Rhee, Seongha. 1996. Pragmatic inferences and grammaticalization of serial verbs of displacement in Korean. *Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, February 16–19, 1996, University of California, Berkeley.* Ed. by Jan Johnson, Matthew L. Juge, and Jeri L. Moxley, pp. 328–339.

Pragmatic Inferences and Grammaticalization
of Serial Verbs of Displacement in Korean*

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0. Introduction

Aspectual meaning in Korean is primarily marked by serial verbs (SVs hereafter). The aspectual system is very complex and has been much studied. However, studies from a grammaticalization perspective are largely underrepresented to date.

In this paper I will discuss two verbs in Korean, *pelita* and *chiwuta*, both denoting displacement. These verbs are also often called auxiliary verbs or compound verbs since they function as aspectual auxiliaries and co-occur with other non-finite verbs. Nevertheless these verbs do not show all of the properties of regular auxiliary verbs, which typically have an opaque lexical meaning, and can occur in so-called serial verb constructions (SVCs hereafter). Thus, I will use the term serial verb to refer to these verbs, *pelita* and *chiwuta*, without further discussion on terminology. In these SVs, the two verbs are serialized with a non-finite marker -*e*[1]. This paper addresses several issues: how metaphor works as the mechanism of semantic generalization at the preparatory stage for grammaticalization; how inference works as the mechanism of grammaticalization along which speakers' viewpoints are gradually semanticized; and how the verbal semantics constantly place constraints on the grammaticalization path.

1. Preliminary

1.1 Problems with Historical Data. It would be beyond the scope of this study to attempt to discuss Old and Middle Korean in depth. However, a brief discussion of the old historical data is in order as background.

Until the Korean orthography, *Hankul*, was invented in 1443, the writing system made use of Chinese characters. Some characters represented semantic values and some phonetic values, maintaining the Korean word order. Therefore, how they were actually read still involves considerable controversy. Another unfavorable aspect of the situation is that there are only twenty-five extant pieces of short poems written before 1443. To make the picture even more complex, fourteen of these were works of the 6th - 8th centuries, but their extant records were written in the 13th century. Therefore, it is not clear how much of each poem retained the original form. The other eleven poems are of the 10th century, whose extant forms are the 11th century records. One serious problem arising from this is that the data from these sources, i.e., all pre-fifteenth century data (Old Korean), cannot be effectively lined up in chronological order.

1.2 History of Grammaticalization of SVCs in General. One striking aspect that can be observed by comparing Old Korean, Middle Korean and Modern Korean data is the gradual change from paucity to very productive use of SVCs. Even though reconstructed Old Korean data have some SVCs, they are largely SVCs of 'manner + movement' or 'direction + movement' types, where movement

verbs are such verbs as 'go', 'come', 'stop', etc.[2] It seems that crosslinguistically these verbs are the first category that develop into serial verb constructions.

2. Grammaticalization of *pelita* and *chiwuta*

2.1 Lexical and Auxiliary Meanings. *Pelita* 'throw away' and *chiwuta* 'relocate' can be used as lexical verbs or as auxiliaries functioning as SVs. These two verbs denoting the displacement of objects are the most commonly used verbs for auxiliary function of marking perfective.[3] The examples of the two usages are given below.[4]

(1.a) ku-ka   sinmwun-ul   peli-ess-ta
     he-Nom newspaper-Acc throw away-Pst-Dec
     'He threw away a newspaper.' (main verb, lexical meaning)

(1.b) ku-ka   pap-ul   mek-e   peli-ess-ta
     he-Nom meal-Acc eat-NF throw away-Pst-Dec
     'He ate up the meal.' (SV, auxiliary meaing)

(2.a) ku-nun   ssal-ul   changko-lo   chiwu-ess-ta
     he-Top rice-Acc storage-to relocate-Pst-Dec
     'He relocated the rice into the storage.' (main verb, lexical meaning)

(2.b) swukcey-lul   ha-e   chiwu-ca
     homework-Acc do-NF relocate-Hortative
     'Let's finish the homework.' (SV, auxiliary meaning)

2.2 Mechanisms of Grammaticalization. Despite relative success in the description of grammaticalization phenomena, the mechanism of change has remained a puzzle for many students of grammaticalization. Numerous answers have been proposed, including metaphor (Sweetser 1988, 1990; Bybee *et al* 1985; Heine *et al* 1991, *inter alia*), metonymy (Traugott *et al* 1991, *inter alia*), inference (Traugott *et al* 1991; Bybee *et al* 1994, *inter alia*), and generalization (Bybee 1988; Bybee *et al*, 1994 *inter alia*). Because of the complexity of the change patterns in grammaticalization, it does not seem that any single mechanism would fully explain all of the phenomena involved. As a matter of fact, most studies subscribe to more than one mechanism for the explanation.[5] In this section we will explore how metaphor and inference play a role in the semantic generalization and grammaticalization of displacement verbs.

It has been noted that semantic generality of a lexical item is important for its grammaticalization (Hopper *et al* 1993:97). This is so because a semantically highly specific lexical item cannot have but very limited distribution and this limited occurrence will not allow it to become grammaticalized. Because of the loss of semantic content involved in this process, the lexical item, now generalized, is less restricted in occurrence and therefore it can be said to be functionally enriched. In the following discussion it seems that the meaning of a lexical item becomes generalized when a metaphor is involved. The rest of the process is due largely to the inferences that arise through conversational implicature.

2.3 Grammaticalization of *pelita*. *Pelita* is the most widely used perfective-marking SV in Modern Korean. It occurred as a perfective-marking auxiliary even before the Middle Korean period (15-16c.). Therefore, it has

undergone a long grammaticalization process. The path of semantic generalization is given in (3).

(3) Semantic Generalization of *pelita*[6]

Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Stage IV
throw away =>	leave/abandon =>	quit =>	disappear/spoil
animate agent	animate agent	animate agent	
physical removal	physical removal	removal	removal
physical object			
from Location 1			

The examples for each stage are as follows:

Stage I (4) yehAe-mulon   cilsampoy   pAlisi-ko
separate-rather than   weaving cloth   throw away-and
'Rather than being separated from you, I will throw away the
weaving cloth, and (follow you begging for your love)'
Sekyengpyelkok Koryo Dynasty (10-14c., wrtn in 16c.) (Lim, 1993)

Stage II (5) ka-si-li   ka-si-li-isko   nanAn
go-Hon-Fut   go-Hon-Fut-Q   Beat Filler[7]
pAli-ko   ka-si-li-isko   nanAn
throw away-and   go-Hon-Fut-Q   Beat Filler
'Are you leaving, really leaving? Are you leaving (me)?'
Kasili Koryo Dynasty (10-14c., wrtn in 16c.) (Lim, 1993)

(6) i   stah-Al   pAli-kok   etuy
this land-Acc   throw away-and   where
ka-l-ti-e   hA-l-ti
go-Adn-Nomz-Q   do-Adn-when
'If they say,'Where can you go by leaving this land?',...'
Anminka 8c.(wrtn in 13c.) (Lim, 1993)

Stage III (7) ilhwum-ul   tut-cAvAmyen motin hAingtyek-ul pAli-ko
name-Acc   hear-if   evil   deed-Acc   throw away-and
'When (they) hear the name (of Bodhisattva), they will quit old evil
deeds, and (seek after the truth,...)'
Sekposangcel 9:14, 1447 (1978)

Stage IV (8) nA-i   mom   pAli-ko   cip-i   phAyha-ko
I-Gen body   throw away-and   house-Nom   ruin-and
Kyeynyese, 17c. (1988)
'It is disadvantageous to yourself and your household, and'
(This is a father's warning given to his daughter about to marry not
to be jealous of husband's possible love-affairs with others. The
use of first person pronoun is to mark the father's emphathy.)

(9) pi-ka   wa-se   os-ul   peli-ess-ta
rain-Nom   come-because   clothes-Acc   throw away-Pst-Dec
'(My) clothes were spoiled (=became wet) because of rain.'
Modern Korean

Stages I - IV show the progressive generalization of the semantics of the verb. The features in the basic meaning gradually become lost. The change from Stage I to Stage III is an instance of metaphor, mediated by another small metaphor in Stage II. Expressions such as 'abandoning a love' or 'abandoning homeland' are descriptions of a metaphorical act of 'throwing away'. However, the feature of physical removal (separation) is still preserved. In Stage III semantic components of the verb are further generalized in that physical removal is no longer necessary. The metaphorical change is from a physical domain to a more abstract domain. The verb is more synonymous with 'quit'. Stage IV seems to be a rather recent development, where agent is not necessary in the semantic components of the verb. Considering the importance of the agenthood in the semantics of the verb, 'to throw away', this final stage seems to show an extreme level of bleaching. In Modern Korean usage of all four stages co-occur, and so the verb *pelita* is considered polysemous.

The semantics of *pelita* becomes generalized while it is used as a lexical verb. On the other hand, the verb acquires aspectual meaning and speakers evaluative viewpoints while it is used as a SV. The path of acquisition of evaluative viewpoints is given in (10).

(10) Acquisition of Evaluative Viewpoints

Stage A	Stage B	Stage C	Stage D
completiveness =>	irretrievability =>	undesirability =>	malefaction

Along the journey of grammaticalization *pelita* picks up many other conventionalized meanings through inferences. At Stage A the verb's sense of 'completiveness' becomes salient. The inference in this stage as compared with other stages is different in that it seems to come mainly from the semantics of the verb. The historical data suggest that by Stage A the semantics of *pelita* had become much more general, encoding 'removal' by generalization. The verb *pelita* is a telic verb and it must have been frequently used with telic event predicates. The predicate indicating the natural end point is likely to develop a strong sense of telicity through frequent occurrence with the verb *pelita* which encodes 'removal', an action with natural end point. Considering that completiveness and telicity are semantically closely associated, this inference, sketched in (11), may be a natural outgrowth of the change at this stage. This is in consonance with the observation that dynamic verbs or directional predicates are usual sources of completive aspectual auxiliaries (Bybee *et al* 1994: 59). Examples of Stage A are given in (12) and (13).

(11) X did Y, or Y occurred, where Y is
telic event reinforced by co-occurring   > Y is done completely
telic verb

(12) alay-s   unhyey-lul   nic-e   pAli-si-a
previous time-Gen   relationship-Acc   forget-NF   throw away-Hon-as
'As he forgot (completely) the former relationship (with me as a spouse,...)'
Sekposangcel 6:4, 1447 (1978)

(This is a statement by Buddha's wife regarding how completely
he was changed after the Enlightenment.)

(13) son-intong cwuin-intong ta   nic-e   pAli-es-yeyla
    guest-if   host-if   all   forget-NF throw away-Pst-Dec
'We completely forgot who was the guest and who was the host.'
<div align="right">*Songkangkasa* 1747 (1988)</div>
(This is a description of a hearty drinking party where the formalities
  between the guest and host were totally forgotten.)

At Stage B the sense of 'irretrievability of removal' becomes salient. This
seems to be a natural inference from the previous stage. If someone says
something that would normally mean 'X did Y completely' or 'Y occurred
completely', the hearer, in the absence of further information otherwise, tends to
infer that 'it was done irretrievably', as illustrated in (14). Since this irretrievability
directly affects the present in that its effects persevere into the present, this auxiliary
verb has the perfective meaning for present-relevance. Examples of Stage B are
given in (15) - (17).

(14)   X did Y completely
        Y occurred completely   > Y is irretrievable

(15) kulwel   muyhi-e   pAli-la
    document   destroy-NF throw away-Imp
'Cancel the contract.'
<div align="right">*Penyek Nokeltay* early 16c. (1988)</div>
(In response to a complaint by a buyer, who unknowingly bought a sick
horse, the annoyed seller of the horse suggests that the buyer cancel the
sales contract irrevocably and pay the cancellation fee included in the
contract.)

(16) taymyeng-kwa   kyothonghA-ki-lAl   skuschi-e
    Ming Dynasty-with have relations-Nomz-Acc stop-NF
  pAli-ko   mwunsye-uy wuli nyenho-lAl   psu-ko
  throw away-and   document-at   our calendar year-Acc write-and
'Abandon the diplomatic relations with the Ming Dynasty, use our imperial
  calendar years on your documents, and ...' *Sansengilki* 17c. (Kim, 1985)
(Invading Ching Dynasty emperor is demanding a Koryo King to abandon
the diplomatic relations with Ming Dynasty permanently and to become a
subordinate kingdom to Ching China instead.)

(17) ku   thong-uy pyek-ey tah-a   swunsikkan-ey
    that tube-Gen wall-Loc touch-NF short moment-Loc
    mall-a   peli-nta
    dry-NF   throw away-Dec
'(The vapor) gets touched on the wall of the tube and immediately gets dried
  and disappears.'   *Elumuy Tokani* 1993 (Choe, 1993)
(The protagonist bitterly equates his mental state with the vapor in a
humidifier. The whole chapter is his reflection on the irretrievability of
what he has done.)

At Stage C the 'undesirability' becomes salient. The undesirability seems to
come from an aspect associated with the original verbal semantics and human
experience. Since humans tend to remove things that are undesirable, this inference
is a natural step.[8] Since this undesirability sense develops after the semanticization
of irretrievability it is also reasonable to postulate that this is an outgrowth from the

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previous 'irretrievability' sense. Something irretrievably done is likely to be
undesirable because of consequent unavailability, as in (18). Examples of Stage C
are given in (19) - (21).

(18)   X did Y completely and irretrievably
       Y occurred completely and irretrievably   > Y is undesirable

(19) ku mal-i   taman khong-man kAlhAiy-e mek-ko
    the horse-Nom only bean-only select-NF eat-and
    ciph-ul   ta husth-e   pAli-nAnila
    straw-Acc all scatter-NF throw away-Dec
'They eat only beans and scatter straws away.' *Monge Nokeltay* 1741 (1988)
(The speaker is warning a horse keeper that if horses are given beans and
straws mixed, they will eat the beans only and throw away the straws by
strewing them on the ground.)

(20) incelmi-nAn   moto sek-e   peli-esAp
    rice cake-Top all   decay-NF throw away-Dec
    'All the rice cakes went bad.'   *Chusa Enkan* 1841 (Kim, 1986)
(The author in exile on an island writes to his wife that the rice cakes she
sent to him all went bad because it took many months by boat for
transportation from the mainland.)

(21) manyak nay-ka   michi-e   peli-ntamyen
    if   I-Nom become insane-NF throw away-if
    'If I become insane, ...'   *Elumuy Tokani* 1993 (Choe, 1993)

At Stage D the undesirability gives rise to the acquisition of still another
feature — 'malefactive'. When the verb has acquired undesirability through
inferences again a malefactive meaning will be naturally inferred because, if
something undesirable was done, it can be inferred that the agent of the proposition
is likely to have intended the malefactive effect on the patient. The inference pattern
is given in (22). Examples of Stage D are given in (23) and (24).

(22)   X did Y completely irretrievably
       where Y was undesirable   > X intended malefaction

(23) walkhak stwi-e   taly-e   tul-mye   chomAi calak-to
    suddenly jump-NF run-NF go into-Con skirt-too
    watutuk   cwalwuwuk   scicy-e pali-mye
    Onomatopoeia Onomatopoeia tear-NF throw away-and
<div align="right">*Chwunhyangcen* late 19c - early 20c. (Chun, 1995)</div>
  '(She) ran toward him (threateningly) and tore her own skirt, and...'
(The protagonist is much agitated upon hearing that her love would leave
her, and she runs about and tears her own skirt to show the malice to him
by directing it at herself.)

(24) kathi   ka-ten   salam-i   kocacil-ul   ha-e
    together go-Retrospective man-Nom squealing-Acc do-NF
    peli-ess-ta
    throw away-Pst-Dec
'The companion squealed on him.' *Chenglyangli Yek* 1993 (Song, 1993)
(The fellow policeman squealed on him to the authorities to ruin him and to
  earn favor in return.)

The 'malefactive' usage of this SV in Modern Korean is very frequent. But this development seems to have started very recently — around the turn of the century. Since malefactive requires [+volitional] for the agent and [+animate] for the patient, constructions not compatible with these features, such as absence of an agentive subject or an animate patient, will not imply malefaction and no such inference may be made, as shown in (25) and (26). This constraint, however, can be overridden if normally unqualified agents or patients are personified. This constraint on the malefactive usage of the SV shows that the semantic residue of the original verb constrains the development in grammaticalization.

(25) ice cream-i   nok-a   peli-ess-ta
      ice cream-Nom melt-NF throw away-Pst-Dec
'The ice cream melted (completely, irretrievably, undesirably, * malefactively).'

(26) ku-ka   namwu-lul pey-e   peli-ess-ta
      he-Nom tree-Acc   cut-NF throw away-Pst-Dec
'He cut down the tree (completely, irretrievably, undesirably, * malefactively).'

Here is an interesting aspect of the usage of this SV *pelita* with regard to the contrast in the following examples.

(27) akwun-uy   cangkwun-i cwuk-e peli-ess-ta
      our army-Gen general-Nom die-NF throw away-Pst-Dec
      'Our general is killed (to our regret).'

(28) cekkun-uy   cangkwun-i cwuk-e peli-ess-ta
      enemy army-Gen general-Nom die-NF throw away-Pst-Dec
      'Enemy's general is killed (to our happiness).'

As shown in the above examples, *pelita* can be used either for desirable or undesirable events depending on the speakers' evaluative viewpoints. We have already seen how a sense of undesirability developed in the grammaticalization path into a malefactive use of the verb. Now the question is whether it can be also used for sense of desirability as well, and if so, why did it not develop into a benefactive. This seems to be a possible development blocked by the original semantics of the verb 'throw away', which is very closely related to our human experience of eliminating undesirable things. Therefore, the desirability sense in (28) is only a context-based, by-product interpretation, where the auxiliary usage of the SV is still for marking 'completeness' or 'irretrievability'. Another factor in this matter is that a different *cwuta* 'to give', is already a robust marker of 'benefactive'. Therefore, it seems that a choice of inferred senses that determines the direction of development is not random, but rather such selection is always made under the pressure of competition with other elements which may by default have the right of way.

It must be noted that all uses of *pelita* discussed above occur in contemporary Korean. The grammaticalization process does not require that all uses become collapsed into one. Instead, the most grammaticalized use of the verb carries all of the changes cumulatively. Therefore, the malefactive use subsumes completeness, irretrievability and undesirability. Because of this multi-layered grammaticalization, simple synchronic descriptions of the auxiliary often encounter difficulty. However, by referring to the inference patterns in the historical

development of the auxiliary, this diachronic approach better explains 'how' and 'why' it behaves as it does.

2.4 Grammaticalization of *chiwuta*. Very similar to *pelita*, *chiwuta* is also a perfective-marking SV. This SV is sometimes interchangeable with *pelita*. The grammaticalization process of this verb seems to have started very recently. Even though it is frequently used as a perfective auxiliary in contemporary colloquial Korean, it is rarely used in literary works. Since this is a recent development and written data do not provide ample evidence for establishing different stages, the grammaticalization path of this verb cannot be easily plotted linearly. Its (hypothetical) development in semantics of the main verb and auxiliary use is sketched below:

(29) Semantic Generalization of *chiwuta*

Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
animate agent	animate agent	animate agent
physical relocation	physical relocation	relocation
from Loc1 to Loc2	from Loc1 to Loc2	(from Loc1 to Loc2)
physical object		

(30) Acquisition of Evaluative Viewpoints

Stage A	Stage B	Stage C
completiveness =>	irretrievability =>	undesirability

The examples for the each stage are as follows:

Stage I   (31) ku-nun ssal-lul changko-lo chiwu-ess-ta
                  he-Top rice-Acc storage-to relocate-Pst-Dec
                'He relocated the rice into the storage.'

Stage II   (32) panucil-ul chiwu-ko pappi yek-ey naka-ss-ta
                  sewing-Acc relocate-and hurriedly station-to go out-Pst-Dec
                '(She) stopped sewing and hurriedly went to the station.'

Stage III   (33) ku-nun ttal-lul   chiwu-ess-ta
                  he-Top daughter-Acc relocate-Pst-Dec
                'He relocated his daughter (he married his daughter to someone).'

Since the changes up to Stage C are parallel to *pelita* we do not need to give all examples. What seems immediately noticeable as compared with the previous *pelita* is that this verb *chiwuta* has undergone less semantic generalization. As a main verb *chiwuta* goes one stage less than *pelita* in that it still requires an animate agent. Therefore, despite some parallel usage with *pelita* the following example shows that the changes do not completely overlap.

(34) pi-ka   wa-se   os-ul   peli/*chiwu-ess-ta
      rain-Nom come-because clothes-Acc throw away/relocate-Pst-Dec
      '(My) clothes were spoiled (=became wet) because of rain.'

Likewise on the grammaticalization path, *chiwuta* does not develop into a SV having an auxiliary function of malefactive marking. This difference is attributable to several factors.

First, it has been already mentioned that unlike *pelita*, *chiwuta* has a very short history of evolution as a SV. For example, a comparison of two Bible versions, the Revised Hankul Version and the Common Translation, in their usage of *chiwuta*, shows that the RHV does not have any occurrence of auxiliary use of the verb in SV, while the CT published 33 years later has several dozen occurrences.[9] The verbs such as 'devour' and 'eat' are usually translated into one verb in the RHV, but in the CT many of them occur in the form of 'devour/eat-NF *chiwuta*'. Another piece of evidence is that a Korean dictionary, *Sayhankul Sacen*, containing 160,000 entries published in 1970, does not list an entry for the auxiliary use of *chiwuta*, while *Saykwuke Sacen*, a similar-sized dictionary published in 1990 does list this use.

It is interesting to note that the constraint seems to be also attributable to the semantics of the verbs. Both share the core meaning of displacement, but unlike *pelita* which describes an action of simple removal from one location, *chiwuta* is a little more complex in that it also makes reference to the end point location. It has been already noted that semantic generalization is a prerequisite for a verb to go through a grammaticalization process. The constraint on the SV *chiwuta* is not restricted to the malefactive usage. Generally it has a very restricted distribution. For example, non-volitional verbs cannot occur with this SV. Even among volitional verbs, only those used in achievement predicates can occur with this SV as shown in the following examples.

(35) chayk-ul sey-kwon-ul   ilk-e   chiwu-ess-ta
     book-Acc three-Classifier-Acc read-NF relocate-Pst-Dec
     'He read 3 books.'

(36) *chayk-ul sey-sikan-tongan   ilk-e   chiwu-ess-ta
     three-hour-during
     'He read book(s) for 3 hours.'

Another relevant point is that *chiwuta* has a derogatory connotation that the act denoted by the predicate including V1 in the SV is done in a rather speedy and inferior manner lacking due carefulness (Kim, 1990). This seems to be due to the history of this verb's usage, which the speakers of Modern Korean are not fully aware of. From my data search, I found about fourteen occurrences from some 15th to 17th c. sources. Seven occurrences described taking out human or animal manure and five, removing garbage. Therefore, because of this synchronic pragmatic constraint attributable to the diachronic information, *chiwuta* cannot co-occur with honorific-marked predicates or predicates denoting careful action, unless this nuance is explicitly or contextually canceled.

Still another aspect related to this issue is that, as is commonly recognized in the studies of grammaticalization, when a new grammatical element is introduced into a language, it comes into competition with an already existing element currently carrying out that function, thus resulting in the co-existence of two grammatical elements for the same function. Sometimes an innovative form takes over the old form gradually, sometimes it loses to the old form and disappears, and sometimes both co-exist through division of labor and specialization. In the case of *pelita* and *chiwuta* the new form *chiwuta* seems to be gradually taking over the functions of *pelita*. Since *chiwuta* has such a short development period there is no knowing what the result will be in the future. The current situation seems to be that it is in

active competition with the 'completiveness' and 'irretrievability' functions of *pelita*; it is less active in the 'undesirability' function; and it has not yet entered into competition for the 'malefactive' function. A piece of supporting evidence is that even for the 'undesirability' sense this verb *chiwuta* is not very productively used.[10] *Pelita* has primacy in this use, too. Another piece of evidence comes from the fact that even when these verbs are used as lexical verbs (i.e., V1 in SVC) there is an asymmetry of use.

(37.a) ku-nun ssuleyki-lul   chiwu/peli-ess-ta
       he-Top trash-Acc   relocate/throw away-Pst-Dec
       'He threw away the trash.'

(37.b) ku-nun ssuleyki-lul   peli-e   peli-ess-ta
                              chiwu-e   peli-ess-ta
                              *chiwu-e   chiwu-ess-ta
                              *peli-e   chiwu-ess-ta
       he-Top trash-Acc   DISPLACE-NF DISPLACE-Pst-Dec
       'He threw away the trash.'

The above examples show that even though the two words are interchangeable as lexical verbs as shown in (37.a), as an aspectual auxiliary *pelita* has primacy over *chiwuta* as shown in (37.b).

This has the interesting prediction that when a new form comes into a language and vies for primacy in usage, the order of the attack parallels the order of the functions developed by its competitor. The important factors in the competition are the semantic generality that determines the freedom of occurrence, and the available inferences from the contexts in which they are used. Therefore, the changes tend to show certain directionality. It is interesting to note that the direction of change in both cases is from more concrete to more abstract, in each case toward the dimension of 'quality'.[11] This is also in consonance with the 'Semantic-pragmatic Tendencies' in Traugott *et al* (1991:208-209) that meanings tend to become situated in the speaker's evaluative/perceptual/cognitive situation or subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation.

3. Conclusion

We have seen how metaphor and pragmatic inference contribute to the grammaticalization process with two examples from Korean displacement SVs, *pelita* and *chiwuta*. To undergo a "real" grammaticalization a lexical item has to be semantically generalized first. This generalization is made through metaphor in this case of displacement verbs. Inference seems to be continuously pushing the verb to acquire grammaticalized meanings, but only in a certain direction. Even though all inferences are based on the context, some inferences are based more on the semantics of the verb while others are based more on human experience or world knowledge. We also saw that even between semantically closely related (almost synonymous) SVs one has primacy over the other, which seems to be a result of the different degrees of grammaticalization, which again depends on the levels of generality of their semantics and their history of use.

Notes:

* I am very grateful to Manfred Krifka, Bernd Heine, Joan Bybee and Paul Hopper for valuable comments and insightful criticism on earlier versions of this paper. My deepest thanks go to Hyun Jung Koo who kindly found many hard-to-get data sources, without which this paper could never be written. All shortcomings that remain are, of course, my sole responsibility.

1. This non-finite marker has allomorphs, -a and -ø. There are other non-finite markers but their status is controversial.
2. These are more like compound verbs in that they usually lack auxiliary functions.
3. Similar phenomena with (dis)placement verbs such as *throw, throw away, put,* etc., in other languages have been noted in: B. Heine (p.c., Diyari); Kitano *et al* and P. Radetzky (Linguistic Institute 1995 class presentations, Japanese), Ono (1992, Japanese), Ono *et al* (1992, Japanese); Genetti (1986, Newari); and Nayar (1983, Malayalam).
4. The abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows. Acc: accusative, Adn: adnominal, Dec: declarative, Fut: future, Gen: genitive, Hon: honorific, Imp: imperative, Loc: locative, NF: non-finite, Nom: nominative, Nomz: nominalizer, Pst: past, Q: interrogative, and Top: topic. For transliteration Yale System is used with an addition of ㅸ: v, △: z, and ·: A.
5. Bybee *et al* (1994: 296-297) has an excellent discussion showing how different mechanisms are playing roles at different stages of grammaticalization. It shows that metaphor works at the earlier stage while inference and generalization have a more extended effect throughout the grammaticalization.
6. The separation of Stages I, II & III as different periods cannot be evidenced by historical data because of the paucity of historical data. See above section 1.1 for discussion of this problem. But, it seems that *pelita* already passed these three stages in Old Korean.
7. *NanAn* is an onomatopoeic word believed to describe a lute sound. The use of this kind of beat-filling onomatopoeic words is common in Old and Middle Korean songs and poems.
8. Bybee (p.c.) suggests that this negative nuance may have been picked up from the context. This seems to be much to the point because inferences cannot be independent of context.
9. I compared Exodus and three prophets, i.e., Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk.
10. Unlike *pelita,* this undesirability sense is associated with the 'manner' of the action, probably because of its original semantics, rather than the action itself.
11. Heine *et al* (1991:55) suggests that the outward progression of ontological categories is from Person -> Object -> Process -> Space -> Time -> Quality.

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