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GRAMMATICALIZATION OF KOREAN PLACEMENT VERBS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Among the verbs that denote action, verbs of placement are among those that are most likely to grammaticalize. *Twuta* 'put/store' and *nohta* 'put/place' in Korean; *vay* 'put/store' and *iT* 'put' in Malayalam (Nayar 1983:176-81); *oku* 'put' in Japanese (Ono 1992 and Ono and Suzuki 1992), *tol* 'put/keep' in Newari (Genetti 1986); *dhar* 'put/keep/throw', *rakh* 'put/keep', *rakh de* 'put/place' in Hindi (Hook 1974:128-29; 104-9); and *bo* 'put/keep' in Gta? (Hook 1989:3)¹ are some of the verbs in this category that underwent the grammaticalization process. One striking aspect of these verbs is that they all tend to mark the completiveness of the verbal predicates. Furthermore, they tend to acquire 'benefactive' sense. The similarity of developments shows that changes are constrained by the commonality of the human propensities that are reflected in the pattern of the language use. In this essay we will consider the grammaticalization paths of the placement verbs in Korean.

The verbs denoting placement in Korean are highly specialized. Therefore, the words carry very fine-grained semantic distinctions as follows:²

(1)

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| a. <i>twuta</i> | put |
| b. <i>nohta</i> | put |
| c. <i>nehta</i> | put into a (bounded) space |
| d. <i>encta</i> | put on top of a (relatively flat) surface |
| e. <i>tamta</i> | put into a (relatively closed) container with a purpose |

f. <i>kkita</i>	put with friction on contact surface
g. <i>kkiwuta</i>	put into a long narrow space
h. <i>kelta</i>	put on a protruding object
i. <i>pwuthita</i>	put on an object to result in fixation

There are more verbs that share the denotation of placement and additionally specify the nature of the object, the manner of the action, etc., but native speakers of Korean feel uncomfortable including them in the category of placement verbs, because their specialization primarily lies in specifying the manner of an action or the nature of involved objects rather than in placement itself. It is interesting to note that the semantically most basic terms, i.e. (a) and (b), developed into aspectual auxiliaries; that (c) is more limited than (a) and (b);³ and that all others on the list are used only as lexical verbs. This phenomenon is in consonance with the observation that semantic generality of the source expression plays a significant role in grammaticalization (Hopper et al. 1993:97). In the following we will discuss the grammaticalization phenomena displayed by the first two verbs, *twuta* and *nohta*, that acquired auxiliary meanings.

2. GRAMMATICALIZATION OF *TWUTA* 'PUT/PLACE/STORE'

The verb of placement *twuta* was grammaticalized into various markers of grammatical functions. In this section we will discuss the diverse grammaticalizations displayed by *twuta*. (N.B. *twuta* is uniformly glossed as 'put' even though this sense is inadequate in certain cases because of the semantic change over time.)

2.1 LEXICAL MEANING

The placement verb *twuta* 'put' has the lexical meaning of placing an object at a location, as illustrated in the following examples in Present Day Korean (PDK).⁴

(2)

- a. ku-nun ton-ul selap-ey twu-ess-ta.
 he-Top money-Acc drawer-at put-Pst-Dec
 'He put the money in a drawer.'
- b. son tay-ci mal-ko kutaylo twu-ela.
 hand touch-NF do.not-Conn as.it.is put-Imp
 'Do not touch it — just leave it as it is.'
- c. onul-un i mankhum ha-e twu-ca.
 today-Top this much do-NF put-Hort
 'Let's stop here for today.'

As seen in the above examples, the placement verb can mean actively placing an object at a location as in (a); passively placing it (or allowing it to stay) by 'not moving' it as in (b); and placing it in the current state by stopping it, which may be either an active action or a passive action, as in (c). The latter cases (b) and (c) are also considered acts of 'placement' because we find such uses typically in a context where the actor is sure to move the object or could continue a moving action. Therefore, the non-action meaning of the verb in (b) and (c) is regarded as 'placing it in its current position' whether the object was previously involved in moving or not. The verb in example (c) is semantically very close to the auxiliary meaning of perfective marking 'purposive' to be discussed below, because the interpretation can be either merely 'stopping' what we have been doing or 'completing' what we have been doing and 'saving' the result for the future. This analysis shows the relationship between the two meanings and thus suggests how the auxiliary meaning was developed.

2.2 METAPHORICAL MEANING

The verb *twuta* is also used metaphorically as in the following examples:

(3)

- a. anay-wa casik-ul twu-ko ttena-ø o-ass-ta.
 wife-and child-Acc put-and leave-NF come-Pst-Dec
 'I came without wife and children (abandoned family).'
- PDK
- b. twu salAm-An ... nimkum-s kyeth-uy twu-l ka
 two man-Top ... king-Gen side-Loc put-whether
 mot hA-l ka.
 Neg do-whether
 'Could (we) place the two people close to the King to serve him?'
Twusienhay 25:10, 1481
- c. mwun-ul tongccok-ey twu-ela.
 door-Acc east.side-Loc put-Imp
 'Make a door on the east side.'
- PDK
- d. kyengchal-un ku salam-eykey hyemuy-lul
 police-Top the man-to suspicion-Act
 twu-ko iss-ta.
 put-Imperf-Dec
 'The police are suspecting the person.'
- PDK

In the above examples, (a) involves physical objects 'wife and children', thus to be interpreted as the basic meaning of an action of placing physical objects. However, the meaning attributed to (a) can be metaphorical—'abandoning' the family, in addition to its common meaning of 'leaving one's family behind'. Examples (b) and (c) involve installation of an object, physical or otherwise. Even when it involves a physical object such as 'a door' in (c), its meaning is metaphorical in the sense that the action of placement is in fact an action of creation. Example (d) is clearly metaphorical since its object ('suspicion') is not

physical but mental. Thus the action of placement does not involve change of location in the physical world.

2.3 PERFECTIVE ASPECT

The placement verb *twuta* was developed into a perfective-aspect marking auxiliary in the form of *-e twu-* through serial verb construction (SVC). When used as an auxiliary, the verb appears as the finite verb in SVCs. However, not all finite verbs in SVCs are auxiliaries, nor are all non-finite verbs in SVCs lexical verbs, as shown in the following:

(4)

- a. ku-nun chayk-ul table-wi-ey twu-ess-ta.
 he-Top book-Acc table-top-Loc put-Pst-Dec
 'He placed a book on the table.'
 (main verb, lexical meaning)

- b. ku-nun sinmwun-ul cep-e twu-ess-ta.
 he-Top newspaper-Acc fold-NF put-Pst-Dec
 'He folded a newspaper and placed it (somewhere).'
 (serial verb, lexical meaning)

- c. ku-nun yoli-lul ha-e twu-ess-ta.
 he-Top cooking-Acc do-NF put [=PFV]-Pst-Dec
 'He cooked some dishes (for future purpose).'
 (serial verb, auxiliary meaning)

In example (a) the placement verb is used as the main verb with a lexical meaning of placement. In example (b) the placement verb is used as the finite verb in SVC but has the same lexical meaning.⁵ Example (c) shows the verb in SVC with an auxiliary meaning of perfective aspect and purposiveness marking.⁶

The ambiguity between the two interpretations of the placement verb, as auxiliary or as lexical, stems from the incomplete fossilization (Heine and Reh 1984) of the grammatical form. It is very often interpretable in either sense as long as the context warrants such dual interpretations. Involvement of non-physical objects does not warrant auxiliary interpretation because metaphorical meaning can be ascribed to such cases, which, then, will be interpreted as involving a kind of placement action. Let us consider more PDK examples as follows:

(5)

- a. ku-nun ton-ul pel-e twu-ess-ta.
 he-Top money-Acc earn-NF put [=PFV]-Pst-Dec
 'He earned money' or 'He earned money and put it (somewhere).'
- b. ku-nun pap-ul mek-e twu-ess-ta.
 he-Top food-Acc eat-PFV-Pst-Dec
 'He ate (for future).'

In the above, example (a) is ambiguous between the lexical use and the auxiliary use. The verb in example (b) is used as an auxiliary for marking perfective aspect. Incomplete fossilization with the placement gives rise to an interesting implication. Let us consider the following examples:

(6)

- a. [?] ku-nun pap-ul mek-e twu-ko issnuncwungi-ta.
 he-Top meal-Acc eat-NF put [-PFV]-progressive-Dec
 'He is eating food.'
- b. [?] ku-nun nonmwun-ul ssu-e twu-ko issnuncwungi-ta.
 he-Top dissertation-Acc write-NF put [=PFV]-
 progressive-Dec
 'He is writing a dissertation.'

The awkwardness in the above examples comes from the incompatibility of the perfective aspect carried by the SV *twuta* in the form of *-e twu-* and the imperfective marker following them. However, some informants find the above examples acceptable, which seems to be due to the incomplete fossilization, a matter further discussed in the following section.

2.4 EVALUATIVE VIEWPOINT

The placement verb *twuta* in general, when used as a perfective marker in particular, can mark the speaker's purposive viewpoint on the placement action as in the following example.⁷ (N.B.: Since the purposive viewpoint is largely derived from the perfective aspect, *-e twu-* is glossed as perfective.)

(7)

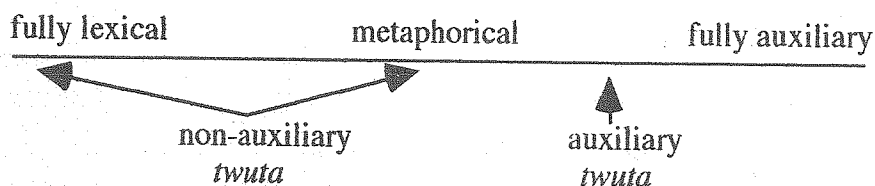
ku-nun sacang-eykey cal malha-e twu-ess-ta.
he-Top president-to well talk-PFV-Pst-Dec

'He talked to his boss (so that everything would go well).'

The perfective aspect and the verb's derived meaning of maintenance or retention of the resultant state bring about the sense of current relevance. These two elements contribute to the genesis of the speaker's future-oriented viewpoints, such as purposiveness or anticipatoriness as in the above example. Because of the perfective aspect associated with the SV auxiliary, most native speakers do not consider acceptable the progressive-marked examples such as (6) in the previous section, an indication that the effect of grammaticalization of the verb into the marker of perfective aspect has deeply permeated the semantics of the verb. However, there are a few people who accept such sentences. Their common 'explanation' is that 'it is *as if* you are storing something for future'. Because of this availability of the notion of 'storing' action, the progressive marking is allowed. What is of particular importance with respect to grammaticalization is that meta-

phorical usage often exists in the intermediate stage between 'fully lexical' use and 'fully auxiliary' use. From this viewpoint, we can say that the verb *twuta* as an auxiliary verb is located somewhere between the metaphorical stage and auxiliary stage. It is presented in the following diagram:

(8)



2.5 DIACHRONY AND CHANGE MECHANISM

DIACHRONY OF USE PATTERNS. The verb *twuta* was originally used for the meaning of placement, and later for the meaning of 'release/stop'. These senses are the instances of lexical usage of the verb. However, it began developing a new usage for the meaning of 'keep/leave', the beginning of grammaticalized usage of this verb. In this section we will discuss the diachronic change of the usage patterns that eventually led to grammaticalization of *twuta*.

Based on all the different usages of the verb *twuta* as a main verb and as a serial verb, the following statistics were taken from the *Nokeltay* texts.⁸

(9)

Diachronic change of usage pattern of *twuta* as a main verb:

	I	II	III
(English counterpart) ⁹	put	release/stop ¹⁰	keep (leave) ¹¹
characteristics	action movement of object	action withdrawal	non-action
1517 text	12	10	1 (2)
1670 text	12	11	1 (1)
1741 text	11	4	0 (2)
1995 text	4	4	0 (2)

(10)

Diachronic change of usage pattern of *twuta* as a serial verb:

	I	II	III
(English counterpart)	put	release/stop	keep (leave)
characteristics	action movement of object	action withdrawal	non-action
1517 text	0	0	7 (2)
1670 text	0	0	4 (3)
1741 text	0	0	4
1995 text	0	0	17 (3)

From the above statistics we can observe the following:

(11)

- a. When the verb was used as a main verb, it tended to carry a more concrete meaning; i.e. the semantic components were highly specific.
- b. When the verb was used as a main verb, the usage pattern in terms of proportional distribution did not change considerably over time, except that in the 1995 text the usage for the meaning of 'put' markedly decreased.
- c. The use of the verb as a main verb considerably decreased since 1741 (cf. total of 10 and 17 [1995 text and 1741 text] tokens vs. previous 25 [1670 text] tokens).
- d. When the verb was used as a serial verb, it had the least concrete meaning; i.e. the semantic components were most general.
- e. The use of the verb as a serial verb began in or before the 16th century, thus having a long grammaticalization history.
- f. The use of the verb as a serial verb considerably increased after 1741.
- g. When the verb was used as a serial verb, it carried the meaning of 'keep' more than that of 'leave'.

MECHANISMS. From the above data we can interpret the change from Stages I through III as an overall semantic generalization from the more specific to the less specific. The change from I to II¹² is an instance of metonymic change, in the sense that the metonymy is a strategy to make a part represent the whole of which it is a part. An action of 'placing' an object intrinsically involves an endpoint: an explanation as to why we can repeat an act of 'placing' but why we cannot continue 'placing' indefinitely. Metonymic change is not at all unusual in semantic change, but considering that changes involved in grammaticalization typically emphasize the consequent result rather than a part of an action, the change of emphasis onto the instant when the physical con-

tact is terminated is a singular development from a cross-linguistic perspective.¹³

Classifying 'stop' and 'release' as the same category in the developmental path may seem strange at first sight. However, in an act of 'placing', the terminal stage of the action, i.e. the withdrawal, can be interpreted as 'release' if the object is considered to have had a counter-force to the agent of the action, while it can be interpreted as 'stop' if no such counter-force is assumed, or if such force was ignored.¹⁴

However, since the verb with this new meaning of 'stop/release' is still in its lexical status, not in a grammatical status, this change must be seen as lexicalization rather than grammaticalization.

In Stage III the verb is used to mean 'keep' or 'leave', but this usage goes together with the serial verb usage. In this usage, the verb does not denote the active action which is involved in 'placement'. It denotes the retention or maintenance of the resultant state of the action, i.e. the fact that something has been placed in a new location.¹⁵ The change into Stage III is an instance of pragmatic inference. Since human acts are motivated, and self-motivated acts are purposeful, the effect of an action can be interpreted as intended. The desired effect of an action is likely to be under the concern of the actor over time because the actor will want the effect to be prolonged. The inference with respect to 'placement' can be shown as follows:

(12)

I	II	III	IV	V
A placed B at C.	=> A's action was motivated and there- fore it was purposeful.	=> The effect of the action is what A intended and therefore the effect is desirable.	=> A wants to maintain or retain the desirable resultant state.	=> A maintains or retains the resultant state.

It is noteworthy that when the verb is used for the 'keep/leave' meaning, the semantics of the verb does not include an action, and

therefore the verb tends to accompany a verb which denotes an action. This change seems to be how this verb began to appear in SVCs. The placement verb loses its original semantics of action of placement in exchange for acquiring the new aspectual meaning of perfective. In order to exhibit the now lost semantic component, the verb recruits another action verb through serialization. The following example shows this development in the four different versions of a same sentence from the *Nokeltay* texts:

(13)

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| a. | susung-i wuh-uy chye | twu-nAnila. | 1517 text |
| | teacher-Nom top-at | signature put-Dec | |
| b. | susung-i wuh-uy tosye | twu-nanila. | 1670 text |
| | teacher-Nom top-at | signature put-Dec | |
| c. | susung-i ku wuh-Ay polam | twu-ko. | 1741 text |
| | teacher-Nom its.top-at | signature put-and | |
| d. | susung-i ku wi-ey swukyel-ul | | |
| | teacher-Nom its.top-at | signature-Acc | |
| | <u>ha</u> -e twu-pnita. | | 1995 text |
| | do-PFV-Dec | | |

'The teacher places a signature (on each student's bamboo stick used for drawing to determine who should be given a test of reciting a text).'

It should be borne in mind that these are versions of the same sentence. The original sentence refers to an action of placing a signature on a bamboo stick, but it does not make any reference to an act of placing the stick anywhere. As seen in the statistics, the verb *twuta* in serial verb construction (appearing as *-e twu-*) does not include 'action'

in its semantics, and therefore the meaning of 'action' is carried by the non-finite verb *hata* 'do' in (d) above.

2.6 COMPARATIVE MARKER

In addition to the perfective auxiliary function, *twuta* developed into a comparative marker, marking 'the standard' in superior or inferior comparative sentences.¹⁶ There are some variations of this marker, but the earliest one appears as *twuko*. Let us consider the following examples:

(14)

- a. cey sil-eyn saonav-otAy wussalam-twuko
 self fact-Top inferior-but superior-Compa
 teu-nyang hA-ya.
 more-as if do-Conn

'Even though he is inferior in fact, he pretends as if he is better than his superiors, and then....' *Sekposangel* 9:13-14, 1449

- b. oAn mom-i hAy-yom-i seli-twuko teu-ni.
 whole body-Nom white-Nomz-Nom frost-Compa more-as
 'As his body was whiter than frost....'

Kumkangkyeng samkahay 2:61, 1482

As seen above, the earliest occurrences of the usage date from the fifteenth century, which is the earliest of the Korean data written in the Korean orthography, *Hankul*. A survey of the pre-fifteenth century data does not reveal any occurrences of such usage, but is subject to more data search.

The comparative marking is a defunct role completely replaced by a different marker *-pota* in Modern Korean, but historically, there were several different forms as a comparative marker, such as *twuko*, *twukon*, *tokon*, *twukwun* and *tokos*. The first form, *twuko*, is the stem of the verb *twuta*, i.e. *twu-* combined with a connective particle *-ko*. The sta-

This comparative marking function, however, has been taken over by another marker, *-pota*, in Modern Korean. This marker originated from a verb, *pota* 'to see'.¹⁷ The comparative marker *-pota* was originally constructed from *pota* 'to see' + *takuta* 'approach'. We will not pursue a detailed description of this replacement here.¹⁸

Twuta developed into a durative marking particle,¹⁹ *-(l)ul twuko*, as seen in the following contemporary Korean example:

- The durative marker used here is homophonous with the comparative marker discussed above. One peculiarity of this durative marker as compared with the comparative marker is that the durative marker accompanies an object which is marked with the accusative case. This difference is an indication that the comparative marker was a more

grammaticalized form fully functioning as a postpositional particle, while the durative marker is less grammaticalized as a grammatical particle.²⁰ It is interesting to note that the theme of the placement verb (now functioning as a particle) is a temporal object. Since the most primitive notion of placement involves tangible objects, the change to temporal object is an instance of further development, which is well-attested cross-linguistically. Heine et al. (1991:55) suggest that the outward progression of ontological categories is [Person > Object > Process > Space > Time > Quality]. Interestingly, there is evidence that the progression of *-(l)ul twuko* may have been [Object > Space > Time], as exemplified in the following PDK examples:²¹

(17)

a. kang-ul twuko twu tosi-ka macwu po-ko iss-ta.
 river-Durat two city-Nom each.other see-Imperf-Dec
 'The two cities face each other with a river in between.'
 (Object)

b. sip kilo-lul twuko twu tosi-ka tteleci-e iss-ta.
 10 kilo-Durat two city-Nom be.apart-NF exist-Dec
 'The two cities are 10 kilometers apart.'
 (Space)

c. sip nyen-ul twuko ku yeca-lul salangha-ess-ta.
 10 year-Durat the woman-Acc love-Pst-Dec
 'I have loved the woman for 10 years.'
 (Time)

It is not difficult to imagine how this [Object > Space > Time] progression occurred. Our real world situation is that Object occupies a Space, and existence of an Object inherently involves a certain stretch of physical Space. An extended Space has inherent connection with a certain stretch of Time, as is often pointed out, for example, that English *be going to* not only involves physical spatial dimension but also

temporal dimension, thus evolving into the sense of 'futurity'.²² Through this process, *-(l)ul twuko* came to be used to mark spatio-temporal duration.

2.1.1.8 TOPIC MARKER

In contemporary Korean the most widely used topic marker is *-nun*, which has been used since the earliest records of the Korean language. There are different ways of presenting a topic. The verb *twuta* developed into a topic-marking particle in the form of *-(l)ul twuko*. Unlike the well-established topic marker *-nun*, this topic marker *-(l)ul twuko* is periphrastic. The components of the construct are almost transparent as [NP+Acc twu+Conn]. The following are examples of such use in PDK:

(18)

- a. han yeca-lul twuko sey namca-ka ssawu-nta.
 one woman-Top three man-Nom fight-Dec
 'Three men are fighting over a woman.'
- b. ku mwuncey-lul twuko kin hoyuy-lul ha-yss-ta.
 the issue-Top long meeting do-Pst-Dec
 '(We) had a long meeting over the issue.'

The native speakers' intuitions are that (a) and (b) can be best interpreted when 'one woman' and 'the issue' are the sentential topics. Therefore, they can be rephrased as follows:

(19)

- a. Speaking of the woman, three men are fighting over her.
 b. Speaking of the issue, we had a long meeting to discuss it.

From the verbal semantics perspective, the development of this topic marker seems to have been motivated by the same type of reasoning as in the development of the comparative marker. The semantics of the verb *twuta* brings out an object and maintains the state of the object's presence, and the semantics of the connective particle *-ko* introduces new information while the state of the object's presence is highlighted and is the reference point (or departure point of the new information), which is a fairly standard concept of a topic. This development involves the change from putting an object in the physical world to putting an object in the world of discourse. The development of the function of topic-marker, which marks an abstract departure point, is an instance where the function became more abstract as in the following examples:

(20)

- a. so-ka yemwul-ul *mek-e twu-ess-ta.
 cow-Nom feed-Acc eat-{NF put, PFV}-Pst-Dec
 'The cow ate feed (to work harder, not to become hungry...).'
- b. so-ka yemwul-ul mek-e twuko toysaykimcilha-n-ta.
 cow-Nom feed-Acc eat-Top ruminate-Pres-Dec
 'The cow eats feed and chews the cud.'

(21)

- a. chamsay-ka namwu-ey cip-ul ?ci-e twu-ess-ta.
 sparrow-Nom tree-at nest-Acc build-{NF put, PFV}-
 Pst-Dec
 'Sparrows built a nest on the tree.'
- b. chamsay-ka namwu-ey chip-ul ci-e twuko
 sparrow-Nom tree-at nest-Acc build-Top
 tullaknallakha-nta.
 fly.in.and.out-Dec
 'Sparrows built a nest on the tree and fly in and out.'

In the above examples the previously unacceptable or marginally acceptable use of *twuta* is now licensed by the new function that changes 'eaten feed' or 'built nest' into the topic.

2.9 EVIDENTIAL MARKER

It has been observed in many languages that perfective aspect and evidentiality are closely connected (see, for example, Genetti 1986:64-67). An evidential marker encodes the speaker's knowledge. Korean *twuta* (and *nohta* to be discussed later in §3) seems to be moving in this direction, and its distribution shows that it is in the incipient stage. Since evidential use is built on direct evidence—either physical or strongly inferential—it is an instance of the grammaticalization further advanced from the inference pattern given in (12). The following is the extension of the inference:

(22)

I	II	III	IV
A placed => B at C.	A's action => was motivated and therefore it was purposeful.	The effect of => the action is what A intended and therefore the effect is desirable.	A wants to => maintain or retain the desirable resultant state.
V	VI	VII	VIII
A maintains => or retains the resultant state.	Evidence of => the resultant state is available.	The event => itself can be evidenced by its resultant state.	The veracity of the statement is warranted by the speaker's knowledge.

The above progression shows interesting cognitive forces in the grammaticalization. A general purpose is ascribed to an action; the actor's commitment is ascribed to the result; and the speaker's world-knowledge is applied to the action-result causal chain to enrich the interpretation of the state-of-affairs of the world, as if to say, 'If I see a state, I know what it is the result of.' With this world-knowledge the speaker encodes his/her epistemology in a sentence where he/she is not a sentential argument:

(23)

emma-ka pap-ul ha-e twu-ess-ta.

Mom-Nom rice-Acc do-Evid-Pst-Dec

'Mom cooked rice.' (I can tell because I see the steamy cooker!)

In the above example, the placement verb is solely marking the speaker's knowledge or inferred conviction about the 'cooking' event, even though the speaker does not appear as a sentential argument. This use is in contrast with the simple past. The simple past is used when the speaker witnessed the event, while this evidential use of the placement verbs suggests that the speaker witnessed the prolonged resultant state of the event (cf. Newari placement verb's evidential use in Genetti 1986:64-67).

Despite close cross-linguistic connections between perfectivity and evidentiality, Korean placement verbs' evidential use is very limited, perhaps a result of competition with the already robust marker of evidentiality— *-kwuna*. (For discussion of the evidential function of *-kwuna*, cf. H. S. Lee 1991:382-402; H. J. Koo 1996, inter alia.) As is often pointed out in the studies of grammaticalization, a newly grammaticalizing form always comes into competition with the grammatical item that already carries that function.

3. GRAMMATICALIZATION OF *NOHTA* 'PLACE/PUT'

Another placement verb, *nohta*, underwent development almost parallel to the previously discussed *twuta*. In this section I will discuss the grammaticalization phenomena displayed by the verb *nohta*.

3.1 LEXICAL MEANING

The placement verb *nohta* 'place' has the lexical meaning of placing an object at a location as illustrated in the following PDK examples. (N.B.: *nohta* is uniformly glossed as 'place' even though it is inadequate in certain cases because of the semantic change over time.)

(24)

a. ku-nun	chayk-ul	chaysang-wuy-ey	noh-ass-ta.
he-Top	book-Acc	desk-top-at	place-Pst-Dec
'He put the book on the desk.'			

b. ku-nun	pheyn-ul	noh-ass-ta.
he-Top	pen-Acc	place-Pst-Dec
'He placed the pen (on something) (= he stopped writing).'		

c. ku-nun	cap-un	son-ul	noh-ass-ta.
he-Top	hold-Adn	hand-Acc	place-Pst-Dec
'He released his hand (after holding something).'			

In the examples above, the verb *nohta* is used to denote an action of placing something at a location. The use that perfectly fits in this event schema is example (a). Example (b) is a little different in that the major focus in the schema has been shifted from the 'placing event' to the inceptive stage of the event where the state before the placement ac-

tion is visible, thus emphasizing the cessation of the previous state (such as 'use of the pen', 'writing', etc. in this example).²³ Example (c) is used to mean 'releasing something'. The notion of withdrawal of force in 'release' seems to have been developed from the previous use of the verb to mean 'stop'. The notion of 'force' implied in this use is a new component (cf. previous discussion on the semantic change of *twuta* in §2.5).

3.2 METAPHORICAL MEANING

The verb *nohta* had extended meanings through semanticization of metaphorical uses.²⁴ Let us consider the following PDK examples:

(25)

a. kunye-nun ku-lul/eykey thoycca-lul noh-ass-ta.
 she-Top he-Acc/Dat rejection-Acc place-Pst-Dec
 'She turned him down (= jilted him).'

b. 100 mile-ul noh-ko tally-ess-ta.
 100 mile-Acc place-Conn run-Pst-Dec
 '(He) drove at 100 mph.'

c. wuli cip-ey cenhway-lul noh-ass-ta.
 our house-Loc telephone-Acc place-Pst-Dec
 'They installed a telephone in our home.'

d. motwu ilson-ul noh-ko swi-ko iss-ta.
 all working.hand-Acc place-Conn rest-Imperf-Dec
 'All the workers are taking a break.'

e. ku-nun na-eykey mal-ul noh-ass-ta.
 he-Top I-Dat word-Acc place-Pst-Dec
 'He talked to me in non-honorific terms.'

In the examples above, the meanings of the verb are clearly metaphorical. In (a) the abstract concept of 'rejection' is treated as if it were an object that can be the theme of 'placing' action. It is interesting to note that the goal 'he' can be marked with a dative case, which indicates that the basic event schema of placement action is still preserved. The possibility of using an accusative marker (instead of a dative marker for the goal) indicates that the event schema is becoming opaque with the progression of idiomaticization.²⁵ In (b) '100 mph' is also treated as an object. It may be even more abstract than (a) because the object is what the agent 'creates and maintains'. Similarly, in (c) the object is 'installed', which is a metaphoric use of 'place', and again the predicate is metaphorically used to mean 'having a telephone service'. Example (d) is a metaphorization of the lexical meaning 'stop'. Example (e) is metaphorization of the lexical meaning 'release'. It is interesting to note that in this metaphorization, the use of of honorific register is conceptualized as being 'hoisted' with the user's effort, the release of which will lower the register to the non-honorific variety. All the uses above are based on the event schema basic to the meaning of 'placement', but as we discussed, the components used in the schema are metaphoric for their non-physical nature.

3.3 PERFECTIVE ASPECT

The verb became grammaticalized to mark perfective aspect as shown in the following PDK examples:

(26)

- | | | |
|---|----------|--------------------|
| a. ku-nun | chayk-ul | ccic-e noh-ass-ta. |
| he-Top | book-Acc | tear-PFV-Pst-Dec |
| 'He tore the book' or 'He tore the book and left it.' | | |

- b. ku-nun mwuncey-lul pwul-e noh-ass-ta.
 he-Top problem-Acc solve-PFV-Pst-Dec
 ‘He solved the problem (for future use).’

In the above, the verb *nohta* is used as a marker of perfective aspect in the form of *-e noh-*, a product of a serial verb construction. However, as we noted with the verb *twuta*, *-e noh-* is not always a perfective marking auxiliary. For example, (a) above can have both interpretations depending on the meaning of this SV: According to the first interpretation, there is no physical action of ‘placing’ the book, whereas according to the second interpretation, there is one. It marks perfective aspect, and therefore an event marked by *-e noh-* is viewed as an internally bounded whole.

3.4 EVALUATIVE VIEWPOINT

As was the case with its counterpart *twuta*, *nohta* also marks the speaker’s viewpoints such as purposiveness and helplessness, when it is used as a perfective auxiliary.

PURPOSIVENESS. The verb *nohta* marks the speaker’s viewpoint that the action denoted by the main verb (originally V1) had a future purpose. For instance, example (26b) (the situation when the SVC form *-e noh-* derived from the placement verb is used in auxiliary function of marking the perfective aspect) marks the viewpoint of purposiveness or anticipatoriness, as ‘He solved the problem for future use.’

HELPLESSNESS. As a consequence of this perfective aspect there is an interesting usage of the verb—marking the viewpoint of ‘helplessness’—as in the following PDK examples. (N.B.: Since this viewpoint is derivative of the perfective aspect, *-e noh-* is glossed as perfective.)

(27)

a. ton-ul thwucaha-e noh-a(se) cikwum ton-i
 money invest-PFV-Caus now money-Nom
 eps-ta.
 absent-Dec

'As (I) invested (all) money, I do not have money (with me) now.'

b. nemwu papp(u)-a noh-a(se) ne-lul manna-l swu eps-ta.
 too busy-PFV-Caus you-Acc meet-cannot-Dec
 'As (I) am too busy I cannot see you (now).'

c. ku-ka cwuk-e noh-ase sasil-ul al-l kil-i
 he-Nom die-PFV-Caus fact-Acc know-Adn way-Nom
 eps-ta.
 absent-Dec

'As he died, there is no way of knowing the fact.'

d. setwulu-te-n cham-i-la nohase/nwase
 hurry-Retros-Adn moment-be-as PFV(??)
 miche insa-to mos ha-ess-ta.
 yet greeting-even Neg do-Pst-Dec

'(I) was in such a hurry that I could not even say hello/bye.'

We noted previously that the grammaticalized use of the placement verb as a marker of perfective aspect often implies future preparation ('anticipatory' or 'preparatory', based on 'purposive'). However, the examples given above show different viewpoints of the speaker. In the above examples, the perfective marker accompanies a causal connective *-a (se)*. In the above examples (b)-(d), what the perfective aspect marker *-e noha-* marks is not purposiveness but passivity or helplessness. The literal meaning of the example (a) does not have to imply passivity or helplessness. However, for native speakers this sentence is a typical use to explain or make excuses that there is no money available. This kind of helplessness must have been derived from the com-

pleteness of an event. This sense seems to be the incipient stage of development of 'undesirability' developed from some grammaticalized placement verb, albeit very rarely, as in Lhasa (cf. DeLancey 1991:6; Park 1994:134-36; Rhee 1996b:269-72).²⁶

We can see that the grammaticalization of this marker was further advanced in example (d), if we consider that the marker is not attached to a verbal/adjectival category even though it should, being an aspectual, and if we consider that it is more often used in a contracted form. In this use its syntactic behavior resembles an adverbial rather than an aspectual.

3.5 DIACHRONY

Based on all the different usages of the verb *nohta* as a main verb and as a serial verb the following statistics were taken:

(28)

Diachronic change of usage pattern of *nohta* as a main verb:

	I	II	III
(English counterpart) ²⁷	put	release/stop ²⁸	keep (leave) ²⁹
characteristics	action movement of object	action withdrawal	non-action
1517 text	3	12	0(0)
1670 text	2	11	0(1)
1741 text	3	8	0(0)
1995 text	3	6	0(2)

(29)

Diachronic change of usage pattern of *nohta* as a serial verb:

	I	II	III
(English counterpart)	put	release/stop	keep (leave)
characteristics	action movement of object	action withdrawal	non-action
1517 text	2	0	0(0)
1670 text	2	0	0(0)
1741 text	1	0	0(0)
1995 text	2	0	0(14)

The statistics above show the following facts:

(30)

- a. When the verb was used as a main verb, it was most often used for the 'release/stop' meaning.
- b. When the verb was used as a main verb, it was very rarely used for the 'keep/leave' meaning.
- c. The verb's serial verb usage was very rare prior to the 20th century, i.e. the grammaticalization history is very short.
- d. The verb's auxiliary meaning was entirely for 'leave', and this usage began very recently.

3.6 TOPIC MARKER

In parallel with its near-synonymous placement verb *twuta*, *nohta* also developed into a topic marker in the form of *-(l)ul nohko*, as we can see in the following examples:

(31)

- a. han yeca-lul nohko sey namca-ka ssawu-n-ta.
 one woman-Top three man-Nom fight-Pres-Dec
 'Three men are fighting over a woman.'

- b. ku mwuncey-lul nohko kin hoyuy-lul ha-yss-ta.
 the issue-Top long meeting do-Pst-Dec
 '(We) had a long meeting over the issue.'

The native speakers' intuitions are that (a) and (b) can be best interpreted when 'one woman' and 'the issue' are the sentential topics. Therefore, they can be rephrased as follows:

(32)

- a. Speaking of the woman, three men are fighting over her.
 b. Speaking of the issue, we had a long meeting to discuss it.

Note that these examples are identical with the examples given in the discussion of the verb *twuta* in §2.8, except that the topic marker *-(l)ul twuko* has been replaced with *-(u)l nohko*. Despite the similarity between the two, there are certain semantic differences which we will look into later.

3.7 EVIDENTIAL MARKER

As was the case with the verb *twuta*, *nohta* shows a limited use as an evidential marker.³⁰

(33)

emma-ka pap-ul ha-e noh-ass-ta.

Mom-Nom rice-Acc do-Evid-Pst-Dec

'Mom cooked rice.' (I can tell because I see the steamy cooker!)

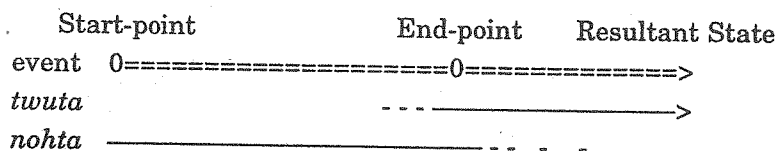
4. *TWUTA* VS. *NOHTA*

Now that we have seen the respective grammaticalization paths of the two placement verbs which showed striking resemblance,³¹ we will turn to a comparison of the two verbs. Synchronically they are often interchangeable, but there are certain differences and asymmetries, which will be discussed in the following.

4.1 ASYMMETRY

SEMANTICS. Despite the semantic similarities between them, there are subtle differences between the two verbs. Generally speaking, when the verbs describe an action of 'placement', *twuta* puts emphasis on the endpoint, while *nohta* spreads emphasis over the entire process of the action. This semantic difference is carried over to the semantics of their auxiliary usage. When the verbs are used for their perfective auxiliary function, *twuta* has more emphasis on 'maintaining' the resultant state, while *nohta* has more emphasis on 'leaving' the resultant state after the change is brought about. For this reason *nohta* is semantically more complex than *twuta*. This difference can be sketched as follows:

(34)

Emphases in auxiliary meanings of *twuta* and *nohta*

(35)

	Start-point	Action	End-point	Resultant state
<i>twuta</i>			emphasized	active maintenance of resultant state with strong commitment emphasized
<i>nohta</i>	emphasized	state-changing action is emphasized	endpoint withdrawal is emphasized	retention of resultant state without implied commitment

The above difference is well illustrated in the following examples from K-D. Lee (1979:76):

(36)

- a. cwuk-e ka-nun hwanca-lul sally-e {noh, 'twu}-ess-ta.
 die-NF go-Adn patient-Acc revive-PFV-Pst-Dec
 '(The doctor) saved a dying patient.'

- b. sal-a iss-ten salam-un sally-e {'noh, twu}-ess-ta.
 live-NF exist-Retros person-Top revive-PFV-Pst-Dec
 '(They) let live those who were still living then.'

In the examples above, (a) involves the doctor's action of 'reviving'—a metaphorical act of placing the patient in a 'living' (or cured) situation from a 'dying' situation. However, this act of placing the patient in a new situation terminates when the patient is revived, and the doctor completes his medical treatment. With regard to the resultant state, the doctor does not exercise any active maintainative power. Instead he simply retains the state. On the other hand, (b) involves no such action of 'placement'. What they did was simply 'letting those living main-

tain their state of living.' This act concerns the maintenance of the resultant state rather than the event of 'placement'. This emphasis on the maintenance is responsible for the awkwardness of the following example:

(37)

? sal-a iss-ten salam-un sally-e twu-ess-nuntey cwuk-ess-ta.
 (=36.b. modified) put-Pst-but die-Pst-Dec
 'They let live those, who were still living then, but they, died.'

In the example above, the sense of maintenance of the resultant state (which is by default successful) conflicts with the following predicate that means failure.³²

TEXTUAL FREQUENCY. Comparison of the *Nokeltay* texts show that the overall textual frequency of *nohta* is about sixty per cent of the frequency of *twuta*.³³ A brief survey of other texts shows the frequency to be well below twenty per cent compared to *twuta*. Therefore, the asymmetry of the textual frequency of the two verbs is significant. This pattern has to do with the complexity of the verbal semantics, because semantically complex words tend to have more limited textual distribution. This result also has to do with the qualification of grammaticalization because generally those lexemes having wide textual distribution can be easily grammaticalized.

4.2 GENERAL COOCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS

We have seen in the previous section that the two verbs show certain differences in their emphasis on certain part(s) of an event. When this emphasis is not matched with the predicate, the sentence becomes awkward, if not unacceptable. However, there are cases where this specialization is more semanticized, and a violation of this specialization renders the sentence more unacceptable. In the following we will consider the general cooccurrence restrictions of the two placement

verbs in their grammatical function of marking the perfective aspect and the speaker's evaluative viewpoints.

There is a cooccurrence restriction that applies to both *twuta* and *nohta*. Since these two verbs are agentive verbs, the sentential subject must be an agent as seen in (a) below. This agentivity normally requires animacy of the subject as in (b):

(38)

a. na-nun cip-ul ci-e {noh, twu}-ess-ta.

I-Top house-Acc build-PFV-Pst-Dec

'I built a house.'

b. kwuk-i kkul-e {*noh, *twu}-ess-ta.

soup-Nom boil-PFV-Pst-Dec

'The soup boiled.'

However, if the subject can impose force on the theme, the sentence is acceptable with *nohta*, because the sense of the auxiliary use of *nohta* is state-changing action and withdrawal at the endpoint of the event. However, the same kind of force-imposing subject cannot cooccur with *twuta*, because of its sense of maintaining the resultant states, which the inanimate force-imposer is incapable of doing, as illustrated in the following example:

(39)

palam-i namwu kaci-lul kkekk-e {noh, *twu}-ess-ta.

wind-Nom tree.branch-Acc break-PFV-Pst-Dec

'The strong wind broke the tree branches.'

Because of the sense of 'retention' or 'maintenance' of the resultant states, these verbs are considered to mark purposiveness. Human egocentricity is such that we attribute purposiveness to human actions while we normally do not to non-human actions, as seen in the following:

(40)

a. ku-nun cemsim-ul mek-e {noh, twu}-ess-ta.
 he-Top lunch-Acc eat-PFV-Pst-Dec
 'He had lunch (to work harder, not to become hungry).'

b. *so-ka yemwul-ul mek-e {noh, twu}-ess-ta.
 cow-Nom feed-Acc eat-PFV-Pst-Dec
 'The cow ate feed (to work harder, not to become hungry).'

Interestingly, if non-human action clearly indicates purpose according to our world knowledge, *twuta* and *nohta* show different behavior, as in the following example:

(41)

chamsay-ka namwu kkuth-ey cip-ul ci-e {noh, 'twu}-ess-ta.
 sparrow-Nom tree.top-at nest-Acc build-PFV-Pst-Dec
 'Sparrows built a nest on the treetop.'

Building a nest clearly suggests purpose, and so a verb marking purposive aspect must be appropriate in this context. However, *twuta* is awkward here. The reason seems to be an indication of the difference in levels of purposive marking between *twuta* and *nohta*. We attribute a 'low level' of purpose to the nest-building, but we are reluctant to attribute the ability to maintain the nest to the sparrows.

In sum, *nohta* requires an agentive subject, either as an animate agent purposefully changing states or merely as a force-imposer on the theme. On the other hand, *twuta* requires an agentive subject that is sentient, capable of maintaining the resultant state. This difference is also manifested in the asymmetry of purposive uses of the two verbs.

4.3 TOPIC MARKER

In the discussion above, we have seen how *-(l)ul twuko* and *-(l)ul nohko* developed into topic markers. Now we will compare their uses

as topic markers. They are very frequently interchangeable, as seen in the examples given in the preceding discussions. Differences between them are so subtle that they seem ignorable. The following discussion is based on the tendencies and preferences of the speakers. Preferred choices are in capitals:

(42)

- a. han yeca-lul {TWUKO, NOHKO} sey namca-ka
 one woman-Top three man-Nom
 ssawu-nta.
 fight-Dec

'Three men are fighting over a woman.'

- b. payk dollar-lul {TWUKO, NOHKO} ceypippopki-lul
 100 dollar-Top lottery-Acc
 ha-ess-ta.
 do-Pst-Dec

'They cast lots for 100 dollars.'

- c. mayak mwuncey-lul {twuko, NOHKO} cengpwu-ka
 drug problem-Top government-Nom
 pwusimha-n-ta.
 worry-Prog-Dec

'The government is worried over the drug problem.'

In example (a) the two alternative choices are equally good, but with a subtle difference: If *-(l)ul twuko* is used, the three men are showing reluctance to put their loved one into this competition. Even though there is only one woman involved, to each one of the three men she is 'his own', and they want to maintain that individual state. On the other hand, the preferred interpretation of the sentence with *-(l)ul nohko* is that the woman is rather an object of open competition. This reluctance in *-(l)ul twuko* is associated with the original verbal semantics of state-maintenance or state-preservation.

In example (b), if *-(l)ul twuko* is used, the source of the 100 dollars, the winner's trophy, may be either from the bettors or from other sources. If *-(l)ul nohko* is used, the source 'tends' to be from the bettors. If the example is modified by changing 'lottery' to 'gambling', the preference of *-(l)ul nohko* over *-(l)ul twuko* becomes much stronger.³⁴ This characteristic of *-(l)ul nohko* has to do with the original verbal semantics of 'placing' action and 'releasing' at the terminal stage.

In example (c), *-(l)ul nohko* is preferred because 'the government' would not have the desire to 'keep' this undesirable 'drug problem', and therefore, there is no reason to be reluctant to bring out the issue for solution.

In sum, the original semantics of the verbs that eventually developed into topic markers penetrates into the choice of the topic particle, even though this difference is often insignificant, evidence that grammaticalization is subject to a persisting effect of the semantics of the verbs that developed into the grammatical markers.

4.4 EVIDENTIAL MARKER

In §2.9 and §3.7 we saw examples of these placement verbs being used to mark evidentiality. However, they do not show any specialization. This similarity shows that when two or more grammatical forms are about to emerge, they do not show clear specialization phenomena at the incipient stage.

5. CONCLUSION

In the discussion above, we have seen how two verbs of placement in Korean can be grammaticalized. In their lexical stages their meaning was gradually changed through metonymy and pragmatic inferences. When their semantics became very generalized, they acquired a grammatical function of marking perfective aspect and purposive viewpoint through pragmatic inferences. In addition to these functions, they also acquired specialization in their emphasis on different phases of

an event—one on the entire action and release at the terminal stage, and the other on the maintenance of the resultant state. Their asymmetry in textual frequency is the result of the different lengths of grammaticalization history and the different levels of semantic complexity.

Twuta and *nohta* also developed into other grammatical particles such as comparative, durative, topic and evidential markers. This development is the result of combinatory interaction of the semantics of the verbs and the special function of the connective particle incorporated in the markers (cf. the use of isolating connective *-ko* in comparative and topic markers). Pragmatic inferences also played an important role in those developments. In particular, the abductive reasoning of the language users promoted such inferences. Despite their detached status from the original verbal category, they still reflect the semantics of the verbs in their usage as grammatical particles. The level of the detachment from the original verbal status varies depending on their different level of fossilization.

The discussion in this thesis can be summed up as follows. The grammaticalization process of the Korean placement verbs, *twuta* and *nohta*, shows that the influence of the semantics of the verbs is quite persistent and penetrating, and that their grammaticalization arose through the paths of metonymic strategy and pragmatic inferences.

ABBREVIATIONS

Acc: accusative	Adn: adnominal	Caus: causative
Compa: comparative	Conn: connective	Dat: dative
Dec: declarative	Durat: durative	Evid: evidential
Gen: genitive	Hort: hortative	Imp: imperative
Imperf: imperfective	Loc: locative	Neg: negative
NF: non-finite	Nom: nominative	Nomz: nominalizer
PFV: perfective	Pres: present	Prog: progressive
Pst: past	Retros: retrospective	Top: topic

NOTES

1. Gta? is a South Munda language spoken in Orissa (Hook 1989:3).
2. The word-final *-ta* attached to the stem of a verb or an adjective is a lexicographic device to mark the infinitive forms. In this article, stem forms and infinitive forms are often used interchangeably.
3. Among four Korean dictionaries that are widely used and have large entries, only one of them lists (c) as an auxiliary verb.
4. Abbreviations for terms appear after the conclusion and before the notes.
5. If the sentence is to describe only the action of folding with an auxiliary meaning of future preparation, it will be an instance of auxiliary use as in (4.c). In that case the sentence will be interpreted as 'He folded the newspaper for future purpose', for example, for delivery by paper-carrier.
6. This sentence can also be interpreted as 'He cooked some dishes and placed them (somewhere)', in which case the placement verb will carry lexical meaning. This possibility of multiple interpretations is closely related to how auxiliary meanings evolved from lexical meaning and thus is strong evidence of fluidity of grammar.
7. The placement sense in 'put' or 'store' is related to purposiveness even at the level of lexical use. An act of 'putting something' may be viewed as 'storing it' for future purpose.
8. *Nokeltay* was a foreign language textbook, the original version of which dates from the Koryo dynasty period (10-14th c.). Historically there have been many different versions but four versions were used here, i.e., the 1517, the 1670, the 1741, and the 1995 versions.
9. The English counterparts are just shorthand for ease of description. The denotations of the English verbs do not completely overlap with the Korean counterparts.
10. 'Stop' here is a verb of intransitive action, thus not accompanying an object.
11. 'Keep' and 'leave' here are non-action verbs, thus not including the meaning of active 'placing'. This notion of non-action is the characteristic of English *keep* and *leave* (cf. Chen 1986:139-42).
12. Historical data show that this change already occurred to the two placement verbs (*twuta* and *nohta*) before the 16th century. In the case of *twuta*, the Stage II usage seems to be an innovation in or just before the 16th century because a search in pre-sixteenth century data elsewhere shows that the 'stop/release' usage was extremely rare. The verb *nohta*, on the other hand, shows more occurrences than *twuta* in the same search. The discussion of *nohta* is in §3.
13. If we consider the change from Stage I to Stage II as lexicalization rather than grammaticalization, the oddity may be unimportant because metonymic

- lexicalization is very common cross-linguistically. For example, the Middle Korean noun for 'body', *elkol*, has been changed to mean 'face' in Modern Korean.
14. At a very abstract level even the theme of 'stopping' can be considered as having such a counter-force, but qualitatively different from that of 'releasing'. As indicated earlier, this verb was used intransitively in the historical source data.
 15. The sense of active maintenance of the resultant state with strong commitment is associated with *twuta*, whereas the sense of passively retaining the resultant state without strong commitment is associated with *nohta*, which I will discuss in the subsequent section. The difference of the two verbs will be discussed in §4.
 16. Terms used in comparative constructions are *a la* Heine (1994:56-57). In 'David is smarter than Bob', David is the 'comparee', than is the 'marker of standard', and Bob is the 'standard'.
 17. The homophony of the lexical source verb and the comparative marker is a coincidence. The element *-ta* in the verb *pota* 'see' is an infinitive marker.
 18. For the illustration of grammaticalization of the verb *takuta* (= *takta*) see Rhee (1996b:239-44).
 19. N.B.: The terminology 'durative particle' may be misleading because of the 'durative aspect' marker. The durative particle under discussion here functions analogous to postpositional particles, whereas the durative aspect marker is an aspectual marker occurring with a verbal category.
 20. Because of the idiosyncrasy of Korean grammar, case markers can be relatively freely dropped, and the same applies to the accusative case marker on the object of this durative particle. But regarding the durative phrases without accusative markers, the native speakers' intuitions unanimously agree that the case-marker is dropped because of grammatical idiosyncrasy, rather than its absence is licensed by this durative particle. In this statement of the comparison of the levels of grammaticalization of comparative marker and durative marker, only one factor is considered—if the source construct is transparent or opaque.
 21. These sentences are all modern Korean examples, and therefore, they cannot be chronologically ordered. However, considering the original verbal semantics and current use patterns, the order can be relatively accurately reconstructed through abductive reasoning.
 22. As Wechsler (p.c. Fall 1996) points out, the Space-Time connection applies only to cases which involve motional notion. The development from Space to Time seems to be initiated by the motion verbs as in (a), then become extended to other domains as in (b).
 - a. I am going to *go* to school.
 - b. I am gonna *miss* you.

23. Interpreting the verbal predicate in a more abstract way as 'quit the job as a writer' can be a metaphorical expression involving metonymy.
24. *Dong-A say kwuke sacen* lists twenty-two significations as lexical uses, most of which are semanticized metaphorical meanings.
25. It is possible in Korean to use accusative markers to mark the semantic goal of ditransitive verbs (e.g. 'give') in their literal uses. Unlike 'give', 'place' does not allow accusative markers to mark the goal in its literal meaning. It is possible only in non-literal uses.
26. The narrow extent of this development may be due to the displacement verbs that specialize in 'undesirability' marking (cf. Rhee 1996a:33-36). The fact that the other placement verb *twuta* does not show any sign of the development of 'helplessness' marking seems to be due to its strong emphasis on 'maintenance' of the result, as will be discussed in §4.1.
27. The English counterparts are just shorthand for ease of description. The denotations of the English verbs do not completely overlap with the Korean counterparts.
28. Here 'stop' is a verb of intransitive action, thus not accompanying an object.
29. Here 'keep' and 'leave' are non-action verbs, thus not including the meaning of active 'placing'.
30. For more general discussion on the evidential marking function by the placement verbs cf. §2.9.
31. Because of synchronic similarities, the aspects marked by them are often regarded as a single category (cf. 'sustentative' aspect, N-K. Kim 1985:185-86).
32. This sentence can be rescued if some modifying phrases are added to express 'unexpectedness'. This result is in consonance with our observation because such phrases cancel the 'maintenance', and this cancelling requires the existence of this 'maintenance' sense. That a few speakers who consider the sentence acceptable, albeit marginal, seems to be due to the counter-expectation involved in the connective 'but'. Such speakers unanimously reject the counterpart sentence conjoined with 'and'.
33. The higher frequency of *nohta* in the *Nokeltay* texts is due to the idiosyncrasy of the texts in that they include repeated description of unharnessing horses for grazing, in which case *nohta* was used.
34. This characteristic is well manifested in the idiom *ton-nohko ton-mekki* [money-NOHKO money-win-Nomz] 'betting money for money'.

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