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On an emerging paradigm of sentence-final particles of discontent: a grammaticalization perspective

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ABSTRACT

Korean has an impressive inventory of sentence-final particles (SFPs) that appear as clusters of verbal morphology. The last slot of the SFP cluster is for sentence type indicators, such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, and hortative. However, a new paradigm of SFPs is emerging in contemporary Korean, those that mark the speaker's discontent. This interesting phenomenon has not received any attention in earnest to date. The new SFPs of discontent (SFPDs) are *-tam*, *-lam*, *-kam*, and *-nam*, developed through different paths of grammaticalization, but commonly involving an interrogative marking. One of the sources involves the fusion of a discourse marker originated from an interrogative pronoun. The fusion of a formerly free-standing discourse marker into the verbal morphology is an instance of grammaticalization rarely attested across languages. This paper argues that the emergence of the discontent meaning in SFPDs is directly attributable to the sources, i.e., interrogative words and constructions used in the contexts of challenge. Another noteworthy aspect is that the SFPD paradigm is still defective in that not all sentence-type indicators have the SFPD counterparts, i.e., it excludes true interrogatives and hortatives. This suggests that SFPDs, which should be highly intersubjective due to the defining characteristic of the SFP category in Korean, take the form of highly subjective and non-interactive clause types such as the 'audience-blind' styles, and feign non-intersubjectivity. The use of feigned non-intersubjectivity is a discourse strategy for indirectness, which is intricately interlaced with the speaker's attitudinal stance-marking. The indirectness further expands to counter-expectation, thus bringing forth the mirativity and exclamative functions.

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1. Introduction

An agglutinating verb-final language, Korean has an impressive inventory of sentence-final particles (SFPs) that appear as clusters of verbal morphology. Markers of diverse grammatical notions commonly associated with the verbal morphology – such as tense, aspect, mood, and modality – occur here. The last slot of the SFP cluster is for sentence type indicators, such as declarative, imperative, interrogative and hortative, whose representative forms, among numerous forms modulated by the styles, are *-ta*, *-la*, *-nya*, and *-ca*, respectively.

Abbreviations: ACC, accusative; ADN, adnominal; BEN, benefactive; COMP, complementizer; COND, conditional; COP, copula; CR, current-relevance; DEC, declarative; DESID, desiderative; DM, discourse marker; EXCL, exclamatory; FORM, formal; GEN, genitive; HON, honorific; HORT, hortative; IMP, imperative; IND, indirect; INST, instrumental; LOC, locative; NF, non-finite; NOM, nominative; NOMZ, nominalizer; PRES, present; PROG, progressive; PROS, prospective; PST, past; PURP, purposive; Q, interrogative; QUOT, quotative; RETRO, retrospective; SFP, sentence-final particle; SFPD, sentence-final particle of discontent; SIM, simultaneous; TOP, topic.

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The paradigm of sentence-final markers is among those that underwent frequent innovation, whereby many forms fall into disuse and are either partially or entirely replaced by competing forms. A noteworthy state of affairs in contemporary Korean is that a new paradigm of SFPs is emerging whose function, curiously enough, is to mark the speaker's discontent. This intriguing phenomenon of the emergence of the sentence-final particles of discontent (SFPDs) has not yet received any attention in earnest to date, except for a very brief treatment of *-nuntam* in Han (2003, pp. 470–472). This paper intends to fill the gap.

This paper has four major objectives: to show how grammaticalization paths of SFPDs from different sources converge in form and function; to show how grammaticalization of SFPDs brings forth stance-marking and mirative-marking functions; to show how analogy motivates grammaticalization of other SFPs; and to show how grammaticalization of SFPDs triggers changes in other aspects of grammar.

Section 2 presents examples of the phenomenon under focus and provides a brief introduction to the system of sentence-type markers in Korean. After illustrating the grammaticalization processes of SFPDs in Section 3, Section 4 discusses diverse issues involved in the grammaticalization, such as morpho-syntactic reduction and formal convergence, emergence of attitudinal stance of discontent, emergence of a paradigm of SFPDs, all at a local level. The discussion is further extended to a more global level of grammar to address the issues that go beyond marking of discontent, e.g. of dialectal fixation, analogical spread, and emergence of mirative function. Section 5 summarizes and concludes the discussion.

2. Preliminaries

2.1. Expressions under focus

The types of sentential endings under present focus are *-tam*, *-lam*, *-kam*, and *-nam* which appear in the following examples marking the speaker's discontent toward the discourse participant or about the speech situation in general.

- (1) a. (by someone who is embarrassed)
seysang-ey *ile-lswukaiss-tam*^a
 world-at be.like.this-can-SFPD
 'How can this be possible?' [This is by no means acceptable!]

^a The modal of possibility *-lswukaiss-* can be further analyzed as *-l swu-ka iss-* [PROS.ADN way-NOM exist], but since their morphosyntactic compacting has proceeded considerably, and the internal source structure does not affect the present analysis, it is glossed as a single grammatical morpheme for convenience.

- b. (by someone whose companion is complaining about a boring show)
nwuka *ttalao-lam*
 who (NOM) follow-SFPD
 'Who told you to follow (me)?' [I didn't ask you to come with me! Stop complaining!]

- c. (by someone who was not aware of the passing of time)
sikan-i *way* *ilehkey* *ppalli* *ka-nun-kam*^b
 time-NOM why like.this fast go-PRES-SFPD
 'How fast is time passing?' [Oh, no! It's getting late!]

^b The morphemic analysis in glossing *-nunkam* may be controversial between *-nu-nkam* [CR-SFPD] and *-nun-kam* [PRES-SFPD] (momentarily disregarding the analyzability of the interrogative *-ka* and the discontent marker *-m*). The first analysis is motivated by the fact that synchronically *-kam* is always accompanied by *-n-* and that *-nu-* is an erstwhile marker of current relevance (CR), thus supporting the monomorphemic analysis of *-nkam*. The latter analysis, on the other hand, is motivated by the fact that the sentential ending *-nka* (the source of *-nkam*) can be historically analyzed as a combination of the tense marker *-n-* and the interrogative ending *-ka* (Kim, 1983, pp. 281–282; Yang, 2009, p. 119). This indeterminacy is a synchronic consequence of the diachronic process whereby the sentential ending paradigms emerged. The present analysis does not favor one over the other, but for ease of exposition, the latter analysis is adopted here.

- d. (by a parent whose child is not serious about studying)
paywu-ese *nam-ø* *cwu-nam*
 learn-and others-(ACC) give-SFPD
 '(Do you think) studying will benefit others?' [No! It will benefit YOU!]

As shown in the translations and annotations, these sentences all carry the speaker's discontent about the speech situation, unlike the meaning which would be conveyed if the same sentences were not marked with SFPDs. As shall be made clear in the subsequent discussion, these sentences reflect their association with the interrogative mood even though in their actual use the speakers are not soliciting the addressee's answer, and thus may be followed by a period, a question mark, an exclamation mark, or more commonly, a question mark and an exclamation mark together in writing.

Table 1

Sentence-type indicators throughout history.

	Late Middle Korean (15–16th C.)	Early Modern Korean (17–19th C.)	Modern Korean (20–21st C.)
Declarative	-ta/la , -i	-ta/la , -i, -nAy, -tey, -li, -soy, -oy	-ta , -supnita, -suptita, -ney, -ui, -lsey, -e, -ci, -uo, -so, -ketun, -ntey
Interrogative	-nya , -nye, -nyo, -lye, -lyo, -lya, -nta, -lta, -i, -niska, -liska, -ningiska, -ningisko, -lingiska, -lingisko, -nka, -nko, -lka, -lko, -ni, -li, -nisko, -lisko,	-nya , -nyo, -lya, -lyo, -lio, -lsonya, -nta, -lta, -ni, -li, -niiska, -niisko, -liiska, -liisko, -nka, -nko, -lka, -lko, -lsonka	-nya , -ni, -supnikka, -suptikka, -na, -nka, -lkka, -e, -ci, -uo, -so
Imperative	-la , -kola, -kolye, -essye, -syosye, -syusyue, -ko, -so, -o,	-la , -ko, -kolye, -so, -o, -syosye, -lyem, -lyemuna	-la , -ela, -sipsio, -key, -e, -ci, -uo, -kwulye, -lyem, -lyemuna, -sose
Hortative	-cya , -cye, -cyela, -sangita, -say, -sayngita	-cya , -cye, -cyela, -say, -saita, -sayita	-ca , -psita, -sey, -e, -ci, -uo, -kwulye

2.2. Preliminaries: sentence-final particles of clause-type marking

The Korean language has a rich and complex system of SFPs which form a cluster with diverse grammatical functions such as honorification, tense, aspect, mood, and modality. Depending on the speech style, the grammatical marker in the ultimate position of this sentence-final constellation is either the sentence-type indicator or the politeness marker.

The paradigm of the indicators of sentence-types, such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, and hortative, is complex since each marker is closely related to the speech level distinction, which is fully grammaticalized in Korean. Furthermore, the paradigm has undergone considerable change whereby numerous peripheral forms emerged and disappeared. However, some forms have persistently withstood such change and remain the dominant forms in the paradigm. For instance, *-ta* has been the representative form of the subparadigm of declaratives,² and, similarly, *-nya*, *-la*, and *-ca* (and their variants), for interrogative, imperative, and hortative, respectively throughout history, as shown in Table 1 (based on Jang (2002) for Late Middle Korean and Early Modern Korean, and Kwon (1992) for Modern Korean).³

The representative forms for sentence type indicators, i.e., *-ta/la*, *-nya*, *-la*, and *-cya/ca*, (as marked in bold-face in Table 1) are of particular importance for our discussion because they are directly relevant to the development of complementizers (i.e., *-tako/lako*, *-nyako*, *-lako*, and *-cako*, see below). These complementizers evolved from the constructions involving sentence-type indicators along with an utterance verb (*ha-* 'say') and a connective (*-ko* 'and') at the turn of the 19th century (Rhee, 2008a).⁴ Even though there were a large number of clause type indicators at the time the complementizers were emerging, only those representative forms were recruited in the formation of a new paradigm, eventually producing *-tako/lako* for declarative, *-nyako* for interrogative, *-lako* for imperative, and *-cako* for hortative, through phonological reduction and morphosyntactic fusion. This is well illustrated in (2) and their uses are illustrated with the verb *ka-* 'go' in (3):

- (2) a. Declarative: *-ta + ha + ko* > *-tahako* > *-tako*
-la + ha + ko > *-lahako* > *-lako* (with copula/retrospective)
 b. Interrogative: *-nya + ha + ko* > *-nyahako* > *-nyako*
 c. Imperative: *-la + ha + ko* > *-lahako* > *-lako*
 d. Hortative: *-ca + ha + ko* > *-cahako* > *-cako*

- (3) a. Declarative *-tako*: *ka-n-tako* '(saying) that (he) goes'
 Declarative *-lako*: *John-i-lako* '(saying) that (he) is John' (with copula *i-*)
 b. Interrogative *-nyako*: *ka-nyako* '(asking) if (he) goes'
 c. Imperative *-lako*: *ka-lako* '(ordering) that (he should) go'
 d. Hortative *-cako*: *ka-cako* '(suggesting) to go together'

² Prior to Modern Korean, the declarative SFP *-ta* had its arbitrary variant *-la* after the copula *i-* in the present tense or the retrospective *-te-*, but this free-variation relation develops into the allomorphy relation in Modern Korean, i.e. the occurrence of *-la* is restricted to affixation to copula *i-* and retrospective *-te-*, and *-ta* is used elsewhere.

³ It needs to be noted that, as the sentence-type indicators are inextricably fused with other verbal morphology and there are a number of connectives the functions of which shifted, at varying degrees, to those of sentential end marking, the number of such markers and the membership of each mood widely vary among researchers. For instance, in a comprehensive discussion of SFPs, Kim (2001, pp. 147–151) lists as many as 381 SFPs that are used in Modern Korean. However, the details of the usage of individual SFPs and their historical development are beyond the scope of the current research and are not of immediate interest in the present analysis.

⁴ Note, however, that the first attestations are much earlier. For instance, Rhee (2008a) shows that the normalized per million occurrence tokens of *-tako* were 2 and 6 in the 17th and the 18th centuries, which sharply contrast with 1240 in the 19th century, a clear sign of grammaticalization at this period (see also Koo and Rhee (2008) for related issues).

These representative forms are of particular importance in that the four forms, i.e., *-ta/-la*, *-nya*, *-la*, and *-ca*, are always those recruited when a sentence-type indicator is involved in grammaticalization. For instance, the emergence of hypothetical conditionals brought forth, among all other possible forms, *-tamyen/-lamyen*, *-nyamyen*, *-lamyen*, and *-camyen*, and the emergence of emphatic SFPs brought forth (Koo, 2009; Koo and Rhee, 2008), among all other possible forms, *-tanikka/-lanikka*, *-nyanikka*, *-lanikka*, and *-canikka* (Rhee, 2012a). This pattern is replicated in a number of other grammaticalization processes involving SFPs. It is for this reason that there arises a question why the series of the emerging SFPDs, i.e., *-tam*, *-lam*, *-kam*, and *-nam*, as shown in (1), clearly based on SFPs, is not following this pattern, as shown by the novel forms *-kam* and *-nam*, and the absence of **-nyam* and **-cam* (see below for discussion).

2.3. SFPDs: sentence-final particles under innovation

In the preceding section, we have seen diverse sentence-type indicators in the history of Korean and the formation of complementizers making use of representative sentence-type indicators. Modern Korean witnesses the emergence of a new sub-paradigm of SFPs. This innovation is actively in progress and is spreading across the SFP paradigm. The innovative forms have a peculiar function of marking the speaker's discontent or some other attitude derived from it (see Section 4.4 for more discussion).

As was shown in (1) above, there are four SFPDs in contemporary Korean which developed from sentence-type indicators, as shown in (4):⁵

- (4) a. *-ta/-la* (declarative) + *-m* → *-tam/-lam*
 b. *-la* (imperative) + *-m* → *-lam*
 c. *-ka* (interrogative) + *-m* → *-kam*
 d. *-na* (interrogative) + *-m* → *-nam*

A brief mention for the interrogatives *-ka* (*-nka* in Table 1, see Footnote 2 above) and *-na* that serve as the sources for *-kam* and *-nam* is in order. As was indicated earlier, the primary interrogative marker is *-nya* (as evidenced by the development of complementizer *-nyako*), which, however, does not develop into a SFPD. Instead, the secondary interrogatives *-ka* and *-na* develop into SFPDs *-kam* and *-nam*. The interrogatives *-ka* and *-na* are peculiar in that they can be used only in the following contexts (cf. Koh, 1998; Jang, 2002; Han, 2003; Lee and Lee, 2010):

- (5) (i) in questions with [+FORM] and [-HON] features
 (ii) in questions in audience-blind discourse^a
 (iii) in self-addressed questions (monologic/rhetorical questions)
 (iv) in questions showing the speaker's lack of confidence

^a Audience-blind forms (ABFs) are those intended for unspecified audiences, lacking any sentence-final grammatical trappings marking the speaker-addressee relationship. Since marking these interpersonal relations is fully grammaticalized, and thus obligatory, in Korean, the ABFs constitute a special category in speech/writing styles (see Section 4.2 for more discussion).

As shall be made clear in the following discussion (Section 4.2, in particular), these characteristics of *-ka* and *-na* are crucial in their development into SFPDs.

3. Grammaticalization of SFPDs

The development of SFPDs is rather recent in history: they are first attested in *sinsosel* ('new novels').⁶ In order to trace the beginning of the SFPDs, the *Sinsosel* Corpus, a corpus created as part of the government-led 'The 21st Century Sejong Project', consisting of 44 *sinsosel* novels, was used.⁷ The occurrences of the individual SFPDs in the *Sinsosel* Corpus are 20 tokens for *-tam*, six tokens for *-lam*, three tokens for *-nam* and one token for *-kam*.⁸ We present the first attestations in the *sinsosel* corpus and show how each of the SFPDs came into existence.

⁵ As was the case with the declarative-based complementizers, the declarative-based SFPDs have two variants in the allomorphy relation: *-lam* if the host verb is the copula *i*- in the present tense (thus, *-ilam*), or if it is preceded by the retrospective *-te*- (thus *-telam*), and *-tam* in all other situations. The primary sentence-type indicator for interrogative, i.e. *-nya*, does not develop into **-nyam*, nor does hortative, i.e., **-cam* (see Section 4.3). Further, since *-m* in these SFPDs does not carry an independent function of its own, it remains unglossed (see Section 3 for its diverse origins).

⁶ *Sinsosel*, literally meaning 'new novel', refers to the literary genre that bridges the classical novels and modern novels in the history of Korean literature. Novels in this genre, numbering about 300, were produced at the turn of the 20th century, but most productively between 1906 and 1913. The styles characteristic of these novels were influenced by Western literary styles, including the use of colloquial language. Since grammaticalization processes can be more easily captured in colloquial data (Rhee, 2007, 2008b), *sinsosel* is often the data source where emerging grammatical functions are first attested.

⁷ The *Sinsosel* Corpus used in the present study comprises 471,116 words based on spacing, but since some of them did not use inter-lexical spacing (which was first practiced in 1896 and mandated in 1933) the number of actual words is much higher.

⁸ Since the corpus used here contains 44 *sinsosel* novels only, these numbers do not fully represent the usage of SFPDs at the turn of the century. However, the relative frequency is indicative of the usage pattern and suggests their differential levels of entrenchment and thus of grammaticalization.

3.1. Emergence of *-tam*

The SFPD *-tam* first occurs in a 1906 *sinsosel* entitled *Kwiuyseng*, as illustrated in (6):

- (6) a. *nal-to* *sAy-ki* *cyen-ey* *i* *sancyung-ey-lul*
 day-even break-NOMZ before-at this mountain.middle-to-ACC
tuleo-l *salam-i* *is-tam*
 enter-ADN person-NOM exist-SFPD
 ‘Who on earth is coming to this place deep in the mountain even before daybreak?’
 (Lee Injik, *Kwiuyseng* 2683, 1906)
- b. *ilyeskhey* *kitali-nAntAy* *ko* *nyen-un* *nA-l*
 like.this wait-while that wretched.girl-TOP I-ACC
po-kosiphwu-n *sAyngkak-to* *ep-tam*
 see-DESID-ADN thought-even not.exist-SFPD
 ‘While I am waiting for her like this, doesn’t that wretched girl even want to see me?’
 (Lee Injik, *Kwiuyseng* 2782, 1906)

In the above examples, the speakers use the SFPD *-tam*. The speaker of (6a) is a blind man who is walking along a trail deep in the mountains before daybreak and hears an old Buddhist monk saying hello to him. The blind man is uncomfortable with this unusual encounter and even suspects that the monk might be a thief. The discontent is encoded by means of SFPD *-tam*. Likewise, the speaker of (6b) is the wife of a nobleman who is awaiting her maid-servant, Cemsun, not knowing that she has been murdered. This is what the woman says to herself after waiting until after 1 a.m. Her impatience and discontent is marked by *-tam*.

Seemingly simple and resembling the declarative ending *-ta*, *-tam* nevertheless is a product of a long process of addition and erosion that can be summarized as in (7):

- (7) Developmental path of *-tam*:
 Direct quotative > Complementizer > Indirect quotative > Emphatic sentential ending > SFPD

The path of development can be further elaborated by the stages as in Fig. 1. The origin of *-tam* can be traced to an emphatic interrogative sentential ending *-tanun malinka* ‘does that mean...?’ (see Stage V), whose cumulative origin can further be traced to an interrogative sentence containing a direct quotative, ‘...*V-ta*’ *hako hanun malinka?*, which, however, is cumbersome to say without contraction, as can be imagined by the rather awkward literal translation ‘Is that saying uttered while saying “...*V-ta*”?’⁹

3.2. Emergence of *-lam*

The following are some of the very first attestations of *-lam* in literature, taken from two *sinsosel* texts, i.e., *Kwuysan* and *Myengwalceng*.

- (8) a. *cAysangkatAyk* *stAl-lo* *kuke-y* *mwusun* *hAyngwi-ø-lam*
 noble.family daughter-INST that-NOM what.kind act-COP-SFPD
 ‘What kind of act is that for a lady from a noble family?!’
 (Lee Haejo, *Kwuysan* 60, 1912)
- b. *he-cwusa-ø* *honcAmal-no* *yey-ka* *etAy-ø-lam*
 Huh-official-NOM self.talk-INST here-NOM where-COP-SFPD
 ‘Official Huh says to himself, ‘Where is here?’(=‘where am I?’)
 (Park Iyang, *Myengwalceng* 88, 1912)

The context of (8a) is that servants are murmuring about the newly married Aycyung whose bridegroom Obok was murdered on the bridal night, mistakenly thinking that she is the murderer. The context of (8b) is that an official who is visiting the renowned city Kaesung for the first time dismounts a rickshaw and asks himself where he is because he is not familiar

⁹ In Stage V, *-tanun malinka?* has a variant *-tan malinka?* Since it is only a phonologically eroded variant without functional differences, no separate stage is posited for it.

Stage I: Direct Quotative				
	"...V- <i>ta</i> "	<i>ha-ko</i>		
	"...V-DEC"	say-and		
Stage II: Complementizer				
	<i>-ta hako</i>	>	<i>-tako</i>	
			COMP	
Stage III: Adnominalizer				
	<i>-tako</i>		<i>ha-nun</i>	
	-COMP		say-ADN	
Stage IV: Indirect Quotative				
	<i>-tako hanun</i>	>	<i>-tanun</i>	
			IND.QUOT	
Stage V: Emphatic Sentential Ending				
	<i>-tanun</i>		<i>mal-i-n-ka</i>	
	IND.QUOT		saying-COP-PRES-Q	
Stage VI: SFPD				
	<i>-tanun malinka</i>	>	<i>-tan malinka</i>	>
				<i>-tam</i>
				SFPD

Fig. 1. Developmental stages of SFPD -*tam*.

with the area. In both contexts, the speakers are not asking questions to an interlocutor but are uttering a question directed to themselves. The situation in (8a) is that of servants experiencing a traumatic stress, witnessing the tragic murder scene of their master, and that in (8b) is of a man experiencing minor discomfort at being unfamiliar with where he is.

Historically, the SFPD *-lam* is in fact a convergence of forms from three developmental sources as shown in (9):

(9) The three sources of *-lam*^a:

a. *-lam*₁ (From Declarative)

"...V- <i>la</i> "	<i>ha-ko</i>	<i>ha-nun</i>	<i>mal-i-n-ka?</i>
"...V-DEC"	say-and	say-ADN	saying-COP-PRES-Q
'Is that supposed to mean that "..."?' (Lit. 'Is that a saying that is uttered while (you're) saying, '(It) V...?')			

^a The three forms *-lam*₁, *-lam*₂, and *-lam*₃ are not labeled to reflect the order of their emergence, but solely for differentiating three sources that eventually coalesced into *-lam* in contemporary Korean. The source structures are spelled out without showing the fusions that occurred *en route* (see below).

b. *-lam*₂ (From Imperative)

"...V- <i>la</i> "	<i>ha-ko</i>	<i>ha-nun</i>	<i>mal-i-n-ka?</i>
"...V-IMP"	say-and	say-ADN	saying-COP-PRES-Q
'Is that supposed to mean that I should V?' (Lit. 'Is that a saying that is uttered while (you're) saying, 'V! (IMP).>?')			

c. *-lam*₃ (From Imperative)

"...V- <i>la</i> "	<i>ha-ko</i>	<i>malha-yss-na?</i>
"...V-IMP"	say-and	say-PST-Q
'Did (I) tell (you) to V? (No, I didn't!)' (Lit. 'Did I say, 'V! (IMP)?')		

The three sources listed in (9) are the ultimate cumulative sources spelled out disregarding diachronic dimensions of the cyclic coalescence and periphrastic expansion, and this is why the source structures may look awkward (see Fig. 1 for their analogous multi-stage development of *-tam*).¹⁰ For contemporary speakers of Korean, the intuitively more appealing, and immediately recognizable, source constructions are of the next stages where the SFP in the direct quotation and the quotative verbal phrase *ha-ko* have developed into complementizers as in [*-la ha-ko* > *-lako*] (thus, e.g. *-V-lako hanun malinka?* for (9a)), or its further reduced counterparts as in [*-lako hanun* > *-lanun* > *-lan*] (thus, e.g. *-V-lanun malinka?* or *-V-lan malinka?* for (9a)). As is obvious, the source of *-lam₁* in (9a) is exactly the same as that of the declarative-based *-tam* except that the V is either the copula *i* ‘be’ in the present tense or is inflected with the retrospective marker *-te-* (see Section 2.2). Therefore the path of *-lam₁* is an allomorphic variation of *-tam* illustrated in Section 3.1. Incidentally, both examples of the SFPD *-lam* exemplified in (8) are *-lam₁* (note its enabling morphosyntactic condition, the copula in the present tense in the examples).¹¹ The source of *-lam₂* in (9b) is similar to *-lam₁* except that the embedded direct quote is an imperative sentence, not a declarative sentence. An example of *-lam₂* is exemplified in (10):

- (10) *i* *manh-un* *swukcey-lul* *ettehkey* *ta* *ha-lam?*
 this much-ADN homework-ACC how all do-SFPD
 ‘How can I do all this homework?’
 (Lit. ‘Is he saying ‘Do all this homework’ but how (can I)?’)

The source of *-lam₃* in (9c) is slightly different in that it is based on a rhetorical question with a quoted imperative sentence. The speaker is asking “Did I tell you to do something” in order to emphatically say that he or she did not. As is the case with all SFPDs, *-lam₃* is used for an utterance not directed to the addressee. In this sense, this is not based on true interrogatives. It is important to note that in example (1b) where the speaker is challenging the companion by using the SFPD *-lam₃* which adds the nuance of irritation (translatable as ‘I didn’t ask you to come with me! Stop complaining!’), this imagined utterance of negative nuance is not dialogic but monologic in nature. The details of the development of *-lam₃* can be illustrated as in Fig. 2.

3.3. Emergence of *-nam* and *-kam*

The SFPDs *-nam* and *-kam* are much more infrequent than *-tam* and *-lam* in early historical data. They are attested only once each in the *sinsosel* corpus as exemplified in (11):

- (11) a. *pwul-un* *wey* *chimil-e?* *polkiccak-ey* *hwatekpwul-ul* *no-as-nam?*
 fire-TOP why come.up-SFP buttocks-at stove.fire-ACC put-PST-SFPD
 ‘Why (are you saying that) a fire is coming up? Do you mean you have a stove fire
 under your buttocks?’
 (Lee Haejo, *Pinsangsel* 37, 1908)
- b. *ku* *taytanhA-n* *malwu* *hAnpen* *chiwu-myen*
 that be.great-ADN floor one.time clean-COND
lyangpan-i *steleci-te-n-kam?*
 nobleman-NOM fall-RETRO-PST-SFPD
 ‘If you sweep the floor once, would your title of nobleman fall (lose the title)?’
 (Lee Haejo, *Hongtohwa* 28, 1908)

The context of (11a) is where a servant couple are quarreling, the wife accusing her husband of spending money on drinking whereas the husband is denying the accusation and showing his anger. The wife, in turn, is showing her discontent in response to his anger by saying (11a) that there is no reason to become angry. The context of (11b) is that the wife is complaining about her husband for not doing any household chores, ignoring the messy floor.

Even though they are different in form, *-nam* and *-kam* essentially share the same developmental path, one involving the fusion of a free-standing discourse marker *mwe* ‘what’. The discourse marker *mwe* originated from an interrogative pronoun which also developed into an indefinite pronoun denoting ‘something’ (Rhee, 2008c). The discourse marker *mwe* belongs to the ‘interpersonal’ type that expresses the speaker’s attitudes, evaluations, judgments, expectations, and demands, as well as

¹⁰ These monolinear representations disregard the historical progression in which the constructions in the earlier stages undergo morphosyntactic coalescence whereby phonological erosion occurs and makes the source constructions no longer analyzable. The later additions of the same forms (i.e. the verbum dicendi *ha-* ‘say’) are enabled by this opacity of the source constructions (see Fig. 1 above). This is in parallel with the development of the reportative *-tanta* from *-takohanta*, based on the complementizer *-tako* which originally contained *ha-* ‘say’ that eroded and again added *en route* to grammaticalization (Rhee, 2012b). If these historical developments had not occurred in stages, as an anonymous reviewer correctly points out, the developments might have violated the constraints by virtue of having two ‘say’-based forms, *hako* and *hanun*, collocated.

¹¹ Incidentally, the six occurrences of *-lam* in *sinsosel* are all instances of *-lam₁*, the variant form of *-tam*.

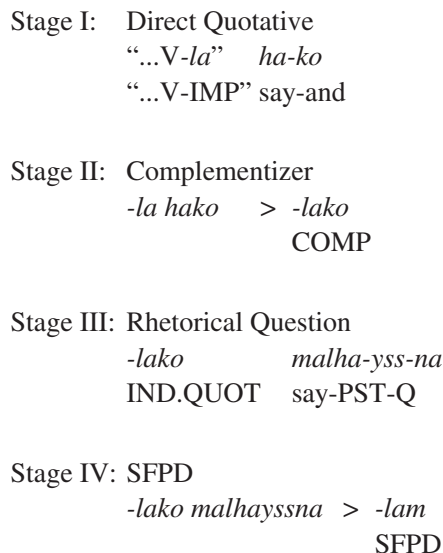


Fig. 2. Developmental stages of SFPD *-lam*₃.

the nature of the social exchange (Brinton, 1996, p. 29 and 38). In particular, it expresses the speaker's negative attitude toward the situation but with somewhat mitigating effects (Rhee, 2004, 2008c), as shown in the following examples:

- (12) a. *kuke-n pyello an coh-untey mwe*
 it-TOP particularly not be.good-SFP DM (=what)
 'It doesn't seem to be so good (to me).' (Lit. It is not particularly good, what?)
 (Rhee, 2004, p. 119)
- b. *na-n caconsim-to eps-na mwe*
 I-TOP self-esteem-also not.exist-SFP DM (=what)
 '(Do you think that) I don't have a sense of self-esteem? (Lit. Do I not even have self-esteem, what?)

The putative examples in (12) are expected to be used when the speaker wants to tone down the force of a negative assertion (as in (12a)), or when the speaker is not happy with the situation and has a grudge against the interlocutor (as in (12b)). Unlike (12a) which is intended to convey the speaker's opinion, thus of interactional meaning, (12b) is a typical monolog in the form of a question. This is a pseudo-question and is the direct origin of the SFPDs under discussion as it is a discourse marker encoding the speaker's negative attitude.

One peculiarity of the discourse marker *mwe*, which is critical in its participation in the development of SFPDs, is its being located at the sentence-final position ('right-periphery' van der Wouden and Foolen, 2011).¹² This is a unique situation considering that discourse markers tend to appear sentence-initially (Keller, 1979; Levinson, 1983; Stubbs, 1983; Schiffrin, 1987; Fraser, 1988; Brinton, 1996; among others; see, however, Crystal and Davy, 1975; Goldberg, 1980; James, 1983; Aijmer, 1986; Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen, 2002; Ariel and Du Bois, 2010; Lee, 2011; for discourse markers' occurrence at the sentence-medial and sentence-final positions). As *mwe* occurs sentence-finally it could be phonologically incorporated into the newly emerging SFPDs *-nam* and *-kam*. The development of *-nam* can be illustrated in Fig. 3, which exactly parallels that of *-kam*.

As is obvious in Fig. 3, a complete sentence consisting of an interrogative pronoun first develops into a discourse marker, a process labeled as 'pragmaticalization' (Erman and Kotsinas, 1993; Aijmer, 1997; Frank-Job, 2006; Brinton, 2008). The sentence-final discourse marker *mwe* is phonologically fused into *-nam*. This is an interesting development in view of the fact that discourse markers tend to acquire morpho-syntactic autonomy in their development. The development of *-nam* is reversing the direction by losing the autonomy of the discourse marker and becomes part of an unanalyzable whole. This kind of fusion is facilitated by the agglutinating nature of the Korean language.¹³

¹² Lee and Lee (2010, p. 177) also consider the formation of *-nam* as due to the reduction of *-na mwe*. It is worth noting that the use of DM 'what' in the right periphery is also attested in Singaporean English and elsewhere (see Section 4.2).

¹³ According to Kwan-Terry (1978, p. 25) and Smith (1985, pp. 107–108), the sentence-final particle *what* (*wut*) in Singaporean English, used to mark disapproval or objection (see Section 4.2 for discussion), carries a falling intonation and low pitch. This may be analogous to the fusional incorporation in a non-agglutinating language.

Stage I:	Juxtaposed Interrogative Sentences
	...V- <i>na</i> ? <i>mwe</i> ?
	...V-Q what
Stage II:	Pragmaticalization of <i>mwe</i>
	- <i>na</i> ? <i>mwe</i> ? > - <i>na</i> <i>mwe</i> .
	-Q DM
Stage III:	SFPD
	- <i>na</i> <i>mwe</i> > - <i>nam</i>
	SFPD

Fig. 3. Developmental stages of SFPD -*nam*.

3.4. Identifying grammaticalization sources: a methodological issue

Identifying the source structures of SFPDs presents a unique problem due to the idiosyncrasy of their developmental paths, i.e. they do not present intermediary stages (see Section 4.1). The putative sources presented in the preceding discussion are only based on the native speaker's intuitions.¹⁴ This is why there may not be consensus as to their hypothesized sources.¹⁵ In the absence of historical data, an alternative method may be resorting to the collective intuition from native speakers. In order to explore such possibilities, an intuition survey was conducted. The subjects were 111 undergraduate and graduate students of diverse majors and specializations in a university in Seoul.¹⁶ The subjects were mostly in their 20's (89 out of 111) and geographically from the central region, i.e. Seoul, Gyeonggi, and Gangwon provinces, accounting for 75.7%. The questionnaire was designed to investigate the naturalness of sentences involving SFPDs (for 'spread') and what they thought the SFPDs come from (for 'sources').

The first aspect explored is the degree of naturalness of the six key sentences each representing the SFPD category as shown in the following translations:

- (13) a. Declarative-based -*tam*:
(Hearing that his girlfriend changed her mind)
*ani, seysangey ilel swuka iss tam?!
'Oh, no, how on earth is this possible?!*
- b. Declarative-based -*lam*₁:
(Seeing a young fellow's bad manner)
*ani, cenomun etise paywemekun pelusi lam?!
'Oh, no, what kind of bad manner is that?!*
- c. Imperative-based -*lam*₂:
(Hearing a person who came for shopping together and is now complaining)
*ani, nwuka ttalao lam ?!
'Oh, come on, did I tell him to come with me?!'*
- d. imperative-based -*lam*₃:
(Hearing a professor who announced a lot of homework)
*ani, kyoswunimun totaychey ilehkey manhun swukceylul ettehkey ta halam?!
'Oh, no, how does the professor think we can do all that homework?!'*

¹⁴ This situation is not different with other researchers (e.g. Lee and Lee, 2010) whose intuition is shared by the present authors.

¹⁵ An anonymous reviewer raised this issue and indicated that the present analysis of incorporation of *mwe* in -*nam* and -*kam* is not convincing. And as a supplement of the intuition-based analysis, a quantitative approach is attempted. The reviewer suggests possible involvement of analogy from -*tam* and -*lam*. This is indeed a possibility, especially considering that the forms under focus are moving toward the creation of a paradigm ('paradigmaticization' Lehmann, 1995[1982]) and the most salient form often functions as a trail-blazer in paradigmaticization (Rhee, 2008a). It is also possible that multiple linguistic and conceptual motivations have converged *en route*.

¹⁶ We are thankful for the assistance of Jiyoung Lee for conducting survey in her classes and for Nayoung Ryu for running the SPSS program for statistical analysis. Initially 118 students participated in the survey, but seven students were excluded since they were non-native speakers of Korean and thus were deemed unsuitable for the intuition survey.

- e. interrogative-based *-kam*:
(Realizing suddenly the passage of time)
*ani, mwusun sikani way ilehkey ppalli kanunkam?!
'Oh, no, how fast is time passing?!'*
- f. interrogative-based *-nam*:
(Seeing that her child is not serious about studying)
*ani, paywese nam cwunam?!
'Oh, come on, will your studying benefit others?!'*

For each key sentence the subjects were asked to mark one of the following four levels of naturalness: (i) very unnatural, (ii) dialectal or of old generation, (iii) acceptable, and (iv) very natural. The subjects' responses are as shown in Table 2.

The responses in Table 2 show variable degrees of naturalness for SFPD types even though a large majority of the respondents (73.6%) considered all the key sentences at least as acceptable as having the flavor of a dialect or of old people speech.¹⁷ A noteworthy pattern arises when the responses are analyzed with the variable of age, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 shows an age effect, i.e. the older the respondents the more natural they find the SFPD sentences. This is indicative of that SFPDs are less favored by the younger generation.

The second issue investigated relates to the sources of SFPDs. In order to both prompt the respondents to evaluate probable sources on the one hand, and offer an opportunity to suggest new sources that have not been thought of by the investigators on the other, the questionnaire included 6–8 options, the last two for suggesting a new source not included and for stating their opinions (indicated as “Novel form” and “Free statement” respectively in Table 4). The other choices included the strings that are morphosyntactically acceptable and at the same time containing [m] either in phonological or phonemic realizations. One of the options for each key sentence was as suggested in the foregoing discussion (indicated as “Hypothesized” in the Table). All the given options except for the “Hypothesized” are added together and labeled as “Other options” in the Table. The detailed results are as shown in Table 4.

The response patterns exhibited in Table 4 consistently show that the “Hypothesized” forms are selected by the majority of the respondents. Among these hypothesized forms, the SFPD sentence involving *-nam* (represented by (13e)) is the lowest, even though among all the options in the given possible sources it was still selected by the largest number of subjects, accounting for 41.4%.

It is also worth noting that, except for two cases, none of the instances of suggesting “Novel forms”, accounting for 11.9% of the total response counts, involved strings containing [m].¹⁸ The “Free statement” cases, accounting for only 3% of the total response counts, were largely those that were stating that the key sentences were not natural (note that these respondents also thus indicated in the naturalness column).

Notwithstanding the limitations of this type of intuition-based investigation, the survey lends support to the general validity of the present analysis at least at the level of native-speakers' intuition (see further discussion on this issue from a crosslinguistic perspective in Section 4.2).

4. Discussion

4.1. Morpho-syntactic reduction and formal convergence

As was discussed in the preceding section, the common element of the newly emerging SFPDs is *-m* at the very end of a sentence. This additive *-m* is the result of convergence from three different sources:

- (14) (i) Type I: *-tam, -lam₁, -lam₂*
Contraction of *-{ta, la}ko hanun malinka?* “Is that supposed to mean...?”
- (ii) Type II: *-lam₃*
Contraction of *-lako malhayssna?* “Did I tell you to...?”
- (iii) Type III: *-nam, -kam*
Fusion of DM *mwe* ‘what’ into SFPs

From the morpho-syntactic and phonological perspectives, Types I and II suggest that the phonological reduction appears to be drastic rather than gradual. Only the segment [m] from *mal* ‘saying, word’ and *malha-* ‘say’ survives from *-ko hanun*

¹⁷ The variability of naturalness may have been affected by the specific key sentence rather than entirely due to SFPDs themselves. This potential cause, however, was not explored.

¹⁸ These exceptional cases were by two different subjects, one of whom (Subject #42) suggested for (13e) *-kantan maliya?* ‘Is it that (the time) goes...?’ (Lit. ‘It is saying that (the time) goes...?’), and the other (Subject #11), for (13f), *-cwuntanun malinka?* ‘Is it that (you) give (benefit to others)?’ (Lit. ‘Is it saying that (you) give (benefit to others)?’).

Table 2

Perceived naturalness for SFPDs by key sentence (%).

	(13a)	(13b)	(13c)	(13d)	(13e)	(13f)	Total
Very unnatural	20.7	14.4	48.6	45.9	19.8	9	26.4
Dialectal/Old	28.8	40.5	19.8	17.1	36	27.9	28.4
Acceptable	35.1	28.8	24.3	27.9	27.9	33.3	29.6
Very natural	15.3	16.2	7.2	9	16.2	29.7	15.6

Table 3

Perceived naturalness for SFPDs by age (%).

	Below 20	20–29	30+
Very unnatural	29.2	29.8	3.6
Dialectal/Old	45.8	30.1	7.1
Acceptable	14.6	30	35.7
Very natural	10.4	10.1	53.6

Table 4

Sources of SFPDs by key sentence (%).

	(13a)	(13b)	(13c)	(13d)	(13e)	(13f)	Total
Hypothesized	83.8	85.6	79.3	89.2	41.4	75.7	75.8
Other options	5.4	3.6	2.7	6.3	26.1	11.7	9.3
Novel form	10.8	9	13.5	2.7	24.3	10.8	11.9
Free statement	0	1.8	4.5	1.8	8.1	1.8	3

malinka and *-ko malhayssna*. Phonological non-salience of the mumbling monologic end-part of a sentence seems to have contributed to the drastic reduction of the part that trails off.¹⁹

As was noted in the preceding discussion, Type III is unique in that its development involves the fusion of a formerly free-standing discourse marker into the verbal morphology, which is an instance of grammaticalization rarely attested across languages (see, however, Kuteva (2012) for ‘re-integration’ of DMs *please*, *let’s say*, etc. in Modern English into sentence grammar).

The convergence of multiple sources as described here is reminiscent of the grammaticalization of the honorific nominative marker *-kkeyse* in Modern Korean. Two distinct sources of the marker, one, *-kyeyse*, derived from the verb of honorific existence and the other, *-skuysye*, based on a locative noun converged en route to grammaticalization of a subject marker (Yi, 1993[1988], pp. 55–60; Rhee, 1996, p. 153; Sohn, 2002). Even though these two source forms started out in totally different morphosyntactic environments with similar purposes, i.e., marking honorification of the host noun, when they became formally similar due to phonological change around the 17th century, they came to carry the same function and the sources became opaque. The same situation is observed in the case of SFPDs. Even though they developed from three different sources in a similar context of challenging the discourse participant, their sources became opaque once their phonological attrition resulted in the sameness in form, i.e., *-m*.

4.2. Attitudinal stance of discontent

The discontent meaning is directly relevant to the three sources of interrogative words in the context of challenge. In a language community where politeness is highly grammaticalized, discontent is not supposed to be explicitly displayed. This proposition may be valid across languages only to a differing extent since politeness is a pervasive aspect in human language and presumably all languages have means of encoding it (Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987). With reference to the development of the SFPDs encoding the speaker’s discontent, two special strategies are employed: the use of non-interactive SFPs and the use of non-interactive utterance types. The first is reflected in linguistic form, i.e., the use of what we label as ‘Audience-Blind Forms’ (ABFs); and the latter is a discourse strategy of, at least in appearance, not directing the utterance to the addressee by using what we label as ‘Feigned Monologs’. A more detailed discussion for each concept is in order.

Languages tend to have a distinction as to the reflection of the addressee in a sentence. A closely related concept is ‘allocutivity’, a term coined by Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (Bonaparte, 1862, pp. 19–21, as cited in Antonov, 2011), used to describe a

¹⁹ An anonymous reviewer suggests the possible involvement of insubordination in the developmental processes of Types 1 and 2. It is indeed true that the change involves the morphosyntactic elision of the former main clause as is commonly attested in the development of connectives into SFPs (Rhee, 2002; Rhee, 2012; Sohn, 2002). One crucial difference, however, is that unlike regular instances of insubordination, where the main clause is withheld in its entirety, the development under the present focus retains the vestigial element of the main clause, i.e. [m].

phenomenon in all Basque dialects whereby, under certain circumstances, an addressee, which is not an argument of the verb, is systematically encoded in all (declarative) main clause conjugated verb forms. According to Hualde and De Urbina (2003), “Allocutivity refers to the encoding in the conjugated verb form of an addressee that is not an argument of the verb. Allocutivity is obligatory in Basque main clauses when the addressee is given familiar treatment” (p. 242, as cited in Antonov, 2011). In this sense, the sentences that lack the reflection of the addressee, an exceptional phenomenon in a language where intersubjectivity is highly grammaticalized, are the ABFs.²⁰

The ABFs in Korean have the following characteristics:

(15) Characteristics of ABFs

- (i) A subtype of [+FORM, -HON] register SFP
- (ii) Not used in *vis-à-vis* interaction
- (iii) Used typically in text-book narratives (for older students) and newspaper articles; or in slogans or orders given by the kings or the military officers
- (iv) Some (i.e. *-na*-forms and *-ka*-forms) are used in subordinate clauses typically with verbs of locution and cogitation.
- (v) Unlike Audience-Sensitive SFPs, which vary depending on the formality scale, honorification scale, and sentence types, ABFs vary depending on sentence types only.
- (vi) Hortative sentences do not have the ABF variation.

The differences between ABFs and Audience-Sensitive Forms can be illustrated as in (16) through (18) with the verb *o-*‘come’. All examples in (16) mean ‘(I/you/he...) come (s).’; those in (17) mean ‘(Does/Do) (I/you/he...) come?’, and those in (18) mean ‘Come!’ spoken to the addressee at various levels.

(16)	a.	Audience-Sensitive Declarative <i>o-a</i> [-FORM, -HON] <i>o-ayo</i> [-FORM, +HON] <i>o-pnita</i> [+FORM, +HON]	b.	Audience-Blind Declarative <i>o-n-ta</i> [+FORM, -HON]
(17)	a.	Audience-Sensitive Interrogative <i>o-a?</i> [-FORM, -HON] <i>o-ayo?</i> [-FORM, +HON] <i>o-pnikka?</i> [+FORM, +HON]	b.	Audience-Blind Interrogative <i>o-na?</i> , <i>o-nun-ka?</i> [+FORM, -HON]
(18)	a.	Audience-Sensitive Imperative <i>o-a</i> [-FORM, -HON] <i>o-ala</i> [+FORM, -HON] <i>o-ayo</i> [-FORM, +HON] <i>o-sipsio</i> [+FORM, +HON]	b.	Audience-Blind Imperative <i>o-la</i> [+FORM, -HON]

It is noteworthy that ABFs do not develop in the category of the hortative sentence-type. This is because hortatives are highly interactional in nature, and therefore are not compatible with the notion of ‘audience-blindness’. Interrogatives by definition are also highly interactional and thus seemingly incompatible with ‘audience-blindness’. It is for this very reason that the true interrogative *-nya* cannot participate in the development of SFPDs, as **-nyam*. The SFPDs developed from the interrogatives are *-nam* and *-kam*, from ABFs *-na* and *-ka*, respectively, which are not true interrogatives but pseudo-interrogatives. These are used most often in subordinate clauses where the matrix clause verb is the verb of locution or cogitation (see (15.iv) above), producing such meanings as ‘(I) ask if P’, ‘(I) wonder if P’, etc. They are also used where the matrix clause is elided altogether, a pattern commonly attested in Korean and often susceptible to grammaticalization, whereby connectives develop into SFPs (Rhee, 2002, 2012a; also see Otori, 1995; Evans, 2007; Heine et al., 2011; Kaltenböck et al., 2011).

The second relevant concept is ‘Feigned Monolog’. It is ‘feigned’ in the sense that the speaker intends to have his or her utterance heard by the discourse participant, which is supported by the fact that the utterance is often uttered with sufficient audibility for the discourse participant. However, it is uttered like a monolog, which is supported by the fact that these SFPDs lack the markers of honorification, politeness, etc., a flagrant violation of discourse pragmatics in Korean. Feigned monologs have the following characteristics:

²⁰ The lack of TAM marking in Korean sentences is so exceptional that a similar phenomenon termed as *celtaymwun* ‘absolute sentence’ is an issue of controversy (see, for example, Kwak, 1996; Ko, 2006; Im and Hong Pin, 1983; Im, 2007; Im, 2008), which mainly centers around whether establishing such a category is warranted. Whereas the notion of absolute sentence is largely in connection with, but not restricted to, the tense marking, the notion of ABF we are proposing here is more closely related to marking the speaker’s interactional stance by opting for a particular style of speaking.

- (19) Characteristics of a Feigned Monolog
- (i) The speaker says something as if it were a monolog.
 - (ii) It may take the form of a question, as if it were a self-addressed question.
 - (iii) Because of the monologic nature of the utterance, it does not necessarily obligate the hearer to respond.
 - (iv) A socially-inferior hearer may feel obliged to be responsive to please the socially-superior speaker who utters it.
 - (v) From the viewpoint of discursive strategies, the speaker shows either aloofness that the person present in the scene is not his/her social equal (e.g. kings, officers, noblemen, etc.), or gentleness by not imposing any direct burden of response to the intended addressee, and the implicit addressee now shows courtesy by being responsive to "what the other simply had in mind".

In summary, the development of SFPDs crucially depended on audience-blindness and feigned monolog sentence types.

With regard to the rare development of sentence-final DM *mwe* 'what' fused into the Type III SFPDs *-nam* and *-kam*, it is worth noting that analogous phenomena are attested in other languages.²¹ Smith (1985, p. 110, as cited in Kuteva, 2012, p. 57) presents the sentence-final emotive particle *what* in Singapore English that is realized with intonation drop plus low pitch, functioning to indicate that the speaker objects to something in the context, as shown in the following example:

- (20) [Context: Discussion of a student who is going overseas for one month and missing classes.]
 A: *He'll never pass the third year.*
 B: *It's only for one month **what**.*

Smith (1985, p. 117, as cited in Kuteva, 2012, p. 57) traces the use of Singapore English *what* to the now outdated British English use of final *what* as a marker of shared information and solidarity which seems to have become popular towards the end of the 19th century:

- (21) English (1891 J. Strange Lumley XV, quoted in Smith 1985, as cited in Kuteva 2012, p. 57):
*But she's so beastly chic, dontcherknow – eh, **what!***

Smith (1985, p. 119, as cited in Kuteva, 2012, p. 57) points out that final *what* may be used with a high rising intonation in Modern British English. In such cases, *what* is used "as a kind of contemptuous reminder of shared information, which might be glossed 'You are a bloody fool if you don't know that'". Based on this, Kuteva (2012, p. 57) suggests that the final particle *what* both in Singapore English and British Modern English may be the result of the phonological erosion of an interrogative/exclamatory construction like *What could you say against that?!/What were you thinking?!*, whereby there has been a semantic change from "shared information and solidarity" to "a kind of contemptuous reminder of shared information" to the much more general meaning of "speaker's objection to something in the context".

According to Kuteva (p.c.), in addition to the objection-marking function as illustrated above, the sentence-final emotive particle *what* in Singapore English carry other diverse functions, such as marking obviousness, anger or irritation, self-righteous indignation, reminder of shared information and obvious explanation, and also for prophylactic uses including persuading someone (see also Kwan-Terry (1978, 1992), Smith (1985), Platt (1987), Platt and Ho (1989), Gupta (1992, 1999), Wong (1994, 2004), Goddard (1998), and Wee (1998), for discussion of the related issues).²² The following example shows *what* marking indignation.

- (22) [Background: A has been berated by C for spitting on the floor. Context: A is relating the incident to B.]
 A: *He also spits **what!*** (Smith, 1985, p. 112)

South African Indian English has a similar use of *what* as illustrated in the following examples (Kuteva, p.c.):

- (23) a. *Didn't hear me **what?***
 b. *I donno she died or **what**.*

Wong (2004, pp. 777–778), in a discussion of *wut* (= *what*), notes that it can be used not only in response to what has previously been said, but also in relation to the assumption, inference, or implication, i.e. *wut* is frequently used "in response to what the speaker thinks the addressee is thinking (rather than saying)". The general nature of oppositional attitude is strongly reminiscent of the 'discontent' use of DM *mwe* 'what' in Korean in that the SFPDs formed with the fused *mwe* are often used with respect to the speaker's discontent toward the discourse situation.

²¹ This has been brought to our attention by Kuteva (p.c. and 2012). We are grateful for directing our attention to the relevant literature.

²² It is particularly noteworthy with respect to the 'opposition' marking function that Goddard (1998, p. 371) proposes the meaning of *wut* (= *what*) as: (i) something happened now, (ii) because of this, I think that someone thinks something is true, and (iii) I say this because I want you to know it is not true.

Table 5
Distribution of SFPDs in Modern Korean.

	Type I “Is that supposed to mean...?”	Type II “Did I tell you to...? No, I didn’t”.	Type III “What?”
Declarative	- <i>tam</i> , - <i>lam</i> ₁		
Imperative	- <i>lam</i> ₂	- <i>lam</i> ₃	
Interrogative			- <i>nam</i> , - <i>kam</i>
Hortative			

4.3. The emerging paradigm

The emergence of SFPDs can be traced to the beginning of the 20th century. However, the paradigm of SFPDs is still defective in that not all sentence-type indicators have the SFPD counterparts. The current state of affairs can be summarized as in Table 5.

As was noted in Section 4.2 with respect to ABFs, hortatives are highly interactional and thus do not have the ABF counterparts. The absence of *-ca*-based ABFs seems to have to do with the absence of *-ca*-based SFPDs.²³

Furthermore, also noted above, SFPDs exclude true interrogatives, i.e. **-nyam* and **-kkam*, in Modern Korean, and only allow pseudo-interrogatives, i.e. *-nam* and *-kam*, because these are the forms that can be used in rhetorical and self-addressed questions, and that are frequently used in embedded clauses (see Section 4.2).

Imperative is, by definition, interactional. But the sentence accompanying an imperative-based SFPD is a hypothetical imperative embedded in a rhetorical question, thus excluding true ‘imperative’ interaction. This is exemplified in the following examples, which show that their overall sentence types are not imperative but interrogative:

- (24) Type I Imperative (-*lam*₂)
 A: (I will buy you a diamond ring.)
 B: *ku mal-ul ettehkey mitu-lam*
 that word-ACC how believe-SFPD
 ‘How can I believe that? (Am I supposed to believe what you say?)’
 (Lit. ‘You are telling me to believe the word, but how?’)

- (25) Type II Imperative (-*lam*₃)
 A: (I lost my wallet at the movie theater!)
 B: *nwuka keki ka-lam?*
 who there go-SFPD
 ‘Who told you to go there? (‘Did I tell you to go there? No, I didn’t! It’s all your fault!’)
 (Lit. ‘Who told you to go there?’)

The fact that the imperative-based SFPDs develop from embedded imperatives rather than from imperative sentences supports the argument that SFPDs develop from non-interactive forms which mark audience-blindness and monologicity. All this suggests that SFPDs, which should be highly intersubjective due to the defining characteristic of the SFP category, take the form of highly subjective and non-interactional clause types, and feign non-intersubjectivity.

4.4. Beyond SFPDs

4.4.1. Dialectal fixation

As was illustrated in the preceding discussion, SFPDs are feigned monologic interrogatives marking discontent of the speaker. However, the SFPs *-kam* and *-nam*, identical to the SFPDs under discussion, are frequently found in the Chungcheong dialect as regular sentence-final particles not necessarily marking the speaker’s discontent. The following examples are taken from modern literature, where the speakers are from the Chungcheong region.

- (26) a. *me-l kulehkey neks-ul ilh-kwuiss-nun-keye?*^a
 what-ACC like.that mind-ACC lose-PROG-PRES-SFP
mam-ey tu-nun-kam?
 heart-at enter-PRES-kam?
 ‘What are you looking at so intently? Do you like it?’

(Wu Ae-Ryung, Tangcin Kim, 2001)

^a The SFP *-keye* is also a distinctively Chungcheong dialectal form which corresponds to *-keya* in the ‘standard’ Seoul dialect. It originated from the construction consisting of nominalizer *ke* (<*kes*), copula *i-*, and the universal SFP *-e/a*.

²³ However, since the hortative *-ca*-ending does not have the restriction in appearing in subordinate clauses the absence of **-cam* is not entirely due to its relation to ABFs. For instance, a subordinated hortative sentence can theoretically produce **-cam* as in **keki ka-cam?* [there go-CAM?] with an intended meaning: ‘Do you mean that we should go there together?’ Its restriction seems to be more attributable to avoidance of direct interactivity.

- b. *kulay ku cip-eyse-nun elma-lul nay-la-tun-kam?*
 so that house-LOC-TOP how.much-ACC pay-IMP-RETROS-SFP
 'So, how much did that family ask you to pay?'
 (Wu Ae-Ryung, Cacenke, 2001)
- c. *way kusay moksoli-to ic-ess-nam?*
 why already voice-even forget-PST-nam?
 'What?! Have (you) forgotten my voice already?'
 (Lee Hye-Kyung, Melecun Cip, 2002)

Example (26a) is said by a leader of a township in the Chungcheong region to Mr. Ko, his close companion at a coffee shop, who intently looks at the legs of a young beautiful attendant, asking if he likes her. This utterance is directed to his companion and is intended to be heard and responded to.²⁴ The context does not support any 'discontent' interpretation. Rather, the speaker is showing gentleness and caring concern for his companion as a sign of support to help him in developing a romantic relationship if he so desires. Likewise, (26b) is spoken by the township leader in a context where he is trying to mediate the compensation issue involved in an accident. His words are very thoughtful in order to comfort the distressed addressee disconcerted by the demand for compensation beyond his means. Therefore, the SFP *-kam* here does not carry any sign of discontent and is not monologic either. Example (26c), on the other hand, has some similarity with SFPDs and regular SFPs. It is said by a widowed mother, possibly from Daejeon, a city in the Chungcheong region, to her second daughter over the phone. The context is that the speaker is not happy with the extent of what her children have done for her. Therefore, it may carry a nuance of discontent or minor reproach. However, the utterance is not monologic but is directed to the addressee.

The fact that the forms that are used as SFPDs elsewhere are used as regular SFPs in Chungcheong provinces is peculiar. It is noteworthy in this context that the Chungcheong provinces are well-known for genteel nobility. The level of indirectness, the slow speed of speech and circumlocution often employed in their speech is often praised as a sign of nobility but is sometimes subject to ridicule. The people in this speech community often show gentleness by using grammatical devices encoding indirectness in their speech.²⁵ Furthermore, noblemen tended to avoid direct verbal exchange with their servants, as is well illustrated in the following example from a 1912 *sinsosel*:

- (27) *i phokwu-ey pAy-ka meych-i-lam*
 this port-at boat-NOM how.many-COP-SFP
 'How many boats are there in this port?'
 (Park Iyang, *Myengwelceng* 90, 1912)

Example (27) is said by a nobleman aboard a boat. It is directed to the rowing oarsman, as is clearly indicated by the leading statement preceding the utterance. The reason that the nobleman is using in a dialog the SFP typically used for monolog is that he is, in appearance, not directly engaging the addressee into a conversation, but is feigning the monolog, spoken sufficiently audibly to the 'intended' addressee. By doing so, the speaker is rejecting the vis-à-vis companionship in the interaction, which may be below his self-perceived prestige. On the part of the hearer/listener, responding to the feigned monolog is an act of kindness because he is, in form, not obligated to do so.

In sum, the use of SFPs isomorphic with SFPDs is motivated by the strategic recruitment of indirectness. The use of such strategy can be widespread in a speech community and can constitute a dialectal feature. As Tania Kuteva (p.c.) suggests, the formal identity is the result of semantic generalization of SFPDs, whereby the negative meaning is neutralized.²⁶

4.4.2. Analogical spread

As was shown above, SFPDs always end in *-m*, which is affixed to the sentence-type indicators *-ta*, *-la*, *-ka*, and *-na* only. However, in contemporary texts there is a sign of *-m*-ending being generalized to other (possibly all) endings in certain registers, i.e. the language on the Internet (i.e. CMC: computer-mediated communication). This is well illustrated in the following examples, all retrieved from Google searches:

- (28) a. *tappyenha-ycwu-seyyo-m* (<*-seyyo*, Declarative)
 reply-BEN-HON.SFP-*m*
 'Please reply (to my inquiry)'

²⁴ Lee (2003, p. 219) also notes the interactional nature of *-nam*, *-kam*, and *-tam* and characterizes them as SFPs soliciting confirmation of the addressee in Chungcheong dialect.

²⁵ Lee (2003, pp. 217–219) lists sentential endings characteristic of Chungcheong dialect (including *-nam*, *-kam*, and *-tam*), many of which are ABF forms and often occur with 'I don't know', 'it seems', 'it's been said', etc., which are common politeness formulae for their attenuation effect.

²⁶ Tania Kuteva further notes that this type of semantic generalization is a cross-linguistically well-attested cognitive strategy whereby emotionally negative linguistic expressions develop over time into positively-laden linguistic expressions (e.g. intensifiers in many languages, such as English *terrific*, and German *sau-*) and then ultimately into emotionally neutral expressions. This line of argument, as she points out, is consonant with the generalization of *-m*-ending into other endings in CMC (see below) and into mirativity marking (see Section 4.4.3).

- b. *cohaha-nun oppa-ka sayngki-ess-eyo-m* (<-eyo, Declarative)
like-SIM.ADN big.brother-NOM come.into.existence-PST-SFP-*m*
'Now I've got a new boy-friend'.
- c. *kyoswunim kwacey cilmwun iss-supnita-m* (<-supnita, Declarative)
professor assignment question exist-SFP-*m*
'Professor, I have a question about the assignment.'
- d. *henpyeng-hanthey an kelli-key cosimhay-la-m* (<-la, True Imperative)
military.police-by not be.found-PURP be.careful-SFP-*m*
'Be careful not to be caught by the military police'.
- e. *teyithu culkep-supnikka-m* (<-supnikka, True Interrogative)
date be.enjoyable-SFP-*m*
'Are you having a good time dating (him/her)?'
- f. *nayil ettekha-nya-m* (<-nya, True Interrogative)
tomorrow how.do-Q-*m*
'What should I do tomorrow?'
- g. *ya! ne na-lang taykyelha-ca-m* (< -ca, Hortative)
hey you I-with compete-HORT-*m*
'Hey, you! Fight me! (Lit. Let's (make) you compete with me.)'

Native speaker intuition is such that *-m* in SFPDs is qualitatively different from *-m* found in those sentence-ending forms shown above.²⁷ The intuitive gap is that the former clearly shows discontent whereas the latter does not. Rather, *-m* in the latter tends to add some positive nuance such as 'cute' or 'polite' flavor to the sentences concerned.

However, there is something that is suggestive of a certain relation between them. A noteworthy aspect of this usage is that it appears to be restricted to discourse situations without *vis-à-vis* interaction, like the Internet chatting, blogging, or e-bulletin posting, where the addressees are assumed to be present in the cyber space but remain invisible. Similarly this type of *-m*-ending is found in text messaging.

If this state of affairs is the key factor, the spread via the Internet or other means of CMC, much in common with the case of dialectal fixation discussed above, is based on the structural analogy of [SFP-*m*] and the functional analogy of [*-m* = indirect]. In other words, the language user employing *-m* is effectively saying 'I don't want to sound assertive'.

4.4.3. Mirativity

The function of SFPDs extends further in modern Korean, i.e., into that of marking mirativity, or the speaker's surprise. One of the features involved in the emergence of the discontent meaning is non-compliance of a situation with what is normally expected. It seems that the discontent meaning is generalized to counter-expectation, the essential element of mirativity. In present-day Korean, *-tam* and *-lam*, isomorphic with SFPDs, serve as a mirativity marker in declarative sentences, which function as interjections or exclamations. They are typically accompanied by interrogative words. The sentences marked with these mirative SFPs do not have negative meanings, as shown in the following examples:

- (29) a. *sinay-s mwul-i eccem ilehkey malk-tam*
stream-GEN water-NOM how like.this be.clean-EXCL
'How clean the stream water is!'
- b. *phipwu-ka eccem ilehkey kop-tam*
skin-NOM how like.this be.soft-EXCL
'How soft (your) skin is!'
- c. *i elmana khu-n unhyey-ø-lam*
this how be.big-ADN grace-COP-EXCL
'What a wonderful grace this is!'

²⁷ It is noteworthy that only one subject in the survey (Subject #7) indicated, with respect to *-kam* in (13e), its resemblance to CMC usage. Statistically, this accounts for one out of 666 potential mentions.

4.4.4. Remaining issue

We have discussed the emergence of SFPDs and their functional spread into the domains of counter-expectation and indirectness. However, there are some issues waiting to be resolved from various perspectives.

The first issue is the identity of *-m* from the morphosyntactic point of view. As was presented in the preceding discussion in detail, historically it is the result of convergence of diverse periphrases that involve [m]. Furthermore, in contemporary Korean the analogical spread seems to recruit *-m* without clear functional motivation other than its association with indirectness. The synchronic status of *-m* thus cannot be easily determined. For this reason, (Gil, 1991, Han, 2003, p. 470), in his cursory treatment of *-m*, regards it as a mysterious form defying its analysis in terms of its function and meaning. Its best characterization at the moment seems to be a sentence-final element that results from diverse historical processes from multiple sources, which later extended to conceptually related domains.

The second issue is a phonological one: why was *-m* selected to serve the function of marking the speaker's discontent. It is curious especially because there are many other candidates. For instance, there are many other phones in the source constructions, *-nun malinka*, *-ko malhayssna*, and *mwe*, other than [m]. In phonological reduction, survival of consonants seems to be more likely than that of vowels due to the relative phonological salience of the consonants. It is also widely established that vowels are more susceptible to change, including loss, in phonological change. It is possible then that the preference of [m] over other consonants has to do with its relative phonological salience for its resonance and nasality (cf. the survival of [m] in conditional marking from *kulehamyen* 'if so' > *kulemyen* > *kulem* > *kum*; Koo, 1999; Koo and Rhee, 2008).

Incidentally, in this context the general manipulation pattern of syllable-closure is noteworthy. It is interesting to note that in the military, order-giving commands in Korean tend to add an alveolar stop [t] (transliterated as 's') at the end of the command if the final syllable is open, e.g. *Chalyes!* instead of *Chalye!* for "Attention!", *Aphulo kas!* instead of *Aphulo ka!* for "Forward, March!", *Ceycali ses!* instead of *Ceycali se!* for "Halt!", *Yelcwung swies!* instead of *Yelcwung swie!* for "Parade rest!", *Kyenglyeys!* instead of *Kyenglyey!* for "Salute!", etc. The alveolar stop seems to be favored to make the end of the command distinct so that the commanded action is well synchronized. On the other hand, [m] seems to create lingering resonance and make the utterance sound less obtrusive. The effect is analogous to the trailing off of the end part of monologic utterances. Therefore, it is not accidental that sentence-final *-m* often accompanies the speaker's trailing prosody often indicated by '...' or '~ ~' in written form.

Furthermore, the use of nasality is typically associated with feminine speech in Korean especially when a girl tries to win a favor from a male or a social superior (using a *khossoli* 'nose sound').²⁸ Similarly, in CMC, it is observed that [ŋ] and [m], both nasals, are used very productively often ending all messages with them, especially when they are addressing social superiors. Likewise, Koo (2002), Park (2003), Jeong (2003), Kim (2004), and Um (2006) list many types of SFP variations in CMC, addition of *-m* and *-ng* being the most widely used types. Um (2006), Lee (2001, 2004), in particular, associate some of these endings with a politeness strategy, and Park (2002, p. 12) and Um (2006, p. 30) associate the strategy with the user's intention to create the impression of being 'soft' and 'cute'.

Still another possibility is its connection with nominalizers, even though the source structures presented here clearly do not involve nominalizers as their source components. Among numerous nominalizers *-m* surfaces as one of the most productive nominalizers, and one of its recently developed functions is the so-called 'bullet-point sentential ending' (Rhee, 2011; 'stand-alone' nominalization: Watters, 2008; Kim and Horie, 2006; Wrona, 2011). The bullet-point sentential endings are those that nominalize the verb and at the same time turn the expressions into sentences. Since the *-m*-nominalizer is only affixed to a verb, the *-m*-affixation to SFPs, as discussed here with SFPDs, cannot be directly related. However, as is evidenced in CMC, where ending an utterance with a nominal or nominalized form is frequent (Lee, 2001, p. 139), it is possible that this strategic affixation of *-m* may have spread to non-verbal forms, i.e. SFPs under discussion. This possibility, however, should await future research.

5. Summary and conclusion

This paper showed that some SFPs in embedded clauses come to form unitized syntagmatic strings with the main clause elements that follow them and that these strings develop into SFPs marking emotional stance of discontent (SFPDs), signaling 'negative emotional stance' (Rhee, 2011). These SFPDs are grammaticalized in 'Audience-Blind Forms' with a rhetorical strategy of 'Feigned Monolog'.

The development of SFPDs as a sub-paradigm of SFPs further extends to other parts of grammar, through the functional generalization of 'discontent' into 'counter-expectation', thus engendering the mirative markers. Mirative marking commonly occurs in exclamatory sentences.

²⁸ Associating a particular gender with, and evaluation of, nasality seems to differ from culture to culture. Key, 1975, p. 109, as cited in Biemans, 2000 stereotypes nasality as a masculine trait in English as it is associated with toughness. Addington (1968) and Pittam (1987), also as cited in Biemans (2000), report that nasality invokes negative associations both for male and female speakers. Dahlberg (2004), in discussing learning difficulties of the Siouan language, says that female expressions sound gentler, because they often contain nasal sounds. Chan (1998), citing Farris (1995), also attributes nasality to female speech in Taiwan, as instantiated by the preference of the nasal SFP *-ma* by women. This practice is avoided by men as it is deemed unmanly and thus scornful (Shen, 1995). Pittam (2010) reports the negative correlation between perceived nasality and persuasiveness in a study of a group of Australian speakers. The fact that Japanese women prefer SFPs *wa*, *na-no*, *yo-ne*, and *no-ne*, which are predominantly nasal as compared to the men's *ze*, *yo*, *da yo*, *da*, and *dane*, and that the feminine *burikko* style employed by women who feign naïveté has a nasal voice (Brass, 2005–2006; citing Nakamura, 2004, p. 148), seems to have bearing on this issue (see also Inoue, 2002).

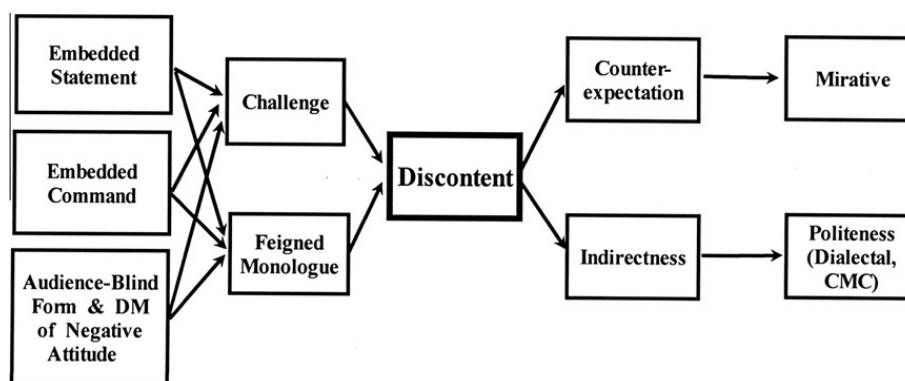


Fig. 4. Developmental paths and extensions of SFPD.

Furthermore, the use of the forms identical with SFPDs constitutes a regional characteristic through generalization into markers of indirectness and politeness in non-directly interactional situations, motivated by structural and functional analogy.²⁹ This extension is quite stable in that it constitutes a dialectal feature in a large language community. In addition, even though it has not yet been fully established, it is quite possible that the indirectness and politeness are the motivating factors in the widespread use of *-m* in CMC where postings are in a sense ‘announced’, not ‘said’, without visibility of the audience. When the communication occurs online where the writer is not *vis-a-vis* with the audience, recruiting *-m* to show politeness through indirectness is an excellent discourse strategy. All these developmental paths and extensions can be shown as in Fig. 4.

Since linguistic forms and functions do not disappear when their competing forms and functions come into the linguistic scene, the synchronic state of affairs in modern Korean is the coexistence of *-m* as a sentence-final element in diverse functions, such as marking discontent, mirativity, and politeness in a regional variety and the special genre of CMC. This may be indicative of a trend that the incomplete sub-paradigm of SFPDs is in the process of becoming more regular, albeit not specifically with the ‘discontent’ feature but with a more generalized or extended features of mirativity and politeness. This seems to be the case, considering that the forms under the present focus are becoming less popular (or even less acceptable) among the younger generation for the ‘discontent’ function, but are gaining ground in CMC. If this is truly the case, the development of the SFPD sub-paradigm in Korean shows that linguistic paradigms can consist of multiple layers with diverse functions, each layer not necessarily reaching the complete stages.

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²⁹ An anonymous reviewer raises a concern with respect to SFPDs developing into a dialectic politeness-marking strategy in view of, among others, the strong association of the SFPD form with negative/discontent function is incongruous with the politeness, and the possibility of the development of the polite form before the SFPD uses. It is indeed true that, even though such characteristic is strongly associated with the Chungcheong dialect (see Section 4.4.1), it cannot be determined when such dialectal characteristics began to be formed in the Chungcheong region. There is no evidence, however, that the dialectal development predates the SFPD uses. A resolution of this issue must await future research in historical dialectology.

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