

Ellipsis and Functional Shifts* ①

Seongha Rhee

(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Rhee, Seongha. 2007. Ellipsis and Functional Shifts *Studies in Modern Grammar* 52, 169-194. This paper addresses the issues centering around grammaticalization and subjectification involving sentential endings. Among the large inventory of sentential endings with diverse functions are those that constitute a unique sub-paradigm whose members have been grammaticalized from complementizers, which, in turn, had been grammaticalized from combinations of sentential endings, a locution verb and a connective (Rhee 2007b). This type of serial change shows an interesting path along which the forms traveled changing their functions from sentential endings to complementizers and back to sentential endings. However, these sentential endings that returned to the original functional category by no means carry the identical semantico-pragmatic functions. The difference is largely due to the acquisition of new meanings en route through extensive 'subjectification' (Traugott 1989). What is involved in grammaticalization of the initial [sentential ending > complementizer] change was extensive leveling of intersubjectification, i.e. counter-intersubjectification. The use of the former complementizer as a sentential ending is also a unique development, and the emphatic force of the new sentential ending is largely derived from the fact that its original function was to bring a reported speech into the matrix clause. The speaker, by employing this new type of complementizer-turned sentential endings, is presenting this new proposition as if it had been already said and it were being repeated this time. This paper discusses various theoretical

* This research is part of a broader scale study on grammaticalization and lexicalization phenomena involving complementizers (see Rhee 2007b, 2008 for related works), and is based on two conference presentations: 2007 Annual Research Forum of the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong, December 8-9, 2007, Hong Kong Baptist University, and 2007 Joint Conference of Korean Association of Language Science and Korean Association for Studies of English Language and Literature, December 14, 2007, Kyungsang National University. The author wishes to thank the audiences, and the anonymous reviewers of the Journal for their suggestions and criticism. All remaining errors, however, are mine.

implications that this phenomenon raises with special reference to the unidirectionality hypothesis in grammaticalization scholarship.

Key words: grammaticalization, sentential ending, complementizer, subjectification, intersubjectification, paradigmatic change

1. Introduction

Korean has a large inventory of sentential endings. The exact number of sentential endings cannot be unequivocally determined and exhaustively listed. It is so because Korean is an agglutinating language and there are numerous grammatical markers combined with the verb forming a complex constellation of verbal morphology, and the number of sentential endings depends on how much to include in this verbal morphology. Sentential endings vary according to sentence types (declarative, interrogative, hortative, and imperative), styles (formal and informal), politeness (polite, non-polite, impolite), honorification (gradient from highly honorific to non-honorific), etc.

In this paradigm of sentential endings is a very unique set of endings that grammaticalized from complementizers. These complementizers were developed from constructions consisting of sentential endings, a locution verb *ha-* and a connective *-ko*. As shall be illustrated later, the development of complementizers involved selection of a representative form from each sentence type, which resulted in extensive leveling of intersubjectification (i.e. counter-intersubjectification).

This paper addresses the issues that relate to grammaticalization, (inter-)subjectification, and functional shifts and their consequences in grammar with respect to complementizers and sentential endings. Certain key notions are addressed in Section 2 and grammaticalization into and from complementizers is described in Section 3. Section 4 addresses

diverse theoretical issues involving this functional shift, such as forces of ellipsis, subjectification, intersubjectification, counter-intersubjectification, functional specialization of grammatical forms, and the consequences of the change in the reorganization of grammatical paradigms. Section 5 summarizes the findings and concludes the paper.

2. Preliminaries: Key Notions

2.1 Silence and Language

Silence in language may be broadly classified as interactional and non-interactional silence. The non-interactional silence is of no immediate relevance to the current research. The interactional type of silence may further be grouped in dichotomy: one in global context and the other in local context. The global categories may branch out to form a complex typology of linguistic silence with a characteristic verbal statement, as shown in (1):

- (1) Silence in global context
 - A. Non-initiation of dialogue
 - (a) Cognitive/Epistemic Silence: "I don't have anything to speak to you about."
 - (b) Conative/Affective Silence: "I don't want to speak to you."
 - (c) Affective/Interactional Silence: "I don't need to speak to you."
 - B. No response (to implicit/explicit solicitation)
 - (a) Cognitive/Epistemic Silence: "I have no information to add to what you say."

(b) Interactional/Conative/Affective Silence: "I don't want to interact with you."

C. Discontinuation

(a) Cognitive/Epistemic Silence: "I have no more to say."

(b) Conative/Affective Silence: "I don't want to say any more."

(c) Cognitive/Epistemic/Interactional Silence: "I don't need to tell you the rest."

Among these complex types of global categories of linguistic silence, the last category of the Discontinuation type may be classified in smaller categories as in (2):

(2) Silence in local context (Ellipsis)

[I don't need to tell you the rest]

a. Cognitive Ellipsis: "You already know this (from some sources)."

b. Cognitive/Interactional Ellipsis: "I already said this."

c. Cognitive/Inferential/Interactional Ellipsis: "You can figure it out now."

The type of ellipsis that deserve attention, especially with respect to their development into sentential endings as discussed in the present paper, is (2b), as shall be illustrated later.

2.2 Subjectification

Subjectification is reflection of speaker involvement in semantic change. Traugott (1989), and Traugott & König (1991) suggest three semantic-pragmatic tendencies. Among these tendencies is: 'Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective

belief-state/attitude toward the situation.' Rhee (2002), expanding the scope of application of the concept, proposes that subjectification may not only be of the speaker, i.e. egocentric, but also of the human-centeredness, i.e. anthropocentric subjectification. Often cited exemplars of subjectification are: the emergence of causal meaning with English *since* and *after*; contrastive and concessive meaning with English *while*. (Traugott 1982, 1989, Traugott & König 1991); and the emergence of preference meaning with English *rather* 'more quickly' and *prefer* 'carry in front'. (Traugott & Dasher 2002). Rhee (2007a) analyzes the semantic change patterns of English prepositions *for* and *before*, as shown in (3) and (4) below:

(3) *for*: (< "front")

[frontal location > temporal anteriority > representation >
cause/reason > support/benefit > purpose > destination > fitness >
advantage/disadvantage]

(4) *before*: (< "front")

[frontal location > temporal anteriority > visibility > prospect >
superiority > preference]

2.3 Intersubjectification

Intersubjectification, in simple terms, is the reflection of speaker's viewpoints with respect to the addressee. It is particularly prominent in selection of lexical and grammatical forms with respect to honorification, etc. (Traugott & Dasher 2002). Exemplars include the use of honorific forms in address. For instance, a number of European languages have the split pronominal system for honorific (the V-form) and non-honorific (the T-form) references for the second person, e.g. French *tu-vous*, German *du-Sie*, Spanish *tu-Usted*, etc. In these languages the choice of honorific

as opposed to non-honorific pronoun, or vice versa, indicates the speaker's decision based on the relation between the interlocutors, and thus exhibits intersubjectification. Likewise, the former distinction of *thou* vs. *ye* (for polite singular reference) in English pronominal systems, that has leveled to *you* in modern English, could indicate intersubjectification.

3. Grammaticalization into/from Complementizer

3.1 Sentence Types and Complementizers

In modern Korean the paradigm of sentential endings is crowded with a large number of grammatical forms that show differential functional specialization depending on diverse parameters of language use. The most important parameter is the sentence type, and the endings may be non-exhaustively tabulated as in (5)¹⁾:

(5) Sentential Endings in Modern Korean (adapted from Rhee 2007b)

Declarative	<i>-ta, -la, -ketun, -a/e, -ci, -key, -ya, -sey, -lyem, -tay, -lay, -tey, -ney, -kwun, -kwuna, -i, -la, -kel</i>
Interrogative	<i>-nya, -kka, -yo, -ka, -na, -ni, -o</i>
Imperative	<i>-la, -o, -key, -ca, -ta</i>
Hortative	<i>-ca, -se, -o, -so, -lye, -key, -la, -lyem, -a, -ta, -ci</i>

As shown in (5), the endings for the declarative sentence type are the most variegated, as can be intuitively expected for its being the most widely used sentence type in language use. In the table, those listed at the beginning (one each except for the declarative that has two) are the

1) For a list of sentential endings that occurred in the history of the Korean language, see Rhee (2008: 592).

representative forms in terms of their token frequency. Interestingly enough, there is a parallelism in the development of complementizers, which vary depending on the type of the embedded clause.

(6) Complementizers in Modern Korean (Rhee 2008: 593)

Embedded Clause Type	Complementizer	Example
Declarative ²⁾	<i>-tako</i>	<i>-ka-n-tako</i> 'that (he) goes'
	<i>-lako</i>	<i>-John-i-lako</i> 'that (he) is John'
Interrogative	<i>-nyako</i>	<i>-ka-nyako</i> 'if (he) goes'
Imperative	<i>-lako</i>	<i>-ka-lako</i> 'that (he should) go'
Hortative	<i>-cako</i>	<i>-ka-cako</i> 'to go together'

The development of complementizers can be diagrammatically presented as in (7) and their source structure and the resultant form in the developmental path can be shown as in (8) and (9)³⁾:

(7) *-ta/nya/la/ca* + *ha* + *ko* >>> *-{ta/nya/la/ca}-ko*
 Sentential Ending say Connective Complementizer

(8) *ku-ka ka-n-ta-ha-ko malha-yss-ta >>> -tako*⁴⁾
 he-Nom go-Pres-Dec-say-Conn say-Pst-Dec Comp
 (Lit) 'He said "(I) am going" and said.'

2) Unlike the declarative sentential endings *-ta* and *-la*, their offspring complementizers *-tako* and *-lako* are of allomorphy and occur in complementary distribution.

3) Even though the cases of imperative (*-lako*) and hortative (*-cako*) are not exemplified for the interest of space, their developmental paths are exactly analogous to the declarative and interrogative complementizers shown in (8)-(9).

4) For interlinear gloss of the Korean data the following abbreviations are used: Abl: ablative; Acc: accusative; Adn: adnominal; Comp: complementizer; Conn: connective; Cop: copula; Dat: dative; Dec: declarative; End: sentential ending; Exclam: exclamative; Fut: future; Hort: hortative; Imp: imperative; Nom: nominative; Pres: present; Proh: prohibitive; Pst: past; Purp: purposive; Q: interrogative; and Simul: simultaneous.

'He said that he was going (=leaving).'

- (9) ku-ka ka-nya-ha-ko mwul-ess-ta >>> -nyako
he-Nom go-Q-say-Conn ask-Pst-Dec Comp
(Lit) 'He said "(Are you) going?" and asked.'
'He asked if (I) was going.'

3.2 From Complementizers to New Sentential Endings

The emergence of the grammatical categories of complementizers was not the end of journey of grammaticalization but is followed by another intriguing type of grammaticalization: development of sentential endings. This development is shown by the usage of the former complementizers in a new function as exemplified below:⁵⁾

- (10) From declarative complementizer to endings *-tako(!)*, *-tako?*,
-lako(!), *-lako?*⁶⁾
- a. na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-tako.
I-also really die-Fut-End
'I am really hard pressed, too.'
- b. ne ches welkup-ul tha-ss-tako?
you first salary-Acc receive-Pst-End?

5) A more detailed description of these complementizer-turned sentential endings can be found in Rhee (2007b, 2008) and Kim (2005)

6) Generally speaking, these complementizer-turned sentential endings have two (or three, if inclusive of the exclamative as a separate category) intonation contours available, a rising intonation for a question and the other falling intonation for a statement. They have different discourse functions, but both originated from an ellipsis (see following discussion). In case of a rising intonation, the basic function of the sentence is confirmation of the addressee's preceding utterance, which is copied as the main content of the clause being uttered.

'You got your first salary?'

c. wuli emma-ka elmana yeypu-tako!
we mom-Nom how be.pretty-End
'My mom is really pretty.' (b&c: Kim 2005: 117)

d. kuke-y palo ne-lako.
that-Nom right you-End
'It's no one but you.'

e. ku salam-i sensayng-i-lako?
that person-Nom teacher-Cop-End
'He is a teacher?'

f. ku syo-ka elmana wuski-n-tako!
that show-Nom how entertain-Pres-End
'How entertaining the show is!'

(11) From interrogative complementizer to endings *-nyako(!)*, *-nyako?*

a. nay-ka kuke-l cal ha-lswuiss-nyako?
I-Nom it-Acc well do-can-End/Dec
'I can do it well?'

b. kuke-y pothong elyew-un il-i-nyako!
that-Nom normal be.difficult-Simul.Adn matter-be-End
'Isn't it extremely difficult!' / 'What a difficult job it is!'

(12) From imperative complementizer to endings *-lako(!)*, *-lako?*

a. nay-ka al-ase ha-ltheyni kekceng mal-lako.
I-Nom know-Conn do-because worry stop-End
'Don't worry since I will take care of it.'

b. na-ltele kekceng mal-lako?
 I-Dat worry stop-End?
 'I shouldn't worry?'

c. ceypal com ppalli o-lako!
 please a.little quickly come-End
 'Please come quickly!, Please do hurry up!'

(13) From hortative complementizer to endings *-cako(!)*, *-cako?*

a. A. icyey pap-mek-ule ka-cako. B. kule-cako.
 now food-eat-Purp go-End do.so-End
 'Let's go eat now.' 'OK, let's.'

b. ceypal com cokum man te ca-cako!
 please a.little a.little only more sleep-End!
 'Please let me (let's) sleep just a little more!'

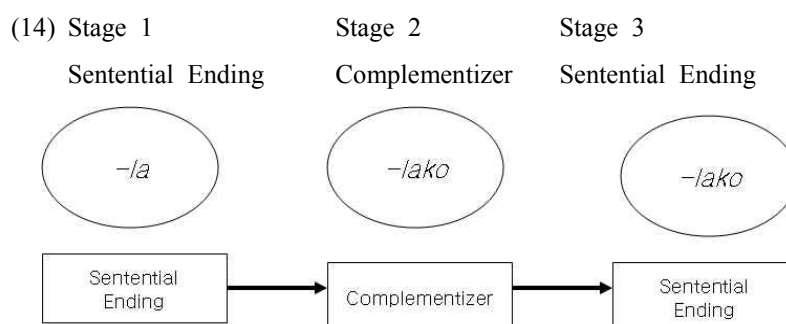
c. pap-pwuthe mek-cako?
 meal-Abl eat-End?
 'Let's (are you suggesting that we) eat first?'

3.3 Formal and Functional Change over Time

The previous exposition of the grammaticalization of complementizers and sentential endings points to the fact that there was a reversion in terms of functions, i.e. the former sentential endings returned to the same grammatical function and they went through a stage of complementizer en route. It is to be noted that the previous sentential endings and the innovative sentential endings do not have the self-same form. This is so

because the innovative endings developed not directly from the traditional endings but from the complementizers that contained these traditional sentential endings as their crucial elements. It is also to be noted that the former sentential endings did not disappear from the paradigm of sentential endings; rather, they are still the most prevalently used members of the sentential ending paradigm. Likewise, those innovative forms did not cease to function as complementizers; rather, the new function of sentential ending branches out of the complementizer. Thus, the complementizer function is still one of the functions (or the primary function) of these forms. This is the typical state of affairs in grammaticalization, called 'divergence' or 'split' (Hopper 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003[1993], Heine & Reh 1984).

The progression of the developments discussed above may be diagrammatically presented as in (14).



4. Discussion

4.1 Forces of Ellipsis

The innovative sentential endings, as compared to the conventional

counterparts, have one defining characteristic: emphasis. The emphatic nuance comes from the source characteristics, i.e. complementizers' reporting function. For instance, the presence and absence of the emphatic nuance is well contrasted in the following pairs formed by conventional endings and innovative endings.

- (15) a. na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-ta. (Conventional)
 b. na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-tako. (Innovative)
 I-also really die-Fut-End
 a/b. 'I am really hard pressed, too.'
 b. << '(I (already)) said, "I'll really die."'

- (16) a. kuke-y pothong elyewun il-i-nya?
 b. kuke-y pothong elyewun il-i-nyako
 that-Nom normal be.difficult matter-be-End
 a/b. 'Isn't it extremely difficult?!' / 'What a difficult job it is!'
 b. << '(I (already)) said, "Is it of regular difficulty?"'

- (17) a. ppalli o-ala.⁷⁾
 b. ppalli o-lako.
 quickly come-End
 a/b. 'Come quickly.'
 b. << '(I (already)) said, "Come quickly."'

7) Unlike declarative and interrogative sentence types, the imperative sentential ending has one peculiarity, i.e. the verb *o-* 'come' has different realizations depending on its environment: the ending in the finite sentence as in (17a) is *-ala*, whereas the one in the innovative form is *-la-* (in *-lako*) rather than *-ala*. This is because the innovative form originated from the complementizers that can get combined with a non-past (for its being an imperative), non-finite verbal forms. This type of difference (i.e. *-ala/-ela* vs. *-la*) is attested across the entire imperative paradigm: *mekela* vs. *mekulako* 'eat', *cwukela* vs. *cwukulako* 'die', *poala* vs. *polako* 'see', *ciela* vs. *cilako* 'yield', etc. (Note that *-u-* is an epenthetic vowel.)

- (18) a. icy pap-mek-ule ka-ca
 b. icy pap-mek-ule ka-cako
 now food-eat-Purp go-End
 a/b. 'Let's go eat now.'
 b. << 'I (already)) said, "Let's go to eat."

As is evident from the examples shown above, the innovative ending forms have developed from elliptical structures involving complementizers. These innovative forms have emphatic function, and this emphatic nuance is attributable to the complementizers that served as the sources of grammaticalization. The statement, question, command, or suggestion is presented as if it had been presented before. The main clause of the complementizer sentence has been omitted (cf. Ohori's (1995) 'suspended clause').

In this context the discussion of the linguistic silence is in order. It was pointed out earlier that the type of ellipsis utilized in the grammaticalization of complementizers into sentential endings is the cognitive, interactional ellipsis that may be represented in the form of shorthand proposition "I already said this." Instead of saying the main clause, thus completing the sentence that contain a subordinate clause, the speaker at this current context is simply stopping the utterance midway after the uttering the complementizer. The appearance of the complementizer suggests to the addressee that what the speaker just said is not a complete sentence but one where the main clause is missing, and that what the speaker said is a report, something that already has been said by either the speaker or someone else. The addressee is now in the quandary: the content introduced by the seeming complementizer is not a repetition or a report but the first-time utterance, and yet the speaker put it in the quotative device, i.e. complementizer. Now the

addressee uses pragmatic inferencing to make sense out of this anomaly, and the result is the hypothesis that the speaker says this with the linguistic encoding of quotation simply because the veracity of the proposition is so obvious with respect to the current context. Therefore, the original representative statement "I already said this" is more amenable in the form of "The situation is so obvious that it is as if I had said this before."

4.2 Subjectification & Intersubjectification

The development of emphatic markers, as illustrated above, is enabled by subjectification, because emphasis, *per se*, is based on subjective decision. As noted earlier, the emphasis is derived from the speaker's presentation of a proposition as if it had been previously uttered. This is why the emphatic endings often tend to yield the nuances of irritation (see discussion below).

One interesting aspect of the development is that the leveling of sentential endings in grammaticalization of complementizers resulted in cancellation of intersubjectification. This is inevitable in a language like Korean, where all sentential endings form a paradigm whose members have elaborate and differing politeness and honorification features. Just like the choice of pronominal forms in most European languages, the choice of sentential ending in Korean is a decision enabled by intersubjectification. Since it was only the representative form from each paradigm that was recruited for the development of complementizers, a large scale leveling was inevitable. This process, therefore, suggests that unlike the widely-held view, intersubjectification may not be unidirectional (cf. Traugott & Dasher 2002). In other words, the procession of change

from sentential endings to complementizers to sentential endings involves intersubjectification (in the development of the conventional sentential endings), counter-intersubjectification (in the development of the complementizers), subjectification (in the development of emphatic sentential endings), counter-intersubjectification (in the development of sentential endings), and intersubjectification (in the development of further sentential ending paradigm) (see below for further elaboration).

4.3 Functional Layering & Division of Labor

The innovative forms and conventional forms form multiple layers in the paradigm of sentential endings. Innovative forms and conventional forms are engaged in a division of labor with differential shades of meanings. Innovative forms carry more emphasis and more illocutionary forces; but the forces may change depending on contexts. With similarly contrasted forms in the previous discussion the semantico-functional distinction is more readily visible.

- (19) a. na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-tako. (innovative)
 b. cwuk-keyss-ta. (conventional)
 I-also really die-Fut-End/Dec
 'I am really hard pressed, too.'

In the above paired sentences, (19a) has the nuance of being more emphatic, imploring, and/or irritated, whereas (19b) has the nuance of its being the first-time revelation.

- (20) a. wuli emma cengmal yeypu-tako! (innovative)
 b. yeypu-ta. (conventional)
 we mom really be.pretty-End/Exclam

'My mom is really pretty.'

- c. ne ches welkup-ul tha-ss-tako? (innovative)
d. tha-ss-e/supnikka...? (conventional)
you first salary-Acc receive-Pst-End/Q?
'You got your first salary?'

In (20a) there is the nuance of challenge (thus interactional), whereas (20b) is a genuine exclamation on newly found state, or an assertion/statement. Similarly, (20c) has the nuance of the proposition's being second-hand information, thus suggesting that the speaker already has reasons to believe that 'you' received the first salary, and (20d) is a genuine inquiry. The same type of parallelism is observed with other endings as shown below:

- (21) a. kuke-y palo ne-lako. (innovative)
b. ne-ta. (conventional)
that-Nom right you-End/Dec
'It's no one but you.'
c. ku salam-i sensayng-i-lako? (innovative)
d. sensaying-i-ya/pnikka...? (conventional)
that person-Nom teacher-Cop-End
'He is a teacher?'/Is he a teacher?'

In the paired sentences above, (21a) has the nuance of challenge, reprimand, etc., whereas (21b) has the nuance of the first-time revelation, or an assertion. Likewise, (21c) has the nuance of surprise, incredulity, etc., and (21d) is a genuine inquiry.

- (22) a. ceypal com ppalli o-lako! (innovative)

b. o-ala (conventional)
 please a.little quickly come-End/Imp
 'Please come quickly!, Please do hurry up!'

c. nay al-ase ha-ltheyni kekceng-mal-lako. (innovative)

d. kekceng-mal-ala/seyyo.. (conventional)
 I know-Conn do-as worry-Proh-End
 'Don't worry since I will take care of it.'

Example (22a) has the nuance of imploring, irritation, etc., whereas (22b) is a genuine command/request. Similarly, (22c) has the nuance of intimacy, assurance, etc., whereas (22d) is a genuine prohibitive imperative sentence.

(23) a. icy pap-mek-ule ka-cako (innovative)

b. ka-ca (conventional)
 now food-eat-Purp go-End/Hort
 'Let's go eat now.'

Example (23a) has the nuance of intimacy, the obviousness of the situation warranting the proposed action, etc., while (23b) is a plain request of a joint action.

However, there exists one interesting semantic function associated with the innovative form: indirectness, and thus politeness (Kim 2005), as shown in the following example:

(24) a. aphulo cal cinay-cako. (innovative)

b. cinay-ca. (conventional)
 'Let's stay in good terms.'

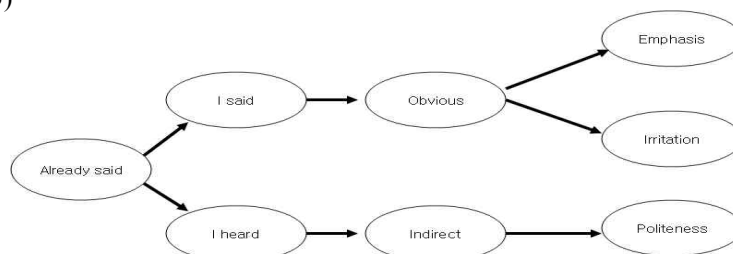
In the examples above, (24a) is more intimate, indirect, non-assertive,

and polite, whereas (24b) is more direct and assertive.

This last case is rather interesting because the most salient function of the innovative forms is that of emphasis, which in a sense is contradictory to this function, i.e. indirectness that gives rise to such nuances of mitigation and weakening.

Emergence of this mitigating meaning from the innovative forms developed from complementizers is attributable to the fact that complementizers, being inseparably related to the reporting function, inherently have a potential of indirectness meaning. In other words, the emphatic function is derivable from the conceptualization that the speaker is the same as the speaker of the previous utterance, thus repetition is equated with emphasis. The mitigative function, on the other hand, is derivable from the conceptualization that the speaker is not the same as the speaker of the previous utterance, thus the information from other sources is equated with the lack of the speaker's commitment to the veracity of the proposition.⁸⁾ The functional divergence resulting from the conceptual divergence can be diagrammatically presented as in (25):

(25)



8) As a matter of fact, the source of the information in the case of indirectness does not have to be different from the current speaker. The speaker, in a strategic way, may present the proposition as if it were of some other source. By using the complementizer-turned sentential ending the speaker already detaches the utterance from his or her own direct speech act. This has to do with the objectification of a proposition, whereby a proposition becomes an object from an act.

4.4 Consequences in Grammar

The innovative forms constitute a new sub-paradigm with increased versatility. In other words, they are used in different sentence types and syntagmatic contexts. This is well illustrated in the following examples:

(26) Declarative-derived *-tako/lako* in interrogative sentences

a. ne ches welkup-ul tha-ss-tako? (innovative *-tako*)

*b. tha-ss-ta? (conventional *-ta*)

you first salary-Acc receive-Pst-End/Dec?

'You got your first salary?'

As shown in the above, the conventional declarative ending cannot be used in an interrogative sentence, whereas the innovative form can be freely used as such, in which case the question meaning is associated with the confirmation function.

The versatility of the innovative form is also attested in the following examples where the declarative-derived ending is used in the *wh*-exclamative sentence (27), and where the interrogative-derived ending is used in the first-person-subject question sentence (28):

(27) Declarative-derived *-tako/lako* in *wh*-exclamative sentences

a. wuli emma elmana yeypu-tako! (innovative *-tako*)

*b. yeypu-ta/e! (conventional *-ta/e*)

we mom how be.pretty-End/Dec(Exclam)

'How pretty my mom is!'

(28) Interrogative-derived *-nyako* in first-person-subject interrogative sentences⁹⁾

9) Example (28b) may be grammatically correct but its awkward interpretation renders it pragmatically unacceptable or marginally acceptable at best. The lack of acceptability is

- a. *nay-ka kuke-l cal ha-lswuiss-nyako?* (innovative *-nyako*)
 ?/*b. *ha-lswuiss-nya?* (conventional *-nya*)
 I/you-Nom it-Acc well do-can-End?
 'I can do it well?'

Another aspect that deserves attention with respect to the change in grammar is a remedial change. As was pointed out in the previous discussion, the consequence of the development of complementizers into sentential endings was a massive leveling of intersubjectivity-encoding devices. To make up for the loss of the fine-grained intersubjectification previously associated with the sentential endings, the innovative forms create a new set of intersubjectified endings, as some of which are listed below:

- (29) a. Addition of politeness marker *-yo* (not allowed when complementizer)
 b. Addition of fully inflectional sentential endings:
 (i) *-malipnita* [saying-be-Form.End]
 (ii) *-maliyeyyo* [saying-be-Inform.Pol.End]
 (iii) *-maliya* [saying-be-Inform.End]
 (iv) *-malici* [saying-be-Determ.End]
 (v) *-maliciyo* [saying-be-Determ.Pol.End]

This type of reparative change in (29a) suggests that the politeness coding is a very important grammatical concept in Korean. In other words, the speakers of this language find it uncomfortable to use

attributable to the clash between the facts that a bona fide question presupposes the absence of the inquirer's knowledge with regard to the content of the question and that the speaker is the best person who has the knowledge about his/her own abilities.

politeness-bare endings when the relative status of the addressee warrants explicit grammatical coding of politeness and/or honorification for socio-pragmatic reasons.

The type of change illustrated in (29b) is also interesting in that the source structures with which these forms arose are not straightforwardly grammatical: the use of nominal *mal* 'saying/utterance' (note that this is neither a gerundival nor a verbal in Korean) is a kind of meta-textual usage. This can be illustrated in the following examples:

- (30) a. *cengmal wuski-n-tako!*
really be.funny-Pres-End
b. *cengmal wuski-n-tako-mal-i-pnita.* (cf. (29b(i))).
really be.funny-Pres-End-saying-be-Form.End
a/b. 'It's ridiculous! / It's funny!'

There are two points to be noted with (30b). One is that the original structure of the ending is that of an added matrix clause that can roughly translated as "The saying is that..." From a structural perspective it is syntactic downgrading of the former full-fledged sentence into a subordinate clause.

The other is that from the strict structural perspective, the new addition of *malipnita* is a grammatically unacceptable operation: i.e., since *mal* 'saying/utterance' is a nominal it requires an adnominalizer to precede it. The emergence of this incongruous structure may have been enabled through two paths: one through analogy with a form that involves the simultaneous adnominalizer *nun*, i.e. *-tanun* analogically enabling *-tako*. The other possibility is through omission of a syntactically more complex

yet more complete structure involving adnominalizer, i.e. phonological/morphological erosion from *-takohanun mal* to *-tako mal*.

Regardless of the specific path the forms have taken, one benefit of using meta-textual *mal* 'saying/utterance' is that the original utterance is objectified and equated with the meta-textual term *mal*, and thus the direct illocutionary force of the original utterance is weakened because the propositional content of the utterance is conceptually further detached through this operation of syntactic downgrading. The effect of this syntactic manipulation is rather desirable since the intention of the reparative action was to reinvent the now-lost linguistic coding of intersubjectivity.

The consequences of the grammaticalization of complementizers into sentential endings include phonological change in the sentential ending paradigm. Phonological change has often been considered an important concomitant of grammaticalization phenomena. Some of the phonological changes that occurred to the sentential endings under discussion are as shown in (31):

- (31) a. Slight formal change from *-ko* to *-kwu* (not standard when complementizer)
- b. Erosion of *-ko* from the *-malipnita*-type endings resulting in:
- (i) *-takomalipnita* > *-tamalipnita*,
 - (ii) *-lakomalipnita* > *-lamalipnita*
 - (iii) *-nyakomalipnita* > *-nyamalipnita*
 - (iv) *-cakomalipnita* > *-camalipnita*, etc.

The changes discussed in this paper can be summarized as in (32).

on subjective, strategic decision. Due to the creation of multiple layers of similar functions, the near-synonymous functional markers are now in division of labor, in which the innovative forms tend to carry delicate semantic nuances. The creation of a new set of sentential endings brings into grammar new sets of sentential endings necessitated by the restrictions of use due to previous loss of the markers of intersubjectification.

References

- Heine, Bernd and Mechthild Reh. 1984. *Grammaticalization and Reanalysis in African Languages*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. On Some Principles of Grammaticization. Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds). *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. 2 vols., Vol. 1, 17-35. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2003[1993]. *Grammaticalization*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, Su Tae. 2005. *Machimpep Sikkuthuy Yunghapkwa Ku Hankyey* [Fusion of Sentential Endings and Its Limit]. Seoul: Pakiceng Publishing.
- Ohori, Toshio. 1995. Remarks on Suspended Clauses: A Contribution to Japanese Phraseology. Masayoshi Shibatani and Sandra A. Thompson (eds). *Essays in Semantics and Pragmatics in Honor of Charles J. Fillmore*, 201-218. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2002. Semantic Changes of English Preposition *against*: A Grammaticalization Perspective. *Language Research* 38.2, 563-583.

- Rhee, Seongha. 2007a. What is it for if it's before me?: Subjectification and Grammaticalization of English *for* and *before*. *Studies in British and American Language and Literature* 84, 209-231. The British and American Language and Literature Association of Korea.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2007b. Through a Borrowed Mouth: Reported Speech and Subjectification in Korean. Paper presented at the 33rd Annual Forum of LACUS (Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States), July 24-28, 2007, Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, KY, USA.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2008. Subjectification of Reported Speech in Grammaticalization and Lexicalization. *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics* 12, 590-603.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1982. From Propositional to Textual and Expressive Meanings: Some Semantic-Pragmatic Aspects of Grammaticalization. Lehmann, Winfred P. and Yakov Malkiel. (eds). *Directions for Historical Linguistics: A Symposium*, 245-271. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1989. On the Rise of Epistemic Meaning in English: An Example of Subjectification in Semantic Change. *Language* 57, 33-65.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. & Richard Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. & Ekkehard König. 1991. The Semantics-Pragmatics of Grammaticalization Revisited. Elizabeth C. Traugott, and Bernd Heine. (eds). *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. 2 vols., Vol. 1, 189-218. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Department of English Linguistics
College of English

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
270 Imun-dong Dongdaemun-gu Seoul
130-791 Korea
Telephone: +82-2-2173-3171
E-mail: srhee@hufs.ac.kr

Received:
Revised version: