

Discourse Marker *kunyang* in Korean as a Second Language

Hyeson Park

초록

박혜선. 2012. 6. 30. **한국어 학습자의 구어에 나타난 담화표지 ‘그냥’**. 『이중언어학』 49, 137-162. 본 연구는 중국인 이주노동자의 구어 담화에 나타난 담화표지 ‘그냥’의 사용과 발달 양상을 살펴보는 것을 목적으로 한다. 한국어 능력에 따라 상(5), 중(11), 하(12)의 세 그룹으로 나뉜 28명의 중국인 이주노동자와 다섯 명의 상급 중국 유학생과의 인터뷰를 통해 구어 담화를 채집하고 이들의 발화에 나타난 담화표지 ‘그냥’의 기능과 의미를 분석하였다. 또한 원어인 비교 자료로 세종말뭉치 중 일상대화 부분을 선택하여 54,467단어의 말뭉치를 만들었다. ‘그냥’의 기능은 이정애(2002), 박혜선(2012), 심란희(2011), 그리고 Maschler(1994, 2009)를 참고하여 여덟 범주로 분류하였다.

이주노동자들은 한국어 능력이 중급에 도달하기 전까지는 ‘그냥’을 사용하지 못하였다. 고급단계의 학습자들은 중급 학습자에 비해 채우기 기능의 ‘그냥’은 적게 사용하고 상호작용을 돕는 ‘그냥’을 더 많이 사용하여 언어 발달 단계에 따라 ‘그냥’의 기능이 인지기능에서 상호작용기능으로 발달함을 보였다. 한국 거주 기간이 82개월인 고급단계 이주노동자에 비해 거주 기간이 42개월인 유학생이 좀 더 유창하게 ‘그냥’을 사용함을 볼 때 비교수(untutored) 언어습득의 한계를 엿볼 수 있다. 한국인 화자와 중국인 학습자의 자료에 나타난 ‘그냥’의 분포의 차이는 자료 수집의 방법과 관련되었을 수도 있다. 따라서 추후 연구에서는 인터뷰가 아닌 자유 대화와 같은 다양한 자료 수집을 통해 담화표지의 사용 양상을 살펴볼 필요가 있을 것이다. (계명대학교)

【핵심어】 discourse marker(담화표지), *kunyang*(그냥), filler(채우기 기능) untutored learners(비교수 학습자), interactional(상호작용)

1. Introduction

This paper explores the use and development of the discourse marker (DM henceforth) *kunyang* in the developing grammar of Chinese migrant workers, who acquired Korean in naturalistic contexts with little or minimal exposure to classroom instruction.

DMs, a set of linguistic devices of various grammatical categories involved mainly with ‘how to say’ rather than ‘what is said’, have been a topic of interest in both theoretical and applied linguistics (Brinton, 1996; Fischer, 2006; Fraser, 1999; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1999). Interest in DMs in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) has grown along with an emphasis on L2 learners’ communicative competence over formal linguistic knowledge, producing quite a few studies analyzing DMs in learner corpora collected from L2 learners in formal instructional settings (Eom & Choi, 2009; Fuller, 2003; Fung & Carter, 2007; Han, 2005; Hellermann & Vergun, 2007; Jeong, 2010; Lam, 2009; Lee, 2003; Liao, 2009; Müller, 2005; Shen, 2011).

In contrast to the active research on the use of DMs by tutored learners, there has been dearth of research on untutored learners’ use of DMs. This study aims to fill such a gap by examining the use and distribution of *kunyang*, one of the multi-functional Korean DMs, in the spoken Korean of Chinese migrant workers at three proficiency levels with a view to observing possible developmental stages. In addition, the use of *kunyang* by the migrant workers is compared with that of instructed learners in order to examine a potential influence of learning contexts. Native speakers’ use of *kunyang* observed through the analysis of the Sejong Corpus serves as a baseline data.

This paper is structured as follows: Section 2 provides a review of research on DMs in SLA. In section 3, the functions of *kunyang* discussed in previous studies will be reviewed, generating a list of functions on which our analysis of *kunyang* is based. Section 4 presents research methods, followed by results of data analysis and discussions of relevant issues in section 5. A brief summary in section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Discourse markers in SLA

The majority of studies on DMs in SLA have focused on the usage patterns of DMs in the developing grammar of ESL or EFL learners in comparison with those in native controls. An example is Müller (2005), which analyzed the functions of such DMs as *so*, *like*, *you know*, and *well* produced by German learners of L2 English in a narrative task, revealing that the types and functions of DMs produced by the learners were limited compared to those of the English native speakers. Neither did the DMs preferred by the learners and native speakers correspond.

Fung and Carter (2007) is another study conducted in an EFL context, comparing DMs in a spoken corpus of English native speakers with those of EFL learners in Hong Kong. It was shown that the native speakers utilized the DMs in the interpersonal, textual, and cognitive domains with a similar frequency and distribution, while the learners were proficient only with the DMs in the textual domain, possibly, according to the authors, due to the learners' exposure to classroom instruction, in which the functions of conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs were given attention to as a device to achieve textual coherence. Further research comparing tutored and untutored learners' usage patterns is needed to evaluate the

researchers' conjecture.

A longitudinal study was conducted by Helleman and Vergun (2007), who analyzed such DMs as *like*, *you know*, and *well* in the L2 English of 17 elementary level adult immigrants to the US, who were enrolled in an ESL program. Few DMs were found in the data set collected from the participants while they were engaged in interaction in class, which led the researchers to claim that the acquisition of DMs in the interpersonal domain requires abundant interactions with native speakers, formal instruction being limited in its efficiency.

Fuller (2003), noting variable use of DMs according to contexts and genres in L1, examined whether a similar variability was shown in L2 learning. She observed that the types and frequencies of DMs produced by L2 learners did not differ in interview and conversation contexts, while native speakers showed variable performance in the two contexts. Liao (2009), on the other hand, noted that discourse contexts --discussions of lecture content vs. sociolinguistic interviews --played an important role in the use of DMs by a group of international teaching assistants at a US university, though with significant individual variations. No visible correlation, however, was observed between the use of DMs and the length of residence in the US.

There are a few studies on DMs in L2 Korean, the majority of which examined the use of DMs by tutored learners in comparison with the patterns in native speaker data (Han, 2005; Lee, 2003, Min, 2011; Paek, 2011). Lee (2003) analyzed *kule*-type DMs in informal conversation data elicited from advanced learners and native speakers, exhibiting that the native speakers produced more tokens of *kule*-type expressions functioning as DMs than the L2 learners, who used the target items as adverbial

conjunctions, a usage more common in written style. The author attributes this pattern to the influence of the formal instruction the L2 learners were exposed to.

Han (2005) and Paek (2011) analyzed spoken Korean produced by advanced English and Chinese learners of L2 Korean, respectively, revealing that the L2 learners exceeded native speaker controls in the quantity of DMs produced, but were significantly limited in the range of the functions of the DMs, the majority of which were used as fillers employed to gain time to prepare upcoming utterances.

Untutored learners' use of a Korean DM *com* was examined by Park (2011), which showed that not until the learners reached the advanced level did the DM *com* become part of their productive lexicon. Moreover, the untutored learners' use of *com* was restricted in the range of functions compared to that of tutored learners and native speakers, a result indicating possible effects of formal instruction in enhancing pragmatic knowledge in L2.

3. Discourse marker *kunyang*

According to the Standard Korean Dictionary, the lexical category of *kunyang* is an adverb with the following meanings:

- (1) ① as it is without change
- ② in the same way as before
- ③ without any reward, condition, or meaning

In addition to functioning as an adverb, some instances of *kunyang*,

especially in conversation, have been observed to exhibit characteristic features of DMs (Chun, 2010; Lee, 1999, 2002; Park, 2012; Shen, 2011).

- (2) kulayto pwusecangi *com* ywutulywutulhakey hamyen pwunwikika
 그래도 부서장이 좀 유들유들하게 하면 분위기가
 cohaciko iletkey twayssul teyntey kulenikka ①kunyang
 좋아지고 이렇게 됐을 텐데 그러니까 그냥
 pwuseeyseto saramtul kkili ikey mak inkancekulo chinhako ilen
 부서에서도 사람들 끼리 이케 막 인간적으로 친하고 이런
 key epse. ②kunyang il aykina hako kakca ③kunyang kayin
 게 없어 그냥 일 얘기나 하고 각자 그냥 개인
 playya caymiepse kulemyonse¹⁾

플레이야 재미없어 그러면서

‘But if the dept chief is flexible, the atmosphere might get better.
 So, in the dept. people are not close each other. They just talk about
 work, and only about work, saying things are not so fun.’

The three instances of *kunyang* in (2) do not have a regular adverbial function and meaning; the first *kunyang*, next to the conjunctive adverb *kulenikka*, allows the speaker time to formulate the next utterance, while the second one is employed to convey the speaker’s attitude toward the condition in her workplace (‘they just talk about work’). The last *kunyang* puts a focus on *kayin play*(‘work alone’), with the effect of emphasizing the speaker’s negative stance regarding the atmosphere in the workplace which lacks the sense of solidarity.

Ahn (2008:100) reports that *kunyang* is one of the 50 lexical items with

1) The Korean data are transcribed using the Yale romanization system (Martin, 1992).

the highest frequency in spoken data, together with *ta*, *mak*, *com*, *icey*, *cengmal*, which have dual functions as adverbs and DMs. In an analysis of adverbs in the Sejong Corpus, Chun (2010:213) found that *kunyang* was used more frequently as a DM with a filler function than an adverb, and was more preferred by women than men.

Lee (2002:167-179) was the first and one of the few studies to attempt a detailed description of the multiple functions of *kunyang* as a DM. *Kunyang* as an adverb, according to Lee, was originally used to refer to physical identity in the concrete domain, being expanded later to temporal and psychological identity in the abstract domain. Grammaticalization involving bleaching of the lexical meaning of the adverb *kunyang* resulted in the DM *kunyang*, which has such various functions as a connective, focus marker, and filler.

Shen (2011), developing Lee's (2002) analysis, presents 24 functions of the DM *kunyang*, which are grouped into four super-categories: a connector of topics, a connector of a topic and the speaker, a connector of the speaker and the hearer, and a modal marker.

Shen's four super-categories are similar to Maschler's (1994, 2009) classification, which divided DMs into three domains--the cognitive, textual, and interpersonal domain, one difference being that the modal function belongs to the interpersonal domain in Maschler's scheme. Classification of the functions of *kunyang* based on Maschler is found in Park (2012), which classified the functions of *Kunyang* into five categories: mitigator, emphasize (interpersonal), filler, hedge (cognitive), and connective (textual). Adopting Maschler's classification, and building upon Lee (2002), Shen (2011), and Park (2012), we came up with eight functions of *kunyang* shown below.²⁾

(3) The cognitive domain: filler, hedge, self-repair marker

The textual domain: connective, quotation marker

The interpersonal domain: mitigator, politeness marker, emphaziser

DMs in the cognitive domain are involved with the speaker's effort to have a control over the development and organization of the text, to which the filler, hedge, and self-repair functions of *kunyang* belong. On the other hand, DMs in the textual domain contribute to the creation of cohesive discourse, while the interpersonal DMs, such as a mitigator and emphaziser, connects the speaker and the hearer, facilitating their interactions. Let us briefly describe the eight functions of the DM *kunyang* in the three domains.

3.1. The cognitive domain

Kunyang may be employed by the speaker as a filler to earn time to formulate upcoming utterances in on-line processing (4a), as a hedge to avoid providing a detailed description or a direct answer (4b), or as a self-repair marker (4c).

(4) a. kunikka manyakey mwe kunyang pyongsoey kunyang potong
그니까 만약에 뭐 그냥 평소에 그냥 보통
cengsangcekin samul salasstanun saramtuli kulen hayngtongul
정상적인 삶을 살았다는 사람들이 그런 행동을
hayssumyon ceke michyossna ilayssul keya
했으면 저거 미쳤나 이랬을 거야

2) We found that the 24 functions proposed by Shen were too detailed and some categories were similar enough to be combined into a single category.

‘So, if ordinary normal people had done such a behavior,
they might have said ‘they are crazy.’

- b. Ah, nato potong ttaynun ssayngkkanuntey ku nalun kunyang
아 나도 보통 때는 쟁까는데 그 날은 그냥
‘I usually brag, but on that day I’

- c. kunyang mwe wuri han tay kunayng myot tay macko malci
그냥 뭐 우리 한 대 그냥 몇 대 맞고 말지 뭐
‘Let’s just get beaten once .. several times.’

(Sejong Corpus)

The filler function is shared by most DMs. *Kunyang* used as a filler tends to co-occur with another DM *mwe* in many cases and is located relatively freely in a sentence--between words, phrases or clauses. In (4b) the speaker does not complete his utterance, the implied utterance being, “for some reason I didn’t want to say much and brag.” The self-repair function of *kunyang* is used when the speaker retracts her statement and makes a correction.

3.2. The textual domain

Kunyang as a connective relates the current event or state with what was stated in the previous discourse either explicitly or implicitly.

(5)A: nahanteyn way cenhwa an hay?

나한테 왜 전화 안 해

‘So? Why don’t you call me?’

B: nenun cenhwa hacyanha?

너는 전화 하잖아

‘(It’s because) you call me.’

A: nayka cenhwa haysschanha. kkwum kkwun sarami hayyaci

내가 전화 했잖아. 꿈 꾀 사람이 해야지

‘I called. You should have called me since you dreamed about me.’

B: kunyang nenun maynnal pocanha.

그냥 너는 맨날 보잖아

‘(It’s because) I see you very often.’

(Sejong Corpus)

In response to A’s complaint that B should have called A, B’s excuse is that it is because they see each other almost everyday. *Kunyang* in B’s response connects B’s utterance to the preceding A’s, implying “the reason why I did not call you is because ...”

Another function of *kunyang* was found in the L2 data mainly in the role play context, where it was employed to signal the starting point of an answer.

(6) A: kakaciko kunyang ilehkey malhaseyo? cwungkwukulo

가가지고 그냥 이렇게 말하세요? 중국어로

‘Do you go (to the bank) and say ‘To China?’

B: Eh, kunyang ton cwungkwuk cwuso... osipman won

어 그냥 돈 중국으로 주소 오십만 원

pwuci cwuseyo.

부치 주세요

‘(I say) send this money to China, 500,000 won.’

(Kang H-W, Int)

In (6) the function of the learner's(B) *kunyang* seems to be a quotation marker indicating that the following utterance is what she would say at a bank. This type of *kunyang* can be analyzed as a mitigator conveying the learner's lack of confidence in the correctness of the answer she provides. However, since this function was conspicuous in the role play context, we classified it as a quotation marker working in the textual domain.

3.3. The interpersonal domain

Kunyang is used to indicate the speaker's lack of confidence in the truth of an utterance, i.e. a mitigator, which sometimes results in a politeness effect. Below are examples of *kunyang* used as a mitigator (7a) and a politeness marker (7b).

(7)a. mwusun co moim issko kulel ttay yesnaleynun kunyang

무슨 조 모임 있고 그럴 때 옛날에는 그냥
mwe hakpen swuni nopun salami cocang haysscyanha
뭐 학번 순이 높은 사람이 조장 했잖아

'In the past, when there were group meetings, upper class students became a group leader.'

b. ceum mannan carieyseto kunyang salamtul ilumun cal

처음 만난 자리에서도 그냥 사람들 이름은 잘
kiekhanun pyoniko
기억하는 편이고

'I tend to remember people's name well even when I first meet them.'

In (7a), by inserting *kunyang* the speaker tries to convey that selecting a group leader based on seniority was a ‘tendency’ not a ‘categorical fact’. In (7b), *kunyang* delivers the speaker’s modesty regarding his ability to remember people’s name. This function of *kunyang* is related to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) positive politeness, which respects the interlocutor’s face by lowering oneself.

As opposed to the mitigator function, *kunyang* is also used as an emphasizer, not uncommon among DMs³⁾ As an emphasizer, *kunyang* either appears at the end of an utterance, focusing the preceding utterance, or is placed next to the expression being focused.

(8) a. cengmal mwunceyka issnun kes katay. ayka twulintey

정말 문제가 있는 것 같애. 애가 둘인데

pamsaykilul *kunyang* pap mektusi hakwu cipey kal

밤새기를 그냥 밥 먹듯이 하구 집에 갈

sayngkakul an hay maynnal

생각을 안 해 맨날

‘I think she has a serious problem. She has two children, but she pulls all nighters very often and doesn’t want go home almost everyday.’

b. Youngsunun cham yole manhun salamtulul chayngkimyone

영수는 참 여러 많은 사람들을 챙기면서

sale *kunyang*

살어 그냥

‘Youngsu is taking care of so many people, really.’

(Sejong Corpus)

3) According to Ahn (2009), DMs started as a mitigator and evolved into emphasizers through grammaticalization.

In (8a), *kunyang* places emphasis on ‘pap mektusi’ (like eating meals), intensifying the already strong expression ‘she frequently works overnight.’ In (8b) *kunyang* at the end of the utterance gives an emphasis on the speaker’s opinion (possibly negative) about Youngsu’s meddling in many people’s lives.

4. Methods

Data were collected from 28 Chinese migrant workers (NNS-w henceforth) and five Chinese students (NNS-s henceforth) via semi-structured interviews, which took 60-80 minutes per person. Each interview was structured as follows: 1) an informal conversation eliciting the participants’ demographic information such as age, educational background, experience of learning Korean, length of residence in Korea, and the subjects’ understanding of the Korean culture etc. 2) three tasks: picture description, narrative story telling, and speech acts of apology, request and compliment.

The participants’ Korean proficiency was measured by calculating Mean Length of Communication-units in morphemes (MLC-m) (Craig, Washington, & Thompson-Porter, 1998; Shin, Park, Lee, & Pae, 2007). MLC-m, a method frequently used to measure the developmental stages of school age children, is obtained by taking the total number of morphemes and dividing it by the total number of communication units⁴). Subjects whose MLC-m was below 6.0 were placed to the low level, between

4) A C-unit is the main clause and one or more clauses subordinate to it. When two clauses are conjoined by a coordinating conjunction, each clause counts as one C-unit (Shin et al., 2007).

6.1-8.0 to the intermediate level, and above 8.1-10.6 to the high level⁵⁾. Five Chinese students whose MLC-m was above 8 and were producing DMs productively were chosen as a comparison group. The average length of residence and average MLC-m for each level are summarized in Table 1.

<Table 1> Average length of residence and MLC-m

	Length of Residence (months)	MLC-m
NNS-w: beginning (12)	38	5.3
NNS-w: intermediate(11)	53	6.9
NNS-w: advanced(5)	82	9.6
NNS-s: advanced (5)	42	10.7

As a baseline data, Korean native speakers' corpus of 54,467 words was compiled from the Sejong Corpus. The number of words for each data set is shown below in Table 2.

<Table 2> Number of words for each data set

	words	words/person
NS	54467	
NNS-s: advanced	15003	3001
NNS-w: advanced	14756	2951
NNS-w: intermediate	28253	2256
NNS-w: beginning	19524	1627

The data of the advanced workers and the instructed Chinese students were comparable in the number of total words and words per person.

5) The MLC-m of Korean elementary school children in Shin et al. is the following: grade1: (9.99), grade 2 (11.22), and grade 3 (11.4).

5. Results and discussion

5.1. Use of *kunyang* by Chinese migrant workers

A total of 533 tokens of *kunyang* were found in the data set of the NNS-w, of which 305 instances were used as DMs (76.2%). The distribution of *kunyang* across the three proficiency groups is summarized in Table 3, with the functions classified according to the eight functional categories.

There was only one token of *kunyang*, used as a hedge, in the beginning level data. *Kunyang* does not seem to be part of the lexicon of the 12 beginning level learners either as an adverb or a DM. The dearth of DMs at beginning level was also observed in Hellerman and Vergun's (2007) analysis of ESL learners' longitudinal data.

<Table 3> Distribution of *kunyang* in NNS-w

	H	M	L
mitigator	7(6.6)*	7(2.3)	0
politeness	5(4.7)	4(1.3)	0
emphasizer	13(12.4)	16(5.3)	0
inter total	25(23.8)	27(9)	
quotation	16(15.2)	21(7)	0
connective	10(9.5)	42(14)	0
text total	26(24.8)	63(21)	
filler	42(40)	183(61)	0
hedge	6(5.7)	24(8)	1
self-repair	6(5.7)	3(1)	0
cog total	54(51.4)	210(70)	

DM total	105	300	1
adverb	52	75	0
Kunyang total	157	375	1
kunyang/person	31.4	34.1	
DM kunyang/person	21	27.3	

* raw number (%)

The total number of *kunyang* in the intermediate NNS-w data was 375, with 34.1 tokens per person and a range of 0 to 98, an impressive improvement from the non-existence of *kunyang* at the beginning level. The performance of the advanced learners was similar to that of the intermediate learners in that the average number of *kunyang* per person was 31.4 with a range between 5-95. The number of *kunyang* used as DM was a little more in the intermediate level than in the advanced: 27.3 vs. 21.

The two groups exhibited some differences in the distribution of *kunyang*, implying possible developmental progress as the learners' language proficiency improved. Of the 375 tokens of *kunyang* in the intermediate level, 75 (21.9%) were adverbs and 300 were DMs (76.2%) while in the advanced level, 52 tokens were used as an adverb (33.1%) and 105 (66.9%) as DMs. The improvement in language proficiency may have contributed to the decrease in the number of *kunyang* used as DMs in the advanced level.

Let us compare the usage pattern of *kunyang* between the two groups along the three domains in detail. As shown in Table 3, around half (51.4%) of the DM *kunyang* produced by the advanced learners belonged to the cognitive domain while the percentage was much higher in the intermediate level (70%), most of which were used as fillers (61%). The intermediate learners' lower language proficiency may have led them to over-rely on *kunyang* as fillers to help facilitate on-line production.

Though the number of fillers was smaller at the advanced level, it is notable that 40% of the DM *kunyang* produced at this level were used as fillers.

- (9) a. kuke kunyang yoki kuke kunyang ike cipeyse ike
 그거 그냥 여기 그거 그냥 이거 집에서 이거
 chayk isscanha kunyang paywunikka
 책 있잖아 그냥 배우니까
 ‘I have a book in my place. I just learn with the book.’

(Kim Y-H, Int)

- b. ye, samwueyse ceki kunyang ce mwetela kenkang
 예 사무(=사무실)에서 저기 그냥 저 뭐더라 건강(=관광)
 visa katun ke pisushayyo.
 비자 같은 거 비슷해요
 ‘Yes. In the office, it’s similar to a tourist visa.’

(Y-W, Adv)

As shown in (9), *kunyang* used as a filler was frequently accompanied by other DMs such as *mwe*, *kuke*, or *ceki*.

The hedge and self-repair were other functions in the cognitive domain. The number of hedges decreased while self-repairs increased as the learners’ Korean language proficiency improved, though the total frequency of each was not high.

- (10) A: ilhanun kesey tayhan tayka poswunun kwaynchanhayo,
 일하는 것에 대한 대가 보수는 괜찮아요
 hoysaeyse ilhasinun ke ?
 회사에서 일하시는 거

‘Is the pay at your company reasonable?’

B: ani kunyangyo

아니 그냥요

‘No, it’s just....’

(Ch, I-Y, Adv)

When the learners could not complete their utterance due to limited language proficiency or because they wanted to avoid expressing their opinion, *kunyang* as a hedge was employed. In (10), the learner responds with *kunyangyo*, a fixed expression with *kunyang* accompanied by the sentence ender *yo*, a typical expression to refrain from providing details.

The frequency of *kunyang* in the textual domain was lower than that in the cognitive domain. The connectives were used a little more in the intermediate level (14 vs. 9.5%) while the quotation markers were more frequent in the advanced level (7 vs. 15.2%). The advanced learners’ higher Korean proficiency enabled them to engage in the role play more actively, with provisions of *kunyang* as a quotation marker.

Kunyang as a connective usually occurred in turn-taking contexts, connecting the respondent’s utterance to that of the initiator in a conversation.

(11) A: ah, kulehkwuna kulem kulemyon cwungkwukeyse hayssten

아 그렇구나 그럼 그러면 중국에서 했던

ililangyo hankwukeyse hanun ililang mweka tallayo?

일이랑요 한국에서 하는 일이랑 뭐가 달라요?

‘So, then what is the difference between the work you did in China and what you do in Korea?’

B: kunyang cwugkunun cwungkunun ilhaymyon kunyang mahni

그냥 중국은 중국은 일하면 그냥 많이

pikon an haysseyo

피곤 안 해요

‘In China I was not tired even though I worked hard.’

(Ju, M-L, Int)

In (11), in response to the question “what’s the difference between the work you did in China and that in Korea?”, the learner started with *kunyang*, implying that “if there is difference, (I did not get tired easily when I worked in China).”

In the interpersonal domain, the advanced learners produced two and half times more tokens of *kunyang* than those of the intermediate learners (23.8% vs. 9%). The epistemic modal functions of *kunyang* in this domain, e.g. qualifying one’s opinion, either emphasizing or downtoning, or conveying politeness, may require advanced language proficiency to have control over the subtle differences in meaning.

(12) a. chencay anikwuyo kunyang nayka ihayka an kayo kunyang

천재 아니구요 그냥 내가 이해가 안 가요 그냥

‘She is not a genius. I just cannot understand it.’

(W-H, Adv.)

b. A: hankwukmali manhi nulesseyo.

한국말이 많이 늘었어요

‘Your Korean has improved a lot.’

B: ani kunyang pyongwon pyongwoneyse mal paywesseyo.

아니 그냥 병원 병원에서 말 배웠어요

‘No, I just learned Korean in the hospital.’

(Jo, K-U, Int)

The insertion of *kunyang* in (12a) emphasizes the speaker's frustration over his wife's inability to learn Korean while in (12b), the speaker's use of *kunyang* in response to the interviewer's compliment on his Korean proficiency expresses his humbleness by saying that he learned it while in the hospital and so it could not be that good.

To summarize the use and development of the DM *kunyang* observed in the Chinese migrant worker data, it was not until the intermediate level that *kunyang* became part of the productive lexicon of the learners either as an adverb or a DM. Moreover, significant individual variation was observed in the development and use of *kunyang*, with a range of 0 to 98 tokens per person. The advanced learners did not differ greatly from the intermediate learners in terms of the quantity of *kunyang*; however, they showed improvement over the intermediate level learners in terms of the quality of functions: the number of *kunyang* used as a filler decreased while those used as an epistemic modal marker increased in proportion to the learners' language development. The DM *kunyang* appeared first in the cognitive domain, mostly as fillers, and spread to the textual and interpersonal domain in accord with the learners' language proficiency.

5.2. The use of *kunyang* by advanced NNS-w, NNS-s, and NS

The use of *kunyang* among the advanced workers (NNS-w), students (NNS-s) and native speaker (NS) groups was compared, exhibiting an interaction of language proficiency and contexts. The frequency of *kunyang* per 100 words was the highest in the NNS-w (1.06), followed by the NNS-s (0.6) and NS (0.44) as shown in Table 4. The higher frequency of *kunyang* in the NNS-w compared to the NNS-s may be related to the

learners' Korean proficiency; the NNS-s group with the MLC-m of 10.7 is judged to be more proficient than the NNS-w group with MLC-m of 9.6, which rendered their performance closer to that of NS. The proportion of *kunyang* used as an adverb also improved along with the speaker's language proficiency: NS (42.4%), NNS-s (38.9%), and NNS-w (33.1%).

With regard to the distributional pattern of the DM *kunyang*, the two learner groups diverged from the NS pattern. The NS use of *kunyang* was most active in the interactional domain, with almost half of the DM *kunyang* belonging to this domain (47.4%). In contrast, the NNS-s and NNS-w produced the highest number of *kunyang* in the cognitive domain--41.8% and 51.4%, respectively. This pattern among the three groups is consistent with the developmental pattern observed in the advanced and intermediate NNS-w data; the DM *kunyang* starts from the cognitive domain, spreading into the textual and interpersonal domain. The fact that the NNS-s group with half the length of residence of the advanced NNS-w group was at a more advanced stage in their control of the multiple functions of the DM *kunyang* is supportive of the positive effect of formal instruction in the development of pragmatic knowledge.

The adoption of role play as a data elicitation method rendered a high frequency of the DM *kunyang* used as a quotation marker in the learner data, while they were almost non-existent in the NS data. This result points to the relevance of context of language use in accounting for distribution of DMs. The same explanation can be applied to the use of *kunyang* as a politeness marker; since the NS data were collected from participants of equal status or similar age groups engaged in casual everyday conversation, few instances of *kunyang* to signal politeness were found.

<Table 4> The use of *kunyang*: NNS-W, NNS-S & NS

	NNS-W	NNS-S	NS
mitigator	7(7.2)	8(14.5)	26(18.9)
politeness	5(5.2)	2(3.6)	1(0.7)
emphasizer	13(13.4)	3(5.5)	38(27.7)
inter total	25(25.8)	13(23.6)	65(47.4)
quotation	16(16.5)	13(23.6)	1(0.7)
connective	10(10.3)	6(10.9)	14(10.2)
text total	26(26.8)	19(34.5)	15(10.9)
filler	42(40)	20(36.4)	46(33.6)
hedge	6(6.2)	2(3.6)	9(6.6)
self-repair	6(6.2)	1(1.8)	2(1.5)
cog total	54(51.4)	23(41.8)	57(41.6)
DM total	105	55	137
adverb	52(33.1)	35(38.9)	101(42.4)
Kunyang total	157	90	238
kunyang/person	31.4	18	
DM kunyang/person	21	11	
Kunyang/100 words	1.06	0.6	0.44

6. Conclusion

This paper set out to examine the use and development of the DM *kunyang* by untutored Chinese learners of Korean. The functions of the DM *kunyang* were classified into eight categories building upon the analysis of Lee (2002), Shen (2011), and Park (2012). They were grouped into three major domains following Maschler (1994, 2009): cognitive, textual, and interpersonal.

An analysis of the spoken Korean of 28 Chinese migrant workers revealed that *kunyang* was not part of the learners' lexicon, either as an

adverb or as a DM until they reached the intermediate level, which was about 53 months after they had arrived in Korea. Significant variation in the use of *kunyang* was observed across the learners, suggesting differences in the individual's preferred types of DMs.

Language proficiency was noted to be related to the production of *kunyang*; the number of *kunyang* used as fillers reduced while the tokens of *kunyang* in the interpersonal domain increased as the learners' Korean proficiency improved from the intermediate to the advanced level.

Characteristics of tasks or participants may be related to the various production patterns of *kunyang* across the three groups, which indicates that the context of language use is also relevant in accounting for the distribution of *kunyang*.

Language learning context was another factor found to have influence on the use of the DM. The advanced Chinese students needed approximately half the length of residence of the advanced migrant workers to reach the same or higher level of knowledge of the pragmatic functions of *kunyang*. This suggests that formal instruction may have a positive effect on the acquisition of DMs though they are not the target of explicit instruction in most L2 classrooms. This result in turn points to the limitation of language learning in naturalistic contexts, emphasizing the necessity of providing migrant workers with access to language instruction.

A final cautionary note is in order. We cannot exclude the possibility that the data collection method (i.e. semi-structured interview) might have led to the usage pattern of *kunyang* observed in this study. Future research exploiting diverse data collection methods is needed to provide a more comprehensive picture of discourse marker use in L2 Korean.

<References>

- Ahn, E-J.(2008). Malmwungchi-lul Iyonghan Ehwi-uy Kwueseng Chukceng-kwa Hwalyong ('A Study on the Orality Score of Words and its Application Using Corpus'). *Emwun Noncip*, 57, 93-119.
- Ahn, K-J.(2009). A Discourse-pragmatic Study of Com in Korean. *Language Research*, 45, 257-281.
- Brinton, L.(1996). *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chun, J-E. (2010). Sengpyol-ey Ttalun Hankwuke Pwusa Sayong Yangsang: Sejong Kwue Malmwungchi-lul Hwalyonghaye. ('The Different Usage of Korean Adverbs in Male and Female Speech: Using Sejong Korean Corpus'). *Language and Linguistics*, 47, 257-281.
- Craig, H. K., Washington, J. A., & Thompson-Porter, C. (1998), Average C-unit Lengths in the Discourse of African-American Children from Low-income, Urban Homes. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research*, 41, 433-444.
- Eom, J-S., & Choi, D-J. (2009). Cwungkwukin Hankwuke Haksupca-uy 'yo' Suptuk Yangsang ('A Study on the Acquisition of 'yo' by Chinese Learners of Korean'). *Bilingual Research*, 41, 229-269.
- Fischer, K. (2006). *Approaches to Discourse Particles*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Fraser, B. (1999). What are Discourse Markers? *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31, 931-952.
- Fuller, J. (2003). Discourse Marker Use Across Speech Contexts: A Comparison of Native and Non-native Speaker Performance. *Multilingua*, 22, 185-208.
- Fung, L., & Carter, R. (2007). Discourse Markers and Spoken English: Native and Learner Use in Pedagogic Settings. *Applied Linguistics* 28, 410-439.
- Han, H-M. (2005). Iyaki Damhwa-ey Natananun Damhwa Pyoci Sayong Yangsang Yenkwu ('Discourse Marker in Narratives'). In H-Y Lee, M-Y Kim, E-Y Kim, M-K Lee, J-R Lee, H-U Lee etc. (Eds.), *Hankwue Haksupca-uy Cwungkan Ene Yenkwu* ('A Study of Interlanguage of Korean Learners') (pp. 439-472). Seoul: Communication Books.
- Hellerman, J., & Vergun, A (2007). Language Which is Not Taught: Discourse

- Marker Use of Beginning Adult Learners of English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39, 157-179.
- Jeong, S-H. (2010). Hankwuke Kyoyuk Hangmok-ulose Damhwapyoci 'malida'-ey Dayhan Kochal. ('A Study on the Discourse Marker 'malida' in Korean Language Education'). *Bilingual Research*, 43, 217-246.
- Lam, P. (2009). Discourse Particles in Corpus Data and Textbooks: The Case of Well. *Applied Linguistics*, 31, 260-281.
- Lee, H-J. (2003). Hankwuke-uy Kule-hyeng Tamhwapyoci Yenkwu ('A Study of Kule- form Discourse Markers in Korean'). MA Thesis. Yonsei University.
- Lee, J-A. (2002). *Kwuke Hwayongpyoci-uy Yenkwu* ('Korean Discourse Markers'). Seoul: Welin.
- Liao, S. (2009). Variation in the Use of Discourse Markers by Chinese Teaching Assistants in the US. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, 1313-1328.
- Martin, S. (1992). *A Reference Grammar of Korean*. Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co.
- Maschler, Y. (1994). Metalanguaging and Discourse Markers in Bilingual Conversation. *Language in Society*, 23, 325-366.
- Maschler, Y. (2009). *Metalanguage in Interaction: Hebrew Discourse Markers*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Min, Y-M. (2011). Mokwuke-wa Swuktalto-ey Ttalun Damhwa Pyoci Mwe-uy Uymi Kinung Ihay ('A Study about Understanding of Semantic Functions of Discourse Marker *Mwe* according to Learners' Native Language and Proficiency'). MA Thesis, Ewha Womans University.
- Müller, S. (2005). *Discourse Markers in Native and Non-native English Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Paek, E-J. (2011). Hankwuke Moe Hwaca-wa Hankwuke Haksupca-uy Tamhwapyoci Sayong Yangsang Tayco Yenkwu ('A Study of Comparison between Native Korean Speakers and Foreign Learners in Use of Discourse Markers'). MA Thesis, Youngnam University.
- Park, H-S. (2011). Damhwa Pyocie *Com* Sayong Yenkwu: Cwungkwukin Hankwuke Haksupca-lul Daysang-ulo ('Discourse Marker *Com* in the Interlanguage of Chinese L2 Learners of Korean'). *Korean Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 27, 29-52.
- Park, H-S. (2012). On the Discourse Marker *Kunyang*. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 20, 211-228
- Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Schourup, L. C. (1999). Discourse Markers. *Lingua*, 107, 227-265.
- Shen, L.-J. (2011). A Study on the Discourse Marker Kunyang for Korean Language Teaching Focused on Communication. MA thesis, Yonsei University.
- Shin, S.-J., Park, E.-S., Lee, K.-H., & Pae, S.-Y. (2007), Chotung Cehaknyen Atong-uy Haknyen-ey Ttalun Iyaki Sanchwul Nunglyek ('Analysis of Narrative Production Abilities in Lower-school Age Children). *Korean Journal of Communication Disorders*, 12, 16-31.

박혜선(Hyeson Park)

704-701 대구광역시 달서구 달구벌대로 2800

계명대학교 인문대학 영어영문학과

전화번호: 053-580-5091

전자우편: parkhy@kmu.ac.kr

투고일자: 2012. 4. 20

심사(수정)일자: 2012. 6. 7

게재결정: 2012. 6. 8