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On Interrelation of Instrumental and Ablative*

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Rhee, Seongha. 2007. On Interrelation of Instrumental and Ablative. *Discourse and Cognition* 14.3, 131-153. This paper addresses the issues surrounding the close relationship between Instrumental and Ablative across languages. This inter-categorical relationship is widespread across both time and space. This close relationship often results in case syncretism, and creates the difficulties of case labeling due to lack of isomorphy. This intimate relationship becomes more complicated when the source lexemes from which the two forms are grammaticalized are considered. For instance, Instrumental typically develops from such lexical items as MEET, WAY, MOVE, USE, HOLD, TAKE, SIDE, FLANK, and DEPART, whereas Ablative typically develops from COME FROM, DEPART and LEAVE. This poses an interesting question since some of the semantics of the two source group lexemes is largely antonymous. This calls for the need of evaluating the well-known source determination hypothesis (Bybee et al. 1994) and semantic persistence (Hopper 1991). It is suggested in this paper that grammaticalization process is largely enabled by the conceptual mechanisms along the event schema, a process largely not mindful of semantic clashes between the source and the target meanings, or between the resultant grammatical meanings, unlike the claims of avoidance of antonymy and of form-function isomorphy. This paper presents an explication on this peculiar relationship, based on the cognitive forces that operate in language use from a grammaticalization perspective. In addition to the traditional cognitive mechanisms of semantic change, this paper illustrates how different conceptualization on an event schema can bring forth diverse grammatical markers. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

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Key words: instrumental, ablative, grammaticalization, case syncretism, source lexemes, antonymization

1. Introduction

There is a close conceptual relationship between the grammatical categories of Instrumental and Ablative as is shown in the following examples in English (taken from Blake 2001:173).

- (1) a. battered by/from the gale
- b. wounded by/from shrapnel
- c. smoothed by/from rubbing
- d. warped by/from the heat

This inter-categorical relationship is widespread in the grammatical system across both time and space, as is well illustrated by the Latin “fifth case” (or *ablativus*) that carries diverse grammatical functions, among which are Instrumental and Ablative, e.g. *undis magnis* ‘with/by/from the big wave’¹). This close relationship often results in case syncretism, which creates the difficulties of case-labeling due to lack of isomorphy.²) The case syncretism between the two categories is attested in a number of Indo-European languages including Hittite (Luraghi 1996:46f), Old High German, Middle High German, Greek, etc. In Hindi, for instance, Instrumental and Ablative are encoded by the postposition *se* (Sharma & Vermeer 1972:24, Stolz et al. 2006:142). Likewise, there are languages where these two grammatical concepts are subsumed within the broader grammatical concept of Dative, e.g. Greek, Kannada, etc. (Blake 2001, Luraghi 2003). Luraghi (1987) illustrates that Ancient Greek and Hittite had semantic syncretism of Ablative-Instrumental for ‘condition’, and that there were syntactic syncretisms of Locative-Ablative-Instrumental in Latin,

1) Incidentally, the fifth case (*ablativus*) inflection of *unda* ‘wave’ is identical with the dative (*dativus*) inflection (‘to the big wave’) as the word belongs to the so-called first paradigm of nominal inflection. Dative is also closely related with Ablative and Instrumental, but the present discussion limits its focus to the relation between Ablative and Instrumental only.

2) Ablative-Instrumental syncretism, along with Instrumental-Ergative syncretism is among the most common case syncretisms (Creissels 2006).

and of Dative-Locative-Ablative-Instrumental in Germanic languages.³⁾

This paper addresses the issues surrounding the close relationship between Instrumental and Ablative across languages from a grammaticalization perspective. In Section 2, grammaticalization of Instrumental and Ablative is presented, with special reference to lexical sources and the cognitive mechanisms that enabled the semantic change in each case. In Section 3, the three major issues are addressed: the lexical sources in view of grammaticalization hypotheses and principles; the cognitive mechanism that enabled antonymization or creation of a grammatical form from antonymous sources; and the connection between Ablative and Instrumental with special focus on the shared conceptual components, i.e. agency, causation and status. Section 4 summarizes the observations and presents a conclusion.

2. Grammaticalization of Instrumental and Ablative

The close relationship between Instrumental and Ablative is partly due to their respective grammaticalization processes that converge at a certain conceptual level. This calls for an exploration into the grammaticalization of these functional categories with special reference to their source lexemes and grammaticalization paths.

2.1 Grammaticalization of Instrumental

Instrumental as a grammatical category shows interesting interrelation between the language and the mind, in that it shows the conceptual saliency in terms of use frequency⁴⁾ and the intricate relationship with other grammatical categories, especially with Ablative, as noted earlier, as a result of operations of the cognitive mechanisms (Rhee 2006, 2007a; Koo and Rhee 2006, Rhee & Koo 2006).

As for the source of instrumentals in their grammaticalization, it has been attested across languages that Instrumental develops from diverse lexical sources such as those designating coexistence, grasping, body-parts, and

3) See Leumann et al. (1977:405ff) for details of the history of the Latin case inflection.

4) For instance, Korean Instrumental *-lo* ranks 13th out of 184 postpositional particles, and English *with* ranks 5th among prepositions and 14th among all words according to LOB Corpus (based on Johansson and Hofland 1989:19).

path (Heine & Kuteva 2002), and the diversity of sources contributes to the diversity of the grammatical notions that are associated with Instrumental. Rhee (2006, 2007), based on Heine et al. (1993), Heine and Kuteva (2002), and other sources, shows that Instrumental typically develops from such lexical items as MEET, WAY, MOVE, USE, HOLD, TAKE, COEXIST, SIDE, FLANK, and DEPART.

The sources of Instrumental, both lexical and grammatical, may be categorized in five classes according to their semantic designations as shown in (2).

(2)

	Lexical Sources	Grammatical Sources
Manipulation Group	USE, HOLD, TAKE, MEET	
Association Group	COEXIST, SIDE, FLANK	Associative, Comitative, Contingent
Path Group	WAY	
Source Group	MOVE, DEPART	Ablative
Target Group	(WAY)	Allative

2.1.1 The Manipulation Group

The members of the manipulation group share the core notion of taking possession of or actively manipulating an object of diverse nature. Acquisition of an object, with reference to ordinary human activity, is normally an act carried out with the intention of using it in the future. This state of affairs in the real world has the bearing in its linguistic representation in that the sequential order of 'acquisition' and 'use' is reflected in the morpho-syntax of this instrumental marker, and thus it is likely for the lexical sources of manipulatives to occur in the serial verb construction, which typically encodes sequential events. This is well exemplified in the following Mandarin example taken from Matisoff (1991) as cited in Heine et al. (1993):⁵⁾

5) For glossing grammatical morphemes, the following abbreviations are used: Abl: ablative; Acc: accusative; Comp: complementizer; Dec: declarative; Instr: instrumental; Pres: present; and Sg: singular.

- (3) Taa yòng kuàizi chii bái-cài
 3Sg use chopstick eat cabbage
 'He eats cabbage with chopsticks.'

A parallelism is found in Idoma, as reported in Lord (1989:217), where *bi* 'hold' became a preposition of Instrumental as shown in (4).

- (4) óbi-ewa guwa
 he hold-knife slash.them
 'He slashed them with a knife.'

The notion of sequence in manipulative-derived Instrumental is also found in Korean periphrastic Instrumental *-ul kac(i)ko* 'with', which may be literally rendered into 'take x and'. It is noteworthy in this context that *-ko* is an isolating connective (Koo 1987, Rhee 2007b), and is one of the non-finite markers that participate in serial verb constructions.

The semantic change from the verbs of manipulation into Instrumental is largely due to 'subjectification' (*a la* Traugott 1982, 1989, Traugott and König 1991, Traugott and Dasher 2002), according to which acquisition of an object is viewed as leading to the use of the object as an instrument in future activity. Considering the fact that human actions are viewed as purposeful, this type of subjectification is an exemplary instance of anthropocentricity. This subjectification is fundamentally based on metonymy in that the acquisition of an object and its use are connected on the chain of events.

2.1.2 The Association Group

As for the association group, the development of lexical and grammatical items into Instrumentals involves the perspectivization of human's possession of, or being together with, an object as having to do with using the object as an instrument. It is true that an instrument, in ordinary situations, cooccurs with the user of the instrument. In the development of COEXIST into an Instrumental, the user and the instrument are conceived of as having equivalent degrees of salience, whereas in cases of SIDE and FLANK, the instruments are of lower salience than the user.

The semantic change behind the development of the verbs and nouns of

association or of grammatical items denoting association may be seen as an instance of subjectification. Association of a person and an object is viewed via subjectification as having the potential of the person's using the object as an instrument. Since humans are distinctively credited to the abilities to use instruments, often to the degree of being exclusive property of humans (cf. *homo habilis*, and *homo faber*), this type of subjective inference is also an instance of anthropocentricity. This subjectification with respect to association, as is the case with the manipulatives, is enabled by the world knowledge that an instrument normally occurs with its user. For this reason, the act of using the world knowledge and highlighting a particular aspect (here, the preparatory stage) in the eventive chain is an act of metonymization.

2.1.3. The Path Group

The path group does not seem to have many lexical and grammatical members. However, the relation between the source and the target is straightforwardly clear. The notion of path is so closely connected via metaphor to the notion of means that these two notions seem to be often indistinguishable, as shown by English *way* and *via*. Therefore, the meaning of *by way of* has two meanings: a physical path and an abstract enabling condition. In this aspect, *by way of* and *by means of* are largely interchangeable. This is well attested in Shona, where *nzira* 'path, road, way' developed to *nenzira ya(kuti)* 'on account of, by means of, since' (Marconnes 1931:220).

The semantic change behind the development of WAY into Instrumental seems to have been enabled by metaphorization, whereby enabling conditions or objects are viewed as instruments. The similarity relation in this metaphorization is that as a way provides a physical access to a physical object on a terrain so does an instrument provide solutions to a task.

2.1.4 The Source Group

As for the source group, the verbs of motion such as MOVE (OUT) and DEPART change the location as the point of departure into the source of the enabling force. Thai *caak* 'depart, part' can be used as marking an object as an instrument, though it does not seem to have fully acquired this

grammatical function. Interestingly, this same verb has acquired the grammatical function of Ablative. This type of instrumentality-marking with the source marker is observed in the usage of English *from* in the contexts that suggest instrumentality as in *I drank from the cup*.

The type of cognitive mechanism involved in the semantic change of [Source > Instrument] can be characterized as metonymization in that the direct enabling force is attributed to an object accompanied by its user rather than the user that is more responsible for producing such enabling forces. The focus shift involved in this change is typical of metonymization.

2.1.5 The Target Group

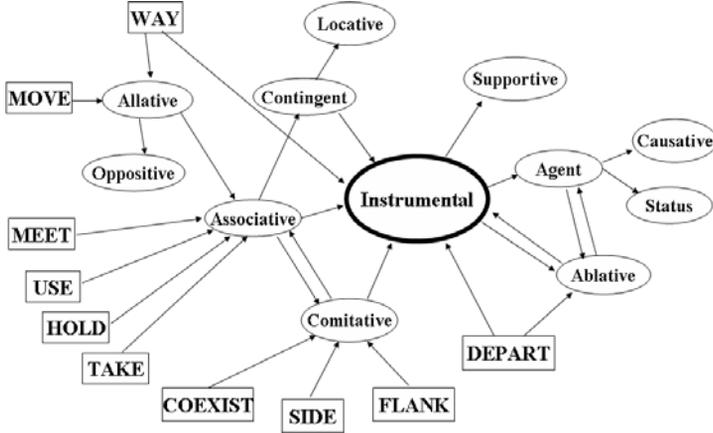
Finally, the target group as represented by Allative, and weakly so with WAY, is unique in that it does not seem, at the first sight, to be consonant with the notion of instrumentality. It is particularly so considering that its antonym Ablative is among the common sources of instrumentality, as noted above. The most critical component of the sense of target in this context is the notion of selection among the possible options. In other words, a particular member is chosen ('target') out of multiple options. The sensitivity of the notion of selection with reference to Instrumental is well manifested in the fact that Korean polyfunctional *-lo*, the marker of Instrumental as well as Directional, is sensitive with options, i.e. existence of alternatives, when used as Directional.⁶⁾ Therefore, the development of target into Instrumental proceeds via Associative (as a result of the selection).⁷⁾

Based on the source lexemes identified in the literature, the grammatical concepts having the direct relevance with the instrumentality may be mapped on a conceptual space, represented as a conceptual network, as in (5).

6) Therefore, there is a subtle difference between *hakkyo-ey* 'to school' with a goal marker and *hakkyo-lo* 'to school' with a direction marker, the latter suggesting an option among other possible options.

7) The cognitive mechanism of semantic change with reference to the chain of movement, i.e. DIRECTION-SELECTION-ASSOCIATION-DEPARTURE, is demonstrated in 3.2.

(5) Cognitive Map of Instrumental



The structure, though the details of which are essentially hypothetical in nature, finds support from the extension patterns of grammatical markers, as explicated in the preceding discussion, and the grammaticalization patterns from lexical sources, based on the panchronic methodology of reconstruction (Heine et al. 1991). The links in the cognitive map are primarily metaphor and metonymy, the latter being more prominent including subjectification. The formation of the linkage is enabled by the conceptual extension mechanism diachronically, but the network supposedly depicts the synchronic distributional pattern.

2.2 Grammaticalization of Ablative

Ablative is also conceptually salient, at least as salient as Instrumental, as is shown by the fact that in Latin as in a number of languages, as noted earlier, there was a syncretism of the Indo-European Instrumental and Ablative. The relative salience of the linguistic representation of these markers does not show disparity, and thus Blake (2001:157) says that it seems that these two cases cannot be distinguished hierarchically.

From a grammaticalization perspective Ablative typically develops from COME FROM, LEAVE, MOVE (OUT), DEPART, etc. according to Heine et al. (1993), and Heine and Kuteva (2002). This is well illustrated by Kikuyu *-uma* 'come

out, go out' that developed into *ku-uma*, the marker of locative/temporal starting point, equivalent to English *from* (Barlow 1960, as cited in Heine et al. 1993), and by Nama *xuu* 'leave, go away' that developed into *xu* 'from' (Lichtenberk 1991, Krönlein 1889, as cited in Heine et al. 1993).

With respect to semantic change, the grammatical concept of Ablative, i.e. marking the source like English *from*, seems to be intuitively transparent in these common source concepts: COME FROM, MOVE (OUT), DEPART, and LEAVE. As a matter of fact, the relation seems so straightforward that one may suspect that there are many isolating languages, in which no grammatical categories are clearly distinguishable in form, where these words function either as verbs of motion or as an adposition of Ablative. This is indeed the case with Thai, where a single linguistic form *caak* 'depart, part' functions either as a verb of motion or as a preposition (S. H. Cha, p.c.; Jung 2006).⁸⁾

It is interesting to note, however, that there are cases that are not consonant with our intuition. Korean, for instance, has Ablative *-lopwuthe*, which was originated from the Middle Korean verb *puth-* 'attach to, adhere to'.⁹⁾ The first element of this Ablative, i.e. *-lo*, which is optional under certain conditions, is a polyfunctional morpheme whose function includes Allative and Instrumental (Rhee 2006, 2007a, Rhee & Koo 2006).¹⁰⁾ Therefore, taking into account all these source concepts and those further developed grammatical concepts found in literature, Ablative seems to form a cognitive map as diagrammatically shown in (6).

8) Similarly, in the history of Chinese, *cóng* and *lí*, both functioning as Ablative in modern Chinese, were functioning as full-fledged verbs denoting departing motion. During the time of lexical-grammatical overlap (Heine et al. 1991) these two linguistic forms should have been ambiguous with respect to their contemporary grammatical status.

9) Cf., however, Kim (1992:309ff) for an alternative view, who postulates the source of this ablative marker to be *puth-* 'come from', homophonic with *puth-* 'adhere'. This position is critically assessed in Rhee (1996) and elsewhere.

10) J. Baik (p.c.), based on OED sense designations and explication on historical sources, suggests that the development of English ablative *from*, which can be traced back to OHG and Gothic *fram* and ON *frá* whose primary sense was 'forward', involves perspective shift resembling antonymization. Since the ablative sense is departure-oriented (departure from a referenced object), whereas the meaning of *forward* is more target-oriented (or at least the forward direction), there is indeed a clear shift in perspectives.

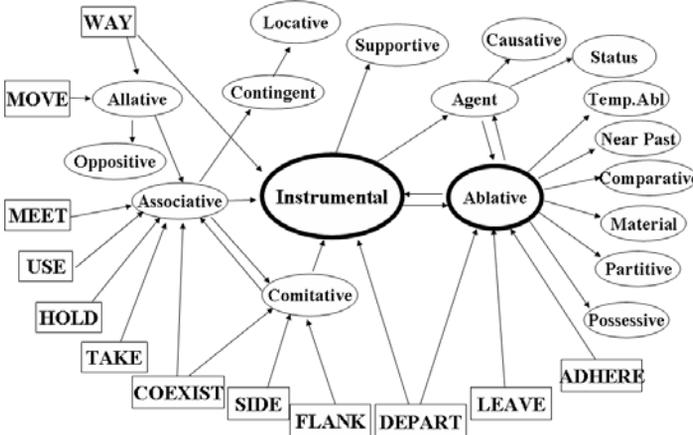
(6)



2.3 Cognitive Map of Instrumental and Ablative

From the foregoing illustration, it is clear that Instrumental and Ablative occupy a certain cognitive space with some degree of overlap. The overlap occurs both in lexical sources and in grammatical categories. The grammatical categories related to these two categories may either feed into these grammatical categories or be derived from them. The composite map of these two grammatical categories, tracing their lexical sources, and illustrating their developmental paths, may be of the following representation:

(7) Cognitive Map of Instrumental and Ablative



3. Discussion

The cognitive maps of Instrumental and Ablative show some overlapping areas, due to their close relationship, and certain intriguing aspects with respect to their differences despite their similarity. We turn to a discussion on some of such issues.

3.1 On Lexical Sources

The lexical sources of the two grammatical markers can be listed as follows:

- (8) Instrumental: MEET, WAY, MOVE, USE, HOLD, TAKE, SIDE, FLANK, DEPART
Ablative: ADHERE, LEAVE, DEPART

A comparison of the two source lists in (8) shows that some of the semantics of the two source group lexemes is largely antonymous. In particular, MEET (of Instrumental) and DEPART (of Ablative) are antonymous, and so are HOLD/TAKE (of Instrumental) and LEAVE (of Ablative). Interestingly, even within the same category, MEET and DEPART (of Instrumental) are antonymous as are ADHERE and DEPART (of Ablative). This poses an interesting question calling for evaluation of the state of affairs in the light of the well-known source determination hypothesis (Bybee et al. 1994) and the persistence principle (Hopper 1991).

The source determination hypothesis states that “the actual meaning of the construction that enters into grammaticization uniquely determines the path that grammaticization follows and, consequently, the resulting grammatical meaning” (Bybee et al. 1994:9). Persistence, as proposed by Hopper (1991:22), states that “when a form undergoes grammaticization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution.” From these principles we would expect that grammaticalization paths undertaken by two antonyms would not converge en route; or that a single form would not take two diverged paths that lead to grammaticalization of two antonymous markers.

Therefore, these principles should be taken as a broad-scale tendency that

may not be strictly observed at micro-level grammaticalization. As a matter of fact, Hopper (1991:28) states that the principle of persistence is not applicable throughout the entire grammaticalization paths since the relationship is often completely opaque by the stage of morphologization but that it may be applicable during the intermediate stages. Conceding that it is not applicable at the late stage, antonyms developing into the same/similar grammatical marker from the outset suggest that these principles are by no means hard and fast rules.

In this context, then, it may be worthwhile to explore the significance of this state of affairs. There are three points to be made with respect to the creation of semantico-functional antonyms as a result of grammaticalization, or the creation of a single grammatical form from multiple antonymous sources.

First of all, any teleological explanations are hard to be supported. Language users do not seem to be mindful of the consequences of language change that occur through their strategic uses of the language. In other words, the avoidance of antonymy and the pursuit for form-function isomorphy are not what is happening in the minds of the language users.

Secondly, the range of semantic change entirely depends upon the pragmatic variability of meaning negotiation. In other words, there is nothing that defines the limit of semantic change other than the range of inferences in communication. Therefore, the question of what type of semantic change is possible is the same as what is inferable in meaning negotiation. In this negotiation, creation of antonymy is not among the concerns of language users.

Finally, the semantic change (and consequently the functional change) must be sensitive to source constructions where the source lexeme is located. Source constructions may have diverse morpho-syntactic trappings that affect the creation of new meaning and function. Some of the devices utilized in the construction may have neutralizing effect. If, for instance, the source lexeme is situated in a serial verb construction, which typically receives a sequential-interpretation, the composite semantics of a verb and a non-finite connective may be neutralized. For example, a construction with a verb of departure, and one with a verb of arrival, once they are in a serial verb construction, may acquire very similar semantics, e.g. [arrive X and] and [depart X and] may both have X as the "departure" point, because of the serializing effect brought forth by the connective "and". This observation

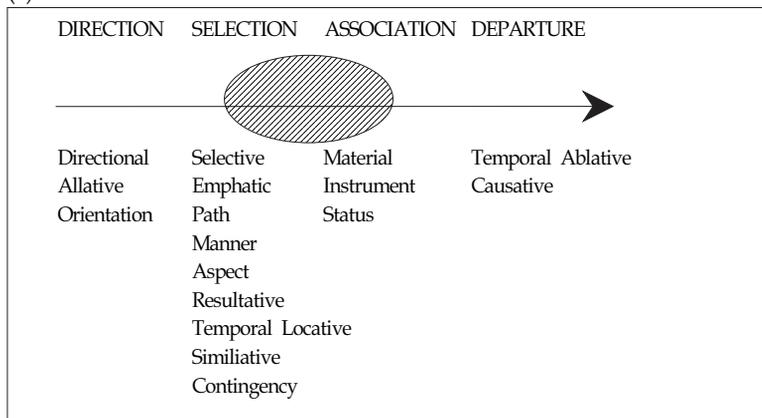
immediately brings our attention to the claim made in Bybee et al. (1994) and Hopper and Traugott (2003[1993]) that grammaticalization typically occur in local context and what is grammaticalizing is not a single source lexeme but the entire construction where the source lexeme is located.

3.2 On Enabling Cognitive Mechanisms of Semantic Change

The problems of antonyms developing into the same/similar grammatical marker are directly relevant to the question of what enables grammatical change. It is noteworthy that such antonyms typically involve conceptual schemata of movement event. The movement with respect to the event schema does not have to be that of locomotion (e.g. COME, GO, etc.) but it may be that of more static relation involving topological features (e.g. OUT OF, INTO, AROUND, etc.). In the current case the antonyms concerned are all that of motion, such as HOLD, TAKE, LEAVE, MEET, DEPART, and ADHERE.

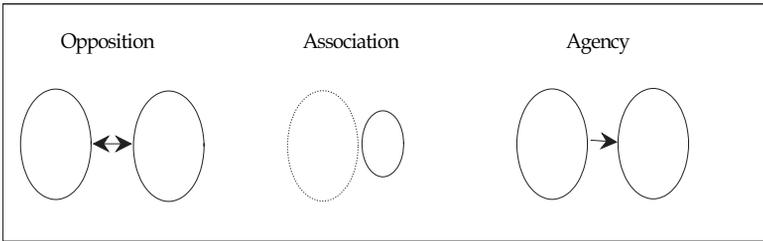
It is suggested in this paper that grammaticalization process is largely motivated by the conceptual mechanisms along the event schema of motion. The differential foci and differential focus-frames render diverse grammatical markers. For instance, the diverse grammatical markers in Korean seem to have evolved from a single movement schema as shown in (9) (taken from Rhee & Koo 2006), where different grammatical markers developed depending on which aspect/phase of the schema they focus on.

(9)

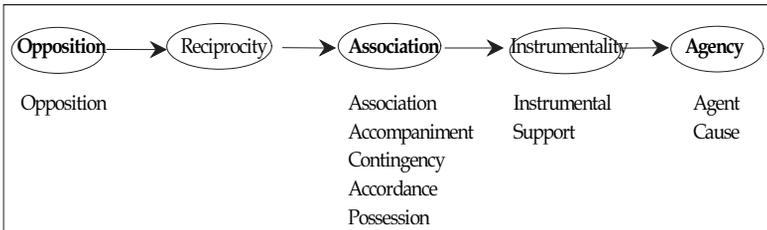


Similarly, English Instrumental seems to be based on the conceptualization of event dynamics that shows the chaining phenomenon among such concepts associated with English *with* as Opposition, Association, and Agency, as shown in the diagram in (10), whose semantic extension pattern is shown in (11).¹¹⁾

(10) Diagrammatic Representation of Dynamics



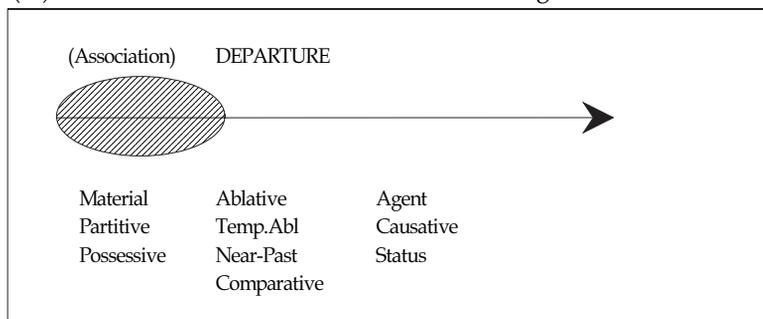
(11) Schema-Based Semantic Extension Patterns (based on English *with*)



In a similar way, the development of Ablative from DEPART or LEAVE seems to be based on a more simpler schema of motion, just because the departure point is exactly what the grammatical marker Ablative points to. Since it is conceptually simpler and lexico-semantically more straightforward, this DEPARTURE-model for Ablative seems to be more often employed as the source of Ablative across languages. This event schema can be diagrammatically shown as (12).

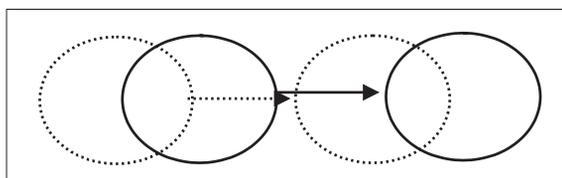
11) The original semantics of English *with* was opposition, which sharply contrasts with the semantics of *with* in modern English. For a detailed discussion, see Rhee (2004).

(12) DEPARTURE-Model for Ablative-Related Categories

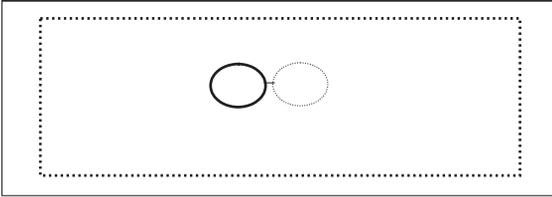


On the other hand, the development of Ablative from ADHERE is rather strange, because from the semantics of the source lexeme, it would seem more amenable if it would develop into Allative, the marker of the goal. Rhee (2000), focusing on the fact that Middle Korean *puth*- 'adhere', Chinese *gen* 'follow', Old French *à* all underwent the semantic change of reversed direction involving 'following', 'accompaniment', and 'departing', presents that the directional reversal is the result of differential focus-framing, i.e. from (13), a focus-free 'following/adhering' schema, to (14), one with the telescopic 'accompaniment' focus-frame and the 'trajector' focus. In the latter, when the trajector and the background are viewed from afar (thus, telescopic), the two entities are viewed as being together. This type of holistic perspective (*Gestalt*) is as common as the analytical perspective (in microscopic focus-frame).

(13) A Focus-Free "Following" Schema



(14) A Telescopic Focus-Frame with “Trajector” Focus



The significance of the notion of frame of focus variation, in the context of discussing grammaticalization of Instrumental and Ablative, is that seemingly antonymous semantics of lexical sources may develop into a single grammatical marker, by virtue of using differential focus-frame which highlights one aspect while glossing over the others. In other words, *DEPART* and *ADHERE* are antonymous in that the first focuses on the starting point whereas the latter focuses on the end-point. However, these two verbs of motion in fact can be plotted along a single movement schema, and the variable focus-frame may result in the grammaticalization of a single, identical, grammatical marker.¹²⁾

3.3 On Ablative-Instrumental Connection

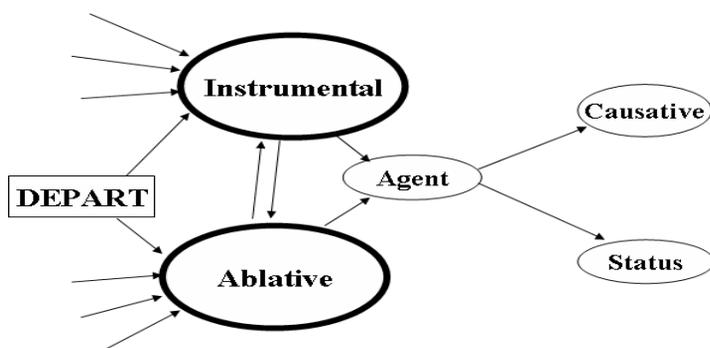
The two grammatical markers, Instrumental and Ablative, show close connections, as has been discussed in the preceding sections. Despite Instrumental-Ablative case syncretism often referred to in literature (Latin, Greek, Kannada, etc. as indicated previously), those cases where a single lexeme developing into the markers of these functions in a single language have not yet been extensively reported. Thai *caak* 'depart, part, leave', as noted earlier, is the source of Ablative (Prasithrathsint 2000), but the same form may have the function of Instrumental with the 'by means of' meaning, even though the level of grammaticalization is not (yet) extensive (S. H. Cha, p.c.).

Despite the paucity of the data attesting such multiple grammaticalization

12) The hypothesis that semantic change involves image schema preservation is not without controversy. For instance, Oakley (2007), in reviewing Rhee (2002), mentions Matsumoto (1995) who argues that, at best, only a weak form of this hypothesis is partially viable (pp. 222-223).

paths in the same language, from the attested patterns of grammaticalization, we can reasonably identify what enables such functional connection. As is obvious from the cognitive maps of Instrumental and Ablative presented in the foregoing discussion, the two have the connective paths, both fed by the source lexeme DEPART, though it may not be as much frequent across languages, and developing into the common concept of 'agent' as shown in (15).

(15)



As shown in (15) DEPART may be one of possible source lexemes of the two grammatical markers. The two have the potential of generating Agent, which in turn develops into either Causative or Status. All of the closely related grammatical concepts, i.e. Instrumental, Ablative, Agent, Causative and Status, have the common semantic component of 'agency' or 'enabling force', either explicitly or implicitly. Such close relationship is attested across languages, and in Korean, for instance, there is a widespread orthographic confusion between *-lose* for Ablative and Status, and *-losse* for Instrumental, as shown in the following:

- (16) a. *khal-losse* (*-lose)
 knife-Instr
 'with a knife'
 b. *pwumo-lose* (*-losse)
 parent-Stat
 'as a parent'

- c. kwukpo-{losse, lose}
 national.treasure-{Instr, Stat}
 'with/as a national treasure'

Examples in (16) show that Instrumental proper is marked by *-losse*, whereas Status is marked by *-lose*. This distinction is often blurred by such cases as (16c), where the noun phrase to which the case particle is affixed is interpretable in either way, i.e. (i) 'it must be honored and protected as a national treasure' or (ii) 'the collection is composed of national treasures'.¹³ This is particularly so when the noun phrase concerned inherently has certain status of its own, such as national treasure. As a matter of fact, this type of relation is attested across languages. In Russian, for instance, Instrumental is closely related to Status (Nichols and Timberlake 1991).

On the other hand, the close relationship between Status and Agent is also attested in Korean *-se*. Korean school grammar describes *-se* as one of the subject markers (i.e. nominative case markers). This is not a productive case marker in that it can be used only with a word indicating the number of persons such as *honcase* for one person, *twulise* for two persons, *seysise* for three persons, *neysise* for four persons, etc. This marker *-se* is best analyzed as Ablative. However, the motivation for the grammarians to analyze this as the subject marker is that this marker seems to encode certain level of agency. This type of agency as indicating force is an inherent component in Ablative as shown in the following example, where 'school' marked by Ablative has the power of compelling others for compliance:¹⁴

13) A remaining problem with respect to Korean instrumental, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, is that the two forms *-lo* and *-losse* that carry the seemingly core sense of instrumental seem to be non-interchangeable in examples as follows (examples provided by the reviewer):

- (1) a. *i chamkose-{lo, ??losse} kongpwuhan haksayingun motwu hapkyekhayssta* 'All those who studied with this reference material passed the test.'
 b. *kunun oynson-{ulo, ??losse} kongul tencyessta* 'He threw the ball with his left hand.'
 c. *ilehkey ham-{??ulo, ulosse} sakolul makul svu issta* 'Accidents can be prevented by doing this.'

This is an intriguing question that involves a division of labor which is commonly found among grammatical markers of a similar/identical function, but since it is beyond the scope of this research, a detailed analysis should await future research.

14) As an anonymous reviewer points out, this *-se* is interpretable as the locative *-se*. In fact, *-se* as a postpositional particle, grammaticalized from the verb of existence *is-/isi-/iss-*, is

- (17) hakkyo-se pwumo-lul o-lako-ha-n-ta
 school-Abl parent-Acc come-Comp-say-Pres-Dec
 'The school (authorities) called (his) parents.'

As for the close relationships between Ablative and Agent, there are numerous languages where these relationships are attested (Garrett 1990).

The patterns of semantico-functional extension with Instrumental, Ablative, Agent, and Causative, as elaborated in the preceding section, seem to be based on the following threads of reasoning.

- (18) a. If A is by means of B, B is the agent of event A.
 b. If B is the agent of A, B caused A.
 c. If B is the agent of A, B has the status (endowed with power).
- (19) a. If A is from B, B is the agent of event A.
 b. If B is the agent of A, B caused A.
 c. If B is the agent of A, B has the status (endowed with power).

4. Summary and Conclusion

This paper addressed the close relationship between Instrumental and Ablative from a grammaticalization perspective. The two grammatical categories are closely connected in terms of their cognitive networks. Three major issues have been discussed: lexical sources of grammaticalization, cognitive mechanisms that enabled the semantic change, and the close connection between these two grammatical categories. This paper also presented an explication on this peculiar relationship, largely drawing upon the cognitive forces that operate in language use from a grammaticalization perspective.

polysemous with diverse functions such as locative (essive/inessive), ablative, sequential, causal and conditional (see Rhee (1996:3.1-3.2) for a discussion on grammaticalization of existence verbs. The usage of *-se* here is closest to Ablative since it implies the source of authority/force, even though it is also interpretable with the pure locative sense. The fact Korean prescriptive grammar labels some usage of *-se* as instances of 'subject-marker' with the nominals denoting person(s) (or the number of persons), as mentioned above, has implications on this issue.

The puzzle that antonymous source lexemes participate in the grammaticalization of these grammatical markers, as argued here, is due to the fact that the mechanisms are based on a single motion event schema, in which the focus and the focus-frames may be conceptually manipulated. Depending on the referenced object's relative position, the grammatical concepts may highlight direction, selection, association, or departure. Furthermore, depending on the relative size of the framed focus, the referenced objects may be either viewed as having a distance between them or as being together.

The two grammatical markers exhibit certain interaction. Such a close connection is based on the notion of 'agency' that is independently derivable from Instrumental and Ablative. From this notion of agency, other similar functions such as causative and status are derived.

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