

Analogy-driven inter-categorial grammaticalization and (inter)subjectification of *-na* in Korean



Seongha Rhee^{a,*}, Hyun Jung Koo^{b,1}

^a Department of English Linguistics, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, 107 Imun-ro, Dongdaemun-gu, Seoul 130-791, Republic of Korea

^b Department of Korean Language and Culture, Sangmyung University, 31 Sangmyungdaegil, Dongnam-gu, Cheonan-shi, Chungnam 330-720, Republic of Korea

Received 3 May 2015; received in revised form 18 August 2015; accepted 19 August 2015
Available online

Abstract

Korean has a large number of polyfunctional particles and connectives. One peculiar form is *-na*, whose function, among others, is to mark the speaker's tepid attitude about the proposal or statement he or she is making. A historical survey suggests that the primary function of *-na* was largely to enumerate options, exemplars, etc. As the repetitive pattern gradually declined over time and thus a sentence pattern containing only a single *-na*-marked constituent evolved, the meaning of *-na* changed into a marker of non-specificity by implying that there are other options unmentioned. This notion of non-specificity was further subjectified into 'tepidity'. The lack of compulsion associated with the form *-na* leads to its association with politeness strategies. Another significant functional divergence is its development into a sentence-final particle to mark the speaker's self-addressed question through a process of main-clause ellipsis. This monologal interrogative marker *-na* as a verbal morpheme is used to show that the speaker is (still) exploratory about a state of affairs, and thus to mark the speaker's cognitive non-definiteness and indecision. This, in turn, triggers the functional extension to politeness marking. An analysis of the historical data reveals that the functional spread involved analogical reasoning based on structural and functional similarity.

© 2015 Elsevier B.V. All rights reserved.

Keywords: Grammaticalization; Tepidity; Stance; Politeness; (Inter)subjectification; Inter-categorial Analogy

1. Introduction

Korean is a language of SOV word order and agglutinative morphology. It has an impressive inventory of postpositions, connectives, sentence-enders, and particles, with diverse functions.² In this language it is not uncommon for a form to be in 'heterosemous' relation (Persson, 1986), i.e., a form has multiple meanings or functions that are historically related but belong in different morphosyntactic categories (Lichtenberk, 1991:476). Among such heterosemies stands out one form, *-na*, a multi-functional form across categories such as a postposition, connective,

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +82 2 2173 3171; fax: +82 2 959 4581.

E-mail addresses: srhee@hufs.ac.kr (S. Rhee), hyunjkoo@smu.ac.kr (H.J. Koo).

¹ Tel.: +82 41 550 5115.

² For instance, Lee and Lee (2010) list 2056 postpositional particles, connectives and sentence-final particles. Even though many of them are allomorphs, morphosyntactic variants, and polymorphemic combinations, the sheer number reveals the extraordinarily high level of diversity and richness of the grams and the consequence of multiplication of grammatical forms through agglutination.

sentence-ender and particle.³ Recently, it has come to be used to mark, among others, the speaker's stance of 'tepidity,' i.e., a signal that the speaker is not enthusiastic about his or her choice. This is illustrated in the following putative examples in contrast⁴:

- (1) a. *yenghwa-lul po-ca*
 movie-ACC see-HORT
 'Let's watch a movie (rather than a concert)'
- b. *yenghwa-na po-ca*
 movie-PRT see-HORT
 'Let's watch a movie (but I am not excited about watching it).'

Example (1a) above, in which the theme argument is marked with the accusative marker *-lul*, is neutral with respect to the speaker's stance.⁵ The speaker is simply suggesting that they watch a movie. On the other hand, (1b), marked with the postpositional particle *-na* instead of *-lul*, signals that the speaker is suggesting that they go to the movies but that the suggestion is only tentative and thus open to modification or even rejection. The apparent lack of assertiveness by the speaker enabled the tepidity marker to develop into a marker of politeness, especially in hortative or imperative sentences, since attenuation ('mitigation' Caffi, 1999, 2007; 'downgrading' Smith and Jucker, 2000; 'downtoning' Quirk et al., 1985; Nevalainen and Rissanen, 2002) is a common strategy for politeness marking (Rhee, 2011). The original function of the marker *-na* is that of a disjunctive or adversative connective largely equivalent to the English 'or' or 'but' but it acquired the additional function of a pragmatic particle signaling tepidity.⁶ These tepidity-related functions are now widely attested across other grammatical domains in contemporary Korean.

Diverse meanings and functions of this form *-na* have drawn the attention from theoretical linguists as well as from descriptive grammarians (Choe, 1961; Huh, 1972, 1989; Lee, 1990; Kim, 1992; Choi, 1999; Hong, 2002; Mok, 2003; Lee, 2003; Ryu, 2013; Kim, 2015, inter alia). Most of these studies focused their attention on identifying the core meanings of the form (Choe, 1961; Yang, 1973; Chae, 1977; Huh, 1983; Lee, 1993), or exploring whether the origin of apparently variegated functions is indeed a single form from which other, currently available, functions are derived (Choe, 1961; Kim, 1979; Nam and Ko, 1985; Chae, 1993; Choi, 1999; Park, 2015; Lim, 2015). Some of them, notably Lee (1990), traced historical paths of development of the connective *-na* from the 15th through the 19th century, focusing on its core 'selective' and 'concessive' functions.

From the perspective of the present research, i.e., grammaticalization viewpoint, Lee (2003) and Kim (2015) are particularly noteworthy. Largely focusing on the contemporary uses of *-na* in different syntactic environments, Lee (2003) hypothesizes that the function of marking 'low expectation' is the source meaning of *-na*, from which 'indeterminacy,' 'disjunctive,' 'free-choice,' 'adversative,' 'polite suggestion,' and 'uncertainty modal' develop, i.e., from nominal to verbal and to modal functions. Kim (2015) rejects Lee's (2003) account which regards the sentence-final *-na* as having been derived from the connective or postpositional particle *-na*. Based on cross-linguistic reasoning patterns, most notably from König (1985, 1988), her study proposes semantic-pragmatic connections from choice "or" to free-choice "regardless", and then to counter-expectation "even (though)." Using a diachronic corpus from the 5th century onward, she argues that the Korean

³ *-Na* has a number of variants (see below), but unless the distinction is necessary for clarity, *-na* is used as the representative form. The grammatical labels for *-na* as used here are as follows: a connective if it is a verbal morphology (in the form of *-na*, *-una*, *-kena*); a postposition if it is a nominal morphology (in the form of *-na* or *-ina*); as a sentence-ender (in the form of *-na*) if it occurs sentence-finally and occupies the position of a sentence-type marker; and as a particle (in the form of *-na* or *-ena*) if it simply adds semantic-pragmatic meanings regardless of the syntactic position it occupies.

⁴ Abbreviations: ABS: audience-blind style; ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominal; ADV: adverbializer; BEN: benefactive; COMP: complementizer; CONN: connective; DEC: declarative; DESID: desiderative; EMPH: emphatic; END: sentence-ender; EVID: evidential; EXCLM: exclamative; FRM: formal; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative; IMP: imperative; INST: instrumental; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PDK: present-day Korean; POL: polite; PRES: present; PRT: particle; PST: past; PURP: purposive; Q: interrogative; REG: regret; RETRO: retrospective; SEL: selective; TAM: tense-aspect-modality; TOP: topic; TRANS: transference; TRI: trial.

⁵ Since stance permeates language use and stance-marking is a matter of degree rather than of presence/absence dichotomy, it may be impossible to claim that any utterance is stance-neutral. As an anonymous reviewer noted, the object marker (*-lul* in (1a)) often functions as a focus marker, thus the sentence may be interpreted as having an emphatic attitude rather than being stance-neutral. In this paper, however, we use the term 'stance' in a more restrictive way, i.e., only when a form 'relatively strongly' signals the speaker's attitudinal, emotional, epistemic and evidential viewpoint it is called a stance marker.

⁶ As an anonymous reviewer pointed out, 'disjunctive' and 'adversative' are generally considered distinct categories. But due to Korean structural idiosyncrasy the distinction between them is often fuzzy, and thus the term 'disjunctive' (and 'disjunct' and 'disjunction') may be used in this paper to describe the function that may better suit 'adversative' with reference to the verbal/clausal connection function of *-na*.

disjunctive *-na* engendered “even” in the nominal domain and “even though” in the verbal domain through the mediation of “free-choice”.

This study builds on these insightful analyses sharing some of their arguments, but it departs from them in some significant ways. In particular, we argue that the ultimate source, as far as the historical, albeit impoverished, data can suggest, is the verbal usage which was extended via structural and semantic analogy across diverse levels of grammar. These include not only the verbal and nominal but also the adverbial, clausal, sentential domains and ultimately became a limitlessly versatile particle that can be hosted by a wide-range of grammatical forms including, for example, complementizers, non-finite markers, and word roots.

The objective of this paper is threefold. It intends (i) to investigate the development of *-na* from functioning to mark adversativity and enumeration to becoming the affective stance marker of tepidity and its divergences into other related functions; (ii) to argue that discursive strategies along with subjectification and intersubjectification triggered the emergence of a new stylistic category signaling the speaker’s stances; and (iii) to illustrate how a form cuts across functional domains and grammatical categories synchronically as a cumulative effect of diachronic changes, primarily driven by the analogical reasoning.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the diachronic development of *-na* as a verbal connective and nominal postposition, exemplifying the usages from historical data from Old Korean up to Early Modern Korean. Section 3 addresses the recent development of *-na*, in Modern Korean, as a sentence-ender, a marker of diverse speaker stances (e.g., tepidity, politeness, pejoration), and an evidentiality marker. In section 4, we discuss diverse implications in grammar. We argue that the driving force behind this multifarious development is analogy. We also discuss discursive strategies, subjectification and intersubjectification. Section 5 summarizes the discussion and concludes the paper.

2. Diachronic development

The multifunctionality of *-na* across the verbal and nominal categories has been attested even from the oldest extant data. This section illustrates the examples mostly found in the corpora and from historical sources elsewhere.⁷

2.1. Verbal connective

In the verbal connective category, the primary function of *-na* is disjunctive connective, which encompasses diverse grammatical functions such as the enumerative, adversative, concessive and universal quantificative functions. The use of *-na* to enumerate disjuncts is attested in one of the oldest extant Old Korean data as shown in (2), in which “-那” encodes *-na*⁸:

- (2) 若 ... 向余頂禮爲-那 遙聞內-那 隋喜爲內-那
 if ... directly.worship-*na* distantly.listen-*na* gladly.follow-*na*
 ‘Whether ... (he) worships (the Vairocana Buddha) directly, or listens (to him) distantly, or follows (him) gladly, ...
 (766, *Yengthayinyensekhammyeng*, Stone-casket inscription)

Furthermore, *-na* developed into a marker of adversativity, to mean “but,” probably due to the subjectified contrast effect between the clausal disjuncts. The adversative use of *-na* is also attested in the oldest extant poems in Old Korean *Hyangga* (6th–10th c.), as shown by the following example taken from an 8th century *Hyangga*, entitled *Wenka*, in which ‘-乃’ encodes *-na*.⁹

⁷ Two corpora are used as data sources. The Korean historical corpus for Late Middle Korean up to Early Modern Korean is a 15 million word corpus largely based on the 21st Century Sejong Corpus, a 200 million word corpus, developed by the National Institute of the Korean Language. For Old Korean and Early Middle Korean data, i.e., pre-*Hangeul* period data (see Footnote 8), a corpus developed by Professors Jin-Ho Park, Jaeyoung Chung and their colleagues is used. Modern Korean examples are taken from a 24 million-word drama and cinema corpus developed by Min Li. Their generosity in sharing the valuable data is acknowledged with appreciation.

⁸ Prior to the invention of the Korean alphabet *Hangeul* in 1443 by King Sejong, Korean was written in Chinese characters some of which were taken for meaning while others for sound, writing systems known as *Itwu*, *Kwukyel* and *Hyangchal*. A *Hyangga* is a poem written in *Hyangchal*. There are only twenty-five extant *Hyangga* poems that were orally transmitted from the Silla Kingdom and Goryeo Dynasty periods. Dating of the written poems is problematic and controversial because of a tremendous gap between their authorship (c. 579–1075 A.D.) and recording in two sources, one in 1075 A.D. (for 11 poems) and the other in 1281 A.D. (for the other 14 poems), despite the fact that poems tend to resist change to retain prosodic effects.

⁹ Interpretation of *Hyangga* is controversial both in sound and meaning (see Footnote 8). This example follows Wanjin Kim’s (1980) interpretation (morphemic analysis, gloss and translation are ours), also compatible with Pae-Kang Hwang (2001). Judong Yang (1942) interprets the second clause as “I hate even the world.” Despite the controversy, there is a consensus on the expression under the present focus, i.e., *pala-na* ‘(I) long for (the (King’s) face), but ...’.

- (3) 貌-史沙叱 望阿-乃 世理 都 之叱逸-烏隱 第-也
cuz-izas pala-na nwuli motankas yehay-on tay-ye
 face-EMPH yearn-CONN world everything lose-ADN place-EXCLM
 ‘I long for the (king’s) face, but I have lost everything in the world’
 (737 A.D., recorded in 1281, Shin Choong, *Wenka*)

In the above example, the poet, a loyal servant of the king, after falling from favor, laments that he is yearning to regain the king’s affection, but that he has lost everything.

The connective *-na* also has the concessive-marking function, an intuitively natural (and cross-linguistically robust) outgrowth of adversativity for its contrasting function. This is exemplified in the following example taken from *Yongpiechenka*, one of the very first documents ever recorded in Hangeul¹⁰:

- (4) *HYENGCEYPYEN-i isi-na INSIMCUKWU-i-si-lsSAY*
 sibling.rebellion-NOM exist-CONN sincerity.leads.to.amicability-be-HON-CONN
hemul-ul mola-te-si-ni
 fault-ACC not.know-RETRO-HON-as
 ‘Even though their siblings staged rebellion, (King Taejo and King Taejong) trusted that sincerity ultimately prevails and thus did not harbor enmity (in their heart) against them.’
 (1447, *Yongpiechenka* 119a)

The eulogistic poem praises the generosity of the two kings and their effort to repair the broken sibling relationship despite the rebellions staged by their siblings. This concessive usage of *-na* becomes productive in Late Middle Korean (15–16th c.).

One of the most frequently attested usages of the connective *-na* in Middle Korean is for enumeration. When two or more entities or events are listed, *-na* is commonly used in the form of *X-na Y-na Z-na*, etc., i.e., each one of the disjuncts is marked with the connective *-na* including the last one, which carries the nuance that the listing is not exhaustive. Sometimes, the listed elements are complementary antonyms, e.g. living or dying; big or small; love or hate, etc., thus resulting in universal quantification, as exemplified in (5).

- (5) *kananha-na kazamyena cwuku-na sa-na hankacilo ha-nani*
 be.poor-CONN be.rich-CONN die-CONN live-CONN as.one do-as
 ‘as (they) act together whether they are poor or rich, whether they live or die...’
 (1518, *Cengsokenhay* 6a)

2.2. Postpositional particle

The function of *-na* as a postpositional particle is also regarded as one of its oldest functions (Bae, 2002; Nam, 2009:292; Kim, 2015:7). For instance, Bae (2002:88–89) suggests that *-(i)na*, though not productive, served as a marker of selection or enumeration from the 8th century. A survey of historical sources as well as more recent ones shows that as a postpositional particle, it carries diverse semantic functions such as exemplar enumerative, universal quantification, minimum, alternative lower-end, approximation, and surprise. For instance, the following example illustrates the function of *-na* (in the form of *-na*, *-ina*, *-ena*, or *-iena*; see Footnote 3 for variant forms) as a marker of exemplar enumeration:

- (6) Exemplar enumerative
- a. *kwuli-ena NAP-iena CHEL-iena namk-iena halk-iena*
 copper-PRT lead-PRT iron-PRT wood-PRT mud-PRT
 ‘whether (you adorn the Buddha’s statue with) copper, [or] lead, [or] iron, [or] wood, [or] mud...’
 (1447, *Sekposangcel* 13:52a)
- b. *syo-iena mal-iena yaktay-ena lakwi-ena taoyy-a CANGSANG chaymas-ko*
 ox-PRT horse-PRT camel-PRT donkey-PRT become-and always get.whipped-and
 ‘they get born as an ox, [or] horse, [or] camel, [or] donkey, and get whipped always...’
 (1447 *Sekposangcel* 9:15b)

¹⁰ In transcription of mixed writing (Korean and Chinese) capital letters are used for Chinese characters in historical texts, following the convention of Samuel Martin (1992), using the phonetic values of the characters in Modern Korean.

Example (6a) is about adorning a Buddha's statue and the writer is enumerating multiple options of material used for that purpose, and (6b) is in the context of warning evildoers who may be reincarnated in this world as a beast of burden in a variety of forms. As shown in the above examples of enumeration of options or exemplars, *-na* (and its variants) was most commonly used in the form of *-na...-na...-na*, largely denoting 'A, or B, or C, ...'.

As an outgrowth of exemplar enumeration, there emerges a new function, i.e., marking universal quantification. There are two enabling contexts for this development. The first case is when the enumerated exemplars are in a complementary relationship. In other words, by way of enumerating complementary antonyms all options are exhausted and what is said is applicable to all cases (see (5) for the same situation with the *-na* as a verbal morpheme). This is well illustrated in (7a). The other case is when a generic noun is quantified with *amwu/amo* 'any', e.g. *amo salam-ina* 'anyone [< any person]', *amo tay-na* 'anywhere [< any place]', etc., as exemplified in (7b):

(7) Universal quantification

- a. *pam-ina nac-ina honca anc-asye ha wul-ko*
 night-PRT day-PRT alone sit-and much weep-and
 '(I) sit alone and weep a lot day and night.'

(15xx, *Swunchenkimssienkan* 73:15)

- b. *amo salam-ina KWANSEYUMPOSAL-s ilhwum-ul SWUCIha-ya*
 any person-PRT Great.Mercy.Bodhisattva-GEN name-ACC respect-and
 'whosoever respects the name of the Bodhisattva of Great Mercy...'

(1447, *Sekposangcel* 21: 9a)

Still another function of *-na* is to mark the minimum. When *-na* is hosted by a quantified noun with a small number (typically 'one'), it tends to carry the meaning of the lowest limit of a spectrum being referred to. This is illustrated by (8):

(8) Minimum

- i pyeng-ul yehay-ko han hay-na sal-kocya neky-e*
 this illness-ACC depart-and one year-PRT live-DESID think-and
 'just hoping that I could live just one year after I shake off this illness'

(15xx, *Swunchenkimssienkan* 28:8)

As shown in (8) *-na* marks the lowest end of a continuum, such as hoping to live without suffering just for a year. For this reason, it tends to carry the concessive meaning, as well.

Similarly, *-na* develops into a marker of alternative lower-end, i.e., listing something that would not have been favored in a normal situation. This usage is not attested in literary texts but in such texts as quotations (thus resembling colloquial texts) or private letters (thus more informal texts), as illustrated in (9):

(9) Alternative lower-end

- a. *pap-al yey-sye ci-ulyeha-ni yangsik-ka capan-ina ponay-so*
 meal-ACC here-at make-PURP-as rice-and salted.fish-PRT send-IMP
 'As we will prepare a meal here, send us just rice and salted fish.'

(15xx, *Swunchenkimssienkan* 2:2)

- b. *na-to nwuunim-ina toy-lkesal musa il sanahi toy-taste-nko*
 I-too sister-PRT become-REG what matter man become-PST.RETRO-END
 'I should have been born as a girl (like my sister); of what necessity was I born a man!'

(16xx *Kyeychwukilki* I: 7a)

In (9a) the writer of the letter (husband Chae) asks the addressee (wife Kim) to send him just rice and salted fish because all other necessary provisions for preparing a meal can be arranged locally. There would be many things that are necessary for the event, but the writer requests two things out of them. In (9b), an exiled and confined prince laments that he is victimized because he is a male (thus a potential future successor to the throne) and regrets that he was born a male. In an androcentric society where the status of women was considerably lower than that of men, hoping to have been born a female seems inconceivable. It is understandable in light of the extraordinary circumstance of his impending execution by his half-brother king who wanted to eliminate him as a potential threat to the throne.

The postpositional particle *-na* carries the meaning of approximation, especially when the denotations of the listed NPs form a range of quantities, as exemplified in (10):

(10) Approximation

- a. *tih-e kal-a pco-n cup han hop-ina twu hop-ina*
 pound-and ground-and squeeze-ADN juice one cup-PRT two cup-PRT
cyekcyek koh-ay
 little.by.little boil.down-and
 ‘Boil down to one or two cupfuls of the juice squeezed from the pounded and grounded (typha plant seed pods) and...’

(1489, *Kwukupkanipang* 2:96a)

- b. *soloc-al tih-e cup-ul nay-ye twu toy-ena se toy-ena*
 curly.dock-ACC pound-and juice-ACC extract-and two [unit]-PRT three [unit]-PRT
ip-ey pu-otay
 mouth-at pour-and
 ‘Pound and extract juice from curly-dock plant, and pour about two or three pints of juice into the mouth (of the cattle) and’

(1541, *Wumayangceyemyekpyengchilyopang* 3a)

When *-na* is attached to a quantified noun, it tends to convey the counterexpectation or surprise meaning, translatable as ‘as many/much as’ as in (11).

(11) Surprise

- a. *sangtol misth-ul sek cah-ina pha-ni amokes-to eps-amay*
 stone.altar below-ACC three foot-PRT dig-as anything-even not.exist-as
 ‘as there was nothing even after they dug as many as three feet under the stone altar...’

(16xx, *Kyeychwukilki* 53)

- b. *nophom-an PAYKMANCHUNG-ina ho-m-i mastangha-tota*
 height-TOP million.tier-PRT be-NOMZ-NOM be.proper-EXCLM
 ‘It is worth a million-tiered (monument)’

(1481, *Twusienhay* 20: 23a)

2.3. Other uses

There are other uses of *-na* as it extends its use context from verbal and nominal connection to adverbials as shown in (12), and, interestingly, as an emphatic infix for reduplicative adjectives as shown in (13). In these uses that seem to have emerged around the 18th century,¹¹ *-na* adds emphasis to the meaning of its host, a function similar to surprise, as discussed above, in that surprise and emphasis both involve noteworthiness.

- (12) *kamanhi* ‘quietly’ > *kamanhi-na*
hoksi ‘by any chance’ > *hoksi-na*
ettehkey ‘somehow’ > *ettehkey-na*
mwuchek ‘very’ > *mwuchek-ina*

- (13) *men* ‘distant’ > *me-na-men*
kin ‘long’ > *ki-na-kin*
khun ‘big’ > *khun-na-khun*
nelpun ‘wide’ > *nelpun-una-nelpun*

3. Recent developments

More recently in Modern Korean (20th century onward), *-na* undergoes a significant change, i.e., extension to more subjective and intersubjective uses. Among such new developments are the changes into a sentence-ender, a stance marker, and an illocutionary modifier.

¹¹ Certain lexicalized adverbial forms, e.g. *amankhena* ‘in whatever way’ and its variants, are attested as early as in the 15th century. The adjectival infix usage for intensification is not productive, largely applicable to positive polarity adjectives of the two-dimensional measurements, such as ‘deep,’ ‘wide,’ ‘high,’ etc.

3.1. Sentence-ender

Toward the end of the 19th century, *-na* develops into a sentence-ender. This is a phenomenal development considering that *-na* previously carried the function of connecting nominals (as a postpositional particle) or of connecting predicates (as a clausal connective). Therefore, marking the end of a sentence is extraordinary in kind. For this reason, there is a controversy as to whether the new marker *-na* truly originated from *-na* of postpositional or connective functions (see section 4.1 for more discussion on this central issue).

The development into a sentence-ender occurs through a process known to have been instrumental in grammaticalization of many connectives into sentence-enders, i.e., ‘the main-clause ellipsis’ (Rhee, 2002; Sohn, 2003; also known as ‘insubordination’, Evans, 2007, 2009; ‘suspended clause’, Ohori, 1995). The original context was when *-na* was used as the marker of a subordinating interrogative clause in the form of the speaker’s self-addressed question, i.e., a monolog. Sometimes, the monologic style is recruited for a rhetorical strategy, i.e., a feigned monologic question (see section 4.2 for more discussion). The elided main clause is easily reconstructed as containing a verb of cognition (‘know,’ ‘wonder’) or appearance (‘seem’), emotion (‘feel like’) and locution (‘say’), as shown, in part, in (14):

- (14) a. *mwusun il-i sayngki-ess-na (molukeyssta, kwungkumhata...)*
 what.kind matter-NOM occur-PST-Q.END (I.don’t.know, I.wonder...)
 ‘What happened?’ (< ‘I don’t know...; I’m wondering...’) (PDK)
- b. *i il-ul ecce-na (sayngkakcwungita, kominita...)*
 this matter-ACC do.how-Q.END (I’m.thinking, I’m.exploring...)
 ‘What can I do with this?’ (< ‘I’m thinking...; I’m exploring...’) (PDK)

As shown in (14), the monologic interrogative marker *-na* as a verbal morpheme is now located at the end of a sentence affixing to a fully TAM-inflected clause minus a sentence-ender and is used as a sentence-ender to show that the speaker is (still) exploratory about a state of affairs. The signal of on-going exploration becomes conventionalized as a marker of the speaker’s cognitive non-definiteness and indecision. This indecision is closely related to the notion of tepidity (to be discussed in section 3.2).

The function of the sentence-ender *-na* further extends to a marker of ‘audience-blind style’ (ABS) interrogative in situations in which the audience is not assumed, or of superiority claim in situations in which the speaker does not regard the addressee a discourse partner for disparity of social power (see section 4.2 for more discussion).

3.2. Stance-marking particle: tepidity

The particle *-na* develops into a marker of the speaker’s ‘stance’ (Stubbs, 1986; Cumming and Ono, 1997; Englebretson, 2007), diverse yet generally characterizable as ‘tepidity’. The speaker’s tepidity may be realized with a range of different specific subfunctions. Since the newly developed meanings are closely related to those of a particle or a connective, some of the meanings seem to be a natural outgrowth. However, some of them seem to be qualitatively different and the usage is sufficiently robust to warrant their classification with a new functional nomenclature. From the late 19th century, in the domain of stance-marking, *-na* develops such meanings as tentativeness, reservation, minimum involvement, and pejoration, the first three being closely related to each other. Pejoration may seem not to follow the pattern, but in fact it is also a form of tepidity in the sense that the pejorative meaning is derived from the speaker’s disparaging attitude and lack of enthusiasm about someone else’s claim. These uses developed across diverse grammatical categories and are exemplified in the following:

- (15) Tentativeness (Appended to an interrogative sentence-ender *-l(k)ka*)
- a. *wucang-ul heli-ta tulwu-ko cisimmay-le ka-lka-na*
 raincoat-ACC waist-at wrap.around-and weed-PURP go-FUT.Q.END-PRT
 ‘Shall I (I am wondering if I might) go weeding in the field after I wrap the raincoat around the waist?’
 (Late 19th c. Akpwu 199)
- b. *yehayng-ina ka-po-lkka-na?*
 travel-PRT go-TRI-FUT.Q.END-PRT
 ‘I’m so bored... shall I (I might as well) go on a trip?’ (PDK)¹²

¹² This expression is so common in PDK, presumably among those who feel bored of life and are considering some unknown diversion, that a google exact-string search for the sentence renders over 8800 hits (accessed 06.04.15).

The tentative-marking *-na* is inserted inside a polymorphemic tentative-marking auxiliary *-l(k)kapo*, a combination of the future question ending *-l(k)ka* and the verb *po-* ‘see’, resulting in *-l(k)ka.na.po-*, a doubly tentative-marked sentential ending, as shown in (16), in which an agonized lady is torn between the desire to live happily with her lover and the responsibility of supporting the family:

(16) Tentativeness (Inserted between tentative-marking auxiliary *-l(k)kapo-*)

pwumo tongsayng ta lipyelha-ko nim-ul stala-se im-kwa
 parents younger.sibling all separate-and lover-ACC follow-and lover-with
twuli ka-li ka-lka-na-po-ta
 together go-FUT.END go-FUT.Q.END-PRT-see-DEC

‘I would leave my parents and all the younger siblings and follow my love and go together with him. . . I wonder if I would go.’ (Late 19th c. *Kacip* 2: 348)

The tepidity or indeterminacy sense further extends to other non-nominal contexts, i.e. complementizer, and indicates the speaker’s metalinguistic tentativeness in choosing an expression to describe a man about his taste in (17) and, similarly, the speaker’s reservation is signaled by *-na* in (18) for reasons of dissatisfaction in word choice or uncertainty of the correctness.

(17) Tentativeness (Appended to a complementizer)

chwihyang-i com thukiha-tako-na ha-lkka?
 taste-NOM somewhat be.unique-COMP-PRT say-FUT.Q.END
way kulenke iss-canha-yo? com thukihan pwunwiki-lul cohaha-yss-e-yo
 why such.thing exist-END-POL a.little be.unique-ADN atmosphere-ACC like-PST-END-POL

‘He has somewhat peculiar taste. (< ‘Should I say that his taste is somewhat unique?’) Well, you know that kind of thing. (He) liked (girls with) somewhat strange atmospheres.’

(2013, Choi Buk, *Ppalkan kwutwuuy namca sanyang*)

(18) Reservation (Appended to a complementizer)

a. *sika inmwul motunkes thongthule neh-e khu-tako-na ha-lpaskey*
 city.street people everything altogether include-NF be.big-COMP-PRT say-except
talun swu ep-ney
 other-ADN way not.exist-end

‘I would just say that (New York) is big including all the city streets and people; there would be no other way to describe it.’ (Late 19th c. *Akpwu* 2: 102)

b. *kulentey hana skok tannyemha-cimosha-nan kes-un*
 but one just give.up-cannot-ADN thing-TOP
pongnam-i-la-na ha-nan ku atal-i-ptita
 [name]-be-COMP-PRT do-ADN that son-be-END

(1913, *Nwunmwul* 522)

‘But I noticed that there’s one thing he [Cho Pil-Hwan] could not give up; that is his son named Bong-Nam (or something like that).’

Still another function closely related to tepidity is marking minimum involvement when *-na* is appended to a non-finite marker *-e-* in verb serialization as in (19a) or to an adverb as in (19b).

(19) Minimum involvement (Appended to non-finite markers or adverbs)

a. *mwusun pyeng-ulo ku tikyeng-i toy-n kes-ul*
 what.kind illness-INST that condition-NOM become-ADN thing-ACC
casyeccasyey mwul-e-na po-ci
 in.detail.in.detail ask-NF-PRT see-END

‘At least you could have asked him in detail with what kind of illness he fell into such a (miserable) condition.’ (1911, *Molanpyeng* 86)

b. *na-nun namphyen-to sil-kho... chinceng-ulo ka-sye phyenha-key-na*
 I-TOP husband-even dislike-and... parent’s.home-to go-and be.comfortable-ADV-PRT
iss-taka cyuk-tunci sal-tunci
 exist-TRANS die-SEL live-SEL

‘I don’t care for husband. . . I just want to go to my parents’ home and stay there comfortably and then I would die or live. . . that I don’t care. . .’

(1908, *Chiaksan* II: 45)

The tentativeness further develops into pejoration, first attested at the beginning of the 20th century. This usage is typical in quoting someone's utterance, and is peculiar in that a statement is presented as a verbatim direct quote and then the affix *-na* is added to the end of the already complete sentence. This seemingly innocuous simple addition of a particle signals the speaker's negative stance toward the preceding remark by someone else. For instance, in (20a), the newspaper column writer shows contempt for the pro-Japanese club who said they would close down only to deceive the anti-Japanese people.

(20) Pejoration (Appended to sentence-enders)

- a. *haysanha-nta-na*
close.down-PRES.DEC-PRT
'(They say they are going to strategically) close down (the pro-Japanese Iljin Club).'
(1904, *Tayhanmayil Daily*, an article title)
- b. *han 30% halinha-ycwu-l ci-to molu-nta-na*
about 30% discount-BEN-ADN NOMZ-also not.know-PRES.DEC-PRT
'(He says something like, if I do that,) they might give me a 30% discount (at the restaurant).'
(2001, Drama *Masissnun chenghon*, Episode #10)

3.3. Illocutionary force modifier: attenuative and politeness

The signal of the speaker's tepid attitude is strategically recruited to signal politeness, whereas without the *-na* particle the utterance-act might seem too impositive. The development of politeness-marking, or, more generally, of illocutionary force modification, is an outgrowth of the historical semantic development, which may be recapitulated as in the following.

From a perspective of historical semantics, among the oldest and most productive usages of *-na* is enumerating multiple items, i.e., verbal or nominal disjuncts. When the repetitive pattern gradually declined through history and thus a sentence came to contain only a single *-na*-marked disjunct, the meaning of *-na* changed into a marker of non-specificity by implying that there are other options unmentioned, largely signaling 'A, among others'.

In discursive contexts, this notion of non-specificity is further subjectified into 'tepidity,' thus on the part of the speaker the *-na*-marked proposition carries the meaning: 'I am not excited about this, but if I am obliged to make a choice, I might as well choose A.' For the addressee, an operative inference from a tepidity-marked proposition/question is: 'A has other alternatives, and there is no compelling reason for the speaker to choose or insist on A. The 'no compelling reason' sense, in turn, triggers the functional spread of the form into the domain of politeness markers. The speaker effectively says: 'How about x, but I am open to other options that you might suggest.' This politeness usage is most prominent in PDK in suggestive contexts in the form of commands, requests or questions, as shown in the following examples:

- (21) a. *cam-ina ca-la*
sleep-PRT sleep-IMP
'Get some sleep (or do something else you might like doing).'
- b. *pap-ina mek-ca*
meal-PRT eat-HORT
'Let's just eat (or let's do something else you might feel like doing).'
- c. *coffee-na han can ha-lkka*
coffee-PRT one cup do-FUT.Q.END
'Shall we have a cup of coffee (or shall we do something else you might like to)?'

As *-na* is a pragmatic particle in this function, there is a scope expansion. In other words, when used in a suggestion, the *-na*-marked constituent, e.g., NPs in (21) above, do not fall within the scope of tepidity-marking; the whole suggestion itself is presented in a cautious (tepid, non-enthusiastic, non-impositive) manner. In other words, in a suggestion of having a cup of coffee in (21c), for instance, the particle *-na* syntactically takes the NP 'coffee' but the non-committal attitude invoked by it scopes over the entire illocution of the suggestion, thus 'do something else' rather than 'coffee or something else.'

The mitigating effect of *-na* is further extended to still another usage of *-na* as a marker of friendliness as exemplified in the following examples, in which fully-completed sentences (with imperative and hortative sentence-enders *-key* and *-sey*) are followed by *-na*:

- (22) a. *amolyena maam-taylo ha-key-na*
 whatever.way heart-as do-IMP-PRT
 ‘Please do whatever your heart directs you to.’
 (1911, *Kwuusyan* 192)
- b. *eti ka-se sayngmayk han can-ssik ha-sey-na*
 somewhere go-and draft.beer one glass-each do-HORT-PRT
 ‘Let’s go somewhere and have a glass of draft beer, (shall we?)’
 (2008, Drama *Kamwunuy yengkwang*, Episode #19)

3.4. Evidentiality

Another notable aspect of *-na* in its development is its participation in an evidentiality marker *-na.po-*. In Modern Korean *-na.po-* is the marker of the inferential evidential (Kwon, 2012:114–122).¹³ The source construction is [-PRT see-], which occurs sentence-finally but peculiarly it is fully fossilized and does not inflect for tense. Since the evidential *-na.po-* is appended to a sentence even with a sentence-type indicator, the ultimate-position verbal morpheme, the host of *-na* is now a fully inflected sentence (as is the case with the pejorative marking). Its usage is exemplified in the following:

- (23) a. *philsil kumpen syulacine ha-si-nan-ta-y kwankyey-ka*
 most.likely this.time king’s.meal.serving do-HON-ADN-NOMZ-at relation-NOM
iss-ta-na.po-te-la
 exist-DEC-EVID-RETRO-END
 ‘(Since they are said to have been captured,) it seems that they are likely to have been involved in the recent incident of (poisoning) the king’s food (coffee).’
 (1898, *Toklipsinmwun Daily*)
- b. *uywen-uy mal-ul tulu-niska hyeykyeng-uy emeni-to ku pyeng-ey*
 doctor-GEN talk-ACC hear-as [name]-GEN mother-also that illness-at
cwuk-es-ta-na.po-te-la
 die-PST-DEC-EVID-RETRO-END
 ‘As I heard from the doctor, Hyekyung’s mother also died of that disease (pneumonia).’
 (1912, *Twukyenseng* 867)

4. Discussion

In the previous sections, we have seen the development of manifold functions of *-na* from its earliest attestations in the 8th century to contemporary usage. Now we turn to a discussion of diverse aspects of this development focusing on implications in grammar, discursive strategies for stance-marking, and subjectification and intersubjectification revealed in the process. In particular, much of our discussion is devoted to the role of analogy operative in the grammaticalization of *-na* across categories, thus calling for reevaluation of analogy as a change mechanism in grammaticalization research.

4.1. Implications in grammar: cross-categorical analogy and heterosemy

As was briefly mentioned in section 2.2, *-na* has numerous variants, i.e., *-una*, *-ina*, *-ena*, *-kena* and *-iena*. Also indicated in section 1 is that there is controversy as to whether all these realizations share the same origin. We have reasons to believe that they do, and further discussion is in order.

The first homonymy vs. heterosemy issue relates to its functions as a postpositional particle and a verbal conjunction. Those who subscribe to the strongest version of the homonymy view (Choe, 1961; Kim, 1979; Nam and Ko, 1985; Chae, 1993, among others) claim that even the postpositional *-na* is of two different forms and functions, i.e., one as a disjunctive with the meaning of ‘or’ (24a), the other an auxiliary particle with diverse meanings (as a selective marker in (24b)). Chae (1993) further claims that the conjunctive *-na* has two subclasses, i.e., one for copular conjunction (24c), and the other for verbal conjunction (24d):

¹³ Kwon (2012) identifies three different evidentiality markers, i.e., the firsthand evidential *-te-*, the inferential evidential *-na.po-*, and the quotative/reportive evidential *-ay*.

- (24) a. Nominal disjunctive particle
cenchel-ina pesu-lul tha-ko o-siphshio
 subway-PRT bus-ACC ride-and come-FRM.POL.END
 'Please take the subway or a bus to come here.' (Lee, 2006:186)
- b. Nominal auxiliary particle
halil-i eps-ese nakksicil-ina tani-nta
 things.to.do-NOM not.exist-as fishing-PRT go-PRES.DEC
 'As (I) have nothing to do otherwise, I just go fishing.' (Huh, 1995:1437)
- c. Verbal connective with the copula *i-* 'be'
namphyen-un siin-ina anay-nun soseka-i-ta
 husband-TOP poet-CONN wife-TOP novelist-be-DEC
 'The husband is a poet, but the wife is a novelist.' (Chae, 1993:78)
- d. Verbal connective
namphyen-un ka-ss-una anay-nun ka-cianh-ass-ta
 husband-TOP go-PST-CONN wife-TOP go-NEG-PST-DEC
 'The husband went, but the wife did not go.' (Chae, 1993:78)

However, such a homonymy view is largely based on synchronic states of affairs in Modern Korean, since they exhibit different behavior. The situation in Old Korean as revealed in the 8th century sources indicates that *-na* served as a verbal disjunctive connective (Bae, 2002:178–182) as well as a nominal disjunctive particle with the copula *i-* (Bae, 2002:88–89). The existence of the copula *i-* when *-na* was connecting nominal disjuncts, though not entirely consistent, strongly suggests that verbal connectivity was the primary function of *-na*, and that the string *-i-na* must have been reanalyzed later as the monomorphemic nominal disjunctive *-ina*.¹⁴ Thus, from a diachronic point of view, the nominal and verbal uses share a common origin as argued by Kim (1989, 1992) and Ahn and Lee (1990:202).¹⁵ For instance, Ahn and Lee (1990:202) argue that the nominal particle *-ina* (and *-iena*) is a fossilization of the construction [copula + CONN], a pattern also followed by other nominal particles, e.g. *-(i)mye* and *-(i)ye*. Likewise, Kim (1992:305–306, 313–316) presents the same argument based on the occurrence of *-ikena* in *Taymyenglyul* written in Itwu dating from Early Middle Korean, and suggests that other particles, *-(i)lako* (developed around the late 18th century), *-yo* (< *i-o*) (developed around 1920), and *-ya* (< *i-a*) (a vocative from Old Korean) are formed in a similar pattern. Indeed, Narrog and Rhee (2013:293) note that the phonological weakening and eventual loss of the copula *i-* in certain environments can constitute a grammaticalization channel into nominal particles via verbal particles.¹⁶

An interesting aspect in this regard is that in the 8th century sources, one of the oldest historical records, *-na* is used both as a nominal postpositional particle and as a verbal connective as shown in the following examples, in which “那” is the Itwu rendering of *-na* (connected forms are numbered for conspicuity, and (25b) is taken from the same source as (2) above).¹⁷

- (25) a. (i) 楮皮脫-那 (ii) 脫皮練-那
 mulberry.tree.bark.strip-na stripped.bark.treat-na
 (iii) 紙作伯士-那 (iv) 經寫筆師-那... 菩薩戒授令
 paper.maker-na script.copier-na... Bodhisattva's.rules.follow
 'Whether (one) strips mulberry tree bark, or treats stripped bark, or (one is) a paper maker, or a script copier... (he) has to follow Bodhisattva's rules' (755, *Hwaemkyengskyengcosengki*)

¹⁴ See also Shin (2000:381), Kim (1980:188–189) and Yang (1942) for an interpretation of verbal disjunctive *-na* in *Chengpwlwuseyka*, a 10th century Hyangga poem, and Paek (2005:42) for its verbal disjunctive function in the Kwukyel writing system of the Goryeo dynasty (Early Middle Korean).

¹⁵ Lee (2003) and Kim (2015), both analyzing *-na* from a grammaticalization perspective, regard these two functions as having a shared origin. However, they contend, contrary to the present study, that the nominal postpositional function precedes the verbal connective function. The paucity of Old Korean data leaves the issue inconclusive, but the presence of the copula *i-* in nominal connection is critical and strongly supports the hypothesis that *-na* started its life as a verbal, rather than a nominal, morphology. See also Choi (1999) for extensive discussion on the development of particles combined with the copula *i-* that are eventually fossilized.

¹⁶ The copula *i-* is deleted when the preceding noun has no coda in the final syllable. As an idiosyncrasy in Korean, vowels occurring in succession are susceptible to reduction or deletion.

¹⁷ Examples are taken from Bae (2002:179) and the morphemic analysis, gloss and translation are ours.

- b. 若 (i) 見內人-那 (ii) 向余頂禮爲-那 (iii) 遙聞內-那 (iv) 隋喜爲內-那
 if see.person-*na* directly.worship-*na* distantly.listen-*na* gladly.follow-*na*
 ‘Whether it is a person who has seen (the Vairocana Buddha), or (he) worships (him) directly, or listens (to him) distantly, or follows (him) gladly... (766, *Yengthayinyensekhammyeng*)

As is evident in the above, nominal and verbal connection functions of *-na* co-occur in a mixed way in a single sentence: in (25a), the disjuncts (i) and (ii) are verbal, whereas (iii) and (iv) are nominal; and, similarly, in (25b), the disjunct (i) is nominal, whereas (ii), (iii) and (iv) are verbal. This kind of violation of parallelism is unacceptable in Modern Korean but it seems to have been tolerable in Old Korean.¹⁸ This is a good indication that *-na* was already polyfunctional across the nominal and verbal domains.

The second homonymy vs. heterosemy issue relates to its functions discussed above, i.e., as a postpositional particle and a verbal conjunction on the one hand, and as a sentence-ender, sentential particle, etc. on the other. Lee (2003) and Kim (2009) are the only studies to date to treat the two seemingly disparate functions as related. For instance, Lee (2003) treats the sentence-ender (in his terminology ‘a modal suffix’) as having developed from the disjunctive verbal suffix usage which, in turn, can be traced back to the nominal particle usage. The order of development, however, is not based on a historical trajectory of the form but on intuitive reconstruction. Kim (2009:377–379) treats a wide range of functions of *-na* as having developed from the ultimate semantic origin of ‘selection.’ The recent development of *-na* to include connotations such as ‘friendliness,’ ‘speaker’s feelings,’ and ‘quotation/question’ is also included in the functional inventory of *-na*, even though their historical paths are not explored, and no explicit order of the emergence of functions is offered.

Kim (2015) refutes Lee (2003) on the basis, among others, that (i) Lee did not examine historical data which resulted in intuitively regarding ‘low expectation’ as the original source, and that (ii) he regarded the modal suffix function expressing uncertainty as an outgrowth of the disjunctive (nominal or verbal) suffix usage, which, according to her, is historically incorrect. The present study agrees with Kim’s (2015) refutation on the first issue, even though the paucity of Old Korean data does not render a conclusive answer as to whether the low-expectation function did indeed not exist prior to the 15th century (Kim, 2015:4). The present study departs from Kim’s (2015) on the second issue in that we argue that sentential functions as well as many others described above all originated from the verbal/nominal functions through analogy. This warrants discussion in more detail.

Kim’s (2015) rejection of connection between the nominal/verbal functions and the modal functions (as a sentence-ender) is solely based on Lee (1982a) who proposes that the modal suffix *-na* that first occurred in the 19th century is a contraction of another interrogative sentence-ender *-nanka*. Lee’s (1982a, 1982b) proposal is primarily based on the facts that *-nanka* has [n] and [a], and that the *-nanka*-ending is largely replaceable with *-na*-ending (e.g. the past *-esnanka*/*esna* and the future *-keysnanka*/*keysna*). This proposal is accepted by Ko (2011:416, 417), but some studies, e.g. Kim (2011:113–114), show reservation because even though the contraction may be possible there lacks an explanation as to a plausible phonological process motivating such contraction. Lee and Lee (2010:169–170) note that *-na* and *-nunka* (the modern day variant of *-nanka*), in fact, belong to different speech levels, and further that the interrogative ending *-nka* (a variant of *-nunka*) is not replaceable with *-na*, i.e., the functions of the two forms are not in exact parallel.

The present study takes the stance that what Lee (1982a) suggests cannot be positively confirmed to be true or refuted as false, but what is more important is that the emergence of the sentence-ender *-na* may well have been triggered by analogical reasoning based on structural and functional similarities. The support of our claim comes from two sources: idiosyncratic states of affairs in Korean and cross-linguistic observations.

Korean is a language that has grammatical formants that function across different syntactic categories. This has been noted as early as Choe (1946:889–892), who says that certain forms can function as a nominal morpheme and as a verbal morpheme, e.g. *-na*, *-nama*, *-ntul*, *-mye*, *-tunci*, etc. Likewise, in recent years, Kim (1998) lists sentence-enders that developed from the forms in different categories. In these cases the form in its original function may become defunct, e.g. *-ney*, *-tey*, *-key*, *-sey*, *-(u)i*, and *-o*; or it may retain its original function, thus forming a typical instance of ‘divergence’ or ‘split’ (Hopper, 1991; Heine et al., 1991), e.g. *-ketun*, *-nikka*, *-ntey*, *-e*, *-ci*, *-key*, *-ko*, *-ki*, and *-um*.¹⁹ This type of single-form-for-multiple-classes phenomenon has also been noted by Kwon (1986:294), who classified such forms into three different categories, i.e., polysemy, functional shift, and homonymy. According to Kwon (1986), functional shift is observed in the development of *-ketun*, *-ntey*, *-nikka*, etc. in their connective function from which their sentence-ending function arose. As

¹⁸ Perhaps due to this structural awkwardness, Nam (2009:217) gives a free interpretation for (24a) as “mulberry tree bark stripper, stripped bark treater, paper maker, or script copier...” i.e., regarding all disjuncts as nominals designating persons, which Kim (2015:7) followed and presented as an example of the nominal postposition usage.

¹⁹ Some of these forms have been extensively researched from a grammaticalization perspective (Koo and Rhee, 2001; Sohn, 1995, 2003; Rhee, 2002, 2012; Kim, 1998, 2008; Jung, 2001, inter alia).

a matter of fact, functional shift is frequently observed through diverse mechanisms and this is well reflected in Kim's (2011:147–151) list of 381 sentence-enders, of which 169 forms are of the shifted or extended type.

The processes involved in the development of this vast number of innovative forms by no means can be uniformly reduced to analogical reasoning, but there is a close semantic, structural and historical relation between the linking function as a verbal or nominal morpheme on the one hand and the sentence-ending function on the other, especially so with *-na*.

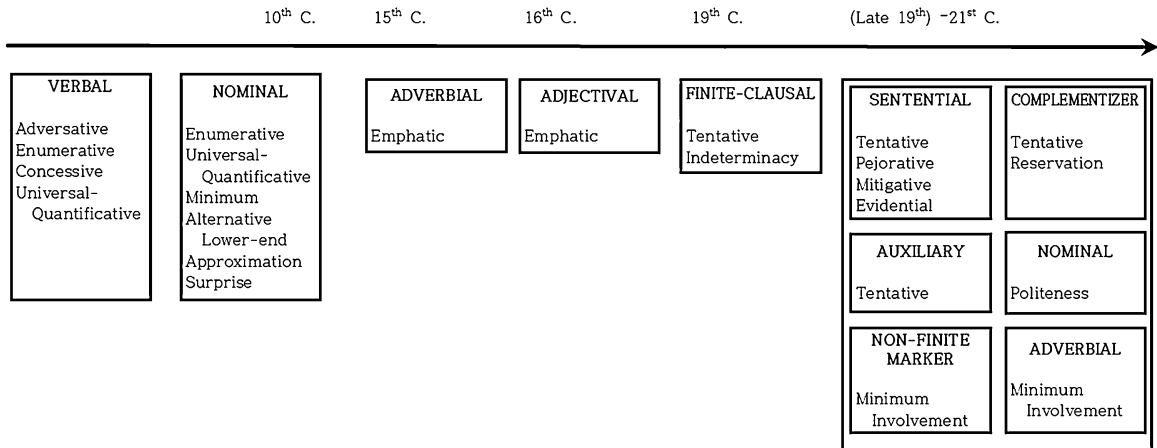
In terms of functions, *-na* carries strikingly similar meanings across the grammatical categories. For instance, as briefly noted earlier, Kim (2009:377–379) regards multiple functions of *-na*, be it a nominal, verbal, or sentential morpheme, as subsumable under the notion of 'selection' as briefly indicated. The semantic-functional affinity among the various representations of *-na* also leads Lee (2003) to an analysis in which the sentential morpheme is an outgrowth of the nominal/verbal morpheme. Even though the present analysis is not in favor of these analyses in details, we believe that Kim's (2009) and Lee's (2003) claims at the general level are in the right direction. We argue that the major function of *-na* as a nominal/verbal morpheme (see, e.g. (2), (5) and (6) above), i.e., its disjunctive function of enumerating entities, events, states, etc., is directly relevant to the use of monologic interrogativity or feigned monolog in the sentential morphology (see, e.g. (14), and section 4.2 below for more discussion). The relevance is that enumeration presumes multiplicity of the listed items and the indeterminacy or tepidity associated with the sentential morphology originates exactly from such multiplicity of options, hence, the speaker's lack of determinative attitude.

In terms of historical morphosyntax, *-na* in the verbal or nominal or sentential morphology has a sufficient structural and functional relation to trigger analogical reasoning. As we already noted in section 3.1 above, the development of *-na* as a sentential morpheme began from ellipsis of the main clause, whereby the embedded clause-ender ended up occurring sentence-finally (see (14) above). Since the embedded clause-enders do not carry the morphological trappings for intersubjective or interactional notions, this 'bare' clause-ender became a sentence-final element with a new functional signal of 'audience-blindness' (see also section 4.2 below for more discussion). When the verbal/nominal morpheme is reanalyzed as a sentential morpheme, further reanalysis becomes easier, i.e., the speakers might consider that the use of *-na* is not restricted by grammatical classes. Then, whenever encoding enumeration, multiple options, or any related notions is warranted, *-na* is deemed to fit the purpose. We hypothesize that this is how *-na* extended its use context, i.e., context generalization, a defining characteristic of grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva, 2002:2).

From a crosslinguistic perspective, it is needless to say that all grammaticalizing forms display intracategorical multifunctionality, since, by definition, grammaticalizing forms 'develop new grammatical functions' (Hopper and Traugott, 2003:1), most obviously within the category (see, e.g., Nichols and Timberlake, 1991, for the spread of the Russian instrumental, though they named it an instance of 'retextualization'), and further across categorial boundaries. There is a plethora of evidence across languages that supports the analogical spread of a function across categories, with the original function modified or changed *en route*. A classic example is the English preposition *to* which also functions as an infinitive marker encoding purpose, due to the conceptual relatedness among direction, recipient, experiencer, purpose, etc. (Croft, 1990:105; Haspelmath, 2003:212; Hopper and Traugott, 2003:78; cf. also Finnish *-lle*, as noted by Hopper and Traugott, 2003). Similarly, Takahashi (2012), in tracing historical paths of the multifunctional Thai morpheme *hâj* (lexically 'give'), shows that it has developed diverse functions across categories, e.g., benefactive case marker, desiderative/purposive/permissive complementizer, adverbial marker, and causative marker. Tournadre (2010) discusses multifunctionality and transcategoriality manifested in Tibetan case markers.

Another interesting example, similar to our case under discussion, is the Newari postpositions that developed into subordinators (Genetti, 1991). It is noteworthy that the semantic designations by the postposition-subordinator pairs tend to be closely related along such grammatical notions as temporal, causal, conditional, concessive, purposive, etc. Genetti (1991) analyzes this development as a process in which morphological reanalysis led to syntactic change. As for the reasons of the cross-categorial syncretism, Genetti (1991:242) suggests, "[S]peakers recognize the similarities between these postpositions and subordinators and consider the two functions to involve the same morpheme." In fact, Genetti (1991:227) says that this type of grammaticalization is common in Tibeto-Burman languages, e.g., from case postposition for entities to subordinators for propositions, as for example in Dolakhali Newari *cotan-na* [spoon-INST] 'with a spoon' and *chê-ku yer-na* [house-LOC come-when] 'when (he) came to the house', where the instrumental *-na* and subordinator *-na* are of the same origin. This reanalysis can be said to be an analogical operation based on functional similarity. Similarly, Lehmann (1991:526) shows that the German subordinators *weil* 'because' and *obwohl* 'although' developed into coordinators, which, according to Lehmann, is due to the functional analogy with *denn* and *allerdings*. According to Craig (1991:483), in Rama, a Chibchan language of Nicaragua, postpositions grammaticalized into subordinators through structural analogy between the nominal and clausal types.

The emergence of polyfunctional items is what is not only expected but presupposed since it is a grammaticalization tenet that grammatical items originate from lexical items, and old functions do not disappear but linger in the grammar, often for a considerable expanse of time. In this regard, Heine and Kuteva (2007:111) provide an excellent illustration of

Fig. 1. Scope and functional extension of *-na*.

transcategorical developmental patterns across languages from an evolutionary perspective (see also Kaltenböck et al., 2011 for a notion of ‘cooptation’ whereby a sentence grammar form is recruited to serve a function in ‘thetical’ grammar).²⁰

Overall, recent case studies (De Smet, 2009, 2012, 2014; Fischer, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013, among numerous others) presented proposals in favor of analogy as a trigger of structural reanalysis leading to grammaticalization. Further, Delbecque and Verwekken (2014:639) proposed to describe the type of analogy operative in grammaticalization with ‘conceptual persistence’ as analogous to Hopper’s (1991) notion of ‘lexical persistence.’ With respect to grammaticalization in Korean, Koo (2010) and Rhee (2014) propose ‘structural analogy’ as a crucial mechanism of grammaticalization, especially when new paradigms arise from older ones (see also Kim, 2010 for discussion of the development of the Korean connective *siphi* per analogy based on formal and functional similarity). Indeed language is replete with cases in which similar yet diverse functions arise from context-induced reinterpretation (Heine et al., 1991), in which contexts provide analogical bases for extension.

From the above, it can be said that, in the absence of contradictory historical evidence, *-na* is likely to have started its life as a grammatical marker in the domain of verbal morphology (in the form of *-na*, *-una*, *-kena*) and to have later become a nominal morpheme through fossilization of the copula (in the form of *-na*, *-ina*) through its frequent occurrence with a noun and a copula (i.e., predicative), which triggered the reanalysis of a clausal connective as a nominal particle (N-*i-na* [N-be-CONN] >> N-*ina* [N-PRT]), in Old Korean. The historical survey also suggests that *-na* came to be used with adverbs for emphasis, or as a derivational infix for emphasis- or intensification-forming reduplicative adjectives, between Late Middle Korean and Early Modern Korean. Further, it seems apparent that the functions became extended to various parts of the grammar including finite clauses (to terminate a sentence to add the speaker’s indeterminacy to a question), sentences (to add diverse tepidity- or evidentiality-related stances to a full-fledged sentence), complementizers (also to add tepidity to the whole sentence) and verb serializing non-finite markers (to form a tepidity-imbued serial verb) in Modern Korean.

The picture as a whole suggests that analogy is operating on linguistic formants in a rather ‘indiscriminate’ way prompting changes across the boundaries of grammatical categories. Indeed, Traugott and Trousdale (2013:37) aptly point out that analogy was largely thought to be “too unconstrained to be useful in a restrictive hypothesis about change.” However, as Fischer persuasively argued in a series of studies (2007, 2011, 2012, 2013), analogy may be the prime mechanism in grammaticalization that operates on both paradigmatic (iconic) and syntagmatic (indexical) dimensions.²¹

The analogical extension of the scope (or host) of *-na* can be summarized as in Fig. 1, and since the old scope remains valid, all listed scopes are valid in Modern Korean, making *-na* one of the most cross-categorically versatile formants in

²⁰ ‘Thetical’ is an alternative terminology for ‘parenthetical,’ highlighting that not all instances of the category are interpolated in or anchored to an utterance, thus making the latter term unfit for them. Thetical grammar, according to Kaltenböck et al. (2011), consists of conceptual theticals, formulae of social exchange, vocatives, imperatives, interjections, etc., whose properties include syntactic independence, prosodic separation, positional mobility, etc.

²¹ Drawing on Anttila’s (2003) ‘analogical grid,’ Fischer (2008:349) illustrates that a lexical item (a token), e.g. *apple*, is related to a lexical set (a type), e.g. fruit, thus a paradigmatic relation, and at the same time indexically related to other kinds of iconic sets containing tokens (e.g. *eat*, *pick*, etc. and *red*, *sweet*, etc.) with which it collocates functionally and formally, thus a syntagmatic relation.

Korean (note, however, that the cases from the explosive expansion across categories in Modern Korean cannot be reliably ordered).

4.2. Discursive strategies: audience-blindness and contradicting stances

As we briefly noted in section 3.1, the development of the sentence-ender *-na* involves intriguing discursive strategies. In the domain of sentence termination, the interrogative *-na* developed in monologic and ‘feigned monologic’ contexts. By using the *-na*-interrogative, the speaker is strategically eliding the main clause which would have contained a verb of cognition, e.g. ‘think,’ ‘suppose,’ ‘wonder,’ etc. (see (14) in section 3.1 above). When *-na* is used in an embedded clause, it is neutral in terms of addressee honorification, formality and politeness, thus termed as ‘audience-blind form’ (Koo and Rhee, 2013:81).

The concepts of ‘feigned monologue’ and ‘audience-blind form/style’ merit illustration. The notion ‘feigned monolog,’ a term introduced by Koo and Rhee (2013:80–81), has the following characteristics:

- (26) (i) The speaker says something with sufficient loudness to be heard but as if it were a monolog.
 (ii) The monolog may take the form of a question, as if it were a self-addressed question.
 (iii) Because of the monologic nature of the utterance, at least in appearance, it does not necessarily obligate the hearer to respond.
 (iv) However, a socially-inferior hearer may feel obliged to be responsive in order to please the socially-superior speaker.

The significance of a feigned monolog in terms of the discursive strategy is that by employing it the speaker displays gentleness by not imposing any direct burden of response on the intended addressee, and the implicit addressee may now show courtesy of being responsive by responding to ‘what the other simply had in mind.’²²

The routinization of feigned monologs leads to yet another interesting change in grammar, i.e., the emergence of the ‘audience-blind style’ (ABS) interrogative marker, i.e., question sentence-ender using an audience-blind interrogative *-na*.²³ Considering that Korean is a language where addressee-encoding is highly grammaticalized in ‘the speech-level system,’ i.e., a hierarchically organized system of encoding the speaker-addressee relationship based on formality, honorification, politeness, etc., ABS is a peculiar form of sentential ending. As an ABS interrogative, *-na* carries the following characteristics²⁴:

(27) ABS interrogative *-na* is used:

- (i) in questions with [+FORMAL, -HONORIFIC] features
 (ii) in questions in audience-blind discourse
 (iii) in self-addressed questions (monologual/rhetorical questions)
 (iv) in questions showing the speaker’s lack of confidence (Koh, 1998; Jang, 2002; Han, 2003; Lee and Lee, 2010; Koo and Rhee, 2013)

From an interactional perspective, the use of the audience-blind *-na* in dialogs or other forms of audience-directed speech act is self-contradictory. However, the use of the audience-blind *-na* in interactional contexts is well developed and defines itself as a unique speech act marker. In contemporary Korean, the ABS interrogative marker is a full-fledged dialogical interrogative marker, but due to its root in audience-blindness, its use implies that the speaker does not consider the hearer/listener as his or her equal discourse partner (e.g., an officer to a private in the military). Indeed, *-na* is the interrogative sentence ender the nobility used when speaking to their servants in pre-modern times. The employment of ABS is applicable in the downward direction only, and a social inferior cannot use it when addressing a superior addressee. In other words, the use of the ABS *-na* is an act of claiming superiority. The usage is exemplified in (28),

²² As a reviewer noted, prosody plays a role in this development. We are unable to present an in-depth analysis of prosody here, but a brief generalization is that *-na* in the sentence-ender function in feigned monologs, unlike in other functions, often carries a distinctively prolonged, rising intonation, perhaps an iconic representation of indeterminacy, on-going exploration and inquisitiveness. This prosodic characterization does not hold with the sentence-ender *-na* with the ‘superiority-claim’ function (see below).

²³ The notion close to audience-blindness is ‘allocutivity’ (Bonaparte, 1862:19–21; Hualde and de Urbina, 2003:242; as cited in Antonov, 2013:317–318) or addressee encoding. An ABS lacks allocutivity.

²⁴ The ABS is often employed in texts intended to be highly objective and non-interactive, such as newspapers and technical books. But it is not used in letters or TV broadcasting due to the presence of the addressee and of the broadcaster’s on-screen visual image facing the audience, respectively. In these instances, the presence of addressees is ‘virtual’ rather than physical, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer.

putative, yet very commonly used, examples in the military, e.g., a drill-master in a boot camp scolding slow trainees and urging them to move faster (in (28a)), and a commander reproaching someone who fired a gun or cannon without an order (in (28b)):

- (28) a. *ppalli mos ttwi-na?*
fast cannot run-Q.END
'Can't you run faster?' (PDK)
- b. *nwu-ka palphoha-lako hay-ss-na?*
who-NOM shoot-IMP.COMP say-PST-Q.END
'Who gave you an order to fire?' (PDK)

This form of ABS interrogative is fully established as a sentence-ender and is now commonly used in audience-blind narrative styles, such as essays or newspaper articles when the writer is raising a topic question, often as a title or a topic presenter.

When *-na* became fully established as an ABS interrogative through routinization, it lost its tie to its structural origin. In other words, this type of interrogative sentence-ender is no longer traceable to ellipsis. For instance, a sentence with this sentence-ender cannot be embedded, i.e., it cannot be followed by a main clause, as illustrated in (29) (compare with (14a) above):

- (29) *nwukwu-nun hwanay-l cwul molu-na? (*molukeyssta, *kwungkumhata...)*
who-TOP display.anger-ADN NOMZ not.know-Q.END (*I.don't.know, *I.wonder...)
'Do you think I'm quiet because I don't know how to show my anger?' (< Lit. 'Who doesn't know how to show anger?') (PDK)

Another point to make in terms of discursive interaction is divergent development of stances. We noted in section 3.2 that the development of tepidity-marking was realized in two seemingly contradictory functions, i.e., marking politeness but also pejorativity. From an interactional perspective, this comes as a surprise since they both originated from the same notion of 'tepidity.' In terms of politeness, by using the tepidity-marking postpositional particle, the speaker is presenting an option not as an absolute choice but one that can be modified or replaced by the addressee, which triggers the development of the politeness-marking function in discourse. This is applicable when what the speaker said originates from himself or herself, i.e., when the speaker expresses his or her own proposal, statement, inquiry, etc. On the other hand, when what the speaker said originates from someone else, i.e., when the speaker is quoting someone else, the tepidity attitude signals his or her reservation or skepticism toward what the quoted speaker said (implying a challenge to their authority), and this disparaging attitude develops into pejoration.

4.3. Subjectification and intersubjectification

Semantic change tends to show directionality. Since Traugott introduced the notions of subjectification and intersubjectification in a series of studies (Traugott, 1982, 1989, 1995, 2003, 2007, 2010; Traugott and König, 1991; Traugott and Dasher, 2002, among others), researchers have presented numerous cases across languages that support these powerful notions to characterize the semantic change in grammaticalization. According to Traugott, semantic-pragmatic change in the initial propositional (ideational) content can gain either textual (cohesion-making) and expressive (interpersonal, and other pragmatic) meanings, or both, that can be summarized as: Propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)). It is also suggested that meanings tend to undergo subjectification, i.e., they tend to "become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief/attitude toward the proposition" (Traugott, 1989:35). Meanings also tend to undergo intersubjectification, i.e., they tend to index "speaker attitude and belief, and expressing attention to the hearer's self" (Cuyckens et al., 2010:1). In the current literature on grammaticalization, (inter)subjectification indeed seems to be a robust phenomenon attested across languages (Stein and Wright, 1995; Traugott and Dasher, 2002; Davidse et al., 2010 and the works therein).²⁵

²⁵ An anonymous reviewer raised the issue of the order of mechanisms that operate in the development of *-na*. As the reviewer noted, analogy and (inter)subjectification operate on different levels. Analogy is the process on the structural level even though it often draws on semantic/functional similarity as well, whereas (inter)subjectification operates on the semantic-pragmatic level. At the current level of analysis, we are unable to establish solid ordering of these mechanisms, but they are thought to operate simultaneously, largely independent of each other insofar as they operate on different levels of grammar.

With respect to the development of *-na*, the semantic change from multiple options to indeterminacy/tentativeness is a clear instance of subjectification, i.e., from the states of affairs of the (external) world to the (internal) mental state/attitude. In other words, the signal of existence of multiple options that can be enumerated in the real world situation becomes subjectified and is recruited to suggest the existence of multiple options in the mental world, thus giving more room to the addressee for decisions.

The development of the politeness- or pejorativity-marking function of *-na* has to do with intersubjectification. The use of the particle *-na* in its tepidity sense as a discourse strategy of politeness is motivated by the face-consideration of the addressee, thus intersubjectification. The development of pejorativity marking is also an instance of intersubjectification in the sense that the speaker has an intent of displaying his or her emotional stance toward the addressee and the intent is explicitly marked by a linguistic means.²⁶ However, as Koo and Rhee (in press) note, discussion of intersubjectification in the literature is largely restricted to upward-changes (consideration of social need and face), whereas pejoration involves downward-changes. Considering that the force of abusive language is far greater than that of considerate, polite, amicable language, as may be contrasted with, for instance, slurs and politeness formulae, more serious scholastic attention to the pejoratives from the intersubjectification perspective is called for.²⁷

Another interesting aspect with respect to intersubjectification is the development of *-na* from a non-intersubjective clause-ender to an intersubjective sentence-ender, as a result of the main clause ellipsis. When *-na* was used to mark the end of the embedded clause, it was a non-interactive, non-intersubjective, interrogative form, simply because an embedded clause, unlike the main clause, was not marked with an interactive or intersubjective ender. When the main clause became ellipted, *-na* came to occur utterance-finally, later reanalyzed as sentence-finally. This created an uncomfortable situation because the use of such a 'bare' form in terms of intersubjectivity at sentence-end violates the general pattern, which triggered reinterpretation of the bare form as a marker of intersubjectivity of a different kind. In other words, when audience-blind forms came to constitute a speech style of their own, the absence of intersubjective elements came to function as a marker of another kind of stance, i.e., the speaker's claim of superiority over the addressee. In short, an intersubjectivity-bare form (in an embedded clause) is reinterpreted as an intersubjective form by virtue of its occurrence in the intersubjectivity-marking position (i.e., the end of a sentence), and this reinterpretation is itself an instance of intersubjectification.²⁸

The instances of (inter)subjectification can be summarized, in part, as in (30):

- (30)
- a. multiple options > indeterminacy/tentativeness (subjectification)
 - b. multiple options > tepidity (subjectification)
 - c. \emptyset > evidentiality (subjectification)
 - d. tepidity > politeness (intersubjectification)
 - e. \emptyset > pejoration (intersubjectification)
 - f. \emptyset > claim of superiority (intersubjectification)

5. Summary and conclusion

This paper explored the extensive development of the polyfunctional *-na*, one of the oldest grammatical markers in Korean, focusing on its original function as a verbal morpheme and diverse patterns of functional extension, and the role of analogy, discursive strategies, and (inter)subjectification in its functional extension.

One of its most frequent usages in Modern Korean is the one as a politeness marker. Its development is enabled by the speaker's stance associated with *-na*, i.e., the speaker's tepid attitude about the proposal or statement he or she is making. The tepidity and politeness sense arose from a series of changes that may be sketched in brief as follows.

²⁶ An anonymous reviewer pointed out that speaking is always a display to the addressee and in that sense all language use is intersubjective, and that pejorativity adds in the first place a subjective stance to a certain referent or state of affairs. From this viewpoint, the development of a pejorative may be more suitably conceived of as an instance of subjectification rather than intersubjectification. Intersubjectivity forms a continuum from imperceptible to obvious manifestation, since the speaker's 'consideration' of the addressee is inherently variable. In this context, what matters here may be the degree of the speaker's intent associated with the display of pejorativity and the degree of the illocutionary force felt by the addressee from it. Such forces of *-na* are strong and we argue that its development is an instance of intersubjectification as well as one of subjectification.

²⁷ As for the permeation of the expressive forms, Foolen (1997:21–22) notes that expressive forms are found on all levels of language description (see also Foolen, 2015).

²⁸ As an anonymous reviewer rightly noted, discourse segments index intersubjectivity regardless of any explicit sentence-final elements, and thus the reinterpretation analysis presented here may not be robust. Our claim is based on the fact that the sentence-final position is the locus of mood and modality marking in Korean where a constellation of such markers constitutes the verbal morphology. Thus, we hypothesize that a form located utterance-finally is particularly subject to reinterpretation as carrying the intersubjective, interactive meanings that are normally found in the sentence-ender paradigm.

Historical sources show that the function of *-na* was largely to enumerate options, exemplars, etc. in repetitive form. When the repetitive pattern gradually declined through history and thus a sentence came to contain only a single *-na*-marked constituent, the meaning of *-na* changed into a marker of non-specificity by implying that there are other options left unmentioned. This notion of non-specificity was further subjectified into tepidity. The lack of compulsion associated with the form led to its association with politeness strategies.

Another significant functional divergence is its development into a sentence-ender to mark the speaker's self-addressed question through a process of main-clause ellipsis. This monologic interrogative marker as a verbal morpheme was used to show that the speaker is (still) exploratory about a state of affairs, and thus marks the speaker's cognitive non-definiteness and indecision. This, in turn, triggered the functional spread of the form into politeness marking. At the same time, this monolog pattern developed into a separate interrogative style in its own right, a form lacking attention to the audience, i.e., an audience-blind form, whose usage became characteristic of highly hierarchy-sensitive situations as in the military, where the speaker is claiming superiority by signaling that the addressee is not an equal discourse partner.

A large portion of the discussion is dedicated to the argument that *-na* in the sentence-ending function and other related functions developed in Modern Korean are not unrelated to *-na* in its older verbal/nominal functions, but are in fact in a heterosemous relationship. The later developments across diverse levels of grammar were enabled by analogy based on structural affinity and functional similarity. When the analogy-prompted development emancipated *-na* from category-based restrictions, it came to be used at diverse levels of grammar, e.g., as a particle appended to complementizers or verb serializing non-finite markers. It is shown how the usage of a single form cuts across functional domains and grammatical categories synchronically as a cumulative effect of diachronic change.

This paper also showed that subjectification and intersubjectification contributed to the grammaticalization processes of the polyfunctional *-na*, especially with reference to the development of politeness and pejoration marking. For instance, the development of the notion 'multiple options' in the real world into 'indeterminacy or tentativeness' in the mental state/attitude is an instance of subjectification. The tentativeness develops into tepidity and further into politeness through intersubjectification, i.e. face-consideration of the addressee. The development of the pejoration-marking is another instance of intersubjectification in the sense that the speaker has an intent of displaying his or her emotional–attitudinal stance toward the addressee and the intent is explicitly marked by a linguistic form.

Acknowledgements

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 12th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference (ICLC-12), University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, June 23–28, 2013. The authors wish to thank the audience for their valuable comments and suggestions. Our special thanks go to Ad Foolen for comments on the earlier version of this paper, and to Anthony Shin, Lyman McLallen, Soyeon Ahn, and James Life for proofreading for content and stylistic improvement. All remaining errors, however, are ours. It is also acknowledged with gratitude that this research was supported by the Research Fund of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (for the first, corresponding author) and the Research Fund of Sangmyung University (for the second author).

References

- Ahn, B.-H., Lee, K.-H., 1990. *Cwungseykwuke mwunpeplon* (Middle Korean Grammar). Hakyeon, Seoul.
- Antonov, A., 2013. Grammaticalization of allocutivity markers in Japanese and Korean in a crosslinguistic perspective. In: Robbeets, M., Cuyckens, H. (Eds.), *Shared Grammaticalization: With Special Focus on the Transeurasian Languages*. Amsterdam, Benjamins, pp. 317–339.
- Anttila, R., 2003. *Analogy: the warp and woof of cognition*. In: Joseph, B.D., Janda, R.D. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 435–440.
- Bae, D.-O., 2002. *Itwumwunpepsouy thongsicek yenkwu* (A Diachronic Study of Itwu Grammatical Morphemes). Gyeongsang National University Press, Jinju, Korea.
- Bonaparte, L.-L., 1862. *Langue basque et langues finnoises*. Strangeways & Walden, London.
- Caffi, C., 1999. On mitigation. *J. Pragmat.* 31, 881–909.
- Caffi, C., 2007. *Mitigation*. Elsevier, Amsterdam.
- Chae, W., 1977. *Hyentaykwuke thukswucosauy yenkwu* (A Study of Special Particles in Modern Korean). (MA thesis). Seoul National University, Korea.
- Chae, W., 1993. *Thukswucosa moklokuy caykemtho* (Revisiting the list of special particles). *Kwukhak* 23, 69–92.
- Choe, H.-B., 1946. *Wulimalpon* (Korean Grammar). Jungumsa, Seoul.
- Choe, H.-B., 1961. *Kipko kochin wulimalpon* (Revised Korean Grammar). Jungumsa, Seoul.
- Choi, D.J., 1999. *-kyey thukswucosauy mwunpephwa* (On grammaticalization of the *i*-class special auxiliary particles). *Morphology* 1 (1), 43–60.
- Craig, C., 1991. *Ways to go in Rama: a case study in polygrammaticalization*. In: Traugott, E.C., Heine, B. (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, 2 Vols, vol. 2. Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 455–492.
- Croft, W., 1990. *Typology and Universals*, 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Cumming, S., Ono, T., 1997. Discourse and grammar. In: van Dijk, T.A. (Ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process*, vol. 1. Sage Publications, London, pp. 112–137.
- Cuyckens, H., Davidse, K., Vandelanotte, L., 2010. Introduction. In: Davidse, K., Vandelanotte, L., Cuyckens, H. (Eds.), *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 1–26.
- Davidse, K., Vandelanotte, L., Cuyckens, H. (Eds.), 2010. *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- De Smet, H., 2009. Analysing reanalysis. *Lingua* 119, 1728–1755.
- De Smet, H., 2012. The course of actualization. *Language* 88 (3), 601–633.
- De Smet, H., 2014. Does innovation need reanalysis? In: Evie Coussé, E., von Mengden, F. (Eds.), *Usage-based Approaches to Language Change*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 23–48.
- Delbecque, N., Verwecken, K., 2014. Conceptually-driven analogy in the grammaticalization of Spanish binominal quantifiers. *Linguistics* 52 (3), 637–684.
- Englebretson, R., 2007. Stancetaking in discourse: an introduction. In: Englebretson, R. (Ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 1–25.
- Evans, N., 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In: Nikolaeva, I. (Ed.), *Finiteness: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 366–431.
- Evans, N., 2009. Insubordination and the Grammaticalisation of Interactive Presuppositions. Paper presented at Methodologies in Determining Morphosyntactic Change Conference, Museum of Ethnography, Osaka, March.
- Fischer, O., 2007. Morphosyntactic Change: Functional and Formal. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Fischer, O., 2008. On analogy as the motivation for grammaticalization. *Stud. Lang.* 32 (2), 336–382.
- Fischer, O., 2011. Grammaticalization as analogically driven change? In: Narrog, H., Heine, B. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 31–42.
- Fischer, O., 2012. On Mechanisms of Language Change: What Role does Analogy Play? Plenary paper at the 45th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, Stockholm University, August 29–September 1, 2012.
- Fischer, O., 2013. An inquiry into unidirectionality as a foundational element of grammaticalization: on the role played by analogy and the synchronic grammar system in processes of language change. *Stud. Lang.* 37 (3), 515–533.
- Foolen, A., 1997. The expressive function of language: towards a cognitive semantic approach. In: Niemeier, S., Dirven, R. (Eds.), *The Language of Emotions: Conceptualization, Expression, and Theoretical Foundation*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 15–31.
- Foolen, A., 2015. Expressives. In: Riemer, N. (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Semantics*. Routledge, New York, pp. 473–490.
- Genetti, C., 1991. From postposition to subordinator in Newari. In: Traugott, E.C., Heine, B. (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, 2 Vols, vol. 2. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 227–255.
- Han, G., 2003. *Hyentay Wulimaluy Machimssikkuth Yenkwu (A Study of Sentential Endings in Modern Korean)*. Youkrack, Seoul.
- Haspelmath, M., 2003. The geometry of grammatical meaning: semantic maps and cross-linguistic comparison. In: Tomasello, M. (Ed.), *The New Psychology of Language: Cognitive and Functional Approaches to Language Structure*, vol. 2. Lawrence Erlbaum, London, pp. 211–242.
- Heine, B., Kuteva, T., 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Heine, B., Kuteva, T., 2007. *The Genesis of Grammar: A Reconstruction*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Heine, B., Claudi, U., Hünnemeyer, F., 1991. *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Hong, S.M., 2002. *Kwuke thuksuwucosa sinyenkwu (A New Study of Korean Special Auxiliary Particles)*. Youkrack, Seoul.
- Hopper, P.J., 1991. On some principles of grammaticalization. In: Traugott, E.C., Heine, B. (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, 2 Vols, vol. 1. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 17–35.
- Hopper, P.J., Traugott, E.C., 2003. *Grammaticalization*, 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hualde, J.I., de Urbina, J.O., 2003. *A Grammar of Basque*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Huh, W., 1972. 15-seyki kwukeuy thossi yenkwu (A study of the 15th century particles). *Hangeul* 150, 19–78.
- Huh, W., 1983. *Kwukehak: Wulimaluy onul, ecey (Korean Linguistics: The Present and the Past of the Korean Language)*. Saem Publishing, Seoul.
- Huh, W., 1989. 16-seyki wulimalpon (The 16th Century Korean Grammar). Saem Publishing, Seoul.
- Huh, W., 1995. 20-seyki wulimaluy hyenthaylon (20th Century Korean Morphology). Saem Publishing, Seoul.
- Hwang, P.K., 2001. *Hyangkamwunhakuy ilonkwa haysek (Theory and Interpretation of the hyangga Literature)*. Iljisa Publishing, Seoul.
- Jang, Y.-H., 2002. *Cwungseykwuke congkyelemi yenkwu (A Study of Middle Korean Sentence-final Endings)*. Taehaksa, Seoul.
- Jung, Y.-H., 2001. *Grammaticalization of Korean Clause Connectives (Ph.D. dissertation)*. Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul.
- Kaltenböck, G., Heine, B., Kuteva, T., 2011. On thetical grammar. *Stud. Lang.* 35 (4), 848–893.
- Kim, S.G., 1979. *Senthaykhyeng emi kena-wa tunci-uy hwayonglon (Pragmatics of the connectives of selection -kena and -tunci)*. *Mal* 4, 9–26.
- Kim, W.J., 1980. *Hyangka haytokpep yenkwu (A Study on Interpretation of hyangga)*. Seoul National University Press, Seoul.
- Kim, S.G., 1989. *Wulimal thossi yenkwu (A Study of Korean Particles)*. Konkuk University Press, Seoul.
- Kim, S.G., 1992. *Kwuke thossi yenkwu (A Study of Korean Particles)*. Seokwang Publishing, Seoul.
- Kim, T.-Y., 1998. The functional shift of endings from nonfinal to final. *Enehak* 22, 171–189.
- Kim, M.-J., 2008. A corpus-based study of the grammaticalization for the Korean connectives *mye* and *myense* to sentence final particles. *Jpn./Korean Linguist.* 13, 335–345.
- Kim, S.G., 2009. 21-seyki thossi yenkwu (A Study of Particles in the 21st Century Korean). Kyungjin Publishing, Seoul.
- Kim, M.-J., 2010. The historical development of Korean siph- 'to think' into markers of desire, inference, and similarity. *J. Pragmat.* 42, 1000–1016.
- Kim, B.K., 2011. *A Diachronic Study of Sentence-Terminating Endings (Ph.D. dissertation)*. Konkuk University, Seoul.
- Kim, M.-J., 2015. From choice to counter-expectation: semantic-pragmatic connections of the Korean disjunctive, concessive, and scalar focus particle *-na*. *J. Pragmat.* 80, 1–21.
- Ko, E.-S., 2011. *Kwuke uymwunpep emiuy yeksacek pyenchen (On Historical Change of Korean Interrogative Markers)*. Hankook Publisher, Seoul.

- Koh, K.-T., 1998. *Kuntaykwukeuyemalemi* (Endings in Early Modern Korean). In: Hong, J.-S. (Ed.), *Kuntaykwuke Mwupepuy Ihay*. (Understanding Early Modern Korean Grammar). PJ Books, Seoul, pp. 176–213.
- König, E., 1985. On the history of concessive connectives in English: diachronic and synchronic evidence. *Lingua* 66, 1–19.
- König, E., 1988. Concessive connectives and concessive sentences: cross-linguistic regularities and pragmatic principles. In: Hawkins, J.A. (Ed.), *Explaining Language Universals*. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 145–166.
- Koo, H.J., 2010. Fused paradigms: grammaticalization approach to extension of conditional markers. *Hangeul* 287, 45–71.
- Koo, H.J., Rhee, S.-H., 2001. Grammaticalization of sentential end marker from a conditional marker. *Discourse Cogn.* 8 (1), 1–19.
- Koo, H.J., Rhee, S.-H., 2013. On an emerging paradigm of sentence-final particles of discontent: a grammaticalization perspective. *Lang. Sci.* 37, 70–89.
- Koo, H.J., Rhee, S.-H., 2015. *Pejoratives in Korean*. In: Finkbeiner, R., Meibauer, J., Wiese, H. (Eds.), *Pejoration*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam (in press).
- Kwon, J.-I., 1986. *Mwupephyengthaysouy sengkyek* (On the nature of grammatical morphemes). In: Yoo, M.S. (Ed.), *Kwukehak sinyenkwu*. (New Studies on Korean Linguistics). Tower Press, Seoul, pp. 293–304.
- Kwon, I.-S., 2012. *Viewpoints in the Korean Verbal Complex: Evidence, Perception, Assessment, and Time* (Ph.D. dissertation). The University of California, Berkeley, CA.
- Lee, H.H., 1982a. *A Diachronical Study on Korean Questions* (MA thesis). Seoul National University, Seoul.
- Lee, H.H., 1982b. *Kwuke congkyelemiuy paltaley tayhan kwankyen* (Thoughts on the development of Korean sentence-enders). *Kwukehak* 11, 143–163.
- Lee, U.-D., 1990. *Ulimal iumssikkuthuy thongsicek yenkwu* (A Diachronic Study of Korean Connectives). Emungak Publishing, Seoul.
- Lee, K.-D., 1993. *A Korean Grammar on Semantic–Pragmatic Principles*. Hankook Publisher, Seoul.
- Lee, H.S., 2003. Grammaticalization and synchronic variation: a unified account of the discourse – pragmatics of *-na* in Korean. In: Clancy, P. (Ed.), *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, vol. 11. CSLI Publications, Stanford, pp. 149–162.
- Lee, G.-H., 2006. Classification and list of conjunctive particles. *Urimalgeul: Korean Lang. Lit.* 37, 171–195.
- Lee, H.-J., Lee, J.-H., 2010. *Emi cosa sacen* (A Dictionary of Endings and Particles). Hankook Publisher, Seoul.
- Lehmann, C., 1991. Grammaticalization and related changes in contemporary German. In: Traugott, E.C., Heine, B. (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, 2 Vols, vol. 2. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 493–535.
- Lichtenberk, F., 1991. Semantic change and heterosemy in grammaticalization. *Language* 67 (3), 475–509.
- Lim, D.-H., 2015. Semantics of focus particles in Korean. *Kwukehak* 73, 335–373.
- Martin, S.E., 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean*. Charles E. Tuttle, Rutland, Vermont.
- Mok, J.-S., 2003. Syntax of the particle *-(i)na* and its modal restriction. *Hangeul* 260, 113–148.
- Nam, P.-H., 2009. *Kotayhankwuke yenkwu* (A Study of Old Korean). Spinning Wheel of Time Publishing, Seoul.
- Nam, K.S., Ko, Y.-K., 1985. *Phyocwun kwuke mwunpeplon* (Standard Grammar of Korean). Tower Press, Seoul.
- Narrog, H., Rhee, S.-H., 2013. Grammaticalization of space in Korean and Japanese. In: Robbeets, M., Cuyckens, H. (Eds.), *Shared Grammaticalization: With Special Focus on the Transeurasian Languages*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 287–315.
- Nevalainen, T., Rissanen, M., 2002. Fairly pretty or pretty fair? On the development and grammaticalization of English downtoners. *Lang. Sci.* 24, 359–380.
- Nichols, J., Timberlake, A., 1991. Grammaticalization as retextualization. In: Traugott, E.C., Heine, B. (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, 2 Vols, vol. 1. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 129–146.
- Ohuri, T., 1995. Remarks on suspended clauses: a contribution to Japanese phraseology. In: Shibatani, M., Thompson, S.A. (Eds.), *Essays in Semantics and Pragmatics in Honor of Charles J. Fillmore*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 201–218.
- Paek, D.H., 2005. *Sektokkwuyeluy mwunca cheykyeywa kinung* (The Writing System and Function of Sektokkwuyel). Hankook Publisher, Seoul.
- Park, J.-H., 2015. A historical study of delimiters. *Kwukehak* 73, 375–435.
- Persson, G., 1986. Homonymy, polysemy and heterosemy: the types of lexical ambiguity in English. In: Hyldgaard-Jensen, K., Zettersten, A. (Eds.), *Symposium on Lexicography III: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Lexicography*, University of Copenhagen, 14–16 May. Niemeyer, Tübingen, pp. 269–280.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., Svartvik, J., 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman, London.
- Rhee, S.-H., 2002. From Silence to Grammar: Grammaticalization of Ellipsis in Korean. Paper Presented at the New Reflections on Grammaticalization II Conference, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. April 3–6.
- Rhee, S.-H., 2011. From politeness discourse strategy to grammar: grammaticalization of stance markers. *J. Linguist. Sci.* 59, 253–282.
- Rhee, S.-H., 2012. Context-induced reinterpretation and (inter)subjectification: the case of grammaticalization of sentence-final particles. *Lang. Sci.* 34 (3), 284–300.
- Rhee, S.-H., 2014. Analogy-driven grammaticalization: a case of grammaticalization of sentence-final markers from concomitance-connectives. *Linguist. Res.* 31 (3), 591–614.
- Ryu, B.-R., 2013. *The Semantics and Pragmatics of the Delimiter -ina in Korean* (Ph.D. dissertation). Seoul National University, Seoul.
- Shin, J.H., 2000. *Hyangkaury haysek* (An Interpretation of Hyangka). Jipmundang, Seoul.
- Smith, S.W., Jucker, A.H., 2000. Actually and other markers of an apparent discrepancy between propositional attitudes of conversational partners. In: Andersen, G., Fretheim, T. (Eds.), *Pragmatic Markers and Propositional Attitude*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 207–237.
- Sohn, S.-O.S., 1995. On the development of sentence-final particles in Korean. *Jpn./Korean Linguist.* 5, 219–234.
- Sohn, S.-O.S., 2003. On the emergence of intersubjectivity: an analysis of the sentence-final *nikka* in Korean. *Jpn./Korean Linguist.* 12, 52–63.
- Stein, D., Wright, S. (Eds.), 1995. *Subjectivity and Subjectivisation*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Stubbs, M., 1986. A matter of prolonged fieldwork: notes towards a modal grammar of English. *Appl. Linguist.* 7, 1–24.
- Takahashi, K., 2012. On historical semantic changes of the Thai morpheme *hâj*. *J. Southeast Asian Linguist. Soc.* 5, 126–141.
- Tourmadre, N., 2010. The classical Tibetan cases and their transcategoriality: from sacred grammar to modern linguistics. *Himal. Linguist.* 9 (2), 87–125.

- Traugott, E.C., 1982. From propositional to textual and expressive meanings: some semantic–pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization. In: Lehmann, W.P., Malkiel, Y. (Eds.), *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 245–272.
- Traugott, E.C., 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: an example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65 (1), 31–55.
- Traugott, E.C., 1995. Subjectification in grammaticalization. In: Stein, D., Wright, S. (Eds.), *Subjectivity and Subjectivisation*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 31–54.
- Traugott, E.C., 2003. From subjectification to intersubjectification. In: Hickey, R. (Ed.), *Motives for Language Change*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 124–139.
- Traugott, E.C., 2007. (Inter)subjectification and unidirectionality. *J. Hist. Pragmat.* 8 (2), 295–309.
- Traugott, E.C., 2010. Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification. In: Davidse, K., Vandelanotte, L., Cuyckens, H. (Eds.), *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 29–70.
- Traugott, E.C., Dasher, R.B., 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Traugott, E.C., König, E., 1991. The semantics–pragmatics of grammaticalization revisited. In: Traugott, E.C., Heine, B. (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization, 2 Vols, vol. 1*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 189–218.
- Traugott, E.C., Trousdale, G., 2013. *Constructionalization and Constructional Changes*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Yang, J.-D., 1942. *Cosen kokayenkwu (A Study of Korean Old Songs)*. Pakmwunsekwon, Seoul.
- Yang, I.-S., 1973. Semantics of delimiters in Korean. *Lang. Res.* 9 (2), 84–122.

Seongha Rhee is a professor of linguistics at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea. He received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin in 1996. He taught and researched at Stanford University as a 2003–2004 Fulbright lecturer. The university administrative positions he held include Vice President of External Affairs, Dean of Graduate School of TESOL, and Dean of Academic Affairs. He served the Linguistic Society of Korea (president, 2013–2014) and the Discourse and Cognitive Linguistic Society of Korea (president, 2009–2011). His book publication includes *An Introduction to Grammaticalization* (written in Korean), an academic book of the year 1999. He has published book chapters in *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization* (ed. by Heiko Narrog and Bernd Heine, OUP), *Split Auxiliary Systems* (ed. by Raúl Aranovich, 2007, Benjamins), *Rethinking Grammaticalization* (ed. by Maria Jose Lopez-Couso and Elena Seoane, 2008, Benjamins), *Shared Grammaticalization* (ed. by Martine Robbeets and Hubert Cuyckens, 2013, Benjamins) and a few others; and has published a number of research articles in journals including *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Language Sciences*, and *Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*. He has served editorial boards for domestic and international journals as a standing member or ad hoc invited reviewer. His primary research interest is to identify cognitive and discursive mechanisms that enable language change from the crosslinguistic and typological perspectives.

Hyun Jung Koo is a professor of linguistics at the Department of Korean Language and Literature. She earned her Ph.D. in Linguistics from Konkuk University, Korea in 1989. She taught at the University of Alberta as a visiting professor (1997–1998). The university administrative positions she held include Dean of Academic Affairs, Dean of College of Language and Literature, and Director of the Institute of Korean Culture. She is currently serving the Korean Speech Association as president. She has served various governmental boards and committees for language policy and standardization. She published a number of books including *On Speech Skills* (written in Korean) and a number of translated books. Her book chapter publication includes one in *Pejoration* (in press, ed. by Finbeiner et al., Benjamins). Her publication in international journals includes research articles in *Language Sciences*, *Poznan Studies of Contemporary Linguistics*, *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *The LACUS Forum*, and a number of domestic and international journals. Her primary research interest is to identify how discursive strategies prompt language change, and how culture effects language change both in lexicon and grammar.