



On Polygrammaticalization of *See*-Derived Auxiliaries in Korean*

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Rhee, Seongha. 2019. On polygrammaticalization of *see*-derived auxiliaries in Korean. *Discourse and Cognition* 26:2, 91-119. This paper explores the semantic extension patterns of the visual perception verb *po*- ‘see’ in Korean and the functions of the forms that grammaticalized from the verb. Korean *po*- exhibits diverse semantic and functional extension. As a lexical verb, *po*- has diverse meanings in the conceptual categories of Attention, Cognition, Supervision, Experience, Acquisition, Evaluation, and Interaction. The extension pattern occurs cutting across such macro-domains as Sensory, Conative, Interactional and Evaluative domains, through subjectification and intersubjectification. In the domain of grammaticalized forms, *po*- has diverse functional markers such as particles, address terms, discourse markers, adverbials, and auxiliaries. Auxiliaries are most diverse and varied in form and function, e.g., Attemptive, Performative, Experiential, Hypothetical, Prioritized Performative, Consequential, Reason for Acceptance, Conjectural, Tentative Intention, Causal, and Scene Transference. Based on the grammaticalization processes and functions, some select issues are discussed, i.e., the role of lexical meaning of the source lexemes, the roles of the connective particles and the grammatical markers participating in the grammaticalization, and the functional network formed by the properties of the grammatical forms.. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies) (172 words)

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1. Introduction

It has been observed across languages that verbs of perception are among those that are particularly susceptible to semantic extension and grammaticalization. For instance, Sweeter (1990) shows extensive transfield semantic extension patterns of the perception lexemes, e.g. ‘see’ > ‘understand’ in many European languages, a state of affairs that led her to the claim of its universality (e.g. IE **weid* ‘see’ > Greek *eidon* ‘see’, *oida* ‘know’; Latin *video* ‘see’; Irish *fios* ‘knowledge’). Evans and Wilkins (2000), however, presenting the common ‘hear’ > ‘understand’ extension pattern in their study of Australian languages, dispute the alleged universal. Wierzbicka (1996) notes the polysemous status of both ‘see’ and ‘hear’ with ‘know’ and ‘think’. Similar strands of research have been presented in Hilpert (2007), who evaluates the earlier hypotheses by investigating 25 languages from 8 different genetic stocks for non-Indo-European and non-Australian languages, and presents diverse semantic extension scenarios.

Among the physiological perceptions, vision has been noted as the primary modality (Viberg 1984; Sweetser 1990; Rhee 2006; Eom 2007, *inter alia*). This is manifest in Matisoff (1978: 61), who, in his study of Tibeto-Burman languages, states that eyes are “our highest, most intellectual organs of sense.”

Particularly noticeable with respect to grammaticalization of the verbs of visual perception are the extensive entries in the grammaticalization lexicons, e.g. Heine et al. (1993), Heine and Kuteva (2002), and Kuteva et al. (2019). For instance, the aforementioned lexicons list Allative, Copula, Evidential (Direct), Ostensive Predicator, and Passive as the target categories of the source lexeme SEE. For this reason, this paper explores the semantic development of the Korean visual perception verb *po-* and its grammaticalization processes, which is a paradigm example of ‘polygrammaticalization’ (Craig 1991). Among the Korean perception verbs, the verb of visual perception, *po-* illustrates particularly diverse lexical meanings and grammatical functions associated with it across multiple grammatical domains.

Lexical semantics of the perception verb *po-* and its grammaticalization have received much attention to date (e.g. Kim 1982; Lee 1988; Son 1994, 1996; Koo 1995; Kim 2001; Han 2003; Ho 1999, 2003; Jeong 2006; Kwon 2012; Narrog and Rhee 2013; Jung 2017; Rhee forthcoming, *inter alia*). These studies have contributed to a better understanding of the semantic development of *po-*,

but most of them do not address its grammaticalization processes, but largely focus on their lexical and grammatical meanings. It is notable, however, that there are, albeit small in number, studies that attempted analysis from grammaticalization perspectives (e.g. Son 1996; Ho 2003; Jung 2017). Even these studies tend to focus on only a subset of the *po*-derived grammatical markers, and thus the present study intends to fill this research gap.

This paper is organized in the following way: Section 2 addresses the semantics of the verb *po*- and discusses its semantic extension, Section 3 addresses the grammaticalization of various functions in diverse syntagmatic environments, Section 4 discusses some select aspects of the states of affairs that bear theoretical importance, and Section 5 summarizes the findings and concludes the paper.

2. Semantics of *Po*-

The semantics of the Korean verb of visual perception *po*- constitutes a paradigm example of how cognitive mechanisms create polysemy. The following are the 28 semantic designations of *po*- as a transitive verb taking an accusative-marked object argument in *Phyocwun Kwuke Taysacen* (on-line edition, accessed July 2018) by the National Institute of Korean.¹⁾

- (1) Lexical verb: designations labeled and translated briefly in English
 - a. [see] see, perceive and know about existence or shape with eyes
 - b. [appreciate] appreciate an object with eyes
 - c. [read] read a book or newspaper
 - d. [examine] examine an object in order to know its content or state
 - e. [meet] meet someone with a purpose
 - f. [keep] keep or take care of something or someone
 - g. [sympathize] consider someone's situation sympathetically
 - h. [divine] tell, or have someone tell, fortune

1) The referenced dictionary lists (aa) and (ab) as separate entries from the (a)-(z) designations for their structural patterns of collocation. They are presented together here by virtue of their word class, i.e. a transitive verb, and their grammatical category, i.e., a lexical verb. In terms of semantics the designations (e) and (aa) are nearly identical, and in the following discussion they will be considered as one. Another notable aspect is the inclusion of (y) and (z), which are better analyzed as grammatical formants rather than lexical ones (see Section 3 for more discussion).

- i. [take exam] (with ‘exam’ as the object) take an exam to show one’s capabilities
- j. [take charge] take charge of a matter
- k. [result in] have a result or relationship as a consequence
- l. [prepare] prepare a table to eat or a bed to sleep in
- m. [relieve oneself] (euphemistic) relieve oneself with urination or defecation
- n. [enter into familial relationship] enter into a familial relationship with
- o. [enter into illicit relationship] enter into an illicit sexual relationship with)
- p. [experience] experience or undergo
- q. [see patient] (a doctor) see a patient for examination
- r. [subscribe] subscribe to a periodical
- s. [taste] taste a food to check the taste or the level of salinity
- t. [speak badly] speak negatively about someone’s faults or weaknesses
- u. [find faults] find faults or weaknesses of someone
- v. [look for] look for a chance or opportune time
- w. [consider purchase] see a lot, house, commodity, etc. in order to consider purchase
- x. [make transaction] (with ‘market’ as the object) sell or buy something
- y. [consider] (in the form of *poko*) use as an object of consideration or a basis of judgment (‘about’, ‘based on’, ‘in consideration of’)
- z. [rely] (in the form of *poko*) hope for or rely on (‘in hopes of’ ‘relying on’)
- aa. [meet] (often with a [+plural] subject) meet in person
- ab. [evaluate] (often with an evaluative) evaluate or judge

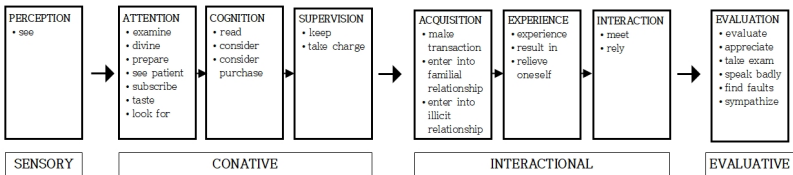
As shown in the list above, the polysemous designations are intuitively well motivated with respect to conceptual extension, for their inherent nature of metonymic connectedness. When the meanings are grouped together according to the conceptual categories, it can be categorized in such domains: as Perception, Attention, Cognition, Supervision, Experience, Acquisition, Evaluation, and Interaction, as shown in the following:

- (2) a. Perception: see
- b. Attention: examine, divine, prepare, see patient, subscribe, taste, look

for

- c. Cognition: read, consider purchase, consider
- d. Supervision: keep, take charge
- e. Experience: experience, result in, relieve oneself
- f. Acquisition: enter into familial relationship, enter into illicit relationship, make transaction
- g. Evaluation: evaluate, appreciate, take exam, speak badly, find faults, sympathize
- h. Interaction: meet, rely

As is evident from the list in (2), the membership of a particular designation in the conceptual domains is not exclusive. For instance, the designations in Acquisition seem amenable to be in Interaction as well, when the participants in the acquisition episode are humans. Such relatedness is in fact the prominent characteristic of metonymic transfer since metonymization occurs at the microscopic level of grammar, often unnoticeable to language users. The metonymic connections among domains can be represented as in Figure 1.



<Figure 1> Metonymic semantic network of the lexical verb *po*- ‘see’

The semantic extension pattern of the lexical verb *po*- ‘see’ seems to be in consonance with the general conceptually-motivated metonymization processes. For instance, there are four macro-level domains such as sensory, conative, interactional and evaluative domains. Within each domain, there are micro-level conceptual domains. This state of affairs is reminiscent of the notion ‘chained metonymies’ as proposed by Hilpert (2007: 4), as exemplified in the English sentence *I have an eye on that new Powerbook*, in which the [eye > vision > attention > desire] metonymic chain is observable. Furthermore, the pattern is amenable with the notions ‘subjectification’ and ‘intersubjectification’ as proposed by Traugott (1982, 2003, 2010), Traugott and König (1991), and Traugott and Dasher (2002). It has been observed across languages that

meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation (i.e., subjectification) and that meanings tend to become increasingly involving the speaker's attention to the 'self' of the addressee with respect to epistemic states as well as face or image needs (i.e., intersubjectification), thus intersubjectification tends to increase the interactional meaning (Rhee 2016: 268-269). In this regard, the semantic change from the designation of pure sensory perception to those in the conative and evaluative domains is an instance of subjectification, and the semantic change to interactive, discursive meanings is an instance of intersubjectification.

3. Grammaticalization

In the foregoing section we have seen the diverse semantic designations of the verb *po-*. Some of the designations arguably border on, or are better classified as, grammatical categories (see 3.1 below for discussion). Including such cases, we now turn to a discussion on the development of grammatical forms from the source lexeme *po-* 'see'.

3.1. Particles and autonomous formants

One aspect of the semantic designations given in (1) involves the distinction between lexical and grammatical status of semantic designations. For instance, as briefly alluded to in the footnote 1, the designations (y) and (z), repeated below as (3), are better regarded as grammatical formants.

- (3) y. [consider] (in the form of *poko*) use as an object of consideration or a basis of judgment ('about', 'based on', 'in consideration of')
- z. [rely] (in the form of *poko*) hope for or rely on ('in hopes of' 'relying on')

Such a grammatical-formant analysis is supported by a number of facts. Most of all, the forms are syntactically frozen, i.e., in the form of *-(lu)l po-ko* [-ACC see-and], as shown in (4) for (3y), in which neither the insertion of a modifier (4b) nor tense modulation (4c) is acceptable, and, equally importantly, the meaning is highly unitized into something that can be rendered into English prepositions 'about', 'with reference to' (see Hoffmann 2005: 169 for a similar

analysis):²⁾

- (4) a. ne-lul po-ko ha-nun mal-i ani-ya
 you-Acc see-and say-Adn word-Nom be.not-End
 ‘(I’m) not saying (it) {about, with reference to} you.’
 b. ne-lul {*caseyhi, *cal} po-ko...
 {intently, well}
 c. ne-lul *po-ass-ko...
 see-PST-and

Thus, the discussion of grammaticalization necessarily includes those two entries. Even the two designations proposed in the dictionary are not suitably fine-grained. Therefore, we will use more function-based categorization for grammatical forms.

The first category of *po*-derived grammatical forms is that of postpositional particles, i.e., those that host an NP, which started their life as constructions involving the accusative marker *-lul*, which has undergone, or is in the process of, erosion. They are shown, in part, in (5):

- (5) As a NP-hosting formant
 a. Dative Case Particle: *-(lul).poko*, *-(lul).pole* ‘to’
 b. Comparative Postposition: *-pota*, *-potaka* ‘than’
 c. Thematic Postposition: *-(lul).poko* ‘about’
 d. Desiderative Postposition: *-(lul).poko* ‘in hopes of’

A brief note is that the dative case *-(lul).poko* has a dialectal variant *-(lul).pole*, even though the phonological motivation of the change is not apparent. Secondly, *-pota*, the comparative postposition ‘the marker of standard’

2) The following abbreviations are used in glossing the Korean data: Acc: accusative; Adn: adnominal; Appr: apprehensive; Attn: attentive; Aux: auxiliary; Conj: conjunctive; Conn: connective; Cons: consequential; CR: current-relevance; Csl: causal; Dec: declarative; End: sentence-ender; Excl: exclamative; Exp: experiential; Foc: focus; Fut: future; Hon: honorific; Hypo: hypothetical; Imp: imperative; Inst: instrumental; Inten: intentional; Irr: irrealis; Neg: negative; Nom: nominative; Nomz: nominalizer; PDK: Present-Day Korean; Perf: perfective; Pfm: performative; Pl: plural; Pol: polite; Pres: present; Prio: prioritized performative; Prog: progressive; Proh: prohibitive; Pst: past; Q: question; ReAc: reason for acceptance; ScTr: scene transference; Sel: selective; TenInt: tentative intentional.

(Heine 1997: 110) developed from the source construction (*-lul*) *po-tak-a* [-ACC see-draw.near-and], from which *-ka* at the end has eroded away. The verb *tak-* became grammaticalized into *-taka* as a verbal morphology with the function of marking ‘transferentive’ (Martin 1992; Rhee 1996) or ‘avertive’ (Rhee, in press).

Another group of grammatical forms is a collection of special constructions that do not form a conceptually or formally uniform category. They are as listed in part in (6):

(6) As a special construction

- a. Address term: *yepo*, *yepokey*, *yeposikey*, *yeposio*, *yepwala*...
- b. Discourse Marker: *yeposeyyo*, *yepwala*, *poca*, *eti poca*, *pwapwa*...
- c. Adverbial: *pota moshay*, *poahani*, *poca poca hanikka*...

The formants listed in (6) present interesting developmental paths, the detailed discussion of which is beyond our immediate scope of interest. Disregarding the details, however, a few mentions are in order. The address terms in (6a) all involve the proximal place deixis *ye* (< *yeki* ‘here’), and all the listed forms can be rendered as ‘Look here’. These imperative constructions have become address terms (note that *yepo* is also an endearment term largely equivalent to the English ‘darling’ or ‘honey’, used between spouses).

Some of the address terms are also used as discourse markers (DMs) with the function of attention attraction for discourse initiation (note that *yeposeyyo* is the default marker for calling the addressee’s attention and for responding to the call in telephonic conversation). The DMs *poca* and *eti poca* involve the hortative marker *-ca*, thus the forms are renderable as ‘Let’s see’ and ‘Well, let’s see’, respectively (see Rhee (forthcoming) for discussion of their grammaticalization). The DM *pwapwa*, on the other hand, is an imperative sentence involving the verb *po-* used twice, one as a lexical verb and the other as an auxiliary. The construction starting from the meaning ‘See and find out’ is now functioning as a DM for attention attraction or as a preface to a challenging remark or rebuttal.

There are adverbials derived from the verb *po-*. The word class ‘adverb’ has been the subject of some controversy as to their grammatical status, i.e., whether it is a grammatical category as opposed to a lexical category. The controversy originates from the fact that adverb as a grammatical category has

the Janusian characteristics of being an open class (thus lexical) and having quite distinct non-lexical characteristics with respect to form and function (thus grammatical) (Rhee 2016[1998]: 114-117). For these reasons, Heine et al. (1991: 167) place adverb in the middle range of the grammaticality continuum, and the lexicons by Heine et al. (1993) and Kuteva et al. (2019) list adverbs in the grammatical forms. It is also noticeable that the adverbials in (6c) tend to signal the speaker's attitudinal stance, a state of affairs that also coincides with many grammatical markers in the mood and modality marking.

3.2. The auxiliary *-e.po-*

Most prominently, a large number of grammaticalized forms of *po-* belong to the category of auxiliaries, the formants hosting predicates rather than nominals. We now turn to the discussion of such auxiliary forms. Before we go into the discussion, a brief prelude note is in order. The above-referenced dictionary, *Phyocwun Kwuke Taysacen*, lists four auxiliary verb functions and four auxiliary adjective functions as below:³⁾

(7) As an auxiliary verb

- a. Exploration: (in the form of *-e.po-*) do x as an exploration
- b. Experience: (in the form of *-e.po-*) experience x
- c. Consequence: (in the forms of *-ko.poni*, *-ko.pomyen*) in the end of x
- d. Consequence: (in the forms of *-ta(ka).poni*, *-ta(ka).pomyen*) in the end of x

(8) As an auxiliary adjective

- a. Conjecture: (in the forms of *-nka.po-*, *-na.po-*) conjecture x, know x without certainty
- b. Intention: (in the form of *-lkka.po-*) intend to do x
- c. Apprehension: (in the form of *-lkkapwa(se)*) apprehend x
- d. Cause: (in the form of *-ta.poni*, *-ko.poni*) as caused by x

3) In Korean, polylexemic grammatical forms are written with interlexical spacing as mandated by the orthographic rules. In this paper, for enhanced visual clarity for unverbated unithood, the interlexical spacing is indicated with a dot. Unless warranted otherwise, grammatical forms that have phonologically-controlled variants are presented with the representative forms without discussion.

As was briefly noted above, the granularity of semantic designation by lexicographers is unsuitable for grammaticalization analysis, i.e., dictionary designations are too coarse-grained to be in tandem with conceptual and functional categories often used in grammaticalization research. Furthermore, lexicographers list head words that belong to autonomous grammatical categories and when they are dealing with the grammaticalized or formally ‘univerbated’ forms (Lehmann 1995[1982]), they place them under the head word and tend to present the semantic designation that is thought to correspond to the part represented by the head word or the overall function. However, teasing apart this partial meaning of the univerbated form is not always straightforward. For these technical reasons, the following discussion is based on the formal categorization by subsections, and the functional characterization is given with more fine-grained distinctions.

The most productive *po*-derived auxiliaries are those that involve the connectives *-e* and *-ko*. We first look at the multifunctional *-e.po-*, as exemplified in (9):

- (9) *-e.po-* ATTEMPTIVE (explore the consequences of V-ing)
- a. tyoh-un swul-i-ni ne-y mek-e.po-la swuwul-os
 be.good-Adn wine-be-as you-Nom drink-Attm-Imp wine-Foc
 tyo-thi.ani-khetun kap-ul kap-ti.mal-la
 be.good-Neg-if price-Acc pay-Proh-Imp
 ‘Taste this wine for a trial since it is a good one. If it is not good,
 don’t pay for it.’ (1517 *Penyeknokeltay* I.63a)
- b. cwusik-ey thwucaha-e.po-ass-e
 stock-to invest-Attm-Pst-End
 ‘I invested in the stock market for a trial.’ (PDK)
- c. amwu cakmwul-to an twa-yse khong-ul hanpen sim-e.po-ass-e
 no plant-even Neg grow-as bean-Acc once plant-Attm-End
 ‘Since no plants would grow (there), I planted beans for a trial.’
 (PDK)

Example (9a), taken from the Late Middle Korean data, is an utterance of a tavern owner who is encouraging his clients to taste his wine. Examples (9b) and (9c) are constructed PDK examples, in which the speaker is stating that stock investment was made as a trial (9b), and that beans are planted to see if

mercifulness, is merciless. Example (9c) is a PDK example typically encountered by anyone visiting a physician examining the lungs of a patient with stethoscopes. The actual performance meaning in (9b) and (9c) are substantially bleached.

The Performative meaning is a natural outgrowth of the Attemptive meaning, discussed above, since ‘attempt’ and ‘perform’ are nearly synonymous. The notion ‘attempt’ inherently involves attention to the result, whereas ‘perform’ does not. Thus, this line of development can be regarded as an instance of semantic bleaching (Givón 1975; Lord 1976; Lehmann 1995[1982]; Bybee and Pagliuca 1985), generalization (Bybee et al. 1994) or semantic extension (Heine and Kuteva 2002). The development of the Performative meaning from the lexical source ‘see’ is well motivated conceptually as well. The act of ‘seeing’ denoted by a conative verb (note that Korean does not have the conative vs. non-conative distinction analogous to the English *look/watch* vs. *see*) involves intention, directed attention, and desire of exploration. These semantic features set the visual perception apart from other perceptive modalities. In other words, unlike seeing, hearing and smelling, for example, cannot be easily controlled or directed. For these reasons, visual perception vis-a-vis other perceptive modalities is the representative modality of conative perception. Thus, directed vision in the perceptual domain can be easily mapped onto selective exploratory performance in the action domain.

Another auxiliary function of the form *-e.po-* is marking Experiential, as exemplified in (11):

- (11) *-e.po-* EXPERIENTIAL (experience V-ing)
- a. ne-y chAm cwuk-e.po-lya-nA-nya
 you-Nom truly die-Exp-Inten-CR-Q
 ‘Are you really trying to die?’ (1894 *Thyenlolyektyeng* 1: 67b)
- b. hankwuk-eyse olay sal-a.po-ni etta-y?
 Korea-in for.long live-Exp-Csl be.how-End
 ‘How is it after living long in Korea?’
 (Lit. How is it since you lived...) (PDK)

Example (11a) is taken from a 19th century source (at the turning point of the Early Modern to Modern Korean), a Koreanized version of John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrims Progress* by James Gale, in which Aphalyun, the Devil, is

threateningly charging Kuytokto (the Christian) with a spear, saying ‘Do you want to die (experience death)?’ Similarly, (11b) is a PDK example, with which the speaker is asking the addressee about how he or she feels about the life in Korea, i.e., the experience of extended living in Korea.

The development of the experience meaning from ‘see’ is also well motivated conceptually. Among many modes of experience, the visual experience is not only physically but also cognitively primary, as is well exemplified with numerous expressions in English, e.g., *sightsee*, *see good days*, *see difficult times*, *see the day*, *nice to see*, *awful to see*, *have seen it all*, *have seen everything*, etc., in which ‘seeing’ is equivalent to ‘experiencing’. Considering that experiencing typically involves many other physical and cognitive aspects in addition to its most prominent visual aspect, the [see > experience] change is a case of grammaticalization through metonymy and synecdoche.

The final functional category of the auxiliary *-e.po-* is Hypothetical, as exemplified in (12):

(12) *-e.po-* HYPOTHETICAL (if)

a. *-e.po-a(la)* (Imperative, Parataxis)

caphi-ki-man ha-e.po-ala. kunyang an twu-n-ta
get.caught-Nomz-only do-Hypo-Imp alone Neg leave-Pres-Dec
‘If only you get caught, you will be in trouble.’
(Lit. Just be caught. (I) will not leave you alone.) (PDK)

b. *-e.po(assu)myen* (Conditional, Protasis)

na-to hanpen nalssinha-e.po-ass-umyen coh-keyss-e
I-too once be.slim-Hypo-Pst-if be.good-Fut-End
‘If only I were slim, how good it would be.’
(Lit. If only I were slim just for once, it would be good.) (PDK)

c. *-e.poaya* (Concessive, Protasis)

icey pi-ka o-a.po-aya mwusun soyong iss-e?
now rain-Nom come-Hypo-though what.kind use exist-End
‘Even if it rains now, what good would there be?’ (PDK)

The examples above show the three constructional patterns with the shared function of marking Hypothetical, i.e., paratactic imperative, protactic conditional, and protactic concessive constructions. In these constructions, the

visual perception meaning of the source verb *po-* is nearly absent, even though we can attribute the experiential and performative meanings as semantic residue. More prominently, these forms carry the Hypothetical meaning as a product of the interaction among the participating components, most notably the connectives in (12b) and (12c). However, these Hypotheticals syntactically function as connectives, by virtue of the inclusion of the connective particles *-myen* ‘if’ and *-aya* ‘even if’ and the inferential connective meaning of juxtaposed imperative (note the conditional interpretation of a juxtaposed imperative in English: *Come closer. I’ll shoot you.*). This strongly suggests that in the course of grammaticalization in which multiple components are involved, the functional category of a grammatical form is largely dependent on the final particle, whereas its specific functions result from the interaction of its component parts (see 4.2 for more discussion).

3.3. The auxiliary *-ko.po-*

The next most productive auxiliary among the *po-* derived grammatical forms is *-ko.po-*, which also exhibits polyfunctionality. Some of the grammaticalized forms retain paradigmatic flexibility, thus amenable to accompany other grammatical forms such as a connective, while others have been fossilized containing a connective within them. An example of the former is *-ko.po-*, as exemplified in (13):

(13) *-ko.po-* PRIORITIZED PERFORMATIVE

- a. wusen mek-ko.po-ca
first eat-Prio-Hort

‘Let’s eat first no matter what.’ (Lit. Let’s eat and then see.) (PDK)

- b. saep-ul sicakha-ko.po-ki-lo ha-yss-ta
business-Acc start-Prio-Nomz-Inst do-Pst-Dec

‘(I) decided to start a business first no matter what.’ (PDK)

As an auxiliary, *-ko.po-* in (13) signals that the action denoted by the host clause is a prioritized action often rashly engaged in without much contemplation on the potentially harmful effect. Since the form still retains the formal syntagmatic flexibility, it can be marked with a speech act marker, i.e., hortative *-ca*, or a derivational morpheme, i.e., nominalizer *-ki*. The meaning of

the source lexeme *po-* ‘see’ in this auxiliary has been substantially bleached, even though ‘experience’ and ‘trial’ meanings are somewhat vaguely retained.

Another form of the grammaticalized *-ko.po-* is *-ko.poni*, a clausal connective as exemplified below:

- (14) *-ko.poni* CONSEQUENTIAL (< *-ko po-ni* [-and see-Csl])
- a. pap-ul mek-ko.poni ton-i eps-ess-ta
 food-Acc eat-Cons money-Nom not.exist-Pst-Dec
 ‘After eating a meal, (I realized that) I didn’t have money.’ (PDK)
- b. ton-ey cengsin-i phalli-ko.poni nwun-ey
 money-to mind-Nom be.sold-Cons eye-to
 tuleo-nun ke-y eps-ta
 enter-Adn thing-Nom not.exist-Dec
 ‘As (he) lost his mind to money, he is not mindful of anything else.’
 (Lit. As his mind was sold away to money, nothing enters into his eyes.) (PDK)

The examples in (14) illustrate the usage of the connective *-ko.poni*, which is built on the auxiliary *-ko.po-* with the addition of the causal connective *-ni*. The grammaticalized form *-ko.poni* syntactically functions as a connective and conceptually marks consequentiality. It is intuitively clear that the source lexeme *po-* ‘see’ seems to contribute the ‘result in’ meaning to the grammaticalizing construction.

Still another auxiliary developed from *-ko.po-* is the connective *-ko.pomyen*, the usage of which is illustrated in (15):

- (15) *-ko.pomyen* REASON FOR ACCEPTANCE (< *-ko po-myen* [-and see-if])
- a. al-ko.pomyen ku salam-to coh-un salam-i-ya
 know-ReAc that person-also be.good-Adn person-be-End
 ‘He is a good person after all.’
 (Lit. If (you) look at the person after (you) know him, he is a good person, too.) (PDK)
- b. ttaci-ko.pomyen na-to calmosha-n ke-y manh-ta
 calculate-ReAc I-too do.wrong-Adn thing-Nom be.many-Dec
 ‘Come to think of it, I have done wrong a lot.’

(Lit. If (I) calculate it and see, my wrong-doing is many.) (PDK)

The function of *-ko.pomyen* in (15) is to mark the reason or the enabling condition for the acceptance of what is stated in the following apodosis. This function is closely tied to that of the participating conditional marker *-myen* ‘if’. Obviously, the contribution of the source lexeme *po-* ‘see’ is the semantics of ‘appreciate’, ‘consider’ and ‘experience’. Since the meaning of ‘enabling condition’ is closely linked to the prioritized performance, this semantic function could have been derived from the auxiliary *-ko.po-*, as well.

3.4. The auxiliaries *-na/-nka/-lyena/-lkka.po-*

Another productive class of *po-*derived auxiliaries is one consisting of those involving interrogative connectives, i.e., *-na*, *-ka*, and *-kka*. These auxiliaries carry the function of marking Conjectural, Tentative Intentional, and Apprehensive. The Conjectural auxiliary function is illustrated in the following:

(16) *-na.po-* CONJECTURAL (< *-na po-* [-Q see-])

a. pakk-ey pi-ka o-na.po-ta
outside-at rain-Nom come-Conj-Dec

‘It seems that it’s raining outside.’

(Lit. I see, “Is it raining outside?”)

(PDK)

b. ta-tul cip-ey ka-ss-na.po-ney
all-Pl home-to go-Pst-Conj-Excl

‘Oh, it seems that everyone has gone home!’

(PDK)

The function of *-na.po-* in the above is to signal that the meaning denoted by the host clause is a statement of conjecture and inference. It is the primary evidentiality marker for Inferential in Korean (see Kwon 2012). The construction started out from a complex sentence with an embedded direct question (note the question ender *-na* in the source), and the visual perception verb *po-* was the main clause predicate. Through syntagmatic ‘coalescence’ (Haspelmath 2011), the embedded clause-final interrogative marker *-na* and the main verb *po-* have become fused into a single grammatical marker, an instance of ‘syntactic upgrading’, through which the preceding clause, formerly an embedded clause, is now reanalyzed as the main predicate. A peculiarity of

this form is that the verb *po-* in it cannot be inflected for tense or aspect (thus, **-na.po-n-ta* [Pres], **-na.po-ass-ta* [Pst], **-na.po-koiss-ta* [Prog], etc.)

Another function closely related to *-na.po-* is *-lyena.po-*, which obviously contains *-na.po-*. The function is exemplified in the following:

(17) *-lyena.po-* CONJECTURAL (< *-lye-na po-* [Inten-Q see-])

a. (Conjecture of Intention)

os-ul chalyeip-nun ke-l po-ni oychwulha-lyena.po-ta
 clothes-Acc dress.up-Adn Nomz-Acc see-as go.out-Conj-Dec
 ‘Considering that (he) dresses up, (he) seems to be going out.’ (PDK)

b. (Conjecture of Futurity)

kenmwul-i ppittakha-n ke-y kot mwuneci-lyena.po-ta
 building-Nom be.tilted-Adn Nomz-Nom soon collapse-Conj-Dec
 ‘Seeing that the building is tilted, it seems to be about to collapse.’
 (PDK)

The morpheme *-lye* in the auxiliary *-lyena.po-* is the marker of intention, and thus it is natural to bring forth the intentional meaning in (17a). The mere futurity meaning of *-lyena.po-* in (17b) without the intentionality is the result of subjectification, through which the imminent nature of the collapse of the building is represented as if the building had the intention of collapsing.

Another auxiliary derived from the source lexeme *po-* in combination with a question marker is *-nka.po-*, as exemplified below:

(18) *-nka.po-* CONJECTURAL (< *-nka po-* [-Q see-])

a. icey tutie kaul-i-nka.po-ta

now at.last autumn-be-Conj-Dec

‘I guess we are finally in the fall now.’ (PDK)

b. khephi-ka nemwu ttukewu-nka.po-ta

coffee-Nom too.much be.hot-Conj-Dec

‘It seems that the coffee is too hot.’ (PDK)

The auxiliary *-nka.po-* having the function nearly identical to *-na.po-* is related to the fact that the question markers *-nka* and *-na* have functional affinity, i.e., marking the ‘internal question’ (Lee 1963, Ahn 1964), ‘internal speech’ (Lee 1986), ‘indirect question’ (Lee 1979; Lee 1982), ‘monologual

question’ (Koo and Rhee 2013), or ‘audience-blind sentence ender’ (Rhee and Koo 2017).

Another auxiliary similarly formed is *-lkka.po-*, which marks the Tentative Intention, as shown below:

- (19) *-lkka.po-* TENTATIVE INTENTIONAL (< *-lkka po-* [-Q see-])
- a. *simsimha-ntey yehayng-ina ka-lkka.po-ta*
 be.bored-Conn travel-Sel go-TenInt-Dec
 ‘As I’m bored, I might as well go on a trip.’ (PDK)
- b. *hwana-nuntey pimil-ul ta phokloha-ypeli-lkka.po-ta*
 be.angry-Conn secret-Acc all reveal-Perf-TenInt-Dec
 ‘Since I’m so angry, I might reveal all the secrets.’ (PDK)

The auxiliary *-lkka.po-* in (19) signals that the speaker, which is identical with the sentential subject, indicates his or her intention which, however, is tentative as yet. The tentativeness of the marker comes from the non-definite nature of the question (indicated by the participating interrogative marker *-lkka*). Very similarly, the form, slightly modified, can function as a connective with different function, as shown in (20):

- (20) *-lkka.pwa-* APPREHENSIVE (< *-lkka po-a* [-Q see-Conn])
- a. *honna-lkka.pwa apeci-kkey acik malssum-ul mos tuli-ko.iss-ta*
 be.scolded-Appr father-to yet word-Acc not give-Prog-Dec
 ‘Fearing that I may be scolded, I haven’t told my father yet.’
- b. *moki-eykey mwulli-lkka.pwa pakk-ey mos naka-keyss-ta*
 mosquito-to be.bitten-Appr outside-to not go.out-Fut-Dec
 ‘Fearing that I might be bitten by mosquitoes, I can’t go outside.’ (PDK)

The connective *-lkka.pwa*, built on the auxiliary *-lkka.po-*, marks the apprehension of the sentential subject. The apprehensive meaning is largely paraphrasable as ‘Seeing fearfully that...’, in which *po-* ‘see’ contributed the lexical semantics of ‘examine’ or ‘consider’. The form has acquired the semantic component of apprehension from the context (see Rhee and Kuteva (2018) for discussion of Apprehensives in Korean).

3.5. The auxiliary *-ta(ka).po-*

The final category of the *po*-derived auxiliary is *-taka.po-* and *-ta.po-*, involving the transferentive connective *-ta(ka)*, a marker signalling ‘disruption’ or ‘transference of scenes’. Their usage is exemplified in the following:

- (21) *-ta(ka).poni(kka)* CAUSAL (< *-taka po-ni(kka)* [Trans see-Conn])
- a. pappu-ta.poni kakkaw-un chinkwu-tul-to cal mos manna-n-ta
 be.busy-Csl be.close-Adn friend-Pl-also well not meet-Pres-Dec
 ‘Since (I) am busy, I cannot even get to see my close friends.’ (PDK)
- b. ton-i eps-ta.ponikka maum-to wichwuktoy-n-ta
 money-Nom not.exist-Csl mind-also get.dispirited-Pres-Dec
 ‘Since (I) don’t have money, I become even daunted at heart.’ (PDK)

The connective *-ta(ka).poni(kka)* is built on the auxiliary *-ta(ka).po-*. The marker carries the causal meaning and, in addition, some connotation of contingency. Combined with the transferentive, the verb *po-* ‘see’ contributes the ‘sudden realization’ or ‘sudden perception’ meaning to the source construction. In typical sentences, the connective-marked clause indicates the time point when the sudden realization occurs, and the main clause denotes the content of the new realization.

The final function of the auxiliary *-ta(ka).po-* is Scene Transference, in the form of the connectives, *-ta(ka).poni* and *-ta(ka).pomyen*, as exemplified below:

- (22) *-ta(ka).poni(kka)* SCENE TRANSFERENTIVE
 (< *-taka po-nikka* [Trans see-Conn])
- mwucakceng ket-ta.poni pata-kkaci ilule-ss-ta
 aimlessly walk-ScTr sea-till reach-Pst-Dec
 ‘As (I) walked aimlessly, I ended up at the seashore.’ (PDK)

- (23) *-ta(ka).pomyen* SCENE TRANSFERENTIVE
 (< *-taka po-myen* [Trans see-if])
- yelsimhi sal-ta.pomyen coh-un il-to sayngki-n-ta
 earnestly live-ScTr be.good-Adn thing-also occur-Pres-Dec
 ‘If you work hard, good things will happen to you.’ (PDK)

The two connective forms *-ta(ka).poni* and *-ta(ka).pomyen* signal the transfer of the scenes (note that the former is identical in form with the causal marker discussed above). The transference meaning is to a large extent derived from the transference marker *-ta(ka)*, thus the semantic contribution of the lexeme *po-* ‘see’ is rather minimal. As is the case with the afore-described causal auxiliary *-ta(ka).poni(kka)*, the semantic contribution of the source lexeme is ‘realize’ and ‘perceive’.

4. Discussion

In the foregoing discussion we have seen diverse lexical semantics of the lexeme *po-* ‘see’ and grammatical functions of the grammaticalized forms involving the lexeme. In the description of the meanings and functions, some important aspects are elaborated, though not to a great length. In this section we address certain select points that bear theoretical significance.

4.1. Lexical meaning

It has been widely argued in literature that the source lexeme characteristics influence the course and result of grammaticalization. This claim has been upheld in observations across languages. For instance, Bybee et al. (1994) proposed the Source Determination Hypothesis, which states that the paths and the results of grammaticalization processes are largely determined by the source lexemes and constructions. Another closely related hypothesis in grammaticalization, also proposed by Bybee et al. (1994), is the Universal Path Hypothesis, which states that the semantic change patterns commonly attested in grammaticalization scenarios across languages constitute a relatively a small limited set. Similarly, Traugott and Dasher (2002) extensively discuss the regularity of semantic change, and Heine (1997) attributes these grammaticalization commonalities to the commonalities of human cognition. This is empirically supported by the large inventory of similar or identical grammaticalization instances as recorded in grammaticalization lexicons, notably Heine and Kuteva (2002) and Kuteva et al. (2019).

In the context of our exposition, it is noteworthy that some of the grammatical functions reflect rather directly the semantics of the source lexeme *po-*, as listed, in part, in (24):

(24) Lexical source meaning	Grammatical function
experience	Experiential
examine	Attemptive, Apprehensive
take charge	Performative
result in	Consequential
appreciate	Reason for acceptance

It is indeed true that there are cases in which certain grammaticalized functions cannot be effectively explained with respect to the semantics of their source lexemes. However, the close connection between the source and the target in grammaticalization scenarios as evidenced here support the idea that the source characteristics play the critical roles in grammaticalization.

4.2. Connective Particles

It is evident that grammaticalization is a ‘product of joint endeavor’ among the participating linguistic formants in the source construction. Therefore, contribution of each formant toward the creation of the grammatical concept is not only reasonable but also expected. It is noteworthy, however, that the formant most prominently subject to the semantic bleaching is the open/primary category lexemes, i.e., verbs and nouns, rather than those in the closed/secondary category formants, i.e., connectives, sentential endings, etc. This is indicative of the fact that grammatical forms have undergone semantic bleaching and generalization to a great extent, and thus they lack semantic content that can be subjected to the bleaching process (see below for reconsideration of this issue).

Nevertheless, the constructions that undergo grammaticalization are invariably tied to the grammatical forms that occur at the beginning and the end of the construction in terms of their grammatical behavior. Of these two positions, the influence of the latter is much greater, a state of affairs expected in a head-final language (see Rhee 2007 for discussion on the role of particles in grammaticalization). Therefore, the developmental path of grammaticalizing constructions can be characterized as follows: (i) the overall direction is determined by the primary category lexeme and (ii) the grammatical behavior is determined by the secondary category formants (Rhee 2007).

It is noteworthy, however, that the contribution of the semantics of a

grammatical form may have been unduly underestimated. For instance, a noteworthy observation is the crucial role of the non-finite markers (often termed as adverbializer or converb), e.g., *-a/e*, *-key*, *-ci*, and *-ko*. The contrast is most vivid between *-a/e* and *-ko*. For the differential characterization of the seemingly similar connectives *-a/e* and *-ko*, Koo (1987) labels *-a/e* as the ‘consolidating connective’ vs. *-ko* as the ‘isolating connective’. Another connective *-ta(ka)* also creates different semantic effect in the grammaticalizing constructions. The critical roles of these connectives become apparent in the following contrasts, in which the auxiliaries *-e.po-*, *-ko.po-*, and *-ta.po-* are glossed as Aux as a shorthand:

(25) a. *-e.po-* (Attempt/Test/Trial)

umsik-lul mek-e.po-ni masiss-ta
 food-Acc eat-Aux-Conn be.tasty-Dec
 ‘As I tasted the food, (I see that) it’s delicious.’ (PDK)

b. *-ko.po-* (Prioritized/Non-calculated performance)

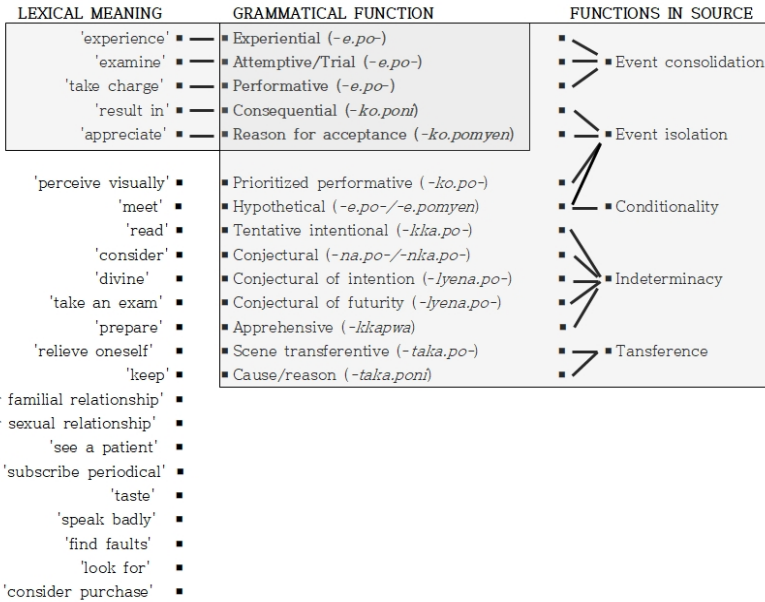
umsik-lul mek-ko.po-ni ton-i eps-ta
 food-Acc eat-Aux-Conn money-Nom not.exist-Dec
 ‘I ate the food without thinking, and I see that I have no money to pay for it.’ (PDK)

c. *-ta.po-* (Scene transference/Sudden realization)

umsik-lul mek-ta.po-ni kalcung-i na-n-ta
 food-Acc eat-Aux-Conn thirst-Nom come.out-Pres-Dec
 ‘While eating the food, suddenly I became thirsty.’ (PDK)

In the above contrastive examples, the auxiliaries signal attempt or trial in (25a), non-calculated prioritized act in (25b), and scene transfer or sudden realization in (25c), the differences only attributable to the differential functions of the connectives involved.

Furthermore, it is evident that the functional concepts of the grammaticalized formants are closely related to the functional concepts provided by the grammatical markers in the source constructions, as shown in Figure 2, in which lexical meanings, grammatical functions and the functions of the grammatical forms in the source construction are compared.

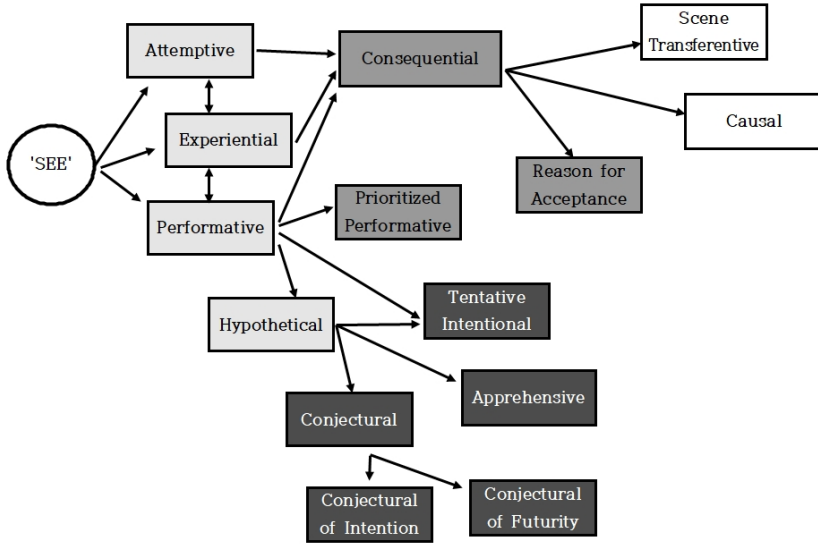


<Figure 2> Conceptual relatedness between the source and target

4.3. Cognitive/Semantic map

Grammatical concepts do not occupy isolated, self-contained mental slots but form diverse semantic/cognitive networks. These connections are supposedly enabled by metaphor (conceptual similarity) and metonymy (conceptual contiguity). Such networks may exist among multiple semantics of a word or among multiple grammatical notions of a single or multiple linguistic formants (van der Auwera and Plungian 1998; Haspelmath 2003; Tyler and Evans 2001; Jhee 2002; Jeong 2006; Narrog 2010; Vincent 2013; Luraghi 2014, inter alia).

Grammatical functions form a network based on their conceptual contiguity as shown in Figure 3. In the figure, it is notable that the functions cluster together reflecting the functions of the grammatical markers in the source construction. This again points to the fact that the functions of the participating grammatical forms in the construction contribute to the formation of grammatical markers in a non-trivial way.



<Figure 3> Functional network of SEE-derived auxiliaries

5. Summary and Conclusion

This paper explored the semantic extension patterns of the visual perception verb *po-* 'see' in Korean and the functions of the forms that grammaticalized from the verb. In consonance with the crosslinguistic observations that visual perception verb SEE is susceptible to intrafield and transfield semantic extension, Korean *po-* exhibits diverse semantic and functional extension. As a lexical verb, *po-* has diverse meanings in such conceptual categories as Attention, Cognition, Supervision, Experience, Acquisition, Evaluation, and Interaction. The extension occurs cutting across such macro-domains as Sensory, Conative, Interactional, and Evaluative domains, through subjectification and intersubjectification.

In the domain of grammaticalized forms, *po-* has diverse functional markers such as Particles (case and postpositional particles), Autonomous formants (address terms, DMs, and adverbials), and Auxiliaries. Auxiliaries are most diverse and varied in form and function. This paper identified and exemplified the auxiliaries, such as Attemptive, Performative, Experiential, Hypothetical, Prioritized Performative, Consequential, Reason for Acceptance, Conjectural,

Tentative Intention, Causal, and Scene Transferentive.

Based on the exposition of the grammaticalization processes and functions, some select issues are discussed, i.e., the role of lexical meaning of the source lexemes, the roles of the connective particles and the grammatical markers participating in the grammaticalization, and the functional network formed by the cognitive and semantic properties of the grammatical forms.

As this research is intended to be a broad characterization of the overall grammaticalization and the source semantics, more fine-grained analyses of the individual grammaticalization processes could not be addressed. Analyses of individual cases focusing on details should await future research.

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