

Polygrammaticalization of the Korean *toy-* 'become' and Its Conceptual Network*

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Rhee, Seongha. 2020 "Polygrammaticalization of the Korean *toy-* 'become' and Its Conceptual Network." *The Journal of Linguistic Science* 93:121-145. The concept of 'becoming' or 'change-of-state' constitutes a conceptual primitive, and its significance is mirrored in the formation of linguistic systems at the levels of lexis and grammar. Korean exhibits a wide array of lexical semantics, e.g., 'change', 'be good', 'succeed', etc. and of grammatical functions, e.g., Passive, Causative, Resultative, Permissive, etc., that developed from the verb *toy-* 'become'. These lexical and grammatical meanings form an intricate conceptual network through interplay of pragmatic inferences and (inter) subjectification. Drawing upon historical and contemporary corpus data, this paper explicates the emergence of the polysemous structure of *toy-*, its grammaticalization paths, and the cognitive mechanisms, from cognitive and discourse-strategic perspectives. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Key Words

Conceptual Network, *Toy-* 'become', Grammaticalization, Polygrammaticalization, Auxiliary, Discourse Marker

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1. Introduction

Situated in the spatio-temporal dimensions, humans are perceptive of changes in the ambiance since they may have direct implications on human survival. Thus, the concept of ‘becoming’ or ‘change-of-state’ constitutes a conceptual primitive, and its significance is mirrored in the formation of linguistic systems at the level of lexis, i.e., in the form of rich polysemy, and grammar, in the form of rich ‘heterosemy’ (Lichtenberk 1991). Korean exhibits a wide array of lexical semantics and grammatical functions that developed from the verb *toy-* ‘become’, thus constituting an excellent exemplar of ‘polygrammaticalization’ (Craig 1991). However, the diverse lexical semantics and the grammatical functions of this lexeme are not arbitrary but motivated, i.e., they are the results of systematic extension based on cognitive contiguity, i.e., conceptual metonymy, and morpho-syntactic contiguity with cooccurring forms, i.e., syntagmatic metonymy.

Based on this state of affairs the objectives of this paper are threefold: (i) to explicate the diverse lexical, grammatical and discursive functions of *toy-*, (ii) to present the polysemous structure of the lexeme *toy-* and the constructions created thereof, and (iii) to discuss some select issues that bear significance in the theory of grammaticalization. The paper is organized in the following manner: Section 2 addresses diverse lexical meanings of the lexeme *toy-*; Section 3 addresses the emergence of grammatical functions, such as affix, auxiliary and discourse marker; Section 4 discusses two major issues involving the lexeme, i.e., pragmatic inference as the enabling mechanism of grammaticalization and the conceptual network based on multiple contributing factors involved. The data are largely taken from three sources, i.e., an authoritative contemporary dictionary (*Phyocwun Kwuke Taysacen* [A Standard Korean Language Dictionary]; henceforth *PKT*) with 423,172 headwords, a historical section of the 21st Sejong Corpus, and a contemporary drama-cinema corpus compiled by Min Li of Seoul National University.

This paper, in sum, drawing upon historical and contemporary data, presents the emergence of the polysemous structure of *toy-*, its grammaticalization paths, and the cognitive mechanisms operating behind the processes, from cognitive and discourse-strategic perspectives.

2. Data: Lexical Meanings

The point of departure of our discussion is the lexical meanings of the target lexeme *toy-*. In *PKT*, *toy-* has five headword entries, two of which are heteronyms, others homophony. The homophones do not concern us and thus are excluded. Of the two entries of heteronyms, the first entry, under the verbal category, includes some grammaticalized functions, and the second entry, under the affix category, constitutes entirely grammatical designations. This state of affairs is a natural consequence of dictionary making, since the lexicographers primarily base their entry criteria on the part of speech distinction. In the present paper, we will present lexical meanings in this section, whereas the grammaticalized functions are presented in the separate section.

The entries of the verbal lexeme *toy-* in *PKT* are as listed in (1), with modification for simplicity and exemplification based on the dictionary entry, all translated into English by the author:

(1) *toy-* (modified and translated from *PKT*)

A. with Nominative marker (“become x”)

- a. acquire a new status/position (e.g., to become a medical doctor)
- b. change into (e.g., ice becomes water)
- c. reach a state/time (e.g., the season becomes spring)
- d. reach certain quantity (e.g., supporters become (= reached the number) 50)
- e. be (quantity, due, etc.) (e.g., the fare becomes (= is) 10,000 won)
- f. become good, mature with virtues (e.g., he is a person that has become (= a person of character))
- g. be of certain relationship (e.g., he becomes (= is) my younger brother)

B. with Instrumental marker (“become with x”)

- h. be made of (material) (e.g., a desk made of wood)
- i. be of shape/structure (e.g., a table in the form of an oval)
- j. be signed by (e.g., a written protest prepared/signed by the government)

C. with Mode marker (“become in the way x”)

- k. result in an entity/state (e.g., steamed rice that became (= completed cooking))
- l. become successful or become as desired (e.g., the task became tidy (= completed satisfactorily))
- m. grow well (e.g., the grain became contentful (= the crop became bountiful))
- n. be no longer functional (e.g., batteries became all (= depleted))

As listed and exemplified in (1), the lexeme *toy-* has 14 semantic designations in three main categories of its complement types, i.e., Nominative-, Instrumental-, and Mode-marked complements. When the verb takes the Nominative-marked complement (i.e., *-i/ka*), the construction literally means “The subject becomes x [where x = complement]”, thus encoding the inchoative meaning.

When the verb takes the Instrumental-marked complement (i.e., *-lo*), the construction literally means “The subject becomes with x [where x = complement]”, thus encoding the inchoative meaning, in a similar way to the Nominative-marked constructions shown above. The crucial difference between the two, however, is that the Instrumental-marked constructions typically focus on the source material involved in, or the shape resulting from, the change, whereas the Nominative-marked constructions typically focus on the state/status of the subject as a result of the change.

When the verb takes the Mode-marked complement (i.e., *-key*), the construction literally means “The subject becomes in the way of x [where x = complement]”, thus encoding inchoation of the subject entity, similar to the two other cases described above. One crucial difference of this type as compared to the previous two types is that the Mode-marked constructions focus on the completion of the process or attainment of certain state, be it desirable (as in (k)-(m)) or undesirable (as in (n)).

Considering the fact that the semantic designations in the lexical domain are still strongly bound to the structural frame, i.e., complement types, the verb *toy-* has already departed from the characteristics typical of a verb. This state of affairs strongly suggests that each of the three categories listed in (1) can be treated as separate “constructions” rather than separate “usages” of a lexeme. Despite its evident merit, however, such an analysis is not pursued here.

3. Grammaticalization

The lexeme *toy-* has developed into diverse grammatical formants, i.e., derivational suffixes, auxiliaries, discourse markers, among others, and we will survey the diverse strands of the developments from its lexical source as attested in history, in this section.

The historical data show that the oldest form of the verb *toy-* is *tav-/tAv-* of Late Middle Korean (LMK; 15th-16th centuries) (Rhee and Koo 2014: 320), as shown in the following example of the 15th century data:¹⁾

(2) 녀나몬 그지업슨 어려본 일와 辱드힐 일와

nyenamAn kuciepsun elyevun il-wa YOK-tAv-Ayn il-wa
other endless difficult matter-and disgrace-be.like-Adn matter-and

슬픈 일와 시름다본 이리 다와뎡거든

sulphun il-wa silum-tAv-An il-i tawatays-ketun
sorrowful matter-and worry-be.like-Adn matter-Nom overtake-if

‘If (a person) is overtaken by other endless, difficult matters, disgraceful matters, sorrowful matters and worrisome matters, ...’

(1447 *Sekposangcel* 9:8b)

As shown in (2), *tav-/tAv-* has the meaning of ‘be like’ in its early attestations. However, the verb also is attested in a number of variant forms, such as *tAvAy-* (1447 *Yongpiechenka* 98), *tAoy-* (1461 *Nungemkyeng enhay* 2:98), *tooy-* (1466 *Kwukuppang* II:38), *touy-* (1514 *Soksamkanghayngsilto Yel* 7), *toi-* (1514 *Soksamkanghayngsilto Yel* 3), *toy-* (1518 *Penyeksohak*), among others. As is evident, the LMK phoneme /v/ has changed into the glide /w/, in the course of history, and thus Nam ([1997] 2007: 480) presents the development as [tAvAy- > tAoy- > toy-], a largely reductive

1) In the gloss the following abbreviations are used: Acc: accusative; Adjv: adjectivizer; Adn: adnominal; Caus: causative; Conn: connective; Conv: converb; Dat: dative; Dec: declarative; DM: discourse marker; End: sentence-ender; Fut: future; Inch: inchoative; Nom: nominative; Obl: obligative; Pass: passive; Perm: permissive; Pl: plural; Pol: polite; Pres: present; Proh: prohibitive; Pst: past; Q: interrogative; Resul: resultative; Top: topic.

change. Therefore, the earliest occurrence of the Modern Korean (MoK; 19th-20th c.) form *toy-* goes back to the 16th century, e.g., *syengzin-i toy-* ‘become a saint’ (1518 *Penyeksohak* 8:3), *uysim-toy-* ‘be made suspicious’ (1587 *SohAkenahy*), etc.

The verb *toy-* (and its earlier variants as well) has become a number of grammatical formants carrying diverse grammatical functions in history. Such forms are as summarized in (3):

- (3) Grammatical forms from *toy-*
 - a. Derivational suffix: Adjectivizer, Passive-verbalizer
 - b. Quasi-Auxiliary: Causative, Passive, Inchoative-Passive, Resultative, (Obligative)
 - c. Deontic Modal Auxiliary: Obligative, Prohibitive, Permissive
 - d. Discourse Marker: Agreement, Discontent, Dismissal, Challenge, etc.

In the following we will expound on the grammatical forms and their functions by the category as set forth in (3).

3.1 Derivational Suffix

The first functional category of *toy-*derived grammatical forms is that of derivational suffix to convert the host form into an adjective or a passivized verb. This function, especially that of adjectivizer, is historically the oldest of all the functions listed in (3), as exemplified in (4) from historical sources:

- (4) a. [adjectivizer suffixed to a noun, adverb, etc.]

Noun-*toy-* ‘be in the state of Noun’

- b. 의심도원 어려운 디를 질정하야 무러

uysim-tooy-n elyeo-n tAy-lAl cilcyenghA-ya mwul-e

doubt-Adjv-Adn be.difficult-Adn place-Acc specify-Conv ask-Conn

‘(One) needs to pinpoint the doubtful and difficult place (in the reading) and ask, and ...’ (1518 *Penyeksohak* 8:35)

- c. 너모 쉬오면 곧 거긔되오

nemo swi-onyen kot kecus-toy-o

too be.easy-if promptly falsehood-Adjv-and
 ‘If (it) is too easy, it is likely to be false, and...’

(1518 *Penyeksohak* 8:10b-11a)

d. 말흔논 이비 아당도의고 말 잘흔고

malhA-non ip-i atang-touy-ko mal cal hA-ko
 speak-Adn mouth-Nom flattery-Adjv-and speech well do-and
 ‘(his) mouth is full of flattery, has florid speech, and...’

(early 16th c., *Penyekpakhongsa* I:25)

As the basic function of adjectivization is turning a noun (or words of different parts of speech) into an adjective, the resultant semantics of the derived form is ‘having the quality of’, which is straightforwardly clear from the source semantics of ‘be like’, as shown in (2) above.

A noteworthy aspect in this regard is that MoK has a number of forms involving *-tap-*, the historical relative of the verb *tav-*, as exemplified in (5):

- (5) a. *alumtap-* ‘be beautiful’
 b. *sanaytap-* ‘be manly’
 c. *cengtap-* ‘be friendly’
 d. *kkochtap-* ‘be beautiful; be like flowers’

The examples of the type of (5) above are often fully lexicalized that they are largely construed as non-derived basic forms, even though certain forms from the same morphological operation are considered as derived, e.g., *ne-tap-* ‘befit you’. This shows that the old lexeme *tav-* diverged into the suffix *-tap-* and the verb *toy-*.

In MoK the more productive grammaticalized function of *toy-* in the derivational class than the adjectivizer is that of passivizer hosting a nominal, as exemplified in (6), in a simplified form:

- (6) a. [verbalizer suffixed to a noun] Passivizer
 Noun-*toy* ‘become Noun-ed’
 b. *sayong-toy-* [usage-become] ‘be used’ (*PKT*)

- c. *kakyeŋ-toy-* [approval-become] ‘be approved’ (*PKT*)
 d. *hyeŋseng-toy-* [formation-become] ‘be formed’ (*PKT*)

The semantics of *toy-* has been bleached extensively and the derivational suffix *toy-* is productively used in verb and adjective derivation, without perceivable semantic contribution. For this reason, passivization by means of the verb *toy-*, i.e., ‘the BECOME-Passive’ (Rhee and Koo 2014) does not seem to bring forth semantic differences from the non-passive counterparts formed by the light verb *ha-*, e.g., *sicaktoy-* ‘begin’ vs. *sicakha-* ‘begin’, *hapkyektoy-* ‘pass (an exam)’ vs. *hapkyekha-* ‘pass (an exam)’, etc.²⁾

3.2 Quasi-Auxiliaries

The lexeme *toy-* develops into quasi-auxiliaries, whose function is not only multiple but also subtle across diverse grammatical concepts. Even though some of the functions merge into modal auxiliaries, we address some prominent cases of quasi-auxiliaries separately.

The lexeme *toy-* forms quasi-auxiliaries such as *-key.toy-*, *-toloktoy-* and *-kilo.toy-*, by recruiting diverse connectives, i.e., the Mode-marking adverbializer (converb) *-key*, the Purposive- or Degree-marking conjunction *-tolok*, and the Intentional conjunction *-kilo* (the origin of which further goes back to Nominalizer *-ki* and Instrumental *-lo*). These grammatical forms are illustrated with the following examples taken from *PKT*:

- (7) Quasi-auxiliary *-key.toy-* [with the Mode Adverbializer *-key*] “reach a state”

Causative, Passive, Inchoative-Passive, Resultative

e.g., 오늘부터 여러분에게 한국어를 가르치게 되었어요.

onul-pwuthe yelepwin-eykey hankwuke-lul kaluchi-key.toy-ess-e-yo

today-from you:Pl-to Korean-Acc teach-Inch-Pst-End-Pol

‘From today I came to teach you Korean.’ (*PKT*)

- (8) Quasi-auxiliary *-toloktoy-*; *-kilo.toy-* [with the Purposive/Degree conjunction;

2) For the lack of semantic differences, prescriptivists denounce the usage of many instances of *-toy-* passive forms and recommend the usage of active-voice counterparts (Rhee and Koo 2014).

Intentional conjunction] “be supposed/obliged to”; Causative, Passive, Inchoative-Passive, Weak-Obligative Deontic modal

e.g., a. 이것은 이렇게 하도록 되어 있다.

ikes-un ilehkey ha-tolok.toy-e.iss-ta

this.thing-Top like.this do-Caus-Resul-Dec

‘This is supposed to be done this way.’ (PKT)

b. 우리는 앞으로 삼 년 동안 사회봉사를 하기로 되어 있다.

wuli-nun aphulo sam-nyen-tongan sahoypongsal-lul

we-Top from.now 3-year-for community.service-Acc

ha-kilo.toy-e.iss-ta

do-Caus-Resul-Dec

‘We are obliged/supposed to do community service for 3 years.’ (PKT)

As exemplified in (7) and (8), the quasi-auxiliaries that originated from the lexeme *toy-* are poly-functional in that in addition to their core functions (e.g., Causative, Passive, etc.), various modal “flavors” (e.g., Obligative) and aspectual functions (e.g., Resultative, Inchoative, etc.) are carried. Thus, the functional interpretation of a sentence involving such forms is largely dependent on the context, thus reflecting their functional fluidity between lexical and grammatical levels, aptly befitting the name “quasi-modal”.

There are other more complex constructions serving the grammatical functions. Formal complexity of these constructions reflect their lesser degree of grammaticalization. Two of such constructions are addressed here, the first of which is a marker of Passive voice, as exemplified in (9):

(9) [*toy-* in x-Dat y-Nom construction] (“become y-ed by x”) Passivizer

e.g., 저 아이는 그 사람에게 양육이 되었다.

ce.ai-nun ku salam-eykey yangyuk-i toy-ess-ta

that.child-Top that person-Dat upbringing-Nom Pass-Pst-Dec

‘The child was brought up by that person.’ (PKT)

The passivizer function illustrated in (9) is closely related to the affixal passivizer function shown in (6) above, in that *yangyuk-i toy-* [upbringing-Nom Pass] ‘be

brought up' is historically related to the simpler form *yangyuk-toy-* [upbringing-Pass] 'be brought up'. This points to the fact that the affixal passivizer function developed from the syntactic construction.

Another *toy-*construction with the grammatical function is one that marks Inchoative aspectual, exemplified in (10):

(10) [*toy-* in x-Dat y-Nom construction] ("become y to x") Inchoative Aspectual

e.g., 입에 쓴 것이 몸에는 약이 된다.

<i>ip-ey</i>	<i>ssu-n</i>	<i>kes-i</i>	<i>mom-ey-nun</i>
mouth-at	be.bitter-Adn	thing-Nom	body-Dat-Top
<i>yak-i</i>	<i>toy-n-ta</i>		
medicine-Nom	Inch-Pres-Dec		

'Things bitter at mouth become/are good medicine to our body.' (PKT)

The construction exemplified in (10) marks the change of state (i.e., Inchoative), i.e., from bitter (and thus avoidable) things at the mouth to beneficial (and thus desirable) effects on the body, a proverbial expression to promote the virtue of perseverance and patience.³⁾

3.3 Deontic Modal Auxiliaries

The lexeme *toy-* further develops into the modal auxiliaries denoting diverse modal notions such as Deontic Obligative of various strengths of obligation, Permissive, Prohibitive, etc. Since these formants are also periphrastic, there are other grammatical forms that participate in their creation, such as strong conditional *-eya*, conditional *-myen*, sequential *-ese*, additive *-eto*, etc. Since MoK has no mono-lexemic modal auxiliaries, these modal auxiliaries, though periphrastic, are those that exhibit the highest level of grammaticalization as modals. Their usages are exemplified in the following:

3) In the Oriental medicine, the taste of medicinal herbs is mostly bitter.

- (11) Modal *-eya.toy-* [with the Strong Conditional *-eya*] “must”; strong-Obligative Deontic modal

e.g., 이 일은 반드시 이 달 안으로 끝내야 된다.

i il-un pantusi i.tal-anulo kkuthnay-ya.toy-pnita
 this work-Top without.fail this.month-within finish-Obl-Dec
 ‘You must complete this work within this month.’ (PKT)

From an analytical point of view, the strong conditional meaning is directly inherited from the strong conditional *-eya* ‘if and only if’, which exclusively marks the enabling condition (see 4.1 for more discussion). A similar function, slightly weaker in obligative force, is *-myen.toy-*, consisting of the regular conditional conjunction *-myen* and the lexeme *toy-*, the usage of which is exemplified in (12), also taken from PKT.

- (12) Modal *-myen.toy-* [with Conditional *-myen*] “be acceptable; only if”; Scalar (low-end) Minimum-Obligative Deontic modal.

e.g., 사람은 착하면 된다.

salam-un chakha-myen.toy-n-ta
 person-Top be.good.natured-Obl-Pres-Dec
 ‘A person is good enough if only s/he is kind-hearted.’ (PKT)

In contrast with *-eya.toy-* illustrated in (11), *-myen.toy-* in (12) signals the threshold of the acceptability, i.e., the low-end scalar designation. In other words, if a condition thus marked is met, the minimum desired requirement will be satisfied. The reversed polarity of Obligative Deontic *-myen.toy-* is Prohibitive *-myen.an.toy-* ‘must not; should not’, which involves the negative marker *an*. An intriguing aspect of Prohibitive *-myen.an.toy-* is that the scalarity sense associated with *-myen.toy-* is not carried over to *-myen.an.toy-*, i.e., the latter does not signal the threshold or the minimum requirement. The Prohibitive marking may involve a rhetorical question in lieu of the negative marker.

Still another modal auxiliary is *-ese(nun).an.toy-*, a periphrasis consisting of Sequential *-ese*, optional Topic-marker *-nun*, Negative *an*, and the lexeme *toy-*. This auxiliary functions as a Prohibitive Deontic modal, signaling that something (i.e., the host

proposition) is forbidden. As is the case with Prohibitive *-myen.an.toy-* discussed above, the negative marker *an* in *-ese(nun).an.toy-* is dispensed with when the host sentence is a rhetorical question, to which the anticipated answer is in the negative. This is illustrated by (13):

- (13) Modal *-ese(nun).an.toy-* [with Sequential *-ese*] (with negative *an* or in a rhetorical question) “must not” Prohibitive Deontic modal

e.g., 형인 네가 동생에게 그렇게 해서 되겠니?

hyeng-i-n ney-ka tongsayng-eykey
big.brother-be-Adn you-Nom younger.brother-Dat

kulehkey ha-ese.toy-keyss-ni?

like.that do-[Proh]-Fut-Q

‘As his big-brother, you must not do that to your younger-brother.’

(lit. ‘How can (it) be, if you, a big brother, do that to your younger brother?’)

(PKT)

In (13) the prohibition is signaled by *-ese.toy-* in combination with the fact that the host sentence is a rhetorical question. Incidentally, *-ese.toy-* alone does not carry any grammatical functions; it requires either the Negative *an* or a rhetorical question.

Still another grammatical function carried by a *toy-*derived form is Permissive modality, which involves Additive conjunction *-eto*, thus forming *-eto.toy-*, as exemplified by (14):

- (14) Modal *-eto.toy-* [with Additive *-eto*] “may” Permissive Deontic modal

e.g., 이제 너는 가도 된다.

icey ne-nun ka-to.toy-n-ta

now you-Top go-Perm-Pres-Dec

‘Now you may go.’ (PKT)

Example (14) carries the Permissive meaning by virtue of the modal marker *-eto.toy-*. As indicated above, the conjunction *-eto* is an Additive marker, i.e., addition of a condition to a given situation, and the marker also carries a concessive overtone ‘even though’. It is this latter sense that creates the Permissive modal meaning (see

4.1 for more discussion).

3.4 Discourse Markers

In the preceding discussion we have seen the lexical meaning and grammatical functions of the forms derived from the lexeme *toy-*. The lexeme also has developed into grammatical markers in the domain of discourse, i.e., discourse markers. There are three major discourse markers originated from the verb *toy-*, i.e., *twaysse*, *twayssta*, and *twayssketun* and their variants, often used as interjections. The semantic basis of these discourse markers is *toy-* with the meaning of attainment, culmination, desirable achievement (cf. (1c), (1d) and (1f) above), i.e., ‘be good’ (Rhee 2019a).

The discourse markers *twaysse* and *twayssta* signal diverse speaker stances including Agreement, Polite Refusal, and Discontent/Dismissal, and its relative *twayssketun* signals Discontent/Dismissal with stronger illocutionary force. Their formal makeup is as illustrated in (15):

(15) Formal constructs of *toy-* discourse markers (DMs)

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| a. <i>toy-ess-e</i> | >> (contracted) <i>twaysse</i> (lit. ‘It became (good).’) |
| become-Pst-End | DM |
| b. <i>toy-ess-ta</i> | >> (contracted) <i>twayssta</i> (lit. ‘It became (good).’) |
| become-Pst-Dec | DM |
| c. <i>toy-ess-ketun</i> | >> (contracted) <i>twayssketun</i> (lit. ‘It became (good).’) |
| become-Pst-End | DM |

It is noteworthy that the discourse markers shown in (15) can function as erstwhile sentences in Korean because in this language sentential arguments are omissible, when they can be identified from the context. Since these discourse markers are predicates of sentences, they can be modulated by different sentence-enders and politeness markers. For example, (15a) and (15c) may be further marked by the politeness marker *-yo*, i.e., *twaysseyo* and *twayssketunyo*. Furthermore, some other variant forms may be created by replacing the sentence-ender, i.e., *twayssney* (with Mirative *-ney*), *twaysskwuna* (with Mirative *-kwuna*), etc. Depending on the context, these formal relatives can also

carry the discourse marker function, but in the present research, we will focus on the primary cases. The first function carried by *twaysse* is marking Approval/Affirmation, as illustrated in (16):

(16) DM *twaysse* for Approval/Affirmation (The “Yes, it’s good” function)

A: [Did you get a loan to pay for the tuition?]

B: 됐어. 내일 등록할 거야.

twaysse *nayil* *tunglokha-l.ke.y-a*

DM tomorrow register-Fut-End

‘DM (It’s done!) I’ll register (for classes) tomorrow.’ (Rhee 2019a)

Considering that Approval and Affirmation is based on agreement, this function can be regarded as a natural outgrowth from the lexical meaning of *toy-* ‘be good’. The discourse marker *twaysse* in (16) is a sentence in which the implicit subject is ‘a loan’ or ‘a process of obtaining the loan’. The marker in this function is not dissimilar from *coha* ‘be good’ ‘It’s good’, or *kulay* ‘it’s so’ ‘yes’, or even the simple answers in the affirmative *ung* ‘yes’ or *yey/ney* ‘yes’. Thus, there is nothing peculiar about its prosody as well as its syntactic structure.

However, there are other usages that depart from this default function. These additional usages do not signal the speaker’s positive attitude but Polite Refusal or Discontent. The function of Polite Refusal is as exemplified in (17):

(17) DM *twaysse* for Polite Refusal of offer (The “That’s OK” function)

A: [I can’t take you to the bus terminal because of work. I’ll grab a taxi for you instead.]

B: 됐어! 그냥 지하철 타고 가면 돼!

twaysse! *kunyang* *cihachel* *tha-ko* *ka-myen* *tway!*

DM just subway board-and go-if be.good-END

‘DM (That’s OK!) I can just take the subway.’

(2007 Drama *Kangnam emma italacapki*, Episode #15)

In the excerpt A is apologetic that he is unable to take B to the bus terminal. In response, B uses the discourse marker *twaysse*, the literal meaning of which is ‘It’s

good.’ The situation, however, does not suggest that B thinks A’s inability to serve her or A’s offer of grabbing a taxi is ‘good’. The discourse marker in this context signals the Polite Refusal of A’s offer to find a taxi for her, the meaning of which is derived from ‘It is good as is.’ In other words, ‘being good’ denoted by *twaysse* is not focalized on the specific aspect of the interlocutor’s utterance or state of affairs but on the situation in general, effectively signaling the acceptability of the situation without any further effort, such as grabbing a taxi for her (see 4.1 for more discussion).

More intriguingly, however, a strategic use in discourse of the discourse markers *twaysse*, *twayssta*, *twaysketun*, and their formal and functional relatives pushes them to a vastly different function of marking the discontent of the speaker, which is one of the primary functions in contemporary Korean.

(18) DM *twaysse* Discontent/Dismissal (The “I don’t like it” function)

Wife: [Shall we go to the movies together tomorrow night?]

Husband: [I’m busy tomorrow. Let’s go next week.]

Wife: 뻘어. 안 가도 돼.

twaysse *an* *ka-to.toy-e*.

DM not go-Perm-End

‘DM. (We) don’t have to go.’ (modified from Rhee 2019a)

Evidently, the discontent/dismissal-marking function in (18) is the outcome of sarcasm or ironic usage, whereby the speaker presents a positive evaluation *prima facie* (i.e., the utterance with the literal meaning ‘It’s good’) which, in fact, contradicts her truthful negative evaluation of the state of affairs. Thus the discourse markers in this function are the signals of ‘disapproval in disguise of approval’.

It is notable that this usage is strongly associated with the speaker’s resignation, but a functional twist is that the utterance of resignation is directed to the addressee as a means of signaling the negative stance so that the addressee can make an amendment, e.g., changing his mind and accepting her proposal of going to the movies together. Thus, the seeming resignation is in fact loaded with a protest and a demand for a redressive action. This is reminiscent of the use of sentence-final discourse marker *mwe* ‘what?’ uttered with a non-question intonation (resembling a monologue) but

strategically with sufficient audibility for the addressee in order to convey the speaker's negative stance and demand for an redressive action (see Koo and Rhee 2013; Kuteva et al. 2018).

4. Discussion

In the preceding sections we have seen the paths of the semasiological and functional development of the lexeme *toy-* across such domains as lexis, grammar, and discourse. Now we turn to a discussion of two prominent issues involved in the change, i.e., pragmatic inferences and the conceptual network.

4.1 Pragmatic Inferences

The verb *toy-* has undergone semantic change and been recruited in the formation of grammatical markers, often in combination with cooccurring grammatical formants. When new elements in the syntagmatically adjacent position develop affinity with the core lexeme *toy-* 'become, be good', they tend to obtain conceptual integration and function as constructions carrying grammatical functions. This is in line with the observations made by Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994), Hopper and Traugott ([1993] 2003), and others that strictly speaking what grammaticalizes is not a lexeme but a construction. For instance, the English futurity-marker *be going to* is not a grammaticalization of *go* but one of *go*, progressive aspect (*be -ing*), and purposive *to*, since all these make significant contribution to the emergence of the notion of futurity.

In the case of quasi-auxiliaries discussed in 3.2, we noted that *-key.toy-*, *-tolok.toy-*, and *-kilo.toy-* that function as markers of Inchoative, Inchoative-Passive, Causative, Passive, Resultative, Obligative modal functions involve the Mode adverbializer *-key*, the Purposive/Degree conjunction *-tolok*, and the Intentional conjunction *-kilo*. Evidently, the markers of mode, purpose, degree and intention contribute to the event of 'becoming' to specify the aspects of the change. The markers may function as an indicator of the

driving force, in which case Causative and Obligative are created; they may function as a marker of the change itself as being intended or focused, in which case Inchoative develops; they may mark the direction of the change upon the affected entity, in which case Passive develops; and they may mark the goal of the process, in which case Resultative develops. The differential focus involved in pragmatic inferencing is driven by the functions of the participating grammatical forms such as conjunctions, converbs (adverbializers), etc.

Similarly, the Passivizer and Inchoative functions of the construction [x-Dat y-Nom become] are the outcome of the pragmatic inferences also driven by the semantics of the case particles and the syntactic structures. For instance, Dative is the primary marker of direction largely equivalent to the English directional preposition *to*. The source structure [X becomes Y to Z], in which Dative is involved, is reinterpreted as [The change becomes applicable to Z] or [With respect to Z, X is turned into Y], thus Inchoative and Passive.

We have also seen the development of the Obligative Deontic modals involving the Conditional marker. The source structure of Obligative is [X becomes Y if only P], in which X and Y are not specified (note that the structure is renderable as [$\emptyset$ becomes $\emptyset$ if only P]). In other words, the example (11) above, interpreted as "You must complete this work within this month" is structurally represented as [$\emptyset$ becomes $\emptyset$ if only (you) complete this work within this month]. The hidden meaning behind this extremely vague construction is quite puzzling. It seems that [X becomes Y] (or rather, [$\emptyset$ becomes $\emptyset$]) is analytically interpreted as [The world will go its normal course without interruption] (cf. [The course of events becomes appropriate], Eom 2003). 'The world will go its normal course without interruption [if only you complete this work within this month]' is reinterpreted as 'This work must be completed within this month.'

With respect to the Prohibitive Deontic modal, a similar observation is made. As shown in (13) above, this modal marker involves the Sequential conjunction *-ese*, which signals sequence of events by hosting the proposition denoting the prior event. Therefore, the source structure [$\emptyset$ does not become $\emptyset$ after P], following the logic stated above, is interpreted as [After P, the world will not go its normal course],

which is pragmatically reinterpreted into an intensified meaning [P must not be realized].

In a similar way, the Permissive Deontic modal involves pragmatic inferences in its functional development. The Permissive Deontic modal *-eto.toy-* consists of the Additive conjunction *-eto* and the lexeme *toy-*. With Additive, which often carries the concessive overtone, the interpretation of the source structure is [Even when P is added, the world will go its normal course], which is reinterpreted as [P may be realized].

As shown in the preceding elaboration on the development of grammatical markers, pragmatic inferencing is prominent in the course of the development. Pragmatically inferred meanings are repeated and, as a consequence, the reinterpreted meaning becomes entrenched. The reinterpreted meanings often make reference to the diverse grammatical notions, such as obligation, permission, passive, inchoative, etc.

Pragmatic inference plays a crucial role in the development of discourse markers as well. Since discourse markers, by nature, occur in a discourse, the locus of meaning negotiation, pragmatic inference is particularly important in their development.

In 3.3 we have seen that the *toy*-based discourse markers, *twaysse*, *twayssketun*, etc., have acquired diverse, even seemingly contradictory, functions. It is particularly noteworthy that contradictory functions, i.e., agreement vs. refusal vs. dismissal; or approval vs. discontent; etc., have originated from the same lexeme, and further that they are associated with the self-same form. Since discourse markers are the result of grammaticalization, and the function of the grammaticalized forms and their developmental paths are largely dependent on the sources (cf. the source-determination hypothesis, Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994), this state of affairs is rather peculiar.

In fact, such a divergent development is the outcome of intricate interaction of rhetorical and discursive strategies, whereby pragmatically inferred meaning becomes entrenched through repetition and as a result constitutes an integral part of the functions of the form (Koo 2008; Rhee 2016, 2019a). For instance, the default interpretation of the discourse marker *twaysse* is 'It's good!', i.e., Approval/Affirmation, but when the same discourse marker is uttered in a situation in which the speaker's obvious intention is not to accept the offer of her interlocutor (cf. (17) above), the addressee is prompted to employ 'invited inference' (Traugott and Dasher 2002), whereby the

‘good’-evaluation is not with reference to the offer but the situation as is, i.e., without the realization of the offer. Thus, the function of polite refusal of the offer is pragmatically inferred.⁴⁾

Similarly, when the same discourse marker is used in a situation in which the speaker’s request/suggestion is not accepted by her interlocutor (cf. (18) above), the addressee is bound to reinterpret the meaning of the discourse marker because it is not likely that the speaker has given up her desire immediately. In this context, the prosodic information, facial expression, and other verbal or non-verbal cues may also help trigger such reinterpretation. The resultant reinterpretation is that it is in fact the signal of discontent or dismissal in disguise of acceptance. This line of development may be schematically presented as (19):

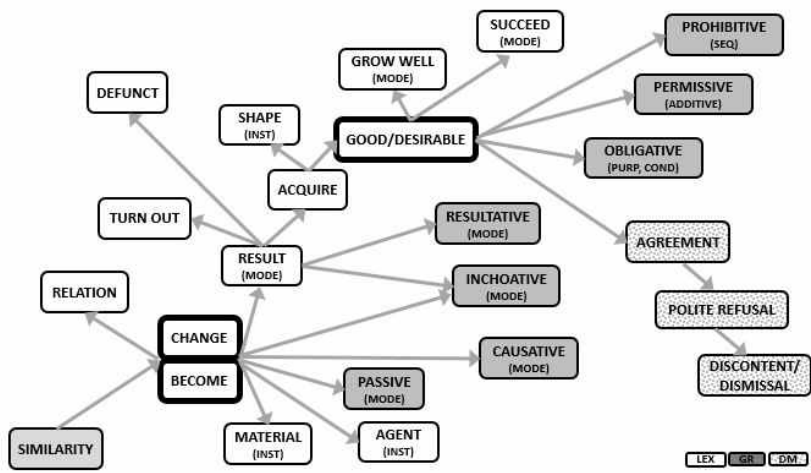
(19) “It is good.”	Approval/Affirmation
> “I am good; don’t bother.”	Polite Refusal
> “I am good without you; read my mind.”	Discontent/Dismissal

4.2 Conceptual Network of ‘Becoming’

We have seen that the lexeme *toy-* has undergone extensive semantic and functional changes, across lexical, grammatical, and discursive domains, thus constituting an excellent exemplar of polygrammaticalization.

Of particular importance is that these lexical, grammatical, and discursive meanings form an intricate conceptual network, through interplay of pragmatic inferences and (inter)subjectification. Such network can be represented as Figure 1, in which lexical (LEX), grammatical (GR), and discursive (DM) functions are marked with differential shading.

4) Incidentally, English has a subtle division of labor with this regard between *O.K.* and *It’s O.K.*, the former for Approval/Affirmation, and the latter for Polite Refusal of offer. *O.K.* also functions as a marker of ‘suspension of evaluation’ in a debate situation in order to strategically maintain the addressee’s attention to the argument to follow (Rhee 2019b).



<Figure 1> Conceptual Network of *toy*-Derived Forms

<Figure 1> graphically represents the two major anchor concepts, i.e., **BECOME-CHANGE** and **GOOD-DESIRABLE**, indicated by the thick lines of the cells. As the connections show, most grammatical markers are derived from **BECOME-CHANGE** and **GOOD-DESIRABLE**, whereas the discourse marker functions are derived from **GOOD-DESIRABLE**.

When the connected concepts are compared, the adjacency between concepts is understood intuitively as representing conceptual affinity, thus it can be said that most extensions involve metonymization, the transfer based on the conceptual contiguity (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991). Conceptual network may also involve metaphorization, the mapping based on the similarity across different domains. However, in the case of *toy*-forms, metaphorical connection is not prominent. One notable aspect in this regard is that grammatical functions are strongly influenced by the grammatical markers that participate in the construction of the grammatical form, e.g., Mode-marker in the Passive, Causative, Resultative, and Inchoative; Purpose-marker in the Obligative; Sequential-marker in the Prohibitive, etc. (for a similar state-of-affairs, see Rhee in press with respect to the development of *siph*- ‘think’).

Furthermore, the development of the notions involving evaluation is an instance of subjectification (Traugott 1982, 2003, 2010; Traugott and König 1991; Traugott and Dasher 2002). For instance, the semantic extension from ‘acquire’ to ‘good/desirable’ and further to ‘grow well (of crop)’ or ‘succeed’ is based on the language user’s subjective focus on the positive side of ‘change’ or ‘becoming’. In addition, the development of the discourse marker functions is based on intersubjectification (Traugott 2014; Traugott and Dasher 2002) and the speaker’s desire to increase interactivity (Rhee 2016). In other words, Agreement, Polite Refusal, Discontent/Dismissal are all based on interaction between interlocutors, in which an identical form with a seemingly positive meaning is employed to signal diverse stances of the speaker.

As a final remark, it is worthwhile to investigate the situation across languages, albeit necessarily cursory. The grammaticalization lexicon widely used by grammaticalizationists is one by Kuteva et al. (2019), in which BECOME is listed as a marker of ‘Change-of-State’. The observed instances that appear in Kuteva et al. (2019) are as listed in (20):

(20) CHANGE-OF-STATE (Kuteva et al. 2019: 85-88)

- a. Copula: Ngalakan *-men*, Turkish *olmak*, PIE **bhū*
- b. Future: German *werden*, Russian *budu*
- c. Passive: Archaic Chinese *wei*, Persian *šodan*, Korean *toy-*, Latin *feri*, German *werden*, Latvian *tikl*, Swedish *bliva*, Polish *zostać*

As is shown in (20), the BECOME lexeme has grammaticalized into three major functions, i.e., Copula, Future, and Passive. This shows that the grammaticalization paths of the ‘become’-lexeme in Korean are much richer than its counterparts in other languages. The commonalities and differences of the lexemes across languages warrant more intensive and comparative research in the future.

5. Summary and Conclusion

The Korean verb of becoming *toy-* has undergone extensive semantic change beginning from the similarity meaning ‘be like’ in Middle Korean. The prominent meanings developed later include two major concepts BECOME-CHANGE and GOOD-DESIRABLE, from which most grammatical markers originated. These lexical, grammatical, and discursive meanings form a conceptual network, in which most extensions involve metonymization, the transfer based on the conceptual contiguity (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991). We also noted that the development of the notions involving evaluation is an instance of subjectification.

Discourse markers also developed from the verb, with three major functions of Agreement, Polite Refusal, and Discontent/Dismissal. The development of these discourse marker functions is based on intersubjectification and the desire to increase interactivity. A similar type of development is observed in the historical change of many lexemes in Korean (e.g., see Rhee 2019c for *po-* ‘see’; Rhee in press for the development of *siph-* ‘think’).

Of particular importance is that the grammaticalization of diverse functions in the auxiliary and discourse-marker functions is enabled by the pragmatic inferences and (inter)subjectification. This is in consonance with the earlier studies (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991; Hopper and Traugott [1993] 2003; Rhee 2020, among others) that underscored the role of pragmatics in grammaticalization.

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