



From quoting to reporting to stance-marking: rhetorical strategies and intersubjectification of reportative



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ABSTRACT

Quotative and reportative are grammatical devices of presenting information from a source other than the speaker himself. The Korean predicative reportative *-tanta* developed from a quotative construction and is currently used for self-quoting for rhetorical effect. The development of reportative from quotative was enabled by the loss of the *verbum dicendi*, *ha-* 'say,' which resulted in ambiguity of the speaker, i.e., the original source of the information. The opacity of the utterer further led to the extension of the usage to seemingly inappropriate contexts, i.e., when the report is about the speaker himself or herself, thus, technically, the speaker is reporting about himself or herself as if the information were from a third source. This type of change is motivated by the strategic use of reportative constructions for rhetorical effect, i.e., presenting subjective states of the speaker himself or herself, especially with emotional stances, as if they had objective validity. Furthermore, the rhetorical effect of this 'self-reporting' is the nuance of mirativity. The mirative function brings forth a strong engaging effect on the part of the addressee because it signals the speaker's invitation of the addressee into an epistemic or emotional common ground.

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1. Introduction

As Bakhtin (1981: 337) aptly noted, “[t]he transmission and assessment of the speech of others, the discourse of another, is one of the most widespread and fundamental topics of human speech.” Therefore, presumably all languages have devices of representing the speech of others, i.e., in the form of a quotation or report, a hypothesis shared by Haberland (1986), Güldermann (2008), Stavropoulou et al. (2011), and many others.¹ It also seems that, considering the large number of new grammatical markers being reported in literature, markers of reporting are continuously innovated perhaps due to the desire to present reported information in a more vivid, effective and novel way (see Buchstaller and Van Alphen, 2012 and the works therein, for newly innovated quotatives). According to crosslinguistic and typological studies on reported speech, reporting may take diverse forms depending on the level of directness or ‘faithfulness’ of the information being reported. For instance, reporting may involve the speaker’s use of their own words, or quoting the source verbatim, or recasting the information as indirect speech (Aikhenvald, 2004: 132). It has also been revealed that across languages there are a few common linguistic

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¹ See Campbell and Campbell (1981) for the Amazonian language Jamamadi being a possible exception, and Güldermann (2008: 9) for a counterargument.

means employed for reported speech strategy, such as *verba dicendi* ‘say,’ ‘speak,’ etc., demonstrative ‘that,’ logophoric pronouns, mood markers, copulas, simile expressions, etc (Heine et al. 1993; Heine and Kuteva, 2002; Aikhenvald, 2004; Friedman, 2003; Rakhilina, 1996; Chirikba, 2003; D’Arcy, 2012; among numerous others).

Korean follows this crosslinguistic pattern in terms of lexical sources and usage of grammatical means for reporting but, in addition, it exhibits further interesting usages, the development of which this paper expounds. Korean has a number of grammatical devices to serve the function of quoting or reporting, e.g., most notably, a set of complementizers (COMPS) that vary according to the sentence/clause type such as a statement (declarative *-tako/-lako*), command (imperative *-lako*), question (interrogative *-nyako*), and suggestion (hortative *-cako*).² The basic function of these COMPS is to report someone else’s utterance as a syntactically subordinate clause, but they also developed into a set of sentence-enders as highly unitized predicative quotatives (QUOTS), i.e., *-tanta/-lanta* (declarative-based), *-lanta* (imperative-based), *-nyanta* (interrogative-based), and *-canta* (hortative-based), each signaling the type of the original speech act being reported.

Of these predicative QUOTS, the declarative-based predicative QUOT *-tanta* exhibits an interesting development in that it developed into a marker of reportative (REPT), i.e., a marker of non-firsthand information from an unspecified/unidentifiable source, such as hearsay. This later development does not involve changes in form, thus creating a QUOT-REPT ambiguity without context. The use of COMP and the QUOT-REPT ambiguity are illustrated, in part, in the following putative examples:³

- (1) a. Declarative COMP *-tako*
ku-ka kot o-keyss-tako phyenci-lul ponay-ss-ta
 he-NOM soon come-FUT-COMP letter-ACC send-PST-DEC
 ‘He sent a letter saying that he would come soon.’
- b. Declarative-based QUOT/REPT sentence-ender *-tanta*
ku-ka kot o-keyss-tanta
 he-NOM soon come-FUT-QUOT/REPT
 QUOT: ‘He says that he will come soon.’
 REPT: ‘They say that he will come soon.’

As the interpretations of the example (1b) show, the meaning of the sentence is ambiguous as to the source of information, i.e., between ‘he’ in the quotative interpretation, and unspecified ‘they’ in the reportative interpretation. The primary function of the QUOT/REPT sentence-ender *-tanta* is to quote a direct utterance or hearsay as in (1b), but the speakers recently recruited the form for functional extension. Through this discursive strategy, *-tanta* further developed into a pseudo-reportative, a marker of information presented as if it were of non-firsthand information simply for rhetorical effect, signaling diverse stances of the speaker. At this post-reportative stage, it functions as a sentence-final particle (SFP) marking the speaker’s stance (SM).⁴ This intriguing functional development has not yet received attention from linguists and this paper intends to fill this gap in research.

The objectives of this paper are threefold: it intends to trace the processes of the grammaticalization of QUOT/REPT in history; to describe the functional extension of the REPT into a SM; and to discuss the implications of the development in the theory of grammaticalization. In particular, it will argue that the development prominently involves local context syntagmatically and paradigmatically, rhetorical strategy in discourse, and intersubjectification in function and meaning.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents preliminary issues, describing the development of COMP and QUOT/REPT in history, and further the states of affairs of evidentiality marking in Korean. Section 3 addresses the grammaticalization of the QUOT/REPT *-tanta*, and its recent development in the stance-marking domain as a pseudo-reportative. Section 4 discusses the development of *-tanta* in view of grammaticalization parameter of local contexts, rhetorical strategies and intersubjectification. Section 5 summarizes the discussion and concludes the paper.

2. Preliminaries

Korean is a verb-final language with agglutinative morphology. It has a large number of verbal and nominal morphologies, including postpositions, connectives, sentence-enders and particles. This paper addresses a form whose development

² The declarative COMP *-tako* has an allomorph *-lako* (incidentally identical in form with the imperative-based COMP *-lako*), which occurs after the copula (*i*-‘be’) or the retrospective *-te-*. The same applies to all declarative-based forms such as *-tanta/-lanta*, the form under focus in the present paper. For convenience, *-tanta* will be used throughout the paper as the representative form for the declarative *-tanta/-lanta*, unless specific mention of the allomorphy is required for clarity.

³ The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: ABS: Audience-Blind Style, ACC: accusative, ADN: adnominal, CAUS: causal connective, COMP: complementizer, CONN: connective, DEC: declarative, FUT: future, GEN: genitive, HON: honorific, HORT: hortative, IMP: imperative, INT: interrogative, NOM: nominative, NOMZ: nominalizer, PL: plural, PRES: present, PST: past, PURP: purposive, QUOT: quotative, REPT: reportative, SFP: sentence-final particle, SM: stance marker, TOP: topic, TRAN: transferentive, VOC: vocative.

⁴ Sentence-final particles (SFPs) refer to diverse, often polymorphemic, verbal morphologies that occur at the ultimate-slot, i.e., sentence-finally in Korean, a verb-final language. There are slight differences, depending on definition, between sentence-final particles and sentence-enders, but they are largely interchangeable. This paper uses both terms without elaboration on terminology. The sentence-type markers are both sentence-final particles and sentence-enders, but the term highlights their modal function of marking the sentence types such as declarative, imperative, interrogative and hortative.

involves multiple syntactic and functional categories e.g., the sentence-type marker, complementizer, sentence-ender, evidentiality marker, and stance marker. We describe the development in brief.

2.1. Complementizers

Korean has four COMPS depending on the modality of the subordinated clause, namely the declarative, interrogative, imperative and hortative (see Rhee, 2008a and Sohn, 2011 for a detailed description). Sentence-types are indicated by numerous markers with such variables as speech levels (which, in turn, are determined by the levels of honorification, deference, formality, politeness, etc.), typically as the ultimate-slot sentential morphology, thus often called the sentence-final particle (SFP). One form for each sentence type acts as the representative form in various morpho-syntactic operations, e.g., when it forms a COMP, as shown in (2):⁵

- (2) Representative SFPs and COMPS by sentence types
- | | | |
|------------------------|------|--------|
| a. DEC (Declarative) | -ta | -tako |
| b. INT (Interrogative) | -nya | -nyako |
| c. IMP (Imperative) | -la | -lako |
| d. HORT (Hortative) | -ca | -cako |

The development of COMPS occurred in stages from the Early Modern Korean period (from the 17th and to the 19th century).⁶ In the development three components came into play: the sentence-type marker, the verb of locution *ha-* 'say', and the coordinating connective *-ko* 'and'. This is in much consonance with the crosslinguistic pattern in that it recruits a verb of locution (see Lord, 1976, 1993; Crowley, 1989; Heine et al. 1993; Rakhilina, 1996; Klamer, 2000; Dömötör, 2001; Heine and Kuteva, 2002; Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993], Güldermann, 2008; Chappell, 2008; Hsieh, 2012; among numerous others).

Grammaticalization of COMPS in Korean has received much attention, and detailed discussion on the developmental processes is beyond our immediate interest (see Sohn, 1995, 2011; Kwon, 1998; Koo, 2010 for discussion of their grammaticalization). Thus, for our purposes, a diagrammatic presentation of the structural change should suffice, as in (3) (modified from Rhee, 2009; illustrated with the DEC *-ta*, but parallel development also for other sentence-type markers, *-la*, *-nya*, and *-ca*):

- (3) Developmental Stages of the COMP *-tako*
- | | | | | |
|--|----|------------------------------------|----|------------------------|
| Stage I | >> | Stage II | >> | Stage III |
| Coordinated Structure | | Subordinated Structure | | Phonological Reduction |
| ... <i>ta</i>]- <i>ha</i>]- <i>ko</i> | | ... <i>ta</i>]- <i>hako</i> | | ... <i>tako</i> |
| ... <i>SFP</i>]- <i>say</i>]- <i>and</i> | | ... <i>SFP</i>]- <i>QUOT.CONN</i> | | ... <i>COMP</i> |

2.2. Quotatives and reportatives

Reported discourse is the type of linguistic representation the authorship of which is signaled to be someone other than the speaker. Therefore, reported discourse is a type of 'metarepresentation', i.e., a higher-order representation within which a lower-order representation is embedded (Wilson, 2000: 411). Güldermann (2008: 6) gives a definition for reported speech as: "the representation of a spoken or mental text from which the reporter distances him-/herself by indicating that it is produced by a source of consciousness in a pragmatic and deictic setting that is different from that of the immediate discourse." Within the broad category of reported discourse, literature assigned the terms QUOT, REPT, Hearsay, etc., often discussed with respect to their functions of marking evidentiality, i.e., the source of information.

QUOT and REPT are defined in literature in various ways. Some studies (e.g. Mathis and Yule, 1994; Clift and Holt, 2007) consider QUOT as a device that marks an utterance as direct quote of someone else's, such as the English *say* and the innovative forms that enable quotation verbatim, e.g., *be like*, *go*, etc. In contrast with REPT which is for *de re* interpretation, QUOT is for *de dicto* interpretation (González i Planas, 2014). Similarly, Davidson's (1979) classical theory of quotation regards the quoted material as 'the demonstratum', i.e., not a part of the sentence in which the quotation occurs but an (external) entity referred to (Recanati, 2000: 25–26). In such cases, the label QUOT may be strictly applicable to a marker that brings in an utterance that needs to be placed within quotation marks. However, QUOT and REPT as forms of metarepresentation are not binary in that there are metarepresentations of different degrees of attribution, e.g. direct quotation, mixed direct and indirect quotation, and free indirect quotation (Wilson, 2000: 413; see also 'mixed quotations' Recanati, 2000; 'free indirect discourse' Eckhardt, 2015). Aikhenvald (2004) and Lampert and Lampert (2010) differentiate them as QUOT for specifying the source of evidence

⁵ Since COMPS here contain the sentence-type markers that are still morphologically visible, some studies (Kwon, 1998; Sohn, 2011) consider only *-ko* as the quotative marker. For discussion of the five-stage development of the quotative *-ko*, see Sohn (2011).

⁶ There is a controversy as to the specific first historical attestation of COMPS in Korean, e.g., Kim (1994) suggests 1637, and Ahn (1991, 2003) suggests 1763. Sohn (2011) considers *-kho* that appeared as early as in the 15th century a precursor or even a phonologically reduced variant of the COMP *-hako*. Unavailable specific dating notwithstanding, COMPS become a well-established grammatical category by the Early Modern Korean period.

(“according to”), whereas *REPT* for specifying the type of evidence (“it is said,” “they say”). Following these authors, we use the label *QUOT* for a marker that introduces an utterance (either direct or indirect) or information the source of which is available in the sentence, whereas *REPT* is used for a marker that signals that the information is from an unknown or unspecified source, typically hearsay.

In Korean, the sentence-ender *-tanta* is used both as *QUOT* and *REPT*, i.e., a sentence marked with it is often ambiguous as to its information source. This type of situation is not uncommon for conceptual reasons, i.e. *QUOT* and *REPT* are closely related and may not motivate division of labor in linguistic forms, as shown in many languages, e.g. Shipibo-Konibo, Jinghpaw, Copala Trique, etc (Aikhenvald, 2004).⁷ Furthermore, it has to do with the structural idiosyncrasy of Korean that embedded information is preceded by the sentential subject and, since sentential arguments are freely omissible as long as they can be identified contextually or situationally, it is not clear if the source of the information is the sentential subject or someone else (see 3.3 for more discussion).

2.3. Evidentiality

It is obvious that the development of *-tanta* has to do with the development of evidentiality marking, since it signals that the source of the information is external to the speaker himself or herself. Since Korean has a very fine-grained system of mood and modality, many morphemes or morphemic constellations as part of verbal morphology have received attention from linguists with respect to their evidentiality-marking functions. Since analyzing the system of evidentiality *per se* is not an immediate interest of this paper, its detailed description is not pursued here (see Song, 2002; Kim, 2005a; Chung, 2007, 2009; Song, 2009; Lee, 2008, 2010; Lim, 2010; Kwon, 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Chae, 2015 for analyses of the Korean evidentiality systems).

Kwon (2012a), in his dissertation, extensively studies the evidentiality system in Korean and presents the ‘three-term evidentiality system’ of *-te* (firsthand), *-napo* (inferential), and *-ay* (*QUOT*) in Korean. The first-hand *-te* is a verbal morphology that occurs at the penult position; the inferential *-napo* is a non-inflecting penult verbal morphology; and *-ay* is an ultimate/penult-slot *SFP* that is appended to a sentence through a process analogous to *-tanta*, i.e. the deletion of *-ko ha-* (see 2.2 above). This system is an example of a language with a ‘scattered’ evidentiality system, i.e., having grammatical expression for a number of evidential meanings but the actual markers may not form one coherent category (Aikhenvald, 2004: 80–82). The *QUOT/REPT -ay* is realized as *-tay*, *-lay*, *-nyay*, and *-cay* according to the type of the sentence being quoted/reported, and the *DEC*-based *-tay* is a variant form of *-tanta* (*QUOT/REPT*) the form under the present focus even though the developmental process of the former lies outside the scope of this paper (see Kwon, 2012a: 123 for discussion of evidentiality function of *-tay*, and Sohn and Park, 2003 for its evaluative function in conversation).

In short, as for evidentiality marking, *-tanta* belongs to the *QUOT/REPT* category along with the *-ay* forms (*-tay*, *-lay*, *-nyay*, and *-cay*), as a variant of *-tay*. However, *-tanta* further develops into a stance marker as it becomes recruited for rhetorical effect, whereas its variant *-tay*, a seemingly equivalent marker in function, does not (see 4.1 for more discussion on contextual restriction phenomena).

3. Grammaticalization of *QUOT/REPT*

The development of *QUOT/REPT -tanta* can be traced back to *COMP -tako*.⁸ The development of *COMP* was briefly described in 2.1, and in this section the development of *QUOT/REPT* is described in more detail.

3.1. Morphosyntactic erosion

The development of the predicative *QUOT/REPT -tanta* comes from a syntactic construction *-tako ha-n-ta*, which involves the *COMP -tako*, as shown in (4) (incidentally, *-tako* also appeared in its eroded variant form *-ta*). This syntactic string came to be frequently used as a quotative construction, which occurs sentence-finally by virtue of containing the fully inflected verb, i.e., *ha-* ‘say’ in present tense, and the sentence-type marker, i.e., *DEC -ta*.

(4)	-tako	ha-n-ta	>>	-tanta
	COMP	say-PRES-DEC		QUOT/REPT
	‘(x) says that ...’			‘(x) says that.../ it is said that...’

The source structures and developmental paths of *-tanta*, including the functions as a *SFP* to be discussed in the following section, are as illustrated in (5):

⁷ According to Aikhenvald’s (2014: 65) classification of evidentiality systems, only one type with 4-choices (C3 in her typology) differentiates *REPT* (Hearsay) and *QUOT*.

⁸ The close relationship among verbs of locution, quotative marker and complementizers has been widely observed (see Heine et al. 1993; Lord, 1993; Heine and Kuteva, 2002; Klamer, 2000; Güldermann, 2008; among others).

- (5) Stage I (Genesis of COMP): -*ta-ha-ko* > -*tako* (see (3) above)
 Stage II (QUOT Predicate): -*tako-ha-n-ta* (> -*ta-ha-n-ta*) (addition of a predicate; see (4) above)
- Stage III (Predicative QUOT/REPT): -*tanta* (phonological erosion, functional extension)
 Stage IV (Stance SFP): -*tanta* (functional extension)

The earliest Stage I COMP form is attested as early as in the 15th century, e.g. ... *ccipi palssye itota hako* 'saying that the house has been already built' (1447, *Sekposangcel* 6:35). The Stage II form of -*ta(ko)-ha-n-ta* is attested in the 16th century, e.g. *was-ta-ha-n-ta* '[your father] says he came to [Daegu].' (15xx, *Swuncheonkimssienkan* 53:6; see also (7) in 3.2 below). Stage III and Stage IV forms are only attested at the turn of the 20th century (see 3.3 and 3.4 below).

QUOT/REPT forms, i.e., -*tanta*, -*lanta*, -*nyanta* and -*canta*, all contain the vestiges of COMPS -*ta*, -*nya*, -*la*, and -*ca* (i.e. identical in form with the sentence-type indicator) due to the loss of -*ko-ha-* from Stage II > Stage III change in (5). It is interesting to note that the verb of locution -*ha* 'say' experiences deletion twice in the course of development, i.e., once at the time of the genesis of the COMP -*tako* (Stage I) and again at the formation of the Predicative QUOT/REPT (Stage III).

As has been noted in much research (Kwon, 1986; Son, 1998; Kim, 2000a, 2005b; among others), the susceptibility of the loss of -*ko-ha-* is so widespread that there are numerous SFPs and clausal connectives that bear -*ta*, -*la*, -*nya*, and -*ca*, the vestiges of COMPS that became fused into the verbal morphology constellations with other grammatical markers through a process called 'coalescence' (Haspelmath, 2011). This is illustrated with the cases of DEC -*ta* as shown in part in (6), but this is equally applicable to its allomorphic DEC -*la*, and most, though not all, INT-, IMP-, and HORT-based forms have the DEC counterparts (see Kim, 2001 for the list of SFPs and their sources).

- (6) DEC-based SFPs originated from QUOT constructions⁹
 -*tanta*, -*taketun(yo)*, -*takey*, -*tako(yo)*, -*tako(yo)?*, -*takonahalkka?* -*tana(yo)*, -*tana(yo)?*, -*tanam*,
 -*tanya*, -*taney*, -*tanunya?*, -*tanunkwuna*, -*tanunkwun(yo)*, -*tanuntey(yo)*, -*tani*, -*tanikka(yo)*,
 -*tanikkan(un)(yo)*, -*tani(yo)?* -*tatekwun(yo)*, -*tatenya?*, -*tateni?*, -*tatela*, -*tatelako*, -*taten?*
 -*tatenka?* -*tatentey(yo)*, -*tatey(yo)*, -*tati?*, -*tamy?* -*tamyense(yo)?*, -*tacanha(yo)?*, -*tacyo?*,
 -*taci(yo)?* -*tacimweyeyyo?* -*tanmalita*, -*tam*, -*tapnikka?* -*tapnita*, -*taptita*, -*tay(yo)*

3.2. Emergence of QUOT

The oldest form of QUOT is attested in the 16th century data (the exact year unknown) in the form of -*tahanta* (< -*ta(ko)-ha-n-ta*). This form is found in personal letters of the Suncheon Kim clan, presumably written between 1560 and 1580 and exhumed from her grave.¹⁰

- (7) *Okchyen-sye-nan* *ital* *polumnal* *nah-ani* *atal* *nah-a-ta.ha.n.ta*
 [place.name]-at-TOP this.month 15th.day give.birth-CONN son give.birth-PST-QUOT
 '(The news) from Okcheon is that they had a baby born on the 15th of this month and that (they) had a son.'
 (15xx, *Swuncheonkimssienkan* 128:7)

In the letter, the writer is informing the recipient that the news from their relative living in Okcheon township is that they had a son born on the 15th of the month. The QUOT -*tahanta* is morphologically still transparent (thus each source morpheme separated with a period for visual clarity), i.e. COMP -*ta* (reduced form of -*tako*), *ha-* 'say', PRES -*n-*, and the DEC sentence-ender -*ta*.

A more reduced form -*tanta* is found from the 19th century data, as shown in (8), taken from *Namwenkosa*, also more commonly known as *Chwunhyangcen*, a famous 18th century literary work, which had been largely transmitted orally in the form of an opera until it became written down as a novel supposedly in the 1860s.

- (8) *elwusinnay-ka* *kol-as-tanta*
 honorable.father-NOM transfer-PST-QUOT
 'My father (the local magistrate) says that he was assigned to a different post.'
 (19th c., *Namwenkosa* 367, Tonam Collection edition)

In the above, the speaker is reporting the news to his girlfriend that his father (the local magistrate) has been assigned to a different post and thus he has to follow him, which means that their amorous relationship has come to an end with physical separation.

⁹ The forms followed by a question mark ('?') denote interrogative sentence-enders.

¹⁰ 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, developed by Prof. Jin-Ho Park and his colleagues, largely based on the 21st Century Sejong Corpus, a 200 million word corpus by the National Institute of the Korean Language. 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.

The reduced QUOT is in common use in Present-Day Korean (PDK) as shown in (9):

- (9) A: *pap, mek-ulk-ye, an mek-ulk-ye?*
 food eat-FUT-SFP not eat-FUT-SFP
 ‘Will you eat or not?’
 B: ... *mek-ulke-ye-yo*
 eat-FUT-SFP-POL
 ‘... (I) ... will eat.’
 A: *hyeyswun-a papsang chali-e o-nela. nui eyimi pap mek-nun-tanta*
 [name]-VOC food.table set-NF come-IMP your mom food eat-PRES-QUOT
 ‘Hyesoon! Set a table and bring it here. Your mom says she will eat.’
 (2000, Drama *Kkokci*, Episode #34)

The interactants of dialog (9) are husband (A) and wife (B), whose son is a murder suspect on the run. B falls ill worrying about her son and refuses to eat. A coaxes her to eat to overcome her illness, by strategically making her infuriated and jealous by looking for an arsenic to assist her suicide and saying that he would immediately marry a widow upon her passing. B agrees to eat and A, delighted to see her change her mind, calls their daughter Hyesoon to bring food for her. As the excerpt clearly shows, A quotes B’s utterance in the preceding line. As is obvious in (9), in QUOT, the source of the information is, by default, the sentential subject, e.g., *nui eyimi* ‘your mom’ (B).

Since the phonological reduction of the QUOT *-tanta* is not (yet) complete, there are variant forms in PDK that reflect different degrees of phonological erosion and morphosyntactic compacting, e.g. *-tanta*, *-tahanta*, and *-takohanta*. Furthermore, since QUOT *-tanta* still transparently has the sentence-ender *-ta* as the ultimate-slot morpheme for the ‘audience-blind style’ (see 4.2), the QUOT *-tanta* may have variant forms in common use based on differential formality, honorification, and politeness, e.g. *-tahapnita*, *-tahay*, *-tahayyo*, *-tay*, *-tayyo*, etc., and they may be further modulated for modality as interrogative enders, e.g. *-tahapnikka?*, *-tahay?*, *-tay?*, etc.

3.3. Emergence of REPT

QUOT signals that the embedded utterance is from a source other than the speaker and at the same time it signals who the author of the reported speech is, even though the author may not be straightforwardly clear for some structural reasons. This is the context in which the QUOT acquires the function of REPT, i.e. a marker for a reported speech with unspecified source, e.g. a hearsay, aphorism, etc. The development from QUOT to REPT does not involve formal change, thus *-tanta* remains the same in form but simply has an additional function, a situation resembling the Japanese *-to/tte* QUOT/REPT as analyzed by Oshima and Sano (2012). The QUOT-REPT ambiguity is illustrated with the following putative examples:

- (10) QUOT/REPT
Mary-ka taiethuha-n-tanta
 [name]-nom go.on.diet-pres-QUOT/REPT
 (i) QUOT: ‘Mary says she is on a diet.’
 (ii) REPT: ‘They say Mary is on a diet.’

The ambiguity of the source of the quoted utterance in the above example, i.e., ‘Mary’ or ‘(generic/unspecified) they’, is due, in part, to the flexibility of argument specification in Korean. In other words, sentential arguments are relatively freely omissible if they are recoverable from the context, either linguistic or situational. The ambiguity of (10), repeated as (11a), with respect to the author of the original information, can be illustrated with (11b) and (11c):

- (11) a. *Mary-ka taiethuha-n-tanta* (same as (10))
 [name]-NOM go.on.diet-PRES-QUOT/REPT
 b. *Mary_i-ka* [[\emptyset _i-ka] *taiethuha-n-ta]-nta* (QUOT; (10i))
 c. (\emptyset _j-ka) [*Mary_i-ka* *taiethuha-n-ta]-nta* (REPT; (10ii))

The underlying representation of (11a) may be conceived of either as (11b), i.e., Mary is reporting about her being on a diet, or as (11c), i.e., people are saying that Mary is on a diet. The same-subject deletion and the generic ‘they’ subject deletion in reported speech are both very common in Korean. It is noteworthy that both interpretations regard the first *-ta-* in *-tanta* as morphologically visible as DEC and thus separable.

Another morphosyntactic reason for the development of REPT from QUOT has to do with the diachronic development of *-tanta*. As we have seen in 3.1, *-tanta* originally contained the *verbum dicendi ha-* ‘say’ in the form of *-tako-ha-n-ta*, but lost it *en route* to grammaticalization of the sentence-ender. The absence and presence of the verb ‘say’ (i.e. *tanta* vs. *tako-ha-n-ta*) motivate different analyses as to the underlying argument structure as shown in (12).

- (12) a. *Mary-ka* (\emptyset -*ka*) *taiethuha-n-tako* *ha-n-ta* (Unreduced counterpart of *-tanta*)
 Mary-NOM (\emptyset -NOM) go.on.diet-PRES-COMP say-PRES-DEC
- b. *Mary-ka* *taiethuha-n-tanta*
 Mary-NOM go.on.diet-PRES-QUOT/REPT

Example (12a), unlike (12b), has the verb *ha-* ‘say’ that occupies the higher (main) clause position, i.e., toward the end of the sentence. This higher-clause verb, figuratively speaking, looks for its subject, which typically occurs sentence-initially in the ordinary sentential configuration in Korean, which, in this case, is ‘Mary’. The other verb *taiethuha-* ‘go on a diet’ in the reported speech may assume that its subject has been omitted for being identical with the higher-clause subject (i.e., ‘Mary’). In other words, when the unreduced counterpart of *-tanta*, i.e. *-tako-ha-n-ta*, is used, it prompts the QUOT interpretation, in which the sentential subject is also the author of the report at the same time. On the other hand, example (12b) on its surface representation has only one subject and one verb, a state of affairs prompting an interpretation that these two constitute the main clause, and the reporting subject is open, i.e. either Mary or a third party, creating an ambiguity.

Thus, it can be hypothesized that the invisibility of the higher-clause verb of saying as a result of phonological reduction enabled equivocal interpretations as to the reporting subject of the embedded information. This ambiguity stage is the enabling context for the emergence of the more grammaticalized REPT from QUOT. The significance of the ambiguity stage in grammaticalization has been noted in such concepts as ‘bridging context’ (Heine, 2002), ‘context-induced reinterpretation’ (Heine et al. 1991), and ‘invited inference’ (Traugott 1999, 2002).¹¹

Even though it is true that *-tanta* is ambiguous as to its QUOT and REPT functions, there are cases when QUOT interpretation is not available, as exemplified in (13):

- (13) REPT
- a. *twi-s-cip* *kim-tolyeng-i* *cyuk-ess-tanta*
 back-GEN-house [name]-bachelor-NOM die-PST-REPT
 ‘They say that the young bachelor Mr. Kim the neighbor in the back died.’
 (Late 19th C., *Akpwu* 1, 565)
- b. *hanal-i* *mekulkes* *ep-nan* *salam-ul* *ani* *nay-si-es-tanta*
 God-NOM food not.exist-ADN person-ACC not send-HON-PST-REPT
 ‘They say that God does not send people (to the world) without (giving them) food.’
 (‘They say that everyone has a way to make a living once they are born.’)
 (1907, *Kyenghyangsinmwun* 2, 3226)
- c. *kancang-i* *tolteni-chelem* *kwut-ecy-ess-tanta*
 liver-NOM rock-like be.solid-CAUS-PST-REPT
 ‘They say his liver has become hardened like a rock (with cirrhosis).’
 (2008, Drama, *Eyteynuy tongccok*, Episode #22)

In the above examples, the QUOT interpretation is blocked for pragmatic reasons, i.e., a dead person cannot state that he died, in (13a); God would not verbalize his intent to the speaker, and further it is a violation of honorification rule for God to self-honorify by using *-si-*, in (13b);¹² and the liver is not a sentient being, thus incapable of reporting its medical condition, in (13c). Instead, all these examples only allow for the REPT interpretation. When the source of the information is covert as in these cases, the presumed information source by default is the unspecified third party, i.e., the information is a hearsay from neighbors (13a), a widely-circulated aphorism (13b), or second-hand information from a physician (13c).

¹¹ As an anonymous reviewer pointed out, the availability of multiple meanings is related to Levinson’s (2000) notion of ‘presumptive meanings’ in his theory of generalized conversational implicature (GCI). According to Levinson, GCIs are diverse inferences that remain valid unless there is additional information that contradicts them. Likewise, in grammaticalization, the availability of possible meanings enables the semantic-functional extension of a grammaticalizing form.

¹² With respect to honorification, in order for (13b) to be fully qualified as a QUOT sentence, the honorific *-si-* needs to be moved from the current position of suffixing to the lower clause verb *nay-* ‘send’ to the position suffixing to the higher clause verb *ha-* ‘say’, which incidentally has been eroded in *-tanta*, thus simply following the empty trace, i.e. *-tasinta* instead of *-sitanta* (compare QUOT *nay-es-ta-(ha)-si-n-ta* vs. REPT *nay-si-es-tanta*). Indeed, in sentences involving an honorable subject, the location of the honorific *-si-* can be an absolute diagnostic for QUOT-REPT distinction.

Another point of divergence between QUOT and REPT is that in the case of REPT the sentence-type modulation with the first *-ta-* is not possible.¹³ In other words, the reported information embedded in the utterance marked with REPT is always a DEC-marked sentence and thus INT-based *-nyanta*, IMP-based *-lanta*, and HORT-based *-canta* are not REPT sentential endings (even though these are QUOT endings). The fact that the emergence of a grammatical form is restricted to certain context, as has been noted in many studies, is a salient aspect in grammaticalization (see 4.1 for more discussion).

3.4. Further functional extension to stance marking

The DEC-based QUOT/REPT *-tanta* develops into other functions related to the speaker's attitudinal stance and discursive strategies. It has been observed that reported talks enable the speaker to replay an interaction and to convey his or her attitude (Clift and Holt, 2007: 6) and to evaluate the message being presented thus signaling the speaker's attitude (Spronck, 2012: 71, see also Fitzmaurice, 2004; Clift, 2006). In a similar vein, Korean *-tanta* also underwent development into the stance-marking domain.

3.4.1. Attitudinal stance of friendliness

The most prominent use of *-tanta* as a stance marker (SM) is that of marking 'friendliness' (Lee and Lee, 2010), as illustrated with a putative, yet commonly attested, example below:

- (14) [A child and his mother on a weekend]
 Child: [How come Daddy is not playing with me today, Mom?]
 Mother: *appa-nun yocum ton pe(l)-si-nula mwuchek pappu-si-tanta*
 dad-TOP these.days money eatN-HON-CAUS very be.busy-HON-SM
 '(Son,) Daddy is very busy making money (for us) these days.'

In (14) the mother ends her sentence with the ender *-tanta* to signal her friendliness to her son, which would not be possible if she used other SFPs. Of course, the sentences marked with a SFP other than *-tanta* may carry friendliness with some appropriate prosody or paralinguistic devices such as voice modulation, facial expressions or gestures, but the use of *-tanta* is different from such devices in that it is a grammatical marker that carries such effects, even though that is not its sole function. Incidentally, it is possible that example (14) is reporting the 'father's' utterance in part, i.e., his father truly said that he was busy and his mother is simply reporting it to her child. This is possible only in part because in that case the father would not have used the honorification marker *-si-* as it would be a violation of the pragmatic rule that prohibits self-honorification.¹⁴ In other words, this is a strategic employment of the REPT form to effect friendliness. This is well illustrated in the following discourse segment excerpted from a contemporary drama discourse.

- (15) [A boy with his father and uncle; The boy is happy to see his father come home; his uncle, their cohabitant, is fond of the boy but does not like him, the boy's father and his own brother.]
 Boy: [Dad, did you eat dinner?] (in order to hold him with him, even for a short while)
 Father: [Me? No, not yet.] (in order to stay with him while eating)
 Uncle: *Unpin-a appa pappu-si-tanta*
 [name]-VOC dad be.busy-HON-SM
 'Eunbin, your dad is busy.' (to make the boy's dad leave)
 Father: [No, I'm not busy, Big Brother.]
 (2006, Drama *Pyelnan yeca pyelnan namca*, Episode #149)

In the above example, it is clear that 'Dad' did not say he was busy. In fact, he wants to stay with his son eating dinner with him, but his brother is saying that his dad is busy as if he had said so, by using the REPT *-tanta*. 'Uncle' speaks to his nephew in a friendly overtone, signaled by *-tanta*. Therefore, at this stage of development, *-tanta* is not genuinely reporting what someone said, thus properly labeled as a 'pseudo-reportative.'

The use of this type of friendliness-marking is common in child-directed language, a point also noted by Son (1998), Kim (2000a). As a matter of fact, the use of *-tanta* is one of the prominent characteristics of the fairy-tale storytelling genre, as shown in the following example:

- (16) *swuph-sok-maul-ey kkoymanh-ko yengliha-n yewu-ka sal-ass-tanta*
 forest-inside-village-at be.cunning-and be.clever-ADN fox-NOM live-PST-SM
 '(Once upon a time,) there lived a cunning and clever fox in a village deep in a forest.'
 (PDK, Narrated fairy-tale, *Yewuwa twulwumi*, <http://www.mnet.com/album/392086>)

¹³ Note that, in the source construction of *-tanta*, i.e., *-ta-ha-n-ta*, there are two DEC sentence-enders *-ta*. The first *-ta* is the sentence-ender for the embedded clause (i.e., reported information), and the last *-ta* is the sentence-ender for the main clause (i.e., for the reporter's speech act).

¹⁴ The true QUOT-counterpart of (14) would have the honorific *-si-* moved from *-sitanta* to *-tasinta* (see (13b) above).

The *-tanta*-marked sentence (16) could be a report from a story book, but even an impromptu story may begin with a *-tanta*-marked sentence (according to Aikhenvald, 2004: 313, this pattern is also found in Quechua). It is a marker of friendliness and of inviting the addressee (the child) into the vivid story-line about to be unfurled. In this sense, the function of *-tanta* is to engage the addressee in the joint construction of a representation, directly related to the notion of ‘negotiation of common ground’ (Jucker and Smith, 1998: 172). This type of discourse strategy is also attested in other languages. For instance, Aikhenvald (2004: 137, 313) notes that reported evidential as ‘a stylistic token of folk tales and narratives’ is found in Kham, Quechua, Baniwa, Achagua, Piapoco (see also Watters, 2002 for Kham, Hockett, 1948 for Potawatomi, Oswalt, 1986 for Kashaya, Schlichter, 1986 for Wintu, among others; for more detailed discussion, see Aikhenvald, 2004, Chapter 10). Similarly, the reported evidential is often associated with the children’s ‘pretend’ games as noted by Goddard (1983).

This development of *-tanta* usage in non-reporting context may have to do with the opacity of the utterer due to the loss of the verb of locution *ha-* ‘say’, which we noted in 3.3. In other words, when the verb of the main clause (i.e., the verb of saying) has disappeared in the course of phonological reduction, the agent of the speech event (i.e., the speaker) also became opaque and syntactically unrequired. This resulted in the development of QUOT into REPT (i.e., from specific speaker to unidentified speaker), and further into SM in non-reporting situation (i.e., from unidentified speaker to absence of speaker).

How the friendliness meaning developed from REPT is not entirely clear. In fact, even though the fact that reported speech often signals the attitude of the speaker (Clift, 2006; Sams 2010, Spronck, 2012; among others), there seems to be no research reporting ‘friendliness’ marking as a function of REPT. Unique as it may be, this function of marking friendliness as associated with *-tanta* is acknowledged by lexicographers.¹⁵ For instance, *Wulimal Khun Sacen* (1992), an authoritative dictionary of Korean, has an entry for *-tanta* and describes its function as “... a form used to admonish, inform or boast in a friendly manner” (vol. 1: 918, *-tanta* (2); translation ours), in addition to aforementioned lexicon, Lee and Lee (2010).¹⁶

Notwithstanding the exact motivation of functional/semantic extension being unavailable, we can reasonably hypothesize that the development has to do with certain characteristics of *-tanta* as a SFP. As a SFP, *-tanta* has two important characteristics, i.e. being ‘neutral’ in terms of speech level (Sohn, 1999) and being ‘objective’ on the subjectivity-objectivity dimension (Rhee, 2008b; see 4.2 below). In terms of speech level, *-tanta* lacks honorification, thus not acceptable for use toward a social superior. As briefly alluded to in the preceding exposition, one prominent aspect of its usage is that it is typically employed in child-directed or inferior-directed language. Secondly, objectivity associated with *-tanta* allows the speaker to distance himself or herself from the proposition thus weakening the illocutionary force of the speech act, and thus focusing more on the propositional content than on the speaker’s commitment.¹⁷ This, then, is a good device for weakening the responsibility of the speaker and strengthening the validity of information (see 3.4.2 below for the emphatic function and 3.4.3 for the news-breaking function). It is for these two reasons, it seems, that the REPT-*-tanta* became predominantly used toward children when informing them of a noteworthy piece of information. Indeed, the majority of the 152 instances of *-tanta* and 57 instances of *-lanta* (the phonological variant) in the historical corpus are downward directionality, e.g. parents to children, noblemen to servants, elderly persons to young people, etc.¹⁸ Given this tendency, the friendly overtone may have arisen from the speaker’s patronizing, sometimes pretentious and even condescending, attitude toward the weak in speech situations.

3.4.2. Emphasis from borrowed validity

The function of *-tanta* as a SM in non-reporting situation is also extended to the marking of emphasis. The speaker uses the SFP-*-tanta* instead of other neutral enders to add emphasis to the propositional meaning or to increase the illocutionary force of assertion, as shown in the following examples:

- (17) a. *tut-ko po-ni kuke-n swukyeng-ssi mal-i mac-tanta*
 hear-and see-as it-TOP [name]-[title] word-NOM be.right-SM
 ‘As I heard (you talking), what Sukyoung said is right.’
 (2006, Drama *Sowulmeyithu* Episode#8)
- b. *etise kamhi... ne-kathun ke-n nwun-ey an cha-ø*
 where daringly ... you-like thing-TOP eye-at not fill-END
na-n kkwum-i khu-tanta
 I-TOP dream-NOM be.big-SM
 ‘How dare you..! I have no eyes for someone like you. I do have a great dream (yes, I do).’
 (2005, Drama *Pimil namnye* Episode #1)

In the context of (17a), two women are talking in an office with a slight difference in opinion about a situation, and the speaker, their senior colleague, cuts in without invitation and sides with one of them, Sukyoung, by saying (17a). It is obvious,

¹⁵ Incidentally, Korean has other SFPs marking friendliness, e.g. *-ci*, *-cyo*, etc (Han, 1991; Rhee, 2012).

¹⁶ Kim (2005b: 76) also states that *-tanta* gives a feeling of friendliness and suggestiveness as a result of the distancing effect from quotative. A similar observation has been made in Lee (2006: 249).

¹⁷ Similarly, Ahn (1992) views ‘factivity’, ‘passivity’ and ‘non-committal’ as functional characteristics of *-tanta*.

¹⁸ The only apparent exception seems to be its use in *minyoo*, the popular (folk) songs (a total of 35 instances), which characteristically lack interactivity. In Modern Korean, if the form is used toward someone not particularly inferior, as e.g. (17) above and (19b) below, the utterance carries a distinctive flavor of domineering attitude of the speaker.

from the fact that the speaker's evaluation originates from her at the moment of (over-)hearing their exchange, her utterance cannot be a report of a third-party utterance. Likewise, in (17b), a line from a modern parody of Cinderella, the speaker (Cinderella) is speaking to a man of humble origin who just asked her out on a date with him. She is angered by the request because she thinks he is not her match. The 'revealed' fact that she has lofty dreams is her own statement about herself and therefore the statement cannot have originated from an external source.

In these examples, the statements are evaluations of the state of affairs by the speakers themselves. In other words, the speakers present statements as if they had been 'said' by others (REPT), thus having objective validity.¹⁹ The motivation of this development resembles that of the 'through a borrowed mouth' phenomenon (Rhee, 2009) in the development of subjective adverbials. For instance, Korean has a number of interesting expressions that are highly unitized and thus regarded as a single lexeme in the adverbial category as shown below:

- (18) a. *mychyesstako* 'nonsensically' < Lit. 'saying, "I am insane."'
 b. *cwukelako* 'desperately' < Lit. 'saying, "Die!"'
 c. *weynttekinyako* 'gladly' < Lit. 'saying, "What kind of cake is this?"'
 d. *cwukcako* 'enthusiastically' < Lit. 'saying, "Let's die!"'

As is apparent in the examples above, the words (still) contain the traces of COMP *-tako* (DEC), *-lako* (IMP), *-nyako* (INT), and *-cako* (HORT). For instance, if someone runs desperately, the speaker observing the event says something like "She ran, saying 'Die!'" to mean "She ran desperately." In other words, the speaker borrows the mouth of the event participant (the runner) as if she said "Die!" to herself in exerting the utmost effort in running. This 'borrowed mouth' phenomenon in lexicalization is motivated by the speaker's desire to make his or her statement more vivid by 'reporting an imagined speech.' Similarly, in the case of the current analysis, the use of *-tanta* in non-reportative contexts to enhance the illocutionary force of the utterance is motivated by the same strategy, i.e., emphasis is sought after by borrowing the validity from a non-existent third-party source. There are diverse ways of increasing the validity of a proposition through reduction of cancellability, such as using subordination, nominalization, demonstratives, definite articles, etc. Using a form traditionally associated with quoting carries a similar effect in that a proposition being reported is thought not as one being produced at the moment of speech but as one that has been present for some time and thus withstood probing. In other words, the reported proposition acquires factivity by virtue of having been said by a third-party already.²⁰ Therefore, it can be said that the speaker takes advantage of the factivity sense associated with *-tanta* in order to forge an emphatic effect for the proposition being presented.

3.4.3. Feigned mirativity, news-breaking and boastful talk

The increased illocutionary force of a statement through the use of *-tanta* in non-reportative contexts pushes the form into further development, i.e., feigned mirativity, news-breaking and boastful talk, all closely related to the notion of 'noteworthiness'. This is exemplified by the examples below:

- (19) a. (Context: The speaker mends a ripped doll by hand-sewing and proudly returns it to a girl, the owner of the doll.)
i enni-to cal ha-nun ke-y iss-ki-n iss-tanta
 this big.sister-also well do-ADN thing-NOM exist-NOMZ-TOP exist-SM
 'There is a thing or two that I (your 'big sister'), too, can do well. (Aren't you surprised!)'
 (2010, Drama, *Kemsa phulinseysu*, Episode #5)
- b. (Context: The speaker is giving 'instructions' to her male friend who is about to move in.)
nay-ka uyoylo kyelpyekcung-kath-un ke-y iss-tanta
 I-NOM unexpectedly germaphobia-be.like-ADN thing-NOM exist-SM
 '(You know what?) I have something like germaphobia, which you may find it surprising.'
 (2007, Drama, *Talcauy pom*, Episode #10)
- c. (Context: The speaker is announcing to his children that their mom is pregnant.)
kuliko cohun sosik-i hana te iss-tanta. ni-tul tongsayng sayngki-lke-y-a
 and good news-NOM one more exist-SM. you-PL baby.sibling get-FUT-be-END
 '(Guess what?) There is one more piece of good news. You guys will have a baby boy/girl.'
 (2008, Drama, *Wekhingmam* Episode #14)

In (19a), the speaker, a female prosecutor by occupation, is speaking to a young girl whose ripped doll she has just mended by hand-sewing, a skill not expected from a lady of such an extraordinary profession. She uses the SM *-tanta* to mark her intention of revealing that, contrary to the girl's presumed expectation, she does have a skill of homemaking, i.e., hand-

¹⁹ Han (1991, 2003) characterizes the function of *-tanta* as 'informing others of something as an indisputable fact,' from which the emphatic meaning arises. Similarly, Kim's (2000b) analysis of the sentence-ender *-tako*, originated from a complementizer, the primary function of which is to bring in a reported speech, bears relevance. According to Kim, 'subjective sentences' marked by *-tako* (similar to *-tanta* in their origin and function) suggest that in addition to the speaker, there is someone else who believes in the veracity of the proposition.

²⁰ The factivity nuance associated with *-tanta* has also been noted in Lee (2006: 249–250).

sewing. She is presenting a boastful talk, though not in a very serious way. There is also an element of friendliness in that she calls herself her big sister even though they are not related and she is too old to be one. Similarly, in (19b), the speaker is telling her male friend who is about to move in about the things he should be mindful of in the house. What she tells him includes lots of hygiene-related rules in his amazement about her preoccupation, and she is telling him that she is a little morbidly meticulous about hygiene. In (19c), the speaker is breaking news to his young children that they will have a baby boy or baby girl.

In these cases, the speakers are adding the emotion of surprise to what they say by simply ending the sentence with *-tanta*. However, the speakers already knew about what they were going to say even before they said that. Therefore, the mirativity signaled by *-tanta* does not encode genuine surprise, thus ‘feigned mirativity.’²¹ It simply signals that the addressee should take what is said as surprising. It often carries the nuance of ‘I’m telling you this in amazement; aren’t you also surprised to hear this?’ In other words, the speaker is inviting the addressee to share not only the content of what is said but also the epistemic and emotive evaluation suitable for what is said. In this sense, *-tanta* is marking the speaker’s invitation of the addressee into the ‘common ground’ (Jucker and Smith, 1998).²²

As was the case with the development of friendliness stance-marking and emphasis stance-marking elaborated in the preceding discussion, it is reasonable to assume that the loss of the utterance verb and consequent opacity of the utterer enabled the extension of its usage to seemingly inappropriate contexts, i.e. when the information source is the speaker himself or herself. When *-tanta* is used for this function, it is no longer compatible with QUOT or REPT interpretation, despite its formal identity.

3.4.4. Pejoration

Another peculiar stance-marking function is that of marking pejoration, or display of the speaker’s contempt. The pejorative attitude is directed not to the addressee but mostly to the original source of the information, or sometimes to the content of the information. This function is dissimilar in one aspect from other stance-marking functions described above, in that the speaker of the original information may appear in the sentence, and thus classifiable as QUOT, as shown in (20a(i)) below. This function is exemplified in the following:

- (20) a. *ney syepang ni-tolyeng-i ne-lal po-la o-ass-tanta*
 your boyfriend [name]-Mr.-NOM you-ACC see-PURP come-PST-QUOT/SM
 (i) ‘Your boyfriend Mr. Ni (who has become a beggar) says he came to see you.’
 (ii) ‘your boyfriend Mr. Ni (who has become a beggar) has impudence to come to see you.’
 (19th c., *Namwenkosa* 212, School of Oriental Languages, Paris, edition)
- b. *swuthha-n namca-tul-kwa yemmwun-ul ppwuli-taka kwake-lul ssak*
 lots.of-ADN man-PL-with affair.gossip-ACC scatter-TRAN past-ACC completely
swumki-ko myengmwunka-uy myenuli-ka toy-ess-tanta
 hide-and prestigious.family-GEN daughter.in.law-NOM become-PST-SM
 ‘She created gossips of endless affairs with lots of men and then, hiding her past completely,
 she became a daughter-in-law of a highly reputable family.’
 (2004, Drama, *Kyelhonhako siphun yeca*, Episode #1)

In (20a), the speaker (the addressee’s mother) is in a state of disillusionment because her daughter’s boyfriend who was a promising young man expected to pass the government civil service exam and become a high-ranking official, has returned looking like a beggar.²³ Seeing that someone is outside her home and recognizing him as her would-be son-in-law, hardly recognizable because of his appearance of a beggar, she takes him to where her daughter is in order to let her daughter know about his return in utter failure. In the given context, it is possible that the man said that he had come to see her daughter (interpretation (i)), but it is equally possible that he did not (interpretation (ii)). Either way, what is being signaled by *-tanta* is that there is a strong attitude of discontent, and further the speaker’s pejorative attitude toward the man or toward the proposition that he has presumptuously come to see her daughter.²⁴ In (20b), on the other hand, the QUOT interpretation is not possible. This is a part of a narrative of a woman (the speaker) describing the morally contemptible lifestyle of a promiscuous friend of hers, a former high school and college classmate. She witnessed (or so she claims) all the affairs of her friend with

²¹ Mirativity involves a condition called ‘recency restriction,’ which dictates that the content of a mirative-marked proposition must have been discovered by the speaker just before the utterance (Rett and Murray, 2013: 4, as cited in Foolen, 2016: 481). As seen here, the surprise meaning is strategically exploited in the use of *-tanta* in order to dramatize the presentation of a proposition. The feigned mirative use of *-tanta* shows that it has departed from its evidential domain and entered into the stance domain.

²² Park (2004: 110) also notes that *-tanta* marks strong conviction of the speaker and is often used in boastful talks.

²³ In this famous story more commonly known as *Chwunhyangsen*, Mr. Ni (or Yi) was only pretending to have failed in the exam in order to dramatize the reunion. They had been separated because he went to the capital to take the civil service exam while his girlfriend Chwunhyang, the protagonist, was waiting in her country home for his return with a success.

²⁴ The original text following (20a) is a series of her sarcastic remarks “It’s great! He has become amazing! Your husband is as good as good can be ...” This sarcasm undoubtedly indicates her pejorative attitude toward him.

countless rich men, and she is showing her contempt as to the content of the first-hand information. The speaker is in a state of mixed feelings of contempt and jealousy toward her friend marrying a rich man from a prestigious family and living a luxurious life in a foreign country, a sharp contrast with her own life as a struggling journalist and recently losing a boyfriend. In the text following (20b), the speaker laments saying, “life is unfair.”

It is not clear as to how pejorative meaning emerged from a REPT marker diachronically since the historical data do not exhibit the intermediate stages of meaning change leading to its emergence. However, it seems, from a cross-linguistic perspective, that there are two factors involved in the emergence of this function, i.e., the distancing effect and the multiple perspectives, both inherent in REPT, as shown in the following.

This stance-marking function is interesting in that in the case of (20a), for example, the speaker already ‘knows’ that the man is here to see her daughter, but does not say “Your boyfriend is here to see you” but “Your boyfriend ‘says’ that he is here to see you,” according to the (i) interpretation. This means that the speaker is distancing herself from the state-of-affairs as if she were only an observer of the scene instead of a participant in the on-going event. The use of this distancing effect is motivated by the speaker’s discontented and consequently pejorative attitude toward the original source of information or the information itself. This is reminiscent of the situations in Quechua and Bulgarian. In Quechua, according to Floyd (1999: 72), the reported speech marker capitalizes inherent “otherness”, a concept proposed in Bakhtin (1981: 339). Similarly, Gvozdanović (1996: 63) describes a comparable situation as “distance”, in which the reportative may be used if the speakers are “unwilling to bear the responsibility for claiming that the event has occurred” (as cited in Aikhenvald, 2004: 138). The only apparent difference between the Korean and Bulgarian REPT for distancing seems to be that the motivation in Korean is attitudinal, whereas the motivation in Bulgarian is epistemic.

This type of encoding detachment by means of reported speech is possible because reported speech is inherently a ‘multiple-perspective construction’ (Evans, 2006). In other words, reported speech is ‘speech within speech and speech about speech’ (Vološinov 1930: 115), having two voices in one sentence, a phenomenon referred to as ‘multivoicedness’ or ‘polyphony of voices’ (Bakhtin, 1986; for similar observations see Jakobson, 1959; Maynard, 1996; Talbot, 1992; Buchstaller, 2014). The voices of the two speakers may completely concur with full acceptance of the original speaker’s stance by the reporter, but the existence of two separate voices in the sentence always makes it possible for the reporter to take a different stance from the original speaker’s. In the context of the discussion of the Korean *-tanta*, an intriguing aspect is that, in the case of (20a(ii)) and (20b) above, the original speaker may not exist at all, and thus it is a kind of ‘hypothetical discourse’ (Golato, 2012) in the sense that there is no original speaker but the content is presented as if the current speaker were ‘reporting’ what he or she wants to say. Therefore, the two tiers of voices consist of the voice of a hypothetical speaker and that of the current speaker.

Interpreting a *-tanta*-marked speech as carrying pejorative attitude is not merely based on the negative meaning of the embedded information or unhappy context the speaker is situated in. When the truth of the statement is obvious and there is every reason to believe that the speaker is cognizant of it, yet uses the sentence-ender *-tanta* instead of the more commonly-expected neutral ender, the addressee can sense that the speaker refuses to be a part of the situation. This type of locution, as a signal of refusal of ‘accommodative process’ (cf. Giles et al. 1991, see also ‘footing’ Goffman, 1981, 1986[1974]), may constitute a common pragmatic strategy across languages. For instance, if someone says “I am leaving” despite the fact that you have been trying to persuade him not to, then you are more likely to announce his departure to the people around you by saying “He says he is leaving” rather than “He is leaving,” though the difference may be very subtle. This pragmatic strategy is grammaticalized to be realized in a form of a sentence-ender in Korean. This situation has to do with what Goffman (1986[1974]) observed with respect to reported speech, i.e., reduced personal responsibility. According to Goffman (1986[1974]: 512), “[h]e [the speaker] splits himself off from the content of the words by expressing that their speaker is not he himself or not he himself in a serious way.” As Koo and Rhee (in press) note, since pejoration is a fundamentally pragmatic notion, its development into morphology is an excellent example of grammaticalization of ‘morphopragmatics’ (see Meibauer, 2013, 2014 for a discussion of the notion).

3.4.5. Semantico-functional change

In the preceding sections, we have seen the historical development of *-tanta* originating from a verb of locution, through COMP, QUOT, REPT, to pseudo-REPT, and its semantico-functional extension. It would be useful to recapitulate the development diagrammatically, bearing in mind that semantic and functional development is not linear and that no diagram can fully represent the complex dynamics and mechanisms involved in the development. The development of *-tanta* may be schematically presented in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 shows the linguistic forms, both lexical and grammatical, that contributed to the formation of *-tanta* and the semantic properties that were the conceptual bases of diverse functions that have been described in the preceding discussion. To recapitulate, in terms of the macro-structure, the COMP *-tako* is formed from *-ta* (DEC), *ha-* (‘say’) and *-ko* (‘and’), and then develops into the predicative QUOT *-tanta* along with *ha-* (‘say’), *-n-* (PRES), and *-ta* (DEC). The QUOT *-tanta* develops into the REPT without change in form, which in turn develops into the pseudo-REPT carrying the stance-marking function, still without change in form.

In terms of the emergence of diverse stance functions, the ‘friendliness’ function largely comes from the audience-blindness and neutral speech level (often directed toward a social inferior) associated with the sentence-type marker *-ta*. The ‘emphatic, borrowed validity’ function is derived from the current relevance sense associated with the PRES tense marker *-n-* on the one hand and the presumed factivity or objective validity sense associated with the REPT on the other. The ‘mirative,

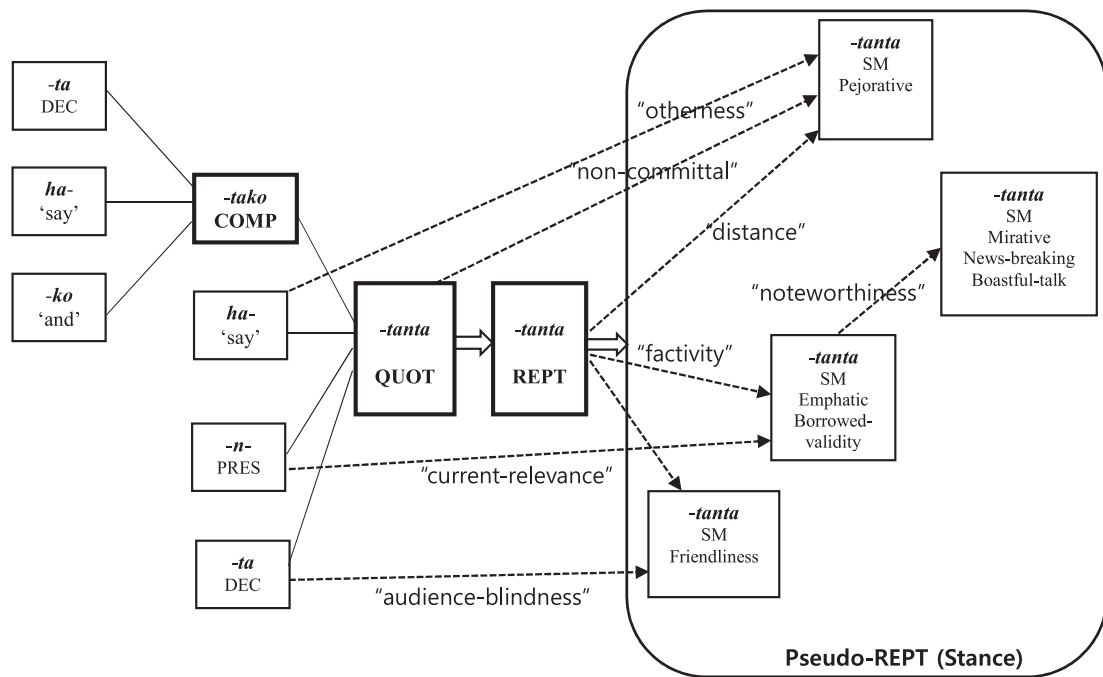


Fig. 1. Development of -tanta.

news-breaking and boastful talk' function is an outgrowth of the 'emphatic, borrowed validity' function since this inherently carries the noteworthiness sense. Finally, the 'pejorative' function is developed from the otherness sense associated with the verb of locution *ha-* (since the speaker in this configuration is other than the current reporter), the non-committal sense of the QUOT (since the information source is other than the current reporter), and the distance and refusal of accommodation senses of the REPT.

Needless to say, many of these innovative functions have pragmatic bases, thus sensitive to the context in which the form occurs. Furthermore, the robustness of the newly arising functions is not uniform since the functions of individual forms are semantitized at varying degrees. In addition, the forms are relatively conservative as compared to the functions, thus creating poly-functionality of a grammatical form as observed in numerous studies (Sapir, 1921; Givón, 1975; Heine et al. 1991; Heine, 1993; among others). It is for this reason that *-tanta* cuts across multiple functional categories and lends itself to diverse, sometimes even seemingly contradictory (e.g. 'friendly' vs. 'pejorative'), interpretations depending on the context.²⁵

4. Discussion

We have seen the development of diverse functions of *-tanta* in the preceding section. When the development is viewed from the grammaticalization perspective, there are some issues that are noteworthy. Many aspects of the development of *-tanta* deserve detailed discussion. For the interest of space, however, we restrict our focus on the discussion of its development with respect to the notions of local context, rhetorical strategy, and intersubjectification.

4.1. Local contexts

It is widely accepted that grammaticalization is not merely a matter of a source lexeme but also a matter of its use context. Hopper and Traugott (2003), for instance, consider that the role of context constitutes a defining characteristic of grammaticalization processes, as shown in their definition of grammaticalization "as the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in *certain linguistic contexts* to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions" (2003: xv, emphasis added; see also pp. 158 and 232). In their discussion of the development of the *go*-future in English, i.e., *be going to*, they show that the change occurred only in a very local context, that of purposive directional constructions with non-finite complements, such as *I am going to marry Bill* (p. 2). As the

²⁵ For instance, Huh (1995: 555), with reference to the functional ambiguity of *-tanta*, states that "addressees need to 'guess' what the speaker had in mind" (translation ours). This state of affairs is typical when the meanings are not fully semantitized. Furthermore, semantic change resulting in emergence of antonymous meanings is not uncommon across languages, e.g. the English *out of* for the association meaning 'with' and the deprivation meaning 'without'; the preposition *with* for the original opposition meaning 'against' to the current cooperation meaning 'together', etc (Rhee, 2004).

grammaticalization processes proceed, the context of use becomes extended (see ‘extension’, ‘context generalization’ Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 2). Likewise, Bybee et al. (1994), Bybee and Pagliuca (1985) consider that semantic change in grammaticalization correlates with a generalization of the contexts in which the grammatical form can be used. Similar observations are found in Craig (1991) in her description of the polygrammaticalization phenomena in Rama, in Timberlake (1977) in his analysis of the development of case-marking system in Finnish, in DeLancey (1991) in his discussion of the grammaticalization of serial verbs in Tibeto-Burman languages, and in numerous other studies.

In the case of *-tanta*, as we discussed in 2.1 and 3.1, its ultimate origin can be traced to the development of the COMP *-tako*, whose development occurred in the local context of the juxtaposed DEC ender *-ta*, the locution verb *ha-* ‘say’ and the coordinating CONN *-ko* ‘and’. Even though comparable processes also occurred with the IMP *-la*, the *-nya* and the HORT *-ca*, only a small number of grammatical forms arose from this local context. For instance, at around the beginning of the Early Modern Korean, the time when COMPS developed in earnest, there were more than a dozen DEC sentence enders, but only *-ta* (along with its allomorph *-la*) was selected. The development of the QUOT *-tanta*, i.e., one used when the speaker can be identified either explicitly or implicitly, is also paralleled by its counterparts IMP-based *-lanta*, INT *-nyanta*, and HORT *-canta*, depending on whether the quoted information is a statement, command, question or suggestion. The QUOT *-tanta* developed from the string of multiple grammatical forms, i.e., COMP *-tako*, the locution verb *ha-*, PRES *-n-*, DEC *-ta* (see 3.1 above). This has, though very few, variant forms depending on the modulation of the tense, e.g., the past form *-tayssta*, or of the speech level, e.g., the plain form *-tay*, or of the honorification and politeness level, e.g., the plain polite form *-tayyo*. In other words, the development of the QUOT *-tanta* (and its earlier ancestor COMP *-tako*) arose in local contexts and consequently the form has limited variations.

However, the role of the local context becomes more prominent in the development of *-tanta* in its REPT function, i.e., one when the source of the information is largely unknown or unspicifiable (like a hearsay) and in its pseudo-REPT functions, i.e., when it is used for marking the speaker’s stance. The development of the REPT and the stance functions, e.g., marking friendliness, borrowed validity, mirativity, etc., occurred only in the DEC context. Stance marking for pejoration is exceptional in that it is potentially a part of the QUOT function (see 3.4.4 above). The restrictive context of the REPT development has to do with the speech type. The QUOT forms of IMP, INT, and HORT, by nature, carry the effect of directly engaging the addressee, and thus demotion of the original information source is less likely than in the cases of the declarative. In other words, quoting a question, command or suggestion, unlike quoting a statement, without the original speaker is either pragmatically awkward or impossible. This seems to be the direct reason why *-nyanta*, *-lanta*, and *-canta*, unlike their relative *-tanta*, did not proceed to acquire additional functions in the REPT and SM domains but remained as QUOT forms. Incidentally, even in the declarative contexts, the development of SM function occurred only with *-tanta* that had been formed with *-n-ta* [PRES-DEC], not with any of numerous others with TAM variations. For instance, as briefly noted in 2.3, the QUOT *-tay*, a variant of *-tanta*, does not acquire the REPT and SM functions.²⁶ All these states of affairs point to the fact that the grammaticalization of *-tanta* occurred in very local contexts.

4.2. Rhetorical strategy

The term ‘rhetoric’ has been used in various senses in different disciplines. Following Leech (1983), Leith and Myerson (1989), Rhee (2008b), among others, we use the term from a broad pragmatic perspective, i.e. a means of persuasion, producing a social discourse with affective meaning, or a perlocutionary effect on the addressee (see Wales, 2001: 344–346 for discussion of the notion). Assuming such a perspective, the rhetorical REPT strategy is defined as the use of the grammatical REPT marker (i.e., *-tanta*) just for discourse effect in non-reporting situation.

As briefly alluded to in the preceding discussion, the development of *-tanta* involves rhetorical strategies, e.g., the use of quotations for validity borrowing (in 3.4.2), feigned mirativity to dramatize the information (in 3.4.3), and rejection of accommodation of the on-going situation (in 3.4.4). An additionally noteworthy aspect of rhetorical strategy involves employing ‘audience-blind style’ (ABS) (Rhee, 2008b; Koo and Rhee, 2013; Rhee and Koo, 2015), i.e., the use of a sentence-ender which does not encode any intersubjectivity (e.g. honorification, formality, politeness, etc.). Considering that Korean is a language in which addressee-encoding is highly grammaticalized in the speech-level system and is largely obligatory, ABS is a peculiar form of sentential ending.²⁷ A brief discussion is in order.

The change involved in the emergence of SM function is motivated by the strategic use of REPT constructions for rhetorical effect, i.e. presenting subjective states of the speaker himself or herself, especially of attitudinal or emotional stances, and often directed to children, as if they have objective validity. The sentential ending *-ta*, of the source form *-ta-ha-n-ta*, belongs to the ABS mostly occurring in subordinate clauses (thus often in QUOT constructions). ABS forms as sentential endings are intended for unspecified audiences, lacking any sentence-final grammatical trappings marking the speaker-addressee relationship as briefly noted earlier. The following are some of the relevant characteristics of ABS sentence-endings (modified from Koo and Rhee, 2013: 81, see also Rhee and Koo, 2015: 36):

²⁶ The QUOT *-tay* not undergoing further development into REPT or SM may have to do, in part, with the fact that the sentence-ender *-e* of the source construction of *-tay*, i.e., *-tako-ha-e* [COMP-SAY-END], is not audience-blind, but audience-sensitive (see 4.2 below for ‘audience-blindness’).

²⁷ The lack of TAM marking in Korean is so exceptional that a similar phenomenon termed as *celtaymwun* ‘absolute sentence’ is an issue of controversy (see, for example, Im, 1983, 2007, 2008; Ko, 2006; among others).

- (21) (i) They are not used in *vis-à-vis* interaction.
 (ii) They are used typically in textbook narratives (for older students) and newspaper articles.
 (iii) They are often used in subordinate clauses.

From an interactional perspective in PDK, the use of *-tanta*, which originated from the audience-blind ending, in audience-directed speech acts such as quoting or reporting, is self-contradictory. From a diachronic point of view, it is puzzling why at a certain point in history the speakers of Korean began to use a form related to audience-blindness in interactive contexts. Historically, the source form of *-tanta*, i.e., *-ta.ha.n.ta*, is first attested in the form of *-ta.ha.n.ta* in the 16th century letters called ‘enkan’ (meaning “letter written in an ordinary language”) or ‘naykan’ (meaning “letter written by a female”) referring to letters written by women in the Korean writing system instead of the Chinese characters used by the learned class. Recently a large body of such letters were exhumed from the graves, e.g. *Swunchenkimssi enkan* (1560–1580), *Kosengissi enkan* (1586), *Hyenphwungkwakssi enkan* (1602–1652), among others, that shed light to the states of affairs in Late Middle and Early Modern Korean.

There is no conclusive answer to this enigma, but at least three factors are suspected to have played a role, i.e. stylistic, semantic and structural factors. As for stylistic aspects, as shown in (21), one of the characteristics of ABS forms is that they are used in objective contexts such as textbooks and newspaper articles, in which descriptions are necessarily objective. Earlier attestations in historical corpora of *-tanta* and its ancestral *-ta hanta* occur in personal letters (such as *enkan* letters) and in diaries. These genres are typical of the writing style of non-*vis-à-vis* interaction. When certain information is presented, the speaker could enhance the objectivity by employing the ABS forms in the main clause, e.g., ending a sentence with *-ta*. This seems to be a reasonable line of thought considering that in historical sources recording conversation such as the *Nokeltay* texts, *-ta*, especially in connection with PRES *-n-*, typically occurs in exclamative sentences, a point also noted in Jin (2006: 93).²⁸ It is noteworthy that exclamative sentences are more self-oriented than addressee-directed.

In terms of semantic aspects, the fact that *-tanta* contains the invariable PRES *-n-* (or ‘imperfective’ in certain analyses) suggests that the form is a fossilized form with respect to TAM marking. In other words, when the speaker chooses to employ *-tanta*, the quoted/reported information is always presented as if it were a state of affairs at present. This is more easily explained with an example below (note that the sentence-ender *-tanta* is analytically glossed as *-ta-n-ta* to make the presence of PRES *-n-* more clearly):

- (22) *pyellankan up-eyse salyeng-i naw-asye sayngwennim-ul pwustulleka-s-ta-n-ta*
 suddenly town-from official-NOM come-and gentleman-ACC arrest-PST-COMP-pres-DEC
 ‘(They say ...) suddenly an official from the township came, and arrested and took away
 the gentleman’ (1913, *Seykemceng* 164)

As shown in (22), the event of the gentleman’s arrest occurred already as it is marked with the PST morpheme *-s-*. However, this information is presented as cradled in the sentence-ending morphology *-tanta* which contains the PRES marker *-n-*. In other words, the quoted/reported information is always presented as if the speaker of the original information were saying it now. This characteristic, incidentally, is shared by the English ‘*They say ...* construction’ used for quoting proverbs or aphorisms, which is fossilized and is not variable as in *They said ...*, *They will say ...*, etc., even though the latter are perfectly acceptable in non-proverbial usage. The motivation of the exclusive use of the PRES *-n-* seems to be the speaker’s desire to make the information being presented vivid and relevant to the speech situation. To use the notion of ‘borrowed validity,’ the speaker is making the information of the past as one that is currently valid.

In terms of the structural factors, we already noted that *-tanta* is a phonologically reduced form whose origin can be traced to *-takohanta* (see 3.1 and 3.2 above). We also noted that in the reductive process the verb of locution *ha-* ‘say’ completely disappeared (see 3.3 above), and that with the loss of the verb of locution, it became unnecessary to specify the speaker. The opacity of the speaker as a result of structural compacting may have to do with the free use of *-tanta* regardless of information source. In a sense, *-tanta* became ‘emancipated’ (Haiman, 1994) from the constraint of specifying the agent of the original speech. Therefore, we can reasonably assume that the phonological reduction at the morphosyntactic level resulted in structural opacity in terms of its internal structure, which, in turn, triggered the reanalysis of the form as a monomorphemic marker of QUOT/REPT and further as SM. In short, the language user became totally unaware of the form as one having connection with audience-blindness, which facilitated its use in audience-sensitive contexts.

4.3. Intersubjectification

As discussed in 3.4.2 and 4.2, the development of *-tanta* involved rhetorical strategy. One of the rhetorical effects of this ‘self-reporting’ is the connotation of mirativity (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004: 185, 195–215). When *-tanta* is employed, it is as if the speaker is saying something like ‘You may be surprised to hear this, and in fact I was surprised at this, too’ (cf. 3.4.3). Unlike interjections or exclamative sentences which encode surprise, mirative-marked sentences create a strong engaging effect on

²⁸ The *Nokeltay* texts were a foreign language textbook used to train translators. The text consists of dialogs between the Korean and foreign merchants. There are six versions with time interval, which makes them a valuable source for comparing linguistic forms from the 16th century to the 18th century.

the part of the addressee. In other words, the use of interjections or exclamative sentences is prompted by the (relatively) uncontrollable internal states of the speaker affected by the internal or external force, whereas the use of mirative-marked sentences is prompted by the speaker's desire to 'share' the information as well as the feeling it arouses. Therefore, the development of mirative-marking, whether genuine or strategically feigned, has to do with intersubjectification of the form involved.

The intersubjectification is prominent with all stance-marking functions, since employment of stance presupposes the presence of the discourse partner. With the development of the addressee-oriented stance functions, e.g. friendliness, emphasis, mirativity, news-breaking, boastful talk, pejoration, etc., the sentences that previously carried the reportative evidentiality have acquired the functions of marking the attitudinal and emotional stances. In this process, the hearsay meaning is bleached and a new intersubjective meaning is semanticized in this development (cf. 'specification' Kuteva, 2001).

5. Summary and conclusion

Korean has a grammatical form *-tanta* functioning as an ultimate-slot sentence-ender and at the same time as a stance marker. Drawing upon the historical data, this paper traced the developmental path the form traveled, and also discussed some aspects of the development from the grammaticalization perspective. Some of the findings are summarized in the following.

The structural origin of *-tanta* goes back to the lexeme of the verb of locution *ha-* 'say', which followed the DEC sentence-type marker *-ta*, and is followed by the coordinating CONN *-ko*, thus *-ta-ha-ko*. This configuration, through erosion of the verb of locution, brought forth the COMP *-tako*, which again was followed by the verb of locution *ha-*, PRES *-n-* and the DEC sentence-type marker *-ta*. This configuration resulted in the creation of a polymorphemic string *-ta-ha-n-ta*, which was later phonologically reduced to *-tanta*. This form is reanalyzed as monomorphemic and became fossilized in form. This shows that when the source constructions become morphosyntactically opaque, syntagmatic compacting may occur in cycles by adding the 'eroded' elements (e.g. *ha-* 'say') to a newly emerging periphrastic form (note the erosion and addition of *ha-* 'say' in COMP and QUOT/REPT).

In terms of functional extension, *-tanta* underwent, or was involved in, a series of changes that brought forth the grammatical markers COMP, QUOT, REPT, and SM, i.e., sentential embedding, evidentiality marking, and intersubjective/interactive marking of stances. The oldest evidentiality marking function was that of QUOT with the source of the information either explicit or implicit from the context. Since the verb of locution *-ha* has been eroded in the QUOT *-tanta* (< *-tako-ha-n-ta*), specifying the information source (the subject) became less important, and this seems to have prompted the development of QUOT to REPT. More recently, *-tanta* further developed various functions in the stance domain. It developed as a marker of friendliness, emphasis, mirativity, and pejoration.

We noted that the development of *-tanta* occurred in local contexts. The development was sensitive to its morphosyntactic context at the time of its genesis. In other words, the development of its ancestral form COMP *-tako* involved the verb of locution and the coordinating CONN, and the development of QUOT *-tanta* involved the COMP, the verb of locution, the PRES *-n-*, and the DEC *-ta*. The REPT and SM functions of *-tanta* developed only with the DEC-based COMP *-tako*, thus *-tanta* (and not **-lanta*, **-nyanta*, **-canta* as REPT/SM markers).

One of the most prominent aspects of the development of *-tanta* is the use of rhetorical strategy. It made use of the audience-blind form that is typically used to signal objectivity of the information. This strategy seems to have been employed to boost the validity of what is being said. Likewise, *-tanta* uses the PRES tense marker *-n-*, which seems to show the speaker's desire to signal that the information being presented has current relevance.

We also noted that the development of stance marking functions such as friendliness, emphasis, mirativity and pejoration is a process of intersubjectification. Even though *-tanta* has its origin in audience-blind and thus an interactively neutral, sentence-ender, it acquired attitudinal and emotional stance-marking functions. All this points to the fact that language users are actively reanalyzing the existing forms and functions with respect to the relevance of the current speech situation, and this unconscious yet constant activity leads to the functional enrichment of linguistic forms.

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