referential contrast.

Conversation exchange (18) (BC-E-S-06-S.P)

1. L: You're too dark to take over the world!
2. D: ***Well***, you're too light to control the world! You will blind the people of Earth.

Meanwhile, conversation exchange (19) displays that the token *well* marks functional contrast. T says that moving backward is good to S (line 4) but G makes a contrast by saying 'it is bad'. The co-occurrence with *actually* took place indicating contrast. *Actually* has a strong meaning equivalent to contrary to what you might expect (Andersen, 2001, p. 73). The subsequent turns (line 6 and 7) also make the contrastive function clear. The DMs signaled that the speaker will bring opposite information in the upcoming utterance.

Conversation exchange (19) (BC-E-S-05-H)

1. G: One, two, three, four. Okay roll again
2. S: (S Rolls it)
3. T and S: Wow! Backward. One, two, three, four, five.
4. T: Oh, go back five spaces. It's good to have [it and then,
5. G: [***Well***, actually bad thing for you.
6. S: UhUH
7. G: That is bad for you.

6.4.1.2.2 Contradicting

As the monolingual children, the bilingual children used the DMs for marking contradiction of the previous utterance with a form of disagreement. The tokens shaped

contradictory turns when disagreeing with the speaker's presumptions. This is opposite from Bolinger (1989), who claimed that *well* broadly encodes speaker's acceptance.

Conversation exchange (20) (BC-H-4-6-4)
Context: Three bilingual girls, T, G, and S are playing a board game using a dice. The conversation is taking place just after S threw her dice.

1. T: You have to go backward where it was.
→2. G: ***Well***,=
3. T: =Because,=
4. G:=No, uhm, you don't have to. Because I already took them off, it doesn't matter with the number.

The foregoing exchange demonstrates the occurrence of *well* before the delivery of contraction. From the point of interactional sequence, the single-word turn unit *well* in line (2) is understood as potential contradiction (Klerk, 2005). It can be seen that *well* signals G's contradiction from the virtue of her next turn. The negation talk 'no' is, in fact, a clear-cut contradiction. G justifies her contradiction by saying because…. that starting with *because…*

Conversation exchange (21)
Context: So far, T and S have asked to G if they can play with G's ball outside but G did not answer. Instead, G suggested playing with a scooter.

1. T: Do you mean a little scooter?
2. G: ***Well***, not like a little scooter but,
3. S: I suck at little scooters.
4. T: Yeah.
5. G: They are not little scooters.
6. S: I have a little one when I ride I have to like,
7. G: It's not like that thing. It's not like that little. Look, the thing looks like a, it's actually it's actually big.

The foregoing segment exhibits the token as foretelling contradiction against the speaker's presumption. By prefacing with *well*, G contradicts T's presumption that the scooter is little. In line 2, *well* constitutes contradictory turn shape (Blackmore, 2002; Pomerantz, 1987; Jucker, 1993). Both turns 3 and 4 indicate that G is in the opposite

position with her co-participants S and T, and the contradiction is more clearly deployed in her subsequent turns. The linguistic co-occurrence makes the function of *well* apparent as a contradiction. The contrast marker *but* (Fraser, 1993, 1998, 1999) as well as the objection marker *actually* (Lenk, 1998) explicates G's contradiction. G may express an opposition between different points of view (Aijmer, 2002). G attempts to make it clear that the scooter is big enough to ride as opposed to T and S's presumption in the last turn l (line 7).

Conversation exchange (22) (BC-K-5-1-45)
Context: The conversation is taking place between two bilingual children (B and G) and an adult (A) while they are waiting for the phone call from B's mother. Up to now, the two girls have asked A to go out for dinner, and now B wants to ask to her mother.

1. B: *Emma cenhwa o-myen, wuli ku restaurant-ey ka-ca-ko mwul-epo-l-kka-yo?*
   Mother phone come-CONN, we that restaurant-LOC go-PROP-CONN ask see- ATTR-INTERR-POL
   'When my mom calls me, can I ask her to go to that buffet?'
2. G: YE:S.
3. A: *Kuntey ne-ney imo o-sy-ess-unikka bother ha-l swu-to iss-e.*
   DM you-GEN aunt come-HON-PST-CONN bother do-ATTR-NML-also-exist- INT
   'But because your aunt came, that may bother her.'

→4. B: A*ni* ***i:isscanha-yo*** *yeys-nal-ey-to-yo…… khun imo-ka iss-ess-nuntey-yo,*
   not-COP **isscanha**-POL old day-at-also-POL…..big aunt-SM exist-PST-
   acik-to nwukwu-hako ka-ss-eyo.
   CONN-POL still-even who-with go-PST-POL
   'No, ***isscanhayo***, the other day even……my oldest aunt was with us, but still we went with somebody.'

5. A: *Kulayto,=*
   'Still'
6. B: =*Kunikka-n an bother hay-yo*
   DM-TC not bother do-POL
   'So it doesn't bother her.'

The prior excerpt starts with B's offer. As indicated by G's response (line 2), the children want to go out to eat. However, the offer is rejected, which is a dispreferred response (Davidson, 1984). The turn-initial *kuntey* (however or but) signals A's rejection,

which is followed by–*unikka* that gives explanation (Cho et.al, 2001). By using *–l swu to isse* (it can, it may, or perhaps), A indirectly conveys her rejection. B contradicts A's presumption by utilizing her previous experience, which is exemplified by the concessive particle *–to* (even) (line 4). The DM *kunikka* (that's why, so) provides a justification for the dispreferred response (Kim & Suh, 1994) by reassuring the speaker's stance.

Isscanha immediately following the negation marker *ani* makes a contradictory account. *Isscanha* foretells disagreement that is explicated in the last turn. Prefacing the disagreement, *isscanha* in fact intensifies her dispreferred account. As such, *isscanha* establishes the disagreement turn in the context of contradiction. The contradict account is also exemplified in the subsequent turns. The contrast of *isscanha* co-occurs with other contrastive markers such as *-nuntey* and *–to.*

–Nuntey here plays two functions simultaneously: contrasting and giving background information (Park, 1998). The contrastive connective markers *–nuntey* (Park, 1999; Yuen, 2001) and concessive *–to* (Strauss, 2005) are effectively exploited for assisting B to convey her contradition (line 4 and 5), marking her different idea. The word *acikto* (still) of which meaning is 'also' or 'even' (Lee, 2005) establishes a contrast against the prior utterance of the co-participant. The use of the parallel *yeys-nal-ey-to* and even *acikto* elucidates B's contradicitory account. A's utterance of the contrastive marker *kulayto* (still) implies that A is still disagreeing with B. However, B's utterance of the conclusive remarks *-kunikkan* (therefore) (Fraser, 1993, 1999) concludes that she is right. According to Kim and Suh (1994), the DM *kunikka* reformulates the speaker's own prior talk to deal with the established contradiction from the interlocutor (p. 124). Moreover, the topic contrast particle *-n* also further emphasizes her argument.

Conversation exchange (23) (BC-K-5-1-25)
Context: The conversation exchange is taking place between a bilingual girl (B) and an adult (A) when A sees B having Korean ice cream named *nugaba*.

1. A: *E? nwukapa-ya? Masiss-nun ke-ney.*
   uh, name of ice cream-INT delicious-IN thing-CRM
   'Uh, is that Nugaba? That is a delicious one.'
2. B: *Nay-ka emma-hanthey sa-tal la kulay-ss-eyo.*
   I-SM mom-to buy-give-IMP so-PST-POL.
   'I asked my mom to buy it.'
3. A: *Aa:: ne-ka coha-ha-nun ke-kwuna:?*
   ah you-SM like-do-IN thing-CRM
   'Ah ah, I can tell you like that.'

→4. B: *A* ***isscanha-yo*** *na-nun an meke-po-n ke-nikka-yo.*
   ah, ***isscanha***-POL I-TM not eat-see-ATTR thing-CONN-POL
   'Ah, ***isscanhayo***, because I haven't tasted it yet.'

The aforementioned excerpt displays the instance of *isscanha* as contradicting the interlocutor's presumption. A initiates the conversation immediately after she noticed the Korean ice cream (line 1). As the question form implies, A seems to be surprised to see that B is eating that particular kind of ice cream. The speaker's unexpectedness is also spontaneously manifested by the sentence ender *–ney*. According to Strauss (2005), unexpectedness and spontaneity of the speaker are manifested through the 'cognitive realization marker' – *ney*. It signals a discovery at the moment of speech. And it eventually leads to a conclusion or understanding (p. 463) as reflected in the utterance, *aa:: ne-ka coha-ha-nun ke-kwuna?* (Oh, I see. You like that).

Inferring from B's response, A presupposes that it is because B likes the ice cream that B asked her mother to buy it. This is also realized with another cognitive realization marker *–kwuna* (Strauss, 2005) that occurs at the moment of spontaneous realization in the ongoing conversational interaction. The immediate realization co-occurs with the change of state tokens *E?* (Uh) and *A a* (Ah ah) that fulfill the identical function

of *oh* in English indicating a shift from not knowing previously to knowing now (Strauss, 2005, p. 456).

However, B's response is very different from A's assumption. *Isscanha* constitutes dispreferred the turn shape by presenting the contradictory utterance, "it is not because B likes the ice cream but because she has not tasted it yet (line 4)." As such, the turn-initial *isscanha* signals a possible discrepancy between her interlocutor and herself. It is noteworthy that B uses the topic marker *-nun* that effects to contrast her information from the interlocutor's presumption. In addition, by using the turn-final *–nikka*, B provides the empirical ground for her dispreferred response (Kim & Suh, 1994) of contradiction.

6.4.1.2.3 Disapproval

The bilingual children used the English and Korean DMs before conveying denial. The *well* signaled disapproval or doubt (Andersen, 2001), constituting dispreferred turns. Like *well*, *issanha* in the bilingual corpus indicated the speaker's epistemic stance, mostly delivering a negative evaluation towards the interlocutors. As such, both markers appeared when the speaker did not want to endorse her interlocutor.

> Conversation exchange (24) (B-5-13-3)
> Context: This conversation is taking place between two siblings before dinner. While their mother is still cooking more dishes for the meal, the two children sat in front of the table, waiting to eat soon. While waiting, J's younger brother tried to taste one of the dishes and J just noticed it.
>
> 1. E: OH my GO:sh! You licked it.
> 2. J: What?
> 3. E: You licked it.
> 4. J: Ah HAh?
> 5. E: Uh HUh? ***Well***, even if you say that you didn't like lick it, I saw it.

The prior segment includes *well* as displaying a heightened contrast in the context of counter denial. It is notable that *well* occurs with the responsive tokens (Schegloff, 1993) *Ah hah* and *Uh huh*. The raised and elated tone in the utterance of 'Oh my gosh!' is heard as accusation, suggesting that J's behavior of licking on the food for the whole family is undesirable. The repair initiator *What?* in J's response (line 2) presages that there is a possible problem in understanding what the co-participant just said (Schegloff, 1988). It can project that J does not intend to accept E's condemnation, and, in fact, it is echoed in the utterance of the reactive token *Ah hah?* (Schegloff, 1988) *in* his next turn. With the raised and strong intonation, J tries to deny E's accuse, meaning 'No no. I didn't.'

However, E also provides a counter denial with the utterance of the continuer *Uh huh?* (Schegloff, 1988). The same strong tone is decoded as her strong denial of J's account with the meaning of 'Yes yes, you did'. As such, it is conspicuous that both responsive tokens compose dispreferred turns as their own. They convey strong denial towards the co-interactant.

The function of 'Uh huh?' is particularly sustained with the *well*- bearing account (line 5). It is understood that w*ell* indicates E's disapproval in this specific context by virtue of the rest of the turn, which is all about disapproval. The speaker's doubt is evident in the linguistic co-occurrence. The contrastive remark, 'even if…..I saw it' delivers the speaker's strong doubt. Therefore, *well* conveys E's epistemic stance (Andersen, 2001; Bolinger, 1989), reinforcing the meaning of denial.

6.4.1.2.4 Challenging

The bilingual participants used both English and Korean DMs as a means of a precursor of a challenge. The DMs prevailingly occur when there are interactional conflicts (Jucker, 1998). *Well* is used to signal some sort of confrontation (Jucker, 1998; Owen, 1981; Watt, 1986). The two tokens preface the speaker's challenging account where there is a discrepancy between the interlocutors. The use of the markers in fact invokes an epistemic stance in the course of conveying the dispreferred response. The markers function as heightening the meaning of disagreement.

Conversation exchange (25) (BC-H-4-12-26)
Context: A nine-year-old girl G and ten-year-old girl J are playing a card game. So far, G has explained what J said is something that goes in G's name.

1. Y: What is the word in it?
2. J: I can't tell you.
→3. Y: ***Well***, you <u>HAve</u> to.

The conversation segment (25) displays the case where *well* functions as intensifying the speaker's intention. In order for the game to take place, both interlocutors are supposed to ask and answer. However, J does not want to tell the information (line 2), so Y demands that J should tell it (line 3). This demanding remark may sound challenging to the interlocutor. Hence, *well* reflects Y's subjective stance of evaluation that the interlocutor should do (Andersen, 2001). As such, the DM appeared as marking contrast by challenging.

Conversation exchange (26) (BG-K-5-1-37)
Context: Two bilingual children and an adult are talking. This conversation is taking place when the adult wants the bilingual girls to talk only in Korean.

1. G: *Manyakey nay-ka kichim-hay-kaciko AHCHOO kule-myen yay-ka*
   if I-SM cough-do-CONN ONM so-COND this kid-SM
   God bless you [kule-myen
   God bless you [so-COND

'If I cough, "Ah-choo", and then she says, "God bless you",
[then
2. B: [BLESS YOU *kwaynchanha-yo?*
[bless you all right-POL
[Is it okay to say "Bless you"?'
3. A: (hh) *Ani, yay-ka AHCHOO kule-myen……chwukpok-hay cwusey-yo.*
Not-COP, this child-SM ONM so-COND….bless-do give-HON-POL
'No, when she coughs, "*Ah-choo*", then……please bless her.'
→4. G: *Kuntey* ***isscanha*** *kuntey manyakey yay-ka* Grace *kule-myen, um ku-ke*
Grace-*nun mikwuk ilum-i-****canha****.*
DM **isscanha** DM if this child-SM Grace so-COND um that-thing
Grace-TM America name-COP-**canha**
'But ***isscanha***, you should know that but if she calls me Grace, then, uhm
that thing Grace is an American name.'
5. G/B: *Ah ah.*

The aforementioned segment shows the occurrence of *isscanha* marking a difference of opinion between the interlocutors. As the first two turns indicate, B and G have the same opinion regarding the use of "bless you" when responding to the person who is coughing. In spite of the fixed idiomatic expression in English, A still insists on them talking in Korean. Finally, G challenges A by providing the reason that the name 'Grace' is English so they cannot say it in Korean. In this context of challenge, *isscanha* occurs through conversation turns. The function is apparent by the co-occurrence with other linguistic elements. For instance, the contrast function of *isscanha* is built up by a series of the linguistic components of co-occurrence such as the repetition of the contrastive marker *kuntey* (but, however), the logical connector *kulemyen* (then, in that case) (Strauss, 2005), the topic marker *–nun*, and the marker of insistence *-canha* (you should know that). In other words, *isscanha* underlines the contrast between the interlocutors by prefacing challenge.

6.4.1.2.5 Rejecting

It is easy to observe that the use of *well* presages rejection in the bilingual children's corpus in English. In the bilingual corpora, the focal DMs are identified in the context of non-acceptance. When the offer, suggestion, invitation or request in the first pair part is not accepted in the second pair part, the second pair parts of each are defined as dispreferred responses (Davidson, 1984). The DMs are either strengthening or weakening the conveyance of the dispreferred responses (Karkkainen, 2003). In other words, the bilingual children use *well* and *isscanha* prefacing refusal or rejection (Blackmore, 2002).

In the following conversations, *well* played a role as an indicator of refusal (Holtgarves, 1992a; Jucker, 1993). Exchange (27) involves the exchange of offer and rejection. *Well* foreshadows a rejection of the offer. That is, the token constitutes dispreferred turn by declining to accept the offer.

Conversation exchange (27) (B-5-4-84)

1. G: Yes. Ok, do you want it? Because,=
2. T: =***Well***, I don't think I like.

Conversation exchange (28) (BC-H-5-4-89)
Context: The conversation is extracted while two ten-year-old bilingual girls are preparing for school play.

1. H: I can't wait. Because you know what I have these new candies.
2. S: Uhuh. What if I don't like them?
3. H: I think you like them. There're like five different kinds.
4. S: What kinds are there?
→5. H: ***Well***, I can't tell you because it's secret. It is surprise.
6. S: What if I don't like it?
7. H: If you don't like it, there's a different kind. So, there's like five kinds.

In exchange (28), *well* precedes and forewarns of a refusal of the request. In the question and answer pair (line 4 and 5), S's request is turned-down. The refusal is

foreshadowed by the utterance of *well*, and the noncompliance continues to the next adjacency pair (line 6 and 7). The account of the second pair part (line 7) clearly conveys that H does not have any intention to comply with H's request.

> Conversation exchange (29) (B-5-4-84)
> Context: T and S are visiting H's house…H's mother told them to stay inside because of cold weather. They have played inside for a while before the conversation is taking place.
>
> 1. T: (Picking up the ball) *i-ke* ***isscanha****, i-ke um pakk-ey naka-se nola-to tway?*
>   this-thing **isscanha**, this-thing um outside-LOC go out-CONN play-can
>   'This ***isscanha***, can we go play outside with this?'
> 2. H: Wait, uh,=
> 3. S: =*wuli, kunyang, we actually just want to go outside and play.*
>   'We, just, we actually just want to go outside and play.'
> 4. H: ***Well***,
> 5. T: I want to go outside.
> 6. H: I sort of want to go outside, but can we do computer now?
>   And then and then go to the bike I could try. It's not a two wheel, four wheel.
> 7. S: Uh can,=
> 8. T: =We bring it outside?
> 9. H: Uhm, ***well***, that's sort of (.2). It's go[nna
> 10. T: [You don't have to bring it out .
> 11. G: Yea, it's gonna be broken.

The foregoing excerpt starts from a request and ends up with its noncompliance. The attention getter *isscanha* in the first line is used for initiating the request, and *well* in lines 4 and 9 for foreshadowing the refusal of the request. The entire sequence of this interaction shows a contrast between T and S (line 1 and 3, line 4 and 6) and H (line 2, 6, and 7). While T and S make the same request, H refuses to comply to it. First request is proposed that T and S want to play with the ball outside (line 1 and 3), but H does not seem to comply (line 2). The hesitation tokens "Wait, uh" (line 2) presage a possible refusal. Noticing H's reluctance, S is backing down her request by means of the understatement token 'just' (Aijmer, 1984; Hubler, 1983) (line 3). H still does not

respond to the request; instead, H suggests an alternative, the bike (line 4). Accordingly, with the reactive e token, 'Uh?', S and T change their request from the ball into the bike (line 5 and 6). H again suggests another alternative item, the scooter. At last, the action of refusal is apparent with the use of 'Uhm, *well, that's sor*t' before the suggestion of the scooter (line 7). As such, a series of pre-sequences (Jefferson, 1972; Schegloff, 1972, 1980) are part of signaling refusal.

H pushes back her actual refusal to the end of the discourse; *well* functions as a back slider in the context of refusal. It is evident that the function of *well* is forwarding refusal, in particular, with the elements of the co-occurrence. The tokens of hesitation, 'uhm', 'sort of', and pause indicate the refusal. Also, the contrastive marker *instead* (Fraser, 1993, 1999) brings the contrastive message that the requesters expected. As such, both linguistic and non-linguistic components contribute to the function of *well* as prefacing refusal.

Conversation exchange (30) (B-5-4-16)
Context: So far, G's room was kind of messy with all of the stuff for homework, and now G just finished her homework.

1. A: ……*cengli com hay-la.*
   arrange little do-IMP
   'Do arrange your stuff please.'
2. G: *Swukcey ta ha-ko.*
   homework all do-CONN
   'After finishing my homework.'
3. A: (After checking that G is done with the homework)….*Ya, incey keki com chiw-e.*
   …..VOC now there little clean-IMP
   ….. 'Hey, now clean up over there.'

→4. G: *Mommy kuntey **isscanha** na stretch mence hako ku-taumey (TV)(( ))*
   mommy DM:but **isscanha** I stretch before do-CONN that-next TV unintelligible
   'Mommy but ***isscanha*** I will stretch first, and then'

5. A: *Stretch ha-ko mwe ha-n-tako?*
   stretch do-CONN what do-ATTR-QT

'Stretch and then what did you say?'

6. G: *TV po-n-tako.*
   TV see-ATTR-QT
   'I said I will watch TV.'

The above mentioned excerpt entails the use of *isscanha* in the context of request. In the first adjacency pair (line 1 and 2), G does not comply with the request by saying that she will do it after the homework. However, in the second adjacency pair (line 4 and 5), the request still does not seem to be complied after the homework. On the contrary, G's response is not congruent to A's request. When A asks G to clean the place, G says that she will stretch, which is not related the requested act of cleaning. Moreover, G adds one more activity that is also unrelated to the request, which in turn leads A to ask a clarification question for checking (line 5). G's answer is completely unexpected by A.

In this context, the use of *isscanha* signals a contrast relationship between the expected message and the actual message. That is, the upcoming message will be different from what A expects. In turn, the unexpected message is prefaced by *isscanha*, which is a refusal of the request. The function of refusal is more clearly prefigured with the co-occurrence of the contrastive marker *kuntey* that signals a contrast between A's request and G's answer. Furthermore, *ku taumey* (and then) denotes that she wants to do something else rather than cleaning.

6.4.1.2.6 Conceding

Another contrast function of the markers was concession. The contrastive relationship between the foregoing message and the current message was realized when the children concede their original position. When the bilingual children had to give up their argument, opinion, or claim, they used the DMs. The use of the DMs functioned as

conceding their position in the course of interactions. That is, the children moved back their meaning when they were aware of a difference between them and their co-interactants.

Conversation exchange (31) (AB-B-3-1)
Context: Seven-year-old bilingual girl, G and her English-speaking friend, H are doing school play. G is acting as teacher and H is acting as an assistant in math class.

1. G: I have something.
2. H: Okay, they are odd numbers I mean double double plus one. Regina?
3. G: Regina? You can't see if it is doubled? See? You see it, think it, see it with your own eyes.
4. H: I don't think she counts it anymore.
→5. G: Oh, ***well well*** I' m gonna ask. Tomorrow I'm gonna write stuff and then a game card instead.
6. H: Yeah, I could make cards but today,=
7. G: =Okay.

In the foregoing exchange, *well* appears in the context of concession. In line 3, the overall tone of G sounds rather challenging. However, when her co-participant suggests that Regina seems not to be able to count the double numbers, G backslides her position with the use of *well*. According to Pomerantz (1978), backing down means weakening the meaning of the utterance. In fact, G repositions herself by suggesting several alternatives in line 5. According to Bolinger (1989), the co-occurrence of *oh well* signals conceding, and *oh well* has become conventionalized as a combined form to indicate resignation (Schourup, 2001, p. 1031), and this weakens the claim. In any case, the linguistic choice of the contrastive marker *instead* (Fraser, 1993, 1999) supports the function of the target token as changing position. It signals cancelling her original idea; presenting a different idea. It spells out that the current meaning is inconsistent with the foregoing meaning within the speaker's own speech (Blackmore, 2002).

Conversation exchange (32) (BC-K-5-1-47)

Context: While doing store play, G and B invite their mothers to the store as customers. B's mother said she would buy everything in the store and B and G is calculating the price. Up to now, the price has reached to $30.

1. A1: *Na an sa-l lay-yo. Nemwu pissa-yo.*
   I not buy-ATTR-FUT-POL too expensive-POL
   'I' m not going to buy. It's too expensive.'
→2. B: *Kuntey wuli cincca* ***isscanha-yo****,* sale *ha-l-kkey-yo.*
   DM we really **isscanha**-POL sale-do-ATTR-FUT-POL
   'But we really ***isscanhayo***, going to do sale.'
3. A2: Sale *ha-l-ke-yey-yo? na-nun note-ka philyoha-ta.*
   sale do-ATTR-thing-COP-POL? I-TM note-SM need-DC.
   'Are you going to do sale?' 'I need a note book.'
   (Two turns are omitted)
4. G: *Notebook one dollar i-sip-o.*
   notebook one dollar two-ten-five
   'Notebook is one dollar 25.'
→5. B: *Kuntey onul-un-yo* ***i:isscanha-yo*** *tax hako kuliko,=*
   DM today-TM-POL **isscanha**-POL tax CONN and
   'But today, uh ***isscanhayo***, tax and and,'
6. A2: *=Elma yey-yo?*
   how much COP-POL
   'How much is it?
7. B: One dollar
8. A2: *Yeki-iss-eyo.*
   here-exist-POL
   'Here you go.'
9. B: *A::(hh)*
   'Ahh'
10. G: Tax!
11. A1: *Tax ppay-ko one dollar-ya mwe-ya?*
   tax exclude-and one dollar-COP-INT what-INT
   'Is it one dollar without tax or what?'
12. G: One dollar twenty five.
13. B: *Ya, but then sale.*
   'Hey, but then sale'
14. G: One dollar fourteen cents….

In the prior excerpt, *isscanha* signals a concessive relation between the utterances of a speaker. The interactional sequence reveals that B and G have somewhat different ideas in their mind; while B wants to sell more, G wants to get more profit. The difference is explicated when dealing with price. It was B who yields discount and

isscanha appears before the conceding remarks in B's turns. For instance, when A expresses that she will not buy because it is too expensive (line 1), B immediately changes the price, suggesting that they are going to sell (line 2).

B moves backward with the utterance of *isscanha*; the token indicates changing her position. B repositions herself when dealing with the price of a notebook (line 5) by clarifying that tax will not be charged. The action of concession is activated by virtue of the next turn where the price is reduced to one dollar (line 7). It becomes even clearer in the post sequence (line 11 through 14) where there is a discrepancy between the two speakers. G wants A to charge tax, but B wants to exempt it.

As such, *isscanha* prefaces conceding remarks. It foretells concession functioning as a backslider. It is revealing that *isscanha* co-occurs with other linguistic elements that mark contrast. The tokens are preceded with the contrastive marker *kuntey* and the topic marker *–un*. Both linguistic features mark a contrast between the foregoing and following utterances. Also, the co-occurrence *but then* in the final turn in the context emphasizes the contrast between the regular price and the sale price.

6.4.1.2.7 Well as Resigning

Well functions as resigning particularly in a separate turn. Both Klerk (2005) and Bolinger (1989) contended that *well* indicated resignation. It also supports Bolinger's (1989) argument that the combined form of *oh well* functions as resignation in step-down intonation. Pomerantz (1978) also argued that backing down means even reversing a position entirely. In the present study, resigning is oftentimes accomplished by the co-

occurrences in a separate turn of *oh well* and *well anyway*. The following example entails the function.

> Conversation exchange (33) (BC-E-5-2-41)
> Context: H and P are visiting K's place. They are talking about the movie "Princess Diary". This exchange is excerpted when K started to talk.
>
> 1. K: I was crying.
> 2. H: I know. She was crying.
> 3. P: Who?
> 4. K: ***Well***, I was at this place and oh my Gosh! I watched Princess Diaries 2 and [then
> 5. P: [I already saw that.
> 6. K: I need to finish my story.
> →7. P: ***Well***, anyway.
> 8. H: Stop stop! No cold war under (the blanket).
> 9. K: ***Well***, anyway, this kid actor came out, right? And he was Brad, right?.....

The preceding exchange contains three tokens of *well* that function differently. The functions seem different depending on the turn position and interactional sequence. For instance, while the turn-initial tokens function as taking turns, the turn-final token functions as yielding the turn. *Well* in line 4 indicates that K continues to tell her story, and *well* in line 9 signals that K returns to her story from digression. At this time, the co-occurrence of *well anyway* makes clear K's intention of returning to the topic from the digression (Link, 1998).

However, P's use of *well* is different from K's case. From the interactional point of view, the repair initiator "Who?" in line 3 seems to function as a "trouble shooter" (Schegloff, 1988) in a way that P blocks the flow of K's talk. This is shown by K's response in which she just continues talking (line 4). P once again blocks the conversation flow by taking a turn while K is still talking. The overlapped turn taking can be an interruption, which is also apparent by virtue of the subsequent turn. K claims the

authority of her turn, saying "I need to finish my story" that can be interpreted as "you should not interrupt my turn" (line 6).

Accordingly, it leads P to yield his turn (line 7). In this context, with the utterance of w*ell*, P is backing down from his position. In fact, it signals resigning his turn, although he reluctantly accepts K's claim. In other words, *well* signals a contrast of the action of the speaker in terms of turn taking; P wants to take turns before the use of *well* (line 3, 5), but gives up his turn after the use of *well*. The collocation of *well anyway* makes the speaker's resignation clearer in particular since *anyway* is also a concession marker (Fraser, 1993). Therefore, the collocation *well anyway* with the step-down intonation is transparently epistemic as *oh well* is found in Bolinger (1989). In turn, it marks an entire reversion of his position (Pomerantz, 1984).

6.4.1.2.8 *Well* as Cancellation Marker

It is observed that *well* also functions as signaling a cancellation of the speaker's own speech. The occurrence of the DMs indicates that there is a discrepancy in the meanings of the speaker's own utterance. The bilingual children used *well* for cancelling both proposition and action of the speaker. Cancellation is realized as self repair of the proposition or calling off the speaker's own actions. The bilingual children used *well* as modifying their own speech as did the monolingual children. However, there was no instance of *isscanha* in the case of cancellation.

> Conversation exchange (34) BC-6- 4-7-49
> Context: E is talking about her experience of bicycling to her peers and teacher.
>
> E: And then I rode my left bike instead of my right and I almost flipped over Oh my gosh! ***Well*** not like flipped over but I like uhm it uhm like it uhm like sorta turned.

The segment encloses the token of *well* as signaling cancellation of the speaker's own utterance (Blackmore, 2002). *Well* indicates that the previous utterance needs to be modified (Fuller, 2002). The speaker used *well* to modify what she just said.

Conversation exchange (35) (G-K-5-H)
Context: G is talking while G's mother is cooking instant noodle named lamyen in Korean.

1. G: I can't wait until I grow up. I can make lamyen. Mommy,
→2. *kuntey isscanha (.) halmeni-ka lamyen kkulhi-l-ttay mwul-man kkulhi-ko*
3. *hay-se nay-ka halmeni lamyen kkulhi (.)* ***well****, whatever. kuntey I need that pan for a second.*
DM DM grandma-SM lamyen boil-ATTR-time water-only boil-CONN do-CONN I-SM grandma instant noodle boil
'Mommy, but ***isscanha***, when grandma cooked, she just boiled water so I When she boiled (.) ***Well***, whatever. By the way, I need that pan for a second.'

The past segment contains the token of *well* as cancellation. *Well* signals that the upcoming talk will be different from the previous one. The speaker uses *well* to introduce a reassessment or reframing of her own claim (Smith & Jucker, 2002, p. 160). With the utterance of *well*, G discontinues describing what her grandmother did for cooking the noodle (line 2). In that case *well* marks cancellation of the current discourse. That is, *well* signals there will be a contrast in an forthcoming utterance. The cancellative function of *well* is clear with other linguistic components *whatever* and *kuntey* that signal change of subject of topic. The occurrence of their topic markers *whatever* and *kuntey* indicates the dismissal of the previous discourse.

Well signals finishing the current discourse and a move towards a different topic. *Whatever* marks dismissal of the previous discourse and changes the subject with the meanings of "I don't care", "it doesn't matter" or "that's OK" (dictionary.com). Very similarly, *kuntey* also marks a topic shift, meaning "by the way", or "anyway." Also, the

bilingual children use *well* for signaling repair of their own speech, just like their English speaking monolingual counterparts. It signals there is a difference between the foregoing and forthcoming proposition. It mostly appears as self-initiated repair in a turn-medial position.

6.4.1.3 Marker of Insistence

Both tokens of *well* and *isscanha* appeared as insistence markers when to demand or not to yield. The bilingual children used the DMs to prompt their interlocutors to perform some actions. In other words, the DMs functioned as an indicator of insistence in the bilingual children's database. Bolinger (1989) stated that *well* used to prompt another's utterance is insistent and demanding because *well* invokes the order of things and appeals to the norm of proper behavior (p. 311). *Well* marked a conflict between the interlocutors in disagreement environments. In a similar vein, Schourup (2001, p. 1033) proposed that insistence might derive from properties of *well* by conveying an invariable meaning of *I won't* or *I can't say anymore*. In this sense, the use of *well* is inherently an epistemic stance. In that context, *well* indicate the speaker's epistemic stance or subjective attitude.

6.4.1.3.1 Demanding

Conversation exchange (36) (BC-H-5-1)
Context: H and K are ten- year-old girls, and P is an eight-year-old boy. H and K are friends and P is H's younger brother. This conversation happens after they played a while.

1. P: Can I like have a candy?
2. H: No. You're gonna get a cavity.
→3. P: ***Well***, I didn't brush my teeth yet.

4. K: (Looking at a sleeping bag unfolded) Oh! You're sleeping there?
5. H: I know like my sister's sleeping there.
→6. P: ***Well***, I'm getting some like candy.
7. H: No. You're getting a cavity.
8. P: I'm gonna brush my teeth after <u>THA:T</u>.
9. H: No.
10. P: Is it because you don't want to share your candy?
11. H: Only a little bit.

The foregoing exchange presents the occurrence of *well* as an insisting account. The DM is used for pleading before requesting (Schegloff, 1990). As seen in the adjacency pairs (lines 1-2 and 7-8), P's requests are refused, and his counterargument ensues. The requests are formulated with similar patterns in the order of request->refusal-> counterargument (line 1-3, 6-8) and refusal->counterargument in extended turns (line 9-12). It is worth mentioning that the counterargument is prefaced with *well*. Indeed, the counterargument is understood as the action of insistence. That is, P tries to prompt H to do an action after the repeated refusals.

The evidences of insistence are found in several different ways. The first refusal is contradicted with the utterance of *well,* disagreeing with H's assessment. The counterargument conveys his meaning that eating a candy does not have any relation to getting cavity because he did not brush his teeth anyway. In a similar way, the second refusal is countered with the preface of *well*; P rebuts H's assessment by providing the counter evidence that he will brush his teeth afterwards anyway. The argument between P and H is temporarily stopped by K's question. When K completely yields the turn with the collocation of *oh well* with the step-down intonation (Bolinger, 1989), P returns to his request.

The continuation of the request is also understood as an action of insistence. The utterance of *oh well* indicates the speaker's attitude, the need for contextual negotiation

(Smith & Jucker, 2002). Confronting the direct refusal of H, P thwarts H with the utterance, “Is it because you don’t want to share your candy?”. The account successfully challenges H’s behavior by inducing the compliance of the request. As such, the insistent marker *well* appears as an interruption, inducing the speaker to insist throughout the interaction.

6.4.1.3.2 Unyielding

Conversation exchange (37) (BC-S-6-1)
Context: S is inside and K and T are outside of the classroom. While S and others are talking in the classroom, K and T are trying to come in by banging the door.

1. S: Stop it! Whoever is doing it?
2. K: (Shut up)
3. S: You should shut up, you know?
4. K/T: (They are pushing the door.)
5. S: Stop!
6. T: ((Unintelligible))
7. S: No, I’m not kidding.
8. K/T: Shut up! You girl?
→9. S: ***Well***, you should shut up, you know?

The previous exchange displays an evidence of *well* as marking insistence. It is noteworthy that argumentative remarks are being exchanged in the entire sequence. The dispute is clearly depicted in the utterance ‘you should shut up you know’ (line 3), which reoccurs in the last turn. The remark of confrontation becomes heightened by the use of *well* in the last line. In conjunction with the confrontation purpose, *well* functions as a subjective marker that reveals the speaker’s attitude (Andersen, 2001). *Well* has adversative meaning (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2005) in this arguing context.

The speaker’s epistemic stance is well sustained with linguistic co-occurrence. As an epistemic marker, the modal auxiliary *should* (Karkkainen, 2003) represents the

speaker's attitude. The meaning of confrontation is also fortified by the co-occurred DM *you know*. In this context, the information marked with *you know* contradicts earlier claims by the addressee (Jucker & Smith, 1998, p. 193) and conveys the meaning of contradictory elements (Stubbe & Holmes, 1995, p. 69).

Therefore, this function is opposite to that of Andersen (2001) who posited *you know* as building up solidarity and that of Erman (1989) who claimed the same token as seeking shared information between the interlocutors. In a similar vein, Schourup (1985) argued that the tentative function of the marker can vary greatly from case to case. In other words, *you know* metacommunicates (Erman, 2001) a speaker's attitudes, enhancing the effect of the confronting message in this context, and emphasizing the speaker's authority (Erman, 2001). As such, the turn-final *you know* boosts up the function of the turn-initial *well*. In this context, the co-occurrence of *well* and *you know* makes the meaning of contrast stronger, aggravating a direct confrontation. As such, the challenge is not inherent in the meaning of *DM*, but it results from applying the DM in the specific context (James, 1980; Ostman, 1981; Schourup, 1985).

In the data so far, the functions of *well* and *isscanha* appeared to be similar to the functions on the monolingual data. Dispite the similar functions as contextual divergence, however, both markers did not perform the same functions in the interactional environments. While *well* carried out a variety of functions for English speaking children's corpora, *isscanha* was quite limited. In other words, bilingual children were not able to fully use *isscanha* to convey their interactional meanings in divergent interactional environments. Instead, they used the Korean DM in different functions.

6.4.2 *Isscanha* for Denoting Thinking Process

In addition to the use of D-signal, *isscanha* was used for another function. The token indicates a cognitive thinking process mainly in the turn-internal position. The DM signals the cognitive state of speakers (Blackmore, 2002; Fung & Carter, 2007; Muller, 2005; Klerk, 2005). According to Fung and Carter (2007, p. 423), cognitive DMs instruct the hearer to construct a mental representation of the discourse. DMs in this category serve to denote the thinking process. In a word, the bilingual children used *isscanha* for additional communicative means that monolingual speakers lack (Meisel, 2004, p. 93). Simultaneously, the bilingual children used *isscanha* differently from the Korean monolingual children.

6.4.2.1 *Isscanha* as Searching Words

The prevalent purpose of *isscanha* in the bilingual children was its use for searching words. *Isscanha* played a 'meta-cognitive function' (Schiffrin, 1987) of searching for a suitable word for developing text. According to Klerk (2005), a DM can possibly be used when a speaker is seeking a word. Muller (2005) found out that nonnative English speakers use the DM *well* for searching for words far more than their native counterparts. The present study also found the same phenomenon; the bilingual children used it for the same purpose. The DM was used for searching appropriate words or syntactic completion in the process of conveying the speaker's meanings (Blackmore, 2002; Fung & Carter, 2007; Klerk, 2005; Muller, 2005). In fact, German learners of English used *well* for nine of 12 functions more than native speakers. Muller (2005)

suggests that this 'over-use' is a result of the way that the DM *well* is presented in textbooks that these German students of English had used.

Simultaneously, over-use can indicate the difficulty of word retrieval or even communicative constraints of the bilingual children. As Fung and Carter (2007) proposed, it is needed to be considered that since bilingual children practice less Korean, they often need an extra moment to find words and formulate sentences. In this use, *isscanha* therefore signals to the hearer that it is difficult to produce words due to the limited knowledge of lexical use. In this case, it is acting as a place filler to buy time (Klerk, 2005). In this respect, it is quite obvious that the purpose of searching words was linguistically driven in the bilingual children's case in the study.

Also, the function was further reinforced in several aspects. One of them was the elements of the co-occurrence. It was indicated by non-lexical features such as *uhm*, *eh* or pause preceded or followed by *isscanha* in the corpus. The frequency of non-lexical elements was 14.2% as presented in Table 5-4; the function as filler was 47.5% as presented in Table 5-5. Similar findings were reported on the function of *well*. Klerk (2005, p. 12) found that *well* occurred in close proximity to *um/er/uh*. Fung and Carter (2007) also found *well* was surrounded by *er erm* and *er er*. In addition to the non-linguistic co-occurrence, the wrong lexical choice frequently was found.

The following excerpt presents the function of searching a word in the bilingual corpus.

> Conversation exchange (38) (BC-K-H-5-1-28)
> Context: A nine-year-old bilingual girl is telling a story to an adult looking at a Korean storybook.
>
> 1. A: *Yay-ka nwukwu-lul chac-nun-ke-ya?*
> this person-SM who-OM find-MD-thing-IN

'Is this person looking for someone?'

2. B: *Namca-ka ku ippu-n yeca-lul chac-ass-supnita.*
   yes. man-SM that pretty-ATTR woman-OM find-PST-DEF.
3. *Chac-ulla kulay-ss-supnita. Nappu-n nappu-n namca-ka ku ay-lul*
   find-to do-PST-DEF. bad-ATTR bad-ATTR man-SM that child-OM
4. *ay-lul nappun namca-ka um* ***isscanhayo*** *tto* ***isscanhayo*** *change hay-ss-supnita*.
   child-OM bad man-SM um **isscanhayo** and **isscanhayo** change do-PST-DEF
   'Yes. A man found a pretty girl, tried to find. The bad bad man um ***isscanhayo*** also ***isscanhayo*** changed that girl that girl.'

In the previous segment, it is noteworthy that there is a gap between the information and the ability to convey it. That is, the bilingual child feels difficulties in expressing her ideas due to the gap. The gap is bridged by the DM *isscanha*, which co-occurs with several linguistic elements such as repetitions, fillers, and code-switching. These co-occurrences give the evidence that the bilingual girl has difficulty in expressing her idea in the Korean language.

Isscanha plays a 'meta-cognitive function' (Schiffrin, 1987) in searching a suitable word for developing the text. In this context, *isscanha* is used for searching the right phrase '*change hayssupnita* ('changed')'. As such, *isscanha* is employed both for searching for appropriate words to present her ideas and for retrieving the appropriate word from her previous knowledge. With the utterance of *isscanha*, B paused to find a proper word. As such, *isscanha* in turn-medial position appears as if the speaker is searching for the right words.

6.4.2.2 *Isscanha* as Cognitive Process

Another different function of *isscanha* from the monolingual children was signaling reasoning. The bilingual children's use of the DMs denoted a process of

inference. It signaled the speakers' cognitive thinking process. According to Schourup (1985), the inferable reason for the use of the DMs is that the speaker has paused to consider how to continue the sentence. As such, bilingual children use the DM for bringing their perspective in the process of conveying their ideas.

In other words, *isscanha* was often a signal of uncertainty, providing the speaker with a bit more time to think (Klerk, 2005). As Fung and Carter (2007, p. 415) found in the use of *well*, *isscanha* was employed to denote the thinking process when conveying their idea. The functions of the token became clearer with the co-occurrence such as *I think*. The evidence is the overall frequency of the inference marker (12.6%) as presented in Table 6-4. Both Klerk (2005) and Fung and Carter (2007) reported a similar finding. It often performed this function immediately following, and also often collocated with I *think, maybe and perhaps.*

The following example shows signs of a reasoning process of *isscanha* in the bilingual children's conversation.

Conversation exchange (39) (BC-K-5-1-28)
Context: Two bilingual girls are telling stories, looking at a picture book.

1. G: *Yesnal-ey hansel and gretel-i isse-sse-yo……*
   old day-LOC Hansel and Gretel-SM exist-PST-POL.
   kuntey ***isscanha****, I think I think the makwi halmem, she is living I think.*
   but: DM **isscanha**. I think I think the witch old woman she is living I think.
   'But ***isscanha*** I think I think the witch she is living I think.'
2. A: *Nwu-ka makwi halmem-i-ya?*
   who-SM witch old woman-COP-INT:Q?
   'Who is the witch?'
3. B: This is Hansel and Gretel, right?
   This is Hansel and Gretel right?
4. G: Uhuh.
5. A: *Ne al-a?*
   you know-INT:Q
   'Do you know that?'
6. B: *Ney. A: [nay-ka,=*

yes. ah I-SM
Yes. Ah [I

7. G: *[Yeki-eyse kwaca-lul mek-ess-e-yo. Kuntey*
Here-LOC cookie-OM eat-PST-[e]-POL. But:DM
I think it's the same person. *pwapwa. yeki* ***isscanha*** *kho-ka*
I think it's the same person. Look look. Here **isscanha** nose-SM
ttokkathi saynkey-ss-e.
identically form-PST-INT
'[The witch is eating cookies here. But I think it's the same person.
'Look look. Here ***isscanha*** her nose looks exactly same.'

8. A: *Te khu-n-kes kath-untey*
more big-ATTR-thing same-CONN
'It looks like bigger.'

9. G: *Ani-ya. kho transplant ha-n-ke-ya.*
not-COP-INT nose transplant do-ATTR-thing-INT.
'No. Her nose is transplanted one.'

The foregoing exchange includes two instances of *isscanha* as a reasoning marker. Having been telling the story for a while, G brings her idea that the old witch is living (line 1). G employs *isscanha* before framing an upcoming opinion sequence. G uses similar patterns to introduce her idea; the topic marker *kuntey*, inference marker *I think* and *isscanha* collocate in order to present her inference.

The introduction of her idea becomes clear with the topic marker *kuntey* (line 1 and 7). Moreover, the inference marker *I think* clarifies that G is reasoning for the inference. The repetition of *I think* clearly conveys her idea. However, from the subsequent turns (from line 2 to 6), it seems that the two interlocutors did not agree with her yet. Therefore, G again brings her inference, but this time the reasoning process is richer with the attention getters such as *pwa pwa*, *yeki* and the comparison between the two noses. When A shows her doubt (line 8), however, G made her inference clear by confirming that the nose was transplanted. The negative response, *aniya (no)* made her inference more clear.

6.5 Conclusion

Similar to monolingual children, bilingual children also used the DMs for their interactional enhancement that can be interpreted as the development of interactional competence. The comparison of Korean and English monolinguals' use of DMs with that of Korean–English bilinguals revealed both similarities and differences. In English, bilingual children were similar to their monolingual counterparts, while in Korean they differed from monolingual Korean children in the functions of the use of the Korean DM *isscanha*.

The quantitative analysis revealed the similarity between L1 and L2 in the production of DMs in the bilingual data. There was also similarity among the bilingual children's data and the monolingual English-speaking and the monolingual Korean-speaking children's data. This result may implicate that the production of the DMs are similar in the two languages.

The qualitative analysis, however, revealed the differences in the interactional functions of the two markers. The core meaning of the bilingual corpus was identical to that of the English monolingual corpus; *well* signaled contextual divergence. In other words, the bilingual children used *well* to mark a divergent relationship between the utterances. It signaled an upcoming utterance would be incongruent from the current utterance. The token performed a variety of interactional functions that were drawn from the core meaning as found in the monolingual data.

Meanwhile, the core meaning of *isscanha* in the bilingual data was quite different from that of the Korean monolingual children. The bilingual children used the DM for additional interactional means that was not found in the monolingual data. Not only did

they use it for signaling contextual divergence, they also used it for searching words and aligning with the interlocutors as opposed to their monolingual counterparts. The different core meaning in L1 particularly may have revealed that bilingual children develop interactional competence for their own communicative needs.

In summary, the use of the DMs of the bilingual children was not exactly the same as their monolingual peers. Although the functions were similar to the monolingual English-speaking children, there was more variety in the functions of the DMs used by the bilingual chindren than the monolingual Korean-speaking children. One of the convincing evidences was the different core meaning: Korean DM signals a cognitive thinking process. The children used it for searching for an appropriate word as well as for the inferences of their ideas. They tended to use it when they did not know what to say. The token signaled the cognitive thinking processes of the speaker such as reasoning or searching an appropriate word. The different core meaning was evident with the high percentage of the distribution in turn position, components of co-occurrence, core functions and interactional environments.

CHAPTER 7

FACTORS AFFECTING THE USE OF DISCOURSE MARKERS

7.1 Introduction

As presented in the previous chapter, the development of discourse markers (DMs) of bilingual children was different according to the language. The quantitative analysis revealed that bilingual children used both DMs with a frequency similar to those of monolingual English speakers and monolingual Korean speakers. In addition, a similar frequency was found in the use of the two DMs in the bilingual children's speech.

Despite the similar frequency to the monolingual peers, bilingual children used them differently in terms of function. *Well* was used in the same pattern with their L2 speaking peers, whereas the majority of the bilingual children diverged from their L1 speaking peers in the use of *isscanha*. In other words, the core meaning of *well* in the bilingual corpus was the same as that in the monolingual corpus. However, the core meaning of the Korean DM was different from the Korean-speaking children's data. The bilingual children used it as an additional interactional means, whereas Korean-speaking monolingual children did not use it that way. These research findings suggested a further investigation on what might cause the differences in the use of the DMs between the bilingual and monolingual participants.

Accordingly, the present chapter aims to determine the possible factors that affect children's use of DMs. This section explores this by investigating these factors in the context of monolingual and bilingual children. Not only did the question pursue the differences across the linguistic groups in general, but also it further sought the

characteristics of bilingual acquisition, in particular. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses will present the roles of the factors and the phenomenon that bilingual children are going through during the course of bilingual development.

7.2 Research Variables

In order to answer the inquiry, the study compares two demographic variables—age and gender—across the linguistic groups. The study uses age and gender because they both closely relate to language development. In addition, the two factors are major sociolinguistic factors that influence the use of DMs in the literature. For instance, age has been shown to influence on DMs in previous research (Furman & Ozyurek, 2007; Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp, 1999; Pak, Sprott, & Escalera, 1996; Scott, 1984; Sprott, 1992; Trillo, 2002). Gender also involved the use of DMs (Escalera, 2009; Leaper & Smith, 2004). However, previous research mostly investigated the order of ideational or interactional functions and activities from monolingual children. In other words, the literature does not include quantitative development of bilingual children's use of DMs per se according to age and gender.

7.3 Use of DMs and Sociolinguistic Factors

7.3.1 English-Speaking Children

The statistical analysis revealed different involvement of the two factors in the English- speaking children's data. There was a correlation between age and the use of the DM, whereas there was no correlation between gender and the use of the DM, using a Bonferroni correction, 0.0125. Both *p* value and effect size verified the results. Table 7-1 shows the correlation of the two factors in the English data. The correlation between age and the use of *well* was significant ($r=.828$, $p=.000$). Effect size, as measured by r^2, was

large (r^2=*.6855*). Therefore, the result has practical significance. However, there was no significant correlation between gender and the use of *well* in the English-speaking children (*r=.381, p=.161*).

Table 7-1. Correlations (English-speaking Children)

	English-speaking Children	*Well*
Age	Pearson Correlation	.828**
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.000
	N	15
Gender	Pearson Correlation	.381
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.161
	N	15

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

7.3.2 Korean-Speaking Children

The statistical analysis revealed there is no correlation of the two factors in the Korean- speaking children's data. Both factors had no correlation in the use of the DM (in a Bonferroni correction, 0.0125) as shown in Table 7-2. There was no significant correlation between age and the use of *isscanha* (*r=.231, p=.407*). There was also no significant correlation between gender and the use of *isscanha* (*r=.484, p=.068*). In summary, neither gender nor age correlated with the use of *isscanha*.

Table 7-2. Correlations (Korean-speaking Children)

	English-speaking Children	*Isscanha*
Age	Pearson Correlation	.231
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.407
	N	15
Gender	Pearson Correlation	.484
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.068
	N	15

7.3.3 Bilingual Children

Finally, a Bonferroni correction revealed that there were not any significant correlations between the two factors and the use of DMs in both L1 and L2. Neither age nor gender correlated with the use of *well* and *isscanha* in the bilingual data as shown in Table 7-3.

Table 7-3. Correlations (Bilingual Children)

Bilingual Children		*well*	*Isscanha*
Age	Pearson Correlation	.548*	-.126
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.035	.653
	N	15	15
Gender	Pearson Correlation	-.014	.261
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.961	.348
	N	15	15

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Those statistical results have several implications relating to the comparison between bilingual and monolingual children. While age correlated with the use of *well* in both monolingual and bilingual children, gender did not correlated with the use of *well* in both linguistic groups. There was no correlation with age or gender in the use of *isscanha* in both monolingual and bilingual groups.

At the same time, it implicates the difference in learning DMs in two languages in the bilingual children: age was correlated with the use of the English DM but not the Korean DM, but gender was not correlated with either English or Korean DMs. This implies that age played an important role in developing DMs in the second language, but not in the first language. Gender did not involve the development of DMs in either language. Gender also was not correlated with the use of DMs in bilingual children

learning first or second language. The next section explores other factors that may influence the use of DMs in each language.

7.4 Factors in Bilingual Children's Use of Discourse Markers

Bilinguals are not two monolinguals. That is, bilingual children are not equally developing in two languages because they do not have the same experiences in both languages (De Houwer, 2009; Grosjean, 1985; Meisel, 2004; Romaine, 1999; Shin, 2005; Wei, 2000). Bilinguals develop competencies in the two languages usually quite differently; one language develops for school; another for home (Shin, 2005). In other words, bilingual children do not show proficiencies in both languages that are equal to those of their same-age monolingual peers at all times. Unlike the monolingual acquisition, for instance, bilingual development relates to the exposure to language and the use of language (Montrul, 2008). As such, this section discusses the major two factors that influence the bilingual acquisition of the use of DM found in the bilingual data.

7.4.1 Length of Exposure to the English School

It appeared that one of the major factors that had a significant correlation in the bilingual children's use of the English DMs was the length of exposure to English-speaking in the school context (LOES). Generally, the children who used more English DMs were those who started to go to school early in the U.S. That means, living in the U.S. alone did not guarantee the use of DMs. Experiences in school environments were crucial in learning the target language for children (De Houwer, 2009).

A Pearson correlation was conducted to find a relationship between the length of exposure to English-speaking in the school context (LOES) and the production of the English DM *well*. Table 7-4 displays the correlation between the two factors.

Table 7-4. Correlations between LOES and DM Production

Bilingual Children		LOES	DM *well*	DM *isscanha*
LOES	Pearson Correlation	1	.869**	-.192
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.493
	N	15	15	15
DM *well*	Pearson Correlation		1	-.446
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.096
	N		13	15
DM *isscanha*	Pearson Correlation			1
	Sig. (2-tailed)			
	N			30

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The statistical analysis determined that there is a correlation between the two factors. The correlation between LOES and the use of *well* was significant (r=.869, p=.000). The effect size, as measured by r^2, was large (r^2=.7752). Therefore, the result has practical significance. In contrast, a correlation between LOES school and use of *isscanha* was not significant.

It can be inferred from the result that the longer the bilingual children attended a mainstream school, the more DMs they used. This result can be explained by Hellermann and Vergun (2007) who reported that students who used more DMs may be those who were more acculturated into the target language society. Figure 7-1 illustrates the relationship between the use of DMs and LOES.

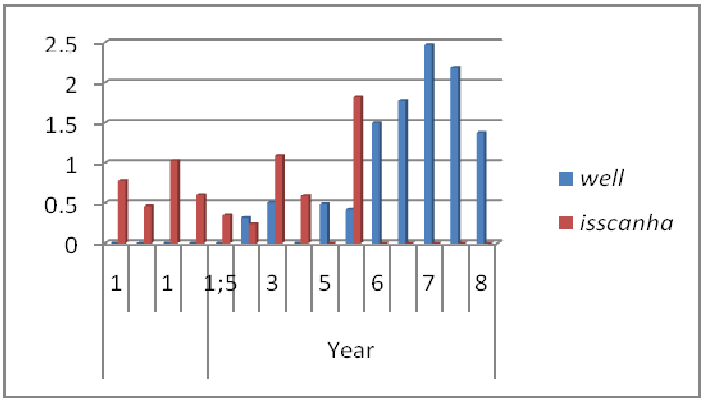

Fig. 7-1. Relationship between the duration and DM production

Bilingual data also presented the significant individual variation in terms of production and forms. Figure 7-2 depicts the variation of the production of each DM in the bilingual data.

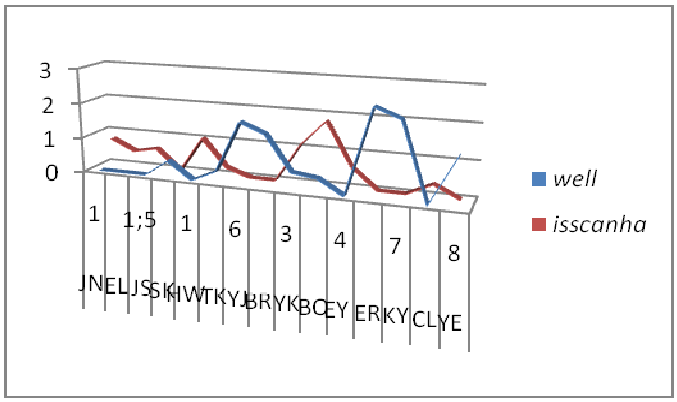

Figure 7-2. Individual Variation of DM Production

Many children showed a complete absence of the use of one DM. For example, JN, EL, JS, HW, EY, and CL did not use the English DM at all, whereas SK, YJ, BR, ER, KY, and YE did not use the Korean DM. Such non-use of the marker in each language may reflect the phenomenon of pragmatic fossilization[34] (Trillo, 2002). Trillo

[34] Trillo (2002, p. 770) defined pragmatic fossilization as the phenomenon by which a non-native speaker systematically uses certain forms inappropriately at the pragmatic level of communication.

argued that language fossilization applies to the pragmatic aspects of language development. Pragmatic fossilization appears in the bilingual children because there is a delay in the presentation of the pragmatic variation that exists with respect to the way they acquire communication competence in the target language. This finding may draw the implication that just living in the U.S. does not guarantee the acquisition of the DM.

More specifically, although EY had stayed in the US for more than four years, her use of *well* was none existent. In contrast, BO's use of *isscanha* was remarkable. BO was born in the U.S., her frequency of *well* was very low compared to other children. In fact, BO rarely had opportunities to interact with English-speaking people. She usually communicated in Korean with her family members, particularly with her grandmother who was only able to communicate in Korean. This facilitated learning the Korean DM; simultaneously, it restricted learning the English DM. This finding is supported by the argument of De Houwer (2009) that differences in the overall frequency with which children hear each of their languages may be an important factor.

In addition, this individual variation might be related to the language use in L1 and L2, and home language as seen in figure 7-6. There were a great contrast between the use of English and Korean. Some of the children predominantly used English, and others predominantly used Korean. For example, JS, HW, and CL mostly communicated in Korean, but SK, BR, ER, and KY mostly communicated in English. Accordingly, it seemed that use of DMs was decided by the use of the language. In the same vein, the individual variation might be related to their home language. In other words, the use of DMs was different according to the language of their family members particularly their parents. A typical example was found in ER and BO. While ER's parents communicated

almost exclusively in English at home, BO's parents almost completely communicated in Korean. Accordingly, their production of DMs was very different.

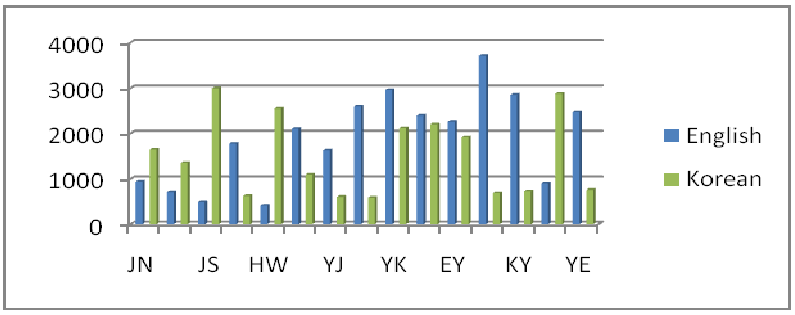

Figure 7-3. Individual Variation of Language Use

Such individual variation was present in the different form of *isscanha*. Figure 7-8 shows a distribution of the forms in bilingual children. Not only did the bilingual data show non-existence of the linguistic expression, but also many of the participants did not use the DM *isscanha*. For instance, among the 15 participants, only six children used both forms *isscanha* and *iss-canha*. Four of them used only *iss-canha*, and five of them never used either of the forms. Therefore, only 41% of the participants were using *isscanha* as an independent DM.

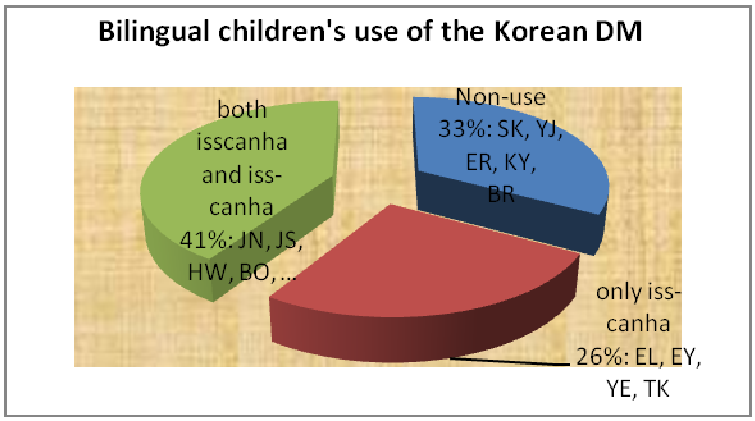

Figure 7-4. Individual Variation of Forms of *isscanha*

In other words, duration in the U.S. simply did not promise the competent use of DMs in the bilingual children. Interactional opportunities are more important for the bilingual children to use the DM in the target languages. The length of the direct interaction in the target languages significantly contributed to the use of the DMs. The children who had more opportunities to interact with the target language speakers acquired more of the natural language use, for spoken competence is more likely to take place through natural discursive interaction. Shin (2005) also mentioned that Korean-speaking bilingual children are regularly exposed to English mostly after they enter preschool or kindergarten. Spoken language development in the second language occurs through natural interaction with the native speakers of that language.

7.4.2 Sociocultural Factors

The linguistic choice represents the children's sociocultural knowledge. The significant discrepancy in the use of the DMs was found in the two sociocultural components: social contextual factors and sociolinguistic appropriateness factors. Sociocultural factors may predispose the Korean monolingual children to a certain discursive practice when using the DM. While the Korean children differentiated the interlocutors with a variety of linguistic components depending on the interlocutors, the bilingual children did not seem to differentiate such sociocultural factors. The rarity of these sociolinguistic elements in bilingual children's interactions may indicate that the bilingual children are less aware of subtle social cultural factors.

The following examples show differences in linguistic elements between the Korean monolingual and bilingual children. While the Korean children employed various

linguistic features, differentiating the forms according to the interlocutors, the bilingual counterparts did not. The Korean children systematically used polite forms, honorific forms, humble forms, mitigators, or vocatives and the like, while the bilingual children used these rarely. The Korean children clearly differentiated social registers according to the age of the interlocutors, whereas the bilingual children did not. In other words, the DMs co-occurred with the appropriate forms in the Korean children's data; they did not co-occur with the appropriate forms in the bilingual data.

In example (1), vocative *sensaygnim*, humble form *ce* and polite marker, and in example (2), humble form *ce* and polite marker *yo*. However, they differentiated the language choice, *na* to the peer and *ce* to the adult.[35] *Isscanha* was used as a hesitation marker (Byun, 2003; Cho et al, 2001) in the monolingual children's speech.

Conversation exchange (1)
Context: This conversation is taking place between three Korean children and their teacher. While the teacher and two children were talking about their summer plans, S was drawing a picture without saying anything. When S finished it, she tried to show it to the teacher.

1. S: (Showing her picture of a locust)
   (*hh) Sensayng-nim,* ***isscanhayo****. yeki, ce-nun-yo?*
   (hh) teacher-HON **isscanhayo**. here, I:HUM,TM-POL
   (hh) Teacher, ***isscanhayo***. Here I…
2. M: *Wa: mattwuki-ta!*
   oh: locust-DEF
   'Oh it is a locust!

---

[35] 1. A: *umsik-i issu-myen nathana. ……umsik naymsay.*
   food-SM exist-if appear……food smell
   If there is food, they come……food smell.
2. M: ***isscanha*yo,** [**cey**-ka-yo
   isscanhayo I:HUM-SM-POL
   '**isscanhayo**, **I,**
3. S: [Lotte paykhwa,
   lotte department
   [Lotte department,
4. M: ***nay-****ka mence malha-ko iss-ess-****canha.***
   I-SM first talk-PROG-PST-**canha**

Conversation exchange (2) (KC-SS-A-9)
Context: This conversation is taking place between an adult and two children before the class.

1. A: …...
→2. S: *Ah: ce swukcey mos hay-sse-yo. Ce* ***isscanha-yo****, nayil hay-o-nun cwu-l al-ko.*
oh I: POL homework cannot do-PST-POL I: POL **isscanha**-POL tomorrow do-come-ATTR NML-OM know-CONN
'Oh, I I couldn't do homework. I ***isscanhayo***. I thought the due is tomorrow.'
3. A: *Mwe-lako?*
what-QT
'What?'
4. J: (hh) *E:: ce-to-yo.*
(hh) eh I: POL-also-POL
'hh eh me too.'

However, the linguistic elements in the co-occurrence of the bilingual children's data were different from the Korean monolingual children. Although they used the DM *isscanha*, it is very rare to observe the linguistic co-occurrence. Nor did the linguistic components of the co-occurrence indicate the sociocultural sensitivity. That is, they did not distinguish socially appropriate forms to adult interlocutors, instead using the same forms to both adults and peers. As such, the bilingual children were not able to use the appropriate sociolinguistic variants. In other words, they were less aware of socio cultural factors of the interlocutors than their monolingual peers.

In conversation (3) and (4), E tended to stick to the regular forms of the nouns, verbs, particles, or pronouns and the like to adult interlocutors; *nay, -nun, nay, hay-, nay, cwe-*, each of them should have been *cey, kkeysenun, cey, hasye-,* or *cwuseyyo*. Also it seemed that they were not able to use honorific forms to adults according to the social context. This finding is supported by the research on the Korean children's

developmental order of honorific forms[36]. In the same way, in conversation 3, the communicative constraint pertaining to the use of *isscanha* mainly resulted from the improper use of the pronoun when *na* should be *ce*, for B is referring to her grandmother.

Conversation exchange (3) (BC-K-5-1-41)
Context: This conversation is taking place between a bilingual girl and an adult. While A is cooking instant noodle, B is talking to A.

1. A: *Mwe-la-ko?*
   what-DEC-QT?
   'What did you say?'
2. E: *Nay halmeni-nun-yo nay swuph* ***isscanhayo*** *maywun ke*
   my grandmother-TM-POL my condiment **isscanhayo** hot thing
   silheha-nikkan-yo kuyang halmeni kuyang hay-kaciko-yo
   not like-CONN-POL just grandmother just do-CONN-POL
   nay-ka swuph nehkey hay-cwe-yo.
   I-SM condiment put in do-give-POL
   'My grandma, my, condiment ***isscanhayo*** because it is hot, so just she just cooks the noodle and then she lets me put the condiment into the noodle.'

Conversation excerpt (4) (BC-K-H-6)
Context: An adult and three ten-year-old bilingual schoolgirls are talking about stickers. So far, two girls have said that they like stickers very much and they have a lot of them.

1. A: *Boyeng, ne-to sticker coha-hay?*
   Boyoung, you-also sticker like-do?
   'Boyoung, do you like stickers too?'
→2. B: *Aniyo, na-nun-yo,* ***isscanha-yo,*** *na-y cokha-tul o-myen sticker cwu-ketun-yo.*
   no I-TM-POL **isscanha-yo**. I-GEN my nephew/niece-PL come-COND sticker give-CONN POL.
   cokum mal an tul-eyo.
   little word not listen-POL
   'No, I, ***isscanhayo***, when my nephews/nieces come to my home, I give them stickers. They don't listen to me a little.'

---

[36] Y. Kim (1997) reported that there were individual differences in the use of the subject-honorific marker *–si* and the politeness sentence ending *–yo*. These differences depended on primarily on how often a child's family used these inflections in their interactions with the child and how much they valued the child's use of these endings. Most Korean-speaking children in middle-class families began to use these inflections between 2 and 3.
C. Lee (1993) reported that his two children acquired the politeness ending *–yo* right after their second birthdays, while they acquired the subject-honorific marker *–si* much later. It took much longer for children to be able to supply the honorific marker in all obligation contexts.

Meanwhile, similar to the Korean children when interacting with adults, the English monolingual children tended to use a variety of linguistic devices. While the co-occurrence with the Korean DM was closely related to social appropriateness, the English DM more likely related to a mitigating device. That is, the English monolingual children tend to use *well* with other linguistic elements such as polite markers or understatements. They showed functional differences according to the interlocutor's socio cultural factors. For instance, they used more mitigating devices to adults especially in dispreferred responses. However, it turned out that bilingual children were far less aware of the interlocutors' sociocultural factors. The following examples support this conclusion.

Conversation exchange (5) (AB-A-4-8-42)
Context: K and G have played together for a whole day at G's house. Now, it's time for K to go to her house, but they still want to play together more at K's house. The conversation takes place just after the phone conversation between K's mother and G's mother.

1. K: She doesn't want today?
2. A: Yeah. Not today. Maybe tomorrow. Where's your=
3. K: =Oh,
4. A: Because your mom and I don't want you to play today anymore. Maybe tomorrow or some other day.
→5. K: ***Well***, maybe she can come for a while.
6. A: No! Tomorrow.
7. K: No, maybe she could come while you're going to the EP

In the preceding exchange, *well* co-occurs with other mitigating devices such as *maybe* and *for a while*. Also, K provides the account for the reason for the request. By using the mitigating device, K conveys her politeness. During the interaction with the adults, S used the DM *well* with other polite indicators. As such, the English-speaking children tended to employ more linguistic markers to adults than their peers.

Conversation exchange (6) (BC-H-5)
Contexts: V and H are ten-year-old bilingual girls. V is visiting H's place and they are talking with H's parents A1 and A2.

1. V: ((Unintelligible))
2. H: Can I hear it?
3. A1: Talk it. *mal-hay ni-ka.*
   talk it. say-do you-SM
   'Talk it. You talk it.'
4. A2: *Mwusun il iss-ess-e?*
   what thing exist-PST-INT?
   'Has something wrong happened?
→5. V: Uh ***well,*** I have this kind of teacher and she is kind of somewhat mean. She's not exactly mean but she doesn't like me somehow.

In a similar way, the bilingual children's DM *well* co-occurs with various understatements. To adults, they used such linguistic modifications. The hesitation markers *uh well* and down toners *kind of somewhat* and *somehow* as accusations contribute to downgrade the dispreferred acts (Aijmer, 1984; Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987; Hubler, 1983). Both Holms (1980) and Pomerantz (1984) also suggested that the hedges are used in order to avoid possible impoliteness in such dispreferred situations.

Another noticeable difference was found in the organization of correcting the errors of others[37]. The formats for other-initiated error correction were different between the bilingual and monolinguals. Error correction of others can be referred to as other repair, which is the treatment of trouble occurring in interactive language use (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). Other-correction can be heard as challenging especially when it occurs in the context of disagreement (Goldberg, 1980; Schegloff et al., 1977; Schourup, 1985). It may be heard as rude (Allight, 1995). Schourup (1985) argued that it is a risky business, however subtly initiated, because it can be the occasion for disagreement.

[37] Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) indicated that the term 'correction' commonly refers to 'repair'. So, from now on, the two terms, repair and correction will be interchangeably used.

As such, since it is delicate in a conversation, the construction of error correction may be socially important in interaction (Markee, 2000). Therefore, Schegloff et al. (1977) observed that self-correction is preferred to other-correction, and other correction is highly constrained in its occurrence. Most of the other-correction occurs either specially marked or specially positioned; both types exhibit an orientation to its dispreferred status. In that sense, other repair can indicate the speaker's social knowledge and the degree of socialization of the speaker (Schegloff et al., 1977).

While the bilingual children's error correction was similar to the English-speaking children in respect to the initiation, it was different from the Korean-speaking children with regard to the use of DMs. Error correction of the monolingual data appeared constricted in its occurrence. As evident, the monolingual children tended to use the DMs before correcting errors of their co-participants. In contrast, the bilingual children tended to directly deliver correction.

Characteristics of error correction were slightly different according to the language groups. The Korean children were more likely to deliver error correction in the manner of dispreferred sequences. Similarly, the English monolingual children used weakened forms. However, the bilingual children seemed less likely to use the constricted form; rather they used direct forms. It was more conspicuous in delivering error correction in the Korean language.

It was particularly salient that error correction is highly constrained in the Korean monolingual children's data. Error correction was prefaced with the utterance of the DM in the monolingual children. The characteristics were opposite to that of the bilingual children. The evidence is compelling in the location of the DM and the forms. In the

Korean monolingual data, substantial constraints operating to restrict the occurrence of other correction were frequently found (Schegloff et al., 1977).

According to Schegloff, the form of repair was frequently modulated as follows: (1) the other-correction was downgraded on a 'confidence/uncertainty' scale, (2) use of expressions to check understanding, uncertainty-marked modulations, and (3) use of dispreferred status by occurring with either special marking or special positioning. Not only did the Korean monolingual children use a group of turn-constructional devices to initiate repair, but also the error correction was prefaced with the DMs. In contrast, the bilingual children directly corrected the error.

Compare the following examples; the first two examples are of the Korean monolinguals and the last two are of the bilinguals.

> Conversation exchange (7) (JM-F-7-5-16)
> Contexts: This conversation exchange is taking place at a tutoring context. A is an adult Korean teacher, and B and S are Korean nine-year-old school children. A explains a math problem, trying to correct B's wrong answer.
>
> 1. A: *Yeki-eyta i-lul kophay-se i-ka khe-ci-nun ke-yey-yo. kuchi?*
> here-LOC two-OM multiply-CONN two-SM big-become-ATTR-thing-COP-POL…so-COMM
> 'Two has increased because it was multiplied two here, right?'
> 2. S: *Eh?*
> 'Uh?'
> 3. A: *Way?*
> 'Why?'
> →4. S: ***Isscanha-yo**, yeki-yo, i-kes-un namki-nun ke-yey-yo.*
> **isscanha-yo**-POL, here-POL this-thing-TM leave-NM-ATTR-thing-COP-POL.
> '***Isscanhayo***, this should be remained here.'

In the foregoing exchange, other repair occurs (line 3) in the context of disagreement, which potentially has a challenging aspect (Goldberg, 1980; Schegloff, 1977; Schourup, 1985). Accordingly, the error correction takes a form of dispreferred

sequence as observed by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977). First, S's repair initiation *eh?* (Uh?) in line 2 suggests that there is a trouble in the preceding conversation (Schegloff, 1988, 1991). S displays some problems in understanding A's utterance by intervening in A's talk.

After the suggestion, the error correction occurred with both special marking and special positioning (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1977). Specifically, the correction used the turn-constructional devices such as the DM *isscanhayo* and the delaying marker *yekiyo*. By prefacing *isscanhayo*, the other repair is located in the last position. The use of the DM is very important because this other repair can be heard as challenging in this disagreement context (Goldberg, 1980 adopted in Schourup, 1985, p. 81). Using the DM *well*, G subtly initiates the other repair (Schourup, 1985) in order to avoid sounding too assertive to the adult interlocutor in the particular social interaction (teacher).

Conversation exchange (8)
Context: Three children are studying linking verbs such as *am, are, is* and their past forms. The example is extracted while they are reading their own answers. S and P have the same answer but J has different one from them.

1. S/P: They [were tired
2. J: [They are tired.
3. P: (hh)
4. S: *Yay-n mwen-ci mollu-nun kes kathay-yo.*
   this-kid-TM what-NML do not know-ATTR thing seem-POL
   'I think he doesn't know.'
5. J: *Eh?*
   'What?'
→6. S: *Alukhye-cwu-l kkey. I-ke* ***isscanha*** *(.) [U:m,*
   teach-give-ATTR FUT. this-thing **isscanha**
   'I will let you know. This ***isscanha***, uhm,'
7. J: [*Ah: al-a.*
   Ah know-INT
   'Oh I know.'
8. S: *I-ke thullye-ss-e.=*
   this-thing incorrect-PST-INT
   'This is incorrect.'

9. J: =*A<u>h:</u> kulay. ne chencey-ta. ne chencey-ta.*
ah so. you genius-DC you genius-DC
'Okay okay. You are a genius. You are a genius.'

In the prior segment, error correction is taking place between peers. Although S is talking to her peer, she does not directly correct the error; an uncertainty marker (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) downgraded the other-correction. S used the weakened form --*kes kathayyo* (I think…, he seems…) to avoid assertion of the utterance on line 4. It is known that the utterance presages repair by virtue of J's repair initiator *E?* (Uh? or What?), which displays some "trouble" in hearing the preceding talk (Schegloff, 1988). J's unwillingness to accept the correction is (line 7 and 9) the evidence of social-organizational preference for self-over other correction.

The other repair is specified in the subsequent turns. The error correction is positioned at the end of the turn (line 6 and 8). The DM *isscanha*, pause and the hesitation marker *U:m* function as delaying devices as in the dispreferred sequence (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). As such, the Korean children's error correction was frequently performed in modulated forms in particular with the preface of *isscanha*. The Koren children withhold error correction while the trouble-source turn is in progress.

Other repair can be understood as strong disagreement, which is obviously a dispreferred response. Seedhouse (2004) also claims that unmitigated or bald statements of other repair can be understood as a contradiction in terms of social action. Accordingly, by producing the DM, G mitigates direct corrections of the 'repairable item' since other-initiated and other completed repair are dispreferred acts.

It is reflected not only by the tokens of pause and hesitance *um (*Aijmer & Simon-Vanderbergen, 2005) but also J's turn taking without an interval between the end

of a prior and start of the turns (line 6 through 9). J's sarcastic remarks (line 9) are confrontational, indicated by the recipient's immediate attempt to get out of the troubled situation (Schegloff, 1991), because other-initiated and other-completed repair are dispreferred acts (Seedhouse, 2004).

J's final turns indicate the speaker's declination of S's offer, whic is a dispreferred action and which is another repair. Goldberg (1980) commented when prefaced by *well* the speaker of the other-initiated repair is heard as challenging the repairable speaker's competence or expertise by indicating that the offered repair is a matter of common knowledge and that the speaker of the troublesome item should also share that knowledge (p. 234)

However, the bilingual children's error correction is quite differently fashioned from that of their Korean monolingual counterparts. The bilingual children's error correction did not follow the observation of Schegloff et al. (1977); they tended to directly correct other's error. Although they used *isscanha*, it is prefaced by an error correction. Nor did modulated forms appear in the bilingual children's error correction. The fashion of error correction is exhibited in the following examples.

> Conversation Exchange (9)
> Context: A bilingual child (D) and an adult (A) are talking about flowers. Looking at the flowers that A brought, D started to talk about the flowers that she had.
>
> 1. D:….*hana-nun cwuk-ko hana-nun sala-ss-eyo.*
>   one-TM die-and One-TM alive-PST-POL
>   ……but one died and the other is alive.
> 2. A: *Way? Mwul-ul an cwe-se?*
>   why? water-OM not give-because
>   Why? Because you didn't water it?
> 3. D: A*ni-yo.* ***isscanhayo****. …..mwul tto cwu-ko mwul tto cwu-ko kulay-ss-unikkan-yo.*
>   not-COP-POL. **isscanhayo** water again give-and water again

give-and so-PST-CONN-POL
'No, ***isscanhayo***……..because…watered it again and again.

Conversation exchange (10) (BC-K-5-71)
Context: Up to now, three bilingual girls and an adult have been talking about their experience visiting Korea. Suddenly, however, the children began talking about the stickers they have, and this conversation is taking place between the adult and B.

1. A: *Ne-ka kay-tul-hanthey mwe-l ha-lako sikhye, kulemyen?*
   you-SM that child-PL-to some thing-OM do-IMP-CONN make, then?
   'Then do you make them do something?'
2. B: *An-i-yo*.
   not-COP-POL
   'No.'
3. A: *Kuntey way mal cal tut-nun-ta kulay?*
   but why word well listen-ATTR-DC so:INT:Q
   'Then why do you say they listen to you well?'
4. B: *An-i-yo,* ***isscanhayo*** *wuli wuli-ka mwe nolu-myen-yo an soli cilu-ko*
   no-COP-POL **isscanhayo** we we-SM something play-if-POL not sound make-and *kulemyen sticker cwe-yo.*
   Then sticker give-POL
   'No, ***isscanhayo***. When we play something, they don't make noisy, then I give them stickers.'

Both exchanges include the instances of error correction. The error correction is prefaced with the negation marker *ani* in both cases. In those contexts, *aniyo* is used directly to correct the error of A by directly negating A's assumption. It cancelled the interlocutor's presupposition. In the first exchange, A assumes that the flower died because they did not water it very well. In the second exchange, A thought that B makes her cousins do something for her. These results may provide further support for the idea that even small differences in lifestyle may make a big difference to the use of DMs in the bilingual population.

Meanhwile, the method of error correction between the English monolingual and bilingual children is very similar. Both groups used the modulated form of repair as observed in Schegloff et al. (1977). Error correction is delayed to the last turn. Like the

English-monolingual children, the bilingual children took the reformed forms for error correction.

The following examples prove the similarity in the fashion of error correction. Conversation 1 is excerpted from the English children, and conversation 2 is from the bilingual children, respectively.

Conversation exchange (11) (AB-A-4-7-49)
Context: H is a bilingual girl and K is English-monolingual girl. They are eight-year-old girls.

1. H: I know, I know you can learn Spanish and German and French.
2. K: How?
3. H: ***Well***, there are six things. ***Well*** not six things but six words you can learn.
→4. K: ***Well*** not Spanish maybe Spa[nish,
5. H: [Oh. Actually Spanish too, and I know how to do one of them….

In the foregoing exchange, the error correction takes weakened and dispreferred forms. When K disagrees with H, K tried to correct H's error, and the error correction is prefaced by the DM *well*. *Well* is used as other repair (Goldberg, 1980 adopted in Schourup, 1985, p. 81). Also the repair is performed with the fashion of dispreferred form via the DM *well*. The uncertainty marker *maybe* also is used so that other-correction does not sound asserted (Schegloff et al., 1977). The utterance as correction is known by virtue of H's response in the next turn (line 5). H corrects her own utterance from Spanish into Japanese. The repair token *actually* (Aijmer, 2001) indicates the speaker corrects her earlier utterance.

Conversation exchange (12) (BC-G-4-12-19)
Context: The conversation is taking place while G is helping J's math homework in the area of counting months on the calendar.

1. G: So, how many months did it take? And this is ...22. So how many months are there?
2. J: So: it's 2.

→3. G: ***Well,*** you know. May is all the way over there.
4. J: I don't know.
5. G: So from here just count.
6. J/G: One, two, three, four, five.
7. G: But also people count different ways.
8. J: Like this?
9. G: Yea.

The foregoing exchange shows the use of *well* in the context of error correction in a peer interaction. The error correction takes a dispreferred form with the preface of the DMs in the exchange of propositional questions and answers. For instance, G's use of *well* before the negation of J's answer (line 3) presages the error correction. To mark the difference, the use of *you know* serves as error correction, conveying G's different meaning from the interlocutor (Jucker & Smith, 1998) and combines somewhat contradictory elements from the interlocutor (Stubbe & Holmes, 1995, p. 69).

In addition, G guides J's self-repair to occur, which is the most preferable type of repair (Markee, 2000; Seedhouse, 2004). Finally, the error correction is achieved by J rather than G. This error correction supports the idea that speakers would prefer to correct their own errors themselves (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). This may be because correction by others may imply that the person is incompetent (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Considering the delicate matter, using the DM *well*, G subtly initiates the other repair (Schourup, 1985) in order to avoid sounding too assertive to the speaker.

As such, the two groups of the monolingual children supported the observation of Schegloff et al. (1977), who emphasized the generally constrained occurrence of other-correction. The bilingual children showed a high exception of repair particularly in the domain of adult-child interaction (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 380). The exception may be

generally relevant to the not-yet-competent in their first language; it appears to be one vehicle for socialization. It is a device for dealing with those who are still learning or being taught to operate within a system that requires it.

In summary, different factors affected the use of DMs in L1 and L2. The use of the English DM seemed to vary depending on the length of exposure to the English language in school context. The use of Korean DM seemed more likely to change depending on the level of language acquisition. In addition, the method of error corrections and sociocultural knowledge was different from the Korean monolingual children.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the possible factors that might have affected the use of DMs in the bilingual corpora. The quantitative approach established the comparison between the DMs and the two research variables. Although the result of the statistical analyses has a limitation due to the low number of the participants and the small corpora, it gives an insight into the relationship between the sociolinguistic variables and the use of DMs in two languages in comparison with the monolingual children. The Pearson correlation revealed that there was a correlation between the use of *well* and age, but gender did not have an effect in both English-speaking children and bilingual children. However, there was no correlation between both of the two factors and the use of *isscanha* for both Korean-speaking children and bilingual children.

Hence, the result can be summarized in three ways: (1) the use of *well* was related to age but not to gender in the bilingual data as in the monolingual data; (2) the use of

isscanha was not related to age and gender in the bilingual data as in the monolingual data; and (3) different factors were related to the use of DMs of L1 and L2 in the bilingual children.

Meanwhile, different factors seemed to relate to the bilingual children's use of DMs according to the language. The English DM was more likely to have a relationship with the length of exposure to school context and language dominance. That is, the earlier they began to attend the mainstream school, the more DMs they used. However, the duration in the country of the target language did not seem to be related to the use of the English DM very much. It can be interpreted that interactional opportunities are more important to acquire DMs, because DMs are naturally occurring.

In addition, different sociocultural factors also seemed to be involved in the use of the Korean DM. It seemed that the bilingual children were less likely to be aware of sociocultural factors that were represented by error correction and sociocultural awareness. For example, unlike the monolingual children who tended to use the DMs before correcting errors of their co-participants, the bilingual children tended to directly deliver correction. Consequently, those factors seemed to contribute to the different use of DMs in the bilingual data from the monolingual data.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to describe how and why children use DMs, and how the use of DM relates to the development of interactional competence. The study explored the interactional phenomena of *well* in English and *isscanha* in Korean in the bilingual corpora in comparison with the monolingual corpora. The corpus-driven investigation was based on analyses of conversation as well as discourse function, which has yielded a wide range of interactional functions according to interactional sequences. Not only has the study proposed the meaning of each DM, but it has scrutinized various functions through the lenses of interactional competence in combination with communicative competence. Both qualitative and quantitative analyses revealed similarities and differences in the use of the focal DMs across the different linguistic groups. The present chapter summarizes those findings in conjunction with theory-related issues followed by implications, limitations, and suggestions for further research.

8.2 Summary

This dissertation is focused on how children's use of DMs functions meet the children's communicative needs and develop the children's interactional competence in conversation. This was researched with specific attention to monolingual versus bilingual children. The study found that similarities and dissimilarities in the use of DMs coexisted between the monolinguals and bilinguals. Qualitative and quantitative analyses revealed

that such findings regarding the frequency, core meaning, and sociolinguistic factors exist not only between monolinguals and bilinguals, but also between L1 and L2 in the bilinguals. Overall, while the bilingual children used the English DM in a remarkably similar way to their monolingual English-speaking counterparts, they produced the Korean DM in a different way from their monolingual Korean-speaking counterparts. While age, but not gender correlated with the use of *well* in both monolinguals and bilinguals, neither age nor gender correlated with the use of *isscanha* in both monolinguals and bilinguals.

Those research findings shed light upon the discussions covering several issues in the field of bilingualism. Firstly, it would be possible to explain that bilingual acquisition can be different in different languages. Sociolinguistic factors such as age and gender did not play the same role in the acquisition of two languages. Then, why did age have a correlation with the use of the English DM but not with the use of Korean DM, and why did not gender have any relationship with the use of DMs in two languages in the bilingual data? It can be conjectured that bilingual children develop their second language in the same rate with their monolingual English speaking peers. However, they do not necessarily follow the age in the use of L1 DM; it may mean that age does not guarantee their development of L1 DMs.

Rather, it is more important to consider when and how often the children were exposed to the target language. That is, the categorization of 'simultaneous' and 'sequential' bilingualism based on biological age is problematic to describe bilingual children's acquisition. It is because bilingual children usually learn the home language first, and then learn a second language in a mainstream English-speaking context (Baker,

1997; Shin, 2005). As such, sequential acquisition of the second language usually occurs through natural interaction with the native speakers of that language. In that sense, regardless of age, language of most of the bilingual children can belong to sequential acquisition in terms of learning L2 in the present study.

Therefore, both age and sequential acquisition should be taken into consideration in childhood bilingual acquisition. In that sense, the present study supports Montrul (2008), who categorized 'age' as early childhood versus late after puberty and 'sequence' with two languages being acquired simultaneously versus languages being acquired successively (pp. 17-18). According to the same author, early child L2 acquisition occurs between the ages of 4-6 during which the children have not yet received formal schooling, and late child L2 acquisition occurs during the elementary school years.

Secondly, the different core meaning in the bilingual corpora compared to the monolingual corpora gives an insight into understanding bilingual speakers' interactional context. The different core meaning of bilingual children strongly indicates that they develop their interactional competence for their own communicative needs in their every day interaction. In Capter 6, it was argued that the bilingual children utilized the DM as their own communicative resource during the interaction with L1 speakers. The different core meaning can be recognized as having been used for a different communicative purpose. It can be interpreted that they may have different communicative needs and a different degree in the use of languages according to context and interactional purpose. This finding, hence, supports Grosjean (1989, 1998) who argued that language acquisition in each of the bilingual children's two languages does not replicate that of monolingual children for both languages.

In this respect, bilingualism should take into account the different needs of the bilingual speakers in their everyday interaction. Language use cannot be thought apart from the actual use of the speaker's own communicative purposes. It should also consider the interlocutor's language use and ability to which bilingual speakers should adjust their language use. In consideration with those important social issues, accordingly, the present research supports the two most relevant definitions in the literature: one is 'bilinguals as persons who obtain communicative skills with various degrees of proficiency in order to interact with speakers of one or more languages in a given society' (Butler & Hakuta, 2004, p. 7), and the other is 'bilinguals as those people who need and use languages in their everyday lives' (Grosjean, 1992, p. 51).

Finally, the research findings of the individual variation and different factors in different languages give an insight into the reexamination of the definition of simultaneous bilinguals or subsequent bilinguals. It is because the use of DMs is not merely involved in biological age but more likely involved in the degree of exposure and experience in the target language. In 7.4.1, it was argued that not only was there a significant correlation between the length of exposure to English speaking context and the use of DMs, but there was also an individual variation in the use of the DMs in the two languages. More specifically, as discussed in 7.4.1, the longer the bilingual children were exposed to the natural interaction, the more frequently they used the DMs. For instance, BO and EY used the Korean DM more than the English DM because they had more opportunities to interact through speaking Korean. In contrast, ER and KY exclusively used the English DM because they mostly talked in English. This individual

variation cannot be fully explained by the biological age[38] distinction, which was proposed by De Houwer (1995), Genesee and Nicoladis (2007), and McLaughlin (1984).

In conclusion, for the bilingual children, it can be interpreted that the development of interactional competence is not necessarily related to sociolinguistic factors such as age or gender. Rather, it can be closely related to the experience from the everyday interactions of the bilingual children. Two of the crucial pieces of evidence were related to the language which they mainly use at home for the interaction with their family members, and how often they interact with native speakers in L2 in a natural way. In a word, the amount of language use and the opportunities of natural interaction in the target language are crucial for the development of interactional competence. Being exposed to the natural interactional context where discourse markers are naturally occurring in the spontaneous interactions is more influential than biological age itself.

8.3 Implications

Those research findings have various implications. Although the small number of the participants did not fully allow the present study to draw a general conclusion, the study has shed light on the research potential of such an underexplored area as DMs. Bilingual children may learn and use DMs differently from monolingual children, and thus go through different development paths of DMs in the first and second language. The different use might result from the different experiences and different sociocultural factor during the course of bilingual development. As mentioned earlier, the bilingual children have different experiences both linguistically and socially from the monolingual children (Grosjean, 1989; Macnamara, 1972; Romaine, 1999).

[38] Refer to the definitions of simultaneous bilinguals and sequential bilingualism in 2.2.1.

Accordingly, bilingual children are required to learn DMs for better communication and appropriate use in contexts particularly in L1. The findings suggested that DMs can be effectively used for searching for words or inferences as an interactional resource. Although it was not mentioned in the analysis section, the DM was also used for initiating conversation in Korean in the same data. In accordance with the ability to appropriately use DMs, they also need to experience various social contexts. The need of sociocultural experience in the use of DMs appeared particularly in the way of error correction and sociocultural awareness in L1, which indicated that bilingual children might be less aware of sociocultural differences in relation to DM use in terms of the interlocutors' age or social relationships.

Given that the bilingual children can use the DMs in different ways from their monolingual peers in L1, it is important to provide the bilingual children with various interactional opportunities for natural language acquisition. The use of DMs in both languages may be difficult for bilingual children to acquire because many DMs imply social meanings in implicit ways (Andersen, 2001; Jucker & Smith, 1998). Moreover, it can have important social implications because differences in the usage of DMs can easily lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings, and thus possible pragmatic failures arise (Andersen et al., 1999; Fuller, 2003; Fraser, 1990; Trillo, 2002). A specific example can be found in Fuller (2003). Fuller argued that L2 speakers do not show the same differences across the conversation and interview context, despite overall high levels of proficiency. It indicates that it is difficult to learn the differences in DM use, for different speech styles are subtle and difficult to acquire. Therefore, the present study calls on the need to investigate the development of pragmatic markers in everyday interaction in

order to monitor interactional competence and pragmatic fossilization in the first language of bilingual children (Trillo, 2002).

The issues related to the study of DMs of bilingual children imply the necessity of teaching DMs in both L1 and L2 in educational and social settings. It is important to teach DMs (Andersen, Brizuela, & Stallings, 1999; Flowerdew & Tauroza, 1994; Fuller, 2003; Sankoff et al., 1997; Trillo, 2000, 2002) not only because of their linguistic and social values but because of linguistic and social barriers such as subtlety of acquiring DMs, L1/L2 asymmetry, form/function incongruity and pragmatic distance. Klerk (2005) suggested that the different uses of DMs have resulted from limited exposure to the social, contextual aspects of discourse. The competent use of DMs is closely linked to actual language use with the native speakers, which naturally comes forth during the various interactional contexts. It enhances interactional competence.

As demonstrated, the use of DMs is important for bilingual children to convey their various communicative meanings in natural conversation. The result of the differences between L1 and L2 speakers and between an adult and a child in the use of DMs reaffirms the vital need to implement the teaching of DMs to L2 speakers. Trillo (2000, 2002) argued that the difficulty in using DMs for second language learners appears not because of a lack of mastery in other linguistic areas but because of a lack of exposure to the language use in natural context. In this respect, Sankoff et al. (1997) pointed out that there is a great discrepancy between the frequency of DMs in a speaker's use of his or her native language and second language.

Hence, the consistent teaching of DMs should occur in language instruction by providing bilingual children with various contexts of everyday social interaction with

both L1 and L2 speakers. After all, DM use generally depends on the language use in natural interaction with the target language speakers. The literature reports a different rate of development for the grammatical and the pragmatic aspects of language in L2 (Fuller, 2003; Trillo, 2002; Sankoff et al., 1997). In other words, L2 speakers who are proficient in grammar might still have difficulty in using DMs in a casual conversation. This can be due to the non-natural teaching environment where L2 speakers learn the second language. Therefore, as far as DMs are concerned, these resources are directly connected with usage in social contexts (Sankoff et al., 1997).

As Trillo (2002) suggested, if the pragmatic functions are introduced in the teaching process, L2 children might pick up the pragmatic value of DMs in the same way as L1 children. However, this pragmatic knowledge is neglected in the curriculum and, thus, the use of DMs becomes fossilized both in the quantity and in the diversity of elements in L2 speakers. In the same vein, Flowerdew and Tauroza (1994) argued that teachers have been too quick in deemphasizing the importance of DMs for comprehension. Encouraging L2 learners to make use of DMs might be helpful in achieving better communication.

Hellermann (2007) also pointed out that there is a lack of teaching of DMs in the classroom. Teaching DMs is not part of the regular curricular focus on formal or functional aspects of language. There is at least a need to make learners aware of these markers and their pragmatic functions. Language samples from everyday conversation of the speakers of the target language should be used to draw attention to the appropriate use in contexts for the use of discourse markers. More than that, it can be the best way to help learners to utilize DMs in their everyday interactions.

It is important to remind the L2 students of an appropriate way of using DMs at the same time. The use of DMs involves interactive knowledge of linguistic aspects as well as social norms lest they overuse DMs without considering the difference in a different culture. A person lacking in the use of DMs as well as one overusing DMs may be frequently misinterpreted as an incompetent speaker. This issue can be directly related to the necessity of teaching interactional competence that incorporates context-specific knowledge.

Therefore, it is necessary to teach pragmatic knowledge with conscious awareness in the classroom by connecting pragmatic and social information (Andersen, Brizuela, & Stallings, 1999; Bou, 1998; Judd, 1999; Kasper, 1997; Kasper & Schimidt, 1996). Judd (1999) proposed that guiding L2 students to detect patterns using interaction through the systematic study of interactive practices will facilitate the development of interactional competence in a second language. Teachers implement the use of discoseru markers regular based twice a week in a target language class. Also, according to Hall (1993, 1995, 1997), the development of interactional competence involves guided practice in those interactive practices considered significant by and to the learners. It also involves systematic study of the L2 interactive practices, including conversational resources and typical meanings, and their varied uses by the participants.

In order to better assist students to develop interactional competence in using discourse markers, teachers can implement a DM in various ways. They can provide authentic materials, such as drama or real conversations, so that students are exposed naturally to the usage of DMs. Also, teachers can develop the text of conversation with naturally occuring DMs. By providing such authentic input, students can be made aware

of the use of DMs. Finally, teachers give students the opportunity to create conversation using DMs in varying contexts.

The present research, therefore, claims the importance of teaching DMs in bilingual education. Bilingual children should be informed of how to use DMs in linguistically and interactionally appropriate situations to achieve interactional competence in their everyday interaction in a bilingual society. In order for bilingual ability to be maintained, bilinguals are required to continue using both languages in communicative naturalistic settings (Kessler, 1984, p. 35). In other words, DM use can be interpreted as a means of enhancing their interactional competence, without which they can be stereotyped as persons who are insensitive, rude, or inept (Judd, 1999). In consideration of the important social issues that "bilinguals are those people who need and use languages in their everyday lives" (Grosjean, 1992, p. 51), it is imperative to encourage children to learn two languages with social and educational assistance.

In connection with the importance of maintaining L1, Montrul (2008, p. 136) called for the support of minority language in the school environment, arguing that the predominant educational model does not help language maintenance. Unfortunately, for many years, emphasis has been placed on having immigrant children learn English as rapidly as possible. Wong-Fillmore (1991) strongly expressed the dangers of starting L2 instruction as early as three or four years of age; bilingual education does not offer bilingual children protection against language shift and loss. In consideration of the important social issue that "bilinguals are those people who need and use languages in their everyday lives" (Grosjean, 1992, p. 51), this indicates the necessity to teach both languages with appropriate social context.

8.4 Delimitations and Limitations

The method of the present study depended entirely on the natural conversational data so it has a great deal of potential to illuminate children's spoken language development. The natural data offer a variety of potential benefits to report bilingual acquisition from the comparison between L1 and L2, and the monolingual and bilingual data. The strong points of the data employed in this study can be summarized as: (a) candor, naturalness and authenticity, (b) a variety of interactional contexts, and (c) the participant's own voice.

In spite of the effort to do in-depth analyses, those conclusions cannot be but preliminary because of the possible characteristics that might influence the analytical trends in the data. First, the statistical analyses were based on a small sample size. The population in each linguistic group consisted of 15 children; the total number of the participants was 45 children. This sample size might influence the comparative results between the groups and within the group. In addition, the results of the research variables, age and gender, might be impacted by the small sample size. Effect sizes of the results also might influence the practical significance since many of the effect sizes were small and negligible.

Regarding the qualitative analysis, a few issues should also be pointed out. Because the study primarily aimed at establishing the interactional functions of the DMs, other functions that the data showed were not included. For instance, the analytical typology could have limited the functions of the DMs. It could have been more inclusively analyzed under many domains, such as textual, referential, interactional, or

subjective functions. The presentation of the functions might be restricted to the interactional perspective.

Moreover, the bilingual data had a few limitations particularly in the Korean data due to a lack of data. As mentioned in section 7.4.3, not all participants used the DM. Accordingly, it could not help but depend on the corpora of a few children. Also, the context of data collection was quite limited to adult and children's interaction. No matter how insistently the researcher and the parents asked the children to speak in Korean, they rarely did so. While the monolingual data were collected in various settings with various interlocutors, bilingual data collection was quite limited to certain contexts such as home and school.

Finally, interlocutors might influence the children's use of DMs in Korean. In other words, even when they were talking to adult interlocutors, if the adult interlocutors did not directly ask them to speak in Korean, the children just kept speaking in English. However, while the adult interlocutors consciously kept speaking in Korean and asking them to talk in Korean, they at least seemed to try to answer in Korean. Unless the adult interlocutors mentioned the use of Korean or had any problems in communicating in English, the children scarcely spoke in Korean. In addition, because the children rarely talked in Korean while talking to the other children, most of the DMs were analyzed from the data of the adult interaction.

8.5 Directions for Future Research

Despite the differences in the use of DMs in monolingual and bilingual children either qualitatively or quantitatively at least in L1, research of DMs is still in its infancy

in the field of child language acquisition. There has not been sufficient attention either to child language acquisition or to bilingual acquisition. In other words, DMs have not been included as one of the important components of spoken language development both in second language learning and bilingual acquisition. Therefore, the present study suggests further research on DMs in childhood bilingualism, particularly in connection with spoken language development.

Future research should be done with the data collected in a variety of contexts. In order to find dynamic functions of DMs in interactions, it is particularly essential to investigate why, how, when, and what DMs bilingual children are using. A bilingual study is also required to unveil the similarities and differences in the functions of DMs in comparison with their monolingual counterparts in each language. If the research specifically aims at the comparison with the monolingual speakers, monolingual data can be a baseline for an analysis of bilingual data (Andersen et al., 1999; Bialystok, 2001; De Houwer, 1990, 2000; Goldstein, 2004; Montrul, 2008; Paradis, 2000; Perez-Vidal, 1995; Polinsky, 2006).

As pointed out previously, future research should be done with a larger sample size if the researcher wants to use quantitative method. In order to obtain a representative result of bilingual children's use of DMs in both languages, a considerable number of participants who use both languages are needed. In a similar vein, the same number of monolingual peers is necessary for a bilingual study. The availability of larger corpora of data of both linguistic groups would better guarantee the objectivity of the results. Therefore, collection of a balanced amount of data between the two linguistic groups is

suggested. It should be consistent with the research design in terms of context, interlocutor, amount of data, and research period in both languages.

Also, a comparison of research variables should be conducted based on a large amount of data as well as the same sample size in each group. For example, each variable should consist of the same sample size across the groups. It should also take into consideration the age gap in the analysis of the age factor. It would be difficult to distinguish features if the age gap is too small. So, in order to obtain a more accurate result, it is suggested that the researcher employ an age group before and after a certain period. Also, DM use in children may be involved in sociocultural factors in both monolingual and bilingual children, so it is suggested that a researcher compare the DM use in various contexts focusing on how differently the contexts influence the use of DMs.

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Appendices

A. Parents Permission to Audiotape

Project Title: Use of Discourse Markers as Interactional Competence of Korean–English Bilingual Children: A Cross-Linguistic Comparative Study

Researcher's Name: Ihnhee Lee
Department: Curriculum, Instruction and Technology in Education (CITE)
Subject:_____
Date:_____
Log #:_____
I give Ihnhee Lee permission to audiotape my children and me. This audiotape will be used only for research purpose. This audiotape will be used as a part of a research project, Use of Discourse Markers as Interactional Competence of Korean–English Bilingual Children: A Cross-linguistic Comparative Study, at Temple University for a doctoral dissertation. I have already given oral consent for my participation in this research project. At no time will my child's name and my name be used.

WHEN WILL I BE AUDIOTAPED?
I agree that my child to be audio-taped during the time period from January, 2006 to March, 2006.

HOW LONG WILL THE TAPES BE USED?
I give my permission for these tapes to be used from 2006 to 2008. I understand, after completion of her study in 2007, the data generated from the tapes will be stored for two more years.

WHAT IF I CHANGE MY MIND?
I understand that I can withdraw my permission at any time. Upon my request, the audiotape(s) will no longer be used. However, this will not affect my care or relationship with the researcher, Ihnhee Lee in any way.

OTHER
I understand that I will not be paid for being audio-taped or for the use of the audiotapes.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
If I want more information about the audiotape(s), or if I have questions or concerns, I can contact with the researcher at any time.
Researcher's Name: Ihnhee Lee
Department: Curriculum, Instruction and Technology in Education (CITE)
Address: 6221 Brookview Place, Elkins Park, PA 19027
Phone: 215-782-8660

Project Title: Use of Discourse Markers as Interactional Competence of Korean–English Bilingual Children: A Cross-Linguistic Comparative Study

Email: ipak@temple.edu

This form will be placed in my records and a copy will be kept by the person(s) named above. A copy will be given to me.

Please print

Parent's Name:
Address:_____
Email Address:_____
Parent's Signature:_____
Date:_____

부모 녹음 허가서(Parents Permission to Audiotape)

프로젝트 타이틀: 한국어-영어 이중언어 어린이의 담화표지어 사용과 상호의사전달능력 발달: 비교언어 연구
연구자 성명: 이 인희
소속과: 교육대학 수업과정, 교육 및 테크놀로지(CITE)
주제:
날짜:
로그 번호:

나는 이인희에게 우리 아이들의 대화를 녹음할 것을 허락합니다. 이 녹음테이프는 연구용도로만 사용될 것을 압니다. 이 녹음 테이프는 템플대학교에 다니는 이인희의 박사논문의 연구 프로젝트의 일부로 사용될 것입니다. 나는 이미 이 연구의 참여할 의사를 밝힌 적이 있습니다. 그리고 우리 아이의 이름이나 저의 이름이 결코 사용되지 않을 것을 압니다.

언제 녹음할 것인가?
나는 저 아이 말을 2006 년 1 월부터 3 월까지 녹음할 것을 동의합니다.

언제까지 테이프가 이용될 것인가?
나는 이 테이프가 2006 년부터 2008 년까지 사용할 것을 허락합니다. 이 연구가 마쳐지는 2007 년 이후에도 2 년 동안 더 보관될 수 있음을 압니다.

마음이 변하면 어떻게 할 것인가?
나는 언제든지 이 허락을 철회할 수 있습니다. 저의 요청에 따라 이 테이프가 더 이상 사용되지 않을 수 있습니다. 그러나 저의 이 결정이 연구자 이인희와의 관계에 아무런 영향을 미치지 않을 것도 압니다.

프로젝트 타이틀: 한국어-영어 이중언어 어린이의 담화표지어 사용과 상호의사전달능력 발달: 비교언어 연구

기타
나는 또한 녹음을 해주는 것으로 또 녹음테이프 사용을 무료임을 밝힙니다.

여타 정보
만약 내가 이 녹음 테이프에 대한 의문 사항이나 질문이 있으면, 언제든지 물어볼 것입니다.

연구자 성명: 이인희
소속과: 교육대학 수업과정, 교육 및 테크놀로지(CITE)
주소: 6221 Brookview Place, Elkins Park, PA 19027
전화: 215-782-8660

Email: ipak@temple.edu

이 서식은 연구자가 보관할 것이며 저에게 복사본이 주어질 것입니다.
부모 성함:_____
주소:_____
이메일 주소:_____
부모 싸인:_____
날짜:_____

B. Parents Consent Form

Title: Use of Discourse Markers as Interactional Competence of Korean–English Bilingual Children: A Cross-Linguistic Comparative Study

Researcher: Ihnhee Lee, Curriculum, Instruction and Technology in Education (CITE), College of Education, Temple University, 215-782-8660

Advisors: Dr. Aneta Pavlenko, CITE, College of Education, Temple University

Purpose of Research

The objective of the present study is to investigate the use and functions of discourse markers that frequently occur in the natural conversations of Korean–English bilingual children. By examining the occurrence of discourse markers in the two languages, Korean and English, I will attempt to see the relationship between the first language and second language. Furthermore, comparing the DMs of the bilingual children with those of Korean and English monolingual children, I will seek to find any cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences of the use of discourse markers among the children. Since the use of discourse markers are involved in social and interactional aspects, it aims at providing the field with communicative and social values of discourse markers in the two languages. Eventually, it will be worthwhile to understand the complexities of the bilingual children's language acquisition in the bilingual society and thus, help them to use those functionally useful expressions in their every day interactions.

General Research Design

I understand that my child and I will be asked to participate in Ihnhee Lee's research study of children's discourse marker use and development of interactional competence. For this study, I will record audio-tapes of my children's speech for two hours per week for three months in the contexts of meal time, play time, story time and study time in the home on behalf of the researcher, Ihnhee Lee.

Procedures to be Followed

I understand this study will be done under the condition of the total confidentiality, so my and children's name will not be used in any place or any purpose. Instead, Ihnhee Lee will use pseudonyms in the research. If I have any questions, I will ask her any time. Also whenever I do not want to continue being tape-recorded of my children or me, I will tell her not to do so.

Title: Use of Discourse Markers as Interactional Competence of Korean–English Bilingual Children: A Cross-Linguistic Comparative Study

I have read and understood this consent form and I, as a parent of child, voluntarily agree to participate in this research project. I understand that I will be given a copy of the signed consent form.

The procedures of the research have been explained to me by the researcher. Any questions that I may have concerning the study will be answered at any time during the working day by calling 215-782-8660.

Questions about your rights as a parent of children

If there is any question about my rights as a parent of children, it may be directed to Mr. Richard Throm, Office of the Vice Provost for Research, Institutional Review Board, Temple University, 3425 N. Carlisle Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19140, phone (215) 707-8757. If I have any questions about this study, I can contact the researcher at 215-782-8660 or ipak@temple.edu

Consent:
Signing my name below indicates that I have read and understood of the contents of this Consent Form and that I agree to take part in this study.

_____	_____	_____
Parent's Name	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Researcher's Name	Researcher's signature	Date

부모동의서 (Parents Consent Form)

프로젝트 타이틀: 한국어-영어 이중언어 어린이의 담화표지어사용과 상호의사전달능력 발달: 비교 언어 연구

연구자: 이인희, 템플대학교 교육대학 교과과정, 교수법 및 테크놀로지, 215-782-8660

지도교수: Aneta Pavlenko 박사. 템플대학교 교육대학 교과과정, 교수법 및 테크놀로지.

연구목적

본 연구의 목적은 한국어와 영어 이중언어를 말하는 어린이들의 일상대화에서 흔히 나타나는 담화표지어의 사용과 기능을 연구하는 데 있다. 한국말과 영어 두 언어의 담화표지어 발생을 고찰함으로써 모국어와 제이언어의 관계를 살펴보고자 한다. 또한 이중언어 어린이들과 그들의 영어 어린이 또래와 한국어 어린이 또래들의 담화표지어를 비교하여 구 언어간의 차이가 있는 지를 살펴보고자 한다. 담화표지어의 사용이 사회적 상호적인 현상에 관련된 것임을 감안하여 두 언어의 의사소통적, 사회적 가치를 조명해보는 데 의의가 있다. 궁극적으로 이중언어 사회에서 이중언어를 사용하는 어린이들의 어려움을 이해하고, 나아가서 일상생활에서 담화표지어의 기능적 유용성을 습득하도록 하는 데 가치가 있다.

전반적 연구 계획

나는 우리 아이가 연구자, 이 인희의 어린이 언어발달에 대한 연구에 참여해 줄 것을 요청받을 것을 알고 있다. 이 연구를 위해, 나는 우리 아이들이 놀이시간, 친구들과의 놀이, 이야기 시간, 공부시간, 또 식사시간에 말하는 것을 녹음해 줄 것이다. 단 어린이들의 생활을 방해하지 않을 가장 편한 시간을 선택해서 일주일에 두 시간씩 세 달 동안 녹음해 주고자 한다.

프로젝트 타이틀: 한국어-영어 이중언어 어린이의 담화표지어사용과 상호의사전달능력 발달: 비교 언어 연구

절차

나는 이 연구가 철저히 개인의 신변을 보장하는 조건하에서 이루어지므로 아이들의 이름이나 어떠한 장소에서도 어떠한 목적으로도 사용되지 않을 것임을 안다. 또한 혹 조금이라도 불편함이 있으면 언제라도 연구자 박인희에게 말할 것이다.

나는 이 동의서를 읽고 충분히 이해했으며, 아이의 부모로서 이 연구에 자발적으로 참석할 것을 동의한다. 나는 동의서에 사인할것을 알고 있다.

이 연구의 절차는 연구자로부터 익히 설명을 들었다. 이 연구에 어떠한 의문이라도 생기면 연구자에게 215-782-8660 으로 전화하면 연구자가 즉시 대답해 줄 것이다.

부모로서 질문할 권리

부모의 권리에 대해 어떤 의문이 있을 시에 템플대학교의 3425, Carlisle Street, Philadelphia, PA 19140, 전화 215-707-8757, Institutional Review Board, Office of the Vice Provost 의 Richard Throm 에게 문의할 것이다. 또한 이에 관해서 질문이 생기면 나는 연구자 이 인희에게 전화 215-782-8660 이나 이메일 ipak@temple.edu 로 연락할 것이다.

동의

아래에 싸인하므로써 내가 이 동의서를 읽고 내용을 충분히 이해했음과 이 연구에 참여할 것에 동의 하는 것임을 밝힌다.

_____	_____	_____
부모성함	싸인	날짜

_____	_____	_____
연구자 이름	연구자 싸인	날짜

C. Teacher's Permission to Audiotape

Consent: Signing my name below indicates that I have read and understood of the contents of this Consent Form and that I agree to take part in this study.

OTHER
I understand that I will not be paid for being audio-taped or for the use of the audiotapes.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
If I want more information about the audiotape(s), or if I have questions or concerns, I can contact with the researcher at any time.
Researcher's Name: Ihnhee Lee
Department: Curriculum, Instruction and Technology in Education (CITE)
Address: 6221 Brookview Place, Elkins Park, PA 19027
Phone: 215-782-8660
Project Title: Use of Discourse Markers as Interactional Competence of Korean–English Bilingual Children: A Cross-Linguistic Comparative Study
Email: ipak@temple.edu

This form will be placed in my records and a copy will be kept by the person(s) named above. A copy will be given to me.

Please print

Teachers' Name:
Address:_____
Email Address:_____
Teacher's Signature:_____
Date:_____

녹음 허가서(Teacher's Permission to Audiotape)

프로젝트 타이틀: 한국어-영어 이중언어 어린이의 담화표지어 사용과 상호의사전달능력 발달: 비교언어 연구
연구자 성명: 이 인희
소속과: 교육대학 수업과정, 교육 및 테크놀로지(CITE)
주제:
날짜:
로그 번호:

나는 이 인희에게 아이들의 대화를 녹음할 것을 허락합니다. 이 녹음테이프는 연구용도로만 사용될 것을 압니다. 이 녹음 테이프는 템플대학교에 다니는 이인희의 박사논문의 연구 프로젝트의 일부로 사용될 것입니다. 나는 이미 이 연구의 참여할 의사를 밝힌 적이 있습니다. 그리고 우리 아이의 이름이나 저의 이름이 결코 사용되지 않을 것을 압니다.

언제 녹음할 것인가?
나는 2005 년 7 월부터 2006 년 8 월까지 녹음할 것을 동의합니다.

언제까지 테이프가 이용될 것인가?
나는 이 테이프가 2006 년부터 2009 년까지 사용할 것을 허락합니다. 이 연구가 마쳐지는 2007 년 이후에도 2 년 동안 더 보관될 수 있음을 압니다.

마음이 변하면 어떻게 할 것인가?
나는 언제든지 이 허락을 철회할 수 있습니다. 저의 요청에 따라 이 테이프가 더 이상 사용되지 않을 수 있습니다. 그러나 저의 이 결정이 연구자 이인희와의 관계에 아무런 영향을 미치지 않을 것도 압니다.

프로젝트 타이틀: 한국어-영어 이중언어 어린이의 담화표지어 사용과 상호의사전달능력 발달: 비교언어 연구

기타
나는 또한 녹음을 해주는 것으로 또 녹음테이프 사용을 무료임을 밝힙니다.
여타 정보
만약 내가 이 녹음 테이프에 대한 의문 사항이나 질문이 있으면, 언제든지 물어볼 것입니다.
연구자 성명: 이 인희
소속과: 교육대학 수업과정, 교육 및 테크놀로지(CITE)
주소: 6221 Brookview Place, Elkins Park, PA 19027
전화: 215-782-8660
Email: ipak@temple.edu

이 서식은 연구자가 보관할 것이며 저에게 복사본이 주어질 것입니다.
성함:_____
주소:_____
이메일 주소:_____
싸인:_____
날짜:_____

D. Teacher's Consent Form

Title: Use of Discourse Markers as Interactional Competence of Korean–English Bilingual Children: A Cross-Linguistic Comparative Study

Researcher: Ihnhee Lee, Curriculum, Instruction and Technology in Education (CITE), College of Education, Temple University, 215-782-8660

Advisors: Dr. Aneta Pavlenko, CITE, College of Education, Temple University

Purpose of Research

The objective of the present study is to investigate the use and functions of discourse markers that frequently occur in the natural conversations of Korean–English bilingual children. By examining the occurrence of discourse markers in the two languages, Korean and English, I will attempt to see the relationship between the first language and second language. Furthermore, comparing the DMs of the bilingual children with those of Korean and English monolingual children, I will seek to find any cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences of the use of discourse markers among the children. Since the use of discourse markers are involved in social and interactional aspects, it aims at providing the field with communicative and social values of discourse markers in the two languages. Eventually, it will be worthwhile to understand the complexities of the bilingual children's language acquisition in the bilingual society and thus, help them to use those functionally useful expressions in their every day interactions.

General Research Design

I understand that my students and I will be asked to participate in Ihnhee Lee's research study of children's discourse marker use and development of interactional competence. For this study, I will record audio-tapes while my students and I talk during the class, play time or recess time class on behalf of the researcher, Ihnhee Lee.

Procedures to be Followed

I understand this study will be done under the condition of the total confidentiality, so both my name and my students' name will not be used in any place or any purpose. Instead, Ihnhee Lee will use pseudonyms in the research. If I have any questions, I will ask her any time. Also whenever I do not want to continue being tape-recorded of my students or me, I will tell her not to do so.

Title: Use of Discourse Markers as Interactional Competence of Korean–English Bilingual Children: A Cross-Linguistic Comparative Study

I have read and understood this consent form and I, as a teacher, voluntarily agree to participate in this research project. I understand that I will be given a copy of the signed consent form.

The procedures of the research have been explained to me by the researcher. Any questions that I may have concerning the study will be answered at any time during the working day by calling 215-782-8660.

Questions about your rights as a teacher

If there is any question about my rights as a teacher, it may be directed to Mr. Richard Throm, Office of the Vice Provost for Research, Institutional Review Board, Temple University, 3425 N. Carlisle Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19140, phone (215) 707-8757. If I have any questions about this study, I can contact the researcher at 215-782-8660 or ipak@temple.edu

Consent:
Signing my name below indicates that I have read and understood of the contents of this Consent Form and that I agree to take part in this study.

_____	_____	_____
Teacher's Name	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Researcher's Name	Researcher's signature	Date

동의서 (Consent Form)

프로젝트 타이틀: 한국어-영어 이중언어 어린이의 담화표지어사용과 상호의사전달능력 발달: 비교 언어 연구

연구자: 이 인희, 템플대학교 교육대학 교과과정, 교수법 및 테크놀로지, 215-782-8660

지도교수: 아네타 파블렝코 박사. 템플대학교 교육대학 교과과정, 교수법 및 테크놀로지.

연구목적

본 연구의 목적은 한국어와 영어 이중언어를 말하는 어린이들의 일상대화에서 흔히 나타나는 담화표지어의 사용과 기능을 연구하는 데 있다. 한국말과 영어 두 언어의 담화표지어 발생을 고찰함으로써 모국어와 제이언어의 관계를 살펴보고자 한다. 또한 이중언어 어린이들과 그들의 영어 어린이 또래와 한국어 어린이 또래들의 담화표지어를 비교하여 언어간의 차이가 있는 지를 살펴보고자 한다. 담화표지어의 사용이 사회적 상호적인 현상에 관련된 것임을 감안하여 두 언어의 의사소통적, 사회적 가치를 조명해보는 데 의의가 있다. 궁극적으로 이중언어 사회에서 이중언어를 사용하는 어린이들의 어려움을 이해하고, 나아가서 일상생활에서 담화표지어의 기능적 유용성을 습득하도록 하는 데 가치가 있다.

전반적 연구 계획

나는 우리 아이가 연구자, 이 인희의 어린이 언어발달에 대한 연구에 참여해 줄 것을 요청받을 것을 알고 있다. 이 연구를 위해, 나는 나와 우리 아이들이 놀이시간, 친구들과의 놀이, 공부시간, 또는 식사시간에 말하는 것을 녹음해 줄 것이다. 단 어린이들의 생활을 방해하지 않을 가장 편한 시간을 선택해서 일 주일에 두 시간씩 녹음해 주고자 한다.

프로젝트 타이틀: 한국어-영어 이중언어 어린이의 담화표지어사용과 상호의사전달능력 발달: 비교 언어 연구

절차

나는 이 연구가 철저히 개인의 신변을 보장하는 조건하에서 이루어지므로 아이들의 이름이 어떠한 장소에서도 어떠한 목적으로도 사용되지 않을 것임을 안다. 또한 혹 조금이라도 불편함이 있으면 언제라도 연구자 이 인희에게 말할 것이다.

나는 이 동의서를 읽고 충분히 이해했으며,이 연구에 자발적으로 참석할 것을 동의한다. 나는 동의서에 사인할것을 알고 있다.

이 연구의 절차는 연구자로부터 익히 설명을 들었다. 이 연구에 어떠한 의문이라도 생기면 연구자에게 215-782-8660 으로 전화하면 연구자가 즉시 대답해 줄 것이다.

질문할 권리

부모의 권리에 대해 어떤 의문이 있을 시에 템플대학교의 3425, Carlisle Street, Philadelphia, PA 19140, 전화 215-707-8757, Institutional Review Board, Office of the Vice Provost 의 Richard Throm 에게 문의할 것이다. 또한 이에 관해서 질문이 생기면 나는 연구자 이 인희에게 전화 215-782-8660 이나 이메일 ipak@temple.edu 로 연락할 것이다.

동의

아래에 싸인하므로써 내가 이 동의서를 읽고 내용을 충분히 이해했음과 이 연구에 참여할 것에 동의 하는 것임을 밝힌다.

_____	_____	_____
성함	싸인	날짜
_____	_____	_____
연구자 이름	연구자 싸인	날짜