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REVIEWS

Grammaticalization in Korean: The Evolution of the Existential Verb, by Minju Kim. Saffron Korean Linguistics Series, Vol. 1 Number 5, London: Saffron Books. 2011. Pp. 270. £21.90 (paperback)

Reviewed by Seongha Rhee (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

The verb of existence is among the most frequently recruited lexical sources of grammaticalization, partly because it is experientially and conceptually salient, and partly because it is semantically general enough to ensure that it will have a sufficient frequency of use (cf. Heine et al. 1993 and Heine & Kuteva 2002). The verb of existence in Korean *iss-* (and its historical variant *is(i)-*) has been the subject of a large body of research in Korean linguistics from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. *Grammaticalization in Korean* is written from a more dynamic pan-chronic perspective, i.e., that of the grammaticalization theory. The first extensive treatment of the existence verb, it presents an in-depth analysis of diverse grammatical forms involving *iss-* as their source lexeme in three functional domains, i.e., postpositions, clausal connectives, and aspectuals.

This book consists of ten chapters, two appendices including the list of diachronic Korean data sources, a bibliography, and an index. The content chapters discuss ‘Grammaticalization theory and explanation of the source forms’, ‘Grammaticalization of *is(i)* in particles’, ‘Grammaticalization of the connective *-ese*’, ‘Grammaticalization of the connective *-kose*’, ‘Intersection of the perfective and imperfective domains’, ‘Grammaticalization of the “take” verb and the functional overlaps among *-e*, *-ese*, and *-e kaciko*’, and ‘Grammaticalization from quotation to the quotative and similarities among *-e*, *-ko*, and *-mye*’.

Chapter 3 of the book, the first of the seven content chapters with analysis, addresses the role of analogy in the development of particles that evolved from *iss-*, e.g., *-se*, *-eyse*, *-eykeyse*, etc. Since analogy has often been relegated to the peripheral role of spreading as contrasted to the central role of innovation (see, however, Lehmann 2004, Fischer 2011, Rhee 2012, for analyses emphasizing the role of analogy), the argument in this chapter calls for a reconsideration of the extent of the role of frequency in grammaticalization.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the grammaticalization of the connective *-ese*, which evolved from a serial verb construction. Based on a frequency analysis, the author shows that the iconicity principle is operative in the functional division between the historically older and phonologically shorter *-e* and the innovative and longer *-ese* in terms of the degree of emphasis. It is also robustly presented

from corpus data that certain meanings previously associated with *-ese* have either functionally atrophied or have been completely lost *en route* to its grammaticalization.

Chapter 5 analyzes the grammaticalization of the connective *-myense*, the marker of simultaneity and concessivity. As was shown with *-se* in Chapter 3, the author argues that analogy played a significant role in its grammaticalization. In particular, a detailed description is presented about the coexistence stage of multiple forms of differing degrees of change ('divergence' and 'layering'): *-mye*, *-myesyey*, *-myensyey*, and *-myense*, taken from historical data sources.

In Chapter 6, which addresses the development of connective *-kose* by comparing it with its functionally related forms *-ko* and *-konase*, the same pro-analogy argument is presented. The argument is put forward in light of the fact that the development of *-kose* occurred despite its very low frequency of use, which means that its development is analogously attracted by its formally and functionally similar form *-ese*.

Chapter 7 is an analysis of the aspectual markers *-ess*, *-e iss*, and *-ko iss*. Presenting evidence for the shared source of *-e* for the resultative and progressive, the author challenges the traditional — and widely attested — bifurcation of TAM markers into the perfective and imperfective paths as proposed in Bybee et al. (1994). It is persuasively shown that the two paths are intertwined in the grammaticalization history of Korean TAM markers.

Chapter 8 presents one particular aspect of the grammaticalization of the verb of existence, in which functional overlap is observed with the grammaticalization of the verb of having, i.e., the clause combining functions that are attested among *-e*, *-ese*, and *-e kaciko*. It is argued that the connective function of the oldest *-e* was gradually taken over by the newly grammaticalized form *-ese* (from the verb of existence), whose function, in turn, came to be encroached upon by the still more recent form *-e kaciko* (from the verb of having).

Chapter 9, the final content chapter, discusses the development of quotatives, comparing the *iss*-derived *myense* with other functionally related forms, *-e*, *-ko*, *-hAko*, and *-mye*. The author argues that the change of focus occurred from the speech act of 'who said what' to the evidential stance of the proposition being reported as secondhand information as associated with the quoted utterance in the course of its development.

Grammaticalization in Korean is a welcome addition to the scholarship on grammaticalization, and its publication has significance in a number of aspects.

First of all, for researchers of grammaticalization, and for Korean linguists in particular, publication of this book conveys particular significance in that it is the first monograph exclusively addressing grammaticalization of Korean that is accessible to an international readership. There have been several excellent reference

grammar books published in English that comprehensively describe a wide range of grammatical aspects (Martin 1992, Sohn 1999, Song 2005, Kim-Renaud 2009, Yeon & Brown 2011, among others); a number of Ph.D. dissertations addressing grammaticalization in Korean (Shin 1988, Lee 1991, Rhee 1996, Oh 1998, among others); and a number of grammaticalization monographs written in Korean (Lee 1993, Chung 1996, Ko 1997, Rhee 1998, Ahn 1999, among others). However, up to now, monographs exclusively addressing grammaticalization in Korean that were written for international readers were not available, and *Grammaticalization in Korean* fills this lacuna.

Second, this book stands out for the extensiveness of its treatment. There have been research articles and book chapters describing the grammaticalization of the verb of existence, many of which are excellent in quality, but in most cases they strictly limit their analysis to the grammaticalized forms of the source lexeme. This book, however, extensively discusses grammaticalization of the verb of existence, comparing the forms with many other functionally or etymologically related forms. By comparing their functions, it illustrates thoroughly how grammaticalizing (and grammaticalized) forms come into functional competition with other forms, whereby certain forms gain supremacy ('specialization', Hopper 1991) while others become relegated to secondary functions or completely die out.

Third, this monograph also stands out for its approach and methodology. The analysis presented here is carried out with special emphasis on the use context of the grammaticalizing forms ('local context', Hopper & Traugott 2003), making extensive use of concordances from historical corpora. The claim that what grammaticalizes is not a single lexical item but a construction involving it (Bybee et al. 1994) is abundantly supported by this approach. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the author presents new data from the personal letters (which better reflect spoken forms of language than other pre-existing, formal data sources) exhumed from the graves of two clans, and shows that the use of certain grammatical forms in colloquially-oriented personal letters actually predates the time commonly accepted as the period of their first attestation.

In sum, *Grammaticalization in Korean* is a well-written reference not only for grammaticalization scholars but also for all those whose theoretical persuasions lie in cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, or any other functional or typological orientation.

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