Co-occurences of Kok and other Markers in Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian

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ABSTRACT

*This study analyzes discourse marker (DM) kok (why) in colloquial Jakartan Indonesian. Co-occurences of markers are noticeable features. It focuses on examining the emotive and textual functions of the co-occurences of kok and other markers. This study applied corpus methods. It was found that there are 7 markers co-occur with kok namely lho, eh, oh, lha, wah, ah, and ih that always appear on the left side of kok. Only DM sih occurs on the right side. In emotive functions, the co-occurrences were used to show shock, disappointment, and disgust. Three markers might occur together in one utterance which cause more complex senses. Some utterances with kok appear repeatedly in the form of questions. It seems that in questions with kok, the speakers feel more curious and demand more responses. In textual functions, the speakers use the co-occurrences to raise a topic, emphasize, demand answers, and negotiate. Moreover, it was also used when the speakers have just noticed something and tried to make the interlocutors notice.
Keywords: discourse marker, co-occurrence, emotive function, textual function*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian is a national language of Indonesia which is an archipelago that has many local languages. As a national language in such country, Indonesian has some local variations. One of the variations is colloquial Jakartan Indonesian. This variety is spoken in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. As the capital city, people with different local languages come to Jakarta. The Jakartan Indonesian might be influenced by the local languages. The influences

can be in the aspects related to discourse. In colloquial language, discourse marker (DM) is a feature that distinguishes colloquial language from formal spoken language and written language. Its meanings, moreover, might change from one situation to the other ones (Aijmer, 2014). Therefore, studying the utterances in dialogues to see the context is necessary.

DM is a part of pragmatic marker. DMs occur to create meaning as a whole by joining several elements in discourse. They are used by the participants in discourse to make the optimum sense of their utterances are delivered (Schiffrin, 2003). They, moreover, guide the listeners to make interpretation based on the message they heard (Han, 2011; Schiffrin, 2003).

Fraser (1996, p. 169) mentioned that DM is a type of pragmatic marker that "signals the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing discourse." According to Biber, Johansson, Conrad, & Finegan (1999, p.1046) it is "loosely attached to the clause and connected with ongoing interaction." As it carries discourse functions, it represents how the speakers manage the discourse in conversation in order to deliver and understand meanings. It is also defined as "a syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions which are distinguished by their function in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode" (Blakemore, 2004, p.221). From all definitions, it can be seen that DMs contribute to meaning making.

Some studies focused on the functions of DMs. Wang (2011) studied DMs *ano* in Japanese and *nage* in mandarin Chinese. They function to develop close relationship among speakers. The DMs are used as a politeness strategy in which the speakers reduced the potency of his own or interlocutor's faces threatening acts. It is a part of speakers' ways to show emotions with considering the effects to the interlocutors. In addition, they were also used when the speakers found sameness with their interlocutors. Furthermore, they give color to the nature of conversation. Fischer in Schiffrin (1987) mentioned they influence turn taking system and the flow of information in conversation. DMs do not only affect the coherency of discourse but also influence the relationship among the speakers (Furman & Özyürek, 2007). They might occur in transition. Besides, they appear to show how speakers and hearers involved in the message (Biber, et al., 1999).

As carrying emotive functions, DMs show stance (Aijmer, 2014; Han, 2011; Hiramoto, 2012). According to Biber & Conrad (2003), stance carries feelings and assessment. Thus, the speakers try to make others understand what they feel and think about even though they do not directly use content words to express feelings.

Textual functions mean how DMs are applied to organize texts such as in making the listeners pay attention to the messages that are going to deliver, marking structure of the texts, setting up boundary, and switching topics (Aijmer & Rühlemann, 2015). DMs are used to make coherence in discourse (Schiffrin, 1992). They are applied to make the texts make sense and easily to be understood.

The study of DMs in Catalan and Spanish has similarity to the present study (Cuenca and Marin, 2009). It discussed the co-occurences of two markers. However, the term co-occurrence in this study is different from the one in the present study. It refers to two or more words occur as a chunk in Cuenca and Marin's study while, in the present study, it was used to define as a word(s) that occur together within the span of four words to the left and right. The previous study explored the functional category of discourse markers and distributional properties. It was found that two or more markers might co-occur.

Sneddon (2006) also studied DMs in colloquial Jakartan Indonesia. The DMs are *deh*, *dong*, *kan*, *kek*, *kok*, *loh*, *mah*, *masa*, *nah*, *nih*, *tuh*, *sih*, *ya/yah*, and *yuk*. The discussion of the co-occurences in Sneddon's work is limited. It only gives some examples of what DMs co-occur with other DMs. According to him, the function of co-occurences is to build connection among speakers in conversation. Most examples given in his work were not given in wider chunk of dialogue. Furthermore, the context of the utterances must be considered. It did not consider how the co-occurences carry functions particularly textual and emotive functions. Besides, the co-occurences that were investigated are only the DM and DM. Co-occurences to other markers such as interjections have not been studies. The present study gives contribution on the study of co-occurences of DM *kok* and other markers (DMs and interjections) especially in their textual and emotive functions.

One of the DMs in colloquial Jakartan Indonesia is *kok*. *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI) which is an Indonesian-Indonesian dictionary published by the government gives two definitions for *kok*. The first one is as a word that functions to emphasize and strengthen speaker's intention. The second one, it is a synonym of *mengapa* and *kenapa* (why). As a synonym of *mengapa* and *kenapa*, when the speakers use *kok*, they ask for

reasons from other participants in the dialogue. They expect explanation to answer their questions.

Schiffrin (2003) mentioned that DMs have cognitive, expressive, textual, and social functions in a discourse. From DMs, speakers' thought and emotion that are not delivered directly by using content words can be realized. Moreover, it gives views on how the speakers construct dialogue in such a way to deliver their ideas. The speakers also consider their relationship with the listeners and tried to manage it in social interaction. For the case of *kok*, it was found that *kok* tends to occur with other markers in utterances. As we have shown before, the position of the other markers can be on the left or right side of *kok*. In addition, their co-occurrences tend to be with other markers that carries exclamation in meaning such as *wah* (Anonymous, 2017). Words that carry exclamation are called as interjections such as oh, yeah, and wow. Interjection is a type of pragmatic marker (Aijmer, 2014). Like DM, its occurrences can be structurally independent. In addition, they carry speakers' emotions (Biber, et al., 1999; Fraser, 1996; Neal, 2014;). Neal (2014, p. 251) stated they "connect utterances to foregoing talk, they act as tags, they fill pause, they signal listener responses, and assessments, all in addition to expressing strong emotion." Oh shows speakers' participation in discourse. By producing oh they sign they receive information. Furthermore, oh that occurs in the question demands more detailed information from the ones that gave the information (Schiffrin, 1993). Thus, it plays roles in creating the texts and showing emotions. The findings are much related to the textual and emotive functions.

For the case emotive function, the nature of DMs and interjections enable them to do so. Besides, it seems that the construction of co-occurences of *kok* and other markers carries functions related to the way the speakers construct the dialogues. It is about the textual function of DMs. Intriguing by the findings, this study sought to answer the research questions as follows: 1). What are the emotive functions of the co-occurences of *kok* and other discourse markers? 2). What are the textual functions of the co-occurences of *kok* and other discourse markers?

RESEARCH METHOD

The present study applies corpus methods in discourse analysis. In doing so, quantitative considerations are counted. It produced results that give description and explain phenomena that is investigated in discourse (Partington in Thornbury, 2010). The use of

corpus study to analyze DMs is recognized as an effective way because DMs are lexis that can be obtained easily by using the corpus tool. Lists of concordance lines of DMs can be provided. Furthermore, it can shed light on how speakers use DMs in order to optimize the sense of the message to be understood by the listeners (Rühlemnann, 2010). This study is limited only to emotive and textual functions and these functions are possible to be examined by a corpus method. As a study that applied corpus methods, first, the corpus was built by compiling the data from CHILDES (Child Language Data Exchange System). The size of the corpus is around 370,000 words. Next, the collocates of *kok* were investigated. Based on the wordlist of the collocates, the words that belong to DMs were selected. Close examination of the concordance lines was conducted to see the textual and emotive functions of the co-occurrences.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

It was found that markers on the left side of *kok* are *lho*, *eh*, *oh*, *lha*, *wah*, *ah*, and *ih*. On the right side, there is only *sih*. Only *lho* and *sih* that belong to the classification of DMs of colloquial Jakartan Indonesian by Sneddon (2006). *Lha* was not included in the classification. However, it is considered to be a DM in this study because its function and meaning almost similar to *lho*. The DMs, therefore, are *lho*, *lha*, and *sih* while the interjections are *eh*, *oh*, *wah*, *ah*, and *ih*. Their co-occurences with *kok* carry the sense of exclamation. The co-occurences occur in statements and questions. All of them function to show that the speakers feel shocked and surprised.

Lho and *Kok*

In this co-occurrence, *kok* appear in the questions. They can appear as chunks. Furthermore, they can be separated by some words such as in *lho itu bekas jeruk kok* and *lho dia kok*. *Lho* functions to show surprise (Sneddon, 2006). When *lho* and *kok* co-occur, it makes the speakers asked for reasons with surprise. In addition, the speaker used it when he negotiated his idea in order not do particular action.

(1)   A: Burungnya kan   kesian ditembak

        bird   kan   pitty   shot

B: (B)urung   apa?
    bird   what

A: Kalo yang   terbang,   jangan   ditembak,   kesian
    If   which fly   don't   shot   pitty

B: (B)urung,   (b)ur(ung),   (ger)eja
    bird   bird   church

A: Burung,   burung   gereja   jangan   ditembak,   kesian
    bird   bird   church   don't   shot   pitty

B: Tembak   aja
    shoot   just

A: *lho, kok*   ditembak?
    DM   DM   shot

B: Galak   tapi
    fierce   but

A: It's pitty to shot the bird.

B: Which bird?

A: If the bird is flying, don't shoot, it's pitty.

B: Sparrow.

A: But fierce.

A: Don't shoot sparrows. It's pitty.

B: Just shoot.

A: How come it was shot?

B: It's fierce.

A felt shock because he requested B not to shot from the beginning. He produced two imperative utterances that requested B not to shot the bird. He also gave reason why he made such instruction. Nevertheless, B still kept his intention to shot. Through the question *lho, kok, ditembak*, A wonder why B persisted to do the action.

In another case, *lho kok* occurs as one phrase in one utterance. In the dialog below, the participants are a child and an adult. The adult is called as *om* (uncle).

(2)   A: Om   Okki,   Om   Okki, ambil sendok   dong!
        uncle   O   uncle   O   take spoon   DM
    B: Ya,   ambil   sendiri   dong, tuh.

```
        DM        take          alone        DM    DM
```

A: Aaah.

  Exc

B: Lho kok?

  DM DM

A: Uncle Okki, Uncle Okki, please take a spoon for me.

B: Please, do it by yourself.

A: Ah.

B: How come?

Through *lho kok*, B questioned A's response to his instruction. Like in the first dialogue given as the example, the speakers that produced *lho kok* made imperative utterance before he produced *lho kok*. In this dialogue, it can be seen when the speaker said *ya, ambil sendiri, dong*. The sense in the dialogue tends to be imperative.

Lho kok is not only a response to an utterance but it can be a response to an action that was seen by the speaker as in the following dialogue.

```
(3)    A: Oke      deh,    maen  cukur-cukuran      deh.
          okay      DM      play    shave             DM
       B: Kompornya        beresin        ya?
          stove            tidy.up        DM
       C: Eh,      liat!
          Exc      look
       B: Lho,     kok     digunting?
          DM       DM      cut
```

A: Okay, let's play, pretend we do shaving.

B: Should we tidy up the stove?

A: Hey, look.

B: How come did you cut it?

Speaker C asked other participants in the conversation to look at him. After that, B questioned about it by saying *lho, kok digunting*? It is not only language produced but also

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the sudden actions done by the other participant that created situation in which B shows shock.

Feeling of shock in speaker's question can be accompanied by the feeling of disappointment [1] as can be seen in the following dialogue.

(4) A: Lho,   kok   rumahnya   kosong?

DM   DM   house-*nya*   empty

B: Rumahnya mau   dimasuki   oleh   binatang.

house   will   enter   by   animal

A: Yah,   kosong.

DM   empty

A: How come was the house was empty?

B: The house will be entered by animals.

A: Oh no. Empty.

B gives a reason to A's question. After hearing it, A mentioned again the emptiness of the house with disappointing tone.

Lho kok might occur in sequences showing how intriguing the phenomenon for the speaker. A produced *lho kok* twice in one speaking turn. By doing this, A has questions in his mind. As a response, B does not give reason to answer A's question. He gives other information that might be helpful to answer A's questions.

(5) A: Lho, kok, cuman   begini?   Lho,   kok,   ngga   ada   ininya?

DM DM   only   like.this   DM   DM   not   be   this-*nya*?

B: Tapi   ini   ada   pelurunya,   Tante.

but   this   be   bullet-*nya*   aunt

A: How come it is just like this? How come it is missing?

B: But it has the bullet, Aunt.

In another dialogue, the sequences of *lho kok* was produced by both speakers. A repeated *lho kok* two times in his first utterance. Then, A and B produced one question with *lho kok*. From the utterance *lho kok*, the speakers said that that it should not be like this.

(6) A: Lho…   Lho   kok   ada   tiga? Lho,   kok   ada   empat?

DM   DM   DM   be   three DM   DM   be   four

B. Lho, kok   banyak?

DM DM   many

A: Lho, kok   ada   empat?

    DM   DM   be   four

B: Tu,   dua, …

    one   two

A: How come there are three things? How come there are four things?

B: How come there are many?

A: How come there are four?

B: One, two, … .

None of the speakers answered the dialogue. They only questioned. It seems that the questioning sense is stronger in this dialogue.

In the other dialogue, *lho kok* occurs with *wah* which is an interjection. It forms *wah lho kok*. After asking for the reason, speaker A asked the person that did it. Then, he questioned the reason again. In this question, he did not produce *wah* and *loh*. *Kok* occurs without any markers because the speaker was not as shocked as when he produced the first question. In the first utterance, he produced three questions. The first and the last questions talk about the same issue.

(7)   A: Wah,   lho,   kok   miring   ni?

        DM   DM   DM   slanting   this

       A: Siapa   sih   yang   mutusin ,   kok   miring?

        who   DM   which   break   DM   slanting

       B: Oh,   karena   dimasukin   ke   kardus.

        DM   because   put   into   box

A: Wow. How come it is slanting? Who broke it? How come it was slanting?

B: Oh, because it was put into the box.

Three questions that occur in one speaking turn show that it makes the tone of the dialogue becomes more questioning. The participant observed the object and it led him to produce questions related to the objects.

Eh* and *Kok

Co-occurences of *eh* and *kok* can be in a statement or question. In the following example, it occurs in a question. They discussed about the train such as experience and where the train is. Then, B asked questioned. He asked the question which begins with *eh ... kok*. *Eh ... kok* shows that he just noticed new thing. He made it as the topic that he would discuss and tried to make the others notice. Through his question, speaker A raised new topic about the train. In this question, he used the word *tapi* (but) which shows contrast. He contrasted what he found about the train that the train does not move with his concept that the train should move.

(8)   A: Kereta api. Ya   kan   Om   Oki.

              Train   DM   DM   uncle O

      B: Iya,   bener, kok   tau,   Mamas? Emang   pernah ...?

           yes   right   how come   know M   actually   ever

      C: Kan ...

           DM

      A: Pernah   naik

           ever   take

      C: Kalo   kalo ...

           if   if

      A: Pernah   liat   kok

           ever   see   DM

      C: Kalo

           if

      A: Di   stasiun

           at   train.station

      B: Eh, tapi   kok   ngga   bisa   jalan   ya?

           Exc but   DM   not   can   work   DM

      D: Eeh.

           Exc.

      A: Train. Is it right, Uncle Oki?

      B. Yes, that's right. How come you know it, Mamas? Actually ... ?

      C: Yeah ... .

      A: I took it

C: If …. , if … .

A: I saw it, you know.

C. If … .

A: At the train station.

B: Anyway, but how come it cannot work?

D: Yeah.

Eh and kok also occurs in a statement. As a statement, the function of kok is to emphasize. Therefore, it makes others notice particular facts that would be said by the speaker. It can be said as speaker's way to emphasize his utterance. A complained about his aunt that did not want to help. As a response to this complain, C (aunt) made A realized why she did it.

(9) A: Cepet,   cepet. Masuk rumah semua! Masuk rumah! Masuk rumah!

   hurry   hurry come house all   come house come house

   B: Ayo   cepet.

   come on   hurry

   A: Wa, tante! Bantuin   dong! Aah,   tante   nih   nggak mau   bantuin.

   Exc aunt help   DM DM   aunt   DM   not   want   help

   C: Eh, yang   maen   kamu kok.

   DM which   play   you   DM

   A: Hurry, hurry. Come to the house, all. Come to the house. Come to the house.

   B: Come on. Hurry.

   A: Aunt, please help. Ah, aunt is not willing to help.

   C: Hey, it is you that play.

Oh and Kok

The co-occurences can be seen in the form of questions and statements. In the example below, the co-occurrence is in the question. Oh is closed to the information given in discourse.

(10) A: Tante,   ni   sosis   sisanya   dari   sekolah.

   Aunt   this   sausage   rest-nya   from   school

B: Oh, kok		enggak	dimakan	di	sekolah?
oh	how come	not	eat	at	school

A: Satu	udah	dimakan	di	sekolah.
one	already	eat	at	school

A: Aunt, here is/are (a) leftover sausage(s) from the school.

B: Oh, how come you didn't eat it at the school?

A: I ate it one at the school.

B gave response to the information given by A. When the speaker used *oh*, she just knew the information because the speaker told her. *Oh* also functions to notice that the speaker paid attention to the interlocutor. It is in line with the functions of oh mentioned by Schirffrin (1993). Based on the information given, B asked a question using *kok*. A did not directly give the reason. He added another information that can be used by B to guess.

As a statement, *oh* and *kok* occurs in the following dialogue. *Oh* is a response to B question. However, the response was not given directly after the question. There is an utterance produced by A before A answered the question. In this dialogue, speaker A did some actions. She was able to answer the question after doing this action. *Oh … kok* in the following example shows that the speaker has just known particular fact and emphasize the fact.

(11)
A: Tante,	Bety	mo	pipis	dulu	ya.
aunt	B	want	pee	early	DM

B: Oh iya.	Bisa	nggak	pipis	sendiri?
oh yes	can	not	pee	alone

A: Ah,	ininya	dilepas.
Ex	this	free

C: Yah.
DM

A: Oh bisa	kok	itu.
oh can	DM	that

A: Aunt, Bety wants to pee first.

B: Yes. Can you pee alone?

A: Ah, it should be opened.

C: Oh, no.

A: Oh, it worked, you know.

Lha and *Kok*

A shows his wonder by using *lha kok*. Instead of giving reason to A, he asked a question too. A asked again but in this question, he did not use *lha*. This case is similar to the co-occurences of *lho* and *kok*. *Lha* did not appear because it is not the first time for him to know it. In the first question, it was the first time for her to realize the fact. Then, he questioned it with *lha kok*. In the second question, speaker C gave explanation as a response.

(12) A: Lha   kok   ada   kacang?

        DM   DM   there   peanut

      C: Yang   satu   lagi   mana?

        which   one   again   where

      A: Kok   ada   kacang?

        DM   there   peanut

      B: Mana?   Ya udah   tambahin kacang   juga nggak pa pa,   enak.

        which   okay   add   peanut   also not.problem   yummy

      A: What. How come there are peanuts?

      C: Where is the other one?

      A: How come there are peanuts?

      B: Which one? Okay. It's not a problem to add peanuts. Yummy.

In another dialogue, the speaker produced two questions in one utterance. In the first question, *lha* occurs with *kok*. However, in the second question, it occurs without *lha*. This is still in line with the case in the previous dialogue where the speakers produced two questions with *kok*. *Kok* occurs with *lha* in the first question. However, it appears without any other DM in the second one.

(13) A: Lha   kok   gambar   semua ni?

        DM   DM   picture   all   this

      A: Ni   kok   nggak ada   gambarnya   kayak   ini?

        this   DM   not   be   picture   like   this

      B: Oh, nggak ada.   Ini   juga   nggak ada.

oh   not   there   this   also   not   there

A: What. How come all are pictures? How come it doesn't have a picture like this?

B: There aren't any. This one also doesn't have.

B did not give reasons. He only emphasized the point that A mentioned. He also made the last statement to show that the same case also happens.

In the dialogue below, A produced question with *kok* based on his observation. Then, B gave a response. A asked another question with a different topic. In this question, *kok* occurs with *lha*.

(14)   A: Eh,   bikin   setan   aja   deh.
              Exc   make   devil   just   DM

         B: Bikin   setan?
              make   devil

         C: (S)etan   di hutan,   kalo   malem-malem.
              devil   at forest   if   night

         B: Ni   malem-malem ni   ceritanya.
              this   night   this   story-*nya*

         A: Iya.   Kok   begitu   sih?
              yes   DM   like.that   DM

         B: Nanti   dulu,   belom jadi.
              later   before not.yet become

         A: Lha kok,   eee,   setannya   terbang?
              DM   DM   exc   devil-*nya*   fly

         B: Terbang.
            Fly

         A: Hey. Let's just make devil.

         B: Make devil?

         C: Devil is at the forest at night.

         B: Let's say it is night.

         A: How come it is like this.

         B: Later. It hasn't been finished.

         A: How come devil flies.

         B: Fly.

The case here is different from the case previously discussed. In this case, *kok* without DM occurs first. It happens differently because in this case, the speaker asked for two different things.

Wah and *Kok*

Kok that occurs with *wah* gives sense of wonder. *Wah … kok* is an expression of wonder of what C saw. It triggered his curiosity that led him to produce a question with *kok*. There is no response towards C's question. A switched the topic. Then, C gave a response to a new topic.

(15)   A: Ni   Mamas   bikin   anjing.
             this Mamas   make   dog

        B: Tuh.
             that

        C: He em.
             DM

        A: Setan
             devil

        C: Wah, setannya   kok   kayak cacing?
             Exc   devil-*nya*   DM   like   worm

        A: Ini   rumputnya.
             this   grass-*nya*

        C: Apa   tuh,   rumput,   Mas?
             what   that   grass   M

        A: Now, Mamas is making a dog.

        B: That one.

        C: Yes.

        A: Devil

        C: Wow. How come the devil is like a worm?

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A: This is the grass.

B: What is it? Is it grass, Mas?

In another dialog, there are two questions in a speaking turn. It is only the second question that used *kok*. Even though the first question did not use *kok* (*ini mana ini?*), the sense of questioning is still strong in the utterance that creates the nuance of questioning in the dialogue.

(16)　A: Ini　　　　mana　ini?　Wah,　ini　　kok　　　　copot?

　　　　this　　　　which　this　DM　　this　　how.come　detached

　　　B: Harus　　dua　　tapi,　nggak　boleh.

　　　　must　　　two　　but　　not　　can

　　　A: Where is it? Wow, how come it is detached?

　　　B: But, it must be two. It can't be.

In this case, there is no reason given to answer A's question.

Ih and Kok

When *ih* occurs with *kok*, there is a sense of questioning with negative feeling that makes the speaker felt horrific. In the following dialogue, the negative feeling is dirty because the hair should not be there.

(17)　A: Tuh　　　ada　　tissue.

　　　　that　　　there　tissue

　　　B: Heh?

　　　　What

　　　A: Pake　　tissue,　　ya?

　　　　use　　　tissue　　DM

　　　C: Ih,　　kok　　　ada　　rambut sih?

　　　　Exc　　how.come　be　　hair　DM

　　　A: That is a tissue.

　　　B: Eh?

　　　A: Use a tissue, don't you?

　　　C: How come the hair is there?

In the other case, the negative feeling is shame. A did self-talking in which he asked a question and express what he felt. The other speakers did not give a response. B talked about new topic. Then, C responded to this new topic.

(18) A *:* Ih,   ce(lana),   celananya   kok   gitu?

      DM   pants-*nya*   pants-*nya*   how.come   like.that?

     A: Ih,   malu.   Om   Okki   malu.

      DM   ashamed   Uncle O   ashamed.

     B: Diminum,   Mas Okki.

      drink   Mas Okki

     C. Iya, Bu.

      yes   ma'am

     A: Yuck. The pants. How come the pants like that? Yuck. Uncle Okki, I am ashamed.

     B: Have a drink, Mas Okki.

     C: Yes, Ma'am.

Sih and *Kok*

Sih is the only DM that occurs on the right side of *kok*. In the questions, *sih* plays a role to make the dialogue smooth and emphasize the focus of questions (Sneddon, 2006). *Kok* can occur in the beginning of the sentence after the addressing term. In the following example, *kok* occur after the addressing term, *ma*. *Ma* means *mama* (mother).

(19) A: Ma, kok   nggak ada   kulitnya   sih?

      Ma how.come   not   be   skin-*nya*   DM

     B: Kulitnya   susah dong.

      skin-nya   hard   DM

     A: Ma, how come it doesn't have a skin.

     B: The skin is hard.

In the dialogue above, A asked her mother, a person that must be respected based on local culture. Based on participants' relationship, A tried to smooth the question by using *sih*. The question used *kok* which demand an explanation. To make it less demanding, the speaker used *sih*.

In another case, *kok* occurs in the middle of the sentence. B responded by mentioning the issue that was mentioned by speaker A before he gave the reason.

(20) A: Si Atan   kok   nggak keliatan   sih?

		dim Atan	how.come	not	seen	DM
B:	Nggak		keliatan,	Atan	di	bawah.
	not		see	Atan	at	under

A: How come I didn't see Atan?

B: I didn't see him. Atan is on the ground below.

The co-occurrences of *sih* and *kok* in the two dialogues above emphasize the focus of the questions to the listeners. By doing so, the speakers directed the listener to get the focus of the questions. Thus, the listeners would give more relevant information to answer the questions. It is in line with what was mentioned by Han (2011) that DMs are intended by the speakers to the make the listeners interpret the messages correctly.

CONCLUSION

In terms of emotive functions, the co-oocurences carry the expressions of shock and surprise. It is also possible that expressions of disappointment and horrific gives nuance to the dialogue. The speakers concern towards particular issues and have curiosity about the issues. It led them to the make questions with the co-ccurences of *kok* and other markers. Two questions with *kok* might be produced in one utterance. One of them might carry co-occurences of *kok* and other markers whereas the other one has only *kok*. In terms of textual functions, the co-occurences play roles to address new topics, show information that is taken and given, make the other participants notice about particular issues, and smooth the dialogues.

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