

# Subjectification and Intersubjectification in Grammaticalization in Korean

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## 1. Introduction (3 mins)

- One of the most intriguing aspects of language change is that grammatical forms constantly arise as its result, a phenomenon addressed by grammaticalization research.
- Grammaticalization is often characterizable as a process involving subjectification and intersubjectification (Traugott 2003).
- Korean is an agglutinating language, exhibiting a large number of verbal and nominal morphologies that often occur in stacked forms.
- Even though (inter)subjectification is widely attested as concomitants of grammaticalization in various domains of grammar, this presentation focuses on the development of grammatical markers that constitute paradigm examples of (inter)subjectification in three domains: (i) connectives, (ii) sentence-final particles, and (iii) discourse markers.
- It describes their grammaticalization processes, analyzes the cognitive mechanisms behind them, and discusses their implications in the study of grammar.

## 2. Preliminaries (20 mins)

### 2.1 The Grammaticalization Theory: An Overview

#### 2.1.1 Definition

(1) Kuryłowicz (1975[1965]: 52)

“Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one.”

(2) Hopper & Traugott (2003: 18)

“Grammaticalization is the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions.”

(3) a. Grammaticalization

Lexical > Grammatical > More Grammatical

b. *Tomu-wa nyuuginiya-ni it-te-shima-ta*  
Tom-TOP New.Guinea-to go-CONN-**put.away**-PST  
‘Tom has gone to New Guinea.’ (Ono 1992: 374)

c. *Tom-un sandwich-lul mek-e peli-ess-ta*  
Tom-TOP sandwich-ACC eat-NF **throw.away**-PST-DEC  
‘Tom has eaten the sandwich.’

d. *chamsay-ka cwuk-e iss-ta*  
sparrow-NOM die-NF **exist**-DEC  
‘A sparrow lies dead.’

e. *chamsay-ka cwuk-ess-ta*  
sparrow-NOM die-PST-DEC  
‘A sparrow died.’

#### 2.1.2 Some Major Concepts

(Heine 1992, Heine et al. 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003[1993], Lehmann 1995[1982], Bybee et al. 1994.)

- (4) a. Conceptual manipulation                      d. Context-induced reinterpretation  
b. Unidirectionality                                e. Split  
c. Form-meaning asymmetry                      f. Renewal

(5) Conceptual manipulation (Ewe Heine et al. 1991: 99-102)

- a. *ɲútsu-ví* [man-child] ‘boy’
- b. *anyi-ví* [cow-child] ‘calf’
- c. *kpé-ví* [stone-child] ‘small stone’

(6) Unidirectionality

- a. Meaning: concrete > abstract (per metaphor, generalization, abstraction)
- b. Sound: autonomous > dependent (per erosion, reduction)
- c. Function: lexical > grammatical (per reanalysis)
- d. Category: primary > secondary (per decategorialization)
- e. Frequency: low > high (per analogy, contextual extension)

(7) Form-meaning asymmetry; Overlap

“Now form lives longer than its own conceptual content. Both are changing, but, on the whole, the form tends to linger on when the spirit has flown or changed its being.” (Sapir 1921: 98)

Stage	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Form	<b>A</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>
Meaning	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B</b>

(8) Context-induced reinterpretation

<Time to Cause> (Traugott & König 1991)

- a. *I have done quite a bit of writing **since** we last met.*
- b. **Since** Susan left him, John has been very miserable.
- c. **Since** you are not coming with me, I will have to go alone.

(9) Split; divergence

- a. *He **is going to** town.*
- b. *He **is going to** eat.*
- c. *The rain **is going to** come.*

(10) Renewal

- a. Intensifiers: *awfully, frightfully, fearfully, terribly, incredibly, really, pretty, truly, very, most, surprisingly, extremely, highly, extraordinarily* (Stoffel 1901, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 122)
- b. French future (Hopper & Traugott 2003:9)

Pre-Latin	Latin	French
*?		
<i>*kanta b<sup>h</sup> umos</i>	> <i>cantabimus</i>	
	<i>cantare habemus</i>	> <i>chanterons</i>
		<i>allons chanter</i> > ?

## 2.2 Grammaticalization in Korean: An Overview

- Stacking (= coalescence) is common.
  - (11) a. *kyoswu-nim-tul-hanthey-kkaci-to*  
 professor-HON-PL-DAT-ALLAT-ADD  
 ‘even to the professors’

b. *kkuthnay-e.peli-si-ess-keyss-ta-te-kwun-yo*  
 finish-PERF-HON-PST-FUT-COMP-RETRO-EVID-POL  
 ‘(I) recall (they told me) that (he) must have finished (it all) by then...’

- Portmanteau is common due to extensive fusion

(12) a. *-la-ko-ha-nun-kes-un* > *-lan*  
 SF-CONN-say-ADN-thing-TOP TOP  
 b. *-ta-ko-ha-nun* > *-tan*  
 SF-CONN-say-ADN ADN

(13) a. *hakkyo-lan kongpwuha-nun kos-i-ta*  
 school-TOP study-ADN place-be-DEC  
 ‘A school is a place where (you) study.’  
 (< A thing that (people) call a school is...)

b. *keki ka-keyss-tan mal ha-n cek eps-ta*  
 there go-FUT-ADN word say-ADN time not.exist-DEC  
 ‘I didn’t say that I would go there.’  
 (< I didn’t say the word that I would...)  
 (<< There doesn’t exist the time when I said...)

### 2.2.1 Grammaticalization Studies in Korean: A historical overview

- [Pre-1980]: *hesa-hwa* ‘the process whereby words become empty’ (Yu 1962)  
 verb of existence (H. Lee 1956, S. Lee 1976)  
 nominative (B. Kim 1957, K. Lee 1958, S. Lee 1958, S. Kim 1970, B. Lee 1976)  
 case particle (S. Kim 1978, 1992)  
 TAM (W. Huh 1987)  
 defective noun (M. Kim 1975, 1978, 1979, 1982)
- [Post-1980] *mwunpep-hwa* ‘grammaticalization’  
 TAM: (K. Lee 1981, T. Han 1986, H. Lee 1991, D. Choi 1995, S. Oh 1998)  
 nominative: (S. Lee 1981)  
 SFP: (H. Lee 1982, T. Kim 1998, W. Huh 1988)  
 case particle: (Y. Hong 1981a,b, 1984, J. Hong 1984, T. Lee 1997)  
 auxiliary verb: (K. Kim 1984)  
 connective: (H. Koo 1989)  
 noun: (T. Kim 1990, J. Chung 1993, 1997, J. Ahn 1996, T. Lee 1997)  
 verb: (T. Lee 1993, Y. Ko 1995, S. Rhee 1996, M. Kim 1996)

### 2.2.2 Some Examples

[*ka-* ‘go’]: ‘go’ > Continuative > Change-of-State

(14) a. *na-nun hakkyo-ey ka-n-ta*  
 I-TOP school-to go-PRES-DEC  
 ‘I go to school.’

b. *centhong-ul i-e.ka-ya.ha-n-ta*  
 tradition-ACC connect-CONT-must-PRES-DEC  
 ‘(We) must keep our traditions.’

c. *yenmos-i chachum mall-a.ka-n-ta*  
 pond-NOM gradually dry-COS-PRES-DEC  
 ‘The pond is gradually drying up.’

[*ci*- ‘fall’]: ‘fall’ > Passive

- (15) a. *hay-ka ci-n-ta* sun-NOM fall-PRES-DEC ‘The sun is setting.’  
b. *kulssi-ka cal ss-e.ci-n-ta* letter-NOM well write-PASS-PRES-DEC ‘The letters are getting nicely written.’

[*pep* ‘law’]: ‘law’ > Deontic Modality

- (16) a. *pep-ul cwunswuha-e.ya.ha-n-ta* law-ACC observe-must-PRES-DEC ‘(We) must observe the law.’  
b. *sensayngnim-un mal-ul cosimha-e.ya.ha-nun.pep.i-ta* teacher-TOP word-ACC be.cautious-must-DEON-DEC ‘Teachers are supposed to be careful in what they say.’

### 2.3 Subjectification and Intersubjectification

- Subjectification (Traugott & König 1991)
  - a. external meaning > internal meaning
  - b. external/internal meaning > textual meaning
  - c. internal meaning > more internal meaning

(17) meaning change of *for* (< *fora* ‘front’) (Rhee 2007a)

- a. frontal location > temporal anteriority > representation > cause/reason > support/benefit > purpose > destination > fitness > advantage/disadvantage
- b.

A for B

- a. A is at the front of B.
- b. > A represents B.
- c. > B is the cause of A.
- d. > A supports B.
- e. > B is the purpose of A.
- f. > B is the destination of A.
- g. > A/B is appropriate for A/B.
- h. > A is advantageous to B.

- Intersubjectification

>> addressee-oriented meaning (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 263-276; Traugott 2010)

- (18) a. LME *ye* (2PL) (non-honorific) > 2SG.HON  
b. *well, sort of, perhaps...* > hedges  
c. OJ *saburahu* ‘wait (for an occasion or order) in a specific location’ (non-HON) > LOJ ‘Humble Subject be in the vicinity of Respected Referent’ (reference HON; subjectified) > EMJ *-saburau/-soorau* ‘be-Polite’ (addressee-HON, intersubjectified)

### 2.4 Pervasiveness of (Inter-)Subjectification

[*ppaci*- ‘fall into’]

- (16) a. *pakhwi-ka swuleng-ey ppaci-ess-ta* wheel-NOM pothole-at fall.into-PST-DEC  
b. *ku cha-nun nalk-a.ppaci-ess-ta* the car-TOP wear.out-VPT-PST-DEC

‘The wheels got stuck in a pothole.’

‘The car is really worn out.’

[*cappaci*- ‘fall back’]

(17) a. *kil-i mikkulew-e cappaci-ess-ta*  
road-NOM be.slippery-CAUS fall.back-PST-DEC  
‘The road was so slippery that (I) fell on my back.’

b. *ne-n congil chwukku-man ha-ko.cappaci-ess-nya*  
you-TOP all.day soccer-only do-VPT-PST-Q  
‘(Why is it that) you play soccer all day long?’

[*mek*- ‘eat’]

(18) a. *cemsim kathi mek-ca*  
lunch together eat-HORT  
‘Let’s have lunch together.’

b. *os-ul ccic-e.mek-ess-ta*  
clothes-ACC tear-VPT-PST-DEC  
‘(I) got my clothes torn.’

[*pele*- ‘throw away’]

(19) a. *sinmwun-ul ssuley’kithong-ey pele-ess-ta*  
newspaper-ACC trashcan-at throw.away-PST-DEC  
‘(I) put a newspaper into a trashcan.’

b. *tosilak-ul 10-si-ey ta mek-e.pele-ess-ta*  
box.lunch-ACC 10.o’clock-at all eat-VPT-PST-DEC  
‘(I) ate the box lunch at 10 o’clock.’

[Some other cases]

(20) a. (“do x and stop” > determinative)  
*ku taym-i mwuneci-ko.mal-keyss-ta*  
‘The dam **is sure to** collapse.’  
(< Lit. The dam will stop what it is doing only after it collapses.)

b. (“says ‘shall I be/do x or not?’” > proximative)  
*thakkwu-kong-man-ha-lkka.mal.kka.ha-n wupak*  
‘a hail about the size of a table tennis ball’  
(< Lit. a hail that says ‘shall I be the size of a table tennis ball or not?’)

c. (“at the time x is intending to do x” > temporal proximative)  
*hay-ka ci-lye.nun.tey ku-ka o-ass-ta*  
‘He came around the sunset.’  
(< Lit. He came at the time the sun was intending to fall.)

d. (“fearing x” > conjunction of immediacy)  
*pom-i kkuthna-ki.ka.mwusepkey yelum-i o-ass-ta*  
‘The summer came immediately after the spring ended.’  
(< Lit. Fearing the end of the spring, the summer came.)

### 3. (Inter)subjectification in Korean Grammaticalization: Examples in 3 domains

#### 3.1 Connectives

- Many phrasal and clausal linkers originated from lexical words.

- The emergence of certain innovative connectives were triggered by the loss of the light verb *ha-* ‘do/be,’ the semantics of which is seemingly empty.

**[the ‘ground’]**

- (21) a. **the** ‘ground, land, foundation, lot’

*nelp-un the-ey khun cip-ul ci-ess-ta.*  
 large-ADN ground-at big house-ACC build-PST-DEC

‘(I) built a big house on a large lot of land.’ (PDK *Wulimalkhunsacen*)

- b. **-ltheyni(kka)** ‘as, since’

*pantusi tolao-ltheyni kekceng ma-∅*  
 surely return-as worry stop-(END)  
 ‘Don’t worry since I will surely come back.’

- c. **-ltheyntey** ‘while, whereas’

*ta a-ltheyntey way mwul-e*  
 all know-whereas why ask-END  
 ‘Why are you asking me--you should know already?’

**[tey ‘place’]**

- (22) a. **tey** ‘place’

*aphu-n tey-ka eti-i-a*  
 ache-ADN place-NOM where-be-END  
 ‘Where is it that hurts you?’

- b. **nuntey** ‘while, even though’

*yelsimhi ha-nuntey cal an toy-n-ta*  
 hard do-while well not become-PRES-DEC  
 ‘It’s not going well even though I’m trying hard.’

**[taku- ‘draw near’]**

- (23) a. **taku-** ‘draw near’

*ili tak-a anc-a*  
 over.here draw.near-NF sit-END

‘Come closer over here. (Move your seat to get closer here)’

- b. **-taka** ‘while’

*chwukku-lul ha-taka palmok-ul ppi-ess-ta*  
 soccer-ACC do-CONN ankle-ACC sprain-PST-DEC  
 ‘I sprained my ankle while playing soccer.’

**[Complementizers]** (Rhee 2007b, 2008a,b, 2009; S. Kim 2005; J. Ahn 1991; J. Kwon 1998)

- (24) Sentence-type markers

- a. Declarative: *-ta, -la, -a, -e, -ci, -key, -ya, -sey, -ney, -i, -kwun...*  
 b. Interrogative: *-nya, -kka, -yo, -a, -e, -ka, -na, -ni, -o...*  
 c. Imperative: *-la, -o, -a, -e, -key, -ca..*  
 d. Hortative: *-ca, -o, -so, -a, -e, -la, -lyem, -ci...*

- (25) Sentence-final particles (SFPs) as sentence-type indicators

Sentence Type	Representative SFP	Example (with <i>ka-</i> ‘go’)
Declarative	<i>-ta</i>	<i>ka-n-ta</i> ‘(He) goes.’
Interrogative	<i>-nya</i>	<i>ka-nya</i> ‘Does (he) go?’
Imperative	<i>-la</i>	<i>ka-la</i> ‘Go!’
Hortative	<i>-ca</i>	<i>ka-ca</i> ‘Let’s go!’

- (26) Development of comp (sentence-type marker + ‘say’ + ‘and’ >> ‘say’ deletion)

- a. Declarative: *-ta + ha + ko > -tahako > -tako*  
 b. Interrogative: *-nya + ha + ko > -nyahako > -nyako*

- c. Imperative: *-la + ha + ko* > *-lahako* > *-lako*  
 d. Hortative: *-ca + ha + ko* > *-cahako* > *-cako*

(27) Usage examples

Subord. Cl. Type	comp	Example (with <i>ka-</i> 'go')
Declarative	<i>-tako</i>	<i>ka-n-<u>tako</u></i> '(say) that (he) goes'
Interrogative	<i>-nyako</i>	<i>ka-<u>nyako</u></i> '(ask) if (he) goes'
Imperative	<i>-lako</i>	<i>ka-<u>lako</u></i> '(order) to go'
Hortative	<i>-cako</i>	<i>ka-<u>cako</u></i> '(suggest) that we go together'

**[-nikka] (-ni, -nikka, -{ta}nikka)**

- (28) *-{ta}nikka* (= *-tanikka, -lanikka, -nyanikka, -canikka*)  
*-tanikka* < *-ta nikka* < *-ta ha-nikka* < ***-tako*** *ha-nikka*

(29) a. cause

*pi-ka o-ni chwup-ta*  
 rain-NOM come-CAUS be.cold-DEC  
 'It is cold because it's raining.'

b. reason

*hanAnim-i tow-acyu-m-i-niska kekcyeng eps-ta*  
 God-NOM help-BENE-NOMZ-COP-RSN worry not.exist-DEC  
 '(They say) because God is helping (them) there is nothing to worry about.' (1904 *Sinhakwelpo* 4)

c. ground of speaker's assertion

*ipen-ey chongli-ka sto khun sAep hAna-lul hA-yes-uniska*  
 this.time-at Premier-NOM again big business one-ACC do-PST-GRND  
*ku sAep hA-n thek-i-n ke-y-ci*  
 the business do-ADN treat-COP-ADN thing-COP-SFP  
 'As the Premier accomplished a new large-scale project recently, (his wife's throwing a luxurious party) must have been a treat to celebrate it.' (1904 *Tayhanmayilsinpo*)

d. contingency

*upnAy han keli-lul cina-n-o-laniska*  
 downtown one street-ACC pass-CONT-HUM-CNTG  
*han khunakhu-n kaka-ey*  
 one be.very.big-ADN store-at  
 'While (she) was walking along the street downtown, she accidentally found that (there was a poster on the window) of a huge store...' (1912 Sinsosel, *Maninkyey*)

e. contrast

*eyku acuk kyey nAypelyetwu-si-laniska kuli hA-si-miska*  
 EXCM yet there leave-HON-CNTR so do-HON-Q  
 'Oh, my! Are you doing so while I told you to just leave it at that?' (c.1910 Sinsosel, *Welhakain*)

f. adversativity

*sonnim-ul mos po-n-tako hA-laniska*  
 visitor-ACC NEG see-PRES-COMP say-ADVS

*tulew-a syengkasilep-key kwunA-nya*  
 come.in-NF be.bothersome-ADVZ behave-Q  
 '(Why) are you here to bother me and announce a visitor despite that I told you I cannot see visitors (because I am not feeling well)?' (1908 Sinsosel, *Hongtohwa*)

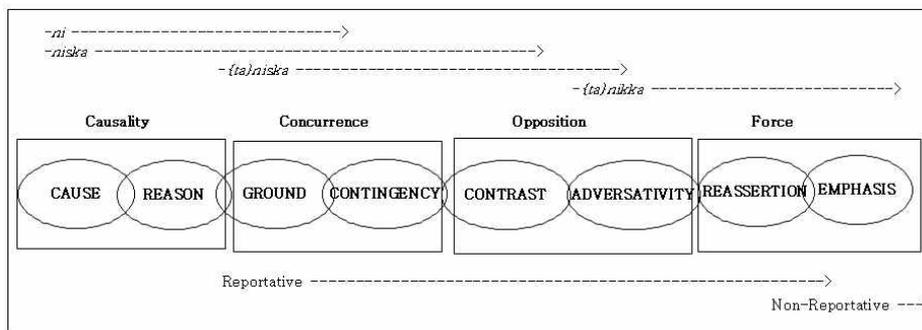
g. reassertion (sentential-ending)

*pi-ka o-n-tanikka*  
 rain-NOM come-RASS(SFP)  
 'It's raining, you know! (How many times should I tell you?/Don't you trust me?/...)' (PDK)

h. emphasis (sentential-ending)

*ne cengmal wus-ki-n-tanikka*  
 you really laugh-make-PRES-EMPH(SFP)  
 'You are really funny/ridiculous.' (PDK)

(30)



- subjectification: the semantic progression patterns motivated by the speaker's evaluative judgment, e.g. [CONTINGENCY > CONTRAST], [CONTRAST > ADVERSATIVITY]
- [CONTINGENCY > CONTRAST] When two events are in a contingency relation, they are compared in the speaker's mind and the differences are given a contrastive value.
- [CONTRAST > ADVERSATIVITY] When the two events are contrasted, the speaker attributes force-dynamic interaction to the differences.
- intersubjectification: the development of REASSERTION and EMPHASIS.
- Since SFPs originated from a discourse situation where the ellipsis is strategically used by the speaker, SFPs are necessarily highly interpersonal and intersubjective.
- They are frequently used in emotive interactions, often with an intonation typical of sentences uttered by irritated speakers. The following is an example of an emotive interaction.

(31) A: *com coyonghi ha-lanikka*                      B: *al-ass-tanikka*  
 a.little quietly do-SFP                                      know-PST-SFP  
 'Please keep quiet!' (Can't you be quiet?)                      'Alright, alright!' (I say I will, OK?)

- Used in interactive situations, sfps indicate the speaker's acknowledgment of, and response to, the addressee's attitude/stance. (attitudinal stance toward the addressee; Rhee 2011)
- The complementizer effect: the reportative function associated with *-ta*, *-la*, *-nya* and *-ca*, which are the traces of complementizers *-tako*, *-lako*, *-nyako* and *-cako*, respectively.
- Strategic ellipsis: (i) to show inability to continue when the speaker is emotionally overwhelmed or frustrated; (ii) to show obviousness of what is yet to be uttered

- cf. Evans (2007: 368) on insubordination: (a) interpersonal coercion, (b) modal framing, and (c) marking discourse contexts

●

### 3.2 Sentence-Final Particles (SFPs)

- Korean has an extremely large inventory of SFPs that signal diverse grammatical notions including the speaker's/writer's stance toward the proposition, discourse partners, discourse situations, etc.
- Such stances may be encoded by honorification, politeness, and other attitudinal, emotional, epistemic and evidential manifestations.
- Their development remarkably well displays (inter)subjectification.

#### [SFP of Discontent (SFPD)]

(32) a. **-tam** (<-*ta-nun-mal-i-n-ka* 'Does that mean that...')

(by someone who is embarrassed)

*seysang-ey ile-lswukaiss-tam.*

world-at be.like.this-can-SFPD

'How can this be possible?' [This is by no means acceptable!]

b. **-nam** (<-*na, mwe?* '...Q, what?')

(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) your studying will benefit others?' [No! It will benefit YOU!]

#### [CONN into SFP]

(33) a. **-ketun** CONN 'if' (Koo 1989a,b; Rhee 2002)

*ku-ka o-ketun i ton-ul cwu-ela*

he-NOM come-if this money-ACC give-IMP

'If he comes, give him this money.'

b. **-ketun** SFP 'reason'

A: [Why does he look so down?]

B: *ayin-i ttena-ss-ketun*

sweetheart-NOM leave-PST-SFP

'Because his sweetheart left him.'

#### [COMP into SFP]

(34) SFP from declarative-based COMP **-tako**

a. *na-to cwuk-keyss-tako.*

I-also die-FUT-SFP

'I am hard-pressed, too.'

<< '(I (already)) said, "I'll die."'

b. *wuliemma-ka elmana yeyppu-tako*

my.mother-NOM how.much be.pretty-SFP

'My mother is very beautiful!'

<< '(I (already)) said how pretty my mother is.'

(35) SFP from interrogative-based COMP **-nyako**

a. *kuke-i pothong elyewu-n il-i-nyako.*

that-NOM normal be.difficult-ADN matter-be-SFP

'Isn't it extremely difficult?!' / 'What a difficult job it is!'

<< '(I (already)) said, "Is it of regular difficulty?"'

b. *ne-to elmana himtul-keyss-nyako*

you-also how.much be.in.trouble-FUT-SFP

'I know how much trouble you are going through.'

<< '(I (already)) said, "How much difficulty are you experiencing?"'

(36) SFP from imperative-based COMP **-lako**

a. A: *ppalli o-lako.*

quickly come-SFP

B: *kuman pochay-lako*

so.much urge-SFP

‘Come quickly.’  
 << ‘(I (already)) said, “Come quickly.”’

‘Stop urging me.’  
 << ‘(I (already)) said, “Stop urging me.”’

- b. A: *ceypal kongpwu com ha-lako* B: *kekceng mal-lako*  
 for.God’s.sake study a.little do-SFP worry stop-SFP  
 ‘For God’s sake, study!’ ‘Don’t worry.’  
 << ‘(I (already) said, “Study a little for God’s sake!”’ << ‘(I (already)) said, “Don’t worry.”’

(37) SFP from hortative-based COMP **-cako**

- a. A. *icey pap-mek-u-le ka-cako.* B. *kule-cako.*  
 now food-eat-PURP go-SFP do.so-SFP  
 ‘Let’s go eat now.’ ‘OK, let’s.’  
 << ‘(I (already)) said, “Let’s go to eat.”’ << ‘(I (already)) said, “Let’s do so.”’

- b. *ceypal icey cam com ca-cako*  
 for.God’s.sake now sleeping a.little sleep-SFP  
 ‘Let’s go to sleep.’  
 << ‘(I (already)) said, “Let’s sleep a little.”’

### 3.3 Discourse Markers

#### [Rhetorical questions and discourse markers]

‘rhetorical’ in the sense of not requesting content answer; may be responded to by a listenership signal

- | (38) Marker             | Function            | Source Meaning          |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>eti?</i>             | emphatical          | ‘Where?’                |
| <i>mwelalkka?</i>       | pause filler        | ‘What should (I) say?’  |
| <i>ettehsupnikka?</i>   | attention attracter | ‘How is (it)?’          |
| <i>NP-inka?</i>         | attention attracter | ‘Is (it) NP?’           |
| <i>way NP-isscanha?</i> | topic presenter     | ‘Why, doesn’t X exist?’ |
| <i>issci?</i>           | topic presenter     | ‘Does (it) exist?’      |
| <i>isscanha?</i>        | topic presenter     | ‘Doesn’t (it) exist?’   |

#### [RQ.TP (Rhetorical Question functioning as a Topic Presenter)] *kukey Q-nyamyen*

(39) *-nyamyen < -nya-hamyen < -nyako ha-myen < <-nya-hako ha-myen*

(40) *kukey Q-nyamyen* topic presenter

- a. *kukey nwukwu-nyamyen* ‘If you ask **who** it is’  
 b. *kukey encey-nyamyen* ‘If you ask **when** it is’  
 c. *kukey eti-nyamyen* ‘If you ask **where** it is’  
 d. *kukey mwe-nyamyen* ‘If you ask **what** it is’  
 e. *kukey ettehkey-nyamyen* ‘If you ask **how** it is’  
 f. *kukey way-nyamyen* ‘If you ask **why** it is’

(41) Developmental paths of RQ.TP (Rhee 2014)

Stage	Label	Form	Characteristics
Stage I	Direct Quote	<i>"...-nya?" ha-ko</i>	(embedded direct quote)
Stage II	Quotative CONN	<i>-nya hako</i>	(indirect quote, clausal integration)
Stage III	COMP	<i>-nyako</i>	(phonological erosion/fusion)
Stage IV	Biclausal RQ.COND	<i>-nyako ha-myen</i>	(addition of <i>-ha</i> ‘say’ and <i>-myen</i> COND)
Stage V	Periphrastic RQ.COND	<i>-nya-ha-myen</i>	(phonological erosion, syntactic upgrading)

Stage VI	HYP.COND	-nyamyen	(phonological erosion, fusion)
Stage VII	RQ.TP	kukey X-nyamyen	(functional innovation, clausal construction)

(42) a. *mwe* 'what'

[Around this time the nano-technology came to attract the attention of the industry.]

*kukey.mwe-nyamyen wancen sinkiswul-i-ntey...*

RQ.TP(what) completely new.technology-COP-CONN

'Speaking of it, it is a completely new technology, and ...' (Lit.: 'If (you) ask (me) what it is, it is...')

b. *nwukwu* 'who'

[I came across a very funny guy in the street.]

*kukey.nwukwu-nyamyen nay chotunghakkyo tongchang-i-ntey...*

RQ.TP(who) my elementary.school classmate-COP-CONN

'Speaking about him, he is my elementary school classmate, and ...'

(Lit. 'If (you) ask (me) who he is, (he) is...')

- RQ.TPs are presently in active innovation in the grammar of Korean, beginning from around the turn of the 20th century.
- The embedded sentence in the protasis of the hypothetical conditional clause is an interrogative sentence. But as it is an embedded (and rhetorical) question, there is no illocutionary force. It is thus a 'self-directed question,' used to direct the utterance not to a particular discourse partner but to 'the people in general out there.' (cf. 'audience-blindness' Koo & Rhee 2013)
- RQ.TP as a 'reading the addressee's mind' signal, i.e. asking on behalf of the addressee, and thus a gesture of being considerate to the addressee (effectively saying, "I know what you're wondering, so I will ask it to myself on your behalf and answer it for you.")
- By this strategic 'kind' act of the speaker, the addressee is relieved of asking a question, or can avoid exposing his/her inattentiveness, i.e. being not fully caught up with the content of what is being said.
- The friendliness created by the use of hypothetical conditional promotes the sense of solidarity between the interlocutors. (cf. attitudinal stance).

## 4. Implications and Discussion (25 mins)

### 4.1 Insubordination

- Terminology: Ohori's (1995) 'suspended clause'; Evans's (2007) 'insubordination'
- Grammatical change influenced by ellipsis is attested across languages (cf. Haiman, 1988 'inconsequential clauses' in Hua, Davis, n.d. 'disruption' in Hua and Alabama, Ohori, 1995 'suspended clause' in Japanese, Rhee, 2002, Sohn, 2003 'main clause ellipsis' in Korean, Evans, 2007, 2009 'insubordination' across languages, Heine et al., 2011 'thetical constructions,' and 'insubordinated clause' for German).
- The connective function of the connectives still survives, rendering the utterance ambiguous between the two opposing functions of connecting clauses and ending sentences.
- Insubordination is very common in grammaticalization in Korean. (Sohn 1995, Park & Sohn 2002, Jung 2001,

Rhee 2002, 2012).

- At the onset of this development, i.e., when such a grammaticalization process has not sufficiently proceeded, the utterance seems to be an elliptical structure similar to utterances in English that end with such connectives as *and*, *or*, and *but*.

(43)	Marker	Connective Function	Sentence-Final Function
	<i>-ketun</i>	conditional	topic presentation/reason
	<i>-nikka</i>	reason/cause	addressee-confirmation/contingency
	<i>-myense</i>	concurrence	addressee-confirmation/challenge/derisive
	<i>-ntey</i>	adversative	surprise / reluctance / reason
	<i>-key</i>	mode	exhortative

- The extent of grammaticalization may be fundamentally constrained by the limit of pragmatics.
- The pragmatic inferences shape the routes of semantic changes in grammaticalization (cf. Heine et al. 1991).
- The addressee actively seeks the elided information in the missing main clause. Repeated inference patterns may be conventionalized.

(44) Strategic ellipsis and interlocutors

A. The speaker

- Strategy: Elide the main clause
- Effect: (a) Economy; (b) No commitment to the (elided) detail; (c) Enrichment by the addressee

B. The addressee

- Problem: (a) The speaker ended his/her utterance with a connective, so I can wait for the main clause. (b) The intonation contour suggests utterance closure. (c) Now the discourse reached the TRP.
- Problem solving strategy: Inferences (example from (33b))

X: Why does he look so down?

Y: [His sweetheart left him]-*ketun* 'if'

(a) I heard: [His sweetheart left him]-*ketun* 'if'

(b) The speaker did not complete the sentence.

(c) If the speaker had completed the sentence, it must have been [If his sweetheart left him, how can he not be down?]

(d) It is impossible for him not to be sad in such a situation.

(e) The speaker seems to have not completed the sentence because what remained unsaid is very straightforward.

(f) Then the embedded proposition [His sweetheart left him] is a strong cause of his sadness.

(g) The apparent conditional marker is better interpreted as 'because' rather than 'if.'

(h) [If his sweetheart left him] in fact means [Because his sweetheart left him].

(45) Another category: Discourse markers of agreement (DMAs) from ellipsis (Rhee 2013)

Source Category	Form	Source Meaning
<b>Conditional</b>	<i>kulem</i>	'if so'
	<i>amwulyem</i>	'if it is whatsoever'
<b>Quotative</b>	<i>kulehkomalko</i>	'that it is so and not so'
	<i>kulehtamata</i>	'that it is so; it is not so'
<b>Causal</b>	<i>kulenikka</i>	'because it is so'

<i>kulekey</i>	'at it being so'
<i>kulssey</i>	'at it being so'

- DMAs (for back-channeling) historically originated from discourse segments that end with connectives, thus suggesting that they are of elliptical structures.
- What has been ellipsed is strategically withheld by the speaker to show that it is so obvious that it does not need to be explicitly expressed.
- The high degree of its being obvious warrants its ellipsis and at the same time serves as an endorsement of the truthfulness or firmness of what the previous speaker has just said (Rhee, 2013).
- Insubordination in other languages: the English conditional marker *if* in hypothetical conditional sentences, and the request marking function from idiom fragments involving *-te* of a connective function in Japanese benefactive constructions

- (46) a. *If only he were here, I would be very happy.*  
 b. *If only he were here!*

- (47) a. *Tyotto kott iki-te-kudasai/kure/tyoodai*  
 a.little(?) here come-TE-give[BENE]  
 'Will you please do the favor of coming here now?'

- b. *Tyotoo kott iki-te*  
 a.little(?) here come-TE  
 'Come here now.' (Adapted from Ohori 1995: 205)

- Korean connectives, particularly *-a*, *-key*, *-ci*, and *-ko* (similar to the Japanese *-te*) were extensively involved in the grammaticalization of SFPs (Kim, 1997, 1998, 2000, Rhee, 2002).
- Other cases of SFP development: nominalized clauses ending with a nominalizer or an accusative marker are among those that underwent similar processes (Rhee, 2008c, 2011)
- In this respect, Korean exhibits more widespread ellipsis-based grammaticalization than Japanese, in which a suspended clause is marked by a (pseudo-)logical connective of reason or concession, such as *kara*, *kedo*, and *noni* (Ohori, 1995, pp. 207-213).

## 4.2 Interlacing grammaticalization

- The three domains are by no means isolated from each other. Rather, there is an intricate interaction among their grammaticalization processes.
- Many connectives that originated from COMPs incorporate SFPs that signal clause/sentence types in their development.
- RQ.TPs make use of connectives in their source constructs.
- Discourse markers of agreement (DMAs) developed from insubordination.
- A large number of innovative SFPs arose from connectives through insubordination (Evans 2007, Sohn 2003, Rhee 2012).
- The strong pragmatic effect of ellipsis seems to motivate other strategic uses of non-final forms as sentential

endings (Horie 2011, 2012; Kim & Horie 2006, 2008, nominalizers and modifiers into sentential endings).

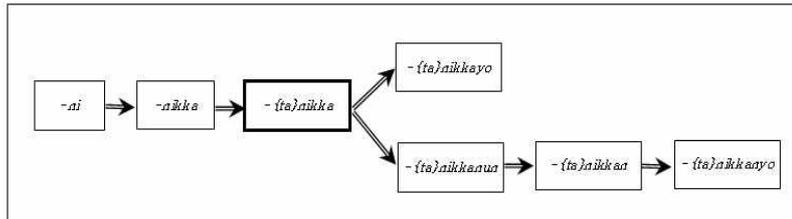
### 4.3 Reorganization of Grammatical Paradigms

#### [Insubordination and Analogy]

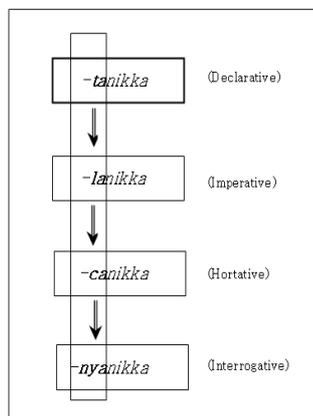
- The development of SFPs from a connective has made an impact on the grammar of Korean: formal extension in syntagma and paradigm

(48) Syntagmatic extension & Paradigmatic extension

(a)



(b)



- The formal extension seems to have been enabled by analogy (based on the structural/functional similarities to the trailblazer).

(49) Token frequency of *-{ta}nikka* in the Sejong Corpus between 1890-1920

Clause-Type	Form	Frequency
Declarative	<i>-tanikka</i> & <i>-lanikka</i>	42 (60.8%)
Imperative	<i>-lanikka</i>	16 (23.2%)
Hortative	<i>-canikka</i>	11 (16.0%)
Interrogative	<i>-nyanikka</i>	0
Total		69 (100%)

- The declarative-based forms account for 60% of all *-{ta}nikka* forms, whereas all others are either very low in both relative and absolute frequencies or not attested altogether in a data corpus of 376,887 words. (cf. in

PDK where all of these forms are full-fledged grammatical markers and are very productively used).

- The role of use frequency: widely acknowledged as an important parameter of grammaticalization, even to the point of considering it a necessary condition for a linguistic form to grammaticalize. (cf. Narrog and Heine (2011, pp. 2-3): in some of the definitions of grammaticalization "frequency is portrayed as one of the driving forces, or the driving force of grammaticalization" (e.g. Bybee and Hopper, 2001 and works therein, Krug, 2001, Bybee, 2003, 2007, 2011, Torres Cacoullos and Walker, 2011). (contra: Hundt, 2001, Hoffmann, 2005).
- From 0 or very low to explosion: The low-frequency forms become full-fledged grammatical forms in entirely novel functions in a very short time period.
- This suggests that the declarative-based forms underwent the grammaticalization process first and other forms followed the process by virtue of their structural similarity (i.e., [sentence-type marker + *-nikka*] and shared membership of a grammatical category (i.e., the sentence-type marker).
- I.e., the process was analogy-driven (rather than typical reanalysis- and frequency-driven) and paradigm-based (rather than typical exemplar-based).

#### [COMP-based Forms]

- The declarative-based complementizer *-tako* came into being first, and then others followed its course.
- This suggests again that COMP grammaticalization may have been actuated by a structural analogy, whereby members of an entire paradigm may follow the one member that leads the grammaticalization process, thus creating a whole new paradigm in a short period.
- These COMPs also became SFPs through their frequent use in the elliptical structure where the matrix clause is missing. Again, with structural analogy to the trail-blazer, all members quickly developed into SFPs.
- Still more intriguing is the fact that a group of similar constructions, i.e. those with the conditional marker *-myen* in place of the connective *-ko* of the source constructions of the COMPs, have been developing into a new sub-paradigm of conditional markers (Koo & Rhee 2008, Koo 2010).
- These innovative conditionals carry a higher level of hypotheticality and intersubjectivity.
- All these instances point to the facts (i) that structural analogy can trigger grammaticalization; (ii) that grammaticalization based on structural analogy can affect the entire paradigm; and (iii) that the primary subcategory of a paradigm may lead the grammaticalization of the other subcategories within the paradigm (Koo & Rhee 2008).

#### [RQ.TPs]

- Similar situations are observable with the grammaticalization of RQ.TPs.
- The differences in token frequency suggest that the members of the RQ.TP paradigm are of different status in terms of their grammaticality.
- Given that some forms occur at a very low frequency, their grammaticalization seems to have been enabled not by the frequency but by virtue of the source's structural similarity. (cf. 'paradigmaticization'; Lehmann, 1995[1982]:132-137), whereby the internal relationship among the members becomes increasingly stronger)

(50)	RQ.TP frequency (Google search hits, 08/2012)			
a.	'what'	<i>kukey mwenyamyen</i>	for entity	320,000
b.	'who'	<i>kukey nwukwunyamyen</i>	for person	47,300
c.	'where'	<i>kukey etinyamyen</i>	for place	42,500
d.	'when'	<i>kukey enceynyamyen</i>	for time	16,900
e.	'why'	<i>kukey waynyamyen</i>	for reason	14,000
f.	'how'	<i>kukey ette(hkey)nyamyen</i>	for manner	40

#### [*ha-* deletion]

- With the grammatical innovation caused by the *ha-* deletion, there arose diverse (sub)paradigms of forms that signal conditionality, concessivity, adversativity, causality, contingency, selectivity, mirativity, etc., most of

which involving the increase of subjectivity and/or intersubjectivity (Koo 2010, Koo & Rhee 2008).

- The Korean light verb is a paradigm example of how the erosion of a word can cause a large-scale change in grammar (Rhee 2009).
- By virtue of being 'light' in semantics, and being an utterance verb, known for its susceptibility to grammaticalization across languages, the light verb *ha-* came to be used in many grammatical constructions of diverse functions.
- These periphrastic constructions, being subject to high frequency, came to lose the light verb that was pivotal in the creation of the constructions. The loss was largely due to the lack of phonological and semantic prominence of *ha-* and increased inter-morphemic bonding. This erosion often triggered the erosion of other morphemes that occurred near it.
- An initial consequence of the loss is the awkward situation where a constellation of multiple linguistic forms in a word cannot be appropriately analyzed through traditional morpho-syntactic rules.
- This situation triggers reanalysis whereby the remnants are construed as single grammatical units and as carrying the function that is morpho-syntactically amenable.
- This invisibility of the light verb triggers a cascading morpho-phonological change that affected hundreds of formerly periphrastic constructions.
- These new functions invariably carry more (inter)subjective meanings than their source forms.

**[New SFPs]**

(51) Sentential Ending + *ko.ha* + Verbal Ending

(erosion) >> Sentential Ending + Verbal Ending

(reanalysis) >> Sentential Ending

Traditional	Innovative
- <i>ta</i> (Dec)	- <i>tako</i> , - <i>takoyo</i> , - <i>tana</i> , - <i>tanayo</i> , - <i>tanunkwun</i> , - <i>tanunkwuna</i> , - <i>tanunteyyo</i> , - <i>tani</i> , - <i>tanikka</i> , - <i>tanikkanun</i> , - <i>tanikkayo</i> , - <i>tanikkan</i> , - <i>taniyo</i> , - <i>tatekwun</i> , - <i>tatekwunyo</i> , - <i>tatenya</i> , - <i>tatela</i> , - <i>tatelako</i> , - <i>taten</i> , - <i>tatenka</i> , - <i>tatenteyyo</i> , - <i>tatey</i> , - <i>tati</i> , - <i>tamye</i> , - <i>tamyense</i> , - <i>tao</i> , - <i>tacyo</i> , - <i>taci</i> , - <i>tacimweyeyyo</i> , - <i>taciyo</i> , - <i>tanta</i> , - <i>tanmalita</i> , - <i>tapnikka</i> , - <i>tapnita</i> , - <i>taptikka</i> , - <i>taptita</i> , - <i>tay</i> , - <i>tayyo</i> ...
- <i>nya</i> (Int)	- <i>nyako</i> , - <i>nyakoyo</i> , - <i>nyanunkwun</i> , - <i>nyaanunkwuna</i> , - <i>nyanunteyyo</i> , - <i>nyani</i> , - <i>nyanikka</i> , - <i>nyanikkanun</i> , - <i>nyanikkayo</i> , - <i>nyanikkan</i> , - <i>nyaniyo</i> , - <i>nyatekwun</i> , - <i>nyatekwunyo</i> , - <i>nyatenya</i> , - <i>nyatela</i> , - <i>nyaten</i> , - <i>nyatenteyyo</i> , - <i>nyatey</i> , - <i>nyati</i> , - <i>nyamye</i> , - <i>nyamyense</i> , - <i>nyao</i> , - <i>nyacyo</i> , - <i>nyaci</i> , - <i>nyacimweyeyyo</i> , - <i>nyaciyo</i> , - <i>nyanta</i> , - <i>nyanmalita</i> , - <i>nyay</i> , - <i>nyayyo</i> ...
.....	.....

**[New Conditional Connectives] (“if”)**

(52) Sentential Ending + *ko.ha* + Conditional

(erosion) >> Sentential Ending + Conditional

(reanalysis) >> Conditional

Traditional	Innovative
- <i>myen</i>	- <i>tamyen</i> , - <i>lamyen</i> , - <i>nyamyen</i> , - <i>camyen</i> , - <i>esstamyen</i> , - <i>essnyamyen</i> , - <i>ulkelamyen</i> , - <i>ulkenyamyen</i> , - <i>nuntamyen</i> , - <i>telamyen</i> , - <i>nolamyen</i> , - <i>nulamyen</i> , - <i>nunyamyen</i> ...
- <i>ketun</i>	- <i>taketun</i> , - <i>laketun</i> , - <i>nyaketun</i> , - <i>caketun</i> ...
.....	.....

**[New Adversative Connectives] (“however, despite”)**

Sentential Ending + *ko.ha* + Connective

(erosion) >> Sentential Ending + Connective

(reanalysis) >> Connective

(53)

Traditional	Innovative
-to	-tanunteyto, -lanunteyto, -nyanunteyto, -canunteyto,
-man	-taman, -tamanun, -nyaman, -nyamanun, -taciman, -tacimanun, -laciman, -lacimanun, -nyaciman, -nyacimanun, -caciman, -cacimanun, -kenman, -kenmanun, -takenman, -takenmanun, -lakenman, -lakenmanun, -nyakenman, -nyakenmanun, -cakenman, -cakenmanun
-tey	-tatentey, -tanuntey,
-na	-tana, -lana, -cana,
.....	.....

- Parallel developments are attested with concessive (“even though”), causal (“because”), contingent (“while”), selectional (“.. or..”), mirative (“surprisingly”), adnominal (modifier), etc.

## 5. Summary and Conclusion

- Connectives are developed from various sources. They undergo functional extension even crossing the boundaries of grammatical categories (e.g. CONN > SFP). The development involves (inter)subjectification.
- SFPs may develop from diverse sources (e.g. CONN > SFP, COMP > SFP), and SFPs may undergo further change to form innovative SFPs (e.g. SFPD). The development involves (inter)subjectification.
- RQ.TPs illustrate the grammaticalization of the use of rhetorical strategies. The development involves (inter)subjectification.
- Grammaticalization of a form can effect a significant change in the paradigm by triggering a large-scale reorganization of an existing paradigm or creating an entirely new paradigm.
- Certain changes are paradigm-based, i.e. the form representing the paradigm spearheads the grammaticalization and all others in the paradigm follow the trodden path, despite their low use frequency.
- The major mechanism enabling the paradigm-based grammaticalization is analogy based on structural and functional similarities.
- This suggests that grammaticalization scholars look at macro-structures involving inter- and intra-paradigmatic forces of grammaticalization.

## Abbreviations:

ACC: accusative; ADD: additive; ADN: adnominal; ADVS: adversative; ADVZ: adverbializer; ALLAT: allative; BENE: benefactive; CAUS: causative; CNTR: contrast; COMP: complementizer; CONN: connective; CONT: continuative; COP: copula; COS: change-of-state; DAT: dative; DEC: declarative; DEON: deontic; EMPH: emphatic; END: sentential-ending; EVID: evidential; FUT: future; HON: honorific; IMP: imperative; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PASS: passive; PERF: perfective; PL: plural; POL: polite; PRES: present; PST: past; PURP: purposive; Q: interrogative; RASS: reassertion; RETRO: retrospective; RQ.TP: rhetorical-question-based topic-presenter; RSN: reason; SF: sentence-final ending; SFP: sentence-final particle; SFPD: sentence-final particle of discontent; TOP: topic; VPT: viewpoint

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