

Grammatical Forms with an Attitude: Grammaticalization of Auxiliary Verbs in Korean*

1. Introduction

- Korean is an agglutinating language with an SOV word order.
- Korean has a large inventory of auxiliary verbs (about 330 auxiliaries grammaticalized from about 60 verbs through verb serialization, *a la* Koo & Rhee, forthcoming).
- Most auxiliary verbs carry the function of marking TAM (tense, aspect, mood and modality).
- An interesting group of auxiliaries signals the speaker's negative evaluative attitude toward the event being described or the sentential subject.
- Language and culture/experience are intertwined and interactive often to the point of inseparability, and cultural aspects affect language and linguistic change. (Sapir 1931, 1949[1912], Nida 1954, Whorf 1956, Pawley 1987, Perkins 1992, Heine 1997, Wierzbicka 1979 "ethnosyntax", Enfield 2002, Koo 2004, Everett 2005, Gladkova 2015, Koo & Rhee 2016, Beck 2016)

(1)	a. Motion	<i>ka-</i> 'go'
	b. Posture/Withdrawal/Cessation	<i>anc-</i> 'sit'; <i>mal-</i> 'stop'
	c. Physical Contact	<i>tay-</i> 'touch'
	d. Explosion/Incontrollability	<i>theci-</i> 'burst'
	e. Accumulation	<i>ssah-</i> 'pile up'
	f. Deviation	<i>ppaci-</i> 'fall (into)'; <i>cappaci-</i> 'fall back'
	g. Displacement	<i>pele-</i> 'throw away'; <i>chiwu-</i> 'remove'; <i>ceykki-</i> 'put aside'
	h. Ingestion	<i>mek-</i> 'eat'; <i>chemek-</i> 'eat'

- These verbs have gained, or are gradually gaining, the auxiliary verb status, losing the original semantic content and gaining the function of marking the speaker's viewpoint.
- The developments of many of these are largely due to culture, either uniquely Korean or across languages, with respect to the meanings denoted by the verbs involved.

[Objectives]

- To illustrate the grammaticalized functions and grammaticalization processes of the 13 lexical verbs
- To show how culture is mirrored in language, and how grammatical forms are derived from culture (Heine 1997, Chaput 1997, Sinha & López 2000, Witherspoon 1980, Rhee 2003, Koo & Rhee 2016, inter alia)

2. Data

2.1 Verb of Motion (*ka-* 'go') (cf. Kim 1990, Son 1994, Lee 1996, Rhee 1996, for Korean; Lichtenberk 1991 for Vangunu; Marchese 1986, Hall 1953, for Haitian Creole; Frajzyngier 1987 for Chadic languages; Li & Thompson 1981, for Mandarin, etc.)¹⁾

- *ka-*: 'go' as a lexical verb

(2)	<i>na-nun</i>	<i>pwukkyeng-ey</i>	<i>ka-n-ta</i>
	I-TOP	Beijing-to	go-PRES-DEC
	'I'm going to Beijing.' (PDK)		

*This research is based on ongoing joint research with H. J. Koo on grammatical marking of stance in Korean.

1) The list of languages and references (other than Korean) is mostly taken from two lexicons: Heine et al. 1993 and Heine & Kuteva 2002. Korean data cited from literature are converted into the Extended Yale Romanization System (Rhee 1996), and morphemic analysis, interlinear glossing and interpretation (and literal meaning) are added by the author.

- *e.ka-*: Continuative and Change-of-State aspect marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb, often with Negative evaluation of the change (possibly from the 15th c.)

- (3) a. *is-nAn az-i ta hul-e.ka-ni*
 exist-ADN sibling-NOM all scatter-AUX-CONN
cip-i cwuk-umye sal-om mwul-ol-tAy ep-tota
 house-NOM die-and live-NOMZ inquire-ADN-place not.exist-EXCL

‘Since all my siblings scatter (due to the war) there’s no one I can ask about my family’s life and death.’ (有弟皆分散) (Lit. Since all my siblings scatter and go away...) (1481, *Dusienhay Chokanpon* 8:36b; 月夜憶舍弟 by Du Fu)

- b. *hwanyul-i olu-a.ka-n-ta²⁾*
 exchange.rate-NOM rise-AUX-PRES-DEC

‘The exchange rate is going up (unfortunately).’
 (Lit. The exchange rate rises and goes.) (cf. *olu-a.o-n-ta*: desirable; *o-* ‘come’) (PDK)

- c. *hyelap-i olu-a.ka-te-ni icey nayli-e.o-n-ta*
 blood.pressure-NOM rise-AUX-RETRO-CONN now come.down-AUX-PRES-DEC

‘The blood pressure rose and now it is coming down (to normal).’
 (Lit. The blood pressure rose and went away and now it moves down and comes.) (PDK)

2.2 Verbs of Sedentary Posture & Withdrawal/Cessation (*anc-* ‘sit’, *mal-* ‘stop’) (cf. Lee 1992, Son 1994, Rhee 1996, 2003b, Koo 2013, Koo & Rhee 2016, for Korean; Subbarao 1979, Arun 1992 for Telugu; Goddard 1985, Austin 1998, for Yankunyjtajara; Stolz 1992 for Dutch; Kuteva 1999 for Bulgarian; Newman & Schuh 1974 for Kanakuru; Hannan 1987 for Shona, Boretzky 1988 for Sudan Arabic)

- *anc-*: ‘sit’ as a lexical verb

- (4) a. *yeki anc-ala* b. *say-ka namwuskaci-ey anc-ass-ta*
 here sit-IMP bird-NOM tree.branch-LOC sit-PST-DEC
 ‘Sit here.’ ‘A bird sat (alighted) on a tree branch.’

- *ko.anc-*: Contemptible Habitual marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (& Continuative, Progressive Aspect) (N.B. Past tense in form (with *-ass-* PST) but present continuative in meaning) (from PDK, strongly emotive, and thus generally avoidable)

- (5) a. *ku-nun cam-man ca-ko.anc-ass-ta*
 he-TOP sleep-only sleep-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘He is only sleeping (not doing anything else!)’ (Lit.: ‘He only slept and sat down.’) (PDK)
- b. *kyay-nun congil chwukkwu-man ha-ko.anc-ass-ta*
 that.guy-TOP all.day soccer-only do-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘That guy only plays soccer all day long (not doing anything else!)’
 (Lit.: ‘That guy only played soccer and sat down all day.’) (PDK)

2) The AUX *-a ka-* is a variant form of *-e ka-* (phonologically-controlled allomorphy for vowel harmony). The same applies to all other AUXs of *-e* forms.

c. (an inmate to an executive journalist over the phone, in verbal confrontation)

i casik-i etta-tayko panmal-kka-ko.anc-ass-nya³⁾
 this wretch-NOM where-to half.talk-do-AUX-PST-Q

‘To whom is this wretch speaking in half-talk!’

(Lit. ‘... spoke in half-talk and sat...’) (PDK, KAIST KORTERM #3618)

• *mal-*: ‘stop’ as a lexical verb

(6) *nolastAoy-n ansayk mal-mye*
 be.playful-ADN facial.expression stop-CONN

‘Stop showing (Do not show) playful expression and...’ (1475, *Nayhwun* 1:7b)

• *ko.mal-*: Negative counter-expectation marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (Cessative, Completive); Auxiliary usage first attested at the turn of the 20th c.

(7) a. *kimssi-ka tutie cip han chay-lul cis-ko.mal-ass-ta*
 Mr.Kim-NOM at.last house one CLSF-ACC build-AUX-PST-DEC

‘Mr. Kim finally built a house (that he should not have).’

(Lit. ‘... built a house and stopped’) (PDK, Koo 2013: 17)

b. *sakwan twul-i ... epsy-e.ci-ko.ma-ni kapphan wu-ey-nAn talpis-spwun-i-o*
 officer 2-NOM disappear-AUX-AUX-CAUS deck top-LOC-TOP moonlight-only-be-END

‘As the two officers... disappear [into darkness] (adding to the eerily quiet atmosphere on a boat in the sea), there is the moonlight only on the deck.’

(Lit. ‘... disappeared and stopped...’) (1912, *Twukyenseng* 1168)

2.3 Verb of Physical Contact (*tay-* ‘touch’) (cf. Choe 1937, J. Lee 1976, Yu 1980, Son 1996, Rhee 1996, 2003c, Park 2004, Lee 1992, Kim 1990, Kim 2016, for Korean)

• *tay-*: ‘touch’ as a lexical verb

(8) *i kikyey-ey son-ø tay-cima-si-o*
 this machine-at hand-ACC touch-PROH-IMP

‘Do not touch this machine.’ (PDK)

• *e.tay-*: Recklessness, excessivity marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (& Continuative, Iterative aspects); Auxiliary usage first attested at the turn of the 20th c., with intensity meaning, but without negative evaluation. Negative evaluation is acquired in PDK.

(9) a. *estehA-nka ku.casik-ul pelus-ul kaluchi-l caktyeng-ulo*
 how-Q that.wretch-ACC attitude-ACC teach-ADN plan-as
nolni-e.tAy-ci.ani-lya-na
 trick-AUX-NEG-INTEN-Q

‘How’s that? Wouldn’t you (join me to) play trick on that conceited wretch to teach him a lesson or two? (tricking him repeatedly and seriously)’ (Lit. ... trick and touch that wretch) (1911, *Cyukyeyelwu* 1:19)

3) *Panmal* ‘half talk’ is a speech style with no honorification/politeness marking, usually among close friends or directed to social inferiors. Its use is strongly unacceptable and avoidable elsewhere.

b. *ton-ul emcheng ssu-e.tay-n-ta*
 money-ACC much use-AUX-PRES-DEC
 ‘(He) keeps spending lots of money recklessly (He must be insane...).’
 (Lit.: ‘(He) spends and touches money very much.’) (PDK)

c. *ay-ka hangsang wul-e.tay-n-ta*
 child-NOM always cry-AUX-PRES-DEC
 ‘The child keeps on crying all the time (that’s getting on my nerves...)!’
 (Lit.: ‘The child cries and touches all the time.’) (PDK, Kim 2016: 6)

2.4 Verb of Explosion (*theci-* ‘burst’) (cf. Koo 2002, Kim 2007, for Korean)

- *theci-*: ‘burst’ as a lexical verb

(10) *kenmwul an-eyse phokthan-i theci-ess-ta*
 building inside-LOC bomb-NOM burst-PST-DEC
 ‘A bomb exploded inside the building.’ (PDK)

- *e.theci-*: Pejoration marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (from the turn of the 20th c.); limited productivity, occurring mostly with *cop-* ‘be narrow’, *pwus-* ‘swell’, *keyulu-* ‘be lazy’, *mi-* ‘pack’, etc.

(11) a. *nAy coy-to pwu-e.theci-e cwuk-ulye-niwa*
 my sin-also swell-AUX-NF die-FUT-CONN
ne-nAn wasyekcyongsin-ul hA-yo-l.cwul-ø a(l)-nanya
 you-TOP die.in.comfort-ACC do-AUX-NOMZ-ACC know-Q
 ‘I know I’ll die in my countless sins, but do you think you will (have a better luck and) die in comfort?’ (Lit. ‘my sins are so numerous to the point of bursting’) (1912, *Sanchenchomok* #460)

- b. (a wife complaining to her husband for not buying meat for too long a time)

yeunay ku hunha-e.theci-n sayngmwul han kaci
 long.time that be.common-AUX-ADN meat one kind
kwukyeng mosha-e.po-ass-nunti
 seeing cannot-AUX-PST-CONN

‘I have not tasted for such a long time any kind of meat that is so common (while everyone else enjoys meat).’ (Lit. ‘meat that is so common to the point of bursting’) (PDK, KORTERM #279)

2.5 Verb of Accumulation (*ssah-* ‘pile up’) (cf. Kim 1990, Han 2000, Mok 2013, Kim 2015, Kim 2016, for Korean)

- *ssah-*: ‘pile up, stack’ as a lexical verb

(12) *tol-thap-ul cengsengsulepkey ssah-nun-ta*
 stone-pagoda-ACC effortfully pile.up-PRES-DEC
 ‘(He) is building a stone pagoda by carefully stacking stones.’ (PDK)

- *e.ssah-*: Pejoration marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (& Continuative, Iterative aspect); only attested in PDK, signals a disparaging and contemptuous attitude toward a repeated occurrence of annoying event.

- (13) a. *aki-ka wul-e.sсах-nun-ta*
 baby-NOM cry-AUX-PRES-DEC
 ‘The baby is repeatedly crying.’ (Lit. ‘The baby cries and piles up.’) (PDK, Kim 1990: 142)
- b. *appa-man po-myen pankap-tako kkoli-lul huntul-e.ssa-a.tay-ø*
 Dad-only see-COND be.glad-COMP tail-ACC wag-AUX-AUX-END
 ‘(The dog) wags its tail endlessly as soon as it sees Dad.’
 (Lit. ‘... wags tail and piles up...’) (PDK, Han 2000: 224)

2.6 Verbs of Deviation (*ppaci-* and *cappaci-* ‘fall (back)’) (cf. Rhee 1996, Koo 2002, Ahn 2005, Bak 2007, Baik 2009, for Korean; Svorou 1994 for Ijo; Hagen 1914 for Bulu; Haspelmath 1990 for Tamil and Tonga)

- *ppaci-*: ‘fall into’ as a lexical verb

- (14) *silswu-lo mwulwungtengi-ey ppaci-ess-ta*
 mistake-with water.puddle-at fall.into-PST-DEC
 ‘(I) fell into a water puddle by mistake.’ (PDK)

- *e.ppaci-*: Pejoration marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (N.B. Past tense in form but normally adjective in present tense in meaning)

- (15) a. *kulen pyenmyeng-un hunha-e.ppaci-ess-ta*
 such excuse-TOP be.common-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘Such an excuse is trite (That old excuse won’t work!)’
 (Lit.: Such an excuse was common and fell (into something).) (PDK)
- b. *ku salam-un cengmal yak-a.ppaci-ess-ta*
 that person-TOP really be.tactful-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘That guy is truly cunning and tactful (You’d better be duly cautious!)’
 (Lit.: That guy was very tactful and fell (into something).) (PDK)

- *cappaci-*: ‘fall back’ as a lexical verb

- (16) *elumphan-eyse cappaci-ess-ta*
 icy.spot-at fall.back-PST-DEC
 ‘(I) fell back on ice.’ (PDK)

- *ko.cappaci-*: Contemptibility marker as a grammaticalized verb (& Continuative) (N.B. Past tense in form but present continuative in meaning)

- (17) a. *kkapwul-ko.cappaci-ess-ney*
 be.playful-AUX-PST-EXCL
 ‘(You) are just too playful! (Stop being ridiculous!)’ (Lit.: ‘He was playful and fell back.’)
 (PDK)
- b. *ku-nun congil nolki-man ha-ko.cappaci-ess-ta*
 he-TOP all.day.long playing-only do-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘He is doing nothing but playing all day long (It’s deplorable...)’ (Lit.: ‘He played and fell back.’) (PDK)

2.7 Verbs of Displacement (*pe*li- ‘throw away’, *chi*wu- ‘remove’, *ce*ykk*i*- ‘put aside’) (cf. K. Lee 1976, Rhee 1996, Koo 2002, Cho 2013, for Korean; Austin 1981 for Diyari, Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee et al. 1994, for Palaung and Fore; Ono 1992, Ono & Suzuki 1992, Watanabe 2000, for Japanese)

- *pe*li-: ‘throw away’ as a lexical verb

(18) *na-nun ssuleyki-lul peli-ess-ta*
 I-TOP trash-ACC throw.away-PST-DEC
 ‘I threw away trash.’ (PDK)

- *e*.*pe*li-: Undesirability, Malefactive marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (& Completive aspect); attested in MidK (one of the first auxiliaries in history); undesirability sense apparent even in MidK

(19) a. *alay-s unhyey-lul nic-e.pAli-si-a*
 previous.time-GEN relationship-ACC forget-AUX-HON-as
 ‘As [Buddha] forgot (completely) the former relationship (with me as a spouse)...’
 (Lit.: ‘...forgot and threw away the relationship...’) (1447, *Sekposangcel* 6:4; Rhee 1996: 55)

b. *ku-ka nay pap-ul mek-e.peli-ess-ta*
 he-NOM my food-ACC eat-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘He ate my food (Now I’m helpless and must go hungry...).’ (Lit.: ‘He ate and threw away my food.’) (PDK)

c. *ku cungin-i cwuk-e.peli-ess-ta*
 the witness-NOM die-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘The witness died (now we are in trouble..).’ (Lit.: ‘died and threw away’) (PDK)

- *chi*wu-: ‘remove’ as a lexical verb

(20) *i komwul com chiwu-ela*
 this junk a.little remove-IMP
 ‘Remove this junk, please.’ (PDK)

- *e*.*chi*wu-: Undesirability (& fast, easy, and crude) marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (& Completive aspect)

(21) a. *ku-nun pwulkoki 5inpwun-ul mek-e.chiwu-ess-ta*
 he-TOP roasted.meat 5.serving-ACC eat-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘He devoured 5 servings of roasted meat. (He is a monster...!)’ (Lit.: ‘He ate and removed 5 servings...’) (PDK)

b. *ku-nun taytaylo sal-te-n cip-ul phal-a.chiwu-ess-ta*
 he-TOP for.generations live-RETRO-ADN house-ACC sell-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘He sold the house which was the home of (his family for) many generations (He must have lost reason...!)’ (Lit.: ‘He sold and removed the house...’) (PDK)

- *ce*ykk*i*-/*ca*ykk-: ‘put aside’ as a lexical verb (*ce*ykk*i*- is considered dialectal)

(22) *ku il-un ceykki-e.twu-ko talun yayki ha-ca*
 that matter-TOP put.aside-AUX-CONN other talk say-HORT
 ‘Let’s put aside the matter and discuss other things.’ (PDK)

- *e.ceykki-*: Undesirability, repetition, excessivity, frivolousness marker (& Repetitive, Iterative aspect)

- (23) a. *ai-tul-i nemwu ttwi-e.ceykki-n-ta*
 child-PL-NOM too.much romp-AUX-PRES-DEC
 ‘Children romp around too much (they’re beyond control).’ (Lit. ‘... romp and put aside...’)
- b. *caney-ka mayil swul-ul masi-e.ceykki-nikka cipsalam-i silheha-y*
 you-NOM everyday liquor-ACC drink-AUX-CAUS wife-NOM hate-END
 ‘Since you drink (so much) everyday, (my) wife hates it.’ (Lit. ‘... drink and put aside...’)
 (a/b, PDK Koo 2002: 20)

2.8 Verbs of Ingestion (*mek-* and *chemek-* ‘eat’) (cf. Rhee 2003a, Bae 2000, Song 2009, for Korean; Yamaguchi 2009 for Japanese; Jagger & Bubba 2009 for Hausa; Naess 2001, Newman 2009 across languages)

- *mek-*: ‘eat’ as a lexical verb (*chemek-* is synonymous but inherently has contemptuous attitudinal component as part of its lexical meaning)

- (24) *na-nun sayntuwichi-lo cemsim-ul mek-ess-ta*
 I-TOP sandwich-INST lunch-ACC eat-PST-DEC
 ‘I ate sandwich for lunch.’ (PDK)

- *-e.mek-*: Contemptibility (& Excessivity) marker as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb (& Completive aspect); *-e.chemek-* is identical with *e.mek-* but carries very strong (avoidable) pejorative force with it

- (25) a. *i kulssi-un mos ilk-e.mek-keyss-ta*
 this writing-TOP not read-AUX-FUT-DEC
 ‘(I) cannot read this writing (What terrible handwriting...!)’
 (Lit.: ‘I cannot read and eat this writing.’) (PDK, Rhee 2003: 45)
- b. *ku-nun os-ul ccic-e.mek-ess-ta*
 he-TOP clothes-ACC tear-AUX-PST-DEC
 ‘He had his clothes torn (How careless he is!)’ (Lit.: ‘He tore and ate his clothes.’) (PDK, Rhee 2003: 46)

3. Discussion

3.1 Mechanisms (Decategorialization, Desemanticization, Extension, Erosion; Heine & Kuteva 2002)

[Decategorialization]

- Some verbs after grammaticalization entirely lost their capacity to inflect for tense, aspect and modality, e.g., ‘sit’, ‘fall back’ in past form only (with present continuative meaning).
- All these grammaticalized verbs lost their capacity to be modified by adverbs.

[Desemanticization]

- All verbs lost their concrete, objective, lexical meaning and acquired more abstract, subjective, grammatical meaning.

(26)	a. <i>ka-</i>	‘go’	>	Change-of-State, Continuative, Undesirability
	b. <i>anc-</i>	‘sit’	>	Continuative, Progressive, Habitual, Contemptibility
	c. <i>mal-</i>	‘stop’	>	Cessative, Completive, Negative counter-expectation
	d. <i>tay-</i>	‘touch’	>	Continuative, Iterative, Recklessness, Excessivity
	e. <i>theci-</i>	‘burst’	>	Pejorative, Excessivity
	f. <i>ssah-</i>	‘pile up, stack’	>	Continuative, Iterative, Pejorative, Irritation, Excessivity
	g. <i>ppaci-</i>	‘fall into’	>	Pejorative, Excessivity
	h. <i>cappaci-</i>	‘fall back’	>	Continuative, Contemptibility
	i. <i>pele-</i>	‘throw away’	>	Completive, Undesirability, Malefactive
	j. <i>chiwu-</i>	‘remove’	>	Completive, Undesirability, Crudity
	k. <i>ceykki-</i>	‘put aside’	>	Repetitive, Iterative, Pejorative, Excessivity, Frivolousness
	l. <i>mek-</i>	‘eat’	>	Completive, Contemptibility, Excessivity
	m. <i>chemek-</i>	‘eat’	>	Completive, Contemptibility, Excessivity

[Extension]

- Due to the loss of semantic content (via desemanticization), auxiliary verbs can now be hosted by the verbs that were previously incompatible, and their usage context becomes extended, e.g. *mek-* ‘eat’ > in contexts ‘He tore and ate his clothes’ for ‘Unfortunately, he had his clothes torn’.

[Erosion]

- Morphosyntactic erosion is relatively less prominent, which suggests that auxiliary formation has comparatively shallow historical depth.
- All auxiliaries, however, have lost their phonological prominence in prosody, e.g., they occur within the intonation contour formed by their host verb (main verb) and cannot be stressed.

3.2 Motivation (Expressivity, Creativity; Heine & Stolz 2008, Heine 2009, Heine et al. 1991)

- ‘creativity’: an act leading to the modification of an existing convention and resulting in a novel concept, where this modification comes to be accepted by the community (Heine & Stolz 2008; Heine 2009)
- Language is essentially creative activity (Croce 1912[1902], as cited in Heine & Stolz 2008: 332; Heine et al. 1991, Ch. 2)
- Development of auxiliaries from lexical verbs is an instance of creativity-motivated change, through context-induced reinterpretation (Heine et al. 1991, Traugott & Dasher 2002, Stolz 1991, Heine & Kuteva 2002).
- Emotive language is particularly susceptible to change/innovation under the pressure of expressivity (Stoffel 1901, Peters 1994, Hopper & Traugott 2003, Rhee 2016).
- These verbs have gained, or are gradually gaining, the auxiliary verb status, losing the original semantic content and gaining the function of marking the speaker's viewpoint, and constitute excellent exemplars of “subjectification” in language (Traugott 1982, Traugott & König 1991, Traugott & Dasher 2002).

3.3 Cultural Influence

- Some instances of grammaticalization seem to be well motivated with respect to universal human experience, e.g., ‘go’ and ‘burst’ to undesirability, ‘pile up’ to excessivity due to increase/repetition of action.
- Many instances of grammaticalization are also influenced by the Korean culture, albeit even some of these having cross-cultural validity, with respect to the meanings denoted by the verbs involved.

3.3.1 Why is ‘sitting’ contemptible?

- Cultural aspects with respect to sitting:

- (27)
- a. Koreans were generally regarded as among the most diligent peoples.
 - b. Working hard for success has been a time-old obsession for Korean people.
 - c. There has been no proper emphasis on the importance on play, rest, recreation, and enjoyment.
 - d. Most (nearly all) protagonist-antagonist pairs in folk tales are good-natured hard workers and ill-natured idle persons.
 - e. ‘Resting’ is a synonym for ‘stopping’, ‘discontinuity’, or ‘inactivity’.
 - f. ‘Sitting’ is an antonym of work/action/production.
 - g. Consequently, *anc-* ‘sit’ is strongly associated with undesirable inaction. (Also observed in other languages, see 2.2 above.)

3.3.2 Why is ‘touching’ reckless?

- Cultural aspects with respect to touching a person:

- (28)
- a. Touching others has been generally avoided, and touching as a display of affection in romantic relationships is also deemed unacceptable, and was taboo in public until the mid-20th century.
 - b. Koreans did not shake hands (now a common practice due to Western influence).
 - c. Even pointing a person (esp. a superior) has been avoided.
 - d. Furthermore, hand gestures that have the iconic value of touching a person, such as those for requesting to come close or to go away, have been avoided.
 - e. Cross-sexual physical touch was a taboo. Boys and girls of 7 years of age or older were traditionally not allowed to sit together (*namnyechilsey pwutongsek* ‘male-female 7 years no shared sitting’) (Early Christian churches had separately partitioned seating by gender for congregation; Even spouses sat separately.).
 - f. Royal doctors were not allowed to touch female court members even when examining the pulse (they stood away with a partition in-between and felt the pulse through a tightly drawn string).
 - g. Husbands and wives (esp. noble class) used to use different living quarters, and even when they traveled together, they usually walked with a distance between them.
 - h. Consequently, *tay-* ‘touch’ is strongly associated with the lack of decorum, violation of manners, and consequently with recklessness.

3.3.3 Why is ‘falling back’ contemptible?

- Cultural aspects with respect to falling back:

- (29)
- a. Koreans were particular about their postures.
 - b. Proper postures in motion (esp. noblemen) involve head-up, chin-down, chest-out, slow movement occupying a large operational space.
 - c. Falling into something (esp. puddles, bogs, etc.) is embarrassing experience for losing decorum.
 - d. Falling down, esp. falling back, in which the experiencer has fewer options for self-protection than in falling forward, has been regarded as an extreme embarrassment.
 - e. Even for a descriptive term, ‘falling back’ is rarely used with respect to superiors, or in decent contexts in general (only occasionally used for describing self’s own experience in a self-deprecating manner).
 - f. Lying down is sometimes referred to as ‘falling back’ in order to show contempt, i.e., pejorative substitute.
 - g. Consequently, *ppaci-* ‘fall into’ and *cappaci-* ‘fall back’ are ridden with embarrassment, disgrace and, thus, contempt.

3.3.4 Why is ‘throwing away’ undesirable?

- Cultural aspects with respect to throwing away objects:

- (30) a. Koreans were generally regarded as thrifty people.
- b. Throwing away things was generally viewed as undesirable, even though the act of throwing away *per se* is neutral, and can be even beneficial in a context of eliminating undesirable objects. (cf. selective nature of ‘subjectification’, Traugott 1982, 2003, 2010, Traugott & König 1991, Traugott & Dasher 2002)
- c. All extended meanings of *pelī-* ‘throw away’ have negative connotations, such as ‘waste’, ‘spoil’, ‘betray’, ‘ruin’, ‘forsake’, ‘desist’, etc., all signifying deviance from desirable states.
- d. Consequently, *pelī-* ‘throw away’ is strongly associated with undesirability. (potentially universal)

3.3.5 Why is ‘eating’ contemptible?

- Cultural aspects with respect to eating:

- (31) a. As a long tradition, Koreans have been using spoons and chopsticks in eating.
- b. Touching food with bare hands (unless in cooking) has been strongly avoided. Finger-licking is extremely offensive to the viewers.
- c. The noble class in old Korea avoided being seen eating, and outdoor cafés were practically non-existent until recently.
- d. Officers in the military are still instructed not to frivolously join their men in eating, and their dining halls are separated from those for their men (likely to be in other cultures, too).
- e. Pastors are trained to exercise extreme caution with their appearance when eating with their members of the congregation.
- f. Until recently, i.e. until around the 1980s, restaurants and coffee shops had non-transparent walls to help their clients avoid being seen eating/drinking from outside.
- g. Even in modern days, most high-class restaurants have rooms or partitions for their clients for the sake of their privacy.
- h. People have developed a large inventory of euphemistic substitutes for the ingestion verb, such as ‘lift’, ‘do’, ‘sit’, ‘perform’, ‘equip’, etc. (cf. Thai ingestion verbs by class distinction, Khanittanan 2005: 320.)
- i. Eating has been associated with the lack of sophistication, and regarded as the sign of greed for satisfying animalistic instinct, and thus something to be avoided to be seen (probably universal, though at varying degrees, Rhee 2003a, Koo & Rhee 2016. cf. table manners; cf. Okabayasi 2002 for Japanese).

4. Remaining Issues: Challenging questions

- What is the extent of the influence of culture on language?
- How can we draw a boundary between culture-specificity and culture-universality?
- When the culture changes, how would the culturally-effected grams react to the change?

5. Summary & Conclusion

- Grammar is based on human cognition, which is shaped by human experience.
- Common aspects of human experience in a language community may affect, and be reflected in, the language.

- Certain grammatical forms that mark the speaker's negative attitude toward the proposition/sentential subject in Korean were developed from lexical verbs denoting 'going/moving away', 'sitting', 'touching', 'bursting', 'piling up/stacking', 'falling (into/back/down)', 'throwing away', and 'eating'.
- The negative attitude of the speaker as marked by some of these markers emerged from the unique Korean cultural viewpoint toward the events denoted by the lexical verbs. E.g., in Korean culture, eating and touching are best avoided in public; sitting or withdrawal from an activity is easily condemned for the consequent lack of productivity; throwing away is regarded as an act causing irretrievability; and falling back is the ultimate disgrace where gentle demeanor is highly prized.
- Culture shapes language not only at the level of lexicon but also at the level of grammar.
- This presentation shows how certain parts of culture are mirrored in language, and how certain parts of grammar are derived from culture.

Abbreviations

ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominal; AUX: auxiliary; CAUS: causal connective; CLSF: classifier; COND: conditional; CONN: connective; DEC: declarative; END: sentential ending; EXCL: exclamative; FUT: future; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative; IMP: imperative; INST: instrumental; INTEN: intentional; LOC: locative; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite marker; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PDK: present-day Korean; PL: plural; PRES: present; PROH: prohibitive; PST: past; Q: interrogative; RETRO: retrospective; TOP: topic

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