Grammaticalization of the Plural Marker in Korean : From Object to Text to Stance

Seongha Rhee

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(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Seongha Rhee (2018), Grammaticalization of the Plural Marker in Korean: From Object to Text to Stance. *Journal of Language Sciences 25(4)*, 221–249. This paper addresses the Korean plural suffix *-tul* which started out as a noun with the meaning of 'others (of a similar kind)' or 'these (just listed)' and grammaticalized into a bound plural suffix. One peculiarity in Present-Day Korean is that it became reanalyzed as a formant whose function is not merely a pluralizer but also a discourse marker signaling the speaker's attitudes. Its development presents a number of intriguing aspects of grammaticalization. It shows not only the traditional [lexical > grammatical] change but also [grammatical > discourse] change. It also exhibits 'persistence' in that its presence usually implies plurality of the sentential subject. Further, it strongly suggests that language users often use intercategorial analogy in grammaticalization, a point argued for in recent literature. This paper shows the intercategorial fluidity that lingers around the grammaticalizing form and intersubjectification that constantly pushes a form into the interpersonal domain. **(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)**

Key Words: plural marker, discourse marker, intersubjectification, stance, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

Korean is a head-final, agglutinating language with the SOV word order. Verbs and nouns occur with diverse morphological trappings when used in a sentence as required by grammatical rules. For instance, nouns may be followed by a constellation of postpositional particles as shown in (1), some of which, however, are omissible, if contextually understood:[1]

(1) pwumo-nim-tul-hanthey-kkaci-to
     parent-HON-PL-DAT-ALLAT-ADD
     'even to the parents'

One of the well-known idiosyncrasies in Korean is that plural marking, indicated as –tul in (1) above, is often optional(Choe, 1961; Song, 1975; Kuh, 1987), a pattern also attested in a number of other languages, e.g., Indonesian(Dalrymple and Mofu, 2012), Japanese(Nakanishi and Tomioka, 2004), Chinese(Sun, 2006), among others(see Haspelmath, 2013 for typological discussion). Among diverse issues concerning plural marking, this paper addresses the intriguing developmental history of the plural marker which showcases significant implications in grammaticalization theory. In brief, the marker –tul, in brief, began its life as a noun, which became a nominal suffix as a plural marker, which in turn became a discourse marker signaling the speaker's stance.

The objectives of this paper are threefold: to describe the developmental paths of *tul* as attested in the historical records (in §2); to analyze semantic-pragmatic functions of *tul* (in §3); and to discuss the

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1) The Yale Romanization System is used for transcription of the Korean data, and the following abbreviations are used for glossing: ACC: accusative; ADD: additive; ADN: adnominal; ADVZ: adverbializer; ALLAT: allative; COMP: complementizer; CONN: connective; DAT: dative; DM: discourse marker; END: sentence-ender; EXCL: exclamative; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative; IMP: imperative; INST: instrumental; INTJ: interjection; LMK: Late Middle Korean; LOC: locative; MK: Middle Korean; ModK: Modern Korean; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PDK: Present-Day Korean; PEJ: pejorative; PL: plural; POL: polite; PRES: present; PROG: progressive; PST: past; TOP: topic; and VOC: vocative.

development from a grammaticalization perspective (in §4).

The data for analysis are taken from various sources, including the Sejong Historical Corpus for diachronic investigation, and the Drama and Cinema Corpus for investigation of contemporary usage.[2]

2. The Development of tul: From Noun to Suffix

The precursor form of the modern-day plural marker *-tul* in the pre-hangeul period, i.e., prior to the 15th c., is thought to be *tAl(h)* of Hyangga, written in the Chinese semanto- and phono-gram '等' and the phono-gram '冬', the exact interpretations of which are still debated(see Lee, 1994; Kim, 1995; Choi, 2001; among others). The earliest unambiguous data in extant literature(Late Middle Korean 15-16th c.; LMK) suggest that the earlier form of *-tul* was *tAl(h),* which began its life as a noun denoting the presence of others of a similar kind, or as one collectively referring to the listed items it follows. This can be schematically shown in (2):

(2) A, B, C, *tAl(h)*   (i) 'A, B, C, "(and) kindred others"'
                             (ii) 'A, B, C, "these (three)"'

This nominal usage competed with a Sino-Korean form, *tung* (and *tong*), which seems to have pushed *tAl(h)* to a new functional territory, i.e. plural suffixation.[3] In this function *-tAl(h)* marked plurality of a noun,

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2) The Sejong Historical Corpus is a 15-million word, historical section of the Sejong Corpus, a 200-million word corpus developed as part of the 21st Century Sejong Project by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the National Institute of Korean Language(1998-2006). The texts in the historical section date from 1446 through 1913. The Drama and Cinema Corpus is a 24-million word contemporary corpus, a collection of 7,454 scenarios of dramas and cinemas dating from 1992 through 2015, compiled by Min Li of Seoul National University. UNICONC, a concordance program, is used for data search. Special thanks go to the developers of these corpora who generously granted their use for research.

3) This state of affairs, which can be characterized as an instance of 'specialization'

as shown in (3), and exemplified in (4):

(3) A-*tAl(h)*　　　　'multiple of A'

(4) a. *ahAy-tAl*　　[child-PL]　　'children'　　(1447 *Sekposangcel* 3:10a)

　　b. *SINHA-tAlh*　[disciple-PL]　'disciples'　(1459 *Welinsekpo* 22:65a)

　　c. *il-tAlh*　　　[job-PL]　　　'jobs'　　　(1447 *Sekposangcel* 19:24b)

　　d. *MWUN-tAlh*　[door-PL]　　'doors'　　(1447 *Sekposangcel* 6:2b)

While the function of a plural suffix was fully established, *-tAl(h)* changed in form as *-tAl* (and later as *-tul*), and in Present-Day Korean (PDK) it no longer functions as a noun. As *-tA(h)l* developed into a plural marker a functional tension ensued with another plural marker *-nay* (and its variant *-nAy* and *-ney*), creating a situation of 'layering'(Hopper, 1991) in the functional domain of plurality marking. The historical data suggest that the functional conflict was resolved through a division of labor ('specialization'), with respect to the semantic feature of [±Honorific] of the host noun, i.e., *-tAl(h)* for nouns with the [-HON] feature and *-nay* (and later as *-ney*) for nouns with the [+HON] feature, as exemplified below:[4)]

(5) a. *-tAl(h)*: plural suffix for [-HON] nouns

　　　WANG-i　　　SINHA-tAl　　　tAli-si-ko
　　　king-NOM　　subject-PL　　　be.accompanied-HON-and
　　　twi-s　　　　TONGSAN-ay　　tul-e
　　　back-GEN　　hill-at　　　　　enter-and

(Hopper, 1991), deserves an in-depth exploration as a separate research issue, but lies beyond the immediate interest of the present investigation.

4) See, however, Seo(2018), who presents apparent counter-examples to this functional division. The specialization phenomenon, just as any grammatical features, is not without exceptions. Since specialization is rather a dynamic diachronic process, it should be understood as a general tendency rather than an inviolable principle.

'The king, accompanied by his royal subjects[+PL,-HON], entered
the back garden and...'   (1459 *Welinsekpo* 22:65)

b. *-nay/-ney*: plural suffix for [+HON] nouns

kutuy-nay-s   mal   kAt-ti   anih-oni
you-PL-GEN   words   be.like-COMP   be.not-CONN
'Since (it) is not like what you [+PL,+HON] said,...'

(1459 *Welinsekpo* 21:216)

In terms of its distribution pattern in LMK, *-tAl(h)* and its variants
were affixed to a noun marked with a comitative postpositional particle
(e.g., *IIK-kwa SENG-kwa SOY-wa-tAlh-ays* 'about profit, success, and
decline +PL'), and to a nominalized constituent with the nominalizer (NOMZ)
-om/am/Am (e.g., *hA-sy-am-tAlh-An* 'as for honorably doing (things)
+PL'). This usage, however, is largely defunct in Modern Korean (ModK).
In Early Modern Korean (EMoK, 17th-18th c.), the host class is further
extended to include adverbs, other case-marked nouns, and connective
particles (e.g., *phyenhi-tul* 'peacefully +PL', *son-uy-tul* 'at/of hands +PL',
kuphAy-e-tul 'be in a hurry and +PL').

The ModK period witnesses the phenomenal 'host-class expansion'
(Himmelmann, 2004: 32; Coussé, 2018; 'extension' Heine and Kuteva, 2002)
of *-tul,* as summarized in brief in (6) with the 19th c. data, largely
adapted from Seo(2018):

(6) a. defective nouns *cwul,* etc. (e.g. *sa-nAn cwul-tul-ul* 'about the fact
that (they) live +PL')

b. nominalized constituent with NOMZ *-ki* (e.g. *hA-si-ki-tul-ul*
'(you) honorably doing +PL')

c. nominalized constituent with NOMZ *-kes* (e.g. *kilim-ul kwuhA-nAn
kes-tul* 'pursuing fame +PL')

d. adverbialized constituent with ADVZ *-(h)i* (e.g. *pAlk-hi-tul* 'in a
clear manner +PL')

e. nouns marked with LOC *-ey,* LOC *-eyse,* LOC *-se,* INST/ALLAT
-lo, DAT *-eykey,* etc.

 f. nouns marked with postpositional particle (e.g. *-il-kAschi-tul* 'like (my) businesses +PL')

 g. diverse connectives

 h. complementizer (for reported/quoted speech)

 i. sentence-final particles

3. Further Development: Stance-Marking

After *-tul* became a full-fledged plural marker, its function further extended from hosting a nominal to non-nominal constituents, as illustrated in the foregoing exposition. By the 19th century, *-tul* has become a versatile marker that can be affixed to various kinds of sentential constituents (see (6) above).

In the 20th century, the versatility greatly increased, and as a marker that can host non-nominal constituents, its status as a plural suffix (normally a nominal morphology) became unclear (thus, often labeled as 'Extrinsic Plural Marker (EPM)' Song, 1997), as exemplified with a constructed example in (7):

(7) yay-tul-a   kamanhi-tul iss-kela-tul
  child-PL-VOC quietly-PL(?) exist-IMP-PL(?)
  'Children, stay still!'

In (7), *-tul* occurs at three location, but the prototypical usage of the plural marking occurs only with the first occurrence, i.e., hosting the nominal *yay* 'child', considering that plural marking *per se* is a nominal morphology. Less typical is the instance that hosts the adverbial *kamanhi* 'quietly', and so is the last instance, i.e., the sentence-final occurrence following the imperative mood marker *-kela*. In view of the fact that Korean sentence-final elements are mood- or modality-marking verbal morphology, the occurrence of a seemingly extraneous *tul* after the termination of a sentence is a peculiar phenomenon.

It can be deduced from the categorial uncertainty and diverse discursive functions associated with it (see discussion below) that in PDK, the functions of *-tul* have extended beyond those of a plural marker. In other words, it has become reanalyzed as a formant the function of which is not merely a pluralizer but also a marker of the speaker's attitudes (intersubjectivity marker), and thus came to be used more independently, qualifying to be a discourse marker (DM).[5] Speaker's attitudes signaled by the DM *-tul* are by no means uniform in kind and sometimes even look contradictory, as exemplified by constructed examples in (8):

(8) a. tul   way   tul   ila-y   tul?
       PL   why   PL   do.this-END PL
       'Why are you guys doing this?' [irritated protest]

    b. mom   tul   cosim   tul   ha-ko   cal   tul   iss-e   tul
       body   PL   care   PL   do-and   well PL   exist-END   PL
       'Take care of yourselves and stay in peace.' [friendly well-wishing]

It is noteworthy that the attitudes signaled by the DM *tul* are often determined by the prosody, which is common for most discourse and pragmatic markers(Blakemore, 2006; Degand and Simon, 2009, 2014; Dehé, 2016; Dehé and Kavalova, 2006; Song, 2013, 2015; Song and Shin, 2014; Kim and Sohn, 2015; Maschler and Shapiro, 2016; Rhee, 2016; Kuteva et al., 2018; among many others), but if *tul* did not occur in these examples, the counterpart of (8a) would simply be an information-seeking interrogative sentence, and that of (8b), an imperative or admonitory statement, without particular attitudinal overtone.

Such variability of stance interpretation notwithstanding, there are certain characteristic functions in the (inter)subjective uses of the DM *-tul,* the discussion of which we now turn.

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5) N.B. Since the plurality meaning survives as a semantic remnant, it will be still glossed as PL, and it is written either as a bound morpheme *-tul* or a free morpheme *tul* without strict delineation.

3.1. Mirativity

One of the most common stances, be they subjective (intrapersonal) or intersubjective (interpersonal), signaled by *-tul,* is mirativity. For instance, the DM *-tul* is often more natural in mirative sentences (marked with exclamative sentence-final particles *-ney, -kwun, -kwuna, -ela,* etc.) than elsewhere. In the similar vein, it often cooccurs with exclamative interjectives (e.g. *aikwu, wa, ya,* etc.), as exemplified in (9):

(9) (A, overwhelmed with anger, to a woman B, who says she wants to live with A's husband, who is terminally ill with a pancreas cancer:)

    A: kamhi... nay   aph-eyse nay namphyen-ul salangha-n-tako
       daringly my   face-at   my husband-ACC   love-PRES-COMP
       malha-nu-nkeya?
       say-PRES-END
       'Are you daringly... saying at my face that you love my husband?'

    B: ...

    A: michyess-kwuna.   ta-tul   michy-ess-e.
       be.insane-EXCL   all-PL   be.insane-END
       'You are crazy! You all are crazy!'

                  (2006 Drama *90-il, Salanghal sikan* Episode #7)

Linguistically coded emotion is not always 'pure and spontaneous'. Mirativity marking may be strategically employed for the effect of sarcasm, as is common with many stance-related grammatical markers (e.g. see Rhee, 2007, for the extension of the English *for* from an earlier advantage to disadvantage marking). The following excerpt illustrates the point:

(10) (A and B watch C quarreling with his girlfriend D, who is annoyed by C being friendly toward another girl; A and B are irritated with jealousy.)

A: [What are those guys doing now?]

B: [Aren't they ridiculous! Are they filming a scene in a melodrama!]

A: elssikwu celssikwu   nol-kocappacyess-ney   tul
   [dance-beat exclamatives]   play-PROG:PEJ-EXCL   PL
   'Ooh la la, Ooh la la, they are playing a game, aren't they?!'
   (2007 Sitcom *Kechimepsi haikhik* Episode #109)

3.2. Irritation

A closely related function to mirativity is irritation, close in that irritation is typically associated with unpreparedness (thus negative mirativity or unwanted surprise) of the experiencer, as is irritation. When the DM -*tul* is used in this function it typically occurs in a complaining situation. For that very reason, it has certain favored contexts in which to occur. For instance, it often cooccurs with interjectives of discontent (e.g., *eyi, ai, cham,* etc.) and with words directly denoting irritation (e.g., *ccacung* 'irritation', *hwa* 'anger', etc.). It also often cooccurs with adverbials of discontent (e.g. *totaychey, taychey, ani,* etc.). Furthermore, it occurs in non-other-directed questions for obvious pragmatic reason of avoiding vis-à-vis confrontation, or when the persons involved in the referenced event/action are absent, also for the sake of politeness. In such cases it often occurs with *way* 'why' to encode the perceived unreasonableness of the situation. The irritation-signaling -*tul* is exemplified in (11):

(11) (A tries to persuade a fish seller to sell fish at a lower price for her in vain, and when her friend intervened, the merchant agrees to do so, saying that he is doing so because her friend is pretty. A is very unhappy and, upon returning home and seeing her husband, pours out her suppressed feelings.)

A: [I can't put up with this! I can't!]

B: [Why is that? Did you fight someone?]

A: (in an irritated voice)

namca-tul-un	totaychey	way-tul	kulay?
man-PL-TOP	why.on.earth	why-PL	do.so?

'Why on earth men act like that, huh?'

<div align="right">(2006 Drama Yelahopswunceng Episode #114)</div>

3.3. Protest

Another common stance-marking function of the DM *tul* is to signal protest. Just like the case of irritation it marks the speaker's discontent toward the addressee, but this function goes further in that *tul* stages protest or challenge toward the addressee. For intended confrontation, it often occurs in a directed question sentence, and similar to the case of irritation marking, it often accompanies the emphatic question word *way* 'why' and cooccurs with adverbials of discontent (e.g. *totaychey, taychey,* etc.). It also often cooccurs with DMs of emphasis, frustration, and challenge (e.g. *cengmal, cincca, cham, chammal,* etc.). This is illustrated in part in (12):

(12) (A, a widower, has amorous feelings toward a less-than-receptive widow. A is frustrated and crestfallen and refuses to eat, without telling the reasons to his family. A to his granddaughter and daughter-in-law who bring in food on a portable table to encourage him to eat:)

A: (in irked voice)

papsayngkak	eps-ta-nuntey	way-tul	ilay	cungmal?
appetite	not.exist-COMP-while	why-PL	do.this	DM

'How come you do this while I already said I don't want to eat, huh?'   (2006 Drama *Yelahopswunceng* Episode #28)

When the speaker is a social superior, the protest-marking *tul* may be interpreted as a marker of reprimand. In the fact that reprimand is a directed speech act, it is closer to protest than mere irritation or discontent, which does not presuppose bidirectional interaction. The DM *tul* in this function normally signals the demand of redressive action.

Thus, the reprimand function is closely associated with other negative stance-marking functions such as complaint, irritation, protest, and solicitation. This is shown by the following example:

(13) (A to her two sons who are back from a bath-house and now jokingly exchanging provocative remarks, which A thinks is irritable:)

tto   tto   mokyok caal   ha-kwu   w-ase   kkapwul-ci-tul
again again bath   well   do-and   come-and be.roguish-END-PL
'Again, again! You guys returned from a happy bath and now act boisterously, huh?'   (1993 Drama *Kimka ika* Episode #15)

On the other hand, when the speaker is not a social superior entitled to reprimanding the addressee, the DM *tul* in a comparable speech act may be interpreted as a signal of imploration or entreaty, as one containing an element of earnestness in the illocution. Thus, in such cases *tul* often occurs with adverbials of earnest (e.g. *ceypal, kkok,* etc.) or with DMs of imploration (e.g. *com*). The following example illustrates the point:

(14) (In A's hotel office, hoteliers A, B, and C are reviewing a curtain and drapery catalogue to choose one for their hotel rooms. A suggests one design to which B and C show a tepid attitude, and A, in turn, explicitly displays her anger toward them asking them to leave. B retaliates by saying that A is hysterical because she is an old spinster and cannot find a boyfriend. A and B are now exchanging provocative remarks. C, trying to stop them:)

C: aikwu   kuman-tul   ha-y.   kuman-tul.
    INTJ   that.much-PL   do-END that.much-PL
    (pulling B) naka-cakwu   inswun-ssi
                 exit-HORT   [name]-HON
    'O, come on. That's enough! That's enough! Let's get out of here, Insoon.'   (2004 Drama *Hotheyllie* Episode #18)

3.4. Friendliness, Solidarity and Solicitation

The multifunctional DM *tul* also signals such positive stances as friendliness, solidarity and solicitation. When performing such functions, *tul* marks the speaker's friendliness toward the addressee and the desire or intention to forge or strengthen solidarity between the interlocutors. In addition to the use in the situation of this genuine pursuit of solidarity-building, normally expected between acquaintances, the marker may be strategically recruited for this effect when the interlocutors are not in such privileged relationship. For instance, it may be used for feigned solidarity and friendliness by merchants who encourage their potential customers to buy their merchandise. This instance of staging 'positive politeness'(Brown and Levinson, 1987) for strategic purpose is illustrated in the following example:

(15) (A, a fish-seller, at her fish stand yells at the top of her voice:)
[Now, a closeout sale for fish! Only 1,000 won for the whole basketful!]

hwakim-ey   pha-nun   ke-ø-nikka
anger-at   sell- ADN   thing-be-as

ppalli   ppalli-tul   w-a-yo.   ppalli   ppalli-tul!
quickly   quickly-PL come-END-POL quickly   quickly-PL

'It's on sale while I'm not thinking straight. So, come quickly, quickly. Come quickly, quickly.'

(2004 Drama *Kkochpota alumtawe* Episode #3)

The functional extension of *tul* as elaborated in the foregoing discussion can be illustrated as in (16):

(16) Functional extension patterns of *tul*
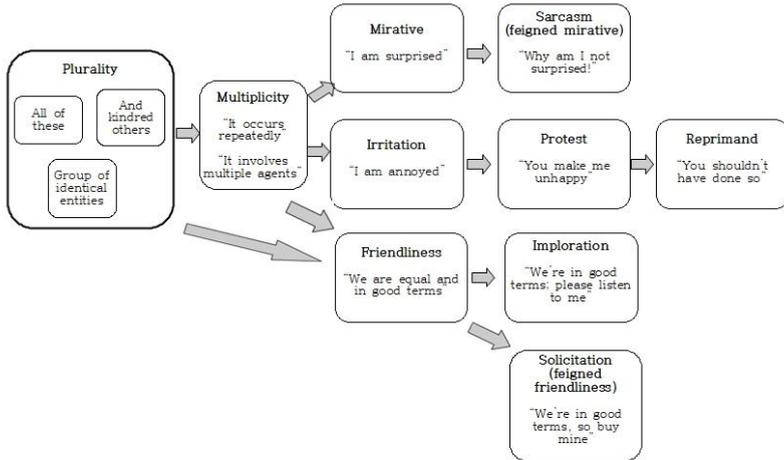
4. Discussion: Theoretical Issues

In the preceding section diverse functions of the DM *tul* have been exemplified. The development of such functions presents a number of intriguing aspects of grammaticalization.

4.1. Domains of Change

One of the fundamental assumptions in grammaticalization theory from its earliest conceptualizations is that all grammatical formants('grams' Bybee, 1986) have lexical origin. For instance, Zhou Bo-qi(1271-1368) of Yuan Dynasty China made an insightful remark that 'today's empty words are all former full words'(Zheng and Mai, 1964: 95). Similarly, Horne Tooke(1857) remarked that inflectional and derivational forms are formed from 'necessary words' (major class words, such as nouns and verbs) through such processes as 'abbreviations' and 'mutilations'. Bopp(1816, 1833) also suggested the grammaticalization paths as: [lexical form >

auxiliary > affix > inflection]. Most prominently, Meillet(1912), who coined the term *grammaticalisation,* characterized grammaticalization as a process whereby primary words (*mots principaux*) become secondary words (*mots accessoires*). Therefore, the change from a lexical domain to grammatical domain has been the major targets of grammaticalization research.

The development of *tul* illustrates this traditional [lexical > grammatical] change at the stage of OK nominal *tAl(h)* to plural marking suffix *-tAl(h)* in MK. However, the explosive host-class expansion from around the 19th century resulted in its categorial status becoming unclear, as its host class was no longer restricted to nominals. Despite its categorial indeterminacy, it is doubtlessly a grammatical form by virtue of marking the grammatical notion of plurality.

Of particular importance at this stage is that the form seems to have become increasingly independent, since it is not hosted by its typical host, i.e., nominal. For this reason, researchers often used the term 'floating' to describe the rather 'unorthodox' behavior of the marker that occurred at multiple locations in a sentence. Furthermore, it has acquired diverse stance-marking functions, the precise function often depending on the context. These characteristics coincide with those of DMs. Thus we can characterize the development as one involving the change from a grammatical domain to a discourse domain, qualifying the description of 'co-optation' of 'theticals' Heine, 2013). Thus the whole progression of the development is: [noun > suffix > DM]. It is also noteworthy that as a DM, its phonological dependence (typical for suffixes) is variable; it may be uttered as dependent on the preceding form or as independent (often utterance-initially as well.)

An interesting aspect of this development at the later stage, i.e., [bound > free], is that the direction of the change, i.e., [bound > free], is the reverse of what is normally expected, i.e., [free > bound]. In grammaticalization, linguistic forms tend to lose their formal autonomy and become bound forms (cf. 'coalescence' Lehmann, 2005[1982]). This directionality is so robust that it constitutes one of the major planes of unidirectionality, i.e., the morpho-syntactic unidirectionality on the

syntagmatic level. Thus, any instance of change in the reverse direction would constitute the violation of unidirectionality and arguably an instance of degrammaticalization.

There are few, if not many, known examples of changes comparable to that of the morphologically emancipated *tul.* For instance, the English suffix *-ish* which started as a marker of ethnic and linguistic membership, e.g., people and language (e.g. *English, Flemish, Danish,* etc.) developed into a marker of typical characteristics or qualities (e.g. *sheepish, childish, girlish,* etc.) and further to a marker of approximation (e.g., *bluish, sevenish, youngish,* etc.). In PDE, from around 1986 according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED; 2003, 2nd ed.), the suffix *-ish* has become a free morpheme *ish* and functions as a DM (e.g. *You must try to remember that some people are normal. Ish.* (1990, OED citation for adv. *ish*)) (see discussion in Morris, 1998; Kuzmack, 2007; Norde, 2009; Harris, 2017; Jeong, 2018; among others). Similarly, Lipski(2012) discusses the development of Lengua ri Palenge DMs signaling speaker-authenticity in San Basilio de Palenque. Once full-fledged bound morphemes, i.e., *-ba,* an anterior/imperfect verbal suffix; *-ndo,* a gerund suffix, and *lo,* a third person singular object clitic, now function as DMs, thus no longer bound to their verbal hosts.

All these attestations, however, are rather rare and statistically insignificant as compared to the overwhelming instances of change in the opposite direction, and the development of the nominal suffix *-tul* to a DM *tul* with freer distribution can be an addition to the small inventory of unusual changes.[6]

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6) Incidentally, in the inventory of about 150 DMs compiled by the author, very few would fit this diachronic profile. The DM *ya* is unclear if it originated from a bound suffix *-ya,* the vocative marker or a formally unbound interjective *ya!*. Certain DMs derived from the light verb *ha-,* e.g., *hakin, hana, hantey, hayethun* and their variants such as *hekin,* etc. are unclear if they came from bound forms such as connectives (conjunctions or coordinators) or were spontaneously formed with the light verb *ha-* as stand-alone forms. For the discussion of the development of the DM *hakin,* see Koo(2012).

4.2. Persistence

The second topic that merits discussion is that the development of the DM *tul* from the nominal suffix *-tul* (ultimately going back to the nominal) exhibits the phenomenon known as 'persistence'(Hopper, 1991). We have noted diverse discourse function of the DM *tul* in the preceding discussion. However, one common aspect to such diverse usages is that its presence suggests plurality of the implicit sentential subject. For instance, a previously presented example (8), repeated below as (17), illustrates the point:

(17) a. tul   way   tul   ila-y   tul?
      PL   why   PL   do.this-END   PL
      'Why are you guys doing this?' [irritated protest]

    b. mom   tul   cosim   tul   ha-ko   cal   tul   iss-e   tul
      body   PL   care   PL   do-and   well   PL   exist-END   PL
      'Take care of yourselves and stay in peace.' [friendly well-wishing]

The examples in (17) do not have explicit sentential subjects, but as shown in the translations, the sentences are considered to have implicit plural subjects (cf. 'you guys', 'yourselves'). Such interpretation is not merely from a situational context but from the sentence itself, i.e., by virtue of the presence of the DM *tul,* traceable to its plural marking function. This is generally applicable to most examples presented in the preceding exposition. The influence of *tul* on the sentence is not only on the meaning but also on the structure of the sentence it occurs in, and the so-called 'plural subject condition' is an oft-cited enabling condition for EPM, in discussion with constructed examples(cf. Song, 1975; Lee, 1991; Kang, 1994; Kwak, 1996, 2003; Song, 1997; Chae, 2018).

It is to be noted, however, that as the distance between the form undergoing change and the source lexeme increases, the 'persistence' force may weaken and the rule application may become lax. For instance,

absence of plural-subject agreement is attested in Spoken data corpora. This occurs typically in exclamative sentences, hortative sentences, etc., as exemplified by the following example of an exclamative sentence:

(18) (At a hospital where a well-faring patient after a brain-surgery, who received much media attention, unexpectedly fell into a grave condition, and all medical staff are stressed out with negative media attention. A researcher speaks in a low voice to his colleagues:)

cincca   sinkyengssui-e   cwuk-keyss-ney-tul
truly   be.concerned-NF   die-FUT-EXCL-PL
'I'm dying with stress, really!'

(2006 Drama *Annyenghaseyyo hanunim* Episode #15)

In the above example, the speaker, annoyed by the presence of media crews in and around the hospital, complains it to his colleagues. The implicit subject here is the speaker himself, i.e., the subject of 'dying', but the DM *tul* occurs sentence-finally. An interesting aspect of this situation is that the sentence can be interpretively reconstructed as [The journalists are annoying] in which 'be annoying' is represented as 'to the point of my dying.' The stimulant (the causer) in perception constructions is typically encoded with a nominative marker, i.e., the subject marker (e.g., *paym-i mwusepta* '(I) am afraid of snakes' < Lit. 'Snake is fearable'). In other words, this phenomenon suggests that loosening of syntactic rules, e.g., the plural-subject condition, begins at a local context where the syntactic roles and semantic roles are misaligned, i.e., 'snake' is syntactically encoded as the subject but semantically interpreted as the theme (or object). The mismatch causes confusion and 'helps' the form to violate the rules.

There is an attestation of *tul* which suggests that the loosening of the condition may have proceeded further. Kim(2017: 240) reports the following excerpt taken from a script of the drama *Poko tto poko* (adapted, and transcriptions and translations are added):

(19) (Between Father, who comes out of a bathroom with three linen
 towels in his hands and his son, who just arrives at the scene)
Son: [I'm back, Dad.]
Father: (looks at him disapprovingly)
Son: [I reverted my weird hair-style to normal, and now have a
 refreshingly close cut. It's good now, right?]
Father: (checks him closely)
Son: [Do you want to make my hair wet to make sure my cut is
 right?]
Father: ike kac-kwu ollaka-se pang han pen-ssik-tul takk-e
 this take-and go.up- SEQ room one time-DIST-PL clean-END
 (handing over two linen towels) acwu enci-kwutengi-y-a
   very   dust-PEJ-be-END
 'Take these, go upstairs and clean the room once each. It's
 just terribly dirty.' (Drama *Poko tto poko,* Episode #8)

In the example, the father's last utterance contains *tul* functioning as a
DM (N.B. Kim, 2017, does not use the label 'discourse marker' for this *tul*
in her analysis), while the implicit subject is singular, i.e., his son. The
only possible candidate for licensing the appearance of the plural marker is
the two linen towels with which the father asks his son to clean the
potentially multiple rooms. This example suggests that *-tul* may be
licensed not by the plural subject but by the plural actions/events to be
performed by the singular/plural subject.

Similarly, the following example also suggests the grammatical notion of
plurality surviving in the form of non-punctuality or multiplicity of events
being described:

(20) (a teacher to her students)
 kongpwu-tul yelsimhi-tul ha-y-tul
 study- PL   earnestly-PL   do-END-PL
 'You guys, study hard!'

In the above example, *-tul* implies, as it normally does, the multiple subject (e.g., 'guys'), but in addition it also prompts the interpretation of non-punctuality (thus, multiple occurrences) of the event being described (i.e. 'studying hard').

If this hypothesis is valid, we are witnessing that the enabling conditions of the plural marker *-tul* is in the process of loosening. However, in any case, the notion of plurality survives, and this phenomenon is still an instance of persistence.

Another instance of persistence in the development of *tul* comes from its semantic feature [-HON] that was operative in the division of labor with its competing form *-nay/ney* (see §2). In the course of *tul* developing into a PL marker, relegating its competitor *-nay/ney*, the semantic feature [-HON] has been lost (cf. *sin-tul* 'gods', *wang-tul* 'kings', *pwumonim-tul* 'parents', *kyoswunim-tul* 'honorable professors', etc.), but, strangely enough, as a stance-marking DM, [-HON] survives as a constraint and its use is restricted to speech toward a [-HON] addressee or in a [-FORMAL] speech context only, an instance of persistence. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(21) (a student to her professors)
 a. √kyoswu-nim-tul panghak cal ponay-si-ess-e-yo?
 b. #kyoswu-nim-tul panaghak-tul cal-tul ponay-si-ess-e-yo-tul?
  professor-HON-PL vacation-PL well-PL pass-HON-PST-END-POL-PL
  'Professors, did you have a good break?'

(22) (a teacher to her class)
 a. √yay-tul-a   panghak cal ponay-ss-e?
 b. √yay-tul-a tul panghak-tul cal-tul ponay-ss-e-tul?
  child-PL-VOC PL vacation-PL well-PL pass-PST-END-PL
  'Children, did you have a good break?'

In the example (21), in which a social inferior is addressing her social superiors, the genuine PL marker *-tul* seems to be tolerated when

marking a nominal (its original function) but the marker when used as a DM is not pragmatically acceptable.7) On the other hand, in (22), when the speaker is addressing her social inferiors, the plural marking on the address term (*yay-tul-a*) and the use of *tul* as a DM in multiple locations are not only tolerated but are favored as the DM is associated with informality and friendliness (see §3.4 above).

We have looked into the persistence phenomena exhibited in the course of grammaticalization of the DM *tul,* and, at the same time, noted that even though the notion of plurality survives, the syntactic rules governing its use may be in the process of loosening in PDK. A final remark in this context is that there is another instance of weakening persistence, which concerns the prosody. In other words, the weakening of the characteristics of the grammaticalization source is also observed in its emancipation from phonological dependence to the preceding host. For instance, the DM may occur utterance-initially, thus without its preceding host. This stand-alone DM may be realized in isolation without being placed within an enveloping intonation contour with an adjacent material. The same is true with the DM occurring utterance-finally with a clear phonological juncture with the preceding material.

4.3. Intercategorial Fluidity and Analogy-Based Grammaticalization

The next issue concerns the 'intercategorial fluidity'(Rhee, 2014) and analogy-based grammaticalization. The present research strongly suggests that language users often use intercategorial analogy in grammaticalization, a point argued for in a body of recent literature(Baik, 2006; Ahn, 2005, 2009; Fischer, 2011; Ahn, 2015; Rhee and Koo, 2015). The development of a nominal into a nominal suffix may be mediated by the defective nominal

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7) Some of the author's colleagues consulted, all native speakers of Korean, comment that even (21a) is unnatural and sounds very impolite as the [-HON] feature in *-tul* violates [+HON] of the 'professors' as warranted by the speech situation. If this is not merely due to idiolectic preferences, we can expand the claim of [-HON] persistence to the domain of address terms.

status, the creation of which involved the loss of nominal features, i.e., 'decategorialization'(Hopper, 1991; Heine and Kuteva, 2002; Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993]), as is commonly attested in the morphologization of nouns (e.g. *childhood* < *cild hád* 'child condition'; *manly* < *man līc* 'man appearance/body', etc. in English).

However, the change of the status from nominal suffix to that of a suffix hosting various sentential constituents (e.g., adverbs, phrases, and even sentences) cannot be effectively accounted for, without resorting to the notion of 'functional analogy'. In other words, language users seem to attend to the meaning (i.e., function) rather than the grammatical class of a form, and to use the form seemingly regardless of the host class.

Even a cursory look at the developmental history of grammatical forms in Korean and across languages provides us with reasons to believe that this is indeed what happens. For instance, Genetti(1991), in her classic study of Newari, shows that case postpositions developed into clause subordinators, and suggests that this type of cross-categorial grammaticalization is common in Tibeto-Burman languages. Similarly, Lehmann(1991: 526) shows that the German subordinators *weil* 'because' and *obwohl* 'although' developed into coordinators, which, according to Lehmann, is due to the functional analogy with *denn* and *allerdings.* According to Craig(1991: 483), in Rama, a Chibchan language of Nicaragua, postpositions grammaticalized into subordinators through structural analogy between the nominal and clausal types. In a discussion of the Korean particle *-na* that encodes 'tepidity', Rhee and Koo(2015) argue for analogy-based grammaticalization, tracing its developmental trajectory gradually expanding its host class as: [verb > noun > adverb > adjective > finite clause > sentence/auxiliary, etc.] (p. 35).

This state of affairs is in direct contradiction with the widely-held view that analogy does not, or cannot, trigger grammaticalization but only promotes the spread of an already grammaticalized form through reanalysis. However, an increasing number of studies suggest (see citations above) that analogy is indeed a mechanism of grammaticalization, particularly so in the case of paradigmaticization (see Rhee, 2012, for

discussion in detail). The development of the nominal *tAl(h)* to the PL *-tul* and further to the DM *tul* strongly suggests that language users are not rigidly constrained by the grammatical category of a linguistic form. They use function-based analogy and generalize the usage to unorthodox categories(cf. Koo and Rhee, 2013; Rhee and Koo, 2015).

4.4. Intersubjectification and Interpersonal Stance

In her seminal work, Traugott(1980) argues that 'subjectification' is among the recurrent patterns of semantic-pragmatic change in language. In a series of studies, Traugott and her colleagues, e.g., Traugott(2003, 2010), Traugott and König(1991), Traugott and Dasher(2002) and Traugott(2010), use the term to refer to the state of affairs where a linguistic form marks the speaker assessment, attitude, and viewpoint. A closely related concept is 'intersubjectivity', which, according to Traugott(2003: 128), is defined as "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)." She further states that intersubjectivity is a general characteristic of all language use and that intersubjective speech situations provide the crucial context for invited inferences. In a similar vein of research, e.g., Koo(2008), Rhee(2016), among others, it has been argued that grammaticalizing forms are often subject to (inter)subjectification that constantly pushes a form into the interpersonal domain.

The notion of intersubjectification is highly relevant in the development of the PL *-tul* into the DM *tul*. The involvement of intersubjectification in the development is a natural process considering the fact that the grammaticalization of a DM invariably involves interactivity between the speaker/writer and the addressee/reader, whether factual or imagined. It is of course true that certain DM functions, such as Mirative (see §3.1 above) is inherently subjective (rather than intersubjective) in that it relates to the mental condition of the speaker, thus not presupposing

interaction between interlocutors. However, it is noteworthy that even this seemingly non-interactive function is often recruited 'strategically' by the speaker in order to dramatize the locution to invoke vividness of the event being described. This is similar to the pause-filling or uncertainty-marking function of many DMs, which, if strategically recruited, also carry the reluctance-marking function, typically to signal politeness (see Rhee, 2016: 261, for discussion of the DM *mwe*). Similarly, alleged 'surprise' may be signaled in order to invite the addressees into the evaluative common ground, thus urging them to share the same emotion or stance, i.e., surprise, toward the event being described. Needless to say, all other discursive functions, i.e., irritation, friendliness, sarcasm, protest, imploration, solicitation, and reprimand, are intrinsically interactional and intersubjective.

5. Conclusion

This paper addressed the development of the Korean plural marker *-tul* which began to mark plurality of the hosted nominal from MK. It originated from a noun denoting 'all of these' and 'and kindred others'. The notion of multiplicity prompted its functions to be extended to the (inter)subjective domain, i.e., stance marking, by becoming a DM affixed to many different kinds of grammatical constituents. In the (inter)subjective domain, it came to mark mirativity (and sarcasm through feigned mirative), irritation (and protest and reprimand), and friendliness (and imploration and solicitation).

The developmental path for *tul* can be schematically characterized as: [Object (noun) > Grammar/Text (suffix) > Discourse/Stance (discourse marker)]. The intersubjective usage is restricted to [-HON] addressee in the [-FORMAL] speech style, a state of affairs suggesting semantic 'persistence' from the source lexeme.

The development across grammatical categories suggests that language users are not rigidly constrained by the grammatical category of a

linguistic form. They use function-based analogy and generalize the usage to unorthodox categories.

주제어: 복수표지, 담화표지, 상호주관화, 스탠스, 문법화

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Seongha Rhee
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
Department of English Linguistics and Language Technology
107 Imun-ro, Dongdaemun-gu
Seoul 02450 Korea
Tel: 02-2173-3171
E-mail: srhee@hufs.ac.kr