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PART IV

Korean and Japanese languages

Nominalization and stance marking in Korean*

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This paper investigates the stance-marking function of nominalizers in Korean. This function is a product of grammaticalization processes whereby the nominalizers acquired special meanings from subjectification and intersubjectification of the interlocutors. Diverse stances are marked by these nominalizer-derived endings. Of the diverse types of stances, epistemic stances, which indicate the proposition's status with respect to the speaker's knowledge state, are the most prominent type, including addressee confirmation, approval/suggestion giving, conviction, self-assurance, prediction, conjecture, exclamation, etc. Also widely used are attitudinal stances, which signal the speaker's attitude toward the addressee, including friendliness, promissive, intention, etc. On the other hand, the category of emotional stances seems to be a minor one as there is only one such stance, i.e. regret.

1. Introduction

Over the years, the large number and variable status of Korean nominalizers have led to controversy over the exact number of nominalizers in Korean. There are currently believed to be about twenty forms in Modern Korean that are generally recognized to function as nominalizers. Each form has a different level of productivity, but some carry doubts as to their status in this category.

Since the category of nominalizers was first discussed in earnest from a modern linguistic viewpoint in Joo (1910: 102), there has accumulated a large body of literature describing the characteristics of these multiple forms that seemingly overcrowd a single functional category. Despite much attention to nominalizers, however, the analyses

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have been largely restricted to synchronic descriptions (but see Hong 1983a & b; Hong 1957; Kim 1978 for studies from a diachronic perspective) with a few more recent works from a panchronic perspective (e.g. Park 1999; Seo 2003; Shin 2005a; Rhee 2008). There has been no research that investigated nominalization with respect to stance marking,¹ and this paper intends to fill this gap by addressing the issues involving the newly emerging stance-marking function in the course of grammaticalization of these nominalizers.

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 reviews the state of affairs of the nominalizers in historical and contemporary Korean; Section 3 discusses the referring and expressive functions carried by nominalizers; Section 4 discusses the functions of speaker's stance carried by each nominalizer and the mechanisms involved in their emergence; and Section 5 summarizes the discussion and concludes the paper.

2. Nominalizers in Korean

2.1 Nominalizers in history

In the history of Korean, numerous nominalizers came into existence, with many either becoming defunct or shifting to other functions (Rhee 2008). According to Kang (1993) there were twenty-two to twenty-six nominalizing suffixes (plus their allomorphs and simple phonological variants) through Late Middle Korean (15th–16th century) and Early Modern Korean (the 17th–19th century). There were a particularly large number of nominalizers that derived the names referring to concrete entities. However, these have generally been excluded in the discussion of nominalizers, and despite their obvious merits for discussion, an exploration into this special group of nominalizers is beyond our immediate concern.

The nominalizers that have been frequently discussed are *-l*, *-m*, *-n*, *-i*, *-ki*, *-ti*, *-ci*, and *-kes*. Historically there have been changes in productivity. For instance, *-m* was the most productive until the beginning of the 20th century, and *-ki* acquired primacy after *-m* (Rhee 2008). In Modern Korean *-kes* is the most productive nominalizer. It is also to be noted that *-ki*, *-ti*, and *-ci* are historically related as phonological variants. In Modern Korean, however, *-ti* is defunct (except for certain dialectal uses) and *-ki* and *-ci* are functionally separate forms with different distributions, the latter being restricted to negative sentences and the former elsewhere.²

1. Shin (2005b) and Yap et al. (2004) are notable exceptions. They discuss nominalizers and stance-marking from crosslinguistic perspectives including Korean.

2. By virtue of their productivity the discussion in this paper focuses primarily on the functions of two nominalizers, *-ci* and *-kes* in Sections 3 and 4.

Unlike the nominalizers *-m* and *-ki* mentioned above, which are phonologically simple and do not require complex morphosyntactic operations for derivation of a nominal form, *-kes* is phonologically more complex and requires complex morphosyntactic operations for nominalization, i.e. it requires the use of adnominalizers. This is because *kes* started its life as a full-fledged noun denoting 'thing, skin, surface' (Hong 1983a), which became a defective noun from Middle Korean (Huh 1983; Jeong 1987; Lee 1988), labeled as such because it is so semantically weak that it normally cannot be used independently. Though semantically bleached, syntactically it still functions as the head noun of a nominalized string.

In addition to *-kes*, there are many forms that belong to this subcategory of nominalizers that acquired the function as a result of bleached meaning while they were defective nouns. With the exception of *-kes*, these nominalizers are relatively unproductive. Despite extensive semantic bleaching, many of these nominalizers still retain vestiges of their nominal semantics and thus their use is restricted to specific contexts, often forming collocations. For this particular class of nominalizers the use of adnominalizers is mandatory because the verbal predicates need to be turned into modifiers of the defective noun. There are three adnominalizers in modern Korean: *-n* for anterior, *-nun* for simultaneous, and *-l* for prospective.

2.2 Nominalizers in Modern Korean

In Modern Korean, nominalizers in active use are *-m*, *-ki*, *-ci*, and *-kes*. By virtue of their high productivity, these forms may be called the primary nominalizers. These primary nominalizers, with the exception of *-kes*, are mostly opaque with respect to their source lexemes and they share a characteristic that they derive nominals directly from verbs and adjectives. On the other hand, the secondary (or less productive) nominalizers are the defective nouns that function as nominalizers (N.B. *-kes* is also a defective noun but is used very productively).³ The defective nouns that participate in the formation of the secondary nominalizers, i.e. those of lower productivity, are numerous, as shown in the partial list in (1) with their lexical meanings.⁴

3. As an anonymous reviewer points out, *tey* 'place' is productive. Despite its relative productivity, however, the token frequency of *tey* in the 13 million word KAIST KORTERM Corpus is only about 11,200 (inclusive of its functions of defective noun and of being part of grammaticalized markers), whereas that of *kes* and its variants in comparable functions amounts to about 150,800.

4. The number of defective nouns varies depending on the researcher's subjective judgment on defectiveness of the 'nouniness', or nominal characteristics, of the forms concerned. The defectiveness criteria are usually based on morphosyntactic autonomy, but researchers use the autonomy with differing levels of rigor and thus the number of the members in this

(1)	<i>cikyeng</i>	'domain'	<i>nolus</i>	'role'	<i>cengto</i>	'degree'
	<i>phan</i>	'venue/situation'	<i>phok</i>	'width'	<i>phwum</i>	'appearance'
	<i>seym</i>	'calculation'	<i>the</i>	'lot/foundation'	<i>moyang</i>	'appearance'
	<i>nawi</i>	'margin'	<i>palam</i>	'wind'	<i>pep</i>	'law'
	<i>cham</i>	'time'	<i>ttaymwun</i>	'reason'	<i>mwulyep</i>	'vicinity'
	<i>thong</i>	'case, barrel'	<i>yang</i>	'appearance'	<i>chek</i>	'pretence'
	<i>tey</i>	'place'	<i>cek</i>	'time'	<i>tongan</i>	'duration'

Even though the lexical meanings of these nouns are substantive, when they are used as nominalizers, their meanings are considerably general. The level of semantic generality as a nominalizer varies, and their respective productivity is widely different. When these defective nouns are used as nominalizers, their typical constructions are as exemplified in (2).

- (2) Typical Constructions: XP-Adnominalizer-Defective Noun-Copula
- XP-*n moyang-i*:- [XP-ANT.ADN-appearance-COP] 'be of the appearance of XP, seem to be XP'
- XP-*nun seym-i*:- [XP-SIMUL.ADN-calculation-COP] 'be equal to XP'
- XP-*l cikyeng-i*:- [XP-PROS.ADN-domain-COP] 'be in the state of XP'

Despite the formal complexity of the construction, the semantics of the entire construction is barely more than that of a copula.⁵ Even though the kind of adnominalizers employed contribute to making semantic differences on the meaning of the construction, i.e. focus on the effect of the past event in the case of anterior adnominal *-n*, the on-going event or state with the simultaneous adnominal *-nun*, and future-orientation with the prospective adnominal *-l*, there is a considerable neutralization of temporal relationship when the adnominalizers become a part of nominalizing constructions.⁶

category differs. For instance, Huh (1995) lists as many as 99 defective nouns, whereas Ko (1989[1970]), Lee (1988), Ahn (2001) and others list around 50 defective nouns. The nomenclature for the defective noun category also varies: some, highlighting the absence of their semantic content, label it 'formal nouns', whereas some others, highlighting their morphosyntactic dependency, label it 'dependent nouns'.

5. As Foong Ha Yap (p.c.) points out, this phenomenon is intriguing in that these constructions are basically equative constructions, where the clause is nominalized and is treated as identifiable with an entity referred to by the defective noun. The development of these equative constructions from syntactic constructions involves syntactic upgrading whereby the subject of the embedded clause became reanalyzed as the main clause subject (see 4.3.2 for a similar phenomenon involving *-kes*).

6. There is often fossilization in choices of adnominalizers depending on the defective nouns: *cikyeng* 'domain', *nawi* 'margin', *the* 'lot/foundation', etc. tend to exclusively take the prospective adnominalizer *-l*, and *phan* 'venue', *palam* 'wind', *thong* 'case/barrel', etc. tend to exclusively take the simultaneous adnominalizer *-nun*.

The semantic differences between the copula and the sentential ending with the nominalizer are that these have added nuances derivable from the adnominalizer and the defective noun.

3. Functions of nominalizers

As is well discussed in Yap and Matthews (2008), Korean nominalizers are highly poly-functional. Such diverse functions may be classified into two major groups: referential functions and expressive functions. Their referential functions may be categorized in terms of the ontological dimensions of the semantics of the nouns derived through nominalizing processes, i.e. the abstractness of the nominal semantics, following Lyons (1977) and Dik (1997). Expressive functions largely refer to their functions as sentential endings and connectives marking the speaker's epistemic stances.

3.1 Referring functions

Nominalizers *-i*, *-m*, *-ki* and *-kes* can be used to derive nouns designating first order entities (i.e. spatial entities such as individuals, things and places).⁷

- (3) *khokkil-i* 'elephant' (Lit. 'one (with) the nose being long')
kuli-m 'picture' (Lit. 'one of drawing')
ponpo-ki 'example' (Lit. 'one to see (as) a model')
mek-ul-kes 'food' (Lit. 'thing to eat')

Nominalizers *-i*, *-m*, *-ki*, and *-kes* are used to derive nouns designating second order entities (i.e. temporal entities such as actions, processes and states).

- (4) *tonpel-i* 'earning, money-making'
talli-m 'running'
tenci-ki 'throwing'
cwuk-nun-kes 'dying, to die'

The nominalizers that originate from defective nouns tend to refer to second order entities (states). This has to do with the fact that the defective nouns, though consider-

7. In addition to *-i*, nominalizers that derive first order entities are particularly numerous. Most of these nominalizers lost productivity and the derived nominals are highly fossilized. cf. Kang (1993: 369–391) for examples of twenty-six nominalizers in Early Modern Korean. To limit the research focus, this paper does not address the issues involving such nominalizers.

ably bleached in terms of their semantics, tend to be semantically neutralized to mean ‘situation’ or ‘state’ as shown in the following examples.⁸

- (5) a. *-lkiyengi-* (< *cikyeng* ‘domain’) b. *-nnolusi-* (< *nolus* ‘role’)
- ku-nun cwuk-lkiyengi-ta* *cengmal hwangtangha-nnolusi-ta*
 he-TOP die-END-DEC truly be.embarrassing-END-DEC
 ‘He is in trouble.’ ‘It is really embarrassing.’
- c. *-lphani-* (< *phan* ‘venue’) d. *-nphoki-* (< *phok* ‘width’)
- ton-ul ta nalli-lphani-ta* *ku-nun wancenhi cwuk-unphoki-ta*
 money-ACC all fly-END-DEC he-TOP completely die-END-DEC
 ‘(He) is about to lose all money.’ ‘He is as good as dead.’

The meaning of example (5a), where the defective noun *cikyeng* ‘domain’ is used, is something like “He is in the situation of trouble,” derived from the literal meaning of “(It) is the domain in which he will die.” Likewise, (5b) is “I’m really embarrassed” from the literal translation of “(It) is (my) role of being really embarrassed.” Here the words *cikyeng* ‘domain’ and *nolus* ‘role’ do not have much lexical content. The absence of such lexical meaning is well illustrated by the fact that there is no subject-predicate correspondence, i.e. in examples that have an overt sentential subject, such as (5a) and (5d), the subject ‘he’ can be equated with neither ‘a domain’ nor ‘a width’, respectively. These nominalizing defective nouns refer to a state in which the sentential subject is situated.

Nominalizers *-m*, *-ki* and *-kes* can also derive nominals that designate third order entities, i.e. propositions.

- (6) a. *na-nun ku-ka mwucoyha-m-ul cheum-pwuthe*
 I-TOP he-NOM be.innocent-NOMZ-ACC beginning-from
kwutkey mit-ess-ta
 firmly believe-PST-DEC
 ‘I firmly believed from the beginning that he was innocent.’
- b. *ku-ka phyenhi calcinay-koiss-ki-lul pala-n-ta*
 he-NOM comfortably get.along-PROG-NOMZ-ACC hope-PRES-DEC
 ‘(I) hope that he is living comfortably.’

8. The sentential endings glossed as END in these examples containing nominalizers are periphrastic and polymorphemic, and thus, as was suggested by a reviewer, could be further broken down for morphemic gloss. Since they function as penultimate sentential endings they were treated in glossing as if they were single units. Since the penultimate endings have not been differentiated from ultimate endings, some peculiarities such as duplicated function markers (-END-END) occur as well.

- c. *nay-ka ne-lul salangha-nun kes-un motwu*
 I-NOM you-ACC love-SIMUL.ADN NOMZ-TOP everyone
ta a-n-ta
 all know-PRES-DEC
 'Everyone knows that I love you.'

In example (6a) the nominalizer *-m* transforms the sentence into a nominal proposition, i.e. 'he was innocent' into 'that he was innocent'. The fact that this constituent is of nominal character is evidenced by the replaceability of the nominalized proposition into the structures of different syntactic levels with absolute semantic equivalence, i.e. *ku-ka mwucoyha-m* [he-NOM be.innocent-NOMZ] 'that he is innocent' with *ku-uy mwucoyha-m* [he-GEN be.innocent-NOMZ] 'his being innocent' or even with *ku-uy mwucoy* [he-GEN innocence] 'his innocence'.⁹ The similar syntactic flexibility largely applies to the nominalizers *-ki* and *-kes* in (6b) and (6c).

3.2 Expressive functions

Expressive functions carried by the nominalizers involve grammaticalization of these nominalizers into sentential endings. The functions of the sentential endings are further divided into two subcategories: regular and 'bullet-point' endings.

3.2.1 Regular sentential endings

The emergence of sentential endings from nominalizers seems to be a very recent development. The issue of whether some of these forms are full-fledged sentential endings is potentially controversial, with the exception of *-ci*-endings that are considered full-fledged sentential endings. In other words, from a morpho-syntactic perspective, some of these are simply nominalized constituents, analogous to English expressions *No smoking*, or *No loitering*. Examples of the *-m*-endings are as follows:¹⁰

- (7) a. *cinipha-ci mos ha-m* b. *ilpangthonghayng-i-m*
 enter-comp NEG do-END one.way.thoroughfare-COP-END
 'Do not enter./No entering.' '(This road) is one-way.'

Example (7a), marked with the nominalizer *-m*, resembles English *No entering* or *No trespassing* in many ways: in morphosyntax in that both are verb-derived gerundival

9. The verb *ha-* in *mwucoyha-* 'be innocent' is a light verb semantically equivalent to the English *be* or *do*. Even though *mwucoyha-* in (6a) is in non-finite form and thus compatible across tenses, it may be finite, e.g. *mwucoyha-ess-m* with the past tense marker *-ess*, in which case it specifically refers to the past state of affairs.

10. Incidentally, the complementizer *-ci* in (7a) also functions as a nominalizer, the objective complement of the verb *ha-* 'do' and may be optionally followed by an accusative marker *-lul*.

nominals, and in pragmatics in that both are used as posted signs for warning or directive (see below). In the same manner, example (7b) is literally ‘Being a one-way thoroughfare’, and is semantically equivalent to the English *One way*.

This type of nominalized sentence commonly occurs as a posted sign. As posted signs, the illocutionary force of prohibition or demand of compliance is fully conventionalized as part of the semantics of this *-m* ending. Alternatives include the use of pure nominals e.g. *Cinip kumci* ‘Entrance prohibition’, or *Ilpangthonghayng* ‘One-way thoroughfare’, etc., and the use of *-kes* ending, which carry stronger illocutionary forces than the *-m* ending (cf. discussion below). The counterpart sentences with a regular declarative ending, e.g. *-pnita*, lack such force, and the sense of prohibition in them is available only through inference, especially with (7b).

A similar situation is observed with the nominalizer *-ki* as shown in the two examples in (8).

- | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------------|---------------|----|----------------------------|
| (8) a. | <i>nolli-ki</i> | <i>eps-ki</i> | b. | <i>ssuleyki an peli-ki</i> |
| | ridicule-NOMZ | not.exist-END | | waste NEG throw.away-END |
| | ‘Don’t ridicule (me)!/No ridiculing.’ | | | ‘No littering.’ |

The functions of the two examples in (8) are warning or prohibition, similar to those in (7). The difference between nominalizers *-m* in (7) and *-ki* in (8) is that the *-m*-derived concept is more concrete and the forms using it carry more direct force, whereas the *-ki*-derived concept is more abstract and the forms using it carry more indirect force. Therefore, prohibition by using *-m* in (7) is more strict and inarguable and demands compliance (especially with the prohibitive imperative *-mos ham*), whereas the prohibition using *-ki* in (8) is more suggestive, soliciting co-operation.

In contrast with *-m* and *-ki*, *-ci* has the established status as a sentential-ending. Its distinct status as an unequivocal sentential ender leads some scholars to doubt that the sentential ending *-ci* may not be of nominalizer origin. This is understandable considering that use of a nominalizer as a sentential ender does not seem natural unless a dynamic view of grammar, such as one in the grammaticalization framework, is adopted. Rhee (2004), drawing upon historical and dialectal data, shows that the nominalizers *-ki* and *-ci* and the prohibitive connective *-ci* are of a common origin. Since some of the *-ci*-marked examples are undoubtedly of prohibitive sentence origin (cf. *-ci* in (7a) above), thus establishing a connection between prohibitive connective (or complementizer), nominalizer and sentential ending, *-ci* as a sentential ending places itself in the category of sentential endings that originated from nominalizers. The examples in (9) illustrate the use of *-ci* as a sentential ending.

- | | |
|--------|--|
| (9) a. | <i>nay mal an tut-ko mos payki-ci</i> |
| | my word NEG listen-and NEG bear-END |
| | ‘You can’t endure without following my instruction./You can’t help but obey me.’ |

- b. *ku salam cham coh-un salam-i-ci*
 the person truly be.good-ADN person-COP-END
 'He is a nice person indeed!'
- c. *ese cip-ey ka-ci*
 quick house-to go-END
 'Why don't you go home right away!'

The examples in (9) contain the sentential ending *-ci* and carry emphatic meaning as compared with the counterparts with a regular declarative sentential ending. Emphasis is derivable from the speaker's conviction. For instance, (9a) is what a conceited speaker would say: the speaker is so thoroughly prepared there can be no disobedience on the part of the addressee. Similarly, his being a nice person in (9b) is unarguable, and the speaker's suggestion to the addressee to return home in (9c) is undoubtedly the best option available for the addressee (see 4.2 for a discussion of stance marking).

The next category is the end markers involving *-kes* and its phonologically reduced variant *-ke*. As indicated earlier, since *-kes* is originally a noun and still carries the overt morphosyntactic traces as such, it requires an adnominalizer to precede it. There are two types of sentential endings that involve *-kes*: one where the sentence ends with *-kes* as in (10), and the other where *-kes* simply constitutes a part of the constellation of sentential ending morphemes as in (11) (note the optional deletion of /s/ from *kes*).¹¹

- (10) a. *nayil chayk sa-lkes* b. *wuhoycen ha-cima-lkes*
 tomorrow book buy-END right.turn do-PROH-END
 'Buy a/the book tomorrow.' 'Do not turn right.'
- (11) a. *nayil-un pi-ka o-lkesi-ta* b. *ta cwuki-epeli-lkei-a*
 tomorrow-TOP rain-NOM come-FUT-DEC all kill-PERF-END-END
 'It will rain tomorrow.' 'I'll kill you/them all!'
- c. *kuttay ku-ka o-nkei-a*
 then he-NOM come-END-END
 'Right then he came.'

Examples in (10), where sentences end with *-kes*, resemble the uses of *-m* in (7), i.e. they carry strong illocutionary force. On the other hand, examples in (11), in which *-kes* occurs with the copular *i-* 'be' (note that the morphemic gloss is given unanalytically), carry diverse meanings: *-lkesi-* in (11a) has a prediction meaning;

11. The category of 'sentential endings' is heterogeneous in that it includes diverse grammatical categories that form constellations of ultimate and penultimate verbal morphology for tense, aspect, modality, sentence type, honorification, politeness, etc.

-lkei- in (11b), an intention, promise or announcement meaning; and *-nkei-* in (11c) an emphatic meaning.¹²

Still another type of *-kes-* derived ending is the one where the nominalizer *-kes* occurs with the accusative marker *-l* at the end. The fact that this type of sentential ending contains the accusative marker as the final element of the sentential-ending constellation suggests that this usage is developed from main clause ellipsis,¹³ leaving only the constituent marked by the accusative marker *-l*. The following examples show the use of *-kes-* derived sentential endings.¹⁴

- (12) a. *pap-ul ta mek-unke*
 food-ACC all eat-END
 ‘(I) ate it all! (What can I do since there’s nothing left?)’
- b. *kuttay yelsimhi ha-lkel*
 then diligently do-END
 ‘(I) should have studied harder then.’

Example (12a) has a helplessness meaning, and (12b) has a regret meaning, even though the two meanings are conceptually closely related. The emergence of such meanings has to do with their syntactic origin, i.e. main clause ellipsis. From a morpho-syntactic point of view, these sentences are merely sentential fragments, i.e. accusative-marked arguments serving as the theme of the elided main clause verb. Native speakers tend to reconstruct the elliptical structures as those that may be translated as ‘What should I do with...’ (where the *with*-phrase counterpart can be marked by an accusative in Korean), or ‘I should have dealt more wisely with the situation of...’ (where the constituent led by ‘with the situation of’ can be marked by an accusative in Korean).

3.2.2 ‘Bullet-point’ sentential endings

The primary nominalizers *-m*, *-ki*, and *-kes* (but not *-ci*) have a special usage that resembles regular sentential endings, yet differ in that this usage is restricted to a par-

12. The meaning of the *-nkei-* ending in (11c) is very elusive, but undoubtedly has the nuance of mirativity (DeLancey 2002), roughly translating into “You know what? What happened is he walked in right then!” This type of mirative meaning is directly related to “It is that...,” “It was that...,” and “It will be that...,” which are literal renderings of *-kes* endings, *-nunke(s)i-*, *-nke(s)i-*, and *-lke(s)i-*, respectively.

13. See Ohori (1995) and Shibasaki (2007) for similar phenomena involving suspended clauses in Japanese.

14. The historical and conceptual connection between the conservative *-l+ke(s)+l* [PROS. ADN+thing+ACC] and the ending *-lkel* derived from it is evident in the fact that Koreans frequently make mistakes with respect to spacing: the former needs an orthographic space between the prospective adnominal *-l* and *-kes*, whereas the latter does not (cf. Lee & Lee 2003[2001]: 371–372).

ticular writing style, i.e. summary writing, or ‘bullet-point’ style, as shown in the following examples.¹⁵

- (13) a. *salinpem-i kamok-eyse tomangchi-m*
murder.convict-NOM prison-from flee-END
‘A murder convict flees from the prison.’
- b. *John-i Mary swukcey-lul tow-acwu-ki*
John-NOM Mary homework-ACC help-BENEF-END
‘John (needs) to help Mary finish her homework.’
- c. *thoykun kil-ey seythakmwul chac-a-o-lkes*
after.work way-at laundray pick.up-NF-COME-END
‘(I/You...) need to pick up laundry on the way home from work.’

Even though English translations are given in full sentence forms, given the absence of unique bullet-point styles in English, these Korean sentences are commonly perceived as quasi-sentences, as evidenced by the fact that they are not likely to occur in spoken language. Despite the apparent incompleteness, these sentences are optimal in enumeration of similar items. For instance, example (13a) may be followed by a listing of *-m*-ending sentences describing events involving a prison-break in chronological order. Likewise, example (13b) may be found among the *-ki*-ending sentences that describe, for instance, tasks for a group of individuals including John; and example (13c) may be one of many items written in a notebook as a reminder of what to do today.

Similar to posted signs ending with the primary nominalizers (cf. 3.2.1), sentences with bullet-point endings may alternatively be substituted, though often not preferred, by sentences with pure nominal endings, in which case the nouns used preferably are Sino-Korean nouns. For instance, the last word *tomangchi-m* in (13a) may be naturally replaced by a noun *thalchwul* ‘escape’, and, though less naturally, *chacao-lkes* in (13c) by *hoyswu* ‘retrieval’. However, this option is not available when the main verb does not have a semantically synonymous and stylistically equivalent Sino-Korean counterpart nominal as in (13b). These pure-nominal endings are often used as titles of newspaper articles for brevity.

Among notable aspects of this usage of bullet-point sentences is the fact that the endings show a division-of-labor phenomenon in terms of temporal distinctions and differential levels of illocutionary force. As for the temporal distinctions, the ending

15. The bullet-point endings typically involve uninflected verb forms. However, the *-m*-ending is perfectly compatible with verbs in past tense form for its semantic congruity with past event designation; *-ki*-ending is less so; and *-lkes* ending is not compatible (see discussion below).

-m is employed in enumerating past time events, as for instance, in listing historical events. Therefore, example (13a) describes an event that already took place.

On the other hand, the bullet-point ending *-kes* is used for listing future events. Even though the *-kes* ending can be combined with all three temporally distinguished adnominalizers (i.e. anterior, simultaneous, and prospective) elsewhere, its use in bullet-point endings is restricted to the ending that combines with the prospective *-l* only. This has to do with the fact that *-kes* ending (i.e. *-lkes*) is employed in enumerating future events, such as those that may appear on a to-do list.

The bullet-point ending *-ki* is relatively independent from temporal restrictions, but the time reference with the *-ki* ending tends to be non-past, since it tends to carry imperative overtone soliciting compliance (cf. 3.2.1). Due to this characteristic *-ki* is more common in future time reference, even though such tendency has not been fully conventionalized.

The uses of *-ki* and *-kes*, both used in future time reference, exhibit differences in terms of their illocutionary force: the level of obligation on the sentential subject is higher with *-kes* than with *-ki*. Therefore, a list of things to do for children in a nursery may employ the *-ki* ending in order to avoid an authoritative and imposing tone; whereas a list of things to do on a job description may employ the *-kes* ending in order to promote the maximal compliance on the part of the employees, as shown in the following examples.

- (14) a. in a nursery toilet
kkaykkushi son ssis-ki
 thoroughly hand wash-END
 ‘Wash hands thoroughly’
- b. in a restaurant toilet
congepwen-un yongpyen-hwu son-ul ssis-ulkes
 employee-TOP toilet.use-after hand-ACC wash-END
 ‘Employees must wash hands after using toilet
 (= before returning to work).’

4. Speaker-stance marking

In the preceding discussion we have looked at the diverse functions carried by the nominalizers in the referring and expressive domains. The development of the nominalizers into sentential endings, a syntagmatic location where diverse modality markers occur, gave rise to an important function, the speaker-stance marking, as shall be explicated in the following discussion.

4.1 Speaker-stance

The term ‘stance’ is used to refer to diverse concepts. Englebretson (2007: 2–3), in expressing terminological indeterminacy, notes that the understanding of ‘stance’ that emerges is indeed heterogeneous and variegated, but always intimately bound up with the pragmatic and social aspects of human conduct. In addition to the multiplicity of what stance means, there is diversity in nomenclature for similar concepts. For instance, Biber et al. (1999), Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), and many others use the term ‘stance’; Nuyts (2001) calls it ‘addressee orientation’; and Smith (2002) calls it ‘point-of-view’.

Generally speaking, these scholars included attitudinal and epistemic components in stance. The notion of evidentiality, which indicates the source of information, is also included in the discussion of stance marking. The notion of stance, as used here, covers a wide range of speaker’s emotional, attitudinal, epistemic, evidential states. Attitudinal stance largely refers to the speaker’s attitude toward the addressee and is thus interactional. Epistemic stance relates to the speaker’s knowledge state regarding the veracity of the proposition. Emotional stance is related to the speaker’s positive, negative, or neutral emotion toward the proposition or the event denoted by it. Evidential stance refers to the source of information, or how the speaker acquired the information. Within each category diverse terms have been used as grammatical labels of the markers. Some of the labels are used mutually interchangeably, while others have overlapping functions. The labels of grammatical markers that occur in the discussion of stance in the literature may be listed as in Figure 1 according to their subcategories.

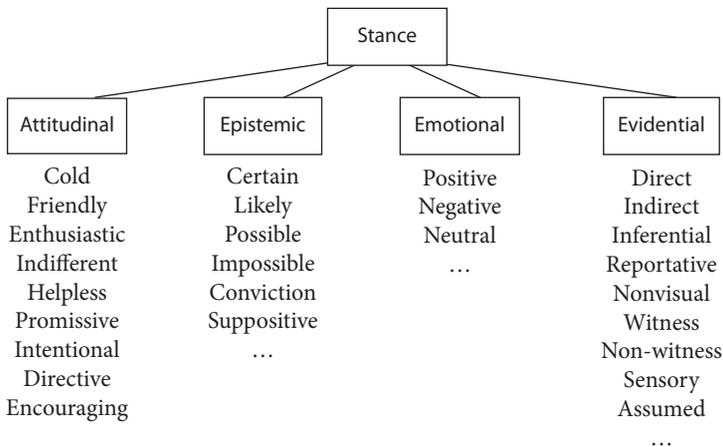


Figure 1. Subcategories of stance

4.2 Stance-marking by sentential endings

4.2.1 *-ci-endings: -ci, -ciyo, and -cyo*

One of the most distinctive functional characteristics of the *-ci*-ending is that the speaker's friendliness toward the addressee is added to the sentence meaning. This friendliness is interactional and belongs to attitudinal stance-marking. Within the category of endings involving the nominalizer *-ci* are *-ci*, *-ciyo*, and *-cyo*, the last being an orthographically contracted form of *-ciyo*, consisting of sentential ending *-ci* plus *-yo*, the politeness ending. These two variant forms are often indistinguishable in spoken language but these differences become visible in written language. In written language the reduced form *-cyo* has a slightly different meaning than *-ciyo*. Among the differences is the fact that *-cyo* is distinctively feminine, if not exclusively so.¹⁶

The functions of *-ci* and *-ciyo/-cyo* endings are so diverse, subtle and interrelated that their typology cannot be easily established. The labels given here, therefore, should not be considered as those of clearly delineable categories. The most common function of *-ci* and *-ciyo/-cyo* endings is addressee confirmation as shown in (18).¹⁷

(15) Addressee Confirmation

[=I know this, and I know you know this, too.]

- a. *kyelhonha-nikka hayngpokha-ci?*
marry-REAS be.happy-END?
'You are happy because you got married, right?'
- b. *kusalam cham chakha-cyo*
s/he very be.nice-END
'S/he is a nice person indeed.'

Addressee confirmation is not conspicuously discernible from form-based translation. According to the real meaning of *-ci* and *-cyo* in these examples in free translation, the speaker is saying "I know this, and I know you know this, too." The addressee confirmation function is applicable not only to interrogative sentences like (15a), but also to a declarative as in (15b). Since the speaker assumes shared knowledge about a proposition, these *-ci/-cyo* marked sentences generally have a friendly tone (more so with *-cyo* for its association with feminine speech). However, confirmation is the primary function of this form, and, therefore, friendliness may be overridden and *-ci-* or *-ciyo-*marked endings may be used in non-friendly contexts such as

16. An anonymous reviewer points out, accurately and insightfully, that even in spoken language *-ciyo* sounds more polite than *-cyo* and that the use of *-ciyo* is more acceptable to seniors than *-cyo*.

17. See Lee (1991: 436–454) for discourse functions of *-ci*, which he labeled as 'Committal' suffix.

police interrogations. The interrogator in this case is using the common ground strategy to have the interrogated acknowledge that the interrogator already has knowledge of it (see below for its relation to conviction).

The next category is the function of marking feigned or exaggerated friendliness or companionship. This is closely related to the first function, but what is assumed is not shared knowledge, but shared interest. It is as if the speaker is saying, “I’m telling you this, because we are friends.” Some examples are given in (16).

- (16) Feigned/Exaggerated Friendship
[=I’m saying this, because we are friends.]
- a. *way amwu-to an o-cyo?*
why anyone-even NEG come-END
‘Why is nobody coming?’
- b. *yesnalyesnal-ey han namwukkwun-i sal-ass-ci*
old.day.old.day-at one wood.cutter-NOM live-PST-END
‘Once upon a time, there lived a wood-cutter.’
- c. *ku tongan-to motwu cal cinay-si-ess-ciyo?*
That time-also all well live-HON-PST-END
‘You and yours have been all doing fine?’

Some Korean dictionaries for learners of Korean as a second/foreign language (e.g. Lee & Lee 2003[2001]: 795–796) call this function “adding a friendly tone.” In addition, it has a delicate shade of meaning that may be translated, for (16a), into “Why is nobody coming? Isn’t it strange? I know you are wondering about it, too.” Example (16b) is typically used in storytelling. By employing the *-ci*-ending, the speaker is saying, “As you would expect, once upon a time, there lived a wood-cutter.” The child listening to this story is invited to the vivid storyline about to unfold, as if the story-teller knew that the child has a shared interest and shared expectation. As the essential function of this *-ci* is attracting the addressee into the world of the speaker/writer, letter writers often use this ending in one of the first sentences of salutation in a letter, as in (16c), to create a shared world between the writer and the reader.

The next category is approval- or suggestion-giving. The meaning added by this stance marker can be phrased as: “I know it is a good option for you and I agree with you,” as shown in the following examples.

- (17) Approval/Suggestion-Giving
[=I’m telling you because I know it is a good option for you.]
- a. *kulehkey ha-si-cyo* b. *han can ha-ko ka-si-cyo*
thus do-HON-END one glass do-and go-HON-END
‘Do so.’ ‘Why don’t you have a drink before
you leave?’

The meaning with this type is not entirely uniform: the approval meaning as in (17a) is more of agreement or approval as its core meaning and, typically, the speaker assumes that he or she already knows the addressee's intention; whereas the suggestion meaning as in (17b) does not do so.

The next category is conviction. The morpheme *-ci*, when used either as a nominalizer, connective, or a sentential ending, is strongly associated with the speaker's epistemic stance of conviction and prediction. The determinativeness of conviction in the epistemic domain also leads to the development of the attitudinal stance of the promissive. The conviction meaning is closely related to the previously discussed addressee-confirmation as shown in the following examples that contrast the stance-marking *-ci*-ending and the regular *-e*-ending:

- (18) a. *ney-ka ku-lul cwuki-ess-ci?*
 YOU-NOM he-ACC kill-PST-END
 'You killed him, didn't you!' (I already know you did!)
- b. *ney-ka ku-lul cwuki-ess-e?*
 YOU-NOM he-ACC kill-PST-END
 'Did you kill him?'

Closely related to the conviction meaning is self-assurance. Since this marker of epistemic stance of certainty is used in monologue style only, there is no *-ciyo* or *-cyo* counterpart, which is understandable considering that *-ciyo* and *-cyo* are intersubjective forms containing the politeness marker *-yo*. The following are examples of *-ci* ending with the self-assurance function.

- (19) Self-Assurance
 [=I'm saying this simply because I want to remind myself.]
- a. *nay-ka ile-l cwu-l al-ass-ci*
 I-NOM be.SO-ADN NOMZ-ACC KNOW-PST-END
 'I knew that it would turn out like this.'
- b. *nay-ka wusan kacyeo-ass-ci?!*
 I-NOM umbrella bring-PST-END
 'I brought my umbrella, didn't I! (I knew that it would rain...)'

This usage is similar to the previously mentioned addressee-confirmation function. This is also a kind of confirmation directed to the speaker himself or herself. This usage is common in sentences that may be translated as "I knew it! I knew it!" as in (19a), or in self-confirming as in (19b). Employing a regular declarative ending in place of a self-assurance ending either results in the complete loss of such a self-assurance meaning, or renders such sentences unacceptable.

The next category within the category of epistemic stance is prediction, which also carries the speaker's stance of certainty about the truth of the proposition being

presented. It is worth noting incidentally that some scholars consider that conjecture, doubt, or lack of confidence is the basic meaning of the morpheme *-ci*. For example, Martin (1992) calls it a ‘suspective’ marker. This is in direct contrast with another group of scholars (Ko 1976; Jang 1973; Suh 1984; Rhee 2008) who think that conviction is its core meaning.¹⁸ The apparent lack of confidence is due to the suppositive morpheme *-kyess-* that often gets attached to *-ci*.¹⁹ The following example is one in which *-ci* is used with the suppositive *-kyess-* (the future marker), which weakens the degree of certainty.

- (20) Prediction
 [=I’m saying this because I know this will be the case.]
chacha ichye-ci-kyess-ci
 gradually forget-PASS-FUT-END
 ‘(It) will gradually be forgotten.’

Example (20) seems to have the conjecture meaning, but it still contains a considerable degree of the speaker’s conviction. If it is contrasted with the same sentence without the final *-ci*, it becomes a plain declarative sentence without any direct speaker-involvement in terms of projection of the speaker’s epistemic stance of conviction. The following pair of examples illustrates the point.

- (21) a. *kulen il-un kot ichi-eci-ci*
 such matter-TOP soon forget-PASS-END
 ‘Such things get forgotten soon.’ (I can tell this from my experience...)
 b. *kulen il-un kot ichi-eci-e*
 such matter-TOP soon forget-PASS-END
 ‘Such things get forgotten soon.’

The next category is the function of promissive, the speaker’s attitudinal stance. The development of this function is related to the speaker’s self-affirmation, in the sense that the speaker, by employing this speech act, is affirming his or her intention, which

18. Rhee (2004) shows that *-ci*, in its sentential end-marking function, encodes the speaker’s emotion, belief, or determinative attitude, which corresponds to the speaker’s epistemic and attitudinal stances under discussion here.

19. It is noteworthy that the conviction meaning of *-ci* is prominent when it is used in non-future tense sentences. This force weakens when it is used with *-kyess-*, a suppositive and future tense marker. Similarly, when the futuristic morpheme (the prospective adnominalizer *-l*) is used, especially with the know-class verbs (i.e. *al-* ‘know’ and *molu-* ‘not know’), the emphatic meaning also seems to decrease. Such impression seems to be due to the indeterminacy inherent in any future (or prospective) event, not to the semantics of *-ci*. See below for more discussion.

binds the speaker himself or herself to carry out the proposed action. This marker *-ci* is simply the marker of self-determination. This usage, however, is different in that it is fundamentally interactional, and therefore, substitution of this ending with a regular ending makes the sentences awkward and devoid of such interactional meaning. The following are some examples of Promissive marking by *-ci* and *-ciyo*.

(22) Promissive (Determinative)

[=I'm telling you this because I'm determined to do it.]

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. <i>nay-ka tow-acwu-ci</i> | b. <i>cey-ka thaywu-etuli-ciyo</i> |
| I-NOM help-BENEF-END | POL.I-NOM carry-HON.BENEF-END |
| ‘I will help you.’ | ‘I will give you a ride (Polite).’ |

The final category is exclamation. Exclamation is an utterance about something the speaker has newly perceived and is note-worthy, and therefore it is fundamentally based on the speaker's epistemic stance. This newly-perceived and noteworthy event creates a degree of conflict with the previous knowledge state, and the degree of conflict determines the degree of exclamation.

When exclamatory sentences are marked with a *-ci*-ending, it is usually used without the politeness marker at the end as shown in (23), but if there is a politeness marker, the function of which is turning a sentence into an interactional one, the sentence is perceived as one that seeks the addressee's confirmation.

(23) Exclamation

[=I'm saying this, because it is truly amazing.]

- | |
|---|
| a. <i>cip-un elmana coh-un kos-i-nci!</i> |
| home-TOP how be.good-ADN place-COP-END |
| ‘What a good place a home is!’ |
| b. <i>elmana hwangtangha-n il-i-nci!</i> |
| how be.embarrassing-ADN matter-COP-END |
| ‘How embarrassing it is!’ |

This exclamatory use of *-ci* typically involves the use of *wh*-words. In terms of its source construction, the exclamatory sentence originated from a rhetorical negative sentence translatable as “I don't know how...,” from which the main clause subject and verb, “I don't know,” are omitted. In other words, only the theme argument of the sentence survives the ellipsis and constitutes an exclamatory sentence.²⁰

20. As a reviewer points out the verb in the elided main clause may not be restricted to *al-* ‘know’ as nominalized structures with *-ci* frequently collocate with verbs of cognition and utterance. It is true that the source structures may vary depending on the context.

4.2.2 -kes-endings

Nominalizer *-kes* is very versatile in function and highly productive in use in Modern Korean. The token frequency of the substantive *kes*, inclusive of nominal and nominalizer uses, ranks first (National Academy of Korean, 2002).²¹

As for the sentential endings, there are diverse forms of *-kes* because it cannot be used alone but must be combined with adnominalizers and other morphemes to form such endings. There is variation with respect to phonological shapes: *kes* and *ke*, even though each of these variants has a level of fossilization in certain constructions and thus cannot always be used interchangeably. The sentential endings involving *-kes* frequently use the prospective adnominal *-l* in the construction. The most basic function of *-lkes*, the combination of *-l* and *-kes*, is to mark the future. Therefore, most meanings listed here are closely related to the temporal notion of futurity.

Among the diverse stance-marking functions of *-kes* sentential ending, the epistemic stance marking of conviction is the primary one. In particular, the function of marking the speaker's evaluation of the state of affairs, as shown in the following examples, occurs with a high frequency.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (24) a. Conjecture | b. Prediction |
| <i>ku-nun acik ca-koiss-ulkei-a</i> | <i>ku salam mos o-lkel</i> |
| he-TOP still sleep-PROG-END-END | that person NEG come-END |
| 'He should still be sleeping.' | 'I bet he cannot come.' |

As shown in the examples above, the first category of the *-kes* functions has to do with the speaker's estimation with differing levels of conviction: from mere conjecture by *-lkei-* to prediction with conviction by *-lkel*. In the case of conjecture, as in (24a), the sentence does not seem to carry the speaker's conviction prominently. Example (24b), on the other hand, has strong conviction meaning. Since conviction exists to greater or lesser degrees, the strength of conviction may be modified by degree adverbials such as *celtaylo* 'absolutely', *ama(to)* 'perhaps', etc. As was pointed out earlier, the original form of the ending *-lkel* has the Accusative marker *-l* at the very end (cf. 3.2.1). This is an elliptical structure which says, "With the fact that he will not be able to come, you think there is a possibility," where the main clause is omitted and the counterpart construction of the *with*-phrase occurs with an accusative marker.

21. The frequency survey by the National Academy of Korean is based on a corpus of about 1.5 million word texts taken from Korean textbooks, literary works, newspaper, magazines, drama texts, TV talk shows, etc. The source texts are predominantly literary, spoken data accounting for less than seven percent.

This type of sentential ending is closely related to the next functional category: regret-marking, typically in past-referring context, as shown in the following example.

(25) Regret

naccam-ina ca-lkel
 nap-SELECT sleep-END
 'I should have taken a nap!'

Also an ellipsis-based construction, the reconstructed sentence of example (25) is one that can be translated as "I did something else in a situation where I should have taken a nap," where the phrase that can be translated into 'in a situation...' surfaces as an accusative marked constituent.

Both prediction-marking and regret-marking functions marked by *-lkel* develop from elliptical structures, as is obvious from its final element *-l*, the accusative marker (Ahn 2000: 429). By ending an utterance with the accusative-marked sentential fragment, the speaker invites the addressee's reconstruction of the elided main clause, and the variability in inferences gives rise to diverse meanings, such as prediction and regret. This type of semanticization of inferred senses from ellipsis is widely discussed in Rhee (2002).²²

The next category has to do with the determinative attitude of the speaker: intention and promise (Park 1999), as exemplified in the following examples.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------------------|----|----------------------------|
| (26) | a. | Intention (Determinative) | b. | Promissive (Determinative) |
| | | <i>kkok sengkongha-lkei-a</i> | | <i>nay-ka towacwu-lkey</i> |
| | | surely succeed-END-END | | I-NOM help-END |
| | | 'I will surely succeed.' | | 'I will help you.' |

In the above example, the endings *-lkei-* and *-lkey* mark the speaker's determinative attitude. It is interesting to note that historically *-lkey* originated from *-lkeia* (thus explaining why *-lkey* cannot be further followed by the poly-functional ultimate sentential ending *-a*). However, these forms are separately specialized and, thus, they are no longer interchangeable. Furthermore, these endings cannot be replaced with other declarative endings (such as *-ta* or *-pnita*) without the loss of the function of marking determinative attitude. Though similar in that they both encode determinative attitudinal stance, one fundamental difference is that assertions of intention tend

22. Ending an utterance with an accusative-marked sentential element is a very unusual speech act in this verb final language, and the addressees are naturally invited to look for what remains unsaid.

to be directed to the speaker himself or herself, whereas assertions of promissive are directed to the addressee.

Finally, a *-kes*-derived sentential ending can carry the function of announcing information in an addressee-friendly tone, a function of marking the speaker's attitudinal stance, as shown in the following example.

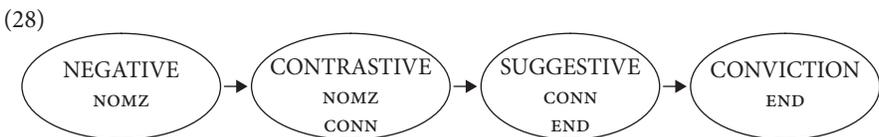
- (27) Announcement (Addressee-Friendly)
hwacangsil-ey tanyeo-lkey
 restroom-to visit-END
 'I'll be back after I use the restroom.'

It is obvious that this addressee-friendly announcement function is closely related to the previously discussed functions of marking intention and promissive. However, this announcement function is different from them in that this is employed in an interactional situation (unlike intention) and without making a promise (unlike promissive). Since it is possible that the speaker makes a promise about, for instance, making a trip to the restroom and returning in a hypothetically constructed situation, it seems plausible to plot promissive and announcement on a single continuum of interaction with varying degrees of addressee-directed obligation.

4.3 Mechanisms

4.3.1 *-ci*: Emphasis and friendliness

The functions of the nominalizer *-ci*, when used as a sentential ending, can best be characterized as the markers of emphasis and friendliness. The development of such stance meanings seems to have followed the track shown in (28).



Historically, the nominalizer *-ci* first appears in negative constructions, at first interchangeably with *-ki*. It seems that *-ci* absorbed the emphatic meaning from this negative construction. The status of *-ci* in terms of grammatical category is definitely that of a nominalizer, which makes the *-ci*-marked constituent the theme argument of the main verb, as evidenced by the fact that it is often marked by an accusative marker *-l*.²³ Examples of *-ci* in negative constructions are as follows.

23. The main verb *anh-* in (29b), glossed here as 'be not' (containing a copula) was in fact derived from *ani ha-* [NEG do], where *ha-* 'do' is a light verb whose semantics has bleached

(29) Negative Construction

- a. *kekcengha-ci ma-seyyo* b. *tangsin-ul salangha-ci anh-ayo*
 worry-NOMZ stop-END you-ACC love-NOMZ be.NOT-END
 ‘Don’t worry.’ ‘I don’t love you.’

Then, later *-ci* is found in contrastive constructions. Because of the contrast effect in the context, the emphasis meaning seems to have been fortified. It is due to the fact that for two items to be placed for contrast, the items need to be well-defined to avoid one blending into the other. This is well illustrated in the following examples, where ‘staying home’ vs. ‘coming,’ and ‘violence’ vs. ‘play,’ being contrasted are distinct (at least in the conceptualization of the speaker).

(30) Contrastive Construction

- a. *cip-ey iss-ci way o-ass-eyo?*
 home-at exist-CONN why come-PST-END?
 ‘Why did you come, not staying home?’
 Lit. ‘Stay home, why did (you) come?’
- b. *kuke-n phokhayng-i-ci cangnan-i ani-ta*
 it-TOP violence-COP-CONN play-NOM be.NOT-DEC
 ‘It is violence, not a playful action.’

In a contrastive construction the focus is on the first clause, marked by the connective *-ci*, and the second clause is often merely an appendage, just added for stylistic reasons of contrast. This is very prominent in such doublet phrases as *saltunci cwuktunci* ‘either you live or die,’ *mektunci maltunci* ‘either you eat or not,’ *satunci maltunci* ‘either you buy it or not,’ etc., where the speaker’s concern is always on the first element, not on the second.

The next step is the suggestive or encouragement function, usually conveying the speaker’s strong conviction for the benefit from the proposed action. In other words, the speaker presents one of the two contrasted items as the more favorable option, as in the following examples (‘resting’ over ‘doing something’ or ‘divorce’ over ‘staying in wedlock’).

to that of a copula. It is also to be noted in this context that, due to the structural similarity of *-ci* with other non-finite connectives such as *-a*, *-key*, and *-ko*, and its exclusive use in negative constructions, *-ci* is sometimes classified as a negative connective (or prohibitive connective). It seems not uncommon for a nominalizer to take up the connective or linker function as attested by other nominalizers (e.g. Yap & Wang this volume, Yap & Kwok 2005; Yap & Matthews 2008; Kratochvíl this volume; Noonan 2008, among others).

(31) Strong Encouragement

- a. *com swi-ci [kulay(yo)(?)]*
 a.little rest-CONN [do.so(END)]
 ‘Why don’t you take some rest?’
- b. *ihon-ul ha-ci [kulay-ss-e(yo)(?)]*
 divorce-ACC do-CONN [do.so-PST-END]
 ‘Why didn’t you get a divorce?’

From this stage, the nominalizer *-ci* may appear as the sentential ending or with an appended simple expression like “do you do so?” at the end (indicated by angled brackets), which later seems to have been elided. This interrogative sentence becomes obsolete when the question becomes obvious from the first part already through repetition. With this process through which the main clause of the interrogative sentence becomes unnecessary, the grammatical status of the connective *-ci* also undergoes change. In other words, the previous [A or B] contrastive construction is routinized with [A or not A]. When the routinization has proceeded further, the construction [A or] can be construed as [A or not A], a process wherein the connective becomes reanalyzed as a sentential ending. When the emphasis meaning becomes the primary meaning of the sentential ending, it comes to be used in many different contexts simply for emphatic value as noted in the preceding discussion.

The issues of subjectification and intersubjectification involved in the emergence of diverse stance-marking functions deserve our attention. When we use the nominalizer, we are basically claiming, as a rough generalization, that “X is a thing” at a certain conceptual level, be it a first-order, second-order, or third-order entity. It appears, from the progression of semantic change involving the nominalizer *-ci*, that we attribute some subjective meaning to it, “The thing X is what matters to you.” This process seems to be operative in the development of addressee-confirmation function and self-assurance function, the latter being typically used in a situation where the speaker talks to himself or herself as if he or she is the addressee. Furthermore, we attribute more intersubjective and interactional meaning to a linguistic form as if saying, “X is what matters to us.” This is apparent in the development of friendliness becoming associated with a form. Through this path of subjective and interactional meaning attribution, the nominalizers become the markers of emotive or affective stance marker. This can be diagrammatically presented as (32).²⁴

24. An anonymous reviewer points out that the subjective and intersubjective stages are not clearly separable in that subjectivity inevitably involves interactive meaning. The distinction is admittedly non-discrete but the separation as intended here is solely based on the fact that intersubjective meanings have to do more with the mutual interaction of both interlocutors,

- (32) Objective > Subjective > Intersubjective (Interactional)
 “X is a thing” “X is what matters to you” “X is what matters to us”

4.3.2 *-kes: Emphasis, conviction, intention and commitment*

A development similar to the one that involved *-ci* can be observed with the nominalizer *-kes* as well. The nominalizer *-kes* has many semantic and functional characteristics such as emphasis, conviction, intention, and commitment.

As was noted earlier, the lexical meaning of *kes* is ‘thing’. When *-kes* is used to nominalize a proposition, among others, we are claiming an identity relation between the proposition and a thing, by virtue of the adnominalizers that connect a proposition with the nominalizer *-kes*, which in many instances still retains its lexical semantics ‘thing’ (see for example, Simpson & Wu 2001). Syntactically, the copula can be in the form of either present tense *-i-* or past tense *-iess-*. This has to do with the fact that the future tense is marked with a form that involves *-kes-*, i.e. *-lkesi-*, and thus if a future marking on the this copula were allowed, the form would be somewhat awkward like *-kesilkesi-* in which *kes* is repeated. The fact that only present and past forms are allowed with *-kes-* has to do with the speaker’s desire to present the ‘thing’ as a concrete entity that either exists or existed, in contrast to something that will exist. In these structures even the thing to exist in the future is expressed as one that already exists. This point is illustrated in the following diagrammatic presentation, given in English structure for succinctness.

- (33) a. It is a thing that was... [Present-tense copula + Anterior Adnominal]
 b. It is a thing that is... [Present-tense copula + Simultaneous Adnominal]
 c. It is a thing that will... [Present-tense copula + Prospective Adnominal]
 d. It was a thing that had been... [Past-tense copula + Anterior Adnominal]
 e. It was a thing that was... [Past-tense copula + Simultaneous Adnominal]
 f. It was a thing that would... [Past-tense copula + Prospective Adnominal]

As is evident from (33), the ‘thing’ as a substitute of an entity, an event, or a proposition is expressed as one existing in the present or the past. This state of affairs, i.e. regarding the nominalized entity as something in existence and not as one of future possibility must have contributed to the creation of such emphatic meanings as emphasis, conviction, etc. and of the speaker’s present psychological states such as intention, commitment, etc.

This type of objectification or reification process can be illustrated by such a simple example as “It will rain” in (34).

whereas subjective meanings largely arise from shifting objective meanings to abstract, mental, and evaluative ones, in the mind of the speaker/writer.

- (34) a. *pi-ka o-ri-la*
 rain-NOM come-FUT-DEC
 ‘It will rain.’
- b. *pi-ka o-l-kes-i-ta*
 rain-NOM come-PROS.ADN-thing-COP-DEC
 ‘It will rain.’ (Lit. ‘(It) is the thing that the rain will come.’)

Example (34a) is the typical future tense sentence before the modern future tense marker *-lkesi-* came into existence. The complex morphemic gloss of *-l-kes-i-* is considered a single future tense marking morpheme in Modern Korean. Incidentally, this is an excellent example of syntactic upgrading, where the subject of the embedded clause becomes the main clause subject through reanalysis (Heine et al. 1991: 169–170).²⁵ The objectification or reification process can be diagrammatically presented as in (35).

(35)	“It will rain”		“a thing”
	Proposition	IDENTITY	Entity
	Abstract	RELATION	Tangible
	Subjective Judgment	----->	Objective Description of Existence

The diagram in (35) shows that what the speaker wants to say is that according to his or her judgment, it will rain. But in the real world, the future belongs to the unknown, existing only as a world of possibility, and thus nothing that belongs to the future is a reality, so it is not certain if it will truly rain. Here, the speaker objectifies the abstract situation as if it were a concrete, tangible object that could be referred to as ‘a thing’. The emphasis effect is obtained from the act of regarding a proposition as a concrete entity.

This type of borrowing of a linguistic form denoting ‘a concrete entity’ to mark emphasis may be conceptually well-motivated, and is attested in other languages, as shown by the use of *thing* in English. For instance, the grammaticalizing constructions in English *The thing is that...*, *Thing is that...*, *Thing is...* etc. are all newly emerging means of expressing emphasis (Kim 2003). As a matter of fact, there has been a claim that the Korean *-kes* sentential ending originated from the English *It-is-that* construction through calquing by translators (Choi 1994). Furthermore,

25. This type of reanalysis changes a sentence like *It is not Peter (who) wants a dog* into *Peter does not want a dog* in Teso, an Eastern Nilotic language. In exact parallelism, the Korean sentence *It is that he will come* [originally: \emptyset is the thing that he will come] has been reanalyzed as *He will come*, as shown in the present discussion. Syntactic upgrading refers to the status change of the embedded subject into the main clause subject, or the shift from the subordinate clause to the main clause.

concreteness carrying over to the grammatical meaning is also observed in the usage of English relative pronouns: the relative pronoun *that*, originated from the demonstrative pronoun *that*, which, as opposed to other pronouns like *which*, *who*, etc., is required in the structure where the antecedent is pinpointed by such devices as the restricting adverb *the only*, the superlative, etc. (e.g. *the only thing that...*, *the fastest car that...*, etc.).

There is a subjectification and intersubjectification process as well in the development of *-kes-*derived stance marking. Through objectification the meaning of emphasis is derived (cf. *It will rain* vs. *Thing is that it will rain*, in the preceding discussion). This emphatic meaning develops into conviction. Conviction inherently makes reference to the speaker's belief state, and thus the acquisition of the conviction meaning involves subjectification. From a cursory search of the corpus data from the 21st century Sejong Project, it is found that from Korea's first modern daily newspaper, *The Independence* (*Toklipsinmwun*), in 1896, *-kesi-* with an adnominalizer occurs as the sentential ending frequently. The earliest instances of these tend to have emphatic meanings and conviction meanings as shown in the following examples.

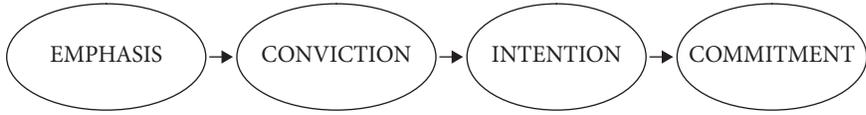
- (36) a. *pyeng-i cyenyem-i toy-nankesi-la*
 disease-NOM contagion-NOM become-END-END
 '(and thus) the disease becomes transferred' (1896, *Toknipsinmwun* 6769)
- b. *philkyeng mwusam skatalk-i is-nankesi-la*
 absolutely certain reason-NOM exist-END-END
 'There must be some reason.' (1896, *Toknipsinmwun* 6858)

When conviction further develops into intention, the speaker is adding a more subjective meaning of conation. When the sentential subject is sentient, and the event denoted by the clause is emphatic or of conviction, especially when the sentence makes reference to a future event (by using the prospective adnominal *-l*), inferring a conative meaning seems to be a natural process. Furthermore, when the sentential subject is the first person, and involves interaction with the addressee, the intention becomes commitment. This last stage involves intersubjectification. The speaker uses his intention with respect to the real-world situation from the perspective of the speaker and the addressee. The *-kes-*ending with the promissive meaning is exemplified by the following example.

- (37) *cal po-acwu-lkesi-ni yemnye mal-ko*
 well see-BENEF-END-as worry stop-and
 'Don't worry because I will take care of you, and...' (1896, *Toknipsinmwun* 6972)

The foregoing discussion on the genesis of diverse meanings involving the *-kes-*ending can be diagrammatically presented as in (38).

(38)



5. Conclusion

The Korean language has had many nominalizers throughout its history, and each of them has had its own journey of rise and fall through time. They came from diverse lexical sources, including defective nouns, but they constitute a single grammatical category called nominalizers.

This paper examined the extended functions of nominalizers in the speaker's stance-marking, largely as sentential endings, in addition to their primary referring functions of deriving first order, second order, and third order entities. Sentential endings involving nominalizers consist of two major categories: regular sentential endings and 'bullet-point' sentential endings. Stances of the speaker, as proposed here, include such subcategory stances as attitudinal, epistemic, emotional, and evidential stances.

The stances marked by the sentential endings derived from nominalizers are diverse, encompassing epistemic, attitudinal, and emotional stances. They do not seem to involve evidential stances. Epistemic stances, which indicate the proposition's status with respect to the speaker's knowledge state, seem to be the most prominent type of stances marked by the sentential endings involving nominalizers. They include such meanings as addressee confirmation, conviction, approval/suggestion giving, self-assurance, prediction, conjecture, exclamation, etc. Also widely used are attitudinal stances, which indicate the speaker's attitude toward the addressee, including friendliness, promissive, intention, etc. On the other hand, the category of emotional stances seems to be a minor one as there is only one such stance, regret.²⁶

This paper also shows that the diversity of the functions is due to the contributions of the participating linguistic forms and the idiosyncrasies of the source constructions, and at the same time, to the interactions of the nominalizer with the participating adnominalizers that are sensitive to the aspectual-temporal distinctions. Furthermore, it is suggested that subjectification and intersubjectification that operated in the process of semantic-functional extension also enabled the emergence of diverse functions of the sentential endings as stance-markers.

26. The claim that the category of emotional stances is minor is simply based on the lack of functional diversity, i.e. the number of subcategories, not on overall use (i.e. token) frequencies. A quantitative analysis involving natural discourse data is called for to determine the extent of usage beyond the mere number of subcategories.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NOMZ	nominalizer
ADN	adnominalizer	PASS	passive
ANT	anterior	PERF	perfective
BENEF	benefactive	POL	polite
CONN	connective	PRES	present
COP	copula	PROG	progressive
DEC	declarative	PROH	prohibitive
END	sentential ending	PROS	prospective
FUT	future	PST	past-tense
HON	honorific	REAS	reason
NEG	negative	SELECT	selective
NF	non-finite	SIMUL	simultaneous
NOM	nominative	TOP	topic-marker

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