

John Benjamins Publishing Company



This is a contribution from Journal of Historical Pragmatics 21:1
© 2020. John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way.

The author(s) of this article is/are permitted to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

Permission is granted by the publishers to post this file on a closed server which is accessible only to members (students and faculty) of the author's/s' institute. It is not permitted to post this PDF on the internet, or to share it on sites such as Mendeley, ResearchGate, Academia.edu.

Please see our rights policy on <https://benjamins.com/content/customers/rights>

For any other use of this material prior written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

Please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website: www.benjamins.com

Pseudo-hortative and the development of the discourse marker *eti poca* ('well, let's see') in Korean

Seongha Rhee

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Hortative constructions are good sources of discourse markers (DMs) because they have an engaging effect on the addressee. Such an engaging illocutionary effect enables hortative-based DMs to acquire diverse functions, such as attracting and maintaining the addressee's attention and foiling the interlocutor's initiating an utterance. The DM *eti poca* ('well, let's see'; literally 'where, let's see') is not a genuine hortative requesting the addressee to direct visual attention to something or somewhere together with the speaker, but is a strategic signal for management of interaction, information and the speaker's self. The detailed functions that emerged through time include marking the speaker's intent to hold the floor by way of filling unwanted pauses, to solicit common ground, to signal responsiveness, to encourage self to better concentrate on a task, and to affirm the self's stance on the issues at hand.

Keywords: attention maintaining, common-ground soliciting, discourse marker, floor-holding, hortative, stance

1. Introduction

Discourse markers (DMs) arise from diverse lexemes and constructions (Fraser 2006; Brinton 1996). One of such source categories in Korean is the hortative (HORT, also termed as "propositive") constructions which have an inherently engaging effect on the addressee. When these HORT constructions take the form of a sentence, they may end with the HORT sentence-final particle (SFP) *-ca*. This paper presents the development of the DM *eti poca* ('well, let's see'; literally 'where, let's see') that involves the interrogative pronoun *eti* ('where'), the verb *po-* ('see') and the HORT SFP *-ca*. Incidentally, the interrogative pronoun *eti* has been fully developed into a DM of mitigation, challenge, emphatic negation, etc.

(Rhee 2008). A common use of the DM *eti poca* is exemplified by the following example taken from a TV drama.

- (1) A: [The money is ready, sir. If you issue an order it will be delivered to him right away.]
 B: *hum, encey-ka coh-ul-kka* [in deep thought] *amwulayto*
 hmm when-NOM be.good-FUT-Q anyway
ppalu-n-ke-y kunyesek-ulwihay nas-keyss-ci? eti poca
 fast-ADN-NOMZ-NOM that.guy-for be.better-FUT-END DM
takao-l senke-ka 11-il-i-nikka...
 approach-ADN election-NOM 11-day-be-as
 ['Hmmm.. when will be a good time? [in deep thought] The sooner the better for that guy, right? DM (well, let's see). The coming election day is the 11th, so...'] (2006 Drama *Nay insaynguy supheysyel*, Episode 8)

The dialogue in Example (1) is between the head-secretary, A, and his boss, a corrupt business CEO, B, who had given an order to A to have money ready in order to bribe a politician. B's utterance is similar to a monologue spoken while he is in deep thought, as indicated by the playwright's instruction in square brackets. His use of *eti poca* ('well, let's see'; literally, 'where, let's see') is not a hortative statement requesting his secretary to direct visual attention to something (e.g., a calendar) for joint attention, but a signal that he needs, or is in the middle of, some mental calculation to determine the date of delivering the money to the politician.

As shall be elaborated in the following discussion, the DM *eti poca* is a strategic device to fulfil diverse discursive desires of the speaker. Among prominent functions are to exhort the self to concentrate on a task (as seen above), to signal responsiveness, to request co-operation, to solicit common ground, to fill unwanted pauses in order to hold the floor, to show self-determination or assertiveness, to display discontent, etc. Despite its frequent occurrence in discourse, the DM *eti poca* has not received due attention to date. Only a few studies, notably Koo (1999) and Lee (2008), analyze the DM functions of the interrogative *eti* ('where'), the first component of the composite DM *eti poca*. Thus, this paper intends to fill this gap in the research. The objectives of this research are three-fold: to describe the processes involved in the emergence of the DM *eti poca*, focusing on the formal and semantic development of the forms comprising it; to analyze its functions in contemporary Korean; and to discuss important aspects of the development of the DM *eti poca* from a grammaticalization perspective.

In order to pursue these research objectives, this paper is organized in the following manner. Section 2 addresses the grammaticalization processes of *eti poca*, describing the change that its components have undergone – that is, the interrogative pronoun *eti* ('where'), the verb *po-* ('see') and the HORT SFP *-ca*

(‘let’s’), respectively. Section 3 focuses on the diverse functions of *eti poca* in three major domains (i.e., subjectivity, interactivity (intersubjectivity) and information management). In Section 4, some aspects associated with the development of *eti poca* are chosen for discussion (i.e., grammatical change as illustrated by grammaticalization and constructionalization, semasiological change as illustrated by semantic bleaching, subjectification and intersubjectification, and discursive change as illustrated by pragmaticalization and rhetoricization). Section 5 summarizes the findings and concludes the paper.

The data for analysis are taken from various sources, including the *Sejong Historical Corpus* for diachronic investigation, and the *Drama and Cinema Corpus* for investigation of contemporary usage. The *Sejong Historical Corpus* is a 15-million word, historical section of the *Sejong Corpus*, a 200-million word corpus developed as part of the *21st Century Sejong Project* by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the National Institute of Korean Language (1998–2006). The texts in the historical section date from 1446 to 1913. The texts in this corpus are predominantly literary (e.g., poems, scriptures, commentaries of the scriptures, medical references, codes of rituals and personal letters), but some, though much smaller in number, are of a more colloquial nature (e.g., dialogue-based textbooks). The corpus also includes dialogue-based novels dating from 1906 to 1913.¹ The *Drama and Cinema Corpus* is a 24-million word contemporary corpus, a collection of 7,454 scenarios of dramas and cinemas dating from 1992 to 2015, compiled by Min Li of Seoul National University.² UNICONC, a concordance program, was used to search the corpus data.

2. Historical development of *eti* (‘where’) and *poca* (‘let’s see’)

As briefly noted above, the DM *eti poca* is a composite marker consisting of the interrogative pronoun *eti* (‘where’), the verb of visual perception *po-* (‘see’) and the hortative sentence-ender *-ca*. Thus, we will survey the change of these participating forms in turn.

1. As an anonymous reviewer points out, DMS may have different values in different text-types. Since DMS tend to occur more frequently in spoken language (Östman 1982; Fraser 1990; Watts 1989), the lack of balance in text-types in the corpus is a potentially serious limitation. However, since no quantitative approach is adopted in the analysis, such effect may be of limited importance (see, however, Footnote 8).

2. Special thanks go to the developers of these corpora who generously granted their use for research.

2.1 The development of *eti* ('where')

The use of the interrogative pronoun *eti* can be traced back to Middle Korean *etAy* (and its variant form *etuy*), itself a composite form of *e-* ('which/what') and *tAy* ('place'), (Yu 2000 [1964]). One of the earliest attestations is as shown in Example (2):

- (2) YELAY *etuy* *kyesi-ni-isko*
 Buddha where exist-HON-Q
 ['Where is Buddha?'] (1447 *Sekposangcel* 11:10a)

The interrogative pronominal use of *etuy* has persisted, though varied in form (e.g., *etuy*, *etAy*, *etay*, *eti* and *etey*) until Present-Day Korean (PDK). In the seventeenth century, a noticeable usage of *etuy* is attested (i.e., one in rhetorical questions) as in Example (3).

- (3) *koloi kul nilk-e hAn kwake-to mot hA-ko atAl*
 painfully literature read-and one civil.service.exam-even NEG do-and son
cwuki-ko syelwehA-te-ni kulen eyespun il-i etuy isi-li
 kill-and mourn-RETRO-as such pitiable event-NOM where exist-Q
 ['Since (her husband) studied hard but did not pass the civil servant exam
 (and died suddenly) while (she) was mourning the (premature) death of (her)
 son, where would be such a pitiable thing?'] (1636–40 *Pyengcailki* 430)

This example is taken from a wartime diary of a noble woman who heard the news of the death of her relative, who studied for his lifetime only to fail the government exam for a government office, which was considered a *raison d'être* for the nobility at the time. The writer, in sympathy for a woman who lost her husband shortly after her son died, while the nation was in a war with the Manchu (the Qing Dynasty), describes the unfathomable sorrow of the bereft by asking the rhetorical question, "Where can a situation ever be found that is comparable to that of this ill-fated woman?" Rhetorical questions do not have a directly imperative illocutionary force on the addressee and, for that reason, the interrogative force associated with the interrogative pronoun used in a rhetorical question is significantly weakened.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, another innovative usage associated with *etuy* is attested (i.e., that of universal quantification), comparable to 'where' changing into 'wherever'. This novel usage is attested with the derivation with the concessive suffix *-tunci* (i.e., *etuytunci* ['wherever']), as illustrated in Example (4).

- (4) *onya etuytunci cengsin chAly-e wenmi pata-la*
 yes wherever consciousness gain-and rice.gruel receive-IMP
 [‘Yes, (daughter), in any case, just gain consciousness and eat this rice gruel.’]
 (Mid-nineteenth c. *Chwunhyangka* 154-scenes [The Hongyunphyo collection])³

Example (4) is taken from a scene, where the female protagonist Chunhyang (‘Floral Fragrance’) is in jail. She has become nearly unconscious after she was tortured by a vicious magistrate, a sexual predator trying to intimidate the unyielding girl. Barely gaining consciousness from a coma which resulted from the abuse, Chunhyang asks her mother where she is and Example (4) is the response of her mother who is glad to see her daughter regaining consciousness. The adverb *etuytunci* (‘wherever’) in this example is semantically close to ‘in whatever case, in any case.’ The mother is saying in effect, “OK, OK, just stay conscious and eat this gruel, poor as it is”. The interrogative force of the pronoun *etuy* is also reduced in its context of universal quantification. This also seems to have contributed to the emergence of the DM function with *etuy*.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, a major change occurs in its function, one presumably influenced by the bleaching of the interrogative meaning in *etuy* while it is used in rhetorical questions and universal quantification described above. The change is its innovative use as an indefinite pronoun as shown in Example (5).

- (5) *eyku wuli emeni moksolAy-ka etuy-sye na-ney*
 INTJ our mother voice-NOM somewhere-from come-EXCL
 [‘Oh my, my mother’s voice is coming from somewhere.’]
 (1907, *Komokhwa* 903)

In Example (5), the speaker hears someone calling him outside while he is waiting for his mother after years of separation. Here, *etuy* is an indefinite pronoun with the meaning of ‘somewhere.’ However, since the speaker is wondering where the voice is coming from, this indefinite pronoun still bears strong semantic vestige of the question force from its source, interrogative pronoun form. In later usage, *etuy* shows complete bleaching of the question meaning as in Example (6).

3. *Chwunhyangcen* is a famous eighteenth-century literary work, which had been largely transmitted orally in the form of an opera until it became written down as a novel supposedly in the 1860s (see Example (12)). There are a large number of extant versions and *Chwunhyangka* is the operatic version. The cited version, consisting of 154 scenes, is a collection by Dr. Hong Yun-Pyo and is considered to date from the mid-nineteenth century (Sung 2013).

- (6) *suywenhA-n palam-ina ssoi-si-lkyem etuy nAtuli-nA*
 be.COOL-ADN wind-SEL be.exposed-HON-in.addition somewhere outing-SEL
com hA-si-ci-yo
 a.little do-HON-END-POL
 ['How about having an outing somewhere with an added benefit of enjoying
 fresh breeze?'] (1911, *Welhakain* 66)

The scene of Example (6) is the addressee's home, where the speaker is encouraging her to have an outing for a change, because the latter is much worried over the safety of her husband who went abroad forty days ago and has not been heard from since. In this example, *etuy* is not an interrogative pronoun but an indefinite pronoun, thus the bleaching of the interrogative meaning is (nearly) complete.

As seen above, the interrogative pronoun *etuy* (and its variants) has undergone a change that is largely characterizable as a process of weakening of the question meaning through its usage in rhetorical questions, further in universally quantified contexts, and additionally as an NP designating indefinite location. This semantic weakening is an important process that enabled *etuy* to be used as a DM by itself or as a part in composite DMs like *eti poca* under investigation here.

2.2 The semantic extension of *po-* ('see')

The verb *po-* ('see') in Korean is among the most frequently used lexical items. Primarily a verb of visual perception, it also has diverse extended senses as it becomes a part of unverbated constructions – so diverse that a comprehensive treatment of its extension pattern is beyond our immediate interest. Thus, we will restrict the description to the extension in lexical semantics only.

Even in Old Korean (OK, – 9th c.), despite the controversy of the pronunciation of the data due to the complications associated with phonogrammatic and semantogrammatic rendering, the verb *po-* (in variants of *po-*, *pot-*, *pol-*, etc.) occurred with the meaning of 'see' and its associated senses of 'meet', 'enjoy (as in sightseeing)', etc. In the texts dating from the Late Middle Korean period (LMK, 15th–16th c.), when the Korean writing system, Hangeul, was invented and thus the pronunciation value of linguistic forms became uncontroversial, diverse usages are attested. For instance, one of the very first writings in Hangeul script, *Yongpiechenka* ['Songs of Dragons Flying into Heaven'] a collection of 125 laudatory poems composed to praise the newly founded Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910), contains many instances of the verb *po-* with diverse extended senses, as illustrated in Example (7).

- (7) a. *po-* ('see')
TOSANG-ay KANGSI-lul po-sy-a CHIMSIK-ul
 on.road-at frozen.corpse-ACC see-HON-CONN sleep.eat-ACC
kuchye-si-ni
 stop-HON-CONN
 ['Since (King Taejo) saw a frozen corpse on the street and stopped eating
 and sleeping, ...'] (1447, *Yongpiechenka* 116)
- b. *po-* ('meet')
s koy ha-n tocAk-Al molA-sy-a poli-la
 trick be.many-ADN enemy-ACC not.know-HON-CONN meet-CONN
kituli-si-ni
 wait-HON-CONN
 ['Since (King Ikjo) was not aware that the tricky (Jurchens) meant harm
 and waited to meet them, ...'] (1447, *Yongpiechenka* 19)
- c. *po-* 'encounter'
nulk-un syenpAy-lAl po-si-ko YEYMO-lo
 be.old-and scholar-ACC encounter-HON-and decorum-with
skwulu-si-ni
 kneel-HON-CONN
 ['Since (King Taejo) knelt down when he encountered an old scholar to
 show respect, ...'] (1447, *Yongpiechenka* 82)
- d. *po-* ('recognize')
CHAMMWUN-ul moll-a po-kenul nala-z ilhwum
 secret.writing-ACC not.know-and recognize-CONN dynasty-GEN name
kAlA-si-ni
 change-HON-CONN
 ['Since God changed the dynasty because (the ruler) in ignorance failed to
 recognize the secret writing (prophesying the fall of a dynasty), ...']
 (1447, *Yongpiechenka* 85)
- e. *po-* ('treat')
CEKSIM-ulo chezem po-sy-a NAYCONG-nay
 sincerity-with beginning treat-HON-CONN end-throughout
CEKSIM-i-si-ni
 sincerity-be-HON-CONN
 ['Since (King Taejo) treated (his colleagues) with sincerity from the begin-
 ning, and the sincerity lasted till the end, ...'] (1447, *Yongpiechenka* 78)

- f. *po-* ('consider')
HYOTO-hA-lH stAl-Ay kul-ul eyespi neky-e
piety-do-ADN daughter-GEN letter-ACC pitiously regard-CONN
po-sy-a
consider-HON-CONN
[‘Since (Emperor Munje of the Han Dynasty) read his daughter’s letter
with sympathy and considered it, ...’] (1447, *Yongpiechenka* 96)
- g. *po-* ('experience')
ILWELCIMYENG-i-si-lssAy tasi psu-sy-a
sun.moon.brightness-be-HON-as again use-HON-and
PWUSE-lul po-si-ni
abundant.blessings-ACC experience-HON-CONN
[‘Since (Emperor Taejong of the Tang Dynasty), bright as the sun and the
moon, rehired (his counselor) Wicing (despite others who blamed him as
the enemy) and (eventually) experienced many happy consequences, ...’]
(1447, *Yongpiechenka* 77)

As exemplified in the above, the semantics of *po-* has been diverse even in LMK. Furthermore, some more usages triggered by the context are also attested, such as ‘read (a letter)’, ‘be considerate to’, ‘think about’, ‘observe’, etc. Based on major dictionaries, the common senses of the verb in its lexical usage (i.e., excluding the usage as an auxiliary verb or other grammaticalized constructions) in Modern Korean (ModK, twentieth c. to present), can be listed in brief, as in Table 1.

Table 1. Semantics of *po-* (in ModK)

A	Sensory perception: ‘see’, ‘look’, ‘watch’, ‘witness’, ‘see and enjoy (sights)’
B	Cognition: ‘consider’, ‘recognize’, ‘regard’, ‘refer to’
C	Attention: ‘attend to (a baby)’, ‘look after’, ‘perform (duty)’, ‘prepare (bedding)’, ‘examine (patients)’, ‘taste (food)’, ‘set (the table)’, ‘explore’
D	Experience: ‘experience’, ‘encounter’, ‘relieve oneself (excretorily)’, ‘take (exams)’
E	Acquisition: ‘acquire’, ‘purchase’, ‘reach (an agreement)’
F	Interaction: ‘treat’, ‘meet’, ‘regard as’, ‘evaluate as’, ‘offer’, ‘befriend’

Table 1 shows that the semantic designations of the verb *po-* are extensive, and it is immediately noticeable that the extension is largely due to metonymic relations among them. As the context-induced reinterpretation model (Heine et al. 1991) suggests, new meanings seem to be the result of semanticization of contextual meaning. Also noticeable is that the extension stretches over the conceptual domains from sensory perception to more general experiential and social

domains, a state of affairs lending support to the metonymic-metaphorical model of semantic change proposed by Heine et al. (1991).

One notable aspect of the semantic development is that these meanings of the verb *po-* ('see') cannot be properly ordered in terms of their emergence, because most, or at least many of them, are already present in LMK, the earliest period with uncontroversial readings of the text. The kind of semantic change that the verb *po-* has undergone can be characterized as an instance of semantic generalization from the domain of visual perception to other domains through metonymy and metaphor. Semantic generalization, as noted in Bybee et al. (1994), is important in grammaticalization and it is particularly so in the development of DMS, because the meaning of a linguistic form needs to be less concrete in order to serve diverse context-sensitive functions. This is evident in the English DMS that display wide semantic gaps from their original source meanings, such as *well* ('in good manner' > disagreement), *y'know* ('knowledge' > shared views), *sort of* ('kind' > vagueness/hedging), *I mean* ('intend' > forewarning upcoming adjustment), *actually* ('act' > adversative), etc. Thus, semantic generalization in the case of *po-* ('see') is also critical in its development as a DM. It is only when *po-* ('see') generalized and its senses were less strictly linked to perception that it could be recruited into a new context to serve a pragmatic function.

2.3 The development of the hortative *-ca* ('let's')

The last component of the DM *eti poca* is the hortative marker *-ca*. A historical exploration reveals that in LMK the hortative speech act was marked by *-cye*, *-cya*, *-cyela*, *-sangita*, *-sayngita*, *-syay*, etc., which were used at different speech levels, such as [–Honorific] (talking down), [Plain] (talking level), [+Deferential] (talking up).⁴ These forms attested in LMK are as listed in Example (8), (see Huh 1989).

- | | | |
|--------|---|----------------|
| (8) a. | <i>-cya</i> , <i>-cye</i> , <i>-cyela</i> | [–Honorific] |
| b. | <i>-say</i> | [Plain] |
| c. | <i>-sayngita</i> , <i>-sangita</i> | [+Deferential] |

4. Most Korean linguists consider Korean to have six different speech levels (*hwakyey*) which are variable by the levels of honorification and politeness. They occur as a part of verbal morphology along with such markers as tense, aspect, modality and speech acts. Since the description of speech levels lies outside our immediate interest, it is not pursued here (for general description, see Martin 1992:305–312; Sohn 1999:407–418; Yeon and Brown 2011:170–196).

These forms also performed other speech acts closely related to the hortative, such as optative, desiderative and promissive, among which the distinction largely depends on the context and is often impossible (Rhee 2017), as illustrated in part in Example (9).

- (9) a. *OYOK-Al mAzAm-kAcang phye-n HWU-ey-za*
 five.desire-ACC heart-till unfold-ADN after-at-COND
CHWULKA-hA-cye
 leave.home-do-OPT/DESID
 [‘I {wish I could, want to} leave home (to become a Buddhist monk) only after I enjoyed the five desires to my heart’s content.’]
 (1459, *Welinsekpo* 7:2)
- b. *KYENG-i isy-otAy ilhwum-i PEPHWA-i-ni hAntAy ka-ø*
 scripture-NOM exist-CONN name-NOM [name]-be-CONN together go-CONN
tut-cye
 listen-HORT/OPT/DESID
 [‘Since there is a scripture and (its) name is Pephwa [Lotus Sutra], {let’s, I wish we could, I want that we} go together and listen to (the lecture about) it.’]
 (1459, *Welinsekpo* 17:51)
- c. *meli syey-tolok selu pAli-ti ma-cye*
 hair turn.gray-till each.other throw.away-NF stop-HORT/DESID
 [‘(Let’s, I wish we would) not sever our relationship until our hair turns gray (we become old).’]
 (1481, *Twusienhay* first ed. 16:18a)

This state of affairs of functional overlap of grammatical markers shows that grammatical functions do not arise abruptly but gradually go through the stages in which the form is subject to multiple interpretations. This is well captured in the overlap model as proposed by Heine et al. (1991).

Now, we will narrow our focus and concentrate on the DM being investigated, by looking at the functional development of *po-ca* (‘let’s see’), the combined form of the verb *po-* (‘see’) and *-ca*, the HORT marker.

2.3.1 True HORT: The “WE”-Function

The earliest attestations of *po-ca* in the historical texts are those that are marked with the “true hortative” – true in the sense that they mark the speaker’s invitation to the addressee to perform an action together, which is the prototypical function of the grammatical marker labeled as HORT. This usage is comparable to the English HORT expression, “Let’s go to the library together”. Since this marker presents a proposition involving two parties, the speaker and the addressee, this type of function can be characterized as the “WE”-function (i.e., “I suggest that WE

do x together”). The usage of the “we”-function is exemplified by the sixteenth century data shown in Example (10):⁵

- (10) a. *tasi-kom tyohi kye-o tasi po-cya*
 again-EMPH well stay-END again see-HORT
 [‘Once again, stay in peace. Let’s see again.’]
 (1555, *Swunchen kimssi enkan* 3)
- b. *amAlyena kyentAyy-e.iss-taka po-cya*
 most.of.all endure-PROG-TRANS see-HORT
 [‘Most of all, endure well and then let’s see (again) (Hang on until we see again).’]
 (1565–1575, *Swunchen kimssi enkan* 71)

2.3.2 Quasi-HORT: The “I”-Function

The second type of usage of *poca* is when it marks a proposition addressed to the self rather than the addressee. Since the parties involved in the performance of the proposed action are not the speaker and the addressee but the speaker only, this usage is different from the true HORT usage. Thus, this quasi-HORT usage, is labeled as the “I”-function (i.e., “I suggest (myself) that I do x”, rather than “Let’s do x together”). The addressee in this context is one who simply witnesses or minimally assists what unfolds.

The expression *po-ca* with the “I”-function has some characteristic features, among which is the use of complementizers *-ci*, *-na* and *-ka* in the embedded clause (i.e., the object of proposed seeing). These complementizers are a unique class in that they originated from the SFPs in monologal questions. As a matter of fact, since those forms in the two different functions are identical, it is often unclear whether an instance of such forms is used as a complementizer or a full-fledged monologal question ender. Therefore, in combination of the “I”-function HORT and the monologal question in the embedded question, the expression carries the meaning of ‘I will see if...’, rather than ‘Let’s see if...’ This usage of *po-ca* is illustrated by the following examples.

- (11) a. *hAlni-na tyohi sa-nAn-ka po-cya*
 one.day-even well live-PRES-Q see-HORT
 [‘I will (Let’s) see if (the Queen Mother) will live well even a day.’]
 (16xx, *Sekwungilki* 11a)

5. The data source, *Swunchen kimssi enkan* is a collection of 192 personal letters exhumed in 1977 from a grave of a woman named Swunchen Kimssi who lived in the sixteenth century. Most of the letters, dated between 1550 and 1592, were written by her mother, Sinchen Kangssi, and addressed to her daughter, Swunchen Kimssi.

- b. *wenson-i kamthanhA-si-ko twu-ko po-ca hA-sy-e*
king's.grandson-NOM admire-HON-and keep-and see-HORT say-HON-and
chinhi kacyeke-si-nila
himself take-HON-END
[‘King’s grandson admired (the newly found letters) and took them with
him, saying, “I will (Let’s) keep and read (them later).”]
(18xx, *Hancwunglok* 143)

The instances in Example (11) are taken from the Early Modern Korean (EMoK, 17th–19th c.) data. Example (11a) is a curse of a court servant toward the Queen Mother who was deposed and confined by her abusive stepson, King Kwanghay. The speaker, the servant of the king, is showing enmity to the Queen Mother and her servants in order to show her loyalty to the throne. The servant is using *po-ca* with an imbedded monologual question. The speaker is saying, “Let’s see if she would live peacefully even a day”, a statement tantamount in effect to “I know she won’t live well even a day, and I will see if it proves otherwise”.

Example (11b) is the author’s description of an event in which the king’s grandson came to find many important letters written by Lord Hong, the father of the author and maternal grandfather of the King’s grandson. While he was young, his maternal grandfather wrote those letters to the king. Now grown up, he found those letters that had been kept for him and admired his maternal grandfather’s loyalty and support for his father, Prince Sado, while the latter was undergoing severe conflict with the king.⁶ In admiration, he decided to take the letters with him so that he could peruse them later. Since the context strongly suggests that the reader of the letters would be solely the speaker himself, this instance of *po-ca* is also better interpreted as ‘I will see/read’, rather than ‘Let’s see/read’.

These two instances of the use of *po-ca* shows, as we shall see more in detail in Section 3.3, that the speaker uses the HORT marker in self-exhortation as if the speaker suggests to his or her “self” to see something “together”. This intriguing aspect of language use (i.e., treating self as an addressee) seems to be attested in other languages as well, as the English counterpart *Let’s see* is used for similar functions.

2.3.3 Pseudo-HORT: The “YOU”-Function

Still another type of usage of *po-ca* is the pseudo-HORT, “pseudo-” in the sense that the speaker is not suggesting a joint action to be performed by the speaker

6. Incidentally, this conflict led to the king’s killing of his own son, the Prince Sado. The author of the book *Hancwunglok* [‘A Memoir of Grief’] is the wife of Prince Sado. In the excerpt, the author is describing her son referring to him as “the King’s grandson”. The son of this ill-fated Prince succeeded to the throne eventually.

and the addressee. Incidentally, the “I”-function discussed above may also be a pseudo-HORT in this sense as well, but *po-ca* in the “I”-function is not entirely “pseudo-” since it can be interpreted as involving the addressee which is the speaker himself or herself. In contrast, this new usage is one that simply invites the addressee’s co-operation for an event that is to be performed by the speaker only. Thus, the intended speech act is an imperative, but the intriguing difference is that in imperatives, the verb hosted by the imperative SFP denotes an action to be performed by the addressee, whereas the verb hosted by the HORT SFP *-ca* (i.e., *po-* [‘see’] in this case) denotes an action to be performed by the speaker. For the imperative nature of this usage, *po-ca* in this function can be labeled as the “YOU”-function (i.e., “YOU do x so I see it”). The usage can be seen in Example (12).

- (12) a. *syecho etekaci-ko nao-lyemwuna... ney tek-uy palkang tampAy*
 Western.grass obtain-and exit-PROP your favor-at red tobacco
mas com po-ca
 taste a.little see-HORT
 [‘Bring some Western grass... Let me taste the red tobacco thanks to your favor.’]
 (Orally 18th c.; Written c. 1860s, *Chwunhyangcen*, The
 Tonammwunko edition, 501)
- b. *kutAy-ka i-chyelo khun mal-ul hA-ni chyeng-khentAy ku cAyco-lul*
 you-NOM this-like big talk-ACC say-CAUS request-CONN that talent-ACC
po-ca
 see-HORT
 [‘Since you talk big like this, let’s see that talent of yours.’]
 (1898, *Mayilsinmwun* 4)

Instances of *po-ca* carrying the “You”-function occur in the EMoK. The speaker in Example (12a) is a guard of the magistrate’s residence to which the female protagonist, Chwunhyang, visits to see her boyfriend, the son of the magistrate. The guard is asking the girl to bring some tobacco from the magistrate’s storage for him. The person to ‘see a little bit of taste’ is only the guard, who is now requesting that the girl use her influence on her boyfriend. The HORT in this example is a disguised form of an imperative (one potentially mixed with a threat because he can control her access to the magistrate’s residence).

Similarly, Example (12b), a part of an editorial to ridicule and warn against the government’s irrational action pursuing unaffordable enterprise, uses a fable of a male frog that tries to impress the female frog by inflating his body by drinking excessive water to the point of death. The example sentence is a quotation from the female frog challenging the male frog, after the latter played down the size of

a whale saying that he also can make himself a comparable size. The speaker (the female frog) is asking the male frog for proof that she can see. The expression *chengkhentAy* ('as I request') in the example is a formulaic expression to preface the speaker's request for the addressee to perform an action.

2.3.4 Composite DM *eti poca*: The discourse function

Still another usage of *po-ca* is to mark the discourse function (i.e., as a DM), the last stage of the development of *po-ca* ('let's see'). This stage is when the DM *eti*, originated from the interrogative pronoun 'where' (see Section 2.1), often co-occurs with *po-ca* in the form of a composite DM *eti poca*. We will discuss its components, *eti* and *poca*, briefly before we move on to focus on the emergence of diverse discourse functions of the composite DM *eti poca* in the next section.

As described in Section 2.1, the interrogative pronoun *eti* (in its variant forms) lost its question meaning in its development into an indefinite pronoun. From around the nineteenth century, the nominally HORT expression *po-ca* ('let's see') begins to collocate with *eti* ('where/somewhere') to form *eti poca*. One notable aspect as associated with *eti* is that even from the early times, it was used with a strong potential for a development into a DM. The following example taken from the sixteenth century illustrates this point.

- (13) [At your suggested price, even in Koryo you cannot buy a horse like this one.]
etuy cinsillo mAl sa-kocyehA-nAn i-ko?
 where truly horse buy-want-ADN person-Q
 ['Where(?), are (you) someone genuinely interested in buying a horse?']
 (1517, *Penyeknokeltay* II, 29a)

Example (13) consists of a challenge uttered by a Koryo horse seller who is negotiating its price with a Chinese client who offered a very low price. The utterance, though marked with the SFP of question (i.e., *-ko*) is close to a rhetorical question which carries the overtone of surprise, as in "How can you be someone genuinely interested in buying a horse, if you offer such a ridiculous price!", which in effect is interpretable as 'You are not interested in buying a horse. If you are, offer a more realistic price.' In this example, *etuy* does not have its original interrogative meaning of *Where?* but simply signals the negative surprise of the speaker. This functional characteristic strongly suggests that *etuy* has now developed into a DM. In PDK, the DM *eti* occurs frequently in contexts of counter-expectation. It can be said to carry some interrogative meaning (though rhetorical) in the sense that the surprise is expressed as "Where is it possible for *x* to *y*?" This meaning may be better expressed with *how* as in "How is it possible for *x* to *y*?", and interestingly,

many instances of *eti* in historical text is amenable with the ‘how’ interpretation.⁷ This may have to do with the conceptual association between place and manner (see Section 4.2 for more discussion).

From the nineteenth century, *eti* and *poca* occur in a combined form, *eti poca*, which gains circulation gradually, and at the turn of the twentieth century its use becomes productive.⁸ The following example, taken from a source of the second half of the nineteenth century, is among the early attestations of the composite DM *eti poca*.

- (14) *santhong-ul chyelkengchyelkeng huntu-teni etuy poca*
 divination.box-ACC [ONOMA] shake-CONN DM
il.i.sam.sa.o.lyuk.chil Hehe cos-tha
 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 [laugh] be.good-DEC
 [(The fortune-teller) shakes the divination box with a chyelkengchyelkeng
 noise and then (says), “DM (*etuy poca*), 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 ha ha it’s good.”]
 (Orally 18th c. Written c. 1860s, *Yelnye Chwunhyangswucelka*, 135)

In the example, the fortune-teller is saying *etuy poca* after he shakes the divination box. It is a tubular case filled with divination sticks, each marked with a number, and when he flips it, several sticks come out of a hole in the box. He uses the numbers for divination. The DM *etuy poca* is uttered just before he reads the numbers. This example is interesting in that the fortune-teller in this story is a blind man who cannot “see” the numbers written on the sticks. This strongly suggests that *etuy poca* does not carry the literal meaning of ‘let’s see’. It carries, rather, the function of marking the speaker’s desire to concentrate on a task or to draw the attention, not necessarily visual, of the participant in the discourse scene. Now, in the next section we will analyze its functions in PDK in three domains: interaction management, information management and self-management.⁹

7. In Kyongsang dialect, one of the major dialects in Korean, *etey* and its polite-counterpart *eteyey* are the primary expressions of negative reply, meaning ‘No!’

8. A search from the historical corpus returns only two occurrences (1.09 per million words) of *eti poca* and its variants in the nineteenth century data section and sixteen occurrences (18.87 pmw) in the *sinsosel* section (1906–1913) of the corpus. *Sinsosel*, literally meaning ‘new novel’, refers to the literary genre that bridges the classical novels and modern novels in the history of Korean literature. The remarkable increase in the token frequency can be due to a genre effect (i.e., colloquiality) of the data.

9. The division of these three domains is arbitrary since any discourse event, particularly a conversation, involves all these three dimensions. Beeching and Detges (2014: 8) similarly note that conversation is, by definition, both subjective and intersubjective.

3. Functions of *eti poca* in PDK

3.1 Interaction management

One of the functions that retains the lexical meaning of *eti* ('where/somewhere') and *po-* ('see') is that of marking a request speech act. When *eti poca* with this function is used, the speaker wants to see something and requests that the interlocutor co-operate. Even in this case, however, the hortative meaning of *-ca* is significantly bleached (i.e., the action of seeing is not a joint action), and thus the sentence is not a true HORT (see the discussion of the "YOU"-function in Section 2.3.3). This is illustrated in the following example.

(15) (A's daughter and son-in-law arrive with their baby.)

A: *w-ass-kwuna ayki-ka w-ass-e eti poca*

come-PST-EXCL baby-NOM come-PST-END DM

['O, the baby is here! The baby is here. DM (*eti poca*).']

B: (hands over the baby) (2003, Drama *Nolan sonswuken* Episode 100)

In this scene, A's daughter and son-in-law arrive with a newborn baby they have just adopted. A is repeatedly exclaiming about the baby's arrival in excitement over this first encounter with the baby, and says *eti poca*. In this instance, the function of the DM is that of imperative "Hand me over the baby so I can see her". This usage is common in PDK, especially when the associated action in the context involves "seeing" something, such as before checking out someone's work, examining someone's injury, etc. The DM *eti* that originated from the interrogative pronoun *eti* ('where') can be interpreted as marking the speaker's visual or mental query, as if A in Example (15) were saying, "Where (is the baby)?", even though the baby is right there before her eyes.

Another function of *eti poca* in the interaction management category is marking the speaker's responsiveness in the interactive scene. In this usage, the DM typically occurs in utterance-initial position. The action of seeing is not a joint action, thus not a true HORT, and the lexical meaning of *po-* ('see') may survive and encode visual perception, but *po-* ('see') in this usage is also appropriate with non-visual events. Most importantly, the DM in this function signals the speaker's responsiveness, typically in acknowledgment of responsibility of action on his or her part. The responsiveness signal may occur as pause-filling in manifestation of the self's sustained involvement, or as claiming sustained floor by prefacing that a more contentful utterance will follow.¹⁰ The following examples exemplify the responsiveness marking function of *eti poca*.

10. Incidentally, the pause-filling function in the interaction management category overlaps with the same function in the information management category discussed in Section 3.2.
© 2020, John Benjamins Publishing Company
All rights reserved

- (16) A: [handing over another folder]
kuliko yeki-to ssain pwuthak tuli-pnita
 and here-also signature request give-DEC
 ['And I need your signature on this (document) too, (sir)!']
 B: *eti poca* (and scans through the document)
DM (2002, Drama *Kotok* Episode 9)
- (17) A: [I came hurrying after work.]
ppalli com po-acwu-se-yo
 quickly please see-BEN-HON-POL
 ['Please look at it (breast) quick for me.']
 B: *eti poca* (He examines the breast.)
DM (2001, Drama *Meytikhal seynthe* Episode 27)

Example (16) is taken from a scene where an office worker, A, is getting a signature for approval on a document from the CEO. When A says he needs a signature, the CEO says *eti poca* and then scans through the document. The DM here signals to the addressee that he acknowledges his need and will act on it, not yet in affirmation of approval but tentatively pending the judgment. Thus, the DM is simply showing the responsiveness of the speaker. It is notable that “seeing” the document is to be performed only by the speaker, not jointly. A similar function is observed in Example (17), too. This example is taken from a scene of a hospital room, in which the patient, A, visits the surgeon, B, in a hurry. A had breast cancer before, and B had operated on it. Now A is worried about a possible relapse and is anxious to have her breast examined as soon as possible. On request, B utters *eti poca* and then examines her breast. The surgeon’s use of the DM signals that he is being responsive to her needs. From the context, there are very few alternatives to the DM which would make the interaction comparably natural.

Still another function of the DM *eti poca* in the interaction management category is to encourage discourse partners to come into the speaker’s discourse space. The DM in this usage also occurs utterance-initially and its main function is to attract attention in order to form a “common ground” (Jucker and Smith 1998: 172; Haselow 2012) through shared attention. As is the case with the responsiveness-marking function described above, the use of this DM in this function of engaging the interlocutor is not restricted to visual perception events. This function is illustrated by Example (18).

- (18) (A frog thrown by a prankster lands on the spread skirt of A.)
 A: (blankly looks at the frog)
 B: (looks at A with thoughtful expression on face)

kaykwuli-ka nemwu pwulssangha-ta kuchi Maria?
 frog-NOM very be.pathetic-DEC right [name]
 ['The frog is very pathetic, right, Maria?']

A: (nods)

B: *eti poca acik cwuk-cinanh-ass-ney*

DM yet die-NEG-PST-EXCL

['**DM**, it's not dead yet!']

(1999, Drama *Kosuthu* Episode 16)

Example (18) is taken from a scene in which a young girl, A, living in a church orphanage is picking flowers in the field and a young prankster tries to surprise this chronically despondent girl by throwing a frog on the spread skirt. B is a sympathetic man who is trying to cheer up the girl. Seeing that A is looking at a frog that appears to be dead, he initiates an interaction trying to engage the girl by picking up a topic that is present (i.e., the frog), using a confirmation-requesting tag-question, and calling her by the name Maria. She simply nods, which indicates her indifference. B now uses a device that carries a more engaging force – the **DM** *eti poca*. In the subsequent scene of the drama, it is evident that A is more engaged in the interaction: she watches B as he puts the frog in his palm and revives it, which A admires with wide-open eyes. This shows that even when the hortative meaning has been bleached significantly, a hortative marker may still have an engaging effect on the party present in the scene.

3.2 Information management

The next type of function of the **DM** *eti poca* is related to information management. It simply fills unwanted pauses to avoid silence, which may be interpreted as unfriendliness to the interlocutor or aloofness to the situation or the pending issue. The **DM** in this usage is semantically vacuous. The following examples illustrate such usage:

- (19) a. A: [Why (are you interested in seeing the school record for) Kim Mali?]
 B: [She is a childhood friend of mine. I lost contact with her. That's why...]

A: *a ney* (looks at the file of **eti poca** Kim Mali Kim Mali Kim records) Mali...

B: oh yes **DM** [name; repeated]

['Oh, I see.... **DM** ... Kim Mari, Kim Mari, Kim Mari...']

(2011, Drama *Loyal phaymilli* Episode 6)

- b. *sachenman won-i-la... talla-lo pakkwu-myen eti poca.*
 40.million [monetary unit]-be-END dollar-into exchange-COND **DM**
han samman talla toy-ney
 about 30,000 dollar become-EXCL
 ['(well, you say) it's 40 million won. If converted into dollars, **DM**, it's
 about 30,000 dollars!'] (1998, Drama *Sungpwusa* Episode 12)

The scene of Example (19a) is an administrative office of a girl's high school, in which two visitors, a man and a woman (B), are talking to a school teacher (A). The two are investigating the background of a woman named Kim Mari, but in order to access her information, B pretends to be Mari's former classmate. The school teacher, A, after acknowledging B's interest, is about to look for the desired school record. He utters *eti poca* and then repeats the name of the girl while scanning through the old files. The function of the **DM** here is slightly different from marking responsiveness, discussed in Section 3.1, because in this case he already showed his responsiveness with "Oh, yes [I see]". The **DM** is used to avoid silence, thus devoid of any notable meaning.¹¹

Similarly, in Example (19b), taken from a scene in which a group of people involved in a dishonest business is gathered, their leader is commenting on the bundles of money they received from an illegal transaction. He is converting the amount in Korean currency into US dollars. Between the conditional clause "if converted into dollars" and the approximate figure "about 30,000 dollars", he uses the **DM** *eti poca*. It is evident that he is in the process of mentally converting the figure. The scenario also indicates the presence of an ellipsis (...), which suggests that the utterance of the **DM** is enclosed in silence or is trailing off. The utterance is filling an unwanted pause, often to discourage the interlocutor to interrupt, in this case, since there are four other people present, who are busily counting and talking about the money. Unlike the responsiveness-marking function, which is often manifested when the utterances split by the **DM** do not have strong connection, as in Examples (16) and (17), the pause-filler function tends to occur in

11. Since A is looking for a file under the name, this instance of *eti poca* can be interpreted as a signal of auto-exhortation, which is another prominent function of the **DM**. This is discussed in Section 3.3. An anonymous reviewer also notes that the instances in Example (19) are interpretable as instances of the auto-exhortation function. However, in the instances in Example (19), unlike those in Example (20), the tasks the speakers are about to undertake (i.e., finding a record from a file of indexed cards and roughly converting won into dollar figures) are rather simple and do not require much concentration as compared to the tasks in Example (20), (i.e., evaluating a candidate and interpreting divinatory signs). Since **DMS** typically carry the multiple functions that are not mutually exclusive, these examples may indeed be examples of dual, or multiple, functions. Thus, functional classification of **DMS** is more likely to take the form of 'more A than B' than 'not A but B'.

sentences in which the split utterances tend to have strong structural or semantic connection to each other, because pauses may occur sentence-medially, as in Example (19b). From the perspective of information, the user of a pause-filling DM is utilizing the earned time to plan and formulate the utterance to follow, without being interrupted by a discourse participant.

3.3 Self-management

The DM *eti poca* has another function – that is, the auto-exhortation function – which is among the most frequently used functions in PDK. From its appearance, this usage is similar to the pause-filling usage described above, but it is, as its label suggests, more self-centered, and the interactivity with the interlocutor is significantly reduced. Its primary function is exhorting the self to undertake or focus on a task, and thus, one would say it as a monologue (i.e., even when there is no one present to address the utterance to). Since the discourse participant is outside the consideration, this usage is highly subjective and is similar to the “audience-blind” style (Koo and Rhee 2013; Rhee and Koo 2017).¹² This is exemplified in the following.

- (20) a. (vice-principal scanning through the CV of an applicant for a teaching position)
na.. poli-ø-la eti poca hancwu-satay colep-ey
 [name]-be-END DM [name]-teacher's.college graduation-at
kotunghakkyo-nun kemceng..kosi...
 highschool-top GED..test...
 ['(The next candidate's name) is Na.. Bori... DM... a graduate of Hanju Teacher's College and the high-school diploma is through a GED test...']
 (2005, Drama *Kenppang sensayngnimkwa pyelsathang* Episode 1)
- b. (a fortune-teller scattering grains of rice onto the divination table)
eti poca eti poca 5wel-ey mwen palphyo-l han-ta-nuntey
 DM DM May-at some.kind announcement-ACC do-COMP-CONN
cal toy-keyss-na eti poca
 well go-FUT-Q DM
 ['DM, DM, (the divination sign) says you will be announcing something in May... will it go well?... DM'] (2008, Drama *Oneye* Episode 13)

12. Sentence-types such as declarative, imperative, interrogative, hortative, promissive, etc., are signaled by SFPS. The SFPS constitute an elaborate and complex paradigm incorporating the intersubjectivity markers that reflect speech levels according to politeness and formality. The ‘audience-blind’ style refers to a class of SFPS that are not modulated by such variables as politeness and formality toward the audience.

The scene of Example (20a) is a job interview between a panel of four school officials including the speaker, the vice-principal, and applicants for a teaching position. An applicant named Na Bori enters and sits on the chair, and the vice-president is scanning through the dossier, reading the information in a low voice. As he notes most important information concerning the applicant's qualifications, such as the educational background and credentials, he utters the DM *eti poca*. This monologal utterance is recruited to concentrate on a task being undertaken, not necessarily through visual perception. Similarly, in Example (20b), in the context of fortune telling, the teller is reading the formation of rice grains strewn on the table for divination. While she is engaged in the task, she utters the DM multiple times in order to better concentrate.

Still another subjective function of self-management is to self-affirm his or her stance, frequently signaling the speaker's discontent, self-determination and assertiveness. As it is one of the subjective functions (i.e., self-directed rather than other-directed) it usually occurs in a monologal style, thus often with low audibility. The DM in this usage normally occurs in a non-initial position, often following a description of an event or state toward which the speaker has formed a strong stance. This is shown in Example (21).

(21) (Father with the first son on his second son's refusal to marry a woman)

A: [But Hyungshik already said he wouldn't marry the woman, didn't he!]

B: *nal capanw-ass-nuntey ci nom-i anha-kwu payki-na*
date fix-PST-CONN that fella-NOM not.do-and endure-COND/Q

eti poca

DM

['The (wedding) date has been fixed. Could that guy refuse until the end?

DM'] (2002, Drama *Insayng hwapo* Episode 131)

Example (21) is taken from a scene in which the father, B, is speaking with his first son, A, about his second son. B is pushing his second son, Hyungshik, to marry a woman against his will. His first son is protesting against what his father is doing, reminding him that his brother already made it clear that he does not want to marry this woman. The father does not yield, but stating that he even decided on the date of the wedding ceremony, shows that his stance on this is firm. The DM *eti poca* can be largely translated as 'I will see if it will prove otherwise' (cf. the "I"-function of the HORT *-ca* in Section 2.3.2). As indicated, the stance may involve discontent, which is another prominent function of the DM *eti poca* in this subjective domain. This self-management function is conceptually distinct from other functions, such as interaction and information management in that it either involves the speaker's attention to the self (i.e., not interactional) or involves the speaker's personal stance or evaluative attitude toward the discourse situation.

4. Discussion

4.1 Grammatical change

The development of the DM *eti poca* involves grammatical change, the type of change characterizable as grammaticalization and constructionalization. The nature of the development of DMs in general has been the topic of controversy as to whether it qualifies as an instance of grammaticalization. As Degand and Evers-Vermeul (2015) point out, the controversy stems from different conceptualizations about what constitutes grammatical functions, the rise of which is defined as “grammaticalization”. Some researchers adopt a diagnostic approach, with a set of characteristics of the grammaticalization processes. Lehmann (2002 [1982]) proposes six parameters of grammaticalization, including the syntagmatic parameter of fixation (i.e., the reduction of syntagmatic variability, with which the development of DMs is at variance). In other words, the development of DMs involves the increase, not decrease, in syntagmatic variability as it gains more positional freedom.

However, it is evident that DMs carry a grammatical function in that they play important roles in organizing the discourse, just as word order does at the phrasal and sentential levels, and in signaling diverse interpersonal, interactional meanings beyond the lexical level, and just as mood and modality do at the sentential level. If the role of organizing the discourse is indeed a grammatical function, DMs are necessarily grammatical forms and their development is an instance of grammaticalization. Thus, following Traugott (1995), Diewald (2006) and many others (contra Waltereit 2006), this research takes the position that the development of DMs is a sub-group of, and a less prototypical case of, grammaticalization.

More intriguingly, the development of the DM *eti poca* exhibits a special type of constructionalization (i.e., the DM is still formally flexible), allowing some extension with combination of different linguistic materials. There is a group of DMs or formulaic expressions that are related to *eti poca* in PDK, as listed in part in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that the central formant *poca* (‘let’s see’) is accompanied by various forms, sometimes multiple ones, to form DMs and formulaic expressions. The forms recruited are *eti* (‘where’) and itself a DM, *com* (‘a little’) and itself a DM to mean ‘please’, *hanpen* (‘once’), *kaman* (‘quietly’), *kaman isse* (‘stay put and’), *kulem* (‘if so; then’), *kuntey* (‘but; whereas’) and *twuko* (‘leave it and’). The forms incorporating *twuko* (‘leave it and’) – for example, *twuko poca* (‘let’s leave it and see’) and *eti twuko poca* (‘where (=DM), let’s leave it and see’) – are both typically spoken by a spiteful speaker to express discontent often implying vengeance. The forms listed in Table 1 have differential strength of formulaicity, which is indicated

Table 2. DMS and formulaic expressions related to *eti poca* in PDK

Form	Literal source meaning	Primary function
a. <i>poca</i>	‘Let’s see’	filler, request, auto-exhortation
b. <i>eti poca</i>	‘Where, let’s see’	filler, responsiveness, stance, auto-exhortation, engagement
c. <i>eti com poca</i>	‘Where, let’s see please’	request, auto-exhortation
d. <i>eti hanpen poca</i>	‘Where, let’s see once’	auto-exhortation, request
e. <i>kaman isse poca</i>	‘Let’s stay put and see’	auto-exhortation, turn-claim
f. <i>kaman poca</i>	‘Quietly let’s see’	auto-exhortation
g. <i>kulem poca</i>	‘If so, let’s see’	auto-exhortation, filler
h. <i>kuntey poca</i>	‘But let’s see’	auto-exhortation
i. <i>twuko poca</i>	‘Let’s leave it and see’	discontent
j. <i>eti twuko poca</i>	‘Where, let’s leave it and see’	discontent
k. <i>com poca</i>	‘Let (me) see, please’	[largely lexical, request]
l. <i>hanpen poca</i>	‘Let’s see once’	[largely lexical, proposition]
m. <i>encey hanpen poca</i>	‘Let’s see once sometime’	[largely lexical, proposition]

by frequency of use.¹³ Furthermore, certain forms, despite their high formulaicity, still distinctly carry lexical meanings (e.g., Table 1, Forms K to M), either in the context of asking the addressee to show something to the speaker or of proposing to get together (again) in the future.

In this context, it is notable that these expressions, all descendants of *po-* (‘see’), form a paradigm of DMS of a similar function, resembling the process of constructionalization of “formal idioms” (Fillmore et al. 1988) in construction grammar. In other words, the pivotal DM *poca* (‘let’s see’) has a number of satellite forms combined with other formants, as shown in Figure 1. Thus, the constructions involving the DM *poca* are formally flexible allowing other linguistic forms to join in and to serve various, sometimes overlapping, discourse functions.

13. An “exact string search” on Google (23 September 2017) returns as many as 69,300,000 hits for *poca* and 306,000 hits for *eti poca* on the high end, which sharply contrasts with 6,000 hits for *eti com poca* and 5,740 hits for *kuntey poca* on the low end. These hits, however, may contain noise (i.e., instances of non-DM non-formulaic expressions).

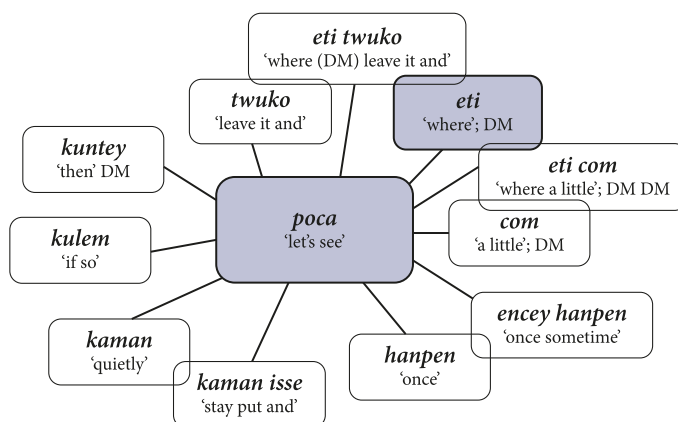


Figure 1. A network of DMs and formulaic expressions of *-poca*

The formants participating in the construction of new formulaic forms largely come from two different sources – that is, forms involving connectives (e.g., *then*, *if so*, *leave it and* and *DM*, *leave it and*) and adverbials (e.g., *where/somewhere*, *a little* and *once*), and many of these are DMs themselves. As noted, however, these satellite forms are heterogeneous in terms of the status of DM: some are full-fledged DMs, whereas some still carry the lexical meaning, making reference to “seeing”.

This state of affairs calls for discussion with respect to the notion of “co-optation” (Kaltenböck et al. 2011; Heine 2013), a process whereby an element of “sentence grammar” becomes an element of “thetical grammar”. Heine (2013:1223), following Kaltenböck et al. (2011) and Van Boagert (2011:318–322), notes that the process of an instantaneous thetical becoming a formulaic DM presupposes an intermediate process of constructionalization, and largely follows the parameters of grammaticalization proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2002:2). As Heine (2013:1221) argues, when elements of sentence grammar are co-opted, they acquire certain characteristics: (i) not being subject to constraints imposed by linearization in structuring texts, (ii) packaging together larger segments of discourse, (iii) placing a text in a wider perspective, (iv) describing the inner state of the speaker, and (v) involving the hearer in the discourse. These functional characteristics coincide with those of the DM *eti poca*, which has a function as, among others, organizing discourse, a signal of the speaker’s subjective states, and an attractor of the addressee’s attention.

4.2 Semasiological change

Another prominent issue that warrants discussion is the semasiological change involved in the development of the DM *eti poca*. As is noted, the DM consists of two words, *eti* and *poca*. Their respective semantic change has been discussed in Section 3, which can be summarized as follows.

The overall change of the first element, *eti/etuy*, can be recapitulated in the following way: it began its life as a locative interrogative pronoun with the meaning of ‘where’; then, it lost the illocutionary force of questioning, which led it to become an indefinite pronoun or indefinite adverb with the meaning of ‘somewhere’. It further underwent semantic change to mean ‘how’ (i.e., the reference to a location has been lost and more general notion of manner has been added).¹⁴ This ‘how’ further lost its interrogative meaning, thus becoming an interjection “how!”, which, incidentally, occurred in the history of English when *how* came to be used in direct exclamations to mean ‘In what a way! To what an extent or degree’ (see OED, s.v. “how”, designation II. 7a). When *eti/etuy* thus acquired the interjective meaning, it soon came to be used as a DM. The path of semantic change of *eti/etuy* can be summarized as: from ‘where?’, to ‘somewhere’, to ‘how?’, to ‘how!’, and a state of being nearly vacuous as a DM.

It was also noted that the meaning of *po-* (‘see’) has been bleached to the point where visual perception is not involved at all (see Section 2.2), and the meaning of the HORT ending *-ca* (‘let’s’) has also highly bleached to the point where there is no joint action of the interlocutors. In other words, the actions involved are normally unilateral or there is no action involved at all (see Section 2.3). Thus, the expression *po-ca* (literally ‘let’s see’) now designates non-visual, non-propositive action. What becomes prominent in this context of semantic change is subjectification and inter-subjectification (cf. Rhee 2012).

It is evident that the emergence of discontent in the DM is an instance of subjectification. For instance, the DM *eti poca* is often used when the addressee is either not present (i.e., a non-dyadic situation as in monologual events) or outside the range of hearing (i.e., a non-directed speech event). In these situations of self-talk, the speakers often use the expression to exhort themselves to

14. This change seems to have been due to the fact that the notion of place is closely related to the domain of existence of enabling conditions, thus, for example, “How is it possible?” is expressed as “Where is the place in which it is possible?” In a broad perspective, enabling manner may include enabling agent (“who”), time (“when”), place (“where”), cause (“why”), etc. The shift from “where” to “how” thus seems to be well-motivated conceptually. For instance, according to Heine and Kuteva (2002: 199–200, 239), in a number of languages (e.g., Old Chinese, Albanian, Luba, Turkish, Imonda, Kono, Bambara) place-related concepts grammaticalized into the markers of enabling force, such as agent, cause, and so on.

concentrate on a task being committed and to invoke a kind of “mental vision”. Also subjective is the function of information management (i.e., a pause-filling function). By way of using the expression for this function, the speakers earn time to organize their thought and plan actual utterances under the time pressure of continuing speech production.

On the other hand, the development of the function of signaling responsiveness to the interlocutor is inter-subjectification. This is an instance of the speaker’s strategy of enhancing interactivity and interpersonal solidarity. The displayed responsiveness facilitates the interaction and increases the interlocutor solidarity by continually updating their common ground. Likewise, the development of the function of co-operation request is also an instance of inter-subjectification. It is notable that, in most of the instances of the expression in this co-operation request function, the action requested is one performed by the addressee only, not jointly by the interlocutors. In other words, a one-party action to be performed by the addressee only is presented in “disguise” of a joint action encoded by a HORT marker (see Section 2.3.3 for the “YOU”-function of the HORT).

4.3 Discursive change

In the historical change of *eti poca*, it is noteworthy that lexical and grammatical forms that served as the source constructions – in other words, *eti* (‘where’), *po-* (‘see’) and *-ca* HORT, have developed into constructions with pragmatic functions. We already noted that HORT markers carry an engaging effect on the part of the addressee, since HORT per se encodes an impositive speech act on the part of the addressee. Such an engaging illocutionary force offers a perfect quality for HORT constructions to develop into DMS whose function is to show the speaker’s discursive intention, evaluation and stance.

Such intentions may be realized by means of pause-filling. Pause-filling can have more of a subjective function in that it can be a device used merely to fill the pause in the course of an utterance. On the other hand, pause-fillers can be more strategically employed in dyadic speech events (i.e., the speaker can foil the addressee’s utterance with the signal of the intention to hold the floor). In other words, the speakers formerly used the expression *eti poca* as a vehicle to encode their proposition for a joint action and typically await the addressee’s (complying) response; now they use the formally identical expression not to elicit the addressee’s response but rather to foil it. Discursive strategies may take the form of feigning the involvement of the addressee in the action – that is, using a joint action marker, HORT, in non-HORT contexts such as non-interactional, monologal speech events. When we view rhetoric as a device aiming to increase persuasiveness, and to reinforce illocutionary force of the statement by making it

more dramatic and vivid (see Leech 1983; Leith and Myerson 1989; Wales 2001; Rhee 2008), DMs can be said to carry significant rhetorical functions. In other words, the use of the DM *eti poca* is an excellent example of how DMs contribute to rhetoricization in discourse as it aids the discursive objective of persuasion.

5. Summary and conclusion

Korean has a number of “see”-related DMs that form a paradigm centering around *poca* (‘let’s see’). This paper investigated the emergence of the DM *eti poca* and its diverse discourse-pragmatic functions. The DM *eti poca* developed from the collocation of *eti* (‘where’), *po-* (‘see’) and *-ca* HORT, which is first attested in the nineteenth century. Before this time, these participating lexical and grammatical items underwent individual development in form and meaning. The interrogative pronoun *eti*, largely equivalent to the English *where*, underwent a series of change to ‘somewhere’, to ‘how?’, to ‘how!’, and a state of being nearly vacuous as a DM. The semantics of the verb of visual perception *po-* (‘see’) also underwent significant change, whereby the meaning relates not only to vision but to other domains, such as cognition, attention, experience, acquisition and interaction. The grammatical formant *-ca*, originally used to encode the speaker’s proposition of a joint action, thus a marker of the “we”-function, also underwent functional extension to the “I”-function and the “you”-function.

When *eti poca* developed into a DM, it came to serve diverse discourse-organizing functions, such as interaction management, information management and self-management. Its detailed functions in the interaction management include marking request, responsiveness and soliciting common ground. For information management, the pause-filling function is prominent. For self-management functions, its use for auto-exhortation and self-affirmation is noteworthy.

We also analyzed the development from the perspectives of grammar, meaning and use. We showed that the development of the DM *eti poca* involves grammatical change (e.g., grammaticalization and constructionalization), semiological change (e.g., subjectification and intersubjectification) and discursive change (e.g., pragmaticalization and rhetoricization), among others.

Acknowledgements

This research was supported by the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies research grant, the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation

of Korea (NRF-2017S1A5A2A01027136), and the National Social Sciences Fund of the People's Republic of China for the Mandarin Thetical and Reconstruction of Discourse Grammar Project (15BYY107).

Glossary

The following abbreviations are used in the gloss:

ACC	accusative	INTJ	interjective
ADN	adnominal	NEG	negation
BEN	benefactive	NF	non-finite
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
COMP	complementizer	NOMZ	nominalizer
COND	conditional	ONOMA	onomatopoeia
CONN	connective	OPT	optative
DEC	declarative	POL	polite
DM	discourse marker	PRES	present
DESID	desiderative	PROG	progressive
EMPH	emphatic	PROP	propositive
END	sentence-ender	PST	past
EXCL	exclamative	Q	question/interrogative
FUT	future	RETRO	retrospective
GEN	genitive	SEL	selective
HON	honorific	TOP	topic
HORT	hortative	TRANS	transferentive.
IMP	imperative		

References

Beeching, Kate and Ulrich Detges. 2014. "Introduction". In Kate Beeching and Ulrich Detges (eds), *Discourse Functions at the Left and Right Periphery: Crosslinguistic Investigations of Language Use and Language Change*, 1–23. Leiden: Brill.
https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004274822_002

Brinton, Laurel J. 1996. *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions*. Berlin: Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110907582>

Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Degand, Liesbeth and Jacqueline Evers-Vermeul. 2015. "Grammaticalization or Pragmaticalization of Discourse Markers? More Than a Terminological Issue". *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 16 (1): 59–85. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jhp.16.1.03deg>

Diewald, Gabriel. 2006. "Discourse Particles and Modal Particles as Grammatical Elements". In Kerstin Fischer (ed.), *Approaches to Discourse Particles*, 403–425. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

- Fillmore, Charles J., Paul Kay and Mary Kay O'Connor. 1988. "Regularity and Idiomaticity in Grammatical Constructions: The Case of *let alone*". *Language* 64: 501–538.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/414531>
- Fraser, Bruce. 1990. "An Approach to Discourse Markers". *Journal of Pragmatics* 14: 383–395.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166\(90\)90096-V](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(90)90096-V)
- Fraser, Bruce. 2006. "Toward a Theory of Discourse Markers". In Kerstin Fischer (ed.), *Approaches to Discourse Particles*, 189–204. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Haselow, Alexander. 2012. "Subjectivity, Intersubjectivity and the Negotiation of Common Ground in Spoken Discourse: Final Particles in English". *Language and Communication* 32: 182–204. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2012.04.008>
- Heine, Bernd. 2013. "On Discourse Markers: Grammaticalization, Pragmaticalization, or Something Else?" *Linguistics* 51 (6): 1205–1247. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.2013.0048>
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, and Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613463>
- Huh, Woong. 1989. 16-seyki Wuli Yeysmalpon ["The 16th c. Korean Grammar"]. Seoul: Saem Publishing.
- Jucker, Andreas H. and Sara W. Smith. 1998. "And People Just You Know Like "Wow": Discourse Markers as Negotiating Strategies". In Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv (eds), *Discourse Markers: Descriptions and Theory*, 171–201. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.57.10juc>
- Kaltenböck, Gunther, Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva. 2011. "On Thetical Grammar". *Studies in Language* 35 (4): 852–897. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.35.403kal>
- Koo, Jongnam. 1999. "On the Discourse 'eodi'". *Linguistics* 7 (3): 217–234.
- Koo, Hyun Jung and Seongha Rhee. 2013. "On an Emerging Paradigm of Sentence-Final Particles of Discontent: A Grammaticalization Perspective". *Language Sciences* 37: 70–89.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2012.07.002>
- Lee, Han-gyu. 2008. "The Pragmatics of the Discourse Particle *eti*". *Urimalgeul: The Korean Language and Literature* 44: 83–111.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. New York: Longman.
- Lehmann, Christian. 2002 [1982]. *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Leith, Dick, and George Myerson. 1989. *The Power of Address: Explorations in Rhetoric*. London: Routledge.
- Martin, Samuel E. 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean. A Complete Guide to the Grammar and History of the Korean Language*. Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing.
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 1982. "The Symbolic Relationship between Pragmatic Particles and Impromptu Speech". In Nils Erik Enkvist (ed.), *Impromptu Speech: A Symposium*, 147–177. Åbo: Åbo Akademi.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2008. "From Rhetoric to Grammar: Grammaticalization of Rhetorical Strategies in Korean". *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 13: 359–370.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2012. "Context-Induced Reinterpretation and (Inter)subjectification: The Case of Grammaticalization of Sentence-Final Particles". *Language Sciences* 34: 284–300.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2011.10.004>
- Rhee, Seongha. 2017. "What Happens When the Will Withers: The Case of Hortative in Korean". *Lingua* 189/190: 46–65. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2016.11.005>

- Rhee, Seongha, and Hyun Jung Koo. 2017. "Audience-Blind Sentence-Enders in Korean: A Discourse-Pragmatic Perspective". *Journal of Pragmatics* 120: 101–121.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.09.002>
- Sohn, Ho-Min. 1999. *The Korean Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sung, Ki Ryun. 2013. "A Study on the Association between the 154-sheet Chunhyangga Owned by Hong Yun-pyo and the Pansori of Junggoje of the Mid-19th Century". *Journal of Pansori* 36: 39–92. <https://doi.org/10.18102/jp.2013.10.36.39>
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1995. The Role of the Development of Discourse Markers in a Theory of Grammaticalization. Paper presented at the 12th International Conference on Historical Linguistics. 13–18 August 1995. Manchester, UK.
- van Bogaert, Julie. 2011. "I think and Other Complement-taking Mental Predicates: A Case of and for Constructional Grammaticalization". *Linguistics* 49 (2): 295–332.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.2011.009>
- Wales, Katie. 2001. *A Dictionary of Stylistics*. New York: Longman.
- Waltereit, Richard. 2006. "The Rise of Discourse Markers in Italian: A Specific Type of Language Change". In Kerstin Fischer (ed.), *Approaches to Discourse Particles*, 61–67. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Watts, Richard J. 1989. "Taking the Pitcher to the 'well': Native Speakers' Perception of their Use of Discourse Markers in Conversation". *Journal of Pragmatics* 13: 203–237.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166\(89\)90092-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(89)90092-1)
- Yeon, Jaehoon and Lucien Brown. 2011. *Korean: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Yu, Chang-Don. 2000 [1964]. *Icoe Sacen* ['A Dictionary of the Joseon Dynasty Language']. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Address for correspondence

Seongha Rhee
Department of English Linguistics
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
107 Imun-ro
Dongdaemun-gu Seoul 02450
Korea
srhee@hufs.ac.kr