

## Grammaticalization and Semantic Change: The cases of (inter)subjectification

### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1 Grammaticalization

- the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms (Kuryłowicz 1975[1965]: 52, Heine et al. 1991: 3ff; Heine & Kuteva 2002: 2)
- *hesahwa* “(lit.) the process of becoming empty words” (Lee 1956, Yu 1962); now *mwunpephwa* “(lit.) the process of becoming grammar/grammatical”

#### 1.2 Semantic Change

- traditionally considered to be too random to be a subject of study
- Saussure (1996[1916]: 92) “In spite of appearances to the contrary, diachronic events are always accidental and particular in nature”

(1) Room’s (1986) taxonomy of 11 categories

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. Functional transfer ( <i>chorus</i> < singer/dancer)            | b. Narrowing ( <i>accident</i> < incident)              |
| c. Deterioration ( <i>cunning</i> < skillful)                      | d. Expansion ( <i>arrive</i> < come to shore)           |
| e. Associated transfer ( <i>bead</i> < prayer)                     | f. Abstraction ( <i>aftermath</i> < second crop)        |
| g. Improvement ( <i>boy</i> < lowly servant)                       | h. Weakening ( <i>awful</i> < filled with awe)          |
| i. Scientific correction ( <i>zoology</i> < medicine from animals) | j. Artificial deflection ( <i>belfry</i> < siege tower) |
| k. Strengthening ( <i>disgust</i> < not like)                      |   |

(2) Rhee (2000: 86-87)

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| a. It was <u>out of</u> my intention.      | (with intention)  |
| b. I asked <u>out of</u> curiosity.        | (with curiosity)  |
| c. His behavior was <u>out of</u> decorum. | (without decorum) |
| d. Fish cannot live <u>out of</u> water.   | (without water)   |
| e. We are <u>out of</u> milk.              | (without milk)    |

- recent interest in systematicities of semantic change (metaphor, pragmatic inferencing, grammaticalization, etc.)
- Traugott & Dasher (2002) *Regularity in Semantic Change*

- (3) a. You must go home. > He must be home. (deontic > epistemic)  
b. I promise to help you. > He promises to be an outstanding linguist. (performative > descriptive)  
c. He kept milk in the fridge. > He kept complaining. (action > repetitive)

### 2. Preliminaries

#### 2.1 Subjectification and Intersubjectification

- subjectification:

Meanings tend to refer less to objective situations and more to subjective ones (including speaker point of view), less to the described situation and more to the discourse situation. (Traugott 1986: 540)

- (4) a. Shut the door after you.  
 b. Brush your teeth after breakfast.  
 c. After we heard the lecture, we felt greatly inspired.

- (5) a. Wait here for a while.  
 b. Call him while you are there.  
 c. While he is poor, he is honest.

- intersubjectification:

Intersubjectivity is the explicit expression of SP/W's attention to the 'self' of AD/R in both an epistemic sense (paying attention to their presumed attitudes to the content of what is said), and in a more social sense (paying attention to their 'face' or 'image needs' associated with social stance and identity. (Traugott 2003: 128)

- (6) a. *the Lord* 'god'; *pass* 'die', etc. (Allen & Burridge 1991)  
 b. *please* < *If you please*  
 c. *I mean* < *by x I mean* (Brinton 2007)  
 d. (i) *Ya, ne ili nao-a.po-a!* 'Hey, you come on out!'  
 (ii) *Sensayngnim, camsi com poy-lswuiss-ulkka-yo?* 'Sir, could I see you a minute, please?'

## 2.2 Endings and Particles in Korean

- Korean has a large inventory of *cosa* (nominal morphology; postpositional particles) and *emi* (verbal morphology; endings for connection and termination).
- Lee & Lee (2010) list 2,056 grammatical forms (*emi* & *cosa*).
- Korean grammatical markers signal not only garden-variety grammatical notions but also diverse stance-related notions simultaneously, the latter being often difficult to pinpoint or label ('elaborateness', 'semantically elaborate categories' Kuteva & Comrie 2005, Kuteva 2009).

## 2.3 Connectives and Sentential Endings

- Connectives; not a separate category among the parts of speech (formally heterogeneous)
- Connectives: diverse constructions often involving nominals, adnominals, locative particles, etc.
- Sentential endings comprise numerous sentence-final particles (verbal morphologies), marking TAM.
- Among the ultimate sentence-enders are the sentence-type markers.

(7) Sentence-Type Markers

Declarative: **-ta**, *-supnita*, *-suptita*, *-ney*, *-ui*, *-lsey*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-uo*, *-so*, *-ketun*, *-ntey*...

Interrogative: **-nya**, *-ni*, *-supnikka*, *-suptikka*, *-na*, *-nka*, *-lkka*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-uo*, *-so*...

Imperative: **-la**, *-ela*, *-sipsio*, *-key*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-uo*, *-kwulye*, *-lyem*, *-lyemuna*, *-sose*...

Hortative: **-ca**, *-psita*, *-sey*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-uo*, *-kwulye*...

- Sentence-type markers are modulated via honorification and politeness. (4-7 levels); (Sohn 2001[1999]: 355)

## 2.4 Insubordination

- A large number of innovative SFPs in Korean arose from connectives through insubordination (Sohn 2003, Rhee 2012).
- Inferential meanings become semanticized on the utterance-final formants (i.e. connectives). ('from silence to grammar' Rhee 2002)

(8) Marker	Connective Function	Sentence-Final Function
-(nu)n <sup>tey</sup>	adversative	surprise/reluctance/reason
-ketun	conditional	topic-presentation/reason
-nikka	reason/cause	addressee-confirmation/contingency
-myense	concurrency	addressee-confirmation/challenge/derisive

### 3. From Connectives to Sentential Endings: Case Studies

#### 3.1 Contingency/Conditional connectives:

- contingency-marking connective *-nun tey* [-ADN place] (*-n tey*, if the host is an adjective)
- *tey*: ‘place’ > ‘at the place where’ > ‘while’ > ‘even though’ > ‘tell me more’ > ‘I have something to say’ > ‘I’m surprised’

- (9) a. *tey* n. ‘place’  
*ilha-nun tey-ka eti-y-a?* (일하는 데가 어디야?)  
 work-ADN place-NOM where-be-END  
 ‘Where do you work?’ (lit. ‘Where is the place that you work at?’)
- b. *tey* n. ‘place’/ *-nun-tey* CONN ‘while’  
*ilha-nun-tey(-ey) pwulphyenha-n-tey eps-e?* (일하는 데(에) 불편한 데 없어?)  
 work-{ADN-place(-at), ?while} be.inconvenient-ADN-place not.exist-END?  
 ‘Is there any inconvenience {in the place where, ?while} you are working?’
- c. *-nuntey* CONN ‘while’  
*ilha-nuntey(\*-ey) cenhwa-ka o-ass-ta* (일하는데(\*에) 전화가 왔다.)  
 work-while(\*-at) telephone-NOM come-PST-DEC  
 ‘The phone rang while (I was) working.’
- d. *-nuntey* CONN ‘while, even though’  
*ilha-nuntey il-i an toy-n-ta* (일하는데 일이 안 된다.)  
 work-CONN work-NOM NEG become-PRES-DEC  
 ‘Even though I’m trying, there is no progress with the work.’  
 (Lit. ‘While/At the place where (I) work, work does not occur.’)
- e. *-nuntey* SFP ‘elaboration request’  
*ne encey tokil ka-nuntey?* (너 언제 독일 가는데?)  
 you when Germany go-SFP  
 ‘When are you leaving for Germany (tell me more...)?’
- f. *-nuntey* SFP ‘agreement request’  
*nal-i ceypep chwuwu-ntey* (날이 제법 추운데)  
 weather-NOM pretty.much be.cold-SFP  
 ‘It is pretty cold, isn’t it!’
- g. *-nuntey* SFP ‘mild disagreement/discontent’  
*na-to khwukhi cohaha-nuntey* (나도 쿠키 좋아하는데)  
 I-too cookie like-SFP  
 ‘I too like cookies! (How come I don’t get one?)’
- h. *-nuntey* SFP ‘counterexpectation, mirativity’  
*wa wuli ttal nolay cal ha-nuntey* (와 우리 딸 노래 잘 하는데)  
 wow our daughter song well do-SFP  
 ‘Wow, our daughter really sings well! (I’m surprised)’

- Conditional connective: *-ketun* (Koo 1989a,b,c; Rhee 2002)
- *-ketun* attested in Old Korean (*-ke-tA-un* [UNPERCEIVED-place/thing/time-TOPIC]) (Koo 1989a,b, cf. Yoo 1980)
- ‘if’ > ‘because’ > ‘background’ ‘reason’ ‘common ground’ ‘reluctance’ ‘now it’s your turn’

(10) a. *-ketun* CONN ‘if’

(그가 오거든 이 돈을 주어라.)  
*ku-ka o-ketun i ton-ul cwu-ela*  
 he-NOM come-if this money-ACC give-IMP  
 ‘If he comes, give him this money.’

b. *-ketun* SFP ‘reason’

A: [Why does he look so down?] [그 사람 왜 그렇게 의기소침해 있어?]

B: (애인이 떠났거든.)

*ayin-i ttena-ss-ketun*  
 sweetheart-NOM leave-PST-SFP  
 ‘(It’s) because his sweetheart left him.’

c. *-ketun* SFP ‘topic presentation’

(내가 어제 재미있는 책을 샀거든.)

*nay-ka ecey caymiiss-nun chayk-ul sa-ss-ketun.*  
 I-NOM yesterday be.interesting-ADN book-ACC buy-PST-SFP  
 ‘(You know what?) I bought an interesting book yesterday.’

d. *-ketun* SFP ‘turn-yielder, common ground solicitation’

A: (지금 애기가 다섯 살이거든요.)

*cikum ayki-ka tases-sal-i-ketun-yo*  
 now baby-NOM 5-year-be-SFP-POL  
 ‘My child is now five years old. (You’re with me, right?)’

B: *ney* ‘yes’ (네)

A: (근데 작년엔 일차 뇌염주사를 맞았거든요.)

*kuntey caknyen-ey lcha noyemcwusa-lul macchwu-ess-ketun-yo*  
 then last.year-at first encephalitis.vaccination-ACC give-PST-SFP-POL  
 ‘And (I) got her the first encephalitis vaccination shot last year. (You’re with me, right?)’

B: *ney* ‘yes’ (네)

A: (근데 올해에도 또 맞춰야 하는지 궁금하거든요.)

*kuntey olhay-ey-to tto macchwu-eyaha-nunci kwungkumha-ketun-yo*  
 then this.year-at-too again give-must-if wonder-SFP-POL  
 ‘And (I’m) wondering if we should get her another shot this year. (You’re with me, right?)’  
 (Adapted from Lee 1996, re-cited from Koo & Rhee 2001: 15)

e. *-ketun* SFP ‘turn-yielder, common ground solicitation, mildly apologetic, reluctance’

A: [Hello? Who is this calling and where are you calling from?] [여보세요? 어디 사는 누구신가요?]

B: (네, 봉천동인데요. 이름은 말하고 싶지 않거든요)

*ney pongchentong-i-ntey-yo. ilum-un malha-kosiph-cianh-ketun-yo*  
 yes [place.name]-be-SFP-POL name-TOP say-want-NEG-SFP-POL  
 ‘Yes, (I’m calling from) Bongchundong. (But) I don’t want to tell you my name. (Please understand)’

A: (네, 그런데 성함은 말씀해주셔야 하거든요)

*ney, kulentey sengham-un malssumha-ycwu-sy-eyaha-ketun-yo*  
 yes but name-TOP tell-BEN-HON-must-SFP-POL  
 ‘Yes, but you need to kindly tell (us) your name. (Please understand)’

B: (그래요? 근데 좀 창피하거든요.)

*kulay-yo? kuntey com chayngphiha-ketun-yo*  
 be.so-POL? but a.little be.ashamed-SFP-POL

‘Is that so? But I would be embarrassed (if my name becomes known) (Please understand).’ (Koo & Rhee 2001: 16)

### 3.2 Complementizer-based Connectives

#### [Grammaticalization of Complementizers]

- The complementizers *-tako*, *-lako*, *-nyako* and *-cako* grammaticalized from the sentence-type-marking endings (*-ta*, *-la*, *-nya* and *-ca*), the verb of locution *ha-* ‘say’, and the connective *-ko* ‘and’.
- COMPs retain the sentence-type markers.

(11) *-ta/nya/la/ca* + *ha* + *ko* >>> *-{ta/nya/la/ca}-ko*  
 Sentence-type marker say Connective Complementizer

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

Embedded Clause Type	Complementizer	Example
Declarative	<i>-tako</i>	<i>-ka-n-tako</i> ‘that (he) goes’
	<i>-lako</i>	<i>John-i-lako</i> ‘that it 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> ‘(suggest) that (they) should go together’

- (13) a. *ku-ka ka-n-ta-ha-ko malha-yss-ta* >>> *-tako* (Declarative) ‘that he was going’  
 he-NOM go-PRES-DEC-say-CONN say-PST-DEC COMP  
 ‘He said that he was going (=leaving).’  
 (lit. He said "(I) am going" and said.)
- b. .... *ka-nya-ha-ko* ... >>> *-nyako* (Interrogative) ‘if he was going’
- c. .... *ka-la-ha-ko* ... >>> *-lako* (Imperative) ‘that he should go’
- d. .... *ka-ca-ha-ko* ... >>> *-cako* (Hortative) ‘that they should go together’

#### [COMP to SFP]

(14) From Declarative COMP to SFP *-tako*

- a. (너 첫 월급 탔다고 들었다.) *ne ches welkup tha-ss-tako tul-ess-ta*  
 you first salary receive-COMP hear-PST-DEC  
 ‘I heard that you got your first salary.’
- b. (너 첫 월급 탔다고?) *ne ches welkup tha-ss-tako?*  
 you first salary receive-PST-SFP  
 ‘You got your first salary? (Is that true?)’  
 (lit. That you got your first salary?)
- c. (나도 정말 죽겠다.) *na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-tako.*  
 I-also really die-FUT-SFP  
 ‘I am really hard-pressed, too. (Stop pressing me)’  
 (lit. That I’m really hard-pressed, too.)
- d. (우리 엄마가 얼마나 예쁘다고!) *wuli emma-ka elmana yeppu-tako!*  
 we mom-NOM how be.pretty-SFP  
 ‘My mom is really pretty.’ (You’ll never know!)  
 (lit. How beautiful mother is.)

(15) From Imperative COMP to SFP *-lako*

- a. (그는 빨리 오라고 소리쳤다.) *ku-nun ppalli o-lako solichye-ss-ta*  
 he-TOP fast come-COMP yell-PST-DEC  
 ‘He yelled (at me) to come quickly.’
- b. (날더러 걱정 말라고?) *na-ltele kekceng mal-lako?*  
 I-DAT worry stop-SFP  
 ‘I shouldn’t worry? (How can’t I?)’  
 (lit. That I shouldn’t worry?)
- c. (황당한 말 좀 그만 하라고.) *hwangtangha-n mal com kumanha-lako*  
 be.absurd-ADN word a.little stop-SFP  
 ‘Please stop talking nonsense! (I cannot stand it any more.)’

d. (빨리 좀 오라고!)

*ppali com o-lako!*  
quickly a.little come-SFP

‘Come quickly, please! (We are getting delayed because of you.)’

(16) From Interrogative COMP to SFP *-nyako*

a. (개가 요즘 공부 잘 하냐고 물었다.)

*kyay-ka yocum kongpwu cal ha-nyako mwul-ess-ta*  
he-NOM these.days study well do-COMP ask-PST-DEC

‘(I) asked if he was studying well these days.’

b. (내가 그걸 잘 할 수 있냐고?)

*nay-ka kuke-l cal ha-lswuiss-nyako?*  
I-NOM it-ACC well do-can-SFP

‘I can do it well? (Don’t you know me?)’ (lit. Whether I can do it well?)

c. (그게 보통 어려운 일이냐고?)

*kuke-y pothong elyew-un il-i-nyako!*  
that-NOM normal be.difficult-ADN matter-be-SFP

‘Isn’t it extremely difficult! (What a difficult job it is!)’

d. (네가 도대체 사람이냐고?)

*ney-ka totaychey salam-i-nyako!*  
you-NOM at.all human-be-SFP

‘Are you a human? (to do such a thing!)’

(17) From Hortative COMP to SFP *-cako*

a. (그는 도서관에 같이 가자고 졸랐다.)

*ku-nun tosekwan-ey kathi ka-cako colu-ass-ta*  
he-TOP library-to together go-COMP press-PST-DEC

‘He begged me that I go to the library with him.’

b. (밥부터 먹자고?)

*pap-pwuthe mek-cako?*  
meal-from eat-SFP

‘Are you suggesting that we eat first?’

c. (이제 밥 먹으러 가자고.)

A: *icey pap-mek-ule ka-cako.*  
now food-eat-PURP go-SFP

‘Let’s go eat now.’

(그러자고.)

B: *kule-cako.*  
do.so-SFP

‘OK, let’s.’

d. (좀 비키자고요.)

A: *com pikhi-cako-yo.*  
a.little step.aside-SFP-POL

‘Step aside, please. (You’re blocking my view.)’

(밀지 말자고요.)

B: *mil-cimal-cako-yo*  
push-PROH-SFP-POL

‘Stop pushing me, please. (Don’t you have manners?)’

- Conventional SFPs vs. innovative SFPs derived from COMPs

- Utterances ending with innovative SFPs are COMP-headed clause in appearance.

- Innovative SFPs carry a stronger illocutionary force (with nuance of emphasis, irritation, etc.)

(18) a. *na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-ta.* (Conventional) (나도 정말 죽겠다.)

b. *na-to cengmal cwuk-keyss-tako.* (Innovative) (나도 정말 죽겠다고.)

I-also really die-FUT-SFP

a/b: ‘I am really hard-pressed, too.’

b. << (I (already) said) that I’ll really die.

(19) a. *kuke-y pothong elyewun il-i-nya?* (Conventional) (그게 보통 어려운 일이나?)

b. *kuke-y pothong elyewun il-i-nyako* (Innovative) (그게 보통 어려운 일이나고.)

that-NOM normal be.difficult matter-be-SFP

a/b: ‘Isn’t it extremely difficult? / What a difficult job it is!’

b. << (I (already) asked) if it is of regular difficulty.

- (20) a. *ppalli o-ala.* (Conventional) (빨리 와라.)  
 b. *ppalli o-lako.* (Innovative) (빨리 오라고.)  
 quickly come-SFP  
 a/b: 'Come quickly.'  
 b. << 'I (already) told you) to come quickly.
- (21) a. *icey pap-mek-ule ka-ca* (Conventional) (이제 밥 먹으러 가자.)  
 b. *icey pap-mek-ule ka-cako* (Innovative) (이제 밥 먹으러 가자고.)  
 now food-eat-PURP go-SFP  
 a/b. 'Let's go eat now.'  
 b. << 'I (already) said) that we should go to eat.

### [Concomitance Connective > SFP]

- (22) COMP-based Concomitance connectives

*-ta/la/nya/ca* + *-myense*  
 (from COMP) Concomitance connective

- (23) Concomitance-based SFPs: The *-{ta}myense* type

- a. From Declarative origin: *-tamyense*  
 b. From Imperative origin: *-lamyense*  
 c. From Interrogative origin: *-nyamyense*  
 d. From Hortative origin: *-camyense*

- The *-{ta}myense* forms developed from the constructions involving COMPs.
- The *-{ta}myense* SFPs carry diverse nuances '(re)confirmation' 'challenge' 'derisive', etc.

- (24) a. (아라샤 공관에 출입한다고 하면서 리영실 강지응을 보고 하는 말이)

*alasya kongkwan-ey chyulniphA-n-tako hA-myensye liyengsil kangAyung-ulpoko*  
 Russia embassy-at come.and.go-PRES-COMP say-CONN [name] [name]-DAT  
*hA-nAn mal-i*  
 say-ADN word-NOM

'While claiming that he regularly goes to the Russian Embassy, what he said to Lee Youngsil and Kang Jaeung is that...' (1896, *Toklipsinmwun* 523)

- b. (인민을 보호해야 준다면서 이런 것을 불허 주지 않는 거슨 [직무를 하는 거시 아니라])

*inmin-ul pohohA-yacwu-n-tamyensye ile-n kes-ul pAlkhy-ecwu-cian-nAn kes-un*  
 people-ACC protect-BEN-PRES-CONN like.this-ADN thing-ACC clarify-BEN-NEG-ADN thing-TOP

'While claiming that they [as civil servants] are protecting the people, that they do not clarify this kind of matter [taxes imposed on Koreans by Chinese] is... [neglecting their job] (It's despicable!)' (1896, *Toklipsinmwun* 1858)

- (25) A: [I'm going to the movies.] (나 영화 보러 가요) (26) (이번 여름에 유럽 간다면서.)

B: (뭐? 너 아프다면서.)  
*mwe? ne aphu-tamyense*  
 what? you be.sick-SFP

*ipen yelum-ey yulep ka-n-tamyense*  
 this summer-at Europe go-PRES-SFP  
 'You are going to Europe this summer, right?'

'What? Didn't you say you are sick? (What's wrong with you?)'

### [COMP-based Cause/Reason Connective > SFP]

- *-ni* 'because' > *-tani* Comp-based connective > *-tani* SFP

- (26) a. *pi-ka o-ni chwup-ta* (비가 오니 춥다.)  
 rain-NOM come-CAUS be.cold-DEC (from Late Middle Korean to Present)  
 'It is cold because it's raining.'

b. *ku-ka cwuk-ess-tani mit-eci-ci-ka anh-nun-ta* (그가 죽었다니 믿어지지 않는다.)  
 he-NOM die-PST-CONN believe-PASS-NOMZ-NOM NEG-PRES-DEC  
 ‘I can’t believe that he died. (lit. As they say that he died, it can’t be believed.)’

c. *ku-ka cwuk-tani* (그가 죽다니!)  
 he-NOM die-SFP  
 ‘That he dies/died! (I can’t believe it)’ (w/ tense-ambiguity)

- *-ni* ‘because’ > *-nikka* Emphatic causal connective > *-tanikka* COMP-based causal connective > *-tanikka* SFP

(27) a. *pi-ka o-nikka chwup-ta* (From the late 19th century to present) (비가 오니까 춥다.)  
 rain-NOM come-CAUS be.cold-DEC  
 ‘It is cold because it’s raining.’

b. *pi-ka o-keyss-tanikka wusan kac-ko ka-la* (비가 오겠단니까 우산 갖고 가라.)  
 rain-NOM come-FUT-CONN umbrella take-and go-IMP  
 ‘As they say it would rain, take an umbrella with you.’

c. *yeksi caki-pakkey eps-tanikka* (역시 자기밖에 없단니까.)  
 indeed self(you)-except not.exist-SFP  
 ‘Indeed you are the only one that cares for me. (I can always count on you!)’

d. *salam-i kule-myen mos ssu-n-tanikka* (사람이 그러면 못 쓴단니까.)  
 person-NOM do.so-if cannot use-PRES-SFP  
 ‘A (respectable) person should not do such things! (Everybody knows that!)’ (lit. (People) cannot use the person if he/she does something like that.)

### 3.3 Insubordination Extended: DMA (thetical)

- Korean has a number of discourse markers of agreement (DMAs).
- Most of them emerged from ellipsis, and many of them from insubordination (Rhee 2015).

(28)

Source Category	Form	Source Meaning
Conditional	<i>kulem</i>	‘if so’
	<i>amwulyem</i>	‘if it is whatsoever’
Quotative	<i>kulehkomalko</i>	‘that it is so and not so’
	<i>kulehtamata</i>	‘that it is so; it is not so’
Causal	<i>kulenikka</i>	‘because it is so’
	<i>kulekey</i>	‘at it being so’
	<i>kulssey</i>	‘at it being so’

(29) a. Textual function of *kulem* ‘if so / then’

A: [I’m not here to ask for money.] [돈 달라고 여기 온 거 아냐]

B: (그래? 좋아. 그럼 무슨 얘기를 하겠다는 거야?)

*kulay? coh-a. kulem mwusun yayki-lul ha-keyss-ta-nun ke-y-a?*

be.so be.good-END then what.kind talk-ACC say-FUT-DEC-ADN NOMZ-be-END

‘Is that so? Good. Then, what are you going to talk to me about?’ (PDK, KORTERM #3617)

b. DMA function of *kulem* ‘Right!’

A: (걍가 자꾸 그러니까 화가 나는 거야.)

*kyay-ka cakkwu kule-nikka hwa-ka na-nun ke-y-a*

that.guy-NOM repeatedly do.so-because anger-NOM exit-ADN NOMZ-be-END

‘Since that guy is doing that again and again I became angry.’



B: *kulem* (그럼)  
 'Right!' (< Lit. 'If (it is) so')  
 A: *kulayse....* (그래서..)  
 so...

(30) *kuleha-myen* >> *kulemyen* >> *kulem*  
 be.so-if then right  
 'if (it is) so'

(31) a. Textual function of *kulenikka* 'because it is so / therefore'  
 (미스터 김은 맨날 지각이야. 그러니까 승진도 못 하지.)  
*Mr.Kim-un maynnal cikak-i-ya kulenikka sungcin-to mos ha-ci*  
 Mr.Kim-TOP everyday tardy-be-END therefore promotion-also cannot do-END  
 'Mr. Kim is always tardy. So, he doesn't get a promotion.'

b. DMA function of *kulenikka* 'Right!'

A: *Mr.Kim-un maynnal cikak-i-ya* (미스터 김은 맨날 지각이야.)  
 Mr.Kim-TOP everyday tardy-be-END  
 'Mr. Kim is always tardy.'

B: *kulenikka* (그러니까)  
 'Right!'

A: *kulenikka acik sungcin-to mos ha-ci* (그러니까 아직 승진도 못 하지.)  
 {because.it.is.so, right} yet promotion-ADD cannot do-SFP  
 '{Right, That's why} he still can't get a promotion.'

(32) *kuleha-ni* >> *kuleha-nikka* >> *kulenikka* >> *ku(le)nikka*  
 be.so-CAUS/CONT be.so-because so/therefore right  
 'while (it is) so' 'because (it is) so'

## 4. Issues in Grammaticalization Theory

### 4.1 Insubordination

- Terminology: 'inconsequential clauses' (Haiman 1988), 'syntactic upgrading' (Heine et al. 1991, Rhee 2012), 'suspended clause' (Ohori 1995), 'insubordination' (Evans 2007), 'main-clause ellipsis' (Rhee 2002), 'insubordinated clauses' (Heine et al. 2011, Kaltenböck et al. 2011), 'disruption' (Davis n.d.)
- Certain SFPs and DMAs in Korean developed from insubordination.
- The strong pragmatic effect of ellipsis seems to motivate other strategic uses of non-final forms as sentential endings (Horie 2011, 2012; Kim & Horie 2006, 2008, nominalizers and modifiers into sentential endings).
- Insubordination is very common in grammaticalization in Korean. (Sohn 1995, Park & Sohn 2002, Jung 2001, Rhee 2002, 2012).
- Grammatical change influenced by ellipsis is attested across languages (cf. Haiman, 1988 'inconsequential clauses' in Hua; Davis, n.d. 'disruption' in Hua and Alabama; Ohori, 1995, Iguchi 1998, Higashiizumi 2006, 'suspended clause' in Japanese; Rhee, 2002, Sohn, 2003 'main clause ellipsis' in Korean; Evans, 2007, 2009 'insubordination' across languages; Heine et al. 2011, Kaltenböck et al. 2011, 'thetical constructions,' and 'insubordinated clause' for German).
- The connective function of the connectives still survives, rendering the utterance ambiguous between the two opposing functions of connecting clauses and ending sentences.

## 4.2 Ellipsis & Pragmatic Inference

- At the onset of the development of grammatical markers through insubordination, i.e., when such a grammaticalization process has not sufficiently proceeded, the utterance seems to be an elliptical structure similar to utterances in English that end with such connectives as *and*, *or*, *but*, *though*, etc. (Mulder & Thompson 2008, Mulder et al. 2009, Barth-Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen 2002, Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2000, Mulder & Thompson 2006)
- DMAs (for back-channeling) historically originated from discourse segments that end with connectives, thus suggesting that they are also of elliptical structures.
- What has been ellipsed is strategically withheld by the speaker to show that it is so obvious that it does not need to be explicitly expressed.
- The high degree of its being obvious warrants its ellipsis and at the same time serves as an endorsement of the truthfulness or firmness of what the previous speaker has just said (Rhee, 2015: 20).

### (33) Strategic ellipsis and interlocutors

#### A. The speaker

Strategy: Elide the main clause

Effect: (a) Economy; (b) No commitment to the (elided) detail; (c) Enrichment by the addressee

#### B. The addressee

Problem: (a) The speaker ended his/her utterance with a connective, so I can wait for the main clause.

(b) The intonation contour suggests utterance closure.

(c) Now the discourse reached the TRP.

Problem solving strategy: Inferences

### (34) = (10b) Inferences

A: [Why does he look so down?]

[그 사람 왜 그렇게 의기소침해 있어?]

B: *ayin-i ttena-ss-ketun*  
sweetheart-NOM leave-PST-SFP

(애인이 떠났거든.)

‘Because his sweetheart left him.’

[His sweetheart left him]-ketun ‘if’

(a) I heard: [His sweetheart left him]-KETUN (‘if’)

(b) The speaker did not complete the sentence.

(c) If the speaker had completed the sentence, it must have been [If his sweetheart left him, how can he not be down?]

(d) It is impossible for him not to be sad in such a situation.

(e) The speaker seems to have not completed the sentence because what remained unsaid is very straightforward.

(f) Then the embedded proposition [His sweetheart left him] is a strong cause of his sadness.

(g) The apparent conditional marker -KETUN is better interpreted as ‘because’ rather than ‘if.’

(h) [If his sweetheart left him] in fact means [Because his sweetheart left him].

### (35) = (27d) Inferences

*salam-i kule-myen mos ssu-n-tanikka*  
person-NOM do.so-if cannot use-PRES-CONN

(사람이 그러면 못 쓴다니까.)

‘A (respectable) person should not do such things!’

[A respectable person should not do such things]-TANIKKA

(a) I heard [A respectable person should not do such things]-TANIKKA (‘because’ ‘while’ ‘despite’)

- (b) X did not finish the sentence. But the prosody indicated completion of utterance.
- (c) If X had completed the sentence it would have been:  
[A respectable person should not do such things]-*TANIKKA*('despite'), [you are doing or did such things.]
- (d) I did such things.
- (e) X thinks that my doing such things is against what X (or someone else) said.
- (f) X is protesting against what I did.
- (g) X is reiterating what X said before (or something that is well-known).
- (h) X is emphatically restating what X said before (or something that is well-known).
- (i) *-TANIKKA* may not simply mean 'because' 'while' 'even though'; its meaning is more felicitous when interpreted as an emphatic assertion marker.
- (j) Then, what I heard may be:  
[A respectable person should not do such things]-*TANIKKA* (**emphatic assertion**)

- Insubordination/Ellipsis in other languages: the English conditional marker *if* in hypothetical conditional sentences (cf. López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2012, Brinton 2014), and the request marking function from idiom fragments involving *-te* of a connective function in Japanese benefactive constructions (Ohori 1995)

- (36) a. ***If only*** *he were here, I would be very happy.*  
 b. ***If only*** *he were here!*  
 c. *He acts **as if** he didn't know that.*  
 d. ***As if*** *you didn't know that.*  
 e. ***As if!***

- (37) a. *Tyotto kotti ki-te-kudasai/kure/tyoodai*  
 a.little(?) here come-TE-give[BEN]  
 'Will you please do the favor of coming here now?'  
 b. *Tyotoo kotti ki-te*  
 a.little(?) here come-TE  
 'Come here now.' (Adapted from Ohori 1995: 205)

- Korean connectives, particularly *-a*, *-key*, *-ci*, and *-ko* (similar to the Japanese *-te*) were extensively involved in the grammaticalization of SFPs (Kim 1997, 1998, 2000; Rhee 2002).
- Other cases of SFP development: nominalized clauses ending with a nominalizer (standalone nominalization as bullet-point sentences) or with an accusative marker (regret sentences) are among those that underwent similar processes (Rhee 2008, 2011b)
- Korean exhibits more widespread ellipsis-based grammaticalization than Japanese, in which a suspended clause is marked by a (pseudo-)logical connective of reason or concession, such as *kara*, *kedo*, and *noni* (Ohori 1995: 207-213; see also Haugh 2008).

### 4.3 Intersubjectification & Interpersonality

- Intersubjectification is prominent in the development of SFPs from connectives. (e.g., REASSERTION and EMPHASIS associated with SFPs *-{ta}nikka*).
- Since they originated from a discourse situation where the ellipsis is strategically used by the speaker, SFPs are necessarily highly interpersonal and intersubjective.
- They are frequently used in emotive interactions, often with an intonation typical of sentences uttered by irritated speakers.

- (38) A: *com coyonghi ha-lanikka* (좀 조용히 하라니까.)  
 a.little quietly do-SFP  
 ‘Please keep quiet!’ (Can’t you be quiet?)
- B: *al-ass-tanikka* (알았다니까.)  
 know-PST-SFP  
 ‘Alright, alright!’ (I say I will, OK?)

- SFPs indicate the speaker's acknowledgment of, and response to, the addressee's attitude/stance.
- The attitudes in these situations are different from those typically encoded by the modality markers for the speaker's epistemic stance, since they are attitudes toward the addressee (e.g., irritation), rather than toward the proposition.

## 5. Conclusion

- Korean has a large number of SFPs developed from connectives through ellipsis.
- Ellipsis is strategically used by the speaker in discourse.
- The addressee actively seeks the elided information in the missing main clause. Repeated inference patterns may be conventionalized.
- The inferred meanings are often intersubjective and they often become semanticized on the utterance-final materials (mostly connectives), thus creating ‘semantically elaborate’ grammatical markers (Kuteva 2009, Kuteva & Comrie 2005).
- The extent of grammaticalization may be fundamentally constrained by the limit of pragmatics.
- The pragmatic inferences shape the routes of semantic changes in grammaticalization (cf. Heine et al. 1991).
- Some forms created through insubordination have become theticals, i.e., highly unitized expressions serving discourse marker functions.
- Some meanings of grammatical markers may come from ‘purely’ structural characteristics.

**Abbreviations:** ACC: accusative; ADD: additive; ADN: adnominal; BEN: benefactive; CAUS: causal; COMP: complementizer; CONN: connective; DAT: dative; DEC: declarative; END: sentential-ending; FUT: future; HON: honorific; IMP: imperative; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PASS: passive; POL: polite; PRES: present; PROH: prohibitive; PST: past; PURP: purposive; SFP: sentence-final particle; TOP: topic

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