

What happens when the will withers: The case of hortative in Korean[☆]



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Received 31 May 2016; received in revised form 15 November 2016; accepted 15 November 2016
Available online 7 December 2016

Abstract

It is widely recognized that semantic bleaching is a prominent concomitant of grammaticalization. The reductive process may eliminate the core semantic element and lead to an emergence of a marker of seemingly incongruous notions. This paper addresses one such type of semantic reduction in Korean, the case of the multi-functional connective *-cani*. Historically, *-cani* originated from a hortative sentential ending *-ca* and a connective *-ni* through morpho-syntactic coalescence eliminating intervening forms. The resultant form *-cani* was initially used to signal hortative and causal, but later to mark hypotheticality, contingency and incidentality. The development of the hortative-based connective *cani-* occurred through two channels: (i) the direct quotation channel and (ii) the complementizer channel. One prominent aspect of the development is semantic change, i.e., a progressive reduction of volitionality. At the outset, its semantics had strong volitive element, i.e., imposition of the speaker's volition on the addressee and the speaker together, the defining characteristic of hortative. In its later development into a marker of hypotheticality, the hortative meaning is significantly bleached and the use becomes highly rhetorical. The speaker is strategically invoking a hypothetical hortative pseudo-quotation in order to make his/her statement more dynamic or vivid. As the form acquires the rhetorical and discursive functions, its volitional semantics becomes further bleached, and it is entirely lost when the form reaches the contingency- and incidentality-marking stages. This paper shows how the speaker's discursive strategy has given rise to the emergence of diverse grammatical functions.

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Keywords: Grammaticalization; Hortative connective; Semantic bleaching; Volitionality; Rhetorical strategies; Discursive strategies

1. Introduction

It has been widely acknowledged that semantic bleaching is a prominent concomitant of grammaticalization (Lehmann, 2015[1982]; Haspelmath, 1998; Heine, 2003; Heine and Kuteva, 2002). Semantic bleaching ('desemanticization': Heine and Reh, 1984; Heine and Kuteva, 2002; 'semantic generalization': Bybee et al., 1994) in grammaticalization is inevitable largely because grammatical notions are typically more abstract than lexical meanings of their source lexemes. However, the degree of desemanticization may vary. The meaning of certain grammatical forms may not be significantly more abstract than that of their source lexemes (cf. Hoffmann, 2005, Ch. 5 for discussion of such complex prepositions in English, e.g., *in accordance with*, *in search of*, *in need of*, etc.),

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whereas on the other extreme, the reductive process may eliminate the core semantic elements (e.g., *in view of*, *by virtue of*, etc. in Hoffmann, 2005), eventually leading to an emergence of a marker, which may seem semantically not motivated. Thus, when the old functions do not disappear but linger in the system, which is typical in language due to the non-discrete nature of language change, a grammatical form synchronically can be a marker of seemingly incongruous notions.

This paper addresses one such latter type of semantic reduction in Korean, the case of *-cani*, a multi-functional connective (CONN) in Modern Korean, which originated from the hortative (HORT) marker *-ca* and the cause/reason marker *-ni*. The development of *-cani* is a paradigm example of emergence of diverse functions as a result of the loss of one core semantic element of the source, i.e., the volition in the HORT marker. The primary function of the HORT is to mark the sentence as the speaker's suggestion to the addressee that they perform an action together. But the HORT-based CONN *-cani* developed into markers of diverse functions in recent years, a phenomenon this paper intends to address. The objective of paper is twofold: (i) to describe the processes of the grammaticalization of the HORT-based CONN *-cani*, and (ii) to discuss the issues and implications with respect to its development in the theory of grammaticalization.

This paper is organized as the following: Section 2 describes the processes of grammaticalization of *-cani* from two channels; Section 3 addresses the emergence of diverse connecting functions through functional extension from HORT to hypotheticality, contingency, and incidentality; Section 4 traces the development of *-cani* from historical corpora; Section 5 discusses some theoretical issues such as grammaticalization mechanisms, local context, convergence and divergence, and rhetorical strategy in connection with subjectification and perspective shift; and Section 6 summarizes the analysis and concludes the paper.


2. Grammaticalization of *-cani*

Korean has a large paradigm of sentence-final particles (SFPS) that signal mood and modality as verbal morphology. Among them are the sentence-type markers (STMS) that signal the type of the sentence, e.g., declarative (DEC), interrogative (INT), imperative (IMP) and hortative (HORT). There have been numerous SFPS and STMS throughout history (Rhee, 2008a; Koo and Rhee, 2013), many of them experiencing rise and fall in terms of their use primacy. However, there are enduring representative forms that survived the functional competition, one for each sentence type, representative in the sense that these are the very forms that are recruited in the development of other markers such as complementizers (COMPS) or other CONNS, often participating in paradigm-based grammaticalization (see Section 2.2). These STMS are illustrated in Table 1.

As shown in Table 1, the representative form of the HORT.STM is *-ca*, even though there are about a dozen different forms in Modern Korean in HORT sentence type, counting the variant forms with mood/modality variation, e.g., *-psita*, *-usiciyo*, *-o*, *-kwulye*, *-key*, *-ci*, *-ciyo*, etc. Many of these also carry the imperative and desiderative functions (Rhee, 2002). As is clear from both form and function, the HORT.STM *-ca* is involved in the development of the CONN *-cani*, the form under the present focus. The morpheme *-ni* that follows the HORT.STM *-ca* is a full-fledged CONN with diverse semantics including its primary meaning 'causality' (CAUS). Thus, *-cani* is a polymorphemic grammatical form consisting of a sentential ender and a connective.

Even though the form may suggest a direct combination of two extrapolated morphemes *-ca* and *-ni*, a historical investigation shows otherwise. Such a direct combination is impossible because the STM is the ultimate sentential-ending and signals termination of a sentence. A CONN is a bound morpheme following its host verb. Therefore, it is structurally impossible for a CONN to follow a STM. Furthermore, the development of *-cani* did not proceed along a single path with a straight trajectory but along two closely related, yet separate, tracks, i.e., the direct quotation (DQ)

Table 1
Sentence-type markers (STMS).

Sentence type	Representative STM	Example (with <i>ka-</i> 'go')	
DEC	<i>-ta</i>	<i>ka-n-ta</i>	'(I) go.'
INT	<i>-nya</i>	<i>ka-nya</i>	'Do (you) go?'
IMP	<i>-la</i>	<i>ka-la</i>	'Go!'
 HORT	<i>-ca</i>	<i>ka-ca</i>	'Let's go!'

channel and the COMP channel and the details of the progression are complex. We now move to a discussion of these two channels in turn.¹

2.1. Channel 1: the direct quotation channel

As was briefly noted in the preceding exposition, *-cani* contains a sentential ender (*-ca*) and a connective (*-ni*), the combination of which took place in two channels that eventually merged. One of the two developmental paths is the DO channel, i.e., *-cani* originated from a construction that embedded a quotation, as exemplified in (1).²

- (1) a. *ku-ka ka-ca.ha.ni kunye-ka ttalanase-ss-ta*
 he-NOM go-HORT.CONN she-NOM follow-PST-DEC
 ‘As he suggested that they go, she followed him.’
 b. *ku-ka “ka-ca” ha-ni kunye-ka ttalanase-ss-ta*
 he-NOM “go-HORT” say-as she-nom follow-PST-DEC
 ‘As he said, “Let’s go,” she followed him.’

The bold-faced string *-ca ha-ni* in (1a), glossed as a hortative connective (HORT.CONN), is tri-morphemic analyzable as a string *-ca-ha-ni* [HORT-say-as] (cf. the gloss in (1b)). Despite their formal make-up being transparent, it is often treated as a single grammatical marker encoding the ground of a statement that follows (Lee and Lee, 2010:995), which, in this case, shows that ‘that he suggested that they go’ is the reason ‘that she followed him.’ The bi-clausal structure of (1a) is in fact a direct development from a sentence involving a direct quote shown in (1b). As is evident in the gloss, the embedded ‘ka-ca’ is a full-fledged HORT sentence with the meaning of ‘Let’s go.’ Historically, before the COMPS were grammaticalized in the 17th and 18th centuries, this syntactic configuration of embedding a quotation was the most common way of introducing a direct quotation (Kwon, 1998:59–60; Rhee, 2008c; Sohn, 2011; among others). This is the pattern that is commonly used in Modern Korean to quote someone’s utterance *verbatim*. One of the earliest attestations of the source structure comparable to (1b), dated from the 16th century (note that the exact dating of the source is not available, thus marked as ‘15xx’, but is presumed to have been written between 1565 and 1575), is exemplified in (2), in which older orthographic forms (i.e., *-cya* in place of *-ca*, and *ha* in place of *ha*) are used and modern punctuation marks are absent (i.e., no quotation mark is used).

- (2) ... *pca-ki sumu-nal-i-lotay mot ta pca-s-ini*
 weave-NOMZ 20-day-COP-CONN NEG all weave-PST-CONN
nam-ina siki-cya.ha.ni
 other-SEL make-[HORT-say-as]
myenhwa hunha-ni nw-i nam-ay il ha-li-kho...
 cotton be.common-CONN who-NOM other-GEN work do-FUT.Q-QUOT.CONN
 ‘Even though our weaving lasted for twenty days, weaving was not completed, so [we] said “Let’s make other people do it (for us)” but since cotton is so easy to get, who (= no one) would work for others (= us) to obtain cotton (as their wage), so [we could not find anyone who would weave for us].’ (15xx, *Swuncheon kimssi enkan*, 37:7)

In (2), *-cya.ha.ni* is presented as a single unit in the gloss. However, as is evident from the translation, the gap between the HORT sentential ending *-cya* and the locution verb *ha-* ‘say’ is great since they are located at the boundary of two different clauses, i.e., *-ca* in the embedded sentence of direct quotation, and *ha-* in the higher clause. However, these two

¹ Some of the examples, when the sources are not indicated, are putative examples constructed to illustrate the point. Most examples, however, are taken from three corpora for historical and contemporary data. 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. Modern Korean examples are taken from two sources: one corpus is a 24 million-word drama and cinema corpus compiled by Min Li, the other, a web-based searchable concordance program, the KORTERM Corpus, consisting of 15 million tagged words and 70 million un-tagged words, developed by researchers at Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST). Their generosity in sharing the valuable data is acknowledged with appreciation.

² Abbreviations: ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominalizer; CAUS: causative; COMP: complementizer; CONN: connective; CONT: contingency; COP: copula; DEC: declarative; DM: discourse marker; DO: direct-quotation; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative ender/connective; HYPO: hypotheticality; IMP: imperative; INCD: incidentality; INT: interrogative; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PASS: passive; PL: plural; POL: polite; PRES: present; PROH: prohibitive; PROG: progressive; PROM: promissive; PST: past; PURP: purposive; Q: interrogative; QUOT: quotative; RETRO: retrospective; SEL: selective; SEQ: sequential; SFP: sentence-final particle; STM: sentence-type marker; TOP: topic.

morphemes became close to each other simply due to the adjacency in the syntagmatic configuration. Furthermore, because of frequent syntagmatic juxtaposition of the locution verb *ha-* ‘say’ and the connective *-ni* ‘as’ that follows it, the three adjacent morphemes *ca-*, *ha-* and *-ni* altogether underwent ‘coalescence’ (Haspelmath, 2011) with increasing degrees of fusion, eventually losing the verb *ha-* ‘say’. Incidentally, the erosion and ultimate loss of the verb *ha-* in multi-word strings is common in the history of Korean (Rhee, 2009). Since the modern-day inter-lexemic spacing was not in practice in historical texts, the degrees of syntagmatic bonding cannot be easily detected by means of differential degrees of coalescence, i.e., morphologization.³ However, it can be hypothesized that the relevant string underwent the kind of bonding that can be represented as in (3):

- (3) Developmental Stages of the DC-Channel *-cani*
 “...-ca.” *ha-ni* > *-ca-hani* > *-cahani* > *-cani*
 (Note that historical variants *-ca* and *-cya*; *ha-* and *ha-* are simplified.)

2.2. Channel 2: the complementizer channel

The other channel through which *-cani* developed is the complementizer (COMP) channel. As we noted in Table 1, there are four representative STMS in Korean. Korean also has a set of four corresponding COMPS depending on the sentence type of the subordinated clause through the coalescence of the STMS, a locution verb and a CONN (Rhee, 2008a; Koo and Rhee, 2013). The development of COMPS has received much attention from Korean linguists and detailed discussion on the developmental processes is beyond our immediate interest (see Kwon, 1998; Ahn, 1991, 2003; Choi, 1999; Sohn, 1996, 2011; Koo, 2010; among numerous others, for discussion of their grammaticalization). Suffice it to say that the STMS as the final element of a quoted clause came to be combined with the verb of locution *ha-* ‘say’ and the CONN *-ko* ‘and’, and that the syntagmatic string further underwent morpho-syntactic compacting as schematically shown in (4), our focus being on (4d), the HORT.COMP.

- (4) Development of COMPS
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. <small>DEC.COMP</small> | <i>-tako</i> | < | <i>-ta-hako</i> | < | “...-ta.” <i>ha-ko</i> | [“...-DEC.” say-and] |
| b. <small>INT.COMP</small> | <i>-nyako</i> | < | <i>-nya-hako</i> | < | “...-nya?” <i>ha-ko</i> | [“...-INT.” say-and] |
| c. <small>IMP.COMP</small> | <i>-lako</i> | < | <i>-la-hako</i> | < | “...-la!” <i>ha-ko</i> | [“...-IMP.” say-and] |
| d. <small>HORT.COMP</small> | <i>-cako</i> | < | <i>-ca-hako</i> | < | “...-ca.” <i>ha-ko</i> | [“...-HORT.” say-and] |

Since COMPS have different forms depending on the types of their host clause, as illustrated in (4), and are directly built on the STMS of corresponding sentence types, the relationship between STMS and COMPS is transparently clear, i.e., *-ta* and *-tako*, *-nya* and *-nyako*, *-la* and *-lako*, and *-ca* and *-cako*.⁴ Modern Korean has a well-structured paradigm of COMPS depending on the subordinate clause types, as shown in Table 2, among which the HORT.COMP is the form relevant to our present discussion.

The development of *-cani* along the COMP-channel involves the HORT.COMP *-cako*, as shown in Table 2. A historical survey shows that the development of COMPS occurred in stages from the Early Modern Korean period (from the 17th to the 19th century).⁵ By the 19th century, the paradigm of COMPS becomes well-established. In the historical data the HORT.COMP *-cako* occurs in a construction that eventually developed into *-cani*. For instance, the earliest attestations of *-cako ha-ni* [HORT.COMP say-as], the source construction of *-cani*, are found in 1896 in daily newspapers.

It is interesting to note that, in the development of COMP *-cako* from its source construction *-ca ha-ko*, the verb of locution *ha-* ‘say’ in it disappeared en route. The exactly same pattern is repeated with the newly formed string *-cako ha-ni* developing into *-cani*, i.e., the locution verb *ha-* ‘say’ suffered erosion again. The erosive process that occurred this time,

³ *Corean Primer* (Ross, 1877), *A Corean Manual* (Scott, 1887), and Korea’s first daily newspaper *Toknipsinmwun: The Independent* (1896–1899) are among the first publications that practiced interlexemic spacing (Min, 1999). The newspaper, in particular, though short-lived, greatly promoted the practice, which was officially enforced as the First Hangeul Orthographic Regulation (*Hankul machwumpep thongilan*) was promulgated in 1933.

⁴ The high level of compositional transparency of the COMPS led some researchers to regarding only *-ko*, the final element, as the COMP or quotation marker (cf. Choi, 1999; Ahn, 2003; Sohn, 2011; among others). Such positional differences, however, do not affect the current analysis.

⁵ There is a controversy as to the specific first historical attestation of COMPS in Korean, e.g., Ahn (1991, 2003) suggests 1763 and Kim (1994) suggests 1637. 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 end of the Early Modern Korean period (17th–19th century) (see Rhee, 2008c, 2012; Koo, 2010 for quantitative analyses).

Table 2
COMPS in Korean (allomorphy omitted for simplicity).

Subordinate clause type	COMP	Example	
DEC	<i>-tako</i>	<i>ka-n-tako</i>	'that (he) goes'
INT	<i>-nyako</i>	<i>ka-nyako</i>	'if (he) goes'
IMP	<i>-lako</i>	<i>ka-lako</i>	'that (you should) go'
HORT	<i>-cako</i>	<i>ka-cako</i>	'that (we) go together'

however, was more extensive in that not only the locution verb but also its preceding form *-ko* (a part of the COMP ultimately traceable to the CONN denoting 'and') was lost at the same time. This peculiar and massive erosion, widely known as 'the *ko-ha-* deletion' phenomenon among Korean linguists, is a widespread phonological change in the history of Korean, as noted by Nam (1986[1973]), Ahn (1992), Lee (1993), Chae and No (1988), Chae (2006), Lee (1996), Kwon (1985), Bang (1999), Kim (2001), among many others.

Even though the exact time periods cannot be set up due to the gradual and multi-planed nature of grammaticalization, the developmental stages can be straightforwardly hypothesized from the known historical facts as in Fig. 1.

Stages I–III in Fig. 1 represent the development of COMP, i.e., HORT-based COMP *-cako*, encompassing Late Middle to Early Modern Korean periods, and Stages IV–VI, the development of the CONN *-cani* with diverse functions in Modern Korean. As schematically shown, the CONN *-cani* originated from the HORT-based COMP *-cako*, which, in turn, originated from the quotative connective (QUOT.CONN) that developed from the direct quotation construction (for the functions and their labels, see Section 3).

3. Emergence of diverse functions

Now that we have surveyed the formal development of *-cani*, through two channels both involving the STM *-ca*, the verb of locution *ha-* 'say' and the CONN *-ni*, an investigation into its functional development is in order. Our primary focus is the function of the HORT-based CONN *-cani*, but it is noteworthy that the HORT.STM *-ca* also underwent functional extension, even before it joined in the formation of the HORT.CONN *-cani*. Thus, we look at the functions of *-ca* first.

3.1. Hortative sentence-type marker

In Modern Korean the sentence ender carrying the HORT function, i.e., HORT.STM, has four closely related subfunctions, as exemplified in putative, yet commonly attested, examples in (5):

(5) Functions of HORT.STM *-ca*

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. <i>kongpwuha-ca</i>
study- HORT
'Let's study.' | b. <i>na-to com mek-ca</i>
I-too a.little eat- HORT
'Let me eat, too, please.' |
| c. <i>na com nayli-ca</i>
I a.little get.off- HORT
'Let me get off, please.' | d. <i>ca ese son ssis-ca</i>
now promptly hand wash- HORT
'Now, let's go ahead and wash (your) hands.' |

Stage I	>>	Stage II	>>	Stage III	>>
Coordinated Structure		Subordinated Structure		Phonological Reduction	
"...ca." <i>haj-ko</i>		<i>...ca]-hako</i>		<i>-cako</i>	
"...STM" say]-and		...STM]-QUOT.CONN		-COMP	
Direct quote construction		Indirect quote construction			
Stage IV	>>	Stage V	>>	Stage VI	
Syntagmatic Coalescence		Phonological Reduction		Functional Extension	
<i>-cako]-haj-ni</i>		<i>-cani</i>		<i>-cani</i>	
-COMP]-say-as		HORT		HYPO/CONT/INCD	

Fig. 1. Developmental stages of *-cani* in the COMP-channel.

In the STM use of the HORT *-ca* as in (5a), it signals the speaker's intention ('volitive') to jointly perform an action with the addressee, which is a true HORT (also termed as 'cohortative'), since the notion of 'joint action' is central to HORT. The HORT. STM *-ca* can also signal the speaker's assumption of compliance potential on the part of the addressee in the form of permitting the speaker's participation in the activity in which the addressee is involved, as in (5b). In this case, the proposed action to be carried out with the addressee's consent is not a joint action, thus not a cohortative, even though the speaker and the addressee will eventually be in a same activity if the addressee gives consent to the speaker. This usage still retains the volition of the speaker and the addressee to perform an action, though not jointly in a strict sense, as a part of the semantics of *-ca*. The HORT. STM *-ca* may also be used to solicit cooperation for an action performed by the speaker only, as shown in (5c). The notion of 'joint action' as signaled by HORT *-ca* is a further extended notion in this case in that the addressee's compliance to cooperate to help realize the speaker's intention is considered as a joint action by virtue of its contribution to the realization of the intended action (note that the addressee does not get off in (5c)). The HORT notion in (5d) is still more detached from the prototypical HORT in (5a) since the speaker does not participate in the action being proposed. Rather, it is an encouragement for the addressee to perform an action, thus also labeled 'adhortative'. As exemplified in (5d), which is typical of a coaxing event for parents toward their children, the actor of the proposed action is the addressee only. Incidentally, this usage of HORT is also attested in English. According to Hopper and Traugott (2003 [1993]:11), English *let's* may simply convey "the speaker's condescending encouragement" in such utterances as *Lets wash your hands*, and *Lets eat our liver now, Betty* (cf. see Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993]:10–13, for discussion of the development of the English HORT *let's* by stages). Such an extension pattern seems to be conceptually well-motivated, considering that the formal counterpart of the HORT *-ca*, i.e., *-psita*, exhibits usages in complete parallel with (5a) through (5d). What is significant in context of the present research is that, despite the differences of the actor of the proposed action, the HORT *-ca* invariably encodes volitionality, which, as we shall see in below, is gradually lost in the development of the CONN *-cani*.

3.2. Hortative

Partly due to the carry-over of the diverse meanings of the HORT *-ca* as noted in the above, and partly due to the multifunctionality of the CONN *-ni*, *-cani* has engendered diverse functions. As *-ni* is itself a CONN that can be roughly translated as 'as' with a causal meaning, the first function of *-cani* is hortative connective (HORT) signaling causality, as exemplified in Modern Korean.⁶

- (6) a. *cip-ey ka-cani kuke-y mwusun malssum-i-mkka?*
 home-to go- HORT that-COP what.kind word-COP-Q
 'As you say that we should go home what is that supposed to mean?' (< since (you) say, "Let's go home,"...)
 (2007 Drama *Yelahopswunceng* Episode #126)
- b. [I had been thinking that I would wait for you for 10 or even 20 years, taking care of patients]
kulentey po-ci.mal-cani ka-lkey-yo. ka-se-nun an o-lkey-yo.
 then see-PROH- HORT go-PROM-POL go-SEQ-TOP not come-PROH-POL
 'but then you say that we should not see (each other), so I will leave. I will leave and then never come back.'
 (< then since (you) say, "Let's not see,"...) (2007 Drama *Yenin* Episode #20)

In the above examples, *-cani* carries the function of marking the reason as a CONN containing the HORT meaning. Example (6a) is taken from a drama scene in which the speaker (*Kookhwa*) is asking her boyfriend (*Yoonhoo*) who told her to pack to return home from her temporary shelter, a sauna bathhouse, where she had been staying for room and board after she was rejected by her prospective in-laws. Example (6b) is taken from a drama scene in which the speaker (*Mijoo*), a plastic surgeon, who fell in love with a gangster (*Kangjae*) for his manliness, is protesting to him who, after serving a 4-year term, returned and said that they should break up, even though the speaker had been willing to wait for him indefinitely.

In these examples *-cani* can be roughly translated into 'since you suggest that we should...,' a straightforward combination of a HORT (*-ca*) and a causal CONN (*-ni*). As was noted in the preceding exposition (see (4) above), the HORT. CONN *-cani* developed from HORT-based COMP *-cako*, the locution verb *ha-* 'say', and the cause/reason marker *-ni*. Despite extensive formal reduction, i.e., *-cako-ha-ni* > *-cani*, the semantics of the HORT.CONN largely remains unchanged: 'as x suggests that they do y jointly...'

⁶ Note that the abbreviation HORT stands for either hortative sentence-ender (*-ca*) in the discussion of sentence-type markers or hortative connective (*-cani*) in the discussion of connectives, the latter comprising most instances in this paper. When disambiguation is needed, the former is referred to as HORT.STM, and the latter, HORT.CONN.

3.3. Hypotheticality

Another function of HORT *-cani* is that of marking hypotheticality, i.e., marking a clause as a statement of hypothetical intention. The major semantic characteristics of this marker as compared with HORT *-cani* are that the speaker does not wish to have his or her statement realized immediately, thus the proposed action is only tentative, and that the proposition is not other-directed, i.e., the addressee is not someone else but the speaker himself or herself. This is illustrated by the following example:

- (7) *nay-ka ney pyenci po-n cyek-to ep-ko tapcangha-n cyek-to ep-ta*
 I-NOM your letter see-ADN time-even not.exist answer-ADN time-even not.exist-DEC
tapcyang-ul ha-cani ne-ka is-nan timyeng-ina al-aya anni pwuchi-nanya
 answer-ACC do-HYPO you-NOM exist-ADN place.name-SEL know-COND not mail-Q
 ‘I have never seen your letter and never sent you a reply. If I am to answer your letter, I need to know where you were staying (in the first place) to mail it, isn’t that so?’ (< as (I) say, “Let’s write an answer,” then...)
 (1911, *Molanpyeng* 95:628)

Example (7) is taken from a scene in a novel in which the speaker (the mother) is speaking to her son (*Syubok*) who she believed was dead in a foreign land but just returned from Washington after a long silence of communication. The son tells her that there were many letters sent and received between them, which, incidentally, were taken or fabricated by ill-willing middlemen, a scam the two were not aware of. In a mixed emotion of happiness, disbelief and anger, she is telling him that she had never received any letter from him and she could not send him one. She is saying ‘even if I had wanted to write you an answer...’ by saying, literally, ‘as I say, “Let’s write him an answer,” then I would need your address...’ She did not write any answer, and according to the text, she did not receive a letter from her son in the first place to which she would reply. The letter-writing in her utterance is only a hypothetical event.

This HYPO use of *-cani* is commonly employed in a coordinated sentence with multiple subordinate constructions, e.g., [X-*cani*, A, and Y-*cani*, B] ‘as (I) am to do X, it is A, and as (I) am to do Y, it is B,’ often describing a dilemmatic situation, evaluating options none of which is desirable for the speaker, as exemplified in (8):

- (8) a. *na-i mwues-al ha-li-lo? ttah-ul pha-cani him-i ep-ko*
 I-NOM what-ACC do-FUT.Q earth-ACC dig-HYPO strength-NOM not.exist-and
pil-e mek-cani pwuskule-on-cila
 beg-NF eat-HYPO be.ashamed-PRES-SFP
 ‘What shall I do? I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed.’ (KJV) (<... as I say, “Let’s dig the ground,” I don’t have the strength, and as I say “Let’s beg to eat,” I am ashamed) (1900, *Sinyak Cyensye*, Gospel of Luke 16:3)
- b. *a! salang-ul thaykha-cani emeni-ka wul-ko*
 alas love-ACC choose-HYPO mother-NOM cry-and
emeni-l thayha-cani salang-i wu-nun-kwuna
 mother-ACC choose-HYPO love-NOM cry-PRES-SFP
 ‘Alas, if I am to choose my love, my mother would be crying; if I am to choose my mother, my love would be crying.’ (< as I say, “Let’s choose love,”... and as I say, “Let’s choose Mother,”...) (2007 Drama *Talcauy pom* Episode #16)

Example (8a) is taken from the 1900 Korean Version of the *New Testament*. As is shown in the translation, the sentence in the source text (i.e., English) does not have a grammatical structure that motivates the use of HORT markers.⁷ Interestingly, the Bible translators adopted the HYPO marker in the coordinated structure to represent the dilemmatic situation of the speaker, the servant, whose stewardship was taken away by his master, in a parable of Jesus. Example (8b) is taken from a drama scene, in which the speaker (*Dolja*) is in love with a man but her mother does not approve of their marriage because the man’s occupation is of low social status unfit for her. The speaker is agonized between following her heart’s desire and fulfilling the duty of obeying her mother. She is weighing the two contradictory options and laments that neither is acceptable for her.

⁷ The translators might have used, as many did, the Chinese Bible for reference, in which direct questions are used to list options, largely translatable as: ‘What shall I do? Dig the ground? No strength; Beg food? Ashamed.’ This clearly means that the translators’ use of HORT-based *-cani* was motivated not by the structural equivalence but by their perception of dilemmatic situation described in the source text.

From the viewpoint of semantic bleaching, it is obvious that the volitive meaning of the *HYP* *-cani* as a marker of hypothetical situation is significantly reduced, i.e., imagined and tentative volition on the part of the speaker, and no volition at all for the addressee. Furthermore, as shown by (7) and (8), there are no addressees physically present in the discourse situation; the addressee is the speaker himself or herself. In this sense, the speaker is using the pseudo-*HORT* directed to the self, i.e., an instance of a rhetorical strategy. As a discourse-pragmatic strategy, the speaker is invoking a hypothetical *HORT* quotation in order to make his/her statement more dynamic or vivid (see Section 5.4).⁸

3.4. Contingency

The next function of *-cani* is that of a connective marking contingency (*CONT*), i.e., one that signals that the subordinate clause headed by *-cani* encodes an event contingent to the main clause event, as exemplified by the following:

- (9) a. *cengpwu-uy manhayng-ul po-koiss-cani ce-y simcang-i wu-pnita*
 government-GEN barbarism-ACC see-PROG-CONT I-GEN heart-NOM cry-DEC
 ‘As I am passively looking at the government’s absurdity, my heart cries (in pain).’ (< ‘As I say, “Let’s look at the government brutality,” my heart. . .’) (2011, Drama *Mai phulinseysu* Episode #1)
- b. *mwulsok-eyse pwuha-tul-i ssuleci-nun kes-ul po-ko.iss-cani*
 in.water-at soldier-PL-NOM fall-ADN NOMZ-ACC see-PROG-CONT
halim-un michi-l.kes.kath-ass-ta
 [name]-TOP become.insane-be.like-PST-DEC
 ‘As Harim watched his men shot and fall into water, he felt like losing his mind.’ (< As Harim says, “Let’s keep watching (my) men being shot and falling into water,” he. . .) (Modern Korean, *KORTERM* source #86)

Example (9a) is taken from a drama scene. The speaker, an opportunistic politician, is exaggerating his emotion in a press conference about the government’s decision to put the bill for restoring the imperial family to referendum, which he vehemently opposes. In this sentence, the alleged pain in his heart is caused by the government’s administrative decision, rather than his desire to watch it. Since the government’s pursuit is something of an undesirable nature, there is no reason for the speaker to exhort himself to engage himself in seeing it. Similarly, in (9b), the commanding officer feels immense pain that drives him to the point of insanity because of his men being ruthlessly killed in the enemy fire. Since witnessing carnage of his own men cannot be something one intends to be engaged in, the *CONN -cani* in this function does not signal the speaker’s volition.

There is a more intriguing aspect between the ways these connectives draw causality. The connectives of direct causality, e.g., *-nikka*, *-ese*, *-ki.ttaymwuney*, etc., signal the presence of direct causation by the event denoted by the predicate which hosts these causal connective. In contrast, *-cani* signals the presence of causality not by the host predicate but by the event embedded in the predicate. This directly has to do with the fact that the host verb of *-cani* in this function is typically that of cognition and perception. And the causal relation is not between the main clause event and the event of perceiving or cogitating, but between the main clause event and the event ‘being perceived or cogitated.’ For instance, in (9b), Harim’s becoming insane, is caused not by seeing but by his men being ruthlessly killed. The distinction may seem subtle, since in reality the intense emotion is caused by the perception and thinking. However, if *-cani* is contrasted with another marker of direct causality *-(ki)ttaymwuney*, the difference becomes clearer, as shown below:

- (10) a. *ku-ka cwuk-nun kes-ul po-koiss-cani kasum-i aphu-ta*
 he-NOM die-ADN NOMZ-ACC see-PROG-CONT heart-NOM ache-DEC
 ‘My heart aches by his death (as I watch him die).’
- b. *ku-ka cwuk-nun kes-ul po-kittaymwuney kasum-i aphu-ta*
 he-NOM die-ADN NOMZ-ACC see-CAUS heart-NOM ache-dec
 ‘My heart aches because I watch him die.’
- c. *ku-ka cwuk-kittaymwuney kasum-i aphu-ta*
 he-NOM die-CAUS heart-NOM ache-DEC
 ‘My heart aches because he is dying.’

⁸ Incidentally, the *HYP* *-cani* is largely replaceable with *-lyeni* (developed from the purpose marker *-lye-*), which carries no rhetorical forces, since the latter plainly signals the speaker’s purposiveness with respect to the realization of an event denoted by the predicate.

In the above (10a) is the one in which the CONT *-cani* occurs. The translation given as a pragmatically and semantically faithful rendering shows that the cause of ‘my heart-aching’ is ‘his death,’ rather than ‘my seeing,’ even though the sensation may involve visual perception. Interestingly, this very sentence may be uttered when the speaker (I) is not seeing ‘his dying event,’ i.e., when I know of his dying from some other sources. Examples (10b) and (10c), involving the direct causal marker *-(ki)ttaymwuney*, are different from each other in that (10b) clearly means that the causing event is ‘my seeing,’ whereas (10c) clearly means that the causing event is ‘his death,’ as differentiated by their translation. Native speaker’s intuition points that example (10a) is closer to (10c) than to (10b) in meaning, which indicates that the event denoted by the host verb of *-cani*, i.e., *po-* ‘see’, is somewhat vacuous, and the central event is denoted by its nominalized complement ‘his death.’

The host verb of *-cani* in this function, as indicated above, tends to be the verb of perception and cognition, e.g., *po-* ‘see’ (as in *po-cani* ‘as (I) see’); *tut-* ‘hear’ (as in *tut-cani* ‘as (I) hear’); *palapo-* ‘look’ (as in *palapo-cani* ‘as (I) look’); *sayngkakha-* ‘think’ (as in *sayngkakha-cani* ‘as (I) think’), etc. This situation is reminiscent of the English constructions involving certain verbs of cognition and perception, e.g., *I think...*, *I guess...*, *I hear...*, etc. that have undergone syntactic downgrading from the main clause to the independent parenthetical construction (cf. Thompson and Mulac, 1991; Dik, 1997; Blakemore, 2006; Dehé and Kavalova, 2007; Kaltenböck, 2007, 2009; Kaltenböck et al., 2011). Sentences syntactically headed by such constructions tend to develop into sentences which report not ‘what I think, guess, or hear’ but what is meant by their complements on the surface syntactic level. In other words, if we feel pain from seeing a tragic event, we do not attribute the cause of pain to our seeing but to the tragedy. Likewise, in Korean, when *-cani* heads such verbal complements, the construction consisting of the verb and *-cani* together serves as a semantically bleached linker.⁹ Semantic bleaching in this configuration leads to the development the final function of *-cani*, i.e., marking incidentality.

3.5. Incidentality

The last function of *-cani* is that of a connective marking incidentality (INCD), which signals that the subordinate clause event headed by *-cani* is incidental to the event denoted by the main clause. There is no volitionality or causality in a true sense encoded in *-cani*. This is exemplified by (11).

- (11) a. *mwe tut-cani pomwuntong-ey-nun mak hwunphwung*
DM hear-INCD [place name]-at-TOP randomly warm.breeze
ani yenphwung pwu-n-ta-te-kwun-yo
no love.breeze blow-PRES-COMP-RETRO-SFP-POL
 ‘As I hear, there is a warm breeze, I mean, a love breeze, sweepingly blowing in Bomundong.’ (< ‘As I say, “Let’s hear (it),” I hear that there is...’) (1998, Drama *Kutay kuliko na*, Episode #45)
- b. *kuke-l po-koiss-cani pwulhyentus chengmi sayngkak-i na-ss-supnita*
that-ACC see-PROG-INCD suddenly [name] thought-NOM come.out-PST-DEC
 ‘While (I) was looking at it [a doll], suddenly I remembered Chungmi.’ (< ‘As I say, “Let’s keep watching it,” suddenly...’) (Modern Korean, KORTERM source #123)

Example (11a) is taken from a drama scene, in which the speaker (*Shim*) implies that he is aware of the romantic relationship developing between the addressee (*Hong*), a resident of the Bomundong community, and her neighbor. In Modern Korean, the expression *tut-cani* ‘as I hear’ is the most commonly used signal to present a hearsay or a rumor often without definite information sources, i.e., information incidentally acquired. Likewise, in (11b), in which the speaker (*Mandoo*) remembers Chungmi, her long-forgotten daughter, while looking at a doll, there is no strict causal relation between the two clauses (thus the incidental ‘while’ is the better rendering than the causal ‘since’) and there is no element of volition of the speaker in seeing a doll. According to the context of the novel, there is no clue of the doll reminding her of her long-forgotten daughter, which is also supported by the presence of the adverbial *pwulhyentus* ‘suddenly, without an apparent cause’ modifying the event.

From the viewpoint of volition, the examples can be looked at more closely. Even though *-cani*, used in (11a) and (11b), contains the HORT morpheme *-ca* and the causal CONN *-ni*, neither the HORT volition nor causality is compatible with the context. In (11a), for example, the meaning of the given sentence is not consonant with the HORT *-ca* in that the information that follows is a rumor that happened to reach the speaker without the speaker’s intent to obtain the information. Further, a causal interpretation of the utterance is contextually awkward since what is encoded by the main clause (i.e., rumor of a

⁹ In Modern Korean, *tut-cani* ‘hear-CONT’ frequently occurs discourse-initially, the function of which is a discourse marker of topic initiation. The utterance simply means ‘what I happened to hear is...’.

romantic relationship) does not bear causal relation with the volition of the speaker. The subordinate clause *tut-cani* ‘as I hear,’ in its appearance, may seem to be compatible with the volitive interpretation, because the Korean verb *tut-* has two meanings ‘hear’ and ‘listen’. However, the meaning of *tut-cani* intuitively points to the non-volitive ‘hear’-interpretation, rather than the volitive ‘listen’-interpretation, just as is the case with rumors and hearsay, as indicated above. Likewise, a possibility of volitive interpretation is not compatible with (11b), i.e., Event-1 (looking at a doll) is an incidental event forming the temporal frame of Event-2 (chance remembering of her daughter). The source text explicitly says that the speaker has been trying, apparently in an effort to justify the severed relationship with her biological daughter, to persuade herself that Chungmi is not a daughter of hers but of her husband’s (both of them now live with the addressee).

It can be said, therefore, that in the INCD use of *-cani*, the ‘bleaching’ or ‘desemanticization’ of the volitive meaning (incidentally, the causal meaning as well) is complete. In these examples, *-cani* marks incidentality, thus making a bi-clausal sentence connected by it interpretable as ‘while x occurred, y happened to occur.’

4. Historical development

We have seen diverse functions of the HORT-CONN *-cani* in the preceding section, exemplifying them with data taken from Modern Korean texts, i.e., from the turn of the 20th century and onward. We now turn to a historical survey tracing their emergence based on data from historical corpus.

A historical investigation shows that the historical periphrastic source construction of *-cani* is *-cya hani* (and its variant *-cya hani*), which is first attested in the 16th century data from personal letters, exhumed from graves (see Section 2.1). All these had the intention and purpose meaning (see (2) above). This seems to be due to its formally similar optative/purposive (OPT/PURP) construction *-kocya hani* (and its variants *-kocya hani*, *-kocye hani*, etc.). From the context of early attestations in the historical corpora, all occurrences seem to be direct quotations of wishes, though not conclusive due to the absence of punctuation conventions at the time.¹⁰

In the 17th century *Sekwungilki* (16xx), *-cyani* is first attested. Incidentally, *Sekwungilki* has different editions (and their authorship is disputed), and one of its alternate versions, widely known as *Kyeythyukilki*, has the older *-cya hani* in the matching sentence.¹¹ This strongly suggests that the historical origin of *-cyani* (and later, of *-cani* in Modern Korean) is *-cya hani*, an intuitively appealing pathway through phonological reduction, a prominent concomitant of grammaticalization. The two instances can be compared from the two matching sentences in (12) below:

- (12) a. *pil-eto tul-Al kil ep-ko nayo-e ponay-cyani*
 entreat-even listen-ADN way not.exist-and take.out-NF send-HYPO
chama mos ha-l il-i-ni
 by.no.means cannot do-ADN thing-be-CONN (16xx, *Sekwungilki* 22b: 95)
- b. *pil-eto tul-Al kilh-i ep-ko nayo-e ponay-cya ha-ni*
 entreat-even listen-ADN way-NOM not.exist-and take.out-NF send-HORT say-CONN
chama mos ha-l il-i-ni
 by.no.means cannot do-ADN thing-be-CONN (16xx, *Kyeythyukilki* I: 30b)
- a & b: ‘There is no way that (I can make) the [guards] listen even if I may beg them, and as I think of yielding the [prince] to them, that is by no means something (I) can do.’ (< ‘... as I say, “Let’s yield [the prince to the guards],” that is...’)

Example (12a) is an excerpt of lamentation of a court lady in custody of the prince deposed and confined by his stepbrother King. The guards who were given an order to take the prince out of the palace demand that the court lady yield him. However, knowing very well about the fate of the prince, she resists the order, and is speaking to herself about the predicament. While she thinks of the option of yielding the prince, she says something translatable as ‘As I say, “Let’s yield (him),”...’ as if she were speaking to herself about the option, i.e., something of hypothetical intention.

From the late 19th century, *-cahani* and its reduced variant *-cani* are productively used in presenting and evaluating multiple (typically two opposite) options in reduplicative form, i.e., [*X-cani* A and *Y-cani* B], to mean ‘considering X, then A (is a problem), and considering Y, then B (is a problem),’ often suggesting that the speaker is in dilemma without an

¹⁰ An anonymous reviewer directed the author’s attention to Cho (1998:215), who translated the text in which Example (2) occurs as purposive, i.e., *sihikoca hani*, which further lends support to our claim of the conceptual affinity between optative/purposive and hortative.

¹¹ *Sekwungilki* is a three-volume diary supposedly written by Queen Inmok and her servant, while the Queen and her son were confined in the Sekwung (West Palace) by the Queen’s stepson King Kwanghay. The diary is dated from the 17th century (1618–1621 for vols. 1 & 2, and 1667 for vol. 3).

optimal option (see (8) above). This usage occurs frequently from the early 20th century and is well illustrated by the following examples:

- (13) a. *umsik-ilato nam cyuy-cani akkap-ko*
 food-even others give-HYPO be.unwilling-and
na mek-cani silye-sye phwukphwuk ssek-i-ko
 I eat-HYPO dislike-CONN completely go.bad-CAUS-and
 'Even for food, (she) is unwilling to give it to others, yet she doesn't want to eat it herself, so she just lets it go bad.' (1913, *Kumuycayngseng* 10:11)
- b. *sal-cani yok-i-o cyuk-cani aph-ey ssu-l casik*
 live-HYPO disgrace-be-CONN die-HYPO front-at use-ADN child
hana ep-nan wuli pwumo-ka mos is-chi-ci
 one not.exist-ADN our parents-NOM cannot forget-PASS-SFP
 'If I (bear with it and) live, it is a disgrace, and if I die, my parents cannot forget (the tragedy), who do not have even one useful child who would support them.' (1911, *Molanpyeng* 29:177)¹²

In (13a), the speaker is describing a rich but extremely miserly woman who would not give excess food she is tired of eating to the poor and thus lets it perish. In this case, the options listed are eating the food herself and giving it to the poor, neither of which the woman chooses, and thus a situation not even listed, i.e., letting it go to waste, ensues as a result. In (13b), the dilemma is even more acute because the speaker has only two complementary options of living in shame and dying (killing herself). This particular usage has become popular in Modern Korean because it signals the mental weighing of possible options that lie before the speaker (or imagined options for the sentential subject) (see Section 5.4 for more discussion).

In the 19th century, *-cani* also occurs (in a variant form) in the context in which the CONT interpretation seems appropriate, as shown in (14):

- (14) *kongca-i taysakwu-lo malmuyamu-sy-a cyengsung il-lal*
 Confucius-NOM justice.minister-as begin-HON-NF official work-ACC
cap-a hayngha-cyani niley-man-uy cyengsa eculi-nan
 take.charge-NF perform-CONT 7.days-only-at state.affairs disturb-ADN
thayhwu syocengmyo-lal pehi-si-ta
 Empress.Dowager [name]-ACC execute-HON-DEC
 'Confucius began his work as the Minister of Justice and as he engaged himself in (faithfully) performing his job, on his 7th day (of work) he came to execute the Empress Dowager Sojungmyo who had been disrupting the state affairs.' (1832 *Sipkwusalyak enhay* 1:89a)

Example (14), taken from an account of Confucius in an abridged history of China with commentary, the commentator says that conscientious Confucius performed his job as the Justice Minister, and while he was reforming Lu State, on the 7th day he came to execute the corrupt Empress Dowager who had been ruining the state with corruption. The tone of the narrator from the context suggests that Confucius did not harbor any personal feelings toward the woman but was only faithfully performing his duties which resulted in the state's great power and prosperity making its neighboring antagonistic state Qi caught by great fear. In other words, Confucius's execution of the powerful Empress Dowager was a contingent event in the course of impartial handling of state affairs. The CONN *-cani* in this context is best paraphrased with an alternative contingency connective *-taka poni* in Present-Day Korean.

From the turn of the 20th century in novels collectively named as *sinsosel*, *-cani* becomes dominant over other variant forms, such as *-ca hani*, *-cahani*, *-ca hani*, *-cahani*, *-ca heni*, *-caheni*, *-cya hani*, *-cya hani*, *-cyahani*, *-cyani*, etc.¹³ The CONN *-cani* now comes to carry the function of signaling incidentalness (INCD) typically as a host of the verbs of cognition and perception, in addition to the aforementioned functions, i.e., presenting a tentative option, or presenting multiple, often

¹² The example may be interpreted as either 'my parents cannot forget' (as here) or 'I cannot forget my parents.' This is due to the Korean idiosyncrasy of permitting omission of arguments.

¹³ *Sinsosel*, literally meaning 'new novel', refers to the literary genre that bridges the classical novels and modern novels in the history of Korean literature. Novels in this genre, numbering about 300, were produced at the turn of the 20th century, but most productively between 1906 and 1913. The styles characteristic of these novels were influenced by Western literary styles, including the use of colloquial language. Since grammaticalization processes can be more easily captured in colloquial data (Rhee, 2008b), *sinsosel* is often the data source where emerging grammatical functions are first attested in written data.

Table 3
Token frequency of *-cani* by functions in Modern Korean.

Function	No. of tokens	Percentage
HORT	4	1.9
HYPO	75	36.1
CONT	83	39.9
INCD	46	22.1
Total	208	100.0

mutually incompatible, options as a marker of HYPO, and signaling contingency relationship between events as a marker of CONT. Even though HYPO, CONT and INCD are all extended, innovative functions of the HORT.CONN *-cani*, the distribution frequency pattern in Modern Korean shows that *-cani* marks these innovative functions more often than its old function. For instance, a morpheme search from the KORTERM corpus renders 208 instances of CONN *-cani*, and their functional distribution is as shown in Table 3.

Another point that deserves our attention in the context of the historical development of *-cani* is the development of *-canikka*, a CONN whose form and function are intricately intertwined with those of *-cani*, since the CONNS *-ni* and *-nikka* have overlapping functions that cannot be easily separated (Sohn, 1992, 2003; Rhee, 2012). For instance, the following two examples, in which *-ni* and *-nikka* are both labeled as CAUS (causal connective), are nearly identical in meaning.

- (15) a. *pi-ka o-ni chwup-ta* (From Late Middle Korean to present)
rain-NOM come-CAUS be.cold-DEC
b. *pi-ka o-nikka chwup-ta* (From the late 19th century to present)
rain-NOM come-CAUS be.cold-DEC
a/b: 'It is cold because it is raining.'

(Rhee, 2012:286)

As noted in Rhee (2012), the connective *-nikka* in (15b) is a variant that recently came into existence, with minimal semantic difference (see, however, Kang, 1985; Nam, 1994; Song and Hwang, 2012, for detailed discussion as to their functional differences). The common intuition of native speakers as to the differences between *-ni* and *-nikka* (whose earlier forms were *-niska* and *-nikka*), as contrasted in (15a) and (15b), is that *-ni* has a more written register nuance or archaism than *-nikka*, and that *-nikka* carries more emphasis. Even though the identity of *-kka* (and its earlier variants *-ska* and *-ska*) has not yet been established, there seems to be a consensus as to its function of adding emphasis (Seo, 1988; Ko, 1997; Lee, 1990; Ahn, 2006; Rhee, 2012; Song and Hwang, 2012). Incidentally, the CONN *-canikka* extended its function into a sentential ending, just as its structural relatives did, such as *-tanikka*, *-janikka* and *-nyanikka*. It is one of the most productive sentential endings, often with emotive stance of irritation, reassertion, adversative reiteration, contrastive emphasis, etc. (Rhee, 2012).

Still another point to note is that after the DEC.COMP *-tako* was grammaticalized in the 17th century (see Section 2.2), COMPS of different sentence types, i.e., imperative, interrogative and hortative, came to be grammaticalized within a short period, due to the paradigmatic analogical pressure (see Rhee, 2008c, 2014; Rhee and Koo, 2015; Koo, 2010; among others, for discussion of analogical forces operating on paradigms).¹⁴ What is significant for our present purposes is that with the grammaticalization of the DEC-based COMP *-tako* in the 17th century, the HORT-based COMP *-cako* appeared in a fully grammaticalized form in the 18th century without a noticeable trajectory of grammaticalization and this form came to participate in the HORT.CONN in the form of *-cako hani*, forming another channel for the development of *-cani*, i.e., the COMP-channel.

The last point relates to the function of 'mirativity' marking associated with *-cani* (DeLancey, 1997). When a mirative marker occurs in a sentence, it signals the speaker's evaluative stance that the information being conveyed contains an element of counter-expectation. This function of *-cani* is exemplified by the following examples:

¹⁴ This is a potentially important issue, considering that it is widely believed that grammaticalization occurs gradually along with increasing token frequency. The development of other COMPS solely based on its structural relative *-tako*, the DEC-based COMP, that was the trail-blazer, strongly suggests paradigm-based grammaticalization with structural and functional analogy rather than exemplar-based grammaticalization. For detailed discussion, see references noted herein for Korean, and Hoffmann (2005) for English, and Fischer (2011) for an argument from a language-processing perspective).

- (16) a. *kuke-y mwusun soli-y-a! kyelhon-ul chwiso-ha-cani!*
 that-NOM what.kind sound-COP-END marriage-ACC cancel-MIR.END
 'What are you talking about! That (we) should cancel our wedding (plan)!'
 (2010, Drama *Mongttang naysalang* Episode #6)
- b. *kathi ca-cani! nwukwu-lpokwu kathi ca-cyay,*
 together sleep-MIR.END who-to together sleep-HORT.QUOT
nwukwu-lpokwu casik-a!
 who-to bastard-VOC
 'That (you and she) should sleep together! To whom are you suggesting to sleep together, to whom, you bastard!'
 (2004, Drama *O philsung pongswunyeng* Episode #2)

In (16a), the speaker (*Chung*) is shouting to her fiancé who just suggested that their marriage plan be canceled. In response to the unexpected announcement, she is uttering the *-cani*-marked sentence in disbelief. Similarly, in (16b), the speaker (*Pilseung*) is challenging a libertine (*Jaewung*) who tried to entice his colleague by boldly suggesting that they sleep together. On behalf of his female colleague who took offense from the inappropriate sexual advance, the speaker is waging a fight against the offender.

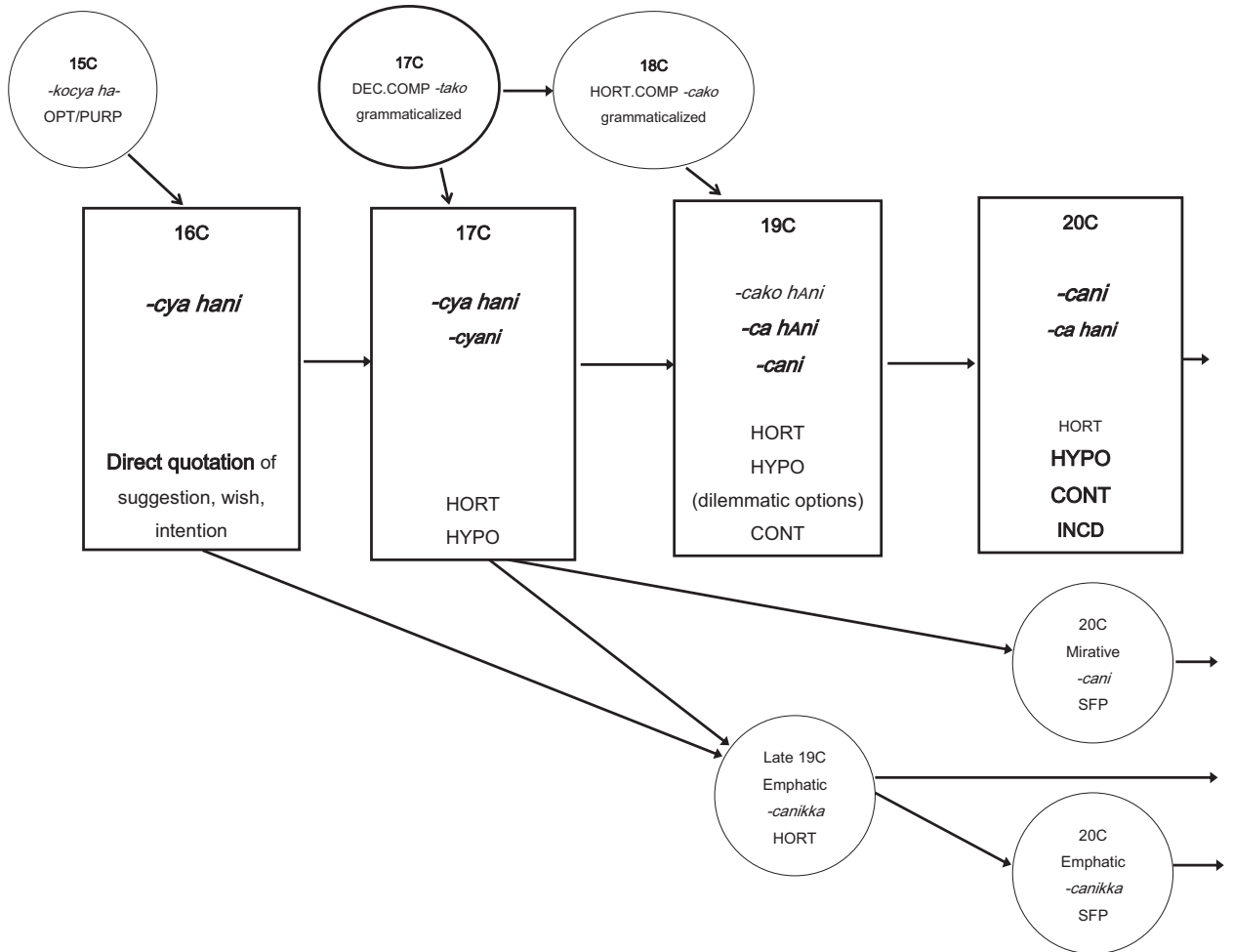
This function did not emerge in the course of the development of *-cani* into the CONN of diverse functions described in the previous sections but from the ellipsis of the main clause while *-cani* retained the function of introducing a quotation. It has been reported in literature that there exists a close tie between reportative/quotative and mirativity (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004:185, 195–215). Korean has a number of mirative markers, such as the exclamative sentential endings *-tota*, *-lota*, *-lta*, *-kwun(a)*, *-ala*, etc. (Jang, 2009; Chung, 2001), the sentence-final particles of discontent *-tam*, *-lam*, *-kam*, etc. (Koo and Rhee, 2013), diverse sentential endings involving *-ni* (Lee, 2013, 2015), and the 'feigned mirativity' marker of (pseudo-)reportative *-tanta* (Rhee, 2016).

In Modern Korean the mirativity meaning is strongly associated with CONN *-ni* especially in elliptical constructions, i.e., sentence-finally, in the form of *-tani*, *-lani*, *-nyani* and *-cani* (note that they originated from COMP-based connectives *-tako hani* (DEC), *-lako hani* (IMP), *-nyako hani* (INT) and *-cako hani* (HORT), respectively), as shown below:

- (17) a. *ku-ka cwuk-tani!*
 he-NOM die-END
 'That he died! (I can't believe it!)' (DEC-based *-tani*)
- b. *na-ltele hoysa-lul ttena-lani!*
 I-to firm-ACC leave-END
 'That (he) told me to quit the job! (I can't believe it!)' (IMP-based *-lani*)
- c. *na-ltele yangsim-to eps-nyani!*
 I-to conscience-even not.exist-END
 'That (he) asks me if I don't have even conscience! (I can't believe it!)' (INT-based *-nyani*)
- d. *na-ltele kathi cwuk-cani!*
 I-to together die-END
 'That (he) suggested that we die together! (I can't believe it!)' (HORT-based *-cani*)

Ellipsis of the main clause in the above (note, therefore, that the examples contain no finite verbs) gives a strong flavor of surprise which caused the speaker's inability to complete reporting someone else's utterance. If the author of the information being quoted is the addressee, the speaker is conveying his or her surprise toward the author, i.e., addressee, in which case genuine surprise is likely. On the other hand, if the author of the information is other than the addressee, the speaker is conveying his or her surprise to the addressee, in which case feigned surprise is likely (since the 'surprising' information is no longer fresh). For instance, if the speaker of example (17a) is responding to the addressee who is the author of the information of his death, the speaker is effectively saying, 'I cannot believe what you said.' On the other hand, the speaker of example (17d), if the one who suggested a pact suicide is other than the addressee, is effectively saying, 'X suggested to me that X and I die together, aren't you surprised!' In this process, the hearsay/reported meaning is bleached and a new 'intersubjective meaning' is added (Traugott, 1999, 2002; Traugott and Dasher, 2002, cf. 'specification' Kuteva, 2001).

The historical development of the functions of *-cani* through a number of paths, as described in the foregoing discussion, can be diagrammatically presented as in Fig. 2. The paths of *-cani* from Late Middle Korean through Modern Korean led to the Present-Day Korean situation, in which diverse HORT-based forms coexist in multiple layers, e.g., CONNS *-cani* and *-ca hani*, emphatic CONN *-canikka*, mirative SFP *-cani*, and emphatic SFP *-canikka*.

Fig. 2. Historical paths of the development of *-cani*.

5. Discussion

We have looked at the development of *-cani* with respect to its form and function in the preceding discussion. The development can be viewed from the perspective of grammaticalization with special reference to mechanisms and the three aspects that merit detailed discussion from the viewpoint of grammaticalization theory, i.e., local context, convergence and divergence, and rhetorical strategies.

5.1. Grammaticalization mechanisms

Diverse mechanisms have been proposed and subscribed to in current studies of grammaticalization (Heine et al., 1991; Hopper, 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993]; Bybee et al., 1994; Heine and Kuteva, 2002; Bybee, 2003; Fischer, 2007, 2011; Traugott, 2011; among others). Heine and Kuteva (2002:2) propose four mechanisms: desemantization (semantic bleaching), extension (context generalization), erosion (phonetic reduction) and decategorialization (loss in morphosyntactic properties).

With respect to desemantization, we have seen that the core semantics of *-cani*, i.e., volition, which it inherited from the HORT sentential ending *-ca* was gradually weakened. In its functions of signaling contingency and incidentality, *-cani* is entirely devoid of volition. Similarly, the causality meaning as associated with *-ni* became significantly bleached. With respect to extension, the development of *-cani* exhibits the generalization of use context, i.e., from its earlier use context of the HORT and causality coexisting to that of HYPO enumerating options, to that of contingency and further to that of

incidentalness. The mechanism of erosion is quite obvious from the phonetic reduction from [“-ca” *ha-ni*] to [-*cani*] in the DQ channel and from [-*cako ha-ni*] to [-*cani*] in the COMP channel.

Decategorialization is also observable and, unlike the mechanisms mentioned above, needs more extensive explanation. The lexical element of the two sources of *-cani*, i.e., the DQ channel and the COMP channel, both contained the verb of locution *ha-* ‘say’. The verb *ha-* ‘say’ is a full-fledged lexical verb still in use in Modern Korean, but it became lost in the course of the grammaticalization of the construction it was involved in, i.e., from [“-ca” *ha-ni*] to [-*cani*] (in the DQ channel; see Section 2.1), and from [-*ca ha-ko*] to [-*cako*] (in grammaticalization of COMP) and [-*cako ha-ni*] to [-*cani*] (in the COMP channel; see Section 2.2). When the locution verb was situated in the two source constructions, it lost its ability to accompany a modifier or to inflect according to tense, aspect and modality, the basic properties of a lexical verb in Korean. This is exactly what is observed in the historical corpus. When the locution verb *ha-* ‘say’ was used as a lexical verb it did have such properties of a regular lexical verb, but when it occurred in the named constructions there is not even a single case in which it occurred with a modifier, e.g., *caseyhi* ‘in detail’, *tasi* ‘again’, *mot* ‘cannot’, *ani* ‘not’, or in an inflected form, e.g., *hayas-* ‘said’, *hanan-* ‘be saying’, *hal-* ‘will say’, etc. One peculiarity with the decategorialization of *-cani* is that the loss of the lexical properties explained above does not seem to have occurred gradually, but rather abruptly, i.e., as soon as the source constructions were formed they showed morphosyntactic rigidity with respect to modification and inflection of the verb participating in the formation of the constructions.

5.2. Local context

It has been widely accepted that grammaticalization occurs in local contexts (Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993]:87) because grammatical forms develop from situated language use, i.e., through inferences available in the contexts (Bybee et al., 1994:3; Couper-Kuhlen, 2011:426; Fried, 2013:424; Rhee, 2016:48, among others). For instance, Bybee et al. (1994:11) argue for the importance of context in the development of futurity from movement verbs, e.g., English *be going to*, such as spatial movement toward a goal, ideally with imperfective (progressive *be -ing*) and allative components (*to*). Hopper and Traugott (2003[1993]:87–89) also argue that the development of *be going to* into a futurity marker was not simply enabled by the verb *go* alone but by the construction involving later time indexed by *go* and purposive *to*. Similarly, Rhee (2016:48–49), in his discussion of the development of the quotative sentence-ender *-tanta* to reportative and further to pseudo-reportative signaling the speaker’s stance, argues that the sentence-ender originated from a specific context. In other words, the form, ultimately traceable to the declarative sentence-ender *-ta*, was chosen from among competing forms in the paradigm, for its characteristics of speech type (declarative), speech level (plain) and tense (present).

In the case of *-cani*, a similar state of affairs is observed. The question that arises in this context is why the development of HYPO, the first function in the chain of extensions, occurred only in the HORT.CONN context. This question can be divided into two smaller questions, i.e., the motivation of *-ca* and that of *-ni*, the two components of the HORT.CONN *-cani*.

As for the motivation of *-ca*, a HORT STM, connectives involving other STMs, e.g., *-tani* (from DEC *-ta*), *-lani* (from IMP *-la*), and *-nyani* (from INT *-nya*), did not develop into such markers, and thus we can hypothesize that the development is crucially dependent on the HORT meaning. This type of restrictive development is understandable from the viewpoint of functional motivation. HYPO is future-oriented, and among the speech types, HORT is distinctly futuristic, since a HORT sentence is uttered in order to bring about an event jointly. The future-orientedness is also involved in IMP, since the function of an IMP, just as that of HORT does, relates to the future where the command is carried out. In fact, HORT and IMP (and optative, desiderative, promissive and permissive, as well) are very closely related moods (Bybee, 1985:171–175). One major difference between HORT and IMP is the directionality of the speech act in that the former pertains to an action performed by the addressee and the speaker whereas the latter, the addressee only. Since HYPO is typically used in such contexts as the speaker is ‘inviting’ the self into an imaginary, tentative action, the bidirectional HORT would be more compatible than the unidirectional IMP.

The second question relates to the motivation of the CONN *-ni* in the development of HYPO. The motivation behind this development is strongly discourse-pragmatic. It is widely agreed that the CONN *-ni* carries diverse functions such as marking the causal relation and presenting an attendant situation of the following event. In the latter use, the subordinate clause marked by *-ni* provides the situational frame for the event to be described by the following main clause. This situational frame invites the addressee to connect the two events with a meaningful relationship that can be imagined by the situational cue. What lacks in other causal CONNS, such as *-se*, *-(ki)ttaymwuney*, *-(ki)lo*, etc., is exactly the capacity to set up situational frames as *-ni* does.¹⁵ This, again, can be attributed to the fact that these other causal CONNS robustly encode direct causality, whereas the causality component in *-ni* has been significantly bleached and often backgrounded (see Sections 3.4 and 3.5).

¹⁵ Thus, the complex causal CONNS derived from the combination of HORT *-ca* and these CONNS, such as *-cayse*, *-cakittaymwuney*, *-cakilo*, etc., have not developed into HYPO but still retain strong HORT and CAUS, translatable as ‘because (he) proposes that...’.

5.3. Convergence and divergence

The development of *-cani* into a grammatical form signaling diverse relationship between the subordinate and main clauses can be analyzed from the viewpoint of convergence and divergence, i.e., different grammatical forms merging or splitting in function. We noted in the preceding discussion of the historical development of *-ca* (Section 4) that formal similarity between HORT *-cya hani* and PURP *-kocya hani* seems to have triggered HORT to acquire the PURP meaning. A survey of historical data shows that *-cya hani* (the uncontracted source form of *-cani*), first attested in the 16th century, almost invariably occurred with the intention/purpose meaning along with the HORT meaning. This seems to be partly due to an influence of its formally similar *-kocya hani* (its variant *-kocye hani*), the complex causal CONN involving optative/purposive sentential ending *-kocya*, the locution verb *ha-* ‘say’, and the causal CONN *-ni* ‘as,’ which can be roughly translated as ‘since (he) says, “May it be. . .,”’ which underwent a substantial degree of morphosyntactic compacting. The 16th century data involving this form *-kocya hani*, as noted previously, as well, encode direct quotations of wishes.

Incidentally, wishes and intentions are conceptual relatives in that people who wish for something also tend to have intention of pursuing realization of that desired state. This conceptual affinity between wishes (OPT) and intentions (volitional) is directly relevant to the historical development of the forms involving such markers. The interaction between the two notions seems to have led to the phonological attraction resulting in the leveling of the variant form *-kocye* into *-kocya* (note that the latter is phonologically more similar to HORT *-cya*), and *-kocya* significantly losing its original meaning of OPT and acquiring volitional meaning from the influence of the HORT *-ca*. This historical semantic change suggests that the two forms that started out life as markers of different grammatical notions, i.e., OPT and HORT, came to converge in function as volitive markers.

This convergence, however, did not lead the two forms *-koca hani* and *-cani* to functional synonymy and formal identity, i.e., in Modern Korean, *-koca* of *-koca hani* is specialized as a marker of PURP, whereas *-cani* has undergone functional extension as described above (see Section 3). In their form, *-koca hani* did not undergo reductive process (such as **-kocani*), whereas *-ca hani*, as noted above, has undergone fusion into *-cani*.

In addition to the convergence and divergence of HORT *-ca* (and its older variant *-cya*) and OPT *-koca* (and its variant *-kocye*), a similar discussion is applicable to the other morpheme, the causal CONN *-ni*. As noted earlier, the CONN *-ni* is in near-synonymy with *-nikka*. It is true that the two forms as markers of cause are interchangeable in most contexts (see discussion of (15) above). The near-synonymy is still detectable when they are used in combination with the HORT *-ca*, i.e., *-cani* and *-canikka*, in many contexts. For instance, in the following example, *-cani* that carries the function of a HORT can be substituted with *-canikka* without noticeable semantic differences.

- (18) *ku-ka kathi pap mek-{cani, canikka} ttalaka-n-ta*
 he-NOM together meal eat-HORT follow-PRES.DEC
 ‘I follow (him) as he suggests that we go eat.’

This functional similarity, however, is not applicable across the board, since the interchangeability does not hold when the contexts are changed, as shown in the following constructed examples:

- (19) a. *nol-{cani, ?canikka} paykophu-ko ilha-{cani, ?canikka} himtul-ta*
 play-HYPO be.hungry-and work-HYPO be.difficult-DEC
 ‘I’m hungry if I choose to play; it’s hard if I choose to work.’
 b. *kathi cwuk-{cani, *canikka} totaychey way kul-ay?*
 together die-HORT on.earth why do.SO-Q.SFP
 ‘Since you suggest that we die together, why on earth are you saying that?’

As shown in (19a), the HYPO function of *-cani*, typically used in enumerating and evaluating options, has not been fully inherited by its functional relative *-canikka*, the use of which renders the sentence somewhat awkward. Similarly, even though we noted that the HORT function of *-cani* is shared with *-canikka*, it is not always the case. In other words, when the HORT *-cani* is used to signal causality in the ‘content domain,’ it can be substituted with *-canikka* without semantic loss, but when it is used to signal causality in the ‘speech-act domain,’ it cannot (Sweetser, 1990:76–78), as exemplified in (19b).¹⁶ The degree of compatibility across the functional categories is not uniform, which suggests that the functional divergence (Hopper, 1991; ‘functional split’, Heine et al., 1991) between *-cani* and *-canikka* is currently in progress.

¹⁶ According to Sweetser (1990:76–77) the causal relation signaled by *because* in the content domain and that in the speech-act domain can be exemplified respectively by the following examples in English: (a) *John came back because he loved her*; (b) *What are you doing tonight, because there’s a good movie on*.

There is still another aspect of functional divergence between the old conservative form and the new innovative form from the same origin. For instance, despite diverse functional extension of the shorter *CONN -cani*, its lesser reduced counterpart *-cahani* is frequently used in reporting, in which sense, the latter has found its ‘specialization’ (Hopper, 1991) in reporting contexts. In other words, the older form *-cahani* is more compatible with the functions that bear resemblance of direct quotation, such as *HORT* and *HYPO*, than with those that are remote from quotation, such as *CONT* and *INCD*. Needless to say, this state of affairs is attributable to the survival of the locution verb *ha-* ‘say’ in *-cahani*, the function of which was to lead in a direct quotation before the development of *COMPS* (see (4) above).

5.4. Rhetorical strategy

The development of diverse functions of *-cani* reveals the involvement of rhetorical strategy, which is often the case in grammaticalization in Korean (see Koo, 2008; Rhee, 2008b; Kim, 2011; Koo and Rhee, 2013; among others). The speaker is invoking a hypothetical *HORT* quotation in order to make his or her statement more dynamic or vivid. For instance, in a context where the speaker is weighing options, as in (19a) above, he or she has a range of options in making a statement, two of which that bear relevance to our current discussion are presented in their English counterparts:

- (20) a. If I choose to play, I’m hungry; and if I choose to work, it’s hard.
b. As I say “Let’s play!” I’m hungry; and as I say “Let’s work!” it’s hard.

As is evident, the statement (20a) is a plain factual statement of the speaker’s situations, whereas (20b) is more dramatic. The statement (20a) is best rendered in Korean by using the conditional *CONN -myen*, whereas (20b) by *HYPO -cani*. This kind of pragmatic contrast in narrative seems to be universal. For instance, a large body of literature asserts that using a quotative form re-creates a past event in a direct, vivid, dramatic and striking fashion (Dale, 1972; Longacre, 1976, 1994; Lucy, 1993a,b; Short et al., 1996; Clark and Gerrig, 1990; Güldemann, 2008; Fox, 2012; among many others). Recruiting this type of *QUOT*-based form is a good rhetorical strategy in narration since using a quotative form reflects and stimulates a higher degree of involvement from the audience (Chafe, 1982; Tannen, 1983, 1989; Longacre, 1985, 1994; Collins, 2001; among others).

Another notable aspect in the development of *-cani* is that there are shifts of the perspective assumed by the marker. As we have seen in Section 3.3, the *HORT -cani* extended its function to the *HYPO* with the dilemma-signaling function and further to the *CONT* and *INCD* functions. In the *HORT* function, the agenthood of the action being proposed lies in the addressee and the speaker jointly. In the *HYPO* function, the agent involved is typically the speaker who is weighing the dilemmatic options now. A further twist is observed in the development into *CONT* and *INCD*. We noted in Sections 3.4 and 3.5 that these latter functions do not involve any volition of the author of the original information, since they are not true reportatives in the first place. For instance, in example (9b), repeated here as (21) for convenience, the agent of the *-cani*-marked clause is neither the speaker (the narrator) nor the addressee. It is, though a hypothetical agent, the sentential subject, Harim.

(21) (=9b)

mwulsok-eyse puuha-tul-i ssuleci-nun kes-ul po-ko.iss-cani
in.water-at soldier-PL-NOM fall-ADN NOMZ-ACC see-PROG-CONT

halim-un michi-l.kes.kath-ass-ta

[name]-TOP become.insane-be.like-PST-DEC

‘As Harim watched his men shot and fall into water, he felt like losing his mind.’ (< As Harim says, “Let’s keep watching (my) men being shot and falling into water,” he. . .” (Modern Korean, KORTERM source #86)

The motivation of this development resembles that of the ‘through a borrowed mouth’ phenomenon, a term coined by Rhee (2009, 2016), in the development of adverbials, a case of subjectification *par excellence*. 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:

- (22) a. *michyesstako* ‘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!”’ (Rhee, 2016:45)

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 *-cani* in non-HORT contexts to enhance the vividness of the utterance is motivated by the same strategy, i.e., dramatic vividness is sought after by borrowing the mouth of the sentential subject. In other words, the sentential subject did not say any proposition (marked with a HORT); the proposition exists only in the mind of the speaker (note that a similar state of affairs is also observed with respect to the pseudo-reportative sentential ending *-tanta* as described in Rhee, 2016). The shift of the perspective as associated with the agenthood can be schematically shown as (23):

- (23) Functions of *-cani* and clausal agenthood
- a. HORT direct speech: The author of the proposition
 - b. HYPO: The current speaker
 - c. CONT and INCD: The sentential subject

6. Summary and conclusion

We have looked at the development of *-cani* from two different source constructions (in Section 2) and its various extended functions from its HORT-based CONN function (in Section 3) tracing their emergence in history (in Section 4). We also discussed diverse aspects of language use that influenced the grammaticalization processes (in Section 5).

In particular, we have seen that the HORT-based CONN *cani*- developed through two channels: (i) the direct quotation (DQ) channel and (ii) the complementizer (COMP) channel. One special aspect that we highlighted in this research is that *-cani* gradually lost the volition meaning along its grammaticalization process engendering HYPO, CONT and INCD. As the volitional element became bleached, the agentivity involving the speaker and the addressee, as associated with the prototypical HORT, has also bleached out, thus emancipating the form from its restriction to a two-party event, in which the speaker and the addressee jointly participate. It came to be used in a single-party event, and further in hypothetical situations in which realization of the event is not intended but only hypothetically presented by the speaker for his or her own appraisal (HYPO). Along with the bleaching of the volition, the causality meaning also underwent bleaching, and the causality sense becomes vague when it functions as a signal of contingent situation (CONT), and the causality associated with it became even further detached when it functions as a marker of INCD, as is shown by the fact that the causality does not link the main clause with the event encoded by the host of *-cani* but with the event embedded as a complement of the host verb of *-cani*.

In terms of the mechanisms of grammaticalization, we have shown that the development exhibits diverse mechanisms and principles discussed in grammaticalization, e.g., desemanticization, extension, erosion, and decategorialization. We also discussed such attendant phenomena as local context, convergence and divergence.

We proposed that the use of HORT-based form in non-HORT situation was motivated by the speaker's desire to make the discourse more vivid and dramatic. The speaker, in a state of indeterminacy, rhetorically presents options as if he or she is suggesting options to the self, roughly similar to the situation of saying 'As I suggest (to myself), "Let's do X", then it is. . .' instead of saying 'Doing X is. . .' The use of such rhetorical strategy of self-reporting or pseudo-reporting is closely related to the 'borrowed mouth' phenomenon, a case of subjectification, and also to the mirativity and strategically feigned mirativity, a case of intersubjectification.

Acknowledgment

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2nd American Pragmatics Association Conference (AMPRA-2), University of California, Los Angeles, October 16–19, 2014. The author wishes to thank the audience for their valuable comments and suggestions. Special thanks go to Hyun Jung Koo and Sung-Ock Sohn for comments on the earlier version of this paper, and to So-Yeon Ahn for proofreading for content and stylistic improvement. All remaining errors, however, are mine. It is also acknowledged with gratitude that this research was supported by the Research Fund of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.

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