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From Rhetorical Strategies to Grammar

1. Introduction

- General agreement: Discourse is where grammaticalization is triggered, or discourse and grammar are in mutual feeding relationship in their formation (Givón 1979a&b, Lichtenberk 1991, Heine-Claudi-Hünnemeyer. 1991, Heine-Kaltenböck-Kuteva-Long. 2013, 2017, inter alia).
- Discourse is the locus of active meaning negotiation filled with various kinds of discourse strategies to fulfill intended persuasion.
- Rhetorical strategies are expected to surface among the most researched subjects of grammaticalization.
- Certain grammatical markers are reported to have discourse-pragmatic origins, e.g. Givón (1979a) for clause subordinators, Hopper (1982) and Herring (1988) for perfective aspect markers, etc.
- Herring (1991): Tamil rhetorical questions grammaticalized into markers of clausal conjunction and subordination.
- Korean: In many instances of grammaticalization rhetorical and discursive strategies played crucial roles.
- This presentation introduces some of such cases: **forged quotation, false promises,** and **pseudo-questions**.
- Generalization in grammaticalization processes across languages can benefit from individual as well as typological considerations (Heine-Narrog-Long 2016).

[Preliminaries: Rhetoric]

- The term 'rhetoric/rhetorical' has been used in various senses in different disciplines.
- 'rhetoric' in general: an art of persuasion, "the study of producing discourses and interpreting how, when, and why discourses are persuasive" (Keith & Lundberg 2008: 4)
- Rhee (2008): a broad pragmatic perspective, i.e. a means of persuasion, producing a social discourse with affective meaning or a perlocutionary effect on the addressee (Leech 1983, Leith and Myerson 1989, cf. Wales 2001: 344-346 for discussion of the notion).
- Motivations for adopting rhetorical strategies: to increase perlocutionary effect of the statement by making it more dramatic and vivid

2. Case studies

2.1 Forged Quotation: "Borrowed Mouth"

(1) COMPs (for embedding quoted/reported speech)

Embedded Clause Type	Complementizer	Example	
Declarative	*-tako*	*-ka-n-__tako__*	'that (he) goes'
Interrogative	*-nyako*	*-ka-__nyako__*	'if (he) goes'
Imperative	*-lako*	*-ka-__lako__*	'that (he should) go'
Hortative	*-cako*	*-ka-__cako__*	'(suggest) that (we/they) should go together'

e.g.　(나는 간다고 했다.)　　　　　　　　　　　(나는 가냐고 했다.)

　　　a. *na-nun　ka-n-__tako__　　　ha-yss-ta*　　b. *na-nun　ka-__nyako__　ha-yss-ta.*

　　　　I-TOP　　go-PRES-COMP　say-PST-DEC　　　　I-TOP　　go-COMP　　say-PST-DEC

　　　　'I said (to him) **that** I would go.'　　　　　　'I asked (him) **if** (he) was going.'

(2) **Functional extension** of COMP-based grammatical forms (mostly into 'elaborate' markers, Kuteva & Comrie 2005, Kuteva 2009)

    a. DEC-COMP *-tako* > Reason marker (REAS)

      ku-nun   *pappu-**tako***   *setwulu-n-ta*   (그는 바쁘다고 서두른다.)

      he-TOP   be.busy-REAS   hurry-PRES-DEC

      'He hurries because he is busy.' (< lit. He, saying, "(I) am busy," hurries.)

    b. INT-COMP *-nyako* > Pejorative Topic marker (PT)

      *thomatho-**nyako** toykey*   *cak-ney*   (토마토냐고 되게 작네.)

      tomato-PT   very   be.small-EXCL

      'What a small tomato!' (< lit. Saying, "(Is it/Are you) a tomato?", (it is/you are) very small.')

    c. IMP-COMP *-lako* > Purposive marker (PURP)

      *somwun-na-**lako***   *way*   *kul-ay*   (소문나라고 왜 그래?)

      rumor-exit-PURP   why   do.so-END

      'Are you trying to stir up a rumor?' (< lit. Are you doing so, saying, "Let there be a rumor!"?)

    d. HORT-COMP *-cako* > Intentional/Purposive marker (INTEN)

      nay-ka   *ne sonhay-ip-hi-**cako***   *ile-nun*   *ke-ø*   *ani-ya* (내가 너 손해 입히자고 이러는 거 아니야.)

      I-NOM   you loss-suffer-CAUS-INTEN   do.this-ADN   NOMZ-NOM   be.not-END

      'I'm not doing this in order to make you suffer loss.' (< lit. I'm not doing this, saying, "Let's make <u>you</u> suffer loss!")

(3) COMP-based adverbs: Patterns illustrated (Rhee 2009)

    a. *ku-nun*   **<u>sal-apo-keyss-tako</u>**   *pamnac-ulo*   *ilha-n-ta.* (그는 살아보겠다고 밤낮으로 일한다.)

      he-TOP   **live-TRL-FUT-COMP (=desperately)**   night.day-INST   work-PRES-DEC

      'He works desperately day and night (to make a living).'

      (< (Lit.) 'He works day and night, saying, "(I) will try to live."')

    b. *ku-nun*   **<u>cwuk-elako</u>**   *aph-ulhyanghay talli-ess-ta.*   (그는 죽어라고 앞을 향해 달렸다.)

      he-TOP   **die-COMP (=desperately)**   front-towards   run-PST-DEC

      'He ran forward with all his might.'

      (< (Lit.) 'He ran forward, saying, "Die!"')

    c. *ku-nun*   **<u>a-l-ke-y-mwe-(i)-nyako</u>**   *caleka-ss-ta.* (그는 알게 뭐냐고 자러 갔다.)

      he-TOP   **know-PRES-NOMZ-NOM-what-be-COMP (=nonchalantly)**   go.to.bed-PST-DEC

      'He went to sleep nonchalantly.'

      (< (Lit.) 'He went to sleep, saying, "What is it that (I) should know?"')

    d. *kulehkey*   **<u>na-phyenha-cako</u>**   *kamaniss-cima-la.*   (그렇게 나 편하자고 가만있지 마라.)

      that.way   **I-be.comfortable-COMP (=selfishly)** remain.quiet-PROH-IMP

      'Don't selfishly remain quiet like that.'

      (< (Lit.) 'Don't remain quiet like that, saying "Let me be comfortable."')

(4) DEC-COMP-based adverbs (examples) (Note: Forms end with *-tako*)

a. *kulehtako*	'still; nonetheless'	< 'saying, "It is so."'	(그렇다고)
b. *cwuknuntako*	'self-pitifully'	< 'saying, "I am dying."'	(죽는다고)
c. *salkeysstako*	'desperately'	< 'saying, "I will live."'	(살겠다고)
d. *nacalnasstako*	'haughtily'	< 'saying, "I am great."'	(나 잘났다고)
e. *michyesstako*	'nonsensically'	< 'saying, "I am insane."'	(미쳤다고)
f. *calhaypokeysstako*	'earnestly'	< 'saying, "I will try to do it well."'	(잘해 보겠다고)
g. *salapokeysstako*	'effortfully'	< 'saying, "I will try to live."'	(살아보겠다고)
h. *mossalkeysstako*	'frustratedly'	< 'saying, "I can't live."'	(못 살겠다고)
i. *cwukkeysstako*	'desperately'	< 'saying, "I will die."'	(죽겠다고)

(5) INT-COMP-based adverbs (examples) (Note: Forms end with *-nyako*)
    a. *weynttekinyako*   'gladly'   < 'saying, "What kind of cake is this?"' (웬 떡이냐고)
    b. *alkeymwenyako*   'nonchalantly'   < 'saying, "What should I know?"' (알게 뭐냐고)
    c. *mwusuncisinyako*   'protestingly'   < 'saying, "What act is it?"' (무슨 짓이냐고)
    d. *mwusunsolinyako*   'protestingly'   < 'saying, "What sound is it?"' (무슨 소리냐고)
    e. *kukeyetinyako*   'appreciatively'   < 'saying, "Where is it?"' (그게 어디냐고)

(6) IMP-COMP-based adverbs (examples) (Note: Forms end with *-lako*)
    a. *taliyanalsallilako*   'desperately'   < 'saying, "Leg! Save me!"' (다리야 나 살리라고)
    b. *sallyetallako*   'begging mercy'   < 'saying, "Please save me!"' (살려달라고)
    c. *ttwulhecyelako*   'attentively'   < 'saying, "Let it be bored a hole!"' (뚫어져라고)
    d. *pwatallako*   'begging mercy'   < 'saying, "Please be considerate!"' (봐달라고)
    e. *cwukelako*   'desperately'   < 'saying, "Die!"' (죽어라고)
    f. *nalsallilako*   'desperately'   < 'saying, "Save me!"' (날 살리라고)
    g. *nalcapamekulako*   'indifferently'   < 'saying, "Kill and eat me!"' (날 잡아먹으라고)
    h. *payccaylako*   'unyieldingly'   < 'saying, "Cut my belly!"' (배 째라고)

(7) HORT-COMP-based adverbs (examples) (Note: Forms end with *-cako*)
    a. *nacohcako*   'selfishly'   < 'saying, "Let's make it good for me!"' (나 좋자고)
    b. *cwukcako*   'enthusiastically'   < 'saying, "Let's die!"' (죽자고)
    c. *cwukcasalcako*   'obsessively'   < 'saying, "Let's die, let's live (together)!"' (죽자 살자고)
    d. *eccecako*   'why'   < 'saying, "Let's (do it) somehow!"' (어쩌자고)
    e. *naphyenhacako*   'selfishly'   < 'saying, "Let's make me comfortable!"' (나 편하자고)
    f. *necwukkonacwukcako*   'irrationally'   < 'saying, "Let's make you die and me die!"' (너 죽고 나 죽자고)

2.2 Feigned Imperative: False Promises

- The speech act of command is often avoidable across languages, and strong obligation markers are crosslinguistically not very common. (Narrog 2010)
- The Korean language which shows fastidious concern in interpersonal relationship, fully equipped with multi-layered honorification- and politeness-marking grammatical devices, presents itself as one of the languages that avoid to the extreme level the impositive speech act, i.e. imperative (Koo 2004a,b).
- The impositive nature of imperative speech acts is so great that even the honorification-marking does not rescue the speech act from the negative force. e.g. [+Hon] *Haseyo!* (< *ha-**si**-e-yo*) 'Do it' can be face-threatening. (note: *-si-* is the honorification marker.)
- Alternative speech acts are well developed, e.g. using hortative 'let's' marked with honorification, using pseudo-monologue question marked with politeness thus signaling its non-monologic intention, etc.
- Korean continually developed alternative strategies in history, and these idiosyncrasies in Korean seem to be responsible for the development of imperative with the disguise of promissive in PDK. (Koo & Rhee 2013)

(8) Imperative SFPs in Korean

Specializing Forms	*-sipsio*	Formal,	Polite, H-Honorific	
	-ela	Formal,	Polite	
	-(u)la	Formal,	Audience-Blind	
	-(u)sila	Formal,	H-Honorific,	Audience-Blind
Declarative-Derived Forms	*-o*	Formal,	M-Honorific,	Archaic/poetic
	-seyyo	Informal,	H-Honorific,	Polite
	-eyo	Informal,	Polite	
	-sye	Informal,	L-Honorific	
	-e	Informal		
Connective-Derived Forms	*-key*	Informal	(< *-key*:	mode-marker)
	-keyna	Informal	(< *-key*:	mode-marker)
	-ci	Informal	(< *-ci*:	non-finite; nominalizer)
	-lyem	Informal	(< *?-lye*:	intentional)
	-lyemwuna	Informal	(< *?-lye*:	intentional)

(9) Promissive SFPs in Korean (Sohn 2001)
   a. intimate level: *-lkey*
   b. polite level: *-lkey-yo*   ☞   (*-yo*: POL)
   c. plain level: *-ma*
   d. familiar level: *-(u)msey*

- Polite promissive *-lkeyyo* is being innovated as polite imperative (often harshly denounced by prescriptivists).
- Modulated with honorification: *-lkeyyo* [-Hon] and ⁻*silkeyyo* [+Hon]

(10) Polite Promissive *-lkeyyo* (original function)
   (to parents after flunking a test)
   *te   yelsimhi   kongpwuha-**lkey-yo***   (더 열심히 공부할게요.)
   more   earnestly   study-PROM-POL
   'I promise I will study harder.'

(11) Imperative (Polite Request) *-lkey-yo* & *-si-lkey-yo* (innovated function)
   a. (a nurse to a young patient at a dental clinic)   b. (a nurse to an adult patient)
   (자 입 좀 크게 벌릴게요.)   (여기 침대에 누우실게요.)
   *ca   ip   com   khukey   pelli-**lkey-yo***   *yeki   chimtay-ey   nwuwu-**si-lkey-yo***
   now   mouth a.little wide   open-IMP-POL   here   bed-at   lie.down-HON-IMP-POL
   'Now, please open your mouth wide.'   'Please lie on your back on the bed over here.'

(12) Imperative (Polite Command/Request) (innovated function)
   a. (the head-nurse to a trainee)   b. (a head-beautician to her assistant)
   (정리는 나중에 할게요.)   (3번 손님 먼저 도와드리실게요.)
   *cengli-nun   nacwung-ey   ha-**lkey-yo***   *3-pen   sonnim   mence   tow-atuli-**si-lkey-yo***
   cleanup-TOP   later.time-at   do-IMP-POL   3-number   client   first   serve-BEN-HON-IMP-POL
   'Clean up later, please.' (Do something else first.) 'Please, serve the client at #3 first.'

2.3 Pseudo-Questions: "Don't answer my questions"
2.3.1 Indefinite Pronouns & Indefinite Adverbs

(13) Indefinite pronouns from pseudo-questions

Form	Source Construct	Source Meaning	Pro-form Meaning
nwukwu	who	who?	someone
nwuka	who-NOM	who is?	someone
nwukwu-(i)-nka	who-(be)-Q	who is it?	someone
nwukwu-(i)-nci	who-(be)-Q	who is it?	someone
mwe	what	what?	something
mwe-(i)-nka	what-(be)-Q	what is it?	something
mwues-ey-(i)-nka	what-at-(be)-Q	at what is it?	at/to/by something
encey	when	when?	some time
encey-(i)-nka	when-(be)-Q	when is it?	once, some time
eti	where	where?	somewhere
eti-nka	where-Q	where is it?	somewhere
eti-ey-nka	where-at-Q	(at) where is it?	(at) somewhere
eti-lo-nka	where-to-Q	to where is it?	to somewhere
ettehkey	how	how?	somehow
ettehkey ettehkey	how how	how how?	somehow (with difficulty)
ecce-nci	how-Q	how?	somehow
way-nka	why-Q	why is it?	for some reason
way-nci	why-Q	why is it?	for some reason, somehow

(14) a. *wuli cwung-ey   **nwukwu-ø-nka**   pemin-i   iss-ta*   (우리 중에 누군가 범인이 있다.)
      we middle-at   who-be-Q (=someone)   culprit-NOM   exist-DEC
      'There is **someone** who's a culprit among us.' (< lit.: There's **who-is-it** a culprit among us.)

b. *ku-nun   ecey   kakey-eyse **mwe-ø-nka**-lul   sa-ss-ta*   (그는 어제 가게에서 뭔가를 샀다.)
　　he-TOP   yesterday   store-at   <u>what-be-Q (=something)</u>-ACC   buy-PST-DEC
　　'He bought **something** at the store.' (< lit.: He bought **what-is-it** at a store.)

c. *ku salam   **way-ø-nci**   mam-ey   an   tul-e*   (그 사람 왠지 맘에 안 들어.)
　　that person <u>why-be-Q (=for some reason)</u> mind-at   not   enter-END
　　'I don't like the person **for some (unknown) reason**.' (< lit. He does'nt **why-is-it** enter into (my) heart.)

2.3.2 Discourse Markers
- Korean has many DMs that originated from question constructions.

(15) *mwe*   < *mwe?* 'what?'   (mitigator)
　　way   < *way?* 'why?'   (attention-attractor)
　　eti   < *eti?* 'where?'   (emphatic negator)

(16) a. Mitigator
　　　*ku salam-ø   **mwe**   com   isangha-y*   (그 사람 뭐 좀 이상해.)
　　　that person-TOP <u>what (=DM)</u> a.little   be.strange-END
　　　'The person is **somewhat (sort of)** weird.' (< lit. The person is, **<u>what?</u>**, a little strange.)

　　b. Attention-attractor
　　　*ke **way**   kimpaksa mal-i-ya*   (거 왜 김박사 말이야.)
　　　that <u>why (=DM)</u> Dr.Kim   talk-be-END
　　　'**Look,** (I am going to talk about) Dr. Kim.' (< lit.: That, **<u>why?</u>,** it's about Dr. Kim.)

　　c. Emphatic negator
　　　A: [Isn't he really smart?]   [그 사람 정말 똑똑하지?]
　　　B: **<u>*eti?*</u>**   *cenhye   an   ttokttokha-y*   (어디? 전혀 안 똑똑해.)
　　　　　<u>where (=DM)</u> never   not   be.smart-END
　　　　　'**Absolutely not.** He's not smart at all.' (< lit.: **<u>Where?</u>** He's not smart at all.)

2.3.3 RQTPs (Rhetorical Question functioning as a Topic Presenter)
- There is a group of topic presenters originated from rhetorical questions (RQTPs).
- The rhetorical questions are embedded in a conditional protasis (thus, conditional clauses with embedded hypothetical questions) and contain *wh*-words.
- The rhetorical questions are recruited to preface the speaker's intention to elaborate on certain aspect of the larger topic (thus, 'micro-topic presenters' Rhee 2014).

(17) *kukey X-nyamyen*   (X = *wh*-word)
　　'if (you) ask (me) what/who/where/when/why/how it is'

(18) *kukey X-nyamyen* topic presenters
　　　a. ***kukey nwukwu-nyamyen***   'If you ask who it is'   (그게 누구냐면)
　　　b. ***kukey encey-nyamyen***   'If you ask when it is'   (그게 언제냐면)
　　　c. ***kukey eti-nyamyen***   'If you ask where it is' (그게 어디냐면)
　　　d. ***kukey mwe-nyamyen***   'If you ask what it is'   (그게 뭐냐면)
　　　e. ***kukey ettehkey-nyamyen*** 'If you ask how it is'   (그게 어떻게냐면)
　　　f. ***kukey way-nyamyen***   'If you ask why it is'   (그게 왜냐면)

(19) a. *what*-RQTP (*kukey mwe-nyamyen*; *mwe* 'what')

[Around this time the nano-technology came to attract the attention of the industry.]

[이 때쯤 산업현장에서 나노기술이 주목을 받기 시작했습니다.]

kukey mwe-nyamyen   *wancen*   *sinkiswul-i-ntey...*   (그게 뭐냐면 완전 신기술인데...)

RQTP(what)   completely   new.technology-be-CONN

'Speaking of it, it is a completely new technology, and ...' (Lit.: 'If (you) ask (me) what it is, it is···')

b. *who*-RQTP (*kukey nwukwu-nyamyen*; *nwukwu* 'who')

[I came across a very funny guy in the street this morning.] [나 오늘 아침에 길거리에서 웃기는 친구를 만났는데]

kukey nwukwu-nyamyen   *nay*   *chotunghakkyo*   *tongchang-i-ntey...* (그게 누구냐면 내 초등학교 동창인데..)

RQTP(who)   my   elementary.school   classmate-be-CONN

'Speaking about him, he is my elementary school classmate, and ...'

(Lit. 'If (you) ask (me) who he is, (he) is...')

- The source constructions of RQTPs occur from around the turn of the 20th century, and RQTPs are presently in active innovation in PDK.
- The embedded sentence in the protasis of the hypothetical conditional clause is an interrogative sentence (no direct illocutionary force; 'self-directed question')
- RQTP as a 'reading the addressee's mind' signal: asking on behalf of the addressee (effectively saying, "I know what you're wondering, so I will ask it to myself on your behalf and answer it for you.")
- By this strategic 'kind' act of the speaker, the addressee is relieved of asking a question, or can avoid exposing his/her inattentiveness, i.e. being not fully caught up with the content of what is being said, or obtains a clue as to what aspect of the topic is noteworthy.
- The friendliness promotes the sense of solidarity between the interlocutors. (cf. attitudinal stance).

3. Question Forms and Grammaticalization in Other Languages
3.1 Question words > Connectors (relativizers/connectives/complementizers/subordinators)

[English *who, which, what*...]

(20) *I met the man.* **Who?** *He came yesterday.*

      >>> *I met the man* **who** *came yesterday.* (Rhee 2016[1998]:332)

(21) a. *I know the man* **who** *she loves.*

      b. *This is a book* **which** *I bought in China.*

      c. *I believe* **what** *you said.*

[German *was* 'what', *welch* 'which'] (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 250)

(22) *Ich weiss nicht,* **was** *er will*

      I   know   not   what   he   wants

      'I don't know what he wants.'

[Tamil TRQ (Thematicizing Rhetorical Question)] (Herring 1991)

(23) a. *Oru nāḷu puruṣaṇkāraṇ* **eṉṉa** *ceñcirukkṟāṇ;*

      one day husband   what do-PERF-PR3MS

      'One day, what did the husband do?'

b. *Āka inta poṇṇu* **eṉṉa** *āyirutu;*   *karppamā*

      thus this girl   what become-PFV-PR3NS pregnant

      ākutu   *inta poṇṇu.*

      become-PR3NS this girl

      'And so what happens to the girl? She gets pregnant, the girl (does).'

c. *Oru nāḷu puruṣaṇkāraṇ* **enna** *ceñcirukkṟāṇ,*
one day husband what do-PERF-PR3MS
"Nāṇ vēṭṭaikku pōkaṇum" *ṇṇu* *pōyiṭṭāṇ.*
I hunt-DAT go-be-necessary QUOT go-PFV-P3MS
'One day, what did the husband do?
Saying, "I must go hunting", he went off.'

d. *Avaṇ iñkē illai* **ēṇṇā** *avaṇ ūrukku* *pōṇāṇ.*
he here NEG CONJ he town-DAT go-P3MS
'He is not here because he went to his village'.

[Other languages] (Heine & Kuteva 2002; Heine et al. in preparation)
(24) a. French: qui? 'who', que? 'what'... > relative clause markers
b. Albanian: *kush* 'who?' > relative clause marker (Buchholz-Fiedler-Uhlisch. 1993: 265)
c. Romani: *kon* 'who?', *so* 'what?', *kaj* 'where?', *kana* 'when?', *sar* 'how?'.. > markers of complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses (Matras 1996; Heine and Kuteva 2006: 212-3)
d. Georgian: *ray* 'what?' > *raytamca* complementizer (Harris and Campbell 1995: 298) (Heine et al. in preparation)

3.2 Question words > Comparison standards and Similes
[Hungarian *mint* 'how' > comparison standard] (Halász 1988: 542; cited from Heine & Kuteva 2002)
(25) *nagy-obb,* **mint** *a fia*
tall-er than his son
'He is taller **than** his son.'

[Colloquial German *wie* 'how' > comparison standard] (Heine & Kuteva 2002)
(26) *Er ist größer* **wie** *sein Sohn*
he is taller than his son
'He is taller **than** his son.'

[German *wie* 'how' > simile] (Heine & Kuteva 2002)
(27) *Sie sieht aus* **wie** *eine Schauspielerin.*
she looks out like a actress
'She looks **like** an actress.'

[Seychelles *koma* (< French *comment* 'how?') > simile] (Heine & Kuteva 2002)
(28) *ban* **koma** *u*
people like you
'people **like** you'

3.3 Question words > Indefinite pronouns
[Mandarin *shénme* 'what' > 'something'; *sheí* 'who?' > 'someone'] (Haspelmath 1997: 171; Heine & Kuteva 2002)
(29) *Tā bǎ shénme shū diū le.*
she ACC what book throw PFV
'She threw away a certain book.'

[Other languages] (Heine & Kuteva 2002)
(30) a. Yindjibarndi: *ngana* 'who?' > 'someone' 'anyone' (Wordick 1982: 76)
b. Kiowa: *hôn-dé* 'what?' > 'something' (indefinite); *há.-cò* 'how?' > 'in some manner' (indefinite) (Watkins 1984: 183⁻4)
c. Acoma Keresan: *háu* 'who?' > 'some' (indefinite) (Maring 1967: 48)

    d. Acoma: *cíí* 'what?' > 'some' (indefinite); *háca* 'how much?' > 'some' (indefinite) (Maring 1967: 48)

    e. Plains Cree: *kī kway* 'what' > 'something', 'a thing', 'an entity', indefinite pronoun (Wolfart 1973: 35‒6)

    f. Classical Greek: *tís* 'who?' > 'someone' (Haspelmath 1997: 170).

    g. Newari *su* 'who?' > 'nobody' (with verbal negation); *chu* 'what?' > 'nothing' (with verbal negation) (Haspelmath 1997: 170)

    h. Khmer *qwǝy* 'what?' > 'something'; *naa* 'where?' > 'somewhere' (Haspelmath 1997: 170).

4. Issues for Discussion

4.1 Rhetorical Strategies

[RQTP]

- Formal inclusion of a pseudo-question (i.e. the embedded question in conditional clauses) produces a strong engaging effect, simply because questions per se constitute an intrusive and impositive speech act.
- The use of RQTPs is motivated by the speaker's desire to feign interactivity.
- The speaker expresses the desire for the addressee's active engagement (cf. 'involvement' Lee, 2001) by saying something "through a borrowed mouth" (Rhee, 2009). (the question originates from the speaker but is presented as if it had been spoken by the discourse partner or a third party and were being reported).
- Question words are susceptible to grammaticalization in Korean (Kim, 2002; Lee, 1999; Koo 2000, Koo 2008, Rhee 2008, Kim 2010), as well as across languages (Heine & Kuteva 2002, Heine et al. in preparation).
- The speaker attempts to accomplish two potentially contradictory goals: a politeness strategy not demanding verbal responses (i.e. reply) & an impositive strategy demanding cognitive responses (i.e. attention).

4.2 Discursive Strategies

[Imperative]

- **Solidarity-building** strategy: 'I will clean up later,' in order to convey the intended meaning of command, 'Clean up later!': The speaker is strategically saying it as if she intended to do it herself.
- The addressee infers the intended meaning only based on the conversational situation (unless marked [+Hon]).
- **Politeness** strategy: Using an established imperative marker unavoidably brings forth potential face-threatening. When the command takes the form of a promise, the face-threatening becomes mitigated because the utterance *prima facie* is not impositive to the discourse partner.

[RQTP]

- Intersubjectification (Traugott & König 1991; Traugott 2003, 2010; Traugott & Dasher 2002) is prominent with all/most instances illustrated; stance presupposes the presence of the discourse partner.
- From the perspective of intersubjectification, the use of hypothetical conditionals is like 'reading the addressee's mind,' i.e. asking on behalf of the addressee, and thus a gesture of considerateness ("I know what you're wondering, so I will ask it to myself on your behalf and answer it for you.")
- The friendliness promotes the sense of solidarity between the interlocutors.

4.3 Attention to Third Party

[Imperative]

- Intersubjectification is conceptualized largely between the speaker and the addressee.
- The development of the imperative -lkeyyo from promissive goes beyond the speaker-addressee intersubjectification, i.e. it was strongly motivated by the consideration of the people present in the scene. (i.e., attention to the audience within earshot).
- The use of this promissive-turned imperative is particularly often observed among service providers especially in businesses catering to high-class clientele. (a service-providers' in-group discourse strategy employed while clients are present in the scene).
- The rationale behind this is that employers (or high-ranking employees) issuing a command to their low-ranking employees in the presence of their clients may negatively affect the atmospheres of classy and posh businesses patronized by high-profile clients.

- The desire to avoid issuing commands in the presence of clients seems to have strongly motivated this grammatical change in which a mild form of speech act (i.e. promissive) has been recruited to encode a more potentially face-threatening speech act (i.e. imperative).

5. Summary & Conclusion
- Grammaticalization of certain grammatical markers involves rhetorical and discursive strategies.
- Speakers use available linguistic forms often manipulating them to solve communicative problems to be attentive to the addressee or even the people who are present in the discourse scene.
- Grammaticalization is indeed a multi-faceted process influenced by many ambient linguistic and extra-linguistic, situational factors that are present in individual instances of language use.
- Language speakers use available language materials to fulfill immediate discursive needs; "speakers of a language are not mere consumers of linguistic forms but are active manipulators of the existing forms, and thus creators and innovators of language" (Rhee & Koo 2014: 334).
- Therefore, it calls for the necessity of analyzing language use and grammatical change from multiple perspectives.

Abbreviations: ABF: audience-blind form; ACC: accusative; ADD: additive; ADN: adnominal; BEN: benefactive; CAUS: causative; COMP: complementizer; COND: conditional; CONN: connective; CR: current relevance; CT: concessive topic; DAT: dative; DEC: declarative; DM: discourse marker; DRG: degree; END: sentential-ending; EXCL: exclamative; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative; IMP: imperative; INT: interrogative; INTEN: intentional; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PASS: passive; PDK: Present-Day Korean; PL: plural; POL: polite; PRES: present; PROH: prohibitive; PROM: promissive; PST: past; PT: pejorative topic; PURP: purposive; QUOT: quotative; REAS: reason; REPT: reportative; RETRO: retrospective; RQTP: rhetorical question topic presenter; SFP: sentence-final particle; SFPD: sentence-final particle of discontent; SM: stance-marker; TOP: topic; TRL: trial; VOC: vocative

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