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From object to text to stance: The case of *kyelkwa* in Korean
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1. Introduction

Korean has maintained a long contact with China for the geographical propinquity as well as China's crucial leadership with respect to political, religious, literary and scientific development in the Northeast Asian region. The influence of this sustained contact is prominent in the fact that a large portion of Korean vocabulary consists of words of Chinese origin (see below). Many of these words retain the meanings of the historical times but many of them also changed their meanings in history. The Sino-Korean word *kyelkwa* (結果), a combination of two logographs *kyel* (結) 'bind, knot' and *kwa* (果) 'fruit', displays interesting semantic and functional change, a characteristic also shared by the etymon in Chinese. Its functional change led to the development into a discourse marker (DM) in Modern Korean.

2. Semantic change of *kyelkwa*

In contemporary Korean *kyelkwa* has three major semantic designations as in (1), taken from *Phyocwun Kwuksa Taysacen* [A Complete Standard Korean Dictionary] by the National Institute of the Korean Language:

- (1) *kyelkwa* n.
 a. fruition, fruit (syn. *kyelsil*)
 b. a consequence from a cause; state of result
 c. (in philosophy) internal conation or action as realized in external conation or action and the consequences or change ensued

The earliest attestation of the word *kyelkwa* is in an 11th century commentary of the Buddhist scripture *Taypangkwanpawulhwaemyeng* (*Hwaemyeng*; *The Avatamsaka Sutra*, *The Sutra of Flower Garland*, dated 1098, by Siksanda of the Tang Dynasty), of the Early Middle Korean:¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| (2) YE.KYEN.HWA.KAY (如見花開) | CI.SI.PANG.CHWUN (知是芳春) |
| like.see.flower.open | know.this.beautiful.spring |
| MWUSENG.KYELKWA (茂盛結果) | CI.SI.CWUHA (知是朱夏) |
| exuberant.fruit | know.this.summer |
| '(It is) like knowing that it is the beautiful spring by seeing the blooming of flowers, (and) knowing that it is summer by seeing the bountiful fruits...' | |
| | (1098, <i>Hwaemyeng Yemyucho</i> Vol. 6) |

Another early attestation of *kyelkwa* is also from the Buddhist scripture, *Yukcotaysapeppotankyeng* (*Yukcotankyeng*; *The Platform Scripture of the Sixth Patriarch*), dating from the 15th century (Late Middle Korean):

- (3) IL.HWA(一花)-ayKAY.O.YEP(開五葉)-hA-ya KYELKWA(結果)-i CAYEN.SENG(自然成)-i-li-la
 one.flower-at open.five-petal-do-CONN fruit-NOM nature.completion-be-FUT-DEC
 '(As I preach the truth to the world,) one flower will open five petals and the fruit will be produced naturally.'
 (1496 *Yukcotankyeng* II:60a-5)

The excerpt (3) describes what Master Bodhidharma (Dalma) said to his disciple Master Huike (Hyega), in which *kyelkwa* denotes 'the fruit' of a plant, in a figurative speech with respect to the effect of Buddhist evangelism. There are instances in which *kyelkwa* is used as a phrase, consisting of [Verb + Object], 'bear + fruit', in Chinese-based Buddhist scriptures; (4) is from *Taypangkwanwenkakswutalayoukyeng* (*Wenkakkyeng*; *The Mahayana Sutra*; *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*):

- (4) (Self-professed truth-seekers who do not have the sincerity in their heart.)
 HYANGSANG(向上)-hA-ya KAYNG.YOK.KWU.CUNG(更欲求證)hA-ntAl
 improve-do-and change.desire.seek.truth-do-CONCS

HA.I.KONG.HWA.**KYEL.KWA** (何異空華結果)-i-li-o

how.different.empty.flower.bear.fruit-be-FUT-Q

'even if (they) change their mind and seek truth, how would that be different from (a tree) with no flower bearing fruit?' (1465, *Wenkakkyeng Enhay* I: 2, 3:43.4 comment)

In examples (5) and (6), a comparison of the original commentaries with their later translations corroborate the phrasal interpretation, e.g. *Cicangkyeng* written in the Chinese-based *Kwukyel* writing system (1558), in (5a) and (6a), and its *Hankul* translation (*Cicangkyeng Enhay*; 1762), in (5b) and (6b):

(5) a. *AK.SUP.KYEL.EP-ha-mye* *SEN.SUP.**KYEL.KWA**-ha-a*
bad.habit.produce.karma-do-CONC good.habit.produce.result-do-and (1558, *Cicangkyeng* I:23a)

b. *aksup-ulo ep-ul mAyc-Amye syensup-ulo kwa-ul mAyc-a*
bad.habit-with karma-ACC produce-CONC good.habit-with result-ACC produce-and
(1762, *Cicangkyeng Enhay* I:23a)

a&b: '(All people) produce karma with bad habits and produce (good) results with good habits.'

(6) a. *YEMPWUCEY.CWUNGSAYNG-uy SIN.KWU.UY.EP.AK.SUP.**KYEL.KWA**-ha-a*
[name].people-NOM body.mouth.intention.act.bad.habit.produce.result-do-and
(1558, *Cicangkyeng* I:32b)

b. *yempwutyey cywungsAyg-i sinkwuuyep moti-n sup-hA-m-ulo*
[name] people-NOM body.mouth.intention.act be.bad-ADN habit-do-NOMZ-with
kwa-ul mAyc-a
result-ACC produce-and
(1762, *Cicangkyeng Enhay* I:32b)

a&b: '(The people living in Yempwukey) produce karma with bad habits and produce (good) results with good habits.'

Since the process from efflorescence to fruition in the botanical domain can be easily transferred to a more abstract domain of causation, through a process of metaphorization, the word came to denote 'the result' of a previous event or action. This usage is evident in a verse of a prayer poem of the Joseon Dynasty times (orally transmitted until its publication in 1908 by Chwukcen), as in (7):

(7) *na-uy illyem*(一念) *cinsil*(眞實)-ha-myen *swuin*(修因) *kyelkwa*(結果)-ha-nun *nal-ey*
I-GEN sole.thought truth-be-COND disciplining result-do-ADN day-at
mithasengcon ani poi-l-kka
Holy.Amitabha.Buddha not see:HON-FUT-Q
'If I discipline myself with a concentrated thought, when it produces a result, wouldn't I be able to see Holy Buddha?'
(Joseon Dynasty, *Kwenwangka Sekmwunuyepem*)

There are usages attested in the history of Korean but are obsolete in Modern Korean, i.e., *kyelwa*-(ha)- 'die', *kyelkwa* 'fruit', *kyelkwaha*- 'reach fruition', *kyelkwaha*- 'redress/resolve/assume accountability', as in (8).

(8) a. death/die; synonym of *mAs-ta* (1690 *Yekeyuhay* II: 49a)

b. fruit/fruition; reach fruition, fruit (1897 *Hanyengcacen*)

c. resolve/resolution/redress/accountability

tangchA-uy chyuhoyhA-ye simcang-uy kisch-i-n han-kwa kolcel-uy
this.time-at repent-and heart-at impose-ADN regret-and bone.joint-at
pakhi-n thong-ul susAlo kyelkwahA-ye nyea-uykey
lodge-ADN pain-ACC willingly redress-and girl-to
sAcoy-khocAha-te-n pa-lo
apologize-INTEN-RETRO-ADN time-as

'Since I repented that I had imposed deep injury and pain on (her) and was about to redress my wrong by apologizing to the girl...'
(c. 18th c. *Wanwelhoymayngyen* 30a)

More recently, around the turn of the 20th century, the word became widely used as a noun designating the result in general, signifying 'effect/consequence/influence' and 'outcome/product/findings', as exemplified in (9) through (11):

(9) effect/consequence/influence:

- a. *taytoli* *hAnah-i* *is-se* *wenin* *epsi-nAn* ***kyelkwa-ka*** *ep-ko*
 big.principle one-NOM exist-and cause without-TOP effect-NOM not.exist-and
 'There is one inviolable principle that there is no effect without a cause and...'
 (1906 *Kyenghyangpokam* 1:401)
- b. *kuytokkyo-uy* ***kyelkwa-ka*** [...] *cAyukwen-kwa* *incyeng-kwa* *mankwukkongpep-ul*
 Christianity-GEN influence-NOM freedom.right-and humanity-and international.law-ACC
omyohi *paltalha-ya* [...] *kah-i* *po-l* *ci-ni*
 elegantly develop-and be.good-ADVZ see-FUT NOMZ-as
 '(We) must think highly of the influence of Christianity that helped develop the right of freedom,
 humanitarianism and international law [in social and national political realms] in an elegant manner.'
 (1910 *Kyenghyangpokam* 4:57)

(10) outcome/product/findings

(with reference to the murder case)

- simmwun-uy* ***kyelkwa*** *maksoy-uy* *ip-ulopwushe* [...] *casyeyhi* *capAykhA-m-ulo*
 interrogation-GEN finding [name]-GEN mouth-from in.detail confess-NOMZ-with
 'As the findings of the interrogation, with the confession in detail from the mouth of Maksoy about [...]
 his murder crime and...]'
 (1913 *Kumkwukhwa* 031)

(11) end/conclusion

- a. (with reference to a woman who received education, which was a rarity for women, but committed suicide after revenging her family's murderer, in order to keep her promise)
ikes-i *nyecA* *kyoyuk-ey* *cohun* ***kyelkwa-la*** *hA-ci.nun.mos.hA-keys-cimanun*
 this-NOM woman education-of good end-COMP say-cannot-FUT-but
 'even though (we) cannot say this is a (happy) ending of a woman with good education, but...'
 (1912 *Myengwelceng* 557)
- b. *ilpon-kwa* *lokWuk-i* *hyepyakhA-n* ***kyelkwa-lo*** *kwansyengcA-eyseye*
 Japan-and Russia-NOM agree-ADN conclusion-as [name]-from
ilpon-kwa *lokWuk-uy* *thyello-lul* *lyenlak-kheyhA-lthei-ntAy*
 Japan-and Russia-GEN railway-ACC connect-CAUS-FUT-while
 'While Japan and Russia will connect the railway from Kuan Cheng Station as a conclusion of the
 agreement between Japan and Russia, ...'
 (1904 *Tayhanmayilsinpo* 1885)

When *kyelkwa* became used to denote 'results in general', the word often accompanied expressions that denote the explicit cause in the form of [X-GEN *kyelkwa*] 'X's result', in which X is a nominal (as in 12a), or [X-ADN *kyelkwa*] 'the result of X that...', in which X is a predicate (as in 12b), or [*ku* *kyelkwa*] 'it(s) result', with a demonstrative which refers to a foregoing event or action (as in 12c):

- (12) a. *i* *nanli-uy* ***kyelkwa-ka*** *estekhey* *toy-yes-nA-nyo*
 this war-GEN result-NOM how become-PST-CR-Q
 'What was the result of this war?'
 (1903 *Sinhakwelpo* 3:129)
- b. *hankwuk* *unhAyng-i* *tyeyil* *unhAyng-uy* *sAmwu-lul* *inkyeyhA-n* ***kyelkwa-lo***
 [name] bank-NOM [name] bank-GEN work-ACC take.over-ADN result-as
 'As a result of the event that Hankook Bank took over the operation of Tyeyil Bank, ...'
 (1904 *Tayhanmayilsinpo* 15738)
- c. [Mr. Chamberlin, the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the Kingdom of Great Britain says, since the Great Britain is in dire need of internal solidarity and coalition with the U.S.A., even if the nation spends money in order to bring together all people of the British heredity around the world and fight the war,]

ku kyelwa-ka yengkwuk incyong-uy tongmaying-i toy-myen
 it(s) result-NOM U.K. people-GEN coalition-NOM become-COND
ku ton-i askao-l kes-i ep-keys-ta ha-ko
 the money-NOM be.sorry-ADN thing-NOM not.exist-DEC say-and
 'if its result is the coalition of all the people of the British heritage, there is nothing to grudge against
 the expense, thus he says and' (1896 *Toknipsinmwun* #12038)

Due to the linking function of the word between the two events marking the causal relationship, the word is now functioning as a textual linker, thus qualifying as an instance of subjectification (from External/Internal to Textual; Traugott & König, 1991). The morphosyntactic structure of *ku kyelkwa* 'its result, the result of that' is particularly notable in three aspects: first, since the demonstrative can refer to some event in the preceding parts of the discourse, the reference can remain less specific (than GEN-marked constructs); second, the expression can be more autonomous (than the bound counterpart involving the GEN particle); and thus finally, the expression can fully stand alone as an adverbial, denoting 'as a/its result'. This state of affairs further pushed the form into a pragmatic marker for presenting the logical conclusion in argumentation, as shown in (13), in which the Speaker A is asserting that B's testimony at the court led to the suicide of his mother:

- (13) (A is pressing B to answer why B testified that A was the murderer and is physically threatening to kill her otherwise. A narrates that her testimony changed his life which incriminated him even though he was innocent.)
 A: [I could have been exonerated were it not for your testimony.]
 B: [Why is it that it was because of me?]
 A: *ku kyelkwa! casik-ul salinpem-uy ilum-ulo sal-key.ha-l.swu.eps-ese*
 the/its result son-ACC murderer-GEN name-with live-CAUS-cannot-CONN
na-y emeni-nun mokswum-ul peli-si-ess-e
 I-GEN mother-TOP life-ACC throw.away-HON-PST-END
 'The result! My mother ended her own life because she could not make her son live with a stigma of a murderer.'
 (2005 Drama *Kulinlocu* Episode #7)

The form has formal variants *kyelkwacekulo(n(un))* 'as a result; in effect', which are used for the speaker's interpretive function with respect to events or states of affairs. With the acquisition of the pragmatic function the forms as DMs became freer and now could even occur at the right periphery (RP).

- (14) *ku.yeca namphyen-ul ppays-un ke-y ne-canha kyelkwacekulo*
 the.woman husband-ACC take.away-ADN thing-NOM you-END DM
 '(How could you challenge the woman?) It is you who took away her husband, that is to say.'
 (2008 Drama *Talkhomhan Insayng*, Episode #15)

In the excerpt, the DM *kyelkwacekulo* has the meaning of 'in a manner of speaking, based on the result', in which the causal relation can be rather indirect and exist only in the mind of the speaker.

3. Discussion

The developmental path of *kyelkwa* in Korean exhibits some theoretically noteworthy aspects. Of these we discuss subjectification, stance-marking, periphery, and source characteristics, in turn.

3.1 Subjectification

First of all, the general direction of the change is the increase in subjectivity, i.e., subjectification, from denoting a physical entity 'fruit' (first order) to a more abstract entity such as states in causal relationship (second order), in which the evaluation of the end state as the 'fruit' of the preceding state resides in the mind of the speaker. Furthermore, as alluded to in the preceding exposition, the development as a linker is an instance of the subjectification, the semantic-pragmatic tendency #2, i.e. the change from External to Textual domains (Traugott and König, 1991).

3.2 Stance-marking

When the form began to be used as a DM, the *kyelkwa*-derived DM acquired much of interpersonal meaning, since DMs are typically employed for persuasion in interactional contexts (thus, rhetorical). The interpretive nature of the DMs well illustrates the stance-marking function. The stance-marking function is truly the primary function of DMs of ‘global organization’ (as opposed to DMs of ‘local organization’) (Rhee 2017; cf. Vincent, 2005 ‘connectors’ and ‘modal elements’). Interpersonality and rhetoricity work in tandem to signal the speaker’s stance in a discourse scene.

3.3 Periphery

Recent literature addresses the peripheral asymmetry with respect to the semantics or functions of a form. For instance, Adamson (2000), Onodera (2007), Degand (2014), Traugott (2014), Beeching and Detges (2014) discuss the issue (see also the articles in the 2016 special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 17.1). Many researchers hypothesized that the left-periphery (LP) functions are associated with ‘dialogual’ and subjective functions, whereas RP is associated with ‘dialogic’ and intersubjective functions (cf. Traugott 2010, Beeching 2011).

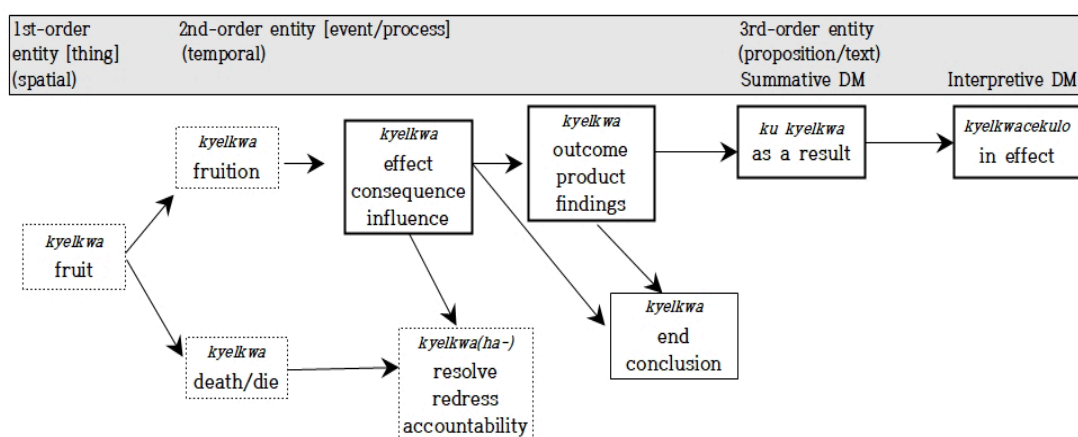
In the case of *kyelkwa*-derived DMs, the observation is partially consonant with the hypothesis in that the DMs carry intersubjective functions both at LP and RP, but at the same time the DM at RP tends to signal intersubjective function more strongly.

3.4 Source characteristics

Korean has a large proportion of Sino-Korean words in the vocabulary, i.e., about 45.5 per cent (192,564 out of 423,152; National Institute of the Korean Language, online May 2019). However, the proportion of the DMs derived from Sino-Korean words is very low, 10.5 per cent (17 out of about 161) (Rhee 2018). The unlikelihood of Sino-Korean words becoming a DM is partly due to the fact that Sino-Korean words belong to the high register as they were introduced to Korean through scientific, philosophical, and religious literature, which was accessible by the literati class only. In terms of the lexical composition, the proportion of Sino-Korean words is high, but their use frequency in everyday usage is low. It is widely known that DMs, though universal across languages (Fraser 2006), flourish typically in oral, informal registers (Östman 1982, Watts 1989, Fraser 1990). Thus, the predominance of native Korean words in everyday colloquial language seems to explain the low percentage of Sino-Korean words in the DM inventory. Therefore, the fact that *kyelkwa* developed into a DM is closely related to the fact that this DM developed in a high register, i.e., argumentation, rather than in an informal register.

The pathway of the semantic-functional extension of the lexeme *kyelkwa* from its source meaning to the current DM can be diagrammatically presented as in <Figure 1>.

<Figure 1> Semantic-functional extension



4. Summary and Conclusion

This paper addressed the development of the Sino-Korean lexeme *kyelkwa* with special focus on its semantic and functional change. The lexeme began its life as a noun designating a first-order entity, i.e., ‘fruit’ and extended its function to a noun of second-order entity, i.e., events. It further developed into a DM for interpersonal and intersubjective uses, i.e., expressive functions. Of particular importance of the development are: (i) the directionality of subjectification (from objective to subjective); (ii) its domain expansion from objective signification to stance-marking; (iii) its acquisition of positional freedom as a DM by way of forming constructions, especially with a demonstrative; (iv) its strengthened intersubjective function at RP, i.e., more strongly interpretive and stance-function; (v) and the register effect of its Sino-Korean origin, i.e., its specialization in argumentative high-register contexts.

Notes:

¹ Chinese characters in the source data are written in the upper-case in modern pronunciation. The following abbreviations are used for glossing: ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominal; ADVZ: adverbializer; AUX: auxiliary; CONN: connective; CR: current-relevance; CSL: causal; DEC: declarative; END: sentence-end; EXCL: exclamative; FUT: future; HORT: hortative; IMP: imperative; INTEN: intentional; LOC: locative; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite marker; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PDK: present-day Korean; PRES: present; PROH: prohibitive; PST: past; Q: interrogative; TOP: topic

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