Title	"The function of mak is mak changing mak" : an analysis of Korean adverb mak as a discourse marker
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"The Function of *mak* is *mak* Changing *mak*": An Analysis of Korean Adverb *mak* as a Discourse Marker

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Abstract

This paper presents an analysis of the Korean adverb *mak* using conversational data. Traditional grammar books ascribe to the adverb *mak* two different usages. One is as a temporal adverb, meaning 'just now, just then'. The other *mak* is an abbreviated form of the degree/manner adverb *makwu*, meaning variously 'hard, much, carelessly, blindly'. As an adverb *mak* can be used to modify either the whole sentence or the verb. However, a closer examination of casual conversations between friends shows that *mak* plays roles not previously described in traditional grammar books, and functions in ways that have not been noted; it frequently occurs at the end of an utterance, and has the function of introducing/ ending quotes. In this paper I propose that these uses of *mak* can be accounted for if it is described as a discourse marker which expresses the speaker's emotions and attitude. By employing *mak* the speaker achieves the interactional goal of heightening the involvement of the interlocutor, which ultimately contributes to the dynamics of face-to-face interaction.

1. Introduction

One of the characteristics of spoken conversation is the use of linguistic markers that are often referred to as discourse markers (pragmatic markers, pragmatic particles, discourse particles, etc.). Among the many functions of these markers that have been reported is to express the speaker's emotions or attitude. Much attention has been paid to markers in English such as *you know, like, just, so, basically* and *really* (Östman 1981; Romaine and Lange 1991; Jucker and Smith 1998; Tagliamonte 2005a, 2005b; Butler 2008; Ito and Tagliamonte 2005, *inter alia*), to name a few, categorised under various terms such as discourse markers, pragmatic markers/particles, intensifiers, and interjections. Some Korean

discourse markers such as *ca, inca,* and *mwusun* (Im 1996; Im 2005; Y-C Kim 2008; M-H Kim 2006 *inter alia*) have been given attention in the literature. However, there are only a small number of studies (Choi 2005; J-A Ahn 2008; J-H Ahn 2009; Y-C Kim 2010; M. Kim 2011) which discuss *mak* in Korean as a discourse marker. Fox Tree and Schrock (2002) note that some of the aforementioned markers have often been regarded in the past as stigmatized hesitation markers or hedges. However, studies such as Tagliamonte (2005b) show that "these features are not haphazard, random or indiscriminate. Instead, their patterns of use are quite circumscribed and linguistically defined" (Tagliamonte 2005b:1896). In this paper, I will demonstrate that *mak* in Korean is used to achieve a specific goal within verbal interaction.

The entries of *mak* found in Korean-Korean dictionaries, Korean-English dictionaries, and traditional Korean grammar books, as well as Korean grammar books and textbooks for learners of Korean all indicate that *mak* is an adverb. In these materials there are at least two entries of *mak* with different meanings ascribed to them.[1] The first is that *mak* is used as a temporal adverb to mean 'just; just then; just right at the moment', which is exemplified by the following:

(1)[2]   *kyengki ka*   ***mak*** *sicakhayss*   *e*   *yo.*
      game   Sub   ***mak*** begin.Lk.Past Ie Pol
      'The race has **just** begun'

                              (Lukoff 1982:173, abbreviation modified, emphasis added)

The second type of *mak* is recognised as an abbreviated form of the adverb *makwu*, meaning 'carelessly, at random' (Martin 1992:681; Lukoff 1982:167), 'hard, much' (Martin 1992:681; Minjung Essence K-E dic. 1993:568), 'without discretion' (Minjung Essence K-E dic. 1993:568), or 'blindly' (Minjung Essence K-E dic. 1993:568). An example of this second usage of *mak* is presented below:

(2)   kukey   eti   maumtaylo toye ya   ci   yo. pappumyen
     that.Sub where   as intended become.Ie Com Pol busy.Cd
     kwulmko   ip   ey macnun umsik i   issumyen ***mak***
     skip meal.Cn mouth for suit.Cn   food   Sub   exist.Cd ***mak***
     mekkey toyese   yo.
     eat.Cn become.Caus Pol   (Yonsei Korean Textbook 2003:89)

'That's not easy to do, I tend to not eat anything when I am busy but eat **much/blindly** when there is something I like' (My translation)

As mentioned above, *mak* in (1) is a temporal adverb while *mak* in (2) is an adverb of manner which is an abbreviated form of *makwu*. *Mak* in (2), therefore, should be exchangeable with *makwu* to convey the same meaning as the original as shown in (3) below:

(3)   ((omitted)) pappumyen kwulmko   ip   ey macnun umsik i

                           busy.Cd   skip meal.Cn mouth for suit.Cn   food   Sub

→   issumyen ***makwu*** mekkey toyese   yo.

        exist.Cd   ***makwu*** eat.Cn become.Caus Pol

        '…I tend to not eat anything when I am busy but eat **much/blindly** when there is something I like' (My translation)

Unsurprisingly it is a perfectly proper utterance, preserving the same meaning as the original in (2). However, it is interesting to note that among the 180 minutes of conversation data, *makwu* is not found at all, even when the context allows the interpretation of *mak* to be similar to that of (2). In the data, there are some cases of *mak* which can be replaced with *makwu* without any change of meaning, but there are other cases where the meaning seems to become odd when *mak* is interpreted in the sense observed in (2) and (3). What is also interesting is that there is only a single occurrence of *mak* in the sense used in (1) within the data, as a temporal adverb meaning 'just now, just then'.

2. Previous studies

In discussing discourse markers as a whole, Jeon (2002:125-126) mentions that *mak* can occur at the beginning and in the middle as well as at the end of an intonation unit, and also that *mak* indicates the speaker's negative attitude about the topic. Choi (2005) has described *mak* as a discourse marker and insightfully pointed out its various functions. According to Choi *mak* has the following six functions: (1) semantically connecting previous and preceding utterances; (2) marking foreground and background; (3) omission of the otherwise repeated predicate; (4) keeping the floor (functioning in the similar way as fillers); (5) expressing the speaker's psychological attitude; and (6) listing. Choi provides detailed explanations of (1), listing the cases of *mak* + quotation verb (*ilehta, kulehta, celehta*), inflectional endings

(*-ko, -a kaciko*) + *mak*, clarifying the previous utterance, *kuliko, kulaese, kulenikka + mak*, and supplementing the previous utterance (omission of the known predicate). With respect to (2), Choi (2005:31-32) shows "<background: old information> + *mak* + <foreground: new information>" and notes that the function of *mak* here is to emphasize or focus on the new information. With respect to (5), Choi adds that the attitude expressed is often a negative, and the negative meaning originated from the original meaning of *mak* as an adverb.

While Choi (2005:49) specifically notes that the speaker's attitude is not limited to negative expression, J-A Ahn (2008) reports that indicating a negative attitude of the speaker is a unique function of *mak*. J-A Ahn (2008) observes that in a context where *mak* is used more than once in an utterance and at least one usage is as an adverb o manner, the negative meaning intensifies. Ahn posits that the negative meaning also intensifies when *mak* is used together with other discourse markers. However, similar to Choi (2005), Ahn lists the other functions of : keeping the floor, and indicating the boundary between new and old information. Similarly, J-H Ahn (2009) summarises the functions of *mak* as expressing the speaker's negative manner on topics, keeping the floor, and gathering attention. In a similar fashion, Y-C Kim (2010) discusses *mak* as serving to mark a boundary of utterances, providing supplementary information, gathering attention, and gathering time (by functioning as a filler). M. Kim (2011) discusses *mak* as a truncater, as a marker of affective stance and propositional attitude.

Notwithstanding the insightfulness of the studies outlined above, I will add that *mak* introduces direct quotes without quotative verbs, and sometimes used also to end a quote.[3] Through the analysis I will demonstrate that the fundamental function of *mak* as a discourse marker is to express the speaker's emotions and attitude (not necessarily always negative). By so doing, the speaker achieves the interactional goal of heightening the involvement of the interlocutor, and ultimately contributes to the dynamics of face-to-face interaction.

3. Data, method, and background

The data used for this study consists of approximately 180 minutes of audio-taped face-to-face conversation by native speakers (both male and female) in their 20s at the time of recording. The data was collected by the author in Seoul in December 2001 and January 2002, and in Canberra in November 2002 and January 2003. Within the 180 minutes of data *mak* occurred 206 times.

For an analytical purpose, I have classified *mak* into four categories. Table 1 summarises

the number of occurrences in each category. The categories are as following:

(Category I)   Cases where a verb or an adverb that *mak* seems to modify can be clearly identified

(Category II)   *mak* as a temporal adverb

(Category III) Cases where there is uncertain hearing which made it difficult to analyse *mak*

(Category IV)[4)] Cases of *mak* which do not belong to the above categories

Category	Number of occurrence of *mak*	Percentage
I	126	61.16
II	1	0.49
III	12	5.83
IV	67	32.52
Total	206	100

Table 1   Number of occurrences of *mak* in the classified categories

The analysis of *mak* in the current paper focused on the 67 cases of *mak* from category IV. This is because the occurrences of *mak* in category I are instances of *mak* which modify either a sentence or phrase that an adverb is expected to modify. I therefore regard those 126 cases as the traditional use of *mak* (in the literature, it is the usage of *makwu*). Similarly the single occurrence in category II is also *mak* behaving as it should, and what it is modifying can be clearly identified, but this time as a temporal adverb. It was inevitable to exclude the 12 cases of *mak* in category III since uncertain hearing of words/phrases before or after the occurrence of *mak* made it difficult to analyse the function of *mak*. Uncertain hearings were mainly due to overlapped talk of the speakers, laughing while talking, background or other noise. Therefore, the analysis focuses on the remaining 67 cases of *mak* in category IV which are not the traditional use of *mak* either semantically or syntactically. Based upon the existence of a *mak* which functions more than merely as an adverb, I will regard *mak* in this paper as a discourse marker that is currently undergoing grammaticalization.

3.1 Grammaticalization and discourse markers

I have not come across any references which explicitly state that *mak* is a spoken form of *makwu*. Nor have I come across historical data that noted when *mak* began to be used as something other than a temporal adverb, or as an abbreviation of the adverb *makwu*, and indicated either manner or degree. This may be due to the fact that its development has roots in spoken language rather than in written. However, the fact that there are many occurrences of *mak* in the conversation data yet not a single occurrence of *makwu*, while semantically some of those *maks* could have been replaced by *makwu*, implicitly shows that *mak* may be a conversational form of *makwu*. Also, the fact that *mak* is used frequently while *makwu* has not been found in the data could be regarded as implying the grammaticalization of *mak*. Eriksson (1995:31) quotes Heine and Reh (1984:21) that "one phenomenon that often seems to affect a morpheme undergoing grammaticalization, is reduction of the form: 'After having undergone cliticization and/or affixation polysyllabic morphemes tend to be reduced to monosyllabics'". 'Grammaticalization' in the current study is understood as the phenomenon of a lexical item acquiring a "new status as grammatical, morpho-syntactic forms, and in the process come to code relations that either were not coded before or were coded differently" (Traugott and König 1991:189). With respect to *mak*, the evidence of grammaticalization seems to be found in its change from its origin as an adverb to becoming a marker that expresses non-referential meaning (i.e. more expressive) as a conversational marker. *Mak* in category I still retains its original meanings and functions as an adverb, whereas instances of *mak* in IV do not. This means that both meanings and functions coexist. Therefore *mak* is considered as being in the earlier stage of grammaticalization.[5] Although *mak* is undergoing the process of grammaticalization, it is clear from its function (i.e. Categories I and II) that *mak* has not yet reached the stage of 'semantic bleaching', which is said to occur in the later stage of the grammaticalization process (Traugott and König 1991:190). As will be shown in the analysis *mak* has acquired a new function as a discourse marker, indicating the speaker's emotions and attitude, in addition to its meaning and function as an adverb. I will show that it is used as highlighter, or as a quotation maker in a conversation.

Considering *mak* as a discourse marker with the function of expressing the speaker's emotions and attitude coincides with the path of grammaticalization often observed in other markers in Korean. For example, there is a frequently observed grammaticalization path with Korean grammatical particles such as *-canh, -nikka, -nuntey,* and *-ketun* (Kawanishi and S. Sohn 1993; A. Kim 2005; K-Y Kim and Suh 1994; S. Sohn 1993, 2003; Y. Park 1999; M. Park

and S. Sohn 2002 *inter alia*). All of these markers have been said to have acquired subjective meaning and function as a result of grammaticalization. In addition, it is evident that a Korean adverb *inca* (Im 1996) has become a discourse marker. Therefore regarding *mak* as a discourse marker that has acquired a subjective meaning can be said to follow a similar path of grammaticalization with other markers existing in Korean.

In a discussion of what discourse markers are, Brinton (1996:33-35), who calls them pragmatic markers, provides a list of characteristics of the markers.[6] Among those, *mak* satisfies characteristics such as 1) it is short and phonologically reduced; 2) the use is optional; 3) it has little or no propositional meaning; 4) it is multifunctional, operating on several linguistic levels simultaneously; 5) it is a feature of oral rather than written discourse and is associated with informality; 6) it appears with high frequency. Östman (1981:6, emphasis in the original) states that "pragmatic particles IMPLICITLY anchor an utterance to a situation. They implicitly convey the speaker's attitudes and emotions." Elsewhere he claims that an important function of these markers is "interaction-signalling; and yet another would be attitude/involvement signalling" (Östman 1995:99). Indeed, *mak* has such functions, and therefore it is deemed reasonable to examine *mak* as a discourse marker that has a function of expressing the speaker's emotions and attitude, by indicating his/her own involvement, and thus making a contribution to the interaction by inviting the interlocutor's involvement.

3.2 Evidence from other languages and markers with similar functions

The tendency related to the change of the use of *mak* in Korean I have mentioned does not seem to be idiosyncratic to Korean. There are similar markers in other languages which have developed as markers that express meanings beyond their dictionary definitions. The common characteristic found in these markers is that they are used frequently in spoken language rather than written. Also the phenomenon of a marker becoming a conversational marker that reinforces the interlocutor's involvement, highlights the important information for the purpose of drawing the interlocutor's exclusive attention to the marked element, and also functioning as a quotation marker, can be witnessed in *you know* (Jucker and Smith 1998), *be+like* (Ferrara and Bell 1995), and *just* (Erman 1997) in English. In addition to the studies that examine markers with such characteristics in English there is evidence that markers with these functions also exist in other languages. One such example is *bara/ba* (Erman and Kotsinas 1993; Eriksson 1995) in Swedish which functions in the similar manner to English *just*, foregrounding central events and introducing quotes (Eriksson 1995). Further, with

respect to the function of *like* as a quotative marker, Schorup (1985: 43-46) notes that there are five languages such as Tok Pisin, Buang, Sanskrit, Lahu, and Hittite that have a device serving a similar function as English *like*. Further, the existence of similar markers include *so* in German which is reported as similar to *like* with respect to its quotative function and grammaticalization (Golato 2000). Also Japanese *nan(i)* is another marker having a similar expressive function to some extent (Maynard 2000:1234).

Among those markers mentioned above that have similar functions with *mak*, English *be+like, you know* and Swedish *ba* are the markers with which *mak* exhibits most similarities. As I will show in the analysis, *mak* is used at the beginning or at the end of a quote. In the data *mak* is also frequently found to be used at the end of an utterance, or sprinkled in the middle of utterances. *You know* and *ba*, according to Erman and Kotsinas (1993:90) "connect reported speech to the rest of utterance. Generally the marker precedes the quotation, functioning almost as a colon, but quite often *ba* and to some extent *you know* is placed at the end of the quotation as well, signaling 'end of quotation'." A similar tendency was observed with *mak*. For the utterance final occurrences which do not co-occur with quotes, Erman and Kotsinas' (1993:90) claim that "*ba*, and to a certain extent *you know*, in clause-final position seem to have a function very similar to full stops or exclamation marks in written text" also seems to apply to *mak*. The occurrences of *mak* in the middle of utterances, can be explained as "the speaker uses the discourse marker to convey emphasis, where the marker functions as a 'highlighter' of certain elements in the discourse, with the marker either preceding the emphatic element or following it" (Erman and Kotsinas 1993:82) and in their emphasising function, these markers are used "to draw the hearer's attention to a certain element in the discourse" (Erman and Kotsinas 1993:83). Similar to these markers, *mak* shows a tendency to be used with quotes, both direct and indirect, and also is found to be employed to highlight the important element in the story. For a function of *ba*, Eriksson (1995:37) asserts that it "is to indicate that the narrator thinks the utterance is in some way remarkable and at the same time it expresses his/her emotional attitude (approval and disapproval respectively) towards the utterance." According to Eriksson (1995:39) *ba* in the story telling is "used by the narrator to express his/her emotional attitude (negative or positive) towards the utterance that is rendered in the quotation" and it is used "to introduce utterances that in themselves are expressions of the emotional attitude of the dramatis personae towards other events in the story" (Eriksson 1995:39). Eriksson (1995:39) continues that "by showing their emotional attitude towards these events and actions in the story, the narrator communicates to the

listener that these are important in the story and are part of its point." Erman and Kotsinas (1993:90) also espouse the function of *ba* as the speaker's signal to the interlocutor of the important constituents of the story, and adds that English *you know* also has such a function. As the analysis will show, *mak* in Korean shows a striking similarity with the Swedish *ba* and English *you know* in this regard, and with the English *be+like* with respect to its quotative function (Ferrara and Bell (1995)).

In sum, I regard *mak* as a discourse marker which expresses the speaker's subjective and emotional attitude, and invites interlocutor's involvement, by highlighting an important element in the utterance to which the interlocutor's attention is drawn. I will also show in the analysis that *mak* is a device to introduce and/or end a quote.

4. Analysis

The *mak* in category IV are those which seem to have functions that surpass mere adverbial use. With respect to the location where such *mak* occur, the following two main locations have been identified: (a) occurring at the end of an utterance; and (b) sprinkled in the middle of utterances. In both cases, removing *mak* does not change the propositional content of the utterance. In case (a), *mak* is used at the end of utterance which means that *mak* is not modifying any element, rather it is placed at the end of a complete utterance. Naturally, *mak* in this location co-occurs with predicate omission. Example (4) first represents the cases of *mak* used at the end of utterance without any predicate following:

(4)[7]		J and C (F/M) (948~)					
1	C:	((utterances omitted))	kulen	kellwu	kyengphwum		
			such as that	thing.with	free gift		
2→		twaykacikwu	mwe	eyekhen	hana	okwu	***mak*?**
		become.Lk.Cn	Dm	air conditioner	one	come.Cn	***mak***
3		kulukwu	oksyenulwu	hayse	kekise ((utterances omitted))		
		and then	auction.Means	with	there.Loc		

'(From an internet auction, a friend of my sister), received a free gift. So an air conditioner arrived ***mak*?** And at the auction, through the auction……'

As can be seen in (4) above, *mak* is used at the end of the utterance which is at the end of line 2. Contextually, this *mak* does not mean 'just then' as a temporal adverb, nor 'carelessly,

hard' as a manner adverb, nor it is modifying any of the elements within the utterance. Rather what *mak* here is indicating is the speaker's own attitude and feelings about what he is talking about, and that it is an important part of what he is saying. More specifically in this case, what is expressed with *mak* at the end of the utterance is the speaker's excitement about the topic, the fact that someone received an air conditioner as a free gift. By using *mak*, the speaker is signalling to the interlocutor to pay particular attention. The predicate omitted may be *kulayttay yo*, 'such (thing) happened'. By omitting the predicate, which is contextually referable, the speaker may also achieve the goal of inviting the interlocutor's involvement in 'sensemaking' (Tannen 2007).

In cases with *mak* appearing both at the end of an utterance, as well as instances where it occurs in the middle of the utterance a strong characteristic of usage together with quotes can be observed. *Mak* is used before or after a quote, to introduce or to end a quote, respectively. *Mak* do not necessarily occur as a set, yet they are used both with indirect as well as direct quotes. Within the 67 cases in category IV, 17 occurrences of *mak* were found to be associated with quotes in one of the aforementioned ways. This means that approximately 25 per cent of the occurrences are in some way related to quotes. When not used with quotes, *mak* is used to express the speaker's emotion and attitude, in other words, highlighting the point he/she wishes to convey. By so doing, the speaker is displaying his/her strong involvement which, in turn, invites the interlocutor's involvement.

Mak used with an indirect quote has the characteristic of being used with the quotation maker *lakwu/lako*, or *takwu/tako* in the form of *lakwu/lako+mak*, and *takwu/tako+mak* as shown below.

(5)   H and M (F/M) (330~)

1   H: ung   sam   man   wen cwu kwu. sam   man   wen cwukwu=,
        yeah   three ten thousand won give.Cn   three ten thousand won give.Cn

2   kase   ponke   ya=.   potaka   cataka   nawass   tay.
         go.Cn   see.Cn.Nom   Ie   see.while   sleep   come out.Past Qt
         'Yeah, (she paid) 30,000 won. (She paid) 30,000 won to see it. She said she fell asleep in the middle of it'

3   M: @@@

4 → H: ton   akkap***ta kwu   mak***=

        money   waste.Qt   ***mak***

        '(She said) it was waste of money ***mak***'

5   M: sey   camay   ka   kekikke   cyo?   ((Utterances omitted))

        three sisters   Sub   there.Nom   Com.Pol

        'Three Sisters is by that production, right?'

Here H, from line 1, is talking about her friend who went to see a play called *Sey camay*, 'Three Sisters'. With the quotation marker ~*tay* in line 2, it is clear that H is reporting to M how her friend said that she paid 30,000 won for the ticket but fell asleep while she was watching the play. In line 4 H uses *mak* after the quotation marker *takwu*, while the indirect quote here is *ton akkap ta*, 'it was a waste of money'. Rather than saying that 'she said this' or something similar along those lines, *mak* alone is used and the predicate is omitted, which invites the interlocutor's involvement with the utterance. Such an omission of the predicate after the use of *mak*, and in other examples which exhibit a similar tendency, contributes to focusing the interlocutor's attention even more deeply. For example, H could have simply said *mak kulaysse*, '*mak* she said'. On the other hand, she could have said *mak hwanaysse*, '*mak* (she) expressed anger', if it were the case that her friend was angry for wasting money. By leaving the predicate unspecified, the speaker is inviting the interlocutor to interpret the message from her tone of voice, and other non-linguistic signals and devices, when delivering the message. In this manner, the use of *mak* without specifying the predicate contributes to attracting the interlocutor's attention and reinforces involvement as she/he is invited to participate in the interpretation. Example (6) below contains *lako mak*, and *lakwu mak*.

(6)   H and M (F/M) (685~)

1 → M: ((utterances omitted))   eckucekkey,   a   totwuknom   i**lako   mak**=,

                        the day before yesterday   Ij   robber   Be.Qt   ***mak***

2   <@   cinccalwu   totwuknom ilakwu ike nun=@> kuyamalo totwuknom

              really   robber   Be.Qt   this Top   indeed   robber

3 →   i**lakwu** [***mak***   ]

        Be.Qt   ***mak***

        '…the day before yesterday, (we) ***mak*** (called him) a robber. Really this makes him a robber, indeed (we) ***mak*** (called him) a robber'

4	H:	[	kulen	]	aytul	cwuwiey	manhcanha=
			such		children	around	many.Ie

         'There are many like that around'

In (6) above, M is telling H about his friend, how he and his old classmates got together the day before yesterday and heard about one of their mutual friends, who was having a relationship with his former private student. M and his old classmates called him a robber, and M quotes what they said with *lako mak* and *lakwu mak*, as seen in lines 1 and 3. In both instances the predicate was omitted after the use of *mak*. As explained with example (5) the use of *mak* that expresses the speaker's emotion and attitude invites the interlocutor's particular attention and involvement. Rather than using *mak* instead of a particular predicate, or using *mak* with a predicate, by ending the utterance with *mak*, the speaker reinforces the interlocutor's participation in inferring how the speaker feels. In (6) above, in particular, *totwuknom ilakwu/ilako*, '(we called him) a robber' has been repeatedly used three times and two of the instances end with *mak* in the form of *totwuknom ilakwu mak/ilako mak*, '(we called him) a robber *mak*'. The use of repetition and ellipsis in conversation is more evocative and "more vividly evokes a scene, as one can 'hear' and even 'see'" (Tannen 2007:21) the event being talked about. The "highest-level function of repetition" (Tannen 2007:61), according to Tannen (2007:61) is sending "a message of involvement." This shows that calling of his friend a robber is an important part of M's story, and by using *mak* to end the utterance with ellipsis and showing his own involvement of the story, M is highlighting this important element of his story so as to encourage the interlocutor's particular attention and involvement.

In addition to occurring at the end of the indirect quote with *lakuw/lako/takwu/tako* and without a subsequent predicate, *mak* also occurs with direct quotes. The Examples below show direct quotations marked by *mak*. *Mak* here both introduces and ends a direct quote.

(7)   J and C (F/M) (887~)

1   J: ((utterances omitted)) kuke   iss   canha   way=mwe maycin epkwu

                              that thing exist Ie   Fil Dm   stock   not exist.Cn

2   myechsikan [cen @@] <@ ***mak   mak*** <Q phanmay   ollakapnita Q>

         few hours   before   ***mak   mak***   sales   go up.Hon

         '…there is this, you know, a few hours before the stock sell out ***mak mak*** 'the

         sales is going up"

3   C: [a @@   ]

                             yeah

         'yeah'

4→ J: mwe <Q swuchi   ollakapnita Q>@>

         Dm   number   go up.Hon

5→   [<@ ***mak*** kulekwu @>   ]

              mak say.Cn

         'and like, 'the numbers are going up' ***mak*** they say things like that'

6   C: [e,   e <Q maycin meychkay   namasssupnita Q>] mwe   liekwu

             yeah yeah stock   how many leave.Past.Hon   Dm   say.Cn

7   <Q maycin [seyil   hapnita]   Q> ((utterances omitted))

             stock   sale   do.Hon

         'Yeah, yeah 'how many are left in stock' and they say things like 'we are having a

         stock sale…'

From line 1, J is talking about television shopping. As can be seen in line 2 and 5, she is
directly quoting the sales person on TV. *Mak* is used right before the start of the direct
quote in the form of *mak mak*. One of the *maks* is in fact classified in category I, as it may
be considered as modifying *phanmay ollakapnita*, 'the sales are going up'. The other *mak*
introduces the quote. If we consider that the use of *mak* expresses the speaker's emotion and
attitude, and that *mak* is a free-standing morpheme with mobility, it is not surprising to find
mak used more than once in a context where the speaker's excitement is explicitly expressed.
In this segment, the speaker's utterances were produced faster than usual, and the statement
was made while laughing as can be seen in lines 2 and 5, with the laughter in fact continuing
from the middle of line 2. It is evident from line 6 that C, who has initially been the listener
to J's story, directly contributes to the story by overlapping J's utterance in line 5. Unlike the

examples observed above, where the predicate was omitted after a *mak* that ended an indirect quote, *mak kulekwu*, '*mak* did like that (lit.)' is used to end the direct quote. As will be shown in another example (below in (9)), it is not always the case that all direct quotes have explicit predicates. What is important here is the location of *mak*, that it is used before and after the start and end of a direct quote. Although there is another discourse marker, *mwe*, in between the two direct quotes, it is clear that *mak* is used at the beginning of the first quote to start the quote, and also at the end of the second one to close the quote. This also indicates that the occurrence of *mak* does not necessarily part of a set to start and end a quote although there are cases where *mak* is used in such a manner (see examples (8) and (9)).

The example (8) below shows a clear example of *mak* used at the beginning and end of a direct quote to form a set and also attended by a predicate omission (the predicate omission is only for the third instance of *mak* in line 10). In this segment M is telling H about what M himself or his friends had said to another friend. It is not entirely clear because he starts his quote with *nay ka*, 'I.Sub' as can be seen in line 1, but after the quote in line 10 he changes the subject of the quote to *wuli ka*, 'we.Sub'. The topic of their conversation in this excerpt, in fact, is continuing on from example (6) above; i.e. it concerns one of his friends who is having a relationship with his former private student. Although M's utterances are divided into many lines, all the utterances produced by H are backchannels, which overlap with M's utterance as the transcript shows.

(8)　　 H and M (F/M) (716~)

1 → M: (0) kunikka nay ka   ***mak*** (.) <Q   ya= kulayto   ike nun= cinccalo=
　　　　　and so   I   Sub ***mak***   Voc at any rate this Top   really

2　　 kotunghakkyo ilhaknyen ttayn   amwukes twu molul   ttay   kwu
　　　 high school   first year   when.Cn know nothing.Attr   when Cn
　　　 'and so I (said) ***mak*** "it is really at any rate… In the first year of high school, one doesn't know anything and…'

3　 H:　[kulenikka=   ]
　　　　　　 that's why
　　　　 'That's why'

4　 M:　[kotunghakkyo] ihaknyen   ttayn   icey   tayhaksayng   eytayhan
　　　　　　 high school   second year when.Cn   now   university student   towards

5   kacang   tongkyeng   i…   [e?   ke   ] kosam   ttayn,
         most   admiration Sub   right Fil   third year high school when.Cn
         '…in the second year of high school, one starts to admire university students the
         most… right? And in the third year…'

6   H: [kulay, kulay]
                                              right   right
              'That's right'

7   M: kongpwu   man hamyen   toy nun ke   kwu@@ [koi   ]   ttay
         study   only do.Cd   be done   Cn   2nd year high school when
         '…all one has to is studying. In the second year…'

8   H: [e   e   ]
                                                            yeah   yeah
              'Yeah, yeah'

9   M: kacang tongkyeng   i   toynun ku   siki lul   capass   kwuna Q>,
         most   admiration Sub   become that time.Obj catch.Past   Ij

10→   <@ ***mak*** ilemyense   wuli   ka   ***mak*** @>
             mak do.while   we   Sub   ***mak***
         '…when they most admire university students, you've caught the right time" ***mak***
         we said things like that ***mak***'

11   H: kuntey   ku   yecaay nun   tayhak   tule ka ss e?
         anyway   that girl   Top   university   enter.Past.Ie
         'Anyway, did she get into a university?'

M's direct quote starts from line 1 and ends in line 9. As mentioned earlier, it is not clear whether the quote is his own utterance or that of his friends, however, the most crucial point here is that *mak* is used immediately before the start of the quote (line 1) and directly after the quote (the quote ends in line 9 and *mak* is used in line 10, right after *kwuna*, an interjection in line 9).

Similarly (9) shows *mak* used before and after a quote. In lines 1 and 2, *mak* marks the beginning and ending of C's self-quote. In example (9), below C, who uses *mak*, is talking about a conversation that he participated in when he was with their mutual friends P, and P's girlfriend, K. He is currently reporting this conversation to J.

(9)   J and C (F/M) (161~)

1→ C: (H) <@ <Q   mo   ya Q>   ***mak***   <Q nauy@> uykyen   twu   concwung

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 what   Ie   ***mak***   my   opinion also respect

2→   haycwe Q> ***mak***. kataka   incey   < T>   sukhicang ul   cinaka

　　　　　do.Lk.Aux. ***mak*** go.Cn   now   Plname ski resort Obj   go pass

3   killay   P   i   nikkaa, sukhicang sullophu ka   ccwak isscanhayo

　　　　Nom.Cn   Plname Be   Caus   ski resort   slopes   Sub   widely exist.Ie.Pol

4   kunikka K   nwuna   pokwu(H) <Q nwuna   cekise   hwalkongha

　　　　and so   Pename elder sister to   elder sister that.Loc   glide

5→   nun nwuna   uy mosup ul   sangsanghay pwa yo Q> kunikka ***mak***

　　　　Cn   elder sister of figure Obj imagine.Cn   Aux.Pol   and so   ***mak***

6   <Q sukhicang   kal kka Q>@@@ <@XX@>

　　　　　　ski resort   go.Attr.Que

　　　　‘What (are you saying)? ***mak*** please also respect my opinion as well ***mak***. As we
　　　　go along we went past T ski resort, because (the place we were passing through
　　　　was P. (we could see) the slopes of the ski resort. So (I) said (to K) ‘imagine
　　　　yourself gliding down the slopes’ and then ***mak*** (K said) ‘shall we go to a ski
　　　　resort?’”

C, in (9), is telling his interlocutor J about a conversation he had with P about a group trip. He did not want to go to a place P had suggested but P kind of ignored C’s opinion and went on to say that he will look for someone else to go with if C did not like the idea. It is not clear even with the context whether the phrase wrapped with *mak* in line 1 and line 2 is something that C had actually said or that he had just felt because “[w]hen dialogue is reported in first person it is impossible to distinguish thought from speech” (Ferrara and Bell 1995: 279) because unlike reporting a third person’s dialogue, a first person report “can be a representation of either thought or dialogue” (Ferrara and Bell 1995: 279). However, the first use of *mak* in line 1 is similar to the use of *be+like* in English, which is used to introduce a quote. The second *mak* appearing in line 2 is used together with the quote introducer in line 1, and enhances the force of what C wants to convey, about his feelings and attitude. He uses *mak* to convey to J (who is his current interlocutor) that this is how strongly he felt after feeling that his opinion was completely ignored by his friend. It has already been shown in (6) and (8) that *mak* can mark a first person’s dialogue. By marking the quote with *mak*, the

speaker is expressing his emotions and attitude and invites the interlocutor's involvement. In addition, C's utterance in line 5 contains *mak*. This marks a third person's dialogue as it is clearly indicated in lines 3 and 4 that C asked K to imagine herself gliding down the slopes and "shall we go to a ski resort" is K's reaction to C's suggestion. This instance, together with the case shown in (5) and (7) indicates that *mak* can be used to quote both first and third persons, functioning in a similar manner as *be+like* in English by "heightening the drama…by revealing internal states and thus creating listener involvement" (Ferrara and Bell 1995:282-3).[8] If we look at the text alone without considering the context, the *mak* in line 5 could be considered to modify *skicang kal kka*, creating the phrase *mak skicang kal kka*, 'shall we *mak* go to a ski resort?' which would be describing the manner of going to a ski resort. However, as the English translation shows, and as explained above, this *mak* is not related to the element that follows *mak* in such a way. Rather, it is introducing a quote, functioning as 'so and so said'. In this example, therefore, the *mak* can be considered as replacing 'K *nwuna* said'.

5. Concluding remarks

This paper has examined the functions of Korean *mak* in casual conversation. This paper focused on the uses of *mak* which do not seem to be modifying anything in the sentence, and demonstrated that *mak* has the function of introducing either direct or indirect quotes, and that it is sometimes used to end the quote. *Mak* was also found at the end of utterance as well as in the middle of them. When *mak* is used at the end of an utterance, the predicate is omitted. *Mak* with the predicate omitted and *mak* used with quotes make the utterance more vivid. By presenting an utterance in this manner, the speaker is expressing that he/she is more involved in the conversation, and shows that he/she wishes to attract particular attention from the interlocutor. That, in turn, reinforces the interlocutor's involvement. It has been shown that ellipsis or predicate omission also contributes to inviting the interlocutor's involvement in sensemaking.[9] The *mak* that occurs in the middle of an utterance functions to highlight an important element in the story. The speaker's expression of emotion and attitude invites the interlocutor's involvement in the conversation, and this naturally increases the amount of attention paid to the utterance by the interlocutor, thus leading to an increase in the dynamic of interaction.[10]

Notes

1) Some dictionaries have more extensive entries under *mak*, such as *mak* used in *mak-twungi*, 'the last child' or *mak-cha*, 'the last bus/train'. However, those are prefixes in that they are clearly different from the free standing morpheme *mak* under concern in this study and are thus of no relevance to this study. See Yang (1993) for an analysis of *mak* as a prefix.

2) Abbreviations

Attr-Attributive; Aux-Auxiliary; Be-Various forms of the 'be' verb; Caus-Causal suffix; Cd-Conditional; Cn-Connective; Com-Committal; Dm-Discourse marker; Fil-Filler; Hon-Honorific; Ie-Informal ending; Ij-Interjective; Lk-Linker; Loc-Locative; Means-Particle of means; Nom-Nominaliser; Obj-Object marker; Past-Past form; Pename-Personal names; Plname-Place names; Pol-Polite marker/expression; Qt-Quotation; Que-Question marker; Sub-Subject marker; Top-Topic marker; Voc-Vocative.

3) Although *mak* has been noted as occurring with quotative verbs (Choi 2005), it has not been mentioned that *mak* introduces direct quotes without quotative verbs, and sometimes used also to end a quote.

4) It was pointed out by one of the reviewers that whether the meaning difference in this category is caused by the co-occurence of *mak* with verbs that have more abstract meaning than movement verbs. However, the fact that *mak ilemyense*, '*mak* saying this' is acceptable but *makwu ilemyense*, '*makwu* saying this' is not, while *mak pi ka ota*, 'it is raining hard' and *makwu pi ka ota*, 'it is raining hard' are both acceptable mean that it is indeed the function of *mak* that seems to be grammaticalized and may not be exchangeable with *makwu*.

5) According to Golato (2000:36), Meehan (1991) also claims that English *like* is in the earlier phase of grammaticalization, based upon the fact that its old and new meanings coexist.

6) Im (1996:3-4) also observes similar criteria for Korean discourse markers.

7) Transcription conventions (Adopted from Du Bois et al. (1993))

, continuing (slight rise); ? appeal; . final; (N) duration; [ ] speech overlap; @ laughter; <@ @> laugh quality over a stretch; <Q Q> quotation quality; <X X> uncertain hearing; : speaker identity/turn start; (H) inhalation; = lengthening; (0) latching; (( )) researcher's comment

8) Ferrara and Bell (1995) note that this function of *be+like* is closely related to Goffman's (1981) concept of "response cries." "Goffman describes response cries as openly theatrical, conventionalized utterances meant to clearly document or index the presumed inner state of the transmitter" (Ferrara and Bell 1995:282).

9) The fact that *mak* is not found at all in written corpus (for example *Chosen Ilbo column* (2BA90A35) containing 49973 word-phrases in Sejong Corpus (Korean National Corpus in the 21st Century Sejong Project)) provides evidence that *mak* is used specifically in spoken language. Considering that one of the differences between spoken and written language is that face-to-face conversation "seeks primarily to MOVE an audience by means of involvement", as opposed to expository prose which

"seeks to CONVINCE an audience while maintaining distance between speaker/writer and audience" (Tannen 1984:153, emphasis in the original), it is reasonable to asume that the usage of *mak* is closely connected to the presence of interlocutor, and *mak* has functions specific to spkoken language, such as attracting interlocutor's involvement.

10)   As seen in the examples from (4) to (9), the speaker's attitude expressed by *mak* is not necessarily always negative. The context may lead to the interpretation of *mak* as expressing the speaker's negaive attitude, such as in examples (5), (6), (8), and *mak* in lines 1 and 2 of (9). However, the occurrences of *mak* in (4), (7) and line 5 of (9) are difficult to consider as expressing negative attitude.

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