

Pseudo-hortative and Development of Discourse Markers: The Case of ‘Let’s see’ in Korean

1. Introduction

- Korean is a head-final agglutinating language with the SOV word order [I-her-love].
- Korean sentence-types are signaled by the sentence-final particles (SFPs) [You-him-love-DEC/Q/IMP/HORT...].
- Discourse markers (DMs) arise from diverse lexemes and constructions (Fraser 2006, Brinton 1996).
- One of such categories is the hortative (HORT) constructions (marked by the SFPs *-ca* and *-psita*), which inherently impose the engaging effect on the addressee.
- HORT-derived forms (e.g. *-cani*, *-cako*, *-canikka*, etc.) are attested to have grammaticalized into diverse functions (Rhee 2008, 2012, in press).
- This paper presents the development of the DM *eti poca* (lit. let’s see where) that involves the verb *po-* ‘see’ and the HORT marker *-ca*.

(1) A: [Shall we see on Monday?]

B: *welyoil*... *eti po-ca*... *welyoil-un* *elyep-kyess-e*
 Monday... DM Monday-TOP be.difficult-FUT-END
 ‘Monday... DM (< let’s see where)... it seems that Monday will be inconvenient.’

- *Eti poca* in (1) is not a hortative statement requesting the addressee to direct visual attention to something (for joint attention), but a strategic signal to hold the floor, or a device to fill the unwanted pause.

2. Historical development of *poca* > *eti poca*

- The historical corpus used: a 15 million word historical corpus, a component of the 21st Century Sejong Corpus, a 200 million word corpus, developed by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism (from the 15th – 20th c.).

[True HORT] (The “WE”-Function)

- True HORT usage of *poca* “let’s see” (cf. English: “Let’s get together,” “Let’s meet (there),” “Let’s see (tomorrow),” etc.)

(2) a. *tasi-kom* *tyohi kye-o* *tasi* *po-cya*
 again-EMPH well stay-END again see-HORT
 ‘Once again, stay in peace. Let’s see again.’ (1555 *Swuncheonkimssi enkan* 3)

b. *amAlyena kyentAyy-e.iss-taka* *po-cya*
 most.of.all endure-PROG-TRANS see-HORT
 ‘Most of all, endure well and then let’s see (again)/ Hang on until we see again.’
 (1565-1575 *Swuncheonkimssi enkan* 71)

[Quasi-HORT; Self-Directed HORT] (The “I”-Function)

- Self-directed HORT usage of *poca* “let’s see” (cf. English “Let’s see if...,” “I’ll see if...,” etc.)
- *Poca* in this usage typically accompanies adverbs ‘soon, in the future, later, in due time’, or complementizers *-ci*, *-na*, and *-ka* (for “if”).
- The speaker exhorts self to see something “together”.

- (3) a. *suykuyhA-l il-i-nka tiny-e sal-ka po-ca*
 covet-ADN matter-be-Q keep-and live-Q/COMP see-HORT
 ‘Is [the Queen-Mother’s furniture] something she [Queen] should covet? Let’s see if she can keep it and live well.’ (complaint by the servants of Queen-Mother, who lost favor of her stepson King)
 (16xx, *Sekwungilki* 10b)
- b. *wenson-i ... kamthanhA-si-ko twu-ko po-ca hA-sy-e chinhi kacyeke-si-nila*
 King’s.grandson-NOM admire-HON-and keep-and see-HORT say-HON-and himself take-HON-END
 ‘King’s grandson admired and took (the letters) with him, saying, “Let’s keep them and see”.’
 (18xx, *Hancwunglok* 143)

[Pseudo-HORT; (Cooperation) Request] (The “YOU”-Function)

- Request with HORT (cf. English “Let me see (you...),” etc.)

- (4) a. *kutAy-ka i-chyelo khun mal-ul hA-ni chyengkhentAy ku cAyco-lul po-ca*
 you-NOM this-like big talk-ACC say-CAUS I.ask that talent-ACC see-HORT
 ‘Since you talk big like this, please show me that talent of yours.’ (1898 *Mayilsinmwun* 4)
- b. *syecho etekaci-ko nao-lyemwuna... ney tek-uy palkang tampAy mas com po-ca*
 Western.grass obtain-and exit-PROP your favor-at red tobacco taste a.little see-HORT
 ‘Bring some Western grass, let me taste the red tobacco thanks to your favor.’
 (Orally 18th c.; Written c. 1860s, *Chwunhyangcen* Tonammwunko ed., 501)

[Discourse Marker *eti poca*] (The Discourse Function)

- From the 19th c. *poca* begins to collocate with *eti/etuy* ‘where, somewhere’, which also functions as a DM from the 16th c.
- *eti/etuy*: where? > somewhere > how? > how! > DM

- (5) [At your suggested price, you cannot buy a horse like this even in Koryo.]
etuy cinsillo mA-l sa-kocyeheA-nAn i-ko?
 DM[<where] truly horse buy-want-ADN person-Q
 ‘DM, how can you be someone genuinely interested in buying a horse?’ (1517, *Penyeknokeltay* II, 29a)

- From the 19th c. *eti poca* gains circulation, and at the turn of the 20th c. it becomes very productive.

- (6) *santhong-ul chelkengchelkeng huntu-teni etuy poca il.i.sam.sa.o.lyuk.chil hehe cos-tha*
 divination.box-ACC [ONOMA] shake-CONN DM 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 [laugh] be.good-DEC
 ‘(The fortune-teller) shakes the divination box with noise and then (says) DM, 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 ha ha it’s good.’
 (Orally 18th c. Written c. 1860s, *Yelnye Chwunhyangswucelka*, 135)

- There is a group of DMs or common expressions that are related to *eti poca* in PDK.

- (7) *eti poca* < Let’s see where
poca < Let’s see
eti com poca < Let’s see please where
kaman isse poca < Let’s stay put and see
kaman poca < Let’s see quietly
kulem poca < Let’s see, then
kuntey poca < Let’s see, then
twuko poca < Let’s leave it and see
com poca < Let’s see please (largely lexical; (E.) May I talk to you a minute?...)
hanpen poca < Let’s see once (largely lexical; (E.) Let’s get together sometime.)

3. Functions of the DM *eti poca* in PDK

- The corpus used: a 24 million-word drama and cinema corpus developed by Min Li in 2012.

3.1 Interactivity (responsiveness)

- Typically utterance-initial
- The action of seeing is not a joint action, thus the sentence is not a true HORT.
- It signals responsiveness (acknowledgment of responsibility of action on his/her part), pause-filling (signaling self's sustained involvement), and turn-claiming (prefacing his/her contentful utterance will follow).
- The 'seeing' meaning may survive, but this usage is also appropriate with non-visual events.

(8) A: [Please I need your approval on this document, too, sir.]

B: *eti poca* (scans through the document)

DM (Let's see; Let me see...)

(2002, Drama *Kotok* Episode #9)

(9) A: [I came hurrying after work.]

ppalli com po-acwu-se-yo

quickly please see-BEN-HON-POL

'Please look at it (breast) quick for me.'

B: *eti poca* (He examines the breast.)

DM (Let's see; Let me see...)

(2001, Drama *Meytikhalseynthe* Episode #27)

3.2 Interactivity (request)

- The speaker wants to see something and requests the interlocutor to cooperate.
- The action of seeing is not a joint action, thus the sentence is not a true HORT.
- But the 'seeing' meaning in *po-* still survives.

(10) (A's daughter and son-in-law arrive with their new-born baby.)

A: *w-ass-kuna ayki-ka w-ass-e eti poca*

come-PST-EXCL baby-NOM come-PST-END DM

'O, the baby is here! The baby is here. DM.'

B: (hands over the baby)

(2003, Drama *Nolansonswuken* Episode #100)

3.3 Interactivity (engagement)

- Typically utterance-initial
- Its main function is attention attraction in order to form a common ground through sharing attention.
- The speaker tries to attract the attention of the companions in the scene in order to establish a shared attention.
- This usage is not restricted to 'seeing'-events.

(11) (A frog thrown by pranksters lands on the spread skirt of A.)

A: (blankly looks at the frog)

B: (looks at A with thoughtful expression on face)

kaykwuli-ka nemwu pwulssangha-ta kuchi malia?

frog-NOM very be.poor-DEC right [name]

'The frog is very poor, right, Maria?'

A: (nods)

eti poca acik cwuk-cinanh-ass-ney

DM yet die-NEG-PST-EXCL

'DM, it's not dead yet!'

(1999, Drama *Kosuthu* Episode #16)

3.4 Information management (pause-filling)

- The DM *eti poca* in this usage is semantically vacuous.
- It fills the pause to avoid silence, which may be interpreted as unfriendliness to the interlocutor or aloofness to the situation/issue.

(12) A: [Why (are you interested in seeing the school record for) Kim Mali?]

B: [She is a childhood friend of mine. I lost contact with her. That's why...]

A: *a ney* (looks at the file of records) *eti poca* *Kim Mali Kim Mali Kim Mali...*

oh yes DM [name; repeated]

'Oh, I see.... DM ... Kim Mari, Kim Mari, Kim Mari...' (2011, Drama *Loyalphaymilli* Episode #6)

(13) *sachenmanwon-i-la... talla-lo pakkwu-myen eti poca.. han samman talla toy-ney*
30.million.won-be-END dollar-into exchange-if DM about 30,000 dollar become-EXCL

'(well, you say) it's 30 million won. If converted into dollars, DM, it's about 30,000 dollars.'

(1998, Drama *Sungpwusa* Episode #12)

3.5 Subjectivity (Self-concentration; monologue style)

- This usage is very common.
- This usage is similar to the pause-filling usage, but it is more self-centered (the interactivity with the interlocutor is significantly reduced).
- Its primary function is self-concentration, and thus, one would say it as a monologue even when there is no one present.

(14) (vice-principal scans the CV of an applicant)

na.. poli-la eti poca hancwu-satay colep-ey kotunghakkyo-nun kemceng..kosi..

[name]-END DM [name]-teacher's.college graduation-at highschool-TOP GED..

'(The next candidate's name) is Na Bori... DM... a graduate of Hanju Teacher's College and the highschool diploma is through a GED test...' (2005, Drama *Kenppangsensayngnimkwa pyelsathang* Episode #1)

(15) (a fortune-teller and a client)

A: (scatters grains of rice onto divination table)

eti poca eti poca *5wel-ey mwen palphyo-l han-ta-nuntey cal toy-keyss-na eti poca*

DM DM May-at some.kind announcement-ACC do-COMP-CONN well go-FUT-Q DM

'DM, DM, (the divination sign) says you will be announcing something in May... will it go well?... DM'

(2008, Drama *Oneye* Episode #13)

3.6 Subjectivity (Discontent, Self-determination, Assertiveness; monologue style)

- Typically non-initial
- The DM in this usage signals the speaker's discontent, self-determination, and assertiveness.
- The DM is usually uttered in the monologue style.

(16) (Father and the first son on his second son's refusal to marry a woman)

A: [But Hyungshik already said he wouldn't marry the woman, didn't he!]

B: *nal capanw-ass-nuntey ci nom-i anha-kwu payki-na eti poca*

date fix-PST-CONN that fella-NOM not.do-and endure-if/Q DM

'The (wedding) date has been fixed. Could that guy refuse until the end? DM'

(2002, Drama *Insaynghwapo* Episode #131)

4. Discussion

4.1 Grammatical change (grammaticalization and constructionalization)

- The development of the DM from the lexical verb *po-* ‘see’ is an instance of grammaticalization (cf. Lehmann 1995[1982], Traugott 1995, Wischer 2000, Diewald 2006, 2011, Dostie 2004, Koo 2012, Rhee 2014 vs. Waltereit 2006; cf. Heine 2013).
- The DM is still formally flexible, allowing some extension with combination of different linguistic material.
- The multiple forms form a paradigm of DMs of a similar function, resembling the process of constructionalization of ‘formal idioms’ in construction grammar (Fillmore et al. 1988).

4.2 Semasiological change (bleaching, subjectification, and intersubjectification)

- The meaning of ‘see’ becomes bleached to the point where visual perception is not involved at all.
- The meaning of the HORT ending *-ca* ‘let’s’ is also highly bleached to the point where there is no joint action of the interlocutors; the actions involved are normally unilateral, or there are no actions involved at all.
- The meaning of ‘where’ is highly bleached to the point where it carries no meaning at all.
- The emergence of discontent in the DM is an instance of subjectification (note that the addressee is outside the range of hearing).
- The emergence of the self-talk function to signal that the speaker is concentrating is also an instance of subjectification (note that this is typically in the monologue style; the speaker is invoking a kind of “mental vision”).
- The emergence of the pause-filling function, involving information management, is an instance of subjectification.
- The development of the function of signaling responsiveness (interactivity) to the interlocutor is intersubjectification.
- The development of the function of cooperation request is also an instance of intersubjectification (note that the action requested is one performed by the addressee only, not jointly by the interlocutors).

4.3 Discursive change (pragmaticalization and rhetoricization)

- Lexical and grammatical forms that served as the source constructions, i.e., *eti* ‘where’, *po-* ‘see’, and *-ca* HORT, develop into constructions with pragmatic functions.
- HORT markers carry an engaging effect on the part of the addressee.
- Such an engaging illocutionary force offers a perfect quality for HORT constructions to develop into DMs whose function is to show the speaker’s discursive attitude.
- Discursive strategies may be performed by the gap-filling DMs whose function is to foil the addressee’s utterance with the signal of the intention to hold the floor, and the strategies may take the form of feigning the involvement of the addressee in the action.
- The discursive objective of persuasion is aided by DMs, and thus their development is an instance of rhetoricization.

5. Summary & Conclusion

- Korean has a number of ‘see’-related DMs that form a paradigm centering around *eti poca*.
- The DM *eti poca* developed from the collocation of *eti* ‘where’, *po-* ‘see’, and *-ca* HORT from the 19th century.
- The functions of the DM *eti poca* include subjective, interactive/intersubjective, and information-management functions, e.g. signaling discontent, responsiveness, request, engagement, pause-filling, self-concentration, etc.
- The development of this DM involves grammatical change (grammaticalization and constructionalization), semasiological change (subjectification and intersubjectification), discursive change (pragmaticalization and rhetoricization), among others.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominalizer; BEN: benefactive; CAUS: causative; COMP: complementizer; CONN: connective; DEC: declarative; DM: discourse marker; END: sentential-ender; EXCL: exclamative; FUT: future; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative; NEG: negative; NOM: nominative; ONOMA: onomatopoeia; POL: polite; PROG: progressive; PROP: propositive; PST: past; Q: interrogative; TOP: topic; TRANS: transferentive

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