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Grammaticalization of Verbs of Desideration*

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Rhee, Seongha. 2001. Grammaticalization of Verbs of Desideration. *Discourse and Cognition* 8.2, 139-158. The objective of this paper is to explore the diverse paths and mechanisms of grammaticalization of verbs of desideration from a cross-linguistic perspective. It has been observed that verbs of desideration often grammaticalize into tense-aspect-modality (TAM) markers. In Korean, of three desiderative verbs, *siph-* shows a long-advanced grammaticalization, typically marking conjecture, supposition, prediction and epistemic modality in addition to basic desideration. It shows sharp contrast with *wenha-* that does not exhibit any sign of grammaticalization, and with *pala-*, which can be deemed at best a case of marginal grammaticalization. This paper also attempts to show mechanisms operative in the process of grammaticalization such as metaphor and metonymy. In addition, it shows how variable frames of focus in the conceptual schema gave rise to various TAM markers intricately interacting with human cognition and perception. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Key words: grammaticalization, desideration, mechanisms, focus-frame

1. Introduction

The objective of this paper is to explore the diverse paths and mechanisms of grammaticalization of verbs of desideration from a cross-linguistic

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perspective. The verbs of desideration, primarily denoting wishes, have inseparable connection to such concepts as affection, preference, necessity, intention, etc. These verbs form an ideal pool of sources of grammaticalization since they refer to primary human mental activity in experiential relation to the human world and thus can be used frequently. This is in consonance with the finding in the quantitative analysis of English in Krug (2000: 25-26) that volitional verbs are one of six semantic classes that are most frequently used and rank in the top 30 verbs found in spontaneous speech in the BNC corpus. Since grammatical meanings are derived, to a varying extent, from the meanings of the source words (cf. 'source determination' *a la* Bybee *et al.* 1994), it is a natural consequence that the grammaticalized meanings of these verbs form definable categories. This paper aims at cataloging various grammaticalization phenomena from desiderative sources from cross-linguistic sources including Korean, and identifying the mechanisms involved in these grammaticalization phenomena.

2. Cross-Linguistic Data

From literature, it has been observed that verbs of desideration form one of the most frequently grammaticalizing concepts in the languages of the world (cf. Heine *et al.* 1991, Bybee *et al.* 1994). In grammaticalization these verbs form certain identifiable paths and final grammatical concepts such as, most prominently, tense-aspect-modality markers.

2.1 Future Marker

Grammaticalization of verbs of desideration into future-markers is most frequently attested. A widely known example is English *will* which was derived from OE *willan* 'want'. In OE *willan* did not express modality. In its earliest meaning the verb was used about a physical rather than a mental activity such as having a need, craving, desire directed to a certain goal as shown in the following example (Björkstam 1919: 171, Aijmer 1985: 12).

- (1) Tostenc ðiode ða 3efeht willað
 'Destroy the people who want fight'
 Vesp. Ps. 67, 31 (Visser 1969: 1677).

However, such volitional concept is absent in its future-marking function as in the following ModE examples with non-volitional subjects.

- (2) a. The sun will rise again.
b. The window won't open.

Similarly, Latin *volere*, from which English *volition* derived, simply meant 'desire' or 'want'. This became a future marker in Rumanian as shown in the following examples.¹⁾

- (3) a. Latin
 volvo cantare
 want.1.Sg sing.Inf
 'I want to sing'
 b. Rumanian
 voi cînta
 want.1.Sg sing.Inf
 'I will sing' (Pinkster 1987: 195)

In the above examples, despite the striking structural similarities, they show considerable semantic and grammatical differences, in that Rumanian desiderative verb simply denotes futurity without implying desideration and that it functions as a future tense marker.

In Mabiha, a Niger-Congo language of Central Bantu, *ku-lembe* 'want' has been changed into *-lembe-* which now encodes remote future marker as in the following examples.

- (4) a. ku-lembe tu-lembe ku-tenda
 Inf-want 1.Pl-want Inf-make
 'We will make (remote).'

1) Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: Acc: accusative; Almost: ALMOST-aspect; Comp: complimentizer; Conj: conjunctive; Dec: declarative; DN: dependent noun; EM: epistemic modality; Fut: future; F: feminine; Gen: genitive; Inf: infinitive; M: masculine; Neg: negative; NF: non-finite; Nom: nominative; Nomz: nominalizer; Opt: optative; Perf: perfect; Pl: plural; Pres: present; Pret: preterite; Pst: past; Q: interrogative; Refl: reflexive; Retro: retrospective; Sg: singular; and Top: topic.

b. tu-lembe-ku-tenda

1.Pl-want-Inf-make

'We will make (remote).'

 (Botne 1989: 170)

In the above examples, both sentences include the future meaning, thus exhibiting the layering phenomenon (*a la* Hopper 1991) where the old form (*ku-lembela*) and the new form (*-lembe-*) share the same future-reference function.²⁾

Similarly in Swahili *-taka* 'want, desire' has been grammaticalized into a future marker as in the following examples, where both the lexical and grammatical function of the word exhibit the layering phenomenon.

(5) a. a-taka ku-ja
3.Sg.Pres-want Inf-come
'She wants to come.'

b. a-ta-ku-ja
3.Sg-Fut-Inf-come
'She will come.'

This type of grammaticalization, i.e. development of future-markers from verbs of desideration, is so widely attested cross-linguistically that it does not seem plausible to list such instances exhaustively. Suffice it to list a few more of such languages (largely adapted from Heine *et al.* 1993 & Bybee *et al.* 1994).

- (6) a. Mandarin Chinese, *yào* 'want' > *yào* (Fut)
- b. Omyene, *-bela* 'desire' > *-be-* (Fut)
- c. Kuba, *-bondela* 'want, ask for' > *-bondo-* (Fut)
- d. Luba, *-saka* 'want' > *-sa-* (Fut)
- e. Kimbundu, *-andala* 'want, wish' > *-anda-*, *-andɔ-*, *-ɔndɔ-* (Fut)
- f. Bulgarian, *šta* 'want' > *šte* (Fut)

2) It is suspected that there exist delicate shades of meaning that differentiate the uses of the two linguistic forms, as it has been often pointed out that layered forms tend to assume the division of labor according to styles and genres. This, however, cannot be established from the original source.

2.2 ALMOST-Aspect

The second most widely attested type of grammaticalization from the desiderative verbs is the development of ALMOST-aspect. ALMOST-aspect is semantically close to the adverb 'almost' but in addition it signals that an event is in very close conceptual proximity to another event, for which reason it is qualified as an aspect marker resembling ingressive or inchoative.

An excellent example of grammaticalization of ALMOST-aspect is attested in Chamus dialect of Maa, where *-yyéú* 'want' developed into *(k-)eyyéú* 'be about to', and in Chrau, a Mon-Khmer language, where *conh* 'want to' acquired the grammatical aspectual meaning of 'almost' or 'be about to' as shown in the following examples.

(7) Chamus dialect of Maa

- | | | | |
|----|---|------------|------|
| a. | k-á-yyéú | n-daâ | |
| | k-1.Sg-want | F-food | |
| | 'I want food.' | | |
| b. | k-eyyéú | a-ók | kulé |
| | k-Almost | 1.Sg-drink | milk |
| | 'I was about to drink milk.' (Heine 1990) | | |

(8) Chrau

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|
| a. | anh | conh | saq |
| | 1.Sg | want | to.go |
| | 'I want to go.' | | |
| b. | anh | conh | chut |
| | 1.Sg | Almost | die |
| | 'I am about to die.' (Matisoff 1991) | | |

Likewise, Bulgarian desiderative verb *šta* 'want' shows grammaticalization of ALMOST-aspect as shown in the following example.

- (9) a. Ne šta
 Neg want.1.Sg
 'I don't want.'

b. Az	štjax	da	padna.
I	want.Pst.1.Sg	Sub	fall.Perf.1.Sg
'I nearly fell down.'		(Heine <i>et al.</i> 1993)	

One interesting aspect with reference to the development of ALMOST-aspect in Bulgarian is that the same source, i.e. *šta* 'want', grammaticalized into a future marker (cf. § 2.1), a negation marker (cf. § 2.4.1) and an ALMOST-aspect marker.³⁾ This type of multiple grammaticalization from a single source raises an issue in terms of grammaticalization mechanism, which we shall return to in Section 3.

Similar developments are also found in Sesotho, an African Bantu language, and in Margi, a Chadic Afro-Asiatic language.

- (10) a. Sesotho, *-batla* 'want' > *-batla* 'ALMOST-aspect'

(Doke & Mofokeng 1985:247)

- b. Margi, *áyí* 'want' > *áyí* 'ALMOST-aspect' (Hoffmann 1963:219)

2.3 Epistemic Modality

Grammaticalization of desideratives into epistemic modality markers is well attested in Korean.⁴⁾ The desiderative verb that exhibits grammaticalization phenomena is *siph-* in modern Korean, which occurs as *sikpu-* in early Korean data. In MidK this verb had many variant forms such as *sippu-*, *sitpu-*, *siphu-*, *sipu-*, and *sipwu-*. In MidK sources the verb preponderantly appear with a desiderative particle *-kocye*, a form suspected to have been derived from [-ko 'NF' - ci 'fall' -e 'SF'] that produced a composite meaning of '(the event occurs)-and-stop', 'let it be and no more', or 'let it just be' (cf. Rhee 1996: 187-188)⁵⁾. Some of such examples are as follows:

3) According to Kuteva (1992, 1995), the ALMOST-aspect marking function is available only when it is used in the past tense.

4) The most commonly used desiderative verbs in ModK are *wenhu-* and *pala-*. However, in MidK *sikpu-* was the most common. It is this last verb that shows well-advanced grammaticalization phenomena. The now common *wenhu-* does not show any grammaticalization phenomena, a cause of which is suspected to be that it is a Sino-Korean word, i.e. it is of foreign origin. Words of foreign origin often fail to grammaticalize mainly due to their belonging to a formal register (Rhee 1996: 75-76).

5) Involvement of the supernatural is suspected to have been invoked in grammaticalization

- 7) In ModK this construction of basic desideration has a phonologically reduced counterpart, *-kophu-*, as in *kunye-ka po-kophuta* '(I) miss her.' which is restricted to the poetic genre.

- 'I am worried that he might die.'
- d. kuttay-nun cwuk-ess-ta siph-te-la
 then-Top die-Pst-Comp EM-Retro-Dec
 'I thought I was going to die then.'
- e. nwuka kacye-ka-ly-a siph-e ellun chiwe-ss-ta
 someone take-Comp EM-NF quickly remove-Pst-Dec
 'I removed it quickly fearing that someone might take it away.'
- f. na-to ne-l ttalaka-myen siph-ta
 I-too you-Acc follow-Comp EM-Dec
 'I would like to follow you. I guess I better follow you.'
- g. ku-ka an o-l tus siph-ta
 he-Nom Neg come-Adn DN EM-Dec
 'It seems that he is not coming.'
- h. nay-ka an o-l seng siph-unya
 I-Nom Neg come-Adn DN EM-Q
 'Do you think I am not coming? (You are mistaken!).'

In the above examples, it is clear that the constructions formed with the verb *siph-* mark desideration, conjecture, supposition and prediction. The construction used in example (h) is fossilized as a rhetorical negative question, a device for emphatic stress on the positive preposition. The 'polite opinion-giving' usage as in (f) is in concordance with the fact that expressions denoting conjecture, supposition, prediction are often employed cross-linguistically to express desires in polite speech. Such usage may be exemplified in the following examples.

(13) English

- a. I guess I'll have a steak.
 b. I suppose I'll have a steak.
 (cf. c. I want a steak.)

(14) Korean

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------|----------|
| a. steak-ul | mek-ulkka | siph-ta |
| b. steak-ul | mek-(ess)umyen | siph-ta |
| (cf. c. steak-ul | mek-ko | siph-ta) |
| steak-Acc | eat-Comp | EM-Dec |

In the above, examples (a) and (b) are used to present speaker's opinions in a non-aggressive way as contrasted with the (c) examples.

2.4 Other Grammatical Markers

Verbs of desideration show other, albeit less frequent, grammaticalization phenomena such as development into negation markers, adverbials meaning 'already', alternative markers, adjectivizers, pretence markers, and even derivational morphemes, to which we shall turn in the following.

2.4.1 Negation Markers

According to Heine *et al.* (1993) Chamus dialect of Maa and Bulgarian have negation markers developed from the verbs of desideration, i.e. *-yyéú* and *šta*, respectively, as illustrated in the following examples.⁸⁾

(15) Chamus dialect of Maa

- a. *i-yyéú?*
 2.Sg-want
 'Do you want it?'
- b. *ε-ɔmó* *l-páyyan* *n-káŋ?* *éyyeu.*
 3.Sg-go.Perf M-elder.Nom F-home 3.Sg.want
 'Did the old man go home? No.' (Heine 1990)

(16) Bulgarian

- oženi* *li* *se?* *štjax*
 get.married.Pst.2.Sg Q Refl want.Pst.1.Sg
 'Did you get married? No (but I almost did).'
 (Kuteva's p.c. with Heine, as cited in Heine *et al.* 1993)

2.4.2 Alternative Conjunctive

A different kind of grammaticalization phenomenon is displayed in Latin,

8) This phenomenon of multiple paths of grammaticalization from a single source is termed as 'polygrammaticalization' (Craig 1991) and an analysis is suggested in Section 3.

where the desiderative verb became a time adverbial and an alternative conjunctive. In Latin *velle* was a verb of desideration from which an adverb *vel* denoting 'well, already' was derived (Walde & Hofmann 1954: 743).⁹⁾ This same verb became an alternative marker denoting 'or' as shown in the following example.

- (17)

eiusmodi	coniunctionem	tectorum
such	connection.Acc	roof.Gen.Pl
oppidum	vel	urbem
town.Acc	or	city.Acc

 'such a collection of roofs they called town or city'
 (Walde & Hofmann 1954: 743)

2.4.3 Pretence Marker

In some languages the verbs of desideration grammaticalized into adjectivizers and pretence markers. For example, in Nama, an African Khoisan language, *ʃgao* 'want' combined with *-xa*, a de-nominal or de-verbal adjectivizer, became *-ʃgao-xa* carrying an emphatic adjectivizer function (Rust 1965: 35). In Aztec, a central Amerind language, *nequi* 'want, wish' has been grammaticalized into *-nequi* 'to pretend to' as illustrated in the following example.

- (18) *ni-no-mic-cā-nequi*
 1.Sg-Refl-die-Nom-Pret
 'I pretend to be dead.' (Launey 1981: 270)

2.4.4 Derivational Affix

In Section 2.3, we saw the grammaticalization phenomena exhibited by *siph-* in Korean. The other modern desiderative, *pala-*, despite its full-fledged lexical nature as shown in (19), does not show grammaticalization phenom-

9) An adverbial by its categorial classification comes between the lexical categories and the grammatical categories. In this sense a development from desiderative verbal source into a temporal adverbial qualifies its treatment in grammaticalization. However, due to the nature of the limited extent the analysis is not included here.

ena to speak of. Some minor but notable aspects in this context, however, are its semantic change and its use in lexical derivation. For example, the semantics of *pala-* 'want' has been extended to orientational or eventual 'approximation' as shown in the following examples in (20).¹⁰⁾

- (19) a. na-nun thongil-ul pala-nta
 I-Top reunification-Acc want-Dec
 'I want reunification (of Korea).'
- b. na-nun ney-ka o-ki-lul pala-nta
 I-Top you-Nom come-Nomz-Acc want-Dec
 'I want you to come.'
- (20) a. cengsang-ul pala-ko ki-e-oll-ass-ta
 summit-Acc look.toward-NF crawl-NF-climb-Pst-Dec
 '(I) climbed up looking up the summit.'
- b. nai sasip-ul pala-myense tewuk chimchakhayci-ess-ta
 age 40-Acc approach-Conj more become.patient-Pst-Dec
 '(I) became more patient as (my) age became close to 40.'
- (Wulimal Khunsacen 1991: 1584)

The verb *pala-* produced a couple of other words. In this lexicalization process it acts like a derivation prefix. For example, a modern Korean dictionary Wulimal Khunsacen (1991: 1584) lists three entries derived from *pala-*, i.e. *palapo-* 'look forward/toward', *palapoi-* 'visible (from a distance)', and *palaolu-* 'crawl upward', the last of which, despite its listing in the dictionary, is rarely used.¹¹⁾ These changes resemble, though not very robust, some grammaticalization phenomena attested in other languages in that they refer to orientation and basically they involve an operation of a derivational prefix.

10) As has been pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, these examples are admittedly unnatural in Present-Day Korean. This suggests that the extent of the grammaticalization process of this verb was minimal and could not be pushed further in modern Korean. This type of 'withering' phenomena constitutes a new research direction which shall not be further explored here as it falls out of the immediate focus of this paper.

11) The rarity of use of *palaolu-* is evidenced in that it is not included as an entry in the Yonsei Corpus, a Korean dictionary based on contemporary colloquial data.

3. Mechanisms

Now we turn to an investigation of how such grammaticalization phenomena came about. There seem to be various mechanisms involved, such as metaphor and metonymy. It is truism that there are few cases of grammaticalization that can be satisfactorily explained by means of a single mechanism and that there are multiple mechanisms that interact in the course of grammaticalization. In addition to the mechanisms traditionally subscribed to, there is another approach to view the changes from a whole new perspective, i.e. variable focus frames. We shall discuss each of these in the following.

3.1 Metaphor

It has been frequently asserted that metaphor is one of the most frequently used mechanisms of language change, especially in grammaticalization (Claudi & Heine 1986, Fleischman 1989, Heine *et al.* 1991, Sweetser 1984; 1990, Rhee 1996, *inter alia*, and for an extreme position cf. Matisoff 1991.)

In the grammaticalization of desiderative, a metaphorical semantic transfer is attested. For example, the development of ALMOST-aspect or approximative markers involved the following metaphorical operation.

(21) Metaphor in Genesis of Approximatives

Source concept	Target concept
emotional attachment	affinity in physical appearance

(22) Metaphor in Genesis of ALMOST-Aspect

Source concept	Target concept
emotional attachment	affinity in eventual chains

What is obvious in the above is that the conceptual transfer involves domain changes. However, it is interesting to note that the direction of the domain transfer in (21) does not conform to the widely attested direction of metaphorical transfers, e.g. as suggested in Heine *et al.* (1991), which

suggests a transfer from Concrete (Physical) to Abstract (Mental). This shows that the typical direction in metaphorical transfers is merely a tendency rather than a directive force.

3.2 Metonymy

Another mechanism of grammaticalization that operates in grammaticalization of desideratives is metonymy. There are several different types of metonymy, one of which involves more discourse-orientation, i.e. pragmatic inferencing. Pragmatic inferences, per se, involve discourse-bound abductive reasoning.¹²⁾ For this reason pragmatic inferences are incremental and minimal and thus do not involve abrupt domain changes.

The following simplified diagram shows a metonymic relations of the desiderative source and the future marker.

(23) Metonymy in Genesis of Future Markers

Source concept	Target concept
emotional attachment to an object or event attainable <u>in the future</u>	future

The pragmatic inferences involved in the above metonymic transfer can be schematically presented as the following.

- (24) a. An experiencer wants that an object is obtained or an event is realized.¹³⁾
 b. The acquisition or realization is a future event.
 c. The experiencer is exerting or will exert effort to have the event

12) It is for this reason that Heine et al. (1991) propose a model that includes context-induced-reinterpretation (CIR) as a process in the micro-structure of grammaticalization. It is essentially equivalent to pragmatic inferences in that they involve semantic evaluation and adjustment of a linguistic form from the discourse.

13) By definition, desideration may involve an object or an event. However, judging from the course of genesis of auxiliary function from the verb which typically accompanies another verb, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the eventive complement is more central in its development. A reconciliatory position can propose that the object complement is in fact eventive in that it originally refers to acquisition of the object (O) as in [X wants O] << [X wants E[X acquires O]].

come about.

d. The event shall come about (in the absence of adversative forces).

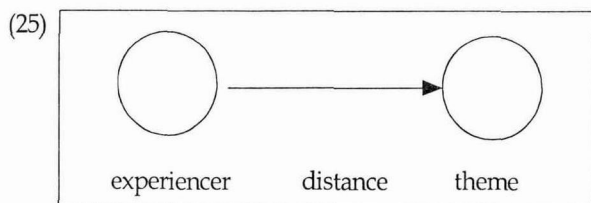
The starting point of the pragmatic inferences, i.e. (a), is the categorical meaning of the desiderative verb. The next stage (b) is a natural outcome of our human encyclopedic knowledge from the two aspects of the reality, i.e. existence of an object/event, and its absence with the experiencer. The next stage (c) is due to human construal of the world, in that people in general strive to acquire things they want. This type of anthropocentric reasoning is widespread in grammaticalization.¹⁴ In the final stage, the future event is 'closer' in the time sequence and 'more realizable' in the eventual sequence. This mental state of evaluation of the eventive complement triggers the reinterpretation of the 'desiderative verb' as a marker of 'futurity'.

3.3 Changes of Focus-Frames

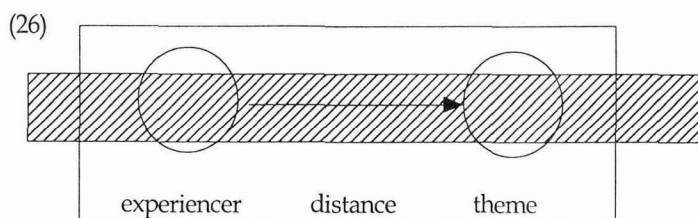
We have seen metaphors and metonymies operating in the grammaticalization processes in the preceding discussion. However, our special interest lies in its development of various grammatical senses through a mechanism that can explain seemingly disorderly senses in a more coherent way, i.e. variable frames of focus in the conceptual schema (*a la* Rhee 2000).

It has been often asserted and widely accepted that grammatical concepts largely arise from schemas (Heine 1993; 1997, Rhee 1996, *inter alia*). An image schema for an event of desideration or 'wanting' can be thought of as having the following as its essential elements: the experiencer, which is typically human that experiences the 'wanting' emotion; the theme, which is typically an event or, less commonly, an object to which this 'wanting' emotion is directed to or caused by; and the distance, which is either in spatial or temporal dimension that can typically transform into mental distance. This can be diagrammatically presented as follows.

14) This is reminiscent of the process involved in the grammaticalization of English [*be going to*] into a futurity marker, in which a current (*be -ing*) physical movement (*go*) with a future intention (*to*) was pragmatically inferred as to mean futurity.

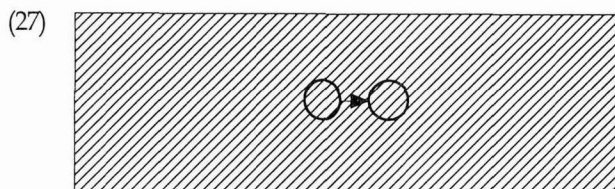


The above schema is considered a prototypical focus-free schema of desideration. This schema may be viewed with a superimposed focus frame as in (26).



From the above schema with the given focus frame, where the experiencer and the theme are in linear alignment along the temporal dimension, the future marker is developed.

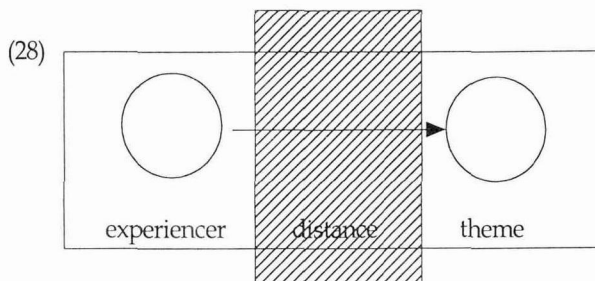
On the other hand, the variable focus frame may be upon the entire schema. In this case the entire schema is reduced into a smaller dimension because the framing involves telescopic operation (cf. Rhee 2000) as shown below.¹⁵⁾



15) Rhee (2000) makes use of the telescopic-microscopic frame change to address the apparent antonymization of semantic changes. Lakoff (1987) observes similar phenomenon and uses the concept "Image-Schema Transformation" for its treatment.

In the above configuration the experiencer and the theme are perceived to be together due to its telescopic view, thus creating the 'proximity' sense. It is in this image schema that the ALMOST-aspect is developed. From this schema the experiencer's orientation toward the theme and the proximity between the experiencer and the theme are highlighted. The adverbial that denotes 'already' is also created by virtue of proximity sense. Likewise, the emphatic adjectivizer that stresses sufficient similarity, and the pretence marker that suggests feigned identity evolve from this schema. Development of epistemic modality also involves psychological proximity and evidently makes use of this schema.

On the other hand, the original schema may receive a microscopic framing focus. For example, the focus may be on the distance between the experiencer and the theme as shown in (28).



In the above schema of 'wanting', the framed focus highlights the distance between the experiencer and the theme, i.e. the gap between them. From this schema evolved the negation marker. Grammaticalization of the alternative markers from the desiderative verb makes use of this schema also, because the marker's essential semantics is disjunction, which clearly suggests dissociation of the two entities. It is well-known that English *want* carries the sense of 'lack', 'deprivation', or 'necessity' as is shown in the following example.

(29) The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. (Psalm 23:1)

The 'lack' sense, though lexical, is associated with the focus on the gap as illustrated in the above schema.¹⁶⁾

By employing the frame-of-focus approach we can explain the genesis of seemingly unrelated grammatical concepts such as future tense, ALMOST-aspect, adverbial 'already', emphatic adjectivizer, pretence, negation and disjunction. This is in accordance with commonly shared premise in the studies of grammaticalization that grammaticalization is not arbitrary but involves systematic, though frequently delicate, operations and is constrained by the limit of human cognition.

4. Grammaticalization from Related Sources

Always inherent in the studies of grammaticalization or more generally of grammars is the problem of inability or difficulty in semantic categorization. This is by no means surprising considering that semantic relationship among words is often intricately intertwined.

In the study of grammaticalization phenomena of verbs of desideration we are faced with the same problem. Many words that are conceptually related to the desideratives often defy delineation among them. For example, WANT, LIKE (verb), LIKE (adverb), LOVE and even FEEL are found to be related and sometimes appear to be cross-lexically related. For instance, some languages have a single lexeme that encodes more than one of these senses. Therefore, the verbs that encode these related meanings exhibit similar developments as summarized below.

(30) Lexeme	Language	Grammatical Marker
a. LIKE (adv)	Moré	conditional protasis conjunctive
b. LIKE (v)	Lango	epistemic modality
c. LOVE	Lingala	intention; ALMOST-aspect; adjectivizer
d. FEEL	Nama	adjectivizer

Therefore, for a fuller understanding of grammaticalization phenomena of verbs of desideration, it is imperative that an in-depth exploration of these

16) It is interesting to note, incidentally, that negation markers are sometimes developed from lexemes denoting 'return'. When the image schema of the 'returning' event involves unfulfilled initial trip to the object that works as the redditive axis, the gap between the turning point and the object axis gives rise to negation markers. This type of grammaticalization has been attested in the Maasai dialect of Maa (cf. Rhee 1996: 308-310).

conceptually related grammatical sources be carried out.

5. Conclusion

This paper enumerates and discusses various grammatical functions of the grammaticalized markers derived from the verbs of desideration, and in so doing, presents that these functions are not arbitrarily developed but are derived according to their relevance in a source schema with varying frames of focus. It is suggested that the frame-of-focus approach provides a cogent explanation as to the mechanisms for genesis of grammatical concepts that are grammaticalized from the verbs of desideration.

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