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I Think and *You Know* as Discourse Markers among Korean Speakers of English*

Sujung Min
(Kongju National University)

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The present study examines *I think* and *you know* as discourse markers among Korean English speakers, using data from sociolinguistic interviews. Previous research on *I think* and *you know* has suggested that they are highly frequent among native speakers but much less used by non-native speakers and that particularly *you know* among non-native speakers is rather used for discourse-organizational purposes not for inter-subjectivity. Since English is learned and used as an important foreign language in Korea, Korean society is a remarkable context for research on both world Englishes and English as a lingua franca. Especially in the context of English as a lingua franca. In ELF interaction, *I think* and *you know* as discourse markers have been demonstrated to be used for marking speaker-centered and subjectivity, though they are used differently by native English speakers. The data analysis reveals that the use of *I think* and *you know* among Korean speakers of English is similar to that in other ELF communication. Both are used as discourse-pragmatic markers to convey speaker-centered attitude as fumbling device and express subjectivity in evaluating part of the discourse. This paper contributes to the growing body of discourse markers analyzed through a systematic and replicable methodology.

[discourse marker/ELF/world Englishes/subjectivity/speaker-centeredness]

I. INTRODUCTION

Defined as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin, 1987, p.31), discourse markers, both their forms and function, have received focused attention. For

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their function, they have long been demonstrated to be versatile since they manifest discourse relations and regulate interpersonal relationships (Mohr, 2021). The majority of research has investigated discourse markers in English from a monolingual Anglophone perspective. Thus, the investigation from different perspective is called for. It should take sociolinguistic factors such as a variety of English, types of speakers, types of discourse and specific context of situation which remain an understudied area of research (Mohr, 2021). The present study aims to contribute to this description by providing an analysis of discourse markers in the as yet little-described English spoken by Korean speakers in Korea.

While there are many aspects of sociolinguistic norms which belong to the Inner Circle where English is used as a mother tongue, discourse-pragmatic features such as the use of the discourse markers *I think, you know, like*, and so have not comprehensively been studied especially in the contexts of Expanding Circle where English is learned and used as a foreign language (Rüdiger, 2021a). Therefore, the study of discourse-pragmatic features by non-native speakers may give insights into the acquisition of socio-pragmatic competence since the features are usually not explicitly taught in language classroom settings (Muller, 2005). These features play an important role in regulating interpersonal relationships such as politeness and indicating discourse relations (Mohr, 2021). Therefore, when the Inner Circle speakers use a certain discourse-pragmatic marker in different way to the speakers from the Expanding Circle, this may trigger misunderstandings in intercultural communication (Aijmer, 2002). The use of discourse-pragmatic markers are commonly viewed as optional even among the Inner Circle speakers (Muller, 2005). The proper use of these features which is one aspect of pragmatic competence, thus, may present an area of difficulty for the non-native speakers of English because misunderstandings caused by different use of the features cannot be easily resolved in terms of error correction.

This paper provides an overview of previous research on discourse-pragmatic variation, with a particular focus on discourse markers in world English research in general and previous studies on *I think* and *you know* in different contexts of use, both Inner Circle and Expanding Circle, in particular. This will be followed by a description of the background of this study, that is, English in Korea, and the data and methodology underlying the study. The data stem from sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Korea. The analytical focus is on the discourse markers *I think* and *you know*. *I think* has been categorized and analyzed as an epistemic stance marker (Aijmer, 1997) which functions as hedge or booster. On the other hand, *you know* has usually been considered as an expression of the speaker's uncertainty as to the addressee's degree of linguistic precision achieved (Holmes & Stubbe, 1995). In other words, both markers have been shown to mark inter-subjectivity when they are used by the native speakers in Inner Circle. In the context of ELF communication, however, both *I think* and *you know* have been illustrated to be used to mark subjectivity, as a device used by the speaker to draw the addressee's attention (House, 2013). The data in this study show

similarities with the functions described for ELF discourse, expressing subjectivity rather than inter-subjectivity in indicating speaker-centeredness and evaluating part of discourse (House, 2009, 2013).

II. DISCOURSE MARKERS

1. Discourse Markers

Brinton (1996) categorized fundamental functions of discourse marker into nine: discourse initiation, floor management as in turn-taking, floor management as in turn holding, boundary marking as in topic shift, indication of information status as new or old, making conversational implicatures explicit, self or other repair, response to previous discourse such as back-channelling and hedging, and creation of intimacy and affect between interlocutors such as politeness. Discourse markers are inherently polyfunctional and taxonomies vary between the discourse markers considered and between approaches to language researchers take. Thus, providing thorough list of discourse marker functions is complex task (Leuckert & Rüdiger, 2021).

The way in which researchers identify or classify discourse markers depends on their approach to language. Maschler and Schiffrin (2015) outline three approaches to the description and analysis of discourse markers; sociolinguistic approach (Schiffrin, 1987, 2006), pragmatic approach (Fraser, 2009), and interactional linguistic perspective (Maschler, 2009). They are quite different regarding to the linguistic items considered and the functions they assign to the items within the discourse context. From the sociolinguistic view, discourse markers are devices to create meaning at the discourse level and thus viewed as possessing meaning potential and deriving meaning from a particular context (Schiffrin, 1987). In this vein, discourse markers have various social meaning potential since they refer to the speaker, the addressee, the speech event, and social identities which belong to speech act features (Aijmer, 2013). Pragmatic approach, on the contrary, understates the social and interactional functions of discourse markers (Maschler & Schiffrin, 2015). Interactional linguistic approach is similar to the sociolinguistic perspective in that discourse markers have a metalinguistic interpretation in a specific context. Discourse marker considered in this paper, thus, is set within a sociolinguistic framework.

In this study, following Aijmer's (2013) conceptualization, discourse markers are considered as surface phenomena reflecting a speaker's mental processes. Thus, they are indicators of a speaker's metalinguistic awareness (Verschueren, 1999). Functionally, discourse markers give contextualization cues and organize speech for the addressee (Aijmer, 2013). Discourse markers is also closely related to stance of two types, affective and

epistemic (Mohr, 2021). The former refers to emotional attitude, and the latter denotes beliefs or knowledge with regard to the matter of concern (Ochs, 1996). Structurally, discourse markers typically occur at transitions in the discourse, as Aijmer (2013) mentions, when the addressee needs to know that the speaker takes on a new role or that a new move starts. Discourse markers are of different form such as adverb and parenthetical clauses (Mazzon, 2019).

2. Discourse Markers and World Englishes

While discourse markers have been considerably researched in L1 varieties of English, they have not been extensively studied in the World Englishes paradigm (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2011). Specifically, the bulk of research on discourse markers are concerned with L1 varieties like British English (Aijmer, 2013) and Irish English (Amador-Moreno et al., 2015). Studies on discourse markers in non-L1 varieties of English are rare and usually focus on those of Outer Circle Englishes. These include studies on discourse markers in Singapore English (Tan, 2010), Philippine English (Aijmer, 2016), Nigerian English (Ogoanah, 2011), and Indian English (Lange, 2012). The research neglects other contexts of English use such as English in Expanding Circle, English as a lingua franca. When studies (Buysse, 2010, 2017; Fung & Carter, 2007; Muller, 2005; Schiffrin, 1987) focused on differences in use of discourse markers among L2 compared to L1 speakers, they have tended to compare frequency patterns of selected discourse markers. They showed that an increase in proficiency among L2 speakers was correlated with a variety of discourse markers and their frequencies. The studies, in particular, found that discourse markers such as *you know, I mean,* and *like* were found to be used much more frequently among high proficiency L2 speakers as compared to low proficiency speakers and that L2 speakers with high proficiency in English used discourse markers at a rate closer to that of L1 speakers.

There have been some studies focusing on the position of discourse markers among L2 speakers, but they are far fewer compared to those focusing the frequency (for example, D'Arcy, 2017). While a few studies on discourse markers in terms of functional and structural patterns in L2 contexts have been conducted recently, for example, Mohr (2021) on *you know* and *I think* in Zanzibar English, Rüdiger (2021b) on *like* in Korean English speech, the description of discourse markers in Englishes of Expanding Circle remains to be addressed. Discourse markers are reportedly in an ongoing process of categorical expansion and diffusion, and even grammaticalization (Diskin-Holdaway, 2021). Thus, they are more susceptible to cross-varietal differences, since speakers from different communities may be at different stages of a change (Diskin & Levey, 2019).

In general, some of the studies English (Fuchs et al., 2013; Ogoanah, 2011) focus on the use of discourse markers in terms of their functions and structural patterns of use in a specific

variety of English. Other studies (Leimgruber, 2015) pay focused attention to the influence of substrate language on discourse markers. Overall, they showed that the discourse markers have interpersonal functions rather than textual ones and emphasized speaker-centeredness in the use of discourse markers in both Outer Circle Englishes and ELF context. This study takes a step in covering some of these hitherto neglected areas and offers a first look at potential further research field. Since discourse markers are normally not explicitly taught in the classroom context of Expanding Circle, the study of discourse markers by L2 speakers can give insights into the acquisition of socio-pragmatic competence (Muller, 2005). Studies (Fung & Carter, 2007; Muller, 2005; Schiffrin, 1987) have shown that the use of discourse markers by L2 speakers differs from that of L1 speakers.

According to Leuckert and Rüdiger (2021) the contexts in which discourse markers emerge are noteworthy for two reasons. First, discourse markers are powerful tools to index social meaning and carry wide range of functions in the discourse among non-native English speakers as well. Second, they indicate glocalisation which refers to the modification of a global product to meet local needs, and this can be applied to the context of world Englishes and ELF. The present study focuses primarily on the use of *I think* and *you know*. While an extensive overview of the discourse markers used in Korean English speakers is desirable, the present study begins this investigation by focusing on *I think* and *you know*.

3. Focus on *I Think* and *You Know*

Some studies have examined the use of discourse markers among L2 speakers in terms of their function (Mazzon, 2019; Mohr, 2021; Tan, 2010). Discourse markers have the function of expressing interpersonal or epistemic stance and consequently they are geared to serve relational and face-work needs and the implementation of politeness strategies (Mazzon, 2019). Among the discourse markers, *you know* and *I think* have been analyzed as subjective markers, signifying speaker-centeredness in ELF (House, 2009) as well as fulfilling intersubjective functions such as indicating shared knowledge when used by L1 speakers (Leech & Svartvik, 1975). In her study on English in Zanzibar, Mohr (2021) chosen *you know* and *I think* for analysis and showed similarities with the functions of the discourse markers described for ELF discourse, that is expressing subjectivity in highlighting part of the discourse, and conveying speaker-centeredness as revealed in House (2009).

In the research on discourse markers, *you know* has often been referred as one of the most typical items due to its high frequency in native speaker discourse and the versatility that *you know* shows in its multi-functions and positions in a discourse (Bussy, 2017). As a social monitor, *you know* sends conversation management signals such as indicating the willingness to give a turn or make sure that the addressee has understood what has just been said (Erman, 2001). *you know* has been analyzed as a shared knowledge indicator. That is,

you know signals confidence in the existence of common information and fulfills the interpersonal function of involving the addressee (Stenstrom, 1994). It also might express a speaker's uncertainty about how the addressee understands the message from the speaker (Holmes & Stubbe, 1995), thus make the addressee recognize what the speaker means by the utterance (Jucker & Smith, 1998). *you know*, which has multi-functions as aforementioned, demonstrates the differences in individual preferences among L2 speakers.

In her study, House (2009) claims that L2 speakers with more exposure to English by spending a considerable time in an Anglophone country or having opportunity commonly to use the language use *you know* frequently in ELF context. Carter and McCarthy (2006) also find that an increase in proficiency among L2 speakers is positively correlated with frequency of the utterance of *you know*. House (2009) emphasizes that structurally *you know* occurs most frequently in sentence medial position and that when there are conjunctions like *because* and *but* in the vicinity, it functions as reinforcing strategy. House (2009) also finds that *you know* is used as a fumbling device with other conjunctions when the speaker is temporarily incoherent, hesitates and tries to repair the mistake.

With *I don't know*, *I think* is the most frequent *I + verb* collocations in both American and British English spoken discourse (Baumgarten & House, 2010). *I think* has three epistemic meanings (Aijmer, 1997) - a speaker's belief in, opinion on, and evaluation on the information conveyed – which come from a given context. In addition to these epistemic meanings, Aijmer (1997) adds the prototypical meaning of *I think,* 'cogitation', and suggests that the prototypical meaning is the most prominent in ELF communication. *I think* in ELF discourse is characterized to express a speaker-oriented, subjective perspective (Baumgarten & House, 2010). According to Baumgarten and House (2010), ELF discourse is particularly susceptible to expressions of stance and subjectivity, and *I think* is one of the most common means to convey a subjective view.

Among functions of *I think*, expressing agreement, drawing conclusions, and sharing personal experience are distinctive of ELF discourse, thus *I think* is more versatile in ELF communication rather than in L1 English (Baumgarten & House, 2010). Compared to L1 use of English, structurally *I think* in ELF discourse is used more frequently as a main clause in complement clause constructions as in *I think it is mostly the younger people* with higher ratio of *that*-omission (Mohr, 2021). The function of *you know* helping speakers own their thinking and verbalization process is related to that of *I think* which normally expresses prototypical meanings of 'thinking' among speakers in ELF communication (Mohr, 2021).

The present study examines the use of two discourse markers *you know* and *I think* in English spoken by Korean learners in Korea. It investigates how the markers are used both formally in terms of their position and functionally. The latter analysis, combined with a comparison of the discourse markers' function in ELF and certain other circles of Englishes, will also shed a light on information regarding the status of English spoken by Korean

learners of English. The analysis enables a reflection on the usage of English elicited using sociolinguistic interviews.

III. METHODS

As Rudiger (2021a, b) points out, the current presence of English in Korea is persistent and omnipresent. English is visible in many areas and the degree of penetration of English in the Korean society is evident. This concerns the linguistic landscape as well as the education system (Tan & Tan, 2015). While Korea has been characterized as culturally, ethnically, and linguistically homogeneous compared with other countries defined as the Outer Circle, the prominent role of English in Korea becomes particularly evident in contact situation since the Korean War and highly complex attitudinal and functional ranges that English has in current Korean society (Park, 2009). The process of globalization is also strongly connected to the salient role of English language in Korean context. English is actively adopted, modified, and re-signified by Koreans (Shim & Park, 2008). Therefore, to dismiss English used in Korea as just one of learner languages ignores important status of English (Mohr, 2021). Nevertheless, there has been only few studies on how English has been adopted, modified, and re-signified from a linguistic perspective. The discourse-pragmatic aspects of English by Korean speakers has received even less attention in ELF as well as world Englishes research. The discourse-pragmatic forms and functions are particularly important in ELF and world Englishes research as they are not commonly taught in educational context and rely more on exposure to English in non-educational setting (Rudiger, 2021b).

The data used for the study stem from sociolinguistic interviews with the participants collected by the author. Nine female and five male speakers, with an average age of 32 (ranging from 24 to 46) were interviewed by a native American English speaker using the method of the semi-structured sociolinguistic interview (Labov, 1972). All of them are of Korean nationality and highly educated. Nine of the participants are graduate students and five participants are professors in various majors. Seven among them reported having spent time abroad in an Anglophone environment. The participants were asked to self-assess their English by choosing statements corresponding to proficiency in three domains: spoken interaction, spoken production and listening. Participants' scores in the three domains of proficiency were averaged. Their self-rated English proficiency ranges from medium to medium-high. Participants were interviewed one-on-one by an American English speaker. One of the interviews could not be audio-recorded because the participant felt more comfortable with the native speaker taking written notes. For the analysis, the audio-recorded data, approximately 5.5 hours, collected among the Korean participants, are focused on. As

aforementioned, discourse-pragmatic variation has been understudied in both world Englishes and ELF research, particularly in Expanding Circle context, while it has received an abundance of attention in the field of sociolingusitics (Rudiger, 2021b). This study, therefore, contributes fundamental insight into the use of discourse markers in general and *you know* and *I think* in particular among Korean speakers of English. Although a comprehensive overview of the discourse repertoire of Korean English speakers is desirable, the present study begins this inquiry by focusing on two items, *you know* and *I think*.

IV. RESULTS

The discourse-pragmatic marker *you know* was selected for the analysis due to its high frequency in everyday speech of L1 English speakers (Buysse, 2017) and both *you know* and *I think* have been analyzed as subjectivity markers, signifying speaker-centeredness in ELF interaction (House, 2013). The data analysis was intended to be a general investigation of the frequency of the two discourse markers and provide an overview of where in an utterance the markers occur. And their functions within the discourse are described. The analysis took a form-based approach, whereby all instances of *you know* and *I think* were extracted and each token was inspected in order to ascertain its eligibility as a discourse-pragmatic marker. Thus, instances where *you know* and *I think* were functioning as verbs were excluded such as *you know that I like it or I think of those people*.

1. Frequency of *You Know* and *I Think*

Table 1 provides an overview of the two discourse markers' frequencies including their positions in a sentence. As shown, the occurrence of the discourse markers with respect to their position differs remarkably. As Table 1 shows, *you know* occurs much more frequently than *I think*. The positional variation differs between the two discourse markers. The occurrence of *you know* with respect to sentence position is more balanced than that of *I think*, while *I think* occurs far more often in clause-initial position.

TABLE 1
Frequency of the Discourse Markers Including Their Position in a Clause

	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
you know	26.1%(78)	43.7%(129)	30.2%(90)	100%(297)
I think	72%(50)	22.5%(15)	5.5%(4)	100%(69)

In regard of positions in turns, as Mohr (2021) correctly points out, it is notable that they cannot be considered here because the data analyzed come from semi-structured

sociolinguistic interviews which are conducted commonly with the intention of collecting much spoken data from participants. Consequently, the data here are almost monologic not dialogic or conversational which most previous studies focus on.

It is noteworthy that the usage of *you know* and *I think* varied between participants. The interviews with participants who have spent some time in Anglophone countries and are quite familiar with the language use the discourse markers more frequently than those who have not. The former accounts for more than half of all instances of the discourse markers, as shown in the utterances below from a participant who stayed in Canada for about four years.

> Uh **I think** […] it's because people from different culture […] **you know** make more effort in order to understand each other **you know**. Otherwise, **you know** it would be difficult to reach mutual understanding even between people who have same interests

> Though people think that Korean culture is quite popular due to the K-pop **you know** […] **you know** these are two different things **you know**. Traditional Korean culture things are really new for their eyes […] BTS is another matter.

The results are in line with the findings of House (2009) that non-native speakers of English with the experiences of spending time in an English-speaking country use discourse markers more frequently. But it seems not proper to conclude that the use of discourse markers is correlated with the familiarity with English. Morh (2021) argued that it is not easy to define the familiarity with English itself, and in their ELF data Shaw et al. (2009) showed that the frequency of some discourse markers decreased as English fluency increased. Therefore, it is still difficult to determine what triggers the more use of discourse markers. For the position of discourse markers in a clause or sentence, there was no considerable difference between the participants. The position of discourse markers analyzed, therefore, didn't show heterogeneity that was evident in ELF data by Mohr (2021).

Further, it should be mentioned that as the above utterance shows, the discourse markers were commonly repeated several times in an utterance. In this case, repetitions of the discourse markers were counted multiple times as many times as the discourse marker was repeated either they are immediate repetition or not immediately follow each other.

It is notable also, as aforementioned, that the data for the study are the shape of rather monologic than dialogic. Thus, compared to the dialogic data in which the beginnings and ends of turn in the middle of conversational interaction may be easily determined, it is not always easy to clearly make out where in a sentence the discourse markers occurs. This is evident in an utterance from the interview with a participant.

I could care less about getting involved <interviewer> yeah mhm </interviewer> **you know**, but my parents seem do really care.

Like many famous people come to visit my lab <interviewer> yeah yeah for sure </interviewer>, **you know** yes **you know**, they tell my students about success and achievement, ha.

In the first utterance above, if the backchannel *yeah mhm* by the interviewer was considered as a separate turn, *you know* might be clause-initial. If the backchannel was not considered, on the other hand, *you know* could be clause-medial. The same reasoning is applied to the second utterance above. Following analytical framework by Mohr (2021), however, it is classified as clause-final since the participant made a brief pause after *you know* was uttered. Some prosodic features including pauses were taken into account when determining the positional variation of discourse markers in an utterance (Mohr, 2021). Therefore, all the examples in the data from the interviews were counted.

2. Functions of *You Know* and *I Think*

1) *You Know*

The functions of discourse markers, both *you know* and *I think*, are closely related to their position in a sentence (House, 2009; Mohr, 2021). While *you know* showed more balanced appearance compared to *I think*, its dominant position is sentence medial. This is in line with the findings of House (2009) and Mohr (2021). The appearance of *you know* in sentence-medial position, according to them, has a function as a warning of rephrasing or further explanation. Utterances below clearly illustrate this usage in the data from Korean participants.

Of course, I went to see the psychiatrist […] **you know** I definitely needed some help you now […] I couldn't handle the situation at all. I was in the bad mood for a long time and frequently felt blue **you know** so blue.

Here, in her first use of *you know*, the speaker further specifies why she went to see the psychiatrist and explains how was her mental at the time. Her second use of *you know* introduces the repetition of a word 'blue' and by using this she emphasizes the word. Moreover, as demonstrated in Mohr (2021), *you know* was used as fumbling device in the data when it appears in sentence medial position as shown in utterances below.

> It seems that my brother doesn't really like Asian culture um **you know** I mean um um he is he is **you know** really not into it. It's because, I think, he he had no chance to be exposed to and experience that. Or it's just he didn't find it interesting. But he may like it here.

When *you know* is first used, the speaker is searching for proper expression, as is emphasized by the hesitation marker 'um' and paraphrasing expression 'I mean'. The second use of *you know* is preceded by the repetition of 'he is', which shows the speaker is lost for words. In her study on discourse markers used in English in Zanzibar, Mohr (2021) showed that the fumbling function of *you know* which expresses insecurity in regard to the utterance itself is commonly emphasized by the combination of *you know* with hesitation marker like *um* and other discourse markers like *I think* and *I mean*. In the same line, the findings of House (2009) demonstrated that the discourse marker is never used alone when it is used as a fumbling device and it also perform a function of expressing the speaker's opinion as well. Frequent instances in the interview data from Korean speakers of English in which *you know* is used as a fumbling device confirm the findings of the previous studies. This occurs with 74 tokens (25%) of all instances of *you know*. It means the personal function of *you now* is relatively frequent.

House (2009) demonstrated that when it is used in a sentence-initial position, *you know* frequently has an interpersonal function by securing the attention of the listener. In her data from English in Zanzibar, however, Mohr (2021) found that this function is less frequent. Mohr attributed the results to her data collection using in depth interviews in which the participants hardly needed to get the interviewer's attention since they situationally already had it. In this study which employed the same method of data collection as in Mohr (2021), however, this function is more frequent though the participant had already been given heed by the interviewer. Compared to the results from Mohr (2021) in which about 16 % of *you know* in sentence-initial position has this function, there are 27 instances (35% of all sentence-initial occurrences) of *you know* in sentence-initial position in this study as shown in the below.

> **You know** in Korea as well we learned a lot through the internship program

Here, the interviewee comments on a variety of internship program he can participates before graduation in Korea like in other countries. Thus, *you know* in his utterance might have a connotation of 'I expect you know' performing an interpersonal function between the speaker and the listener. Following the analysis of Jucker and Smith (1998), Mohr (2021) also analyzed this use of *you know* as a presentation marker making the listener realize the implication of the utterance and showed examples of this function of *you know* in sentence-

initial position, not turn-initial positions, where the discourse marker introduces a new topic. The utterance below from the data in this study provides an instance of *you know* with this function on its own, introducing girl's night as a concept.

> Most of the time because uuuh **you know** people here, uuh they like much to organize girls' night to go to the pub or the club all together.

All of these uses of *you know*, as Mohr (2021) mentioned, seem clarifications or interpretations of whatever preceded in the utterance and, thus, have similar functions of confirming shared knowledge.

Unlike when used sentence initially, according to (Leech & Svartvik, 1975), *you know* in sentence final position denotes that the speaker already supposes that there is shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener. That is, *you know* fulfills an interpersonal function. House (2009) noted that *you know* in ELF context also indicates uncertainty on the part of the speaker fulfilling a personal function. Mohr (2021) found both functions of sentence final *you know* in her Zazibari data. Both are also observed in the Korean data of English.

> Uuh I mean it seems that my sister spent a night in uh jjimjjilbang […] kind of hot spa where we can have a bath **you know.**

> Uum so I thought I should go to a consultant […] to know exactly what is the problem because sometimes I feel the way people see is way different **you know**.

The speaker, in the first utterance above, seems uncertain of how to express his statement, maybe it's because she is not sure whether the interviewer knows the word *jjimjjilbang*. Here, *you know* fulfills personal, subjective function. In second utterance, on the other hand, the speaker assumes the listener to have shared knowledge that it's not easy to get used to new environment, especially when there has been no chance to see real Finish things (the speaker was talking about his experience of study abroad in Finland). In second utterance, therefore, *you know* has an interpersonal function securing the listener's attention.

2) *I Think*

I think is much less frequent than *you know* in Korean data of English as shown in Table 1. As in the case of discourse marker *you know*, the functions of *I think* are related to their position. *I think* occurred most frequently in a sentence initial position and there it typically fulfills a personal function, marking the speaker's opinion or personal evaluation (Aijmer,

1997; Mohr, 2021). Besides, sentence initial *I think* especially in ELF communication often has a starting point function, and sharing personal experience or showing speaker's knowledge both of which are ELF-specific functions (Baumgarten & House, 2010). The data from the Korean speakers of English demonstrate these functions of *I think* in a sentence initial position. In addition, sentence-initial *I think* often occurred with another discourse marker such as *well*, *yeah* or a hesitation marker like *uuuh*, which demonstrate its function as a fumbling device (Mohr, 2021). About 35 % (24 tokens) of all instances of *I think* are combined with a hesitation marker or another discourse marker. The fumbling function is more prominent for *I think* than *you know* which has the function in 20 % (59 tokens) of all its instances. The utterances from the data below display the functions aforementioned.

> **I think** [...] **I think** Korea uuh as a national individual has to avoid wrong attitude toward other nations like Japan […]. **I think** we have to change our thought first.
>
> **I think** you will definitely enjoy staying in hanokk-village when you visit Jeonju.
>
> If we examine […] some factors of continuing education in Korea you know in an effort to find a better way, yeah well **I think** uuh they might be just superficial.

I think in both sentences in the first utterance above shows both the starting point function for a speaker perspective, fulfilling a subjective function. This is emphasized by the repetition of *I think* in the first sentence. *I think* in the second utterance adds a functions of showing speaker knowledge and sharing personal experience. In an indirect way of giving suggesting, thus, the discourse marker fulfills an interpersonal function. The functions of *I think* in the third utterance are similar to those in the previous utterances.

When sentence-medially used, the functions of *I think* relatively parallel those in sentence initial position. Sentence medial *I think*, therefore, displays the speaker's opinion or subjective evaluation of what is said. This is well demonstrated in an utterance below, where the function of searching for proper words (Mohr, 2021) is emphasized by the hesitation marker *uuh* and another discourse marker *well*.

> Ha.. she was the typical Englishman, uuh, well, **I think** she was clever, plain I think commonsensical, and practical.
>
> Sentence-final *I think* is also similar in its function to those in sentence-initial and sentence-medial positions, displaying the speaker's opinion or a subjective evaluation of what is said as shown in the utterances below.

People could hate that kind of person […], but they eventually uuh ended up liking him or her at the end because their service was very good enough **I think**.

My colleague drafted the questionnaire and gave it to the students. She actually uum was doing her job **I think**.

I think in sentence-final position in the data, therefore, seems to be employed as a means of displaying a subjective perspective in the discourse (Mohr, 2021), even one of the most common means of expressing such perspective (Baumgarten & House, 2010). While sentence-final *I think*, according to Mohr (2021), has a function of completing a sequence of utterances in ELF discourse, this usage is more prominent in sentence -nitial position. This is also shown in the utterance below from the data in this study.

I think my personal tutor was good enough.

As a whole, the usages of *I think* from the data are in line with the findings of previous studies (Baumgarten & House, 2010; Mohr, 2021) that *I think* in ELF discourse shows an explicitly subjective, speaker-oriented perspective. Therefore, the data analyzed here seem to be an example of ELF discourse as demonstrated in the data of other ELF discourse by Mohr (2021). Unlike the findings of Mohr (2021), however, usage of giving indirect advice fulfilling an intersubjective function was not found in the data among Korean speakers of English.

Altogether, the discourse markers *you know* and *I think* are both used in English spoken by Korean, although with different frequencies as compared to each other. Thus, it could be proposed that, based on the present findings, *you know* may be a more stable discourse-pragmatic marker than *I think* for Korean speakers of English. Though *you know* is used much more frequently than *I think*, however, both markers fulfills a various functions that have all been described in many related fields of research. Both markers are used as fumbling device in the form of ad hoc utterance (House, 2009). They are also used to show that the speaker is uncertain about the content just uttered. The function of expressing uncertainty is much more frequent with *I think*. The function as a presentation marker of *you know* is definitely related to that of starting point for the speaker's opinion in *I think* as Mohr (2021) mentioned. Functions of a warning of repetition, assuring the hearer's attention, and establishing shared knowledge between the speaker and addressee are limited to *you know*. The function of demonstrating speaker knowledge, on the other hand, is clear in *I think*. In this sense, *I think* seems to fulfill rather a subjective function. *I think* as a discourse marker displays affective stance by expressing the speaker's personal opinion or evaluation.

The analyses of the discourse markers *you know* and *I think* from the data in this study,

therefore, show that both discourse markers fulfill mostly subjective functions and consequently display the speaker-centeredness of English spoken by Korean speakers. The results confirm the findings of the studies on the use of the two discourse markers in ELF (Baumgarten & House, 2010; Mohr, 2021).

V. DISCUSION AND CONCLUSION

The results of data analysis from Korean speakers of English demonstrate the speaker-centeredness of the discourse markers *you know* and *I think* and thus, show similarities with analyses of the two discourse markers in other varieties of English. The speaker-centeredness in the use of *you know* and *I think* as expressions of subjectivity, functioning as fumbling devices, and displaying the speaker's opinion or evaluation is not the indication of that English spoken by Korean may be part of the Expanding Circle as conceptualized in the World Englishes paradigm. Rather, it is a typical usage in ELF communication (Baumgarten & House, 2010). The expression of subjectivity by discourse markers helps the speaker place themselves in the process of discourse and increases their sense of community (House, 2013). It is in dynamic ELF communication that the speaker-centeredness of discourse markers is emphasized (Mohr, 2021). Thus, the investigation of discourse markers analyzed here is starting point in order to delve into more about speech communities interacting in ELF in Korea and the ways in which they linguistically create cohesion.

The analyses of data in this study have shown that *you know* and *I think* are part of Korean English discursive repertoire as discourse markers. Speakers with experiences of staying in Anglophone countries more often use *you know* and *I think* as discourse markers, but in general, both discourse markers are well-dispersed among the participants. They thus form a part of the overall spoken Korean English repertoire, even though *you know* is used much more frequently than *I think*. As discourse markers are outside of the scope of classroom activities, even more so in the test-driven English learning environment of Korea, this may be an important cue toward language use outside of the classroom setting. Further it suggests that English spoken by Korean cannot be conceptualized as just leaner language and that English has clearly established a presence beyond the English classroom in Korea.

The realm of discourse-pragmatic uses can provide important pointers in theorizing and modelling in English as a lingua franca as well as world Englishes (Rudiger, 2021). In examining processes of nativization of English in world Englishes or common usage in ELF, morpho-syntactic analyses have played an important role. If the focus of attention is expanded to discourse-pragmatic features such as discourse markers, politeness strategies, and speech acts, the results will give new impetus for the fields, since those features have often been overlooked in English language learning, particularly in classroom contexts.

As an initial step to describe the use of discourse markers *you know* and *I think* in Korean English speech, this study leaves a number of issues open. Outside the scope of this study were the factors which influence the use of the discourse markers such as gender difference and English proficiency levels. This remains a need for future research on the use of this specific discourse markers in Korean English speech to incorporate both large-scale, systematic and quantitative analyses combined with a qualitative approach that acknowledges the socio-stylistic shades of discourse markers and their distribution. Moreover, further research include a comprehensive overview of other discourse markers and their functions as used by Korean speakers of English and cross-linguistic approach including a comparison to discourse features in Korean or other language speech.

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APPENDIX

(text)	-	uncertain transcription
@	-	laughter
,	-	brief pause (2-3 sec.)
.	-	longer pause (3-4 sec.)
[...]	-	speech left out in the example

Examples in: English
Applicable Language: English
Applicable Levels: Tertiary

Sujung Min (professor)
Department of English Education
Kongju National University
32588 Gongjudaehak-ro 56, Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do, Korea
Email: sujmin@kongju.ac.kr

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