



On the many faces of coarseness: The case of the Korean *mak* 'coarsely'

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ABSTRACT

The concept of coarseness encoded by the lexeme *mak* 'coarsely' is represented at various levels of grammar in Modern Korean. At the level of lexis, the adverb *mak* designates diverse meanings associated with 'coarsely'. At the level of bound morphology, the same form can be used as a derivational prefix to verbal, adverbial, or nominal roots to designate 'recklessness' or 'low quality'. At the level of discourse, it carries diverse functions but its core functions are to intensify the meaning and to signal the speaker's negative stance toward the event being described, and to dramatize the event being described with the overtone that the unfolding event/situation was unexpected and, therefore, uncontrollable. The discourse marker development shows extensive subjectification and inter-subjectification. The discourse marker often co-occurs with a locution involving a reported speech, with a negative evaluation of the locution of the original author being reported, and with semantically vague deictic pro-verbs, to signal the speaker's inability to find suitable expressions. By using the discourse marker *mak*, the speaker invites the addressee into the vivid scene of the event in order to create an affective common-ground. In that aspect, *mak* is a rhetorical device for dramatization in discourse.

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1. Introduction

Since all linguistic forms are subjected to meaning negotiation in discourse, new meanings arise in interaction and some of them develop into markers of grammatical notions, a process known as grammaticalization. The constant change of word meanings can also lead to the emergence of a different kind of grammatical form, i.e. discourse markers (DMs), that organize the discourse and signal diverse stances of the speaker. Thus, lexical semantic change, grammaticalization, and DM development are essentially pragmatically motivated language change.

Korean has a large inventory of DMs with diverse discourse-organizing and interpersonal functions, developed from diverse lexemes and constructions. On the synchronic plane, discourse markers are typically polyfunctional (Fischer, 2006 and works therein; Koo, 2018), and there are multiple determinants of these functions (Koo and Rhee, 2018, 2019). The function of a particular DM largely depends on the context in which it occurs and prosodic features that accompany it (Hancil, 2013 and works in Hancil and Hirst, 2013; Sohn and Kim, 2014; Song, 2015; Sohn, 2016). On the diachronic plane, it has been widely accepted in grammaticalization studies that the meaning of the source construction and pragmatic inferences are

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among the most important determinants of the function of a DM (Koo and Rhee, 2018; Rhee, 2020). The functions of contextually situated DMs are largely unambiguous.

In this respect, the Korean *mak* ‘coarsely’ is an interesting lexeme with an extensive developmental history. The lexeme *mak* exhibits a series of semasiological changes across word-classes and functional domains such as verb (‘block’), adverb (‘coarsely’), prefix (‘unrefined’), and DM (intensifier, etc.), thus constituting an instance of ‘heterosemy’ (Lichtenberk, 1991). Despite such interesting paths of historical change, it has not yet received any comprehensive analysis to date. Some studies, e.g. Ahn (2008), Ahn (2009), Kim (2010), Song (2014), and Cho (2015), address the DM functions of the lexeme. Ahn (2008) presents three major functions: signaling a negative attitude, floor-holding, and new information, which are largely consonant with the functions suggested by the other authors, though slightly different labels are used. In addition, the functions of topic continuation and focusing have been suggested in Ahn (2009), Kim (2010), Song (2014), and Cho (2015). Cho (2015) further analyzes the types of the linguistic units modified by *mak* and its positional constraints from a syntactic point of view. Song (2014) is a noteworthy study in that it analyzed the audio data using Praat v5.3.80 to identify the characteristic prosody of the DM in spontaneous conversation. The focus of Song’s study, however, is the contrast between the lexeme’s adverbial function vis-à-vis the DM function.

These studies have contributed to a better understanding of the DM *mak* in contemporary Korean, but they have not extended the scope of research to such issues as what enabled the change and how the change was actualized across time. Given this background, this paper intends to fill the research gap by addressing the lexeme more comprehensively including the historical source, the lexical semantic change, and cognitive mechanisms, i.e. metonymic extension that enabled the semantic-functional change, which eventually form the inference-based conceptual network. It further addresses the discourse strategies that, through entrenchment and conventionalization, eventually led to the emergence of diverse discursive functions. Therefore, the emergence of DMs, the last stage of the development of *mak*, is among the primary foci of this research, but the previous stages are also extensively investigated, since these earlier changes form the basis of the DM development.

The objectives of this paper are threefold: (i) to describe grammaticalization paths of the lexeme *mak*, (ii) to illustrate its semantic-pragmatic functions, and (iii) to discuss factors contributing to the development. In order to pursue these objectives, this paper is organized in the following manner: in Section 2, we address the lexical-morphological development of *mak* focusing on its adjectival, adverbial, and prefixal functions as attested in the historical data; in Section 3 we investigate the DM *mak* tracing its developmental path in history and its discourse functions in contemporary Korean; in Section 4 we discuss some select issues of theoretical importance, e.g. cross-domain directionality (4.1), (inter)subjectification and interpersonality (4.2), positionality (4.3), and conceptual network and functional extension (4.4); and in Section 5 we summarize the findings and conclude 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 through 1913. The Drama and Cinema Corpus is a 24-million word contemporary corpus, a collection of 7,454 scenarios of dramas and movies dating from 1992 through 2015, compiled by Min Li of Seoul National University. UNICONC, a concordance program, was used for the data search.¹

2. The lexical-morphological development of *mak*

2.1. The development of the adverb *mako/makwu*

As briefly alluded to in the introduction, the concept of coarseness encoded by the lexeme *mak* is represented at various levels of the lexis, grammar, and discourse in Korean. Interestingly, the history of the word goes back to the adverb *mako* in Late Middle Korean (LMK; 15th – 16th c.), derived from the verb *mak-* ‘block, stuff (a hole), seal off, seal up’, as exemplified in (1a), which is still in use in contemporary Korean.² The adverb *mako* incorporates the verb *mak-* and the adverbializer (converb marker) *-o*, thus carrying the meaning ‘in the manner of blocking/sealing’, as exemplified in (1b) and (1c), the earliest attestations in history:³

¹ Special thanks go to the developers of these corpora and search tools who generously granted their use for research.

² The transcription is based on the Extended Yale Romanization System (Rhee, 1996), and following the tradition of Korean historical linguists, the Chinese characters in the mixed writing of the source texts are rendered in the Modern Korean pronunciation written in upper-case. In the gloss, the following abbreviations are used: ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominal; ADV: adverbial; ADVZ: adverbializer; CONC: concessive; COND: conditional; CONN: connective; CONV: converb; CR: current relevance; CSL: causal; DEC: declarative; DIR: directional; DM: discourse marker; EMPH: emphatic; END: sentence-ender; EXCL: exclamative; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative; IMP: imperative; INF: infinitive; INST: instrumental; INT: intentional; INTJ: interjection; INTR: interrogative; ITR: iterative; N: nominal; NEG: negation; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PASS: passive; PEJ: pejorative; PERF: perfective; PL: plural; POL: polite; PREF: prefix; PRES: present; PST: past; TOP: topic; TRAN: transferentive; V: verbal.

³ An anonymous reviewer suggests the possibility that *-o*, analyzed as an adverbializers here, might be a variant of the connective *-ko*. It is indeed a possibility considering that adverbializers in general are closely connected to connectives, as evidenced by the formal identity and functional similarity. The distinction between them is ill-defined, the major difference being whether the form hosting them is functioning as a main verb (for the connective) or merely as a modifier of a verb/adjective phrase without an explicit or implicit subject (for the adverbializer). In that aspect *mako* in (1b) strongly favors the adverbializer analysis, whereas that in (1c) is ambiguous (considering that active verb forms in LMK rendered both active and passive interpretations, as noted by the reviewer).

- (1) a. *salam-i PINKAPYENG-ul kacy-e twu kwum-ul mak-ko*
 person-NOM bird.shaped.bottle-ACC have-CONN two opening-ACC block-and
 'A person blocks the two openings of a bird-shaped bottle and...'
 (1462, *Yekcwu nungemkyeng enhay* 2: 120a)

- b. *ALAHAN-i CELMYENG-NAN-al Wihaya PIKWU-tAlh-al*
 [name]-NOM emergency-ACC for disciple-PL-ACC
KWEN-ulo mako ho-la ha-ni
 expedient-INST blockingly sew-IMP say-CONN
 'As Arhat made Buddha's disciples sew up to seal (the
 pockets of their robes) as an expedient in this
 emergency, ...' (1459 *Welinsekpo* 25:23b)

- c. *mok-i kwakali mako puz-e umsik-ul mek-ti.mothA-ya*
 throat-NOM suddenly blockingly swell-CONN food-ACC eat-cannot-CSL
cwuk-ul.tas-ketun
 die -seem-COND
 'If a person seems to be about to die because the person's throat is suddenly
 swollen blocking (the throat), ' (1489 *Kwukupkanipang* 2: 78a)

In (1a) the verb *mak*-denotes 'block, seal', occurring with the connective *-ko* 'and'. In (1b) the word *mako*, formed by the verb *mak*- and the adverbializers *-o*, means 'in the manner of completely sealing' or 'in order to completely seal' the pockets of their robes, because, according to the original text, a disciple was falsely accused to have kept a knife in his pocket in the robe with the intention of assassinating the king and he and other disciples were killed by the infuriated king. Similarly, in (1c) the word *mako*, also an adverbialized form of the verb *mak*-, is used to describe a patient whose throat is swollen 'in the manner of blocking' the throat such that the patient is unable to swallow any food. Example (1b) involves the intention of an agent, whereas example (1c) lacks it, by virtue of its subject being a body-part.

In a medical book dated from the same period, the word *mako* is used for a different meaning, as exemplified in (2) (note that in the same source text, there are two variant forms *mako* and *makwu*, the latter involving the adverbializing converb marker *-wu* instead of *-o*):

- (2) a. *CIHWANG-al mulu sip-e mako puthi-myen cukcay na-nanila*
 rehmannia-ACC Well chew-CONN firmly attach-COND immediately heal-DEC
 '[When a bamboo splinter gets into the skin], if you chew well a root of rehmannia
 plant and firmly apply it (to the affected spot), it will heal immediately.'
 (1466 *Kwukuppang* II: 6a)

- b. *ip-i makwu mu-n i-lan ni-lul kes-ko*
 mouth-NOM firmly clench-ADN person-TOP tooth-ACC separate-CONN
YAK-al nyeh-ula
 medicine-ACC pour.in-IMP
 '[When one was bitten by a dog] if he firmly clenches his teeth (and
 wouldn't open his mouth), force his teeth (jaws) apart and pour the
 medicine (into his mouth).'

(1466 *Kwukuppang* II: 66a)

In (2) *mako/makwu* carries the meaning of 'firmly' 'completely', which describes an act or state being extreme without any room for intervention or modification. However, this meaning no longer survives in Modern Korean (MoK; 20th–21st c.).

The adverb *mako* (and its more frequent variant *makwu*) undergoes semantic extension in Early Modern Korean (EMoK; 17th–19th c.), as exemplified in (3):

- (3) a. *MOL-KO-CE: mako ha-ta*
 absence-high-low coarsely do-INF
 'act coarsely; act carelessly' (1775 *Yekeyuhaypo*: 56b)
- b. *LAN-CHA: makwu talay-ta*
 disorderly-tear coarsely pull-INF
 'pull too forcefully; tear up carelessly' (1775 *Yekeyuhaypo*: 54b)

Examples in (3) are taken from an 18th century source, a foreign language education textbook with a word-list, showing the meaning of Chinese words. The word list clearly shows that *mako/makwu* designates disorderliness or lack of proper care in an action being carried out, i.e. 'coarsely', 'carelessly', 'forcefully'. This 'coarseness' meaning still survives and constitutes the primary meaning of *makwu* in MoK. It is noteworthy that even though (3a) primarily describes a coarse action, it also seems to imply (the lack of) 'consideration' from the head-entry of the Chinese word, which makes reference to 'high and low'. At a later time, this meaning becomes more prominent as shown in the following:

- (4) a. *coy-uy kyengcyung-un uynon-thi anihA-ko*
 crime-gen severity-TOP consider-NOMZ do.not-and
motun hyengpel-ul makwu pwuli-teni
 all punishment-ACC recklessly execute-CONN
 '(Prosecutor Chang Yekyoung) recklessly administered all kinds of punishments without considering the degrees of seriousness of the crimes, and...'
 (1852 *Thaysangkamunghyphen* 2:15a)

- b. *twu salAm-i [...] ku mwulken-ul mako mek-e*
 two person-NOM that thing-ACC recklessly eat-CONN
tyencyu-uy myeng-ul pemhA-ni
 God-GEN order-ACC violate-CSL
 'Since the two (Adam and Eve) violated God's order by recklessly eating the thing, ...'
 (1882 *Syengkyocyelyo* 35b)

Example (4a) is an excerpt from a 19th century ethics book edifying virtuous acts, and the word *makwu* describes an act of a law-enforcement official who took pleasure in wantonly inflicting punishments on transgressors without considering the degrees of severity of their criminal acts. Example (4b) is taken from a book of Christian theology, which describes the scene of the human fall caused by Adam and Eve, who disobeyed God's order by recklessly eating the forbidden fruit. All these EMoK examples show that *mako/makwu* carries the meaning 'recklessly' 'rashly' 'thoughtlessly', thus describing the unscrupulous manner of an intentional act without due consideration. This recklessness meaning still survives and is among the primary meanings of *makwu* in MoK.

In the 20th century, the lexeme undergoes further semantic extension, as exemplified in the following:

- (5) a. *kwisin-uy mosup-i poi-ci.anh-a iliceli makwu chacatani-n-ta*
 ghost-GEN figure-NOM be.visible-NEG-CONN here.there blindly look.for-PRES-DEC
 '(Kijoo, with a sword in hand,) blindly looks for the ghost here and there as the ghost is nowhere to be seen.'
 (2008 *Censeluy kohyang* Episode #5)
- b. (Seyeon plays with a remote.)
limokon-ul makwu nwul-letay-myen.. theylleypicen hwamyeon
 remote-ACC randomly press-ITR-COND television screen
makwu pakkwi-n-ta
 randomly change-PRES-DEC
 'As (she) randomly presses buttons on the remote, the TV screen randomly changes.'
 (2009 Drama *Oyinkwutan* Episode #11)
- (6) a. *iukko ttukewun nwunmwul-i makwu makwu*
 before.long warm tear-NOM uncontrollably uncontrollably
ketcap-ulswueps-i hullenayli-n-ta
 withhold-cannot-ADVZ flow.down-PRES-DEC
 'Before long warm tears flow down (her cheeks) uncontrollably.'
 (2006 Drama *Nen enu pyeleyse wassni* Episode #15)
- b. [Miyeon looks at Jiseok and Jiseok's eyes meet hers]
Cisek-un kasum-i makwu ttwi-n-ta
 [name]-TOP heart-NOM uncontrollably beat-PRES-DEC
 'Jiseok's heart beats uncontrollably.'
 (2006 Drama *90-il salanghal sikan* Episode #6)

In examples (5) and (6), *makwu* has two different, yet closely related, meanings, i.e. 'without planning' 'on the spur of the moment' as in (5) and 'uncontrollably' 'irresistibly' as in (6). Also it is in Modern Korean when the earlier variant *mako* ceases to occur. From the illustrations given above, the meanings of the adverbial *mako/makwu* attested in history from LMK to MoK are summarized as in (7):

- (7) a. 15th c. 'blockingly' 'sealingly'
 b. 15th c. 'firmly' 'completely'
 c. 18th c. 'coarsely' 'crudely' 'forcefully'
 d. 19th c. 'recklessly' 'thoughtlessly' 'without care'
 e. 20th c. 'without planning' 'blindly' 'without hesitation' 'straightforwardly'
 f. 20th c. 'uncontrollably' 'irresistibly'

2.2. The development of the adverb *mak*

As the lexeme *mako/makwu* undergoes an extensive semantic change described in the preceding section, its phonologically reduced form *mak* emerges with related, yet slightly different, meanings in EMoK. This reduction is a rather peculiar phenomenon because the reductive process is tantamount to an omission of the adverbializing converb marker *-o/-wu*, thus the end result is the same as the verb stem, i.e. *mak-* 'block'. In this language a verb stem cannot occur without its

morphological trappings such as markers of tense, aspect, mood and modality, or connectives. Furthermore, there are no instances where a verb stem becomes an adverb through zero-derivation. Thus, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the derivation of the adverb *mak* from the verb-derived adverb *makwu* has occurred without the language users' awareness of the original derivational process of the latter, i.e. when *mak* emerged, the word *makwu* was considered as already morphologically unanalyzable. Early uses of the new adverb *mak* are illustrated in (8):

- (8) a. *paykpihang-ul mak skulh-ulcekuy*
 mineral.water-ACC just boil-when
 'Just when the mineral water boils (in the bowl)...'
 (16xx *Twuchangkyenghempang* 51a)
- b. *nay cip TONGSAN-uy kotch-i NANMANha-ye SIPANG mak*
 my house hill-at flower-NOM full.bloom-CSL now to.the.fullest
kwukyengha-istayyey homca po-ap-ki-nan kwayen atkap-saomay
 enjoy-when alone see-HON-NOMZ-top indeed be.sorry-as
 'While I enjoy the blossoming flowers on the hill of my house, it is indeed a shame that I see it alone.'
 (1790 *Inetaypang* 2:4a)
- c. *cyohun paykchyeng han thangkuy-ul ku wuh-uy pwu-e*
 good white.honey one bowl-ACC it(s) top-at pour-CONN
pkwul nay mak na-lcyekyey
 honey smell strongly exude-when
 'Pour a bowl of quality white-honey (into the jar placed over the charcoal fire) and when the honey smell comes out of the jar strongly, ...'
 (1869 *Kanpon kyuhapchongse* 5b)
- d. *ku atunim-i mak cala-si-nan akinay-lal han stay-man*
 his son:HON-NOM speedily grow-HON-ADN child:HON-ACC one time-only
kalachi-ci anihA-si-ko
 teach-CONV do.not-HON-CONN
 'If the prince were not to teach his fast-growing child even once, then..'
 (18xx *Hancwunglok* 102)

As exemplified in (8), various meanings emerge in EMOK. In example (8a), taken from a medical reference book, *mak* means 'just when', 'exactly when', etc., often marking the moment of change of states. Its connection with the meaning of *mako/makwu*, however, is not immediately clear. Example (8b) is taken from an 18th century textbook for Korean-Japanese translators and interpreters, in which *mak* is used to mean 'to the fullest', 'to one's heart's content', etc., obviously related to the meaning of 'completely' of its etymon *mako/makwu*. Example (8c), an excerpt from a 19th century encyclopedic reference book for housewives, shows *mak* being used for the meaning of 'strongly', 'intensely', etc., a meaning related to 'forcefully' of *mako/makwu* but without negative evaluation. Example (8d), taken from a 19th century diary of a queen-mother, shows *mak* being used with the meaning of 'speedily', 'fast', etc., with reference to a child's growth, which is so fast that one is unable to constantly keep track of. This meaning first appearing in the 19th century data is related, though indirectly, to the meaning 'uncontrollably' of *makwu*, which is attested in the 20th century.

The fact that the meanings of 'exactly' of (8a) and 'speedily' of (8d) are not directly related to any of the meanings of *mako/makwu*, even though there may be some convergence at a higher conceptual level, strongly suggests that *mak* is not a simple formal variant of *mako/makwu*, but has departed from its source form, traveling its own journey of semasiological change (cf. 'divergence' Hopper, 1991).

In the 20th century, *mak* is very productively used with diverse meanings, many of which as attested in the earlier times, as illustrated in part in (9):

- (9) a. *nah-un samsip-i mak nem-un.tusha-n salam-i tampaystay mwul-ko*
 age-TOP 30-NOM just pass-seem-ADN person-NOM pipe bite-and
 'A person whose age seems to be just over 30 has a pipe in his mouth and...'
 (1908 *Unsekyey* 72)
- b. *tuleka-mye mak malsamul.ha-lye-niska*
 enter-as just speak-INT-CONN
 'When (I) was about to say (something) as (I) entered, ...' (1903 *Songloykum* 534)
- c. *cikum mak naylyewa-ss-ney*
 now just.now come.down-PST-DEC
 '(I) came just now (from the capital).'
- (1913 *Molanpyeng* 48)

- d. *mongtwungi hana-ssik-kaciko cyangcha-tul-ul mak phay-cyuki-ela*
 club one-each-with official-PL-ACC mercilessly beat-kill-IMP
 'Each one (of you bring a club) and ruthlessly beat and kill the (corrupt) officials.'
 (1908 *Unsekye* 103)

As shown in (9), the adverb *mak* carries the meanings such as 'just' 'only very briefly after' in (9a), 'just at the moment' 'when x barely occurred' in (9b), 'just now' in (9c), and 'mercilessly' 'ruthlessly' 'fiercely' 'extremely' in (9d). The word *mak* in examples (9a) through (9c) designates 'immediacy' in time. As illustrated in (9a) and (9b), *mak* can refer to the vicinity in time either before or after the referenced event, i.e. at a time soon after as in (9a) (thus the man is just over age 30), or at a time just before as in (9b) (thus when I have not yet spoken). When the immediacy is at the maximum, the two temporal points may overlap as in (9c), in which my arrival time and the speech time are identical. The 'mercilessly' meaning in (9d) is closely related to the coarseness meaning of *mako/makwu* illustrated before. In MoK 'temporal immediacy' and 'behavioral coarseness' meanings are the two primary meanings of the adverb *mak*, which constitute the semantic basis of the DM *mak* to be discussed in Section 3.

2.3. The development of the prefix *mak*-

As the adverb *mak* develops from *mako/makwu*, a prefix develops from the adverb *mak*. The development of a derivational morpheme is an instance of grammaticalization, even though the degree of its grammaticality is not high. Thus, Kurylowicz (1975[1965]: 52), by stating "from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivational formant to an inflectional one," considers derivational formants as weakly grammatical forms vis-à-vis inflectional forms, and regards the development from the former to the latter as involving the increase in grammaticality and grammatical scope.

The prefix *mak*- is identical in form to the adverb *mak*, different only in functions. The prefix can be hosted by diverse word classes, such as nouns, verbs, and adverbs. This functional change is not uncommon in Korean (and indeed in other languages) since an extant form is often recruited to host a word of different parts of speech, in order to make it serve the similar conceptual function (see Genetti, 1991; Rhee and Koo, 2015; Fischer, 2008, 2011). Just as the morphosyntactically free-standing adverb *mak* modifies a verbal predicate with diverse meanings, the prefix *mak*- modifies its hosts e.g. nouns, verbs, and adverbs with diverse meanings. However, as we shall see below, such extension across parts of speech is not random or abrupt but a motivated and gradual change. This prefixal usage of the lexeme *mak* is a rather recent development in history, mostly dating from the late 19th century except for one example, (10f), which dates from the 17th century (see below).

The prefix *mak*- is affixed to verbal roots to form words to mean that the event denoted by the verb is performed 'coarsely', as exemplified in the following:

- (10) a. *makka*- 'proceed without restraint'
 < *mak*- 'coarsely' + *ka*- 'go'
 b. *makpo*- 'belittle, disparage'
 < *mak*- 'coarsely' + *po*- 'see'
 c. *makkelu*- 'strain/sift quickly' (cf. (11a) below)
 < *mak*- 'coarsely' + *kelu*- 'sift'
 d. *maknol*- 'behave recklessly'
 < *mak*- 'coarsely' + *nol*- 'behave, play'
 e. *maktoy*- 'behave without manners'
 < *mak*- 'coarsely' + *toy*- 'become, grow'
 f. *makcilu*- 'foil quickly, cut in front' (or 'go on a shopping spree' in MoK slang)
 < *mak*- 'coarsely' + *cilu*- 'cut'

As shown in (10), the prefix *mak*- adds the meaning of 'recklessness', 'unrefinedness', 'hastiness', etc. to the verb meaning, just as manner adverbs do. These word derivations are mostly recent developments, with the exception of (10f) *makcilu*-, the origin of which, according to an etymological dictionary by Choi and Kim (1997: 326), goes back to a Chinese-Korean dictionary *Elokhay* Cengyang edition (1657), which lists *maktila*- 'foil quickly' as a headword (note that EMOk/t/becomes palatalized to/c/before a high vowel in MoK through a wholesale phonological change). This EMOk lexeme seems to be an isolated example of the verbal prefix *mak*-, which gains productivity in MoK only. However, this early usage, though limited in number, is significant in that since *mak* is a descendent of an adverb denoting 'coarsely', its function as a modifier of a verb is a natural one, and the earliest attestation being verbal prefix is nothing extraordinary. After frequent collocation of the phrasal [*mak* (adv.) + verb] construction, the phrase is susceptible to reinterpretation as a single lexeme in which the original adverb is no longer an autonomous word but a prefix. Since the primary function of adverbs is to modify a verb, the manner adverb *mak* 'coarsely' can modify verbs denoting actions without syntactic constraints, and the expressions that are frequently used become entrenched into single formants as instances of 'univerbation' (Lehmann, 2015[1982]). For instance, such forms as *mak ha*- 'act carelessly' (< 'do coarsely'), *mak tayha*- 'treat lightly' (< 'deal carelessly'), *mak ttayli*- 'violently assault' (< 'hit

coarsely'), *mak kkakk-* 'give a crew cut (of hair)' (< 'crop coarsely'), etc. are among many others that are at the borderland of two-word phrases and one-word lexemes in MoK.

An authoritative dictionary *Phyocwun Kwuke Taysacen* by the Korean Institute of the Korean Language lists another usage of the prefix *mak-*, i.e. one affixed to adverbial roots. For instance, the dictionary shows the example *makhayya* 'even in extreme conditions', which involves the prefix *mak-*, adding the intensity or extremity meaning to the adverb *hayya*. This word, however, has some archaic flavor and the non-prefixed word *hayya* seems to be now defunct. More importantly, the adverb *hayya* is morphologically analyzable as *ha-eya* ['do'-concessive conditional], with the main component being a verb, i.e. *ha-* 'do'. This also strongly indicates that the adverbial prefix function of *mak* emerged from the verbal prefix function of *mak*, just as the primary function of its source word, the adverb *mak*, is to modify verbs, as noted above.

The most productive host class of the prefix *mak-* in MoK is the noun. The most commonly cited example of this kind is *makkelli*, a low-quality Korean rice-wine, which first appears in an 1880 Korean-French dictionary *Hanpwulcacen* in the form of *makkelni* and in an 1895 Korean-Chinese dictionary *Kwukhanhoye* in the form of *makkeli*. The morphological composition of the word *makkelli* is as shown in (11a), along with other words derived from a similar process:

- (11) a. *makkelli* 'low-quality rice-wine'
 < *mak-* 'coarse' + *kelu-* 'sift' + *i* NOMZ 'lit. a thing roughly sifted' (cf. (10c) above)
 b. *makcapi* 'handy stuff for everyday use' (cf. Lee, 1938)
 < *mak-* 'coarse' + *cap-* 'hold' + *i* NOMZ 'lit. a thing coarsely handled'
 c. *mangnani* < *maknani* 'a scoundrel, an executioner' (cf. Lee, 1938)
 < *mak-* 'coarse' + *na-* 'be born' + *n* ADN + *i* 'person' (lit. 'a coarsely-born person')
 d. *makkomwusin* 'plain rubber shoes with a flat-nose'
 < *mak-* 'coarse' + *komwu* 'rubber' + *sin* 'shoe'
 e. *maktocang* 'cheap wooden seal'
 < *mak-* 'coarse' + *tocang* 'seal'
 f. *makkwukswu* 'cheap buckwheat noodles'
 < *mak-* 'coarse' + *kwukswu* 'noodle'

As shown above, certain nouns, e.g. (11a) through (11c), are the results of complex word-derivation process in which prefixation of *mak-* is involved. However, most cases involve a simpler derivation with the prefix directly affixed to a full-fledged noun, attributing such meanings as 'low quality', 'not valuable', etc. The complex cases all involve a verb (i.e. 'sift', 'hold', 'be born'), an important fact about the history of the nominal prefix. As noted, *mak* is a descendent of an adverb, thus morphosyntactically unable to modify a noun. However, when the complex word derivation results in a noun, e.g. 'low-quality wine', 'handy stuff', 'an executioner', etc., the first element *mak* can be easily reinterpreted as a nominal prefix. This reinterpretation analysis is supported by the fact that there are no nouns without the *mak-* prefix such as **kelli* (cf. (11a)), **capi* (cf. (11b)), **nani* (cf. (11c)), to which the prefix *mak-* is affixed.

Since this nominal derivation is productive, some present-day speakers regard the prefix *mak-* as an adjective, and use the form more freely to form a noun phrase to refer to a low-quality, cheap object of any kind (e.g. *mak kwaca* 'low-quality cookies', *mak socwu* 'low-quality liquor', *mak tampay* 'cheap tobacco without paper wrapping', *mak peli* 'earnings from menial labor', *mak il* 'menial labor', *mak notong* 'menial labor, day labor', *mak mal* 'coarse language', *mak sapal* 'cheap ceramic bowl', *mak kochwuskalwu* 'cheap chili pepper powder', etc.), suggesting that the development into a prefix is still not complete.⁴ In other words, the adverb *mak* as a verbal modifier engendered the verbal prefix function, and when such word derivation results in a noun formation, the prefix is reanalyzed as a nominal prefix, and in turn, the productivity of nominal prefixal usage triggered the reanalysis of the nominal prefix as an adjective (which, however, is not endorsed by prescriptivists and lexicographers).

3. Functions of the discourse marker *mak*

In MoK *mak* developed into a DM with diverse functions. The development is not observable in the historical section of the Sejong Corpus, even though it is usually the case that many discourse phenomena are first observable in the so-called *sinsosel* (lit. 'new novel') collections included in the corpus, a literary genre that first incorporated colloquial aspects of language use.⁵ Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the development of *mak* into a DM occurred only in the last several decades.

⁴ The perception of *mak* as an adjectival modifier is widespread among native speakers, and the author's earlier version of this paper, presented at the IPRA-16 conference, analyzed this adjectival function as the initial stage from which the adverbial forms are derived (note that derivation of an adverb from an adjective is a morphologically productive operation). However, a deeper historical investigation reveals that the history of the word ultimately goes back to the verb *mak-* 'block', a view endorsed by a historical lexicographer at the National Institute of the Korean Language (<https://opendict.korean.go.kr/dictionary>, accessed May 2020). The author stands corrected and declares that the earlier analysis was incorrect. It is also noteworthy that the grammatical status between a nominal prefix and an adjective is not straightforward and from the functional point of view, since the two are often inseparable by virtue of both being modifiers of a noun.

⁵ *Sinsosel* refers to the literary genre that bridges the classical novels and modern novels in Korean literature, and the novels in the genre, numbering about 300, date from 1894 to 1917. The styles characteristic of these novels were influenced by Western literary styles, including the use of colloquial language. Since grammaticalization processes can be more easily captured in colloquial data, *sinsosel* is often the data source where emerging grammatical functions are first attested.

The DM *mak* carries a number of functions, notably marking uncontrollability, lexical search or pause-filling, negative stance, and intensification, and these functions are not mutually exclusive and thus occur multiply in a single instance. We will first exemplify the usage as attested in the Drama and Cinema Corpus and discuss some prominent issues in the next section.

3.1. Incontrollability

We have noted that the lexical meaning ‘uncontrollably’ of the adverb *makwu* is attested in the 20th century (see 2.1 above). The meaning is inherited in the DM usage of *mak*, as exemplified in (12)–(14):

- (12) (A woman, A, and a man, B, at the beginning of a romantic relationship, are waiting to see a movie in a cinema theater, while trailers and commercials are being shown on screen.)
 A: [Do you know many girls?]
 B: [What did you say?]
 A: [I mean, are there many girls around you? Just someone you know? How many do you know?]
 B: [I have none. You're the first one.]
 A: [Hoo..]
 B: [...]
 A: *tahayngi-ney...* *cham tahayngi-ta* (looking at B) *na.. mak..*
 be.fortunate-EXCL truly be.fortunate-DEC I DM
 kipwun-i cohaci-ney-yo
 feeling-NOM become.good-EXCL-POL
 ‘How fortunate! It's truly fortunate. I.. DM (I cannot resist this emotional surge!)... I begin to feel happy!’
 (2004 Movie *Anun yeca*)
- (13) (A bride-to-be, B, is in an emotional swing while the wedding date approaches, and behaves strangely. Her friend A is concerned.)
 A: [What is it? Are you experiencing the bride's depression?]
 B: *moll-a...* *kunyang mak.. hethalhayci-ki-to ha-kwu..*
 not.know-END Just DM become.feel.empty-NOMZ-also do-and
 ta mwulu-ko.siph-ki-to ha-kwu.. a kunyang eti-lo
 all cancel-want-NOMZ-also do-and INTJ just somewhere-DIR
 hwak tomangka-peli-ko.siph-e
 swiftly run.away-PERF-want-END
 ‘I don't know. (I) just DM (I don't know what to do!) (I) feel empty... sometimes feel like cancelling (the wedding)... Ah I just want to run away to somewhere.’
 A: [Oh, it's normal, then.]
 B: [(flinching) Normal?]
 A: [Everyone feels that way before wedding, they say. You've been too busy preparing for the wedding. That's normal. (You're just exhausted.) Get some rest.]
 (2004 Drama *Oltumisu taieli* Episode #223)
- (14) (B presses his girl-friend A, who did not show up at an appointment, for an answer, and A is reluctant to admit that she forgot the appointment because of gambling with a card game. She begins to talk but then withdraws.)
 A: [You know... that day I... O!.. Just forget it.]
 B: [Tell me. That day you... what?]
 A: [... I played card.]
 B: [(confounded) You... gambled? What kind?]
 A: [The “Sesta” game.]
 B: [Sesta! ha ha.. That's a great game. Hmm.. (but) how come?]
 A: *sonpal cha-ko kulay-ss-nu-ntey phay-man cap-umyen*
 hand.leg be.cold-and be.so-PST-CR-CONN card.deck-only hold-COND
 mak.. hyelaykswunhwan-to toy-ko hyu~ nay-ka michyess-ci
 DM blood.circulation-also become-and INTJ I-NOM be.crazy-end
 ‘(I) used to have (my) limbs cold (for a blood circulation problem), but once I hold a deck of card... DM (It's beyond my control.)... the blood circulates well, and, OMG I'm crazy.’
 (Movie *Thacca*) (2006)

Excerpt (12) is taken from a movie script in which a girl, A, who has fallen in love with B, is anxious about the possibility that B already has a girl-friend. Upon hearing that she is the first one for him, she is greatly relieved and feels uncontrollable happiness. The emotional surge from deep inside is described as uncontrollable. Excerpt (13) is taken from a TV drama scene in which a would-be bride is undergoing an emotional swing as the wedding date approaches and as she has been exhausted by the preparations. In her utterance, the DM *mak* is describing her feeling of emptiness or futility, which gets hold of her uncontrollably, and makes her want to flee from the situation. Similarly, in (14), a gambler is describing her addiction to gambling with the DM *mak* that when she holds a deck of cards, her blood-circulation becomes normal.

One common feature of the DM usage with this ‘incontrollability’ function is that the verbs in the predicate being modified tend to be inchoative verbs, i.e. those involving a process of change of states. For instance, (12) has the verb *cohaci-* ‘become good’ (note that *-ci-* is a causative/passive morpheme, which marks a range of causation-related concepts including causative,

passive, inchoative, reflexive, middle, etc. cf. Rhee and Koo, 2014; Abraham and Leisiö, 2006 and works therein); (13), *hethalhayci*- ‘become feeling empty’ (note the *-ci-* again); and (14), *hyelaykswunhwan-to toy-* ‘blood circulation also begins to function’ (note that *toy-* is also a periphrastic passive).⁶ In other words, the ‘incontrollability’ function is closely associated with the predicates that denote a change, the occurrence of which is uncontrollable on the part of the experiencer.

3.2. Lexical search and pause-filler

Another function of the DM *mak* is to signal that the speaker is in the middle of lexical search and thus intends to keep the floor. Since *mak* is an unusual linguistic form to end an utterance with (note that Korean is a head-final language and a ‘properly’ ended sentence invariably ends with an inflected verb), when *mak* occurs, the interlocutor expects that the speaker has not yet finished his or her utterance and has more to say. Such usage of the DM *mak* is as shown in (15)–(17):

- (15) (B hurriedly returns from a hairdresser's as he was scared of the perm setters and other strange-looking machines, and his aunt A is surprised to see him return so soon.)
 A: [Already... you're back so soon?]
 B: [Well.. Auntie! At the hairdresser's, you know, there were strange-looking machines there and...]
 A: [Machine?]
 B: *ney! khetalah-ko, lopos-kathi sayngky-e.kacko... mak...*
 yes be.big-and robot-like look-and DM
 ‘Yes, (it) is big, and looks like a robot, and... DM (I don't know how to describe it!)’
 A: [Oh, you must be talking about the perm-setter.]
 (2004 Drama *Oltumisu taieli* Episode #89)
- (16) (A and B, former classmates, are at a national cemetery, where their mutual friend is honoring her husband and son who perished in a war. As they watch the woman weep,)
 A: [What kind of life is this!]
 B: [I know what you mean.]
 A: *na-nun sa-nun ke-y mak... kuleh-ta*
 I-TOP live-ADN NOMZ-NOM DM be.SO-DEC
 ‘For me, the life seems... DM (How can I put it... to be so.’
 (2009 Drama *Solyakkwukcip atultul* Episode #23)
- (17) (The speaker volunteers unsolicited information to the addressee about her new job to which she is going now.)
 [The job is only temporary. A teacher there is on a maternity leave for a month.]
kulaytvu choimpallyeng-i-lase-yo, mak tteli-kwu mak
 nonetheless first.appointment-be-as-POL DM become.scared-and DM
kincangtoy-kwu mak... mak amthun kullenke iss-cyo
 become.nervous-and DM DM anyway such.a.thing exist-END
 ‘But as it is my first appointment, I'm DM (uncontrollably) scared and I'm DM (uncontrollably) nervous and DM (How can I put it into words!)... DM (How can I put into words!)... anyway, something like that, you know!’
 (2006 Drama *Annyenghaseyyo hanunim* Episode #1)

Excerpt (15) is taken from a TV drama scene, in which a boy goes to a hair-dresser's but comes back right away because he thought the hair-dresser's machines were strange and even scary. When he has to describe the machine, he says it looks like a robot and wants to describe it more in detail. But he is unable to find a proper word, and uses the DM *mak* as a pause-filler, but eventually fails to find one. The turn is picked up by his interlocutor. Excerpt (16) is also taken from a TV drama scene, in which two friends are conversing while looking at their mutual friend weeping at the graves of her husband and son. They are struck by the strong emotion because of the renewed sensation of the fragility and futility of life. Speaker A is unable to find proper words to describe this strong and profound feeling and uses DM *mak* to fill the pause while searching for the right expression. The speaker fails to find a concrete word and just uses a semantically vague pro-verb *kule-* ‘be so’ to complete the sentence. Excerpt (17) is from a scene in which a woman, who got the first appointment to teach a class as a substitute teacher, is speaking of the excitement and nervousness she is experiencing to her travel companion. As she is emotionally excited, she uses the DM multiple times; the first two are of the ‘uncontrollability’ of fearfulness and nervousness (note that the two predicates being modified involve causative/passive verbs), and the other two repeated later in a row are pause-fillers. She is unable to find proper expressions to describe her excitement and eventually just gives up by saying that her interlocutor would know what is being meant with the sentence-final confirmation ender *-cyo*.

The DM *mak* used for signaling lexical search and filling the pause also has the following structural characteristics. It commonly occurs with an ellipsis punctuation, a notation for the lapse of time while the speaker is performing lexical search. And, as shown in (17), the speaker's inability to find a proper expression may cause them to repeat the pause filler (see 4.4 for more discussion).

One noteworthy aspect of the lexical search or pause-filling function of the DM *mak* is that it is different from other pause-fillers: it cannot be used as a mitigator. In the case of other DMs that carry the pause-filling function, e.g. *ce* (< ‘that’), *kulssey* (< ‘then, therefore, meanwhile’), *kuntey* (< ‘then, but’), etc. (see Rhee, 2020), the same DM can be used as a mitigator, since the

⁶ One peculiarity of the *toy*-passive is that it passivizes not only verbs marked by the adverbializer *-key* (as e.g. *cwuk-key toy-* ‘be made to die’) but also nouns as *hyelaykswunhwan* ‘blood circulation’ in (14) (see Rhee and Koo, 2014: 320 for more discussion on the historical development of *toy*-passive).

speaker may, and often does, strategically feign the difficulty in lexical search to give the impression that the speaker cannot readily produce the answer for the sake of negative face. However, this is not the case with the DM *mak*. The mitigator function is not associated with the DM *mak*, probably because its formally-identical source lexeme has negative semantics, i.e. ‘coarsely’.

3.3. Negative stance

Among the productive functions of the DM *mak* is that of marking the speaker's negative stance toward the situation being described. This function is well illustrated in the following examples:

- (18) (A is organizing a band and B initially agreed to join. But B's employer at a music institute does not permit B to cut classes. Learning that B has become unable to join, A is speaking to apologetic B.)

A: [So... you can't join (the band)?]

B: (disturbed) [It seemed that I could take some time off at evenings, but]

<i>yengcaysukhwul</i>	<i>ccok-eyse</i>	<i>Phelccek</i>	<i>ttwi-kwu.nanli-y-a</i>	<i>leysun</i>	<i>ha-l</i>
talent.school	part-at	Joltingly	jump-EMPH:PEJ-be-END	lesson	do-ADN
<i>sikan-to</i>	<i>ppatusha-ntey</i>	<i>mwusun</i>	<i>solli-ø-nyakwu</i>	<i>mak.</i>	
time-even	be.barely.enough-CONN	what.kind	word-be-INTR.COMP	DM	

‘The (director) of the music school is jumping to his feet in shock (to hear my request). (He's) saying how that makes sense while there is not enough time even just for lessons (for students preparing for their important tests). DM (Oh what a fuss he made!)’

(2008 Drama *Peythopeyn paillesu* Episode #17)

- (19) (A and B are brothers. B was involved in a brawl on the street, was caught by his mother, and lost the computer and cellphone access as a punishment. A knows that B did not start the fight but was only tricked into it by a boy named Seunghyun, but blames his brother for the mishap.)

A: [Well, look at you! I knew you would end up like this someday. You've been unruly.]

B: <i>na-n</i>	<i>cengmal</i>	<i>ekwulha-tanikka~</i>	<i>sunghyeni</i>	<i>casik-i</i>	<i>mak.</i>
I-TOP	truly	be.mistreated-END	[name]	wretch-NOM	DM

ahwu.. (hits the bed with his fist)

INTJ

‘What I'm saying is I'm being (misunderstood and) mistreated (I didn't do anything to deserve this).

Seunghyun, that wretch.. DM (Oh, how terrible!)... INTJ (D*** it!).’

(2006 Sitcom *Kechimepsi haikhik* Episode #12)

Excerpt (18) is from a scene in which the speaker recalls the response of her employer to her request of leave of absence to rehearse with new band-members. The employer was ‘jumping to his feet’ and was adamant against her cutting classes. The speaker uses the DM *mak* which originated from the word with the ‘coarsely’ meaning, to attribute the coarse character to the behavior her boss displayed and words he used. Excerpt (19) is from a scene, in which two brothers are conversing after one of them (B) has forfeited his telecommunication privilege as a punishment for his involvement in a brawl. At A's criticism, B is expressing his feeling of being mistreated because of misunderstanding. B uses the DM *mak* to show his anger and grudge toward his classmate who instigated the brawl. The DM is a signal of this negative feeling aroused as he recalls what his classmate did. This DM occurs after the classmate's name with a derogatory modifier and before an interjection for venting his negative feelings. This DM is obviously a signal of negative stance of the speaker, but if the speaker intended to say more it could be also interpreted as a signal of pause-filling while he is in search of words in this emotionally stressful situation.⁷

The DM *mak* in this function tends to occur without any particular words it modifies. The feature of modification, i.e. ‘negative stance’, is not localized but dispersed scoping over the entire sentence, or multiple sentences in the discourse, or even the unstated situation itself. For instance, the DM *mak* in (18) does not modify any particular word in the utterance. Her negative feelings are toward the whole incident, especially her boss's unexpectedly unfriendly, even hostile, response. Similarly, the DM in (19) does not have a particular expression in the utterance as it is clear from the fact that there are no predicates modifiable by the ‘coarse’ word. The negative feelings are toward his classmate, or what his classmate did, or the act or situation he did not describe but is being recalled and re-experienced.

3.4. Intensification

The final category of the functions of the DM *mak* is that of intensification. This usage is exemplified in (20) and (21):

- (20) (A and B are private detectives. B acted as if she were the medium of a man's deceased father toward whom the man harbors a deep grudge. At the crematory, B said some soothing words of apology to the man imitating the dead man's voice, speaking to his deeply troubled son. A and B are now in a car talking about the act.)

A: [Are you OK?]

B: [Why should I not be?]

⁷ The latter is indeed a possibility because the word preceding the DM *mak* is nominative case-marked.

A: [I was shocked so much (at your acting) I almost passed out,
 ku halapeci kwisin ssuyw-ekacko **mak..** nwun ilehkey
 that old.man ghost be.possessed-and DM eye like.this
 ttu-ko kule-l ttay...
 open-and do.SO-ADN time
 'when you were (acting as if) possessed by the old man's ghost and DM
 (OMG, it was something!) with your eyes open like this and doing all that...'
 (2007 Drama *Ellengttwungttang hungsinso* Episode #2)

(21) (A and B are friends. A is experiencing mixed emotion about her romantic feelings toward B, and has practiced what to say to B in writing, scratching out many pages of practiced lines. A begins to speak as tears welling up.)

A: *mesisskey sayngkakha-llakwu... mak... ilehkey ssu-taponikka.. com*
 Nicely think-INT DM like.this write-TRAN a.little
sulphu-ki-twu ha-ko mwe... com... hanswum-twu na-kwu...
 be.sad-NOMZ-also do-and DM a.little sigh-also come.out-and
mwe... nwunmwul khosmwul...
 DM tears snivels...
 'As I tried to put the thoughts (into words) nicely DM (I was serious in this!) writing them
 like this, then I somehow felt sadness and well, I got to sigh a little, well, tears (from) the eyes
 and the snivels (from) the nose (are)...'
 (2002 Drama *Neymestaylo hayla* Episode #11)

Example (20) is from a scene when two private detectives are conversing after a shockingly realistic performance of the female detective who acted as if she had been possessed by the ghost of a man's father at the crematory. The male colleague is now describing how much he was shocked when she had the terrifying eyes of a ghost and spoke in an otherworldly voice. Since his experience is something he has never experienced before, he finds it difficult to describe the details of her act, thus only saying 'open your eyes like this' with *mak* in order to intensify the scary, ghostly eye-sight. Similarly, example (21) shows the intensifying function of the DM *mak*, in a situation when a girl, who has fallen in love, is experiencing frustration and anxiety in her first-found love. In order to impress her friend she has practiced her lines in writing, wasting many sheets of paper. She uses the DM *mak* to intensify this frantic and futile nature of the writing in an expression 'writing like this'.

As shown in these examples, the intensifying DM *mak* is used typically when there are no words that fully express the intended message. Therefore, the DM tends to occur with somewhat vague expressions like *ilehkey* 'like this' or *kunyang* 'just'. These semantically vacuous words are intensified by means of the DM *mak*, of which the original lexical meaning is 'completely', 'forcefully', etc. (see 4.3 for more discussion).

4. Discussion

An investigation into the diachronic development as well as the synchronic distributions and functions of *mak* reveals a number of interesting issues; cross-domain directionality, (inter)subjectification and interactivity, positionality, prosody, and conceptual network and functional extension. We now turn to a discussion of each of these issues in turn.

4.1. Cross-domain directionality

As noted in the preceding exposition, *mak* developed across diverse functional domains, from a verb to adverb, to prefix, to DM, and potentially to adjective. The developmental paths can be presented as Fig. 1.

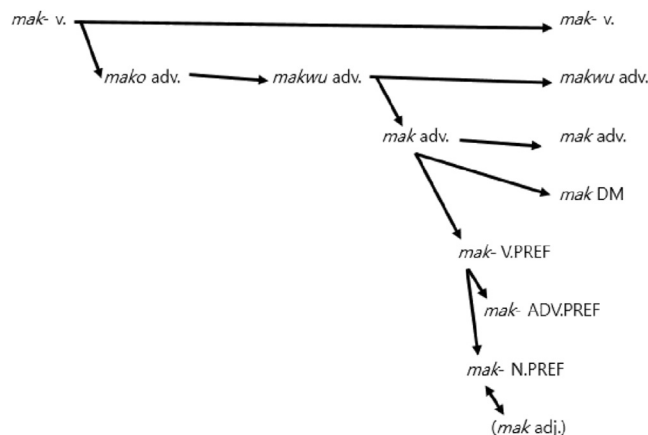


Fig. 1. Cross-domain developmental paths of *mak*.

The development of *mak* as graphically represented as Fig. 1 showcases diverse notions in grammaticalization studies. First of all, it shows multiple instances of ‘divergence’ (Hopper, 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993]), e.g., verb *mak*-, from which adverb *mako* diverges; adverb *makwu*, from which *mak* diverges; adverb *mak*, from which DM and prefix functions diverge; and prefix *mak*-, from which adverbial and nominal prefix functions diverge. As is often the case in grammaticalization across languages, the original function of the source lexeme survives and forms differential functional specialization along with the form that diverged from it.

The development of *mak* from an adverb to a prefix is a classic case of ‘morphologization’ (Givón, 1979; Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993]: 140–159), whereby an erstwhile autonomous word becomes a dependent morpheme. The recent functional extension to a discourse marker is an instance of the grammaticalization or pragmaticalization (see, however, Heine, 2013, 2018; Heine et al., 2017, for the notion of ‘cooptation’). Furthermore, the development from the adverb *makwu* to *mak* is an example of ‘phonological reduction’ or ‘erosion’ (Kuteva et al., 2019), a common concomitant of grammaticalization.

4.2. (Inter)subjectivity and interpersonalit

The development of *mak* is closely related to such notions as ‘subjectivity’ and ‘intersubjectivity’ (Traugott, 1982; Traugott and König, 1991; Traugott and Dasher, 2002), as well as ‘interpersonality’, ‘interactivity’, and ‘rhetoricity’ (Rhee, 2016), with respect to its semantics. For instance, the adverb *makwu* ‘coarsely’ was derived from the verb *mak*- ‘block, seal’ (cf. ‘completely sewing up a pocket’ in (1a) and ‘completely blocking the throat’ in (1b) above). In reality, there is nothing inherently ‘coarse’ in the act of sealing or blocking. However, the conceptual association of blocking/sealing with disruption (of access to a pocket or passage into the stomach) can trigger the negative evaluation of blocking/sealing actions. In other words, selective focus on a particular aspect of an event engendered ‘subjective’ and ‘evaluative’ meanings. This type of development of subjective meanings is also observable in such meanings as ‘forcefully’, ‘thoughtlessly’, ‘without planning’, ‘on the spur of the moment’, ‘uncontrollably’, ‘irresistibly’, etc.

Intersubjectivity and interpersonalit are prominent in the development the DM *mak*. Since DMs are devices used to increase discourse coherence and to signal the intentions and emotions directed toward the interlocutor, DM development is inherently intersubjective and interpersonal. For instance, the DM *mak* is often used to dramatize a narrative by adding intensity, and, by doing so, to invite the addressee to the ‘common ground’ of experience (Jucker and Smith, 1996), the experience being recalled by the speaker and being imagined and recreated by the addressee. From a discourse perspective, some of the core functions of the DM *mak* with respect to (inter)subjectivity, interpersonalit/interactivity, and rhetoricity can be summarized as in (22):

- (22) Core discourse functions of the DM *mak*:
- to signal the speaker’s negative stance toward the event being described (subjective),
 - to add the overtone that the unfolding event/situation was unexpected and, therefore, uncontrollable (subjective),
 - to dramatize the event being described (interactive, rhetorical, intersubjective), and
 - to invite the addressee into the vivid scene of the event in order to create an affective common-ground (interactive, rhetorical, intersubjective)

It is also noteworthy that since the speaker’s desire to make the narrated story vivid by dramatizing the description is usually sustained over a stretch of the narration, the DM *mak* tends to occur multiply even within a single sentence (cf. (17) above). In this respect, the DM *mak* is a rhetorical device for dramatization, strengthening interactivity, and increasing intersubjectivity in discourse.

4.3. Positionality and prosody of the DM *mak*

A quantitative analysis also shows that the DM *mak* has certain tendencies with respect to collocation and position. In a search of the contemporary Drama and Cinema Corpus, there occur 10,158 instances of non-bound (i.e. non-prefixal) *mak*. When the retrieved cases are individually checked, about 523 instances of the DM usage are found.⁸

One caveat in this context is that it is not always clear if a linguistic form is used as a DM or as a non-DM lexical form. Brinton (1996) extensively lists characteristic properties of DMs (‘parentheticals’ and ‘pragmatic markers’ in her terminology). Heine (2013: 1209) also lists a number of properties, noting that the definition of DMs with the list of properties is ‘prototypical rather than based on necessary and sufficient criteria’ (see also Koo, 2018 for a more comprehensive overview). In a more recent study, Heine et al. (forthcoming) list the properties by the levels of grammar as in (23):

- (23) Grammatical properties characterizing discourse markers
- Meaning: Their meaning is not part of the meaning of the sentence they are associated with.

⁸ As discussed in section 2 (and Fig. 1) above, the lexeme *mak* has functions other than the DM function, notably that of a manner adverb modifying a verb. The rough ratio of adverb vs. DM in the present study is 9,635 (94.9%) vs. 523 (5.1%), which is quite different from Song’s (2014: 8) 650 (54.2%) vs. 550 (45.8%), based on spontaneous conversation. The disparity strongly suggests that the DM *mak* is far more productive in spontaneous speech as compared to the scripts of dramas and movies, which, though intended to be seen as natural utterances to viewers, are carefully planned texts by the scriptwriters. An anonymous reviewer suggests using audio and/or video recorded conversational data, and the wide gap of 5.1% vs. 45.8% is a good indicator of significant disparity resulting from the genre differences. Future cross-genre research is required to identify the extent of such variability.

- b. Function: Their function is metatextual.
- c. Syntax: They are not a syntactic constituent of the sentence in which they occur.
- d. Prosody: They are likely to be set off prosodically from the rest of the sentence.
- e. Semantic-pragmatic scope: They have scope beyond the sentence.
- f. Placement: Depending on their function they are preferably placed at the left periphery of a sentence, less commonly at the right periphery, or within the sentence.

(Heine et al., forthcoming)

As Heine (2013) noted, these properties are prototypically associated with DMs but are not rigid criteria to be satisfied without exception. Especially, the meaning of a DM tends to be not a part of a sentence, but the intensifier function is somewhat vague in terms of whether the intensifying force applies to a particular word of the sentence or to a more general context. In such cases, it may also be not clear if the form is a syntactic constituent, especially when the form is situated within the sentence rather than at peripheral positions. Furthermore, the corpus is a text corpus without audio recording data. Thus, prosody is difficult to determine, other than some punctuations, such as ellipsis. For these reasons, some of the DM studies indicate that there is a great portion of data which is not clear as to their DM status (see Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen, 2002, for analysis of English DM *though*). All these point to the fact that the number of DMs (i.e. 523) screened from the examples of *mak* in the corpus has to be taken as a rough, rather than definitely accurate, figure.

Given the background of the quantitative analysis, the following observations are based on those 523 instances of the DM *mak*. First of all, the DM *mak* often co-occurs with a locution involving a reported speech, with a negative evaluation of the location of the original author being reported. This tendency is strong, as evidenced by the fact that 127 instances, accounting for 24.3%, involve reportative complementizers (-*tako* for declarative, -*lako* for imperative, -*nyako* for interrogative, and -*cako* for hortative; see (18) above for an example involving the interrogative complementizer -*nyako/-nyakwu*).

It is also noteworthy that the DM often co-occurs with such pro-verbs as *kule*- 'do so', *ile*- 'do this', *cele*- 'do that', etc., which are often used in place of a verb with a more specific meaning. There are 54 such instances, accounting for 10.3%. The combination of the DM and such pro-verbs creates a feeling that the speaker is overwhelmed by the event and is experiencing difficulties in describing the situation in a concrete and definite language. One of the characteristics of these semantically vague pro-verbs is that these are often used in pejorative, thus emotional, context. According to Koo and Rhee (2016: 307–311), such expressions engender pejoration due to 'the lack of specification'. This pejorative context is a felicitous condition for use of DM *mak* for marking negative stance or intensification. Similarly, the adverb *kunyang* 'just, with no particular reason' often occurs with the DM *mak* (see, for example, (13) above). There are 64 such instances, accounting for 12.2%. Thus, when the two types are combined, there are 118 cases (22.6%) of the DM *mak* occurring with vague deictic pro-verbs and adverb.

Still another collocational characteristic is that the DM *mak* also frequently co-occurs with an intensifier, e.g. *toykey* 'very', *emcheng* 'enormously', *(to)taychey* 'at all; how/why on earth', *cincca* 'truly', etc., and interrogatives, e.g. *mwusun* 'what kind', *weyn* 'what kind', etc. All these forms have developed, or are developing, into DMs on their own (see Rhee, 2018).⁹ There are as many as 191 instances (36.5%) of such co-occurrence patterns. Among the intensifiers, *cincca* 'truly' is the most frequent one, occurring 105 times (20.1%). Since the DM *mak* carries the intensifying function, such a co-occurrence results in the increase of the intensifying force, as is often felt necessary by an emotional speaker. Such a case is exemplified in (24), in which the DM *mak* co-occurs with the intensifier *cincca*.

- (24) (The speaker has prepared special dishes for a man whom she loves, in order to win his heart, and she speaks contentedly as they are about to eat.)

A: [As for me, you know what,]

<i>amwuli</i>	<i>wuwulha-ko</i>	<i>sulphu-n</i>	<i>il-i</i>	<i>iss-eto</i>	<i>Cal</i>	<i>chaly-eci-n</i>
however	be.gloomy-and	be.sad-ADN	matter-NOM	exist-CONC	well	prepare-PASS-ADN
<i>sikthak</i>	<i>aph-ey</i>	<i>anc-umyen</i>	<i>kapcaki</i>	<i>kulay,</i>	<i>caltoy-lkey-a,</i>	<i>kwaynchanh-a,</i>
table	front-at	sit-COND	suddenly	right	go.well-FUT-END	be.alright-END
<i>mek-ko</i>	<i>himnay-ca.</i>	<i>Kulemyen</i>	<i>cincca</i>	<i>mak</i> <i>him-i</i>	<i>sos-nu-nkeyey-yo</i>	
eat-and	cheer.up-HORT	then	DM	DM energy-NOM	<i>surge-PRES-EMPH.END-POL</i>	

'However gloomy and sad a situation (I may be in), when I sit down at a well-prepared table, suddenly (thoughts come to me), 'Right, it will be alright. That's OK. Let's eat and cheer up.' Then, really DM (strongly and uncontrollably) (I feel) the energy surges (from inside me).'

B: [Then, eat well, cheer up, and live well,]

(2010 Drama *Kayinuy chihyang* Episode #7)

There is another important aspect of DMs with respect to positionality. The functions of each DM vary depending on the positions, a point of much discussion in recent literature (Beeching and Detges, 2014 and works therein, and numerous others including the articles in *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 17.2, 2016). From the collected 523 instances of the DM *mak*, it is clear that the DM *mak* rarely occurs utterance-initially. In fact, there is no such instance found in the sample. This state of affairs challenges the previous claims in DM research that DMs generally favor initial positions (Schiffrin, 1987: 31–32; Traugott, 1995: 5–6; Brinton, 1996: 33–35; Onodera, 2011; see, however, Heine et al., forthcoming: 13, for evaluation of the claim).

⁹ Rhee (2018) presents six conceptual/lexical sources of emphatic DMs in Korean, i.e. totality, exactness/truthfulness, force/impact, disregard, meta-linguistic reference, and question/challenge.

The DM *mak*, however, does occur at left-periphery, the non-utterance-initial but clause-external positions.¹⁰ The left-periphery is somewhat difficult to identify because of the Korean idiosyncrasy that syntactic arguments may be omitted, if they are recoverable from the context. Therefore, in the event of non-realized sentential subjects, the clause-initial vs. clause-external distinction is not clear. For this reason, no figures are available for the DM *mak* in the left-peripheral position, but such instances in unambiguous syntagmatic structures do exist. More interestingly, the DM often occurs utterance-finally. This has to do with the general tendency of pause-filling DMs, i.e. when the pause-filler is used to earn time to find a word, if the speaker cannot find a proper word, the utterance ends there uncompleted (see example (15) in 3.2 above). This ‘inability to continue’ phenomenon is typical of grammatical forms with emotional value (cf. Rhee and Koo, 2020 for miratives).

The occurrence of the DM *mak* is relatively spread across a stretch of an utterance. This is relevant to the DM's function of pause-filling when the speaker is experiencing difficulties in lexical search, which, in principle, can occur anywhere. Furthermore, this non-localized positional distribution has to do with the intensification function, i.e. units to be emphasized are normally not restricted, and they may even refer to the event or the preceding discourse as a whole. The most frequent occurrence position of the DM *mak*, however, is between the subject (if realized) and the predicate, suggesting that the lexical search is mostly for an optimal descriptor for the predicate and that the constituent to be intensified is largely the (part of the) predicate (vis-à-vis the subject). This has to do with the fact that the source lexeme *mak* is a manner adverb and Korean is a head-final language, in which manner adverbs precede the verb.

DMs tend to carry special prosodic characteristics as noted by Heine et al. (forthcoming), as indicated in (23d) above, i.e. they are likely to be set off prosodically from the rest of the sentence. The so-called ‘comma-intonation’ (Hansen, 1997: 156; Tabor and Traugott, 1998: 254) is not the only prosodic characteristic of DMs. For instance, they tend to have characteristics with respect to intonation contour, pause (before and after the DM), duration and speed, etc. (Rhee, 2020; Heine et al., forthcoming). Recently elegant analyses have been performed with individual DMs by some researchers by means of phonetic analysis programs (e.g. Song, 2013, 2014, 2015; Sohn and Kim, 2014; Kim, 2018, among others).¹¹

As briefly alluded to in the preceding discussion, however, the data source is a text without audio information. Therefore, the complex prosody the DM *mak* is realized with cannot be analyzed in sufficient detail. There is one indirect source of prosodic information, i.e. elliptical punctuation. From the punctuation of the source scripts, the DM *mak* is very often followed by a pause, accounting for 87 cases (16.6%) out of 523, and often without resumption of speech, which, as briefly discussed above, may be due to the speaker's ‘inability to continue’ due to an overwhelming emotion.¹² This inability may persist, in which case the pause-filler is repeated (see (17) in 3.2 above).

For the same reason, the DM is often preceded by a pause. In case the speaker is engaged in lexical search, the pause-filler is normally realized not directly following the preceding word but after a short pause, at the point when the speaker realizes that a signal of floor-holding is needed.

If there are no pauses before or after the DM *mak*, the functions of the DM tend to be marking negative-stance, intensification, or uncontrollability. Furthermore, from a general observation of the use of the DM *mak*, though not available in the source text, the DM in such functions is pronounced fast with a short duration, in addition to the absence of a pause. This is in fact in consonance with the general tendency of language use, not exclusively applicable to DMs, that such characteristics are commonly observed with linguistic forms associated with emotiveness. In other words, an emotional speaker normally speaks fast and even a non-emotional speaker tends to speed up when narrating an emotional story.¹³

4.4. Conceptual network and functional extension

In the preceding elaboration, we have seen that the lexeme *mak* has undergone extensive semantic extension across multiple domains. Even though some semantic change may seem arbitrary, recent research shows that semantic change is rather regular (Traugott and Dasher, 2002). This regularity is observed in semantic change of lexical forms as well as functional change of grammatical forms (Heine et al., 1991; Bybee et al., 1994).

The same observation is also valid with respect to the development of DMs. Source meanings play a crucial role in the emergence of DM functions (Rhee, 2020; cf. ‘semantic persistence’ Rhee and Koo, 2019). In other words, the emergence of DM functions is motivated, largely based on the semantics of the source lexemes and constructions. In actualization of the functions, pragmatic inferences are actively involved in grammaticalization, an observation with different conceptual labels,

¹⁰ Researchers define a peripheral position differently, but it is commonly understood that it is either a non-argument position or a clause-external position. The clause-external position in the syntactic configuration in Korean is typically before the subject or after the sentence-final verb, i.e. the main verb.

¹¹ As an anonymous reviewer suggests, a detailed analysis by means of phonetic analyzer is required to accurately identify prosodic properties of DMs. Largely due to the unavailability of audio data and to space limitation, such a fine-grained analysis should await future research.

¹² It is expected that the actual number of instances of the DM with the pause in dramas and cinema movies exceeds 87, since the actors may add a pause while saying their lines even when the script does not contain elliptical punctuation, when such improvisation is situationally warranted. However, it is less likely that the reverse situation happens, i.e. saying without a pause when the script specifically indicates an elliptical punctuation.

¹³ An anonymous reviewer directs our attention to Kim (2018), in which an emotional speaker “elongates words to emphasize the intensity of their emotion” in an analysis of the turn-final *tunci* and *hakonun*. Apparently, this difference is due to the different nature of the speaker's emotion and to the different morphosyntactic status of the forms, but an in-depth analysis should await future research.

e.g. 'context-induced reinterpretation' (Heine et al., 1991; Rhee, 2015), 'invited inference' (Traugott and König, 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 2003[1993]; Traugott and Dasher, 2002). Since pragmatic inferences are largely context-based metonymy, conceptual relatedness is not broken in the course of development.

In the case of the lexeme *mak*, we can see that the lexical, grammatical, and discursive meaning extension has been enabled by pragmatic inferences and conceptual relatedness, largely involving [immediacy], [degree], and [control]. For instance, the notion of 'blocking' as designated by the source lexeme, i.e. verb *mak*- 'block', extends to 'disruption' and 'absence of access', through pragmatic inference characterizable as subjectification (see 4.2). The 'completeness' aspect of blocking engenders 'fastness', which is then associated with 'lack of care', 'coarseness', 'absence of planning', 'fierceness', etc. Such lack of care or planning may naturally lead to the notions of 'low quality' and 'not valuable'. From these diverse meanings, the DM functions such as 'incontrollability', 'intensification', 'pause-filling', and 'negative stance' have come into being.

This line of conceptual extension is graphically presented as Fig. 2. Conceptual relations are of differential strengths, and the polysemies are all conceptually related in one way or other, but only some straightforward connections are indicated in the Figure. It is also noteworthy that semantic and functional extensions are not diachronically streamlined, because in the course of polysemy formation through semantic extension, all previous meanings are available to the language users unless particular meanings have become obsolete. The original source lexeme, i.e. verb *mak*- 'block', the core meaning, i.e. 'coarsely', the derivational functions, i.e. prefixes, and the discourse functions, i.e. the four DM functions, are shown in shaded boxes for visual conspicuity.

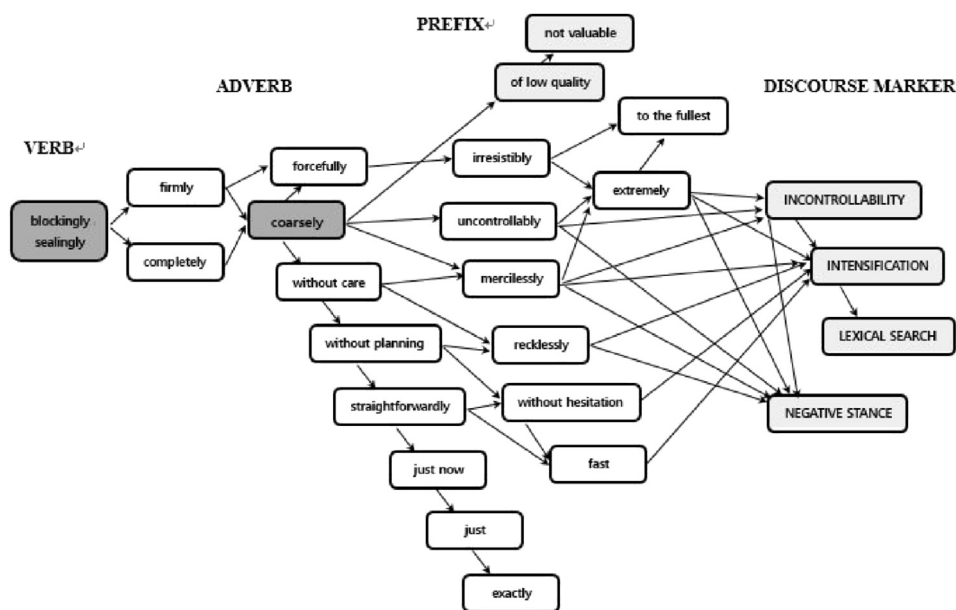


Fig. 2. Conceptual network and functional extension of *mak*.

5. Summary and conclusion

This paper investigated one Korean lexeme *mak* with the primary meaning of 'coarsely', a phonologically reduced form of *makwu*, which, in turn, was derived from the Late Middle Korean verb *mak*- 'block, seal'. Drawing upon data taken from historical and contemporary corpora, this paper addressed how the form extended its function across the multiple domains of grammar, i.e. lexical, morphological, discursive domains, based on the conceptual extension of the basic meaning it carries, e.g. 'coarsely'. The lexeme *mak* has undergone extensive semantic extension, largely based on its representative semantic properties such as [temporality], [degree], and [control]. From the [temporality] property, diverse meanings with respect to spontaneity and temporal immediacy developed. From the [degree] property, other meanings related to extremity and low quality developed. From the [control] property, diverse meanings related to forcefulness and incontrollability developed. All these meanings are dispersed across the domains of adverb and prefix.

The lexeme also developed into a DM, which is productively used in contemporary Korean. The DM *mak* developed into a marker of incontrollability, pause filling for lexical search, negative stance, and intensification, all closely related to the semantic characteristics of the source lexeme, i.e. the adverb *mak*. The development involved subjectification, inter-subjectification, rhetoricization, and interactivization/interpersonalization. The DM functions are closely related with collocates of the DM, e.g. intensifiers, interrogatives, reportatives, etc. as well as its positions e.g. left-periphery and right-

periphery. We have seen that the DM *mak* rarely occurs at utterance-initial positions (in fact, none in the data sample), a property that the DM inherited from its source lexeme, which is a manner adverb typically modifying a predicate. We have also noted that the DM is often followed or preceded by a pause, as reflected in the scripts in the corpus, which indicates that the DM is often used as a pause-filler while the speaker is performing search for suitable linguistic forms.

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