

Rhee, Seongha. 2006. Formal variation and colloquiality in Korean: Implications on the grammaticalization theory. *Studies in Modern Grammar* 45: 201-238.

This is an extended version of Rhee (2007) entitled "Colloquial variation and its implications in grammaticalization theory" *LACUS Forum* 33: 237-246.

Formal Variation and Colloquiality in Korean: Implications on the Grammaticalization Theory*

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Seongha Rhee. 2006. Formal Variation and Colloquiality in Korean: Implications on the Grammaticalization Theory. *Studies in Modern Grammar* 45, 201-238. Language variation is ubiquitous across languages. This paper focuses on one particular type of variation, i.e. one characterizable as a result of additive processes, an unexpected state of affairs in view of such widely accepted principles of grammaticalization as 'attrition' and 'loss'. The variational forms consist of a shorter, older, form, and a number of longer, more recent forms, which are innovative forms often found in casual and colloquial styles. This counter-directional change, i.e. phonological enrichment rather than phonological reduction, offers interesting implications on the grammaticalization theory, including: (i) the grammaticalization processes in terms of both form and meaning cannot be uniformly characterized as reductive processes; (ii) the additive processes are mostly motivated by the desire for semantic reinforcement, and recruit paradigmatically versatile particles with weak, yet not devoid of, semantics, suggesting 'exaptation'; and (iii) some of the additive processes are purely phonologically motivated in that the ever-shrinking forms are augmented by apparently meaningless sounds whose sole function is to increase the phonological volume to ensure better auditory perception. All these point to the fact that grammaticalization paths are by no means monolinear and uniformly unidirectional, but involve fluctuations and variations especially along such parameters as styles and genres.

* This research was supported by the 2006 Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Research Fund. This is substantially extended research of an earlier version of a paper presented at the 33rd Annual Forum of the Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States (LACUS-33), July 31 - August 4, 2006, at University of Toronto, Canada. The author wishes to thank the audience for their comments. Special thanks go to the three anonymous reviewers for their comments and constructive criticisms. All remaining errors, however, are mine.

Key word: variation, colloquiality, grammaticalization, unidirectionality, non-monolinearity, phonological reduction, phonological addition

1. Introduction

Formal variation is a ubiquitous phenomenon across languages. The variation results from divergence whereby a newly grammaticalizing form divorces its 'heterosemous' (Lichtenberk 1991) lexical counterpart, and/or from ever-present pressure of formal reduction in mutual feeding relationship with the concomitant semantic bleaching. Studies of individual languages show that this type of reductive change is a widely attested linguistic fact across languages. Even in individual languages, this type of change is pervasive in grammar and is well-documented in Korean as in other languages. From a theoretical perspective, this state of affairs lends strong support to the idea of 'emergent grammar' (Hopper 1987), which asserts that there is no *a priori* grammar but only a grammar "as a continual movement towards structure, a postponement or 'deferral' of structure, [...] always provisional, always negotiable, and in fact as epiphenomenal" (Hopper 1987: 142).

Among widespread variations is a peculiar phenomenon of formal variation that is one characterizable as a result of additive processes, an unexpected state of affairs in view of such widely accepted principles of grammaticalization as 'attrition' (Lehmann 1995[1982]), 'parallel reduction', (Bybee et al. 1994), 'erosion' (Heine 1994), and 'loss' (Heine 1994). According to these theses, linguistic forms located on the grammaticalization cline tend to move in the direction of phonological reduction as one of many parameters, and may result in complete loss whereby the grammar of the language loses the grammatical form eventually. Even though the change itself is never deterministic and thus

the change does not have to occur, the direction of the change, if the change ever occurs, is invariably toward the reduction of the phonological volume. This direction of change is considered to be so robust that it is one of the grammaticalization principles: the unidirectionality principle (Bybee et al. 1994). Since the direction of change is indeed a strong principle operative in grammaticalization, any instances that do not conform to this principle should be of great scholastic interest. Interestingly enough, there do exist numerous such instances in Korean.

However, there have not been any notable attempts to address the issue in earnest, and this paper intends to fill this gap.¹⁾ The objectives of my paper are three-fold: (i) to present such variational data in Korean, (ii) to analyze the motivations of variations, and (iii) to discuss theoretical issues involving this particular types of variations.

In order to pursue the goals stated above, this paper presents the variational data in Section 2; describes the emergence of these target forms with special reference to their diachronic development and the enabling mechanisms in Section 3; and, drawing on similar phenomena attested elsewhere in grammar, discusses various theoretical issues the data present with respect to the principles widely subscribed to in the grammaticalization theory in Section 4.

2. Variational Data

The variational data under present investigation involve the grammatical forms with the postpositional status. The label 'postposition' has raised considerable controversy as to its definition and consequently its membership. Since the major focus of the present study is on the variation of grammatical forms, instead of the definitions of grammatical

1) Rhee (2005a) is a notable exception even though its main research focus is not on additive variational forms but on the emergence of irregular forms in grammar and their implication in the grammatical system.

categories, the nomenclature *per se* does not concern us here. This paper simply addresses the so-called 'particles', the label encompassing diverse case-markers and connectives that occupy the syntagmatic postpositional slot hosted by a nominal or a verbal.

The data selected for discussion consist of twenty postpositional particles that carry various grammatical meanings. Certain forms are polysemous but we restrict our discussion to only those meanings and functions that are relevant to the current issue. Since Korean particles are numerous and there is no consensus as to the qualification for the category membership of each particle, the selection of the cases as research targets here is undoubtedly arbitrary. However, these cases were chosen from a corpus (the KAIST KORTERM Corpus) and elsewhere based on their token frequencies. For instance, the comparative marker *-pota* 'than' is one of the grammatical forms used in high frequency. This form has many variant forms, e.g. *-potato*, *-potatwu*, *-potanun*, *-potam*, *-potamun*, *-potaya*, *-potato*, etc.²⁾ The forms, meanings/functions, and variations of the target items are as listed in <Table 1>.³⁾

2) Some of these are colloquial, or dialectal, variations that are not formally accepted in prescriptive grammar. However, these forms are attested in the corpus and in fact are in use with a high frequency. In the case of *-potamun*, for example, two different forms are attested in writing that are differentiated by the location of the syllable boundary, a distinct feature of the Korean orthography. With the virgule sign signifying the orthographic syllable boundary the two forms are *-po/tam/un* and *-po/ta/mun*.

3) The term 'standard', as used here, is not a term with value judgment, but simply designates the item that is most unmarked in terms of morphosyntactic make-up, semantic complexity, and practical usage.

<Table 1> List of Target Forms

"Standard" Form	Meaning/Function	Variations
<i>-pota</i>	than	<i>-potato, -potatwu, -potanun, -potam, -potamun, -potaya</i>
<i>-se</i>	because of; and then	<i>-sen, -senun, -sellang, -sellangun, -sellamwuney</i>
<i>-ul</i>	Accusative	<i>-ullang, -ullangun</i>
<i>-man</i>	but	<i>-manun</i>
<i>-chiko</i>	granting that; among	<i>-chikose, -chikosenun, -chikonun, -chikosen, -chikon</i>
<i>-hako</i>	and	<i>-hakon, -hakonun, -hakosen, -hakosenun</i>
<i>-kiew</i>	as	<i>-killay</i>
<i>-ni</i>	since, as	<i>-nikka, -nikkanun, -nikkan</i>
<i>-ketun</i>	if; Sentential Ending	<i>-ketullang, -kellang, -keteng</i>
<i>-key</i>	in order to	<i>-keykkum</i>
<i>-kilo</i>	as	<i>-kilose, -kiloseni, -kilosentul</i>
<i>-ncuk</i>	what X is	<i>-ncuksun</i>
<i>-mye</i>	at the same time; Sentential Ending	<i>-myense, -myensenun</i>
<i>-myen</i>	Conditional	<i>-myenun</i>
<i>-nula</i>	because of	<i>-nulako, -nulani, -nulanikka, -nulamyen</i>
<i>-ntey</i>	while; in addition to	<i>-nteytaka</i>
<i>-tun</i>	either or; (if or not)	<i>-tunci, -tuncikaney</i>
<i>-e</i>	Connective (NF)	<i>-ese, -esenun, -esen</i>
<i>-ko</i>	Complementizer (Cause)	<i>-kohayse</i>
<i>-lyemyen</i>	in order that	<i>-lyemyenun, -laymunun</i>

The variational usage is illustrated in examples in (1)-(3).

(1) *-pota*: "than"

pap-*{pota, potam, potanun, potamun...}* ppang-ul mek-ela
 rice-*{than}* bread-Acc eat-Imp
 "Eat bread rather than rice."

(2) *-se*: "because of"

pappu-*{ese, sen, selang, selangun...}* swi-l sikan-i eps-ta
 be.busy-*{because.of}* rest-Adn time-Nom not.exist-Dec
 "(I) am so busy that I don't have time to rest."

(3) *-ul*: Accusative

swul-{ul, ullang, ullangun...} mek-ci ma(1)-la

liquor-Acc eat-Proh-Imp

"Don't drink (liquor)."

In terms of semantic differences among the sentences in which these variational forms participate, there do exist, though hardly perceptible, minor differential shades of meaning. The level of semantic differences are such that to most speakers of Korean they are 'simply other ways of saying the same thing.' And the alleged 'the other ways' typically refer to dialectal, register, and style differences. Some judgment-givers, when pressed to 'explain' the differences, offer an 'explanation' that the addition of certain morphemes (e.g. *-pota* vs. *-potato* or *-potaya*) may bring forth some nuance of added emphasis. In any case, it is evident that the differences, if any, are minimal. The issue of absence/lack of semantic differences will be addressed in Section 4.1.

Another point that merits the attention is the fact that the variation of each form is not of uniform style, i.e. each form has different types of variational forms, and the number of variants varies as well. For instance, some of the forms like *-man*, *-kiey*, *-ncuk*, *-myen*, *-ntey*, and *-ko* have only one variant form, whereas *-pota*, *-se*, and *-chiko* have five or six variant forms. There may be several factors that affect the situation, but the diversity of the variation seems to be influenced most by the semantic compatibility of the grammatical form, and, albeit less so, by the phonological properties of the forms concerned. This issue will be addressed again in Section 4.

3. Sources and Emergence of Forms

Grammaticalization of linguistic forms is a complex process interlaced

with diverse factors, linguistic or otherwise, and thus an extensive treatment of grammaticalization of the items under the current investigation is beyond practical limit of this paper. For this reason, this section presents brief exposition on any known sources and the chronological order of development, much of which are a reconstruction based on the corpus data and linguistic intuition. This description will be followed by an analysis of motivating forces.

Language change is characterizable as one unnoticeably slow yet continual throughout the life of the linguistic form. Since the forms under investigation are the grammatical forms, their development from the lexical, or less grammatical, origin to the current grammatical status is, by definition, an instance of grammaticalization. While some of the forms exhibit morphological transparency, or at least, their developmental paths have been traced, there is a large group of items whose origins remain opaque. The historical sources of the 'standard' forms and their variations along the paths in the historical order can be tabulated as in <Table 2>.

3.1 Verbal Sources

As shown in <Table 2>, the forms can be classified into six groups according to the characteristics of the known source items, the largest being of unknown origin. Group A contains four members, all having verbal sources. For instance, *-pota* began as a construction involving the verb *po-* 'see' and the transferentive *-taka*, which, in turn, developed from the verb *tak(u)-* 'draw near'.⁴⁾ This construction *-potaka* with the meaning of 'see and then' has become a marker of comparative signifying 'than' (cf. Rhee 1996 for a detailed account of grammaticalization of the comparative). This form, *-potaka*, underwent formal reduction and became *-pota* in contemporary Korean as the marker of "standard" in comparative

4) The core meaning of transferentive involves unexpected interruption of an event and transfer of focus to another event.

constructions. In contemporary Korean, especially in colloquial style, we have the attestations of many variant forms. The change can be mapped in chronological order as [-*pota* > -*potanun* > -*potan* > -*potam* > -*potamun*].

<Table 2> Historical Development of Variants

	Historically	"Standard " Form	Further Development (Now)
A	- <i>po-taka</i> "see and"	> - <i>pota</i>	> - <i>potanun</i> > - <i>potan</i> > - <i>potam</i> > - <i>potamun</i>
	- <i>iss-e</i> "exist and"	> - <i>se</i>	> - <i>senun</i> > - <i>sen</i> > - <i>sellang</i> > - <i>sellangun</i> > - <i>sellamwuney</i>
	- <i>chi-ko</i> "regard-and"	> - <i>chiko</i>	> - <i>chikose</i> > - <i>chikosenun</i> > - <i>chikosen</i> > - <i>chikonun</i> > - <i>chikon</i>
	- <i>ha-ko</i> "do-and"	> - <i>hako</i>	> - <i>hakonun</i> > - <i>hakon</i> > - <i>hakose</i> > - <i>hakosenun</i> > - <i>hakosen</i>
B	- <i>ki-ey</i> "Nomz-at"	> - <i>kiey</i>	> - <i>killay</i>
	- <i>ki-lo</i> "Nomz-Inst"	> - <i>kilo</i>	> - <i>kilosoni</i> > - <i>kilose</i> > - <i>kiloseni</i>
C	- <i>mye-nun</i> "Simul-Top"	> - <i>myen</i>	> - <i>myenun</i> > - <i>mun</i> > - <i>m</i>
	- <i>lye-myen</i> "Inten-Cond"	> - <i>lyemyen</i>	> - <i>lyemyenun</i> > - <i>laymunun</i>
D	- <i>ke-tu-n</i> "Asp-Asp-Top"	> - <i>ketun</i>	> - <i>keteng</i> > - <i>ketullang</i> , - <i>kellang</i> > > - <i>ketullangun</i> , - <i>kellangun</i>
	- <i>nu-la</i> "Asp-Comp"	> - <i>nula</i>	> - <i>nulanikka</i> > - <i>nulako</i> > - <i>nulani</i> > - <i>nulamyen</i>
E	- <i>n-cuk</i> "Adn-that.is"	> - <i>ncuk</i>	> - <i>ncuksun</i>
	- <i>n-tey</i> "Adn-at"	> - <i>ntey</i>	> - <i>nteytaka</i> > - <i>nteytaka</i>
F	?	> - <i>man</i>	> - <i>manun</i>
	?	> - <i>e</i>	> - <i>ese</i> > - <i>esenun</i> > - <i>esen</i>
	?	> - <i>ko</i>	> - <i>kose</i> > - <i>kosenun</i> > - <i>kosen</i> > - <i>kohayse</i> > - <i>kohaysenun</i> > - <i>kohaysen</i>
	?	> - <i>ul</i>	> - <i>ullang</i> > - <i>ullangun</i>
	?	> - <i>ni</i>	> - <i>nikka</i> > - <i>nikkanun</i> > - <i>nikkan</i>
	?	> - <i>key</i>	> - <i>keykkum</i>
	?	> - <i>tun</i>	> - <i>tunci</i>
	> - <i>mye</i>	> - <i>myenun</i> > - <i>myense</i> > - <i>myensenun</i>	

The second example -*se* originally developed from the existence verb *iss-/isi-* 'exist', which was combined with the non-finite marker -*e*. In

Modern Korean this marker is a multi-functional grammatical marker through diverse channels, thus a good exemplar of polygrammaticalization (Craig 1991; Rhee 1996). Among many functions such as source, topic presenter, locative, ablative, sequential, conditional, and causal, our immediate concern is its function of marking sequential and causal. As a sequential/causal marker, it has undergone changes along the several different paths as e.g., *-se* > *-senun* > *-sen*; *-se* > *-sellang* > *-sellangun*; and *-se* > *sellamwune*.

The other two cases, i.e. *-chi-ko* and *-ha-ko*, which incidentally may be cross-classified with Group G by virtue of having the connective *-ko*, developed from the verb *chi-* 'regard, consider' and the light verb *ha-* 'do', respectively. The light verb *ha-* 'do' has impoverished semantics due to extensive semantic loss and it exhibits semantico-syntactically unique behavior.⁵⁾

3.2 Nominalizer Sources

The postpositional particles *-kiey* and *-kilo* developed from the nominalizer *-ki*, whose function is to transform a verb into a noun. Productive nominalizer in modern Korean, *-ki* dates back to Old Korean (Rhee 2005b). It is hypothesized to share the source with other nominalizers *-ti* and *-ci*, to a nominal *ti* 'thing', further traceable to *tA* 'place' (Hong 1983a, 1983b; Rhee 2005b).⁶⁾

For this reason the core semantics of the two forms is critically determined by the particle *-ey* and *-lo*, the former a locative, and the latter an instrumental. Both of them carry the reason/cause meaning,

5) For analysis of the syntactic behavior of the light verb constructions, cf. Ahn (1991), Chae (1996), Han (1988), M. Kim (1994), S. Kim (1994), O'Grady (1992), Park (1992), inter alia. For a brief account of its grammaticalization, cf. Rhee (1996).

6) For a general overview of recent nominalizer studies cf. the excellent summary and critique of literature in Shi (2005: 48-78).

which was a result of subjectification whereby, in the first case, a physical location is conceptualized as a basis of the ensuing event, and, in the second case, the instrument is conceptualized as an enabling condition of, and procedural path for, the ensuing event.

3.3 Connective Sources

The two forms in Group C, *-myen* and *-lyemyen* are built upon the connective, *-mye* and *-lye*, respectively, and the latter, *-lyemyen*, in fact contains *-mye* as well. Connective *-mye* is an old gram dating back to Old Korean, and has obscure lexical origin, though its core semantics involves 'simultaneity' (cf., however, footnote 7). When combined with the topic marker *-(n)un* it becomes *-myen* (Koo 1989: 15), the most frequently used conditional marker in Modern Korean that gradually replaced its predecessor *-ketun* from Middle Korean (Koo 1996). Incidentally, the development of *-myenun* presents a unique situation in terms of its developmental path as in (4).

- (4) Stage I: *mye-nun* 'as for the time while x is occurring'
 Simul-Top
 Stage II: *myen* 'if'
 Cond
 Stage III: *myen-un* 'if'
 Cond-Top

One peculiarity is that the variant form *-myenun* in Modern Korean shows phonological reversal of the pre-grammaticalization stage, i.e. Stage I, but the function does not revert to the stage. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that, despite the differently marked morphemic boundaries in Stages I and III, they are orthographically identical, i.e. [mye/nun]. This shows that, in rare occasions, the sound

may proceed against the generally accepted direction, but that the conceptual change, whereby grammatical meaning is created, cannot.

3.4 Aspectual Sources

The next group consists of *-ketun* and *-nula*. The first has the conditional meaning as a connective and the sentential ending with diverse meanings and functions, among which are topic presentation, reason, and incidentality (Rhee 2002). It was built upon the aspectual markers *-ke-* and *-tu-* that have the 'unassimilated' and 'retrospective, assimilated' meanings, respectively. On the other hand, *-nula*, cause/reason meaning, is built on the aspectual marker *-nu-* which has the 'simultaneous, assimilated' meaning (Koo 1989, 1996). Eventually, both forms have to do with the cause/reason-marking function as a part of their diverse grammatical functions.

3.5 Adnominal Sources

The next group has two members *-ncuk* and *-ntey*, postverbal particles which transform a verbal into an adnominal form to modify a noun. Modern Korean has three different adnominal forms: anterior adnominalizer (*-n*), prospective adnominalizer (*-l*), and simultaneous adnominalizer (*-nun*), which, though distinct from tense markers, are correlated to past, future and present, respectively (Rhee 2005b). Of the two forms concerned, the former tends to be used exclusively with the anterior adnominalizer (*-n*) and usually with a copula, and signifies 'what X is', 'as for X', etc. The level of fusion with the copula is such that the entire construction *-incuk*, where *i-* is copula, behaves like a single formant.

On the other hand, the other form, *-ntey*, may employ either the anterior or simultaneous adnominalizer, though not compatible with the

prospective adnominalizer. Therefore, the form *-ntey* may be considered as a shorthand for *-nuntey* and *-ntey*. This form signifies 'while, in addition to', i.e. the markers of background and adversative, as a connective. As a sentential ending, it has diverse extended meanings such as surprise, reluctance, reason and background. Incidentally, the form in the sentential ending function, though evidently related to the connective function through grammaticalization of the ellipsis (Rhee 2002), does not exhibit the formal variation, a case of formal split between the more conservative function and the more recent innovative function. This should constitute an interesting research topic, which, however, lies beyond the limit of this paper.

3.6 Unknown Sources

This group constitutes the largest group of all. The forms in the category do not have well-established lexical origin.⁷⁾ Among them are the restrictive/concessive *-man*, the non-finite markers *-e* and *-ko*, the accusative marker *-ul*, the cause/reason marker *-ni*, the adverbializer *-key*, optional connective *-tun*, and the simultaneous marker *-mye*. These are relatively old grams, whose developmental past has been obscured behind time.

The concessive *-man*, however, seems to be related with the equative *-mankhum* and restrictive marker *-man* (cf., however, an alternative account in Section 4.3). If this hypothesis proves valid, a brief look into the history of this form would reveal an intriguing development. It starts out its life as *man* and *mankom* around the 16th century, the latter being a derivative of the former with the addition of emphatic particle *-kom*. From around the 18th century *man* divorces from the equative

7) It may be noted that there have been attempts at further analyzing some of these forms, e.g. Suh (1988) hypothesizes that *-mye* may be a combination of *-m* (nominalizer), *i-* (copula), and *-e* (verbal ending). In the absence of conclusive evidence, however, this form is treated along with other "unknown" cases.

comparative *-mankom*, and establishes its status as a restrictive marker signifying 'only'. From this restrictive-marking function develops the concessive clausal connective. Considering that the concessive often develops from a background-setter, e.g. English *while*, and that delineating function in terms of amount, duration, degree and quality, of the equative comparative and the restrictive, this line of reasoning may not be too far-fetched, though it would require more research to obtain a conclusive answer. Incidentally, and interestingly enough, the formal variation is attested with both the clausal connective *-man* and the nominal restrictive *-man*.

As a clausal connective, the particle *-man* may be combined with diverse complementizers which signal the type of the embedded sentence, and thus result in *-ciman* (determinative), *-kkaman* (interrogative/dubitative), *-taman* (declarative/propositive), *-laman* (declative/propositive/imperative), and *-caman* (adhortative).

As for the cause/reason marker *-ni*, this form, by virtue of being a post-verbal particle, can be combined with various complementizers that signal the embedded sentence type, as was the case with *-man*. Therefore, *-ni* creates diverse clausal ending such as *-lani*, *-tani*, *-cani*, etc.

4. Mechanisms and Motivations

Early studies of grammaticalization largely focused on the etymological description of grammatical forms. More recently, particularly with the development of cognitive linguistics, the research focus came to be increasingly placed on the motivations that activate such changes with reference to conceptual change. These studies made substantial contribution to a better understanding of the intricate relationship between the linguistic system and human cognition. As shall be shown in the following discussion, however, the formal variation phenomenon as described here presents certain challenges to the widely held views and

hypotheses of grammaticalization. We now turn to a discussion of the change from a number of perspectives.

4.1 Semantic-Pragmatic Motivation

The most frequently addressed aspect of grammatical change is the semantic-pragmatic motivation. With reference to the forms under the present investigation, these forms may be classified into three sub-groups.

4.1.1 Addition of Topic Marker

The first group consists of the forms that recruited a topic marker *-(n)un*, as shown in (5).

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|---|---------------------|----|-----------------|---|--------------------|
| (5) a. | <i>-pota</i> | > | <i>-potanun</i> | k. | <i>-ncuk</i> | > | <i>-ncuk(s)un</i> |
| b. | <i>-se</i> | > | <i>-senun</i> | l. | <i>-man</i> | > | <i>-cimanun</i> |
| c. | <i>-selang</i> | > | <i>-selangun</i> | m. | <i>-ese</i> | > | <i>-esenun</i> |
| d. | <i>-chiko</i> | > | <i>-chikonun</i> | o. | <i>-ko se</i> | > | <i>-kosenun</i> |
| e. | <i>-hako</i> | > | <i>-hakonun</i> | p. | <i>-kohayse</i> | > | <i>-kohaysenun</i> |
| f. | <i>-hakose</i> | > | <i>-hakosenun</i> | q. | <i>-ullang</i> | > | <i>-ullangun</i> |
| g. | <i>-myen</i> | > | <i>-myenun</i> | r. | <i>-nikka</i> | > | <i>-nikkanun</i> |
| h. | <i>-lyemyen</i> | > | <i>-lyemyenun</i> | s. | <i>-mye</i> | > | <i>-myenun</i> |
| i. | <i>-ketullang</i> | > | <i>-ketullangun</i> | t. | <i>-tanikka</i> | > | <i>-tanikkanun</i> |
| j. | <i>-kellang</i> | > | <i>-kellangun</i> | | | | |

The topic marker *-nun* is a very productively used particle in Korean. As a matter of fact, even though the *-nun*-added forms are listed in (5), this list is by no means exhaustive. This is due to the idiosyncrasy of Korean where case-stacking is relatively free and the topic marker is often recruited to be stacked with other particles. One peculiarity with this respect is that the topic marker does not always host a nominal, i.e. in terms of strict morphosyntactic analysis, Korean allows for phrasal and clausal topics, and of their fragments, as well as nominal topics.

The reason why the topic marker is so productively recruited for case-stacking is because the topic marker has the contrastive function, i.e., it contrasts its host with other options that appear either explicitly in the text or implicitly implied in the context.

The contrastiveness effect created by the added topic marker seems to contribute to emphasis. However, in general, the contrastive effect of *-nun* in the examples enumerated in (5) above is not very noticeable, a fact that warrants more discussion (cf. Section 4.1.4).

4.1.2 Addition of Sequential Marker

The second cases are those that have added emphasis meaning by means of *-se* as shown in such pairs as *-chiko*, *-chikose*; *-hako*, *-hakose*, *-kilo*, *-kilose*, etc., as shown in (6).

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------|---|----------|--|----|------|---|----------|
| (6) | a. | -chiko | > | -chikose | | e. | -ko | > | -kose |
| | b. | -hako | > | -hakose | | f. | -ko | > | -kohayse |
| | c. | -kilo | > | -kilose | | g. | -mye | > | -myense |
| | d. | -e | > | -ese | | | | | |

Sequential marker *-se*, originally developed from the existence verb *iss-* (cf. <Table 2>), adds the meanings of sequential posteriority, status, and causality. The added emphasis by means of the sequential marker is largely due to the fact that, as it hosts a verbal construct, it is located between its host verbal and another verbal or clausal construct, and the sequentiality meaning between the two events creates a conceptual juncture whereby the two events draw distributed attention. This is well illustrated in the serial verb constructions as shown in (7) in contrast.

- (7) a. *kkuli-e mek-ela*
 boil-NF eat-Imp
 'Boil and drink (water)! = Drink boiled (water)!'

 b. *kkuli-e-se mek-ela*
 boil-NF-Seq eat-Imp
 'Boil (the water) and (only) then drink.'

Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the addition of the sequential marker creates conceptual juncture and thus adds focus to both events, and that the recruitment of this form is a strategy to reinforce the meaning of the host forms.

However, the sequentiality meaning is not always prominent with this sequential marker. For instance, *nal-a o-ta* 'to fly and come, to come flying' and *nal-a-se o-ta* 'to come flying, ?to fly and then come' do not seem to have any noticeable differences. Likewise, the sequentiality effect is not noticeable with the forms given in (6). For example, it is redundant after *-ko* 'and', and even contradictory with *-mye* 'simultaneous'. Therefore, we can say that if we contrast the original form and the form with *-se* added to it, they seem to have some subtle differences, but the difference is not very noticeable. It is even suspected that, in many cases, the native speaker's impression of semantic difference between the forms with and without *-se* is merely due to the implicit assumption that since they are different in form, they "should" be different in meaning as well.

All these point to the hypothesis that the recruitment of the sequential *-se* may have been motivated by the desire for semantic reinforcement, but the resultant reinforcement is not substantial in any way.

4.1.3 Semantically Redundant Cases

Another kind of variation formation, which is attested with many

instances, is the use of semantically redundant morphemes, as shown in (8).

- (8) a. *-ni* > *-nikka*
Addition of *-kka* "Q/Reason", Redundancy
- b. *-nula* > *-nulani*
Addition of *-ni* "Reason", Redundancy
- c. *-nula* > *-nulanikka*
Addition of *-kka* "Reason", Redundancy
- d. *-nula* > *-nulako*
Addition of *-ko* "and", Redundancy
- e. *-ko* > *-kohayse*
Addition of *-hayse* "Connective", Redundancy

As is shown in (8), *-ni* recruits *-kka*, which is a reason/cause marker, incidentally an interrogative marker as well, thus becoming *-nikka*. Semantically, *-ni* already marks the reason/cause, and the addition of another reason/cause marker *-kka* results in semantic redundancy.

Likewise, *-nula* is a target of similar additive operation: *-nulani* with the addition of reason/cause marker *-ni*; *-nulanikka* with the addition of doubly redundant *-ni* and *-kka*; and *-nulako* with the addition of the connective *-ko* 'and'. As for the last case, the addition of *-ko* is functionally redundant because *-nula*, being a clausal connective, has the connective function that translates into 'and', and, therefore, the addition of another connective *-ko* 'and' results in redundancy.

The last case *-kohayse*, since its main element *-ko* hosts a clause as a complementizer, has a number of subvarieties: *-takohayse*, *-cakohayse*, *-lakohayse*, etc. This representative form *-kohayse*, a product of additive process of *-hayse* to *-ko*, is morphologically a little more complex in that it recruits not only the multi-functional connective *-se*, but also the light verb *ha-*. Since the complementizer *-ko* inherently has the connective

function, the addition of still another connective *-hayse* results in redundancy.

The processes of semantic redundancy, and functional redundancy for the same token, are often viewed as vacuous by virtue of their making no substantial semantic contribution. A look into language use shows that redundancy is not only a common practice but also it is often an intended act of the speaker to increase the chances of being noticed.

From a slightly different perspective, however, this type of semantically redundant operation presupposes either that the original form is so weak that it necessitates the use of a supplementary form, or that the new element being added is so weak that its addition does not cause the feeling of awkwardness with the two semantically identical forms being juxtaposed. As a matter of fact, speakers of Korean do not perceive that the newly supplemented forms have any more semantic strength than the original forms without such supplements.

From the foregoing discussion we can come to a conclusion that this particular group of variation formation is, strictly speaking from a semantic perspective, not well motivated, as the newly added elements do not have very much semantic contents. This is reminiscent of the so-called 'exaptation' (Lass 1990), an issue that warrants more discussion (see Section 4.1.4 below).

4.1.4 Addition of Congruent Markers

The last group consists of cases where the original forms appear with other grammatical morphemes that are semantically or functionally congruent with the original forms, as is shown in (9).

- (9) a. *-nula* > *-nulamyen*
 Addition of *-myen* 'if', Added emphasis
 b. *-ntey* > *-nteytaka*

- Addition of *-taka* 'Transfereptive', Added emphasis
- c. *-tun* > *-tunci*
- Addition of *-ci* 'Definitive', Added emphasis

The forms in (9) show that the cause/reason marker *-nula* 'because of' is augmented with the conditional marker *-myen* 'if'. The cause/reason marker *-nula* refers to factual, not hypothetical, condition of causality, and *-nulamyen* does the same. In this context, the addition of *-myen* 'if' does not add strict conditionality, but simply brings in the effect of background setting. This particular use of the conditional marker *-myen* is congruent with the reason/cause marking for its ability to provide a background for the proposition that follows.

The next case *-ntey* becoming *-nteytaka* also shows added emphasis through the additive process. The main function of the transfereptive *-taka*, as noted in Section 3.1, is to signal a focus shift, but the other function it carries, presumably as a result of equally distributed focus, is to add emphasis to a locative (usually an allative or goal object) (Rhee 1996). For this reason *-taka* with the emphatic function goes best with locative markers such as *-ey* and *-tey*.

The last case is *-tunci*, one that results from the combination of *-tun* and *-ci*. The grammatical status of *-ci* is a subject of controversy, often with extreme contradiction among the theses. For instance, Martin (1992: 453) labels it as 'suspective' whereas Ko (1976), Jang (1973) and Suh (1984) assert that it encodes speaker's conviction. It is beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate on the theories of the semantics of *-ci*, but suffice it to say that, following Rhee (2004, 2005b) it has to do with the speaker's emotion, belief, and determinative aspect.

It is noteworthy, however, that even though the recruited particles in the variational formation seem to have potential for semantic strengthening, the resultant variational forms do not in fact contribute much to the increase of the semantic content of the variant forms. That

is, the selection of the particles to be added seems to be fully motivated by semantic reinforcement, but the resulting effect is largely not noticeable. The most common intuitive description of the differences between the original and the variant forms is that the latter are 'simply other ways of saying the same thing.'

It has been repeatedly shown in the preceding discussion that there are many instances that exhibit peculiar change, i.e. addition of certain phonetic, or morphological, elements without much contribution of meaning. This may have to do with the idea of 'exaptation' as suggested by Lass (1990). According to Lass (1990), exaptation is a kind of linguistic recycling, i.e. making use of something for a certain function that differs from its original function, an operation that does not result in substantial increase in semanticity. The topic marker *-nun* and the sequentiality marker *-se* are among the ideal linguistic forms for exaptation since their semantic content is impoverished.

4.2 Phonological Change

The next case involves phonological issues. The change of grammatical forms is actualized in many different levels of grammar, e.g. phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse. In this section we largely focus on the formation of variant forms where phonological adjustments surface prominently.

4.2.1 Addition of (Seemingly) Meaningless Sounds

The first type of phonological change is addition of seemingly meaningless sounds as shown in the partial list of such cases in (10).

- (10)
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|---|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | <i>-se</i> | > | <i>-sellang</i> | Euphony effect? |
| b. | <i>-se</i> | > | <i>-sellamwuney</i> | Euphony effect? |
| c. | <i>-kiey</i> | > | <i>-killay</i> | Euphony effect? |
| d. | <i>-ketun</i> | > | <i>-ketullang, (-kellang)</i> | Euphony effect? |
| e. | <i>-kilo</i> | > | <i>-kilosoni, (-kiloseni)</i> | ??? |
| f. | <i>-key</i> | > | <i>-keykkum</i> | Tensed-sound effect? |

In the examples in (10), it is shown that the original, or most conservative, form *-se* has such variants as *-sellang* and *-sellamwuney*; and likewise, there are other pairs e.g. *-kiey* and *-killay*; *-ketun* and *-ketullang* (*-kellang*); *-kilo* and *-kilosoni* (*-kiloseni*); and *-key* and *-keykkum*.

These changes do not seem to have been motivated by semanticity of the forms, simply because the newly added phonetic elements are non-morphemic (in cases of (10a)-(10d)) or they have no clear semantic relationship to be found (in cases of (10e) and (10f)). If any semantic relation "must" be found, *-soni* and *-seni* in (10e) may have something to do with the reason marker *-ni*, which yet cannot be established. This line of reasoning may indeed be supported by the fact that *-se* in the latter seems to be the sequentiality particle. However, the fact that it is in parallel use with *-so* in the former, which cannot be effectively analyzed morphologically in Modern Korean, leaves nothing conclusive about the issue. In case of *-kkum* in *-keykkum* in (10f) may have to do with the Middle Korean emphatic particle *-kom*, which, again, cannot be established at the current level of research.

From the phonological perspective, these additive changes seem to suggest more aesthetic motivation. I.e., considering that (10a)-(10d) involves the addition of the liquid [l] and/or the nasal [ŋ], characteristics often attributed to child and feminine language for their euphony effect, especially in the case of [l] (cf. Koo 2001), it is suspected that they are simply added to make the new forms "sound better". As a matter of fact,

the variant forms in (10c) and (10d), in particular, are regarded as favored by female speakers.

Phonological motivations with the other two cases are less clear. As indicated earlier, they do not seem to have strong semantic motivation, which leaves us with the option of phonological motivation. Then the additive processes that result in *-kilosoni* and *-kiloseni* seem to have been triggered merely by the desire to increase the phonetic volume of the grammatical form, probably to make it more perceptible. This thesis seems reasonable considering that the semantic bleaching and the phonological weakening concomitant with the progression of grammaticalization may have made the speakers of the language attempt to reinforce the phonetic volume.

In the case of *-keykkum* from *-key*, the addition of *-kkum* of unclear lexical origin may have to do with the tensing effect associated with *-kkum*. The tensing effect has also been considered a characteristic of feminine and child speech (Koo 2001), which makes the pronunciation "sound cute". If this additive process is indeed based on the desire of creating such effect, the change involved in the variant formation has a socio-psychological basis.

4.2.2 Other (Seemingly) Unmotivated Sound Change

There are still other cases that have undergone seemingly unmotivated sound changes as listed in (11).

- (11) a. *-potan* > *-potam*
b. *-ketun* > *-keteng*
c. *-lyemyenun* > *-laymunun*

The examples given in (11) constitute a unique case in that the changes are not characterizable as additive processes, and the motivation

behind them are not clear. We can suspect that the case of *-potan* > *-potam* may have been motivated by coarticulation of the originally alveolar [n] at the labial location along with the first sound having the phonetic value [b] (N.B. it appears as "p" in transliteration). Still this does not make a strong case because the sound immediately preceding it is alveolar [d] (transliterated as "t").

In case of the change from *-ketun* to *-keteng*, the explanation is equally difficult, but as the new variation has the nasal [ŋ], it may possibly have to do with euphony effect as discussed in the preceding section. However, it is by no means clear.

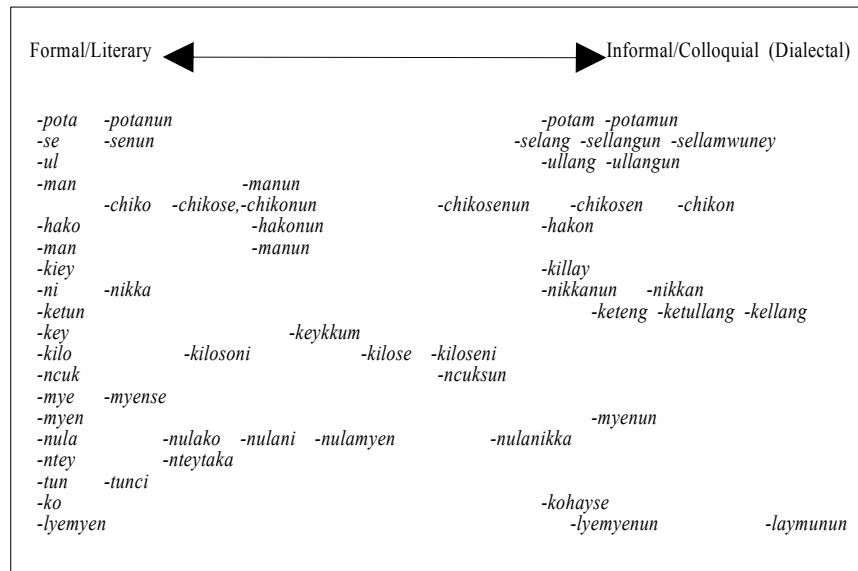
Likewise, the last case, (11c), is mysterious. In terms of phonetic values, the two forms involved may be represented as [lyəmyənun] > [ləmunun]. An evident change is the simplification of articulatory gesture with the loss of glides. Other than this minor economization of articulation, no plausible motivation for this sound change is found.

4.3 Stylistic Motivation

The next aspect of the variations under consideration is the stylistic motivation. <Figure 1> is a rough diagram in which the forms are plotted along the formality/literary and informal/colloquial continuum.

Even though the exact locations of the forms have not been determined by way of formal measurement, it is consonant with the native-speaker intuition in general. The dialectal varieties are plotted along with the informal/colloquial varieties simply because they rarely appear in formal style.

<Figure 1> Scale of Formality/Colloquiality



Among notable observations about the diagram is the fact that the formal/literary variety is usually shorter than the informal/colloquial counterparts. This is due to the later process of addition. On the other hand, among the informal/colloquial varieties, the ones toward the polar extreme tend to be shorter. This is due to the process of contraction. Therefore, in terms of phonological volume there is shortening and lengthening alternating along the way. This fluctuation is well illustrated in the partial list of the forms in more simplified representation in (12).

- (12) a. -pota > -potanun > -potam > -potamun
 b. -chiko > -chikose > -chikosenun > -chikosen > -chikon
 c. -ni > -nikka > -nikkanun > -nikkan

This is particularly interesting, considering that the diachronic developmental order of the forms largely coincides with their relative positions toward the informal/colloquial polar extreme.

One caveat is that not all forms follow this pattern. For instance, the *-se*-derived forms along the continuum show the pattern of uniformly increasing phonetic volume, i.e. *-se* > *-senun* > *-selang* > *-sellangun* > *-sellamwuney*.

One other aspect that merits our attention is that there exists an interesting diachronic fluctuation whose pattern is not consonant with the speaker's intuition that contributes to the style-sensitive selection of forms. For instance, *-man* when affixed to a proposition fully equipped with morphological trappings, i.e. marked with a complementizer, is thought by some lexicographers and grammarians to be a contracted form of *-manun* (cf., however, an alternative hypothesis in Section 3.6). According to this analysis, the *-man*-affixed forms such as *-taman*, *-ciman*, *-kkaman*, *-laman*, *-caman*, etc. are contracted forms of *-tamanun*, *-cimanun*, *-kkamanun*, *-lamanun*, and *-camanun*, respectively.

If this hypothesis is correct, an intriguing pattern emerges. Speakers of Korean largely agree with the idea that *-taman* is more formal than *-tamanun*; *-ciman*, more formal than *-cimanun*, etc. This is also well illustrated in the fact that writings in formal registers, such as newspaper reports and academic papers, the shorter forms are almost exclusively used. Then, the implication of this thesis is this. Historically the short form, e.g. *-taman*, was derived from a long form, e.g. *-tamanun*, in which case the original form, i.e. the longer form, is supposed to have been used in more conservative style. This is a natural assumption because in the situation where a conservative form and an innovative form are 'layered' (Hopper 1987, Hopper & Traugott 2003[1993]), the more conservative form, i.e. the longer *-tamanun*, is associated with the formal register, and the innovative form, i.e. the shortened variant *-taman*, is associated with the informal/colloquial register. However, as noted above, this pattern is exact reverse to the contemporary Korean situation.

There are two possible scenarios for this state of affairs: one explanation may be that when *-taman* has acquired sufficient level of

"standardness" (cf. 'specialization' a la Hopper 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003[1993]) perhaps through sufficient use frequency, the more conservative form was relegated to a peripheral status. The speakers now employ the peripheral, "lower standard", form in informal styles.

The other possible explanation is that when the innovative *-taman* gradually gained supremacy over the original *-tamanun*, the use of the latter decreased, perhaps almost to disuse. A new innovative operation applied to the now standard *-taman*: addition of the topic marker *-un*, a very common process in variation formation as discussed previously.

In absence of conclusive data, both options are equally viable. In either case, as long as phonological shapes are concerned, the path these forms traveled can be represented as (13), and all forms involving *-man* should have traveled analogically similar paths.

(13) *-tamanun* > *-taman* > *-tamanun*

5. Discussions

We now turn to a discussion of the issues raised in the preceding exposition with respect to the grammaticalization theory and the variation phenomena.

5.1 Pervasiveness of Similar Variation

The type of variation under our current investigation, that is, variation of addition, is not a local phenomenon but is pervasive in other parts of grammar, as well. This is well illustrated in <Table 3> in which a number of Sino-Korean-based periphrastic postpositions are listed.

<Table 3> Sino-Korean-Based Periphrastic Postpositions (a la Rhee 2006)

Meaning	Unmarked Form (Highest Frequency)	Variations
regarding, about	<i>-ey tayhay</i>	<i>-ey tayhaye, -ey tayhayse, -ey tayhayese</i>
for	<i>-ul wihay</i>	<i>-ul wihaye, -ul wihayse, -ul wihayese</i>
by	<i>-ey uyhay</i>	<i>-ey uyhaye, -ey uyhayse, -ey uyhayese</i>
as compared to	<i>-ey pihay</i>	<i>-ey pihaye, -ey pihayse, -ey pihayese</i>
because of	<i>-lo inhay</i>	<i>-lo inhaye, -lo inhayse, -lo inhayese</i>
headed for	<i>-ul/lo hyanghay</i>	<i>-ul/lo hyanghaye, -ul/lo hyanghayse, -ul/lo hyanghayese</i>
regarding, about	<i>-ey kwanhay</i>	<i>-ey kwanhaye, -ey kwanhayse, -ey kwanhayese</i>
contrary to, unlike	<i>-ey panhay</i>	<i>-ey panhaye, -ey panhayse, -ey panhayese</i>
restricted to	<i>-ey hanhay</i>	<i>-ey hanhaye, -ey hanhayse, -ey hanhayese</i>
beginning from	<i>-ul kihay</i>	<i>-ul kihaye, -ul kihayse</i>
and, as well as	<i>-ul kyemhayse</i>	<i>-ul kyemhay, -ul kyemhaye, -ul kyemhayese</i>
following	<i>-ey cwunhaye</i>	<i>-ey cwunhay, -ey cwunhayse</i>
adjacent to	<i>-ey myenhay</i>	<i>-ey myenhaye, -ey myenhayse</i>
in connection with	<i>-ey yenhay</i>	<i>-ey yenhaye</i>
with a distance of	<i>-ul kyekhayse</i>	<i>-ul kyekhayse</i>

<Table 3> shows the forms, their meaning, and their variant forms. The representative entry form in the second column is the "unmarked form" in terms of use frequency, i.e. the most frequently used form. The selection of the representative form is based on the token frequency of the forms in the KAIST KORTERM Corpus. Their variations are also taken from the actual occurrence in the same Corpus. It is noteworthy that the representative forms are normally shorter in form, while their variations are usually longer than the representative forms. This is exactly the same situation as the cases we have thus far discussed: the cases of variation formation through additive operation.

One caveat with respect to the selection of the representative form is the methodological fact that the representative, unmarked, form is not necessarily the historically older forms. As a matter of fact, the general pattern of the forms involving the light verb *ha-* 'do' is that *-haye* 'do+NF' is historically older and its variant form *-hay* is the more recent variant. However, the claim being made here, in essence, is that quite a

number of variants are formed by additive processes, as should be evident from the listing.

Furthermore, an analogous situation is shown with the native Korean-Based periphrastic postpositions, as shown in <Table 4>.

<Table 4> Native Korean-Based Periphrastic Postpositions (a la Rhee 2006)

Meaning	Unmarked Form (Highest Frequency)	Variations
contrary to, unlike	<i>-wa talli</i>	<i>-wa talukey</i>
beginning from	<i>-pwuthe</i>	<i>-pwuthem</i>
following	<i>-ul/ey ttala</i>	<i>-ul/ey ttalase</i>
except for	<i>-ul ppayko</i>	<i>-ul ppaykose</i>
in connection with	<i>-ey ie</i>	<i>-ey iese</i>
with a distance of	<i>-ttelecye</i>	<i>-ttelecyese</i>

<Table 4> shows the unmarked forms of the native Korean-based periphrastic postpositions, their meanings and the variant forms. The same situation is replicated here: the unmarked forms, which are of the highest frequency, are shorter, whereas their variations, which, with a few exceptions, are later developments, are longer in form.

5.2 Grammaticalization Principles

The issues presented here warrant a discussion with respect to grammaticalization principles. Among many principles and hypotheses, only those that bear immediate relevance and significant implications are chosen for discussion: unidirectionality in form and meaning, form-meaning parallel reduction, and renewal of grammatical forms.

5.2.1 Unidirectionality in Formal Change

The first issue is related to the unidirectionality principle in change in

form. It is an established fact that linguistic forms undergoing grammaticalization processes tend to experience 'phonological loss'. Lehmann (1995[1982]) defines the phonological loss as the process whereby grammaticalizing forms lose their phonological volume.

However, the data presented here clearly show otherwise; additive processes. One caveat, of course, is that the additive process does not occur in such a way that the self-same form becomes shorter or longer, but that it creates multiple forms that coexist as style-sensitive variations. Since grammaticalization has been largely conceived of a monolinear process, the idea that there are multiple forms forming clusters and that the creation of these multiple forms may often employ additive operation has not received attention to date in grammaticalization scholarship.

Granted that the unidirectionality is not a never-failing principle,⁸⁾ the type of formal variation presented here constitutes a research issue since they show systematicity with respect to the deviance from the unidirectionality.

5.2.2 Unidirectionality in Semantic Change

The next issue involves the unidirectionality in semantic change. From the early studies of grammaticalization, it has been widely accepted that grammaticalizing forms undergo semantic 'bleaching' (cf. "Verbleichung", Gabelentz 1901[1891]; "affaiblissement", "dégradation", Meillet 1912, "thinning-out process", Sapir 1921). According to the concept of bleaching, grammaticalizing forms lose their semantic content or semantic specificity en route. The same idea is presented in the form of semantic generalization, desemanticization, semantic attrition, etc. (Givón 1973, Fleishman 1982, Bybee & Pagliuca 1985, Bybee et al. 1994, Lehmann

8) Hopper and Traugott (2003[1993]: 17) succinctly put it that counter-examples to unidirectionality are a reminder that language change is not subject to exceptionless physical laws, and that diachronic universals are observed tendencies rather than theoretical absolutes (see also Greenberg et al. 1978; Croft 1990).

1995[1982], *inter alia*).

However, as shown in the preceding discussion, the data presented here show otherwise. The variant forms that are in active use do not exhibit any noticeable, or at least more substantial, semantic differences. As has been explicated in detail in the preceding discussion, they show stylistic variations only.

5.2.3 Form-Meaning Correlation

It has also been widely held from early studies that the phonological volume and the use frequency are closely related (Zipf 1935). This claim has been upheld in such studies as Bybee (1985), Dahl (1985), Bybee and Dahl (1989), Bybee et al. (1994), Rhee (2003) and many others. Bybee et al. (1994), in particular, presented the parallel reduction principle, which states that formal reduction and semantic generalization proceed in tandem.

However, the data presented here show otherwise. As was shown in the preceding section, there is no substantial meaning change involved in the formation of variants, whereas it involves considerable formal change, especially an additive one.

5.2.4 Renewal of Grammatical Forms

Our final discussion addresses the concept of renewal ("renouvellement", Meillet 1912). Grammaticalizing forms, after undergoing substantial level of grammaticalization, may be replaced by a longer, innovative, form. Renewal is a mechanism language uses to maintain the level of complexity of the language in the face of ever-shrinking form ('phonological loss') and meaning ('bleaching').

However, the data presented in this paper show otherwise. Even though the particles are grammaticalized forms, the particles addressed

here are by no means at the extreme of grammaticality continuum, as is shown by the fact that many of them still show lexical origin, and in the cases presented in Section 5.1, they are morpho-syntactically periphrastic forms, a fact suggesting that they have not (yet) proceeded along the grammaticalization path to a considerable degree. Therefore, it can be asserted that the occurrence of the additive variation formation is not at the stage of "after undergoing substantial level of grammaticalization". In other words, the innovative forms came into existence while their targets of competition are non-extreme grammatical forms.

6. Conclusion

The discussions in this paper may be recapitulated in the following terms. The grammaticalization processes in terms of both form and meaning cannot be uniformly characterized as reductive processes. Grammaticalization paths are by no means monolinear and uniformly unidirectional, but involve fluctuations and variations especially along such parameters as styles and registers. The additive processes are mostly motivated by the desire for semantic reinforcement, and recruit paradigmatically versatile particles with weak, yet not devoid of, semantic content, suggesting 'exaptation' (Lass 1990), as is well illustrated by the addition of *-nun* and *-se*. Finally, some of the additive processes are purely phonologically motivated in that the ever-shrinking forms are augmented by apparently meaningless sounds whose sole function is to increase the phonological volume, perhaps in order to ensure better auditory perception. Some phonological additions may be motivated by the desire for the euphony effect.

Abbreviations

Acc: accusative; Adn: adnominal; Ben: benefactive; Comp: complementizer; Cond: conditional; Cop: copula; End: sentential ending; Epis: epistemic; Fut: future; Hort: hortative; Pst: past; Neg: negative; NF: non-finite; Nom: nominative; Pol: polite; Prog: progressive; Q: interrogative; Retros: retrospective; Top: topic.

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