

The Cultural Aspect of Discourse Markers among Non-Native English-Korean Communication

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[Abstract]

Despite the important role discourse markers play in everyday native spoken interactions, there are only few spoken corpus-based studies on how Korean speakers use English discourse markers, particularly in their spontaneous English communication. On the other hand, English native speakers tend to use corpus-based Korean discourse markers. Using a speech task that encourages spontaneous English conversations by Korean speakers, this paper elicits the forms, relative frequencies, and usage of English discourse markers. Researching both the usage of English and Korean discourse markers by non-natives, this paper indicates that Korean ESL learners use limited and less variety of discourse markers compared with English native speakers. This paper shows that Korean speakers' usage of certain English discourse markers may be quantitatively and qualitatively different from the typical native usage. It is relatively natural that English native speakers use *yeah* (어, 음) of Korean discourse markers in the act of Korean speeches. It is concluded that English discourse markers need to be taught in both explicit and implicit manners in classroom settings. It is significant, since the proper use of discourse markers plays a significant role in enabling Korean speakers to

communicate in English in a more situationally and culturally appropriate manner. However, Korean discourse markers are less important for English TOPIK learners in Korean communication.

Key Words: English Discourse Markers, Korean ESL Learners, English TOPIK Learners, English-Korean Communication, Korean Discourse Markers.

I. Introduction

When interlocutors communicate with each other in a dialogue, they orally perform a variety of discourse acts (e.g., ‘acknowledging’, ‘asking for clarification’ etc.). While dialogue participants engage in verbal communication, they often use certain units of talks, referred to in the literature as discourse particles or more commonly known as discourse markers (henceforth, DMs) (Aijmer 2002; Fraser 1990; Schiffrin 1987). In the case of native English speakers (henceforth, NSs), the relevant studies have shown that NSs’ uses of DMs in the context of NS-NS interactions are so prevalent that such English DMs as *you know*, *yeah*, *ok*, and *like* are ranked high among the most frequently occurring phrases/word-forms in English spoken discourses (Fung & Carter 2007). Not only that these DMs are used frequently, but also they play a role in making the verbal communication contextually/pragmatically more appropriate among speakers. In this respect, although an inappropriate use or even a complete lack of use of DMs by non-native speakers (henceforth, NNSs) does not in itself render a discourse completely incomprehensible, the NNSs’ inappropriate use of DMs in dialogue could still be judged as sounding quite awkward or even impolite by the NSs (Svartvik 1980).

This paper attempts to survey both English Discourse Markers and Korean DMs among international interlocutors in order to research how English DMs have communicative roles and functions by comparing with those of Korean DMs. The frequency of DMs both in English and in Korean as well is the most important scale to be researched in this paper, because it gives us some clues on the roles and functions of DMs in each language. Firstly, the frequencies of each English and Korean DMs between Native speakers (NSs) and Non-native speakers (NNSs); Secondly, the frequencies of English and Korean DMs between high and low language proficiency among non-native speakers; Thirdly, the frequencies of DMs between English and Korean are all concrete data in this paper to assume the value of discourse markers in the verbal and non verbal communication in an international communication set.

Studies of the usage of DMs done by Fraser and Schiffrin indicate that NSs use these lexical items mainly to establish contextual links that relate the current utterance to the previous one in ongoing talks. As such in English conversation, DMs usually help contribute to facilitate smooth spoken interaction between speakers and thus enhancing the overall coherence of the discourse (Schiffrin 1987). A Korean conversation with DMs has no such a relevant research in the academy when it compares to English DMs. English is a worldwide communicative tool in the international assemblage, while Korean increases more international activities domestically or internationally. This circumstance urges to research English-Korean DMs in this paper in order to compare how much the Korean DMs have a relevant contribution to the communicational function as much as English DMs are reputable to lubricate the social interactions among interlocutors with culture friendly manner.

II. Theoretical Backgrounds: Discourse Markers

A well-known characteristic of DMs is that since DMs usually lack clear semantic content, a particular DM can serve multi-functional roles, thus a proper use of DMs is dependent upon the local contexts in which it is used. For instance, *you know* is used in a multi-functional fashion in an English discourse such that it can not only be used to build the speaker's and the hearer's common grounds, but at the same time the phrase can also be a signal with the speaker's positive politeness or informality toward the addressee (Holmes 1986). Therefore the main usage of DMs is filling up 'the lack of clear semantic contents' in the second way.

The prevalence and complexity of usage of corpus-based DMs in English NNSs' discourse show that a proper use of DMs is very important for learners of English, although it is rare that DMs are formally taught in L2 classrooms. Reflecting on this, studies on DMs used by NNSs have recently drawn many researchers' attention, particularly, from those who advance for the importance of the acquisition of not just the linguistic competence but also the communicative competence. Lam (2009), for instance, finds that the usage of DMs can help NNSs attain native-like ability in English spontaneous communication. In other words, if NNSs learn how to utilize various types of DMs in appropriate contexts, this might remarkably enhance the naturalness of the conversation in which they participate, and thus eventually can contribute to a higher level of overall coherence of their speech in their everyday conversation.

By examining English spoken discourse by Spanish leaners of English, Trillo (2002) also finds that many Spanish speakers suffer from what is referred to as 'pragmatic fossilization' such that certain tokens of English DMs used by the Spanish speakers are systematically inappropriate, resulting in disruption of the pragmatic

coherence of the communication. Trillo (2002) attributes the locus of this pragmatic incompetence to the limited variability in Spanish speakers' use of DMs, and particularly to the unnatural and limited resource in the process of their English language acquisition. In addition, Müller (2004) also finds a similar conclusion from German speakers of English whose usage of English DMs consists of qualitatively and quantitatively different types from those found in NSs' DMs.

A more recent study by Fung and Carter (2007) compare production of DMs uttered by NNSs residing in Hong Kong to those produced by British English NSs. Similar to the previous studies, Fung and Carter (2007) also found that the NNSs in the context of classroom setting used DMs significantly less often and with significantly less diverse functions compared to NSs. In sum, results from previous studies indicate that the extent to which DMs is used can differ considerably between NSs and NNSs. Specifically, NNSs seems to use DMs much less frequently and with limited variety than NSs. Even in situations where NNSs do use DMs, they often employ the words in much restricted and pragmatically inappropriate manner, negatively affecting the pragmatic coherence of their speech in communication.

Despite the prevalent use and importance of DMs in English spoken interactions, few studies have systematically examined the use of English DMs by NNSs in their verbal communication with NSs and also NNSs. Even less empirical data are available for how Korean learners of English (henceforth, KSSs) use DMs in their English spontaneous conversations. Although there exist some studies that addressed this topic, these studies are mainly based on the use of the DMs by NNSs whose L1 is one of the Indo-European languages. One important point we learn from these studies is that even though how to use DMs has rarely been taught in foreign language classroom settings (compared to instruction of other core areas of grammar), if a NNS wants to deliver his/her message in a more culturally appropriate manner,

he/she should try making better use of these conventionalized words/phrases in their everyday interaction with NSs. With reference to this point, Sankoff, Thibault, Nagy, Blondeau, Fonollosa, and Gagnon (1997) hold that the use of DMs is an important cue for NSs, informing them of how extensively an L2 speaker becomes culturally assimilated to the native speakers' linguistic community.

In this regard, it is important to examine how Korean English as a Second Language (henceforth, ESL) learners actually use English DMs in the context of everyday English conversation. Data gathered from the present study are used to identify the types and the usages of English DMs and Korean DMs used among by Korean ESL learners, English Native Speakers who are Korean as a Foreign Language (henceforth, KFL) Learners, Korean Foreign Learners who are not English but other Foreign Native Speakers except English, and Korean Native Speakers (henceforth, KSs) in conversation. Finally by designing a conversational setting, this study attempts to elicit the forms, relative frequencies and usage of both English DMs and Korean DMs adopted by KSs, English NSs, and other Foreign NSs as well when they interact each others.

In addition, given that an increasing number of communication in English and in Korean either way, this paper also explores double ways of how not only the KSs' use of English DMs and but also the English NSs' use of Korean DMs relate to their general English or Korean proficiency either way. To set down the current research, free talking with a conversational way, in which the subjects of marriage, job, and family are enjoyably requested in this survey in the college classroom set. Each interlocutor has 3 minutes free talking in a dialogue by choosing one of three subjects among marriage, job, and family. I have briefly reviewed literatures on English DM prior to describing the design and main research questions for this survey. However, there are no Korean DM researches, which makes this paper the

first observant research to consider English-Korean speech in terms of Discourse Markers in conversations.

III. Research Methods

3.1. Research Questions

Some reviews of previous Schiffriin's and Fraser's studies on Discourse Markers indicate that despite the communicative importance of DMs in native speakers' daily conversation, relatively few studies have investigated the use of DMs by NNSs (Hellermann & Vergun 2007; Fung & Carter, 2007). However, this paper not only focuses on the English DMs by Korean EFL learners, but also explores the English NSs' DMs in Korean to get the further information that there is no such big differences for NSs' speaking between in English and Korean. Even less studies exist based on data elicited from KS's spoken interactions with English NSs.

Table 1. Discourse Markers in English and in Korean

	DMs	DMs	DMs	DMs	DMs	DMs	DMs	DMs
English	actually	I mean	well	you know	all right			
English	ok	yeah	so	like	right	umhm	oh	go ahead
Korean	어	응/음	네	아	그러니까	그래요	예	맞죠

Although proper use of DMs is an important factor in assessing the communicative proficiency of NNSs, there is no relevant empirical study on this topic either. To this regard, this paper addresses the following three primary research questions.

1. How does the pattern of KSs' use of DMs differ quantitatively from that of NSs' in conversation? More specifically, how may the forms and relative frequencies of the use of DMs differ across the two language groups?
2. How does the pattern of NSs' usage of DMs in Korean differ quantitatively from that of NSs' in English?
3. Do KSs use certain English DMs to signal meanings in a way that is systematically and culturally different from NSs in spontaneous speech communication?

3.2. Transcription of recordings

The recordings of the talking and conversations were transcribed for analysis by using the regular English orthography. For reliability, the transcribed recordings were written by the Apple device of Voice Translator and also subsequently checked by the researcher, a professional speaker of English, who teaches undergraduate level English speech and writing courses in a university in Korea. Any unresolved discrepancies found between the two transcribers were eventually resolved with the favorable help of the native speaker's judgment. The first study had a 3-minute conversational talk in English among 28 interlocutors. And the second study also had another 3-minute conversational talk in Korean among 20 interlocutors.

Subsequent to transcription, all transcripts were evaluated regarding which

words/phrases should qualify as DMs. To this end, the functions of DMs used in the previous studies of DMs (especially Schiffrin (1987) and Müller (2005)) were selected to serve as basis to identify DMs. Specifically, Schiffrin (1987) and Müller (2005) hold that lexical items should meet two criteria to qualify as DMs. First, DMs should not change the meaning of the utterances even if they are excluded from the utterance. Second, the grammaticality of the utterances remain intact even without DMs. None of the DMs identified in this study has these properties. Finally, following the general standard listed by Fraser in DM researches (Fraser, 1999), I excluded the variant forms of hesitation markers (e.g., *er*, *ah*, and *um*, etc) from the pool of the qualified DMs.

IV. Problem Solving Method

4.1. Targeting Survey groups

In the first study a total of 24 talkers (forming 12 pairs of interlocutors) participated: 8 English native speakers (henceforth, EN), 8 Korean speakers with high English proficiency (henceforth, KH), and 8 Korean speakers with low English proficiency (henceforth, KL). Language background of the participants in the present study is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Information of the participants in English dialogues

Group Type	Speaker ID	Gender	Age	Profic.	Group Type	Speaker ID	Gender	Age	Profic.
KH-KH	KOR01	Male	24	High	KH-EN	ENG01	Female	25	native
	KOR02	Male	27	High		KOR05	Female	23	High
	KOR03	Female	24	High		ENG02	Male	21	native
	KOR04	Female	27	High		KOR06	Male	27	High
KL-KL	KOR07	Female	20	Low	KL-EN	ENG03	Male	21	native
	KOR08	Female	21	Low		KOR11	Male	23	Low
	KOR09	Male	22	Low		ENG04	Female	20	native
	KOR10	Male	22	Low		KOR12	Female	21	Low
KH-KL	KOR13	Male	23	High	EN-EN	ENG05	Male	25	native
	KOR14	Male	22	Low		ENG06	Male	28	native
	KOR15	Male	25	High		ENG07	Female	31	native
	KOR16	Male	24	Low		ENG08	Female	24	native

Assessment of Korean speakers' level of English proficiency as either KH or KL is based on their standardized English scores and their duration of stay in the US. KH speakers reported TOEFL scores of at least 100 and have resided in the US on average for 3.5 years. KL speakers achieved TOEIC scores of less than 750 (roughly equivalent to TOEFL score of 70~75) and resided in the US on average for less than a month (KL talkers did not have TOEFL scores). All native English speakers were born and raised in the US. 6 pairs consisted of two Korean speakers only, while another 2 pairs consisted of two native English speakers per pair only. The rest 4

speaker pairs consisted of one native English speaker and another Korean learner of English. The speakers were matched for gender in all pair interactions.

In the second study a total of 20 speakers (forming 10 pairs of interlocutors) participated: 16 non-native Korean speakers (henceforth, NNSKR): 8 English Native speakers with low Korean proficiency (EN-KL) and 8 non-native English/Korean speakers with middle Korean proficiency (henceforth, NNSEN-NNSKR-KM). 4 Korean speakers with high Korean proficiency (NS-KH). Language background of the participants in the present study is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Information of the participants in Korean dialogues

Group Type	Speaker_ID	Gender	Age	Profic.	Group Type	Speaker_ID	Gender	Age	Profic.
NNS-EN-KL	ENG01	Male	20	Low	NNSEN-NNSKR-KM	ENG05	Female	24	Low
	ENG02	Male	21	Low		ENG06	Female	21	Low
	ENG03	Female	22	Low		ENG07	Male	23	Low
	ENG04	Female	25	Low		ENG08	Male	27	Low
NNSEN-NNSKR-KM	NNKL01	Female	20	Middle	NSKR-KH	NNKL05	Male	21	Middle
	NNKL02	Female	21	Middle		NNKL06	Male	23	Middle
	NNKL03	Male	22	Middle		NNKL07	Female	20	Middle
	NNKL04	Male	22	Middle		NNKL08	Female	21	Middle
NSKR-KH	KOR01	Male	23	High	NSKR-KH	KOR03	Male	25	High
	KOR02	Male	22	High		KOR04	Male	28	High

4.2. Discussions for Research question 1

1. How does the pattern of Korean Native Speakers' use of DMs differ quantitatively from that of English Native Speakers' in conversation? More specifically, how may the forms and relative frequencies of the use of DMs differ across the two language groups?

Table 4. Frequencies and percent appearances of DMs

ENG-NNS(KOR-NS)			ENG-NS			KOR-NNS			KOR-NS		
DM	Frequency	Percent (%)	DM	Frequency	Percent (%)	DM	Frequency	Percent (%)	DM	Frequency	Percent (%)
yeah	362	32	ok	124	35	어	51	19.5	어	10	18
ok	262	23	yeah	46	12	응/음	68	26	응/음	12	21.5
umhm	206	18	so	44	12	네	44	17	네	10	18
like	90	8	like	36	10	아	51	19.5	아	12	21.5
oh	76	6	right	36	10	그러니까	16	6	그러니까	2	3.5
so	44	4	umhm	34	9	그래요	10	4	그래요	2	3.5
right	38	3	oh	20	5	예	16	6	예	8	14
actually	6	0.5	go ahead	6	1	맞죠	6	2	맞죠	0	0
you know	6	0.5	actually	2	0.5	ok	(6)				
all right	4	0.3	I mean	2	0.5	I mean	(2)				
you mean	4	0.3	well	2	0.5	well	(2)				
I mean	2	0.1	you know	2	0.5	you know	(2)				
Total	1100	100%	Total	354	100%	Total	262	100%	Total	56	100%

Based on the criteria stated above, I identified a total of 1,454 English DM tokens. Since there were double the number of Korean speaking participants than that of native English speakers in the present study, numerically more DM tokens were collected from the KSs than NSs (1100 vs. 354, respectively). In another group of Korean DM, there were 317 Korean DMs, in which Korean Native Speakers have 56 among 8 interlocutors, while Korean Non-Native Speakers produced 262 DMs among 16 Korean Non-Native Speakers as a Koran DM token.

Here I address the question of how the forms and the relative frequencies of the use of DMs differ across the two language groups. Since many studies on the use of DMs by NNSs reported quantitative data, I first report the pattern of usage frequencies of the DMs by NNSs as compared to that of NSs. The frequencies and percent appearances of the elicited DMs grouped by the talkers' L1 are given in Table 4.

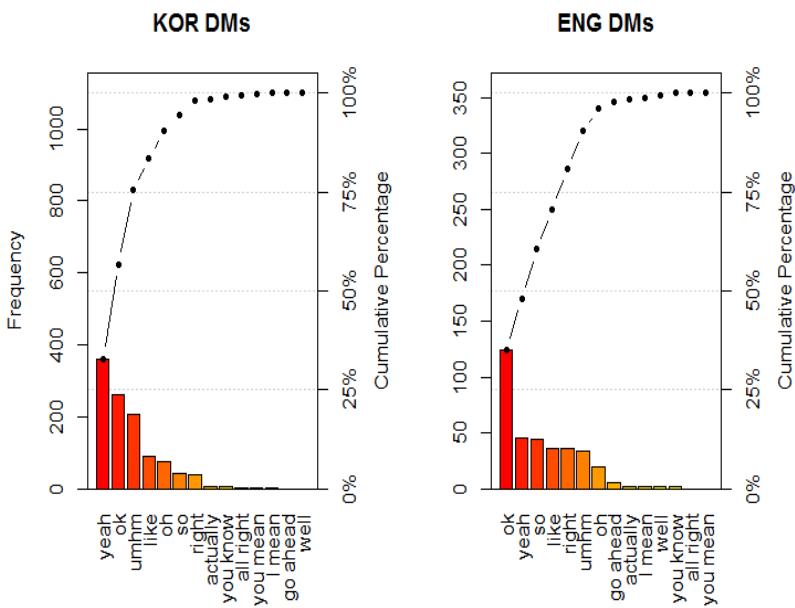
Overall, Table 4 shows in the first group that the majority of the English DMs presented in the Korean ESL speech also appears in the English native speech. The collected data among Non-Native Speakers' English DMs are 1100, while English Native Speakers' DMs is 354. However, when we think of the number of participants for this survey, ENG NSs are 8 and NNSs are 16, so NNSs' DMs are 550, which means 1.55 times than those of NSs. Table 4 also shows in the second group that NNSs's Korean DMs are 131(the half of 262), while Korean NS's ones are 56, which means NNSs's awkward expression of Korean DMs are 2.3 times in compared with Korean NSs, when you compare the rate among the same number of 8 interlocutors.

This is likely due to the nature of the current study's design. That is, in the present study DMs were collected from tasks of spontaneous conversations where two interlocutors worked cooperatively to achieve a common goal. In this type of

conversational setting, two interlocutors typically checked their partner's comprehension regularly and thus needed to mark transitions in turn-shifting, which might yield frequent use of DMs such as *OK* and *right*. Thus it was possible that the types of DMs elicited in the current study might be qualitatively different from those observed in other spoken corpus-driven studies such as investigations of DMs elicited from personal interviews or NNSs' classroom presentations (Liao 2008).

In spite of the similarity across the two language groups, there were, however, a couple of notable differences as well. First, several particular types of DMs dominated in the KSs' utterances. That is, there was an uneven distribution of the types of distinct DMs in the Korean Speakers' speech. Specifically, the three particular DMs including *yeah*, *ok*, and *umhm* taken together (in the decreasing order of rate of occurrences) accounted for more than 75% of the entire DMs produced by the focal Korean Speakers. This indicates that compared to the English Native Speaker's speeches, those in the KSs' speeches are characterized by significantly less variety. It is also worth mentioning that the DM *yeah* accounted for about 32% of the entire tokens of the DMs in the KS's speeches. Given the preponderance of *yeah* in the KSs' speech, I will discuss its use by Korean speakers in some further detail in a separate section below. This is in contrast to the percent occurrence of *yeah* in English NSs's speech(46 frequencies; 12%), which is much lower than that in Korean speakers' speech(362 frequencies; 32%).

Figure 1. Percent occurrences of DMs: Korean vs. English speakers



Secondly, as shown in Figure 1 shows, while it was the case that NSs used *OK* most frequently (similar to the Korean speakers), there were more distinct types of DMs in the English NSs' speech (compared to Korean speakers). Results from former studies indicate that the usage of *OK* and *right* is in general more frequent than that of other DMs (such as *like* and *you know*) in NSs's discourse (Schleef 2004). The focal NSs' data are thus consistent with the results. As mentioned above, past researches have shown that NSs most frequently use *OK* and *right* as markers to monitor the progression of conversation and to mark transitions, particularly in the setting of academic speech where instructors typically organize lectures in a systematically structured fashion. In a similar vein, the unique design of the current

study may also have encouraged the present NSs to use this function of *OK* quite often.

In sum, the usage of *OK* and *right* as a transition marker seems not to differ so much across the two language groups. Rather, the fact that *OK* (and also *right* in some degree) was used quite frequently by both the current NSs and KSs indicates that this particular function of *OK* and *right* is relatively easy to adopt even in conversation done in a non-native language and is likely to be more attributed to the unique structure of the way in which the current dialogues proceeded.

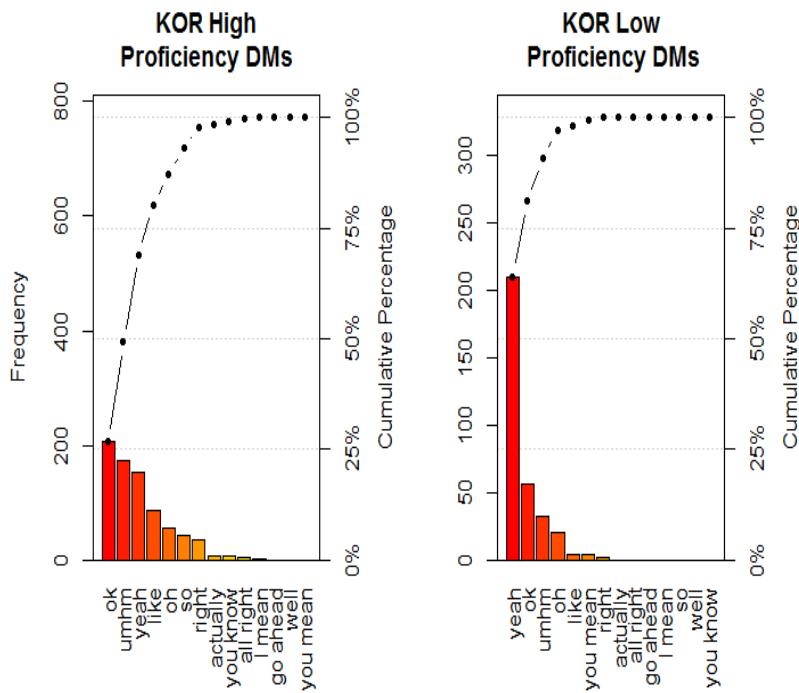
Now, I will discuss the role of language proficiency among Korean Speakers' use of English DMs. It is generally accepted in the DM literature that the level of English proficiency can affect NNS's use of DMs. Table 5 (along with its schematic representation in Figure 2) summarizes the occurrences and percentages of each DM in the Korean talkers' speech grouped by their level (high vs. low) of English proficiency. In fact with regard to the role of proficiency in the use of DMs, previous studies have shown that the use of DMs is a strong indicator of L2 speakers' native-like fluency. Thus different patterns of DM use may reflect the degree of the talker's native-likeness. The general idea is that the more a learner of a language is exposed to the target native speakers' speech, the higher the rate of use of DMs is found.

Table 5. Frequencies and percent appearances of DMs produced by Korean High vs. Low level of English proficiency speakers

High proficiency			Low proficiency			
DM	Frequency	Percent (%)	DM	Frequency	Percent (%)	
ok	206	26	yeah	210	64	
umhm	174	22	ok	56	17	
yeah	152	19	umhm	32	9	
like	86	11	oh	20	6	
oh	56	7	like	4	1	
so	44	5	you mean	4	1	
right	36	4	right	2	0.6	
actually	6	0.7				
you know	6	0.7				
all right	4	0.5				
I mean	2	0.2				
Total	772	100%	Total	328	100%	

Overall, the result from the current study is in congruent with this prediction. Specifically, Table 5 shows that in the present study the Korean talkers with high level of English proficiency used more than double the number of DMs and a more variety of DMs compared to those with low level learners of English. This result thus provides further support that learners with a higher proficiency in the target language are more likely to use DMs in spoken discourse (Lee 1999, 2001; Hellerman and Vergun 2007).

Figure 2. Percent occurrences of DMs:
Korean High vs. Low proficiency speakers



More specifically, by analyzing a spoken corpus gathered from interview data of 12 Korean Americans living in the US, Lee (2001) finds that the three DMs *you know*, *like*, and *I mean* dominate in the speakers' speech, accounting for about 90% of the entire DM tokens in her data (included in it are DMs such as *yeah*, *whatever*, *actually*, *something like that*, *so*, *right*, *I don't know*, *I guess*). In her data, the usage of DMs decreases as the age of the arrival of the Korean American in the US increases. As the duration of stay in the US is in general positively correlated with the level of English proficiency, Lee (1999, 2001)'s data thus provides support that

target language proficiency can function as a strong indicator of the frequency of the use of DMs by Korean learners of English.

One particularly interesting result from Lee's study is that *like* is the most frequently used DM by the 2nd generation of the Korean Americans in Lee (1999; 2001)'s study. Similar to this, *like* is the third most frequently used DM by the high level Korean talkers in this paper, indicating that this DM is one that is preferred by high proficiency Korean learners of English. As *like* and *you know* are very informal and colloquial forms of DM in English (Liao 2008), as the level of proficiency increases, the Korean speaker may feel more comfortable using them as a device to establish a rapport with her interlocutors during the conversation. Based on spoken corpora elicited from the classroom interaction and in-home interviews of English learners from diverse language background, Hellerman and Vergun (2007) also find that the degree to which the learners are acculturated to the US is positively correlated with the frequency of the use of DMs. In their study, very few of the DM are used by beginning adult learners of English. This is the case for the low level Korean talkers in the current study as well.

Figure 3. Individual variation in percent occurrences of DMs produced by Korean speakers

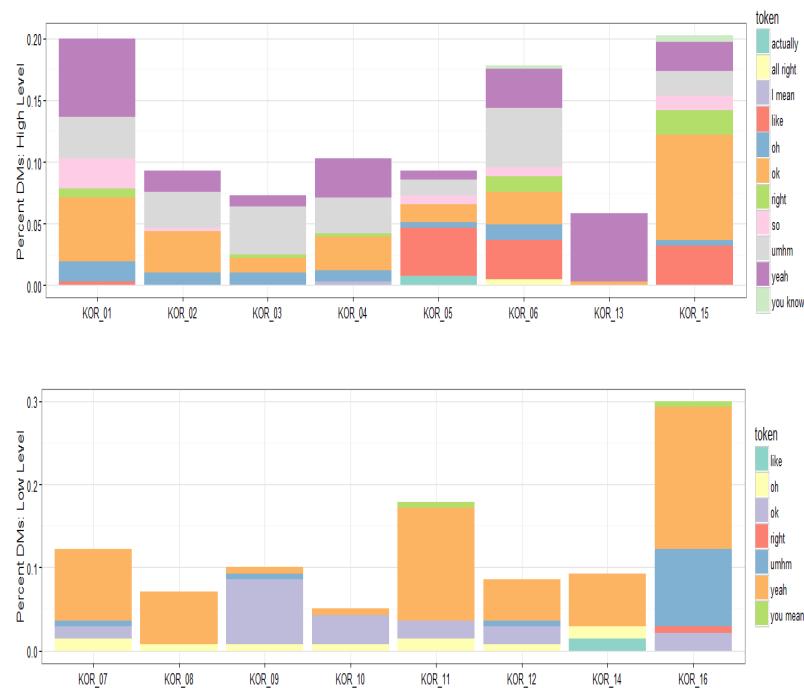


Figure 3 shows a couple of patterns that are worth mentioning. First, among the KSs with advanced fluency in English, KOR_05, KOR_06, and KOR_15 used *like* to a greater extent than other talkers. As can be seen in Table 2 above, among these three KSs, KOR_05 and KOR_06 were the speakers who paired with a NS to form a conversational dyad. A further examination of the transcripts from these two KOR-ENG dyads indicated that ENG_01 and ENG_02 used *like* extensively.

Secondly, unlike other KSs with high level English proficiency, KOR_13 used only *yeah* among other possible DMs (with only a few instances of *like*). It is

notable that this particular talker paired with a low level Korean speaker (i.e., KOR_14). Here again I suspect that despite that KOR_13 is more fluent in English than KOR_14, the former speaker may be using *yeah* extensively primarily because his conversation partner uses it most of the time. Thus, when two Korean speakers participate in a dialogue in English, a Korean speaker with relatively high level of English proficiency is willing to make adjustments of his English speech style to accommodate his/her Korean interlocutor who has quite limited ability in speaking English.

However, despite the fact that both of these two Korean speakers used *yeah* extensively, there is still a difference between these two speakers in the exact manner of using *yeah*. Being a speaker with very limited English proficiency, KOR_14 appears to use *yeah* as a self-repair marker more frequently, while KOR_13 as a marker commenting on what KOR_14 has said or indicating some sort of agreement. In below I will discuss the diverse functions of *yeah* used by Korean speakers in detail. Finally, on the opposite side of KOR_14 there were the two speakers KOR_01 and KOR_15 who were quite similar to the NSs in terms of their use of English DMs.

To summarize, an examination of individual use of DMs suggests that the Korean speakers in this paper display quite a lot variation in their use of DMs. While some KSs with high level English proficiency appear to use many of the DMs used by the NSs, others with similar level of English proficiency either appear to use quite limited variety of DMs or does not make use of the full range of different functions of DMs. I find that one critical factor that modulates this variation in the use of DMs by KSs is the speech style and/or the L1 of their interlocutor (i.e., English vs. Korean). Further research is required to evaluate the effects of these factor in a more systematic way.

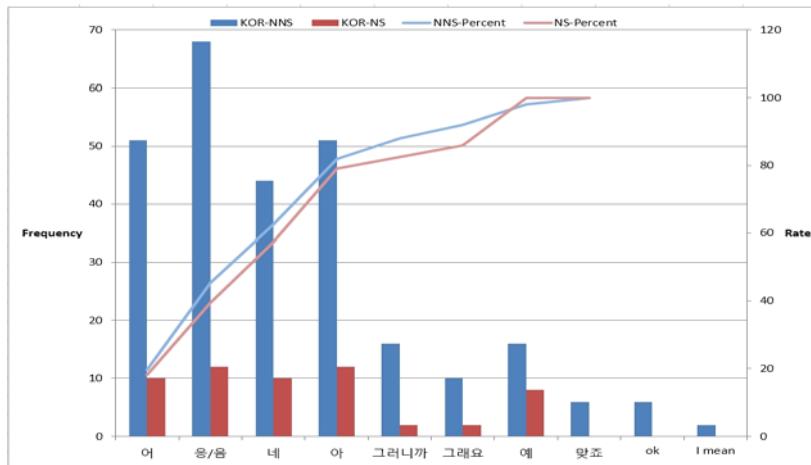
4.3. Discussions for Research question 2

2. How does the pattern of NSs' use of DMs in Korean differ quantitatively from that of NSs' in English? And what about the pattern of Korean DMs between Native Speakers and Non-Native Speakers? This paper has divided into three groups: 1) High proficiency with Korean Native Speakers, 2) Middle proficiency among other language native tongues except English, and 3) Low proficiency as English Native Speakers.

Table 6. Frequencies and percent appearances of Korean DMs produced by Korean Native Speakers vs. English Native Speakers

KOR-NNS			KOR-NS		
DM	Frequency	Percent (%)	DM	Frequency	Percent (%)
어	51	19.5	어	10	18
응/음	68	26	응/음	12	21.5
네	44	17	네	10	18
아	51	19.5	아	12	21.5
그러니까	16	6	그러니까	2	3.5
그래요	10	4	그래요	2	3.5
예	16	6	예	8	14
맞죠	6	2	맞죠	0	0
ok	(6)				
I mean	(2)				
well	(2)				
you know	(2)				
Total	262	100%	Total	56	100%

Figure 4. Frequencies and percent appearances of Korean DMs produced by Korean Native Speakers vs. English Native Speakers

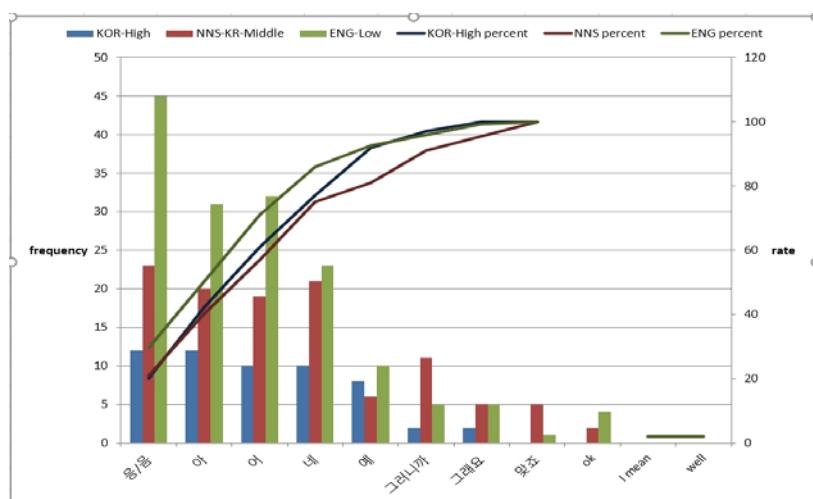


Based on the data for the Korean DMs between NSs and NNSs in Korean, お/お is the most presented both in NSs and NNSs, and お/お is followed next to お/お. お/お and お/お are produced similar amount of DMs in each of Koreans and English Speakers, because there is no such a difference of meaning signification between the two, except only the positive or negative pronunciation. However, this paper makes a distinction to investigate which vowel is relatively dominant for Korean speakers in the Korean DMs between お/お and お/お. The positive and negative vowels like お/お and お/お have the same rate for English NSs, while Korean Native Speakers have conducted positive vowel, お/お slightly more than that of negatives. I assume that the Korean language might have more positive vowels in the morpheme structure, which causes a positive vowel like お/お more comfortable for Koreans consciously and unconsciously.

Table 7. Frequencies and percent appearances of Korean DMs produced by High vs. Middle vs. Low level of Korean proficiency speakers

KOR-High			NNS-KR-Middle			ENG-Low(English Native Speakers)		
DM	Frequency	Percent (%)	DM	Frequency	Percent (%)	DM	Frequency	Percent (%)
어	10	19	어	19	17	어	32	21
응/음	12	20	응/음	23	21	응/음	45	29.6
네	10	16	네	21	18	네	23	15
아	12	22	아	20	19	아	31	20.4
그러니까	2	5	그러니까	11	10	그러니까	5	3.3
그래요	2	3	그래요	5	4.5	그래요	5	3.3
예	8	15	예	6	6	예	10	6.7
맞죠	0	0	맞죠	5	4.5	맞죠	1	0.7
			ok	(2)		ok	(4)	
		I mean				I mean	(2)	
		well				well	(2)	
		you know				you know	(2)	
Total	55	100%	Total	110	100%		152	100%

Figure 5. Frequencies and percent appearances of Korean DMs produced by High vs. Middle vs. Low level of Korean proficiency speakers



This paper does not study about the phonology between positive and negative vowels both in English and Korean, however, it is necessary to notice the fact that Korean Native speakers have more positive vowels, \textcircled{A} , while English Native speakers have more negative vowels, \textcircled{B} , which is unconsciously conducted by the structure of positive or negative phoneme and morpheme in a certain language system. This paper did not make a distinction, between \textcircled{A} and \textcircled{B} , because those pronunciations are not clearly transcribed in some way, which are dependent on the manner or the position of speaker's utterance.

This paper proves that English Native Speakers have double times of Korean DMs when compared with them by Korean Native speakers. Korean DMs among English Native speakers have sometimes inserted English DMs in an unappropriated way. We have found in this paper Korean DMs have strongly decreased according to the proficiency of Koreans language performance.

4.4 Discussions for Research question 3

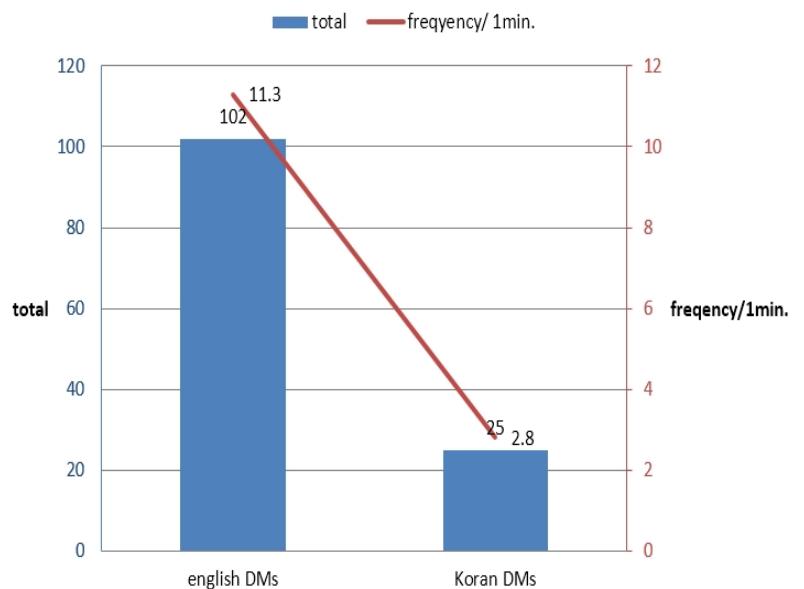
3. Do KSs use certain English DMs to signal meanings in a way that is systematically and culturally different from English NSs in spontaneous speech communication?

This paper compares the frequencies of English vs. Korean Discourse Markers between English native speakers and Korean native speakers. By choosing 3 persons of NS-EN and 3 of NS-KOR usually speak 3 minutes for the common subjects such as marriage, family, friends, this paper investigates that discourse markers can be a cultural product.

Table 8. Rate of Frequency between English and Korean DMs

	total	frequency / 1min.
English DMs	102	11.3
Koran DMs	25	2.8

Figure 6. Rate of Frequency between English and Korean DMs



This paper has found that English DMs are 4 times more than Korean ones.

V. Conclusions

This survey and study focused on identifying the DMs used by Korean learners of English and native speakers of English who are learning Korean in their spontaneous conversation. The findings of this paper suggest that understanding the variety and the functions of DMs in spoken discourse needs to be emphasized more in English learning processes as this can improve Korean speakers' pragmatic competence in English. When Korean speakers use DMs less frequently than expected or use a DM in a manner different from the English native speakers, it may give the impression that Korean ESL learners are disfluency in the target language in subtle ways. As the literary studies have reviewed, even though they are not taught explicitly, the discourse markers can play a significant role in enabling learners to communicate in a more situationally and culturally appropriate manner.

The present findings indicate that Korean speakers use less diverse DMs and less effectively in their spoken discourse (compared to native speakers). An examination of the use of *yeah*, in particular, corroborated this claim. If a Korean speaker consistently uses *yeah* in final position expressing uncertainty about their own statement in discourse that can create certain degree of confusion to their native English interlocutors. To address this problem, it makes sense to propose that English DMs be taught in both explicit and implicit manner in classroom settings. Samples from native speakers' daily use of DMs in everyday conversation can be shown to Korean learners of English to increase awareness of the variety and functions of the DMs. Practicing spoken interactions in English such as the Table 4 in this paper can be useful.

The number of Korean DMs is strongly less than that of English ones, and the variety and frequency of Korean DMs is less than those of English DMs. Korean

DMs used by Korean Native speakers are far less than the amount done by English Native speakers, which gives us an important clue that Korean DMs are neither culturally communicative nor interactive among interlocutors.

Finally, further data regarding English DMs by Korean speakers in their spoken communication are required to identify the subtle functions that they seem to use differently from the English native speakers, specifically the role of their L1 in the appearance of certain types of unique DMs. This paper eventually launched a survey on Korean DMs conducted both by English and by Korean Native Speakers in order to contribute to research on the intercultural communication arena as well.

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국문초록

영어와 한국어 외국어 학습자의 의사소통 발화 행위에서의 담화표지의 문화적 양상

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본 연구는, 제2외국어로서 영어 학습 능률에서 담화표지는 문화적 행위로 간주되는 측면이 많다는 가정 하에 영어와 한국어 각각의 담화표지에 대한 고찰이다. 연구 결과도 역시 제2영어를 하는 한국대학생들에게 영어의 담화표지는 어색하고 발화행위 분포가 고르지 못하다는 점을 밝힌다. 한국어 모국어 화자는 담화표지를 많이 하지 않지만, 영어를 모국어로 하는 한국어 제2언어 학습자는 발화행위에서 평균 이상으로 많이 담화표지를 한다는 결론이다. 이에 대한 비교 분석의 그래프를 통해 담화표지의 종류와 발화 횟수, 퍼센티지를 비교분석 한다. 결과적으로 본 논문에서는 영어의 담화표지는 영어 모국어 화자에게는 하나의 문화행위로서 자연스럽게 따라오는 언어행위의 문화적 양태로 결론지을 수 있으며, 한국어의 담화표지는 말을 잘 할 때 담화표지의 수와 종류가 줄어드는 것을 발견했다. 때문에 한국어 유창성과 한국어 담화표지는 반비례한다고 할 수 있지만, 영어모국어 화자로서 제2 한국어 학습자는 유난히 한국어의 담화표지를 많이 함으로써 그들의 문화 발화행위의 단면을 발견하게 된다. 한국어 담화표지에 대한 학습은 외국어로서의 한국어 교육에는 굳이 필요하지 않지만, 영어를 배우는 제2영어 학습자에게는 영어의 담화표지 학습이 필요함을 도출한다.

주제어: 영어 담화표지, 제2영어 한국인 학습자, 외국어로서의 한국어 영어 모국어 학습자,
영어-한국어 의사소통, 한국어 담화 표지

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