

GRAMMATICALIZED SENTENCE ENDER *-KEY*

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate the path of the development of the Korean sentence ender *-key* from a conjunctive ender based on the theory of grammaticalization. It provides a synchronic and diachronic analysis of the sentence ender *-key*.

In contemporary colloquial Korean, connective enders, which were originally used as non sentence enders to connect words, clauses, and sentences, are frequently used as sentence enders. The sentence ender *-key* was once the adverbializer *-key* and used as a conjunctive ender.

The sentence ender *-key* has two basic functions: intentional and conjectural. In its development as an intentional sentence ender, conjunctive *-key* began to take the place of the adverbializer *-i*, expanding its range of use, and becoming a conjunctive ender. It then became a sentence ender through inversion or omission. The meaning and function changed as well. The conjunctive ender *-key*'s meaning is related to purpose or result; as a sentence ender it retains the purpose/result meaning and it has gained a meaning of intention. Pragmatically, *-key* functions to indicate worry, criticism, or teasing. In other words, in its grammaticalization, it has gained subjective meaning. The development of the sentence ender *-key* with the conjectural meaning followed a different path. It comes from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*. In colloquial Modern Korean, the conjunctive ender *-killay* took the place of *-kiey* in interrogative sentences. The conjunctive ender *-kiey*, losing its place as an interrogative form, was abbreviated to *-key*. Thus, the uses of *-key* and *-kiey* layered, and the form *-key* gained the conjectural function.

In Modern Korean, the sentence ender *-key* has further gained intersubjective meaning. It is now used as a modality marker. To express politeness, it has a role in hedging and making questions rhetorical.

Lastly the conjunctive adverbial *kulekey* is made by the fusion of the conjunctive ender *-kiey* and *kule(ha)-*. It indicates cause and reason, and it also has various functions as a discourse marker. The morphosyntactic and phonological change of the conjunctive adverbial *kulekey* is as follows: [predicate stem + *kiey*] > [*kuleha-* + *-kiey*] > *kulekie* > *kulekey* (*kulkey*). The meaning and function changed from cause/reason to the discourse uses of expressing agreement, politeness, defiance, evasion, hedging, and delay.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*	Ungrammatical (when placed before a phrase or sentence)
<	Derived diachronically from
>	Derived diachronically to
AC	Accusative particle
AD	Adverbial suffix; adverbializer
AH	Addressee honorific
APP	Apperceptive sentence-type suffix
BLN	Blunt speech level or suffix
CAS	Causative suffix
CMP	Complementizer suffix
CNJ	Conjunctive suffix
DC	Declarative sentence-type suffix
DEF	Deferential speech level
DR	Directional particle
EM	Emphasizer
ENDER	Sentence or clause ender
EX	Exclamatory suffix
FML	Familiar speech level or suffix
GN	Genitive particle

HT	Honorific title
IM	Imperative sentence-type suffix
IN	Indicative mood suffix
INF	Infinitive suffix
INJ	Interjection
INT	Intimate speech level or suffix
NM	Nominative case particle
NOM	Nominalizer suffix
PL	Plural suffix or particle
PLN	Plain speech level or suffix
POL	Polite speech level, suffix, or particle
PR	Propositive sentence-type suffix
PRM	Promissive sentence-type suffix
PRS	Prospective modal suffix
PST	Past tense and perfect aspect suffix
Q	Question marker, i.e., interrogative sentence-type suffix
QT	Quotative particle
RL	Relativizer (or abnominal modifier) suffix
RT	Retrospective mood suffix
SH	Subject honorific suffix

SUP Suppositive mood suffix

TC Topic-contrast particle

VOC Vocative particle

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Purpose of the Study

In the Korean language, sentence enders represent addressee honorification and determine sentence type. Conjunctive enders function to connect two clauses as well as expressing the relation between the clauses' two propositions. However, in colloquial Korean, connective enders, which were originally non sentence enders, are frequently used as sentence enders. According to Seo, Nam, and Seo (2004), there are three ways to end a sentence in colloquial Korean: with a sentence ender; with a conjunctive ender; or without an ender, making it a partial sentence. Particularly in colloquial language, utterances often end with a non sentence ender. Moon (2001) noted that, phonologically, in colloquial language, contractions and omitted forms accompanied by vowel variation are used frequently. Seo (2004) pointed out that while in written language sentences end with sentence enders or with punctuation, in colloquial language, sentence components are often altered or omitted depending on the degree of shared information, emphasis, or context dependency in the discourse. Additionally, because meaning in colloquial language is communicated in various ways including tone, cadence, gesture, and facial expression, the boundary of a sentence is not always clear, so it often appears as if sentence components are inverted or omitted.

Kim (2000) claimed that because of changes in the non sentence enders' grammatical functions, the number of forms of sentence enders has gradually increased. Several studies have researched connective enders functioning as sentence enders.

Different researchers have proposed slightly different lists of sentence enders that have undergone the change from conjunctive ender to sentence ender. Yoo (2003), based on the work of Lee (1996), presented a list that included conjunctive enders that could also be used as sentence enders. They are as follows: *-ko*, *-e/as*, *-(u)myen*, *-(un)tey*, *-ciman*, *-(u)nikka*, *-(u)lyeko*, *-(u)le*, *-tunci*, *-nulako*, *-ketun*, *-key*, *-tolok*. Kwon (2003) presented the following sentence enders that were originally conjunctive enders: *-ketun*, *-nuntey*, *-ko/kwu*, *-unikka*, *-ekacikwu*, *-ese*, *-ulyeko*, *-umyense*, *-ciman*, *-key*, *-nulako*, *-teni*, *-eto*, *-ulako*, *-umyen*. Ha (2006) recorded sentence enders found in scripts of TV dramas, interviews, and a corpus: *-ko*, *-nuntey*, *-ketun*, *-nikka*, *-tako*, *-ese*, *-tanikka*, *-myense*, *-tamyense*, *-nunci*, *-tamye*, *-myen*, *-lyeko*, *-ciman*, *-tunci*. Son and Kim (2009) examined the commonly used conjunctives discussed in previous research and compiled lists of those most frequently and least frequently used as sentence enders. The most-frequent list is *-ketun*, *-key*, *-ko*, *-nuntey*, *-tako*, *-tanikka*, *-tamyense*, *-lyeko*.

Regarding the form *-key*, Kim (2001) suggested that the use of *-key* as a sentence ender is divided into descriptive and questioning functions. Within the descriptive use, it can express explanation or irony. When it is utilized in questioning, it indicates a demand for an answer and also can express irony. Park (1998) created a list of ways in which *-key* can be used as a sentence ender according to syntactic characteristics. Son and Kim (2009) proposed that as a sentence ender, *-key* is used as a means of guessing or asking intention. Cho and Lee (2011) explained the process of *-key* becoming a sentence ender through grammaticalization. Hong (1989) showed the etymology of *-key* as a sentence ender and discussed its syntactic function. Lee (2017) examined sentence ender *-key*'s various meanings, pragmatic features, and tone. However, although much of this research

focuses on sentence enders, and *-key* appears as an item in these sentence ender lists, there is little research comparing it with other sentence enders. This dissertation will demonstrate the path of sentence ender *-key*, as it developed from the conjunctive ender *-key*, based on the theory of grammaticalization. The dissertation will also examine the path of the sentence ender *-key* that developed from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*. Therefore, this dissertation will analyze the following two paths of sentence ender *-key*'s change: from the conjunctive ender *-key* and from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*.

Chapter 2 will briefly show how *-key* is used in Korean grammar and explain how it changed to a sentence ender from a conjunctive ender. Chapters 3 and 4 will demonstrate the grammaticalization path by which the conjunctive ender *-key* became the sentence ender *-key*, which has two functions: intentional and conjectural. Chapter 5 will show the rhetorical question function of the sentence ender *-key*. Chapter 6 will discuss the conjunctive ender *-kiey* and the path of the conjunctive adverb *kulekey*'s grammaticalization. Finally, Chapter 7 will summarize the main points of the research and discuss implications for future research.

1.2 Data and methodology

Sentence enders that developed from conjunctive enders are primarily used in colloquial Korean language, so this dissertation research collected data from the 21st Century Sejong Project's Contemporary Spoken Korean Corpus (about 80 million words), scripts from Korean television dramas and movies (about 20 million words), and the two television talk shows *Miwunwulisaykki* (about 80 min) and *Masissnun nyesektul* (about 80 min) to examine the meaning and pragmatic functions of *-key* and *kulekey*. (see Appendix for the

lists of dramas and movies) Moreover, it used examples from the *National Korean Language Dictionary* (2017), *Learning Korean Dictionary* (2006), *Korean Grammar Dictionary* (2006), and the *Suffix and Particle Dictionary* (Lee & Lee, 2008; *Emi cosa sacen*), and from previous research. Throughout the dissertation, for each example from the dictionaries, popular media, or scholarly works, the specific sources are provided; all unmarked examples are from the Sejong Corpus. Throughout this dissertation, the examples are presented in a four-line format that provides a Yale system romanized transcription, a word-for-word gloss, a free translation to English, and the Hangul sentence. Abbreviations follow the scheme introduced by Sohn (1999a).

1.3 Theoretical framework: Grammaticalization

Traugott and Heine (1991) defined grammaticalization as “the linguistic process, both through time and synchronically, of organization of categories and of coding” (p. 1).

Hopper and Traugott (2003) defined grammaticalization as “the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (p. xv). Hopper and Traugott explained that although the historical linguistic approach to grammaticalization has mostly focused on the syntactic processes that grammatical markers can undergo, grammaticalization shows that the flow of communication is motivated by strategic interactions. Heine and Kuteva (2002) pointed out that “grammaticalization is defined as the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms” (p. 2).

1.3.1 Mechanisms of change: Reanalysis and analogy

There are two major mechanisms of language change: reanalysis (rule change) and analogy (rule generalization). Reanalysis is the dominant mechanism. Since Langacker (1977) proposed the idea of reanalysis, it has become widely accepted as a shift from one parametric setting to another. Hopper and Traugott (2003) explained that reanalysis “modifies underlying representations, whether semantic, syntactic, or morphological, and brings about rule change” (p. 32).

On the other hand, analogy is overt, and reanalysis can only occur through the process of analogy. Hopper and Traugott (2003) explained that analogy “modifies surface manifestations and in itself does not effect rule change, although it does effect rule spread either within the linguistic system itself or within the community” (p. 32).

Reanalysis is the covert and linear development of new structures out of old ones, and it is not directly observable, whereas analogy is an overt attraction of extant forms to already existent constructions, and it makes the unobservable reanalysis observable.

1.3.2 Pragmatic factors: Metaphor and metonymy

According to Nerlich and Clarke (1992, p. 134), metaphor is “using words for the look-alikes (resemblars) of what you mean” and metonymy is “using words for the near neighbors of the things you mean.” Metaphor and metonymy are two different types of processes underlying pragmatic inferences. Hopper and Traugott (2003) placed reanalysis and analogy at the morphosyntactic level and conceptual metaphor and metonymy at the semantic level. Both are driven initially by pragmatic inferencing, which is conventionalized conversational implicature. Two different types of process underlying

pragmatic inferences are metaphor and metonym. Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer (1991) observed that the metaphors involved are general “experiential metaphors” that are arranged in the following order: PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY (p. 157). This arrangement is unidirectional, and the process moves toward metaphorical abstractness.

The second kind of process underlying pragmatic inferencing is the metonymic process, which is “highly context-bound and arises out of implicatures in the speaker-hearer communicative situation” (Brinton & Traugott, 2005).

1.3.3 Unidirectionality

Grammaticalization is a process of semantic shift and grammatical restructuring, and optionally, phonological change. These three kinds of changes are interrelated and evolve gradually along a path that follows the same direction across languages, and they do not occur in the reverse direction.

Semantic unidirectionality in the process of grammaticalization moves toward an increase in abstractness. Traugott (1982, p. 248) proposed three functional-semantic components in a linguistic system: the propositional, the textual, and the expressive. First, the propositional component is “the resources of the language for making it possible to talk about something.” Second, the textual component is related to “the resources available for creating a cohesive discourse” including connectives, anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns, and so forth. Third, the expressive component is “the resources a language has for expressing personal attitudes to what is being talked about, to the text itself, and to others in the speech situation.” Traugott suggested the following cline of

these three components, so that each component shifts from more concrete to more abstract: propositional > textual > expressive.

Unidirectional grammatical restructuring proceeds along the following path: discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero (Givón, 1979, p. 209). Givón explained that discourse structures develop into grammaticalized syntactic structures over time. The syntactic structure erodes by the processes of morphologization and lexicalization and eventually disappears.

The unidirectional phonological cline tends to move toward reduction. Heine (1993) explained that “once a lexeme is conventionalized as a grammatical marker, it tends to undergo erosion; its phonological substance is likely to be reduced in some way and to become more dependent on surrounding phonetic material” (p. 106).

Heine and Reh (1984) suggested that the three essential components in grammaticalization are (a) meaning shift, (b) grammatical restructuring, and (c) phonological change (see also Sohn, 1999b). While meaning shift and grammatical restructuring occur simultaneously, phonological change occurs subsequently and is not mandatory.

1.3.4 Conditions licensing grammaticalization

Sohn (1999b) summarized five major conditions for grammaticalization to occur.

1. Semantic suitability: For any given grammatical domain, only a restricted set of lexical items is grammaticalized.
2. Typological salience: The relation between language typology and grammaticalization depends upon language-specific features. (For example,

particles and suffixes can easily be grammaticalized in Korean and Japanese, but not in Chinese because Chinese has a different language typology.)

3. Syntagmatic contiguity: Two or more forms must be contiguous in order to merge and form a grammatical element.
4. Frequency of use: The more grammaticalized a form, the more frequent it is.
5. Locality: At a certain syntactic slot, pragmatic or semantic extensions occur.

These phenomena are correlated with one another. Frequency of use, in particular, is a powerful causal condition of grammaticalization. Other conditions being equal, the more frequently a form is used, the more grammaticalized it becomes.

1.3.5 Principles of grammaticalization

Hopper (1991) proposed that the following five principles underlie grammaticalization (see also Sohn, 1999b).

1. Layering: When new layers emerge continually within a functional domain, older layers may remain that coexist with and interact with the newer layers.
2. Divergence (split): When a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization to a clitic or an affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element.
3. Specialization: Within a functional domain, among varieties of forms with different nuances, a smaller number of forms are selected to assume more general grammatical meanings.
4. Persistence: A form undergoing grammaticalization tends to convey some traces of its original lexical meanings, and one or more of the meanings of the

forms will reflect a dominant earlier meaning.

5. Decategorialization: Forms undergoing grammaticalization tend to lose the original morphological or syntactic characteristics of their categories.

CHAPTER 2

MORPHOSYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUFFIX *-KEY*

The suffix *-key* is used as an adverbializer, a complementizer that connects a complement clause predicate and a main clause predicate, a conjunctive ender in an embedded clause, and a sentence ender. The example sentences in (1) illustrate its use as an adverbializer (1a), complementizer (1b), and sentence ender (1c).

- (1) a. *Yaksok sikan ey nuc-key wa-sse-yo.*
appointment time in late-AD come-PST-POL
'(I) was late for the appointment.'
약속 시간에 늦게 왔어요.
- b. *Taum tal ey mikwuk-ey ka-key toy-ess-eyo.*
next month in U.S-DR go-AD become-PST-POL
'I will be going to the United States next month.'
다음 달에 미국에 가게 되었어요.
- c. *Nay ka nwukwu-key?*
I NM who-FML-Q
'Who am I?'
내가 누구게?

Different researchers have proposed different ways of categorizing the suffix *-key*. Choi (1982), Nam (1985), Lee and Im (1983), Lee and Chea (1999), and Yoo (2003)

considered it an adverbial transformed suffix (adverbializer). Nam and Ko (1993), Jung (1949), and Kim (1984) categorized it as an auxiliary conjunctive ender. Huh (1973), Kim (1987), and the *National Korean Dictionary* (2017) categorized it as an embedded clause ender (conjunctive ender).

In school grammars to teach the Korean language, enders are divided into prefinal and final enders, and final enders are further divided in various ways.

According to Sohn (1999a), sentence enders consist of three suffix categories: addressee honorific, mood, and sentence (S)-type, as shown in Figure 1.

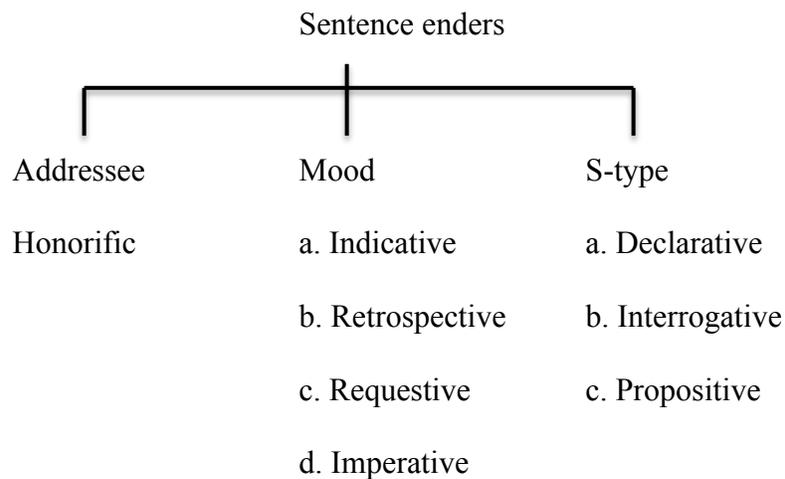


Figure 1. Three suffix categories: Addressee honorific, mood, and sentence (S)-type (Sohn, 1999a, p. 234)

Lee (2004) and Lee and Jang (2004) organized the system of suffixes as in (2). (2a-b) are from Lee, s. -h. (2004, p. 154); (2c) is from Lee and Jang (2004, p. 82). According to Lee, s-h (2004), (2a) is based on work by Nam and Ko (1993), the Ministry of Education (1996), and the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2002).

relativizer (*-un, -nun, -ul -ten*)

adverbializer (*-a-ko, -ci, -key*

etc.)

There is still discussion over how best to categorize the suffix *-key*. This study follows Sohn's (1999a) grammar, considering the suffix as an adverbial, a conjunctive ender, a complementizer, and a sentence ender. This chapter explains the suffix *-key*'s usage and the process of its change from a conjunctive ender to a sentence ender.

2.1 *-key* as an adverbializer

According to Sohn (1999a), adverbials are those sentential constituents that modify a predicate, a clause, another adverbial, or even a nominal in terms of negation and attribution. Because adverbials are functionally defined notions, they include not only lexically inherent or derived adverbs, but also nouns, noun phrases, and clauses that function adverbially. Furthermore, most adverbs are derived from other adverbs, nouns, verbs, adjectives, or determiners by means of suffixes (p. 229).

The suffix *-(h)i* is a productive adverbializer, as in *katukhi* 'fully', *hwaksilhi* 'surely', *sokhi* 'quickly', and *kkaykkusi* 'cleanly'. Fossilized suffixes like *-o/-wu* have turned verbs into adverbs, as in *nemwu* (go over-) 'overly', *tolo* 'back', and *cac-wu* 'frequently'. The suffix *-key* is proposed as a means to derive adverbs from adjectives, as in *caymiisskey* (interesting-) 'with fun', *hayahkey* (white-) 'white', and *kuphakey* (hurried-) 'hurriedly' (Sohn, 1999a, pp. 230–231). Historically, the suffix *-key* as an adverbializer started as the construction [*-ke + -i*]. According to Nam and Ko (1993), *-i* is

a typical adverbializer suffix that originally attached to adjectives, but then gradually extended its usage beyond adjectives.

The adverbializer *-key* is often used in constituent adverbs, sentence adverbs, causatives with *-hata/mantulta*, passives with *-toyta*, to mark promissive assurance or imperatives, and as a conjunctive ender or sentence ender. For example, in (3a), *saysamsulepkey* ‘abruptly’ is a sentence adverb that modifies the whole sentence. In (3b), *nuckey* ‘late’ is a constituent adverb that modifies *ilenasseyo* ‘get up’. And in (3c), *-key* ‘result, purpose’ is used as a conjunctive ender.

- (3) a. *Saysamsulep-key mwe-l pa-layyo?*
 sudden-AD what-AC want-POL-Q
 ‘What do you want all of the sudden?’
 새삼스럽게 뭘 바라요?
- b. *Onul achim ey nuc-key ilena-sse-yo.*
 today morning in late-AD wake up-PST-POL
 ‘I woke up late this morning.’
 오늘 아침에 늦게 일어났어요.
- c. *Kipwun nappu-key salam ul uysimha-ko kulay-yo.*
 feeling bad-AD person AC doubt-CNJ do-POL
 ‘Your suspicion makes me feel bad.’
 기분 나쁘게 사람을 의심하고 그래요. (Yenaysitay)

2.2 *-key* as a conjunctive ender

Embedded clauses appear in complex sentences. An embedded clause is included as a component of another clause. According to Sohn (1999a), there are five types of embedded clauses, as shown in Figure 2.

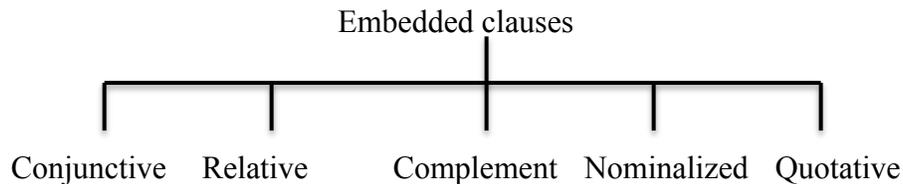


Figure 2. Five types of embedded clauses (Sohn, 1999a, p. 302)

The embedded clause typically ends in a clause-ender suffix such as a nominalizer (*-m/-um, -ki/ci,-ko*), complementizer (*-e/a, -key* ‘so that’, *-tolok* ‘so that, to the point where’), conjunctive (numerous), or relativizer (*-(u)n/-nun, -(u)l*). Among these, some suffixes are used as both conjunctives and complements. Some examples are *-ko* ‘and’, *-(u)myen* ‘if’, *-key* ‘so that’, *-e.ya/-a.ya* ‘only if’, *-(u)lyeko* ‘intending to’, *-koca* ‘wishing that’, and *-tus* ‘as if’.

In this dissertation, the term “conjunctive ender” is used instead of “conjunctive” and in contrast to “sentence ender.”

Sohn (1999a) explained that conjunctive constructions can be joined either coordinately or subordinately. In other words, a conjunctive clause can be dependent on another clause or not. The conjunctive ender *-key* is a subordinating conjunctive suffix, as can be seen in the examples in (4–6).

(4) *Swul com kkay-key yeki com anca-pw-a.*

alcohol a little sober up-AD here a little sit down-IM
 ‘Sit here to sober up.’

술 좀 깨게 여기 좀 앉아봐.

(5) *Motwu ka meku-l swu iss-key manhi mantul-ca.*
 everybody NM eat-RL can be-AD a lot make-PR

‘Let’s make a lot so everybody can eat.’

모두가 먹을 수 있게 많이 만들자. (Lee & Lee, 2008)

(6) *Cha ka cinaka-key com pikh-ye cwu-sey-yo.*
 car NM pass-AD a little aside-CNL give-SH-IM

‘Please move aside so the car can get by.’

차가 지나가게 좀 비켜 주세요. (Korean Learning Dictionary)

2.3 *-key* as a complementizer

According to Sohn (1999a), a complement clause and its cooccurring main clause predicate are semantically cohesive to varying degrees. In some ways, they are so fossilized that they are considered single lexical items, as in *ilenata* ‘get up’ and *phamutta* ‘bury’. Different than conjunctive constructions, complementizers occur only with a limited number of main clause predicates. The types of complementizer include the infinitive suffix *-e/-a*, the adverbializer *-key*, and the adverbializer *-tolok*. In auxiliary constructions, main clause predicates, popularly referred to as “auxiliary” predicates, cannot occur without a complement clause. Their meaning is auxiliary to the meaning of the complement clause predicate. Among the complementizers, *-key* and *-keykkum* (emphatic) ‘so that’ [adverbial] are used with *hata* ‘cause, arrange, make’ [causative],

mantulta ‘cause, make’ [causative], and *toyta* ‘turn out, get to be, it is arranged (so that)’ [inchoative, passive].

2.3.1 *-key hata*

Korean has three types of causatives: lexical causatives like *sikhita* (make to do); derivational causatives, namely the short-form causatives like *ilkhita*, which are formed by suffixes; and syntactic causatives, namely the long-form causatives like *ilkkey hata*, which are constructed with *-key hata*. Sohn (1999a) observed that long-form or phrasal causatives are formed with the verb stem *ha(y)* ‘do, make, cause, let, permit, tell, arrange’ and preceded by a complement clause that ends in the adverbializer *-key* ‘so that, to’. This type is very productive, meaning that *-key hata* can be used with any type of clause, including a suffixal passive or causative construction. The examples in (7) are from the *Suffix and Particle Dictionary* (Lee & Lee, 2008; *Emi cosa sacen*), which defines *-key hata* as following with the meaning of making somebody do something.

- (7) a. *Emeni nun nay ka eli-l ttay pwuthe*
 mother TC I NM young-RL time from
phianolul chi-key ha-sy-ess-ta.
 piano AC play-AD do-SH-PST-PLN
 ‘Since I was little my mom made it possible for me to play piano.’
 어머니는 내가 어릴 때부터 피아노를 치게 하셨습니다.
- b. *Cheum ey nun hwanca lul pang an eyse man*
 first in TC patient AC room inside at only

ket-key *hay-ya* *han-ta.*
 walk-AD do-AD do-PLN

‘At first let the patients only walk around in their room.’

처음에는 환자를 방 안에서만 걷게 해야 한다.

c. *Sonnim* *ul* *kesil eyes* *kitali-key* *ha-nta.*
 guest AC living room in wait-AD do-PLN

‘Have the guests wait in the living room.’

손님을 거실에서 기다리게 한다.

2.3.2 -key toyta

According to Cho (2002), *toyta* ‘become’ is the second most frequently used verb in Korean. As a main verb, it is used with a complement NP-*i/ka*, *toyta*. As an auxiliary verb, it frequently appears as *-key toyta*. Cho (2005) reported in a corpus analysis that 30% of *toyta*’s uses were of the *-key toyta* type.

Ko and Koo (2008) noted that in *-key toyta*, *toyta* is an auxiliary verb that has a passive meaning and therefore the use of *-key toyta* forms a passive sentence. Nam and Ko (1983) proposed that *-key toyta* with *-e cita* is a syntactic passive. Furthermore, according to Lee, g. –g. (2004), the 7th *Grammar Textbook for School* acknowledges that *-key toyta* is a passive form.

There are three types of passives, parallel to the aforementioned causatives: lexical passives, like *tanghata* (take); derivational passives, namely the short-form passive, like *caphita* ‘be grabbed’, which is made with the suffixes *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*; and syntactic passives, namely the long-form passive, like *capacita*, which is made by adding

-ecita. Of course, some researchers do not see *-key toyta* as a passive (Kim, 2009; Nam, 2007). However, this research will treat *-key toyta* as a long-form passive, based on the texts from school grammars. Example (8) demonstrates the use of *-key toyta* as a passive.

(8) a. *Na nun pwumonim ul ttala mikwuk ulo*
 I TC parent AC follow U.S. DR
ka-key toy-ess-ta.
 go-AD become-PST-PLN

‘I followed my parents to the United States.’

나는 부모님을 따라 미국으로 가게 되었다.

b. *Hoysa ka mwun ul tat-key toy-ess-ketunyo.*
 company NM door AC close-AD become-PST-CNJ-POL

‘You know, that company is closed.’

회사가 문을 닫게 되었거든요.

c. *Cangnankam i pang an ey katukha-key*
 toy NM room inside in full-AD
toy-ess-ta.
 become-PST-PLN

‘That room has become full of toys.’

장난감이 방 안에 가득하게 되었다.

2.3.3 *-key mantulta*

The form *-key mantulta* ‘make somebody do something’ is also used frequently, like *-key hata*. According to Seo (1988), *-key hata* or *mantulta* is made causative when combined with a passive auxiliary verb. On the other hand, *-key* is also used as a long-form causative, when it is limited to use with a causative auxiliary verb like *hata* and *mantulta*. The examples in (9) are from the *Korean Learning Dictionary (Hankwuke haksup sacen)*.

- (9) a. *Ai lul kongpwuha-key mantul-ess-ta.*
 kid AC study-AD make-PST-PLN
 ‘The kids were made to study.’
 아이를 공부하게 만들었다.
- b. *Apeci nun emeni lul cikep ul kac-key*
 dad TC mom AC job AC have-AD
mantul-ess-ta.
 make-PST-PLN
 ‘Dad made Mom get a job.’
 아버지는 어머니를 직업을 갖게 만들었다.

In (9), *-key mantulta* can be understood to mean ‘let somebody do or let the situation be’.

In these cases, the causative affects the whole sentence.

2.4 *-key* as a sentence ender derived from a conjunctive ender

In colloquial Korean language, the conjunctive ender is often used as a sentence ender.

This section will explain its path of becoming a sentence ender from a conjunctive ender.

According to Yoo (2003), the first condition is that it is used in a “colloquial environment.” It is more likely to be used in colloquial language than in written language because it developed through inversion or omission of the main clause. The second condition is that, whether the main clause is omitted or the clauses are inverted, the *-key* clause is an independent clause. In other words, it is not used as a sentence ender in auxiliary predicate constructions or when it is used as an adverbial, because in these cases, the clause containing *-key* is not independent. (10)–(11) show some examples.

- (10) a. *Cenyek ul mek-ule ka-lyeko sinaypesu-lul*
 dinner AC eat-CNJ go-CNJ bus-AC

tha-ss-ta.

take-PST-ENDER

‘We took the bus to go to dinner.’

저녁을 먹으러 가려고 시내버스를 탔다

- b. *Pelsse ile-na? Cip ey ka-lyeko?*
 already get up-INT-Q home DR go-Q

‘You’re already getting up? You’re leaving?’

벌써 일어나? 집에 가려고?

- (11) a. *Cikum sanchaykha-le ka-nuntey kathi*
 now take a walk-CNJ go-CNJ together

ka-llayyo?

go-Q-POL

‘I’m going to go for a walk now, do you want to go with me?’

지금 산책하러 가는데 같이 갈래요?

- b. *Kuletaka cengmal Itung ha-keyss-nuntey.*
keep-CNJ really first place get-SUP-EX-ENDER

‘If you keep it up, you’ll really get first place.’

그러다가 정말 1등 하겠는데.

In (10a) and (11a), *-key* is used as a conjunctive ender, while in (10b) and (11b), it functions as a sentence ender. However, in each (b) sentence, the function is a little different. In (10b), the *-lyeko* clause is used in the sentence ending through inversion of the antecedent clause and following clause. The meaning is the same as that of the conjunctive ender *-lyeko*, so it is hard to accept it as a sentence ender yet. However, in (11b), *-nuntey* is placed at the sentence ending, but the meaning is different than that of the conjunctive ender *-nuntey* and cannot be recovered from the omitted clause, so it can be accepted as a grammaticalized sentence ender.

Many Korean interactive sentence enders have developed via grammaticalization processes from subordinate clause enders. These sentence enders diverged diachronically from earlier complex sentences from which the main clause came to be omitted (Sohn, 1999b). The first stage of the grammaticalization process can be represented as follows:

[Clause 1 + Clause 2]S1 > [Clause 1 + (politeness particle *-yo*)]S2

An original sentence (S1) consists of a main clause (Clause 2) and a subordinate clause (Clause 1). In a diachronic process, the original subordinate clause (Clause 1) is

restructured as the main clause, and the original main clause (Clause 2) is omitted. The polite sentence ender particle *-yo* is attached agglutinatively to the restructured clause when the polite speech level is called for in face-to-face encounters; otherwise, it is left out, placing the utterance at the intimate speech level (pp. 163–164).

Lee (2017) observed that as the conjunctive ender *-key* gained a function as a sentence ender through clause inversion and main clause deletion, it passed through a series of stages as the meaning or function changed as a degree of grammaticalization. The four stages for the path of grammaticalization when a conjunctive ender is changing to a sentence ender were outlined by Kim (1999). The first stage is reduction of the sentence structure. The second stage is a shift in the grammatical function. The third stage is intonation change. Finally, the last stage is acquisition of the sentence ending function.

Sohn (1999b) proposed that the grammatical meanings of restructured sentence enders are roughly as follows: The grammaticalized sentence ender has a complex semantico-pragmatic meaning, composed of (a) the speaker (functioning as the abstract subject), (b) the diluted and generalized sense of omitted main predicates (functioning as an abstract verb), (c) the vastly bleached meanings and functions of the individual morphemes constituting the ender, including the sentence-final intonation, and (d) other pragmatically introduced senses (p. 169).

This dissertation shows the grammaticalization path of the conjunctive ender *-key* changing to a sentence ender *-key* with a detailed description of the shifts in its meaning and function.

Especially this dissertation asserts that sentence ender *-key* grammaticalized differently than other sentence enders from conjunctive enders. So, sentence ender *-key* from conjunctive ender *-key* grammaticalized through two different paths. The first path is intentional function *-key* that developed through inversion and omission of conjunctive ender *-key*. The second path is from conjectural function *-key* that developed through inversion, omission, and reduction of conjunctive ender *-kiey*. In this dissertation chapter 3 and chapter 4 will illustrate these two paths in detail..

As documented above, previous research has shown that there are various stages in the grammaticalization process of a sentence ender from a conjunctive ender. Sentence ender *-key* also grammaticalized through various stages. The first stage *-key* or *-kiey* are used as conjunctive enders. In the second stage conjunctive ender *-key* and *-kiey* are moved to the end of the sentence through inversion, omission, or phonological reduction. In this second stage *-key* is located at the end of the sentence, however it does not have the grammatical functions of a sentence ender but retains the function and meaning as a conjunctive ender. In this dissertation, in order to clearly demonstrate the process, the second stage is identified as “function as a sentence ender”. The third stage is where *-key* shifts into a complete sentence ender. In this dissertation the third stage is identified as “the grammaticalized sentence ender”, as *-key* now has the grammatical function of a sentence ender.

In the three examples in (12a), Lim (2012) showed how *-key* was used as a subordinate conjunctive ender, auxiliary conjunctive ender, and with an adverbial function. Lim then provided the inverted sentences in (12b) to show how only the subordinate conjunctive ender can be used as a sentence ender through inversion.

- (12) a. *Elkwul com caseyhi po-key kakkai*
 face a little in detail see-CNJ close
wa pw-ala.
 come try-IM
 ‘Let me see your face clearly, come close.’
 얼굴 좀 자세히 보게 가까이 와 봐라.
- Ku-nun hankwukmwunhwa-ey kwansim-ul kac-key*
 he-TC Korean culture-in interest-AC have-CMP
toy-ess-ta.
 become-PST-DC
 ‘He became interested in Korean culture.’
 그는 한국문화에 관심을 갖게 되었다.
- Ku yenghwa-lul caymiiss-key po-ass-ta.*
 that movie-AC interesting-AD watch-PST-DC
 ‘I enjoyed the movie.’
 그 영화를 재밌게 봤다.
- b. *Kakkai wa pw-ala. Elkwul com*
 close come try-IM face a little
caseyhi po-key.
 in detail see-AD
 ‘Come close. I want to see your face clearly.’
 가까이 와 봐라. 얼굴 좀 자세히 보게.

<i>Ku-nun</i>	<i>toy-ess-ta.</i>	<i>Hankwukmwunhwa-ey</i>
he-TC	become-PST-DC	Korean culture-
<i>kwansim-ul</i>	<i>kac-key</i>	
in interest-AC	have-AD	

‘He became. Has interest in Korean culture.’

그는 됐다. 한국문화에 관심을 갖게.

<i>Ku</i>	<i>yenghwa-lul</i>	<i>po-ass-ta.</i>	<i>caymiiss-key.</i>
that	movie-AC	watch-PST-DC	interesting-AD

‘I saw that movie. Interesting.’

그 영화를 봤다. 재밌게.

For this research, the following were excluded: adverbializer *-key* as a constituent adverb or sentence adverb, complementizer *-key* as a causative with *-hata/mantulta* or passive with *-toyta*.

CHAPTER 3
INTENTIONAL FUNCTION OF
GRAMMATICALIZED SENTENCE ENDER *-KEY*

The functions of grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* can be divided into intentional function, conjectural function, and rhetorical question functions. Among these functions the intentional function and the conjectural function *-key* each developed from a different path. The sentence ender *-key* has an intentional function, which developed from the conjunctive sentence ender *-key*, and a conjectural function, which developed from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*. In this chapter, the grammaticalization path of the intentional function sentence ender *-key* is examined.

3.1 Historical change

The intentional function sentence ender *-key* started as an adverbial suffix, later was used as a conjunctive ender, and finally became a sentence ender. According to Hong (1989, pp. 48–59), its original form was the combination of the dependent noun *ke* and the adverbial suffix *i*.

In terms of morphology, adverbs can be divided into pure adverbs and derivational adverbs. The derivational adverbs are more plentiful and their functions are also various and complicated. After the root form is connected with a derivational suffix (adverbializer) such as *-i*, *-hi*, or *-o/wu*, it can then transform into various parts of speech. According to Sohn (1999a, pp. 230–231), the suffix *-(h)i* is a productive adverbializer, as observed in examples such as *katukp-hi* ‘fully’, *hwaksil-hi* ‘surely’, *sok-hi* ‘quickly’, and

kkaykkus-i ‘cleanly’. It seems that the *-h* in *-hi* is a contraction of the adjective root *ha* and the original adverbializer is simply *-i*. Thus, *katuk-hi*, *hwaksil-hi*, *sok-hi*, and *kkaykkus-i* may be analyzed as having developed from *katuk-ha* ‘be full’ + adverbializer *-i*, *hwaksil-ha* ‘be certain’ + adverbializer *-i*, *sok-ha* ‘be fast’ + adverbializer *-i*, and *kkaykkus-ha* ‘be clean’ + adverbializer *-i*, respectively. In *kkaykkus-i*, *-h* is further reduced to zero because /h/ is not pronounceable after /s/. On the other hand, among these adverbializers, *-i* is the most productive and can be used with verbs and adjectives. However, in some cases the affixation of *-i* does not transform a word into an adverb (e.g., *ccalpi* ‘short’, *phwului* ‘blue’). In these cases, the adverbializer *-key* replaces *-i* (e.g., *ccalpkey*, *phwulukey*). According to Bang (2004, p. 76), *-key* taking the place of *-i* appears in late Middle Korean, and its use then expanded; thus, these adverbializers’ function and meaning overlaps in places in Contemporary Korean. Once *-key* replaced *-i*, the latter reduced to only a suffix. Lee (1983) pointed out that *-i* is treated as an adverbializer in the 15th century and appears after the predicate stem; *-i* is attached to the adjective stem directly, with the feature [-action]. However, sometimes *-i* is attached to a [+action] stem. These types of examples are a transitional phenomenon as the adverbializer role passed to the adverbializer *-key*. Furthermore, *-i* and *-key* can be regarded as allomorphs in complementary distribution that perform the same function. So *-i*’s descriptive function was gradually taken over by *-key*, and *-i* became fixed as an adverbializer in Contemporary Korean. Lee (1984) explained that some *-i* adverbials have disappeared, and that this is not a negative disappearing but a positive phenomenon of being absorbed into *-key*. Bang (2004) explained that *-i* functioned widely in late Middle Korean, including in causation or passivization (e.g., *-ika hAta*, *-i dAoyta*), and that it

could be used with various verbs. On the other hand, the form [stem + *-key*] rarely appeared at this time, and when it did it was very restricted, for instance, being limited to the structure *-key hata*. However, its uses started to expand once the structure *-key hAta* had crystallized in Middle Korean. So, in Contemporary Korean *-key* is more productively used than *-i*. At this point, *-key* begins appearing in causative sentences and it is connected to passive clauses; after Middle Korean, it can be attached to almost all adjectives, not only to make them causative or passive, but also to change them to adverbs. Therefore, in late Middle Korean, structures with attached *-i* continued to decrease, so these words have disappeared in Contemporary Korean. Here are some examples of forms with *-i* that are no longer used: *telei* ‘dirty’, *komai* ‘thankful’, *swukoloi* ‘troublesome’, *tei* ‘hot’, *senuli* ‘cool’, *kanali* ‘thin’, *keyuli* ‘lazy’, *saonapi*, *saonai* ‘wild’, and *cohi* ‘nicely’. Moreover, the remaining forms with *-i* tend to have restricted usage, being used with only certain predicates; for example, *alumtai* ‘beautiful’ with *nekita* in Middle Korean and *alumtai hAta* in Modern Korean.

As *-key* began taking the place of adverbializer *-i*, and expanding the range of its use, it also began to be used as a conjunctive ender. According to Lee (2017), this shift had fully occurred by late Modern Korean. Lee (p. 174) provided examples from literary sources: a play from the 1920s by Kim, Oojin (13a), a novel by Lee, Kwangsu written in the 1930s (13b), and a novel by Lee, Injik written in 1908 (13c). As shown in the examples below, in late Modern Korean, conjunctive enders *-ko*, *-lyako*, and *-key(yo)* are used as sentence enders.

(13) a. *Emeni nun cip ey honcya*

mom TC home at alone
key-si-ko?

be-SH-FML-Q

‘Mom is home alone?’

어머니는 집에 혼자 계시고? (Santwayci)

b. *Kulekiew nay ka mwela-te-nya, kwulm-e*
 because I NM what-RT-Q starve-AD
cwuk-kiloni nay ttal i non
 die-CNJ my daughter NM rice paddy
ey tuleselyako.

in enter-AD-FML

‘What did I say, if my daughter was starving she would not work in the rice paddy.’

그러기에 내가 뭐라더냐, 굶어 죽기로니 내 딸이 논에 들어서랴고.

(Hulk, p.190)

c. *Pang un ssul-e mwues hA-key-yo.*
 room TC clean what do-CNJ-POL

‘Why are you cleaning the room.’

방은 쓰러 무엇 ㅎ 게요.

(Chiaksan sang, p.119)

3.2 Morphosyntactic change

This section shows the change in morphosyntactic features that accompanied the process in which *-key* came to be used as a conjunctive sentence ender in late Modern Korean.

In grammaticalization, as Hopper and Traugott (2003) explained, a form A cannot become a form B without an intermediary stage at which A and B coexist. This is called “layering” by Hopper (1991). Hopper (1999, p. 22) further stated that within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. During the process, the old layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with new layers. Layering is the synchronic result of successive grammaticalization of forms that contribute to the same domain. Bybee and Thompson (1997) identified two major effects of frequency of forms (token frequency) that are especially relevant to grammaticalization. They refer to these two effects as the reduction effect and the conservation effect. The reduction effect points to the fact that frequently used forms are eroded at a faster rate than less frequently used forms. In Middle Korean, the adverbializer *-i* had the highest frequency rate; as *-key*'s use as an adverbializer expanded, *-i* and *-key* coexisted, or existed as layers. Furthermore, as *-key* expanded its range of use, it also gradually took on *-i*'s declarative function through divergence, while *-i* became fixed as a derivational suffix by specialization. In Contemporary Korean, therefore, *-i* functions only as an adverbializer. Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 99) observed that once grammaticalization has set in, there are certain likely paths along which it proceeds. According to Hopper and Traugott, one path discussed by Meillet is that whereby a lexical item becomes a grammatical item, summarized as: lexical item > morphology. However, the path is not directly from lexical item to morphology. Rather, lexical items or phrases come through use in certain highly constrained local contexts to be reanalyzed as having syntactic and morphological functions. Schematically, this can be characterized as: lexical item used in specific linguistic contexts > syntax >

morphology. Givón (1979, p. 209) characterized the process as one of cyclic waves involving: discourse > syntax > morphophonemics > zero. Hopper and Traugott (2003) also mentioned that auxiliary-like or adverbial status can form as a result of the downgrading of an original verbal construction.

According to Hong (1988, p.51) the form *-key* came about through the fusing of a *-ke* and *-i*. Since suffix *-i* functions as an adverbializer, *-key* also is used as an adverbializer. Lim (1975), Ko (1980), Sim (1982) also describe the form *-key* as coming from the fusing of *-ke* and *-i*. (Hong 1988, p.52-56)

The adverbializer *-key* is used in the conjunctive ender's place. In the course of this phenomenon, referred to as the unidirectionality of grammaticalization, *-key* is used as an adverbializer and is decategorized from conjunctive ender to sentence ender so it comes to function more syntactically. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the path of the development of the sentence ender from the conjunctive ender is the following, according to Sohn (1999b, p. 163).

[Clause 1 + Clause 2]S1 > [Clause 1 + (politeness particle *-yo*)]S2

An original sentence (S1) consists of a main clause (Clause 2) and a subordinate clause (Clause 1). In the diachronic process, the original subordinate clause (Clause 1) is restructured as the main clause, and the original main clause (Clause 2) is omitted. The polite sentence ender particle *-yo* is attached agglutinatively. A subordinate clause is decategorized to a main clause, and by the persistence principle, it keeps its original syntactic and morphological properties. Also, by the divergence principle, diachronic

main clause omission is suggested by the existence of syntactically and semantically parallel forms with an unomitted main clause. Lastly, by the persistence principle, the newly developed sentence enders retain some of the essential semantic material of the omitted main clauses. Finally, the deleted main clause cannot be uniquely recoverable (Sohn, 1999b, pp. 163–166).

Following this path, *-key* grammaticalized to a sentence ender, in late Modern Korean. As shown in example (13c) it started to gain the function of sentence ender by inversion or omission

In Examples (14) and (15), *-key* is used as a conjunctive ender, but by means of inversion or omission, the conjunctive ender *-key* acquires the function of a sentence ender.

(14) a. *Elkwul com po-key hanpen ccum*
 face a little see-CNJ one time about
nathana-ss-um coh-keyss-ta.
 appear-PST-AD good-hope-DC

‘I hope they come out so I can see their faces.’

얼굴 좀 보게 한번쯤 나타났음 좋겠다.

a'. *Hanpen ccum nathana-ss-um coh-keyss-ta.*
 one time about appear-PST-AD good-hope-PLN
elkwul come po-key.
 face as little see-CNJ

‘I hope they come out so I can see their faces.’

한번쯤 나타났음 좋겠다. 얼굴 좀 보게. (Panollim)

(15) Appa: *Ka-se emma com ola kule-llay?*
go-AD mom a little come-QT say that-Q
'Go tell your mom to come.'
가서 엄마 좀 오라 그럴래?

Ttal: *Way?*
why-Q
'Why?'
왜?

Appa: *Olays maney kathi hancanha-key.*
long time in together have a drink-CNJ
'In order to have a drink together after long time.'

오랫만에 같이 한잔하게. (Panollim 2)

(16) A: *Ipen kihoy ey kunyang pakkwu-ca emma.*
this time chance in just change-PR mom
'Mom, let's change it this time.'

이번 기회에 그냥 바꾸자 엄마.

Chelswu ka kulehkeykkaci mal-hayss-umyen
Chelsu NM like that say-PST-CNJ
pakkwe-ya toy-nun ke-ya
change-AD become-RL thing-DC

'Since Chelsu said it like that, we have to change.'

철수가 그렇게까지 말했으면 바뀌야 되는 거야.

B: *Inyen man te tha-ko*
1 year only more drive-AD

pakkwu-key.

change-ENDER

‘Just drive for one year more and change.’

1 년만 더 타고 바꾸게.

In these examples, it can be seen how the conjunctive ender *-key* gained the function of a sentence ender through inversion (14) and omission (15). The information in the omitted main clause in (15) can be easily assumed by the listener, and therefore the clause can be dropped by the speaker. The conjunctive ender *-key* functioning as a sentence ender by means of inversion or omission then becomes a grammaticalized sentence ender, even where the main clause is not recoverable (16).

Among Hopper’s (1991) five principles of grammaticalization, (14) and (15) demonstrate the effects of the persistence principle, where the form has the original syntactic and morphological properties used in a declarative sentence, and of the divergence principle, where it takes the same syntactic form. Furthermore, the sentence ender has the meaning of purpose, the same as the conjunctive ender, showing the persistence principle. As seen in Example (16), based on the discourse and the situation, one can sometimes recover the omitted main clause, but there are times when it would be awkward and even times when it cannot be recovered.

In (17), the syntactic changes in the development of the intentional function of grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* with the intentional function are summarized.

(17) The syntactic path of sentence ender *-key* with the intentional function

$[-ke + -i] >$

adverbializer *-key* >

conjunctive ender *-key* >

function as sentence ender *-key* >

intentional function of the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key*

3.3 Semantic and pragmatic variation

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003, pp. 71–98), the semantic and pragmatic changes undergone by lexical items during grammaticalization are motivated by conversational inferences.

The speaker increases the expressivity of language from an inclination to make the meaning go from being less subjective to more subjective. The increase of expressivity motivates change in the language. The conjunctive ender *-key* has the meaning of purpose or result. In colloquial language, the conjunctive ender *-key* is used frequently, and it is placed at the end of the sentence by main clause omission. It then gains a different meaning and function.

3.3.1 Purpose and result

3.3.1.1 Conjunctive ender *-key*: Purpose and result

According to the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (2017), the essential meaning of the conjunctive ender *-key* is that it reveals the purpose, result, method, or degree of the following clause's situation.

The adverbializer and complementizer functions of *-key*, as well as the causative and passive functions, are beyond the scope of this research, because the conjunctive ender *-key* only has the meaning of purpose and result.

As (18), (19), and (20) demonstrate, the conjunctive ender *-key* can be changed to *-tolok* because of the two forms' similarity in meaning and syntactic role. They are not completely interchangeable, but both have the meaning of purpose or result. Therefore, examples such as these clearly show the meaning of the conjunctive ender *-key*.

(18) a. *Pwumo-nim i kkaysi-ci anh-key coyong-hi pang*
 parent-HT NM wake-SH-AD not-CNJ quiet-AD room
ulo tul-e-ka-ss-ta.

DR enter-AD-go-PST-PLN

‘In order to not wake my parents I went to my room quietly.’

부모님이 깨시지 않게 조용히 방으로 들어갔다. (Lee & Lee, 2008)

b. *Pwumo-nim i kkaysi-ci anh-tolok coyong-hi pang*
 parent-HT NM wake-SH-AD not-CNJ quiet-AD room
ulo tul-e-ka-ss-ta.

DR enter-AD-go-PST-PLN

‘In order to not wake my parents I went to my room quietly.’

부모님이 깨시지 않도록 조용히 방으로 들어갔다.

- (19) a. *Pi an mac-key wusan an ulo tulewa-yo.*
rain not get-CNJ umbrella inside to enter-POL
‘So you don’t get hit by the rain, get under the umbrella.’
비 안 맞게 우산 안으로 들어와요. (*Dictionary of Korean grammar*)
- b. *Pi an mac-tolok wusan an ulo tulewa-yo.*
rain not get-CNJ umbrella inside to enter-POL
‘So you don’t get hit by the rain, get under the umbrella.’
비 안 맞도록 우산 안으로 들어와요.
- (20) a. *Nwukwuna ta po-key changpakk-ey*
everybody all see-CNJ window outside in
kelly-e iss-ess-ta
hanged-AD be-PST-PLN
‘It was hanging outside the window for all to see.’
누구나 다 보게 창밖에 걸려 있었다. (Park, J.-h. 2011, p. 201)
- b. *Nwukwuna ta po-tolok changpakk-ey*
everybody all see-CNJ window outside in
kelly-e iss-ess-ta.
hanged-AD be-PST-PLN
‘It was hanging outside the window for all to see.’
누구나 다 보도록 창밖에 걸려 있었다.

In Examples (18) and (19), the conjunctive enders have the meaning of purpose. In Example (20), they have the meaning of result. (18) and (19) are construed as expressing

purpose because the activity is in the following clause. However, (20) is construed as expressing result because the following clause is nonactive. According to Park (2011), a purpose clause acts as motivation for the following clause's action, but a result clause expresses the result; that is, the situation after the following clause's situation has happened.

3.3.1.2 Function as sentence ender *-key*: Purpose and result

As seen in Section 3.3.2, by omission or inversion, the conjunctive ender *-key* is placed at the end of a sentence and functions as a sentence ender. The meaning is still the same as that of the conjunctive ender *-key*. (21) shows omission, while (22) is an example of inversion. In (21), the meaning is result and in (22), the meaning is purpose.

(21) *A, colly-e cwuk-keyss-kwuman cam twu*
 ah sleep-AD die-SUP-CNJ sleep too
mo-sca-key.

cannot-sleep-CNJ

‘Ah, I am so tired; I couldn’t sleep.’

아, 졸려 죽겠구만 잠두 못자게. (Panollim)

(22) A: *Ne cenyek-ey yaksok iss-ni?*
 you dinner at appointment have-PLN-IM

‘Do you have dinner plans?’

너 저녁에 약속 있니?

B: *Ani. Way?*

no why-Q

‘No, why?’

아니. 왜?

A: *Cip ey com o-lako. kathi cenyek mek-key.*

house in a little com-QT together dinner eat-CNJ

‘Come over to my house to have dinner.’

집에 좀 오라고. 같이 저녁 먹게. (*I cwukilnomuy salang*)

3.3.1.3 Function as sentence ender -key: Purpose, result, and intention

This section shows the conjunctive ender -key as it functions as a sentence ender, when a new meaning is gained, which is intention. So, in these examples, the sentence ender -key has the meaning of purpose, result, and intention.

(23) *Kulem manwen man cw-e. Haptong ulo*

so 10,000won only give-IM jointly with

kathi cwunpiha-(key)¹ tolok/lyeko.

together prepare-(CNJ/CNJ/CNJ)

‘Okay, just give me 10,000 won. Combine and prepare together.’

그럼 만원만 줘. 합동으로 같이 준비하(게)²도록/려고. (*Khaisuthu*)

(24) A: *Acik mel-ess-e? Na sangchwussam mek-ko siph-e.*

still far-PST-Q I lettuce wraps eat-AD want-INT

‘Are you still far? I want to have lettuce wraps.’

아직 멀었어? 나 상추쌈 먹고싶어.

B: *Sangchwussam? Ni ka kulem path ey*
 lettuce wrap-Q you NM so field in
ka-se com ttao-llay? Ppalli com
 go-AD little pick-Q quickly a little
chali-(key)² tolok/lyeko).

set the table-(CNJ/CNJ/CNJ)

‘Lettuce wraps? Then do you want to pick the lettuce? Hurry, I’ll set the table.’

상추쌈? 니가 그럼 밭에 가서 좀 따올래? 빨리 좀 차리(계²도록/려고).

(Kwung)

(25) *Way ile-n cis ul ha-nunci molu-keyss-*
 why like-RL behavior AC do-AD don’t know-SUP-
ta. Ton man kkayci-(key/ tolok/lyeko).
 PLN money only waste-(CNJ/CNJ/CNJ)

‘I don’t know why they do this thing. Just a waste of money.’

왜 이런 짓을 하는지 모르겠다. 돈만 깨지(계/도록/려고).

(Cangmipichinsayng)

(26) *Sench ehay cwuseyyo. Saylowun insayng ul*
 new chance do give-IM new life AC
sal(key/tolok/lyeko)yo.

live-(CNJ/CNJ/CNJ)-POL

‘Please, give me another chance. So I can start new life.’

선처해 주세요. 새로운 인생을 살(계/도록/려고)요.

(Mawang)

As previously mentioned, *-key* can be interchangeable with *-tolok* because they both have the same meaning of purpose or result. In fact, *-tolok* has a stronger meaning of result than purpose (Yoon, 1989). In (23), (24), (25), and (26), the sentence ender *-key* functions as a sentence ender by inversion and the meaning is purpose or result. Yet at this stage, the function as a sentence ender *-key* has also gained a new meaning, intention.

Therefore, in some cases *-key* can be substituted by *-lyeko*, which also has the meaning of intention. This meaning works for Examples (23) and (24), but *-tolok* would be unnatural in these sentences. This is probably because the purpose/result meaning is weak in these sentences, where the speaker's intention is more important.

In (25), (26), depending on speaker's desire, they can use *-tolok* (result), *-lyeko* (intention) or *-key*.

This set of examples shows the stage of the transition period in the process of becoming a fully grammaticalized sentence ender.

3.3.2 Intention

In some instances, sentence ender *-key* has a much stronger meaning of intention and the meaning of purpose is very weak. Furthermore, it gains a pragmatic function as well.

3.3.2.1 Grammaticalized Sentence ender *-key*: Speaker's intention

At this stage, it is difficult to recover the omitted clause. The subordinate *-key* clause is decategorized to the main clause. The polite sentence ender particle *-yo* is attached

agglutinatively. And final ending intonation is gained. These shifts mean that *-key* has fully changed to a sentence ender.

In (27), *-key* is used as a sentence ender and the meaning is intention. It cannot be changed to *-tolok*, but it can be changed to *-lyeko*. In other words, the meaning of purpose is hard to recognize, and the meaning of intention has become stronger.

(27) A: *Inkan pokcey han-un ke, kuke*
 human cloning do-RL thing that
enceyc cum-imyen toy-nta-ti?
 when about-CNJ become-PLN-Q

‘Cloning of people, when will that happen?’

인간 복제 하는거, 그거 언제쯤이면 된다디?

B: *Molla. Kay nun sengkonghay-ss-ta-nuntey.*
 don’t know dog TC think-PST-QT-CNJ
kuk-en way?
 that TC why-Q

‘I don’t know. They were successful with dogs. Why?’

몰라. 개는 성공했다는데. 그건 왜?

A: *Ku inkan hako ttokkath-un ke*
 that person with same-RL thing
han tasesmyeng ccum
 about five people about
*mantul-e-noh(key/ulyeko/*tolok).*

make-INF-put-ENDER

‘To make about five of that person.’

그 인간하고 똑같은 거 한 다섯명쯤 만들어놓(게/으려고/*도록)

<i>hannom</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>pel-e</i>	<i>o-la-ha-ko,</i>
one person	TC	money	earn-AD	come-QT-say-CNJ

<i>hannom</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>papha-la</i>	<i>ha-ko,</i>
one person	TC	make food-QT	say-CNJ

<i>hannom</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>chengsoha-la-ha-ko,</i>	<i>hannom</i>
one person	TC	clean-QT-say-CNJ	one person

<i>un</i>	<i>ay-tul-po-la ha-ko,</i>
TC	take care kids-QT-say-CNJ

<i>hannom</i>	<i>un... hannom</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>kwusek</i>	<i>ey</i>
one person	TC... one person	TC	corner	at

<i>chepak-a</i>	<i>noh-ko</i>	<i>halwucongil</i>	<i>o-mye</i>
put in-IN	put-CNJ	all day long	come-CNJ

<i>k-amyé</i>	<i>twutulk-ye</i>	<i>phaycwu(key/lyeko/*tolok).</i>
go-CNJ	hit-IN	hit-ENDER

‘Tell one to go out and make money, tell one to make food, tell one to clean, tell one to watch the children, one... one I’ll put in a corner and as I walk back and forth all day I’ll hit it.’

한놈은 돈 벌어 오라하고, 한놈은 밥하라 하고, 한놈은 청소하라하고,

한놈은 애들보라 하고, 한놈은... 한놈은 구석에 처박아 놓고

하루종일 오며 가며 두들겨 패주(게/려고/*도록)

3.3.2.2 Grammaticalized Sentence ender *-key*: Intention question

When the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* expresses a speaker's intention, it can be used with an interrogative or rising intonation; thus, it functions to ask the addressee's intention. When it is used in this way, the speaker is implying that something the addressee does is odd, or the speaker is confirming the addressee's intention.

In (28)–(30), where *-key* functions to ask about the addressee's intention, the omitted information is understood through context. By the persistence principle, the meaning of purpose is still present, although it is not strong; nevertheless, *-key* is not interchangeable with the conjunctive ender *-tolok*. However, it is still noticeably weak.

(28) A: *Umsik mantu-nun-ke-l saylo paywu-ki*
 food make-RL-thing-AC newly learn-NOM
sicakhay-ss-supnita.
 start-PST-DEF

'I newly started to learn to make food.'

음식 만드는걸 새로 배우기 시작했습니다.

B: *Umsik? Kuke-n paywe-se mwe-ha-key?*
 food that thing-TC learn-CNJ what-do-Q

'Food? You'll learn and do what?'

음식? 그건 배워서 뭐하게?

A: *Seysang eyse kacang masiss-nun tosilak*
 world in most delicious-RL lunchbox
kakey lul naypo-lyekwu-yo.

store AC open-CNJ-POL

‘I’ll open up the tastiest lunchbox place in the world.’

세상에서 가장 맛있는 도시락 가게를 내보려구요. (Talcauy pom)

(29) A: *Ku salam sosik com al-ly-e-cwe.*
that person news a little know-CAS-INF-IM

‘Please tell me the news about that person.’

그 사람 소식 좀 알려줘.

B: *Nwukwu? ...Way, mannapo-key?*
who-Q why meet-Q

‘Who? Why, you want to meet them?’

누구? ...왜, 만나보게? (Ccenuy cencayng)

(30) A: *Ni ka pwuthakha-n-ke... chaunsek*
you NM ask for-RL-thing Chaunsek
cip cwuso.

house address

‘What you asked for... Chaunsek’s address.’

니가 부탁한거... 차은석 집 주소.

B:

A: *Mweha-llyekwu? Cip cwuso nun ala-se*
what do-CNJ-Q house address TC know-CNJ

mweha-key?

what do-Q

‘What will you do? You know the address, what will you do?’

뭐할려구? 집 주소는 알아서 뭐하게? (I cwukil nomuy salang)

3.3.2.3 Grammaticalized Sentence ender *-key*: Concern, criticism, or teasing

The intentional function of the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* is also used to express worry, criticism, or teasing to an addressee based on the speaker's information. When used as such, it is used with an interrogative or rising intonation. In (31)-(33), *-key* indicates the speaker's worry and criticism (of the addressee); and in (34), it is used to tease the addressee.

(31) A: *Mwus-un soli-ya? ni ka way kumantw-e?*

what-RL voice-INT you NM what quit-INT-Q

'What are you talking about? Why are you quitting?'

무슨 소리야? 니가 왜 그만둬?

B: ...

A: *Way? Ne cikum keki-l nao-myen eti-l*

why you now there-AC come out-CNJ where-AC

chwicikha-key?

get a job-Q

'Why? If you quit that job, where will you get another job?'

왜? 너 지금 거길 나오면 어딜 취직하게?

Nay ka ala-se ha-lthey-nikka ne-n

I NM know-CNJ do-SUP-CNJ you-TC

yelsimhi il man ha-y. Al-keyss-ci?

hard work only do-INT know-SUP-FML

‘Since I’ll take care of it, you just work hard, okay?’

내가 알아서 할테니까 넌 열심히 일만 해. 알겠지?

(Macimakcencayng)

(32) A: *Naka-ss-ta o-lkey-yo.*

go out-PST-CNJ come-PRM-POL

‘I’ll be back soon.’

나갔다 올게요.

B: *Ku kkol ul hay kac-ko*

that shape AC do have-CNJ

chwulkunha-key?

leave for work-Q

‘You’re going to leave for work like that?’

그 꼴을 해 갖고 출근하게?

(Hayspichsokulo)

(33) A: *Ecey chwulsitoy-n keyim caymiss-te-la.*

yesterday release-RL game fun-RT-EX

‘The game that was released yesterday is fun.’

어제 출시된 게임 재밌더라.

B: *Sihem kongpwu nun ecce-ko?*

test study TC how-Q

‘What about studying for the test?’

시험 공부는 어찌고?

A: *Moll-a. Ettehkeytun toy-keyss-ci.*

don't know-INT anyhow become-SUP-FML

'I don't know. It will work out somehow.'

몰라. 어떻게든 되겠지.

B: *Sihem mangchi-key?*

test fail-Q

'You're going to fail the test?'

시험 망치게? (Cho & Lee, 2011, p. 408)

(34) A: *Sacangnim 4inpwun te cwu-seyyo!*

boss-HT 4 portion more give-IM

'Boss, give me four more minutes.'

사장님 4 인분 더 주세요!

B: *Wa, nwuna tto mek-key?*

wow older sister more eat-Q

Kuleh-key mek-ko tto mek-e?

like that eat-AD more eat-Q

'Wow, older sister is going to eat more? You're going to eat like that and more?'

와, 누나 또 먹게? 그렇게 먹고 또 먹어?

A: *Way kulay. Takathi mek-e-noh-ko.*

why do-INT all together eat-INF-put-CNJ

'Why do you say that. We're all eating together.'

왜 그래. 다같이 먹어놓고. (*Masisssnun nyesehtul*)

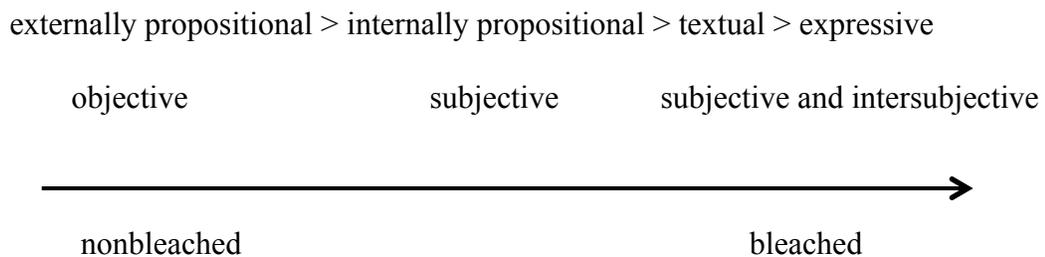
3.3.3 Objectification and subjectification

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003, pp. 71–98), grammaticalization is motivated by pragmatic and discourse factors, including invited inferences, context-induced reinterpretation, relevance, and (inter)subjectification. This section discusses key concepts in semantic change: subjectification, intersubjectification, and objectification. These notions have proved powerful in characterizing the semantic change of grammaticalizing forms.

Kranich (2010) explained that objectification can be defined as a process of shift from “less based in the speaker’s belief state/attitude toward the situation, and more based on objectively verifiable properties of the situation.” Also, by and large, when people use language, both factors (subjectification and objectification) play a role: If we take it that subjective meaning components are based on the speaker’s belief state or attitude, while objective meaning components are based on properties of the situation being referenced by words, then we must see that real-life utterances often contain both elements.

Langacker (1991) described objectivity as when the subject of conception or some other fact of the ground is explicit and salient. Subjectivity is the context in which the information is implicitly grounded from the perspective of the speaker as the subject of conception. Traugott (1995, p. 31) characterized subjectification in semantic change as accompanying the speaker’s involvement: “a pragmatic-semantic process whereby meanings become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition.”

As for semantic change, Traugott and Dasher (2002) provided a path of directionality: nonsubjective > subjective > intersubjective (p. 40). Traugott's (1982, 1989) cline shows that semantic shifts move from concrete to abstract: propositional > textual > expressive. Accommodating other relevant meaning shifts to this cline, Ghesquière (2010, p. 309) provided the following model of semantic change:



In this model, in contrast to Traugott's cline, Ghesquière shows that both textual and expressive meanings can be both subjective and intersubjective in meaning.

In the Korean language, sentence enders' development is basically triggered by subjectification of meaning. The sentence ender, in Korean, is typically where you find markers of mood. So, when a conjunctive ender's meaning is changed to a meaning related to the discourse domain, the conjunctive ender has the motivation to change to a sentence ender. Therefore, the conjunctive ender *-key*, which changed to a grammaticalized sentence ender, was first used as an objective term with the meaning of purpose or result. But with the increase of speakers' usage and involvement, it developed its subjective meaning of intention, and now it is also employed in hedges. This shift can be illustrated by examples. In Example (21), the proposition 'get under the umbrella so you don't get hit by the rain' (*pi an mackey wusan anulo tulewayo*) has an objective

purpose—‘so you don’t get hit by the rain’ (*pi an macki wihayse*)—in that it is placed in a real-world description arrived at through visual perception. And in Example (36), ‘you’re going to fail the test?’ (*sihem mangchikey?*), through subjectification it has gained the function of expressing worry, that is, it is expressing the speaker’s position.

In (35), the meaning shift of the intentional sentence ender *-key* is demonstrated.

(35) Purpose and result (objective) > intention (subjective)

Up to this point, this research has examined the intentional functions of the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key*. In Section 3.4, it will show the conjectural function of the sentence ender *-key* derived from the conjunctive ender *-kiey* and its morphosyntactic, phonological, semantic, and pragmatic historical changes.

3.3.4 Modality of intentional sentence ender *-key*

3.3.4.1 Modality of grammaticalized sentence ender *-key*

Extensive research has connected modality with the concepts of subjectivity and speakers’ attitudes. It is difficult to deny a connection between modality and subjectivity in natural language, especially if data from spoken language are taken into account (Narrog, 2012, p. 13).

According to traditional definitions, modality expresses the attitude of a speaker toward the validity of the proposition given in an utterance (Jespersen, 1924, p. 313; Lyons, 1972, p. 792). Palmer (2001, p. 1) proposed that modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the circumstance.

(36) presents Song's (2009) organization of a variety of categorizations of modality by several researchers.

(36) Categories of modality (Song, 2009, p. 29)

Palmer (1979): epistemic, deontic, dynamic

Palmer (1986): epistemic (judgments, evidentials), deontic

Palmer (1999, 2001): prepositional (epistemic, evidential)
event (deontic, dynamic)

Bybee (1985), Bybee et al. (1994): agent-oriented

speaker-oriented, epistemic

Hofman (1966), Coates (1983), Sweetser (1990): epistemic, root

Givón (1982): presupposition, realis-assertion, irrealis-assertion

Palmer's studies on modality are frequently cited. Initially, Palmer categorized modality into epistemic, deontic, and dynamic modality. Epistemic refers to a speaker's degree of assurance about the truth of the proposition. Deontic focuses on the notion of obligation or permission. And dynamic involves ascribing ability or intention to the subject participant of a clause. Palmer (1986) further divided epistemics into judgments and evidentials. In a later recategorization, Palmer (1999, 2001) changed the main categories to prepositional and event modality. In this scheme, prepositional modality's subcategories are epistemic and evidential modality; event modality is divided into deontic and dynamic modality. Bybee (1985) and Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) used basically the same categorization for epistemic modality, but instead of deontic

modality, they preferred the two categories of agent-oriented modality and speaker-oriented modality, which differ by the condition of completion of an act. Agent-oriented modality “reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate” (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 177). It includes obligation, necessity, ability, desire, intention, and root possibility. Speaker-oriented modality represents speech acts through which a speaker attempts to move an addressee to action. It includes imperative, prohibitive, optative, hortatory, admonitive, permissive, and so on (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 179).

The term “deontic modality” is easy to understand only with its literal meaning. It is difficult to think of it as embracing a kind of intention. For this reason, Narrog (2012) suggested the terms “volitivity” and “nonvolitivity” to describe modality. Park (2011) suggested “epistemic modality” and “act modality” are a better fit for the Korean language than “deontic modality.”

In Korean, prefinal enders and sentence enders are the typical grammar forms employed to express modality. Park (2011) explained that it is very natural for prefinal enders such as *-keyss-*, *-te-*, and *-kes* to express modality.

Moreover, while sentence enders’ first role is to finish sentences, they also function to mark honorific level and sentence type (Ko, 1965, 1989, pp. 143–144; Park, 1998, p. 15). However, both honorific level and sentence type are related to the attitudes and relationship of the speaker and the addressee. Therefore, modality, which shows the speaker’s attitude, is naturally expressed in sentence enders such as *-key*. Park (1998) explained that informal stylistic sentence enders emerge through being used impolitely in colloquial speech. Because they are not sentence enders originally, they can express

various meanings and functions that general sentence enders cannot express. Among these meanings, many are understood as aspects of modality. According to Park (2011, pp. 91–93), a grammaticalized sentence ender is the typical grammar form for realizing modality with a prefinal ender.

This research shows that the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key*'s modality differs between the intentional function and the conjectural function in 4.4.6. In Palmer's (2001) categories, the sentence ender *-key* with the intentional function expresses dynamic modality, a subcategory of event modality. With the conjectural function, it expresses epistemic modality.

3.3.4.2 Modality of intentional sentence ender *-key*

Traditionally, “deontic modality” is defined in terms of the notion of permission and obligation (and related notions such as interdiction, advice, etc.; Nuyts, 2016, p. 36).

Lyons (1977, p. 823) defined deontic modality as a type of modality “concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents.” Obligation and permission have been traditionally considered the major types of deontic modality.

Palmer (2000, p. 9) stated that “deontic modality relates to obligation or permission, emanating from an external source.” Palmer (2001) later categorized deontic and dynamic as types of event modality. In this categorization, deontic includes permissive, obligative, and commissive, while dynamic includes abilitive and volitive. Marin-Arrese (2009) explained volitive modality as concerned with the expression of the volition or intention of the speaker/writer and/or participant engaged in the event (Palmer, 2009, p. 30). Park (2011) came up with the term “act modality,” which is thought of as a more

generic term than deontic modality. It includes intention, desire, ability, and so forth.

These can be characterized as a condition of an agent's act.

Intentional function of The grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* has the meaning of intention, so the agent has to be a human noun. Example (37) shows declarative sentences with *-key*. When the subject is the first person in the declarative, *-key* shows the speaker's intention (37a). When the subject is the second person in the declarative, *-key* shows the intention of the speaker toward the subject, and it has the pragmatic function of imposing the speaker's intention regardless of the subject's intention, or deciding on the situation according to the speaker's intention (37b). When the subject is the third person, the speaker's utterance is about the subject's intention (37c).

(37) a. *Na isaha-key.*

I move-ENDER

'I intend to move.'

나 이사하게.

b. *Ne isaha-key.*

you move-ENDER

'You are going to move.'

너 이사하게.

c. *apeci isaha-si-key.*

dad move-SH-ENDER

'Dad is going to move.'

아버지 이사하시게.

(*Cangmipichinsayng*)

Example (38) shows interrogative sentences with *-key*. In interrogative sentences, when the subject is the first (38a) or second person (38b), *-key* functions to ask the addressee about the intention of the subject's act. When the subject is the third person, *-key* functions to ask the addressee about the subject's intention (38c).

- (38) a. *Nay ka ku cipcwuso nun al-ase mweha-key?*
 you NM that address TC know-CNJ what do-Q
 ‘Why would I want to know the address?’
 내가 그 집주소는 알아서 뭐하게?
- b. *Ni ka ku cipcwuso nun al-ase mweha-key?*
 you NM that address TC know-CNJ what do-Q
 ‘What reason do you want to know the address?’
 니가 그 집주소는 알아서 뭐하게? (*I cwukil nomuy salang*)
- c. *Emma ka ku cipcwuso nun ala-se mweha-key?*
 mom NM that address TC know-CNJ what do-Q
 ‘For what reason does Mom want to know the address?’
 엄마가 그 집주소는 알아서 뭐하게?

(39) presents examples in which *-key* denotes worry or criticism. When the subject is the first person, *-key* functions to convey worry about the subject himself or herself to the addressee (39a). When the subject is the second person, *-key* functions to convey worry or criticism about the addressee's act (39b). When the subject is the third

person, *-key* functions to ask the addressee about the speaker's worry or criticism of the subject. Thus, in this function, *-key* expresses the speaker's subjectivity.

(39) a. *Kule-ta na tto cikakha-key?*

then I again late-Q

'Keep doing this so I'll be late again?'

그러다 나 또 지각하께?

b. *Kule-ta ne tto cikakha-key?*

then you again late-Q

'Keep doing this so you will be late again?'

그러다 너 또 지각하께?

(Cho & Lee, 2011, p. 408)

As shown in (40), the meaning and pragmatic function of the intentional function sentence ender *-key* are similar to those of *-ullay*. In comparing *-ullay* and *-key*, *-key* describes the speaker's intention simply, but seems too weak to compel the addressee to act; in contrast, *-ullay* expresses the speaker's intention strongly.

(40) a. *Na isaha-l-lay*

I move-PRS-INT

'I will move.'

나 이사할래.

b. *Ku cipcwuso lul alase mweha-l-lay?*

that house address AC know what-PRS-Q

‘Because you know the address, what will you do?’

그 집주소를 알아서 뭐 할래?

c. *Kuleta* *tto* *cikakha-l-lay?*

then again late-PRS-Q

‘You do that so you are going to be late again?’

그러다 또 지각할래?

CHAPTER 4
CONJECTURAL FUNCTION OF
GRAMMATICALIZED SENTENCE ENDER *-KEY*

There are not many studies on the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* and also the majority of those studies claim that it developed from conjunctive ender *-key*. (Cho & Lee, 2011, 2015; Lee, 2014). This dissertation however, asserts the sentence ender *-key* is grammaticalized from conjunctive ender *-kiey*. This chapter will discuss this process in detail.

4.1 Previous studies on *-key* and *-kiey*

The sentences in (41) show *-key*'s use in conjectural contexts.

- (41) a. *Ku pwun i nwukwu-si-key?*
that person NM who-SH-AD-Q
'Can you guess who that person is?'
그 분이 누구시게?
- b. *Na cwumal ey eti-ka-key?*
I weekend in where-go-AD-Q
'Can you guess where I am going this weekend?'
나 주말에 어디가게?

Even though Cho and Lee (2011, p. 414) mentioned that the sentence ender *-key* seems to have been grammaticalized from the conjunctive ender *-key*, they also pointed out that in some sentences it is not clear which stage it belongs to. Soh (1987) suggested that, when used in sentences like those in (41), with a meaning related to conjecture, it may be derived from the modal suffix *-keyss*, which has a conjecture meaning. However, he did not explain this phenomenon phonologically or morphologically and he added that it is difficult to posit any rule that would explain it. Because of the difficulty in explaining the truncation of *ss* necessary for the form to change from *-keyss* to *-key*, other researchers did not accept the suggestion. Similarly, Lee (2004, p. 178) asserted that the imperative *-key* comes from the *-key h-* construction, but as Ko (2006) pointed out, it is nearly impossible for the *h-* to be omitted, which would mean that the complementizer *-key* at the end of a sentence is not feasible. There are a lot of sentence enders that come from conjunctive enders, but there is no chance that a complementizer can be used as a sentence ender (Ko, 2006, p. 75).

Park (1998) also said that *-key* as seen in Example (41) came from somewhere else, but without suggesting where. Furthermore, in *Korean Grammar for Foreigners 2* (National Institute of the Korean Language, 2005), the conjectural sentence ender *-key* is given a separate entry from the entry for the sentence ender *-key* in its other uses, because they decided that it is not the same word, but a similar type of word. In the *Standard Korean Dictionary* (National Institute of the Korean Language, 2008) and *Suffix and Particle Dictionary* (Lee & Lee, 2008; *Emi cosa sacen*), conjectural *-key* is given one dictionary entry with all of the uses listed by number underneath.

This chapter will show that the sentence ender *-key* with the conjectural meaning comes from the conjunctive ender *-kiey* through grammaticalization.

According to Kim (2011, pp. 129–130), some forms show similar shifts in which an on-glide /j/ is dropped: *kumsiey* > *kumsey* ‘soon, shortly’ and *holciey* > *holcey* ‘unexpectedly’. In this way, *-kiey* could also change to *-key*.

The meaning of the conjunctive ender *-kiey* is cause or reason; however, as it was grammaticalized to sentence ender *-key* it obtained the meaning of conjecture. As seen in the examples in (42), and according to the analyzed data in this paper, when conjunctive ender *-kiey* is used with an interrogative it is grammaticalized to sentence ender *-key*. In other words, there is a high probability that the sentence ender *-key*, when used with an interrogative or in an interrogative form, will contain a conjectural meaning.

- (42) a. *Ikey* *mwe-key?*
this what-Q
‘Can you guess what this is?’
이게 뭐게?
- b. *Nayka* *nwukwu-key?*
I who-Q
‘Can you guess who I am?’
내가 누구게?
- c. *Cikum* *myechsi-key?*
now what time-Q
‘Can you guess what time it is?’

지금 몇시게?

d. *Cwuso ettehkey ala-ss-key?*

address how know-PST-Q

‘Can you guess how I know the address?’

주소 어떻게 알았게?

In colloquial language, the conjunctive ender *-kiey* is changed to *-killay*. The data in this study show that *-killay* is used more often than *-kiey*, especially as a sentence ender. In Korean, the following are conjunctive enders that contain the cause or reason meaning: *-e*, *-ese*, *-nulako*, *-uni*, *-umulo*, *-unikka*, *-kiey*, *-killay*. Among these, native speakers believe that *-kiey* and *-killay* have the same meaning and function and are therefore interchangeable, as Examples (43)–(45) show. According to Ahn (1999a, p. 118), *-kiey* is mostly used in formal written language and *-killay* in colloquial language. Ahn claimed that *-killay* developed because, in an informal colloquial situation, *-kiey* was not clear enough to hear precisely, so speakers needed a stronger sounding conjunctive ender. The colloquial *-kiey* had an increased chance to change to *-kiyey* through vowel assimilation. The form *-kiyey* had a higher chance of being shortened. In order to be precisely heard, the *l* sound was added. In other words *-kiey* changes to *-killay* when *ll* is added and therefore the relationship with *-kiey* is lost so the result is *-killay*. (Ahn, 1999a).

(43)	<i>Totaychey</i>	<i>mwela</i>	<i>ha-sye-ss(kiey/killay)</i>	<i>eme-nim</i>	<i>i</i>
	how	what-QT	say-SH-PST(CNJ/CNJ)	mother	HT
	<i>cip</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>naka-ki</i>	<i>kkaci ha-si-n</i>	<i>kep-nikka?</i>

house AC go out-NOM even do-SH-RL thing-Q

‘What in the world did you say that would make Mom leave the house?’

도대체 뭐라 하셨(기에/길래) 어머니가 집을 나가기까지 하신 겁니까?

(*Cikum salanghanun salamkwa salko isssupnikka*)

(44) *Mwusun-sayngkak ul ha(kiey/killay) pwull-eto taytap*

what thinking AC do(CNJ/CNJ) call-CNJ answer

ul an-ha-nun ke-ya?

AC not-do-RL thing-INT-Q

‘What are you thinking, even though I call you don’t answer?’

무슨 생각을 하(기에/길래) 불러도 대답을 안하는 거야? (*Kyewulyenka*)

(45) *Kulehkey naka (kiey/killay) etikana hay-ss-ci.*

like that go out (CNJ/CNJ) where go-Q do-PST-FML

‘Since you left like that, I was wondering where you went.’

그렇게 나가(기에/길래) 어디가나 했지. (*Kwiyeun yein*)

The *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* defines *-killay* as the colloquial form of *-kiey*. It is easy to think that *-killay* is a nonstandard form of *-kiey*, and even in previous research *-killay* is treated as an allomorph of *-kiey*. However, Ahn (1999a, 1999b) claimed that *-killay* has different syntactic and semantic characteristics than *-kiey*, so they must be looked at as different. In Examples (46) and (47), *-kiey* cannot be replaced with *-killay*.

(46) *Hyencang ul cap (kiey/*killay) ceyil coh-un nal*

the act AC catch (CNJ/*CNJ) most good-RL day

ani-pnikka?

not-DEF-Q

‘Isn’t it a good day to catch you in the act?’

현장을 잡(기에/*길래) 제일 좋은 날 아닙니까? (Taynseuy swunceng)

(47) *5pan cenchey-uy myengyey hoypok ul wihay*

5 classes whole-GN honor recovering AC do for

phokiha-l swu nun eps-nun

give up-RL thing TC not-RL

*keyimi (kiey/*killay) yelepwn-uy hyepcol ul*

game (CNJ/*CNJ) you-GN cooperation AC

pwuthaktul-ipnita.

ask for-DEF

‘Please come together to help restore the honor of room 5 in this game we cannot give up.’

5 반 전체의 명예 회복을 위해 포기할 수는 없는 게임이(기에/*길래)

여러분의 협조를 부탁드립니다. (Hakkyo 2)

The sentence in (46) demonstrates the restriction that *-killay* cannot be used with a stative verb in the following clause. In (47), *-killay* cannot be used because it is a formal announcement. Ahn (1999a) explained that *-killay* has the meaning of reason, but it is based on a situation external to the speaker. Based on this, Ahn argued that *-killay* is a distinct conjunctive ender that conveys cause and reason, and it is not a nonstandard form

of *-kiey*. Nevertheless, native speakers often substitute *-kiey* for *-killay* in colloquial speech, so *-killay* is more frequently seen and heard.

4.2 Historical change

Section 3.1 explained the historical change of the intentional function of grammaticalized sentence ender *-key*. This section will show the historical change, through grammaticalization, of the conjectural function of grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*, which has the meaning of cause/reason.

According to Hong (1994, p. 19), the change from Modern Korean to Contemporary Korean took place in the 19th and 20th centuries. Modern Korean began in the early 17th century and ended around the end of the 19th century; the language as spoken from the beginning of the 20th century to the present is categorized as Contemporary Korean.

As previously mentioned, in Contemporary Korean, conjunctive enders with cause/reason meanings include *-e*, *-ese*, *-nulako*, *-uni*, *-umulo*, *-unikka*, *-kiey*, and *-killay* as well as *-ketun*, *-umay*, *-uncila*, *-kenul*, *-uncuk*, and *-kilo*. Ahn (1999b, p. 188) listed the following Modern Korean conjunctive enders with the meaning of cause or reason: *-kwandAi/kontay(-kwantay)*, *-ela*, *-uni*, *-ulssAi*, *-omay*, *-umulo*. There are many diachronic differences between Modern Korean conjunctive enders and Contemporary Korean conjunctive enders. Some forms in Contemporary Korean were not used in Modern Korean. Among these, most developed in the 19th century (Ahn, 1999b). Kwon (1998, p. 213) described the creation of many linking words in the 19th century, such as *-umyense*, *-kose*, *-keniwa*, *-cimanun*, *-kenmanAn*, *-tunci*, *-keni*, *-uniskA*, *-ese*, *-nulako*, *-ketun*, *-kenul*,

-kentay, *-ulcintay*, and *-kena*. Among these, conjunctive enders that have the meaning of cause or reason include, among others, *-uniskA*, *-ese*, and *-nulako*, which are related to *-unikka* in Contemporary Korean.

According to Ahn (1999b), aside from those listed above there are also *-kiey*, *-kilnAi*, and *-kilo*. It is these conjunctive enders of cause/reason that appeared in Modern Korean. These forms were not seen in the earliest stage of Modern Korean but started to appear in the 18th century, and were used in earnest by the end of the 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century. A commonality among these forms is that a particle *-e* or *-lo* is combined with the nominalizer *-ki*. This situation is comparable to that of the cause/reason conjunctive enders *-umay* and *-umulo*, which are combined with the nominalizer *-um* and the particles *-ay(ey/ o Ai)* or *-lo*. Hong (1996, pp. 49–51) explained that the historical appearance and process of change of the *-ki* type conjunctive enders are similar to the historical processes of change of the nominalizers *-um* and *-ki*. The nominalizer *-um* was the most frequently used until the Middle Korean period; its use is reduced in Modern Korean in favor of the nominalizer *-ki* or complementizer *-kes*. Therefore, as the functions and uses of the nominalizer *-um* decreased, the functions and uses of the nominalizer *-ki* increased and expanded, which affected the grammaticalization of conjunctive enders. The functions of the conjunctive enders *-umAi* and *-umulo*, which come from the nominalizer *-um*, also decreased gradually, and the functions of the conjunctive ender *-kiey*, which comes from the nominalizer *-ki*, expanded. If this is so, the question arises of why speakers would need other conjunctive enders like *-kiey* when the cause/reason conjunctive enders *-umAi* and *-umulo* were already available. Ahn (1999b) agreed with Hong's (1996) explanation that people

needed stronger conjunctive enders that had the meaning of cause/reason, along with the influence of the reduction in functions of the nominalizer *-um* and the simultaneous expansion of the functions of nominalizer *-ki*. In particular, there was a need for conjunctive enders that could be used in colloquial speech. The existing forms, *-umAi* and *-umulo*, underwent semantic bleaching, until their primary function was for continuing an explanation or indicating order in time. In other words, the conjunctive ender *-kiey* of the *-ki* type form gained dominance over the competition, the conjunctive enders *-umay* and *-umulo* of the *-um* type form, thus becoming exclusively responsible for fulfilling the function of cause/reason conjunctive enders. In particular, *-killay* of the *-ki* type conjunctive enders holds a dominant position in colloquial language, as it is used very extensively in Contemporary Korean (Ahn, 1999b, p. 205). If that is so, then what might the reason be for the appearance of the conjunctive ender *-killay* when there was already the conjunctive ender *-kiey* that expresses cause/reason in colloquial language? Ahn (1999b) claimed that a close examination of the distribution of *-kiey* and *-kilnAi* at the time the conjunctive ender *-killay* appeared shows that speakers needed a conjunctive ender apart from the conjunctive ender *-kiey* in colloquial language. The language data show that *-kilnAi* is used primarily in the interrogative form in colloquial language. It is only possible in colloquial language that the speaker could produce an utterance that directly questions the addressee, as seen in the examples below, from Ahn (1999b, pp. 199–200).

- (48) a. *Wey nwu ka esci his-kilnAi kuli hA-o*
 why who NM how his-CNJ like that do-BLN

ttetul-ci an-kho nAn mal ul mos
 make noisy-AD not-AD words AC not

hA-o yolansilep-so.

do-BLN loud-DEF

‘Why? Who did something? Why are you doing that? If you don’t speak that loud, you can’t speak?’

왜 누가 엇지 헛길^ㄴ 그리^ㅎ 오 떠들지 안코^ㄴ 말을 못^ㅎ 오

요란시럽소. (Kwumakem 25)

b. *Elmana talna-kilnAl kulhA-sio*
 how ask-CNJ that-DEF

‘How much did they ask that you are like that?’

얼마나 달나길^ㄴ 그리^ㅎ 시오 (Kwumakem 56)

In these cases, it is insufficient to use *-kiey*, so there is a necessity for reinforcing the sound. Moreover, the *-e* in *-kiey* has a high possibility of assimilating the *-i*, which is next to it, into the front sound. That is, *-kiey* is highly likely to be changed to *-kiyey* in colloquial language. Examples (49)–(50) are cited by Ahn (1999b, p. 203).

(49) *Soin i mwusun coyka is-kiyey ili hA-sim-niska*
 I NM what sin is-CNJ like that do-POL-Q

‘What crime did I commit that you are like that?’

소인이 무슨 죄가 잇기에 이리^ㅎ 심닛가 (Masyanglwu 55)

(50) *Sye cye-u-yapeci atul i ani-kiyey kulethako hyung-tul ul*
 so my-GN-father son NM not-CNJ so blame-PL AC
pon-unteyyo.

say-CNJ-POL

‘Because I’m not his real son people are speaking badly about that.’

그러서 저의아버지 아들이 안이기에 그러타고 흉들을 보는데요.

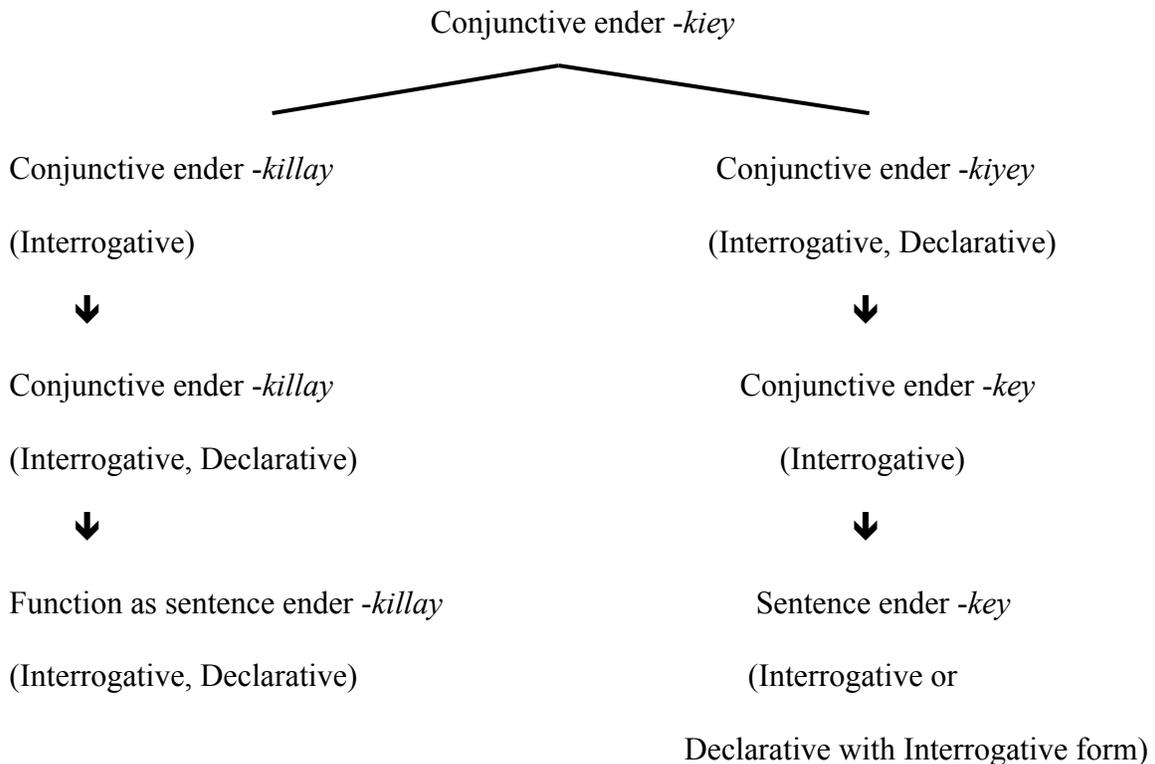
(Hayngnakto)

In these examples, *-kiyey* is used instead of *-kiey*. If *-kiey* changes to *-kiyey*, it is going to appear as more of a contraction. So it is highly possible it could weaken the conjunctive ender’s function of expressing cause/reason. To address this problem, an /l/ sound is added between *-ki* and *-e* to reinforce *-kiey*’s sound. In the history of the Korean language, when the sound of two subsequent vowels is not clear, as in the example *sainkyo* > *salinkyoy*, it is reinforced by adding a consonant between them. So, in the development of *-killay*, the /l/ sound is added. First, it came out like its tonal structure [[*ki-l-e*], that came out as an initial marker [*kiInAi*]. Later at the first of orthography system stopped using [A], *Ai* changed to *e*, so [*kiInAi*] was written as *-kiley/-killey*, and then eventually *-killay* (Ahn, 1999b, pp. 202–204).

To summarize, in interrogative sentences, the conjunctive ender *-kiey*, which was used in the latter part of Modern Korean, was replaced by *-killay* in colloquial language. Moreover, its use expanded beyond interrogative sentences to declarative sentences and it eventually became an evidential modal marker in Contemporary Korean. In Contemporary Korean, the conjunctive ender *-kiey*, which lost its place as an

interrogative form to *-killay*, was abbreviated to *-key*, which then replaced *-kiey* and added a conjunctural function. Section 4.3 examines how *-kiey* contracted to *-key*. The following diagram summarizes this path.

(51) Conjunctive ender *-kiey*: Process of diachronic change



4.3 Morphosyntactic and phonological change

The previous section showed how the cause/reason conjunctive ender *-kiey*, which appears in Modern Korean, grammaticalized into the sentence ender *-key*. This section show the form's path of morphosyntactic and phonological change.

The conjunctive ender *-kiey* is structured as [nominalizer *-ki* + particle *e*]. Kwon (1998, pp. 221–225) stated that this structure functioned as an adverbial clause in Modern Korean, and Ahn (1999b) further explained that not only did it act as an adverbial clause,

but also as a conjunctive ender. Through reanalysis, [nominalizer *-ki* + particle *-e*] was analyzed as a new structure, [[]conjunctive ender *kiey*]. Thus, native speakers no longer analyzed it as an adverbial clause of the form [[]nominalizer # particle], like [[] *ki* # *e*]. As *-kiey* obtained the status of a conjunctive ender, it also changed into *-key* through phonological change.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the conjunctive ender *-kiey* saw a significant amount of use, but also a change to *-key*, due to the elision of the glide. As explained in Section 4.2, Ahn (1999b) stated that the *-e* in *-kiey* had a high possibility of assimilating the *i* next to it into the front sound in Modern Korean usage. Therefore, as seen in the examples, *-kiey* changed to *-kiyey* in colloquial language. According to Choi (1986), during the 18th and 19th centuries, *ey* and *ay* underwent monophthongization. He explained that during this period, the diphthongs *ye* > *yey* > *ey* changed to simplex vowels. That is, /jə/ changed to /je/ and then /e/ through elision of the on-glide /j/. The path is as follows:

(52) The path of change of *ye* > *yey* > *ey* in the 18th–19th centuries (Choi, 1986)

/jə/	>	/je/	>	/e/
	off-glide /j/-insertion		monophthongization	
			(elision of on-glide /j/)	

Based on these changes, as Ahn (1999b) suggested, in colloquial language, *-kiey* changed to *-kiyey*. Once this change took place, in the next stage, *-kiyey* could change to *-kyey* through vowel contraction. Finally, in the last stage, *-kyey* became *-key* through

intonation. Based on Kim's description of the grammaticalization stages, conjunctive ender *-key*'s changes can be explained as follows. In the first stage, conjunctive ender *-key* is placed at the end of a sentence, in the second stage *-key* functions as a sentence ender while keeping the meaning of the conjunctive ender *-kiey*, and in the last stage *-key* gains a different meaning and function, and therefore changes to a sentence ender completely. The following examples show the path of change of the sentence ender *-key* from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*.

- (54) a. *Nit-ul i ettehkey hay-ss-kiey ku*
 you-PL NM how do-PST-CNJ that
oppaka kulehkey naonyakwu.
 older brother like that do-FML-QT
 'What did you guys do that he would act like that?'
 니들이 어떻게 했기에 그 오빠가 그렇게 나오냐구. (Panollim)
- (55) A: *Tangsin yosay yosangha-n il ha-ko*
 you lately strange-RL work do-AD
tanita-myense-yo?
 go around-CNJ-Q
 'Lately I heard you have been doing weird things?'
 당신 요새 요상한 일 하고 다니다면서요?
- B: *Mwen soli-ya?*
 what sound-INT-Q
 'What are you talking about?'

뭘 소리야?

Nwu ka tto mwela-yss-key ili
 who NM again what say-PST-CNJ like this
twithul-lyekacko mal i nao-nunko?
 twist-AD words NM come out-PLN-Q

‘Who said something again that would cause you to twist your words?’

누가 또 뭐랬게 이리 뒤틀려갖고 말이 나오는고? (Atulkwa ttal)

(56) A: *Nay ka hyeng ttaymwuney toy-*
 I NM older brother because of become-
nun il i hana to eps-e.
 RL work NM one even nothing-INT

‘Because of you, nothing is going right for me.’

내가 형 때문에 되는 일이 하나도 없어.

B: *Nay ka mwe-l eccay-ss-key?*
 I NM what-AC how do-PST-Q

‘What did I do?’

내가 뭘 어쨌게? (Khephiphulinsu)

(57) *Kimpap ilang mantwu lang talliki lul*
 kimbap with mandoo with running AC
ha-yss-nuntey nwuka iky-ess-key?
 do-PST-CNJ who win-SUP-Q

‘Can you guess who’d win if kimbap and mandoo raced?’

김밥이랑 만두랑 달리기를 했는데 누가 이겼게? (I cwukil nomuy salang)

The example sentences show the conjunctive ender *-kiey* (54), the conjunctive ender *-key* (55), *-key* functioning as a sentence ender (56), and *-key* as a grammaticalized sentence ender (57). The conjunctive ender *-kiey* usually is used in the 2nd or 3rd person in an antecedent clause and in a following clause; it is not used with an imperative or propositive. It can be freely used with *-ass-* and *-keyss-*. The conjunctive ender *-key*, *-key* functioning as a sentence ender, and the sentence ender *-key* can be used without person restriction, and can only be used in interrogatives or declaratives with a rising intonation. In addition, they can be used with *-ass-* but not *-keyss-*. In summary, (58) depicts the syntactic path of sentence ender *-key* with the conjunctural function.

(58) The syntactic path of sentence ender *-key* with the conjunctural function

[[]nominalizer *-ki* # particle *-e*] > ([nominalizer *-ki* + particle *-e*])

conjunctive ender *-kiey* >

conjunctive ender *-key* >

function as a sentence ender *-key* >

conjunctural function sentence ender *-key*

4.4 Semantic and pragmatic variation

This section discusses variation of meaning and function based on the idea that the conjunctural sentence ender *-key* came from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*. In line with the path of meaning change described in Chapter 3, Traugott and König (1991, pp. 208–209) suggested semantic-pragmatic tendencies that characterize paths of semantic change:

1. Meanings based in external situation > internal situation
(evaluative/perceptual/cognitive)
2. Meanings based in external or internal described situation > textual situation
3. Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude toward situation

The conjunctural function sentence ender *-key* also underwent change in meaning, from meaning based on an external situation to meaning based on a real-world description, and while it functions as a conjunctural sentence ender it still has the meaning of cause and reason. It also is used for hedging, which is related to the speaker's subjective belief-state or attitude as an expression of politeness.

4.4.1 Conjunctive ender *-kiey*: Cause, reason

As discussed in Section 1.3.2, the metaphoric process is motivated by analogy. Heine et al. (1991, p. 157) described the process as follows:

Person > Object > Space > Time > Process > Quality

The conjunctive ender *-kiey* with the cause/reason meaning is made up of the nominalizer *-ki* and particle *-e*. According to Ahn (1999b), the particle *-e*, originally a locative particle, gained the meaning of cause/reason through metaphorical expansion. The

examples in (59), which show the use of the particle *-e* to indicate location (59a), time (59b), and cause (59c), are from Baek (1999, pp. 372–374).

- (59) a. *Encey hankwuk ey o-sy-ess-supnikka?*
 when Korea DR come-SH-DEF-Q
 ‘When did you come to Korea?’ (Location)
 언제 한국에 오셨습니까?
- b. *Isi ey hakkyo aph eyse*
 1 o’clock in school front in
manna-psita.
 meet-DEF-PR
 ‘Let’s meet in front of the school at 1 o’clock.’ (Time)
 1 시에 학교 앞에서 만납시다.
- c. *Namwu ka palam ey huntulli-pnita*
 tree NM wind in sway-DEF
 ‘The trees are swaying in the wind.’ (Cause)
 나무가 바람에 흔들립니다.

Furthermore, the conjunctive ender *-kiey* has the meaning of cause/reason because the meaning of the particle *-e* is carried over, showing the persistence principle. This is demonstrated by the three pairs of sentences in (60), which show the conjunctive ender *-kiey* is interchangeable with *-ki ttaymwuney/hayse*, also meaning cause/reason. The examples are from Seo et al. (2006).

(60) a. *Choysen ul ta ha-yss-kiey hwuhoy nun*
 one's best AC all do-PST-CNJ regret TC
eps-ta.

nothing-PLN

'I did my best so that I'll have no regrets.'

최선을 다 했기에 후회는 없다.

a'. *Choysen ul ta ha-yss-ki ttaymwuney / ha-yss-ese*
 one's best AC all do-PST-NOM because / do-PST-CNJ
hwuhoy nun eps-ta.

regret TC nothing-PLN

'I did my best so that I'll have no regrets.'

최선을 다 했기때문에/했어서 후회는 없다.

b. *Chinkwu ka chotayha-kiey senmwul ul sa*
 friend NM invite-PST-CNJ present AC buy
kaci-ko noll-e ka-sse-yo.

have-AD play-CNJ go-PST-POL

'My friend invited me so I bought a present and went.'

친구가 초대하기에 선물을 사 가지고 놀러 갔어요.

b'. *Chinkwu ka chotayha-yss-ki ttaymwuney / ha-yse*
 friend NM invite-PST-NOM CNJ / do-CNJ
senmwul ul sa kaci-ko nol-le ka-ss-eyo.

present AC buy have-AD play-CNJ go-PST-POL

‘My friend invited me so I bought a present and went.’

친구가 초대했기 때문에/해서 선물을 사 가지고 놀러 갔어요.

- c. *Akki-te-n kulus ul chinkwu ka tall-a-kiey*
 love-RT-RL vessel AC friend NM ask for-QT-CNJ
cw-e pely-ess-ta.
 give-INF give-PST-PLN

‘My friend asked for my prized dishes so I just gave them to him.’

아끼던 그릇을 친구가 달라기에 줘 버렸다.

- c'. *Akki-ten kulus ul chinkwu ka tall-a-ko*
 love-RT-RL vessel AC friend NM ask for-QT
ha-yss-ki ttaymwuney/hayse cwe pely-ess-ta.
 do-PST-NOM CNJ/do-CNJ give-INF give-PST-PLN

‘My friend asked for my prized dishes so I just gave them to him.’

아끼던 그릇을 친구가 달라고 했기 때문에/해서 줘 버렸다.

4.4.2 Conjunctive ender *-key*: Cause, reason

In Contemporary Korean, *-killay* is used more often than *-kiey*. In the early 20th century, the boundary between *-kiey* and *-killay* was not clearly defined, but the conjunctive ender *-killay* was used more often than *-kiey* with the interrogative form. Furthermore, through phonological change, the conjunctive ender *-key* that developed from the conjunctive *-kiey* kept the meaning of cause/reason and began to compete with *-killay* when used with interrogative forms, as in (61), which is from the *Dictionary of Chosun Language* (1992, p. 477).

- (61) *Ettehkey tway-ss-key kutaci to kekcengha-nunya?*
 how become-PST-CNJ that even worry-FML-Q
 ‘What happened that you are worried like that?’
 어떻게 됐게 그다지도 걱정하느냐?

In Contemporary Korean, the cause/reason conjunctive ender *-key* is rarely used in the interrogative form; instead, *-killay* is mostly used.

4.4.3 Function as Sentence ender *-key*: Cause, reason

Through omission or inversion, the position of the conjunctive ender *-key* with the meaning of cause/reason can be at the end of a sentence; thus, it began to function as a sentence ender. The omitted clause can be recoverable. In Example (62), the situation is that A is blaming his mother for not giving him clean gym clothes, which led to a scolding from his PE teacher.

- (62) A: *Na onul emma ttaym ey*
 I today mom because of
hakkyo eyse pelse-kwu,
 school at punish-AD PE
cheyyuk sensayngnim hanthey mwuciha-key
 PE teacher-HT by a lot-AD
etethecy-es-e! Al-kina ha-y?
 be hit-INT know-EM do-INT-Q

‘Because of you, Mom, I got punished. I was hit by the PE teacher a lot.

Do you even know?’

나 오늘 엄마 뺨에 학교에서 벌서구, 체육 선생님한테 무지하게

얻어터졌어! 알기나 해?

B: *Emma-ttaymwuney? Emma ka mwe-l eccay-ss-key?*
mom-because of-Q mom NM what-AC what do-PST-Q

‘Because of me? What did I do?’

엄마때문에? 엄마가 뭘 어쨌게? (*Choykang wulemma*)

In B’s response to A, she asks why A is mad and what she did wrong; the conjunctive *-key* functions as a sentence ender. The omitted clause can be retrieved from B’s earlier utterance, *Cheyyuksensayngnimhanthey mwucihakey etethecyesse* (‘I was hit by the PE teacher a lot’).

4.4.4 Sentence ender *-key*: Conjecture

Korean speakers often use sentence enders derived from conjunctive enders in colloquial language by main clause omission or by inversion of the main clause and subordinate clause. Through this process, the pragmatic function is increased strategically by the speakers for their purposes. Sohn (1999b, pp. 167–168) explained the process as follows.

(63) Processes of functional transfer in sentence-final positions

1. Omitted elements are no longer uniquely recoverable from the discourse context.

That is, no context is presupposed.

2. When the omitted main clause is not recoverable, meaning shift occurs at the final position of the remaining clause producing various modal meanings, because that position has become the modal territory of the speaker.
3. Consequently a new grammatical category of modality emerges as a sentence ender element locally only in certain limited contexts.
4. Subsequently, analogical spreading of the innovated enders occurs to all other sentences. Native speakers use them for various strategic purposes.
5. As new enders are productively used via analogical spread, further semantic shift usually ensues.

At this point, the sentence ender *-key* has the modality of conjecture and the omitted clause cannot be recovered. This will be shown through the examples in the following subsections.

4.4.4.1 Conjectural question

As demonstrated previously, the conjunctive ender *-key* with the cause/reason meaning is always used in interrogatives or with interrogative forms. Therefore, the conjunctive ender *-key* has a high chance of acquiring the meaning of conjecture. In this function, *-key* is used by the speaker when asking the addressee a question that the speaker already has the answer to, when the speaker wants to hear the addressee's guess. Examples (64) and (65) illustrate this function.

(64) A: *Cengcwun ssin un itam ey ette-n tey*
 Jungjun HT TC later what kind of-RL place
se sal-ko siph-e?

at live-AD want-INT-Q

‘Mr. Jungjun, what kind of place do you want to live some day?’

정준 씨는 이답에 어떤 데서 살고 싶어?

B: *Cihyey ka sa-nuntey.*

Jihae NM live-RL place

‘Wherever Jihae lives.’

지혜가 사는 데.

A: *Nay ka sal-ko siph-un cip un*
 I NM live-AD want-RL house TC
ette-n cipi-key?

what kind of-RL house-Q

‘Can you guess what kind of house I want to live in?’

내가 살고 싶은 집은 어떤 집이게? (Singkulcu)

(65) A: *Ette-n salam i cihachel eyse col-ko*
 what kind of-RL person NM subway in nod-AD
iss-nuntey, kuleta kapcaki kka-yss-keteng?

be-CNJ then suddenly wake up-PST-Q

‘What kind of person in the subway was nodding off, then suddenly they woke up?’

‘Some person in the subway was nodding off, then suddenly they woke up?’

어떤 사람이 지하철에서 졸고 있는데, 그러다 갑자기 깬거당?

Po-nikka caki ka nayli-l yek ul
see-CNJ his NM get off-RL station AC
cinachi-n-ke-ya.

pass-RL-thing-PLN

‘He woke up and then noticed he had passed the station he was supposed to get off at.’

보니까 자기가 내릴 역을 지나친거야.

Kulayse ku salam i ilena-se yephsalam
so that person NM stand up-CNJ next person
ccilu-myense yeki ka eti-nya kula-yss-tay.
prod-CNJ here NM where-QT say-PST-INT

‘So the guy stood up, prodded the person next to him and asked where it was?’

그래서 그 사람이 일어나서 옆 사람 찌르면서 여기가 어디냐 그랬대.

Kula-yss-teni ku salam I mwe-lako kula-yss-key?
say-RT-CNJ that person NM what-QT say-PST -Q

‘And then can you guess what he said?’

그랬더니 그 사람이 뭐라고 그랬게?

A: *Moll-a.*

don’t know-INT

‘I don’t know.’

몰라.

B: *yepkwuli-yo.*

side-POL

‘It is my side.’

옆구리요.

(*Panollim*)

(64) is a conversation in which A asks questions with *-key* and gives B choices, prompting B to guess A’s answer. In the conversation in (65), A already knows the nonsensical answer (‘It is my side’). So A asks B in order to compel B to guess.

4.4.4.2 Conjectural reason

The conjunctive ender *-key* can be used to convey conjecture, reason, or basis. The sentence ender *-key* also can be used to question the reason or background of a situation. The situation the speaker perceives is in the omitted clause. The conjectural sentence ender *-key* conveys the sense of guessing from an external source in an antecedent clause, and in a following clause it proposes the cause/reason. Thus, through grammaticalization, the form has taken on the function of expressing conjecture while still retaining the meaning of cause/reason; again, this situation shows the persistence principle. In the following examples, the omitted clause cannot be recovered, and *-key* can co-occur freely with *-yo*. The grammaticalized conjectural function sentence ender *-key* is only used with an interrogative or an interrogative form.

In Example (66), B is saying that A ('Mom') is old because she is muttering. So B proposes muttering as a reason, or basis, for what B is thinking, based on B's background knowledge that old people mutter a lot.

- (66) A: *Eti nay son ulo cap-ki-man ha-y-pw-ala.*
 where my hand with catch-NOM only do-INT-try-EX
kunyang twu-na.
 just put-PLN
 'Watch, if she just gets caught by me.'
 어디 내 손으로 잡기만 해봐라. 그냥 두나.
I yephyenney ka olipal ul naymi-l ken
 this woman NM duck-feet AC show-RL thing-TC
ppenha-n ke-kwu.
 obvious-RL thing-PLN
 'It's obvious she'll say she didn't do it.'
 이 여편네가 오리발을 내밀 건 뻔한 거구.
 B: *Emma to nulku-sy-ess-napwa? Honca*
 mom also old-SH-PST-Q alone
cwungelcwungel ha-key.
 mutter do-ENDER
 'I guess you're getting old, Mom? Just muttering to yourself.'
 엄마도 늙으셨나봐? 혼자 중얼중얼 하게. (Atulkwa ttal)

In (67a), the speaker is speculating about whether a person is rich or not; in (67b), the speaker is guessing that the addressee is sick based on the addressee's pale face; and in (67c), the speaker is guessing that the addressee is going somewhere based on the addressee dressing in a particularly nice outfit that day.

- (67) a. *Ku pwun un pwuca-si-nkapwayo?*
 that person TC the rich-SH-Q
Kapang to myengphwumi-key.
 bag also luxury brand-ENDER
 ‘I guess that person is rich? Since the bag is a luxury brand.’
 그 분은 부자신가요? 가방도 명품이게.
- b. *Tangsin eti aph-a? Elkwul i changpaykha-key.*
 you where sick-INT-Q face NM pale-ENDER
 ‘Are you sick? Since your face is pale.’
 당신 어디 아파? 얼굴이 창백하게.
- c. *Eti ka-si-napwayo? Onulttala mesci-key.*
 where go-SH-Q today nice-ENDER
 ‘I guess you are going somewhere? Since you look especially nice today.’
 어디 가시나요? 오늘따라 멋지게. (Cho & Lee, 2011, pp. 413–414)

4.4.4.3 Conjectural assurance

The conjectural sentence ender *-key* functions to indicate a speaker's assurance about what the speaker thinks, similar to the function of expressing a conjectural reason or

basis. However, in this case, it is used for conjecture along with the assurance the speaker has information based on past experience or new information.

Example (68) is a conversation between A (daughter) and B (mother). B has made marinated pork ribs for her son, who is doing military service at Daehan. B knows that A, her daughter, also likes marinated pork ribs, based on past experience. A is saying that she wants to eat a little, but B knows that if A starts to eat, there will be no ribs left for B's son, and B is confident in her speculation.

(68) A: *Pankyeng 2mithe nay ey twaycikalpi ka*
 radius 2meter inside in pork rib NM
iss-nun kes kath-untey.
 be-RL thing like-CNJ

‘It seems like there is marinated pork ribs within two meters of me.’

반경 2 미터 내에 돼지갈비가 있는 것 같은데.

B: *Nayil tayhan i myenhoyka-nta.*
 tomorrow Daehan NM visit-PLN

‘Tomorrow I am going to visit Daehan.’

내일 대한이 면회간다.

A: *Yocum kwuntay pap cal naw-ayo. Kunyang*
 these days military food well come-POL just
cikum ccom-man phwul-e.
 now a little only eat-INT

‘These days military food is really good. So now (I’ll) just eat a little bit.’

요즘 군대 밥 잘 나와요. 그냥 지금 쫌만 풀어.

B: *Cikum phwul-ess-takan nayil kacyeka-l kke*
now eat-PST-CNJ tomorrow bring-RL thing
hana to an nam-key.
one even not remain-ENDER

‘I’m pretty sure if you eat now there will be nothing left to bring tomorrow.’

지금 풀었다간 내일 가져갈꺼 하나도 안 남게.

(*Meyli taykwu kongpangcen*)

In (69), A provides new information that a third person is not a detective. Based on A’s utterance, B claims that the person is an imposter, asserting confidence in the proposition with *-key*. It is worth noting, however, that B’s level of confidence is not that high compared to a declarative or a statement with *thullimepse* ‘certain, sure’ (e.g., *hanato an nama, hanato an namulkey thullimepse; sakikkwuniesse, sakikkwuni thullimepse*).

(69) A: *kuke tul-ess-e? Ku salam i*
that hear-PST-INT-Q that person NM
hyengsa ka ani-lay!
detective NM not-QT

‘Did you hear that? That is not a detective!’

그거 들었어? 그 사람이 형사가 아니래!

B: *Ku salam i hyengsa ka ani-lani, kulem*
 that person NM detective NM not-QT-CNJ then
ku salam i sakikkwun-iess-key.
 that person NM imposter-PST-ENDER

‘If that person is not a detective, then he must be an imposter.’

그 사람이 형사가 아니라니, 그럼 그 사람이 사기꾼이었게.

(Cho & Lee, 2015, p. 307)

4.4.4.4 Hedging

The grammaticalized conjectural sentence ender *-key* also functions as an assertion-mitigating hedge. Markkanen and Schröder (1997) described hedges as a means of expressing politeness to an older person or a stranger and of mitigating the illocutionary force of an utterance. According to Lakoff (1972, p. 195), a hedge makes things less fuzzy or fuzzier. Lakoff also discussed the possibility that hedges may “interact with felicity conditions for utterances and with rules of conversation” (1987, p. 145). Brown and Levinson (1978) suggested that hedges (along with the strategies of indirectness, polite pessimism, and emphasis on the addressee’s power) are used in negative politeness, which is what typically comes to mind when we think of politeness. The sentence ender *-key* also functions as a hedge in the sense of Brown and Levinson’s negative politeness, as shown in the next example. Example (70) shows hedging in a conversation in a police station. A and B are friends whose store has been robbed, and C is a policeman, to whom they are reporting the theft.

(70)

- 1 A: *Kwaynchanh-a? Tachi-n tey-n eps-e?*
okay-INT-Q hurt-RL place-TC not-INT-Q
'Are you okay? You hurt anywhere?'
괜찮아? 다친 덴 없어?
- 2 B: *Tachici-n anh-ass-kwu.*
hurt-TC not-PST-AD
'I'm not hurt but'
다치진 않았구.
- 3 C: *Kulenikka tonantangha-n mwulphwu i khatu-lanun*
so stolen-RL stuff NM care-QT-RL
- 4 *ke ani-pnikka?*
thing not-DEF-Q
'So the thing that was stolen was a pack of cards, wasn't it?'
그러니까 도난당한 물품이 카드라는 거 아닙니까?
- 5 B: *Kunyang khatu ka ani-la wuli cip*
just care NM not-CNJ our house
- 6 *eyse man phanmayha-nun myengphwum*
in only sell-RL luxurious
- 7 *thalo khatu-lakwu-yo.*
tarot card-QT-PL
'Not just cards, it was tarot cards that we only sell at our shop.'
그냥 카드가 아니라 우리 집에서만 판매하는 명품 타로 카드라구요.

- 8 C: *Myengphwum-iken mwe-ken khatu nun khatu-canh-ayo.*
luxury good-CNJ what-CNJ card TC card-SUP-POL
‘Luxury or not, a card is a card.’
명품이건 뭐건 카드는 카드잖아요.
- 9 B: *Kunyang khatu ka ani-la thalokhatu-lanikka-yo.*
just card NM not-CNJ tarot card-CNJ-POL
‘They are not just cards, as I said they are tarot cards.’
그냥 카드가 아니라 타로카드라니까요.
- 10 A: *Kangto-lamyense?*
robber-QT-Q
‘You said it was an armed robber?’
강도라면서?
- 11 C: *Kangto ka ani-la tanswun celto saken-i-eyyo.*
robber NM not-CNJ just stolen case-POL
‘It’s not an armed robber, it is a simple case of theft.’
강도가 아니라 단순 절도 사건이에요.
- 12 B: *Kuke-na kuke-na-ci mwe.*
that-CNJ that-CNJ-FML what
‘It is the same thing.’
그거나 그거나지 뭐.
- 13→ *Amthun, nay ka elmana hekekha-yss-key.*
anyway I NM how shocked-PST-ENDER
‘Anyway, can you guess how shocked I was?’

암튼, 내가 얼마나 허걱했게.

14 *Chian* *i* *ileh-key* *pwulanha-nikka*
public safety NM like this-AD unstable-CNJ

15 *Nampwukthongil* *i* *an* *toy-nun ke-ya.*
reunification NM not become-RL thing-INT

‘Because the public safety is unstable you can’t have north and south
unification.’

치안이 이렇게 불안하니까 남북통일이 안 되는 거야.

16 C: *Yekise* *ku* *yayki* *ka* *way* *naw-ayo?*
here that story IM why come-POL-Q

‘Why would you say that here?’

여기서 그 얘기가 왜 나와요?

(*Mawang*)

B called A saying B was robbed. A is very worried and goes to the police station. So, when C says ‘it is a simple case of theft’ (line 11), B responds with hedges using *-key* with *kukena kukenaci mwe* ‘it is the same thing’ (line 12) and *amthun* ‘anyway’ (line 13). B’s use of *-key* here also makes the ending of the utterance ambiguous for expressing apology. And in the next utterance (lines 14–15), B brings up an irrelevant new topic in order to change the subject to quickly get past the situation.

In short, when the conjunctive ender became a sentence ender that could be used when the omitted clause cannot be recovered, speakers were able to employ it in strategies of mitigating, diluting, or toning down the illocutionary force of their utterances (Sohn, 1999b, p. 172).

4.4.5 Intersubjectification

Section 3.3.3 introduced the notions of objectification, subjectification, and intersubjectification. This section will discuss the intersubjectification of the sentence ender *-key*. Intersubjectification is not a separate mechanism, but an extension of subjectification. Subjectivity and intersubjectivity both serve the role of expressing prime semantic and pragmatic meanings. Benveniste (1971) argued that language is not only intrinsically subjective, but also intersubjective. He went on to say that “every utterance assum[es] a speaker and a hearer, and in the speaker, the intention of influencing the other in some way” (p. 209).

Benveniste (1971) described the process of communication as “only a mere pragmatic consequence” of dialogue between “I” and “you” (p. 225). Traugott and Dasher (2002) suggested that “intersubjectivity is most usefully thought of in parallel with subjectivity: as the explicit, coded expression of speaker/writer’s attention to the image of ‘self’ of addressee/reader in a social or an epistemic sense, for example in honorification” (p. 22). Traugott and Dasher saw intersubjectivity in utterances in which the speaker pays particular attention to the addressee as a speech-act participant (as expressed through, e.g., hedges, politeness markers, etc.). As presented in Section 3.3.3, Traugott and Dasher (2002, p. 40) provided the following directional path of changing subjectivity: nonsubjective > subjective > intersubjective.

The example in (71) illustrates the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key*’s intersubjective function. This conversation is between two close friends. A, who is working at a publishing company, consults with B about being offered a temporary

teacher position. Being a teacher is A's dream, but she does not want to disappoint her current boss.

(71)

1 A: *Sensayngnim ul manna-ss-e.*
 teacher AC meet-PST-INT

'I met the teacher.'

2 *Ku sensayngnim i kyeyisi-n hakkyo*
 that teacher-HT NM be-RL school

3 *ey yesensayngnim han pwun i*
 in female teacher-HT one person NM

4 *chwulsan ul ha-si-key twa-yss-tay.*
 give birth AC do-SH-AD become-PST-INT

'The teacher said that at his school a female teacher had a baby.'

선생님을 만났어.그 선생님이 계신 학교에 여선생님 한 분이 출산을
 하시게 됐대.

5 B: *Ne poko ku tongan swuep ul*
 you to that during class AC

6 *mathatalla-nun ke-ni? Ne kyosa cakyekcung*
 take-QT-RL thing-Q you teacher certificate

7 *iss-unikka.*
 have-CNJ

‘So the teacher asked you to do the class? Since you have a teaching certificate.’

너보고 그 동안 수업을 맡아달라는 거니? 너 교사 자격증 있으니까.

8 A: *Nwunchi hanpen ppalu-ta. Selmyeng i philyo*
sense once fast-PLN explanation NM need

9 *eps-uni.*
not-CNJ

‘You have sharp senses. I don’t have to explain anything.’

눈치 한번 빠르다. 설명이 필요 없으니.

10 B: *Mwusun kekceng-iya. Math-umyen toy-nun ke-ci.*
what worry-INT take-CNJ become-RL thing-PLN

11 *sensayngnim toy-ko siph-e -ha-yss-canh-a.*
teacher become-AD want-INF-do-PST-SUP-INT

‘Why are you worried. Just take it. You always wanted to be a teacher, right.’

무슨 걱정이야. 맡으면 되는 거지. 선생님 되고 싶어 했잖아.

12➔ A: *Chwulphansa nun ecce-ko. Na elyewu-l ttay*
publishing company TC how do-AD I difficult-RL time

13 *elmana manhi towum ul pat-ass-key.*
how much help AC receive-PST-ENDER

‘What about the publishing company? When times were difficult for me you know how much help I received.’

출판사는 어찌고. 나 어려울 때 얼마나 많이 도움을 받았게.

- 14 B: *Kulssey. Kule-n mwuncey ka iss-ki-n*
 well that-RL problem NM have-NOM-RL
- 15 *ha-ney.*
 do-FML
 ‘Well. I guess there is that problem.’
- 16 *Kuchiman mwe chwulphansa pota hakkyo*
 but what publishing company than school
- 17 *kunmwu lul te ha-ko siph-ul ke an-ya.*
 working AC more do-AD want-RL thing not-Q
- 18 *nen.*
 you-TC
 ‘However, you want to work at a school more than the publishing
 company.’
 글썸. 그런 문제가 있긴 하네. 그치만 뭐 출판사 보다 학교 근무를 더
 하고 싶을 거 아냐. 넌.
- 19 A: *Coh-un kihoy-i-kin ha-ntey.*
 good-RL opportunity-NOM-RL do-CNJ
 ‘It is a good opportunity, but.’
 좋은 기회이긴 한데.
- 20 B: *Mal moshay? Nay ka hay-cw-e?*
 speak not-Q I NM do-INF-give-Q
 ‘You can’t speak up? Should I do it for you?’
 말 못해? 내가 해줘?

- 21 A: *Eccay-ya cohu-l ci lul molla-se-*
 how-EM good-RL thing AC don't know-CNJ
 'I don't know what to do.'
 어째야 좋을 지를 몰라서. (Atulkwa ttal)

In line 13, A uses *-key* for expressing her stance or attitude that she wants to be a teacher but at the same time, hedging, as she is waiting for B's reaction. Therefore, speaker A's intersubjective attitude toward speaker B is shown by her use of *-key* with its interactional hedge function.

To summarize, the conjunctural function sentence ender *-key* is derived from the conjunctive ender *-kiey* meaning cause/reason, which means it started out with a nonsubjective (i.e., objective) function. Next, it gained a conjunctural function, which is a subjective function, because it expresses the speaker's attitude or viewpoint. Finally, it gained the function of hedging, which is an intersubjective function because it expresses the speaker's attention to the addressee's self-image. The following diagram shows this shift.

- (72) Meaning shift of conjunctural function sentence ender *-key*
 cause and reason (objective) >
 conjunctural (subjective) >
 hedge function (intersubjective)

4.4.6 Modality of conjunctural sentence ender *-key*

Epistemic modality has to do with the speaker's judgment about the factuality of the proposition (Palmer, 2001, p. 8). Palmer (1986, p. 51) referred to epistemic modality as an "indication by the speaker of his (lack of) commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed" and "the degree of commitment by the speaker to what he says."

Bybee and Fleischman (1995) contended that epistemic expressions can be understood as representing the degree of a speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition contained in an utterance. Langacker (1991) suggested that the natural evolution of events in the world is related to the idea of potency associated with epistemic modality. When the speaker assumes the role of the primary conceptualizer, he/she is in charge of assessing the probability of reality evolving in a certain direction. Coates (1990, p. 54) suggested that epistemic meaning is related to a speaker's confidence, or lack of confidence, in the truth of the proposition expressed in the utterance. Nuyts (2001, p. 21) mentioned that the "evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of of it) will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world." Homes (1982) saw epistemic modality as degrees of certainty. In sum, epistemic modality has to do with "the status of the speaker's understanding or knowledge" (Palmer, 1986, p. 51).

Palmer's (2001) work can be used as a general guideline for comparison, and some of his labels of categories have been applied to epistemic modality (conjectural, literacy conjectural, negative conjectural, speculative, deductive, assumptive), and to evidential modality (inferential, informal inferential, external evidence, sensory evidential, quotative).

Some researchers have placed evidential modality under epistemic modality. According to Aikhenvald (2004, p. 7), evidentiality “is a category in its own right, and not a subcategory of modality.” It seems not an easy task to clearly distinguish between epistemic modality and evidentiality. The necessity of expressing evidentiality appears to vary across languages. In the Korean language, marking evidentiality seems to be voluntary.

Aikhenvald (2004) described evidentiality as the way a linguistic system denotes whether a speaker’s expression of his/her own awareness of truth is based on knowledge of the information source. According to Aikhenvald, the speaker’s information can be marked as coming from direct knowledge sources (e.g., the speaker has actually witnessed, heard, tasted, felt, or otherwise directly perceived something) or indirect sources (e.g., inference, hearsay).

Aikhenvald (2004) proposed a set of semantic parameters employed in languages with grammatical evidentiality to cover physical senses, several types of inference, and verbal report. These recurrent semantic parameters are:

- I. Visual: covers information acquired through seeing.
- II. Nonvisual sensory: covers information acquired through hearing, and is typically extended to smell and taste, and sometimes also to touch.
- III. Inference: based on visible or tangible evidence, or result.
- IV. Assumption: based on evidence other than visible result; this may include logical reasoning, assumption, or simply general knowledge.
- V. Hearsay: for reported information with no reference to those it was reported by.

- VI. Quotative: for reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source.

The conjectural function of the sentence ender *-key* is considered relevant to epistemic modality. However, some of the uses of the conjectural function sentence ender *-key* seem possible to categorize as evidential modality, according to Palmer's (2001) categories.

In Example (73), the sentence ender *-key* functions so that the speaker makes the addressee speculate about the answer (i.e., what the nickname is, how the speaker knows something, whether something is real or not, who another person is). These uses can be categorized as conjectural, a type of epistemic modality.

- (73) a. *Hakkyo tani-l ttay nay pyelmyeng*
 school attend-RL time my nickname
i mwey-ess-key?
 NM what-PST-Q

‘Can you guess what my nickname was when I was in school?’

학교 다닐 때 내 별명이 뭐였게?

- b. *Cwuso ettehkey al-ass-key?*
 address how know-PST-Q

‘Can you guess how I knew the address?’

주소 어떻게 알았게?

- c. *I sikyey ka cincca-key? Kacca-key?*

this watch NM real -Q fake-Q

‘Can you guess if this watch is real or fake?’

이 시계가 진짜계? 가짜계?

d. *Ku pwun i nwukwu-si-key?*

that person NM who-SH-AD-Q

‘Can you guess who the person is?’

그 분이 누구시계?

However, in Example (74), where *-key* expresses B’s assurance based on A’s utterance, it can be categorized as inferential, a type of evidential modality.

(74) A: *Kuke tul-ess-e? Ku salam i hyengsa*

that hear-PST-INT-Q that person NM detective

ka ani-lay!

NM not-QT

‘Did you hear that? That person is not a detective!’

그거 들었어? 그 사람이 형사가 아니래!

B: *Ku salam i hyengsa ka ani-lani, kulem*

that person NM detective NM not-QT-CNJ then

ku salam i sakikkwun-iess-key.

that person NM imposter-PST-ENDER

‘If that person is not a detective, then he must be an imposter.’

그 사람이 형사가 아니라니, 그럼 그 사람이 사기꾼이었계.

Moreover, in (75), reason and basis are expressed through *-key*. The speaker is speculating about the situations of the antecedent clauses, which are seeing the luxurious bag, pale face, or nice outfit. That is why the subjects are second and third persons. This can also be categorized as evidential modality. However, it seems difficult to distinguish these uses of *-key* as either sensory evidential or inferential. According to Aikhenvald's (2004) semantic parameters, because inference is based on being visible, it can be inferential.

(75) a. *Ku pwun un pwuca-si-nkapwayo?*

that person TC the rich-SH-Q

Kapang to myengphwumi-key.

bag also luxury brand-ENDER

'I guess that person is rich? Since the bag is a luxury brand.'

그 분은 부자신가봐요? 가방도 명품이게.

b. *Tangsin eti aph-a? Elkwul i changpaykha-key.*

you where sick-INT-Q face NM pale-ENDER

'Are you sick? Since your face is pale.'

당신 어디 아파? 얼굴이 창백하계.

c. *Eti ka-si-napwayo? Onulttala mesci-key.*

where go-SH-Q today nice-ENDER

'I guess you are going somewhere? Since you look especially nice today.'

어디 가시나봐요? 오늘따라 멋지게

(Cho & Lee, 2011, pp. 413–414)

CHAPTER 5
RHETORICAL QUESTION FUNCTION OF
GRAMMATICALIZED SENTENCE ENDER -KEY

Rhetorical questions are interrogative in structure, but have the force of an assertion rather than a question; in other words, the speaker does not expect an answer. According to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, a rhetorical question is defined as “a question not intended to require an answer.” *Google Dictionary* defines it as “a question asked in order to create a dramatic effect or to make a point rather than to get an answer.”

Anzilotti (1982) characterized rhetorical questions as “hav[ing] the form of a question but serv[ing] the function of a statement.” According to Greenbaum and Quirk (1990), rhetorical questions can take the form of positive and negative polar and *wh*-interrogatives. The positive rhetorical *yes/no* question is like a strong negative assertion (e.g., “Is that a reason for despair?”), and the negative rhetorical *yes/no* question has a strong positive assertion (e.g., “Isn’t the answer obvious?”). Likewise, the positive *wh*-question is similar to a statement in which the *wh*-element is replaced by a negative element (e.g., “How should I know?”), and the negative *wh*-question, a statement in which the *wh*-element is replaced by a positive element (e.g., “Who doesn’t know?”) (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, p. 240). However, Frank (1990, pp. 723, 727) claimed that rhetorical questions in “spontaneous discourse” can be difficult to define because they seem to be multifunctional. In other words, they have the capacity to both strengthen assertions and soften criticisms. Brown and Levinson (1978, p. 228) suggested that rhetorical questions enable speakers to do face-threatening acts indirectly, and therefore

considered them a politeness strategy. Anzilotti (1982, pp. 290–291) proposed that their real value is as a persuasive device. Anzilotti claimed that rhetorical questions “enable speakers to make stronger statements, with greater implications, than would be possible if they had made straightforward assertions.”

The function of the rhetorical question is interpersonal. According to Crowley and Hawhee (2004, pp. 298–299), rhetorical questions belong to those “figures of thought that enhance ethos” by “manipulating the flow of discourse “ and by “decreas(ing) distance between the rhetoric and audience.”

Han (2005) argued that the primary function of a rhetorical expression is to emphasize the content of a proposition. It also can express politeness to the addressee, can show surprise about a previous sentence or situation, and show something was unexpected. In particular, when a speaker asks a question back to a questioner, with rising intonation at the end of the sentence, it shows the speaker’s surprise. Furthermore, it can be used to display sarcasm (e.g., *Cal hayssta* ‘Good job’, when somebody does something wrong), to show ignorance or contempt (e.g., *Neyka alkinun mwel ala?* ‘You know? What do you know?’; *Neyka tonul pelmyen elmana pelkeyssni?* ‘You said you made money, how much did you make?’). As well, it can be used when giving a compliment or in recognition of something the addressee did (to a handsome kid *ku nom cham mos sayngkyessney* ‘That kid is ugly’).

Han (2005) conducted a study of previous research on rhetorical questions in Korean. Ko (1989) used the term *panepep* ‘rhetoric’. Seo (1994) stated that, in an X-question, “the form is interrogative but the semantic effect is not, that is to say form and meaning conflict.” X-questions include rhetorical questions, queclarative,

whimperative/quemperative, exclamatory questions, and echo questions. Lee and Chea (1999) explained that when a rhetorical question is used with words like *nwukwu*, *eti*, *encey*, *mwues*, and the particle *-nun*, it has the meaning of total denial or total affirmation of the contents of the question. Han (2005) established six materialization conditions for rhetorical expressions.

1. Rhetorical expressions show a previous utterance or thinking, or characteristics of a repetitive response to a situation.
2. Rhetorical expressions show opposite relations or inconsistent relations between literal meaning and inherent meaning.
3. Rhetorical expressions have no restriction of outward mood and inner mood.
4. There are certain syntax structures to realize rhetorical expressions.
5. There are suffixes that mainly mark rhetorical expressions.
6. Rhetorical expressions are used when the speaker wants to emphasize the proposition content and to express the speaker's surprise or ignorance, politeness, compliment, etc.

Rhetorical questions do not have to meet all six conditions, but if an utterance fulfills a few of them, then it can be considered a rhetorical expression. The grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* can also be used to make a rhetorical question. Two types of structures stand out: [*-myen*, *-key?*] and [[interrogative], *-key*]. The following subsections provide some examples.

5.1 [-myen, -key?]

In this structure, the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* is used with *-myen* in the subjunctive mood, as in the examples in (76).

- (76) a. A: *Theysuthu nun thongkwaha-yss-nya?*
 test TC pass-PST-Q
 ‘Did you pass the test?’
 테스트는 통과했나?
- B: *Any-o.*
 no-POL
 ‘No.’
 아뇨.
- C: *Mosha-yss-e?*
 cannot-PST-INT-Q
 ‘You couldn’t?’
 못했어?
- B: *Yey.*
 yes.
 ‘Yes.’
 예.
- C: *Ne saypyek kkaci yensupha-ta ka-ss-*
 you early morning until practice-CNJ go-PST-
canh-a.

SUP-INT

‘Didn’t you practice until the early morning?’

너 새벽까지 연습하다 갔잖아.

D: *Ku-key kuleh-key swiwu-nka? Kuleh-key*
 that-AD that-AD easy-Q that-AD
swiwu-myen, amwu na miyongsa ha-key? an kule-nya?
 easy-CNJ anybody hair stylist do-Q not that-Q

‘Is it that easy? If it is that easy I guess anybody can be a hair stylist. Isn’t that right?’

그게 그렇게 쉬운가? 그렇게 쉬우면, 아무나 미용사 하게? 안 그러냐?

B: *Yey.*

yes.

‘Yes.’

예. *(Kwutseyela kumswuna)*

b. *Ku cip atul i pelsse yenge*
 that home son NM already English
lul ha-myen yengcay-key?
 AC speak-CNJ genius-AD-Q

‘If that person’s son can speak English already, I guess he must be a genius.’

그 집 아들이 벌써 영어를 하면 영재계?

- c. *Ciseni ka yeyppu-myen, name nun*
 Jisun NM pretty-CNJ Nami TC
misukholia-key?
 Miss.Korea-AD-Q
 ‘If Jisun is pretty then I guess Nami must be Miss Korea.’
 지션이가 예쁘면, 나미는 미스코리아계? (Cho & Lee, 2015)
- d. *Kyay ka kula-yss-umyen, TV ey naw-ass-key?*
 that person NM do-PST-CNJ TV on be-PST-AD-Q
 ‘If he did that, I guess he must be on TV.’
 개가 그랬으면, TV 에 나왔게? (Miwunwulisaykki)

As (76) shows, the antecedent clause and the following clause all express affirmation for form’s sake, but the inherent meaning is negative, so these are rhetorical questions. Thus, in (76a), the *-key* structure means “because it is not easy, not everyone can be a hairstylist.” (76b)’s *-key* structure means “because that family’s son does not already speak English, he is not a genius.” In (76c), it means “because Jison is not pretty, Nami is not Miss Korea,” and in (76d), “because he didn’t do that, he is not on TV.” These structures are used for emphasizing that the antecedent clause’s proposition is not true. Because the antecedent clause’s proposition is not true, the following clause’s proposition is also not true. There is no restriction of subject in an antecedent clause or a following clause, and *-key* can be attached to the tense prefinal ender *-ess-*.

5.2 [[interrogative], -*key*]

A sentence structure that has an interrogative in the antecedent clause and a *-key* clause in the following clause is also a rhetorical question. (77) provides examples.

- (77) a. A: *An ilena?*
 not wake up-Q
 ‘You are not getting up?’
 안 일어나?
- B: *Na hakkyo anka.*
 I school not go-INT
 ‘I’m not going to go to school.’
 나 학교 안가.
- A: *Hakkyo ka mwusun nolithe-ya?*
 school NM what playground-Q
 ‘Is the school a playground?’
- Ka-ko siph-umyen ka-ko ka-ki*
 go-AD want-CNJ go-CNJ go-NOM
silh-umyen ppaci-key. Ppalli ilena.
 dislike-CNJ miss-ENDER quickly wake up-IM
 ‘If you want to go you go, if you don’t want to go you don’t go.
 Get up now.’
 학교가 무슨 놀이터야? 가고 싶으면 가고 가기 싫으면 빠지게.
 빨리 일어나. (Panollim 2)

- b. *Wuli ka ay-ya? Ssawu-key.*
 we NM kid-Q fight-ENDER
 ‘Do you think we are children? You think we’re going to fight.’
 우리가 애야? 싸우게. (Choykang wulemma)
- c. *Michy-ess-nya? Ihonha-n pwupwu ka khulisumasu*
 crazy-PST-Q divorce-RL couple NM Christmas
lul kathi ponay-key
 AC together spend-ENDER
 ‘Are you crazy? Do you think divorced couples spend time together on
 Christmas day?’
 미쳤냐? 이혼한 부부가 크리스마스를 같이 보내게. (Yenaysitay)
- d. *Nay ka papo-nya? Ne lang kathi wusan*
 I NM fool-Q you with together umbrella
ul ssu-ko ka-key.
 AD share go-ENDER
 ‘Am I stupid? You think I am going to share an umbrella with you?’
 내가 바보냐? 너랑 같이 우산을 쓰고 가게. (Khaisuthu)

In (77), the antecedent clauses and the following clauses are all affirmations for form’s sake, but the inherent meaning is negative, so these are rhetorical questions. Formally, they are interrogative sentences but they are construed as declarative sentences. (77a) denotes the meaning of “because school is not a playground, even if you don’t want to

go, you have to go.” (77b) means ‘because we are not children, we won’t fight.’ The meaning of (77c) is “because they are not crazy, they will not spend Christmas together.” In (77d) the meaning is “because they are not dumb, they will not share the umbrella and go.” As with the structure [-*myen*, -*key*?], here the antecedent clause’s proposition is not true, so the following clause’s proposition is also not true. However, the structure [-*myen*, -*key*?] is focused on the antecedent clause, but the structure [[interrogative form], -*key*] is focused on the following -*key* clause. It is used to emphasize that the following clause is not valid. Therefore, to be clear, the antecedent clause often includes a metaphorical expression or an extreme expression like *michita* ‘it is crazy’, *papota* ‘it is stupid’, or *tolassta* ‘it is insane’. There is no restriction of subject in the antecedent clause or the following clause, and -*key* can be attached to the tense prefinal ender -*ess*-.

CHAPTER 6

KULEKEY

The conjunctive adverbial *kulekey* is made by the fusion of the conjunctive ender *-kiey* and *kule(ha)*. It has the meaning of cause/reason and various functions as a discourse marker. Discourse markers are used frequently in colloquial speech. They are a kind of device that a speaker uses to develop discourse effectively, or to reveal the speaker's attitude and psychology. Recently, researchers studying discourse markers have come to understand that they are not just redundant expressions but actually function as an important part of discourse.

The first serious examination of discourse markers as linguistic elements was carried out by Schiffrin (1987). She defined discourse markers as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (p. 1). Other linguists use the term “discourse markers” as well (e.g., Fraser, 1999; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Schourup, 1999), but yet others have labeled these elements as, for instance: pragmatic markers (Andersen, 1998, 2001; Brinton, 1996; Caron Pargue & Caron, 1991; Erman, 2001; Redeker, 1990; Watts, 1988), pragmatic particles (Aijmer, 2002; Schourup, 1999), interactional signals (Stenström, 1994), and connectives (Bazzanella, 1990; Degand, 2000; Fraser, 1988; Lamiroy, 1994; Unger, 1996).

Brinton (1996, p. 40) preferred the term “pragmatic” to “discourse,” because these markers have both textual and interpersonal functions. However, as Brinton pointed out, pragmatic markers are mainly features of oral discourse: “The appearance of pragmatic markers is a result of the informality of oral discourse and the grammatical

‘fragmentation’ caused by the lack of planning time” (p. 33). Pragmatic markers are characteristically short items that form a separate tone group, are phonologically reduced, and are highly frequent in colloquial language. Some linguists limit the term “discourse marker” to sentence-initial items. Brinton’s definition covers any syntactic position for markers, which usually “occur either outside the syntactic structure or loosely attached to it and hence have no clear grammatical function” (p. 34). Further, pragmatic markers are optional discourse items and may be multifunctional (p. 35).

Schiffirin (1987, p. 328) presented the following conditions that allow an expression to be used as a discourse marker:

1. It has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence.
2. It has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance.
3. It has to have a range of prosodic contours.
4. It has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse.

Kulekey, the combination of the conjunctive *-kiey* and *kule(ha)-*, is utilized as a conjunctive adverbial in a sentence, and it is also located at the front of the sentence. As part of a process of change, *-ha-* was omitted, and then *-kiey* was changed to *-key*. Recently, *kulekey* has changed to *kulkey* as a discourse marker. The next section examines the path of grammaticalization of *kulekey* from its beginning to it becoming a discourse marker.

6.1 The grammaticalization of *kulekey*

Ahn (2000, p. 129) explained that approximately four different *kule*-type connectives (*kulena*, *kulemyen*, *kulelssAi*, *kulentAlo*) have been used since the Middle Korean period. In Contemporary Korean, the number of *kule*-type connectives has increased to approximately thirty. Ahn ascribes the increase to the shift from the long texts connected by connective suffixes in Middle and Modern Korean to the shorter sentences (and increase in various sentence enders) that characterize Contemporary Korean.

As discussed in Section 4.2, the conjunctive ender *-kiey* appeared in the 18th century and was used quite productively from the early 20th century. So it is highly likely that *kulekiey* was used around this time.

Asserting that the *kule*-type connectives have undergone grammaticalization, Ahn (2000) examined their development process and the underlying motivations for their grammaticalization. The three stages he identified are as follows (pp. 118–121):

Stage 1: A syntactic structure of [verb stem + connective suffix] whereby the relation between main clause and subordinate clause is expressed by the connective suffix.

Stage 2: The following sentence substitutes the verb *kuleha-* for the preceding sentence. Originally, it is one sentence but it changes to the structure of [short sentence + coordinative clause or subordinative clause].

Stage 3: The structure changes to a conjunctive adverbial form [*kuleha* + connective suffix] by contraction and omission of *-ha-*.

It is with this omission in the third stage that the boundary between the word stem and suffix becomes ambiguous (reanalysis) resulting in a shorter form (fusion). The changes are from a clause to a lexical unit, and from a content word to a functional word. The form is syntactically fixed. The *kule*-type connectives do not take on all the meanings of the connective suffix; among these, some of the meanings remain because of specialization. The *kule*-type connectives also take on various meanings beyond those of the connective suffix as grammaticalization takes place.

Park (2001) discussed grammaticalization through examining demonstratives in Korean. Among these are *kulssey* ‘well’, *kulenikka* ‘therefore’, and *kulemyen* ‘if so’, which are relevant to the conjunctive adverbials. These are grammaticalized in the following process: demonstrative > discourse marker or demonstrative > auxiliary predicate. The demonstratives originally have the meaning of direction, limit, and substitute. They then gain the meaning of cause (i.e., *kulssey*, *kulenikka*, *kulemyen*). They then grammaticalize to discourse markers, which gain new meaning following context. Commonly, they function as a sign of accepting, leading to a conclusion, emphasis, or cause. *Kulenikka* also functions as a pause-filler. *Kulssey* functions as a marker of evasion and weak negation. And *kulemyen* functions as a marker of accepting, conflict, completion, change, and condition. Kim (2012) also noted that conjunctive adverbials of the *kule*-type not only express relations of the antecedent clause and the following clause, but also function as discourse markers that show the speaker’s subjective attitude or response. Kim remarked that this change is the result of a process of grammaticalization.

The grammaticalization of connective suffixes (such as *-nikka*, *-ntey*, *-ciman*, *e/ase*, *-ko*, etc.) into *kule*-type connectives is not coincidental. According to Sohn (2009), the

following characteristics of Korean provide the environment for clause-linking, especially between the anaphoric *ku* construction and the conjunctive ender.

1. Korean allows major sentential constituents, such as subject and object, to be omitted if recoverable from discourse contexts.
2. Korean has hundreds of inflectional suffixes that mark grammatical categories, relations, and functions. Frequently, suffixes occur after another suffix in a long sequence.
3. All Korean predicates (verbs, adjectives, and copulas) are bound in that they cannot be used without a sentence or clause ender.

The following discussion examines the stages of grammaticalization of *kulekey*. The principles of persistence and layering, as proposed by Hopper (1991), apply as well. For example, despite the expansion in meaning of *kulekey*, all the original meanings exist synchronously with the new functions of *kulekey*. The original meaning is maintained throughout and traces of it can be observed in the new meanings as well.

Stage 1, illustrated in (78) and (79), is the formation stage of the structure [predicate stem + *kiey*]. The conjunctive ender *-kiey* connects the antecedent clause and the following sentence, and the meaning is cause/reason, which is the same as *-kiey*'s meaning.

(78) *Kulem kuleh-ci. Ci ilum ulo ponay-wa-ss-*
 so like that-FML his name with send come-PST-
kiey nay ka mikkwulaci chel tul-ess-ta ha-yss-ta.

CNJ I NM mud fish mature-PST-QT say-PST-PLN

‘I thought so. I thought he had finally grown up because it came with his name on it.’

그럼 그렇지. 지 이름으로 보내왔기에 내가 미꾸라지 철 들었다 했다.

(*Kwiyewun yein*)

(79) *I nyesek i ssek-un kokwuma lul kacyeke-keyss-*
 this person NM rotten-RL sweet potato AC take-SUP-
ta-kiey kunyang cwu-n kes ppwun-iyo.
 QT-CNJ just give-RL thing only-POL

‘I just gave it to him is all because they asked me for rotten sweet potato.’

이 녀석이 썩은 고구마를 가져가겠다고 그냥 준 것 뿐이요. (*Panollim 2*)

In stage 2, *kuleha-* replaces the antecedent sentence and then is attached with -
kiey, therefore changing the structure of the sentence, as (78)’ and (79)’ show.

(78)’ *Kulem kulehci. Ci ilumulo ponaywassta. Kuleha(cilumulo ponaywass-)kiey*
nayka mikkwulaci cheltulessta hayssta.

‘I thought so. It came with his name on it. So I thought he had finally grown up.’

그럼 그렇지. 지 이름으로 보내왔다. 그러하(지 이름으로 보내왔-)기에 내가
 미꾸라지 철 들었다 했다.

(79)’ *I nyeseki ssekun kokwumalul kacyekekeysstako haysseyo. Kuleha(ssekun*
kokwumalul kacyekekeyssta-)kiey kunyang cwun kes ppwuniyo.

‘They asked me for a rotten sweet potato. So I just gave it to him is all.’

이 녀석이 썩은 고구마를 가져가겠다고 했어요. 그러하(썩은 고구마를 가져가겠다-)기에 그냥 준 것 뿐이요.

Stage 3 is the stage when it changes to a conjunctive adverbial. It changes to *kulekiew* from the form of [*kuleha-* + *-kiew*] with the omission of *-ha-*. Because of the omission of *-ha-*, the boundary between word stem and suffix becomes ambiguous; therefore, the form undergoes reanalysis, and finally becomes a shorter form by fusion. The form is syntactically fixed, and thus does not allow any insertion of tense, honorific markers, or modal elements; the meaning is still cause/reason. It is decategorized to a conjunctive adverbial, and it can occur in the initial position of a sentence. In this case, the conjunctive adverbial *kulekiew* is interchangeable with the conjunctive adverbial *kulekillay*, as in (78)'', (79)'', and (80).

(78)'' *Kulem kulehci. Ci ilumulo ponaywassta. **Kulekiew(kulekillay)** nayka mikkwulaci chel tulessta hayssta.*

‘I thought so. It came with his name on it. So I thought he had finally grown up.’
그럼 그렇지. 지 이름으로 보내왔다. 그러기에(그러길래) 내가 미꾸라지 철 들었다 했다.

(79)'' *I nyeseke ssekun kokwumalul kacyekakeystako haysseyo.*

Kulekiew(kulekillay) kunyang cwun kes ppwuniyo.

‘They asked me for rotten sweet potato so I just gave it to him is all.’

이 녀석이 썩은 고구마를 가져가겠다고 했어요. 그러기에(그러길래) 그냥 준 것 뿐이요.

- (80) ***Kule-kiey(kulekillay)*** *way* *kule-n-cis* *ul* *cecil-le?*
 like that-CNJ(like that-CNJ) why that kind of-RL-behavior AC do-INT-Q
 ‘See. Why would you do something like that?’
 그러기에(그러길래) 왜 그런짓을 저질러? (*Kwutseyela kumswuna*)

Stage 4 is the phonological reduction stage where *kulekiey* changes to *kulekey* and then to *kulkey*. In this stage, *kulekey* functions as a conjunctive adverbial, which in turn also functions as a discourse marker. It also changes from a clause to a lexical unit, and from a content word to a functional word. This shift is one of subjectification and then intersubjectification. According to the principles of persistence and layering, the meaning of cause/reason undergoes bleaching, but the meaning still remains and the different functions coexist. (81) and (82) provide examples of *kulekey* as a discourse marker.

- (81) ***Kule-key*** *hil* *un* *way* *sin-ko-wa?* *An ewulli-key.*
 like that-AD heels TC why wear-AD-come-Q not fit-ENDER
 ‘See, why’d you wear those heels? They don’t suit you.’
 그렇게 힐은 왜 신고와? 안 어울리게. (*Kakselthang*)

- (82) A: *Myenhoy* *ka* *cac-ta.*
 meeting NM frequent-PLN
 ‘You go to visiting hours a lot.’
 면회가 잦다.

B: *Kule-key.*

like that-AD

‘That’s so.’

그러게.

A: *Papun?*

food TC-Q

‘You eat?’

밥은?

B: *An mek-ess-umyen, pap ina kathi mek-ca.*

not eat-PST-CNJ food or together eat-PR-PLN

‘If you haven’t eaten, lets eat together.’

안 먹었으면, 밥이나 같이 먹자.

(*Wulitongney*)

6.2 Synchronic functions of *kulekey*

This section first examines dictionary definitions of *kulekey*. There are slight variations in the different dictionaries. (83) through (85) reproduce standard dictionaries’ definitions and examples.

(83) National Standard Korean Dictionary (*Phyocwunkwuke taysacen*)

1. adverb A word emphasizing the speaker is in the right.

Kule-key nay ka mwe-la-yss-e? Kule-key

like that-AD I NM what-QT-PST-Q like that-AD

nay mal ul tut-ci kula-yss-e.

my words AC listen-AD like that-PST-INT

‘See, what did I say? You should listen to what I said before.’

그러게 내가 뭐랬어? 그러게 내 말을 듣지 그랬어.

2. interjection

A word that appears to agree to another speaker.

“*Kuchinkwu acik cengsin-ul mos chaly-ess-kwun.*” “***Kule-key-yo.***”

that friend yet mind cannot recover-PST-POL that-AD-POL

“That person lost their mind.” “You are right.”

“그 친구 아직 정신을 못 차렸군.” “그러게요.”

(84) *Korea University Korean Dictionary* (2006; *Kolyetay hankwuke sacen*)

*kulekey*¹ [+ *kule_key* (_*ki*+*e*)]

adverb A word that emphasizes the speaker is in the right.

Original word: *kulekiey*

*kulekey*² [*kule_key*]

interjection A word that appears in agreement toward the addressee.

(85) *Yonsei University Korean Dictionary* (2006; *Yensey hankwuke sacen*)

adverb

Colloquial language “so that.” *kulekiey*.

Colloquial language [used as an interjection] (appearing in agreement to the other side) “It is as it was said.”

In the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (83) and the *Korea University Korean Dictionary* (84), *kulekey* is described as an adverb and an interjection that means agreement to the addressee. The *Yonsei University Korean Dictionary* (85) shows the meaning of cause and reason. Both the Korea University and Yonsei University dictionaries provide the origin of the word, *kulekiey*. The Internet dictionary *Naver* follows the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary*'s definition.

6.2.1 Cause/reason

Kulekiey started from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*, and *kulekey* comes from *kulekiey* through phonological reduction. It expresses the meaning of cause/reason. In this case, *kulekey* is used as a substitute for the previous utterance, and it denotes agreement to the addressee or rebukes the addressee about a situation that already happened.

6.2.1.1 Agreement

When *kulekey* is used as a substitute for the addressee's utterance, it expresses the cause or reason for the speaker's utterance, with the function of indicating agreement.

Example (86) is a conversation where B complains that A has not provided enough food (lines 2–3, *Iwang ssunun kimey com hwaksilhakey ssuci* 'If you are going to spend money for food, you should spend enough'). A then expresses agreement in line 5 using *kulekey*, which replaces B's utterance.

(86)

1 A: *Manhi* *me-ke.*

a lot eat-IM

‘Eat a lot.’

많이 먹어.

2 B: *Manhi mek-ul kes to eps-ney.*

a lot eat-RL thing even nothing-APP

‘There is not a lot to eat.’

많이 먹을 것도 없네.

3 *Iwang ssu-nun kim ey com hwaksilha-key*

spend-RL chance in a little certainly

4 *ssu-ci kula-yss-e?*

spend-AD do-PST-Q

‘If you are going to spend money for food, you should spend enough.’

이왕 쓰는 김에 좀 확실하게 쓰지 그랬어?

5→ A: ***Kule-key** com ce-unke kath-ney.*

like that-AD a little little thing seems-APP

‘See, it seems like not enough.’

그러게 좀 적은거 같네.

6 *Chwungpwunha-l cwul al-ass-nuntey. Te sao-lkka?*

enough-RL thought know-PST-CNJ More buy-Q

‘I thought it would be enough, should I go buy more?’

충분할 줄 알았는데. 더 사올까? (Kwutseyela kumswuna)

In (87), A and B are talking about a third person. B’s use of *kulekey* (line 2) substitutes for A’s prior utterance, *Icinswu tayli talmasscyo* ‘He looks like Lee Jinsu’ (line 1). So when B claims, ‘He looks like a kick in the head’ (line 2), B is using *kulekey* to give the reason (i.e., that he looks just like Lee Jinsu).

(87)

1 A: *Ceki ssepingha-nun namca-yo. Icinswutayli talm-ass-cyo.*
 there serve-RL guy-POL Lee Jinsu chief resemble-PST-SUB-POL
 ‘That waiter over there. He looks like deputy section chief Lee Jinsu,
 doesn’t he?’

저기 써빙하는 남자요. 이진수대리 닮았죠.

2➔ B: ***Kule-key** kolttayli-key sayng-ky-ess-ney.*
 like that-AD punchably-AD look-PST-APP
 ‘Definitely, he looks like a kick in the head.’

그러게 골때리게 생겼네. (Pulapo mai laiphu)

6.2.1.2 Rebuke

As we have seen, *kulekey* can be substituted for the previous utterance in a situation where it expresses agreement. In some instances, it also functions to rebuke the addressee about a situation that already happened based on the previous utterance’s cause/reason.

In Example (88), *kulekey* is substituted and it serves as a rebuke of the addressee in the situation where the addressee put the ring just any place.

(88)

A: *Kulay! Nay ka mal twu eps-i ni panic han*
right I NM saying not-AD your ring one
pen kky-e-pw-ass-ta.

time wear-INF-try-PST-PLN

‘Right! I tried on your ring without even saying a word.’

그래! 내가 말두 없이 니 반지 한 번 껴봤다.

Kule-key *nwu ka keki twu-lay?*
like that-AD who there put-Q

‘I see, who said to put it there?’

그러게 누가 거기 두래?

(*Kwiyeun yein*)

Similarly, in line 2 of (89), A uses *kulekey* to substitute for A’s own previous utterance (line 1, about B being scolded by the manager), and to rebuke the addressee.

(89)

1 A: *Way kulay? Cicemcang hanthey tto kkaycy-ess-e?*
why do-Q branch manager by again get in trouble-PST-Q

‘What’s the problem? You get in trouble again with the branch manager?’

왜 그래? 지점장한테 또 깨졌어?

2→ ***Kule-key*** *cal com ha-y.*
like that-AD well a little do-IM

‘Yeah, try to do better.’

그러게 잘 줌 해.

3	<i>Maynnal</i>	<i>ete</i>	<i>thecici</i>	<i>malko.</i>
	always	get	beat up-INF-break-AD	don't-IM
	'Stop getting beat up all the time'			
	맨날 얻어 터지지 말고.			<i>Cangmipich insayng)</i>

6.2.2 Agreement

Kulekey is also used as a response token. It is used when expressing empathy or agreement and for various pragmatic functions. Discourse markers follow the cooperative principle by keeping the conversation flowing in a discourse situation. They also are a signal showing that the speaker is listening to the addressee, and they express the speaker's stance or attitude. In this use, *kulekey* can either show agreement or allow evasion of an exact answer.

6.2.2.1 Positive agreement

Positive agreement as a politeness strategy is related to the level of intimacy in the relationship between the speaker and addressee. Brown and Levinson (1987) said that claiming common ground by seeking agreement is one of the positive politeness strategies that is part of normal linguistic behavior between intimates. They also claimed that applying positive politeness is not only a way of redressing face-threatening acts, but is in general a kind of "social accelerator," where the speaker indicates that he/she wants to "come closer" to the hearer.

In (90) and (91), *kulekey* expresses agreement as a discourse marker. (90) shows light agreement and (91) shows strong agreement. In (90), A is curious about why Tayin is not coming. B has the same sentiment as A, and expresses light agreement. In (91), *kulekey* enhances the interlocutors' intimacy by expressing strong agreement.

(90)

1 A: *Thayini hanthey yenlakha-yss-e?*

Tayin to contact-PST-Q

'Did you contact Tayin?'

태인이한테 연락했어?

2 B: *Tangyenhaci.*

be natural-FML

'Of course.'

당연하지.

3 A: *Kuntey way an-wa.*

but why not-come-Q

'But why hasn't he come?'

근데 왜 안와.

4→ B: *Kule-key. Mwusun il iss-na?*

like that-AD what problem have-(PLN)Q

You're right. Did something happen?

그러게. 무슨 일 있나? (*Kenppangsensayngkwa pyelsathang*)

(91)

1 A: *Nwuna pwala.*

older sister see-IM

‘Sister, look at this.’

누나 봐라.

2 *Cokum akka kkaci casalha-lyeko ha-yss-ten*

a little ago until suicide-CNJ do-PST-RT-RL

3 *salam i celeh-key mek-e-tay-l swu iss-nun ke-ni?*

person NM like that-AD eat-INF-do-RL thing be-RL thing-Q

‘So, the person that wanted to commit suicide just a little bit ago can eat

like that?’

조금 아까까지 자살하려고 했던 사람이 저렇게 먹어댈 수 있는 거니?

4→ B: *Kule-key!*

like that-AD-ENDER

‘You’re right!’

그러게!

(*Nay yecachinkwulul sokayhapnita*)

6.2.2.2 Non positive agreement

As a response token, *kulekey* not only provides positive agreement for enhancing intimacy but also can be used in a non positive agreement situation.

6.2.2.2.1 Polite expressions

When used in politeness expressions, *kulekey*'s function is strongly related to social interaction. In this section, it is used when the speaker and the addressee do not have a good relationship or the speaker does not agree with the addressee's opinion.

Example (92) is a conversation between A and B, who do not have a good relationship and have met by chance. In line 2, B expresses what is obviously a negative attitude toward the addressee. In this situation, it could seem that the use of *kulekeyyo* is for showing agreement; however, it is actually expressing a negative feeling by mitigating the illocutionary force of the utterance. In a sense, *kulekeyyo* is functioning as a safety device for saving face.

(92)

1 A: *Ile-n kos eyes poyp-neyyo.*
like that-RL place see-APP-POL

'Oh. I didn't expect to meet you here.'

이런 곳에서 뵈네요.

2➔ B: ***Kule-key-yo.*** *Tasi-n po-l il eps-ul*
like that-AD-POL again-(TC) see-RL thing not-RL

cwul al-ass-tuni-man.

think know-PST-RT-CNJ

'Guess so. I thought that I'd never see you again.'

그러게요. 다신 볼 일 없을 줄 알았드니만.

A: *Eti ka-si-na po-pnita.*
where go-SH-Q guess-DEF

‘I guess you are going somewhere.’

어디 가시나 봅니다.

B: *Ney. Cacangmyen mek-ule-yo.*
yes jajangmyeon eat-CNJ-POL

‘Yes. I’m going to eat jajangmyeon.’

네. 자장면 먹으려요. (*Ipuuy motun kes*)

In the next example, in contrast, A and B are friends, but A also uses *kulekeyyo* to save B’s face. B has what looks like a luxury-brand bag. A is very good at discerning fake brands, and she knows B’s bag is a fake.

(93)

1 A: *Wa, cincca kath-ta.*
INJ real look-PLN

‘Wow, it looks real.’

와, 진짜 같다.

2 B: *Ike cincca-yeyyo.*
this real-POL

‘It is real.’

이거 진짜예요.

3→ A: *Kule-key-yo. Ce to cincca-n cwul al-ass-eyo.*
like that-AD-POL

‘Yeah. I thought it was real too.’

그러게요. 저도 진짠 줄 알았어요.

4 B:

[silence]

5 C: *Ne-n kule-n-ke ettehkey a-ni?*
you-(TC) like that-RL-thing how know-PLN-Q

‘How do you know that kind of stuff?’

넌 그런거 어떻게 아니?

6 A: *Ciphe nal i nemwu chomchomha-y.*
zipper edge NM too close-INT INJ

‘The zipper edge is too close.’

지퍼 날이 너무 촘촘해.

7 *Cham, ku makhu tteleci-l-kel-yo?*
INJ that mark fall-RL-thing-Q

‘Oh, the mark is going to fall off.’

참, 그 마크 떨어질걸요? (Singkulcu)

In line 2, B says of the bag, ‘It is real.’ In line 3, A uses *kulekeyyo* to express apparent agreement, and then says, ‘I thought it was real too’. While it seems like A is agreeing, she actually is not. Rather, A is indicating that B’s bag is so well made that A was almost deceived. In this situation, A is trying to save B’s face.

6.2.2.2.2 Defiance or evasion

In this section, we see how *kulekey* expresses the speaker's agreement externally, or evades giving an answer, when the speaker strongly disagrees internally.

The conversation in Example (94) takes place in a hospital between A, who has tried to commit suicide, and B, her uncle. Before this excerpt, B has been telling A about how her mother has sacrificed for her, which A has heard many times before. A becomes angry. In this example, *kulekey* (line 4) expresses A's defiance about the story her mom is always telling her.

(94)

1 A: *Tto ku yayki-ya?*

again that saying-Q

'You're saying that again?'

또 그 얘기야?

2 *Nwuka naha-talla-ko kula-yss-e?*

who give birth-QT say-PST-Q

'Who said I wanted to be born?'

누가 낳아달라고 그랬어?

3 *Naha-talla-ko kula-yss-nya-ko.*

give birth-QT say-PST-QT

'Did I say I wanted to be born?'

낳아달라고 그랬냐고.

4→ ***Kulekey!*** *Cwuk-key kunyang naypely-e twu-la-yss-canha!*

so die-AD just throw away-INF put-QT-PST-SUP-DC

‘So! I said just let me die!’

그러게! 죽게 그냥 내버려 두랬잖아!

- 5 B: *Yuceng a. Nan:: ney ka com wul-ess-umyen coh-keyss-ta.*
Yujong VOC I (TC) you NM a little cry-PST-CNJ good-SUP-PLN
‘Yujong, I wish you’d cry sometimes.’
유정아. 난:: 네가 좀 울었으면 좋겠다.

(*Wulituluy hayngpokhan sikan*)

Example (95) is a conversation between A and his mother (B) and another family member (C). They are planning A’s birthday party. B and C want A to invite Unsoh, who they are fond of, but A does not like Unsoh very much. Therefore, in line 4, A seems to respond positively to C’s utterance in line 3, but uses *kulekey* to evade answering clearly; the rest of A’s utterance (‘by the way, Unsoh might be busy’, line 5) shows A’s true feelings, which are that he does not want to celebrate with Unsoh.

(95)

- 1 A: *Emma, ittaka hakkyo kkuthna-ko ay-tul myech myeng teyli-ko wa?*
mom later school finish-CNJ kid-PL how many bring-AD come-Q
‘Mom, after school how many kids should I bring home?’
엄마, 이따가 학교 끝나고 애들 몇 명 데리고 와?
- 2 B: *Mam taylo ha-y. ayey ta teyli-ko o-tenka. Ulem unse nun?*
mind as do-INT completely all bring-AD come-CNJ then Unsoh TC-Q
‘Whatever you want. Or just bring them all. What about Unsoh?’

맘대로 해. 아예 다 데리고 오던가. 그럼 은서는?

3 C: *Onul unse twu sayngil-iney.*

today Unsoh also birthday-FML

‘Today is Unsoh’s birthday too.’

오늘 은서두 생일이네.

4→ A: *Kulekey. Unse to onul i sayngil-iney?*

yeah Unsoh also today NM birthday-FML-Q

‘Yeah. It’s Unsoh’s birthday too.’

그러게. 은서도 오늘이 생일이네?

5 *Kuntey unse papp-ul-cito moll-ayo.*

then Unsoh busy-RL-CNJ don’t know-POL

‘Then Unsoh may be busy too.’

근데 은서 바쁠지도 몰라요.

6 C: *Kyay ka papp-ulkey eti-ss-e?*

that person NM busy-thing where-be-FML-Q

‘Why would she be busy?’

개가 바쁠게 어딴어?

(*Kaul tonghwa*)

6.2.3 Hedging, delay, evasion

Kulekey also functions in answering an addressee as a discourse marker by expressing a social attitude and politeness but not necessarily agreement, or to put off agreement.

In (96), B is a teacher and A is a student. B has made a mistake when making an exam, and A is complaining. In line 5, B is answering A, but hedging with an ambiguous answer.

(96)

1 A: *Cengtap un 3pen-intey, 3pen cimwun hako*
 answer TC number 3-CNJ number 3 sentence with
4pen cimwun hako ttokkath-ayo.
 number 4 sentence with same-POL

‘The answer is number three, but answers three and four are the same.’

정답은 3 번인데, 3 번 지문하고 4 번 지문하고 똑같아요.

2 *Wuli 4pen-i-lako ha-yse thully-ess-eyo.*
 we number 4-QT-CNJ do-CNJ wrong-PST-POL

‘Since we picked number four we were incorrect.’

우리 4 번이라고 해서 틀렸어요.

3 B: *E:: Kule-ney::*
 INJ right-FML

‘Oh... You are right.’

어:: 그러네::

4 A: *Ettekha-si-l-ke-yeyyo?*
 how do-SH-RL-thing-Q

‘What are you going to do?’

어떡하실거예요?

- 5→ B: *Kule-key:: ike ettek-ha-nya::*
 right this how do-Q
 ‘Hmm. What should I do...’
 그러게:: 이거 어떡하냐:: (Kenppangsensayngkwa pyelsathang)

In the next three examples, *kulekey* functions to delay answering hard questions.

(97)

- 1 A: *Icey-n mwe ha-seyyo?*
 now-TC what do-SH-Q
 ‘What are you doing lately?’
 이젠 뭐 하세요?

- 2→ B: *Kule-key:: ilcali kwuha-ki ka cangnan i ani-tu-la.*
 yeah job find-NOM NM fun NM not-RT-DC
 ‘Yeah... Finding a job is really difficult.’
 그러게:: 일자리 구하기가 장난이 아니드라.

- 3 *Ilyekse lul han 100cang ss-eya ha-l kes kath-ay.*
 resume AC about 100papers write-CNJ do-RL thing seems like-INT
 ‘It seems like I will have to write 100 resumes.’
 이력서를 한 100 장 써야할 것 같애.

- 4 A: *Wuli appa hyencang ey chwicikha-si-llayyo?*
 we dad work place in work-SH-PR-Q
 ‘Do you want to work where my dad works?’

우리 아빠 현장에 취직하실래요?

(*Ipuuy motun kes*)

(98)

1 A: *Eti-l ka-nya?*
where-(AC) go-FML-Q
'Where are you going?'
어딜가냐?

2 B: *Acik an cwumwu-sy-ess-eyo?*
yet not sleep-SH-PST-Q
'You're not asleep yet?'
아직 안 주무셨어요?

3 A: *I pamcwung ey eti-l ka-nya?*
this midnight in where-AC go-FML-Q
'Where are you going in the middle of the night?'
이 밤중에 어딜가냐?

4→ B: *Kulekey:: kukey:: kulenikka::*
yeah that so-CNJ
'So... um... so...'
그러게:: 그제:: 그러니까::

5 C: *Camkkan kathi sanchayk com tanyeo-lyekwu-yo.*
short time together walk a little go and come-ENDER-POL
'We were going to go for a short walk.'
잠깐 같이 산책 좀 다녀오려고요. (*Macimak cencayng*)

(99)

1 A: *Ccancangmyen mek-ullay, ccamppong mek-ullay?*
jajangmyeon eat-Q jjambong eat-Q
'Do you want to eat jajangmyeon or jjambong?'
짜장면 먹을래, 짬뽕 먹을래?

2 → B: ***Kulekey::***
well
'Well...'
그러게:: (21seyki seycong malmwungchi)

In (100) and (101), *kulekey* functions as an insincere answer that is neither positive nor negative. The speakers do not express their feelings immediately; rather, they use *kulekey* to maintain a positive relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

(100)

1 A: *Senmwul pat-ass-e. Cikwen-tul i sayngil-ilako.*
present get-PST-INT staff-PL NM birthday-QT
'I got a present. The workers said it's for my birthday.'
선물 받았어. 직원들이 생일이라고.

2 B: *Cikwen-tul i tangsin sayngil to chayngky-e-cw-eyo?*
staff-PL NM you birthday also observe-INF-give-Q
'Your employees observe your birthday?'

직원들이 당신 생일도 챙겨줘요?

3→ A: *Kulekey.*

yeah

‘I guess so.’

그러게.

4 B: *Cikwen swucwun i pyello-ney-yo. Tangsin hako an ewully-eyo.*

staff level NM low-EX you with not fit-POL

‘Your employees’ standards are low. It doesn’t suit you.’

직원 수준이 별로네요. 당신하고 안 어울려요. (*Cangmipich insayng*)

(101)

1 A: *Silh-umyen kumantw-e.*

dislike-CNJ stop-IM

‘If you don’t like it, don’t do it.’

싫으면 그만둬.

2 *Po-ko siph-ci anh-umyen an po-myen kuman-ici.*

see-AD want-AD not-CNJ not see-CNJ just-FML

‘If you don’t want to see him then don’t see him.’

보고싶지 않으면 안 보면 그만이지.

3 *Kulen sik ulo salam ul way mann-a?*

like that in person AC why meet-INT-Q

‘Why would you meet people like that?’

그런 식으로 사람을 왜 만나?

4➔ B: *Kulekey.*

yeah

‘I guess so.’

그러게.

5 A: *Emma ka kangyoha-nun ke mwe-ha-le ta tul-e?*
mom IM force-RL thing what do-CNJ all listen-INT-Q

‘Why are you doing everything your mom says?’

엄마가 강요하는 거 뭐하러 다 들어? (*Ney camay iyaki*)

To summarize, this is the path of change from *-kiey* to *kulekey* so far:

[predicate stem + *kiey*] ➔ [*kuleha-* + *-kiey*] ➔ *kulekie* ➔ *kulekey* (*kulkey*)

Decategorialization Decategorialization Phonological reduction

Reanalysis

Fusion

(objective) (objective) (objective/subjective) (subjective/intersubjective)

cause, reason cause, reason cause, reason positive agreement

agreement, rebuke non positive agreement

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to provide a synchronic and diachronic analysis of the sentence ender *-key* and to demonstrate the paths of the form's grammaticalization. the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* with intentional function, which developed from the conjunctive sentence ender *-key*, and the conjectural function which developed from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*., In addition to examining the development of the sentence ender *-key* with its various functions and the path of the conjunctive adverb *kulekey*'s grammaticalization.

Chapter 2 examined how the suffix *-key* is used in Korean grammar and described how it shifted from being a conjunctive ender to a sentence ender. The suffix *-key* is used as an adverbializer, a complementizer that connects a complement clause predicate and a main clause predicate, a conjunctive ender in an embedded clause, and a grammaticalized sentence ender.

The adverbializer *-key* is often used to form constituent adverbs and sentence adverbs, as a conjunctive ender, to form causatives with *-hata/mantulta* and passives with *-toyta*. In the Korean language, there are five types of embedded clause: conjunctive, relative, complement, nominalized, and quotative. And conjunctive constructions can be joined either coordinately or subordinately. The conjunctive ender *-key* is a subordinated conjunctive suffix. The adverbializer *-key* is used in *-key hata/mantulta* for long-form causatives and in *-key toyta* for long-form passives. In colloquial language, the conjunctive ender *-key* is also used as a sentence ender or functions as a sentence ender.

Chapter 3 demonstrated the grammaticalization path by which the conjunctive ender *-key* became the sentence ender *-key*, which has two functions: intentional and conjunctural. In the intentional function, it grammaticalized from the conjunctive ender *-key*. In the first stage of grammaticalization, *-key* began taking the place of the adverbializer *-i*, and expanding the range of its use, gaining use as a conjunctive ender. Next, *-key* changed to a sentence ender through inversion or omission. The meaning and function changed as well. At this point, the conjunctive ender *-key* denoted purpose and result, and it kept the same meaning when functioning as a sentence ender. It also gained the meaning of intention. It pragmatically functions to indicate worry, criticism, or teasing. In other words, it has changed from expressing purpose and result (objective meaning) to expressing intention (subjective meaning).

Chapter 4 examined the conjunctural sentence ender *-key*, which grammaticalized from the conjunctive ender *-kiey*. The conjunctive ender *-kiey* in late Modern Korean was used in interrogative sentences, but was replaced by *-killay* in colloquial language. When the conjunctive ender *-kiey* lost its place in the interrogative, its form was abbreviated to *-key*. Thus *-key* replaced *-kiey*, and then grammaticalized to gain a conjunctural function. The chapter showed that the phonological change of the conjunctural function sentence ender *-key* probably progressed as follows: *-kiey* > *-kiyey* > *-kyey* > *-key* or *-kiey* > *-kyey* > *-key*. It also showed the steps of the meaning shift of the conjunctural function sentence ender *-key* to be: cause and reason (objective) > conjecture (subjective) > hedge (intersubjective). The form also functions to express conjunctural reason, assurance, and hedging.

In chapter 5 the grammaticalized sentence ender *-key* can also be used to make a rhetorical question. Two types of structures stand out: [*-myen, -key?*] and [[interrogative], *-key*].

In Chapter 6, *kulekey* was examined. The conjunctive adverbial *kulekey* is made by the fusion of the conjunctive ender *-kiey* and *kule(ha)-*. It indicates cause and reason, and it also has various functions as a discourse marker. The morphosyntactic and phonological change of the conjunctive adverbial *kulekey* is as follows: [predicate stem + *kiey*] > [*kuleha-* + *-kiey*] > *kulekie* > *kulekey* (*kulkey*). The meaning and function changed from cause/reason to the discourse uses of expressing agreement, politeness, defiance, evasion, hedging, and delay.

One of this study's limitations is that it did not address the role of tone in utterances with the sentence ender *-key*. Because the sentence ender *-key* mostly occurs in colloquial speech, tone should be included in its study. Depending on the different tones, new functions can occur, so further research should be conducted in this area. Another limitation is related to the difficulty of accessing current data, such as scripts from TV shows and movies. Further research should not only focus on these types of data, but also examine *-key*'s occurrence in actual conversations among native speakers. The sentence ender *-key*'s grammaticalization will probably continue and the form will acquire new meanings and functions.

Finally, because of the importance and frequency of grammaticalized sentence enders in colloquial language, they should be included in materials used for teaching Korean as a foreign language. It is my hope that this research can be utilized to assist with creating good materials for teaching the Korean language to learners.

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Appendix

The lists of dramas and movies

1. Television dramas used for data (Title, Total Episodes and Year):

Kaultonghwa, 16, 2000 (Autumn in my heart), *Kenppangsensayngkwa pyelsathang*, 16, 2005 (Dry Bread Teacher and Star Candy), *Kyewulyenka*, 20, 2002 (Winter Sonata), *Komapsupnita*, 16, 2007 (Thank you), *Kwung*, 24, 2006 (Palace), *Kwiyewun yein*, 16, 2003 (Pretty Girl), *Kulinlocu*, 22, 2005 (Green Rose), *Kwuchseyela Kumswuna*, 80, 2005 (Saving My Hubby), *Nay ilumun kimsamswun*, 16, 2005 (My name is Kim, Sam-Soon), *Ney camay iyaki*, 20, 2001 (The Story of Sisters), *Ney mestaylo hayla*, 20, 2002 (Ruler of Their Own World), *Nwunsalam*, 17, 2003 (Snowman), *Talcauy pom*, 22, 2007 (Dalja's Spring), *Mawang*, 20, 2007 (Live Evil), *Macimak cencayn,g* 18, 1999 (The Last War), *Myilitaykwukongpangcen*, 16, 2007 (The Battle of Mary and Daegu), *Panollim 1*, 63 2005 (Sharp), *Panollim 2*, 50, 2006 (Sharp 2), *Panollim 3*, 30, 2006 (Sharp 3), *Pyenhosatul*, 16, 2005 (Lawyers), *Pwulkkoch*, 32, 2000 (Spark), *Pwulsay*, 26, 2004 (*Firebird*), *Pitanhyang kkochemwu*, 20, 2001 (Stock), *Pimil*, 18, 2000 (Secret), *Pimiluy kyoceng*, 24, 2006 (Secret Campus), *Atulkwa ttal*, 64, 1993 (Son and Daughter), *Yewuya mwehani*, 16, 2006 (What are you doing fox?), *Yenaysitay*, 16, 2006 (Dating Time), *Yenin*, 20, 2006 (Lover), *O philsung pongswunyeng*, 16, 2004 (Go Pong Soonyoung), *Okthappang koyangi*, 16, 2003 (Cat in the Attic), *Olin*, 24, 2005 (All-in), *Ipuuy motun kes*, 20, 2000 (All About Eve), *I cwukil nomuy salang*, 16, 2005 (This Crazy Love), *Cangmispich insayng*, 24, 2005 (Life of Rosy Light), *Ccenuy cencayng*, 16, 2007 (War of Money), *Chessalang*, 16, 2003 (First Love), *Choykang wulemma*, 18, 2007 (Our Mom is the Strongest), *Khaisuthu*, 67, 2000 (The KAIST), *Khephi phulinsu Ihocem*, 17, 2007 (Coffee Prince),

Kheyseylaseyla, 17, 2007 (Que Sear Sear), *Thomatho*, 16, 1999 (Tomato), *Phaliuy yenin*, 20, 2004 (Romance in Paris), *Phwulhawusu*, 16, 2004 (Full House), *Phiano*, 16, 2001 (Piano), *Hayankethap*, 20, 2007 (The White Tower), *Hakkyo2*, 42, 2000 (school 2), *Hakkyo3*, 48, 2001 (School 3), *Haypalaki*, 16, 1999 (Sunflower), *Hayspichsokulo*, 16, 1999 (Into the Sunlight), *Hotheyllie*, 20, 2001 (Hotelier), *Hwansanguy khephul*, 16, 2006 (Couple or Trouble), *Hwangkumsakwa*, 15, 2006 (The Golden Apple)

2. Movies used for data (Title and Year):

Sweluy khulisumasu, 1998 (Christmas in August), *YMCAyakwutan*, 2002 (YMCA Baseball Team), *Kacok*, 2004 (Family), *Kakselthang*, 2006 (Lump of Suggar), *Kelwukhan kyeypo*, 2006 (Righteous Ties), *KongtongkyengpikwuyekJSA*, 2000 (Joint Security Area), *Kwangsikitongsayngkwangthay*, 2005 (When Romance meets Destiny), *Koymwul*, 2006 (The Host), *Kwukhwakkochhyangki*, 2003 (The Scent of Love), *Kuhay yelum*, 2006 (Once in a Summer), *Kunyelul mitci maseyyo*, 2004 (*Too Beautiful to lie*), *Kuklakto salinsaken*, 2007 (*Paradise Murdered*), *Nauy kyelhon wencengki*, 2005 (*Wedding Campaign*), *Nay yeca chinkwulul sokayhapnita*, 2004 (*Windstruck*), *Tongkapnayki kwaoyhaki*, 2003 (*My Tutor Friend*), *Malathon*, 2005 (*malaton*), *Minyenun koylowe*, 2006 (200 Pounds Beauty), *Milyang*, 2007 (Secret Sunshine), *Paykmancangcauy chessalang*, 2006 (A Millionaire's First Love), *Pulapomailaiphu*, 2007 (Bravo My Life), *Salangttawin philyoepse*, 2006 (Love Me Not), *Saipokuciman kwaynchanha*, 2006 (I'm a Cyborg But That's OK), *Senmwul*, 2001 (Gift), *Sensayng kimpongtwu*, 2003 (My Teacher Mr. kim), *Seypunteyicu*, 2007 (Seven Days), *Swili*, 1998 (Shiri), *Singkulcu*, 2003 (Singles), *Ekkaynemeuy yenin*, 2007 (Love Exposure), *Yenaysosel*, 2002 (Lover's Concerto),

Yenphwungyenka, 1998 (Love Wind Love Song), *Yepkicekin kunye*, 2001 (My New Sassy Girl), *Yonguycwuto misusing*, 2007 (Miss Gold Digger), *Wulitongney*, 2007 (Our Town), *Wulituluy Hayngpokhan sikan*, 2006 (Maundy Thursday), *Wuahan seykyey*, 2007 (The Show Must Go On), *Inekongcwu*, 2004 (My Mother The Mermaid), *Cakepuy cengsek*, 2005 (The Art of Seduction), *Cepsok*, 1997 (The Contact), *Culkewun insayng*, 2007 (The happy Life), *Cikum salanghanun salamkwa salko isssupnikka*, 2007 (Love Now), *Cilthwunun nauy him*, 2002 (Jealousy on My Middle Name), *Chengyen*, 2005 (Blue Swallow), *Chengchwunmanhwa*, 2006 (Almost Love), *Chincelhan kumcassi*, 2005 (Sympathy for Lady Vengeance), *Khullaysik*, 2003 (Classic), *Thaykukki hwinallimye*, 2003 (TaeGukGi: Brotherhood of War), *Thayphwung*, 2005(Typhoon), *phailan*, 2001 (Failan), *Phyenci*, 1997 (The letter), *Phon*, 2002 (Phone), *Halwu*, 2001 (A Day), *Hayngpok*, 2007 (Happiness)