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A Study on a Discourse Marker Combination in English: The Case of *Oh Well*

영어의 담화 표지 조합 연구: *oh well*을 중심으로

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박 세 미

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지도교수 박 용 예

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위 원 _____ 박 용 예 _____ (인)

Abstract

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Park, Semi

Department of English Language and Literature

The Graduate School

Seoul National University

Oh well as a combined form has been considered as a way of expressing a speaker's resigning or nonchalant attitudes (e.g., Aijmer, 1987; Carlson, 1984; Norrick, 2009; Schourup, 2001). Nonetheless, its other roles in a discourse have not been thoroughly examined, and the previous studies have not taken the marker's various degrees of combination into consideration. Accordingly, the study seeks to answer the following questions: a) Is it possible to identify various degrees of

integration of *oh* and *well*? b) What are the uses of *oh well* as a discourse marker? c) What is the status of *oh well* as a discourse marker?

7.5 hours of naturally occurring phone-recordings were retrieved from *CallFriend* corpus, which is a part of *CABank* in TalkBank database. The data has 122, 672 words, and 45 cases of *oh well* were found. A conversation-analytic approach was employed to investigate the uses of *oh well* with reference to the degree of the two markers' integration and sequential contexts around the combined marker.

In the data, *oh well* was used in different sequential contexts, and *oh* and *well* seemed to be integrated in various degrees. Adopting Crible and Cuenca (2018)'s three-fold cline of distinctions of discourse marker co-occurrence, which consists of 'juxtaposition,' 'combination' and 'lexicalization,' the author added an extra sub-category under 'combination,' namely, 'basic-combination,' in order to explain the uses of *oh well* that cannot be categorized as 'addition' or 'composition.'

There was no case of 'addition' in the data, and the cases of 'juxtaposition' were excluded from analysis because they were not considered as a combined form. So, this study focused on the cases of 'basically-combined,' 'composed,' and 'lexicalized' *oh well.* Each occurrence of *oh well* was analyzed thoroughly, and there were some clear-cut cases and some cases that were somewhere in the middle of two categories.

When *oh* and *well* were 'basically-combined,' two markers had separate prosody, and their individual functions were not mixed but remained. When two markers were 'composed,' two markers' individual functions were still identifiable,

but the combined form carried the speaker's emotional stance as well. Lastly, when two markers were 'lexicalized,' they were not separable, the combined form mostly had falling intonation, and it marked the speaker's turn-exiting.

The current study revealed that *oh well* is a useful device that speakers deploy to manage their turns in interactions. Put another way, it can mark a speaker's turn-taking or turn-exiting. Furthermore, the study showed that *oh* and *well* can be integrated in different degrees and presented the dynamic aspects of their combination. This study is meaningful in that it sheds light on the idea that a combination of two discourse markers may earn a new function as a discourse marker.

Keywords: discourse marker, *oh*, *well*, *oh well*, conversation analysis, discourse marker combination

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Motivation and Background of the Thesis

Since the 1970s, the studies of *discourse markers* (DMs, henceforth) in English have proliferated (Cuenca, 2013; Fraser, 1990; Fuller, 2003; Lee-Goldman, 2011; Innes, 2010; Jucker, 1997; Lakoff, 1973; Lenk, 1998; Norrick, 2009; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1999; Trester, 2009; Watts, 1989; and many more). Various DMs in English such as *oh* (e.g. Schiffrin, 1987), *well* (e.g., Heritage, 2015), *so* (e.g. Bolden, 2009), *yeah* (e.g. Jucker and Smith, 1998), *and* (e.g. Fraser, 1999), *but* (e.g. Blakemore, 1989), *because* (e.g. Schiffrin, 1987), *now* (e.g. Schourup, 2011), *you know* (e.g. Schourup, 1985), and *I mean* (e.g. Fox Tree and Schrock, 2002) have been mainly featured in the literature.

The definitions of DMs, however, vary and seem to be still fuzzy. Scholars have argued to define what counts as DMs (Fraser, 1999; Redeker, 1991; Schiffrin, 1987; Zwicky, 1985; and so on), and some of them have tried to suggest different terms for the items, such as *discourse particles* (e.g. Aijmer, 2002; Goldberg, 1980; Hansen, 1998; Schourup, 1985; Fischer, 2005, 2006), *connectives,*(e.g. Blakemore, 1987; Grice, 1991; van Dijk, 1979), *pragmatic markers* (e.g. Aijmer, 2013; Fraser, 1996; Brinton, 1996, Norrick, 2009), *pragmatic expressions* (e.g. Erman, 1987), and the like. Some researchers use several terms interchangeably (e.g. Lauwers et al., 2012), but the others use different terms for different groups of items (e.g. Norrick,

2001 vs. Norrick, 2009).

Three frequently cited characteristics of DMs (Schourup, 1999) are necessary to be taken together to distinguish DMs from other particles. First of all, DMs may relate utterances to the assumptions which underlie the utterances and may relate speakers to recipients. Second, DMs are linguistic expressions that are regarded as syntactically optional but sequentially dependent. With or without discourse markers, grammaticality of the host sentence and semantic relationship between the elements do not change. Third, they do not affect the propositional content or the truth conditions of utterances in which they occur.

The primary interest of this paper will be given to the combinations of DMs in spoken English. Some researchers (e.g. Aijmer, 2002; Fraser, 1999; Schourup, 2001; Watts, 1989) briefly mentioned the cases of combined DMs in the literature, yet only a small number of them have actually studied combined DMs (e.g. Crible and Cuenca, 2018; Cuenca and Marin, 2009; Dobrovoljc, 2017; Fraser, 2013; Fraser 2015, Koops and Lohmann, 2015). In the hope of expanding the knowledge of untapped niche in DMs research, the current paper aims to investigate the functions of the combined discourse marker *oh well* as a case study.

The reason why *oh well* has been selectively chosen as an object of this study is three-fold. First of all, *oh well* is considered as a combined DM (Aijmer, 2002; Schourup, 2001; Koops and Lohmann, 2015). Second, to the best of my knowledge, despite *oh* and *well* as DMs have been thoroughly studied, their combination has never been singly investigated in the literature. Third, the fact that the *oh* and *well*

have some similarities and differences raises questions such as the following: *why the two different markers tend to co-occur? what are the purposes of their combination?*

As there were more than twenty terms for DMs (Brinton, 1996), scholars are using several alternatives to label an array of DMs such as *DM clustering* (e.g. Maschler, 1994), *DM sequencing* (e.g. Lohmann and Koops, 2016) *multi-word DMs* (e.g. Dobrovoljc, 2017), and so forth. Among them, *discourse marker combination* (DMC, hereafter) is considered to be the most appropriate term in the current paper. The term has been chosen for the reasons that a) it is direct and intuitive b) it is less likely to be confused with other terms such as *sequence* that is used in conversation analysis framework c) it is by far the most frequently used term among linguists who are pioneering the research area.

Given that there has been such a wide range of research on individual DMs, perhaps it should not be surprising that little attention has been paid to their combinations. Nevertheless, more and more papers are being published in recent years, and this denotes that the works on DMCs are growing. It is time to expand DM research in a different direction. As research on single DMs has revealed the crucial roles of DMs in developing and processing pragmatic meanings of utterances, it is hoped that research on DMCs will show us another unique aspect of DMs and language use. There are a lot of issues on DMCs to be resolved, but the current study will try to answer the following questions through doing the case study of *oh well*:

(a) Is it possible to identify various degrees of integration of *oh* and *well*?

(b) What are the uses of *oh well* as a discourse marker?

(c) What is the status of *oh well* as a discourse marker?

1.2 Organization of the Thesis

The current paper consists of five chapters. In Chapter 2, the previous studies on DMs focusing on several definitions will be reviewed. Subsequently, the previous studies of *oh* and *well* will be reviewed respectively, and then the recent studies on discourse marker combinations will be discussed. In Chapter 3, background information about the data and its sources that the data was retrieved from will be given, and brief introduction of the methodology will follow. The results of analysis will be specified in Chapter 4, and finally, the summary of the paper and suggestions for future studies will be given in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2. Previous Literature

The primary goal of this paper is to investigate the uses of *oh well* as a case study of a discourse marker combination. In this chapter, the various definitions of *discourse markers* along with the definition of *discourse particles* and *pragmatic markers* will be reviewed in section (2.1), and the previous studies on *oh* (2.2) and *well* (2.3) will be reviewed as well. Recent studies on the combinations of DMs will be reviewed in section (2.4), and the previous studies on *oh well* will be reviewed in section (2.5).

2.1 Definitions of Discourse Markers

Let us begin this section with going over the various definitions of DMs and other terms that are interchangeably used or separately used for certain elements. As one of the extensive studies on DMs, Schiffrin (1987) establishes a discourse model and proposes the definition of DMs.

As you can see in Figure 2.1 (1987: 25) below, Schiffrin proposed five planes of discourse: *Ideational structure*, *Action structure, Exchange structure, Participation framework*, and *Information state*. Each plane deals with its own type of local coherence, which is "constructed through relations between adjacent units in discourse" (1987: 24); for instance, in *ideational structure*, the adjacent units are propositions expressed in an utterance, which make cohesive and referential relations.

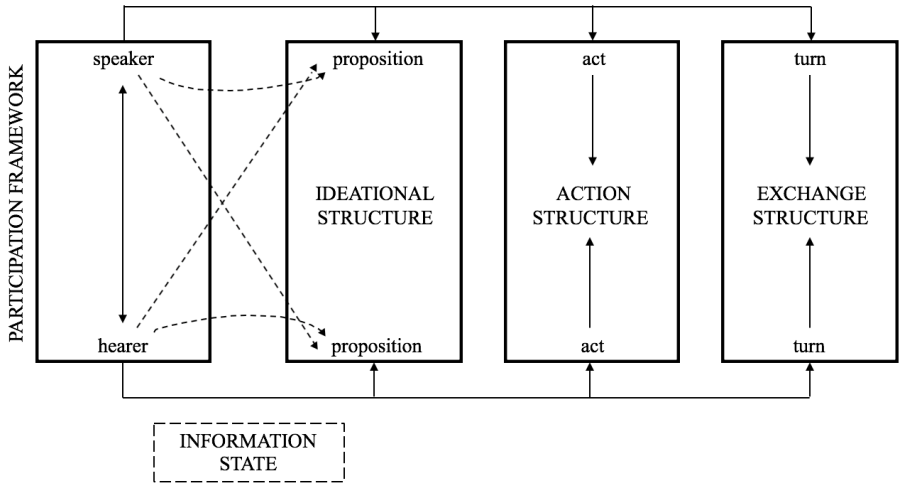

Figure 2.1 Schiffrin's (1987) discourse model of coherence in talk

Under her definition, DMs are sequentially dependent units of discourse, and work on a discourse level. DMs "select, and then display, structural relations between utterances" (1987: 321), and they "provide contextual coordinates for utterances" (1987: 326), meaning DMs can "index an utterance to the local contexts in which utterances are produced and in which they are to be interpreted" (1987: 326). As DMs can propose more than one contextual coordinate at once, Schiffrin suggests that they contribute to the integration of discourse – to discourse coherence.

Schiffrin (1987) analyzed eleven DMs from different classes i.e. particles (*oh, well*), conjunctions (*and, but, or, so, because*), time deictics (*now, then*), and lexicalized clauses (*y'know, I mean*), within her *discourse model of coherence in talk*. In addition to the classes she dealt with, her theoretical definition of DMs can include a lot of elements because as long as an element meets her "tentative" criteria

suggested below, various classes of elements, such as perception verbs (e.g. *see*), location deictics (e.g. *here*), interjections (e.g. *gosh*), meta-talk (e.g. *what I mean is*), verb *say* (e.g. as in *say, can you lend me a dime?*) and quantifier phrases (e.g. *anyway*), can constitute DMs (Schiffrin 1987: 328):

- It has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence.
- It has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance.
- It has to have a range of prosodic contours.
- It has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse.

Redeker (1991) proposes a simpler model of coherence and a revised definition of the class of DMs. Her model consists of three components of coherence: *ideational structure, rhetorical structure, and sequential structure*. The three components are roughly equivalent to Schiffrin's (1987) *ideational structure, action structure,* and *exchange structure*. The definitions of Redeker's three structures are following:

- Two discourse units are ***ideationally related*** if their utterance in the given context entails the speaker's commitment to the existence of that relation in the world the discourse describes. Examples are temporal sequence, elaboration, cause, reason, consequence, and so forth (Redeker, 1991: 1168).
- Two discourse units are ***rhetorically related*** if the strongest relation is not

between the propositions expresses in the two units but between the illocutionary intentions they convey (Redeker, 1991: 1168).

- Two discourse units are ***sequentially related*** if there is a paratactic relation (transition between issues or topics that either follows a preplanned list or is locally occasioned) or hypotactic relation (those leading into or out of a commentary, correction, paraphrase, aside, digression, or interruption segment) between ideationally and rhetorically only loosely related adjacent discourse segments (Redeker, 1991: 1168).

In comparison with Schiffrin's (1987) model, where a DM selects (or signals) one or more planes that are available as coherence options, Redeker's (1991) model assumes that implicit coherence relations and simultaneous realization of semantic and pragmatic coherence links are considered to exist regardless of DMs; in other words, in Redeker's (1991) model, any utterance in a discourse is considered to participate in all three components simultaneously.

Based on the revised model, Redeker (1991) proposes the delimited classification of DM functions under the new term *discourse operators* (DOs henceforth). A DO is defined as a "word or phrase – for instance, a conjunction, adverbial, comment clause, interjection – that is uttered with the primary function of brining to the listener's attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context" (Redeker, 1991: 1169).

Fraser (1999) characterizes a DM as a linguistic expression and defines DMs as a "pragmatic class, lexical expressions drawn from the syntactic classes of

conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases" (1999: 950) which "contribute to the interpretation of an utterance rather than to its propositional content" (1999: 946).

He proposes there to be two main classes of DMs: one which relates messages (contrastive, elaborative, inferential and imperative relation markers), and the other which relates topics (topic initiators). The two classes of DMs are located between S1, the prior segment, and S2, the segment they introduce. Under his definition, DMs signal a relationship[1] between S1and S2 but provide no semantic value. Their core meaning is procedural, not conceptual, in that a DM "specifies how the segment it introduces is to be interpreted relative to the prior, subject to the constraints mentioned earlier" (1999:944).

There are other terms that are frequently deployed in comparisons with DMs. The first one is *discourse particles* (henceforth DPs). Schourup (1985) proposed the term for the first time, but she uses DPs as a synonym of DMs. Fischer (2006), however, separates DPs from DMs. According to his definition, often refer to "small, uninflected words that are only loosely integrated into the sentence structure, if at all" (2006: 4). The items under consideration can be grouped on both the functional side (items fulfilling discourse and pragmatic functions) and formal side (items being lexicalized) (Fischer, 2006).

In this typology, items (including particles) that fulfil discourse functions

[1] The discourse relationship may involve the (propositional) content domain, the epistemic domain, or the speech act domain (Fraser, 1999).

are all considered as DMs; thus, both lexicalized and nonlexicalized items are included. However, DPs are stricter: only lexicalized items that fulfill discourse functions are considered as DPs. Figure 2.2 is the visualized scope of DMs versus DPs, taken from Fischer (2006: 7).

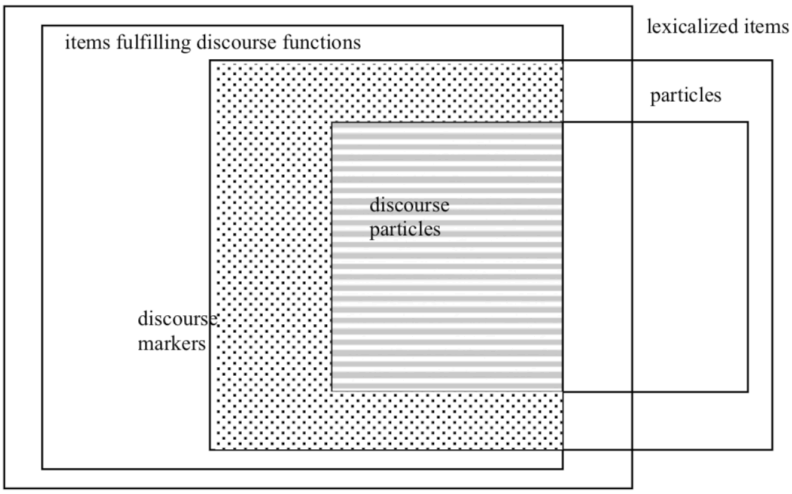

Figure 2.2 Discourse particles versus discourse markers

Another term is p*ragmatic markers* (henceforth PMs). Brinton (1996) proposed the term because *pragmatic* and *markers* better capture the range of functions of the items (1996: 30). He presented a list of nine functions of PMs that had been found in previous studies and categorized them into two sets (1996: 37). The first category belongs to the *textual mode* of language, which is related to structuring meaning and creating cohesive passages of discourse, and the second category belongs to the *interpersonal mode* of language, which is related to showing

speaker's attitudes, evaluations, judgements, expectations, and demands, along with the nature of social exchange, and the roles of speaker and hearer (1996: 38).

As DMs are specifically used to refer to items that signal coherence relations, and PMs refer to items that not only associate with discourse and textual functions but also guide the addressee's interpretation in the communication, PMs are a much broader term than DMs or any other terms.

Each term seems to be useful for dealing with diverse aims of studies. Nevertheless, for the sake of avoiding any confusions from mixing up several terms, *discourse marker* (DM) will be used to refer the items of interest throughout the study. The reasons why the term has been chosen are three-fold: First, DM is perhaps the most common term that is used by scholars for referring to the phenomena of our interest (Brinton, 1996; Schourup, 1999). Second, DM is a convenient umbrella term which can embrace a broad variety of elements (Jucker and Ziv, 1998). Third, the other markers' scopes are either too general (e.g. *pragmatic markers*) or too specific (e.g. *discourse connectives*).

2.2 Previous Studies on *Oh*

Oh has been of special interest in the literature, and there have been a lot of efforts to examine the functions and meanings of the marker within diverse approaches (Aijmer, 1987; Ameka, 1992; Bolden, 2006; Heritage 1984; Norrick, 2009; Person, 2009; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1985; Fox Tree and Schrock, 1999; Trester, 2009;

and the rest). In the following section, the functions of *oh* will be reviewed. Since listing every single function of the marker takes too much space and exhausting, it is inevitable to present a selective list of functions. In order to provide overall discussions on the marker, the current paper will go through the key functions of the marker in reference to a few perspectives.

Schourup (1982) makes some remarks regarding *oh*. He proposes that *oh* is an *evincive,* which "enables speakers to express the importance of what they have in mind at a particular point in conversation, without fully displaying their thinking" (Schourup, 1982: 15).

Schourup proposes three uses of evincive *oh* based on James (1974). The first one marks that the speaker has just realized something, the second one displays casualness of the speech, and the third one indicates a decision process, that is, the speaker has paused using *oh* to make a choice between alternatives on what to say next. The general meaning of *oh* as an evincive is well indicated in the following examples, which are taken from Schourup (1982: 15).

(1) I didn't make the phone call you asked me to.

(2) **Oh!** I didn't make the phone call you asked me to.

It is quite different to say (1) from saying (2). In example (2), *oh* is used to indicate that the sentence following *oh* has just entered to the speaker's head. Since *oh* as an evincive item is tied to the moment of utterance, and it can mark the real time moment of occurrence of the thought, the speaker's utterance may implicate

that his failure to make the call was due to forgetfulness. However, his proposal cannot explain the other uses of *oh,* and it does not clearly suggest how *oh*'s discourse functions should be motivated.

According to Schiffrin (1987), *oh* is a discourse marker that has the overall role of information management and works as one of the coherence options in discourse. Coherence is seen as constructed through relations between adjacent discourse units (1987: 24). In her view, every use of *oh* can be explained by a single principle; *oh* marks shifts in speaker orientation (objective and subjective) to information.

Among five planes of talk we have seen in Figure 2.1, it is said that *oh* is primarily associated to the information state plane in that it marks information state transitions. As a discourse marker, *oh* deals with the production and reception of information (questions, answers, and acknowledgements of answers), the replacement and redistribution of information (repair initiation and completion), the status of information (old versus new), and speaker orientation to information.

It is also related to the participation framework because *oh* shows both participants in particular productive and receptive capacities, and related to the action structure in that it marks certain actions which are designed to manage information state transitions (1987: 316). The fact that *oh* marks both the initiation and completion of repairs made by self and other shows that the speakers and the hearers are sensitive to their production and reception of discourse. The following excerpt shows the use of *oh* in an other-initiated repair.

Excerpt (1) - (Schiffrin (1987: 76))

```
01 Jack:      How about uh... how bout the one uh.. uh..
02            Death of a Salesman?
03 Freda:     Well that was a show, sure.
04 Jack:  →   Oh that was a movie too.
```

In Excerpt (1), Both Freda and Jack issue other-repairs. Jack brings up a movie, whose identification Freda believes to be show. As it was both movie and show, Jack proposes an *oh*-prefaced repair.

There were some efforts to explain all uses of *oh* based on its invariant meaning. Aijmer (1987; 2002) proposes that *oh* has the core meaning of 'surprise.' In other words, *oh* has the central meaning of expressing a reaction to something heard or experienced, which is unexpected. Making use of the notion of relevance, Aijmer argues that "speakers construct their utterances in such a way that it should be obvious to the hearer how they are relevant to him (1987: 84).

In her paper, the usages of *oh* are described in relation to the contexts in which it occurs and as a result of conditioning factors such as politeness, stylistic appropriateness, and so on. Two types of *oh* are suggested: one indicates a reaction to the talk of a conversational participant, and the other expresses a correction within a speaker's turn.

In the first type, *oh* is considered as a context-dependent element. That is to say, the interpretation of *oh* has to be done in relation to the preceding context. For

example, as a response to A-events[2], the hearer can display that he has picked up the relevant interpretation of the prior turn and indicate how his knowledge has been modified by the message the other participant provided. In Excerpt (2), *oh* indicates that B now knows somethings he did not know before.

Excerpt (2) - (from Aijmer (1987: 65))

```
01 A:    Yes. I think they've got the child at least one
02 B:→ OH
```

In the answer to a question, *oh* can be caused by various needs of the *oh* speaker. In her view, *oh* is necessary to signal that the speaker has accepted the previous question as a relevant whether or not the answer will be cooperative. In that sense, *oh* is found when *oh* speaker introduces a vague or partial answer, or when he does not accept the presupposition of the question.

Aijmer argues that the meaning of *oh* can be specified by an additional component that occur together as well. The speaker may deploy *oh* with other elements that specify the attitude which the speaker adopts towards the prior talk such as evaluation (e.g., *oh it's lovely, oh how dreadful*), acceptance (e.g., *oh of course*), endorsement (e.g., *oh that's a point*), and so on.

Heritage (1984) considers *oh* as one of the English particles and argues that

[2] Labov and Fanshel (1977) introduced the notion 'A-event' to describe an event known to speaker A but not speaker B.

o*h* indexes that its speaker has undergone "some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (1984: 299). Within his "*change-of-state"* proposal, *oh* registers a change in the speaker's knowledge, awareness, or attention caused by some prior action.

Heritage demonstrates various functions of *oh,* considering *oh*'s placement in two major types of conversational environment, i.e., informings and repair, where *oh* is frequently deployed as a receipt object in response to prior turns at talk. In the context of informings, *oh* can be used to propose that the speaker accepts prior talk as informative.

In question-answer sequences, questioners usually specify information gaps, which should be filled by answerers. When a questioner gives *oh*-receipt in response to the given answer, the answerer may treat the answer is sufficient for the questioner and the information gap has been resolved. In that sense, the following excerpt shows that *oh* may lead the answerer to withhold giving the further tellable information until invited to do so.

Excerpt (3) - (Heritage (1984: 311))

```
01 N:   °hhh Dz he 'av 'iz own apa:rt[mint?]
02 H:                                [°hhhh] Yea:h, =
03 N: → = Oh:
04        (1.0)
05 N:    How didju git 'iz number,
```

In the context of repair, the producer of the repair initiation receipts the repair produced by the other participant with *oh.* In this context, *oh* indicates a change of state of information, that is to say, a resolution of the trouble source that triggered the repair.

Excerpt (4) - (Heritage (1984: 316))

```
01 A:   Well who'r you workin' for.
02 B:    °hhh Well I'm working through the Amfat Corporation.
03 A:   The who?
04 B:   Amfah Corpora[tion. T's a holding company.
05 A: →               [Oh
```

The role of indexing speaker's "*change-of-state"* may convey the sense that *oh* corresponds to the speaker's cognition process. However, Heritage argues that the speaker's noticing, which he considers as a mental event, is proposed with *oh*, but *oh* does not explicitly formulate mental events *per se* (Jefferson, 1978; Bolden, 2006).

It is crucial to consider *oh* as an interactional marker that does a sequential work rather than as a marker of *oh* producer's mental state itself (e.g., Bolden, 2006; Heritage, 2005, 2018; Schiffrin, 1987). The underspecified signal of mental processes is specified in contexts by reference to the communicative tasks, which speakers attend. As a useful resource in talk-in-interaction, *oh* "verbalizes the speakers' handling of those tasks and has interactional consequences" (Schiffrin,

1987: 100).

So far, we have reviewed different analyses of *oh* within a few theoretical perspectives in the literature. Though only a limited number of uses of *oh* is discussed due to the limited space, we have seen that *oh* is a useful resource for both speakers and listeners to manage turns and organize sequences. In the following section, let us review the previous literature on *well.*

2.3 Previous Studies on *Well*

Well also has attracted a lot of researchers' attention (An, 2018; Aijmer, 2013; Calson, 1984; Heritage, 2015; Innes, 2010; Jucker, 1993; Jucker, 1997; Kim, 2013; Norrick, 2009; Pomerantz, 1984; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1999; Schourup, 2001; Svartvik, 1980; Watts, 1987, and many more). A lot of functions of *well* have been investigated and listed, and numerous explanations for each function have been proposed in various theoretical perspectives.

Owen (1981) examined the functions of *well* in terms of politeness theory (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Politeness theory is based on the notion of *face*, and a person's face can be threatened when they have dispreferred actions such as denial of an offer, refusal of a request, and disagreements (Brown and Levinson, 1978). *Well* is used as a device that prefaces disagreements, and its usage can be related to the matter of *preference* and *face-threatening act*. In order to signal a possible threat on either the face of the speaker or the hearer or to mitigate the threat during a

conversation, speakers preface the dispreferred responses with *well* as in Excerpt (5):

Excerpt (5) - (from Owen (1981: 109))

```
01 A:     they must worry about you though Eddie, don't they,
02        your Mum and Dad, when you're doing all these jumps
03 B: →   er well they always come to all the shows
04 A:     do they
05 B:     Yeah and they enjoy it
```

The speaker A strongly assumes that his parents worry about their child since he does dangerous jumps. Moreover, the speaker wants to have an agreement from Eddie using the tag question *'don't they.'* However, Eddie's parents always come to his shows, and this is the evidence that his parents do not worry too much to stop him from doing what he likes. Eddie's unexpected and disagreeing response, which is a dispreferred response, in line 03 is prefaced by *well*. Without the marker, the questioner's face would have been more damaged.

Schiffrin (1987) explained the functions of *well* within her discourse model of coherence. When something is lacking in terms of coherence in the discourse, speakers may use *well* to signal the insufficiency. Under Schiffrin's assumption, discourse coherence is mostly achieved in a pairwise fashion: an initial utterance an expectation of a coherent response in the next conversational slot, and the next utterance must be related to the immediately prior utterance.

As a marker of response, *well* anchors its producer at a specific point in an

interaction when an upcoming utterance is insufficient to guarantee coherence. The following shows a relevant example.

Excerpt - (6) – (from Schiffrin (1987: 106))

```
01 Zel:   Are you from Philadelphia?
02 Sal:→ Well I grew up uh out in the suburbs. And then I
03         lived for about seven years up in upstate New York.
04         And then I came back here t'go to college.
```

In Excerpt (6), Zelda is asking a yes-no question to Sally. As a response marker, *well* is considered to function in the participation framework within her discourse model, because it displays a speaker's particular participation status, a respondent. In asking yes-no question, the questioner creates a binary choice as a coherence option. Zelda assumes the answer will be either confirmation or negation, but Sally's answer is something other than that: her answer to the question is partly yes and partly no. As the upcoming response by Sally diverges from the option for coherence offered by the questioner, Sally preface her response with *well*.

Self-repairs can be explained in terms of achieving coherence in discourse as well. As a response marker, Schiffrin argued that *well* speaker responds to their own talk, "shifting their orientation toward what is being said" (1987: 123). When speakers want to rephrase or correct their own utterances or when they are asked to make changes or clarify their utterances, they may use the marker.

Jucker (1993) suggested a relevance-theoretical account (cf. Sperber and

Wilson, 1986) on four major functions of *well*: a marker of insufficiency, a face-threat mitigator, a frame marker, and a delay device. For example, as a frame marker, *well* is used to separate discourse units. Schiffrin also proposes that *well* can work as a frame marker, but she argues that it anchors a speaker to the conversation despite its incoherence. Different from her approach, Jucker focuses on *well*'s function of indicating the following utterance's nonrelevance from the prior talk.

As in Excerpt (7), *well* can make a shift in the topic focus as a focusing element. In this function, it is not always placed at the beginning of a turn.

Excerpt (7) – (from Jucker (1993: 446))

```
01 A: ⟶  and I said well I don't really think I could write-
02        and this sort of ninety-six page booklet you know
03        about that big.
```

Jucker proposed that *"well* is some kind of signpost, directing the way in which the following utterance should be processed by the addressee" (1993: 438).

Excerpt - (8) - (from Jucker (1993: 442))

```
01 A:  That man speaks extremely good English.
02 B:  ⟶  Well, he is American.
```

It is obvious that there is a discrepancy between the background knowledge

that A and B are using. In Excerpt (7), speaker A is surprised by the man's good English, but B is not. B shares A's comment on the man's English, but B does not seem to consider the comment plausible because B knows that the man is American. It is not surprising at all that an American speaks extremely good English. Thus, in this context, B's *well* is used to indicate the manifest part of the background knowledge that A does not have.

The analysis of *well* in terms of face-threat minimisation can be accounted within a relevance-theoretical framework as well. Excerpt (9) is the same as the one we have seen in Excerpt (5).

Excerpt (9) - (from Owen (1981: 109))

```
01 A:      they must worry about you though Eddie, don't they,
02         your Mum and Dad, when you're doing all these jumps
03 B: →    er well they always come to all the shows
04 A:      do they
05 B:      Yeah and they enjoy it
```

Jucker analyzes the given excerpt as follows (1993: 444): As for the assumption underlying this conversation, the interviewer A believes that it would be normal for parents to worry about their child doing dangerous jumps. The epistemic use of the modal verb *must* and the tag question show that her belief if very strong. However, Eddie's parents obviously enjoy his shows, and they do not worry about him, which signifies that the interviewer's assumption is ill-founded. In that sense,

A's turn in lines 01-02 does not provide a maximally relevant background for the interpretation of B's following turn.

Unlike *oh,* the meaning of *well* is notoriously vague and versatile (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen, 2003), so it is considered difficult to define a core meaning. From a heteroglossic perspective (Bakhtin, 1981; White, 1999), Aijmer, Foolen and Simon-Vandenbergen (2006) tries to capture the invariant meaning of *well*. In the framework of heteroglossia, *well* signals to the addressee the speaker's interpretation of the prior turn in the larger context.

Aijmer et al., define the core meaning of *well* as, namely, acceptance. Depending on the context, *well* signals something like "knowing this, accepting this as a starting point, there is something else I want to say" (2006: 110). Consider the following examples from (Aijmer et al., 2006: 110).

(3) A: "Oh," she said. "You're not married"

B: "Well, I am, but she's ... living somewhere"

(4) "Don't worry," said Beverly. "They don't come in the houses. Well, not often. They've got their own complex at the bottom of the gardens.

In example (3), the second speaker accepts what the speaker A says but uses *well* in order to resolve the divergence between A's expectations and his own. In example (4), the speaker accepts what he has just said, and having that as a starting point, he corrects his previous utterance because it may give wrong expectations to the hearer.

For this reason, they argue that the multifunctionality of *well* arises from the needs of speakers who want to express acceptance of a previous statement or of a situation for different purposes such as initiating a discourse, conclusion, disagreement, surprise, etc.

Compared to most previous literature focused on the occurrences of *well* in second position (i.e., responses to questions, offers, invitations, or assessments), Kim (2013), taking sequential position into consideration, offers descriptions of *well* in third position. In her view, *well* is an important resource that signal the relationship between the preceding and following actions in talk-in-interaction.

To be more specific, focusing on the practices of *well*-prefacing following a question-response pair, Kim describes that *well* retroactively indexes the prior turn (i.e., the question) as a preliminary action and prospectively indexes the following turn as the reason for having asked the prior question. The following excerpt shows the case in point. In Excerpt (10), an attendance officer and a student's mother are having a talk over the phone.

Excerpt - (10) - (from Kim (2013: 140))

```
01 Off:   Hello this is Miss Medeiros from Redondo High School
02        calling,
03 Mom:   Uh huh,
04 Off:   Was Bryan home from school ill today?
05        (0.4)
06 Mom:   .hhh (0.7) Bryan wasn't home ill today was he? ((Off
```

```
07          phone))
08          (0.5)
09 A?:      Not at all.
10 Mom:     No.
11 Off:     M[m hmm,
12 Mom:         [No he wasn't.
13 Off: →   .hhh W'l he was reported absent from his thir:d and
14          his fifth period cla:sses today.
15          (0.3)
16 Mom:     Uh huh,
17 Off:     hh A:n we need'im to come inna the office in the
18          morning to clear this up.
```

In this case, the officer's question in line 01 is designed as a preliminary action to the *well*-prefacing in line 10. The main purpose of her calling is to confirm the reason of Bryan's absence and to notify that he needs to come to the office in case his absence was without explicit accusation. If the mother's response was '*yes he was'* in line 10, the officer's *well*-prefacing turn in lines 13-14 may not be needed. However, as the officer gets the confirmation from the mother, she goes ahead to say the *well*-prefaced turn. In that the turn is only necessary when the officer gets *no* as a response, *well* renders the upcoming turn relevant to the speaker's prior question.

So far, we have reviewed different analyses of *well* within a few theoretical perspectives in the literature. In the following section, previous research on discourse marker combination will be reviewed in section 2.4.

2.4 Discourse Marker Combinations

For a long time, the combinations of discourse markers were not the focus of discourse marker studies *per se*, but combined discourse markers have always been in data that are employed to describe the functions of individual markers. Researchers have started to find their interest in the sequencing and/or combinations of discourse markers recently.

Some of them (e.g. Fraser, 1999; Schourup, 2001) simply mentioned the phenomena, but the others (e.g. Crible and Cuenca, 2018; Cuenca and Marin, 2009; Dobrovoljc, 2017; Fraser, 2013; Fraser 2015, Koops and Lohmann, 2015) have conducted studies focusing on discourse marker combinations. In the following section, let us review several criteria of classifying various types of discourse marker combinations.

2.4.1 Several Criteria

The concept of *discourse marker combination* is quite vague, so it is necessary to go over the current discussion on criteria to distinguish different degrees of the combination of DMs.

Hansen (1998) differentiates '*summative sequences'* and '*combinatory sequences.*' Her distinction depends on whether the markers occurring in collocations tend to retain their individual meanings (summative) or generate a new

complex meaning (combinatory). She argues that most of the DM sequences are summative for the reason that it is possible to excerpt the meaning of each element even when they are combined.

Crible and Cuenca (2017, 2018) proposes a three-fold cline of distinctions of DM co-occurrence under the considerations of scope and function. The categories are '*juxtaposition*,' '*combination*,' and '*lexicalization*.'

Table 2.1 Three-fold cline of distinctions of discourse marker co-occurrence (Crible and Cuenca, 2018)

Juxtaposition	**Combination** (Two DMs take the same scope.)	**Lexicalization**
– Two DMs take different scopes over different units. – Two DMs' functions are not mixed.	– The second DM narrows down or reinforces the meaning of the first DM. (Addition) – The combined form indicates a single discourse function. (Composition)	– Two DMs' combination earns a new function (its meaning is not sum of its parts).

First of all, *juxtaposition* refers to the case where two or more DMs take different scopes over different units, and their functions are not mixed. Juxtaposition of markers implies that two markers are neither syntactically nor semantically combined. Example (5) is adapted from Crible and Cuenca (2018):

(5) he said he seemed quite quite happy to meet you (0.320) I'm I'll attempt not to turn this off// well I mean it's no problem **[because [if** he doesn't turn up if he doesn't turn up] I'll just uhm (0.020) you know go and get some sandwiches or something]

The second category, *combination,* refers to the case where the collocated DMs take the same scope and their functions get mixed. Under the *combination* category, there are two types of combination which are '*addition'* and '*composition.*' *Addition* refers to the case where two DMs have the same scope and maintain their meanings and functions sufficiently distinct as in Example (6). In this example, *and* indicates its basic meaning of additive conjunction, while "so" specifies the following segment is the conclusion to the previous discourse.

(6) he's the guy who is supposed to have left and he had my papers **and so** that was the problem of the party **(**adapted from Crible and Cuenca, 2017)

The second type of combination is *composition. Composition* refers to the case where two DMs have the same scope and jointly express one single meaning though the authors does not specify how two makers become composed. In Example (7), as a composed combination, *but anyway* indicates a single discourse function at a global level, which is changing a topic.

(7) the funny thing is that none of the sort of Nancy Mitford stuff (0.050) do I mean Nancy (0.020) I can never remember which Mitford is which **but anyway**

none of the u and non-u stuff seems to have washed off on your mother at all (adapted from Crible and Cuenca, 2018)

Lexicalization refers to the most integrated type. When the meaning of a cluster is different from the sum of its parts and its instruction becomes conventional, the cluster is considered to be lexicalized. Lexicalized co-occurrence of two items can indicate different kinds of interactional values (Crible and Cuenca, 2018). Let us consider the examples adapted from Crible and Cuenca (2018):

(8) they buy the book say for a couple of pounds, ***and then*** return it and get half

(9) people do tend to describe themselves [...] a lot of people describe people as jealous [...] ***and then*** there are the really bland ones

The use of *and then* in Example (8) is a case of an *addition* of the additive conjunction *and*, and the temporal adverb *then*; in other words, *and then* in (4) indicates the temporality between two facts.

The use of *and then* in Example (9) is a case of showing the intermediate state between *composition* and *lexicalization*. In this case, the cluster expresses the continuation of the description of a situation at discourse level with contrastive nuances, but its meaning is not sum of its parts.

Fraser is another researcher who has shown his interest in DMCs. Even though Fraser's definition of DMs is more restrictive than that of Schiffrin's (1987), his recent studies on discourse marker combinations are still noteworthy and

insightful. Fraser (2013) suggests two necessary and sufficient conditions for contrastive discourse marker (CDM, henceforth) combinations to be acceptable. The first condition is that, when two CDMs connect two sentences, each of the markers must be able to occur alone in the second sentence. In the following example, the CDM combination *however conversely* is not acceptable because only (10b) is acceptable:

(10) Fraser (2013: 321)

a. He symbolizes everything I hate. ***However, conversely,** I do admire him.

b. He symbolizes everything I hate. **However,** I do admire him.

c. He symbolizes everything I hate. ***Conversely,** I do admire him.

The second condition is that the meanings of two CDMs must be compatible with each other[3]. In the following examples, (10a) is acceptable and (10b) is not since the CDMs in (10b) are not compatible. An interesting aspect of the combination in (10b) is that the sentence is acceptable if either *still* or *on the other hand* is used alone.

(11) Fraser (2013: 321)

a. Tulips are difficult to grow. **But still,** I keep trying.

b. Tulips are difficult to grow. ***Still, on the other hand,** I keep trying.

[3] However, Fraser (2013) does not suggest concrete criteria for how to decide the compatibility of two markers.

The criteria that have been suggested so far denote that 1) there exist different degrees of discourse marker combination, 2) there are restrictions for discourse markers to be combined, and 3) the same combination form of two markers may have different functions. In the following section, let us review the recent studies on discourse marker combination.

2.4.2 Recent Studies on Discourse Marker Combinations

Compared to the massive amount of research that has been done on individual DMs or groups of them, there is only a handful amount of studies on DMCs. Let us begin this section by going through Fraser's recent studies (2013, 2015). Fraser examined the possible two-word form of intra-class combinations of CDMs[4] (2013), such as *but however*, and then within the same approach inspected two-word form of cross-class combinations of CDMs[5] and implicative discourse markers[6] (IDM, henceforth), such as *but then* and *as a result however* (2015). He studied the entire class of CDMs

---

[4] CDM's that are used in Fraser (2013): *alternatively, although, but, contrary to expectations, conversely, even though, except, however, in comparison (with), in contrast (to), instead (of), nevertheless, notwithstanding, only, on the contrary, on the other hand, rather (than), still, though, whereas, while,* and *yet*

[5]CDMs that are used in Fraser (2015): *but, however, yet, still nevertheless despite that, on the other hand, alternatively, on the contrary, in contrast, conversely, instead,* and *rather*

[6]IDMs that are used in Fraser (2015): *so, therefore, thus, then, given that, as a result, as a consequence, consequently, as a conclusion, all in all, accordingly, hence,* and *for that reason*

and IDMs combinations to figure out which combinations occur, and which do not. By checking the presence of every possible combination in spoken and written corpus data and by consulting other native speakers, Fraser (2013, 2015) proposed the tables of discourse marker combinations.

Within a quantitative approach, Koops and Lohmann (2015) investigated the internal ordering preferences of two-part discourse marker sequences such as *oh well*, *you know I mean*, etc. Using the Fisher Corpus, a collection of 10-minute 16,000 telephone conversations in American English, they calculated the optimal DM sequencing hierarchies, which predict the order of all possible DMC (*oh* > *well* > *and* > *or* > *but* > *you know* > *so* > *because* > *now* > *then* > *I mean*). Koops and Lohmann (2015) argues that non-canonical ordering (Schiffrin, 1987) is not a necessary or predictable feature of DMs,but non-canonical ordered DM sequences have more abstract functions.

In their follow-up study, Lohmann and Koops (2016) argue that the hierarchies are not definite. The placement of a DM in alternative slots brings out the marker's capacity to function at different levels of discourse organization. For instance, when *so* appears in initial position (*so and*), it functions as a topic management marker. When *so* appears in second position (*and so*), it marks a consequence relation between adjacent sentences.

Studies on DMCs have so far focused on discovering the eligible sequencing regulations or co-occurrences patterns of combined discourse markers. However, they have not sufficiently considered the combined markers' functions nor the

contexts in which the combined markers occur. In fact, what a combined marker does in talk-in-interaction is not decided solely based in which order two (or more) markers combine.

For example, in addition to position in sequence, prosody is one of the key factors that decide the meaning of a combined discourse marker. Norrick (2015) claimed that the combination *oh yeah* illustrates three-fold prosody-based distinction: 1) *oh yeah* with the main stress on *oh* and a falling intonation contour (as an intensified variant of *yeah*), 2) *oh yeah* with a level or falling intonation contour (as an indication of a speaker's recollection), and 3) *oh yeah* with a rising intonation contour (as a questioning or challenging device for something in the foregoing turn). Accordingly, it is necessary to take various features into account in discourse marker combination studies. From the next section, previous studies on *oh well* will be discussed.

2.5 *Oh Well* as a Combined Discourse Marker

The combination of *oh* and *well* is interesting to look at because the two DMs share many characteristics, yet they differ from each other in many aspects. First of all, both *oh* and *well* are considered to have no semantic meanings, but they can influence the overall meaning of the discourse in which they occur (Schiffrin, 1987). Second, they have preference to come in turn-initial position (Norrick, 2009) or in the beginnings of utterances (Fuller, 2003). Third, they can mark pragmatic structure

(Redeker, 1990), signal a reaction to information provided by another speaker and modify the speaker's information or knowledge (Fuller, 2003). Lastly, in terms of usage registers, both of them are used more frequently in conversations between friends than between strangers (Redeker, 1990), and more frequently used in ordinary conversations than in interviews (Fuller, 2003).

With regard to the contrasts between the two markers, *oh* functions as an epistemic status indexing marker while *well* functions as an action-projecting marker. Another contrast arises out of their looking orientations. *Oh* has a backward sequence looking orientation, which means it indicates a shift in speaker orientation to information presented by another interlocutor. On the contrary, *well* has a forward (and backward, according to Schiffrin (1987)) sequence looking orientation, which means *well* indicates that the information a *well* speaker presents may require a shift in hearer orientation.

Previous studies which included extracts that contain *oh well* primarily focused on either *oh* or *well,* and *oh well* has not been the focus of a study *per se*. Even in the cases where *oh well* was seen as a combined form, it was rather briefly mentioned as an example of conventionalized combination of discourse markers (Aijmer, 1987; Carlson, 1984; Norrick, 2009; Schourup, 2001). As there was little interest, what we know about *oh well* seems to be limited as well. The aim of current study is to expand the understanding of *oh well* by examining what it does in an interactional context and what it is combined for.

Let us review the previous studies on *oh well*. In her study of *oh* and *ah*,

Aijmer (1987) listed some uses of *oh well* that were found in the data. She argued that *oh well* conveys the speaker's nonchalance towards the situation, indicates that a mistake has been made, occurs in argumentative structures like the single *oh*, and it can be associated with the speaker's consolation or unwilling acceptance. Aijmer (2013) analyzed that *oh well* with non-vocalic sound *tut* or *tsk* (a sound made to show disapproval) suggests an emotional stance as in Excerpt (11); however, she did not give further explanation.

Excerpt (11) – from Aijmer (2013: 108)

```
01 A:     what about the sort of attitude to women staying at
02        home when you have children
03 B: →   ((tuts)) oh well I guess I've seen the people I've
04        met are career people mostly ((breathes)) but I
05        think I've I've heard at least that you can't stay
06        at home. You can't both work and stay at home. Some
07        of the time you kind of have to choose...
```

Norrick (2015) also spared a paragraph to comment that *oh well,* as an interjection of emotional involvement, can intensify story climax as in Excerpt (12). As he did not provide further description on it, his comment seems to be intuitive and not specific enough.

Excerpt (12) – from Norrick (2015: 265)

```
01 A: ⟶  and it kept going down and down. and I thought "oh
02        well, this is it." I knew I was gonna die that time
```

In his monograph on *well*, Carlson (1984) mentioned that speakers can make the intention of disregarding or making light of an unpleasantness clearer by prefacing *oh* to *well* as in Excerpt (13). Nevertheless, he noted that *well* and other markers (or interjections) are not primarily expressive of any emotion (1984: 93). Rather, particular emotions as epiphenomena may be conventionally associated with routine uses of the markers (1984: 98).

Excerpt (13) – from Carlson (1984: 49)

```
01 A:     You'll be late at your gallery, said Claudia.
02 B: ⟶  Oh well, I don't suppose it matters much. Nobody
03        notices or cares.
```

Bolinger (1989) argued that *well* in (12a) implies resignation. Schourup (2001), however, claimed that Bolinger's (1989) analysis is not perfect because he overlooked the contribution of *oh* might make to (12a), and *well* can also be used in the context of non-resignation as in (12b). Instead, Schourup (2001) argued that *oh well* has been conventionalized as a combined form because *oh well* cannot be compatible with non-resignation as in (12c).

(12) Schourup (2001: 1031)

a. **Oh well**, I guess we might as well.

b. **Well**, I refuse to just resign myself to my fate.

c. **?Oh well**, I refuse to just resign myself to my fate.

As for *oh well* as a resignation marker, Norrick (2015) also mentioned that "with an overall falling intonation contour" *oh well* usually signifies resignation as in:

Excerpt (14) – from Norrick (2015: 268)

```
01 B:     you know that she may end up going um to uh t-
02 A: →   oh well the thing is your whole life has been around
03        her.
04 B:     mhm.
```

When it comes to the order of markers' combination, Norrick (2015) argued that, with some exceptions, there are fixed orders of elements that hold across regional and national variants of English. *Oh well* seems to be considered as a fixed form in the literature (Aijmer, 2013; Schourup, 2001; Lohmann and Koops, 2016; Norrick, 2009, 2015). As for *oh well*, a clear asymmetry in frequency of *oh well* and *well oh* supports that *oh* and *well* prefer to be combined as *oh well* (Koops and Lohmann (2015). In their corpus-based study, *oh well* occurred 1,151 times as a strongly integrated sequence, but *well oh* did not occur at all in their database.

So far, we have seen that both *oh* and *well* function as discourse markers which share many characteristics but differ from each other in many aspects. Besides, we have seen that *oh well* is considered as a firmly combined discourse marker in the literature, yet the analysis on the item's functions is highly focused on *oh well*'s resignation sense.

The final goal of this paper is to discuss the status of *oh well* as a discourse marker vis-à-vis its distribution and functions considering various factors. In the following section, the methodological approach that the author deployed will be reviewed.

Chapter 3. Data and Methodology

3.1 Data

Seeking to find answers to (a) Is it possible to identify various degrees of integration of *oh* and *well*? (b) What are the uses of *oh well* as a discourse marker?, and (c) What is the status of *oh well* as a discourse marker?, the current study investigates the uses of *oh well* with reference to the degree of their integration in everyday talk.

As a means to do so, naturally occurring data was taken from TalkBank (https://talkbank.org). TalkBank is an extensive open database of spoken language corpora (MacWhinney, 2007) that provides various types of audio and video recordings with or without transcriptions. It currently provides 15 sub-corpora of communication under four different Banks (*Conversation, Child Language, Multilingualism, and Clinical*), and each sub-corpus has numerous subordinate corpora; for example, *Conversation Bank* consists of *CABank, SametaleBank* and *ClassBank*, and *CABank* has 26 sub-corpora.

Among them, the data was retrieved from *CallFriend* corpus, which is a part of *CABank*. *CallFriend* corpus consists of Northern and Southern English telephone conversations. The audio data of CallFriend corpus were contributed by the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC)[7], and its linking transcriptions in CA-CHAT

[7] Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC), hosted by the University of Pennsylvania, is an open consortium of universities, libraries, corporations and government research laboratories.

format were produced by Malcah Yaeger-Dror and her students. As for the phone-call data collection managed by LDC, both callers and recipients agreed to being recorded ahead of time, and each caller was allowed to talk up to 30 minutes.

For the current study, fifteen 30-minute recordings (7.5 hours, about 122, 672 words) with full transcripts were retrieved from the web on August 4th, 2018. As the existing transcriptions of recorded data in *CallFriend* are not unified, the author complemented the original transcriptions according to Jeffersonian Transcript Conventions (Jefferson, 2004)[8]. The instances of *oh well* as a DM were searched, and non-DM use of *oh well* sequencing such as the following example was excluded in the analysis.

Excerpt (15) - (Field 1:1:89-94)

```
01 Les:      Uh didyuh get yer garlic tablets.
02 Mum:      Yes I've got them,
03 Les:      Have yuh t- started tak[ing them
04 Mum:                             [I started taking them
05           toda:y
06 Les:  →   Oh well do:n[e,
```

3.2 Methodology

Data was analyzed in conversation analysis (CA, henceforth). CA is an approach to

[8] See the Appendix for transcription conventions.

the study of recorded, naturally occurring verbal and nonverbal talk-in-interaction. It was initiated in 1960s by Harvey Sacks, in collaboration with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. The aim of studying talk-in-interactions is to figure out how people produce and interpret utterance, solve problems in talk, and how they perform social actions (e.g., agreeing, announcing, asking, complaining, complimenting, disagreeing, inviting, requesting, noticing, offering, and so on) through language in everyday life (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1996, ten Have 2007; and so on).

CA deals with naturally occurring data rather than created, imagined, or experimentally produced ones. Data that are gathered in practices such as interviews or field observation are much more manipulative and researcher-oriented; therefore, the result of a study might not be reliable. Through analyzing natural data, however, researchers can be free from the risk of manipulating data and focus on studying not only what is said but also how it is said. As CA considers every element of a talk, it is very useful to identify subtle distinctions that might have been overlooked in other research methodologies.

CA is always based on recorded audio or video data with meticulous transcripts of the recordings, and transcription is a very important part of doing CA. Transcription used to be a very difficult job, but the development of technology of recording and speech recognition made the work much easier and faster. As a conversation analyst's goal is to uncover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, transcribing the features of both verbal and non-

verbal languages as detailed as possible is critical. In transcription, every speech's phonetics and prosody features should be indicated, and non-speech features such as the length of silence, the boundaries of overlapping, laughter, inhalation and exhalation, background noises, and body behaviors should be suggested as well.

No research methodology is perfect, and the one that has been chosen for the current study comes with trade-offs. Analyzing every detail of interaction within a qualitative approach is key to examine the colloquial uses of *oh well,* so examining a small-scale of data in detail was more valuable to the study. Nonetheless, it is true that a quantitative approach, which might have shown its own set of critical insights has been sacrificed.

There are many practices of managing a conversation that are objects of CA research. Among them, three practices that are relevant to the current paper will be briefly described: turn-taking, sequencing, and repair.

Turn-taking practices refer to how speakers construct a turn and allocate a turn in the conversation. A turn is composed of one or more *turn constructional units* (TCU) that complete a communicative act. A TCU can consist of different levels of linguistic units, such as words, phrases, clauses, and sentences (Sacks et al., 1974).

The end of each TCU is a *possible completion point* (PCP), and PCP is often a *transition-relevance place* (TRP) where turn-taking can take place. Speakers can project the possible completion of a TCU using three resources: grammar, intonation, pragmatics. The place where turn transitions most likely to occur is a complex transition relevance place (CTRP), where TCU is grammatically, intonationally, and

pragmatically complete (Ford, Fox, and Thompson, 1996). At a TRP, speaker transition may become relevant (Sacks et al., 1974) and three hierarchical rules apply. The rules are (a) *the current speaker selects the next speaker*, (b) if (a) does not happen, *the next speaker self-selects*, and (c) if (b) does not happen, *the current speaker continues*.

Sequencing practices refer to ways of organizing turns to be ordered and combined to form coherent courses of social actions. The basic unit of a sequence is an *adjacency pair* (AP). A base adjacency pair is composed of two turns produced by different speakers, ordered as first pair-part (FPP) and second-pair-part (SPP). Examples of adjacency pair include summons-answer, complaint-account, question-answer, greeting-greeting, offering-acceptance/refusal, and others (Schegloff, 2007).

An AP can be expanded. *Pre-expansion* is an AP that comes before the base FPP, *insert-expansion* is an AP that comes between the base FPP and SPP, and *post-expansion* is a turn or AP that come after SPP. Pre-expansion is used to have base AP's smooth running, insert-expansion is used to either clarify the FPP or seek preliminary information before doing the SPP, and post-expansion is used either to terminate the sequence (minimal) or to keep the sequence open (non-minimal). The minimal post-expansion (e.g., *oh, okay, good*) is also called as *sequence-closing third* (SCT).

Sequencing practices are important to reveal *preference organization* in conversation. Preference is not a psychological concept, but "a structural organization in which the alternatives that fit in a certain slot in a sequence are treated

as nonequivalent (i.e. preferred vs. dispreferred)" (Wong and Waring, 2010: 62). Preferred actions are the "unmarked" "natural" or "expected actions, which are not preceded by silence, not produced with delays, mitigation, and accounts. Dispreferred actions have opposite characteristics.

Repair practices refer to how speakers in conversation address problems in speaking, hearing, or understanding (Schegloff et al., 1977). The object of repair is called *trouble-source*, and a word, phrase, or utterance can be a trouble-source. Trouble-source is not necessarily objective problems, i.e. errors of grammar, meaning, pronunciation, etc. Types of repair can be classified by who initiates repair (self or other), by who produces the outcome of a repair (self or other), and by where a repair unfolds (turn or sequential position).

Chapter 4. Analysis and Discussions

In this chapter, the distribution of *oh well* compared to *oh* and *well* in the database will be presented first. Then, the uses of *oh well* with respect to the degree of two markers' integration will be presented with relevant excerpts. Lastly, the status of *oh well* as a discourse marker will be discussed.

4.1 The Distribution of *Oh Well*

The possible combinations of *oh* and *well* are '*oh well'* and '*well oh*.' Including the cases that have pauses in between *oh* and *well*, *oh well* occurred 45 times, but *well oh* did not occur in the data that have about 122, 672 words. The frequency of individual DMs *oh* and *well,* and that of the combined form *oh well* are shown in the following table.

Table 4.1 The frequency of *oh*, *well*, and *oh well* in the data

Markers	***Oh***	***Well***	***Oh well***
Frequency	795	547	45

As for the frequency of each item, *oh* occurs more frequently than *well* does, *oh well* does not occur as frequently as either *oh* or *well*. However, it is natural for a

more complicated form to have lower frequency because the usage gets more specific as more words combine.

In the data, *oh* and *well* only combine into *oh well*, and this result is in line with that of Koops and Lohmann's (2015) study on ordering preferences of two-part discourse marker sequences, which was mentioned in Chapter 2. The other possible combining form, *well oh,* did not occur *per se*, but there was one case where *well* is followed by *oh*. In this case, *well oh* is a part of *oh well oh* co-occurrence as it is shown in the following excerpt.

Excerpt (16) - (Callfriend/eng-s/file #6914)

```
01 M1:    I kno:w and I wasn't paying eight dollars for it, I
02        didn't think [(°it was worth°)]
03 M2:                 [o::h we got] it at walmart though.
04        (0.4)
05 M1:    oh really?
06 M2:    yeah we got ou:rs at wal:mart
07 M1: → Oh (.) well (.) oh [I thought you]=
08 M2:                      [yeah]
09 M1:    = meant it (.) was at walmart,
10        (0.8)
11 M2:    no [we got]
12 M1:       [yeah we got], yeah I got mine at walmart
```

Two markers do not seem to combine into either *oh well* or *well oh* in this

case because there are micro pauses between *oh* and *well*, and *well* and *oh* (line 07). Instead, this excerpt shows that *oh* and *well* can be deployed individually but together; *oh* is used to index the speaker's change of state caused by new information receipt, and *well* is used to delay his speech. Since there is no pause between the second *oh* and '*I thought you...'* in line 07, the second *oh* seems to be more closely attached to the following utterance. The pattern that two markers come one after another denotes that *oh* and *well* are potential items that can have a combined form.

Out of 45 cases of *oh well*, there were five cases of *oh well* that has a pause between two markers such as the following:

Excerpt (17) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #5000)

```
01 F2:   °hhh and we didn't kno:w anybody there so we didn't
02       go:↓cause we [just got home] from gro:cery sho:pping
03 F1:                [o::h]
04 F2:   and [we looked really] dum:b
05 F1: →     [o:h]↓
06        (0.8)
07 F1: → °well, you know, that'll happen°
08        (0.6)
09 F2:   °hhhhh so go ahead
```

In Excerpt (17), two markers are deployed one after another (lines 05 and 07), but there is an overt pause of (0.8) second between *oh* and *well*. As *oh* and *well*

compose two different turns, they are not combined but merely juxtaposed in order to achieve two different interactional goals. As F1 needs to receive information first in order to give a comment about it, it is logical and natural to use *oh* first and then *well*.

In Chapter 4.2, the uses of *oh well* will be examined in reference to the degree of discourse marker co-occurrence presented in Table 4.2. The following table, which is proposed in this paper, is a modified categorization of three-fold cline of distinctions of discourse marker co-occurrence suggested by Crible and Cuenca (2018).

Table 4.2 The revised categorization of discourse marker co-occurrence

Juxtaposition	**Combination** (Two DMs take the same scope.)	**Lexicalization**
– Two DMs take different scopes over different units. – Two DMs' functions are not mixed.	– Two DM's functions are not mixed. (Basic-combination) – The second DM narrows down or reinforces the meaning of the first DM. (Addition) – The combined form indicates a single discourse function. (Composition)	– Two DMs' combination earns a new function, and its meaning is not sum of its parts.

In addition to the original categorization, an extra sub-category under 'combination' category is included in the modified one. It is because the original

combination category cannot cover cases where two or more discourse markers come together, take the same syntactic scope in the same turn, but their functions do not mix. Thus, in this paper, when *oh* and *well* happen in such cases, their combination type will be described as 'basic-combination.'

4.2 The Uses of *Oh Well*

Examining the uses of *oh well* is not a completely novel subject of study, but it has not been solely carried out taking sequential organization in interaction into consideration. In other words, *oh well* has been considered as an indicator of a speaker's emotional stance, but its other roles in discourse have not been considered thoroughly.

For this reason, the current paper aims to describe what *oh well* does in discourse by analyzing various uses of *oh well* along with examining the degree of integration of *oh* and *well* as a discourse marker. As 'juxtaposition' is not a type of combination, and 'addition' is not found in the data, only the cases of the rest will be examined in the following section. Let us examine a few uses of *oh well* where *oh* and *well* are basically-combined.

4.2.1 Basic-combination of *Oh Well*

As for the characteristics of a basically-combined *oh well*, *oh* and *well* are deployed

independently, and there is no overt split-up between two markers; though, intonational disruptions may appear. In this section, six examples of basically-combined *oh well* will be examined.

In Excerpt (18), S1 and S2 are having a conversation and S1 asks S2 about his wife's pregnancy.

Excerpt (18) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #4175)

```
01 S1:    (hhh hhh) how Is everythi::ng? you have (.) a ↓legal
02        problem?
03 S2:    °hhh
04 S1:    I would rather talk about the baby problem. ((hhh
05        [hhh))]
06 S2: → [↑O::h w]e:ll the baby:'s co[ming along: fi:ne]
07 S1:                                [((hhh hhh))]
08 S1:    [Grea:::t]
09 S2:    [He, Janice] says that he ki:cks: a lo::t
10 S1:    Wo:::w
```

S1 starts a conversation asking two different questions to S2 in a row (lines 01-02) and invites S2 to talk about his baby (line 03). As S1 changes the subject from '*how's everything?'* to *'a legal problem'* and to '*the baby problem'* in a sudden manner, S2 is only able to answer the last question after S1 stops her turn in line 04. However, it can be argued that S2 did prepare to treat S1's first two questions as inhalation '*°hhh'* in line 03 is a common sign of the beginning of an utterance.

In this excerpt, *oh* and *well* clearly maintain their original functions as discourse markers. As the markers take the same scope, and each marker's function is identifiable*, oh well* is basically-combined. The prosodic features of *oh well* also show that *oh* and *well* are separate. That both of the markers are lengthened and only *well* is stressed may denote that the speaker deploys them with individual attention and for different purposes.

By deploying *oh* and *well* at the beginning of a response, speakers can convey two pragmatic meanings one after the other. As S2 simply provides the news in response to S1's invitation turn, *oh* seems to indicate the speaker's reception of the question, and *well* signposts the departure of a narrative as a response. Another analysis is also possible. As legal problems are irrelevant to baby problems, *oh* may also be deployed to indicate that the question was not expected, and *well* may be deployed as a delay marker.

The following excerpt shows another example. In Excerpt (19), the speakers had to restart a phone call conversation because they had talked about something inappropriate to be published in the previous call. Beginning a new phone call recording, speakers are talking about dos and don'ts during the recording:

Excerpt (19) - (Callfriend/eng-n/file #6476)

```
01 M2:   Hello:?
02 M1:   Yup
03 M1:   [°hhh]
04 M2:   [°hhh] (hh) so no sex no:w (.) (hhh hhh hhh)
```

```
05 M1:    [yeah I didn't know about tha:t u:m] (0.4)=
06 M2:    [°(hhh)°      °(hhh)°       °(hhh)°]
07 M1:    = publically re:leased (0.2) part (0.2) part (.)
08        there
09 M2:    °hh [(hhh hhh)]
10 M1:        [so:   ] No na:mes
11 M2:    (hhh hhh °hhh hhh)°
12 M1:    °°(hhh)°°
13 M2:    no na: (hhh) mes, (hhh) No last na:mes? (hhh hhh
14        hhh)
15 M1:    no na:mes
16        (0.4)
17 M1:    °(hhh)°
18 M2:    No names at all?
19        (0.8)
20 M1: →  °hhh Oh: well obviously we're going to have to
21        have some names
22 M2:    but no last na: (hhh) mes
23 M1:    yup °(hhh hhh hhh)°
```

About mentioning real names, M1 and M2 are trying to figure out whether they will use no names at all or have first names only. In line 10, M1 suggests having no names, and M2 repeats his suggestion (line 13). It is, however, not obvious for M2 if M1 meant last names or full names; therefore, M2 utters *'no last names?'* to get a confirmation of his understanding from M1.

Nevertheless, M1 does not give M2 an adequate answer; he just recycles his

previous answer '*no names*' (line 15). So, M2 asks *'no names at all?'* to clarify his understanding once again in line 18. After a delay of (0.8) second, M1 finally refines his earlier criterion (lines 20-21). However, M1's response is still not specific enough (*'some names'),* so M2 initiates a repair sequence in line 22.

What seems to be happening here is that *oh well* prefaces a response to a question, which is a part of a repair sequence. *Oh* and *well* seem to work individually, and *oh well* does not seem to have an extra function as a combined form. As a basically-combined marker, *oh* registers the speaker's change of state cause by the reception of the question, and *well* mitigates a possible face threat caused by the dispreferred response.

To be more specific, *oh* is a locus where M1 gets to realize the problem and understand the purpose of the question. Having first names in the conversation was obvious to M1, but M1 only realizes that it was not obvious to M2 in line 20. M1 may have said *'no names'* in line 15 to refer to *'no last names,'* which made M2 confused. Meanwhile, *well* marks that M1 is going to give M2 a dispreferred response, which contradicts M2's question.

One of the reasons why *oh* and *well* are used together is maybe because they can come in the same position, but they can carry out different jobs. Both *oh* and *well* can be deployed on a repair sequence, but *oh* can mark the initiation of a repair, and *well* can index a completion of a repair, which is a marked revision of a previous turn (Schiffrin, 1987).

Basically-combined *oh well* is seen in a reported speech as well. In the

following excerpt, where T1 tells T2 why she had to stay at Paul's place for two days:

Excerpt (20) - (Callfriend/eng-n/file #6239)

```
01 T1:    We (.) we had like °fifteen° you know [negate:ve] =
02 T2:                                          [°it was°
03        cold everywhere]
04 T1:    = negative wind chi:lls last week and my heat broke
05        hhh °so:° °hhh
06 T2:    ((gasping)) [o::h] =
07 T1:                [My heat broke for two days]
08 T2:    =[no::::]
09 T1:     [I had to stay at] Pau:l's, °for two da:ys hmm
10        that was kind of o:dd°
11        (0.3)
12 T1:    °but, it wasn't the wor:st° >I was like calling my
13        landlord up crying every day I'm like there are (.)
14        you know, (.) hea:lth warni:ngs (.) ou:t (.) right
15        no:w (.) a:nd you need to fix my thi:ng and they're
16    →   like °oh::↓ we:ll, oka:y↓ we'll (.) tell the
17        gu:y.° °hhh and they [like just] =
18 T2:                         [UH:]!
19 T1:    = didn't dea:l. It was so a:wful.
20 T2:    >So wait you and Pau:l are sti:ll talking.
```

T1 had to stay with her ex-boyfriend, Paul, at his place because it was very cold, and her heat was broken (line 01-10). T1 asked her landlord to fix the heat

every day, but they did not do it at least for two days. In the middle of the narrative, T1 quotes how desperately she requested to the landlord to fix the heat (lines 12-15) and how the landlord responded to her (lines 16-17). In line 16, *oh well* is used as a part of the reported speech *'°o::h↓ we:ll, oka:y↓, we'll (.) tell the gu:y°.'*

Given that the personal pronoun *'we'* used in reported speech in line 16 is co-referential with the landlord, who produced the original utterance in the event, and the reported speech is introduced by *be like,* which is one of the common markers for indexing a directed mode of speech (Romaine and Lange, 1991), the reported utterance seems to be a direct reported speech that is considered to convey exact form and content of the original utterance (Li, 1986).

With regard to reporting on talk, it is known that discourse markers can anchor a reported speech to the original speech (Holt, 1996). In this case, *oh well* as a basically-combined discourse marker seems to have the same function. Namely, *oh well* provides extra information about its original speech and the attitude of the reported speaker to the current hearer.

Since *oh* and *well* show separate intonation shifting, which makes an intonational disruption between the markers, and the roles of two markers are identifiable, it can be argued that *oh* and *well* are quite independent. To be specific, in response to the requesting turn (line 15) of the reported sequence, *oh* indexes that the original speaker recognized T1's situation and receipted her request, and *well* marks that the speaker will give an answer that departs from the preference of the requesting action. In line 15, T1 requested the landlord, named *'you,'* to fix the heat

himself, and he acknowledged T1's request; however, he shifted the responsibility to somebody else and did not deal with it.

In the following excerpt, a closure-relevant assessment regarding the other speaker's previous turn follows *oh well*. Excerpt (21) is a conversation where two friends are talking about F2's trip to Spain.

Excerpt (21) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #6239)

```
01 F1:    Did you meet any Spanish bo:ys?
02        (0.3)
03 F2:    no:: <I met (.) well I met some ga:y one:s (.)
04        [((chuckle))]=
05 F1: → [oh, well]=
06 F2:    =[I mea:n] ((chuckle))
07 F1:    =[°that's° usefu:l,] ((chuckle))
08 F2:    ((giggle)) °hhh
09 F1:    °hhh
10 F2:    (hh) I had (         ) boys (    ) now (.) °you
11        know, °  (0.5)°interested in me°  (hhh hhh hhh hhh)
```

In this excerpt, F1 asks F2 to talk about boys that F2 possibly met during her trip to Spain (line 01). F2 says she indeed met some boys, but the boys were not the boys F1 meant (line 03). So, in response to F2's turn, F1 says a sequence closure-relevant assessment, which is in third position of the sequence. As for the basic positions of a sequence, third position is where a sequence can be closed or expanded.

Oh well is used in the beginning (line 05) of the closure-relevant assessment, which is located in line 07. The equal signs that are at the end of line 05 and at the beginning of line 07 indicate that F1's utterances in line 05 and 07 actually compose a turn with no break, but it is only broken up in order to accommodate the placement of F2's overlapping talk in line 06 in the transcript.

As there is intonational discontinuity between *oh* and *well*, and their roles are clear, two markers here seem to be separable. As a marker of change of state, *oh* indexes his caused by F2's answer to the question, and *well* as an opinion marker clearly indexes the evaluative sarcastic comment. Since *oh well* does not carry an extra function, the degree of combination of *oh* and *well* in this case seems to be low as basic-combination level.

The following excerpt shows another interesting usage of *oh well* as a basically-combined marker. In Excerpt (22), two speakers are talking about F2's trip to Italy.

Excerpt (22) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #4984)

```
01 F1:    How (.) how are you doing you didn't (0.5) end
02        up going to Italy?
03        (0.4)
04 F2:    we:ll I did go to Italy:
05 F1:    ↑you DI::D↑
06 F2:    yea:h I couldn't [send you] =
07 F1:                     [Wo:nderful]
```

```
08 F2:    = I couldn't send you a postcard because I was
09        su:ch an idiot. (.) °hhh I pulled the: (0.9) I've
10        got one of those filofa:xes, (0.3) °hhh and so I
11        didn't want to carry the whole thing and I just
12        thought well I'll just take the a:ddress pa:ge:s,
13 F1:    [ah hah]
14 F2:    [°hhh] and I took like °hhh @A: throu:gh (0.8) @T::
15        or [so:methi:ng]
16 F1:       [(laughing]]
17 F2:    you kno:w, °hhh
18 F1: →  ((noise)) o:h well don't [worry about tha:t]=
19 F2:                             [so I didn't have your]
20 F1:    = Tell me how was [it]
21 F2:                      [°I didn't] have your address°
22        (.) °hhh it was grea:t. (.) it was really
23        wonderful¿
24 F1:    [Yea:h?]
25 F2:    [and](.) I'm glad that I got a cha:nce to go: I
26        mea:n, (0.3) go::
```

In this Excerpt, F1 begins a discourse, asking whether F2 made her trip to Italy or not (lines 01-02); so, the topic in the first sequence is F2's trip to Italy. It turns out that F2 did go to Italy but she did not send F1 a postcard. F1 does not ask F2 to give an account for it, but F2 starts to explain why she could not send a postcard to her (lines 08-12, 14-15, 17, 19 and 21).

At first, F1 rejoins F2's explanation (line 13). In line 18, however, F1

interrupts F2's explanation with an *oh well*-prefaced turn, '*don't worry about that,*' which is a closure-relevant utterance. As what is done is done, and there is nothing they can do about an unsent postcard, F2's explanation might not have mattered much to F1. F1's '*don't worry about tha:t*' formulates that F1 wants to stop hearing about the postcard.

F1's primary interest was to hear about F2's trip to Italy, so F1 directly requests F2 to start talking about her trip in general, '*Tell me how was it*' (line 20), which is the main purpose of her turn. Two sentential TCUs are latched, and the equal signs at the end of line 18 and at the beginning of line 20 indicate that F1's turn in line 18 and 20 is a continuous turn with no break, but it is physically broken up in the transcript in order to accommodate the placement of F2's overlapping talk in line 19.

The usage of *oh well* in this excerpt is interesting in that *oh well*-prefaced turn is followed by an explicit closing assessment of the previous sequence and inviting of a new sequence. It is gripping that *oh well*-prefacing is third turn of the question-answer sequence, but at the same time, it is an initiation of another sequence.

The function of *oh well* seems to be sum of two markers. As F2 tells F1 about the unsent postcard, F1 gets to know about what happened; therefore, it can be analyzed that F1's *oh*-initiated receipt proposes her change of state of knowledge upon F1's account. In order to ask for a change in topic without getting F2 offended, *well* is used as a face-threatening minimizer and a sequence initiation device. Accordingly, it is plausible to say that this case shows the state of *oh well* as a

basically-combined discourse marker.

Let us examine the last case of basic-combination of *oh well*. In Excerpt (23), B1 and B2 are talking about B2's wife's job offers. In the earlier part of the conversation, which is omitted due to limited space, B2 said his wife had cleared some money working part-time, and her boss wanted to offer her a full-time salaried position where she can make ten thousand dollars more.

Excerpt (23) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #6952)

```
B1:    Does she have to (.) do you have to really go in?
B2:    I don't know °do you have to really go in?°
       (1.0)
B2:    Yea:h.
B1:    Oh (0.3) °mhm°
       (1.0)
B2:    °hhh but I mean she really hasn't been spending (0.3)
       too much time at home anyway.
B1:    Oh!
       (0.5)
B1:    [°oh okay°]
B2:    [you know] (0.3) she's been working you know full
       ti:me anyway °hhh
B1:    °hhh Oh she ha::s [oh:]
B2:                      [pretty] mu:ch
B1:    She's putting in a (0.3) pretty much a forty-hour
       week?
```

```
18 B2:     °yeah right hon? (.) pretty much a forty hour week?°
19         (1.1)
20 B2:     Yea:h.
21 B1:     °hhh Oh:: (.) oh I thought (.) oh okay↓
22 B2:     >Even though she's [not] =
23 B1:                        [oh]
24 B2:     = getting pai:d forty hours I mean she only gets
25         pai:d thirty two (.) when she works fu:ll time.
26         (0.5)
27 B1:     oh I see (.) °oh okay°
28         (1.6)
29 B1:     °hhh [Oh:!]
30 B2:          [you know she] only puts in: (.) °hhh when she
31         puts in a full da:y, it's only a seven hour da:y
32         (0.7)
33 B1:     yea:h ri:ght (.) right
34         (0.6)
35 B1:     °right°
36         (1.0)
37 B1: →   °hmm° °hhh Oh: well then the ti:me that (.) I (.)
38         well (.) well that's (.) I thou:ght (.) u:h °hhh I
39         didn't know she was working really full(h)ti:me(h)
40         (hh)
41 B2:     yea:h [she is]
42 B1:           [she is working] full ti:me.
```

In line 01, B1 asks B2 whether his wife has to commute to work. After B2

answers the question, he adds a comment (lines 07-08). B1's confusion begins here. As B2 said in the earlier conversation that his wife was making money working part-time, B1 gets confused when he heard B2's comment that is at epistemic odds with his knowledge, *'you know (0.3) she's been working you know full ti:me anyway.'*

So, B1 asks B2 whether his wife works almost 40 hours per week, which is a maximum number of hours for full-time status (line 16), and B2 confirms that she does in lines 18-20. In response to that, B1 tries to say what he was thinking, but he does not say what it was; instead, he ends his turn saying '*oh okay*↓' (line 21). As you can see, B1 frequently uses a change of state marker *oh* throughout the conversation in this excerpt. It is probably because B1 is the one who has more information, and B1 mostly receives new information from B2. His various usages of *oh* reflect that he keeps updating his epistemic stance about the subject.

In the following lines, B2 clarifies that his wife actually gets paid for 32 hours of a full-time job (lines 22, 24 and 25), and elaborates how it works for her (lines 30-31). An interesting pattern we can see here is that when B2 gives new information to B1, B1 acknowledges it first and then takes some time to process it.

In response to B2's turn, B1 says *'oh I see (.) °oh okay°'* in line 27. After (1.6) second of a gap follows, B1 utters a loud '*Oh:!'* that denotes B1 has realized something (line 29). B1's *oh* is overlapped with B2's turn in line 29, which contains additional information about B2's wife's job.

Even though B2 has given further explanation, B1 seems still confused. His rejoinder is delayed by (0.7) second (line 32) and partially repeated softly after a gap

(line 34), which denotes he is somewhat uncertain about something. As B1's turn in line 35 does not select a next speaker, it is natural to see no uptake. After a delay of one second, B1 takes turn again and initiates an expanded sequence.

In lines 37-39, B1 finally tries to clarify his problem. Though B1 halts a few times to bring up the trouble source, which results in having four aborted TCUs in the turn, i.e., *'oh: well then*[9] *the time that (.),' 'I (.),' 'well (.) well (.) that's (.),'* and '*I thought'* respectively, he states the problem '*I didn't know she was working really full(h)ti:me(h).'* The confusion which has been piling up from the beginning of the excerpt gets finally resolved by B2 confirming that his wife is a full-time worker.

One of the evidence that shows *oh* and *well* are not tightly combined here is that when B1 repairs the form of the confirmation-inviting turn in lines 37-39, only *well* is recycled as a delaying device. The selective recycling of markers is probably due to the reason that *oh* is only necessary when there is an update in epistemic knowledge. Given that *oh* is not recycled in the latter part of the turn, B1 seems to have realized that he has been misunderstanding the talk when he says *oh*.

In the current sub-chapter, we have seen the cases where *oh* and *well* integrate to form *oh well* in the degree of basic-combination. When *oh* and *well* are basically-combined, both *oh* and *well* retain their functions, and two markers tend to have separate prosody.

---

[9] Since *then* is a DM that is known to be used to organize ideas or topics (Schiffrin, 1987), this case can be examined as a combination of *oh*, *well* and *then*.

4.2.2 Composition of *Oh Well*

When two markers are composed, the combined form jointly serves a single discourse function. Unlike the cases we have seen in the previous section, *oh* and *well* are more closely put together. As a composed marker, *oh well* serves the functions of two markers and indicates the speaker's emotional stance as well. In this sub-chapter, let us examine three cases of composed *oh well*.

In Excerpt (24), P1 is telling P2 about a jewelry party that she went to. In this excerpt, *oh well* seems to be a composed discourse marker in that the functions of two markers can be identified, and *oh well* has a discourse function as one.

Excerpt (24) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #6899)

```
01 P1:    ((smacking)) °hhh um::
02        (1.8)
03 P1:    ((clicking)) One of the women I work wi:th (.)
04      → uh °Chris Bedoin° <oh well↓ you know Chris Bedoin
05        <well (.) you know who I'm ta:lking abo:ut
06 P2:    ye:ah.
07 P1:    Sh:e and I went to a jewelry party last ni:ght?
08 P2:    Yeah,
09        (0.5)
10 P1:    °hhh um: (.) one of the nurses at Connecticut Valley
11        Hospital, I guess °hhh well↓ it's (.) as a: °b:: uh°
12        well it's more of a (.) it's a ho:bby bu:siness. °hhh
```

```
13        she:: (.) go:es to a lo:t of <↑well she bu:ys:
14        (1.6) °antique jewelry° or °hhh <she buys jewelry.
15        And then she has jewelry parties and sells it?
```

In line 03, P1 starts a new train of speech by talking about a coworker, Chris Bedoin, in order to provide background information for the beginning of a story. P1 takes a moment to remember Chris Bedoin's name and then shortly after acknowledges that P2 already knows Chris Bedoin, so P1 changes her turn from informing to questioning *'<oh well↓ you know Chris Bedoin <well (.) you know who I'm ta:lking abo:ut'* in order to check and confirm P2's background knowledge (line 04-05). After the inserted confirmation inviting sequence ends, P1 continues the story without making further reference to Chris Bedoin (lines 07 and 10-15).

In line 04, the questioning part is jump-started, marked with the less-than symbol, which denotes that the speaker has revised her perspective on the shared knowledge abruptly. P1's *oh well* can be analyzed as a combination of *oh* as a way of indexing the speaker's recollection at the moment, which is normally followed by the object of recollection, and *well* as a marker of the initiation of repair. The pattern that only *well* is recycled in line 04 denotes that *oh* and *well* are yet separable.

However, since P1 was already giving enough background information about her coworker in line 03 *'one of the women I work wi:th (.) uh °Chris Bedoin°,* if P2 did not know about her, P1's two utterances, i.e., '*oh well↓ you know Chris Bedoin,' '<well (.) you know who I'm ta:lking abo:ut'* would not have been necessary. As a composed marker, *oh well* introduces an additional TCU into the

current turn.

Another usage of composed *oh well* is seen in Excerpt (25). In the earlier part of the conversation, which is left out due to limited space, S2 was complaining that it was snowing really hard, but there was nobody to clean the streets because the city had let go all the street cleaners.

Excerpt (25) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #5926)

```
01 S2:    °so (.) I- we'll° (.) see what happens ((snorting))
02 S1:    yea:h,
03        (1.4)
04 S1:    well, shi:t <well they PRobably won't hire enough
05        people  that's probably the city's (0.3) the city's
06        (0.3) (      ) contribution to that little problem
07        as a- (1.0) °you know° (.) that the:y, (   ) just
08        (   ) peop(le) (.) keep enough people on sta:nd
09        by °they just hire'em, you know they won't hire'em
10        f:ull ti:me they just want to use'em when they
11        want'em.°
12        (0.3)
13 S2:    [°mhm,°]
14 S1: →  [°hhh] Oh well↓ what do I know↓ [(hhh hhh hhh)]
15 S2:                                     [I don't know](hhh)
16 S1:    So °hhh [yeah.((snorting))]
17 S2:            [((clearing throat))] [so]
18 S1:                                  [so:]
```

```
19 S1:    we:ll↑((snorting)) It's gonna be different, huh,
20        let's see you were uh:: (0.8) u:h (.) is this your
21        first thanksgiving there?
22 S2:    mhm,
```

Since there is nothing S2 can do about the situation, she wraps up her turn making reference to a future event in line 01. S1 utters *'yea:h,'* in line 02, but (1.4) second of pause follows. So S1 takes turn again with discourse marker *well* and starts a narrative of criticizing the city for not hiring the street cleaners full time (lines 04-11).

In response to S1's turn, S2 does not give any rejoinder right away. After a short pause follows, S2 utters a meek continuer *'°mhm,°'* in line 13. What is interesting here is that S1 takes a next turn with *oh well*, but what follows it is a closure-relevant TCU *'what do I know'* (line 14). S1's *oh-well* prefaced turn can be seen as a sequence closing in that the speaker gives up the opportunity to talk about the subject further. Since S2 gave the go-ahead signal, S1 could have continued to censure the city for being stingy; however, she tries to wrap up the talk by stating that she does not actually know about the real reason why there are not enough cleaners on the streets.

As both *oh* and *well* can be deployed as a pre-closing marker, it is fairly natural for the combined form to serve the shared function. Deploying two markers that have the same functions is, however, not really practical. In fact, there seems to be a distinctive connotation of *oh well* here. What is special about the usage of *oh*

well in this case is that the marker not only indexes pre-closing of the on-going talk but also delivers the resigning attitude of the speaker to the hearer.

The following excerpt shows a different case. Here, two friends are talking about the letter that F2 has not mailed and the concert that F2 has seen recently:

Excerpt (26) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #5000)

```
01 F2:    Well I wrote you a letter, and I haven't mai:led
02        it (.) it's sitting in my ba:g (.) and now it's °hhh
03        <Oo: I saw the (       ) con:cer:t
04 F1:    ↑Oh: you di:d
05 F2:    [°yeah°]
06 F1:    [how was] it?
07        (0.3)
08 F2:    v:ery good
09 F1:    [°°oh°°]
10 F2:    [°hhh] I was kind of annoy:ed (uh) <this is °a::ll°
11     →  in the letter of course (.) oh well °hhh [I] =
12 F1:                                             [(   )]
13 F2:    = can just write you a ne:w one.
14 F1:    Okay that would be good [too:, and send] both of =
15 F2:                            [yea::h] okay. °hhh u:m::=
16 F1:    = them.
17 F2:    = an:d uh we:ll An:ne picked me up at like (.) seven,
18 F1:    mhm:,
19 F2:    °hhh concert started like arou:nd (   ) like the:
```

```
20        (.) opening band at seven
```

In lines 01-02, F2 starts off the conversation talking about a letter she wrote but has not sent to F1. Then, all of sudden, F2 cuts off talking about the letter and changes the topic to a concert that she saw (line 03). As F1 asks F2 how it was, F2 firstly says *'v:ery good'* (line 08), but she also says she was kind of annoyed at the concert (line 10).

However, F2 verbalizes her remembering that she wrote about the concert in the letter that she has never mailed. F2's rushed utterance *'<this is °a::ll° in the letter of course'* in lines 10-11 verbalizes her recollection. After a short pause, F2 says *oh well* in the middle of her turn, and a filled gap with inhalation *'°hhh'* follows *oh well* in line 11. The filled inhalation after *oh well* shows that F2's turn in line 11 has a covert break after *oh well.* Given that an overlap happens, F1 seems to interpret *oh well* is the point where F2 is done talking. But, F2 adds a TCU, *'I can just write you a ne:w one,'* which trivializes the accidental disclosure of the story written in the letter.

Here, *oh* and *well* do not seem to be separable because there is no phonetic disruption between two markers, and neither of them seems to retain its original function. First of all, in line 11, *oh well* is uttered after F2 spoke out her recollection *'this is °a:ll° in the letter of course (.),'* and before she says what she will do about the letter. As the recollected part is given first (lines 10-11), *oh* does not seem to reflect the speaker's change of state at the moment.

Second, a speech overlap that occurs after F2 says *oh well* in lines 11 and 12

shows that *well* is not considered as a separate marker by the hearer. Though F1's utterance is not identifiable due to the overlap, which is marked with empty parentheses in square brackets, it can be argued that F1 considers F2's turn was finished in line 11. Since *well* is a common marker for turn initiation, if F2 considered F1's *well* as an utterance departure marker, this overlap would not have happened.

The functions of *oh* and *well* are not clearly identifiable, but the combined form indicates the speaker's resigning attitude towards the situation. It is interesting that *oh well* delivers the speaker's resigning voice about the situation, but the speaker does not give up on her turn. Taken all things together, the integration of two markers seems to be somewhere in-between the space of composition and lexicalization.

In the current sub-chapter, we have seen two cases where *oh* and *well* combine to form *oh well* in the degree of composition, and one case where the degree of integration is in the middle of two categories. By deploying composed *oh well*, speakers can convey their nonchalant emotional stance and achieve specific goals in interaction such as adding an extra utterance in the middle of a turn or pre-closes a sequence. Though the number of cases is not enough to generalize the results of analysis, but examining the cases is still meaningful in that it reveals the dynamic aspects of the markers' combination.

4.2.3 Lexicalization of *Oh Well*

Unlike the cases we have seen in the previous section, lexicalized *oh well* has distinctive functions *per se*. As for the characteristics of a lexicalized *oh well*, there is no disruption at all between two markers, and *oh* and *well* cannot be interpreted separately because the meaning of the combined form is not sum of its parts. Lexicalized *oh well* seems to be a useful device when a speaker wants to signal their turn exiting to the hearer.

The following excerpt shows a case where *oh well* is used to index explicit closing of the previous sequence. In Excerpt (27), two speakers are talking about A2's new girlfriend and college life:

Excerpt (27) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #6157)

```
01 A1:    Is she Christian Jew? or just the Jew, °who
02        celebrates the Christmas°
03 A2:    I am no::t certain.
04 A1:    okay↓
05 A2:    We both know (.) about each other's (.) faith (.)
06        to (.) a great extent but I am not quite certain
07        about that.
08 A1:    oka:y
09        (3.0)
10 A1:    I am so (.) you know I am not (3.0) I'm not a
11        firing (Brimstone) kind of Christian you know
```

```
12          that¿
13  A2:     mhm.
14  A1:     I just (.) I worry about her (.) ((chuckle))
15          (1.0)
16  A1: →   Oh well, (.) how's everything?
17  A2:     Everything is fi:ne (.) °hh
18  A1:     I mean classes
19  A2:     oh oh classes um:: (1.0) =
20  A1:     ((exhale))
21  A2:     = uh:: I have two papers due on Friday for the
22          same class, (1.0) um:
```

In lines 01-02, A1 starts to inquire A2 about his new girlfriend's religion. At first, A2 gives insufficient information to A1, saying he is not certain about his girlfriend's religion (line 03). The first question-answer sequence could have been closed in line 04, with the A1's sequence-closing '*okay.'* However, A2 takes turn again and tries to refine his response in lines 05-07.

Knowing about a person's faith to a great extent and not knowing about their specific religion are incompatible. In line 08, A1 acknowledges A2's additional explanation, but (3.0) seconds of a long pause takes place. A1 tries to justify herself (lines 10-12 and 14), but A2 does not seem to be interested; he merely acknowledges her turn with *'mhm'* with falling intonation in line 13.

After A1 finishes her turn without selecting a next speaker in line 14, (1.0) second of a gap follows. Since A2 does not self-selects, A1 does and proceeds to a new question-answer sequence with an *oh well*-prefaced turn in line 16. After A1

successfully changes the subject from his girlfriend to his classes (lines 16 and 18), she breathes a sigh of relief. It is hard to trace back the functions of individual *oh* and *well* because there is no overt or covert break between the markers, and there are not clear causes to justify the individual usages of two markers upon. A micro pause between *oh well* and the following utterance, not in between *oh* and *well*, shows that *oh well* is tightly combined, and strictly speaking, it is not attached to the following utterance. That means *oh well* is not particularly designed to index the topic initiation.

Oh well's resignation sense seems to be relevant here. However, the usage context is a bit different from what we have seen. That is to say, *oh well* in Excerpt (27) follows a gap where no uptake happens. Besides, the *oh well*-following TCU in Excerpt (27) does not contain a comment about a situation that makes the *oh well* speaker frustrated or nonchalant, but it clearly initiates a new sequence that is not relevant to the previous talk at all.

Therefore, it is more plausible to analyze that *oh well* is deployed as a way of letting go the previous topic in preparation for opening a new one. As a marker of closing, *oh well* alone seems to able to convey the speaker's intention to wrap up the previous sequence.

Let us examine another excerpt that involves lexicalized *oh well*. In the following excerpt, *oh well* comes in the final position of a turn, which is not a normal place for a discourse marker to come. In Excerpt (28), S1 and S2 are discussing spending time together.

Excerpt (28) - (CallFriend/eng-s/file #6750)

```
01 S1:    We'll definitely (.) we definitely have got to do
02        something ((door closes))
03        (0.3)
04 S2:    It would've been cool if we would've had that whole
05        week tho[ugh:].
06 S1:            [Yeah]
07        (0.5)
08 S2:    °yeah°
09 S1: → But (.) oh well↓
10 S2:    So he:y maybe you all could like (.) come up here
11        on that weekend?
12        (0.6)
13 S1:    that [week,]
14 S2:         [And then we] could head back down together
15 S1:    hey that would be (.) Coo:l
```

Both S1 and S2 want to do something together, but they do not have enough time to hang out specifically during '*that whole week'* (line 04-05). S1 tries to take turn with *but* (Bell, 1998), followed by a micro pause in line 09, but she leaves the turn with *oh well* with falling intonation almost right away. Signaling speaker's turn exiting can be done without *oh well* since silence is enough to do the same job; however, it may cause a long gap in the discourse. Given that S2 takes turn in line 10 right after S1 finishes her turn, it can be interpreted that *oh well* is conventionalized and acknowledged as a turn exiting marker by the speaker and

hearer.

As a lexicalized marker, *oh well* can also be deployed as a stand-alone form. In the following excerpt, two speakers are talking about how to divide up gifts. Currently P1 has two things, Rummikub and Legos, and there are three people, including P2, who want to get gifts.

Extract (29) - CallFriend/eng-n/file #6899

```
01 P1:    One person can take thi:s (.) one person can take
02        <I mean cause how else right?
03 P2:    yea:h.
04        (1.3)
05 P1:    °um:°
06        (3.2)
07 P1:    °um° what else (.) I (.) (guess we) should think one
08        of the same (hhh hhh) (would be given) for you (hh
09        hh hh) y'(h)know that would °hhh each person could
10        take o:ne! I can't think of a third thing at the
11        moment.
12        (1.5)
13 P1: →  (n) Oh well↓
14        (5.0)
15 P1:    <so what have you been up to, anything lately?
16        (0.6)
17 P2:    °hhhhhh no just wo:rk.
18 P1:    goo:d
```

```
19 P2:    ((chuckle))
20 P1:    What time are you getting HO:ME?
```

In the beginning part of Excerpt (29), P1 is coming up with an idea for the matter about giving a gift to everyone (lines 01-02). P2 merely says *'yea:h'* in response to P1's question in line 03, and a gap follows. In line 05 and line 07, P1 utters *°um°*, which can be used to keep or cede the floor (Clark and Tree, 2002).

There are only two gifts for now, so she needs to find one more item for P1. Hence, she talks about getting one of the same toys and giving it to her (lines 07-09) because she cannot think of a new one at the moment (lines 10-11). Given that P1 laughs in between her words, it seems that P1 suggests the idea half in jest, half in earnest.

However, P2 does not react at all to her speech even after P1 finishes her turn with a grammatically and intonationally complete utterance. Accordingly, (1.5) second of pause follows, and P1 utters stand-alone *oh well* with falling intonation in line 13. In accordance with the turn transition hierarchical rules we have seen in Chapter 2.6, P1 could have continued to take turn and starts a new sequence with a so-prefaced *wh*-question in line 13, instead of saying *oh well*.

Stand-alone *oh well* seems to be deployed by P1 as a marker of yielding a next turn. In other words, P1 seems to want to signal P2 that *"I am done here for now, and you may take turn*." However, it obviously did not work here. After P1's *oh well* is uttered, (5.0) second of a pause follows in line 13. The amount of gap is long enough to be interpreted that P2 had no intention to take the next turn, and this

results in P1's new sequence initiation in line 15.

In this case, removing one of the markers is not allowed because neither *oh* nor *well* is appropriate to come alone in line 13. To be specific, single *oh* is not plausible because there is no new information which triggers a change of state in previous turn, or there is no evidence that P1 has just noticed something. While, single *well* is not acceptable because *well* with falling intonation. Come to the point, *oh well* as a discourse marker carries a turn-yielding function, which cannot be achieved by single *oh* or *well*. Therefore, the degree of *oh* and *well*'s combination in this context is very strong, i.e., *oh well* is lexicalized.

There were some cases in the data where speakers employ free-standing *oh well* repetitively. Let us examine the following excerpt. In Excerpt (30), S1 and S2 are talking about S1 and S2 are talking about a man who was overhearing their talk, and about S1's job later on:

Excerpt (30) - (CallFriend/eng-n/file #5926)

```
01 S1:    da:mn I'd hate for him to have heard anything.
02        (0.3)
03 S1:    This is not goo:d.
04        (0.5)
05 S1:    °hhh [he:]
06 S2:         [oh was he] eaves(drop) dropping on purpose do
07        you think?
08        (0.3)
```

09 S1: We:ll, he was standing very quietly and I walk as

10 I a:lked towa:rds (.) the living room (.) you know

11 you can hear my feet wa:lking (.) he °hh was

12 Walking (.) out the do:or. °hhh and he didn't stop

13 to say good bye or anything, and he was the la:st

14 one out of the hou:se °hhh

15 S2: ((exhale))

16 S1: °hhh so:

17 (1.0)

18 S1: maybe not (0.4) maybe not (.) give him the benefit

19 of the dou:bt

20 (0.4)

21 S2: °yea:h° °hhh

22 (0.3)

23 S1: bu:t ((exhale))

24 (0.9)

25 S1: → **oh well**

26 (2.4)

27 S2: ((exhale))

28 S1: → °hhh **Oh well↓**

29 (1.5)

30 S1: °hhh u::m

31 (1.3)

32 S1: Anywa:y (.) the fact is (.) I do hate this call

33 me business. I just hate it (0.2) °hhh an:d

34 ((exhale)) I'm thinking either I should get my own

35 pla:ce,

For the first half of the Excerpt, S1 and S2 are talking about a guy who was eavesdropping on their talk. S1 is very upset about him for doing it (lines 01-03), and she demonstrates why she thinks he was overhearing her on purpose (lines 07-14). After S1's detailed explanation is done, S2 could have taken the next turn, but she only exhales (line 15). In line 16, S1 tries to trail off the turn by saying lengthened stand-alone *so:*, which can be used to give a hearer an opportunity to produce a relevant action (Raymond, 2004). Technically, S2 has another chance to take a turn during the gap in line 17, but she does not do it; this allows S1 to keep talking about the previous topic in lines 18-19.

In spite of S1's abrupt change in thought, i.e. now she thinks he might not have been overhearing her on purpose, S2 only gives S1 a minimal response *'°yea:h°'* (line 21). In line 23, S1 utters '*bu:t,'* but nothing follows in the line. To the best of my knowledge, stand-alone *but* has not been studied; however, it seems to be working as a hearer action prompting *but* here, rather than floor holding *but* because it trails off.

Nevertheless, S2 does not say anything, and (0.9) second of pause follows. In line 25, S1 does not add anything to *but*, yet she utters stand-alone *oh well*. In this case, it can be proposed that S1 says lexicalized *oh well* to signpost her explicit turn-exiting. Put another way, it can be read that S1 was going to say something but not any longer. As S1 let go of her turn, S2 was able to take turn during (2.4) second of silence; however, S2 only exhales again (line 27).

Unlike the case we have seen in Excerpt (29), S1 uses *oh well* once again

(line 28) with falling intonation instead of taking turn. As S2 has skipped turn taking in lines 26-27, S1 could have continued talking from line 28, but S1 indicates her exiting to S2. However, due to a lack of relevant uptake by S2, S1 ends up searching for the next topic to talk about (line 30) and manages to open a new sequence (line 32). Specifically, she initiates a new complaining sequence with a topic shifting marker *anyway* (Schiffrin, 1987) in line 32.

In this excerpt, *so*, *but*, and *oh well* seem to work as a turn-exiting or yielding device. However, the current paper suggests that only *oh well* can mark turn-yielding on its own. When S1 fails to exit her turn by *so,* she continues to talk about the man in the next turn, but when S1 fails to exit her turn by *oh well,* she starts talking about a new topic. This pattern is strong evidence that *oh well* indeed marks the completion of the prior talk and turn-yielding.

So far, the uses of *oh well* with regard to the degree of combination have been examined. *Oh* and *well* combine in varying degrees, and various types of combination co-exist. *Oh well*'s resignation sense seems to be relevant in many cases, but *oh well* not only shows the speaker's emotional stance about situations, topics or stories at a local level but also about turn taking or sequence at a global level. Before we move on to Chapter 5, the status of *oh well* as a discourse marker will be discussed in the following section.

4.3 The Status of *Oh Well*

Oh well has been considered as a convention of expressing a speaker's feelings, especially related to resignation or nonchalance, but its uses in interactional contexts or its status as a discourse marker has not been investigated or discussed in detail. Put another way, existing research on *oh well* is partial and far away from complete. In order to bridge the gap, the present study has delved deeper into the uses of *oh well* in talk-in-interaction, especially by examining the uses of *oh well* with regard to the degree of integration of *oh* and *well*.

The investigation of distributions and functions of *oh well* began from a fundamental question: is the combination of discourse marker *oh* and *well* also a discourse marker? The current study confirms that the combined form, *oh well* is definitely a discourse marker. The combination of *oh* and *well, oh well,* should be considered as a discourse marker because it has structuring functions, such as discourse opening, closing and topic shift, and it satisfies the necessary conditions to be defined as a discourse marker following Schiffrin's (1987) sense: (a) it brackets units of talk, (b) it is syntactically optional but sequentially dependent, and (c) it does not affect the propositional content of utterances.

After confirming that *oh well* is a discourse marker, we set out to discuss the degree of combination of *oh well* as a discourse marker referring to the revised categorization. Adopting the categorization suggested by Crible and Cuenca (2018), the current paper has proposed the revised categorization, which has one more type of combination, 'basic-combination' (See Table 4.2). Among the three sub-

categories of combination, the cases of 'basic-combination' and 'composition' were found in the data, but those of 'addition' were not. It is probably because either *oh* or *well* do not narrow down or reinforce the meaning of the other.

When it comes to the drives of using two markers in a combined form, there should be some advantages to the speaker because deploying an extra marker is an extra effort. Through deploying two or more different discourse markers, speakers are able to manage their turn and sequence more effectively because they can deliver more information to the hearer.

When two markers are basically-combined or composed, both of the markers can be removed from the combined form because discourse markers are primarily optional. When *oh well* is lexicalized, however, neither of them cannot be removed from the combined form because *oh* or *well* alone cannot serve the same job that *oh well* does.

As a lexicalized marker, *oh well* expresses the speaker's resignation of a turn or sequence. It is not aimed to give a conclusive remark on the development of *oh well*'s lexicalized status, but given that *oh well* is often involved in closure relevant actions, oh *well* possibly has earned the resignation sense through getting deployed over time in transition-relevant positions such as the beginning of a new sequence or the end of an old sequence.

In summary, Chapter 4 has presented the analysis of data. The distribution of discourse marker *oh, well* and *oh well,* and the uses of *oh well* in reference to different degree of integration have been examined. By providing a sophisticated

analysis of each excerpt, it is hoped that this study has shed light on the idea that a combination of two individual discourse markers can have a status of discourse marker, yet the degree of the combination can vary along the cline of co-occurrence.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

The current study has examined the combination of English discourse marker *oh* and *well* focusing on its combined form *oh well.* The primary goal of this paper was to seek answers to the following research questions: (a) is it possible to identify various degrees of integration of *oh* and *well*? (b) what are the uses of *oh well* as a discourse marker? (c) what is the status of *oh well* as a combined discourse marker?

The combination of *oh* and *well* is chosen to be the object of the case study for three reasons. First, the individual markers *oh* and *well* are highly frequent in spoken English. Second, their combination as *oh well* has not been studied in detail although *oh well* is considered to be a firmly fixed marker in the literature (e.g., Aijmer, 2013; Carlson, 1984; Schourup, 2001). Third, *oh* and *well* have many similarities and contrasts regarding their functions and meanings in comparison with each other.

The data for the study were taken from TalkBank database. 7.5 hours of North and South English telephone conversation recordings with full transcripts were retrieved from *CallFriend* corpus under *CAbank* corpora. The retrieved data was analyzed in CA framework. The analysis comprises three main parts: 1) distribution of *oh well* in the data, 2) the uses of *oh well* in respect to the degree of integration of *oh* and *well*, 3) the status of *oh well* as a discourse marker.

First of all, as for the combining order of *oh* and *well,* two markers only co-occur in the order of *oh well*; 45 occurrences of '*oh well'* and zero occurrence of

'*well oh'* were found in the database. Out of 45 occurrences of *oh well*, five of them in which *oh* and *well* were juxtaposed were excluded from the analysis.

Second, the study has presented various uses of *oh well* with respect to the degree of the markers' integration. The degree of integration of *oh* and *well* in each case has been examined according to the modified categorization of Crible and Cuenca (2017, 2018) that was proposed in this paper. Excluding the cases of 'juxtaposition' and 'addition,' the cases of two types of combination, that is, 'basic-combination' and 'composition,' and those of 'lexicalization' were analyzed.

When *oh well* is basically-combined, it can be interpreted as the simple array of *oh* and *well.* As for the characteristics of a basically-combined *oh well*, *oh* and *well* are deployed independently, and there is no overt split-up between two markers; though, intonational disruptions may appear.

In cases where *oh well* is composed, the combined form jointly serves a discourse function. In this case, *oh* and *well* are more closely put together compared to basically-combined *oh well*. Deploying composed *oh well,* speakers can convey their nonchalant emotional stance and achieve specific goals in interaction such as adding an extra utterance in the middle of a turn or pre-closes a sequence.

When *oh well* is lexicalized, it seems to be a useful resource *per se* for exiting or yielding turn in a discourse. In this case, *oh well* mostly has falling intonation, and it is mostly used as a free-standing form or used at the end of a turn; so, there is no *oh well*-following element. A speaker frequently wants to leave his turn when he has less than enthusiastic responses from the recipient or the current topic is no longer

necessary to be discussed.

There exist some clear-cut cases where the degree of combination of *oh* and *well* seems to be obvious; however, we also have seen that the combination of *oh well* can vary along the cline of co-occurrence. In such cases, *oh well* is somewhere in between the space of combination and lexicalization.

This paper is meaningful in three ways. First, it has showed that a combination of two individual discourse markers can have the status of discourse marker. Second, it has shown that *oh well* does not only indicate the speaker's emotional stance. In talk-in-interaction, *oh well* is a useful resource that English speakers deploy to manage their turns. Third, this is the first paper that examined discourse marker combination in CA framework and studied *oh well* in different positions.

The findings of the current study have some implications for future studies. As we have seen the unique usages of *oh well* as a discourse marker, which cannot be examined through studies on individual markers, studying on combined discourse markers would lead us to have a more refined understanding of discourse markers and, furthermore, the humans who use those every day. Hence, more research on combined discourse markers should be conducted.

As not much has been done since Schourup (2001) pointed out the possibility of discourse marker combination studies, I would like to wrap up this paper by making some suggestions for future studies. In line with the current study, researching other combined markers' distributions and uses in different turn or

sequence positions could be done as well. Not to mention, comparative studies on the usages of combined discourse markers by English L1 speakers and L2 speakers are necessary in order to obtain pedagogical insight.

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Appendix

Transcription Conventions (Jefferson, 2004)

Convention	Use
[ ]	Speech overlap
:	Extended or stretched sound, syllable, or word.
word	Vocalic emphasis.
WOrd	Especially loud talk – louder than underlining
(.)	Brief pause of less than (0.2).
(4.0)	Pauses occur between same or different speaker's utterance
(( ))	Descriptions of events
( )	Transcriptionist doubts – something is said but no hearing can be achieved.
.	Falling vocal pitch
!	Animated speech tone
-	Halting, abrupt cut off sound or word
?	Rising vocal pitch
,	Weak rising vocal pitch
↑↓	Marked rising and falling shifts in intonation
¿	A rise stronger than a comma but weaker than a question mark
°	The talk is markedly quiet or soft.
° talk°	The talk between degree signs is noticeably softer than the surrounding talk.
hh	Hearable aspiration – the more h's, the more aspiration
°hh	Inhalation

(hh)	Laughter
=	Latching of contiguous utterances, with no interval or overlap
> <	Portions of an utterance delivered at a pace noticeably quicker than surrounding talk

국문 초록

영어의 담화 표지 조합 연구: *Oh well*을 중심으로

결합한 형태로서의 *oh well*은 화자의 체념적이거나 무심한 어조를 나타내는 수단으로써 여겨지곤 했다 (예를 들어, Aijmer, 1987; Carlson, 1984; Norrick, 2009; Schourup, 2001). 그러나, 이 표지의 담화 상의 다른 역할들은 연구되지 않았고, 이전의 연구들은 해당 표지의 다양한 결합 정도를 고려하지 않았다. 그에 따라, 본 연구는 다음과 같은 질문에 대한 답을 찾고자 하였다. 1) *oh*와 *well*의 다양한 결합 정도를 밝히는 것이 가능한가? 2) 담화 표지로서 *oh well* 은 어떻게 쓰이는가? 3) 담화 표지로서의 *oh well*은 어떤 지위를 갖는가?

저자는 본 연구를 위해 7.5 시간의 실제 전화상의 대화 녹음을 분석하였다. 이 녹음 데이터는 TalkBank 데이터베이스에 있는 CABank 의 일부인 CallFriend 코퍼스에서 추출되었고, 총 122,672 개의 단어로 이루어진 데이터에서 45 개의 *oh well*을 발견하였다. 두 담화 표지의 결합 정도 및 결합한 담화 표지가 사용된 순차적 맥락을 고려하여 *oh well* 의 사용을 연구하기 위해, 대화 분석 (conversation analysis)을 통해 데이터를 분석하였다.

*Oh well*은 다양한 순차적 맥락에서 사용되고, *oh*와 *well*은 다양한 정도로 결합하는 것으로 보였다. 저자는 데이터 분석을 위해 Crible and Cuenca(2018)가 제시한 담화 표지 동시 발생 구별에 대한 3 단계 구별 카테고리 {'병치', '조합' (하위 카테고리로써 '추가'와 '구성'이 있다), '어휘화'} 를 사용하였고, '조합' 에 한가지 보조 카테고리 ('기본 조합')를 더하여 기존의 카테고리 '조합' 중 '추가' 혹은 '구성'으로 설명할 수 없는 경우들을 설명코자 했다.

데이터에 '추가'의 사례가 없었고, '병치'의 경우는 결합한 형태로 간주하지 않았기 때문에, 두 경우는 분석에서 제외되었다. 따라서, 본 연구는 *oh well*의 '기본 조합', '구성', '어휘화'의 사례에 초점을 맞추어 진행되었다. 모든 용례는 대화 분석 기법에 따라 분석되었으며, 결합의 정도를 명확하게 밝힐 수 있는 사례들도 있었으나, 두 가지 범주의 중간에 있는 것처럼 보이는 사례들도 있었다.

*Oh*와 *well*이 '기본 조합' 할 때, 두 담화 표지는 각각 다른 운율을 가지며, 각각의 기능은 결합 후에도 섞이지 않고 남았다. 두 개의 담화 표지가 '구성' 할 때, 두 담화 표지의 각각의 기능은 여전히 남지만, 결합한 형태는 화자의 감정을 전달하는 역할도 하는 것을 관찰할 수 있었다. 마지막으로. 두 담화 표지가 '어휘화' 된 경우, 두 표지는 분리될 수 없었고, 결합한 형태는 주로 떨어지는 운율을 가졌으며, 이때 *oh well*은 화자의 턴 종료를 나타내는 용도로 사용되었다.

본 연구는 화자가 대화상에서 턴을 시작하거나 종료하는 데 *oh well*이 담화 표지로써 유용하게 쓰임을 보였다. 또한, *oh*와 *well*이 다양한

정도로 결합하여서 사용되고 있음을 확인했고, 두 담화 표지의 결합이 역동적인 측면을 갖는다는 것을 보였다. 본 연구는 두 개의 담화 표지의 조합이 하나의 담화 표지로서 새로운 기능을 가질 수 있다는 생각을 실제 데이터 분석을 통해 제시하였다는 점에서 의미가 있다.

주요어: 담화 표지, *oh*, *well*, 담화 표지 조합, *oh well*, 담화 분석

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