



The Discourse Marker *well* in EFL Textbooks*

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ARTICLE INFO

Received 14 June 2019

Revised 24 July 2019

Accepted 14 August 2019

Examples in: English

Applicable Languages: English

Applicable Levels: Secondary

KEYWORD

discourse marker/

EFL textbooks/

well/

담화표지/

EFL 교재/

well

ABSTRACT

An, Jee Hee. (2019). The discourse marker *well* in EFL textbooks. *Modern English Education*, 20(3), 36-45.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the discourse marker (DM) *well* in five English as a foreign language (EFL) textbooks published by famous overseas publishing companies, and to examine whether the usage of the DM *well* found in these books reflects the various functions it fulfills in the discourse of native speakers as analyzed by linguists. Six functions of *well* were selected based on common usage, without duplication of any of the functions of *well* proposed in previous work. These six functions are turn management marker, face threat mitigation marker, insufficiency marker, frame markers, repair marker, and collaborative marker. As a result, the frequencies of turn management markers, face threat mitigation markers, and insufficiency markers were found to be higher, whereas the frequencies of repair markers, and collaborative markers were significantly lower. In addition to using textbooks, additional classroom activities could also allow English teachers to teach discourse markers to learners. For example, after first being shown a movie clip that contains the use of DMs of native speakers, students will be able to discuss how the particular DMs function in conversations.

I. INTRODUCTION

Discourse markers (DMs) are linguistic signals which show sequential relationships between preceding and following utterances. Since the 1970s, there has been a lot of interest in levels of discourse beyond the sentential unit, and DMs have begun to attract attention (K. Suh, 2015). As a result, the studies of overall and individual DMs in English and Korean have been conducted.

In the EFL context, the primary resource for learning English is textbooks because learners do not have many opportunities to speak English with native speakers (NSs),

and there are not many opportunities for each student in a classroom to talk to teacher individually. Textbooks need to present conversations that are as natural as possible in terms of similarity to those that occur between NSs. If the various functions of the DMs in the discourse of NSs are carefully analyzed, and if the use of appropriate DMs in discourse contexts similar to those found in the discourse of NSs is presented in textbooks for EFL learners, then they will be able to learn to use DMs more effectively. Therefore, it is important to verify whether the functions of DMs are presented in current English textbooks in Korea in ways that correspond to the functions of DMs used

* This paper is based on the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Jee Hee An (2018).

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by NSs. Furthermore, it has been argued that teachers should examine discourse and apply their observations from such examination to their teaching (McCarthy, 1991; McCarthy & Carter, 1995). With a deeper understanding of the proper use of DMs, teachers can help students understand English communication better and improve their English proficiency.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the DM *well* in five EFL textbooks published by famous overseas publishing companies and to examine whether the usages of the DM *well* found in these books reflect the various functions it fulfills in the discourse of NSs as analyzed by linguists (see appendix). Because *well* was the most frequently used DM in EFL textbooks, it was selected for analysis.

II. DISCOURSE MARKERS

1. Terminology and the Definitions of Discourse Markers

The term *discourse marker* is not a unified term, and many linguists have different classification systems for DMs. The term *discourse particle* is often used in studies of non-English languages such as German (Fischer & Drescher, 1996), French (Hansen, 1998) and Swedish (Aijmer, 2002), while *particle* seems to be a term used more commonly in syntax than pragmatics. The term *pragmatic marker* appears to be broad in scope and deals with the overall context rather than a specific discourse (Fraser, 1996). Since the term discourse marker could be regarded as providing the largest umbrella in terms of its coverage, this is the one that will be used for discourse analysis in this study.

Several definitions have been proposed for DMs over the years. Schiffrin defines them as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (1987, p. 31), while Östman (1982) states that they “focus on the relation of one utterance/text/turn to another” (p. 150), and Schourup (1985) says a DM is “a linguistic item that indicates that at the moment at which it is said the speaker is engaged in thinking” (p. 26). According to Redeker (1990), a DM is “a linguistic expression that is used to signal the relation of an utterance to the immediate context” (p. 372). Fraser (1990) defines DMs as “expressions such as *now*, *well*, *so*, *however*, and *then*, which signal a sequential relationship between the current basic message and the previous discourse” (p. 383). Müller (2005) presents seven features of DMs rather than defining the term as only one concept.¹ Although various definitions of DMs have been offered, the common ground shared by all of these

perspectives is that DMs pragmatically link the previous utterance to the following one to clarify the direction and connectivity of the discourse as a whole and to enable the participants to communicate more effectively.

2. The Discourse Marker *well*

Most studies on DMs in EFL textbooks have been based on Schiffrin’s (1987) classification criteria for DMs (B. Sul, 2010; M. Lim, 2014). Therefore, *well*, the most commonly used DMs in EFL textbooks, was selected for more thorough analysis. Among the functions of *well* identified in the discourse of NSs in previous work, the standards of analysis used in the present study were set up to avoid duplication of functions while still recognizing as many of the various functions previously identified for *well* as possible.²

1) Turn Management Markers

The DM *well* can be used to signal that a speaker has recognized the arrival of his or her turn and is going to start an utterance, or to maintain a current turn with a long explanation or description. The boundary between the turn-taking function and the turn-maintaining function is ambiguous, so in this study they have been merged into a single function, that of turn management.

With this function, *well* can precede a short and simple answer to a question or suggestion presented by an interlocutor, and this answer may be a neutral or positive response. Speakers sometimes respond to a question with *well* even if the DM is not followed by a long description, pause or hesitation, as *well* can precede a short answer as *well*. There seems to be much less research on *well* as it precedes clear and simple answers than when it leads to an insufficient answer (Aijmer, 2013; Lakoff, 1973).

Well often precedes long descriptions and narratives as well as short answers, as illustrated in the Excerpt (1):

Excerpt (1) (Schegloff & Lerner, 2009, p. 98)

1	(0.3)
2	Ile: Oh well no we:h ↓one’v us’ d be here anywa:y,↓
3	(0.4)
4	Ile: No cz I’ d like t’ see ↓you:.
5	Lis: ↓Yes.
6	Ile: A:nd um then I’ ve just got tih go tih the hōspital trolley. .hh
7	uh: fro: [m two:
8	Lis: [I think I’ ve broken me a:nkle.
9	Ile: ((nasal)) Oh:: w’ t’ v you dō:ne,°
10	(0.2)
11	→ Lis: <i>Wg:ll</i> I fell down the step-eh e-haa’as (.) a matter of
12	fact it wasn’ any’ing tih do with Kizzy. .hhhh I: came out:
13	of the bah:throom en down those two little steps in
14	(the [hall] ’n kīcked meself on my a:nkle.
15	Ile: [Mm:.,
16	Ile: Oh: [(.)
17	Lis: [↑Very badly [e n I -] [I t h : o u]:ght=
18	Ile: [It’s prob]a’ly [a ↓brui:se]

¹ The seven features that Müller (2005) presents are as follows: “No single word class, phonological features, syntactic position, syntactic independence and grammatical optionality, lack of semantic content, orality, and multifunctionality” (p. 5).

² Since linguists refer to similar functions of *well* using terms that are somewhat different from each other, I have borrowed some of the terms that most clearly convey the function of *well*. *Face threat mitigation marker* and *insufficiency marker* are used in Jucker (1993), and *conclusive marker* appears in Müller (2005), and *repair marker* appears in Schiffrin (1987). If a term that adequately and clearly describes a function of *well* cannot be chosen, I have made up a term for the function myself: *turn management marker* and *collaborative marker*.

In the Excerpt (1), a woman of considerable social status, Ilene, has left her dog Kizzy in the care of a woman named to Lisa for grooming. Ilene mentions that she had volunteer duty at a local hospital, and is interrupted by Lisa in line 8 with the statement, “I think I’ve broken me ankle.” In line 9, Ilene asks the wh-question “What have you done?” In response, Lisa opens *well* in line 11 before explaining the situation of how her foot was injured.

2) Face Threat Mitigation Markers

The DM *well* is often used as a preface to a dispreferred response, and when it precedes a face threatening act (FTA) it functions as a face threat mitigation marker. Such a marker signals that the face of both the speaker and the listener will be threatened, yet at the same time mitigates the coming threat. Levinson (1983) states that the preferred structure is unmarked because it is a natural structure, whereas the non-preference structure is an undesirable one, so it is marked with the predominant preface *well*. Jucker (1993) analyzed the functions of *well* according to relevance theory, which holds that all communication ensures optimal relevance. He refers to one of the functions of *well* as a face threat mitigator used to indicate that there is a problem at the interpersonal level.

According to Owen (1981), *well* precedes the confrontational situation. Consider the Excerpt (2), which illustrates such as case.

Excerpt (2) (Owen, 1981, p.109)

- 1 A: they must worry about you through Eddie don't they, your Mum
 2 and Dad, when you're doing all these jumps
 3 →B: er *well* they always come to the shows

A thinks that these jumps are dangerous, and that it is natural for parents to worry about their child doing such jumps, using the auxiliary verb “must” to indicate a strong guess and adding a tag question. However, B’s parents in fact come to the show to see the jump, which means that B’s parents do not worry as much as A thinks. B does not answer A’s question directly with a “no,” but instead prefaces the response with *well* to save A’s face while sending the signal that B will give a different answer than expected.

3) Insufficiency Markers

The insufficiency marker is used by respondents when their answer to a question is not direct and could thus be considered insufficient. The meaning of the DM *well* in such cases carries a negative connotation and indicates that something is not being done in a preferred manner in the discourse. This type of marker is described from various perspectives in terms of the insufficiency of a response (Lakoff, 1973), a lack of coherence (Schiffrin, 1987), and a divergence from optimal relevance (Jucker, 1993). *Well* is used when an answer is indirect because the respondents do not directly provide the information requested by the questioner and because the respondents feel that something is somehow lacking in their response (Lakoff, 1973). This is consistent with Schiffrin’s

(1987) coherence approach, in which *well* is used as a device to achieve consistency when the content of the following utterance is somewhat unrelated to the preceding one and thus lacks consistency.

Well is used as a sign of being evincive when a speaker discusses his or her thoughts and points out that in some way an insufficient response has occurred (Schourup, 1985). Discussing the DM *well* as used in oral narratives, Norrick (2001), indicates that *well* is related to the implication that the content of the following utterance is “undesirable or inadequate in some way” (p. 852).

Medical discourse also features this used of *well*, appearing before an answer that does not meet the expectations of the questioner. In the Excerpt (3), the patient uses *well* in response to the doctor’s question before starting to tell a story instead of providing a short answer.

Excerpt (3) (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, p. 137-138)

- 1 Doc: Is your mother alive,
 2 Pat: No:.
 3 (1.0)
 4 Pat: No: she died- in her: like late (.) fifties: or:
 5 I'm not sure.
 6
 7 Doc: Whe[re was her cancer.
 8 Pat: [(-)
 9 → Pat: .hhh *Well*:- she lived in Arizona an: ' -she: :
 10 wouldn't go tuh doctor much. She only went to uh
 11 chiropractor. (h[u -)
 12 Doc: [Mm]hm,
 13 Pat: [An:d she had(:) / ('t)
 14 like- in her stomach somewhere I guess but (.) thuh- even-
 15 that guy had told her tuh go (into) uh medical doctor.
 16

In the above excerpt, the doctor asks the patient if his mother is alive, and the patient replies that she died of cancer. The doctor asks the patient the wh-question “Where was her cancer?” For this question, the patient could have answered by merely providing a short response indicating the area of the body where her cancer occurred. Instead, the patient uses *well* to precede a rather lengthy story about his mother not seeing the doctor often, which is not what the doctor expected to hear. It should be noted that *well* is used here as insufficiency marker and not to mark a turn management. *Well* is used as an insufficiency marker when the speaker cannot or does not provide the type of answer expected by the questioner, whether intentionally or unintentionally, while in *well* as a turn management marker precedes a sufficient response.

4) Frame Markers

Markers that are used to construct a frame for a discourse are called frame markers. They have three main functions: (1) initiating a topic; (2) changing the topic; and (3) concluding the content of the discourse.

(1) Topic initiation markers

As a topic initiation marker, *well* marks the beginning of a new episode or conversation, and introduces the next scene (Heritage, 2015; Müller, 2005; Norrick, 2001). When *well*

is used as a topic initiation marker it does not always appear in the first utterance of the section of discourse related to the new topic, but can also appear in the middle of the conversation, after the speaker has already established that a new topic has been introduced.

(2) Topic shift markers

The DM *well* is used when the speaker changes a topic during a conversation. A topic shift marker is similar to a topic initiation marker in that it starts a new topic, but differs in that it marks an end to a previous topic as *well*. Aijmer (2013) refers to the transition of *well* associated with a contextualization cue by noting that the DM “signals a change of topic or speech act according to an agenda or an ‘interpretative frame’, that is the use of *well* can be explained with regard to background knowledge about the activity” (p. 35).

(3) Conclusive markers

The conclusive marker is employed when a speaker concludes a subject that is currently being discussed. Investigating the use of DMs in native and non-native discourse, Müller (2005) finds that conclusive *well* is used only by German non-native speakers (NNSs) of English, and not by NSs at all. Furthermore, when NNSs use conclusive *well*, a summary of the previous utterance does not seem to be essential to the discourse.

Excerpt (4) (Müller, 2005, p.120)

- 585 B: but maybe.. in former times he was a.. more typical way to—
 586 A: .. yes in former time [you] have no.. &
 587 B: [mhm]—
 587 a A: & other movies .. < X to see X>.
 588 B: yeah.
 589 [that's]
 590 A: [that's] the only uh possibility to .. watch a movies at all,
 591 and he was very popular and—
 592 B: mhm.
 593 → A: *well* I think .. people .. really liked him.

In the Excerpt (4), A and B exchange their opinions about the movies of Charlie Chaplin. At that time his movies were popular and they are trying to find out why. They use *well* to finish the discussion with the idea that he was well-liked.

5) Repair Markers

In conversation, mistakes and misunderstandings can occur quite often. A repair marker is used when speakers notices a trouble source in the prior talk of themselves or others and repair it. Repair, which is one of the most important concepts in conversation analysis, is defined by Schegloff (2007) as “efforts to deal with trouble – sources or repairable – marked off as distinct within the ongoing talk” (p. 101). There are four types of repair, classified according to who initiates it and who repairs it. According to Schegloff et al. (1977), self-initiated self-repair is the most preferred repair type, while other-initiated other-repair is the most dispreferred type, and can potentially serve as a FTA.

Schiffrin (1987) refers to repair as “a speech activity

during which speakers locate and replace a prior information unit” (p. 74). Since speakers focus on previous information, repairs perform information transitions, allowing speakers to adjust their orientation before resuming their talk. Müller (2005) refers to repair markers as performing the functions of rephrasing or correcting. Comparing the DM *well* in native and non-native discourse, she finds that most cases are corrections in situations in which a prior expression is not compatible with a following one. In other words, if the first expression is true, then the next one cannot be.

According to Aijmer (2013), *well* is used to correct mistakes in previous utterances, as demonstrated in the Excerpt (5).

Excerpt (5) (Aijmer, 2013, p. 33)

- 1 →B: Uhm Uhm *Well* I think it's Uhm <unclear-word><> in the early stages
 2 it is important to explore <> yourself

From repetitions and pauses, we can see that the speaker is trying to self-repair. *Well* is also used as a repair marker in ongoing discourse.

Excerpt (6) (Aijmer, 2013, p. 33)

- 1 C: But I mean if I need some help I could still come
 2 A: Yeah but I don't think there'll be formal tutorials you can ask specific
 3 questions on occasions but you know unfortunately we've got major
 4 commitments <> and now's the opportunity we've allocated to deal with
 5 → that <> OK *well* anyway I mean you four are the people who've come so
 6 you deserve the reward for your diligence

In the Excerpt (6), *well* in line 5 is used with other discourse markers such as *anyway* and *I mean*. Aijmer (2013), Müller (2005) and Schiffrin (1987)'s data do not show any examples of other-repair. It is assumed that there are not many cases where the mistakes of the interlocutors are corrected during the conversations in real life.

6) Collaborative Markers

Previously, *well* has been studied and analyzed primarily in terms of the way it functions in preceding a dispreferred response, such as when it signals a rejection of the interlocutor's suggestion (Aijmer, 2013; Cuenca, 2008; Heritage, 2015; Jucker, 1993). In the present study, when the DM *well* serves such a function, it is considered a face threat mitigation marker or an insufficiency marker, but it also has a corroborative function in conversation.

The DM *well* not only marks consent with the remarks of an interlocutor, but also signals active cooperation and functions to continue a discourse. Schourup (2001) notes that “the speaker is heard as considering what to say next,” but also that “the speaker is actively taking into account what is already known or assumed,” considering *well* with these functions to be continuative (p. 1043). *Well* also fulfills the function of indicating that a speaker has begun to express a positive opinion, supporting another opinion previously expressed by another participant in the discourse (Müller, 2005).

Well is used not only to supplement what a speaker is trying to say, but also to reinforce the other person's comments based on his or her own experience. Heritage (2015) emphasizes the supportive function of *well* in noting that “[w]ell-prefacing is

commonly associated with ‘my side’ responses to descriptions and evaluations in which the speaker’s perspective, while frequently corroborative or supportive, becomes a new point of departure for subsequent talk” (p. 101). In other words, *well* precedes an utterance when the characterization of a situation by the first speaker is consistent with the corroborative description of the second speaker found through the experience of the second speaker (Heritage, 2015).

Excerpt (7) (Heritage, 2015, p. 98)

- 1 Mum: Terrible weather fer this time a'the ye[a:r.]
- 2 Les: [I kn]o::w,
- 3 (0.3)
- 4 Les: I [mean flowers are not coming out are the:y.
- 5 Mum: [Mm:.
- 6 Mum: ^No:: No:.
- 7 (0.7)
- 8 Mum: Got couple of daffodils out in the ga[:rden] (.)
- 9 Les: [Oh I]haven't,
- 10 (.)
- 11 Mum: Hm:..h An's'm crocuses [b't[not a lot at
- 12 Les: [h [Yes
- 13 Mum: a:l[l.
- 14 → Les: [h Well we have snowdrops'n the cro:cuses
- 15 look all battered,

The situation of the Excerpt (7) is that Lesley and her mother are looking at garden flowers side by side, and commenting that the spring weather is not good. These two women provide descriptive and collaborative explanations of the depleted garden flowers as a means of agreeing on the poor state of the climate. In this conversation, the first speaker (Lesley’s mother) observes while the second speaker (Lesley) reflects on her own experience and agrees with her mother’s statement, prefacing her turn with *well*. Here *well* not only marks agreement with her mother’s utterance, but also signals a stance of cooperation in elaborating the conversation.

III. METHOD

The purpose of this study is to examine whether the DM *well* as it appears in conversations in EFL textbooks faithfully represents the various functions fulfilled by *well* in the discourses of native speakers as analyzed by linguists. For this study, five EFL textbooks from world-famous and authoritative publishers were selected, information about which is provided in Table 1 below (for more information, see Appendix).

For the analysis of the DM *well*, all sample dialogues and audio scripts from these EFL textbooks were first typed into the MS Word program by the researcher and analyzed by finding all tokens of *well* using the search function. The five EFL texts were found to contain a total of 29,138 words and 520 tokens, with the number of tokens per 1000 words being approximately 17.85. The number of words and tokens in each textbook is shown in Table 2 below.

TABLE 1
Five EFL Conversation Textbooks

Textbook	Author	Publisher	Year
<i>English Firsthand Success</i>	Marc Helgesen	Longman	2010
<i>Interchange 2</i>	Jack C. Richards	Cambridge	2013
<i>Side by Side 2</i>	Steven J. Molinsky	Longman	2001
<i>Smart Choice 2</i>	Ken Wilson	Oxford	2011
<i>Touchstone 2</i>	Michael McCarthy	Cambridge	2014

TABLE 2
Numbers of Words and Tokens in EFL Textbooks

	<i>English Firsthand Success</i>	<i>Interchange 2</i>	<i>Side by Side 2</i>	<i>Smart Choice 2</i>	<i>Touchstone 2</i>	Total
Words	4,791	4,724	4,680	8,095	6,848	29,138
Tokens	108	101	151	54	106	520

IV. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The frequency of the functions of *well* in the EFL textbooks is shown in Table 3 below.³

TABLE 3
The Frequency of the Functions of *well* in the EFL Textbooks

	<i>English Firsthand Success</i>	<i>Interchange 2</i>	<i>Side by Side 2</i>	<i>Smart Choice 2</i>	<i>Touchstone 2</i>	Total
Turn management markers	9	16	0	53	35	113 (66.47%)
Face threat mitigation markers	3	3	0	5	7	18 (10.59%)
Insufficiency markers	0	1	0	4	4	9 (5.29%)
Frame Topic initiation	1	1	0	1	0	3 (1.76%)
Topic shift	1	1	3	3	4	12 (7.06%)
Conclusive	0	0	4	1	1	6 (3.53%)
Repair markers	0	0	0	3	4	7 (4.12%)
Collaborative markers	0	1	0	0	1	2 (1.17%)
Total	14	23	7	70	56	170 (100%)

As shown in Table 3, turn management markers were most frequently used, followed by the face threat mitigation and insufficiency marker functions, respectively. Each function of *well* in the EFL textbooks will be analyzed in the next section.

1. Turn Management Markers

The Excerpt (8) shows turn management markers used in a single dialogue from an EFL textbook.

³ DMs are generally multifunctional, and there tends to be overlap in their functionality because a single DM can simultaneously perform both textual and interpersonal functions. When counting the number DMs, I focused on their prime function.

Excerpt (8) (McCarthy, 2014, p. 32)

- 1 Alice: Hi, Carl. How are things?
 2 Carl: Great. How's school?
 3 Alice: Um, actually, I'm not at school this year.
 4 Carl: Are you serious? So, what are you doing?
 5 → Alice: *Well*, I'm looking for a job right now.
 6 Carl: Really? What do you want to do?
 7 → Alice: *Well*, I'd like to play music in clubs, but -
 8 Carl: No way! What kind of music?
 9 → Alice: *Well*, I play jazz.
 10 Carl: No! What instruments do you play?

In the Excerpt (8), Carl asks Alice what school life is like, and Alice says she is not attending school this year. Carl is surprised at Alice's answer, and asks what she is going to do next. In line 5, the DM *well* precedes Alice's answer that she is currently looking for a job. It is clear that this token of *well* is not functioning as an insufficiency marker because Alice provides a clear and relevant answer to Carl's question. Here, *well* functions rather as a turn management marker that opens the turn given to her after the other person has asked a question, and precedes a rather simple response with a neutral meaning.

Well appears two more times in this conversation as a turn management marker. In response to Carl's question of what Alice would like to do, in line 7 *well* precedes Alice's reply that she wants to play music in clubs. Although Carl begins his turn before Alice's answer has been completed, her response provides sufficient information to his question and her turn is not that long. This *well* signals that Alice recognizes and acknowledges her turn. In line 9, when Carl asks what kind of music Alice plays, Alice opens with *well* in providing the simple and sufficient answer "I play jazz". Again, this is a turn management marker that gives feedback on the fact that Alice has received her turn and indicates that she is about to provide the exact information Carl has requested.

The following excerpt presents an example of a turn management marker preceding a long description in an EFL textbook.

Excerpt (9) (Brown, 2018, p. 53)

- 1 Edward: Have you ever thought about what you would do if you got a lot of money?
 2
 3 Asha: Like helping people, giving to charity?
 4 Edward: Yeah.
 5 → Asha: *Well*, one day I'd like to build a library in my hometown. Yeah, it would be nice to make enough money to build a big library in my hometown so all the kids could find books they love to read.
 6
 7 Edward: What a cool idea! I know you like reading.
 8 Asha: Oh yeah. I love reading

In the Excerpt (9), Edward and Asha are talking about what they want to do with money. Asha questions Edward to confirm that he is asking about something like a donation. When Asha's turn comes back she replies that it is her dream to build a library in her hometown, starting with the DM *well*. Since the speaker in cases such this is about to provide a detailed and somewhat lengthy explanation in response to a question, the turn management marker not only marks recognition of the turn that the speaker has received, but also signals an attempt to maintain that turn.

In the EFL textbooks, turn management markers are

used 113 times (66.47%) out of a total 170 tokens of *well*, an overwhelmingly high frequency of use representing nearly two-thirds of the total. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that the main function of the discourse marker *well* in these EFL textbooks is to signal the provision of simple feedback, or to preface a long explanation offered in response to a question posed by an interlocutor.

2. Face Threat Mitigation Markers

The DM *well* is used as a face threat mitigation marker in the EFL textbooks. As illustrated in the excerpt below, *well* precedes utterances that may damage the face of other participants in the conversation.

Excerpt (10) (Richard, 2013, p. 75)

- 1 Kelly: Hello?
 2 John: Oh, hello. I need some information. What currency is used in the European Union?
 3 ***
 7 John: Oh, right. And is English spoken much there?
 8 Kelly: I really have no idea.
 9 John: Huh? Well, what about credit cards? Are they accepted everywhere?
 10 Kelly: How would I know?
 11 → John: *Well*, you're a travel agent, aren't you?
 12 Kelly: What? This is a hair salon. You have the wrong number!

In the Excerpt (10), John indicates that he believes Kelly to be a travel agent, which is why he has asked her about travel-related information. However, Kelly is actually a hair designer, and since she is unable to give him the answer he wants, she retorts with the question, "How would I know?" At this point John does not directly tell Kelly that the questions he has asked are things she should know about, but rather uses *well* before he asks if she is a travel agent. In other words, his question in line 12 carries the implication that she is a travel agent yet does not know the information she should know. Such an accusation stands as a threat to Kelly's face, and is thus prefaced by *well*, which both signals this threat and serves to mitigate its damage. *Well* is used as a face threat mitigation marker 18 times (10.59%) out of a total 170 tokens.

3. Insufficiency Markers

In the IETs, *well* is used when the answer to a question is not clear.

Excerpt (11) (Wilson, 2011, p. 27)

- 1 A: So, the scores at the end of round one are... Boston six points and
 2 San Francisco six points! OK, teams, in round two, you choose a
 3 number from one to six, and you answer a question on the subject
 4 of that number. So, San Francisco, give me a number between one
 5 and six.
 6 B: Five.
 7 A: Number five. Your questions will be on... rivers. OK, here's your
 8 question. What is the longest river in the world?
 9 → B: Uh, *well*, I guess the answer is the Nile? I mean, the Amazon is
 10 really long, too...

The Excerpt (11) is taken from a quiz show, where A is the host and B is one of the contestants. In line 3, A lets B select the number of the next question. When B chooses a number, A asks the question corresponding to that number.

Since B is not sure that the answer is correct, B replies to A's question in line 10 with "I guess the answer is the Nile?" using the insufficiency marker *well*. Tokens of *well* used as a turn management marker only have neutral meanings, so *well* here functions as an insufficiency marker.

Insufficiency markers appear even when they do not precede an insufficient answer. In such cases, *well* appears when a speaker offers an intentionally inappropriate answer for some reason instead of answering in the direction elicited by the questioner. The following excerpt presents a relevant example.

Excerpt (12) (Wilson, 2011, p. 115)

- | | | |
|----|------|--|
| 1 | A: | What kind of food do you cook? |
| 2 | B: | It's a mix of Asian and Mediterranean like Japanese, Korean, |
| 3 | | Italian, Spanish. |
| 4 | A: | Sounds delicious. Have you ever cooked for anyone famous? |
| 5 | → B: | <i>Well</i> , the restaurant is in Beverly Hills, so we get a lot of movie |
| 6 | | stars. |
| 7 | A: | OK. Give us some names. |
| 8 | B: | Oh, no. I can't do that. |
| 9 | A: | Have you ever cooked for George Clooney? |
| 10 | B: | Jason! I'm not going to tell you anything like that! |

In the Excerpt (12), A learns that B cooks, and asks if B has cooked for any celebrities. In line 6, *well* is used as an insufficiency marker to indicate the coming of an insufficient and unclear answer to the question that B has received, which is a request for the names of particular celebrities. Based on the content found in lines 7 through 10, it is implied that B is able to provide a sufficient answer but does not do so purposely in order to protect the privacy of his customers. The insufficiency marker appears 9 times (5.29%) out of 170 tokens of the DM *well* in the EFL textbooks.

4. Frame Markers

1) Topic Initiation Markers

The following excerpt demonstrates an example of how this function is served in the EFL textbooks.

Excerpt (13) (Wilson, 2011, p. 117)

- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| 1 | A: | Pilar, tell me about the New Year in Mexico. |
| 2 | B: | Well, the New Year isn't such a big deal in Mexico, but I guess |
| 3 | | there are some nice things about the New Year. First of all, do |
| 4 | | you know about the grape? |
| 5 | A: | The grapes? No. |
| 6 | → B: | OK. <i>Well</i> , when we have dinner on New Year's Eve, we put |
| 7 | | 12 grapes on everyone's plate right before midnight. |

In the Excerpt (13), A asks B to tell a story about the New Year in Mexico, and B begins a new story after confirming whether the story she wants to tell is already known. The DM *well* is used here to signal to listener A that a new story will begin as well as to attract attention. Since the telling of the story is initiated with *well*, listener A will be able to focus better on B's story than if it had been started without *well*. Only three tokens of *well* used as a topic initiation marker were found (1.76%) out of a total of 170.

2) Topic Shift Markers

The Excerpt (14) shows an example of how *well* is used as a topic shift marker in the EFL textbooks.

Excerpt (14) (Wilson, 2011, p. 73) A: Carl, B: grandmother

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| 1 | A: | This is Carl again. Now I'm talking to my grandmother, Silvana. |
| 2 | | Welcome to the Rossi family history recording, and thanks for helping |
| 3 | | me with this, Grandma. |
| 4 | B: | No problem, Carl. |
| 5 | → A: | OK. <i>Well</i> , I want to ask you about your life in Italy, before you came to |
| 6 | | the US. |
| 7 | B: | What do you want to know? |

In the example above, Carl is making an audio recording of part of his family history with his grandmother. He first introduces himself, welcomes his grandmother, and then expresses his gratitude to her before starting the interview. In line 5, *well* is used to signal the end of the grandmother's introduction, and at the same time, to mark his move to a new topic, which is his grandmother's life in Italy. In the EFL textbooks, *well* functions as a topic shift marker in this way 12 times (7.06%) out of a total of 170 tokens.

3) Conclusive Markers

The use of conclusive *well* to finish the conversation in the EFL textbooks will next be examined. An example is shown in the Excerpt (15).

Excerpt (15) (Molinsky, 2001, p. 36)

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| 1 | A: | Hello. This is Larry Parker. I'm afraid I can't come to work |
| 2 | | today. I think I might have the flu. |
| 3 | B: | That's too bad. Are you going to see your doctor? |
| 4 | A: | I think I might. |
| 5 | B: | Will you be at work tomorrow? |
| 6 | A: | I'm not sure. I might not go to work tomorrow either. |
| 7 | → B: | <i>Well</i> , I hope you feel better soon. |
| 8 | A: | Thank you. |

A and B are colleagues at work. A calls the company to inform them about being unable to go to work due to the flu, and B receives the call, acknowledging the information and concluding by expressing a wish for A to recover quickly. In line 7, the DM *well* terminates any expansion of the previous talk and signals that the conversation will be over soon. A then acknowledges this conclusion prompt, expressing gratitude in response to B's utterance, and the conversation ends. *Well* is used as a conclusive marker 12 times (3.20%) out of 170 tokens in the EFL textbooks.

5. Repair Markers

The Excerpt (16) demonstrates an example of how a repair marker is represented in the EFL textbooks.

Excerpt (16) (Wilson, 2011, p. 53)

- 1 Hello, Sharon. My name is Curtis, and I'm also from New York.
 2 I'm studying business here, too, so maybe we're at the same school!
 3 ***
 4 I don't really know much about cats and dogs. But I really enjoy
 5 → cooking! *Well*, actually, no, that's wrong. I'm not a very talented
 6 cook, but I do like it when other people cook for me.

The DM *well* is not used as a repair marker in any situations of turn exchange, but it does appear when a speaker issues a self-initiated self-repair during a monologue, as illustrated by the Excerpt (16). This is consistent with what has previously been observed in the literature regarding the use of *well* with self-repair. It seems that native speakers do not prefer other-repair because it is not a good idea to repair an interlocutor's utterance while having a conversation, and this situation is well reflected in the EFL textbooks. *Well* appears as a repair marker in the EFL textbooks 7 times (4.12%) out of a total of 170 tokens.

6. Collaborative Markers

The DM *well* comes before the utterance expressing agreement with the interlocutor twice in the EFL textbooks, one example of which is shown in the following excerpt.

Excerpt (17) (McCarthy, 2014, p. 4)

- 1 A: Dogs are so noisy, and they always wreck things. I'm just not an animal
 2 lover, I guess.
 3 → B: *Well*, I'm not either. I'm allergic to dogs and cats.

In the Excerpt (17), A says that dogs are noisy, and starts talking that he or she does not like animals. B initiates with *well* in support of A's remark, relating his or her experience that he or she is allergic to dogs and cats. Let us look at another example of *well* used as a collaborative marker.

Excerpt (18) (Richards, 2015, p. 4)

- 1 Ted: Oh, I'm really sorry. Are you OK?
 2 Ana: I'm fine. But I'm not very good at this.
 3 Ted: Neither am I... Hey, I like your shirt. Are you from Argentina?
 4 Ana: Yes, I am, originally. I was born there.
 5 Ted: Did you grow up learn to skate?
 6 Ana: Here in the park. This is only my third time.
 7 → Ted: *Well*, it's my first time. Can you give me some lessons?
 8 Ana: Sure. Just follow me.
 9 Ted: By the way, my name is Ted.
 10 Ana: And I'm Ana. nice to meet you.

In the Excerpt (18), Ted and Ana seem to have met each other for the first time after a skateboard accident. They say that they are not skating *well*, and Ana says it is her third time visiting the park where they are. In line 7, Ted uses *well* to precede the statement that it is his first time visiting. Here, *well* functions as a collaborative marker that indicates cooperation in the conversation by presenting the speaker's own experience.

Well appears as a collaborative marker in the EFL textbooks twice (1.17%) out of a total of 170 tokens. This degree of representation differs from the fact that 92 tokens of *well* (12%) functioning as 'my side' perspectival shifts occur out of the 748 tokens of *well* found in Heritage's

(2015) data. Therefore, it is suggested that in the future, tokens of the DM *well* used as a collaborative marker should be referenced and better represented in the conversations featured in EFL textbooks so that EFL learners in Korea will be able to understand and use more diverse functions of *well* as used by native English speakers.

V. CONCLUSION

This paper analyzes how the DM *well* is used in five EFL textbooks. In this study, six functions of *well* were classified based on the various functions of *well* fulfilled in the discourse of native speakers as analyzed by linguists, avoiding overlap as much as possible. As a result, the frequencies of turn management markers, face threat mitigation markers, insufficiency markers, and frame markers were found to be higher, whereas the frequencies of repair markers, and collaborative markers were significantly lower. *Well* never appeared as a repair marker in Korean practical English conversation textbooks (J. An, 2018). It can be interpreted to mean that the EFL textbooks exhibit slightly various functions of *well*. So far, most previous studies have focused on the function of preventing damage to the face of the interlocutor or the function in which *well* preceding an insufficient answer. Although it has not been long since the first analysis of *well* used as a collaborative marker to actively agree with an interlocutor's opinion and to express a speaker's own experience (Heritage, 2015), it is significant that this function of *well* appears in dialogues in the EFL textbooks.

One of the limitations of this study is that the data examined do not consist of natural conversations because the subject of analysis has been textbook conversations rather than actual spoken ones. In textbooks, only the most ideal conversations are represented, and few cases of mistakes or corrections occur during them. Nevertheless, the role of textbooks is very important for learners in the EFL context, where there are not many opportunities for conversation with native speakers, and analysis of these textbook conversations is also meaningful. Based on the results of the analysis, it is expected that the two functions with the lowest frequency will be helpful to English learners if they are presented at higher frequencies in EFL textbooks. Since face threat mitigation markers and frame markers are used in many cases, it is necessary for publishers to make efforts to develop textbooks that represent various functions of DM.

In addition to using textbooks, additional classroom activities could also allow English teachers to teach discourse markers to learners. For example, after first being shown a movie clip that contains the use of DMs of native speakers, students will be able to discuss how the particular DMs function in conversations. Second, it could be effective for the teacher to explain DMs to learners using worksheets with various DMs and their functions, and then have the learners practice using the DMs while role-playing.

In future studies, it would be meaningful to compare the use of discourse markers of native speakers of similar age with the use of discourse markers of native language learners in Korean to see if there is any difference in their function. In addition, the difference between English DMs and Korean DMs and their translation patterns can be analyzed by examining how English DMs are translated into Korean in movies and literature.

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APPENDIX

The List of Five EFL English Textbooks Used in This Study

- Brown, S., Helgesen, M., & Wiltshier, J. (2018). *English firsthand success*. Singapore: Pearson.
- McCarthy, M., McCarten, J., & Sandiford, H. (2014). *Touchstone 2*. New York: Cambridge.
- Monlinsky, S. J., & Bliss, B. (2001). *Side by side 2*. New York: Longman.
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- Wilson, K. (2011). *Smart choice 2*. New York: Oxford.