

On the emergence of Korean markers of agreement

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Abstract

This paper discusses the emergence of some of the discourse markers of agreement (DMAs) in Korean. This paper shows the processes that DMAs have historically undergone *en route* to their grammaticalization into discourse markers. The DMAs under discussion originated from three different sources: conditionals, quotations, and causals. The development of these DMAs involves the strategic use of ellipsis. By way of strategically withholding the main clause, the speaker indicates that the situation is so obvious that the elided part does not require explicit utterance. This is a common strategy in Korean utilized in the development of connectives into sentence-final particles that acquired diverse meanings through conventionalization of pragmatic inferences. These DMAs also recruited the anaphoric *kule*- 'be so' that makes reference to the speaker's prior utterance and becomes a part of a conditional or causal protasis or a subordinated quotative clause. This paper also shows that the development of these DMAs crucially makes use of intersubjectification through which the elided parts are pragmatically reconstructed and the residual 'defective' (i.e. partially elided and phonologically reduced) discourse segments become full-fledged DMAs.

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1. Introduction

Despite the widely varying definitions of discourse markers, or pragmatic markers, it has been noted that the use of discourse markers is universal (Fraser, 2006), especially in informal oral discourse (Östman, 1982; Fraser, 1990; Watts, 1989). Across languages, discourse markers arise from diverse sources since they carry a wide range of functions with respect to discourse management. Brinton (1996:37–38) lists nine different functions of discourse markers. Among those diverse functions, the two functions that are relevant in the present research are to express a response or attitude, i.e., a subjective function, and to effect cooperation, sharing or intimacy, i.e., an intersubjective function.

Of particular interest among Korean discourse markers are those that mark consensus or agreement to what the previous speaker has said. These markers of agreement (DMAs, hereafter) are interesting because their use contributes to the creation of feelings of oneness (i.e. rapport and solidarity) at the level of interpersonality or

Abbreviations: ACC, accusative; ADN, adnominal; COMP, complementizer; CONTIN, contingency; DEC, declarative; DET, determinative; END, sentence-ender; EXP, experiential; FUT, future; GEN, genitive; HON, honorific; IMP, imperative; INTEN, intentional; NOM, nominative; NOMZ, nominalizer; PERF, perfective; POL, polite; PST, past; Q, interrogative; TOP, topic.

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Table 1
Korean DMAs and their Source Meanings.

Source category	Form	Source Meaning
Conditional	<i>kulem</i>	'if so'
	<i>amwulyem</i>	'if it is whatsoever'
Quotation	<i>kulehkomalko</i>	'that it is so and not so'
	<i>kulehtamata</i>	'that it is so; it is not so'
Causal	<i>kulenikka</i>	'because it is so'
	<i>kulekey</i>	'at it being so'
	<i>kulssey</i>	'at it being so'

intersubjectivity. In Korean, these DMAs come from three major categories: conditionals, quotation, and causals, as shown in Table 1.¹

Research on discourse markers has mostly focused on their function as causal- and conditional-based markers, i.e. inter-sentential connection for logical reasoning (Choi, 2007; Kim, 2000; Lee, 1996, inter alia).

Their 'interpersonal' function is underrepresented in the research literature, however. The interpersonal function is similar to Jakobson's phatic function, as he said, "There are messages serving primarily to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works ("Hello, do you hear me?")" (1960:355). It can also be labeled as the 'back-channel' signal function, following Yngve (1970). Further, no investigation of DMAs from the grammaticalization perspective, i.e. focusing on the emergence of those markers and the enabling mechanisms involved in the process, has been attempted to date. This study is intended to fill this gap in research on grammaticalization of discourse markers.

2. DMAs by source categories

2.1. Conditional-derived DMAs

The two conditional-based DMAs under discussion are *kulem* and *amwulyem*. In synchronic Modern Korean, DMAs coexist alongside their lexical sources, a typical instance of 'divergence' (Hopper, 1991). Therefore, DMAs developed from conditionals have their 'heterosemous' (Lichtenberk, 1991) source forms which still function as conditional connectives, as shown in (1) with *kulem*, and its DMA usage is illustrated by a putative Present-day Korean (PDK) example (2).²

(1) Textual function of *kulem* 'if so; then'

A: [I'm not here to ask for money.]

B: *kulay? coh-a. kulem mwusun yayki-lul ha-keyss-ta-nun ke-y-a?*
be.so be.good-END then what.kind talk-ACC say-FUT-DEC-ADN NOMZ-be-END
'Is that so? Good. Then, what are you going to talk to me about?' (PDK, KORTERM #3617)

(2) DMA function of *kulem* 'Right!'

A: *kyay-ka cakkwu kule-nikka hwa-ka na-nun-ke-y-a*
that.guy-NOM repeatedly do.so-because anger-NOM exit-ADN-thing-be-END
'Since that guy was doing that again and again I became angry.'

B: *kulem*
'Right!' (< Lit. 'If (it is) so')

A: *kulayse....*
so...

¹ There are other DMAs, *kulay* and *kulehci* in Modern Korean. As they end with the sentence enders *-e* (>-y) and *-ci*, it is evident that they developed from full-fledged sentences, both meaning 'It is so'. The homophonous connective adverbial *kulay* 'so, therefore' (< *kuli-ha-ye* 'by doing so') did not develop into a DMA. *Kulehci* played a part in the grammaticalization of the DMA *kulem* as the main clause that was withheld (cf. 3.1 and 4.3).

² Examples are taken from two corpora and daily observation. The two corpora are the KORTERM Corpus, developed by Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) for Present-Day Korean data, and the Sejong Corpus, developed by the 20th Century Sejong Project, for historical data.

Example (1) shows the textual function of *kulem*, the source meaning of which is ‘if (it is) so.’ In this function, the grammatical status of *kulem* is an adverbial of logical connection, denoting ‘then.’ Example (2), on the other hand, illustrates *kulem* in the DMA function, roughly equivalent to the English ‘Of course!’ or ‘Right!’ as used in back-channeling. In this usage of *kulem*, A is likely to continue talking because B’s utterance of *kulem* does not signal a demand for a turn change. It can thus be considered a ‘carry-on’ signal like English *Right*, *All right*, and *That’s right* (Stenström, 1987). In parallel with *kulem*, the other DMA derived from a conditional, *amwulyem*, also exhibits divergence pattern with the textual meaning of ‘whatever it may be; under any circumstances’ (literally ‘if (it is) whatever’) and the DMA meaning of ‘Right.’

2.2. Quotation-derived DMAs

Two DMA forms derived from quotation are *kulehkomalko* and *kulehtamata*. In terms of their source constructions, these DMAs are complex, as shall be discussed in more detail in Section 3.2. Developed from the literal meaning ‘(it is) so and (it is) not so’ of two coordinated clauses, *kulehkomalko* can function as a lexical subordinate clause of quotation or a grammatical DMA, as shown in putative PDK examples below:

- (3) Textual function of *kulehkomalko* ‘whether it is so and not so’
i sanghwang-eyse kulehkomalko ttaci-l-kes eps-ta
 this situation-at it.is.so.and.not.so reason-ADN-thing not.exist-DEC
 ‘Under this circumstance we don’t have to argue whether it is so or not so.’
- (4) DMA function of *kulehkomalko* ‘Sure; Right; Of course...’
 A: *ku ke-n cengmal papo cis-i-ya*
 that thing-Top really fool act-be-END
 ‘It is really a stupid act.’
 B: *kulehkomalko*
 ‘Right!’ (< Lit. ‘It is so and not so’)
 A: *tangcang cipechiw-eyatw-ay*
 immediately stop-must-END
 ‘(They) must stop it immediately.’

Example (3) shows the textual function of *kulehkomalko*, and example (4) the DMA function with the meaning of ‘Right!’ This agreement meaning originates from its literal meaning of ‘it is so and not so,’ which engendered a series of related discursive meanings such as ‘Whatever,’ ‘Okay,’ and finally ‘Go on’ through pragmatic implicature. In exact parallelism, the other quotation-derived DMA *kulehtamata*, formed by ‘univerbation’ (Lehmann, 1995[1982]) from two sentences *kulehta* ‘(it) is so’ and an archaic *mata* ‘(it) is not so,’ likewise has lexical and grammatical functions (see Section 3.2 for discussion of its development).

2.3. Causal-derived DMAs

Three DMAs developed from causals: *kulenikka*, *kulekey*, and *kulssey*. These forms are causal connective adverbials by themselves, and the final particles constituting them, i.e., *-nikka*, *-kiey*, and *-lssey*, are causal connective particles, the use of the last one (sometimes in the variant form of *-ls(s)Ay*) being limited to archaic contexts.³ Putative PDK examples (5) and (6) show the lexical and DMA uses of *kulenikka*, respectively.

- (5) Textual function of *kulenikka* ‘because it is so; therefore’
Mr.Kim-un maynnal cिकak-i-ya kulenikka cinkup-to mos ha-ci
 Mr.Kim-TOP everyday tardy-be-END therefore promotion-also not do-END
 ‘Mr. Kim is always tardy. So, he doesn’t get a promotion.’
- (6) DMA function of *kulenikka* ‘Right!’
 A: *Mr.Kim-un maynnal cिकak-i-ya*
 Mr.Kim-TOP everyday tardy-be-END
 ‘Mr. Kim is always tardy.’

³ *-Nikka* is more common in colloquial style, whereas *-kiey* (note its phonological reduction into *-key* in *kulekey*) is more common in literary style. The connective *-lssey* dates back to *-lsAy* in Old Korean that marked reason and cause (Lee, 2003:189–204). Other common connective particles of causality marking are *-ese*, *-eto*, *-na*, *-ni*, *-myen*, *-nulako*, *-illay*, *-mulo*, *-tako*, *-may*, etc.

- B: *kulenikka*
'Right!'
- A: *kulenikka acik cinkup-to mos ha-ci*
because.it.is.so yet promotion-also not do-DET.END
'That's why he still can't get a promotion.'

In (5) above, *kulenikka* functions as a connective adverbial. Its original meaning is 'because it is so' or 'therefore' but its DMA meaning as shown in (6) is 'Right!' In the same manner, the other causal-based DMAs, *kulekey* and *kulssey*, exhibit divergent uses with an older, textual meaning and an innovative, DMA meaning.

3. Grammaticalization

DMAs carry a near-identical function of expressing agreement to what the discourse partner just said, but they have different origins. As has been noted earlier, there are three source categories: conditionals, quotations, and causals. The paths taken by the grammaticalizing DMAs are explored in this section with reference to their semantic change patterns that characterize the stages that DMAs have undergone.

3.1. Conditional-Based DMAs

The DMA *kulem* emerged from a construction that means 'if (it is) so'; *amwulyem* from 'whatsoever it may be' (literally, 'if (it is) whatsoever'). The DMA *amwulyem* contains *amwu*, an indefinite pronoun denoting 'anything' or 'anyone,' which becomes an adjective through affixation of the derivational light verb *ha-* that functions like a copula, thus denoting 'be in whatever case.'⁴

- (7) From Conditionals
- a. *kulem* << *ku-le-ha-myen*
that-ADVZ-be-if
'if (it is) so'
- b. *amwulyem* << *amwu-lye-ha-myen*
anything-ADVZ-be-if
'if (it is) whatsoever'

In terms of grammaticalization paths, it is widely accepted that grammaticalization proceeds along a non-discrete continuum that bears semantic or functional clusters. Since the change in form and the change in meaning affect each other, though they may not be exactly parallel, it can be hypothesized that formally different linguistic forms bear conceptually distinct meanings. This is indeed the case with most DMAs. For instance, the development of the DMA *kulem* in form proceeds roughly in three stages, i.e. *kulehamyen* (*kulehAmyen*15thc.) > *kulemyen* (15th c.) > *kulem* (1908), signifying 'if it is so' > 'then' > 'right,' albeit with some overlap. *Amwulyem* may have in similar fashion traveled the path (*amwulyehamyen* >) *amwulyemyen* (1906) > *amwulyem* (1906), which, respectively, means 'if it is whatsoever,' 'under any circumstances,' and 'right,' also with some overlap.⁵

- (8) a. *kuleha-myen* >> *kulemyen* >> *kulem*
be.so-if then right
'if (it is) so'
- b. *amwulyeha-myen* >> *amwulyemyen* >> *amwulyem*
be.whatever-if under.any.circumstances right
'if (it is) whatsoever'

⁴ Even though *-le* and *-la* (and their variant *-IA*) in (7a) are suspected to have been unproductive adverbializing derivational affixes, and similarly, even though *-lye* in (7b) may be an intention-marking adverbializer, their grammatical status cannot be conclusively determined.

⁵ The first attestations of *amwulemyen* and *amwulyem* in the historical corpus are in a 1906 novel *Kwiuyseng*, (and its variants *amolyemyen* and *amolyem* in 1907 and 1908, respectively). The first form in the path *amwulyehamyen*, however, does not occur in the corpus even though it is listed in contemporary dictionaries as the non-contracted source of *amwulyemyen*, which, in turn, is the source of *amwulyem*. This seems to be partly due to the inherent limitations of the corpus, i.e., relatively small size (769,788 words) and absence of colloquial data, and partly due to the fact that at the earlier stage, the concessive counterpart *amwulehAntAI* of the conditional-based *amwulehamyen* was more productively used.

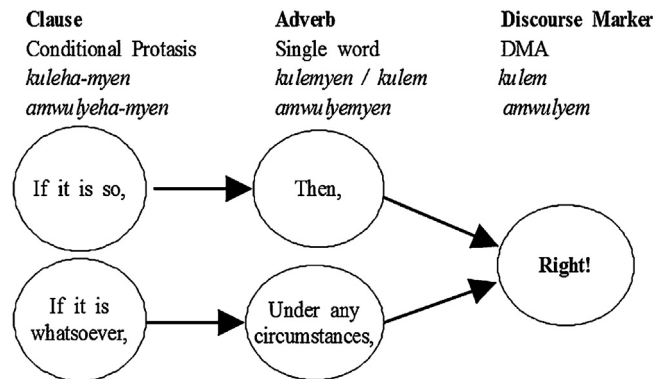


Fig. 1. Categorical and Functional Change of *kulem* and *amwulyem*.

In terms of categorial and morphosyntactic change, *kulem* and *amwulyem* have undergone syntagmatic compacting and formal loss, resulting in changes into grammatical forms. This change is diagrammatically presented as Fig. 1. In both cases the light verb *ha-* is completely lost and the relic of conditional conjunction *-myen* is left in the form of *-m*. Furthermore, the morpheme boundaries also disappeared completely.⁶

In terms of diachronic development, most DMAs date back to the early 20th century pre-modern novels, called collectively the *sinsosel*.⁷ Some of the DMAs are also attested in other literature of the period. *Kulem* for agreement-marking is attested in *sinsosel* as accusatory questions. That is, the questions are not used to solicit information but are merely rhetorical questions. For instance, (9a) and (9b) below are spoken in protest to the addressee. The context of (9a) is where three women are conspiring to kill a woman. A servant-girl Namswun is retorting to her friend Oktan, who, after secretly speaking about a plan to kill their master's concubine together, asks her if she understood what she said. Namswun says she did understand her, using *kulem*. The context of (9b) is where a man and a woman are discussing their plan to elope to a distant place. The man asks if she has done what she was supposed to do. The woman says *kulem* to say that everything has been perfectly done. *Kulem* at this stage can be interpreted either as its conservative meaning 'then' or as its incipient DMA meaning 'of course.' The transition, with the example (9a), seems to be from "Then, (are you saying that) I don't understand it?" to "Of course, I do understand." Such a transition seems to be motivated by the rhetorical nature of the questions.

- (9) a. *kulem kukes-ul mos alatul-e? nwukwu-nun kwi ep-na?*
 of.course that-ACC not understand-END who-TOP ear not.exist-Q.END
 'Of course (I do), (do you think I) don't understand it? (Do you think I) don't have ears?'
 (1908, *Chiaksan* I: 84; *Sinsosel*)
- b. *kulem pemyenhA-llakwu?*
 of.course be.common-END
 'Of course, would I do it in a mediocre way?' (1906, *Kwiuyseng* 2007; *Sinsosel*)

Also, *kulem* is often attested as a part of set phrases denoting 'of course' as self-confirmation. For instance, *kulem kulehchi*, which has the tautological meaning "if it is so, it is so" that developed into "right," is often attested toward the end of the 19th century.⁸ In these examples, *kulem kulehchi* means "Now it looks more like it" or "Now you are talking," etc. Also, *kulemyen*

⁶ See Ahn and Yap (2014) for similar verbal elision and phonological reduction processes in the development of Korean 'say' evidentials.

⁷ *Sinsosel*, literally meaning 'new novel,' refers to the literary genre that bridges the classical novels and modern novels, and the novels in this genre, numbering about 300, date from 1894 to 1917. The styles characteristic of these novels were influenced by Western literary styles. As anonymous reviewers point out, also noted in Koo and Rhee (2013:73), DMAs, characteristically colloquial, may have been developed earlier than the *sinsosel* period but only first attested in such novels since these novels constitute the first literary genre to use colloquial language.

⁸ Such instances are found in *Akpwu*, a collection of classical poems, the publication of which has not been dated. They were written after having been orally transmitted for a long time. Judging from the diction and style, however, the language in *Akpwu* seems to heavily reflect the language of the late 19th century. In a work entitled 'Helswuepnun Pyengkayk [A hopeless cake-eater]' in *Akpwu*, the phrase *kulem kuleschi* occurs as an interjection in a fast-paced two-party dialog. The main interlocutor uses an interjection in nearly all of his turns, and the other interjections used are *oltha* 'You're right' and *oltha ceypepita* 'You're right. You're pretty good.'

kuleschi, the phonetically more conservative counterpart of *kulem kuleschi*, is often attested in Sinsosel and elsewhere including *The Daehan Daily*, 1904. This is exemplified in (10).

- (10) a. *kulemyen.kuleschi na-nAn Ahuy-lakonAn na-po-ci-to mos hAy-s-ta*
of.course I-TOP child-TOP bear-EXP-NOMZ-even not do-PST-DEC
‘That’s more like it (= That makes more sense). I don’t have any children (but you first said my son died, and now you say you were mistaken).’ (1904 *The Daehan Daily* 8363)
- b. *kulemyen.kuleschi pAykcyu-ey nulk-un sAlAm-ul soki-si-lyako*
of.course broad.daylight-at be.old-ADN person-ACC deceive-HON-INTEN
‘That’s more like it. Did you think you could fool an old woman [me] in broad daylight?’
(1913, *Piphaseng* 26, Sinsosel)

Example (10a) is taken from a humorous story in a newspaper about a magistrate. In an attempt to tease his master, a guard tells the magistrate that his son has died, so he cries a lot. Now the guard tells him that he made a mistake, and then the magistrate says it makes more sense because he himself does not have a child in the first place. The magistrate says *kulemyen kuleschi* ‘right; that makes more sense now.’ Since the conditional connective *-myen* is still transparent in this interjectional expression in a sentential form, unlike its phonologically eroded counterpart *kulem*, the conditional meaning of the form is still available: ‘if it is so, it is so.’ Similarly, (10b) is taken from a sinsosel novel. A fortune-teller scolds her client who tried to deceive her by saying that she has many children when, in fact, she has only one. When challenged, the client admits that she indeed has only one daughter, and the fortune-teller responds with *kulemyen kuleschi* ‘right; that makes more sense now.’

Similarly, the DMA *amwulyem* is always used with the meaning of ‘of course’ in sinsosel. Set phrases *amwulyem kulehci* ‘of course, it is so’ and *amwulyem yepwukaissnA* ‘Of course, is there any need to see if it’s so or not so?’ are also frequently attested. Judging from the collocational patterns in the corpus, these phrases seem to be the direct origins of the DMA. In other words, as shall be discussed in more detail in 4.1, *amwulyem* seems to have developed from an ellipsis of the main clause. Their use is well illustrated by (11).

- (11) a. *amwulyem yepwu-ka iss-nA*
of.course yes.no-NOM exist-Q
‘Of course, is there any need to see if it’s so or not?’ (< Lit. ‘Of course, is there room for a yes or a no?’ < ‘(Even) if it is whatsoever, is there room for yes-no?’) (1906, *Kwiuyseng* 2573; Sinsosel)
- b. *amwulyem kuleschi*
of.course it.is.so
‘Of course, it is so.’ (< Lit. ‘(Even) if it is whatsoever, it is so.’) (1914, *Kumkangmwun* 16; Sinsosel)
- c. *amwulyem ta ne-y calmwus-i-ci*
of.course all you-GEN fault-be-END
‘Of course. It’s all your fault.’ (1912, *Caypongchwun* 293; Sinsosel)

In (11a) *amwulyem* still bears the syntactic relics of its origin as a conditional protasis. Reflecting the conditional meaning in the original structure, (11a) would mean ‘If it is whatever situation (= in whatsoever situation), is there room for discussing a yes or a no,’ or, considering that this is a rhetorical question, it could also mean ‘Under what circumstances will there be a yes or a no? There is no need to discuss it.’ In other words, *amwulyem* in this structure is, albeit weakly, syntactically dependent on the main clause. Example (11b) is taken from a conversation between two married sisters, in which one apologizes that she has been unable to visit her sister because of numerous family matters to attend to. Her sister responds with *amwulyem kuleschi* to show her agreement that home-making indeed keeps housewives busy. The example shows a more fossilized use of the phrase *amwulyem kuleschi*, in exact parallel with *kulem kuleschi*, as discussed above. This phrase, although it is still analyzable as one consisting of a protasis and an apodosis at the surface level, is for practical purposes already emancipated from syntax and has entered the lexicon as an unanalyzable whole, thus acquiring the characteristic of a discourse marker. On the other hand, *amwulyem* in (11c) has fully developed into a pragmatic marker. In this example, a mother-in-law is scolding her daughter-in-law, who has apologized for losing her wedding band. In response to the daughter-in-law’s apology that she is to blame, the mother-in-law agrees that she indeed is to blame by saying *amwulyem* ‘of course’. This is an instance of *amwulyem* as a syntactically free-standing form.

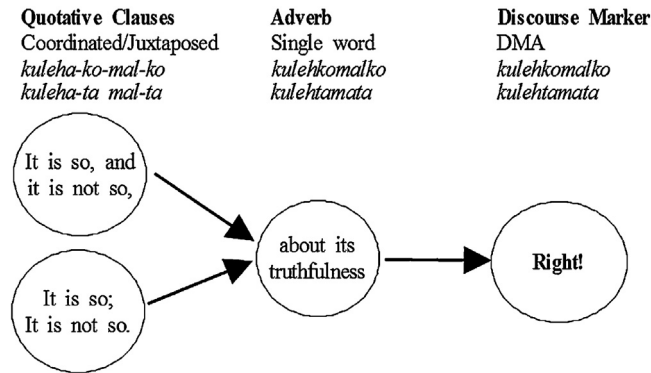


Fig. 2. Categorical and Functional Change of *kulehkomalko* and *kulehtamata*.

3.2. Quotation-based DMAs

The two DMAs *kulehkomalko* and *kulehtamata* in the category of quotation are derived from ‘it is so (and) it is not so’.⁹ The only difference between them is that the former has two clauses coordinated with *-ko* ‘and’ and the latter has two juxtaposed sentences. In the case of coordinated *kulehko malko*, a peculiarity is that the coordinating connective *-ko* is repeated. The repeated use of this ‘isolating’ connective (Koo, 1987) produces the effect of iterativity through unfinished enumeration of relevant factors. In this case, two such elements are mentioned: ‘it is so’ and ‘it is not so.’ By using this connective *-ko* iteratively, the speaker is simply listing the positions without siding with either one of them. The speaker in fact disregards both positions by claiming that the issue is so straightforward that the conclusion is beyond discussion.

- (12) From Quotation
- a. *kulehkomalko* << *kuleha-ko-mal-ko*
be.so-and-stop-and
‘(it is) so and not so’
- b. *kulehtamata* << *kuleha-ta mal-ta*
be.so-DEC stop-DEC
‘(it is) so; (it is) not (so)’

The examples in (12) show the development from bi-clausal or bi-sentential ‘it is so (and) it is not so’ to a univerbated adverbial ‘as for (about) its truthfulness’ and further to a discourse marker ‘right’. Even though the two have different degrees of clausal incorporation at the beginning stage, their developmental paths converge at the adverbial stage. The forms *kulehako malko* and *kulehko malko* and their spelling variants occur in a newspaper *The Kyenghyang Daily* published in 1906–1907, which suggests that the early 20th century was when the formal and semantic innovation occurred. It is remarkable that this drastic functional and semantic transition involves no substantial change in form. This is illustrated in (13) and Fig. 2.

- (13) From Quotation
- a. *kuleha-ko-mal-ko* >> *kulehkomalko* >> *kulehkomalko*
be.so-and-stop-and about.(its).truthfulness right
‘(that) (it is) so and (it is) not so’

⁹ Unlike other categories discussed in this paper, the forms in this category do not include explicit quotative markers. These forms are quasi-direct quotations in the sense that they are structurally in the place of direct quote, but the quotes of imaginary pros and cons occur in the form of pro-forms *kule* ‘be so’ and *mal-* ‘be not so’. They are categorized as having a quotative basis by virtue of their being objects of verbs of argumentation such as ‘argue,’ ‘contend,’ ‘debate,’ ‘quarrel,’ etc. in structural terms, thus sometimes occurring with an accusative marker. Therefore, the change in the development can be likened to an interpretive reanalysis: ‘They argued “It is so (and) it is not so.” > ‘They argued about its truthfulness.’ It is obvious, as a reviewer notes, that the functional change of quotation is based on the development of concessive sense from “A or not” to “regardless of A or not” to imply the futility of any argument.

- b. *kuleha-ta mal-ta* >> *kulehtamata* >> *kulehtamata*
 be.so-DEC stop-DEC about.(its)truthfulness right
 '(it is) so; (it is) not (so)'

A search of the historical data reveals that DMAs *kulehkomalko* and *kulehtamata* are first attested only in the early 20th century data.¹⁰ The first occurrences of these DMAs in the corpus are found in sinsosel novels as shown in (14) and (15).

- (14) a. *kuleschi ola kulekhommalko amo lyemlye mal-key*
 it.is.so it.is.right right any worry stop-IMP
 'Of course, you're right, of course, don't worry.' (1908, *Pinsangsel* 334; Sinsosel)
- b. *kulekhomalko cyengsyengkes hA-yeya-ci*
 right with.care do-must-END
 'Of course, you should do your very best.' (1911, *Wenangto* 399; Sinsosel)
- (15) *amolyem kuleschi kulesthamata sAIAm-uy phyengsAyng kolak-i kekuy taly-es-ci*
 right it.is.so right man-GEN lifetime happiness.sadness-NOM there hang-PERF-END
 'Of course, of course, a man's life and death, and happiness and sadness, all depend on it [marriage].' (1912, *Anuyseng* 8; Sinsosel)

The development of a DMA from an embedded quotation seems to have been mediated by the bridging context, which is also attested in a sinsosel, as exemplified in (16), in which two conspirators of a criminal act are remorsefully reflecting on what they have been doing.

- (16) A: [Let's stop this dishonest job of exploiting him. We cannot raise our children (in an honorable way) if we continue this.]
- B: *a kulekho malko yepwu-ka iss-na amoli samsyunkwusik-ul moshA-telAyto*
 well it.is.so.and be.not.so.and yes.no-NOM exist-Q anyway 30.days.9.meals.-ACC not.do-even.if
cham ilen nolos-un cengmal moshA-keys-nyey
 really this thing-TOP truly not.do-FUT-END
 'Well, of course, is there any yes or no? (= I cannot agree with you more). Even if we were too poor to have even 9 meals a month, we cannot force ourselves to do this kind of job.'
 (1913, *Nwunmwul* 1097–1098; Sinsosel)

From the above, it is clear that *kulekho malko* 'it is so and it is not so' is an imaginary quote that is appositive to *yepwu* 'yes or no' in the rhetorical question. This rhetorical question 'is there any yes or no?' is ellipted for a more dramatic effect of the direct quote of an argument (between 'it is so' and 'it is not so') (see Section 4.1 for more discussion). This closely parallels the development of DMAs from conditional constructions illustrated in the preceding section.

3.3. Causal-based DMAs

In the category of causals, the DMAs developed from the constructions that denote 'because it is so.' However, if the source constructions are traced further, the meanings of the sources are revealed to be 'while it is so' or 'at it being so'. The contingency meaning and the location meaning associated with these constructions are subjected to pragmatic enrichment, the process of subjectification, and both changed into expressions with the causality meaning. This process is well illustrated in (17) and diagrammatically presented in Fig. 3.

¹⁰ These DMAs occur in many variant forms: *kulehkomalko*, *kulekhomalko*, *kulekhomalkwu*, *kuleskhomalko*, and *kuleskhomalkwu*; and *kulehtamata*, *kulethamata* and *kulesthamata*. The first attestations of *kulehtamata*-type DMAs in the corpus were in the form of *kulethamata* and *kulesthamata*. The total of five occurrences was all in the DMA use. However, the more conservative source form *kulehatamata* is not attested in the corpus. This may be primarily due to the corpus size but at the same time this may be an indication that the contraction of the semantically bleached verb *ha-* is rather instantaneous and that the contraction already occurred before the turn of the 20th century in the spoken language. (Note that the pre-20th century data in the corpus are all from literary sources).

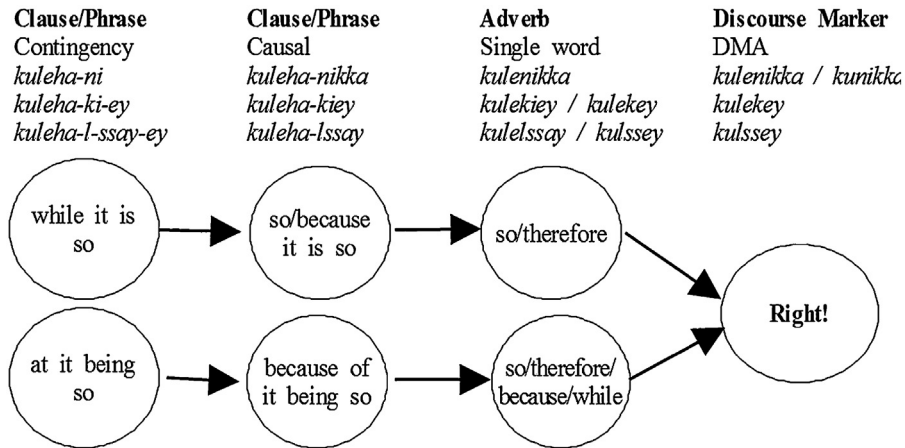


Fig. 3. Categorical and Functional Change of *kulenikka*, *kulekey* and *kulssey*.

- (17) From Causals
- | | | | | |
|----|--|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | <i>kuleha-ni</i>
be.so-CONTIN
'while (it is) so' | >> <i>kuleha-nikka</i>
be.so-because
'because (it is) so' | >> <i>kulenikka</i>
so/therefore | >> <i>ku(le)nikka</i>
right |
| b. | <i>kuleha-ki-ey</i>
be.so-NOMZ-at
'at (it) being so' | >> <i>kuleha-kiey</i>
be.so-because
'because of (it) being so' | >> <i>kulek(i)ey</i>
so/therefore | >> <i>kulekey</i>
right |
| c. | <i>kuleha-l-ssay-ey</i>
be.so-ADN-NOMZ-at
'at (it) being so' | >> <i>kuleha-lssay</i>
be.so-because
'because of (it) being so' | >> <i>kulelssay</i>
because/while | >> <i>kulssey</i>
right |

The word *kuleniska*, which is identical in form to DMA *kulenikka*, is attested in *sinsosel* novels, but its meaning shows that it has not yet developed into a DMA at this point.¹¹ Its primary meaning is 'in conclusion' in *Sinsosel*. This means that by this time the form has passed the clausal stage and has entered the adverbial stage, where it is used as a logical connective introducing a proposition to express the effect or conclusion. This is exemplified in (18).

- (18) *kuleniska kumcyuy-ka ku lyangpan-uy stal-i-ya-yo*
therefore [name]-NOM that gentleman-GEN daughter-be-END-POL
'So it comes to the conclusion that Kumcyuy is the daughter of the gentleman.' (1911, *Wenangto* 540; *Sinsosel*)

Interestingly, the form *kulenikka* is often attested as a part of a set phrase *kulenikka malici* 'that's why I'm saying this', as shown in (19) below. The set phrase literally means '(This) is the word because it is so.' This seems to be the direct origin of the DMA *kulenikka* in terms of both structure and meaning. When the DMA *kulenikka* is uttered, some sense of structural ellipsis is obvious, mainly because it is a connective adverbial introducing a proposition. The form *kulenikka*, when it occurs as a part of the set phrase, carries the meaning 'that's why.' This 'consequential' meaning is directly relevant to that of a DMA.

- (19) *kuleniska mal-i-ci escistako mus-nun kes-i-ya*
therefore word-be-END why ask-ADN thing-be-END
'That's why I'm saying. Why are you asking me (that as if I did something wrong)?' (1911, *Tongkakkanmay* 154; *Sinsosel*)

¹¹ According to Korean phonology, the two forms, *kuleniska* and *kulenikka*, have the same phonetic representation.

As for *kulekey*, its more conservative variant *kulekiey*, in which the nominalizer *-ki* is still visible, is attested a few times in Sinsosel with the meanings ‘that’s why...’ (consequential), and ‘you see?’ (challenging), as shown in (20).

- (20) a. *kulekiey sosung-i cAthancAka-lo kul han kwi ci-n kes-i nis-sumnita*
 therefore little.monk-NOM lamentation-as writing one piece make-ADN thing-NOM exist-END
 ‘(I know what you mean) that’s why I, a humble monk, wrote a piece of a poem of lamentation (about my miserable condition).’ (1908, *Songloykum* 526; Sinsosel)
- b. *kulekiey nay mwues-i-la hAya-s-na*
 therefore I what-be-COMP say-PST-Q.END
 ‘You see? What did I tell you? (I told you that...)’ (1908, *Songloykum* 482; Sinsosel)

As for the DMA *kulssey*, the form and its variant *kulsey* are very frequently attested in Sinsosel and other early 20th century data, with diverse meanings of ‘well’ (hesitation or uncertainty) and ‘I know but’ (concession), ‘I’m telling you’ (emphatic argument-refresher). These meanings form two different groups: a marker of hesitation/uncertainty and concession on the one hand, and an emphatic argument-refresher on the other (see Section 4.3 for more discussion). Such divergent uses are exemplified in (21).

- (21) a. *kulssey etAy-lo ka-l-sko*
 well where-to go-FUT-Q.END
 ‘Well... where should I go?’ (1908, *Songloykum* 976; Sinsosel)
- b. *kulsey nato kwungkumhA-ye hA-nun mal-i-yo*
 well I-also wonder-because say-ADN saying-be-POL.END
 ‘I know what you mean, but I’m asking because I’m dying to know about it.’ (1912, *Masanglwu* 473; Sinsosel)
- c. *kulsey cyengsin-ul com chAli-si-o*
 well consciousness-ACC a.little gain-HON-END
 ‘I’m telling you. You should wake up to the reality.’ (1912, *Masanglwu* 267; Sinsosel)

In the historical data, many occurrences of *kulsey* are in a set phrase *kulsey malilsey* ‘I know what you mean,’ ‘That’s what I will say, too,’ and its variants. This seems to be the direct origin of the DMA *kulssey*. The two possible meanings depend on how *mal* ‘word’ is interpreted, i.e. whether it is ‘your word, or what you said’ or ‘my word, or what I will say.’ In the former, the speaker is saying that what the interlocutor said is fit and proper in this situation, and in the latter, the speaker is saying that he or she would say the same in this situation. There are modern day set phrases that bear the trace of this duality of source meanings: *Kulssey malipnita* and *Kulssey malssumipnita*. The latter, used at a lower frequency than the former, contains *malssum*, which is the honorific counterpart of *mal* ‘word’. Thus the former corresponds to ‘That’s what I’ll say,’ and the latter, ‘I know what you mean.’ Undoubtedly, they both lead to the development of the agreement meaning characteristic of DMAs.

4. Discussion

An analysis of the emergence of DMAs reveals that they have certain notable characteristics. In their source structures, the roles of ellipsis and anaphora are prominent. When the source structures begin to emerge as DMAs, they do so by splitting themselves from their original sources, thus leaving the conventional and innovative functions coexisting synchronically. In the course of semantic change and, consequently, of functional shift, the role of pragmatic inference and intersubjectification surface as significant contributing factors.

4.1. The Role of Ellipsis and Pragmatic Inferences

Ellipsis is an interesting discourse pragmatic strategy largely serving the economy of expression by not saying what is obvious in given linguistic or situational contexts. Quirk et al. (1985[1972]) state that in a strict sense of ellipsis, words are ellipted only if they are uniquely recoverable, i.e., there is no doubt about what is to be supplied. Grammatical change influenced by ellipsis is widely attested across languages (cf. [Haiman, 1988](#) ‘inconsequential’; [Ohori, 1995](#) and [Higashiizumi, 2006](#) ‘suspended clause’; [Evans, 2007](#) ‘insubordination’; [Sohn, 2003](#) and [Rhee, 2002](#) ‘main clause ellipsis’). For instance, subordinate clauses become full-fledged free-standing main clauses that mark requests, suggestions, desideration, question, exclamation, etc.

Recruiting ellipsis to evoke pragmatic inferences is a common discourse strategy that triggered grammaticalization in Korean (Koo and Rhee, 2001; Rhee, 2002, 2012). For instance, a large number of connectives are grammaticalized into sentence-final particles as a result of conventionalization of main-clause ellipsis. All the DMAs under the present investigation originated from discourse segments that end with connectives or devices of enumeration, thus signaling 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 of what the previous speaker has just said.¹² This is well illustrated by (22), based on example (2):

- (22) A: ['Since that guy was doing that again and again I became angry.']
 B: *kulem*
 (i) "If so"
 (ii) "If the situation was so"
 (iii) "If the situation was so, (then) you should be rightfully angry."
 (iv) "You're right."

In the above example, A is describing an annoying situation to B by saying, "Since that guy is doing that again and again I became angry." B in response says "*kulem*". This literally means 'If so,' which reflects its origin in a conditional clause. This is interpreted as 'If the situation was so' and it becomes enriched by filling in the main clause, 'you should be rightfully angry.' The reason B omitted this part is because it is so obvious that it does not need to be verbalized. Thus, the obviousness of A's having reason to be angry is shared and B is agreeing with A. The transition from (iii) to (iv) is pragmatically well-motivated but is a drastic change in that the form is completely emancipated from its origin of being a conditional clause ('if (it is) so'), or of its more recent status as a connective adverbial marking consequentiality ('then'). It is at this stage that the conditional meaning 'if' shifts to the causal meaning 'since'. Conventionalization of the pragmatic sense of 'omissible by virtue of being obvious' results in the emergence of a DMA.

In a similar fashion, the development of the DMAs *kulehko malko* and *kulehta mata* from quotative constructions underwent the processes of reconstructing what is elided and making inferences. This can be illustrated with *kulehko malko* as in (23), which is based on (4):

- (23) A: ['It is really a stupid act.']
 B: *kulehko malko*
 (i) "Whether it is so or not so" (Lit. 'It is so and not so')
 (ii) "It is beyond arguing whether it is so or it is not so."
 (iii) "It is beyond arguing whether it is so or it is not so that it is really a stupid act."
 (iv) "You're right."

In the above example, A is declaring that someone's act was a stupid act. B's response to it is to simply say '(it is) so and not so,' an uncompleted enumeration of possibilities as marked by the repeated use of the connective *-ko* (cf. 3.2).

An interesting aspect in this regard is that the enumerative pattern of using *-ko malko* is typically employed when the speaker acknowledges a potential controversy yet at the same time confidently rejects the viability of such a controversy itself. The controversy is often not real but imaginary, rhetorically created by the speaker. Therefore, this phrase functions as a negative polarity item (NPI) typically accompanying such expressions as 'apart from,' 'regardless of,' 'with no need of discussing,' etc. This NPI nature seems to have played an important role in the development of the DMA function, because the speaker is disregarding any possible controversy in terms of the validity of the assertion being presented. In other words, the agreement action takes the form of eradicating the potential controversy just because the speaker's assertion is true beyond question. When such strategy is fully conventionalized, *kulehkomalko* no longer functions as an embedded subordinate clause or as an elliptical structure, but it functions as a full-fledged DMA.

A grammaticalization process similar in terms of the overall pattern yet different in detail from the other two cases is attested in the genesis of the DMA function by the causal-derived DMAs, *kulenikka*, *kulekey*, and *kulssey*. The inferential or interpretive process instrumental in the development of the DMA function is illustrated by example (24) containing *kulenikka*, based on (6).

¹² It is to be noted that Quirk et al.'s notion of 'uniquely recoverable' of the elided material is too stringent in this context because the recoverability largely depends on the speaker's judgment. In the same spirit Evans (2009) notes that the degree of recoverability can be of a wide range from uniquely recoverable to non-uniquely recoverable. Grammaticalization of elliptical structures in Korean involves conventionalization of pragmatic forces of exophoric (i.e. situational) ellipsis (Rhee, 2002).

- (24) A: [‘Mr. Kim is always tardy.’]
 B: *kulenikka*
 (i) “Because it is so”
 (ii) “Because Mr. Kim is always tardy”
 (iii) “Because Mr. Kim is always tardy, it needs to be mentioned.”
 (iv) “What you say is proper.”
 (v) “You’re right.”

In example (24) the speaker B is simply saying ‘because (it is) so,’ but it is interpreted ultimately as ‘You are right; I agree,’ through an intervening stage where the ellipted construction is construable as ‘what you say is proper because it is noteworthy and needs mentioning.’

What is interesting in this context is that the presumed obviousness or the inarguable validity is treated in quite different ways. In the case of the conditional-based DMAs, the obviousness supplies the ground of justification; in the case of the quotation-based DMAs, it obviates the necessity of discussion; and in the case of the causal-based DMAs, it warrants mentioning. This subtlety is the result of the source characteristics (cf. Hopper, 1991, ‘persistence’). For instance, we find a close relationship between the paired notions of ‘conditional’ and ‘ground’, ‘quote’ and ‘discussion’, and ‘causality’ and ‘utterance’.¹³ An exact parallel is found with the DMAs *kulekey* and *kulssey*, which underwent a series of semantic change from its source meaning ‘at it being so’ or ‘because of it being so’ to ‘You’re right’ (see, however, 4.3 for divergent inferences for *kulssey*).

4.2. The role of Anaphora

All the DMAs under discussion, except for *amwulyem*, recruited the adjective *kuleha*- ‘be so’ in their development. The anaphoric marker *kuleha*- makes reference to a part or the whole of the speaker’s utterance, and becomes a part of a conditional or causal protasis clause, or a quotative subordinated clause, depending on the particle that gets affixed.

In the case of *amwulyem*, the source construction recruits an indefinite adjective *amwulyeha*- ‘be whatsoever’ along with a conditional marker *-myen*, which eroded phonologically into *-m* (see Section 3.1 above). This indefinite adjective, as compared to the anaphoric adjective *kuleha*-, is, in a sense, an extended version of the anaphoric reference, in that the speaker uses a wider scope than one specific instance of ‘being so’ by saying ‘being whatsoever’ which is equivalent to ‘being so and in all other cases,’ a case of universal quantification. Therefore, it can be said that the DMAs under discussion crucially employ anaphora as a source component.

In terms of discourse pragmatics, the use of the anaphora reinforces the cohesion of the discourse segments produced by the interlocutors. The highest level of cohesion may involve copying with anaphoric substitution. For instance, the genesis of the conditional-derived DMAs may have occurred in a local context that contained conditional expressions as (25), and similarly, causal-derived DMAs as (26):

- (25) A: *pi-ka o-myen nemwu chwuw-e.*
 rain-NOM come-if too.much be.cold-END
 ‘If it rains, it gets very cold.’
 B: *kule-m*
 be.so-if
 ‘If it does, ...’ (= If it rains, ...)
 > *kulem* (DMA) ‘Sure it does.’ (= Sure it does, (if it rains.))’
- (26) A: *kyay-ka o-nikka cham coh-a*
 he-NOM come-because very be.good-END
 ‘It’s very good that he is here.’ (< It’s very good because he came.)
 B: *kule-nikka*
 be.so-because
 ‘Because it is so ...’ (= Because he is here. . .)
 > *kulenikka* (DMA) ‘Sure it is (because he is here)’.

¹³ The relationship in the last pair, ‘causality’ and ‘utterance,’ may not seem obvious, but Sweetser’s (1990:77) notion of causality at the speech act domain as exemplified in “What are you doing, because there’s a good movie on” is useful in this context. This is contrasted with the causality in the content domain and the epistemic (inferential) domain as in “John came back because he loved her” and “John loved her, because he came back,” respectively.

In (25) the anaphoric expression *kule-* refers to what A mentioned, i.e. ‘if it rains’. Therefore, B’s utterance is simply repeating the conditional clause of A’s utterance, leaving out the main clause by virtue of the obviousness of the resultant protasis-apodosis relation. The presumed copy-and-substitution is supported by the fact that the earlier set phrase that signals the development of the DMA *kulem* was *kulemyen kuleschi* ‘If it is so, it is so’ as indicated in the preceding discussion (see Section 3.1). Likewise, in (26), interlocutor A’s statement consists of two states of affairs in the cause and effect relation. B repeats the cause-marking subordinate clause, leaving out the effect-marking main clause due to the inarguable naturalness of the effect. As is the case with *kulem* in (25), the hypothesis of omission motivated by obviousness in the development of the DMA *kulenikka* is well supported by the use of the set phrase *kulenikka maliya* ‘What (I/you/we) say is because it is so’ (see Section 4.3).

It is obvious, then, in both cases, that B is repeating what A has just said, with an addition of emphatic endorsement of the validity of the relation that exists between the subordinate clause and the main clause. Ironically, this emphasis is achieved not by adding any linguistic material explicitly but by not saying anything and making it implicit. What is more important, the pragmatic effect of emphatic agreement is conventionalized as a part of the semantics of the now fully grammaticalized DMA through absorption of the illocutionary force of omission, hence aptly described as a process ‘from silence to grammar’ (Rhee, 2002). Such semanticization is enabled by the cohesive referential power of the anaphor and the robust pragmatic inferences operative in natural discourse.

4.3. Reconstruction and divergence

The DMAs under discussion began their life as subordinate clauses at around the turn of the 20th century, and soon became fully grammaticalized DMAs (see, however, footnotes 5 and 10, for limitations of the corpus). Despite the similarity in terms of their ages and paths, synchronically the transparency as to the original structure varies by degrees. The transparency may be measured in different ways, but a brief survey was conducted for empirical investigation.¹⁴

When speakers of modern Korean were asked what would be missing from the structures of the DMAs, some of the DMAs were relatively easily reconstructed whereas some of them were either difficult to reconstruct or totally opaque, depending on the speaker. The intuitive reconstruction by the native speakers, as summarized in (27), is largely in consonance with the historical data.¹⁵

(27) Reconstructed Complete Sentence as Source of DMA

a. Transparent (Easy Reconstruction)

<i>kulem</i>	<<	<i>kulem kuleh-ci</i>
		if.it.is.so be.so-END
		‘If it’s so, it’s so.’
<i>amwulyem</i>	<<	<i>amwulyem kuleh-ci</i>
		if.it.is.whatsoever be.so-END
		‘Whatever situation it may be, it is so.’
<i>kulenikka</i>	<<	<i>kulenikka mal-i-ya</i>
		because.it.is.so word-be-END
		‘Because it is so, (we/I) say this.’
<i>kulekey</i>	<<	<i>kulekey mal-i-ya</i>
		at.it.being.so word-be-END
		‘Because it is so, (we/I) say this.’

b. Relatively Opaque (Moderately Difficult Reconstruction)

<i>kulehkomalko</i>	<<	<i>amwulyem kulehkomalko malha-l philyo-to eps-e</i>
		if.it.is.whatsoever be.so.and.not.so say-ADN need-even not.exist-END
		‘Under whatever circumstances it’s not necessary to argue if it is so or not so.’
<i>kulehtamata</i>	<<	<i>kulehtamata yaykiha-l philyo-to eps-e</i>
		it.is.so.it.is.not.so talk-ADN need-even not.exist-END
		‘It’s not necessary to say if it is so or not so.’

¹⁴ This survey was a small scale interview involving ten graduate students. Their responses were remarkably similar and in agreement with the author’s native-speaker intuition as well.

¹⁵ An interesting aspect from the survey result is that the differences among the three levels only involved the response time required for reconstruction. Once the interviewees came up with reconstructed sources, they showed almost complete consensus on their putative reconstructions.

- c. Opaque (Difficult Reconstruction)
kulssey << *kulssey mal-i-ya*
 while.it.is.so word-be-END
 ‘While it is so, (we/I) say this.’

In (27) DMAs from conditional and causal origins, except for *kulssey*, are transparent in source structures, and thus reconstructing the ellipted main clause is easy and the subjects have a high degree of consensus. On the other hand, the DMAs of quotative origins (i.e. *kulehkomalko* and *kulehtamata*) are relatively opaque in terms of their source structure, and require more time for native speakers to reconstruct the missing element. This may have to do with the states of affairs in Modern Korean: in Modern Korean the complementizers introducing a quotative subordinate clause are almost invariably *-tako*, *-jako*, *-nyako*, and *-cako*, depending on the types of the subordinate clauses, i.e. declarative, imperative, interrogative, and hortative, respectively, and the DMAs do not display any formal resemblance to the complementizers.

The seeming difficulty associated with *kulssey* has to do with its other discourse marker function, which is more or equally prominent, i.e. marking hesitation. The emergence of this disparate function is due to divergent pragmatic inference patterns (see following discussion).

Since the genesis of new meanings as DMAs is enabled and constrained by pragmatic reasoning, there are ‘split/divergence’ (Heine and Reh, 1984, Hopper, 1991) phenomena in addition to pragmatic enrichment. As indicated earlier, synchronically, *kulem* has two meanings: one lexical, ‘then’ meaning, and the other, the DMA ‘Right!’ meaning. This is a result of semantic/functional divergence, in which the older meaning survives and coexists with the newer meaning. This divergence pattern is the same throughout all the DMAs.

One DMA that stands out in this divergence pattern is *kulssey*, which synchronically has two different discourse marker functions, i.e. hesitation-marking (DM) and agreement-marking (DMA). To make the picture more complicated, there is still another function of marking the speaker’s negative emphasis. This negative emphasis usage is lexical (LEX), in the sense that it cannot stand alone, unlike those of discourse markers, i.e., hesitation-marking and agreement-marking. Such uses are exemplified in (28).

- (28) a. ‘Hesitation’ (DM)
 A: *ton com iss-e?*
 money a.little exist-END
 ‘Do you have some money?’
 B: *kulssey.*
 ‘Well... (I don’t know.)’
- b. ‘Agreement’ (DMA)
 A: *nalssi-ka mwuchek chwup-ney.*
 weather-NOM very.much be.cold-END
 ‘It’s very cold.’
 B: *kulssey.*
 ‘Right!’
- c. ‘Negative emphasis’ (LEX)
 A: *na ney towum-i philyoha-y.*
 I your help-NOM need-END
 ‘I need your help.’
 B: *kulssey na-n pappu-tanikka.*
 at.it.being.so I-TOP be.busy-END
 ‘Everything notwithstanding, I’m busy.’ (lit. That being so, I’m afraid I’m busy.)

As shown in (28), all these three functions are semantically so removed from the source lexical meaning ‘while it is so’ that their relation is not readily observable. The semantic distance in these three meanings is such that their identical origin and developmental trajectory may seem doubtful. The emphatic function is used in negative contexts, such as rebuttal, reprimand, disregard, etc. with an irritated overtone. In terms of marking the degree of certainty, ‘hesitation’ opposes ‘agreement’ and ‘emphasis.’ In terms of marking the speaker’s attitude, ‘agreement’ opposes ‘negative emphasis,’ and ‘hesitation’ is in the middle of the continuum.

The tripartite split seems to involve two different factors, i.e. differential speed of utterance and divergent inference patterns in the course of grammaticalization of *kulssey* into a discourse marker.¹⁶ It has been noted that its original meaning was ‘at it being so.’ When this ‘at it being so (that being so)’ is spoken slowly with the end trailing, it distinctively shows the speaker’s indeterminacy on the subject with the background presented by the previous interlocutor (cf. English ‘evincive’ *well*, Schourup, 1985).¹⁷ The speaker is showing the need for more time for deliberation or for formulating the answer. This has the nuance of ‘That being so / While that is so, for me, well...’ In Present Day Korean this slow and extended verbalization is still characteristic of the hesitation-marking *kulssey*. On the other hand, when the ‘at it being so (that being so)’ is spoken fast, the utterance shows the speaker’s promptness on accepting what he or she just heard. This has the nuance of ‘That being so, there’s then no doubt about that.’ This is exactly how the DMA *kulssey* is spoken in Present Day Korean. In other words, if *kulssey* is spoken slowly it carries the hesitation meaning ‘well, I don’t know’ and if it is spoken fast, it is a DMA with the meaning ‘I agree with you.’ The ‘negative emphasis’ shows lower correlation with the utterance speed but it has a characteristic intonation contour often associated with irritation.

In terms of inference patterns, the diversity of meanings seems to be due to the semantic neutrality of the source, i.e. ‘at it being so.’ The meaning ‘at it being so’ merely signals that what the speaker just said has been noted, and does not indicate the speaker’s stance in terms of acceptance or rejection of what was heard. As such, a number of context-induced pragmatic options are available to the speaker, as represented in the grammaticalization paths in (29):

- (29) a. ‘Hesitation’ (DM)
 A: [Can you lend me some money?]
 B: *Kulssey*. ‘at it being so’ >> ‘while that’s the case’ >> ‘while I acknowledge what you say’ >> ‘I’m not sure, while I acknowledge what you say.’ >> ‘I need more time to answer.’
- b. ‘Agreement’ (DMA)
 A: [Mr. Kim is tardy again today.]
 B: *Kulssey* ‘at it being so’ >> ‘because that is so’ >> ‘because he is tardy again today’ >> ‘We are saying this because he is tardy again.’ >> ‘You’re Right! / You can say that again!’
- c. ‘Negative Emphasis’ (LEX)
 A: [Please let me go out to play.]
 B: *Kulssey, antway*. ‘at it being so, you can’t.’ >> ‘while that is so, you can’t.’ >> ‘While I know what you want, you can’t.’ >> ‘Everything notwithstanding, you can’t!’

As shown above, the developmental path diverges *en route*, and the decisive factor is the speech situation. For instance, the hesitation path seems amenable to questions or statements that solicit information or opinion, or to hortative statements requesting a joint action. On the other hand, the development of the agreement path may be taken up in a situation when the interlocutor uses a declarative sentence saying something obvious, such as the weather, or something that does not require the partner’s active involvement in the discourse such as narrating his or her experience. A question-answer situation is not a likely environment for the development of agreement. On the other hand, the developmental path for negative emphasis, as exemplified in (29c), is less restrictive in terms of sentence types. It is taken up when the situation is replicated, such as repeated questions or requests, to which B has previously expressed his or her stance, and in which A is trying to persuade the interlocutor otherwise. Therefore, *kulssey* in this negative emphasis function typically accompanies the emphatic endings derived from complementizers. For instance, *antway* in (29c) may be replaced by *antoyntako*, which ends in a sentence-final particle developed from the declarative-based (and typically assertive) complementizer *-tako*. When *antoyntako* is used instead of *antway*, the utterance carries stronger illocutionary force. In sum, it can be argued that the DMAs’ seemingly contradictory developments have been triggered by pragmatic inferences from the speech situation. This points to the importance of discourse context as the locus of grammaticalization.

4.4. Intersubjectification

DMAs develop from dyadic or polyadic discourse and thus are results of discursive interaction. For this reason, DMAs are highly interactive and interpersonal. Furthermore, the development of DMAs heavily relies on intersubjectification between the interlocutors.

¹⁶ See Kim and Sohn (in this volume) for the significance of prosody in the development of discourse markers.

¹⁷ The function of this hesitation-marking *kulssey* is almost identical with English *well*: a marker of insufficiency, a face-threat mitigator, a frame separating discourse units, and a delay device (Jucker, 1993).

What the user of these three types of DMAs says in effect is that he or she does not need to add any utterances that do not carry any new semantic content, simply because what could be said is already situationally obvious. Furthermore, since the main element in what is actually uttered, i.e., the DMAs, is nothing more than an anaphor, the utterance itself does not carry much semantic content. The absence of any increase in informativity shows that these discourse markers are like an echo — the speaker is supportively echoing what he or she has heard by putting it into an elliptical frame that says ‘If it is so, . . .,’ ‘. . . that it is so or it is not so,’ and ‘. . . since it is so.’ As the speaker’s intention bears more significance than the mere utterance, such source meanings as condition, quotation, and reason become completely bleached and the new meaning of agreement becomes conventionalized as a meaning for the uttered linguistic form, thus the emergence of DMAs. Therefore, the grammaticalization of DMAs is the result of intersubjectification.

There are other aspects that bear relevance to intersubjectification. The use of DMAs exhibits a highly emotive state of the speaker, and thus can be said to be markers of modality for emotional stance with respect to the co-participant of the discursive interaction. Furthermore, as shown in the preceding discussion, DMAs carry the speaker’s attitudinal stance, and indicate the speaker’s acknowledgment of, and response to, the addressee’s attitude or stance. The exhibited attitude is not mainly toward the proposition but largely toward the addressee, a fact which strongly indicates that DMAs carry a high level of intersubjectivity.

The function of ellipsis in the emergence of grammatical markers in Korean has been noted in Rhee (2002). It is notable with respect to the emergence of DMAs that silence, i.e. ellipsis, is strategically used to signal agreement; that even though the source sentences that are syntagmatically ellipted are subject to multiple, potentially contradictory, interpretations, the selected interpretation is almost always one that is supportive of what has been said rather than otherwise.

5. Conclusion

This paper has shown the processes that certain forms have historically undergone *en route* to their grammaticalization into discourse markers of agreement, or DMAs. These DMAs under discussion have been shown to originate from three different sources, i.e. conditionals, quotations, and causals. In this investigation of the grammaticalization of DMAs, three findings surface as noteworthy.

Firstly, the linguistic forms that served as the basis of the development of DMAs made use of ellipsis by strategically withholding the main clause to indicate that the situation is so obvious that the elided part does not require explicit utterance. Secondly, the DMAs recruited the anaphoric forms that make reference to the speaker’s prior utterance and become a part of a conditional or causal protasis or a quotative subordinated clause. Finally, the DMAs crucially make use of intersubjectification through which the elided parts are pragmatically reconstructed and the defective discourse segments become full-fledged DMAs.

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