

From Quotation to Surprise: The Case in Korean*

1. Introduction

- Korean is a head-final, agglutinating language with the SOV word order.
- The sentence-final word is the main-clause verb followed by a constellation of TAM morphology.

(1) *pelsse kangyu-lul kkuthna-y-e.peli-si-ess-keyss-ta-te-kwun-yo*
already lecture-ACC finish-CAUS-PERF-HON-PST-FUT-COMP-RETRO-EVID-POL
'(I) recall (they told me) that (the professor) must have finished the lecture (by then).'

- One interesting case is the SFP *-tani*, whose usage is exemplified in contrast with non-mirative SFP, i.e., a plain-level declarative ender:

(2) a. Non-mirative
ku-ka cwuk-ess-ta. (그가 죽었다.)
he-NOM die-PST-DEC:PLAIN
'He died.'

b. Mirative
ku-ka cwuk-ess-tani! (그가 죽다니!)
he-NOM die-PST-MIR.SFP
'That he died! (I can't believe it!)

- The speech level of (2a), Deferential, may be modulated by replacing the SFP *-ta* (Plain) with *-supnita* (Deferential), *-eyo* (Polite), *-e* (Intimate), *-so* (Blunt), etc.
- The development of *-tani* is intriguing in a number of aspects from the point of view of grammaticalization of epistemic markers.

[Objectives]

- (3) a. Describing grammaticalization paths of *-tani*
- b. Analyzing semantic-pragmatic functions of *-tani*
- c. Discussing *-tani* and its related forms in evidential/epistemic stance marking

2. Preliminary Remarks on Korean

- 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).
- Intersubjectivity marking is obligatory in Korean (cf. 'allocutivity' Bonaparte 1862, Hualde & De Urbina 2003, Antonov 2013).

[Evidentiality]

- Korean has a system of evidentiality marking for quotative (identified author), reportative (unspecified author;

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hearsay; common wisdom), inferential (inferred information), retrospective (first-hand information recollected) (cf. “scattered” evidentiality system’ Aikhenvald 2004, Kwon 2012, Rhee 2016).

- Quoting and reporting are usually marked by way of complementizers (COMPs) which vary according to the mood of the embedded clause, i.e., declarative (-*tako*), imperative (-*lako*), interrogative (-*nyako*), and hortative (-*cako*) (Note: SFPs declarative $\neg ta$, imperative $\neg la$, interrogative $\neg nya$, hortative $\neg ca$).
- Quoting and reporting are also marked by way of SFPs that incorporate COMPs, i.e. declarative (-*tanta/-tay/-tapnita*), imperative (-*lanta/-lay/-lapnita*), interrogative (-*nyanta/-nyay/-nyapnita*), and hortative (-*canta/-cay/-capnita*)
- Inferential may be marked by the penult SFP $\neg napo$ - ‘it seems that’.
- First-hand information source is marked by penult SFP $\neg te$ - ‘as I recall it’.

(4) Relatedness of SFP, COMP, and QUOT/REPT SFP (illustrated with declarative)

- | | | | | |
|--------------|--|------------------|---------------------------|---|
| a. SFP | <i>ku-ka</i> | <i>hakkyo-ey</i> | <i>ka-ss-<u>ta</u></i> | (그가 학교에 갔다.) |
| | he-NOM | school-to | go-PST- <u>DEC</u> | |
| | ‘He went to school.’ | | | |
| b. COMP | <i>ku-ka</i> | <i>hakkyo-ey</i> | <i>ka-ss-<u>tako</u></i> | <i>sayngkakha-n-ta</i> . (그가 학교에 갔다고 생각한다.) |
| | | | go-PST- <u>COMP</u> | think-PRES-DEC |
| | ‘(I) think that he went to school.’ | | | |
| c. QUOT/REPT | <i>ku-ka</i> | <i>hakkyo-ey</i> | <i>ka-ss-<u>tanta</u></i> | (그가 학교에 갔단다.) |
| | | | go-PST- <u>QUOT/REPT</u> | |
| | QUOT: ‘ He says that he went to school.’ | | | |
| | REPT: ‘ They say that he went to school.’ | | | |

[Mirativity]

- Korean has a number of grammatical devices to encode mirativity, a signal that the information has not yet been assimilated into the speaker’s epistemic states of the mind (cf. Ahn 2016, Rhee 2016).
- Such mirativity markers occur in the form of interjections, postpositional particles, clausal connectives, or **sentence-final particles (SFPs)**.
- Interjections of surprise (exclamation): *aikwu, aiko, aikwumenina, ayko, eikhwu, eykwu, eykumeni, mapsosa, seysangey, appwulssa, acha, etta, elepsyo, emena, wa, ua, uak, ...*
- Postpositional particles of counter-expectation: *-cocha, -kkaci, -mace, -ttala ...*
- Clausal connectives of noteworthiness: *-tani, -tamyē, -tamyense...*
- Sentence-final particles of surprise: *-tani, -tamyē, -tamyense, -tako, -taney, -tanunkwun, -tanta, -tapnita...*
- SFPs of mirativity exhibit the relation between evidentiality (second-hand info source) and epistemicity (‘mirative’).

3. Grammaticalization of the Mirative *-tani*

3.1 Source Construction

- The mirative SFP $\neg tani$ grammaticalized from COMP through several steps, involving phonological reduction.
- COMPs were grammaticalized at the boundary of an embedded direct quote and the main clause through a reanalysis of [S1 + S2] > [Subordinate Clause + COMP + Main Clause].
- The fused material at the boundary became COMPs.
- The mirative SFP (*-tani*) developed from the formally identical CAUS.CONN (*-tani*).

(5) From Complementizer $\neg tako$ to Mirative.SFP *-tani*

(a)	>>	(b)	>>	(c)	>>	(d)	>>	(e)
<i>-ta ha-ko</i>		<i>-tako</i>		<i>-tako ha-ni</i>		<i>-tani</i>		<i>-tani</i>
-DEC say-and		DEC.COMP		DEC.COMP say-as		CAUS.CONN		MIR.SFP

- (6) a. *ku-ka hapkyekha-yss-ta ha-ko phyenci-lul ponay-ss-ta.* (Embedded Direct Quote)
 he-NOM pass.exam-PST-DEC **say-and** letter-ACC send-PST-DEC
 ‘He sent (me) a letter saying, “(I) passed the exam.”’
- b. ... *hapkyekha-yss-tako* ... (COMP)
 pass-PST-**COMP**
 ‘He sent (me) a letter saying that he passed the exam.’
- c. *ku-ka hapkyekha-yss-tako ha-ni mwuchek kippu-ta.* (Periphrastic CAUS.CONN)
 he-NOM pass.exam-PST-**COMP** **say-as** much be.happy-DEC
 ‘As he says he passed the exam, (I) am very happy.’
- d. ... *hapkyekha-yss-tani* ... (CAUS.CONN)
 pass-PST-**CAUS.CONN**
 ‘As {he says, they say} he passed the exam, (I) am very happy.’
- e. *ku-ka hapkyekha-yss-tani!* (MIR.SFP)
 he-NOM pass.exam-PST-**MIR.SFP**
 ‘That he passed the exam! (I’m surprised.)’

3.2 Formal Change and Functional Extension

- Three forms directly related:
 - (5c, 6c) periphrastic CAUS.CONN: *-tako ha-ni* ‘as one says that x’
 - (5d, 6d) CAUS.CONN: *-tani* ‘as {one says, they say} that x’
 - (5e, 6d) MIR.SFP *-tani* ‘(That) x! (I’m surprised!)’
- *-Tani* in early attestations invariably signals that the information is second-hand.
- Earliest attestations (late 19th century) are predominantly from newspaper articles, presenting information from an informant and then commenting on it.
- *-Tani* in this usage is a clausal connective.
- The clause headed by *-tani* is predominantly finite clauses (i.e., tense-marked).

- (7) 평양부 참서관 최석민이가 빅성의 돈을 무리히 탈취하는 일이 만히 잇서 칭원이 대단히다니 니부에서 사슬흠을 브라노라.
phyengyangpwu chamsyekwan choysyekmin-ika pAyksyeng-uy ton-ul mwulihi
 [office.title] [name]-NOM citizen-GEN money-ACC forcibly
thalchwiha-nAn il-i manhi is-sye chingwen-i taytanha-ø-tani
 take-ADN occasion-NOM many exist-as resentment-NOM be.great-PRES-**CAUS.CONN**
nAypwu-eyse sasulha-m-ul pAla-nola.
 domestic.ministry-from investigate-NOMZ-ACC demand-DEC
 ‘**As we hear that** there is a great level of resentment from the people because Choi Seok-Min, the magistrate of Pyeongyang County, forcibly took money from the residents on many occasions, we demand that the Ministry of Domestic Affairs investigate the case.’ (1896, *Tokenpinnmwun: The Independent* #137)
- (8) 덕국 황제가 오지리 황제를 오지리 서울 비에나에 가서서 미우 정답게 만나 보섯다니 아마 덕국과 오지리와 이탈이 세 나라히 동맹지국이 된다더라.
tekkwuk hwangtyey-ka ocili hwangtyey-lul ocili syewul pieyna-ey ka-sy-esyey
 Germany emperor-NOM Austria emperor-ACC Austria capital Vienna-to go-HON-SEQ
mAywu cyengtapkey masnapo-sye-s-tani ama tekkwuk-kwa ocili-wa
 very friendly meet-HON-PST-**CAUS.CONN** perhaps Germany-and Austria-and
ithali sey nalah-i tongmAyngcikwuk-i toy-n-ta-te-la.
 Italy three countries-NOM allied.nation-NOM become-PRES-DEC-RETRO-DEC

‘**As we hear that** the German Emperor went to Vienna, the Austrian capital, and met with Austrian Emperor in a very friendly manner, perhaps the three nations, Germany, Austria, and Italy are forming an alliance. (1896, *Tokenpsinmwun: The Independent* #201)

- At around the same time (late 19th century), the clauses headed by *-tani* occur in non-finite form, i.e., the verb is not tense-marked.
- These cases typically involve information of a highly surprising nature.

(9) 혜경이가 천만부당한 말이지. 가다니 어디를 가.

hyeykyeng-ika chyenmanpwutanghA-n mal-i-ci.
[name]-NOM absolutely.unacceptable-ADN word-be-END

ka-tani *etAy-lul ka-ø*
go-CAUS.CONN where-ACC go-END

‘What Hye-Kyung says is absolutely unacceptable. **As I hear** (her say she would) go, go where? (That is ridiculous!)’ (1912, *Sinsosel* novel, *Twukyenseng* #736)

(10) 우테 이 두 글즈와 방호 이 두 글즈를 분간도 못하고 방호 쥬스라 칭하다니 이런 무식한 사람도 혹 우테 스무를 잘출논지 ...

wuthyey i twu kulcA-wa pangho i twu kulcA-lul
postal.service this two character-with tiger.defence this two character-ACC

pwunkan-to moshA-ko pangho cyusa-la chinghA-tani
distinction-even cannot-and tiger.defence [office.title]-INST **call-CAUS.CONN**

ilen mwusikhA-n salAm-to hok wuthyey sAmwu-lul cal hA-l-nAnci...
this.kind illiterate-ADN person-too if postal.service administration-ACC well do-FUT-if

‘**As we hear that** (one stupid official in the postal service) could not distinguish the two (Chinese) characters of *Wuthyey* (postal service) and the two (Chinese) characters of *Pangho* (tiger defence), and called himself Manager of Pangho service (That is ridiculous!), we are not sure if this kind of illiterate person can perform well in the postal service [so we will find out more about this person and inform the readers].’ (Note: The two words *Wuthyey* (postal service) and *Pangho* (tiger defence) look similar when written in Chinese characters (郵遞 and 邦虎). Chinese characters were extensively used in the 19th century. Tigers were rampant in those times and there was a government office to protect people from tigers.)

(1896, *Tokenpsinmwun: The Independent* #12238)

- When surprise value is high, the main clause (one often encoding the speaker’s evaluation of, or comment on, the mirative-marked subordinate clause) often became elided (as a consequence of surprise; cf. Eng. *speechless, dumbfounded, dumbstruck*).

(11) (based on (10))

[We hear that there is an illiterate official...]- <i>tani</i>	[we don’t think he can perform his duty]
Second-hand information	-surprise
	Speaker’s evaluation/comment
	↑ this part omissible

- When the main clause is elided (‘insubordination’ Evans 2007, Evans & Watanabe 2016), the CAUS.CONN is reinterpreted as a sentence-final particle (SFP) of surprise, thus becoming a MIR.SFP.
- MIR.SFP may host finite sentences or non-finite sentences. The non-finite marked mirative sentences tend to evoke a stronger feeling of surprise.
- This is perhaps due to the absence of a conceptual gap created by temporal distance indicated by the tense-marker (i.e., strategically synchronizing the real-world event with the perception event).
- Non-finite marked SFPs are very exceptional, because all ‘normal’ sentences need to be tense-marked in Korean.
- The event encoded by the non-finite clause mirative (with no tense-marking) has no tense restriction.

- (12) a. [I'm over 50, but have not yet had chances to travel for sightseeing.]
 로형은 년쇼ㅎ신터에 유람을 단기신다니.
lohyeng-un nyensyohA-si-ntheey yulam-ul tanki-si-n-tani.
 you-TOP be.young-HON-while sightseeing-ACC go-HON-PRES-MIR.SFP
 'You travel around for sightseeing while you are young!' (1911, *Sinsosel* novel, *Moktanhwa* #882)
- b. 아, 나말순 인생에 이런 횡재수가 있었다니.
 a, *namalswun insayng-ey ile-n hoyngcayswu-ka iss-ess-tani.*
 ah [name] life-at like.this-ADN luck-NOM exist-PST-MIR.SFP
 'Ah, there was this kind of luck (hidden) in Na Mal-Soon's [my] life!'
 (2002, Drama, *Kamwunuy yengkwang* #25)
- (13) a. 윤조가 죽다니. 그게 무슨 말씀이오.
yunco-ka cwuk-tani. kuke-y mwusun malsAm-i-o.
 [name]-NOM die-MIR.SFP that-NOM what.kind word-be-END
 '(That) Yoon-Jo dies/died! What do you mean by that (lit. what kind of word is that)?'
 (1911, *Sinsosel* novel, *Welhakain* #66)
- b. 그런 망나니를 병원의 중책에 앉혀놓다니.
kule-n mangnani-lul pyengwen-uy cwungchayk-ey anchyenh-tani.
 like.that-ADN bastard-ACC hospital-GEN important.position-at assign-MIR.SFP
 '(That) the president gives/gave such an important hospital position to that bastard!'
 (2004, Drama *Kyelhonhako siphun yeca* Episode #3)

- As *-tani* becomes established as a MIR.SFP (becoming detached from its QUOT/REPT origin, its use becomes extended to non-QUOT/REPT contexts (see 4.4). (cf. Kim 2000, Jang 2013)

- (14) a. 날씨가 이렇게 맑다니!
nalssi-ka ileh-key malk-tani!
 weather-NOM like.this-ADVZ be.clear-MIR.SFP
 'What clear weather! (I didn't expect it!) (PDK)
- b. 내가 그 중요한 약속을 까먹다니!
nay-ka ku cwungyoha-n yaksok-ul kkamek-tani!
 I-NOM that be.important-ADN appointment-ACC forget-MIR.SFP
 '(That) I forgot such an important appointment! (I can't believe it!) (PDK)

4. *-Tani* and its Relatives in Evidentiality and Epistemicity (Mirativity)

4.1 CONN-derived SFPs

- Korean has a large number of COMP-derived CONNs (numbering at hundreds).
- Some of these CONNs developed into SFPs (numbering at dozens).
 (15) *-tani, -tamye(nse), -tanikka(n(un)), -tako, -tanuntey, -tatentey, -tayto...*
- These SFPs have undergone varying degrees of bleaching of the original reportative function.
 (16) a. Can be used only in reportative contexts: *-tamye(nse), -tanuntey, -tatentey, -tayto, -tateni...*
 b. Can be used in non-reportative contexts: *-tani, -tanikka(n(un)), -tako...*
- All these SFPs derived from CONNs have acquired varying degrees of surprise-encoding functions.
 (17) Acquisition of mirativity is attributable to:
 (i) their reportative origin, i.e., the information is newsworthy, and
 (ii) the ellipsis effect, i.e., the speaker is too surprised to complete the utterance.

- Many of these are used to signal the speaker’s attitudinal stance in discourse, e.g., doubt, challenge, emphasis, etc.

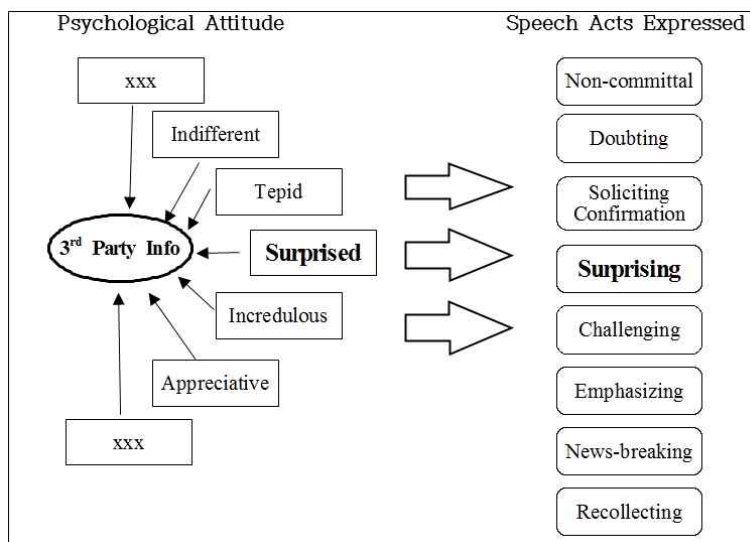
4.2 SFPs Developed from COMPs but not from CONNs

- Some SFPs retain the trace of a COMP, i.e., *-ta-* traceable to the declarative COMP *-tako*, but do not have CONNs as their heterosemies.
- Some of them signal the speaker’s surprise, which may be due to their reportative origin.
- Some SFPs in this class encode surprise (notably *-taney* and *-tanta*) but of a relatively lower degree, perhaps due to the fact that they did not undergo insubordination.
- Many of these SFPs carry diverse mirativity-related pragmatic functions such as emphasis, challenge, and news-breaking.
- Many of these SFPs also signal the functions not directly related to mirativity but related to the reportative nature of the COMP in their source construction, e.g., recollection, disinterest, non-committal, soliciting confirmation, etc.
- Some SFPs may encode feigned mirative (notably *-tanta*, *-tapnita*, and *-taney*), i.e., not involving genuine surprise but feigned for dramatic effect in specific genres/registers.

4.3 Recipient’s Attitude toward Second-hand Information & Speech Acts Using the Information

- When a piece of information is received, the recipients may doubt its veracity, be indifferent to it, or be surprised at it. (cf. mirative may yield negative emotions, e.g. disbelief, disapproval, discontent, dismay...; DeLancey 2012, So-Hartmann 2009, Ahn 2016)
- When the speakers use QUOT/REPT-marked utterances in questions, they may be soliciting confirmation, or challenging (Rhee 2014).
- When the speakers use QUOT/REPT-marked utterances in statements, they may be emphasizing, breaking news, or simply recollecting the previously acquired second-hand information (Rhee 2016).

(18)



4.4 Stance Displayed with Self-authored Info (Pseudo-QUOT/REPT utterances with same markers)

- The QUOT/REPT-markers may host pseudo-QUOT/REPT information (e.g., self-authored information) that signal diverse speaker stances, e.g., displaying (feigned) surprise, breaking news, displaying contempt, etc.

(19) Functions of the *-tani* family (i.e., *-taxxx* forms, descendants of Declarative COMP *-tako*)

Recipient's attitude toward Second-hand Info	Speech acts with Second-hand Info toward Addressee (w/ exemplary SFPs) (True QUOT/REPT SFPs)	Stance with Self-authored Info toward Addressee (w/ exemplary SFPs) (Pseudo-QUOT/REPT SFPs)
• Tepid	• Non-committal (-tana, -tanunkvun, -taptita)	• Disappointment/Regret (-tani)
• Indifferent	• Doubting (-tani)	• Contempt (-tani, -tanikka)
• Incredulous	• Soliciting confirmation (-tateni, -taten, -taci, -tacyo)	• (Feigned) Surprise (-tani, -tanta)
• Surprised	• Challenging (-tamye, -tamyense, -tayto, -takey, -tacanha)	• Boastful talk (-tanta, -tako)
• Appreciative	• Surprising (-tani, -tanta)	• News-breaking (-tanta, -tako, -taney, -tapnita, -tayyo)
.....	• Emphasizing (-tanikka, -tako, -tanuntey, -taten, -tay)	• Emphatic (-tanta, -tanikka, -tako, -tapnita)
	• News-breaking (-taney, -tapnita, -tayyo)	• Feigned objectivity (-tanta, -tapnita, -tayyo)
	• Recollecting (-tatentey, -tatey, -tati, -tatela, -tatelako)	

5. Summary & Conclusion

- The Korean evidentiality system involves marking of second-hand information, inferred information, and first-hand information.
- -Tani developed from [COMP + say + CONN], typically a CAUS.CONN.
- One of the major functions of *-tani* is to mark mirativity.
- The development of the MIR.SFP *-tani* may be schematically presented as (20):

- (20) a. As (they) say, “He died”, xxx. (Embedded direct quote with a CONN)
b. As (they) say that he died, xxx. (Causal CONN)
c. As (they) say that he died... (Causal CONN with the main clause ellipsis)
d. That he died! (MIR.SFP, Functional shift from a CONN to a SFP)
e. That I forgot it! (MIR.SFP, Self-authored info; No longer second-hand info)

- The functions of *-tani* further extended to contexts of non-second-hand information, and mark diverse stances of the speaker including strategic feigned surprise.
- The *-tani* family SFPs, all originated from the markers of second-hand information, exhibit diverse epistemic and attitudinal stances.

Abbreviations

ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominalizer; ADVZ: adverbializer; CAUS: causal; COMP: complementizer; CONN: connective; DEC: declarative; DFR: deferential; END: sentence-ender; EVID: evidential; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; INST: instrumental; MIR: mirative; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PDK: Present-Day Korean; PERF: perfective; POL: polite; PRES: present; PST: past; QUOT: quotative; REPT: reportative; RETRO: retrospective; SEQ: sequential connective; SFP: sentence-final particle; TOP: topic

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