

University of New Mexico  
**UNM Digital Repository**

---

Linguistics ETDs

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

---

5-1-2015

# The pragmatics and evolution of the utterance-final particles -ketun and -canha in Modern Spoken Korean

Ahrim Kim

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/ling\\_etds](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/ling_etds)

---

## Recommended Citation

Kim, Ahrim. "The pragmatics and evolution of the utterance-final particles -ketun and -canha in Modern Spoken Korean." (2015).  
[https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/ling\\_etds/21](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/ling_etds/21)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Linguistics ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [disc@unm.edu](mailto:disc@unm.edu).

Ahrim Kim

*Candidate*

---

Linguistics

*Department*

---

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

*Approved by the Dissertation Committee:*

William Croft, Chairperson

---

Joan Bybee

---

Christian Koops

---

Hyo Sang Lee

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

**THE PRAGMATICS AND EVOLUTION OF THE  
UTTERANCE-FINAL PARTICLES -KETUN AND -CANHA IN  
MODERN SPOKEN KOREAN**

**by**

**AHRIM KIM**

B.A., English Linguistics, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies,  
2007

M.A., English Linguistics, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies,  
2009

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy  
Linguistics**

The University of New Mexico  
Albuquerque, New Mexico

**May 2015**

## **DEDICATION**

To my loving husband, Iksoo

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

First of all, I would like to express my utmost gratitude to the chair of my dissertation committee, Professor William Croft. I am deeply indebted to him for guiding me from the very beginning of my journey in New Mexico. This dissertation would never have been possible without his mentorship, support, patience and encouragement.

I am also grateful for all the other members of my committee, Professor Joan Bybee, Professor Christian Koops, and Professor Hyo Sang Lee. They have provided me critical comments and valuable insights which made my dissertation a much better project.

I wish to thank the Fulbright Foreign Student Scholarship Program, and the Joseph H. Greenberg Fellowship for providing me financial support for my academic studies. It is due to their support that I could pursue and complete my Ph.D. studies.

Finally, I am thankful for my family for their encouragement, concern, and prayers for all these years. My deepest gratitude goes to my husband, Iksoo Kwon, who has been a constant source of love, inspiration, support, and strength. I gratefully dedicate this dissertation to him.

# THE PRAGMATICS AND EVOLUTION OF THE UTTERANCE-FINAL PARTICLES -KETUN AND -CANHA IN MODERN SPOKEN KOREAN

by

Ahrim Kim

B.A., English Linguistics, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, 2007

M.A., English Linguistics, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, 2009

Ph.D., Linguistics, University of New Mexico, 2015

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the two emerging utterance-final particles in Modern Spoken Korean, *-ketun* and *-canha*, from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Synchronically, both *-ketun* and *-canha* are used to manage the flow of information in discourse. The current function of *-ketun* is used to mark a pragmatic assertion as a pragmatic presupposition, while the current function of *-canha* is to mark pragmatic assertions which convey pragmatically presupposed information. The basic information managing function of both particles can be further extended to express politeness or impoliteness in appropriate contexts; *-canha*'s basic function can also be extended to convey theticity and mirativity. The synchronic study of *-ketun* and *-canha* shows that their current functions have a very high degree of intersubjectivity, since the use of these particles reveals that speakers are not only aware of their own speech, but also highly conscious about what effect their utterances would have on their information status for the interlocutor and the changes therein. Despite the considerable synchronic similarities of *-ketun* and *-canha* in terms of their intersubjective functions and their identical syntactic position (right peripheral position of an intonation unit), the diachronic investigation of these two particles show that they underwent substantially different grammaticalization processes due to their different historical sources: *-ketun* derived from a conditional

connective ending and *-canha* from a sentential ending construction of a negative interrogative construction.

The investigation of the emergence of *-ketun* and *-canha* not only represents part of a study of utterance-final particles in spoken Korean, but also part of a much larger study, the study of utterance-final particles in general. Recent studies have shown that a large number of utterance-final particles are currently emerging in genealogically unrelated spoken languages with different basic word orders. The motivation behind this universal tendency is due to the close relationship between the right peripheral position of an intonation unit and the expression of intersubjectivity between the interlocutors.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>xvi</b>
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Korean connective endings and sentential endings .....	1
1.2. The ambivalent status of connective endings in spoken Korean .....	3
1.2.1. Previous studies on the ambivalent status of Korean connective endings .....	5
1.2.2. Suggestion for a different point of view: Diachronic as well as synchronic perspectives .....	7
1.3. Terminology .....	9
1.4. Utterance-final particles in Korean and other languages: A universal tendency? ..	12
1.5. Utterance-final particles and discourse markers .....	14
1.6. The scope of the dissertation and source of data.....	18
1.6.1. Description of the data used in this study .....	19
1.6.2. Scope of dissertation.....	19
1.6.2.1. Initial point of investigation.....	19
1.6.2.2. The two utterance-final particles: <i>-ketun</i> and <i>-canha</i> .....	29
1.7. The synchronic analysis of <i>-ketun</i> and <i>-canha</i> ; Lambrecht's theory of information structure.....	30
1.8. The diachronic analysis of <i>-ketun</i> and <i>-canha</i> : Insubordination or grammaticalization? .....	38
1.8.1. Previous research on the historical sources of utterance-final particles and their diachronic paths .....	38
1.8.2. Grammaticalization theory .....	42
1.8.2.1. Processes of grammaticalization.....	42
1.8.2.2. Mechanisms of change in grammaticalization.....	49
1.8.2.3. The unidirectionality hypothesis.....	52
1.9. Goal and organization of the dissertation.....	54
<b>Chapter 2. Novel functions of conditional connective ending <i>-ketun</i> in Modern Spoken Korean .....</b>	<b>56</b>
2.1. Introduction .....	56



2.2. Previous studies on the uses of <i>-ketun</i> as an utterance-final particle and problems raised by these studies .....	59
2.2.1. Three main functions of <i>-ketun</i> as an utterance-final particle proposed by previous works.....	59
2.2.2. Problems with previous analyses.....	62
2.3. Description of data .....	67
2.3.1. Source of data .....	67
2.3.2. Findings .....	67
2.4. Present function of <i>-ketun</i> in spoken Korean: Construing pragmatic assertion as pragmatic presupposition .....	70
2.4.1. <i>-Ketun</i> in storytelling.....	70
2.4.1.1. Presenting an assertion as a presupposition in relation to the following utterance .....	70
2.4.1.2. Presenting an assertion as a presupposition for the previous utterance ....	73
2.4.1.3. Presenting an assertion as a presupposition in the middle of a discourse.	77
2.4.1.4. Presenting an assertion as a presupposition when explaining reasons .....	80
2.4.2. <i>-Ketun</i> used when the speaker is expressing assessment or opinion .....	84
2.4.2.1. <i>-Ketun</i> in negative responses .....	84
2.4.2.1.1. <i>-Ketun</i> in expression of factual disagreement .....	85
2.4.2.1.2. Using <i>-ketun</i> to show the speaker's negative stance in expressions of impoliteness.....	92
2.4.2.2. <i>-Ketun</i> as a strategy for expressing politeness .....	96
2.5. Discussion .....	106
2.5.1. The purported epistemicity-marking function of <i>-ketun</i> : A symptom of its information-management function? .....	106
2.5.2. <i>-Ketun</i> 's information-managing role in discourse .....	110
2.5.3. <i>-Ketun</i> 's intersubjectivity and positioning at the right periphery .....	112
2.5.4. Utterance-final particle <i>-ketun</i> 's exclusivity to spoken Korean .....	114
2.6. Conclusion.....	115
<b>Chapter 3. Grammaticalization of <i>-ketun</i>: From conditional connective ending to information managing utterance-final particle.....</b>	<b>117</b>
3.1. Introduction .....	117
3.2. Historical development of the conditional connective ending <i>-ketun</i> .....	118
3.2.1. Origin of the conditional connective ending <i>-ketun</i> .....	118

3.2.2. Competition between two different connective endings: <i>-ketun</i> vs. <i>-myen</i> ...	119
3.3. <i>-Ketun</i> as a connective ending in Modern Korean: Its restricted use as a speech act conditional marker.....	124
3.4. <i>-Ketun</i> as an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean .....	133
3.5. Grammaticalization from conditional connective ending <i>-ketun</i> to information managing utterance-final <i>-ketun</i> .....	135
3.5.1. Previous analyses on the grammaticalization process of <i>-ketun</i> and their limits .....	135
3.5.2. Functional shift of <i>-ketun</i> .....	140
3.5.2.1. From managing the information structure at the sentential level to managing the information flow at the discourse level .....	141
3.5.2.2. Further extension to be used in impoliteness strategies as well as politeness strategies .....	149
3.5.2.3. <i>-Ketun</i> 's (inter)subjectification .....	157
3.5.2.4. Why <i>-ketun</i> (and not any other conditional connective endings)?.....	161
3.5.2.5. Overview of the functional shift within the grammaticalization of <i>-ketun</i> from a conditional connective ending to an utterance-final particle.....	165
3.5.3. Syntactic shift of <i>-ketun</i> .....	166
3.5.3.1. From subordinate clause to main clause .....	167
3.5.3.1.1. The gradual process.....	168
3.5.3.1.2. The syntactic autonomy of <i>-ketun</i> -utterance .....	177
3.5.3.2. Insubordination of <i>-ketun</i> , and grammaticalization .....	183
3.6. Conclusion.....	188
<b>Chapter 4. Information managing functions of the utterance-final particle <i>-canha</i> in Modern Spoken Korean: An explicit marker of the speaker's belief of shared knowledge .....</b>	<b>191</b>
4.1. Introduction .....	191
4.2. Previous studies on <i>-canha</i> .....	194
4.3. Data description.....	201
4.3.1. Source of data .....	201
4.3.2. Findings .....	201
4.4. Current function of the utterance-final particle <i>-canha</i> in spoken Korean: 'to mark the speaker's belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the hearer before the time of speech' .....	210

4.4.1. - <i>Canha</i> 's uses when the speaker truly believes that a certain piece of information is shared knowledge.....	212
4.4.1.1. As an explicit marker of the speaker's belief of shared knowledge .....	212
4.4.1.2. When conveying information that the speaker believes to be obvious...	219
4.4.1.2.1. General common knowledge, or communal common ground .....	219
4.4.1.2.2. Natural consequences .....	222
4.4.1.2.3. Natural causes or reasons .....	225
4.4.1.3. - <i>Canha</i> 's discourse strategic functions .....	229
4.4.1.3.1. Bringing a new topic in discourse, as a pre-sequence.....	229
4.4.1.3.2. <i>Iss-canha</i> as a filler .....	232
4.4.2. - <i>Canha</i> 's uses when the speaker knows that a certain piece of information has not been shared .....	237
4.4.2.1. Criticizing (expressing impoliteness) .....	237
4.4.2.1.1. Refutation .....	238
4.4.2.1.2. Correction.....	240
4.4.2.1.3. Blaming .....	242
4.4.2.2. - <i>Canha</i> as a politeness strategy.....	244
4.4.2.3. Expressing theticity.....	246
4.4.2.4. Expressing mirativity .....	257
4.5. Discussion .....	268
4.5.1. - <i>Canha</i> 's information managing function in discourse .....	268
4.5.2. - <i>Canha</i> 's intersubjectivity .....	272
4.5.3. Korean utterance-final particles - <i>ketun</i> and - <i>canha</i> , and English discourse marker <i>you know</i> .....	273
4.5.3.1. - <i>Ketun</i> vs. - <i>canha</i> .....	274
4.5.3.2. - <i>Ketun</i> , - <i>canha</i> , and <i>you know</i> .....	282
4.6. Conclusion.....	291
<b>Chapter 5. From negation to shared knowledge and to theticity and mirativity: Grammaticalization of the utterance-final particle -<i>canha</i> in Modern Spoken Korean.....</b>	<b>294</b>
5.1. Introduction .....	294
5.2. Historical origin of the utterance-final particle - <i>canha</i> : Long form negation in Korean .....	300
5.2.1. The classification of the long form negative question in Korean.....	303

5.2.2. The nature of the morpheme <i>-ci</i> in the long form negation in Korean .....	309
5.3. Short and long form negative questions in Modern Spoken Korean .....	317
5.3.1. Source of data .....	318
5.3.2. Distributional differences between the short form negation and long form negation in Modern Spoken Korean .....	318
5.3.3. Distributional differences of the short form negative question and the long form negative question in Modern Spoken Korean.....	321
5.3.3.1. Functional distribution of the long form negative question in Modern Spoken Korean.....	324
5.3.3.2. Functional distribution of the short form negative question in Modern Spoken Korean.....	335
5.3.3.3. Comparison of the functional distributions of the long form negative question and that of the short form negative question in Modern Spoken Korean .....	345
5.4. Current functions of the utterance-final particle <i>-canha</i> in Modern Spoken Korean .....	349
5.5. Grammaticalization from the long form negative question into the utterance-final particle <i>-canha</i> .....	351
5.5.1. From ‘asking whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true’ to ‘requesting for confirmation or verification about what the speaker assumes to be true’ .....	355
5.5.2. From ‘requesting confirmation or verification about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to ‘requesting agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true’ ..	358
5.5.3. From the long form negative question which ‘requests agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to the information managing utterance-final particle - <i>canha</i> .....	362
5.5.3.1. Formal shift: <i>-ci anh-SEN.END?</i> > <i>-canha</i> .....	362
5.5.3.2. Functional shift: ‘a request for agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ > ‘an explicit marking of shared knowledge’ .....	368
5.5.4. The overall grammaticalization process of the long form negative question in spoken Korean into the utterance-final particle <i>-canha</i> .....	380
5.6. Further grammaticalization of the utterance-final particle <i>-canha</i> in Modern Spoken Korean .....	384
5.6.1. <i>-Canha</i> ’s basic and general function of ‘explicit marking of the speaker’s belief of shared knowledge’ .....	385
5.6.1.1. <i>-Canha</i> ’s discourse strategic function as a pre-sequence .....	390

5.6.2. - <i>Canha</i> 's further extended functions: - <i>Canha</i> 's use when the speaker is aware of the fact that a certain piece of information has not been shared with the hearer	392
5.6.2.1. Expressing impoliteness.....	392
5.6.2.2. As a politeness strategy.....	395
5.6.2.3. Expressing theticity.....	398
5.6.2.4. Expressing mirativity .....	402
5.7. Discussion on recurrent (inter)subjectification throughout the grammaticalization process of - <i>canha</i> and concluding remarks .....	405
<b>Chapter 6. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>412</b>
6.1. General summary .....	412
6.2. Implications of the emergence of - <i>ketun</i> and - <i>canha</i> in the study of information structure and that of utterance-final particles, and suggestions for future research ....	418
<b>APPENDIX.....</b>	<b>428</b>
Appendix A: Transcription conventions .....	428
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>429</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1.	Functional shift of <i>-ketun</i> during its grammaticalization from conditional connective ending to utterance-final particle.....	165
Figure 5.1.	Phonological and semantic-pragmatic connections yield Speaker's presupposed knowledge in <i>Minanun hakkyoey kaci anhassta</i> 'Mina didn't go to school', <i>ipen cwuey issci</i> 'It's this week (of course)', <i>ikesun ppalkansaykici phalansayki anita</i> 'This is red, not blue' in Modern Korean.....	315
Figure 5.2.	The grammaticalization process of the utterance-final particle <i>-canha</i> ...	407

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1.	Distribution of utterance-final particles, with respect to position within intonation units.....	28
Table 2.1.	Distribution of <i>-ketun</i> , depending on its position in respect to intonation units.....	68
Table 2.2.	Occurrences of <i>-ketun</i> in the middle of an intonation unit.....	68
Table 3.1.	Token frequencies of <i>-myen</i> and <i>-ketun</i> in <i>Nokeltay</i> texts from the four different time periods (H.-K. Koo 1999:556).....	121
Table 3.2.	The relationship between the different domains of conditionality and the different types of epistemic stance (Schwenter 1999:16, in J.-W. Park 2006).....	131
Table 3.3.	Forms of conditional connective endings in the previous works (H.-J. Koo 1989b:64).....	161
Table 3.4.	The relation of grammatical units to intonation units (Croft 1995:849).....	179
Table 3.5.	Intonation units by number of finite main clauses (Croft 1995:850).....	180
Table 3.6.	Simple vs. complex clauses in Korean (Croft 2007:18).....	180
Table 4.1.	Different types of sentential endings suffixed to <i>-canh-</i> and their proportion.....	202
Table 4.2.	Different types of suffixes used with <i>-ci ahn-</i> and their proportion.....	202
Table 4.3.	Functions of <i>-ketun</i> , <i>-canha</i> and <i>you know</i> .....	291
Table 5.1.	Functional continuum of the three different interpretations of the Korean long form negative question ‘ <i>Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-ni?</i> ’.....	308
Table 5.2.	The numbers of frequency of short and long form negation in spoken Korean.....	319
Table 5.3.	The distribution of the short form and long form negation in spoken Korean, depending on the sentence/utterance type.....	321
Table 5.4.	Functional distribution of long form negative questions in spoken Korean.....	324
Table 5.4.1.	Overall tendency of long form negative question in spoken Korean.....	334
Table 5.5.	Functional distribution of short form negative questions in spoken Korean.....	336
Table 5.5.1.	Overall tendency of short form negative questions in spoken Korean.....	344
Table 5.6.	Functional distribution of short and long form negative questions in spoken Korean.....	346
Table 5.7.	On-going shift of the long form negative question in spoken Korean reflected in its functional distribution of its actual usage.....	353
Table 5.8.	Proportion of long form negative question occurring with or without a morpheme(s) appearing between <i>-ci ahn-</i> and the sentential ending or utterance-final-particle depending on its speech act.....	361

Table 5.9.	Proportions of different types of sentential endings used with long form negative question depending on its different speech acts in spoken Korean.....	364
Table 5.10.	Different types of sentential ending suffixed to <i>-canh-</i> and their proportion.....	365
Table 5.11.	The increase of frequency from <i>-ci anh-</i> to <i>-canha</i> .....	383



## ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative	NECESS	Necessitative
ADD	Additive	NEG	Negative
ADJ	Adjective	NEG(IMPOT)	Impotential Negative
ANT	Anterior	NOM	Nominative
ATTR(IRRL)	Attributive (Irrealis)	NOMZ	Nominalizer
ATTR(RL)	Attributive (Realis)	PASS	Passive
AUX	Auxiliary	PLU	Plural
CAUS	Causative	POL	Politeness
CIRCUM	Circumstation	PRECED	Precedence
CLSF	Classifier	PRESUM	Presumptive
CMPL.AUX	Completive Auxiliary	PROM	Promissory
COMP	Complementizer	PROP	Propositive
COMPAR	Comparative	PRS	Present
COMT	Committal	PRT	Preterite
COND	Conditional	PURP	Purposive
CONJ	Conjunction	QUOT	Quotative
COP	Copular	REFL	Reflexive
DCT.RE	Deductive Reasoning	REL	Relativizer
DECL	Declarative	RESUL	Resultative
DET	Determinative	SBJV	Subjunctive
DM	Discourse Marker	SEN.END	Sentential Ending
DUB	Dubitative	SG	Singular
EXCL	Exclamative	SUBOR	Subordinate
FH.EV	Firsthand Evidential	TOP	Topic
FUT	Future	UFP	Utterance-final particle
GEN	Genitive	UNASSIM	Unassimilative
HON	Honorific		
HON.END	Honorific Ending		
HORT	Hortative		
IMPF	Imperfective		
IMPR	Imperative		
INCHOA	Inchoative		
INDC	Indicative		
INF	Infinitive		
INSTR	Instrumental		
INTERR	Interrogative		
LOC	Locative		
NCOMT	Non-Commitative		

## Chapter 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Korean connective endings and sentential endings

In Korean, there is a vast array of what are called connective endings. The main function of a connective ending in Korean is to link two clauses in an utterance. A connective ending is a suffix: it cannot stand alone and must be attached to the verb of the antecedent clause. According to H.-S. Lee (1991), a connective ending expresses textual relations between clauses or verbal complexes such as sequentiality, simultaneity, cause, result, concession, circumstance, conditional and so on (H.-S. Lee 1991:88). The following is an invented example of the conditional connective ending *-ketun*.

(1.1)  
*ney-ka            sungcin-ul            ha-ketun            phathi-lul            yel-ca*<sup>1</sup>.  
you-NOM        promotion-ACC        do-COND        party-ACC        open-HORT<sup>2</sup>  
'If you get promoted, let's have a party.'

In (1.1), it can be seen that the conditional connective ending *-ketun* expresses a conditional relation between the two clauses it is connecting. Although the full list of the connective endings in Korean cannot be provided here due to its extensiveness, examples include *-ketun* 'if'/'when' (conditional connective ending), *-(n)untey* 'but'/'and'

---

<sup>1</sup> All of the Korean examples in this study are transcribed using the Yale Romanization system. Examples borrowed from other publications that used different systems have been modified to the Yale system for consistency.

<sup>2</sup> Some abbreviations in examples borrowed from other publications may have been slightly modified to be consistent with the conventions used in this dissertation.

(providing background circumstances (H.-S. Lee 1991)), *-ko* ‘and,’ *-myense* ‘while,’ *-nikka* ‘because,’ *-lyeko* ‘in order to,’ *-ese* ‘since (providing temporal or logical precedence (H.-S. Lee 1991)), and so on.

Korean also has a large number of so-called sentential endings. A sentential ending functions to terminate a sentence by positioning at the very end of it. A sentence cannot be considered to be complete without a sentential ending in Korean. H.-S. Lee explains that a sentential ending specifies the speaker’s attitude towards or assessment of the content of the proposition itself or a referent in description or the addressee (H.-S. Lee 1991:96). In particular, H.-S. Lee argues that a sentential ending specifies various experiential and performative components of situations described by the proposition, such as epistemic modality meanings, so-called “sentence types,” illocutionary forces, and the degree of politeness (H.-S. Lee 1991:96-97). Just like connective endings, sentential endings also are suffixes: they must be suffixed to the verbal phrase of the sentence. Some of the major examples of sentential endings are *-e* (indicative ending), *-kwun* (‘unassimilated marker’ (H.-S. Lee 1991)), *-ta* (declarative), *-kka* (interrogative), *-ma* (promissory), *-ca* (hortative), *-ci* (committal), and so on (see H.-S. Lee 1991:132 for more detail). The following instance is an example of the committal sentential ending *-ci* from H.-S. Lee.

(1.2)

(Context: S and H have been talking about the capacity of Dodger Stadium, and the possibility of sell-out on a weekday.)

1	H:	<i>nyuyokmeychu-ka</i> New.York.Mets-NOM	<i>o-n-ta</i> come-IMPF-DECL	<i>kule-myenun</i> be.such-COND
		‘If New York Mets come to play,’		
2		<i>soltuawus</i> sold.out	<i>toy-l</i> be.done-ATTR(IRRL)	<i>swu-twu</i> way-ADD
		<i>iss-ci.</i>		

exist-COMT  
'There may be a sellout of course.'

(S&H: 104-105)  
(H.-S. Lee 1991:98)

As H.-S Lee (1991) explains, in example (1.2) the committal sentential ending *-ci* is conveying the speaker's conviction that there may be sell-out for the New York Mets game, and this has been translated as 'of course.'

## 1.2. The ambivalent status of connective endings in spoken Korean

In Modern Spoken Korean, however, connective endings that do not quite show their typical connective ending functions can be frequently found. In these cases, their functions and their syntactic positions in spoken Korean seem to be more similar to the functions and syntactic positions of sentential endings than those of connective endings. Examples (1.3) and (1.4) demonstrate such a case. Example (1.3) is an invented sentence manifesting a typical usage of the conditional connective ending *-ketun* in Korean;

(1.3)  
*sonnim-i o-ketun na-eykey allye-la.*  
guest-NOM come-COND me-to inform-IMPR  
'If the guest comes, let me know.'

(1.3) shows a typical usage of the conditional connective ending *-ketun* in Korean. It can be seen here that *-ketun* which is suffixed to the antecedent clause (protasis) is used to connect the two clauses (protasis and apodosis) together in a sentence, within a conditional

relationship. However, (1.4) shows that this is not always the case for *-ketun* in Modern Spoken Korean. (1.4) is an excerpt from a naturally occurred spontaneous conversation<sup>3</sup> which shows an instance where *-ketun* does not perform quite as a connective ending.

(1.4) 4CM00003

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about divorce)

- 1 P2: *ay-ka iss-nun kyengwu-ey-nun*  
 child-NOM exist-ATTR(RL) case-LOC-TOP  
*ku-ke-n an toy-keyss-ta-nun*  
 that-thing-TOP NEG be.done-DCT.RE-DECL-ATTR(RL)  
*sayngkak-i tul-te-la.*  
 thought-NOM come.in-FH.EV-DECL  
 ‘I don’t think it’s a good idea if you have kids.’
- 2 P1: *ung ku-chi.*  
 yeah that-COMT  
 ‘Yeah, you’re right.’
- 3→ *wuli= wuli cakun apeci-ka cayhon-ul*  
 my my little father-NOM remarriage-ACC  
*ha-si-ess-ketun?*  
 do-HON-ANT-ketun  
 ‘My= my uncle got married again-ketun.’
- 4 P2: *ung.*  
 yes  
 ‘Yeah.’
- 5 P1: *kuntey ku cakun emma casik-i twu*  
 but that little mom child-NOM two  
*myeng-i-ess-kwu,*  
 CLSF-COP-ANT-CON  
 ‘But my new aunt had two kids of her own and,’
- 6 *cakun appa casik-i twu myeng-i-ess-e,*  
 little dad child-NOM two CLSF-COP-ANT-INDC  
 ‘My uncle had two kids,’  
 (P1 continues his story)

<sup>3</sup> This excerpt is from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Corpus; detailed information about the data for this study is given in section 1.6.1.

Line 3 of the above conversation (marked by an arrow) shows an occurrence of *-ketun* not used in its typical connective ending function. In this particular example, *-ketun* is neither connecting two clauses together within a sentence nor conveying conditional meaning. Rather, *-ketun*, being used at the end of an utterance, is functioning more like a sentential ending than a connective ending.

There are many connective endings which show such an ambivalent status in spoken Korean. Because of the ambivalent status that Korean connective endings show in spoken Korean, connective endings have been receiving a lot of attention from Korean linguists. In the next subsection 1.2.1, I will briefly introduce the previous works that have been done on the issue of the ambivalent status of connective endings in spoken Korean.

### **1.2.1. Previous studies on the ambivalent status of Korean connective endings**

Most previous research approached the issue of the ambivalent status of connective endings in spoken Korean from the synchronic point of view. One main issue that has been extensively studied from this perspective is the categorizational issue, i.e., whether to classify the connective endings with ambivalent status as “connective endings,” or as “sentential endings,” or as something different from these two.

For instance, Y.-J. Jeon (2002) argues that there should be a categorical distinction between connective endings which she considers to be fully grammaticalized into sentential endings and those which are not as grammaticalized. Hence she categorizes those particles whose historical sources are connective endings (and still being used as connective endings in written Korean) but which now only occur at the end of an utterance

in spoken Korean (hence fully grammaticalized) as “sentential ending-alization of connective endings.” However, for those particles which can be used as connective endings as well as sentential endings in spoken Korean, she does not consider them to be fully grammaticalized into sentential endings. While the author argues that connective endings which show dual functions in spoken Korean should still be categorized as “connective endings”, she claims that their occasional use as sentential endings should be called “finalization of connective endings.” In a similar vein, Y.-J. Kim (2008) argues that the connective endings which the author thinks to be completely grammaticalized into sentential endings should be classified as “sentential endings,” while for those that only appear occasionally in the utterance-final position, she calls them “connective endings with the functions of sentential endings.”

On the other hand, both H.-K. Yoo (2003) and J.-S. Ha (2006) claim that regardless of different functions the connective endings show in spoken Korean, they should be all considered as “connective endings.” H.-K. Yoo (2003) argues, however, that when these endings appear at the end of an utterance in spoken Korean, then these functions should be called as “the connective endings’ usage as sentential endings.” J.-S. Ha (2006) claims that when these connective endings appear at the end of an utterance, then they should be called as “connective endings functioning as sentential endings.” However, only if these “connective endings functioning as sentential endings” show different functions from their original connective ending functions, then they should be sub-categorized as “sentential ending-alized connective endings.”

In Son and Kim’s (2009) study, the authors provide several criteria of their own which can be used when sorting out the connective endings that truly became sentential

endings and hence can be called as “sentential ending-alized connective endings.” Some of these criteria are whether the particles function to end a sentence, whether they show different functions from their original functions as connective endings, whether they can be used in various moods and whether they can be combined with the honorific sentential ending *-yo*.

### **1.2.2. Suggestion for a different point of view: Diachronic as well as synchronic perspectives**

The categorization issue due to the novel functions and different syntactic positions which connective endings show in spoken Korean would not be much of a problem if we examine them from a diachronic perspective instead of a synchronic perspective. From a diachronic point of view, the current situation of Korean connective endings is that, many of them, though not all, are going in the same direction, and are currently in the process of gaining novel discourse functions and a novel syntactic position which is similar to that of a sentential ending in spoken Korean (position at the end of an utterance). The only difference that exists between these connective endings is their different degrees of grammaticalization; some connective endings already have fully grammaticalized into sentential endings or utterance-final particles and thus only occur at the end of an utterance in spoken Korean, while some others undergo a slower grammaticalization process and thus still manifest both functions as connective endings as well as sentential endings in spoken Korean. In fact, several markers that are considered to be sentential endings in Modern Korean grammar, such as the committal sentential ending *-ci* (examples shown in



(1.2)) and the indicative sentential ending *-e* have their origins as connective endings (T.-Y. Kim 1998). Therefore, among the connective endings that are at the center of debate, some might later fully grammaticalize into sentential endings just as the committal sentential ending *-ci* and the indicative sentential ending *-e* did, but some others might not do so. Once again, what matters is how much the grammaticalization process has progressed for each connective ending.

This dissertation thus proposes a novel analysis for these new functions and syntax that many of the connective endings are gaining in spoken Korean, approaching them not only from a synchronic point of view but from a diachronic perspective as well. In other words, instead of focusing on the categorization of connective endings with novel functions and syntax, I will focus on the evolution of these novel utterance-final particles in spoken Korean. An analysis from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives has certain advantages over a simple synchronic analysis. While the literature on the ambivalent status of Korean connective endings from a simple synchronic perspective failed to provide a unified account, since each researcher suggests different categories and sub-categories with different criteria and some particles were consequently classified in different categories depending on the authors, a diachronic analysis will help us observe and focus on a bigger picture: connective endings in the process of grammaticalization, shifting their functions to sentential endings or utterance-final particles. Also, a diachronic study will help us not only understand the historical development of utterance-final particles in spoken Korean, but examining the motivations behind these changes will help us better understand their synchronic functions as well, i.e., why these utterance-final particles are functioning in the way they are right now.

### **1.3. Terminology**

In the previous section, I argued that categorization or classification of the novel functions and syntax of the connective endings in spoken Korean is not an issue. However, continuing to use the term “connective ending” when describing its novel functions and its novel syntactic position in spoken Korean will confuse potential readers. Hence it should be more useful to have a term which specifically denotes the novel functions and novel syntactic position which the connective endings are gaining exclusively in spoken Korean. In other words, while the categorization or classification should not be a problem for the novel functions and syntax of the connective endings in spoken Korean, there still remains an issue of terminology.

The novel functions and novel syntax of the connective endings in spoken Korean have been previously termed as “sentential endings” (Y.-J. Jeon 2002, Y.-J. Kim 2009, Son and Kim 2009), “connective endings’ novel functions as sentential endings” (H.-K. Yoo 2003), “sentence ending suffixes” (Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b, K.-H. Kim 2010), “sentential end markers” (Koo and Rhee 2001) or “sentence final particles” (Y.-Y. Park 1998, Y. Jung 2001). All of these terms imply that the novel function of the connective endings in spoken Korean is to end a ‘sentence.’ However, this is not always true.

One of the significant properties of the novel usage of Korean connective endings is that their novel functions only occur in spoken Korean, and (at least at the present moment) never in written Korean. The grammar of a spoken language and that of a written language differ considerably with each other in a lot of aspects, but one of the major

differences between them is that what is called as “a sentence” in written language hardly ever appears in spoken language, and a lot of times, a form of “an utterance” in spoken language, which I treat as equal to an intonation unit (a segment of a spoken discourse which is divided by a single intonation contour, c.f. Chafe 1994, Croft 1995) in this dissertation, does not correspond to a sentence of written language. For instance, expressions ending with the utterance-final particle *-ketun* which are shown in (1.5) can hardly be considered to be plausible sentences in written Korean.

(1.5)

a.     *nay= toykey chinha-n*                    *chinkwu-ketun.*  
       my    very   close-ATTR(RL)        friend-*ketun*  
       ‘My very close friend-*ketun*’

b.     *tteleci-ketun.*  
       be.inferior-*ketun*  
       ‘Inferior-*ketun*’

However, these examples in (1.5a) and (1.5b) are perfectly possible utterances in spoken Korean if we consider them being preceded by other utterances within appropriate context as shown in (1.6a) and (1.6b), respectively.

(1.6)

a. 5CM00043<sup>4</sup>

(Context: P1 is telling P2 how he and his former girlfriend met.)

1	P1:	<i>kukka kyay-lul</i>	<i>sikhy-e</i>	<i>cwu-n</i>	<i>na-l</i>
		DM   that.child-ACC	make-CON	give-ATTR(RL)	I-ACC

---

<sup>4</sup> The excerpts in (1.6a) and (1.6b) are from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Corpus; detailed information about the data for this study is given in section 1.6.1.

*sokaysikhy-e*                      *cwe-ss-te-n*                      *ay-ka,*  
 introduce-CON                      give-ANT-FH.EV-ATTR(RL)                      child-NOM  
 ‘I mean, the guy who introduced her to me is,’  
 2→ *nay= toykey chinha-n*                      *chinkwu-ketun.*  
 my    very    close-ATTR(RL)                      friend-UFP  
 ‘My very close friend.’

b. 4CM00089

(Context: P1 is a male who is much older than his female friends P2 and P3. P3 has just told the others that one of her friends could not converse very well with a guy because of the great age difference between them.)

- 1    P1: *na-nun tay- na-nun tayhwa-ka*                      *an- tayhwa-ka*  
       I-TOP con- I-TOP conversation-NOM                      NEG- conversation-NOM  
       *toy-nuntey*                      *ni-tul-hakwu*                      *way*  
       be.done-CIRCUM                      you-PLU-with                      why  
       *kule-n-ci*                      *al-e?*  
       be.such-ATTR(RL)-CON                      know-INDC  
       ‘I can con- I cannot- I can converse with you girls and do you know why?’  
 2    P3: *way-yo?*  
       why-HON.END  
       ‘Why?’  
 3    P1: *nay-ka*                      *te*                      *cengsincek-ulo*                      *manhi,*  
       I-NOM                      more                      psychological-INSTR a.lot  
       ‘Psychologically I am much more,’  
 4    P2,P3: @@@  
       ‘@@@’  
 5→ P1: <@ *tteleci-ketun.* @>  
       inferior-ketun  
       ‘Inferior.’

For this reason, it would be difficult to describe the function of the connective endings in Korean to end “a sentence” or to position at the end of “a sentence” when they are used in a novel way in spoken Korean. Hence, using the terms such as sentential ending, sentence ending suffix, sentential end marker and sentence final particle would be unsuitable to describe the novel functions of connective endings in spoken Korean.

Consequently, in this dissertation, I propose another term, “utterance-final particle,” to denote the novel uses of Korean connective endings in spoken Korean and will avoid the term “sentential”. The advantages of the term “utterance-final particle” over “sentential ending” and others are due to the implication that it occurs at the end of an utterance, which also indicates that it is a characteristic of spoken language rather than written language. Moreover, using the term “utterance-final particle” which is different from “sentential ending” can also imply that they do not have the same function, since the novel functions of these utterance-final particles slightly differ from those of sentential endings: Unlike sentential endings, utterance-final particles not only signal the end of an utterance, but also indicate the relationship of the information that they are conveying with the information conveyed in other utterances. Furthermore, they can also often indicate the relationship between the information they are conveying with implicit information – such as common ground or shared knowledge, or speaker’s presupposed assumption, and so on – which are not explicitly expressed within the discourse.

Although I have used the terms “sentential ending” and “utterance-final particle” interchangeably up until now, from now on I will only use the term “utterance-final particle” when referring to the novel use of Korean connective endings in spoken Korean.

#### **1.4. Utterance-final particles in Korean and other languages: A universal tendency?**

The emergence of utterance-final particles is not unique to Korean. Recent studies show that the rise of utterance-final particles is fairly common in many other spoken languages as well. Not only are these utterance-final particles extensively found in verb-

final languages such as Korean, Japanese (e.g. *kara* ‘because’ in Higashiizumi 2006, Thompson and Suzuki 2011; complementizers *koto*, *no*, *to*, *tte* in Okamoto 1995, Thompson and Suzuki 2011; *kedo* ‘but, although’ in Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997, Mori 1999 and Ohori 1995, all cited in Thompson and Suzuki 2011:675, *shi* ‘and’ in McGloin and Konishi 2010), Navajo (e.g. enclitic =*go* in Mithun 2008), and Central Alaskan Yup’ik (e.g. ‘autonomous participials’ and ‘autonomous subordinates’ in Mithun 2008), but they are often found in non-verb-final languages as well, such as Chinese (Li 2006, Yap et al. 2010, all cited in Haselow 2012:182) English (e.g. *then* in Haselow 2011, Haselow 2012; *though* in Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen 2002, Haselow 2012; *but* in Mulder and Thompson 2008; *anyway* in Haselow 2012; *actually* in Haselow 2012), German (e.g. *aber* in Diewald and Fischer 1998, *halt* in Imo 2008, all cited in Haselow 2012:182) and Norwegian (Andvik 1992, Fretheim 1989, all cited in Haselow 2012:182).

It must be noted that not all of the utterance-final particles mentioned in the above languages have suffixal characteristics like Korean utterance-final particles. For instance, English utterance-final particles *then*, *though*, *but*, *anyway* and *actually* are not suffixes; they appear as independent words. Nevertheless, when they appear in utterance-final position, i.e., as utterance-final particles, they form a single intonation contour with the utterance they occur with, often with a falling intonation contour. This is very different from the intonation contour which they manifest when they do not occur in utterance-final position. For instance, when *then*, or *actually* occur utterance-initially, they are most likely to form an independent intonation contour of their own, often with continuing intonation contour rather than falling intonation contour. This tells us that whether they have suffixal

characteristic or not, utterance-final particles across languages all show phonological or prosodical boundedness in some degree with the proposition that they occur with.

This suggests that the rise of utterance-final particles might be a universal phenomenon particularly occurring in spoken languages despite their differences of basic word order as well as their genealogically and typologically unrelatedness among them. This leaves us to ponder the following questions: 1) What is the role and the function of these utterance-final particles in spoken languages? 2) What triggers them to occur at the right peripheral position of an utterance, i.e., at the end of an intonation unit, in spite of their different basic word orders? This dissertation intends to observe Korean utterance-final particles which tend to follow this seeming universal tendency as an effort to find answers to the above questions.

### **1.5. Utterance-final particles and discourse markers**

Often times, utterance-final particles have been dealt with as discourse markers<sup>5</sup> due to their considerable overlap of features. Discourse markers, which has been defined in Schiffrin as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (Schiffrin 1987:31) have been extensively studied and the following list includes some of the features of discourse markers which have been proposed in the literature.

(1.7)

---

<sup>5</sup> Discourse markers also have been studied under other various labels such as “discourse connectives” (Blakemore 1987, cited in Traugott and Dasher 2001:152), “discourse particles” (Schorup 1985, cited in Fraser 1999:932), “pragmatics markers” (Fraser 1988, 1990) and so on.

- a. Discourse markers signal the speaker's view/attitude/judgment with respect to the relationship between the chunks of discourse that precede and follow it (Onodera 1995, 2011, Schiffrin 1987).
- b. They indicate the relationship between an utterance and surrounding discourse (Levinson 1983:87-88, Schiffrin 1987, Fraser 1988, 1990, Barth-Weingarten and Couper Kuhlen 2002:352).
- c. They are frequent in oral discourse (Östmann 1982, Brinton 1996, Barth-Weingarten and Couper Kuhlen 2002:352).
- d. They signal an aspect of the speaker's rhetorical stance toward what he or she is saying, or toward the addressee's role in the discourse situation (Traugott and Dasher 2001:152).
- e. They are subjective and procedural (in that they indicate speaker/writer's rhetorical, metatextual, stance towards the cohesiveness of the discourse being developed – elaboration of or counter-argument to what preceded, continuation of or change in topic, background, or foreground in narrative) (Traugott and Dasher 2001:155).
- f. Sometimes they also can be intersubjective in that they have the double function of signaling the type of rhetorical strategy being used, and at the same time expressing concern for the addressee's "face" – these are usually called "hedges," or "mitigators" (Traugott and Dasher 2001:155).
- g. Over time, they not only acquire pragmatic meanings (which typically coexist for some time with earlier, less pragmatic, meanings) but also come to have scope over propositions (Traugott and Dasher 2001:156).



All of the features of discourse markers enlisted in (1.7) overlap with the functions of utterance-final particles. Probably because of such overlap, many utterance-final particles have been treated as equivalent to discourse markers in the literature. For instance, the English utterance-final particle *though* has been treated as a discourse marker in Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen (2002), *then* has also been considered as a discourse marker in Haselow (2011), and Schiffrin's (1987) extensive work on discourse markers does not distinguish the functions of particles that she deals with depending on their different positions within an utterance (whether they occur at the utterance initial, medial or final position).

One question that could rise at this point would be, do utterance-final particles need to be distinguished from discourse markers? In this dissertation, I argue that they do, since I believe that utterance-final particles form a paradigm of their own which can be distinct from that of discourse markers. For example, there are some features of discourse markers discussed in the literature which might not fit into the description of utterance-final particles, such as:

(1.8)

- a. It is often said that they are restricted to sentence-initial position, or may always occur sentence initially (Brinton 1996:33, Schiffrin 1987: 328, Levinson 1983:87, Keller 1979:222 in Brinton 1996:33, Onodera 2011:615).
- b. They have to be syntactically detachable from a sentence or syntactically independent for their environment (Schiffrin 1987:328, Heine 2013:1209, Furkó 2005:20 in Heine 2013:1210).

- c. They are typically set off prosodically from the rest of the utterance (Heine 2013:1209, Schiffrin 1987:328, Brinton 1996:33, Quirk et al. 1985:1112 in Brinton 1996:33).

Though the features enlisted in (1.8) are some of the most prominent feature of discourse markers, these might not overlap with those of utterance-final particles. For instance, unlike the feature described in (1.8a), utterance-final particles, as their terminology directly reflects, do not occur sentence-initially but rather position at the end of an utterance. Though discourse markers are quite flexible in terms of their syntactic position as they can be fairly mobile within an utterance, utterance-final particles only occur at a fixed position, which is the utterance-final position. Hence, lack of syntactic mobility would be one of the significant features of utterance-final particles which is distinct from those of discourse markers.

Furthermore, both (1.8b) and (1.8c) imply that discourse markers are syntactically as well as phonologically independent and hence detachable from their environment. However, utterance-final particles are much more bound to their environment, or to the rest of the utterance they occur in. Korean utterance-final particles, for instance, are not only syntactically bound to their environment appearing as suffixes and they are also phonologically bound with the rest of the utterance they occur with; forming a single intonation contour within that utterance. Moreover, as I briefly explained in the previous section, although English utterance-final particles (such as *then*, *though*, *but*, *anyway*, *actually*) are not suffixal and therefore are not syntactically bound to their environment, they still form a single intonation contour with the rest of the utterance they occur with.

Hence, syntactic and/or phonological boundedness of utterance-final particles is another important feature which distinguishes them from discourse markers.

Thompson and Suzuki (2011) propose that utterance-final particles are a type of discourse markers. Below is their working definition of utterance-final particle which they cite from Mulder and Thompson (2008):

a[n] [(utterance)] final particle is a discourse marker that occurs at the end of an interactional unit, whether a turn, a turn unit, or a prosodic unit, and indexes certain pragmatic stances ...

(Mulder and Thompson 2008:184, cited in Thompson and Suzuki 2011:668)

Although the question of whether or not utterance-final particles are a type of discourse marker, is left as an open issue at the moment, I argue that utterance-final particles should not be treated exactly the same as discourse markers, since utterance-final particles have distinct features of their own which are different from those of discourse markers.

## **1.6. The scope of the dissertation and source of data**

This dissertation aims to examine two utterance-final particles in Korean which seem to follow the seemingly universal tendency of emergence of discourse particles positioning at the end of an utterance. Section 1.6.1 will first describe the source of data used in the analysis of this dissertation, and section 1.6.2 will discuss the scope of the present dissertation.

### **1.6.1. Description of the data used in this study**

The data used in this study are from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Corpus, which consists of both written and spoken Korean data. Since one of the main characteristics of utterance-final particles is that their usage is highly restricted to the spoken register, only the spoken data of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Corpus were used in this study. Furthermore, because utterance-final particles are particularly common in interactive discourse, monologues and lectures as well as speeches were also excluded from the observation. Consequently, 99 conversations which consist of casual talk, group meetings and telephone conversations between two or more speakers were selected to be examined in this study. The selected data comprised of 439,167 *ecel*<sup>6</sup> in total. The original recordings of these data were collected from year 2001 to 2005.

### **1.6.2. Scope of dissertation**

#### **1.6.2.1. Initial point of investigation**

There is not an exact list of currently emerging Korean utterance-final particles; each Korean linguist provides a different list. For instance, E.-K. Lee (1996) provides the following list of 14 utterance-final particles in Korean.

---

<sup>6</sup> An *ecel* is a unit that is unique to Korean, but it is roughly similar to a word in English.

(1.9) *-ko, -e/ase, -ko/kose, -(u)myen, -(un)ntey, -ciman, -(u)nikka, -(u)lyeko, -(u)le, -tunci, -nulako, -ketun, -key, -tolok*

(E.-K. Lee 1996, cited in Son and Kim 2009:55)

The list shown in (1.10) is from J.-I. Kwon (2003), which consists of 15 utterance-final particles in Korean.

(1.10) *-ketun, -nuntey, -ko/kwu, -unikka, -ekacikwu, -ese, -ulyeko, -umyense, -ciman, -key, -nulako, -teni, -eto, -ulako, -umyen*

(J.-I. Kwon 2003, cited in Son and Kim 2009:55)

J.-S. Ha (2006) provides a different lists of 15 utterance-final particles in Korean, which is given in (1.11) below.

(1.11) *-ko, -nuntey, -ketun, -nikka, -tako, -ese, -tanikka, -myense, -tamyense, -nunci, -tamyen, -lyeko, -ciman, -tunci*

(J.-S. Ha 2006, cited in Son and Kim 2009:56)

The reason why each scholar provides a different list of utterance-final particles is because the emergence of utterance-final particles is still an on-going process, hence each particle has a different degree of grammaticalization. Some of them are fully grammaticalized into utterance-final particles and they have completely or mostly lost their former functions in spoken Korean. Others show lesser degree of grammaticalization, still

retain their former functions and therefore currently show dual functions in Modern Spoken Korean. As a consequence, many particles have an unclear status and they are not always considered as utterance-final particles by Korean linguists.

Son and Kim (2009) reviewed the lists of utterance-final particles proposed by the studies mentioned above (E.-K. Lee 1996, J.-I. Kwon 2003, J.-S. Ha 2006) and narrowed them down to a list of 8 particles which show greater degree of grammaticalization than others using a number of criteria of their own. Their criteria to choose these 8 particles were whether they occur frequently at the end of an utterance, whether they show different functions from their former functions, whether they can be used in various moods and whether they can be combined with the honorific sentential ending *-yo*. Son and Kim's list of 8 utterance-final particles is shown in (1.12).

(1.12) *-ketun, -key, -ko, -nuntey, -tako, -tanikka, -tamyense, -lyeko*

(Son and Kim 2009:56)

I do not think that Son and Kim's last two criteria, the co-occurrence of the particle with the honorific sentential ending *-yo*, and the particle's compatibility with various moods or sentence types, are very plausible criteria to be applied when establishing a list of utterance-final particles that show greater degree of grammaticalization than others. The reason why the former criterion does not seem plausible is because in spoken Korean, the honorific sentential ending *-yo* is not only attached to a sentential ending, but can also be attached to various different constituents such as adverbs and nouns. The problem with the latter criterion is that even a number of the utterance-final particles which are included in their

list, such as *-ketun* and *-canha*, are not flexible in terms of their moods or sentence types since they can only be used in indicative or declarative utterances and can never be used in interrogative utterances.

Nevertheless, their remaining two criteria, the particle's frequent occurrence at the end of utterance, and whether the particle's function at the end of utterance is different from their former function, seem quite reasonable and sufficient to be applied when selecting a set of utterance-final particles with greater degree of grammaticalization than others. Hence, even only with these two remaining criteria, the list that Son and Kim provide (shown in (1.12)) seems to represent fairly well the set of utterance-final particles with higher degree of grammaticalization than other utterance-final particles that are excluded from that list. For instance, the utterance-final particle *-ciman* 'although,' which is included in J.-I. Kwon's (2003) and J.-S. Ha's (2006) lists of utterance-final particles (shown in (1.10) and (1.11), respectively), seems to be excluded from Son and Kim's (2009) list in (1.12), since the function that it shows at the end of utterance is not so much different from its former function as a connective ending. For another instance, the particle *-(u)le* 'in order to' which is included in E.-K. Lee's (1996) list of utterance-final particles (shown in (1.9)) is also excluded from Son and Kim's (2009) list, not only because its function at the end of utterance is not very different from its former function, but also because it has a very low frequency of occurrence at the end of intonation unit. Since grammaticalization is a gradual process, each particle should show different degree of grammaticalization from a synchronic perspective. Hence, there will always be a fuzzy boundary when considering whether or not to include or exclude certain particles in a category or a list, and the particles *-ciman* and *-(u)le* seems to be representing such fuzzy cases.

Therefore, before selecting a specific set of utterance-final particle to examine for this present dissertation, I will use Son and Kim's (2009) list of utterance-final particles in Korean in (1.12), which represents a list of particles that show greater degree of grammaticalization than others as my initial point of investigation, however with some minor changes. It must be noted that the utterance-final particles in the lists given in (1.9-1.12) are all those that have connective endings or a combination of more than one connective ending as their historical source. However, as I will discuss in more detail in section 1.8.1, there are a number of utterance-final particles in Korean which derived from other sources than connective endings as well. Hence, I will also include two additional utterance-final particles to the list given in (1.12), which are *-canha* (derived from the negative questions construction *-ci ahn-a?*) and *-nun ke-y-a* (derived from a nominalizing construction *-nun ke-y-a*). This makes a list of total of 10 utterance-final particles as shown in (1.13).

(1.13) *-ketun, -key, -ko, -nuntey, -tako, -tanikka, -tamyense, -lyeko, -nun ke-y-a, -canha*

Using my corpus (described in the previous section 1.6.1), I counted the number of occurrence where these 10 particles occur at the end of an utterance. Below are the results.

A. *-ketun*; historical source: the conditional connective ending 'if/when.'

*-Ketun* can also be pronounced as *-ketun, -keten, -keteng, and -ketung* in spoken Korean: all of these forms were included in the observation. Furthermore, since the honorific ending *-yo* can also be suffixed to all of these forms, the



forms *-ketunyo*, *-ketungyo* were also included. Although *-ketengyo*, *-kutenyo* and *-kutengyo* are possible as well, they did not appear in the corpus. A total of 9 variants of *-ketun* were examined. As a result, 1415 occurrences of these forms were found in the corpus.

B. *-key*; historical source: the resultative connective ending ‘so ~ that/like ~.’

Two variants of *-key* were observed: *-key* and its honorific counterpart *-keyyo*. In sum, 16443 occurrences of these forms were found.

C. *-ko*; historical source: the connective ending ‘and.’

In spoken Korean, *-ko* is often pronounced as *-kwu*. Hence 4 variants of *-ko* were observed, which are *-ko*, *-kwu*, and their honorific counterparts *-koyo* and *-kwuyo*. A total of 12880 occurrences of these forms were found.

D. *-(nu)ntey*; historical source: the circumstantial connective ending ‘but/and.’

Two variants of *-(nu)ntey* were observed, which are *-(nu)ntey* and its honorific counterpart *-(nu)nteyyo*. In total, 11600 occurrences of these forms were found.

E. *-tako*; historical source: complementizer.

There are 4 types of complementizers in Korean which are *-tako*, *-nyako*, *-cako*, and *-lako*; they form a set. A different form is used depending on the type of clause it is taking (declarative, interrogative, hortative, imperative). In spoken Korean, their second syllable can also be pronounced as *-kwu*. In total, 16 forms were observed: *-tako*, *-nyako*, *-cako*, *-lako*, *-takwu*, *-nyakwu*, *-cakwu*, *-lakwu*, and their honorific

counterparts *-takoyo*, *-nyakoyo*, *-cakoyo*, *-lakoyo*, *-takwuyo*, *-nyakwuyo*, *-cakwuyo*, and *-lakwuyo*. The total number of occurrences of these forms in the corpus was 3427.

F. *-tanikka*; historical source: a combination of complementizer *-tako* (shown in E above), the light verb *hata* ‘do,’ and the causal connective ending *-nikka* ‘because.’

As has been described in E above, there are 4 types of complementizers in Korean which form a set, hence the particle *-tanikka* also forms a set of 4 different forms: *-tanikka*, *-nyanikka*, *-canikka*, *-lanikka*. In spoken Korean, the vowel of the first syllable of these forms can also be pronounced as *ay[e]* instead of *a*. Therefore *-caynikka*, *-laynikka*, and *-taynikka* were also included in the observation (although *-nyaynikka* is also possible, this form did not appear in the corpus). Their honorific counterparts were also observed, which were *-lanikkayo*, *-tanikkayo*, *-laynikkayo*, and *-taynikkayo* (*-nyanikkayo*, *-nyaynikkayo*, *-canikkayo* and *-caynikkayo* did not appear in the corpus). The total number of occurrence of these 11 variants was 303.

G. *-tamyense*; historical source: a combination of the complementizer *-tako* (shown in E), the light verb *hata* ‘do,’ and the connective ending expressing simultaneity *-myense* ‘while.’

Just like *-tanikka* (shown in F), *-tamyense* can also have 4 forms: *-tamyense*, *-lamyense*, *-nyamyense* and *-camyense*. Two of these honorific counterparts were found: *-lamyenseyo*, *-tamyenseyo* (*-camyenseyo* and *-nyamyenseyo* were not found) and hence were added to the examination. The connective ending *-myense* is often reduced to *-mye* in spoken Korean, so the combination of *-mye* with the complementizers were also taken into account: two variants were found which were *-lamye*

and *-tamyē* and these were also included in the study. The connective ending *-myense* is also often further reduced to either *-may* and *-mey* in spoken Korean. The combination of *-may* and *-mey* with the complementizers were also included in the examination. Four variants were found which were: *-tamay*, *-lamay*, *-tamey*, *-lamey*, one additional honorific counterpart of *-tamay*, *-tamayo* was found as well. These were all included in the study. The vowel of the first syllable of variants of *-tamyense* is often pronounced as *ay*[e] in spoken Korean; therefore the variants with the *ay* vowel as well as their honorific counterparts were also considered to be included in the study. In consequence, 8 additional variants of *-tamyense* were found and included in the examination. These 8 variants are : *-caymay*, *-taymay*, *-laymay*, *-taymayyo*, *-laymey*, *-taymey*, *-taymeyyo*, and *-laymeyyo*. The total number of occurrences of these 21 variants of *-tamyense* was 199.

H. *-lyeko*; historical source: the purposive connective ending ‘in order to.’

In spoken Korean, the first syllable of *-lyeko* can often be pronounced as *-la* instead of *-lye*. Also, the second syllable of *-lyeko* is often pronounced as *-kwu* instead of *-ko*. Taking these into account, *-lako*, *-lakwu*, *-lyeko* and *-lyekwu* were included in the examination. Their honorific counterparts *-lakoyo*, *-lakwuyo*, and *-lyekwuyo* (*-lyekoyo* was not found in the corpus) were also included. In sum, the number of occurrences of these 7 variants of *-lyeko* was 476.

I. *-(nu)n ke-y-a*; historical source: the nominalizing construction which consists of attributive marker *-(nu)n*, nominalizer *ke*, copular *i* and indicative sentential ending *-a*.

Two variants of *-(nu)n ke-y-a* were observed: *-(nu)n ke-y-a* and its honorific counterpart *-(nu)n ke-ey-yo*. In sum, 2300 occurrences of these two variants were found.

J. *-canha*; historical source: negative question construction which consists of connective ending *-ci*, negative morpheme *anh* and indicative sentential ending *-a*.

Two variants of *-canha* were observed: *-canha* and its honorific counterpart *-canhayo*. A total of 2028 occurrences of these two variants were found.

I then observed the distribution of these particles with respect to their position within intonation units. Rather than simply counting the token frequency of their occurrences at the end of intonation unit, I also examined the percentage of their occurrences at the end of intonation unit comparing it with their occurrences in the middle of an intonation unit. The result is shown in <Table 1.1>.

<b>Utterance-final particle</b>	<b>Number of occurrences at the end of an IU</b>	<b>Number of occurrences in the middle of an IU</b>	<b>Total number of occurrences</b>
<i>-ketun</i>	1338 (95%)	77 (5%)	1415 (100%)
<i>-canha</i>	1774 (87%)	254 (13%)	2028 (100%)
<i>-(nu)n ke-y-a</i>	1950 (85%)	350 (15%)	2300 (100%)
<i>-tamyense</i>	167 (84%)	32 (16%)	199 (100%)
<i>-tanikka</i>	247 (82%)	56 (18%)	303 (100%)
<i>-nuntey</i>	7231 (62%)	4369 (38%)	11600 (100%)
<i>-ko</i>	6308 (49%)	6572 (51%)	12880 (100%)
<i>-tako</i>	1518 (44%)	1909 (56%)	3427 (100%)
<i>-lyeko</i>	185 (39%)	291 (61%)	476 (100%)
<i>-key</i>	1562 (10%)	14881 (90%)	16443 (100%)

<Table 1.1. *Distribution of utterance-final particles, with respect to position within intonation units*>

The order of utterance-final particles shown in <Table 1.1> is from the particle which has the highest proportion of its occurrences at the end of an utterance, to the one that has the lowest proportion of its occurrences at the end of an utterance. This table reveals that having high token frequency of occurrence at the end of intonation unit does not always guarantee a high proportion of occurrence at the end of intonation unit as well. For instance, <Table 1.1> shows that while *-nuntey* has the highest token frequency of occurrence at the end of intonation unit (7231 occurrences), its proportion of occurrence at the end of intonation unit is not the highest, since it only occurs at the end of an IU 62% of the time.

The difference of their proportions of occurrences at the end of an IU reflects the different degrees to which they retain their former functions. For example, *-ketun*, which derived from a conditional connective ending functioning to link two clauses together in a sentence within a conditional relationship, now occurs at the end of an IU rather than in the middle of an IU for the most of the time (95%). This suggests that *-ketun*'s former function as a conditional connective ending is mostly lost, and it now functions rather as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean. On the other hand, *-nuntey*, which derived from a circumstantial connective ending which also functions to connect two clauses in a sentence, now occurs at the end of an IU 62% of the time and in the middle of an IU 38% of the time. This suggests that the degree of maintenance of the former function is greater for *-nuntey* than *-ketun*.

#### **1.6.2.2. The two utterance-final particles: *-ketun* and *-canha***

I selected two utterance-final particles from the list of utterance-final particles shown in <Table 1.1> to conduct a more detailed study for this dissertation; *-ketun* and *-canha*. The reason I selected these two particles is, first of all, because they synchronically show the highest proportion of their occurrences at the end of intonation units. Though it is not surprising that *-canha* occurs highly frequently at the end of an IU since it originated from a sentential ending construction of a negative question construction, which means that its former function was already to end an utterance, both *-ketun* and *-canha*'s frequent occurrences at the right peripheral position suggest that their current functions as utterance-final particles in spoken Korean are more prominent than other

particles shown in <Table 1.1>. Hence, observing these two particles would help us better understand the exact functions of utterance-final particles, i.e., what these particles do at the right peripheral position of IUs, and what the roles of utterance-final particles are in spoken Korean as well as in other spoken languages.

Moreover, what makes the investigation of *-ketun* and *-canha* more significant and interesting is the different types of their historical sources. While *-ketun* originated from a conditional connective ending, *-canha* derived from a negative question construction. The fact that both *-ketun* and *-canha* currently function as utterance-final particles in spoken Korean despite their very different historical sources suggests that they underwent different diachronic paths or different grammaticalization processes. Examining the diachronic developments of *-ketun* and *-canha* provides insights into how these particles from very different types of historical source, having undergone different diachronic paths, yet synchronically ended up in the same grammatical category – utterance-final particle – and whether there is a more profound underlying motivation behind these changes.

### **1.7. The synchronic analysis of *-ketun* and *-canha*; Lambrecht’s theory of information structure**

As I will discuss in more detail in the later chapters of this dissertation, the main functions of both *-ketun* and *-canha* as utterance-final particles in Modern Spoken Korean are to manage information structure or information flow in discourse. The study of information structure in language, which reflects the speaker’s beliefs and assumptions about the shared knowledge he or she has with the hearer, has attracted much attention

from many scholars (Daneš 1966, Halliday 1967, Dik 1978, 1980, Kuno 1972, 1978, Chafe 1976, Prince 1992, Ariel 1988, Gundel et al. 1993, Lambrecht 1994 and so on). Among the extensions of research on information structure, I believe that the theory proposed by Lambrecht (1994) seems to be most relevant to the synchronic analysis of the functions of the utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha*, i.e., how they are currently used in Modern Spoken Korean.

Lambrecht's (1994) theory of information structure is a theory of the relationship between the structure of sentences and the linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts in which sentences are used as units of propositional information, based on the observation that the structure of a sentence reflects a speaker's assumption about the hearer's state of knowledge and consciousness at the time of utterance, in systematic and theoretically interesting ways. According to Lambrecht, this relationship between the speaker's assumption and the structure of sentence is governed by rules and conventions of sentence grammar, in a grammatical component which he calls information structure, which is a term originally introduced by Halliday (1967, cited in Lambrecht 1994). Lambrecht defines information structure in the following quote:

INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.

(Lambrecht 1994:5)



One of the most interesting points of Lambrecht's theory of information structure which is distinct from that of other scholars is in his point of view of how information structure is related to the different components of grammatical structure. Unlike other linguists such as Daneš (1966, cited in Lambrecht 1994:6), Halliday (1967, cited in Lambrecht 1994:7), and Dik (1978, 1980 cited in Lambrecht 1994:7), whose view is that the formal domain of information structure is limited to the sentence or the clause, and hence the study of information structure belongs to sentence grammar (Lambrecht 1994:7), Lambrecht takes a different perspective, arguing that the study of information structure not only involves morphology and syntax, but also semantics and pragmatics, as well as prosody. He argues that information structure intervenes at all meaning-bearing levels of the grammatical system, since it can be "formally manifested in aspects of prosody, in special grammatical markers, in the form of syntactic (in particular nominal) constituents, in the position and ordering of such constituents in the sentence, in the form of complex grammatical constructions, and in certain choices between related lexical items" (Lambrecht 1994:6).

Moreover, in his theory of information structure, the different components of grammar are not viewed as independent subsystems which are hierarchically organized, but rather as interdependent forces which are competing with each other, in various complex, language-specific ways. This competing-motivation view of information structure by Lambrecht has a strong explanatory power as it can not only explain how the information structure can influence the formal representation of one language, but it can also explain why similar communicative situations are expressed in different structures across languages. For instance, close examination of information structure in Italian reveals

that it is a language where information structure and word order interact with each other, since the sentences *Mi si è rotta la macchina* and *La mia macchina si è rotta* can have different implications depending whether there has been an inversion of the canonical subject-verb order (as the former sentence) or not (as the latter sentence). Arguing that it is entirely the communicative requirements of discourse that leads to this formal representation in Italian would not be able to explain why in English, for instance, the difference in the information structure in the above Italian sentences would be expressed rather prosodically (depending on the position of the sentence accent) than syntactically, as the sentences *My CAR broke down* and *My car broke DOWN*, respectively, and why English would not allow the subject-verb inversion like Italian as can be seen in the implausibility of the sentence *\*Broke down my car*. The competing-motivation view of Lambrecht, on the other hand, can explain that the differences in grammaticality are the results of the different structural properties of the individual languages, where the components of grammar compete with each other in different ways across languages. For example, the difference in Italian and English described above could be due to the more rigid word order in English than Italian.

Lambrecht's (1994) theory has made an important contribution to the growing body of research on information structure, by developing an analysis of four independent yet interrelated sets of categories: the category of *propositional information* with its two components pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic assertion (which will be explained in detail below), the category of *identifiability* and *activation*, which is related to the referents of linguistic expressions in the hearer's mind at the time of utterance and the constant changes which these representations undergo in the course of a conversation, the category

of *topic*, which deals with the pragmatic relation of aboutness between discourse referents and propositions in given discourse contexts, and the category of *focus*, the element in a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition and which makes the utterance of a sentence informative (Lambrecht 1994:xiii-xiv).

Lambrecht's theory of information structure seems particularly relevant in examining the synchronic functions of the utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean, since it is a theory dealing with specifically, propositional information structure. As will be discussed in much detail in the later chapters of this dissertation, I argue that *-ketun* and *-canha* in spoken Korean function as explicit markers or devices which manage the information conveyed in an utterance, specifically, his category of propositional information. Adopting Lambrecht's view of information structure, where all levels of grammatical systems such as morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics as well as prosody are all intricately intertwined, competing with each other in language-specific ways, will not only shed light on various aspects of the information managing functions of *-ketun* and *-canha* in spoken Korean, but it will also illuminate the motivations behind the emergence of utterance-final particles at the right peripheral positional of an utterance in many different languages with different basic word order.

In the study of information structure, generally, the term *old information* refers to the speaker's assumption that the certain piece of information that he or she is referring to is already shared with the hearer, and the term *new information* mainly refers to the speaker's assumption about the hearer's lack of knowledge about that certain piece of information that the speaker is referring to.

These notions of old information and new information have been examined under various terms such as “old” and “new” (Kuno 1972, 1978), but also “given” and “new” (Halliday 1967), and “given” and “new” (Chafe 1976). These binary distinctions have been further developed and subdivided along dimensions such as the accessibility and identifiability of the referents, such as into evoked (inferable), unused and brand-new (Prince 1981), discourse-old, discourse-new, hearer-old and hearer-new (Prince 1992), high accessibility, mid accessibility and low accessibility (Ariel 1988), and in focus, activated, familiar, uniquely identifiable, referential and type identifiable (Gundel et al. 1993).

Nevertheless, all of these terms of information structure have not only been used when referring to the information status of a referent, but also when referring to information conveyed by a proposition. Lambrecht (1994) points out that because these terms, especially the notion of “new information” and “old information,” have given rise to great confusion in the literature, and that it is important to distinguish between information and meaning. He argues that “while meaning is expressed either in individual words or via relations established between words, information can strictly speaking only be conveyed relationally, via propositions” (Lambrecht 1994:45). He therefore distinguishes between “propositional information” and the “elements of information” in a sentence, where the latter are non-propositional units of meaning that form parts of propositions. The distinction between the information status of a proposition and the information status of a referent can be clearly seen in the following example which Lambrecht provides.

(1.14)

She did it.

(Lambrecht 1994:48)

Lambrecht explains that all the constituents of the sentence in (1.14) are equally “old” because otherwise anaphoric pronominals would not be used: the speakers must know these constituents from previous discourse who or what they refer to, to be able to interpret them. However, Lambrecht argues that the sentence in (1.14) can clearly convey new information in an appropriate utterance contexts, in the sense that it may change the hearer’s representation of the world (Lambrecht 1994:48-49).

Because of this difference between propositional information and elements of information, Lambrecht restricts the use of the terms *old information* and *new information* to the aspects of information which are associated with propositions only, by strictly distinguishing them from the *old referents* and *new referents*. Hence, according to Lambrecht, the term “‘old information’ is the sum of ‘knowledge’ [...] evoked in a sentence which a speaker assumes to be already available in the hearer’s mind at the time of utterance [...] while ‘new information’ is the information added to that knowledge by the utterance itself” (Lambrecht 1994:50).

However, to avoid the potential confusion altogether, Lambrecht proposes a different pair of linguistic terms: *pragmatic presupposition* for referring to the “old information” expressed in or evoked by a sentence, and *pragmatic assertion* for referring to the “new information” expressed or conveyed by the sentence. According to Lambrecht, *pragmatic presupposition* is “the set of propositions lexicographically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted

at the time the sentence is uttered” (Lambrecht 1994:52)<sup>7</sup>. He then gives his definition of *pragmatic assertion* as “the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered” (Lambrecht 1994:52).

It should be noted that the term *presupposition* has traditionally been used quite differently from the term *pragmatic presupposition* proposed by Lambrecht (1994) in the literature. The term *presupposition*, has been discussed as a specific kind of pragmatic inference. For instance, it has been argued that the sentence *I left London* is the presupposition of the sentence *I don't regret leaving London*, and the sentence *She has a husband* is the presupposition of the sentence *Her husband is a fool* (Saeed 2003:101). The topic of presupposition has been a very widely discussed in semantics and pragmatics (Frege 1892, Russell 1905, Stawson 1950, Karttunen 1973, Katz and Fodor 1963, Levinson 1983, and many more), however, in this dissertation, I use Lambrecht's terms *pragmatic presupposition* and *pragmatic assertion* (or simply *presupposition* and *assertion*) to refer to the relevant types of information associated with propositions in explaining the information-management function of *-ketun* and *-canha* as utterance-final particles in spoken Korean.

---

<sup>7</sup> Lambrecht (1994) also suggests that the following quote from Stalnaker (1974) should be included in the definition of pragmatic presupposition:

A proposition P is a pragmatic presupposition of a speaker in a given context just in case the speaker assumes or believes that his addressee assumes or believes that P, and assumes or believes that his addressee recognizes that he is making these assumption, or has these beliefs.

(Stalnaker 1974:200, cited in Lambrecht 1994:60)

## **1.8. The diachronic analysis of *-ketun* and *-canha*: Insubordination or grammaticalization?**

### **1.8.1. Previous research on the historical sources of utterance-final particles and their diachronic paths**

Thompson and Suzuki (2011) argue that the lexical categories of the historical sources of utterance-final particles are usually connectives and complementizers (Thompson and Suzuki 2011:680). Previous research on utterance-final particles in various languages seem to show agreement with Thompson and Suzuki's claim, since many of them deal with utterance-final particles which are developed from various types of subordinators which function to link two clauses within a sentence such as *kara* 'because' (Ohori 1995, Higashiizumi 2006), *kedo* 'but, although' (Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997, Ohori 1995), complementizers *koto*, *no*, *to*, *tte* (Okamoto 1995), *shi* 'and' (McGlong and Konishi 2010), conditional marker *ba* (Ohori 1995), concessive marker *noni* (Ohori 1995) in Japanese, *then* (Haselow 2011, 2012), *though* (Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen 2002), *but* (Mulder and Thompson 2008) in English, *aber* (Diewald and Fischer 1998) in German, enclitic *=go* (Mithun 2008) in Navajo, 'autonomous participials' and 'autonomous subordinates' (Mithun 2008) in Central Alaskan Yup'ik, *-ketun* 'if' (Koo and Rhee 2001), *-nuntey* 'and/but' (Y.-Y. Park 1999, H.-S. Lee 1999b, Son and Kim 2009), *-nikka* 'because' (Son and Kim 2009, S.-O. Sohn 2003), *-myense* 'while' (Y. Jung 2001), and complementizers *-lako/-tako/-nyako/-cako* (Son and Kim 2009) in Korean.

A number of explanations have been proposed for the rise of utterance-final particles from their former subordinating functions. Notable examples of such explanations are the works of Evans (2007), Mithun (2008) and Ohori (1995). For instance, Evans (2007) argues for what he calls as ‘insubordination’ process. According to his definition, insubordination is ‘the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses’ (Evans 2007:367). His ‘insubordination’ is not restricted solely to explain the evolution of utterance-final particles from various subordinators, but is rather used to explain the general diachronic process when what formerly was a subordinate clause becomes a main clause. When a subordinator comes to be used as an utterance-final particle, the process usually undergoes ‘insubordination.’ The following is what Evans claims to be the four-step historical trajectory that leads to the formation of insubordinated clauses:

(1.15)			
Subordination	Ellipsis	Conventionalized ellipsis	Reanalysis as main clause structure
(1) Subordinate construction	(2) Ellipsis of main clause	(3) Restriction of interpretation of ellipsed material	(4) Conventionalized main clause use of formally subordinate clause (Constructionalization)
(Evans 2007:370)			

As I will explain in more detail in section 3.5.3.1.1 of chapter 3 of this dissertation, the essence of Evan’s insubordination process lies in the ellipsis of the main clause or the matrix clause which leads what used to be subordinators to occur at the end of an utterance



and consequently to become utterance-final particles. On the other hand, Mithun (2008) provides explanations for the rise of the utterance-final particles in Navajo and Central Alaskan Yup'ik that are different from Evans's insubordination described in (1.15). She explains that Navajo enclitic *=go* and 'autonomous partial' and 'autonomous subordinates' in Yup'ik do not involve the omission of the main or matrix clause, unlike Evans' insubordination process. She argues that they instead underwent an extension process where their functional scope expanded beyond the sentential level, i.e., to the discourse level.

Both Evans (2007) and Mithun (2008) argue that the diachronic changes that they observe ('insubordination' by Evans (2007) and extension process by Mithun (2008)) are not equal as grammaticalization processes. For instance, Evans (2007) claims that insubordination in fact goes in the opposite direction of change from the grammaticalization process, by arguing that insubordination does not follow the unidirectional pathway of grammaticalization which involves the changes from main clause to subordinate clause and from pragmatics to syntax (Evans 2007:375-376)<sup>8</sup>. Mithun (2008), on the other hand, argues that the extension process found in Navajo and Yup'ik, which involves the expansion of scope from sentential level to discourse level, is simply the result of a different kind of process from grammaticalization, rather than being a counterexample to its unidirectionality (Mithun 2008:108)<sup>9</sup>.

Ohori's (1995) explanation for the emergence of Japanese utterance-final particles is also different from both Evans's insubordination and Mithun's extension process. Ohori

---

<sup>8</sup> For more discussion on the relationship between insubordination and grammaticalization, see section 3.5.3.2 of chapter 3 of this dissertation.

<sup>9</sup> However, she notes that extension and grammaticalization can sometimes co-occur (Mithun 2008:108).

explains that a number of Japanese subordinators such as conditional marker *ba*, participial marker *te*, concessive connective *noni* and reason connective *kara* gradually became utterance-final particles through the reduction of the main clause, which is a similar analysis to Evans' (2007) insubordination described above. However, unlike Evans who claims that insubordination process goes against grammaticalization, Ohori contrarily argues that the emergence of Japanese utterance-final particles via the ellipsis of main clause is a case of grammaticalization.

As has been argued in the literature such as Thompson and Suzuki (2011) many of the Korean utterance-final particles developed from connective endings and complementizers as well, such as *-ketun* 'if,' *-nuntey* 'and/but,' *-ko* 'and,' and the complementizers *-lako/-tako/-cako/-nyako*. However, there are many utterance-final particles in Korean that have different sources than simple connective endings and complementizers. For instance, *-canha* evolved from the negative question construction *-ci anh-a?* which consist of a connective (*-ci*), a negative marker (*anh-*), and an indicative sentential ending (*-a*). The utterance-final particle *-nun keya* developed from the combination of an attributive marker (*-nun*), a nominalizer (*ke*), a copular (*-y*) and an indicative sentential ending (*-a*). Furthermore, several other utterance-final particles in Korean evolved from the combinations of more than one connective ending and complementizer. For example, *-tanikka* is a phonologically reduced form of the combination of a complementizer (*-tako*), a light verb (*hata* 'do') and a causal connective (*-nikka*), and *-tamyense* is a phonologically reduced form of the combination which consists of a complementizer (*-tako*), a light verb (*hata* 'do') and another connective ending (*-myense*).

In the later chapters of this dissertation, I will argue that the evolution of the two utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* that I analyzed are the results of grammaticalization. This is a different analysis from Evans (2007) and Mithun (2008) where they claim that the insubordination process (Evans 2007) and extension process (Mithun 2008) are not cases of grammaticalization. My analysis slightly differs from that of Ohori (1995) as well, although he also argues that Japanese utterance-final particles evolved by the grammaticalization process. It is because his analysis of grammaticalization of Japanese utterance-final particles involves the omission or the ellipsis of the main clause while my analysis for the grammaticalization process of the two Korean utterance-final particles does not. This is not to say that some analyses are correct and others are wrong. Instead, this reveals that there is a very strong tendency that utterance-final particles are currently emerging from various historical sources, via diverse diachronic paths, in numerous languages with different basic word orders. In the next section, I will briefly summarize the theory of grammaticalization.

## **1.8.2. Grammaticalization theory**

### **1.8.2.1. Processes of grammaticalization**

The term *grammaticalization* was first coined in 1912 by the French linguist Antoine Meillet, and his definition of grammaticalization is “the attribution of grammatical

character to an erstwhile autonomous word<sup>10</sup>” (“l’attribution du caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome”; Meillet 1912:131, cited in Hopper and Traugott 2003:19). The study of grammaticalization particularly bloomed from the 1970’s and 1980’s and has been extensively examined since. Various definitions have been proposed, but perhaps the most well-known definition of grammaticalization would be that of Kuryłowicz:

Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one.

(Kuryłowicz 1975[1965]:52, cited in Narrog and Heine 2011:3)

And more recently, Hopper and Traugott define grammaticalization giving more emphasis on the role of constructions and linguistic contexts within grammaticalization:

[...] 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.

(Hopper and Traugott 2003:xv)

Grammaticalization involves changes in various aspects and domains of language: it not only involves morphosyntactic changes, but also semantic-pragmatic changes, as well as phonological changes. Some of the notable morphosyntactic changes in grammaticalization, though not an exhaustive list, are shown in (1.16):

---

<sup>10</sup> Translated by Paul Hopper.

(1.16) Morphosyntactic changes in grammaticalization

- a. Paradigmaticization (Lehmann 2002:120) is a process of paradigmatic integration, where the members gradually level out the differences they were equipped with originally. An instance of paradigmaticization can be observed when prepositions of different origin gradually adjust their generic differences and their different behaviors as they develop into primary prepositions (Lehmann 2002:120).
- b. Obligatorification (Lehmann 2002:124) is the reduction of transparadigmatic variability which is the freedom of the language user with regard to the paradigm as a whole. An example of obligatorification is the development of articles in Romance languages: while there is no syntactic rule in Latin which requires a determiner on a noun, in Modern Romance languages, however, such as in French, Italian and Spanish, the use of a singular noun without an article is impossible in most contexts (Lehmann 2002:125).
- c. Condensation (Lehmann 2002:128) is the decrease or the shrinking of the structural scope of a grammatical means, which is the structural size of the construction which it helps to form. According to Lehmann, the development of English auxiliaries *have* or *be* are instances of condensation since as they develop from a main verbs to auxiliary verbs, their structural scope also decreases from clause level to VP level (Lehmann 2002:128). However, whether the decrease of structural scope should be a component of grammaticalization or not has been questioned by Tabor and Traugott (1998), and I will discuss this issue in more detail in section 3.3.5.2 of chapter 3 of this dissertation.
- d. Coalescence (Lehmann 2002:132), is the increase of bondedness that a constituent show with others, for example, form > clitic, clitic > bound form, compound > derivational

affix, or derivational > inflectional affix (Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991:213, cited in Brinton 1996:52).

- e. Fixation (Lehmann 2002:153) is a process where an item gradually occupies a fixed spot rather than being able to be shifted around freely.
- f. Layering (Hopper 1991:22-23) refers to the formal diversity resulted from the emergence of a form or set of forms in a functional domain where it does not immediately replace an already existing set of functionally equivalent forms but rather the two set of forms co-exist. An example of layering can be observed in English past tense formation, where vowel alternations (such as in *drive/drove*, *take/took*) co-exists with recent layer of an apical suffix [t] or [d] (such as in *notice/noticed*, *walk/walked*) (Hopper 1991:23).
- g. Decategorialization (Hopper 1991:22, Hopper and Traugott 2003) is a process where a form undergoes the loss of the morphological and syntactic properties that would identify it as a full member of a major grammatical category such as a noun or verb. This type of cline of categoriality has been represented as: major category ( > intermediate category) > minor category (Hopper and Traugott 2003:107).
- h. Divergence (Hopper 1991:24-25) or Split (Heine and Reh 1984, cited in Hopper 1991) refers to the fact that when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization, for example, to an auxiliary, clitic or affix, the original form may remain as an autonomous lexical element and undergo the same changes as any other lexical items, as the result of multiples of forms having a common etymology, but diverging functionally. Examples of divergence include the French negative particle *pas* and its cognate *pas* ‘pace, step,’ and English indefinite article *a(n)* and its cognate word *one*, where the two nouns in

both languages are so distinct that the relationship is completely opaque (Hopper 1991:24).

- i. Specialization (Hopper 1991:22, Hopper and Traugott 2003:116, Bréal 1991 [1882], cited in Hopper and Traugott 2003) refers to the process of reducing the variety of formal choices available as the meaning assume greater grammatical generality<sup>11</sup>. An example of specialization is that of development of Modern French negative construction, which requires a negative particle *ne* before the verb and a supportive particle *pas* after it. While at earlier stages of French a variety of nouns suggesting a least quantity could be used in the place of *pas*, such as *pas* ‘step, pace,’ *point* ‘dot, point,’ *mie* ‘crumb,’ *gote* ‘drop,’ *amende* ‘almond,’ *arestes* ‘fish-bone,’ *beloce* ‘sloe,’ *eschalop* ‘pea-pod,’ in Modern French, however, only *pas* (and rarely *point*) is still used and the others are no longer used in negative construction (Hopper and Traugott 2003:117-118).

A number of significant semantic-pragmatic changes in grammaticalization are enlisted in (1.17), though again it may not be an exhaustive list.

#### (1.17) Semantic-Pragmatic changes in grammaticalization

- a. Persistence (Hopper 1991:22), or Retention of earlier meaning (Bybee and Pagliuca 1987, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:15), refers to the fact that when a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to persist, and

---

<sup>11</sup> Hopper argues that though specialization might be similar to Lehmann’s obligatorification (described in (1.16b)), obligatorification instead refers to the final stages of grammaticalization and might be a process that solely leads to grammaticalization, but on the other hand, specialization is just one possible kind of change which may or may not lead to grammaticalization (Hopper 1991:25).

details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution. Persistence can be illustrated in the development of object the marker *k* in West African language Gã. *K*, a formerly a verb meaning ‘take,’ now functions either as a full verb ‘take,’ or as an accusative case marker. However, as a case marker, *k* can only be used with objects which can be ‘taken’ due to its historical origin as a full verb meaning ‘take’ (Hopper 1991:29).

- b. Semantic generalization (Bybee et al. 1994:6), or Bleaching (Givón 1975, cited in Bybee et al 1994), or Desemanticization (Lehmann 2002:114), refers to a process where the contexts in which a form can be used becomes more generalized. An instance of generalization is that of the development of English progressive into imperfect, discussed in Bybee and Pagliuca (1985, cited in Hopper and Traugott 2003:104), in which an originally highly constrained progressive structure be *V-ing*, that was restricted to agentive construction first spreads to passives (as in *the house was being built*) and later to stative contexts, where it serves a “contingency” function (as in *There are statues standing in the park*) (Hopper and Traugott 2003:104).
- c. Subjectification (Traugott 1989, 2010, Traugott and Dasher 2001) is a process whereby “meanings become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude towards what the speaker is talking about” (Traugott 1989, cited in Cuyckens et al. 2010:10). Examples of subjectification includes the development epistemic modality, scalar particles such as *even*, concessive from temporal meanings such as the development of *while* in English (Traugott and Dasher 2001:96).
- d. Intersubjectification (Traugott and Dasher 2001, Traugott 2010) refers to “the semasiological process whereby meanings come over time to encode ...



SP[eaker]/W[riter]'s attention to the 'self' of AD[dressee]/R[eader] in both an epistemic and social sense" (Traugott 2003:130, cited in Cuyckens et al 2010:4). According to Traugott's point of view (Traugott 2010, Traugott and Dasher 2001), intersubjectification is subordinate to subjectification since the former cannot occur without the latter. Traugott argues that it is because "SP[eaker]/W[riter] displays points of view in the ongoing interactional negotiation of discourse production; when these encoded points of view come to signal particular attention to AD[dressee]/R[eader], intersubjectification occurs" (Traugott and Dasher 2001:99). This view is schematized as the following cline: non-/less subjective > subjective > intersubjective (Traugott 2010:35). Examples of intersubjectification include the developments of *well*, *perhaps*, and *sort of* in English into hedges (Traugott 2010).

And lastly, one of the prominent phonological changes in grammaticalization is given in (1.18) below.

(1.18) Phonological change in grammaticalization

- a. Phonological reduction (Bybee et al. 1994:6), or Phonological attrition (Lehmann 2002:113), or Erosion (Heine and Reh 1984, cited in Lehmann 2002) refers to the gradual loss of phonological substance. Examples of phonological reduction include the reduction of Latin *ille* to French *le* (Lehmann 2002:113), and the reduction of English *going to* to *gonna*.

### 1.8.2.2. Mechanisms of change in grammaticalization

There have been many proposals as to what are the mechanisms of change in grammaticalization. Among the few mechanisms of change concerned with grammaticalization proposed so far, I will discuss three of them in this section: reanalysis and analogy which are perhaps the two mechanisms of change that are mostly discussed in the literature, and the role of frequency, which has been in the recent discussions of mechanisms of change in grammaticalization.

Reanalysis, according to Hopper and Traugott (2003), refers to the replacement of old structures by new ones (Hopper and Traugott 2003:63). It also has been defined in Langacker as the “change in the structure of an expression or class of expression that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface structure” (Langacker 1977:58, cited in Traugott 2011a:21). Some of morphosyntactic changes in grammaticalization which involve reanalysis are changes in constituency (such as changes in bracketing of elements in constructions) and reassignment of morphemes to different semantic-syntactic category labels (such as the development of future tense marker from *be going to* in English) (Hopper and Traugott 2003:51). Among the types of reanalysis which are concerned with semantic-pragmatic changes in grammaticalization are those that are metonymic in nature, such as, inference (Bybee et al. 1994), invited inferences (Traugott and König 1991, cited in Traugott 2011a:24) or context-induced reinterpretations (Heine, Claudi, and Hunnemeyer 1991).

While it is less controversial that grammaticalization involves a reanalysis of the relationship between form and function in a grammatical construction (see Croft 2000,

cited in Croft 2003:268), the question whether grammaticalization involves structural reanalysis, has been controversial among scholars. For instance, Haspelmath (1998, cited in Croft 2003:267) argues that reanalysis is a process that is distinct from grammaticalization, since contrary to grammaticalization processes, reanalysis does not involve the loss of syntactic autonomy or phonological substance; the changes of syntactic relations and dependencies in reanalysis is abrupt rather than gradual; the process is potentially reversible, rather than being unidirectional. Croft (2003) claims that “the role of syntactic reanalysis in grammaticalization depends on one’s theory of syntactic representation more than on grammaticalization itself” (Croft 2003:268), and therefore argues that in a syntactic theory that involves simple syntactic structures, such as Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001), it is less likely that grammaticalization will involve syntactic reanalysis (Croft 2003:268).

The second mechanisms of change in grammaticalization which I will discuss in this section is analogy. Analogy refers to the attraction of extant forms to already existing constructions (Hopper and Traugott 2003:64), and it has been defined in Meillet (1912) as a process whereby irregularities in grammar, particularly at the morphological level, were regularized (Hopper and Traugott 2003:64). Two types of analogy have been proposed for morphological changes (Croft 2000, cited in Traugott 2011a:25) which are levelling (such as the reduction of stem allomorphs) and extension or generalization (such as the spread of the plural -s marker to most nominals) (Traugott 2011a:25). One major semantic-pragmatic change in grammaticalization that interacts with analogy is metaphor, and it has been argued to be one of the prominent mechanisms of semantic changes in grammaticalization (Heine et al. 1991). However, a number of studies question and challenge the claim that

metaphorizations are mechanisms of grammaticalization (such as Bybee et al. 1994, Traugott 1989, Traugott 2011a). They argue that metaphor can rather lead to semantic changes for lexical meaning, or at the most semantic changes at the very early stage of grammaticalization process, and that closer examination of many cases of semantic changes which have been argued to be the result of metaphorization (such as the development of epistemic modality *may* (Sweetser 1990), or the grammaticalization from locative (spatial) notions to tense or aspect (temporal) notions) reveal that they are in fact metonymic, i.e., non-analogical changes rather than metaphoric, i.e., analogical changes. While only reanalysis can create new grammatical structure, analogy has a major role in generalizing a rule or construction, and while reanalysis operates along the syntagmatic axis of linear constituent structure, analogy operates along the paradigmatic axis of options at any one constituent node (Jakobson and Halle 1956, cited in Hopper and Traugott 2003:64).

The last mechanism of change in grammaticalization which I will discuss in this section is the role of frequency. According to Bybee, frequency is not only a result of grammaticalization, but it can also be an active force which instigates the changes in grammaticalization (Bybee 2003:602). She argues that the crucial role of frequency in grammaticalization should be recognized, by proposing a new definition of grammaticalization which emphasizes the importance of frequency as “the process by which a frequently used sequence of words or morphemes becomes automated as a single processing unit” (Bybee 2003:603). Two types of frequency have been proposed: token frequency and type frequency. The former refers to the frequency of occurrence of a unit, while the latter refers to the dictionary frequency of a particular pattern, such as a stress

pattern, an affix, etc. (Bybee 2003:604). The increase of type frequency signifies how much the construction in question generalized in the grammaticalization process, while the high token frequency of grammaticalization construction can trigger various formal and functional changes of the grammaticalizing constructions such as weakening of semantic force by ‘habituation’ (Haiman 1994), phonological reduction and fusion such as “chunking” (Boyland 1996, Bybee and Scheibman 1999), autonomy of a construction, loss of semantic transparency, as well as entrenchment which leads to the preservation of morphological irregularities.

### **1.8.2.3. The unidirectionality hypothesis**

One of the most fundamental hypotheses of grammaticalization is its unidirectionality. The unidirectionality hypothesis is “the claim that the changes which fall under the rubric of grammaticalization always move in the direction from more to less lexical or from less to more grammatical” (Börjars and Vincent 2011:163). Unidirectionality has been proposed to operate in various aspects of grammaticalization. In terms of grammatical function, for instance, developments from resultative constructions to anteriors and then to perfectives or pasts, and developments from desideratives and obligations markers to futures are often observed while the reverse direction is unknown (Bybee et al. 1994:12-13). At the morphosyntactic level, a number of clines have been argued, such as lexical item used in specific linguistic contexts > syntax > morphology (Hopper and Traugott 2003:100), content item > grammatical word >

clitic > inflectional affix<sup>12</sup> (Hopper and Traugott 2003:7). Moreover, unidirectionality can also be found in the semantic-pragmatic level of grammaticalization, such as inferential changes like semantic generalizations, or semantic changes from more concrete to more abstract. Furthermore, in phonological level of grammaticalization as well, unidirectionality is evidenced such as in the reduction or deletion of phonological features while the reverse direction is not observed.

Although evidence for the unidirectionality of grammaticalization is abundant, the unidirectionality hypothesis has also been challenged with a number of putative counterexamples. For instance, the development from a person/number suffix to a free pronoun in Modern Irish dialects (Bybee et al. 1994:13-14), the development in Estonian of an independent affirmative adverb *ep* from the clitic *\*-pa* (Campbell 1991, cited in Hopper and Traugott 2003:137), and the development in Pennsylvania German of the rounded form *wotte* of the preterit subjective *welle* ‘would < wanted’ into a main verb ‘wish, desire’ (Burridge 1998, cited in Hopper and Traugott 2003:137) have been argued to be counterexamples to grammaticalization. The existence of these counterexamples suggests that unidirectionality in grammaticalization is not an absolute principle. However, it has been argued that counterexamples to unidirectionality are relatively infrequent and highly sporadic, not showing any specific patterns among them, while the evidence for unidirectionality in grammaticalization is relatively abundant, and they are systematically observed across languages (Hopper and Traugott 2003). As Traugott (2001) argues, “languages should be understood to be subject to statistical and not absolute generalizations,

---

<sup>12</sup> This cline has been called as “the cline of grammaticality” in Hopper and Traugott (2003:7).

and that therefore a small number of counterexamples need not be a matter of great concern” (Traugott 2001, in Börjars and Vincent 2011:164).

In the following chapters I will argue that the evolutionary process of the two utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* in spoken Korean is grammaticalization. As has been claimed in the literature of grammaticalization, grammaticalization has both a synchronic and a diachronic dimension, although it is more commonly studied as the latter (Heine 2003:575, Lehmann 1985 cited in Brinton 1996:50, Brinton 1996). Hence, observing the grammaticalization of *-ketun* and *-canha* will not only help us understand their diachronic evolutionary process (such as how they became utterance-final particles), but it will also shed light on better understanding their current functions (such as why do they function as they do now), as well as understanding the synchronic situation where so many utterance-final particles are currently emerging in spoken Korean and in other languages of the world.

## **1.9. Goal and organization of the dissertation**

The goal of this present dissertation is to examine two currently emerging utterance-final particles in Modern Spoken Korean, *-ketun* and *-canha*. In particular, this study aims to describe their current functions, and examine what their roles in Modern Spoken Korean are. In addition, this dissertation will investigate the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* and *-canha* from their former functions to their utterance-final particle functions, as an attempt to understand the reason why so many of these utterance-final

particles in spoken Korean as well as in other spoken languages of the world are currently emerging, and whether there is a common motivation behind these changes.

In chapter 2, the synchronic functions of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean will be described. Chapter 3 will examine the grammaticalization process from *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending to *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle. Chapter 4 will describe the current functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in spoken Korean. In chapter 5, *-canha*'s grammaticalization process from a negative question construction to an utterance-final particle will be examined. Lastly, chapter 6 will summarize and conclude the present dissertation.



## Chapter 2. Novel functions of conditional connective ending *-ketun* in Modern Spoken Korean

### 2.1. Introduction

*-Ketun* is one of many connective endings in Korean that connect two clauses together in a sentence. Specifically, *-ketun* is known to be a conditional connective ending, since the two clauses which it connects are typically in a conditional relationship. *-Ketun*'s conditional function has been acknowledged to have semantic and syntactic restrictions: it can be only used in imperative, hortative or promissory sentences (K.-D. Lee 1993, Y.-H. Chae 1998, J.-I. Yeom 2005, Kim and Suh 2010a). In contrast, the other conditional connective in Korean, *-myen* does not have such restrictions. The following sentences provided by J.-I. Yeom (2005) show the prototypical usages of *-ketun* as a connective ending.

(2.1)

- a.     *nalssi-ka*                 *coha-ci-ketun*                 *san-ey*  
weather-NOM                 good-INCHOA-if(*ketun*)                 mountain-LOC  
*ka-la.*  
go-IMPR  
'If the weather gets better, climb the mountain.'
- b.     *nalssi-ka*                 *coha-ci-ketun*                 *san-ey*  
weather-NOM                 good-INCHOA-if(*ketun*)                 mountain-LOC  
*ka-ca.*  
go-HORT  
'If the weather gets better, let's climb the mountain.'

- c.      *nalssi-ka*                      *coha-ci-ketun*                      *san-ey*  
weather-NOM                      good-INCHOA-if(*ketun*)                      mountain-LOC  
*ka-ma.*  
go-PROM  
‘If the weather gets better, I promise to climb the mountain.’  
(J.-I. Yeom 2005:751-752)

In (2.1), the clause which *-ketun* is attached to serves as the condition of the clause following *-ketun*, and due to the conditional relationship of these two clauses, *-ketun* can be translated in English as ‘if’ or ‘when’.

However, in recent spoken Korean *-ketun* often functions as an utterance-final particle, which marks the end of an utterance rather than connecting two clauses together.

Example (2.2) illustrates such a case.

(2.2) 4CM00003

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about divorce.)

- 1      P2:    *ay-ka*                      *iss-nun*                      *kyengwu-ey-nun*  
child-NOM    exist-ATTR(RL)                      case-LOC-TOP  
*ku-ke-n*                      *an*    *toy-keyss-ta-nun*  
that-thing-TOP                      NEG    be.done-DCT.RE-DECL-ATTR(RL)  
*sayngkak-i*    *tul-te-la.*  
thought-NOM    come.in-FH.EV-DECL  
‘I don’t think it’s a good idea if you have kids.’
- 2      P1:    *ung*    *ku-chi.*  
yeah    that-COMT  
‘Yeah you’re right.’
- 3→    *wuli= wuli*    *cakun*    *apeci-ka*                      *cayhon-ul*  
my    my    little    father-NOM    remarriage-ACC  
*ha-si-ess-ketun?*  
do-HON-ANT-*ketun*  
‘My= my uncle got married again-*ketun*.’
- 4      P2:    *ung.*  
yes  
‘Yeah.’
- 5      P1:    *kuntey ku*                      *cakun*    *emma*    *casik-i*                      *twu*  
but    that    little    mom    child-NOM    two

*myeng-i-ess-kwu,*  
 CLSF-COP-ANT-CON  
 ‘But my new aunt had two kids of her own and,’  
 6        *cakun appa casik-i twu myeng-i-ess-e,*  
           little dad child-NOM two CLSF-COP-ANT-INDC  
           ‘My uncle had two kids,’  
 (P1 continues his story)

Example (2.2) above, which is an excerpt from a natural spoken Korean corpus, clearly shows that *-ketun* is neither connecting two clauses together, nor conveying a conditional meaning in spoken Korean.

Many scholars have already noticed these new uses of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean (Y.-H., Chae 1998, Y.-Y. Park 1998, S.-J. Park 1999, J.-Y. Shin 2000, J.-C. Lee 2001, Koo and Rhee 2001, Y.-J. Jeon 2002, Park and Sohn 2002, Son and Kim 2009, K.-H. Kim 2010, Kim and Suh 2010a, Kim and Suh 2010b, M.-H. Jo 2001). They have attempted to describe its novel usages as having an epistemic marking function (S.-J. Park 1999, Y.-H. Chae 1998, Koo and Rhee’s 2001, J.-Y. Shin’s 2000, Park and Sohn 2002, Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b), diverse discourse connecting functions (Koo and Rhee 2001, M.-H. Jo 2011, Y.-Y Park 1998, K.-H. Kim 2010, Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b), politeness marking function (Koo and Rhee 2001, Y.-H. Chae 1998, M.-H. Jo 2011) and impoliteness marking function (Y.-Y. Park 1998, K.-H Kim 2010 and Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b). Although all of these studies made efforts to illustrate *-ketun*’s current function as an utterance-final particle, however, their analyses seem insufficient, in particular their lack of acknowledgement of the fact that the functions of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle are profoundly linked to information structure in discourse is a critical aspect which is still in need to be explained.

The aim of this paper is to revisit the current function of *-ketun* in Modern Spoken Korean by observing naturally occurred spontaneous conversation data. By relating the novel functions of *-ketun* with Lambrecht's (1994) notion of Pragmatic presupposition and Pragmatic assertion, this present study intends to provide a more plausible account for the main function of *-ketun* in spoken Korean, specifically by casting light on *-ketun*'s information managing role in discourse<sup>13</sup>. In particular, this study will propose that the basic function of *-ketun* in spoken Korean is to 'present an assertion as if it were, or as if it should be or should have been a presupposition.'

This present paper is organized as follows. In section 2.2, previous studies on the uses of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle will be briefly summarized and in section 2.3, the data observed in this study will be described. It will then be argued, in section 2.4, that the basic function of *-ketun* in Modern Spoken Korean is to construe an assertion as a presupposition. Finally section 2.5 will conclude this study.

## **2.2. Previous studies on the uses of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle and problems raised by these studies**

### **2.2.1. Three main functions of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle proposed by previous works**

The peculiar usage of *-ketun* in spoken Korean has received a lot of attention due to its very different functions from those as a conditional connective ending in written

---

<sup>13</sup> *-Ketun*'s function of managing the information flow is similar to what Haselow (2010) calls the "management of common ground" in his article on final particles in English.

Korean. *-ketun*'s uses as an utterance-final particle rather than a connective ending have been noticed since H.-B. Choi (1937), and have been extensively studied since then. Three main functions were proposed in the literature as the novel functions of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle. The first main function of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle suggested by the previous studies was that *-ketun* is used as a type of an epistemic marker. S.-J. Park (1999), focusing his study on investigating the syntactic and semantic differences between *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending and *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle, explains that the semantics of the utterance-final *-ketun* is "to inform the hearer that the speaker's proposition is truthful [translation mine]." Y.-H. Chae (1998) claims that when *-ketun* is used at the end of an utterance, it expresses that "the speaker already has experienced what has been said in his/her utterance and confirmed its truth [translation mine]." In Koo and Rhee's (2001) research on the grammaticalization process from the connective ending *-ketun* to the utterance-final particle *-ketun*, it was argued that the utterance-final *-ketun* has developed into a marker which expresses epistemic mood, conveying "the speaker's psychological attitude towards the veracity of the proposition [translation mine]." It has also been claimed in J.-Y. Shin's (2000) work that the main function of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is to provide information which is only accessible from the speaker's domain. Park and Sohn (2002) also propose that *-ketun* is now used as an interpersonal marker which highlights the speaker's epistemic stance. Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) also suggest that *-ketun* in conversation implements actions that are predominantly grounded upon some empirical evidence or knowledge exclusively available to the speaker in the domain where he/she can claim epistemic rights.

The second main function of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle which has been argued in the literature is that *-ketun* is used as a discourse conjunction. Koo and Rhee (2001) suggest that *-ketun*, which used to connect clauses as a conditional connective ending, now functions as a discourse conjunction to provide background information or reasons. M.-H. Jo's (2011) dissertation on sentence finalizing functions of Korean connective endings proposes that *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle has a "situation managing function [translation mine]" providing background or prerequisite information for the following utterance. From a conversation analytic point of view, Y.-Y Park (1998) argues that *-ketun* provides footnotes, justification and clarification in conversation. K.-H. Kim (2010), and Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) also analyzing *-ketun* with their conversation analytic method, suggest that *-ketun* is often used in pre-sequences as pre-requests or pre-tellings, frequently used in parenthetical sequences and also in second positions of an adjacency pair as a dispreferred responses.

Lastly, the third main function of *-ketun* was proposed to be related to (im)politeness. On one hand, several scholars such as Koo and Rhee (2001), Y.-H. Chae (1998) and M.-H. Jo (2011) claim that *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle has a function to express politeness. Nonetheless, on the other hand, other scholars such as Y.-Y. Park (1998), K.-H Kim (2010) and Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) argue that *-ketun* in conversation is frequently used in dispreferred responses to convey impoliteness. These studies suggest that *-ketun* can either have one function or the other, i.e., having either politeness marking function or having impoliteness marking function, but none of the studies have shown that *-ketun* can have the both politeness and impoliteness marking functions at the same time.

Although all of these studies made efforts to illustrate *-ketun*'s current function as an utterance-final particle, there seem to exist some flaws in their analysis of *-ketun*, which I will address in detail in the following subsection.

### 2.2.2. Problems with previous analyses

The first problem that I will raise concerns the first main function of *-ketun* that the previous works have argued, discussed in the previous subsection, which was a claim that *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is a type of an epistemic marker (S.-J. Park 1999, Y.-H. Chae 1998, Koo and Rhee 2001, J.-Y. Shin 2000, Park and Sohn 2002, Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b). In the literature on *-ketun*, there is a consensus that *-ketun* is an utterance-final particle functions as a marker which conveys the speaker's strong epistemic stance towards the proposition he or she is uttering, and that it is a marker that shows the information it is conveying is solely accessible from the speaker's domain. However, such claim raises issues when we consider the fact that any utterances in spoken language or in any form of communication have exactly such functions. Lambrecht (1994) discusses this issue by arguing that all utterances are used to make pragmatic assertion, which is the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered (see section 1.7 of chapter 1). The examples in (2.3) below reflect such problem.

(2.3)

- a.    *na*    *ecey*            *yenghwa*        *po-ass-e*.  
      I        yesterday        movie            see-ANT-*e*.  
      'I went to see a movie yesterday-*e*.'

- b.     *na*     *ecey*            *yenghwa*     *po-ass-ketun.*  
        I       yesterday     movie         see-ANT-ketun  
        ‘I went to see a movie yesterday-ketun.’

In this invented set of examples, the two sentences (2.3a) and (2.3b) are exactly the same sentences except for their utterance-final particles. The first sentence has the neutral indicative sentential ending *-e*, and the second one has the utterance-final particle *-ketun*. It seems to me that it is hard, or even impossible to tell if there is a difference in the degree of the epistemicity in these two sentences. The speakers of both sentences are equally demonstrating that the information conveyed in the utterance is true and only accessible from the speaker’s domain. Thus arguing that *-ketun* is a type of an epistemic marker would be misleading, although all the previous works on *-ketun* might agree on this issue. I will deal with this particular problem in more detail in section 2.5.1.

The second main function of *-ketun* proposed by the previous researchers was that *-ketun* is a discourse conjunction. Specifically, it has been proposed in previous works about *-ketun* that the utterance-final *-ketun* functions as a discourse conjunction to provide background information (Koo and Rhee 2001, Park and Sohn 2002, M.-H. Jo 2011), reasons (Y.-H. Chae 1998, Y.-Y. Park 1998, Koo and Rhee 2001, Y.-H. Jung 2001, M.-H. Jo 2011), prerequisite information for the following utterance (Y.-J. Jeon 2002, M.-H. Jo 2011), footnote, justification and clarification (Y.-Y. Park 1998), and that it functions to present the topic of discourse (Y.-H. Jung 2001), to serve as a basis for further elaboration for the upcoming and/or the preceding utterance (Park and Sohn 2002), and to invite the hearer into the discourse (Koo and Rhee 2001, Park and Sohn 2002). It also has been argued



that *-ketun* in discourse is used in pre-sequences as pre-requests or pre-tellings (K.-H. Kim 2010, Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b), in parenthetical sequence (K.-H. Kim 2010, Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b), and in a second pair part as a dispreferred response (K.-H. Kim 2010, Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b).

Although their analyses on *-ketun*'s discourse connecting functions or situation managing functions are correct predictions of *-ketun*, I believe there is a more general explanation that is still in need for a more thorough analysis of *-ketun*'s current functions in spoken Korean. In particular, none of these previous works on *-ketun* provide what is common to all the various discourse connecting functions of *-ketun* they are proposing and how they are related to each other under the functions of the single marker *-ketun*. I believe that the common factor in the diverse discourse connecting functions of *-ketun* lies in its information managing function which is a crucial point that all the previous studies have failed to notice. In this present study I will demonstrate in section 2.4 that *-ketun* has a particular way of connecting discourse of its own, which is 'to present an assertion as a presupposition,' and I will illustrate how this information managing function is related to the various discourse connecting functions of *-ketun* which have been proposed in the literature of *-ketun*.

The third and the last main function of *-ketun* proposed in the literature that I illustrated in the previous subsection was related to (im)politeness. As I have described above, there exist two sides concerning this issue. Koo and Rhee (2001), Y.-H. Chae (1998) and M.-H. Jo (2011) argue that *-ketun* is a politeness marker, while Y.-Y. Park (1998), K.-H. Kim (2010) and Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) claim that *-ketun* is mostly used to convey impoliteness. Though the two sides are asserting two very opposing functions, neither one

side is wrong and they both have the correct prediction, as can be shown in the following examples (2.4) and (2.5).

(2.4) 6CM00105

(Context: Six students are having a group discussion meeting to prepare for an upcoming in-class presentation on different strategies used in TV commercials.)<sup>14</sup>

- 1 P5: *ce akka ku hoysa chai*  
 DM a.little.while.ago that company difference  
*malssum-ha-sy-ese,*  
 speech.HON-do-HON-PRECED  
 ‘Um, since you talked about the differences between companies a little while ago,’
- 2 P4: *yey.*  
 yes  
 ‘Yes.’
- 3 P5: *cey-ka tteol-un sayngkak-i-yo,*  
 I.HON-NOM rise-ATTR(RL) thought-NOM-HON.END  
 ‘I had a thought,’
- 4→ *kongilil-un= (H) cwulo ccom yumyeng-ha-ci*  
 Kongilil-TOP mostly a.little famous-do-CON  
*anh-un salam-ul ssu-nun ke*  
 NEG-ATTR(RL) person-ACC use-ATTR(RL) thing  
*kath-ketun-yo?*  
 seem-*ketun*-HON.END  
 ‘It seems to me that the Kongilil company is using mostly not that famous people (in their commercials)-*ketun*?’
- 5 P4: *um=,*  
 DM  
 ‘Hmm,’
- 6 P5: *ney.*  
 yes  
 ‘Yes.’

<sup>14</sup> The excerpt in (2.4) is from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Corpus. More detailed description of the data used in this study is presented in section 1.6.1 of chapter 1.

In (2.4) above, the speaker P5 is presenting his idea in line 4 by ending his utterance with *-ketun*. Here, *-ketun* is used as a hedge, i.e., it attenuates or weakens the speaker's opinion or judgment, and is used as a politeness strategy. Specifically, the politeness strategies of the speaker P5 are pervasive in this particular utterance, from the hedging expression *ceykateolun sayngkakiyo* 'I had a thought' which already begins from line 3, and the hedging expressions in line 4 such as *ccom* 'a little,' *ke kath-* 'seems like,' and the use of *-ketun*.

However, *-ketun* can also express impoliteness as can be seen in the excerpt (2.5) below, which was provided by Kim and Suh (2010b).

(2.5)

((Overheard conversation: At campus coffee shop))

- 1     A:   *ceki i khephi cokum cen-ey sa-ss-nuntey*  
           there this coffee a.little before-LOC buy-ANT-CIRCUM
- 2           *silep com cwu-si-keyss-e-yo?*  
           syrup a.little give-HON-DCT.RE-INDC-HON.END  
           'Excuse me. I bought this coffee a moment ago and could you give me some syrup?'
- 3→    B:   *keki khawunthe yeph-ey iss-ketun-yo?*  
           there counter beside-LOC exist-ketun-HON.END  
           'You can find it over there next to the counter.'
- 4     A:   *ah yeki-yo? eps-nuntey-yo,*  
           DM here-HON.END not.exist-CIRCUM-HON.END  
           'Oh, over here? It's not here though.'

(Kim and Suh 2010b:16-17)

As also has been argued in Kim and Suh (2010b), B's answer in line 3<sup>15</sup> used with *-ketun* sounds highly rude and sarcastic. The excerpts (2.4) and (2.5) demonstrate that *-ketun* can sometimes be used in politeness strategies but it can also be used in impoliteness strategies

---

<sup>15</sup> The honorific ending *-yo* used in line 3 is a grammatical honorific marker in Korean which is (obligatorily) used when there is a social distance between the speakers, does not have a direct relationship with politeness. In other words, the use of *-yo* does not necessarily used to convey politeness.

the other times. However, the previous works on *-ketun* proposed that it has either a politeness function or an impoliteness function, but all of them seem to have overlooked the fact that it can have both of these functions. Not only have these studies failed to appreciate both polite and impolite functions of *-ketun*, their analysis can have gaps in explanation when describing the politeness or the impoliteness functions of *-ketun*. If one argues that the function of *-ketun* is to mark politeness per se, one cannot explain how it can have an impolite function as well, and vice versa. This paper intends to provide a more plausible explanation for the politeness and impoliteness functions of *-ketun* by demonstrating that both functions are extended from *-ketun*'s basic information managing function, and this specific issue will be dealt in more detail in sections 2.4.2.1.2 and 2.4.2.2.

## **2.3. Description of data**

### **2.3.1. Source of data**

The data used in this study is from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong corpus. For more details on the data, see section 1.6.1 of chapter 1.

### **2.3.2. Findings**

*-Ketun* is also often pronounced as *-ketung*, *-kuten*, *-keteng*, and *-kutung* in spoken Korean. All of these forms were included in the observation. Furthermore, since the honorific ending marker *-yo* can also be attached to all of these forms when spoken in

honorific style, the forms *-ketunyo*, and *-ketungyo* were also included (although *-ketengyo*, *-kutenyo* and *-kutengyo* are possible as well, they did not appear in the corpus). In total, 9 variants of *-ketun* were taken into account in the observation. In sum, 1415 of these forms of *-ketun* were found in the corpus. The following table shows whether *-ketun* appears in the middle of an intonation unit (cf. Chafe 1994, Du Bois et al. 1993) or at the end of an intonation unit.

	<b>Number of occurrences</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Middle of IU</b>	77	5.4%
<b>End of IU</b>	1338	94.6%
<b>Total</b>	1415	100%

<Table 2.1. *Distribution of -ketun, depending on its position in respect to intonation units*>

<Table 2.1> illustrates that among the 1415 occurrences of *-ketun*, 1338 of them occurred at the end of an intonation unit, which signifies that for the 94.6% of the time, *-ketun* was functioning to end an utterance, i.e., functioning as an utterance-final particle. The remaining 77 occurrences of *-ketun*, which occurred in the middle of an intonation unit were observed more closely and <Table 2.2> below shows the results.

	<b>Number of occurrence</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>-Ketun followed by another clause</b>	7	9.1%
<b>-Ketun followed by a non-clause constituent</b>	70	90.9%
<b>Total (middle of IU)</b>	77	100%

<Table 2.2. *Occurrences of -ketun in the middle of an intonation unit*>

<Table 2.2> demonstrates that even in the middle of an IU, *-ketun* was not connecting clauses most of the time. For 90.9% of the times (70 occurrences), the constituents following *-ketun* were NPs, or discourse markers added at the end of a clause to clarify what has already been said in the *-ketun*-clauses, as ‘afterthoughts.’ Moreover, when the remaining 7 cases where another clause was following *-ketun* in an IU were more closely examined, it has been found that even, in these 7 cases, *-ketun* was never used in its original function as a conditional connective ending. These 7 clauses following *-ketun* also turned out to have been used as ‘afterthoughts’ or ‘increments<sup>16</sup>.’ In consequence, if the result shown in <Table 2.2> is also taken into account, *-ketun*, at least in Modern Spoken Korean, is always used as an utterance-final particle and never used as a conditional connective ending<sup>17</sup>.

For this present study, only the 1338 instances of *-ketun* which occurred at the end of an intonation unit were analyzed. From these 1338 occurrences of *-ketun*, 100 cases were chosen randomly and were examined in full detail. Unless otherwise stated, all of the excerpts used in this study are from these 100 cases of *-ketun* chosen from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong corpus. The transcription of the corpus data was slightly modified by the transcription convention developed by Du Bois et al. (1993) for this present dissertation; the transcription convention is provided in Appendix A.

---

<sup>16</sup> An *increment* is defined by Schegloff as a “possible completion followed by further talk by the same speaker, built as a continuation of what has just been possibly completed” (Schegloff 2000:3, cited in Luke, Thompson and Ono 2012:156).

<sup>17</sup> As a speaker of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle, I consider myself as a non-native speaker of *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending. In case where I would like to convey a conditional meaning, I would use the other conditional connective ending *-myen* instead of *-ketun*. However, I would still understand *-ketun*’s usage as a connective ending when it is found in formally written texts, or when it is uttered by an elderly person.

## 2.4. Present function of *-ketun* in spoken Korean: Construing pragmatic assertion as pragmatic presupposition

### 2.4.1. *-Ketun* in storytelling

The utterance-final particle *-ketun* is frequently found in storytelling contexts, where the speaker is telling a story rather in a narrative style. This section shows that *-ketun* is used to manage the information flow in discourse, particularly to facilitate the comprehension of their story.

#### 2.4.1.1. Presenting an assertion as a presupposition in relation to the following utterance

*-Ketun* often appears at the beginning of a story, with statements that serve as a background or additional information for what is going to follow. The following excerpt in (2.6) is an example of such a use.

(2.6) 4CM00018

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about Korean men's obligatory military service. P1 is a female.)

- 1 P2: *pwutay pi o-myen toykey coh-ta?*  
unit rain come-COND really good-DECL  
'It's really good when it rains in the unit.'
- 2 *pwutay hwunlyen-to an ha-kwu.*  
unit training-ADD NEG do-CON  
'You don't have to do all the trainings.'
- 3 P1: *cohaha-tu-la.*  
like-FH.EV-DECL

- 4 P2: *koyngcanghi cohaha-y.*  
extremely like-INDC  
'They seem to like that.'
- 5→ P1: *wuli <@ oppa-ka kucekkey @> yeypikwun*  
my older.brother-TOP day.before.yesterday reserve.forces  
*hwunlyen-i-ess-ketun,*  
training-COP-ANT-*ketun*  
'The day before yesterday was my older brother's reserve forces training  
day-*ketun*.'
- 6 *ca-nuntay achim-ey wuli oppa-ka*  
sleep-CIRCUM morning-LOC my older.brother-NOM  
<Q *yaho Q*> *ila-y,*  
yay QUOT-INDC  
'I was sleeping in the morning and he says "Yay,"'
- 7 *achim-ey.*  
morning-LOC  
'In the morning.'
- 8 P2: *e.*  
yeah  
'Yeah.'
- 9 P1: <Q *cyay-ka way cele-na Q*>  
that.child-TOP why act.that.way-INTER  
*ilay-ss-te-ni,*  
QUOT-ANT-FH.EV-CON  
'I was like, what's wrong with him,'
- 10 <@<Q *ya onul an ttwi- wuntongcang an ttwi-kwu*  
hey today NEG ru- field NEG run-CON  
*kyoywuk-man pat-nun-ta Q*>  
education-only receive-IMPF-DECL  
*ile-nun-ke-y-a @*>.  
QUOT-ATTR(RL)-thing-COP-INDC  
'He says, "Hey I don't have to run the field today and I only have to do  
indoor education.'  
(P1 continues her story.)

In (2.6), P1 and P2 are talking about Korean men's military services, and P2 has informed P1 that the men in the units like rainy days because all the trainings get cancelled. After hearing this, P1 starts an episode of her older brother which is related to this topic. Before starting a new story, in line 5, P1 first provides some information that will be necessary for



understanding the story, that the day before yesterday was her brother's reserve forces training day, by using the utterance-final particle *-ketun*. As shown in (2.6), *-ketun* is used to indicate an utterance that provides background information for the upcoming story. Although the fact that 'the day before yesterday was P1's older brother's reserve forces training day' is an assertion which is new for the hearer, P1 is using *-ketun* as an effort to make it as a presupposition, i.e., as old information, so that P2 has the essential background information in order to be able to follow her upcoming story. That is to say, that when P1 uses *-ketun*, it is as if she is saying that "Although this is new to you, you should treat it as old information, because this information should be presupposed for what I am about to say."

Excerpt (2.2), repeated here as (2.7) is a similar instance.

(2.7) 4CM00003

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about divorce.)

- 1 P2: *ay-ka iss-nun kyengwu-ey-nun*  
 child-NOM exist-ATTR(RL) case-LOC-TOP  
*ku-ke-n an toy-keyss-ta-nun*  
 that-thing-TOP NEG be.done-DCT.RE-DECL-ATTR(RL)  
*sayngkak-i tul-te-la.*  
 thought-NOM come.in-FH.EV-DECL  
 'I don't think it's a good idea if you have kids.'
- 2 P1: *ung ku-chi.*  
 yeah that-COMT  
 'Yeah, you're right.'
- 3→ *wuli= wuli cakun apeci-ka cayhon-ul*  
 my my little father-NOM remarriage-ACC  
*ha-si-ess-ketun?*  
 do-HON-ANT-ketun  
 'My= my uncle got married again-ketun.'
- 4 P2: *ung.*  
 yes  
 'Yeah.'
- 5 P1: *kuntey ku cakun emma casik-i twu*

but that little mom child-NOM two  
*myeng-i-ess-kwu,*  
 CLSF-COP-ANT-CON  
 ‘But my new aunt had two kids of her own and,’  
 6 *cakun appa casik-i twu myeng-i-ess-e,*  
 little dad child-NOM two CLSF-COP-ANT-INDC  
 ‘My uncle had two kids,’  
 (P1 continues his story)

In the excerpt (2.7), the speaker P1 starts a new story about his uncle’s re-married life which starts from line 5. However, before starting this new story, P1 uses *-ketun* when providing what should be the background information, thus a presupposition or old information for her upcoming story, that his uncle got remarried (line 3). Both excerpts (2.6) and (2.7) shows that the speakers are using *-ketun* to indicate the utterance that provides the information that should be presupposed for the story that follows, although it might actually be an assertion for the hearer at the time of utterance.

#### 2.4.1.2. Presenting an assertion as a presupposition for the previous utterance

*-Ketun* marks not only utterances that provide background or additional information about what will follow, but it also marks utterances that provide background or additional information about what has already been said. The excerpt (2.8) shown below is such an example.

(2.8) 4CM00034

(Context: P2 is a married woman. She is telling her friends that it was very hard for her to prepare for her wedding since she was a working woman.)

- 1 P2: *cwunpiha-nun ke-y kulemyen-un kunyang*  
 prepare-ATTR(RL) thing-NOM in.that.case-TOP just  
*kakwu-to po-le tani-ko*  
 furniture-ADD see-PURP visit-CON  
*ile-l ke an-y-a?*  
 like.this-ATTR(IRRL) thing NEG-COP-INDC  
 ‘If it’s like that (if you don’t have a job) then you can go shopping for  
 furniture and stuff, right?’
- 2 *kulem culkewu-l ke kath-untey.*  
 then fun-ATTR(IRRL) thing seem-CIRCUM  
 ‘That could have been fun, but.’
- 3 *na-nun maynnal yakun-ha-ci.*  
 I-TOP everyday night.work-do-CON  
 ‘I always have night work.’
- 4 *ilccik nao-nun ke com nwunchi*  
 early leave-ATTR(RL) thing a.little sense  
*po-i-ci mwue.*  
 see-PASS-COMT DM  
 ‘So it’s difficult for me to leave the office early.’
- 5 *encey makam-i-ci mak ile-nikka,*  
 when due.date-COP-COMTDM QUOT-CAUSL  
 ‘They were telling me that the deadlines were coming so,’
- 6 *na ku-ke makamha-y noh-ko*  
 I that-thing finish-do-CON CMPL.AUX-CON  
*kotpalo-y-ess-e.*  
 right.after-COP-ANT-INDC  
 ‘The wedding was right after I met the deadline.’
- 7→ *welmal-i makam-i-ketun.*  
 end.of.month-NOM due.date-COP-ketun  
 ‘The deadlines are at the end of a month-ketun.’

In (2.8) above, P2’s last utterance with *-ketun* serves to be the background or additional information which informs that the deadlines in her office are normally at the end of a month. This fact that ‘the deadlines are at the end of a month’ is a pragmatic assertion, i.e. new information for the hearer. However, P2’s use of *-ketun* shows that this information should have been presupposed, i.e., that she is aware that the hearer would have been better able to follow her story if the information had been provided earlier in the discourse. Once

P2 realizes that she made a leap of logic in her story, she provides the additional information, marking the self-correction with the utterance-final particle *-ketun*.

The excerpt (2.9) is another example of such a case.

(2.9) 7CM00009

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about the island of Tokto, which has been in the center of the conflict between Korea and Japan, as both countries claim ownership. P1 has been speaking very badly of Japan.)

- 1 P1: X *elmana* *aklal-ha-nya?*  
X how villainous-do-INTER  
‘<X> How terrible are they?’
- 2 *kule-n* *ay-tul-i,*  
be.such-ATTR(RL) child-PLU-COP  
‘Those people,’
- 3 *cwungkwuk ceki cwungkwuk hako-to,*  
China DM China with-ADD  
‘China, um, even with China,’
- 4 *sem manh-unikka.*  
island a.lot-CAUS  
‘Since China has a lot of islands.’
- 5 *cwungkwuk-hako-to mak,*  
China-with-ADD DM  
‘Even with China, like,’
- 6 *pwuncayng-i ilena-n-ta-n* *mal-y-a.*  
conflict-NOM happen-IMPF-DECL-ATTR(RL) saying-COP-INDC  
‘They get into conflicts,’
- 7 *kulemyen mwe ccok-to mos ssu-nun*  
then DM four.feet-ADD not.able.to use-ATTR(RL)  
*saykki-tul-i,*  
bastard-PLU-NOM  
‘Those bastards who can’t even stand straight,’
- 8 *ilpon-i com kule-n ke-man*  
Japan-NOM a.little be.such-ATTR(RL) thing-only  
*eps-umyen-un,*  
not.exist-COND-TOP  
‘If only Japan did not have those bad sides,’
- 9 *solcikli ilpon ka-se sa-n-ta.*  
honestly Japan go-PRECED live-IMPF-DECL  
‘To tell you the truth I would live in Japan.’
- 10 *khu-khu.*  
ha-ha

- 11                   ‘Haha.’  
*cincca ilpon ka sa-n-ta.*  
 really Japan go.CON live-IMPF-DECL  
 ‘I would really go to Japan and live there.’
- 12                   *cincca.*  
 really  
 ‘Really.’
- 13→               *ilpon-ul yesnal-ey toykey cohahay-ss-ketun,*  
 Japan-ACC long.time.ago-LOC a.lot like-ANT-ketun  
 ‘I used to like Japan a lot long time ago-ketun.’
- 14                   *cohaha-n-ta-ki-pota,*  
 like-IMPF-DECL-NOMZ-COMPAR  
 ‘Or, not that I liked it exactly, but,’
- 15                   *kkok yehayng han pen ka po-aya-ci.*  
 by.all.means travel one time go see-NECESS-COMT.  
 ‘I was like, I should travel there sometime.’  
 (P1 continues.)

Within the discourse in (2.9), P1 suddenly changes his attitude towards Japan from very much hating it to wanting to live there. Presumably to save his listener from the confusion caused by this leap of logic, P2 is using *-ketun* (in line 13) as a means to mark the utterance that provides background information that serves to be the explanation for his sudden change of attitude. P1’s utterance with *-ketun* also has the expression *yeysnaley* ‘long time ago,’ which also implies that the correct order of the story is that the fact that ‘P1 actually liked Japan a lot’ took place prior to his hating Japan. Despite the fact that ‘the speaker actually liked Japan a lot long time ago’ is a pragmatic assertion, i.e., new information for the hearer, *-ketun* clearly marks that this information should have been a presupposition of P1’s ‘hating of Japan but wanting to live there.’

In sum, both excerpts (2.8) and (2.9) show that the utterance-final particle *-ketun* is used to indicate utterances which present certain assertions that should have been presupposed, particularly when the speaker realizes that he or she made a leap in his or her

assertion, and hence wants to provide certain information that should have been provided earlier in discourse.

### 2.4.1.3. Presenting an assertion as a presupposition in the middle of a discourse

Often times, speakers also use *-ketun* in order to add background or additional information they have omitted or had forgotten to give earlier, in the middle of their story. The excerpt (2.10) includes an examples of such a case.

(2.10) 7CM00005

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about their experiences during their military services. P1 is telling a story about a time when one of his superiors approached him and began asking questions.)

- 1 P1: *Sinhyengsep-ilako a-nyay-nun*  
 Sinhyengsep-COMP know-INTER.QUOT-ATTR(RL)  
*ke-y-a,*  
 thing-COP-INDC  
 ‘He asks me if I know someone called Sinhyengsep,’
- 2 *na-poko,*  
 me-to  
 ‘To me,’
- 3 *nay ilum-i Sinhyengsep-i-ntey,*  
 my name-NOM Sinhyengsep-COP-CIRCUM  
 ‘But my name is Sinhyengsep,’
- 4 *na-poko kapcaki Sinhyengsep-ul*  
 me-to suddenly Sinhyengsep-ACC  
*a-nyay-nun ke-y-a,*  
 know-INTER.QUOT-ATTR(RL) thing-COP-INDC  
 ‘He’s suddenly asking me if I know Sinhyengsep,’
- 5 *wancen nolay-ss-ci.*  
 completely startle-ANT-COMT  
 ‘I was so startled.’
- 6 *ku ttay cincca,*  
 that time really  
 ‘At the time, really,’
- 7 *wancen ku ttay ssuleci-nun cwul*

completely that time faint-ATTR(RL) way  
*al-ass-e*,  
 know-ANT-INDC  
 ‘I really thought that I would faint,’  
 8 P2: @@  
 ‘@@’  
 9 P1: *e*.  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah.’  
 10 *kulayse na-nun kulayse*.  
 so I-TOP so  
 ‘So I, so.’  
 11 *kulayse nay-ka*.  
 so I-NOM  
 ‘So I was like.’  
 12 <Q *cey-ka Sinhyengsep-i-ntey-yo?* Q>  
 I.HON-NOM Sinhyengsep-COP-CIRCUM-HON.END  
 “‘Well, I am Sinhyengsep?’”  
 13 *kulayse*.  
 so  
 ‘Then.’  
 14 *kulay-ss-te-ni?*  
 so-ANT-FH.EV-CON  
 ‘And then?’  
 15 *a ni-ka Ttolttoli-nya ile-nun*  
 ah you-NOM Ttolttoli-INTER QUOT-ATTR(RL)  
*ke-y-a*.  
 thing-COP-INDC  
 ‘He asks me “Ah are you Ttolttoli.”’  
 16 *na-pokwu*,  
 me-to  
 ‘To me,’  
 17→ *nay pyelmyeng-i Ttolttoli-y-ess-ketun?*  
 my nickname-NOM Ttolttoli-COP-ANT-ketun  
 ‘My nickname used to be Ttolttoli-ketun?’  
 18. *kulayse*.  
 so  
 ‘So.’  
 19 *mac-ta-ko*.  
 right-DECL-COMP  
 ‘I said, “You’re right.”’  
 20 *nay-ka Ttolttoli-la-ko=*,  
 I-NOM Ttolttoli-DECL-COMP  
 ‘That I am Ttolttoli,’  
 (P1 continues his story.)

The information conveyed in the utterance in line 17 used with *-ketun* is an inserted piece of information. P1's story could well have made sense even without this particular utterance, but P1 inserted this information in the middle of his story to provide additional background information about his nickname 'Ttolttoli.' *-Ketun* here is used to mark the information the speaker presumably forgot to mention as a presupposition, although he knows perfectly that it is new to the hearer, and thus is a pragmatic assertion. By adding this information marked by *-ketun*, P1 is trying to make his story more understandable for the hearer.

The excerpt (2.11) is a similar instance.

(2.11) 5CM00043

- |    |     |   |                       |                  |                |                  |
|----|-----|---|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1  | P2: | <i>ipeynthu-lul</i>   | <i>kulaytwu</i>       | <i>manhi</i>     | <i>ha-y</i>    | <i>cwu-nunka</i> |
|    |     | event-ACC   | still                 | a.lot            | do-CON         | give-INTER       |
|    |     | <i>po-kwun,</i>   |                       |                  |                |                  |
|    |     | INFR.EV-UNASSIM   |                       |                  |                |                  |
|    |     | 'Well, it seems like you do a lot of things to surprise for your girlfriend,' |                       |                  |                |                  |
| 2  | P1: | <i>kunyang</i>  | <i>mwe</i>            | <i>hoysa-lo,</i> |                |                  |
|    |     | just  | DM                    | office-LOC       |                |                  |
|    |     | 'Well, just to her office,'   |                       |                  |                |                  |
| 3  |     | <i>kkoch-ina</i>  | <i>senmwul-hay-se</i> |                  | <i>mwe</i>     | <i>X</i>         |
|    |     | flower-F.C  | present-do-PRECED     |                  | DM             | X                |
|    |     | <i>[pat-ko,]</i>  |                       |                  |                |                  |
|    |     | receive-CON   |                       |                  |                |                  |
|    |     | 'I'll send her a lot of flowers or some presents,'                            |                       |                  |                |                  |
| 4  | P2: | <i>[hey!]</i>   |                       |                  |                |                  |
|    |     | heh   |                       |                  |                |                  |
|    |     | 'Heh!'  |                       |                  |                |                  |
| 5  |     | <i>aiko</i>   | <i>cham,</i>          |                  |                |                  |
|    |     | DM  | wow                   |                  |                |                  |
|    |     | 'Oh wow,'   |                       |                  |                |                  |
| 6→ | P1: | <i>kyay=</i>  | <i>kukka</i>          | <i>kyay-ka</i>   | <i>mwe-ci</i>  | <i>na</i>        |
|    |     | that.child  | DM                    | that.child-NOM   | what-COMT      | I                |
|    |     | <i>tayhakkyo</i>  | <i>ilhaknyen</i>      | <i>ttay</i>      | <i>manna-n</i> | <i>ay-ketun?</i> |



college first.year when meet-ATTR(RL) child-*ketun*  
 ‘She, I mean I met her, when was it, when I was a freshman in college-  
*ketun*?’  
 7 (TSK) *kulayse*,  
 so  
 ‘So,’  
 8 *e hakkyo= swuep cwung-ey han pen*  
 DM campus class middle-LOC one time  
*sa tul-kwu tuleka-n cek*  
 buy.CON carry-CON come.in-ATTR(RL) time  
*iss-ess-ko.*  
 exist-ANT-CON  
 ‘Um, at school I once bought something and brought it to her classroom.’  
 9 P2: *he=!*  
 huh  
 ‘Huh!’

In (2.11), P1 is listing some of his surprise events that he had prepared for his girlfriend in the past. A *-ketun* utterance can be found in in line 6. The speaker P1 uses *-ketun* when he is inserting some additional background information for the next surprise event that he is about to enlist. It is presumable that the fact that ‘P1 and his girlfriend met in his freshman year’ is an assertion, a piece of information which P2 did not have prior this utterance. Nevertheless, P1’s use of the utterance-final *-ketun* implies that he wants P2 to take this information as if it were presupposed so that she makes it as a background for what he is about to say about bringing a present to her classroom. Both excerpts (2.10) and (2.11) demonstrates that *-ketun* is used in discourse to mark an assertion that in fact should be, or should have been presupposed by the hearer.

#### 2.4.1.4. Presenting an assertion as a presupposition when explaining reasons

-*Ketun* can also be used when speakers want to explain reasons. Excerpt (2.12) is such an example.

(2.12) 4CM00030

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about how to get to school.)

- 1 P2: *na ilhaknyen ttay-nun thonghak-hay-ss-cahna.*  
I first.year time-TOP commute-do-ANT-UFP  
'You know I commuted to school during my freshmen year.'
- 2 P1: *um.*  
yeah  
'Yeah.'
- 3 P2: *mwe-ci kicha-lwu.*  
what-COMT train-INSTR  
'What was it by train.'
- 4 P1: *way kicha-lwu hay-ss-e?*  
why train-INSTR do-ANT-INDC  
'Why did you commute by train?'
- 5→ P2: *na-n sewul-yek-i te kakkap-ketun.*  
I-TOP Seoul-train.station-NOM more close-ketun  
'The Seoul train station was closer to my place-ketun.'

In (2.12), P1 specifically asks P2 to provide reason why he commuted by train (in line 4), and P2 uses a *-ketun* utterance when answering P1's question (in line 5). The reason someone chooses to bring about an event or a situation is, for the chooser, background information with respect to information about that event. For instance, in this case, because the proximity of the train station is the reason P2 chose to commute by train, the explanation that the Seoul station was nearby is presupposable information for a discussion of P2's commute by train. In general, when the reasoning behind someone's decision to bring about a certain event or situation is the topic of a conversation (for instance, in the excerpt (2.12) where the speaker P1 is specifically asking P2 to provide the reason why he commuted by train), the speakers would presume the reason to be a presupposition for that

particular event, i.e., both speakers P1 and P2 would expect that whatever answers P2 would provide for P1's question, it would have presupposed information for P2's commuting by train. In other words, although it is clear that P1's prior knowledge does not include information about what that reason was (since otherwise he would not be asking why), P1 would still have in mind that the reason he is asking about must be presupposed information with regard to P2's commuting choices. Hence, when P2 provides the requested reason, he knows that the information he is giving will be new to P1, although it is already a presupposition of his decision to commute by train. This is exactly why *-ketun* is used when providing reasons: although the asserted reason may be new for the hearer, because it is a reason, it is already presupposed information.

The excerpt in (2.13) is a similar instance where *-ketun* is used when providing reasons.

(2.13) 6CM00090

- 1 P2: *enni-n ku-ke hay-yo?*  
 older.sister-TOP that-thing do.INDC-HON.END  
 'Do you (still) do that?'
- 2 *kwaoy-ha-te-n-ke?*  
 tutoring-do-FH.EV-ATTR(RL)-thing  
 'The tutoring you used to do?'
- 3 P1: *um ku-ke hana-man.*  
 DM that-thing one-only  
 'Um yeah, only that one.'
- 4 P2: *a=,*  
 DM  
 'Ah,'
- 5 P1: *kyeysok-hay.*  
 still-do.INDC  
 'I still do that.'
- 6 P2: *ku-ke e kotunghakkyo [sam-haknyen?]*  
 that-thing DM high.school three-year  
 'That, um, senior in high school?'

7 P1: [um] um.  
yeah yeah

8 'Yeah yeah.'  
*yenge-man ha-nikka,*  
English-only do-CAUSL  
'Because I only have to teach English.'

9 P2: a.  
DM  
'Ah.'

10→ P1: *kuliko palo aph-i-ketun,*  
and right front-COP-*ketun*  
'And it's right across the way-*ketun*'

11 *cip-i=*  
house-NOM,  
'His house,'

12 P2: *e=,*  
DM  
'Oh,'

In this excerpt, P1 is providing the reason why she is still tutoring an old student. She gives her first reason in line 8, by explicitly marking it with the causal connective *-nikka* 'because,' that it is because she only has to teach English. In addition to that reason, she further provides a second reason in line 10, the proximity of the student's house. This time she explicitly marks the utterance with the utterance-final particle *-ketun*. The topic of the discourse has been 'the reason why P1 still tutors an old student' ever since P1 used the causal connective *-nikka* in line 8, which is a device of explicitly indicating reasons or causes. When P1 utters the connective *kuliko* 'and' at the beginning of line 10, she is indicating that the information she is about to convey is related, or is an extension of her reason that she gave in the earlier utterance (in line 8). The fact that 'the student's house is right across the way,' then, is presupposed information off the fact that P1 still teaches the same student, by being a reason per se. Hence although P1 might presume that this information is not shared with P2, she still uses the utterance-final particle *-ketun* to signal

the pragmatic assertion ‘that the student’s house is right across the way’ should be construed as if it were a pragmatic presupposition.

#### **2.4.2. -*Ketun* used when the speaker is expressing assessment or opinion**

In the previous section, it has been shown that the basic function of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* in discourse is to construe a pragmatic assertion as a pragmatic presupposition. However, all of the instances of *-ketun* that we have observed so far were used in storytelling contexts, where the speaker is recounting events that have actually happened or when conveying facts that the speaker believes to be true at the time of the utterance. In other words, the examples of *-ketun* examined in the previous section dealt with conveying relatively more objective ideas of factual events. Nevertheless, the utterance-final particle *-ketun* can be used in relatively more subjective contexts as well, such as when the speaker is expressing his or her own assessment, evaluation, judgment or opinion. This subsection deal with *-ketun*’s usage to express the speaker’s own judgment, assessment, evaluation and opinion. It will be argued that when *-ketun* is used in relatively subjective contexts, its basic function of marking an assertion that should be or should have been construed as a presupposition is more extended.

##### **2.4.2.1. -*Ketun* in negative responses**

*-Ketun* is commonly used when speakers are responding to their interlocutors in a rather negative way. Subsection 2.4.2.1.1 describes the speaker’s usage of *-ketun* when

showing strong objections to their interlocutors' assessments, and subsection 2.4.2.1.2 examines *-ketun*'s usage found in speakers' responses to show their negative stance toward their interlocutors' comments.

### 2.4.2.1.1. *-Ketun* in expression of factual disagreement

*-Ketun* is frequently found when there is a disagreement between the interlocutors. It seems to me that showing disagreement falls somewhere in between conveying an (relatively) objective fact and expressing a (relatively) subjective idea. This is because disagreeing situations happen when there is a clash between what each interlocutor believes to be a fact. In these situations, speakers often use *-ketun* to demonstrate their objections towards their interlocutor's assessments, as in the excerpt (2.14).

(2.14)

(Context: P1 and P2 are teachers. P1 has just told P2 that she feels a generation gap between her and her students.)

- |   |     |  |                   |                        |                   |
|---|-----|--|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | P1: | <i>kyay-ney-tul-un</i>                               |                   | <i>cengmal,</i>        |                   |
|   |     | that.child-group-PLU-TOP                             |                   | really                 |                   |
|   |     | 'They are really,'                                   |                   |                        |                   |
| 2 |     | <i>kyay-tul-i</i>                                    | <i>meyil-ul</i>   | <i>ponay-myen</i>      | <i>cincca mos</i> |
|   |     | that.child-PLU-NOM                                   | email-ACC         | send-COND              | really NEG(IMPOT) |
|   |     | <i>ilk-keyss-nun</i>                                 | <i>ke-yey-yo</i>  |                        | <i>mak,</i>       |
|   |     | read-DCT.RE-ATTR(RL)                                 | thing-COP-HON.END |                        | DM                |
|   |     | 'When they send me emails I really can't read them,' |                   |                        |                   |
| 3 | P2: | <i>na-n</i>  | <i>ilk-ul</i>     | <i>cwul</i>            | <i>a-nuntey,</i>  |
|   |     | I-TOP  | read-ATTR(IRRL)   | way                    | know-CIRCUM       |
|   |     | 'I can,'   |                   |                        |                   |
| 4 | P1: | <i>mwe</i>   | <i>aliyong</i>    |                        |                   |
|   |     | DM   | aliyong           |                        |                   |
|   |     | 'Like <i>aliyong</i> ,'                              |                   |                        |                   |
| 5 |     | <i>aliyong-i</i>                                     | <i>mwusun</i>     | <i>ttus-iey-yo?</i>    |                   |
|   |     | aliyong-NOM  | what              | definition-COP-HON.END |                   |

6 P2: 'What does *aliyong* mean?'  
*aliyong?*  
*aliyong*  
'Aliyong?'

7 P1: *um um*  
yeah yeah,  
'Yeah yeah,'

8 *sensayngnim aliyong <@ maynnal kule-nuntay*  
teacher aliyong everyday QUOT-CIRCUM  
*mwusun mal-i-n-ci*  
what definition-COP-ATTR(RL)-CON  
*moll-akaciko, @>*  
not.know-CON  
'They always say "Teacher *aliyong*" but I don't know what it means, so,'

9 P2: *molu-kess-ta,*  
not.know-DCT.RE-DECL  
'I don't know,'

10 *sathwuli ani-y-a?*  
dialect NEG-COP-INDC  
'Isn't it a dialect thing?'

11 P1: <@ *e,*  
DM  
'Um,'

12 *ani-ey-yo,*  
NEG-COP.INDC-HON.END  
'No,'

13→ *ani-ketun-yo, @>*  
NEG.COP-ketun-HON.END  
'No, it's not-ketun,'

In the excerpt (2.14), a situation of disagreement is taking place between the two speakers P1 and P2. Particularly, in line 10, P2 is using a negative question, which tells us that P2 is expecting or inviting agreement from P1. However, P1 disagrees, and although she is laughing while stating her disagreement (from line 11 to 13), thus not making the situation very serious, she is still making a strong comment by repeating her rebutting twice (in line 12 and 13). Even though P1 does not know the definition of *aliyong*, what she is arguing

is that whatever *aliyong* means, she is definitely sure that it is not a dialectal variant, and is rather an innovation of her students' generation.

Before discussing what exactly *-ketun* is doing in expressions of disagreement, let us examine a stronger instance shown in (2.15).

(2.15) 4CM00089

(Context: P3 is a native speaker of the Andong regional dialect, while P1 and P2 are not. P1 and P2 are arguing that the Andong dialect has a slow speaking rate, but P3 disagrees.)

- 1 P3: *ani ani sokto-nun ciyek-thukseng-i*  
no no speed-TOP region-characteristic-COP  
*ani-kwu-yo=*,  
NEG-CON-HON.END  
'No no the speed is not a regional characteristic.'
- 2 P1: *aywu [nemwu nemwu ilehkey] uysik-ha-ci*  
hey too too like.this consciousness-do-CON  
*m-a.*  
stop-IMPR  
'Hey, don't be so, so self-conscious about it.'
- 3 P3: [*salam-uy thukseng-i-ci.*]  
person-POSS characteristic-COP-COMT  
'It's a personal characteristic.'
- 4 P2: *ani-y-a kuntey [[ciyek-thuksayk]]-i-ya sokto,*  
NEG-COP-INDC but region-characteristic-COP-INDC speed  
'No but it's a regional characteristic, the speed.'
- 5 P1: *[[um.]]*  
yeah  
'Yeah.'
- 6 P3: *ani kuntey [[[ani ani ani-y-a,]]]*  
no but no no NEG-COP-INDC  
'No but no no it's not.'
- 7 P2: *[[[antong salam-tul-i taypwupwun*  
Andong person-PLU-NOM mostly  
*nuli-tu-la.]]]*  
slow-FH.EV-DECL  
'Andong people are mostly slow.'
- 8 P1: *um.*  
yeah  
'Yeah.'



- 9 P3: *ani kyoswunim-i kule-te-la-kwu-yo*  
no professor-NOM QUOT-FH.EV-DECL-COMP-HON.END  
<Q *an-antong-un mal-ul ta kutehkey*  
An- Andong-TOP speech-ACC all like.that  
*nulikeyhay? Q*>  
slowly do.INDC  
‘No the professor asked me “An- does everybody from Andong speak so  
slow?”’
- 10 *kule- --*  
*bu-*  
‘Bu- --’
- 11 P1: *e,*  
*yeah*  
‘Yeah,’
- 12→ P3: *kuntay an kuleh-ketun-yo,*  
but NEG be.such-*ketun*-HON.END  
‘But it’s not-*ketun*,’

In (2.15) above, there is a disagreement between P1, P2, and P3. Particularly, P3 is expressing very strong objections by repeatedly saying *ani* ‘no,’ as she is the only native speaker of the Andong dialect in the conversation and believes she knows more about that dialect than the other interlocutors P1 and P2 do.

Both excerpts (2.14) and (2.15) show that the utterance-final particle *-ketun* is used when the speakers are trying to refute and correct their interlocutors’ misconceptions. This type of “corrective” function of *-ketun* is very similar to the one of Spanish conditional *si* (Schwenter 1996, 1998). According to Schwenter (1996, 1998), the conditional *si* in Spanish which is often used without any apodosis in conversation, has ‘refutational’ and ‘adversative’ functions. (2.16) and (2.17) are examples from Schwenter (1996), and Schwenter (1998).

(2.16)

R: *Ah mira qué chaqueta mas chula.*

- ‘Oh look what a cool jacket.’  
 A: *hija, por favor, si es horrible.*  
 ‘Girl, please, SI it’s horrible.’  
 R: *¡Qué va!*  
 ‘No way!’

(Schwenter 1996:324)

(2.17)

- A: Mañana tengo que dar clase, sobre la GENEALOGÍA.  
 ‘Tomorrow I have to teach a class, about geneology.’  
 R: Si se pronuncia GENEALOGÍA. ¿ Cuántas veces te lo tengo que decir?  
 ‘SI it’s pronounced genealogy. How many times do I have to tell you?’

(Schwenter 1998:428)

Schwenter explains that in (2.16), A’s utterance used with *si* is even beyond disagreement and implies that what R has just said is not only misguided but rather absurd. Moreover, the case shown in (2.17) demonstrates one of the functions of the refutational *si* in Spanish, where Schwenter (1998) explains that the refutational *si* is often used to comment on or rectify a pronunciation, choice of register, or dialect, that are concerned with social attitudes about correct language use. Schwenter’s explanation for these types of usages of Spanish conditional *si* in conversation is that “the *si*-marking of the clause permits the speaker to present an asserted proposition **as if it were assumed**, implying that it **should have been assumed**” (Schwenter 1998: 433, emphasis his). This is very analogous to the function of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* in Korean, which is to present an assertion as if it were or as if it should have been a presupposition. This function of *-ketun*, when it is used in responses that express disagreement, emphasizes the adversative stance of the speaker by implying that whatever he or she is saying is something that the addressee should have already known.

This implication is not necessarily present in disagreement responses without *-ketun*, and the invented conversations (2.18) and (2.19) demonstrate this contrast.

(2.18)

(Context: JM and AR are long time close friends. JM is trying to confirm the fact that AR likes green onions, but AR protests.)

JM: *ne pha cohaha-ci?*  
 you green.onion like-COMT  
 ‘You like green onions, right?’

AR: (a) *ani.*  
 no  
 ‘No.’

(b) *ani-ketun?*<sup>18</sup>  
 no-*ketun*  
 ‘No-*ketun*.’

(2.19)

YJ: *enni maynnal twu-si-ey o-canha-yo.*  
 older.sister everyday two-o’clock-LOC come-UFP-HON.END  
 ‘(As you and I both know) You always come at two o’clock.’

AR: (a) *na han-si-ey o-a!*  
 I one-o’clock-LOC come-INDC  
 ‘I come at one!’

(b) *na han-si-ey o-ketun!*  
 I one-o’clock-LOC come-*ketun*  
 ‘I come at one-*ketun*!’

In both conversations (2.18) and (2.19), there isn’t any difference in the overt semantic content between (a)-utterances and (b)-utterances. However, there is a subtle difference. In

---

<sup>18</sup> The relationship between the usages of *-ketun* in negative contexts and the rising intonation contour will be explained in the section 2.4.2.2.

the case of (2.18), the difference between (2.18a) and (2.18b) is that in (2.18b), there is even a slight reproach toward JM, for the fact that she did not know that AR did not like green onions despite their long time close friendship. The reason why the utterance in (2.18b) which is used with *-ketun* sounds much more negative and more reproachful than (2.18a) which sounds relatively neutral, is because when *-ketun* is used in a disagreement, it has the following implication, such as in the situation shown in (2.18): *-ketun* overtly implies that although the fact that ‘AR does not like green onions’ is an assertion, i.e. new information for JM, it should have been presupposed for her since she and AR are close friends. In other words, AR’s use of *-ketun* is as if she is saying that “You should have known that I don’t like green onions.”

In the conversation (2.19), it must be noted that in YJ is using the utterance-final particle *-canha* which can be roughly translated in English as ‘as you and I both know.’ Her use of *-canha* thus introduces the implication that YJ presupposes that AR always comes at two o’clock. In AR’s reply to YJ’s comment shown in (2.19a) which is used the neutral indicative sentential ending *-a*, there is not illocutionary force beyond that of providing YJ with the new information, that AR comes at one o’clock. However, the response in (2.19b) used with *-ketun*, not only provides new information to YJ, but it also tries to replace YJ’s presupposition (that AR always comes at two o’clock) with this new piece of information. In other words, while (2.19a) is purely an offering of new information or a pure assertion, (2.19b) is a refutation to YJ’s comment, implying that the fact that ‘AR always comes at one o’clock’ should have been YJ’s presupposition.

Examining the contrasting pairs in (2.18) and (2.19) illuminates the usage of *-ketun* in the excerpts (2.14) and (2.15). In (2.14), P1 is using *-ketun* when expressing her

disagreement with P2's conjecture that *aliyong* is a word from some dialect, hence implying that the fact that *aliyong* is not a matter of dialect should have been presupposed, i.e., old information, for P2. In the example (2.15), the disagreement is more protracted, involving a number of different tactics for expressing opposition. After numerous attempts (by repeating *ani* 'no') to persuade P1 and P2 that slow speech is not a characteristic of the Andong dialect, P3 ultimately brings up an episode she had when one of her professors asked her if 'everybody from Andong speaks so slow.' Presumably this is because P3 wanted to let P1 and P2 know that she is well aware of the misconceptions people have about the Andong dialect, and to remind P1 and P2 that P3 is herself a native speaker of Andong dialect. She finally uses *-ketun* to make a stronger objection, since the use of *-ketun* in this case implies that the fact 'the slow speech rate does not have to do with Andong dialect' should have been presupposed, since P1 and P2 both know that P3 is the only one who is a native speaker of the Andong dialect in the conversation, and she has already told them several times that they are not related.

Consequently, this subsection clearly demonstrates that *-ketun* when used in responses in situations of disagreement, conveys a strong sense of objection by marking a certain piece of information as if it should have been presupposed for the hearers, though it might actually be an assertion for them at the time of utterance.

#### **2.4.2.1.2. Using *-ketun* to show the speaker's negative stance in expressions of impoliteness**

*-Ketun* is also frequently used not only to show one's strong objection, but it is also often used to demonstrate the speaker's negative stance in his or her response to the interlocutor's comments, i.e., in the second part of an adjacency pair, in a rather impolite manner. This type of function of *-ketun* in conversation has also been observed by Y.-Y Park (1998), K.-H. Kim (2010) and Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) where they have explained that *-ketun* used in a second pair part, is often found to be used in dispreferred responses. The example (2.5) from Kim and Suh (2010b) is repeated here as (2.20).

(2.20)

((Overheard conversation: At campus coffee shop))

- 1     A:   *ceki i khephi cokum cen-ey sa-ss-nuntey*  
           there this coffee a.little before-LOC buy-ANT-CIRCUM
- 2           *silep com cwu-si-keyss-e-yo?*  
           syrup a.little give-HON-DCT.RE-INDC-HON.END  
           'Excuse me. I bought this coffee a moment ago and could you give me some  
           syrup?'
- 3→    B:   *keki khawunthe yeph-ey iss-ketun-yo?*  
           there counter beside-LOC exist-ketun-HON.END  
           'You can find it over there next to the counter.'
- 4     A:   *ah yeki-yo? ep-nuntey-yo,*  
           DM here-HON.END not.exist-CIRCUM-HON.END  
           'Oh, over here? It's not here though.'

(Kim and Suh 2010b:16-17)

For (2.20), Kim and Suh (2010b) explain that *-ketun* in the second position of an adjacency pair is prone to be formulated and taken up as a dispreferred response (Pomerantz 1984; Kim and Suh 2010b). The authors argue that the reason for this is because the second part in an adjacency pair per se, is a place where the assertive force of the *-ketun*-utterance is likely to be mobilized in full by virtue of its sequential feature of having the addressee

focused on the import of what is produced in the *-ketun*-marked utterance (Kim and Suh 2010b:17-18).

However, I would like to propose a different approach to this use of *-ketun* when used in the speaker's response, as a way of showing his or her negative stance towards his or her interlocutor's comment. If B, in the excerpt (2.20) had answered with the neutral indicative sentential ending *-e*, instead of *-ketun*, as in '*keki khawunthe yep-ey iss-e-yo*,' then it would not have sounded so rude or aggressive as in B's response used with *-ketun* ending. The reason that B's response in (2.20) sounds so impolite is because the utterance-final particle *-ketun* in B's utterance, is presenting the fact 'the syrup is next to the counter' as if it should have been presupposed for the hearer. In other words, B's utterance with *-ketun* in (2.20) is similar as saying "The syrup *always has been* next to the counter." This kind of response should sound very disrespectful for A, since B is making a statement to A as if A should not have asked such question in the first place.

Additionally, very frequent usage of the phrase *twayss-ketun* 'I'm good-*ketun* / I'm fine-*ketun*' among youngsters was also mentioned in Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) and K.-H. Kim (2010)<sup>19</sup>. As observed in Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) and K.-H. Kim (2010), the phrase *toyayss-ketun* is widely practiced among young generations in Korea as a way to

---

<sup>19</sup> *-Ketun*'s function to mark the speaker's negative stance and its usage in the phrase *twayss-ketun* described in this subsection were not found in my corpus data, and thus the example for former (shown in (2.20)) was borrowed from Kim and Suh (2010b), and the instance for the latter (shown in (2.21)) was invented by myself in order to illustrate *-ketun*'s uses in these cases. Although Kim and Suh (2010b) also used naturally occurring spontaneous conversations for their data, the fact that they are still using an overheard conversation for this particular usage could be speculated that they did not find this type of usage in their data either. The absence of this kind of usages of *-ketun* in corpora, despite their very frequent usage in actual life, could be due to the fact that the speakers of these corpora were aware of the fact that they are being recorded. Since these types of *-ketun* convey extreme rudeness and sarcasm, and thus are often found in heated arguments, their nonoccurrence might be because of the fact that the speakers of the corpora were conscious of themselves being recorded and in consequence tried to avoid arguments with their interlocutors.

refuse or to turn down their interlocutors' request, proposals, or invitations. Example (2.21) below is an invented conversation which illustrates such usage of the phrase *twayss-ketun*.

(2.21)

1 Hannah: *kheyikhu mek-ul-lay?*  
cake eat-ATTR(IRRL)-PROP  
'Would you like some cake?'

2→ Steven: *tway-ss-ketun?*  
be.done-ANT-*ketun*  
'I'm fine-*ketun*.'

As has been noticed in Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) and K.-H. Kim (2010), a response such as B's utterance in (2.21) is highly impolite since it sounds extremely sarcastic. Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) and K.-H. Kim (2010) explain that the phrase *twayss-ketun* can have such a belligerent usage because using *-ketun* in the second part of an adjacency pair in itself tends to constitute a highly assertive counter.

Nevertheless, I suggest, once again, a different approach to this particular usage of *-ketun* in the phrase *twayss-ketun*. It can be speculated that conversation shown in (2.21) can occur in two different situations. The first would be a situation in which, prior to the conversation in (2.21), Steven had already been refused once (or several times) by Hannah when he had asked her if she could share some of her cake with him. The conversation in (2.21) can then take place when Hannah changes her mind and decides to offer Steven some cake. In this first case, the phrase *twayss-ketun* 'I'm fine-*ketun*' of Steven could mean 'Since you refused me cake when I asked you for it, now I don't want to accept your offer' or 'You know what, I don't want it anymore.' In this particular situation, Steven, by using *-ketun* is presenting the fact that 'he is fine, thus does not want any cake' as if it should



have been presupposed for Hannah, since she is the one who already refused his request earlier.

The second potential context for the conversation in (2.21) might be one where, prior to conversation, Steven believes that Hannah already knows too, about his disliking for cakes. Thus when Hannah offers him some cake despite of their shared knowledge that Steven does not like cake, Steven answers as *twayss-ketun* 'I'm fine-*ketun*' in order to mean 'I know that you also know that I don't like cake, so don't insult me by asking me to eat something I don't like' or 'Don't joke about it.' Similarly, in this second situation as well, when Steven used *-ketun*, he is presenting the fact that 'he is fine, thus does not want any cake' as if this information should have been presupposed for Hannah since his disliking for cake is already shared knowledge between them, and hence he is criticizing her for asking him such question.

Accordingly, it has been clearly shown by examples (2.20) and (2.21) that *-ketun* can often be used in speakers' responses to express their negative stance towards their interlocutors' comments in a rather rude or impolite way, by construing the speakers' assertion as if it were, or as if it should have been presupposed for the hearer at the time of utterance.

#### **2.4.2.2. *-Ketun* as a strategy for expressing politeness**

Several linguists such as Koo and Rhee (2001), Y.-H. Chae (1998), and M.-H. Jo (2011), have argued that *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle has a "polite" meaning. Nevertheless, none of these works has mentioned the quite common impolite usage

of *-ketun* in negative responses that reflect the speaker's strong objection or negatives stance as shown in the previous subsection, which can even be seen as an opposite function from expressing politeness. Still, I do agree with the authors that *-ketun* can be used in politeness strategies as well, but I would not argue that *-ketun* is a politeness "marker" per se. Rather, I would suggest that *-ketun* can convey politeness as a result of being used in hedging strategies.

*-Ketun*'s function in politeness strategies is often found in situations where the speakers are expressing an opinion but without disagreeing with their interlocutors. The excerpt (2.4), which is repeated here as (2.22) is such an instance.

(2.22) 6CM00105

(Context: Six students are having a group discussion meeting to prepare for an upcoming in-class presentation on different strategies used in TV commercials.)

- 1 P5: *ce akka ku hoysa chai*  
DM a.little.while.ago that company difference  
*malssum-ha-sy-ese,*  
speech.HON-do-HON-PRECED  
'Um, since you talked about the differences between companies a little while ago,'
- 2 P4: *yey.*  
yes  
'Yes.'
- 3 P5: *cey-ka tteol-un sayngkak-i-yo,*  
I.HON-NOM rise-ATTR(RL) thought-NOM-HON.END  
'I had a thought,'
- 4→ *kongilil-un= (H) cwulo ccom yumyeng-ha-ci*  
Kongilil-TOP mostly a.little famous-do-CON  
*anh-un salam-ul ssu-nun ke*  
NEG-ATTR(RL) person-ACC use-ATTR(RL) thing  
*kath-ketun-yo?*  
seem-*ketun*-HON.END  
'It seems to me that the Kongilil company is mostly using not-so-famous people (in their commercials)-*ketun*?'
- 5 P4: *um=,*  
DM

6 P5: 'Hmm,'  
ney.  
yes  
'Yes.'

In this excerpt, P5 expressing his own thought about the differences in the strategies used by various companies, in TV commercials. P5 is explicitly demonstrating that this is his own idea, by verbalizing *ceyka tteolun sayngkakiyo* 'I had a thought' in line 3. Unlike disagreeing situation shown in the section 2.4.2.1, here in (2.22), no such disagreement is taking place; P5 is simply expressing a subjective opinion. He uses the utterance-final particle *-ketun* in line 4 to hedge or soften his argument. This is in accord with other strategies he uses to make his argument sound more polite using the attenuating expressions *ccom* 'a little' and *-nun ke kath-* 'seems like.'

The usage of *-ketun* in (2.22) as a politeness strategy seems to have derived from its function in storytelling (see section 2.4.1). In other words, *-ketun*'s use as a hedge can be related to its general information-management function of presenting a piece of information as a presupposition, i.e., as old information (a given) and as being factual. For instance, in (2.22), although P5 has already explicitly said *ceyka tteolun sayngkakiyo* 'I had a thought' (in line 3), he still uses *-ketun* (in line 4), strategically framing that thought as if it were an already presupposed fact rather than his personal opinion. By presenting one's subjective opinion as if it were an already presupposed fact, one can distance oneself from being responsible for its factual correctness. In creating this distance, *-ketun* can function as a hedge, thus as a politeness strategy.

This approach is very different from Koo and Rhee's (2001) analysis on the politeness use of *-ketun*. In their paper, Koo and Rhee claim that when the conditional

connective ending *-ketun* which had a semantic restriction that it could only be used in imperative and hortative sentences grammaticalized into an utterance-final particle that could only be used in declarative utterances, the confirmation of the truth of the proposition also shifted from hearer to speaker. According to Koo and Rhee, the politeness meaning arose along with this change, because the responsibility of the veracity of the proposition now lies with the speaker and not the hearer. However, in my point of view, *-ketun*'s use in politeness strategies does not come from the speaker taking the responsibility of the veracity of the proposition; rather, the speaker is assigning the responsibility of the veracity of the proposition to the already presupposed factual world. Hence, neither the hearer nor the speaker is responsible for the veracity of the proposition. The polite or hedging connotation of *-ketun* in these contexts thus comes from the speaker's avoidance of responsibility for the veracity of his or her own proposition.

The excerpt (2.23) is another examples of *-ketun*'s use in a politeness strategy.

(2.23) 6CM00082

(Context: P1 and P2 have been talking about politics. They have just agreed that the topic of Korean men's obligatory military service cannot be excluded when talking about Korean politics. P2 is older than P1.)

- |    |     |   |  |
|----|-----|---|--|
| 1  | P1: | <i>amwuthun</i> <i>mwe</i> <i>cengchi=</i> ,<br>anyways    DM    politics<br>'Anyway well politics,'  |  |
| 2→ |     | <i>kwuntay</i> <i>tanchwuk-toy-nun</i> <i>ke-nun</i><br>military.service                                    reduction-be.done-ATTR(RL)                                    thing-TOP<br><i>na-nun solcikhi</i> <i>tanchwuk-tway-ya</i><br>I-TOP honestly                                    reduction-be.done-NECESS<br><i>toy-n-ta</i> <i>sayngkak-ha-ketun-yo?</i><br>be.done-IMPF-DECL thought-do- <u><i>ketun</i></u> -HON.END<br>'About the reducing the military service period, for me, I honestly think that<br>is should be shortened- <u><i>ketun</i></u> ?' |  |
| 3  | P2: | <i>um</i> ,<br>yeah   |  |

- 4 P1: ‘Yeah,’  
*ceki na-nun ccom,*  
DM I-TOP a.little  
‘Well, in my case it was a little,’
- 5 *i nyen i kaywel ccom*  
two year two month a.little  
‘Two years and two months were a bit like,’
- 6 *ssulteyepsi ka-n ke kath-untay,*  
wastefully go-ATTR(RL) thing seem-CIRCUM  
‘It seems like a waste,’
- 7 P2: *e,*  
yeah  
‘Yeah,’
- 8 [*<X kwuntay-eyse chengchwun-ul pwul thaywu-ko, X>*  
unit-LOC youth-ACC fire burn-CON  
‘<X You burn your youth in the unit, X>’
- 9 *e,*  
yeah  
‘Yeah,’
- 10 P1: [*kunyang,*  
just  
‘Just,’
- 11→ *mith mith-ey ay-tul-un ccom] ilehkey an*  
below below-LOC child-PLU-TOP a.little like.this NEG  
*hay-ss-umyen solcikhan kule-n*  
do-ANT-COND honest be.such-ATTR(RL)  
*palaym-i-ketun-yo.*  
wish-COP-*ketun*-HON.END  
‘Honestly I wish that the young- younger kids didn’t go through that-*ketun*.’

In (2.23), P1 is using *-ketun* twice, in line 2 and 11, and in both cases he is explicitly using the verb *sayngkakhata* ‘think’ and the noun *palaym* ‘wish’ which indicate that these are his own subjective opinions about Korean men’s obligatory military service duration. Nevertheless, the speaker P1’s uses of *-ketun* show that he is framing his apparent subjective opinions as if they were already presupposed facts. In other words, P1 is pretending as if he is simply conveying already presupposed factual information rather than expressing his personal thoughts. By doing so, he is distancing himself from the

truthfulness of his own opinions, i.e., he is avoiding taking the responsibility of his own ideas. This strategic distancing use of *-ketun* helps P1 to sound more polite since it reduces the assertive force of his utterances. In addition, P1's other hedging expressions such as *solcikli* 'honestly' (line 2), *solcikhan* 'honest' (line 11) and *ccom* 'a little' (lines 4, 5, 11), also indicate that he is making efforts to mitigate his assessments throughout the discourse.

In order to illustrate the hedging function of *-ketun* more clearly, the following minimal pair of invented examples is provided in (2.24).

(2.24)

(Context: The boss has just announced that he wants to have a staff dinner the following night, and that he expects everyone to be present with no exceptions. Mina has a very important personal engagement the next evening that she cannot cancel. She has to tell her boss that she will not be at the dinner, but knowing that he is unyielding and authoritarian, she feels she has to walk on eggshells.)

Mina: (a)    ?*ce*    *nayil*            *cenyek-ey-nun*        *senyak-i*  
               I        tomorrow        night-LOC-TOP        previous.engagement-NOM  
               *iss-e-yo.*  
               exist-INDC-HON.END  
               '?'I already have an appointment tomorrow night.'

(b)        *ce*        *nayil*            *cenyek-ey-nun*        *senyak-i*  
               I        tomorrow        night-LOC-TOP        previous.engagement-NOM  
               *iss-ketun-yo.*  
               exist-*ketun*-HON.END  
               'I already have an appointment tomorrow night-*ketun*.'<sup>20</sup>

The only difference between the utterances (2.24a) and (2.24b) is in their utterance-final particles: while (2.24a) is used with the indicative sentential ending *-e*, (2.24b) is used with the utterance-final particle *-ketun*. For the given context where Mina is trying to show that

---

<sup>20</sup> The utterance in (2.24b) sounds polite only if it has a falling intonation contour. The relationship between politeness and intonation is described in more detail in below.

she feels uneasy about telling her boss that she would not be able to attend the dinner, the utterance (2.24a) would not be very plausible, since it does not include any linguistic expressions that can hedge or soften the force of the utterance. On the other hand, (2.24b) sounds more polite, due to the use of the utterance-final *-ketun*, which can function as a hedge. By the use of *-ketun*, Mina can present her previous engagement as an already presupposed fact by implying that it was not her personal idea to have an appointment the next evening. In other words, Mina uses *-ketun* to assign the responsibility for the veracity of the information to an already presupposed factual world.

Unlike the utterance-final particle *-ketun* in Korean, this type of usage as a politeness strategy is not found in the independent Spanish *si*-clauses (Schwenter 1996, 1998)<sup>21</sup>. The independent *si*-clauses in Spanish are mostly used in negative contexts, where the speaker is expressing refutation or adverse ideas toward the hearer, and according to Schwenter, Spanish *si* cannot be used with hedging expressions or other attenuating devices because it would sound pragmatically strange if it did. Unlike Spanish *si*, Korean *-ketun*, can not only express politeness when the speaker is providing his or her own thoughts or opinions, it also can be used with attenuating expressions such as *ccom* ‘a little,’ and *kath-* ‘seem like.’ Although the Spanish refutational *si* and the Korean utterance-final particle *-ketun* resemble each other in that they both originated from conditional connective particles and that they both are now used without any apodosis in modern discourse, *-ketun*

---

<sup>21</sup> However, according to Montolío Durán (1993), the Spanish *si*-marked clauses can be used as markers of politeness or mitigation when used idiomatically in set phrases that are often used in public situations as in *Si me permite pasar* ‘If you’ll let me pass’ (Schwenter 1996:320). In such cases however, *si* in Spanish still seems to have its conditional meaning, compared to the refutational or adversative *si* where the conditional meaning seems to have been lost.

differs from the Spanish *si* in that it can be used for two seemingly opposite functions, the politeness function and the impoliteness function.

It might at first seem perplexing to see that a single marker *-ketun* can have two very opposing functions which are expressing impoliteness (shown in 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2) and politeness (shown in this present section 4.3.2). Nevertheless, this seeming contradiction can be resolved if we bear in mind that the basic function of *-ketun* is to construe an assertion as if it were a presupposition. Both the impoliteness and politeness uses of *-ketun* seem to have been extended from this basic information managing role of *-ketun*. Thus, when the speaker assigns the responsibility for not having presupposed or taken as given some particular fact to the hearer, then *-ketun* is used to express impoliteness. On the other hand, when an assertion is presented as if it were an already presupposed fact i.e., when the speaker places the responsibility for the veracity of certain information to the world of common knowledge, rather than placing it to the hearer or to the speaker him/herself, then *-ketun* can be used as a politeness strategy to weaken or hedge the speaker's own statement.

It should be noted that there are two critical formal differences that *-ketun* shows in these two different functions. The first difference is that *-ketun* as an impoliteness marker can only appear as a response to the other interlocutor's utterance (i.e., as a second-pair part). In other words, *-ketun* can function as a marker that expresses the speaker's negative stance only towards an already existing comment or assessment that has been previously produced by the other speaker and consequently it can never convey impoliteness when the speaker is initiating a negative comment. Kim and Suh (2010a, 2010b) and K.-H. Kim (2010) also observed this fact and pointed out that “*-ketun* in the second position is prone



to be formulated and taken up as a “dispreferred” response” (Kim and Suh 2010b:17). As can be seen in excerpts (2.14) and (2.15), speakers are using *-ketun* in their responses of their interlocutor’s comments in a way to refute or correct their arguments.

A parallel restriction can also be found in the Spanish refutational independent-*si* clauses. Schwenter (1996) provides the following structure that reflects the usage of the Spanish independent-*si* clause.

(2.25)

A: Y

B: *si* X (responding to, commenting on, and often denying the validity of Y)  
(Schwenter 1996:340)

Schwenter (1996) further explains by quoting Almela Pérez’s (1985:11) description on *si*-marked clauses:

... el *si* introductor de este tipo de oraciones es un *si* dialógico: se emplea únicamente en diálogos, nunca en monólogos. ... Pero nunca inicia el diálogo, sino que sólo lo constituye como respuesta: es un *si* responsivo. Es un signo inequívoco de que la oración que sigue es la respuesta a otra anterior.

[... The *si* that introduces this type of sentence is a dialogic *si*: it is used only in dialogues, never in monologues. ... But it never initiates the dialogue, but rather appears as a response: this use of *si* is responsive. It is an unmistakable sign that the sentence that follows is a response to a previous sentence.]

(Almela Pérez 1985:11, cited in Schwenter 1996)

Again, this is similar to the impolite use of *-ketun*; as the excerpts in (2.19-2.21) show, when *-ketun* is used to convey impoliteness, it only occurs in the second-pair part. However, *-ketun* does not have such restrictions when it is used as a politeness strategy, as can be seen in the excerpts (2.22) and (2.23), nor when it is used in storytelling contexts, as in the example shown in section 2.4.1.

The second significant difference between the polite use and the impolite use of *-ketun* is in their intonation. For instance, the utterance-final particle *-ketun* should always occur with a rising intonation contour and never with a falling intonation contour in order to convey impoliteness. If all the *-ketun*-utterances in the excerpts (2.18-2.21) were used with falling intonation contours, these utterances might have sounded pragmatically odd or even puzzling for the hearers<sup>22</sup>. Kim and Suh (2010a) also observe this particular intonational feature of the negative stance marking *-ketun*, arguing that “this use of the *-ketun*-utterance as a counter is normally formulated with conspicuously rising pitch at the ending” (Kim and Suh 2010a:431). This type of prosodic restriction on the impolite use of *-ketun* may be related to the meaning carried by rising intonation. Rising intonation per se can have diverse functions in discourse, such as signaling that the speaker is expecting reaction or response from the listener (M.-H. Jo 2011) or that the speaker wants to keep the floor (Bolinger 1982, cited in Schiffrin 1987:272). According to S.-A. Jun (2000), the rising boundary tone LH% is frequently used in Korean when signaling questions,

---

<sup>22</sup> The two uses of *-ketun* in the excerpts (2.14) and (2.15), according to their transcription, did not show the rising boundary tone. However, the transcription shows that *-ketun* in both cases were used with ‘,’ which is the transcription convention for a continuing transitional continuity, rather than to be used with ‘.’, which is the transcription convention for a final transitional continuity. This fact indicates that *-ketun* in these cases did not show a definitive falling boundary tone L%. Although their exact boundary tone cannot be re-examined since the corpus only provides text files, it can still be speculated that in the excerpts (2.14) and (2.15), the two uses of *-ketun* might have been used with the rising-falling boundary tone LHL%, which according to S.-A. Jun (2000), is similar to LH% in Korean, which also delivers the meanings of persuasive, insisting, as well as to show annoyance or irritation i.e., marking negative stance.

continuation, and endings of explanations, as well as to express annoyance, irritation, or disbelief, i.e., to mark negative stances. It seems that the frequent occurrence of *-ketun* in negative-stance situations marked with rising boundary tone has resulted in conventionalization over time, so that impolite uses of *-ketun* now only occur with rising intonation in Modern Spoken Korean.

On the other hand, the polite uses of *-ketun*, as well as the uses of *-ketun* in storytelling contexts do not have such prosodic restriction. Although these uses of *-ketun* often do occur with a rising boundary tone, for instance to indicate that the speaker wishes to hold the floor or to signal that he or she is expecting a reaction from the hearer, they can also occur with falling boundary tone as can be seen in variety of intonation contours marked in the examples in (2.6)-(2.13) and (2.22)-(2.24). A similar phenomenon is seen in spoken Korean in the contrast between the negative responses *ani-yo* ‘no-HON.END’ and *ani* ‘no,’ which are always used with a rising boundary tone, and their affirmative counterparts *ney* ‘yes.HON’ and *e* ‘yeah’ which are mostly used with falling boundary tone (except when they are used in questions).

## **2.5. Discussion**

### **2.5.1. The purported epistemicity-marking function of *-ketun*: A symptom of its information-management function?**

It is impossible to neglect the epistemic marking function of *-ketun* which has been claimed by so many linguists (see section 2.2). The basis for their arguing that *-ketun* is a

type of an epistemic marker is that *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle has a function to confirm or to inform the hearer that the situation depicted in the speaker's proposition has already been directly experienced by the speaker and that he or she is thus sure for its truthfulness (S.-J Park 1999, Y.-H. Chae 1998, J.-C. Lee 2002, Koo and Rhee 2001, Park and Son 2002, Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b), and that it also has a function to provide information that is only accessible from the speaker's domain or the speaker's territory, i.e., not accessible to the addressee (J.-Y. Shin 2000, Y.-Y. Park 1998, Kim and Suh 2010a), and thus making the speaker the provider of an account and the hearer as the recipient of such account (Kim and Suh 2010a, 2010b, K.-H. Kim 2010).

Nonetheless, what declarative or indicative utterance does not have those functions? Any declarative or indicative utterance in conversation is used to provide information which is only accessible from the speaker's domain, and to inform the hearer that the proposition in the utterance is true. And in terms of epistemicity then, how different are the utterances ending with the utterance-final particle *-ketun* and the utterances ending with the neutral indicative sentential ender *-e*? To evaluate whether *-ketun*'s function is to provide information regarding epistemicity, a set of invented examples shown in (2.26) (which is repeated here from the example (2.3)) is examined to compare utterances ending with *-ketun* with utterances ending with the neutral indicative sentential ending *-e*.

(2.26)

- |    |   |             |                |                       |
|----|---|-------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>na</i>                                     | <i>ecey</i> | <i>yenghwa</i> | <i>po-ass-e.</i>      |
|    | I   | yesterday   | movie          | see-ANT- <u>e</u>     |
|    | 'I went to see a movie yesterday- <u>e</u> .' |             |                |                       |
| b. | <i>na</i>                                     | <i>ecey</i> | <i>yenghwa</i> | <i>po-ass-ketun.</i>  |
|    | I   | yesterday   | movie          | see-ANT- <u>ketun</u> |

‘I went to see a movie yesterday-ketun.’

At least in my judgment, there does not seem to be any difference in the degree of epistemicity between the utterances in (2.26a) and (2.26b). In both cases, the speaker is telling the hearer that the fact that ‘he or she went to see a movie yesterday’ is an already experienced event by the speaker and thus is a true fact, and that this piece of information can only be accessible from the speaker’s domain. Instead, what really differs between these two utterances is that unlike the utterance ending with *-e*, the one ending with *-ketun* must depend on some other utterances, and cannot be used by itself. (2.26) is again repeated here as (2.27) with more detailed context.

(2.27)

(Context: AR is waiting for her friend YJ at a restaurant to have lunch together. YJ walks in, and after quickly greeting with each other AR says the following utterance and waits for YJ’s reaction.)

- AR: a.    *na*    *ecey*            *yenghwa*    *po-ass-e*.  
          I       yesterday    movie        see-ANT-e  
          ‘I went to see a movie yesterday-e.’
- b.    ?*na*    *ecey*            *yenghwa*    *po-ass-ketun*.  
          I       yesterday    movie        see-ANT-ketun  
          ‘?I went to see a movie yesterday-ketun.’

In the given situation, the utterance (2.27a) is plausible while (2.27b) is rather awkward. Note that this is the very first utterance that AR says to YJ after greeting each other, and that AR is waiting for YJ’s reaction after finishing this utterance. The utterance (2.27a) is perfectly fine, since it conveys the fact that AR went to a movie the day before as a simple

assertion, i.e., as information that would be new information to YJ. Thus YJ, after accepting this as new information, she then might react to it as “Really?” or “What did you see?” However, if AR utters as (2.27b) and waits for YJ’s reaction, it is likely that YJ would be perplexed and might say something like “So?” or “And?” and so on<sup>23</sup>. The reason for this is that the crucial difference between *-e* and *-ketun* lies in the fact that *-ketun* always has to depend on some other utterance or context. If *-ketun*’s function, as I have argued, is to present an assertion as if it were or as if it should have been a presupposition, then the utterance ending with *-ketun* always has to be presupposed with respect to some other situation. This is why YJ should be puzzled if AR does not continue her story, since by hearing the utterance-final particle *-ketun*, YJ automatically would expect that the fact ‘AR went to see a movie yesterday’ must be related to some other facts that AR has experienced.

Another piece of evidence that has been used to argue that *-ketun* is an epistemic marker is that it can only be used by someone who is providing the information and never by someone who is asking for information, while the other indicative sentential ending like *-e* can be used both when providing new information and when asking for certain information (Y.-H. Chae 1998). This contrast is shown in the invented questions in (2.28).

(2.28)

- a.     *ne*     *cemsim*     *mek-ess-e?*  
       you    lunch     eat-ANT-*e*  
       ‘Did you eat lunch-*e*?’

---

<sup>23</sup> The utterance in (2.27b) might be plausibly followed by a pause if it ended with a rising intonation contour, since the rising boundary tone at the end of an utterance by itself can signal that the speaker is expecting the hearer to show some type of recognition of the statement that he or she has just uttered (although the rising boundary tone can also mean that the speaker wants to hold the floor or to show a negative stance (S.-A. Jun 2000, M.-H. Jo 2011)). In that case, YJ might react with minimal responses such as “Yeah?” just to satisfy the speaker’s expectation that she show an uptake, but she would still be expecting AR to say something more.

- b.    ??ne    cemsim       mek-ess-ketun?  
       you    lunch        eat-ANT-ketun  
       '??Did you eat lunch-ketun?'

Although (2.28a) is a perfectly plausible sentence, (2.28b) is not. As Y.-H. Chae (1998) argues, it seems that *-ketun* can never be used by someone who does not have the information. However, this phenomenon is also explicable under my analysis. The reason why *-ketun* does not work in interrogative sentences is because there is no reason to present the content of a question as a presupposition.

Consequently, I suggest that the purported epistemic-marking function of *-ketun* is, in fact, an illusion which has arisen as a concomitant of misunderstanding *-ketun*'s actual function, which is to present an assertion as if it were, or as if it should have been a presupposition.

### 2.5.2. *-Ketun*'s information-managing role in discourse

As has been described throughout the section 2.4, *-ketun* in spoken Korean has a significant role in managing the flow of information which was presenting an assertion as a presupposition. A question could rise, then, when and why do speakers present an assertion as a presupposition? In spontaneous interactional discourses, speakers converse without having planned in advance about what they will be talking about and naturally, the flow of information cannot be neatly organized. As the conversation develops through time, the topic of the discourse is constantly in flux, changing and jumping back and forth incessantly. In other words, in spontaneous discourse, the flow of information is always

messy, untidy and disorganized. In order to somehow ease the flow of information from such a turmoil, speakers need some type of tools with which they can manage the stream of information, and *-ketun* is exactly such a device.

Speakers use the utterance-final particle *-ketun* when they realize that the flow of information would become problematic and they want to avoid or ameliorate the potential problem. For instance, in section 2.4.1.1, it was shown that *-ketun* was used when the speakers wanted to present background information for the upcoming stories. In such cases, the speakers use *-ketun* to explicitly mark that without this particular information being presupposed, it would be troublesome to understand the following story for the hearers. In both sections 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.1.3, *-ketun* was used to present additional information about what has just been said. In such cases, the speakers use *-ketun* right after realizing that they have neglected to provide necessary background information beforehand and that this could confuse the hearers in fully understanding the story. Hence by using *-ketun*, the speakers are letting the hearers know that this certain piece of information should actually have been given earlier in the discourse.

Another case where speakers might want to present an assertion as a presupposition is described in section 2.4.2.1, where speakers used *-ketun* to demonstrate their negative stances towards the hearers. Here, *-ketun* is used to show that from the speakers' point of view, the flow of information has gone wrong because of the hearers' lack of a certain piece of presupposed information they ought to have taken as given, or when there is a mismatch between what the speaker presupposes and what the hearer presupposes.

In consequence, *-ketun* in spoken Korean functions as an explicit marker or device that can be used to manage the flow of information, by presenting an assertion as a



presupposition; it is used when the speaker wants to avoid or repair the stream of information when he or she finds an error in the flow of discourse.

### **2.5.3. *-Ketun*'s intersubjectivity and positioning at the right periphery**

As has been argued so far in this study, the utterance-final particle *-ketun*'s main function is to indicate the speaker's effort to construe an assertion as if it were, or as if it should, or should have been a presupposition. This conclusion reflects the fact that the utterance-final particle *-ketun*'s function has a very high degree of intersubjectivity (Traugott and Dasher 2001, Traugott 2010). According to Traugott and Dasher (2001), intersubjectivity "crucially involves SP[(eaker)]/W[(riter)]'s attention to AD[(dressee)]/R[(eader)] as a participant in the speech event, not in the world talked about" (Traugott and Dasher 2001:22)." They go on to explain that when intersubjectivity is linguistically coded, it expresses the SP(eaker)/W(riter)'s attention to the image or "self" of AD(dressee)/R(eader) in a social or an epistemic sense (Traugott and Dasher 2001:22).

The information managing function of the utterance-final *-ketun* to construe an assertion as if it were or as if it should have been a presupposition is exactly such an example. A speaker's use of *-ketun* reveals his or her attention to the hearer's state of knowledge and changes therein. More specifically, *-ketun* can display the speaker's awareness of the hearer's process of following the story and whether the hearer's understanding of that story might be impeded without certain pieces of information being presupposed. In other words, the use of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* explicitly signals that the speaker is highly aware of the fact that the content of what he or she is saying is

not shared with the hearer at the time of utterance, but that he or she wants the hearer to treat it as if it should be or should already have been shared with him in order to ease the flow of the conversation.

It is interesting that a marker such as *-ketun* with highly intersubjective meaning which once used to be used as a connective ending now only appears (at least in spoken Korean) at the utterance-final position, or at so called the “right periphery.” This right periphery position of an intonation unit seems to be a common position for intersubjective markings in many different languages. Traugott (2011b) notes that, in English, the left periphery of a clause or intonation unit is often associated with subjective materials such as topic marking and epistemic modals, while the right periphery is often associated with intersubjective marking such as question tags or final-*no doubt* (Simon-Vandenberg 2007) or final-*of course* (Lewis 2003). The intersubjectivity found in final particles of English such as *then, though, anyway* and *actually*, which occur at the right periphery, was also thoroughly discussed in Haselow (2012). In particular, Haselow (2012) suggests that the occurrence of final particles at the end of an intonation unit might be universal, regardless of the various basic syntactic word orders of different languages, as this phenomenon can be observed in English, Dutch (van der Wouden and Foolen 2011), German (final *aber* in Diewald and Fischer (1998), final *halt* in Imo (2008)), and also in non-European languages such as Chinese (Li 2006, Yap et al. 2010), or Japanese (McGloin and Konishi 2010, Saigo 2011). Korean *-ketun* also seems to be in the same class, appearing at the right periphery of an intonation unit with highly intersubjective meaning, along with other intersubjective utterance-final particles that are emerging in spoken Korean such as *-nuntey* ‘and/but,’ and the complementizer set *-lako/-tako/-nyako/-cako* and the like.

#### 2.5.4. Utterance-final particle *-ketun*'s exclusivity to spoken Korean

One of the widely known characteristics of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is that it is only found in spoken Korean, especially in interactive discourses between two or more interlocutors, but never in formal written Korean (see e.g., Son and Kim 2009). In fact, S.-J Park (1999) and Y.-J. Jeon (2002) claim that even in spoken Korean, the utterance-final *-ketun* is only used in interactive contexts and never in internal monologues (i.e., when the speaker is speaking to him- or herself). However, the utterance-final *-ketun* can easily be found in casual written texts, such as in personal letters and emails or in personal blogs postings, but only in cases where the texts are written interactively, as if there were spoken to the readers.

Nevertheless, none of these previous works on the utterance-final particle *-ketun* attempted to provide a plausible explanation for its exclusive distribution in interactive spoken Korean. Building on the discussion in the previous subsections, it seems probable that the reason why the utterance-final *-ketun* is exclusively used in interactive conversations would be due to its noticeably intersubjective function of managing the status of information in discourse. In any form of communication between more than two interlocutors, the awareness of the amount of the shared knowledge between the interlocutors would be crucial for a successful communication. Since in spontaneous conversations, the shared status of information between the interlocutors is always and constantly being negotiated and renewed, intersubjective markers such as *-ketun* would become very useful for the speakers to “manage” such information.

For the lack of *-ketun*'s usage in written Korean, I agree with Haselow's (2012) work on English final particles where he claims that the absence of these final particles in writing is because of the different requirements imposed upon speakers in the online production of speech in interaction. Unlike spontaneous interactive spoken language, where speakers constantly bring up new subjects, change topics and continuously replace ideas, written language forms, on the other hand, are typically carefully edited beforehand. Thus, writers have different requirements from the (interactive) speakers, where they must organize and plan the flow of information in advance, since instantaneous negotiation of such information is not possible in written forms. Hence, the use of *-ketun*, in which it construes an assertion as a presupposition, would hardly ever appear in written forms, because it would be advisable to just provide the relevant presupposition in its proper place. In other words, the use of *-ketun* would result in poorly organized writing.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

This present chapter has attempted to shed light on the novel functions of *-ketun* in Modern Spoken Korean. Using the data from a corpus of naturally occurring spontaneous conversations, it has been shown, that that least in Modern Spoken Korean, *-ketun* no longer performs as its original conditional connective ending function, but rather functions as an utterance-final particle whose the basic function is to manage the flow of information in discourse. In particular, this chapter claimed that this main and the basic function of *-ketun* manifests in storytelling, where a speaker might want to construe an assertion that should be or should have been presupposed as though it were, in fact, a presupposition.

Moreover, I have argued that this information managing function of *-ketun* can further be extended, so that it can be used in both impoliteness strategies as well as politeness strategies.

This chapter hence provides a unified account of utterance-final particle *-ketun*'s various functions, and further explores the reason a speaker might use such an information managing device, namely to facilitate the flow of information in spontaneous conversations, particularly when the speakers become aware of potential problems in the flow of information that they might want to repair or avoid. I also have shown, in this present chapter, that the utterance-final particle *-ketun* is not an epistemic marker as many previous scholars have argued, but that its seemingly epistemicity-marking function is in fact an illusion that results from misunderstanding its information managing function. Finally, this present chapter has suggested that the occurrence of this highly intersubjective use of *-ketun*'s at the right peripheral position of an intonation unit may provide an example of a posited universal tendency for intersubjectivity to be linked to the right peripheral position of an intonation unit.

## **Chapter 3. Grammaticalization of *-ketun*: From conditional connective ending to information managing utterance-final particle**

### **3.1. Introduction**

In the previous chapter, the current functions of *-ketun* in Modern Spoken Korean have been described in detail. It has been argued that *-ketun* is an intersubjective utterance-final particle which manages the flow of information in discourse by presenting an assertion as if it were, or as if it should be or should have been, a presupposition. Nevertheless, how *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending came to be used as an information managing utterance-final particle still remains unexplained. This present chapter aims to fill that gap.

The goal of this present chapter is to examine the grammaticalization process of *-ketun*, from its conditional connective function to its novel function as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean. First of all, the historical development and the origin of the conditional connective ending *-ketun* will be observed in section 3.2, and *-ketun*'s restricted usage as a speech act conditional connective ending in Modern Korean will be discussed in section 3.3. Then, in section 3.4, the uses of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean will be briefly summarized. In section 3.5, the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* from its conditional connective ending function to its function as an utterance-final particle will be examined. Lastly, section 3.6 will conclude this chapter.

## 3.2. Historical development of the conditional connective ending *-ketun*

### 3.2.1. Origin of the conditional connective ending *-ketun*

Although the exact origin of *-ketun* is still unknown, according to H.-J. Koo (1989a, 1989b, 1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001), it developed from the earliest attested conditional marker in Korean *\*tAn/tun*, a reconstructed form from the *Hyangga* literature, which dates back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century. H.-J. Koo (1999) further argues that *\*tAn/tun* is in fact the combination of *-te* which is a marker of past perception, and the topic maker *-un/nun*, and argues that the second morpheme of *-ketun*, *tun*, originated from this particular combination. Koo and Rhee (2001) argue that historically, the past perception marker ‘*-te*’ originally meant ‘place’ or ‘object.’ They explain that it shifted its meaning to mean ‘time’ and later further grammaticalized to function as a past perception marker. In case of the first morpheme of *-ketun*, which is *ke*, it has been proposed by H.-J. Koo (1999) and T.-R. Seo (1988) that it is ‘a marker which indicates that something has not yet been perceived.’ In sum, H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) summarize the origin of the conditional ending *-ketun* as follows.

(3.1)

*-ketun/-kutAn* [*ke + tA + un/nun*]

*-ke*: a marker which indicates that something has not yet been perceived

*-tA*: ‘place’ ‘object’ > ‘time’

*-un/nun*: topic marker

Based on these historical arguments, H.-J Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) claim that *-ketun*, which used to function ‘to mark a certain unperceived time as a topic,’ has developed over time into a connective ending in Korean which function to convey conditionality between clauses through grammaticalization and subjectification.

### 3.2.2. Competition between two different connective endings: *-ketun* vs. *-myen*

Though historically *-ketun* might be the first conditional connective ending in Korean which developed from the earliest attested conditional marker *\*tAn/tun*, it was by far not the sole conditional connective ending in the history of Korean. According to J.-I. Kwon (1988) (cited in Koo and Rhee 2001), by the 15th century, numerous different conditional connective endings are found in the literature, such as *-tun*, *-tAn*, *-ketun*, *-etun*, *-ketAn*, *-umyen*, *-untayn*, *-unteyn*, *-untAyn*, *-untun*, *-tAyn*, *-ulantAy*, *-kwantAy*, *-kontAy*, *-wantAy*, *-ulteynm -nul*, *-nAl*, *-ulsientyeng*, *-ulssientyeng*, *-ulsyentyeng*, *-untAl* and so on<sup>24</sup>. H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) note that within the history of conditional markers in Korean, the rise of the new conditional connective ending of *-myen* is most interesting, since it is the most frequently used conditional connective ending in Modern Korean even though historically, it was *-ketun* which used to be the most commonly used

---

<sup>24</sup> Koo and Rhee (2001) comment that it is speculated that these forms probably have developed from before the 15<sup>th</sup> century, although the exact date of the rise of these forms is difficult to document.



conditional connective ending with the broadest uses. Because the emergence of *-myen* deeply affected *-ketun* both syntactically and functionally, it would thus be essential to observe the historical competition that existed between these two conditional connective endings since the emergence of the *-myen* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

H.-J. Koo's (1999) and Koo and Rhee's (2001) work show the historical competition which existed between various conditional connectives in Korean, by examining the literary *Nokeltay* texts as their historical corpora. *Nokeltay* is a Chinese textbook written in colloquial style, whis was used to train Chinese and Mongolian translators, and it has been translated into Korean in different time periods from 16th century to 20th century. The *Nokeltay* texts are known to be useful particularly for diachronic linguistic studies since they provide different versions of the same text that represent the linguistic forms of different time periods (H.-J. Koo 1999). The titles of the texts and their time periods of the data that H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) used are described as follows.

(3.2)

<i>Penyek Nokeltay</i>	c. 1517
<i>Nokeltay Enhay</i>	1670
<i>Monge Nokeltay</i>	1790
<i>Yekcu Penyek Nokeltay</i>	1995

(H.-J. Koo 1999:544)

<Table 3.1> shows the token frequencies of *-myen* and *-ketun* in *Nokeltay* texts from the four different time periods.

	<i>Penyek Nokeltay</i> (16 <sup>th</sup> century)	<i>Nokeltay Enhay</i> (17 <sup>th</sup> century)	<i>Monge Nokeltay</i> (18 <sup>th</sup> century)	<i>Yekcu Penyek Nokeltay</i> (20 <sup>th</sup> century)
<i>-myen</i>	142	165	186	227
<i>-ketun</i>	98	86	47	29

<Table 3.1. *Token frequencies of -myen and -ketun in Nokeltay texts from the four different time periods* (H.-J. Koo 1999:556)>

<Table 3.1> demonstrates that while the token frequency of *-myen* continuously increases over time, the token frequency of *-ketun*, on the other hand, constantly decreases. H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) claim that the increase in the frequency of *-myen* is due to its semantic generalization (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985). They argue that *-myen*, which originally used to convey only simultaneity, has extended its function over time, to convey temporality as well as causality (Koo and Rhee 2001). H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) also suggest that the development of *-myen* clearly shows a case of specialization as *-myen* is in an ongoing process of taking over the function of a conditional connective ending, i.e., expanding its functional domain, through a competition with other markers with similar functions.

Moreover, H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) argue that it is this increase of frequency of *-myen* which caused the frequency of *-ketun* to decrease over time. They provide the following data to demonstrate the replacements from *-ketun* to *-myen* which took place in the four different time periods. (3.3) below is an example of the changes that occurred between 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century.

(3.3)

- a. *kap kos is-ketun phAl-o hAtaka kAcang*  
price really exist-COND sell-CON if very  
*ti-ketun ancik mechwu-we twu-etun*  
low-COND yet stop-CON keep-COND  
(1517. *Penyek Nokeltay* I:70)

- b. *kaps-i isi-myen phAl-ko hAtaka kAcang*  
price-NOM exist-COND sell-CON if very  
*chyenhA-myen acik camskan memul-we twu-lila*  
cheap-COND yet a.moment stay-CON keep-FUT.DECL  
(1670. *Nokeltay Enhay* I:63)

‘If the price is good I’ll sell (it), and/but if the price is very low I’ll keep it for a little while.’

(H.-J. Koo 1999:548)

The examples in (3.3) show that in the same context, the conditional connective ending *-ketun* which was in the text from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (shown in (3.3a)) becomes replaced by *-myen* in the text from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (shown in (3.3b)). H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) demonstrate that between the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this type of replacement from *-ketun* to *-myen* took place 6 times in total.

(3.4) shows one of the cases where *-myen* was substituted for *-ketun* between the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

(3.4)

- a. *ney imuy mAl phAl-la ka-ketun wuli*  
you already horse sell-PURP go-COND we

*pes-ci-e*                      *kam-i*                      *mathi tyoth-yota*  
 friend-make-CON            going-NOM            exactly good-EXCL  
 (1670. *Nokeltay Enhay* I:7)

b.    *ney*    *mAl*    *phAl-la*            *ka-nola-ha-myen*            *wuli*    *pethA-ya*  
 you    horse    sell-PURP            go-DECL-do-COND            we            make.friends-CON  
*ka-myen*            *ilceng cinsillo*            *tyoh-Alilota*  
 go-COND            very    truly                      good-FUT.DECL  
 (1790. *Monge Nokeltay* I:11)

‘If you are travelling to sell the horse, it will be good if we go as a company.’  
 (H.-J. Koo 1999:550-551)

H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) show that the replacement of *-ketun* with *-myen* took place between the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the 18<sup>th</sup> century 18 times in total.

Example (3.5) illustrates one of the instances where the replacement of *-ketun* by *-myen* occurred between the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

(3.5)  
 a.    *cenyek*                      *toy-ketAn*                      *susung*                      *alphAy-sye*                      *sas-Al*  
 evening                      be.done-COND                      teacher                      front-LOC                      lot-ACC  
*spahy-e*                      *kul*    *oyiye*  
 draw-CON                      text    recite  
 (1790. *Monge Nokeltay* I:4)

b.    *cenyekey*                      *ilu-myen*                      *susunnim*                      *aph-eyse*                      *ceypi-lul*  
 evening                      reach-COND                      teacher                      front-LOC                      lot-ACC  
*popp-a*                      *kul*    *oywuki-lul*                      *ha-nuntey*  
 draw-CON                      text    reciting-ACC                      do-CIRCUM  
 (1995. *Yekcu Penyek Nolkeltay* I:3)

‘If it becomes evening, students draw lots before the teacher and recite the memorized text ...’

(H.-J. Koo 1999:553)

H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) show that this type of change, from *-ketun* to *-myen*, took place 24 times in total between the 18<sup>th</sup> century to 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In consequence, as *-myen* gains ground and expands its use in the domain of conditionals, *-ketun* gradually loses ground and comes to be used in more specific contexts only (H.-J. Koo 1999). Koo and Rhee (2001) find that *-ketun*, which used to be a marker that could be used to convey any conditional relations, progressively restricted its function and became more sensitive to situations of hypotheticality and hearer confirmation. According to H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001), this change could be evidenced from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when *-ketun* began to show some syntactic restrictions in person and mood which did not exist in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As a result, in Modern Korean, *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending, can only be used in very limited contexts. The syntactic and semantic restrictions and characteristics of *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending in Modern Korean will be dealt with in more detail in the next section, 3.3.

### **3.3. *-Ketun* as a connective ending in Modern Korean: Its restricted use as a speech act conditional marker**

As I have described earlier, *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending in Modern Korean shows many restrictions in its use. First of all, it has been argued in many previous works (such as K.-D. Lee 1993, Y.-H. Chae 1998, H.-J. Koo 1999, Koo and Rhee 2001,

J.-I. Yeom 2005, Y.-H. Jung 2001, J.-W. Park 2006 and many others) that *-ketun*, unlike other conditional connective endings in Korean such as *-myen*, has a strict restriction on its mood. In particular, it has been claimed that *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending can only be used when the consequent clause (apodosis) is imperative, hortative, promissory sentences or a question asking for the hearer's intention. The invented examples shown in (3.6) are some of the typical uses of *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending in Modern Korean.

(3.6)

- a. *sonnim-i o-ketun na-eykey allye-la.*  
 guest-NOM come-*ketun* me-to inform-IMPR  
 'If the guest comes, let me know.'
- b. *ney-ka sungcin-ul ha-ketun phathi-lul yel-ca.*  
 you-NOM promotion-ACC do-*ketun* party-ACC open-HORT  
 'If you get promoted, let's have a party.'
- c. *cip-ey tochak-ha-ketun cenhwa-ha-l-key.*  
 home-LOC arrive-do-*ketun* call-do-ATTR(IRRL)-PROM  
 'If I arrive home, I will call you.'
- d. *cwunpi-ka toy-si-ketun yeki-ey semyeng-ul*  
 preparation-NOM be.done-HON-*ketun* here-LOC signature-ACC  
*hay-cwu-si-keyss-supni-kka?*  
 do-give-HON-DCT.RE-POL-INTER  
 'If you are ready, would you sign here?'

(3.6a) is an example of *-ketun* used in an imperative sentence, (3.6b) shows *-ketun*'s use in a hortative sentence, (3.6c) is an instance that shows *-ketun* in a promissory sentence, and (3.6d) is an example where *-ketun* is used in a question asking for the hearer's intention.

Specifically, Y.-H. Jung (2001) claims that the apodosis of the *-ketun*-conditional sentence must have an illocutionary force. J.-I. Yeom (2005) proposes that *-ketun*-conditionals can only be used when expressing the speaker's volition to change future actions on the part of the addresser or the addressee (J.-I. Yeom 2005:754). K.-H. Lee (1980) argues that *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending can only be used with performative verbs. Finally, it has been argued in J.-W. Park (2006) that *-ketun*-conditional sentences can only be used in a 'prospective' speech act where the speaker and/or the hearer will perform an action in the future. In sum, what all these studies indicate is that, as J.-W. Park (2006) notes, *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending in Modern Korean can only be used for "speech act conditionals," which is a term borrowed from the three domains of conditional proposed by Sweetser (1991).

According to Sweetser (1991), there are three different domains of conditionals: Content conditionals, epistemic conditionals, and speech act conditionals. She explains that the content conditional refers to the conditionals in which the realization of the event or state of affairs described in the protasis is a sufficient condition for the realization of the event state of affairs described in the apodosis (Sweetser 1991:114). Sweetser provides the following sentence as an instance of a content conditional.

(3.7)  
If Mary goes, John will go.

(Sweetser 1991:114)

The second type of conditionality, the epistemic conditional, is defined as conditionals in which the idea that knowledge of the truth of the hypothetical premise expressed in the protasis would be a sufficient condition for concluding the truth of the proposition expressed in the apodosis (Sweetser 1991:116). (3.8) is such an instance.

(3.8)

If John went to that party, (then) he was trying to infuriate Miriam.

(Sweetser 1991:116)

Lastly, the speech act conditional is defined as the conditional in which “the performance of the speech act represented in the apodosis is conditional on the fulfillment of the state described in the protasis (the state in the protasis *enables* or *causes* the following speech act)” (Sweetser 1991:118). (3.9) below are some examples provided by Sweetser as instances of a speech act conditional.

(3.9)

a. If I may say so, that’s a crazy idea.

b. If I haven’t already asked you to do so, please sign the guest book before you go.

c. If it’s not rude to ask, what made you decide to leave IBM?

(Sweetser 1991:118)

Unlike other conditional connective endings in Korean such as *-myen*, which can be used in all of these three domains of conditionality, *-ketun* in Modern Korean can only appear in the speech act domain. It should be noted that examples of *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending shown in (3.6) might not seem to be the same type of conditional as



those shown in (3.9). Nevertheless, the *-ketun*-conditional construction fits the definition of speech act conditional proposed in Sweetser (1991) as well in Dancygier (1998). According to Sweetser (1991), though there are a great variety of conditional speech acts, “all speech-act conditionals have in common the fact that they are appropriately paraphrased by “If [protasis], then let us consider that I perform this speech act (i.e., the one represented as the apodosis).”” (Sweetser 1991:121) <sup>25</sup> . For instance, the *-ketun*-conditional sentence shown in (3.6a) can also be paraphrased by “If the guest comes, then let us consider that I perform this directive speech act (*let me know*),” the sentence in (3.6b) can be paraphrased by “If you get promoted, then let us consider that I perform this directive speech act (*let’s have a party*),” the sentence in (3.6c) can be paraphrased by “If I arrive home, then let us consider that I perform this commissive speech act (*I will call you*),” and the sentence in (3.6d) can be paraphrased by “If you are ready, then let us consider that I perform this directive speech act (*would you sign here?*).” Moreover, *-ketun*-conditional constructions shown in (3.6) also fit in Dancygier’s (1998) explanation of speech act conditionals where she argues that “the protases of such sentences are said to guarantee a successful performance of the speech act in the apodosis” (Dancygier 1998:89).

However, the direct translation of the English speech act-conditional sentences shown in (3.9) might not always be grammatical with the conditional connective ending *-ketun* in Korean. For instance, while the direct translation of the sentence in (3.9a) and (3.9c) with *-ketun* would sound strange, the direct translation of the sentence (3.9b)

---

<sup>25</sup> Sweetser further explains that this reading is to be contrasted with both content conditionals and epistemic conditionals: The content conditionals does not need paraphrases involving speech acts or logical processes, and the epistemic conditionals are appropriately paraphrased as “If *I know* [protasis], then *I conclude* [apodosis].” (emphasis hers) (Sweetser 1991:121).

might work with *-ketun*<sup>26</sup>. The reason why the direct translation of the sentence in (3.9b) works with *-ketun* is because the speech act of the apodosis in (3.9b) is a directive speech act asking for a request, while the speech acts of the apodoses in (3.9a) and (3.9c) are not (they are ‘statement’ and ‘question’ respectively<sup>27</sup>). Hence, I argue that the *-ketun*-conditional construction constitutes a specific subtype of speech act conditionals, as it can only be used with apodoses conveying certain types of speech act, namely the commissive speech acts and the directive speech acts among the five types of speech acts proposed by Searle (1976)<sup>28</sup>. According to Searle (1976), there are five basic categories of illocutionary acts, which are representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. Searle argued that among these five types, commissives are illocutionary acts whose point is to commit the speaker to some future course of action, such as promising. Directives have been defined by Searle as attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do

<sup>26</sup> The direct translations of the three sentences (3.9a), (3.9b), and (3.9c) is shown below in (I), (II), and (III) respectively:

(I)	<i>?cey-ka</i> I.HON-NOM <i>iss-ketun,</i> exist-COND	<i>kamhi malssum</i> daringly speech.HON <i>ku-kes-un</i> that-thing-TOP	<i>tuli-l</i> give-ATTR(IRRL) <i>michi-n</i> crazy-ATTR(RL)	<i>swu</i> means <i>sayngkak-i-p-ni-ta.</i> thought-COP-POL-DET-DECL	
(II)	<i>hoksi ceyka</i> in.case I.HON-NOM <i>anh-ass-ketun,</i> NEG-ANT-COND <i>pangmyenglok-ey</i> guest.book-LOC	<i>acik pwuthak-ul</i> not.yet request-ACC <i>ttena-si-ki</i> leave-HON-NOMZ <i>semyeng-ul</i> signature-ACC	<i>tuli-ci</i> give-CON <i>cen-ey</i> before-LOC <i>hay-cwu-sey-yo.</i> do.CON-give-POL-HON		
(III)	<i>?ilehkey</i> like.this <i>toy-ci</i> become-CON <i>iyu-ka</i> reason-NOM	<i>yeccwu-e</i> ask-CON <i>anh-ketun,</i> NEG-COND <i>mwes-i-ci-yo?</i> what-COP-COMT-HON	<i>po-nun</i> see-ATTR(RL) <i>aipieym-ul</i> IBM-ACC	<i>ke-y</i> thing-COP <i>ttena-si-n</i> leave-HON-ATTR(RL)	<i>sillyey-ka</i> rudeness-NOM

<sup>27</sup> Although ‘questions’ also fall into the directive speech act type, according to Searle (1976), *-ketun*-conditional sentences only allow apodosis with directive speech act excluding ‘questions,’ as I will explain shortly.

<sup>28</sup> As I noted earlier, J.-W. Park (2006) argues that *-ketun* conditionals can only be used with ‘prospective’ speech act, where the speaker and/or the hearer will perform an action in the future.

something, and the verbs which denote members of this class are *ask, order, command, request, beg, plead, pray, entreat, invite, permit* and *advise* (Searle 1976:11)<sup>29</sup>. However, it should be noted that *-ketun* does not allow ‘questions’ which ask the hearer to provide certain pieces of information, among the various sub-types of directive speech act. In other words, the conditional connective ending *-ketun* can only be used with apodoses which can have direct effects on the speakers’ and/or the hearers’ future actions.

Because of these restrictions on the domain of conditionality, *-ketun* has restrictions on its epistemic stance as well. Epistemic stance, which is defined in Fillmore (1990a, 1990b) as the degree of “the speaker’s commitment to the actuality of the proposition expressed in a subordinate clause in conditional sentences” (Fillmore 1990b:122), is divided into three types, namely positive epistemic stance, neutral epistemic stance, and negative epistemic stance. Positive epistemic stance refers to the speaker’s acceptance of the truth of the proposition expressed in the subordinate clause (Fillmore 1990b:122). On the other hand, neutral epistemic stance, according to Fillmore, refers to the the speaker’s taking no stand on the truth of the proposition expressed by the subordinate clause (Fillmore 1990b:122). Lastly, negative epistemic stance refers to the speaker’s assumption

---

<sup>29</sup> The definitions of the remaining three types of speech act proposed by Searle (1976) are as follows:

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| I. Representatives: | The point or purpose of the members of the representative class is to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something’s being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition (Searle 1976:10) (paradigm cases are: boast, complain, conclude, deduce).   |
| II. Expressives:    | The illocutionary point of this class is to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content (Searle 1976:12) (paradigm cases are: think, congratulate, apologize, condole, deplore, welcome).   |
| III. Declarations:  | Defining characteristic of this class is that the successful performance of one of its members brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality, successful performance guarantees that the propositional content corresponds to the world (Searle 1976:13) (paradigm cases are: nominating, declaring a state of war, marrying). |

that “*p*” is not true, where “*p*” is a proposition derivable from (and preserving the polarity of) the form of the protasis (Fillmore 1990b:122). J.-W. Park (2006) cites the following table from Schwenter (1999) which captures the relationship between the different domains of conditionality and the different types of epistemic stance.

	Content conditional	Epistemic conditional	Speech act conditional
Positive epistemic stance	-	+	+
Neutral epistemic stance	+	+	+
Negative epistemic stance	+	+	-

<Table 3.2. *The relationship between the different domains of conditionality and the different types of epistemic stance.* (Schwenter 1999:16, in J.-W. Park 2006)>

As can be seen in <Table 3.2>, speech act conditionals cannot convey negative epistemic stance. This seems to be true for the case of *-ketun* in Modern Korean as many of the previous works suggest; J.-W. Park (2006) observes that *-ketun* can only convey positive or neutral epistemic stance, J.-I. Yeom (2005) argues that *-ketun* can only appear in ‘realistic’ situations, K.-H. Lee (1980) and J.-Y. Shin (2000), claim that *-ketun* has a [+factuality] or [+realizability] feature. This incompatibility of the conditional connective ending *-ketun* with negative epistemic stance can be observed in the invented examples shown in (3.10).

(3.10)

a.    ??*nay-ka*      *say-ketun*      *nophi* *nal-key*.  
       I-TOP          bird-*ketun*      high    fly-PROM  
       ‘??If I were a bird, I will fly high.’

b.    ??*wuli-ka*      *pwuca-ketun*      *coh-un*                      *il-ul*                      *manhi*

we-TOP      rich-*ketun*      good-ATTR(RL)      work-ACC      a.lot  
*ha-ca.*  
do-HORT  
‘??If we were rich, let’s do a lot of good things.’

Both sentences in (3.10) are not very plausible sentences. This clearly illustrates that in Modern Korean, the conditional connective ending *-ketun* is no longer compatible with counter-factual situations, i.e., negative epistemic stance. In other words, when *-ketun* lost its competition with the other conditional marker *-myen* over the domain of the conditionals, *-ketun* lost its counter-factuality feature which caused it to narrow its functional domain to the speech act domain of conditionals.

The fact that *-ketun* can only be used for speech act conditionals also influences on *-ketun*’s restriction on its person, as H.-J. Koo (1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) claim that *-ketun* did not have any restrictions on its person until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but now has constraints on its person in Modern Korean. More specifically, Y.-J. Jung (2001) argues that the subject in the apodosis of *-ketun*-conditional sentences can only be 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person, and that this subject can only be a human being. This restriction seems to be directly related to the fact that *-ketun* can only convey directive or commissive (see Searle 1976) speech act conditional. The fact that *-ketun* can only be used with directive and commissive apodoses indicates that *-ketun* can only be used in situations where there are more dynamic and direct effects on the speakers’ and/or the hearers’ actions that should be carried out in the future compared to other conditional connective endings such as *-myen*. For this reason, it seems natural that the subject of *-ketun*’s apodosis has to be either 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person and not 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

In sum, we have observed so far that *-ketun*, which used to be the conditional connective ending with the most general and broad uses among other condition connective endings in the history of Korean, now has specialized its functions and restricted its use to be used only as a speech act conditional marker, as the result of losing the competition with another conditional marker *-myen* over the domain of conditionals. Therefore, in Modern Korean, *-ketun* can only be used in imperative, hortative, promissory sentences or in questions when asking for the hearer's intention, hence can only convey positive and neutral epistemic stance (i.e., is no longer compatible with counter-factual situations). Furthermore, due to the fact that *-ketun* can only be used with directive and commissive apodoses, *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending in Modern Korean can only have 1<sup>st</sup> person or 2<sup>nd</sup> person as subject of its apodosis.

### **3.4. *-Ketun* as an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean**

*-Ketun* is still being used as a speech act conditional connective ending in Modern Written Korean, but as I have explained in chapter 2, *-ketun* no longer functions as conditional connective ending in Modern Spoken Korean, but it rather now functions as an utterance-final particle. Furthermore, I have shown in chapter 2, that *-ketun*'s function as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean is very different from its function as a conditional connective ending. Hence, before discussing the grammaticalization process from *-ketun* as a conditional marker to *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle, I will briefly summarize the characteristic of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean which has been dealt with in chapter 2.

As I have described in chapter 2, *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle has an information managing role in discourse, which is to present an assertion as a presupposition. I have argued that speakers use *-ketun* in order to manage the flow of information, especially when they realize that the flow of information would become problematic and when they want to avoid such problems. In particular, when speakers are in storytelling contexts or when they are conveying factual events, they use the utterance-final particle *-ketun* to explicitly show that the hearers should take certain pieces of information to be presupposed, in order for them to better understand the upcoming story (see section 2.4.1.1 of chapter 2), or to signal the hearers that certain pieces of information should have been given earlier but they had neglected to do so (see sections 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.1.3 of chapter 2). I also illustrated that by being able to present an assertion as if it were presupposed, *-ketun* is often used when speakers are providing reasons (see section 2.4.1.4 of chapter 2) as well.

Moreover, I also have shown that in relatively more subjective contexts, *-ketun*'s basic information managing function can be extended to be used in both impoliteness strategies and politeness strategies. Specifically, I have argued that *-ketun*'s impoliteness use comes from when the speaker lays the responsibility of not having presupposed a certain fact on the hearer's shoulders (see section 2.4.2.1 of chapter 2), and that *-ketun*'s politeness use comes from when the speaker places the responsibility of the veracity of a certain information to the world of common knowledge and neither on the speaker nor the hearer (see section 2.4.2.2 of chapter 2).

Furthermore, I have claimed that all of these functions of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle reflects the fact that the utterance-final particle *-ketun* has a very

high degree of intersubjectivity (Traugott and Dasher 2001, Traugott 2010). The following section will now deal with the grammaticalization process of *-ketun*, to explain how *-ketun*'s function shifted from a conditional connective ending to an information managing utterance-final particle.

### **3.5. Grammaticalization from conditional connective ending *-ketun* to information managing utterance-final *-ketun***

Despite extensive studies which have focused on the current usages of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean, only a few scholars seem to have attempted to examine the grammaticalization process from its conditional connective ending function to its utterance-final particle function scholars (T.-Y. Kim 1998, Koo and Rhee 2001, Y.-H. Jung 2001, Park and Sohn 2002). In section 3.5.1, analyses of the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* into an utterance-final particle which were proposed in the literature of *-ketun* will be briefly summarized and their limitations will be raised. In section 3.5.2, the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* will be revisited.

#### **3.5.1. Previous analyses on the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* and their limits**

Koo and Rhee (2001) cite H.-H. Lee (1994) in order to argue that the conditional connective ending *-ketun* began to be used as an utterance-final particle in the 19<sup>th</sup> century via the ellipsis of the apodosis. Koo and Rhee (2001) argue that *-ketun*, which used to be used to connect two clauses together as a conditional connective ending, changed its



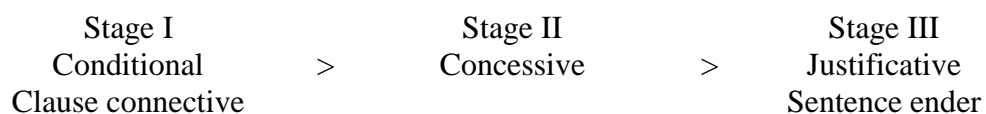
function to connect discourses as an utterance-final particle, i.e., functioning as a discourse conjunction. The authors propose that there has been a change in the “discourse orientedness” of *-ketun*, from hearer confirmation to speaker confirmation. In other words, according to the authors, when *-ketun* functions as a conditional connective ending, the veracity of the proposition depends on the hearer. However, when *-ketun* functions as an utterance-final particle, the veracity of the proposition now depends on the speaker. Because of this particular function, the authors claim that the utterance-final particle *-ketun* is an epistemic mood marker. Koo and Rhee (2001) further argue that *-ketun*'s functional domain changed from sentence to discourse. As a result, *-ketun*, which used to provide sentential background, now provides discourse background, and its function shifted from a sentential mood maker to a discourse mood marker which provides the transition relevance place (a place where a turn may or may not go to another speaker; see Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), when used with rising intonation. Moreover, the authors propose that the syntactic change of the *-ketun*-construction from a subordinate sentence to a simple sentence suggests that the protasis of the *-ketun*-sentence underwent a ‘hierarchical upgrading’ and the apodosis of the *-ketun*-sentence underwent a ‘hierarchical downgrading’ (Koo and Rhee 2001:10).

However, there seem to be some limits in Koo and Rhee's analysis on the grammaticalization of *-ketun*. First of all, their claim that *-ketun*, which used to be a conditional connective ending, developed into a marker conveying epistemicity might not be a very precise description. As I have described in detail in section 2.5.1, arguing that *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle functions as an epistemic marker might be misleading, and that this seemingly epistemic marking function is a symptom of *-ketun*'s

information managing function in spoken Korean. In consequence, the description which Koo and Rhee provide as the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* from its conditional connective ending function to an epistemic marker is in need of reexamination. Furthermore, Koo and Rhee's analysis on the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* does not provide any explanation for the extensive syntactic change that *-ketun*-clause went through historically, from being a subordinate clause to becoming a main clause. Although the authors do point out *-ketun*'s syntactic change and describe the change as 'hierarchical upgrading' for its protasis and as 'hierarchical downgrading' for its apodosis, they do not explain how this upgrading or downgrading took place in the history of *-ketun*.

Park and Sohn (2002) propose that *-ketun* has undergone a grammaticalization process from a textual function to an interpersonal marker which highlights the speaker's epistemic stance. The authors argue that *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending, which used to be sentence-bound, has grammaticalized from the sentence level to the discourse level. According to Park and Sohn, *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending expresses the speaker's certainty or conviction about the actualization or the realizability of the state of affairs conveyed in the protasis. They argue that it is this particular use of *-ketun* which its epistemic marking function as an utterance-final particle was derived from. The authors claim the following grammaticalization path for the development of *-ketun* into an utterance-final particle.

(3.11)



Park and Sohn argue that the shift from Stage I to Stage II is a case of subjectification and the shift from Stage II and Stage III can be viewed as intersubjectification, although they claim that Stage II might be optional.

Park and Sohn's (2002) argument that *-ketun* has developed into an interpersonal marker which highlights the speaker's epistemic stance might also be misleading for the same reason I argued against Koo and Rhee's (2001) claim shown above: the seemingly epistemic marking function of *-ketun* is a symptom of its information managing function in spoken Korean. Thus, their analysis of the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* from a conditional connective ending to an epistemic marker should be re-examined. Moreover, the authors only attempt to provide explanations for *-ketun*'s diachronic functional changes and they seem to neglect *-ketun*'s substantial syntactic change. Hence, the explanations for the extensive syntactic change of *-ketun* from being a subordinate clause marker to becoming a main clause marker still remains as a gap in their grammaticalization analysis of *-ketun*.

Y.-H. Jung (2001) proposes that the conditionality of *-ketun* as a connective ending is closely related to topicality (citing Haiman 1978 and H.-J. Koo 1989b). She claims that the functions of providing the topic of discourse and of providing reasons possessed by *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle derive from the topicality of *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending. She argues that the changes from conditionality to provision of topic, and from provision of topic to provision of a reason, reflect the subjectification process and pragmatic strengthening. Although Y.-H. Jung's attempt to relate *-ketun*'s functions as an

utterance-final particle to its topical function as a conditional connective ending might be plausible, her analysis of the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* is still missing a crucial point. Just as in Park and Sohn's (2002) analysis, Y.-H. Jung does not provide any explanation for the substantial syntactic shift which *-ketun*-clause went through diachronically.

Unlike other previous works on the grammaticalization of *-ketun*, T.-Y. Kim (1998) concentrates more on the syntactic changes from its non-utterance-final position to utterance-final position. In particular, for the subordinate connective endings such as *-ketun*, *-nuntey* and *-nikka* changing into utterance-final particles, he suggests the following order as the historical process.

(3.12)

- a. Ellipsis of the apodosis
- b. Transfer of the grammatical function
- c. Performance of terminal function and placement of discontinued intonation
- d. Acquisition of the utterance-final particle function

(T.-Y. Kim 1998:178)

However, he does not provide any evidence nor justification that supports these stages that he proposed.

Although all of these previous studies of *-ketun* attempt to account for the grammaticalization process from its conditional connective ending function to utterance-final particle function, they all have some limits in their explanation. We have

observed that the syntactic change which the *-ketun*-clause went through historically has mostly been neglected in the previous works on the grammaticalization process of *-ketun*. However, the syntactic shift which *-ketun* has undergone historically is extensive. The analysis on the grammaticalization of *-ketun* would remain incomplete without a plausible explanation for the extreme syntactic shift of the *-ketun*-clause from a subordinate clause to a main clause. I will address the gradual, step-by-step process of *-ketun*'s syntactic shift in section 3.5.3, and in particular, the possible motivation behind this syntactic change of *-ketun* will also be discussed in section 3.5.3.1.2.

Moreover, we also have observed that the previously proposed grammaticalization process of *-ketun* should be re-examined because of the misleading assumption that *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is an epistemic marker. An additional issue that should be raised here is that the general and the basic function of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean, which is the information managing function to present an assertion as a presupposition, has never been acknowledged in any of the previous studies of *-ketun*. Therefore, the grammaticalization process from *-ketun*'s conditional connective ending function to its information managing function as an utterance-final particle must be reanalyzed. Hence, in the following section 3.5.2, the functional shift of *-ketun* from its conditional function to its information managing function and to its politeness uses as well as its impoliteness uses will be examined. In section 3.5.3, the syntactic shift from subordinate clause to main clause will be discussed.

### **3.5.2. Functional shift of *-ketun***

### 3.5.2.1. From managing the information structure at the sentential level to managing the information flow at the discourse level

In order to understand how *-ketun* acquired its information managing function from its conditional function, the search for its functional shift should start with its former function, conveying conditionality. One of the well-known properties of conditionals is that they are, as Haiman (1978) argues, like topics. Haiman (1978) claims that the categories of ‘conditional’ and ‘topics’ are identical, by demonstrating that in number of unrelated languages, these two categories are marked identically<sup>30</sup>. H.-J. Koo (1989b), in her research on conditionals and topics in Korean, has shown that Haiman’s (1978) claim is true for Korean conditional clauses as well, although domains of conditionals and topics in Korean do not coincide exactly, because topics do not have the ‘temporality’ and ‘hypotheticality’ features which the conditionals do in Korean (H.-J. Koo 1989b:59-62). For the speech act conditional connective ending *-ketun* in Korean, H.-J. Koo (1989a, 1989b, 1999) and Koo and Rhee (2001) have demonstrated its historic origin (see section 4.2.1), and they have shown that the morpheme *-un* in *-ketun* was originally a topic marker which confirms Haiman’s argument. Taking into consideration that *-ketun*, which is a speech act conditional marker, is deeply related to topics, the following quote from Haiman (1978) seems particularly important in the explanation of the functional shift of *-ketun*.

---

<sup>30</sup> To elaborate Haiman’s claim that conditionals are topics, Sweetser (1991) asserts that conditionals are more complex in meanings than Haiman suggests (Sweetser 1991:125), and that among the three conditional domains that she proposes (see section 4.3), only the epistemic conditionals and speech-act conditionals can be topics, at least in English (Sweetser 1991:128).

In defining presupposition as knowledge shared by speaker and hearer, if only provisionally (since a supposition, or hypothetical conditional, is a provisional presupposition), I am arguing that topics, like conditional clauses, are presuppositions of their sentences.

(Haiman 1978:585)

If we take into account that conditional clauses are ‘presuppositions,’ then it is not so surprising at all that *-ketun* in Modern Spoken Korean functions to ‘present an assertion as a presupposition.’ As Haiman (1978) argues, what conditionals have in common is their information structures where the conditional protasis serves to be the presupposition for its apodosis.

The conditional connective ending *-ketun* as well, it manages the information structure within a sentence, by serving to be the presupposition of the sentence or the presupposition of its apodosis. I am now going to argue that the information management function of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* Modern Spoken Korean derived from the information management function of *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending. The basis of this argument is that there seems to be some striking parallelisms between the information management of these two particles. First of all, the information managing function of *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending is exactly reflected in that of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle, but only with a wider functional scope than that of the conditional *-ketun*: *-Ketun* as an utterance-final particle manages the information structure within a discourse, by conveying information that should be or should have been the presupposition for either the previous or the following context. In other words, both conditional *-ketun* and utterance-final *-ketun* function to mark the presupposition, but the

only difference between their information managing functions is their functional scopes. This also entails that, just as *-ketun*-protasis is always dependent of its apodosis (since *-ketun*-protasis serves to be the presupposition of its apodosis), the *-ketun*-utterance in discourse is also always dependent on its context (since it can never stand alone and always has to depend on some other utterance or context (see section 2.5.1 of chapter 2)).

The parallelism between the management of information structure of the conditional connective ending *-ketun* and that of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* can be seen more clearly when we consider the ordering of information managed by these two particles. Comrie (1986), by citing Greenberg (1963), shows that there is a universal order of clauses in conditional constructions across languages, that the protasis should precede the apodosis. Here is Greenberg's Universal of Word Order 14, which Comrie cites:

In conditional statements, the conditional clause [=protasis, BC] precedes the conclusion [=apodosis, BC] as the normal order in all languages.

(Greenberg 1963:84-85, cited in Comrie 1986:83)

Arguing that the counterexamples to this generalization of the protasis-apodosis order are difficult to find across languages, Comrie proposes a number of suggestions which can explain this universal order of conditional constructions. One of his suggestions is that the linear order of clauses reflects the temporal reference of the clauses (Comrie 1986:85). He explains that in general, the temporal reference of the protasis is located before, or at least not posterior to, that of the apodosis (Comrie 1986:85). The Korean *-ketun* conditional construction seems to be in agreement with Comrie's suggestion, as the invented example in (3.13) shows.



(3.13)

*onul say chayk-ul sa-ketun, ne-eykey-to pily-e-cwul-key.*  
today new book-ACC buy-ketun you-to-ADD lend-CON-give-PROM  
'If I buy a new book today, I will let you read it too.'

A conceptual temporal order can be found in this *-ketun*-conditional sentence, in which the linear order of the *-ketun*-protasis and its apodosis reflects the temporal reference of the clauses: As the *-ketun*-protasis linearly precedes its apodosis, the event conveyed by the *-ketun*-protasis (buying a new book) must also be realized prior to the event conveyed by the apodosis (lending it to the hearer). In other words, what *-ketun* does in conditional sentences is to mark the event that should temporally precede the other events expressed in the sentence. I will argue below, that the management of order of information of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* derived from this specific managing of the order of information of conditional connective ending *-ketun*, i.e., to indicate the event that should precede the others.

As I have claimed in the previous chapter, *-ketun* as an utterance-final marker functions as a device for the speakers which enables them to manage the flow of information. More specifically, speakers use *-ketun* when they realize that the flow of information would become problematic and when they want to avoid or fix such problems. For instance, I have shown that the utterance-final *-ketun* is often used when the speaker wants to explicitly show the hearer that certain information should be presupposed for a better understanding of the upcoming story (see section 2.4.1.1 of chapter 2) as in the excerpt (2.7) from chapter 2, which is repeated here as (3.14).

(3.14) 4CM00003

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about divorce.)

- 1 P2: *ay-ka iss-nun kyengwu-ey-nun*  
child-NOM exist-ATTR(RL) case-LOC-TOP  
*ku-ke-n an toy-keyss-ta-nun*  
that-thing-TOP NEG be.done-DCT.RE-DECL-ATTR(RL)  
*sayngkak-i tul-te-la.*  
thought-NOM come.in-FH.EV-DECL  
'I don't think it's a good idea if you have kids.'
- 2 P1: *ung ku-chi.*  
yeah that-COMT  
'Yeah, you're right.'
- 3→ *wuli= wuli cakun apesi-ka cayhon-ul*  
my my little father-NOM remarriage-ACC  
*ha-si-ess-ketun?*  
do-HON-ANT-ketun  
'My= my uncle got married again-ketun.'
- 4 P2: *ung.*  
yes  
'Yeah.'
- 5 P1: *kuntey ku cakun emma casik-i twu*  
but that little mom child-NOM two  
*myeng-i-ess-kwu,*  
CLSF-COP-ANT-CON  
'But my new aunt had two kids of her own and,'
- 6 *cakun appa casik-i twu myeng-i-ess-e,*  
little dad child-NOM two CLSF-COP-ANT-INDC  
'My uncle had two kids,'  
(P1 continues his story)

In the excerpt (3.14), P1's utterance with *-ketun* in line 3 indicates the information that his uncle got remarried should be presupposed information for P2, before P1 continues his story about his uncle's re-married life. In other words, the speaker, by using *-ketun*, is arranging the order of the information, by marking that this specific information 'P1's uncle got re-married' should precede other pieces of information. This can be schematized as the following.

(3.15)

Speaker's intended ordering of the information:

The information in *-ketun*-utterance precede others:

- I. 'My uncle got married again-*ketun*.'
- II. 'My uncle's re-married life.'

I have shown that the speakers also use *-ketun* when they want to explicitly indicate that certain pieces of information should have been given earlier in the discourse, because they have neglected to provide it beforehand and thus made a leap in their assertion (see sections 2.4.1.2 and 2.4.1.3). The excerpt (2.9) from chapter 2 is repeated here as (3.16).

(3.16) 7CM00009

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about the island of Tokto, which has been in the center of the conflict between Korea and Japan, as both countries claim ownership. P1 has been speaking very badly of Japan.)

- |   |     |                          |                           |                                     |                 |                |
|---|-----|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 | P1: | <i>X</i>                 | <i>elmana</i>             | <i>aklal-ha-nya?</i>                |                 |                |
|   |     | X                        | how                       | villainous-do-INTER                 |                 |                |
|   |     |                          |                           | '<X> How terrible are they?'        |                 |                |
| 2 |     | <i>kule-n</i>            |                           | <i>ay-tul-i,</i>                    |                 |                |
|   |     | be.such-ATTR(RL)         |                           | child-PLU-COP                       |                 |                |
|   |     |                          |                           | 'Those people,'                     |                 |                |
| 3 |     | <i>cwungkwuk</i>         | <i>ceki</i>               | <i>cwungkwuk</i>                    | <i>hako-to,</i> |                |
|   |     | China                    | DM                        | China                               | with-ADD        |                |
|   |     |                          |                           | 'China, um, even with China,'       |                 |                |
| 4 |     | <i>sem</i>               | <i>manh-unikka.</i>       |                                     |                 |                |
|   |     | island                   | a.lot-CAUS                |                                     |                 |                |
|   |     |                          |                           | 'Since China has a lot of islands.' |                 |                |
| 5 |     | <i>cwungkwuk-hako-to</i> | <i>mak,</i>               |                                     |                 |                |
|   |     | China-with-ADD           | DM                        |                                     |                 |                |
|   |     |                          |                           | 'Even with China, like,'            |                 |                |
| 6 |     | <i>pwuncayng-i</i>       | <i>ilena-n-ta-n</i>       |                                     | <i>mal-y-a.</i> |                |
|   |     | conflict-NOM             | happen-IMPF-DECL-ATTR(RL) |                                     | saying-COP-INDC |                |
|   |     |                          |                           | 'They get into conflicts,'          |                 |                |
| 7 |     | <i>kulemyen</i>          | <i>mwe</i>                | <i>ccok-to</i>                      | <i>mos</i>      | <i>ssu-nun</i> |

	then	DM	four.feet-ADD	NEG(IMPOT)use-ATTR(RL)
	<i>saykki-tul-i,</i>			
	bastard-PLR-NOM			
	‘Those bastards who can’t even stand straight,’			
8	<i>ilpon-i</i>	<i>com</i>	<i>kule-n</i>	<i>ke-man</i>
	Japan-NOM	a.little	be.such-ATTR(RL)	thing-only
	<i>eps-umyen-un,</i>			
	not.exist-COND-TOP			
	‘If only Japan did not have those bad sides,’			
9	<i>solcikli</i>	<i>ilpon</i>	<i>ka-se</i>	<i>sa-n-ta.</i>
	honestly	Japan	go-PRECED	live-IMPF-DECL
	‘To tell you the truth I would live in Japan.’			
10	<i>khu-khu.</i>			
	ha-ha			
	‘Haha.’			
11	<i>cincca ilpon</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>sa-n-ta.</i>	
	really	Japan	go.CON	live-IMPF-DECL
	‘I would really go to Japan and live there.’			
12	<i>cincca.</i>			
	really			
	‘Really.’			
13→	<i>ilpon-ul</i>	<i>yesnal-ey</i>	<i>toykey</i>	<i>cohahay-ss-ketun,</i>
	Japan-ACC	long.time.ago.-LOC	a.lot	like-ANT- <u>ketun</u>
	‘I used to like Japan a lot long time ago- <u>ketun</u> .’			
14	<i>cohaha-n-ta-ki-pota,</i>			
	like-IMPF-DECL-NOMZ-COMPAR			
	‘Or, not that I liked it exactly, but,’			
15	<i>kkok</i>	<i>yehayng</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>pen</i>
	by.all.means	travel	one	time
			go	<i>ka</i>
				<i>po-aya-ci.</i>
				see-NECESS-COMT
	‘I was like, I should travel there sometime.’			

(P1 continues.)

In the excerpt (3.16), the speaker P1 shows a sudden change of attitude towards Japan, from very much hating it to wanting to live there. As soon as he realizes that he made a leap in his assertions, he uses *-ketun* (in line 13) to explicitly show that the information conveyed in the proposition that ‘P1 used to like Japan a lot long time ago’ should have been given earlier in the discourse. Hence, P1’s use of *-ketun* can be seen as a self-correction of his miscalculation of ordering of information, presumably to avoid

making his hearer become confused by his abrupt change of attitude. In fact, it is very common for speakers to make this type of leap in their assertions in naturally occurring spontaneous conversations because speakers of spontaneous conversations do not meticulously plan what they are going to talk about in advance. As has been explained in section 2.5.2 of the previous chapter, in naturally occurring spontaneous discourses, the flow of information is inevitably disorganized and messy. That is why speakers use *-ketun* as a useful device in spontaneous conversations to manage the stream of information, and specifically to manage the order, or the flow of information. The management of order of information of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* shown in the excerpt (3.16) could be schematized as (3.17) and (3.17’).

(3.17)

Actual realized order in the discourse:

- I. ‘Japan is villainous.’
- II. ‘Only if Japan did not have such bad sides,  
I would really go to Japan and live there.’
- III. ‘I used to like Japan a lot long time ago.’

(3.17’)

Speaker’s intended ordering of the information:

The information in *-ketun*-utterance should precede others:

- I. ‘I used to like Japan a lot long time ago-*ketun*.’
- II. ‘Japan is villainous.’

- III. ‘Only if Japan did not have such bad sides,  
I would really go to Japan and live there.’

Both examples in (3.14) and (3.16) show that management of order of information function of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is exactly mirrored from the management of order of information function of *-ketun* as a connective ending in conditional constructions. Both particles function to explicitly mark which piece of information should temporally precede others. Hence, in my point of view, the basic information managing function of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* derived from the information management function of the conditional connective ending *-ketun*, by having undergone a scope expansion process, from sentential level to discourse level.

### 3.5.2.2. Further extension to be used in impoliteness strategies as well as politeness strategies

Conditional clauses, cross-linguistically, are frequently used to convey politeness. H.-J. Koo (2002) shows that *-myen*, which is another conditional connective ending in Korean is often used in such way. Some of the examples which H.-J. Koo (2001) provides are given in (3.18).

(3.18)

- |    |                    |               |                         |                |
|----|--------------------|---------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>toy-l</i>       | <i>swu</i>    | <i>iss-<u>umyen</u></i> | <i>kkok</i>    |
|    | be.done-ATTR(IRRL) | means         | exist-COND              | by.all.means   |
|    | <i>caoyesen</i>    | <i>chatan</i> | <i>khulim-ul</i>        | <i>palu-ko</i> |
|    | ultraviolet.rays   | block         | cream-ACC               | put.on-CON     |
|    | <i>naka-si-nun</i> | <i>ke-y</i>   | <i>coh-ko</i>           | ...            |

go.out-HON-ATTR(RL)    thing-COP    good-CON  
 ‘If it’s possible, it would be good to always put sun block cream before going out.’  
 (H.-J. Koo 2002:6)

b.    *silh-umyen,    kunyang    ka-to    tway.*  
 hate-COND    just    go-ADD    may.INDC  
 ‘If you don’t want (to stay), you can just go.’  
 (H.-J. Koo 2002:8)

In many other languages of the world as well, the protasis of the conditional clause, with the ellipsis of its main clause, often becomes conventionalized to express politeness. Evans (2007) notes that the commonest function of such insubordinated<sup>31</sup> conditionals is to express polite requests, and he provides the following examples from French (3.19), English (3.20, 3.21), Spoken Mon (3.22), Japanese (3.23) and Basque (3.24).

(3.19)  
*Si    on    allait    se    promen-er?*  
 if    one    went    REFL    walk-INF  
 ‘What if we went for a walk?’  
 (Evans 2007:380)

(3.20)  
 a. (I wonder) If you could give me a couple of 38c stamps please.  
 b. If you could give me a couple of 39c please, (I’d be most grateful)  
 (Evans 2007:380)

(3.21)  
 (A milkman’s sheet about Xmas deliveries, including:)

---

<sup>31</sup> ‘Insubordination,’ according to Evans (2007) is ‘the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clause (Evans 2007:367).’ The issue of insubordination will be dealt in more details in section 3.5.3.1.1 and 3.5.3.2.

If you would kindly indicate in the boxes below your requirements and then hand the completed form back to your Roundsman by no later than the 16<sup>th</sup> December 1995.

(Evans 2007:380)

(3.22)

a. (y ra?) ʔa wòì kwan mòn m k h, (ʔoa) c t mìp  
If PRT go visit village Mon if I mind happy  
'(I) would be happy if (you) would visit a Mon village.'

b. ʔa wòì kwan mòn m k h  
go visit village Mon if  
'(You) should visit a Mon village.' (W. Bauer, p.c.)

(Evans 2007:389)

(3.23)

a. oishasan ni it-tara ii to omo-u  
doctor LOC go-if good COMP think-PRS  
'I think that it would be good to go to a doctor.'

b. oishasan ni it-tara?  
doctor LOC go-if  
'Why don't you go to a doctor?'

(Evans 2007:389-390)

(3.24)

39 pezta-ko bi seilu ematen ba-dizkidazu  
39 peseta-ADJ two stamp give.IMPF SUBOR-AUX  
'Lit. If you give me two 39 peseta stamps.'

(Evans 2007:390)

Among the myriad of cases where the conditional protasis comes to be used to express politeness, an interesting exception would be the Spanish independent *si*-clauses (Schwenter 1996, 1998). As I have described in sections 2.4.2.1.1 and 2.4.2.2. of chapter 2, the Spanish conditional *si*-clauses without their apodosis have developed to have



corrective or refutational functions in spoken Spanish (Schwenter 1996, 1998). Hence, unlike many conditional-protases of many languages of the world which developed to convey politeness (as shown in (3.18-3.24)), the Spanish-*si* clauses on the contrary have developed to convey impoliteness. Example (2.16) from the previous chapter, repeated here as (3.25) illustrates such a case.

(3.25)

- R: *Ah mira qué chaqueta mas chula.*  
'Oh look what a cool jacket.'  
A: *hija, por favor, si es horrible.*  
'Girl, please, SI it's horrible.'  
R: *¡Qué va!*  
'No way!'

(Schwenter 1996:324)

Schwenter (1996, 1998) explains that the independent Spanish *si*-clauses can only be used in negative contexts where the speaker is expressing adverse ideas towards its interlocutor, and that they cannot be used with hedging expressions or other attenuating devices.

The development of the Spanish conditional clause into an impoliteness marker is particularly interesting because it resulted in the opposite direction from the development of conditionals in many other languages. Given this fact, what should be even more intriguing about the development of Korean conditional connective ending *-ketun* is that it not only evolved to be used in politeness strategies, but it also developed to express impoliteness as well (see section 2.4.2 of chapter 2). I believe that both the politeness and impoliteness uses of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean have been further extended from its basic information managing function in discourse.

First, let us examine how the impoliteness use of *-ketun* evolved. As I have claimed in section 2.4.2.1 of chapter 2, *-ketun* can be used to convey impoliteness or to show the speaker's negative stance towards the hearer. Closer examination of the example (2.19) from chapter 2, repeated here as (3.26), reveals that the impoliteness use of *-ketun* is indeed an extension of *-ketun*'s basic information managing function.

(3.26)

YJ: *enni maynnal twu-si-ey o-canha-yo.*  
 older.sister everyday two-o'clock-LOC come-UFP-HON.END  
 '(As you and I both know) You always come at two o'clock.'

AR: (a) *na han-si-ey o-a!*  
 I one-o'clock-LOC come-INDC  
 'I come at one!'

(b) *na han-si-ey o-ketun!*  
 I one-o'clock-LOC come-ketun  
 'I come at one-ketun!'

AR's utterance ending with *-ketun* in (3.26b), not only provides the information that 'AR comes at one' as new information but it also tries to replace YJ's presupposition with this new piece of information, by showing a reproach towards YJ for not having such information presupposed. I have previously showed in section 3.5.2.1, that the basic function of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* is to manage the ordering of information by indicating the events conveyed in *-ketun*-utterances should precede the events conveyed in other utterances. In the example (3.26), where *-ketun* functions to convey impoliteness as well, the management of the ordering of information is at work, and this can be schematized as (3.27) and (3.27').

(3.27)

Actual realized order in the discourse:

- I. YJ: 'AR always comes at two o'clock.'
- II. AR: 'AR comes at one.'

(3.27')

Speaker's expected ordering of the information:

The information in *-ketun*-utterance should precede others:

- I. 'AR comes at one-*ketun*.'
- II. The entire discourse between YJ and AR.

The schemas (3.27) and (3.27') show that in the example (3.26), the speaker AR uses *-ketun* to demonstrate that the information conveyed in *-ketun*-marked utterance should have preceded the entire discourse per se, hence the implication of criticism towards the hearer arises, for not having such information presupposed. This example clearly shows that *-ketun*'s use in impoliteness strategies, is an extension of its basic managing function of the ordering of the information. In other words, while speakers often use *-ketun* as an information managing device when they want to present information that he or she him/herself has neglected to present beforehand, i.e., to self-correct their own speech, *-ketun* can convey impoliteness by correcting other interlocutor's speech by directly pointing out the other interlocutors' lack of certain pieces of information presupposed. In Brown and Levinson's (1978) terms, *-ketun*'s impoliteness use is used to

threaten the hearer's positive face by criticizing the hearer for not having presupposed certain information.

Let us now turn to the evolution of the politeness uses of *-ketun*. An instance of *-ketun* used as a politeness strategy is shown in example (2.22) of chapter 2, which is repeated here as (3.28).

(3.28) 6CM00105

(Context: Six students are having a group discussion meeting to prepare for an upcoming in-class presentation on different strategies used in TV commercials.)

- 1 P5: *ce akka ku hoysa chai*  
 DM a.little.while.ago that company difference  
*malssum-ha-sy-ese,*  
 speech.HON-do-HON-PRECED  
 'Um, since you talked about the differences between companies a little while ago,'
- 2 P4: *yey.*  
 yes  
 'Yes.'
- 3 P5: *cey-ka tteol-un sayngkak-i-yo,*  
 I.HON-NOM rise-ATTR(RL) thought-NOM-HON.END  
 'I had a thought,'
- 4→ *kongilil-un= (H) cwulo ccom yumyeng-ha-ci*  
 Kongilil-TOP mostly a.little famous-do-CON  
*anh-un salam-ul ssu-nun ke*  
 NEG-ATTR(RL) person-ACC use-ATTR(RL) thing  
*kath-ketun-yo?*  
 seem-*ketun*-HON.END  
 'It seems to me that the Kongilil company is mostly using not-so-famous people (in their commercials)-*ketun*?'
- 5 P4: *um=,*  
 DM  
 'Hmm,'
- 6 P5: *ney.*  
 yes  
 'Yes.'

In this excerpt, the speaker P5 is expressing politeness throughout the entire discourse, by using several hedging expressions such as *ccom* ‘a little,’ *ke kath-* ‘seems like,’ and the use of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* (line 4). P5 is clearly expressing his own subjective thought and opinion in line 4, and when doing so, he is using *-ketun* as a hedge to soften his argument. As I have explained in section 2.4.2.2 of chapter 2, hedging effect can arise when *-ketun* is used in relatively subjective opinion without disagreeing with the other interlocutor.

For the evolution of *-ketun*’s politeness use, Koo and Rhee (2001) argue that it was due to the shift of responsibility to confirm the truth of the proposition conveyed by *-ketun* from the hearer to the speaker. For instance, according to Koo and Rhee, when *-ketun* was used as a conditional connective ending, it was the hearer’s responsibility to confirm the truth of the proposition conveyed by *-ketun*. However, they claim that when *-ketun*’s function shifted to an utterance-final particle, the responsibility for the confirmation of the truth of the proposition shifted towards the speaker. The authors assert that *-ketun*’s politeness meaning developed along with this shift, i.e., when the speaker takes over the responsibility for the veracity of the proposition conveyed *-ketun* from the hearer.

On the other hand, I take a very different view of how *-ketun*’s hedging function as a politeness strategy emerged. In my point of view, this type of politeness strategy of *-ketun* seems to be derived from the basic information managing function of *-ketun* which was to construe an assertion as a presupposition. By presenting his or her own thought, opinion or judgment as if it were an already presupposed fact, the speaker can place the responsibility of the veracity of this certain piece of information on the already presupposed factual world. By doing so, the speakers can distance themselves from their own assertions. It is this

distancing strategy which renders the speaker's subjective ideas to be expressed more indirectly and more objectively. In consequence, the use of *-ketun* enables the speakers to hedge or attenuate his or her own assertion in a more polite way. In Brown and Levinson's (1978) terms, *-ketun* as a politeness strategy can save both the hearer's positive and negative face by avoiding being too direct when proposing one's own subjective opinion. At the same time, *-ketun* as a politeness marker can save the speaker's positive face as well, since the speaker is avoiding taking the responsibility of the veracity of his/her own proposition in order to not to sound too direct or strong.

In sum, in this subsection, I have shown that both impoliteness uses as well as politeness uses of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* are the further developments and extensions of *-ketun*'s basic function to manage the information structure in discourse, which was to construe an assertion as a proposition.

### **3.5.2.3. *-Ketun*'s (inter)subjectification**

As I have argued section 2.5.3 of chapter 2, *-ketun*'s function as an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean is highly intersubjective (Traugott and Dasher 2001, Traugott 2010), since it reflects the speaker's awareness and attention towards the hearer's information status and the hearer's information flow. This suggests that *-ketun* underwent an (inter)subjectification process along with its grammaticalization process from a conditional connective ending into an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean. As I have briefly described in section 3.5.1 above, *-ketun*'s intersubjectification process has also been

acknowledged by Park and Sohn (2002). The grammaticalization path for the development of *-ketun* suggested by the authors which is shown in (3.11) is repeated here as (3.29).

(3.29)

Stage I		Stage II		Stage III
Conditional	>	Concessive	>	Justificative
Clause connective				Sentence ender

(Park and Sohn 2002:317)

According to the authors, the shift from Stage I to Stage II is a case of subjectification while the shift from Stage II to Stage III is a case of intersubjectification, though they argue that the second stage might be optional.

Although I take a similar view with Park and Sohn (2002), that *-ketun*'s semantic and functional change involves both subjectification and intersubjectification, my argument slightly differs from theirs. In my point of view, *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending already had some degrees of both subjectivity and intersubjectivity in the first place, and it underwent a further (inter)subjectification process later on. For instance, I have argued in section 3.5.2.1, that *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending functions to manage the order of information within the sentential level, by marking the event that should temporally precede other events expressed in that sentence. This suggests that even as a conditional marker *-ketun* was an already subjective linguistic item, as it reflects the speaker's subjective view of the world. In other words, the use of *-ketun* as a conditional marker explicitly reveals how the speaker perceives the world, particularly in terms of in what temporal order different events should occur.

It must be noted that *-ketun* used to be the conditional connective ending with most broad use which used to be compatible with all the three domains of conditionality which are epistemic conditionals, content conditionals and speech act conditionals (Sweetser 1991, see section 3.3), until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that the *-ketun* could be used in the speech act domain suggests that even as a conditional marker, *-ketun* also already conveyed intersubjectivity in some degree. It is because speech act conditionals are used in highly interactive situations where the speaker's utterance can have a direct effect on the hearer (and the speaker)'s future action. Hence, when *-ketun* began to lose its ground within the domain of conditionals (by losing the competition with another conditional marker *-myen* over the domain of conditionals) and underwent a specialization process to be solely used as a speech act conditional marker since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, further intersubjectification seems to have taken place along with these changes. It is because *-ketun*'s specialization to a speech act conditional marker suggests that *-ketun*'s function became restricted to interactional situations where the speaker should direct his or her attention to the hearer's future action.

Further intersubjectification could be observed when the functional scope of information managing function of *-ketun* expanded from sentential level (which is the functional scope of *-ketun* as a conditional marker) to discourse level (which is the functional scope of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle). If the use of the conditional marker *-ketun* reveals the speaker's subjective perspective of how he or she perceives the world (i.e., in what order events should occur), the use of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* now reveals that the speaker is highly aware of the hearer's process of following his or her story. The use of the utterance-final *-ketun* manifests a high degree on intersubjectivity as



it reveals that the speaker is incessantly paying attention to sharedness of knowledge with the hearer, and to whether the hearer's understanding of that story might be impeded without certain pieces of information being presupposed.

Moreover, it seems that the basic information management function of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* underwent additional subjectification as well as intersubjectification. Note that *-ketun*'s basic information managing function 'to present a pragmatic assertion as a pragmatic presupposition' has been mainly used in storytelling contexts where the speaker is speaking in narrative style conveying relatively objective story (see chapter 2, section 2.4.1). I have explained that this basic information management of *-ketun* becomes more extended to be used either in politeness strategies or impoliteness strategies when *-ketun* is used in relatively more subjective contexts such as when the speaker conveys his or her own opinion or judgment (see section 2.4.2 of chapter 2). The shift in the contexts of usage from relatively objective contexts (where the speaker is conveying factual events in storytelling contexts in narrative style) to relatively subjective contexts (where the speaker conveys his or her own opinion or judgment in either impolite or polite way) implies that *-ketun* underwent a subjectification process. However, *-ketun*'s uses in politeness and impoliteness strategies suggest that this functional shift is a result of an intersubjectification as well, since this functional extension to politeness and impoliteness uses towards the hearer indicates that the speaker is well aware of the 'face' management associated with both the speaker's and the hearer's social stance.

In sum, I have shown in this section, that the (inter)subjectification process which *-ketun* went through along with its functional change from a conditional connective ending to an utterance-final particle, was not as simple as Park and Sohn (2002) depict in (3.31).

Instead, I claimed that the conditional marker *-ketun* which was an already subjective and intersubjective linguistic item underwent a number of further subjectification and intersubjectification processes to become an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean.

#### 3.5.2.4. Why *-ketun* (and not any other conditional connective endings)?

H.-J. Koo (1989b) presents the following table which provides a list of conditional connective endings in Modern Korean studied in previous works.

Previous works	Forms of conditional connective endings
T.-R. Seo (1979)	<i>-umyen, -ketun, -eya</i>
J.-I. Kwon (1985)	<i>-umyen, -ketun, -eya, -untul</i>
J.-D. Jung (1986)	<i>-myen, -ketun, -eya</i>
Y.-K. Chae (1986)	<i>-ko, -taka, -myen, -[ ]smyen, -ketun, -a/eya, -telamyen, -untul, -tentul, -ulcintay</i>
J.-S. Kim (1987)	<i>-myen, -ketun, -eya</i>
S.-T. Lee (1988)	<i>-e(se), -uni, -unikka, -unmulo, -umay, -kiey, -killay, -unmankhum, -ulsay, -umyen, -ketun, -tentul, -eya, -ulswulok</i>
P.-H. Yoon (1989)	<i>-myen, -ketun, -tuntul, -lcintay</i>

<Table 3.3. *Forms of conditional connective endings in the previous works* (H.-J. Koo 1989b:64)>

<Table 3.3> demonstrates that, though each linguist provides a different list, there exists a vast array of conditional connective endings in Korean. One could wonder, then, if all of these markers convey conditionality, then why only *-ketun* has developed to be used as an information managing utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean? For instance, why was it particularly *-ketun* and not *-myen*, given the fact that the latter has been the most frequently used conditional connective ending in Korean with the most broad uses since the 16<sup>th</sup> century?

I argue here that the main reason why it was particularly *-ketun* that developed into an information managing utterance-final particle among other numerous existing conditional markers in Korean is because of *-ketun*'s loss ground in the domain of conditionals. As I have described in section 3.2.2, *-ketun*, which originally was the conditional connective ending with the most broad usage in the domain of conditional, began to lose its competition with another conditional connective ending *-myen* over the domain of conditionals since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. I have shown that as the result of this competition, while *-myen* gained ground in the domain of conditional and expanded its function to become the conditional marker with the most broad uses, *-ketun* on the other hand, lost this competition and lost its ground and now can only be used as a speech act conditional marker in Modern Korean. I have explained that *-ketun*'s narrowing of function into a speech act conditional marker was due to its loss of counter-factuality feature along with its loss of the competition with *-myen* (see section 3.3), and that its loss of counter-factuality is reflected in *-ketun*'s incompatibility with negative epistemic stance in Modern Korean. I claim here that it was *-ketun*'s loss of counter-factuality feature which lead *-ketun* become an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean.

Because *-ketun* as a speech act conditional marker cannot be used with negative epistemic stances, i.e., in counter-factual situations, unlike other conditional connective endings such as *-myen* which can convey either positive, neutral, or negative epistemic stances, several Korean linguists have argued that *-ketun* has [+factuality] feature (K.-H. Lee 1980, J.-Y. Shin 2000). This incompatibility with negative epistemic stance of the speech act conditional marker *-ketun* is directly reflected in the functions of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle, as the utterance-final particle *-ketun*'s basic function to construe

an assertion as a presupposition is found in storytelling contexts, where speakers convey events that (they believe to be) actually happened, rather objectively. Hence, it is presumable that *-ketun* had a greater tendency to develop into an information managing utterance-final particle, because *-ketun* as a connective ending already had a greater factuality feature due to its incompatibility with negative epistemic stance, compared to other conditional connective endings such as *-myen*.

Furthermore, the conditional *-ketun*'s restricted use in the speech act domain also seems to have deeply affected *-ketun* to become an utterance-final particle with highly intersubjective function. As *-ketun* underwent a specialization process to solely function as a speech act conditional marker, its restriction to speech act domain suggests that *-ketun* began to have restriction on the situations when it can occur as well. This means that as Sweetser (1991) notes that the domain of speech act is the interactional domain (Sweetser 1991:131), *-ketun* as a speech act conditional marker could only be used in situations where there are more dynamic interactions between the speakers and the hearers where such *-ketun*-utterances can directly have an effect on the future actions among the interlocutors. In other words, the speech act conditional marker *-ketun* had much higher chances to occur in situations of dynamic interaction and high degree of intersubjectivity than other conditional connective endings in Korean such as *-myen*. The development of the intersubjective uses of *-ketun* could have been derived more easily in such contexts where the future actions among the interlocutors could be imminently affected.

In consequence, the main force which drove particularly *-ketun*, rather than other numerous conditional connective endings in Korean to develop into an information managing utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean seems to be its loss of

competition with *-myen* over the domain of conditionality. If this is true, then, the development of *-ketun* into an utterance-final particle raises questions about Givón's (1981) argument and S.-H. Rhee's (1998) claim as well as Bybee's (2003) claim on the relationship between text frequency and the grammaticalization process. Givón (1981) argues that a relatively high text frequency of use of a lexicon is a prerequisite for a semantic bleaching or generalization process, and S.-H. Rhee (1998) claimed that a lexicon has a more likelihood to be grammaticalized when it has a more general meaning, because if it is has a general meaning, then it will also have more broad contexts of use and consequently will have a high frequency as well. According to Bybee (2003), high frequency can be a primary contributor to the grammaticalization process, an active force in instigating the changes that occur in grammaticalization (Bybee 2003:602). Nevertheless, the grammaticalization of *-ketun*, exhibit the exactly opposite case to Givón's (1981), S.-H. Rhee's (1998) and Bybee's (2003) claim. Not only does *-ketun* as a speech act conditional connective ending display extremely restricted functions among other conditional connective endings in Korean, its frequency has been exceedingly decreasing since the 16<sup>th</sup> century as has been shown in section 4.2.2<sup>32</sup>. Thus, the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* might challenge Givón's (1981), S.-H. Rhee's (1998), and Bybee's (2003) arguments and raises an issue whether a high frequency and a general meaning should be a sine qua non for a lexicon to undergo a grammaticalization process<sup>33</sup>.

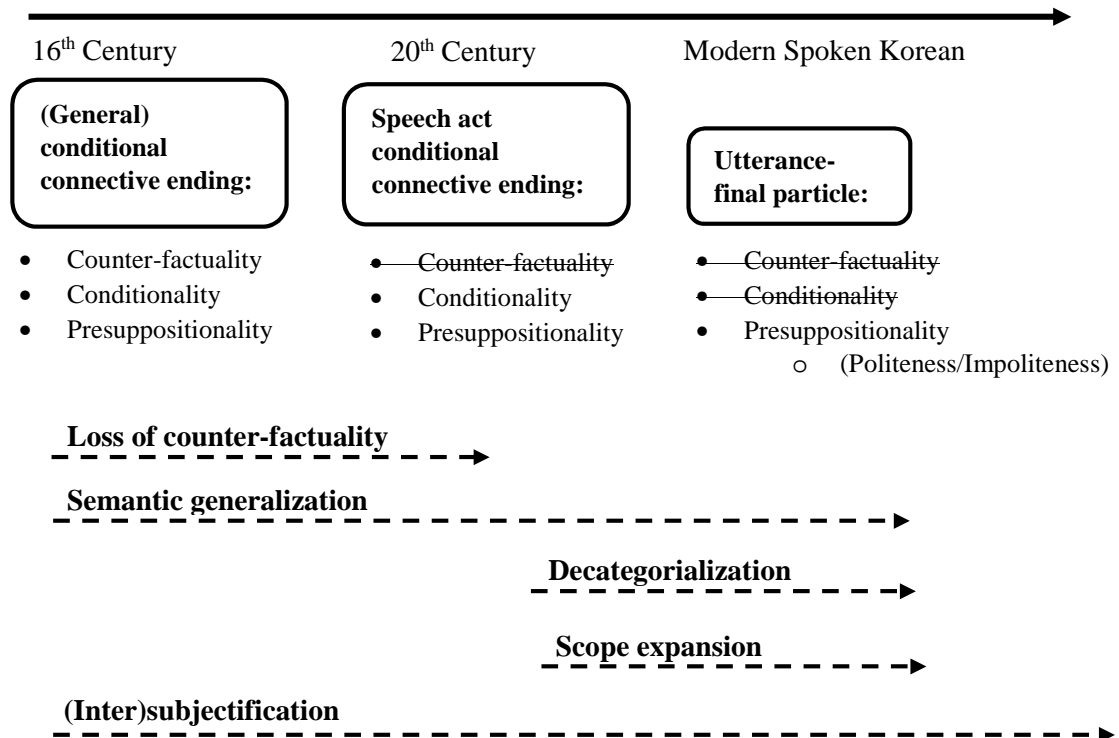
---

<sup>32</sup> However, *-ketun* was the most commonly used conditional connective ending with the broadest uses before the emergence of the new conditional connective ending *-myen* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as has been described in 3.2.2.

<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible that *-ketun* as speech-act conditional connective ending has regained the generality of meaning when it lost its speech-act conditional function and gained its information managing function, and eventually regained a higher text frequency as well. Nonetheless, this scenario still goes against Givón's (1981) argument that the high frequency is a requisite for the semantic generalization.

### 3.5.2.5. Overview of the functional shift within the grammaticalization of *-ketun* from a conditional connective ending to an utterance-final particle

<Figure 3.1> summarizes the functional shift which *-ketun* underwent during its grammaticalization process from a conditional connective ending into an information managing utterance-final particle.



<Figure 3.1. Functional shift of *-ketun* during its grammaticalization from conditional connective ending to utterance-final particle>

<Figure 3.1> shows that *-ketun* originally had counter-factuality, conditionality and presuppositionality features as the most general conditional connective ending in the

history of Korean. However, due to the loss of the competition with another conditional marker *-myen* over the domain of conditionals which began from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *-ketun* loses its counter-factuality feature. As the result of this loss of counter-factuality feature, *-ketun* can now only function as a speech act conditional marker in Modern Korean. This loss of counter-factuality later turns out to be a part of *-ketun*'s semantic generalization (Bybee et al. 1994), as *-ketun* further loses its conditionality feature as well in Modern Spoken Korean. Loss of conditionality indicates that *-ketun* can no longer function as a conditional marker anymore in Modern Spoken Korean, which means that *-ketun*'s grammatical category has shifted from conditional connective ending to an utterance-final particle, which now only carries the presuppositionality feature. The shift from conditional marker to utterance-final particle also indicates that *-ketun* underwent a scope expansion process from sentential ending to discourse level, as its information managing function within a sentence expanded to manage the flow of information within discourse. Furthermore, as I have discussed in section 3.5.2.3, both subjectification and intersubjectification processes were at work throughout the entire functional shift of *-ketun* from a conditional marker to an utterance-final particle, and it seems like a further intersubjectification is currently in progress, as the utterance-final *-ketun*'s basic information managing function seems to be further extending to be used in politeness and impoliteness strategies.

### **3.5.3. Syntactic shift of *-ketun***

In the above section 3.5.2, the functional shift from *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending to its function as an utterance-final particle in the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* has been observed. Now let us turn to the syntactic sides of *-ketun*'s grammaticalization process.

### **3.5.3.1. From subordinate clause to main clause**

As *-ketun* shifted its function from a conditional connective ending to an information managing utterance-final particle in spoken Korean, it also has undergone a dramatic change in its position and status in syntax as well. *-Ketun* as a conditional connective ending which used to connect two clauses, and thus appeared in the middle of a sentence, now appears at the very end, or at the right peripheral position of an utterance. At the same time, the *-ketun*-clause which used to be the protasis of a conditional construction, i.e., a subordinate clause of a sentence, now has lost its syntactic dependency and can be used independently in spoken Korean, just like a main clause. Koo and Rhee (2001) also have acknowledged this syntactic shift of *-ketun* and argue that the *-ketun*-protasis has undergone a 'hierarchical upgrading' by becoming a main clause, and its apodosis has undergone a 'hierarchical downgrading,' by being totally ellipsed. Nevertheless, they do not provide any explanation how this type of extreme syntactic change has taken place in the grammaticalization process of *-ketun*. Hence, the immense syntactic change which *-ketun* underwent during its grammaticalization process thus still is in need of explanation.



Like all historical linguistics changes, the syntactic shift of *-ketun*, as extreme it might seem, must also have undergone a gradual process. Nonetheless, the shift from the conditional connective ending *-ketun* to the utterance-final particle *-ketun* has taken place in spoken Korean only, and it is currently difficult and nearly impossible to find documented diachronic data of spoken Korean, so observing the gradual historical change of *-ketun* is almost impossible. Thus following Evans' (2007) work on insubordination, this study will rely on synchronic evidence for reconstruction. Evans' (2007) work on insubordination will be dealt in more detail in the sections 3.5.3.1.1 and 3.5.3.2.

#### **3.5.3.1.1. The gradual process**

Not many scholars have attempted to seek the gradual process which has taken place for the shifts of subordinate clauses into main clauses such as that of *-ketun*. As has been mentioned in 3.5.1, one notable exception among Korean linguists was T.-Y. Kim (1998), who argues, in his work on the Korean non-utterance-final particles' developments into utterance-final particles, that the following order ((3.12), repeated here as (3.30)) has occurred for the subordinate connective endings such as *-ketun* during their historical shifts into utterance-final particles.

(3.30)

- a. Ellipsis of the apodosis
- b. Transfer of the grammatical function
- c. Performance of terminal function and placement of discontinued intonation

d. Acquisition of the utterance-final particle function

(T.-Y. Kim 1998:178)

However, he does not provide any explanation or evidence that can justify the order that he has given.

Another noteworthy work is Evans' (2007) typological research on what he calls 'insubordination.' According to Evans, insubordination is "the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses" (Evans 2007:367). Evans further elaborates his definition of insubordination:

Insubordinated clauses usually look like subordinate clauses, because of the presence in them of prototypically subordinate characteristics, such as infinitive, participial or subjunctive inflections on their verbs, subordinate word order, complementizers, and so on. But to the extent that, over time, they get reanalysed as standard constructions, those features will no longer be restricted to subordinated clauses, so that the term 'subordinate' means, at best, 'having diachronic origins as a subordinate clause.'

(Evans 2007:370)

The grammaticalization of *-ketun* seems to fit in to what Evans call as 'insubordinated clause,' as the *-ketun*-clause, having a diachronic origin as a subordinate protasis of a conditional construction, now functions as a main clause in Modern Spoken Korean. For these types of insubordinated clauses, Evans (2007) provides the following four steps for their historical trajectory.

(3.31)

Subordination	Ellipsis	Conventionalized ellipsis	Reanalysis as main clause structure
(1) Subordinate construction	(2) Ellipsis of main clause	(3) Restriction of interpretation of ellipsed material	(4) Conventionalized main clause use of formally subordinate clause (Constructionalization)

(Evans 2007:370)

The first stage of Evans' (2007) insubordination, 'subordination,' refers to a full construction with an overt main clause. His second step, 'ellipsis,' refers to the ellipsis of the main clause, where the ellipsed main clause can be 'reconstructed' by the hearer (Evans 2007:371); he provides the following example in German from Buscha (1976).

(3.32)

[*Was mein-st du dazu,*] *Ob ich mal wegen meiner*  
what think-2SG you to.it if I just because my  
*Galle frag-e?*  
gall.bladder ask-1SG

'(What would you think), if I just ask you about my gall bladder?'

(Buscha 1976, in Evans 2007:371)

Evans explains that in this second stage, as shown in (3.32), the construction in the brackets might be ellipsed but can potentially be restored.

For the third step of insubordination, 'conventionalized ellipsis,' Evans claims that there is a limited range of the ellipsed part which can be possibly restored. For instance,

(3.33)

a. *[Es wäre schön,]/ Wenn ich deine Statur hätte*  
it be.SG.SBJV lovely if I your build had  
'[It would be lovely] / if I had your build.'

b. *[Ich wäre froh,] /*  
I be.1SG.SBJV glad  
'[I would be glad]'

c. *\*[Es wäre schlimm,] /*  
it be.3SG.SBJV bad  
'[It would be bad]'

(Evans 2007:373)

As can be seen in (3.33), although the ellipsed part could be potentially restored just as in the second step, in this third stage, however, there is a restriction on the material which can be restored.

For the last stage of the insubordination process, 'reanalysis as main clause structure,' Evans argues that there is a conventionalization of the whole construction, which means that the construction now has a specific meaning of its own, and it may not be possible to restore any ellipsed material (Evans 2007:374). For instance,

(3.34)

a. *Wo Zehntausende verreck-en müss-en*  
Where ten.thousands die.INF must-3PLU  
Lit.: 'Where tens of thousands must die'

b. *Obwohl Zehntausende verreck-en müss-en,*  
although ten.thousands die.INF must-3PLU  
*mach-en sie sich keine Gendaken darüber*

make-3PLU they self no thoughts about.that  
 ‘Even though tens of thousands must die, they don’t think twice about it.’  
 (Buscha 1976, in Evans 2007:374)

Buscha (1976, cited in Evans 2007:374) explained that it is not possible to supply the deleted part of (3.34a) without replacing *wo* ‘where’ to *obwohl* ‘although’ as in (3.34b).

Although Evans’ (2007) four-step diachronic trajectory for the insubordination process might seem plausible, we need to verify if the case of *-ketun* also fits into the same path. As Evans suggests, in order to investigate *-ketun*’s gradual diachronic change, we have not much choice but to depend on the synchronic data, i.e., to compare *-ketun*’s function as its original conditional connective ending function with its function as an utterance-final particle. The following invented set of examples illustrates both of *-ketun*’s functions: as a conditional connective ending in (3.35a) and as an utterance-final particle in (3.35b).

(3.35)

a. *pay-ka*                      *kopha-ci-ketun*,                      *pap-ul*                      *mek-ela*.  
 stomach-NOM                      hungry-INCHOA-COND                      rice-ACC                      eat-IMPR  
 ‘If you get hungry, eat some rice.’

b. *na*    *ecey*                      *yenghwa*                      *po-ass-ketun*.  
 I                      yesterday                      movie                      see-ANT-*ketun*  
 ‘I went to see a movie yesterday-*ketun*.’

The use of *-ketun* as a conditional connective ending in (3.35a) corresponds to the first stage of the insubordination process, ‘subordination,’ proposed by Evans (2007). In order to examine if *-ketun* truly fits into Evans’ four steps of insubordination process, the next

phase of our investigation would be to speculate what could have been the ellipsed material (main clause) by inspecting the last stage of *-ketun* with the function of an utterance-final particle, of which the usage is shown in (3.35b). However, a problem arises, since it is impossible to reconstruct the potentially ellipsed apodosis of the *-ketun*-utterance shown in (3.35b). I suggest that there could be two possible approaches to solve this conundrum. One way would be to follow Evans' argument that *-ketun*'s case shown in (3.35b) would fit into his last stage of the four-step insubordination process, the 'reanalysis as main clause structure,' where the insubordinated clause may be so conventionalized that it might be impossible to reconstruct the ellipsed main clause. The other approach to solve this problem would be to argue that the case of *-ketun* simply does not fit into Evans' four steps of insubordination process.

If the diachronic development of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* does not conform Evans' four-step historical trajectory of insubordination, then what could have happened between the stage shown in (3.35a) and the stage shown in (3.35b)? What I would like to propose for the second possible way to solve this conundrum, is that in the diachronic change of *-ketun*, the ellipsis of the main clause or the apodosis might never have occurred in the first place. The basis for this argument is that *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle can never stand alone and must depend on some other context as has been described in section 2.5.1 of the previous chapter. As I have discussed in 2.5.1 of chapter 2, if a speaker utters as in (3.35b) and waits for the hearer's reaction, then the hearer must be puzzled since the use of *-ketun* implies that the information conveyed by *-ketun* must be related to some other events, and thus the hearer would normally expect the speaker to say something more to it and to continue his story. This reveals that although the clauses

used with *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is syntactically independent and is free-standing in its own intonation unit, it seems to me that functionally or semantically, *-ketun* is still dependent on another utterance or context and hence is still in need of another host, just as the *-ketun*-protasis in conditional constructions was always dependent on its apodosis. Therefore, in the contexts where the utterance ending with *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is used, its host is never ellipsed but is always explicitly expressed as a form of another utterance, or the discourse itself. The presumed evolution process of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle could be schematized as follows.

(3.36)

	<b>Form</b>	<b>Function</b>
<b>Stage 1</b>	- <i>Ketun</i> -clause → Protasis of (general) conditional construction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Serves to be the presupposition of its apodosis</li> </ul>
<b>Stage 2</b>	- <i>Ketun</i> -clause → Protasis of speech act conditional construction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Serves to be the presupposition of its apodosis</li> </ul>
<b>Stage 3</b>	- <i>Ketun</i> -clause → Protasis of speech act conditional construction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Serves to be the presupposition of its apodosis</li> <li>• Emphasis on the ordering of events: → Events in <i>-ketun</i> clause must precede the events in the apodosis</li> </ul>
<b>Stage 4</b>	- <i>Ketun</i> -utterance → An independent IU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Serves to be the presupposition for its host context</li> <li>• Managing the order of information: → Information in <i>-ketun</i>-utterance must precede the information in its host context</li> </ul>

In stage 1, the *-ketun* clause serves as the protasis of a conditional construction, where it is subordinate to its apodosis. With the emergence of a new conditional connective ending *-myen* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *-ketun* starts to lose its ground in the domain of conditionality and narrows its domain to only the speech-act conditionals; this is reflected in stage 2. The conditional connective ending *-ketun* in stage 2 has extremely limited uses with strict restrictions on its mood and person, and its text frequency has been greatly reduced as well (see section 3.2.2). The prototypical use of *-ketun* of stage 2 is exemplified in (3.35a). In stage 3, the *-ketun*-clause still serves as the protasis of a speech-act conditional construction, but it starts to serve to emphasize the ordering of the events, that the event conveyed in the *-ketun* clause must precede the event conveyed in its apodosis. This ordering of the events must have been implied even from the stage 1, but from stage 3, the ordering becomes more salient than its speech-act conditional function. Finally in stage 4, *-ketun* functions solely for the managing the flow of information, that the information conveyed by the *-ketun* utterance must precede the information in its host context. It is presumable that *-ketun*'s text frequency might have increased at this point, since its meaning has become more general. In this final stage, the *-ketun*-utterance has now been completely insubordinated apparently via reanalysis; thus in terms of its form, it is now a free-standing independent utterance.

Note that throughout this entire process from stage 1 to stage 4, the *-ketun*-clause or *-ketun*-utterance constantly serves as the presupposition for its host clause or host context. Presumably, in spoken Korean at least, the *-ketun*-clause even from the stage 1 could either precede or follow its host clause, such as the invented set of examples shown in (3.37).



(3.37)

a.     *pay-ka*                      *kopha-ci-ketun*                      *pap-ul*                      *mek-ela.*  
         stomach-NOM                      hungry-INCHOA-COND                      rice-ACC                      eat-IMPR  
         ‘If you get hungry, eat some rice.’

b.     *pap-ul*                      *mek-ela,*                      *pay-ka*                      *kopha-ci-ketun.*  
         rice-ACC                      eat-IMPR                      stomach-NOM                      hungry-INCHOA-COND  
         ‘Eat some rice, if you get hungry.’

Thus it would not be surprising that the *-ketun*-utterance in the last stage in (3.36) can ‘present an assertion as a presupposition’ either for the following context or the preceding context. If this second analysis which I have proposed for the possible solution for the puzzle introduced beforehand is correct, then the ‘hierarchical downgrading’ of the protasis of the *-ketun*-conditional construction argued by Koo and Rhee (2001) would be a misleading analysis, since the protasis of the *-ketun*-conditional construction has never been ellipsed. This also means that this second analysis would not correspond to T.-Y. Kim’s (1998) four step historical shift from subordinate connective endings to utterance-final particles provided in (3.30) either.

Since the potentially ellipsed main clause of the utterance ending with *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is impossible to reconstruct as I have stated above, I am not concluding here whether the case of the evolution of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle does or does not correspond directly with the four-step historical trajectory of insubordination proposed by Evans (2007). Instead, I am proposing that there might be two possibilities. The first alternative would be to argue that *-ketun*’s case might fall into Evans’ (2007) last stage of his insubordination process, and the reason why it is not possible to

reconstruct the ellipsed main clause is because the *-ketun*-utterance has been conventionalized so deeply. The second solution would be to claim that the evolution of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle does not correspond to Evans' (2007) four-step insubordination process, and thus a different diachronic process should be provided, which I have provided in (3.36) above. Which one of these two approaches is more plausible, I leave as an open issue.

### 3.5.3.1.2. The syntactic autonomy of *-ketun*-utterance

Whether the evolution of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle coincides with the four-step insubordination process proposed by Evans (2007) or not, one salient feature of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle used in Modern Spoken Korean is that at least formally, it forms an independent intonation unit, compared to its use as the protasis of a conditional construction which had to be subordinated by its apodosis. Even if the *-ketun*-utterance in Modern Spoken Korean has to be semantically or functionally dependent on either its following or previous context, the *-ketun*-utterance and its host utterance cannot be combined to form a proper sentence as can be seen in the following invented examples.

(3.38)

a.

- |   |     |   |                            |   |
|---|-----|---|----------------------------|---|
| 1 | IS: | <i>ecey</i><br>yesterday                          | <i>yenghwa</i><br>movie    | <i>po-ass-ketun.</i><br>see-ANT- <i>ketun</i>   |
|   |     | 'I went to see a movie yesterday- <i>ketun</i> .' |                            |   |
| 2 |     | <i>po-nun</i><br>see-ATTR(RL)                     | <i>naynay</i><br>all.along | <i>col-ass-e.</i><br>doze.off-ANT- <i>ketun</i> |
|   |     | 'I was dozing off all along.'                     |                            |   |

- b.    ?ecey           yenhwa           po-ass-ketun, po-nun           naynay  
       yesterday    movie            see-ANT-ketun see-ATTR(RL)       all.along  
       col-ass-e.  
       doze.off-ANT-ketun  
       ‘?I went to see a movie yesterday, I was dozing off all along.’

The reason why the sentence in (3.38b) sounds odd is because *-ketun*-utterances are now fully independent utterances and cannot be subordinated in a sentence anymore. This illustrates that, although the evolution of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* might not fit in the four-step insubordination process proposed by Evans (2007), as has been described in the previous section 3.5.3.1.1, *-ketun*'s current and final stage would still be a definite example of 'insubordinated clauses'.

The question that arises at this point is, what triggered the *-ketun*-clause to be syntactically independent from its former main clause? In other words, what would be the motivation behind the syntactic autonomy of *-ketun*-utterances despite its semantic/functional dependence with its host context? For the answers to these questions, I would like to propose here that the acquisition of the independence of *-ketun*-utterances is closely related to the structure of intonation units in spoken Korean.

An intonation unit is a segment of a spoken discourse which is divided by a single intonation contour (cf. Chafe 1994, Croft 1995). Chafe (1994) provides the following features that may characterize intonation units: changes in fundamental frequency, in duration, in intensity, in voice quality of various kinds, alternations of vocalization with silence and sometimes changes of turn (Chafe 1994:58). What is so important about these units is, according to Chafe (1994), that they have an important role in both the production and comprehension of language, and that “an intonation unit verbalizes the speaker’s focus

of consciousness at that moment” (Chafe 1994:63). Croft (1995) also claims that “the intonation unit emerges as the most plausible basic unit of the grammar of spoken language, because of its ubiquity and its status as a cognitively constrained unit” (Croft 1995:875).

Among the many surveys of corpora of spoken English such as Quirk et al (1964), Brown (1977) and Crystal (1969) (all cited in Croft 1995), Croft (1995) specifically observes the relationship between the intonation units (IUs) and grammatical units (GUs) in English. By examining the pear-stories narratives from Chafe (1980), Croft (1995) shows that while IUs are almost always GUs (97% of the time), not all GUs are themselves IUs, because sometimes, a GU of a particular type split across two or more IUs (broken) rather than be in a single IU (whole). The following table (Croft 1995:849, Table 2) shows the overview of the data provided by Croft (1995).

	Whole	Broken	Total
Single words	121 (100%)	- (0%)	121 (100%)
Noun phrases	595 (99%)	7 (1%)	602 (100%)
Prepositional phrases	338 (99%)	2 (1%)	340 (100%)
Clauses	995 (95%)	50 (5%)	1045 (100%)
Clause + complement	179 (82%)	40 (18%)	219 (100%)
Clause + relative clause	100 (75%)	35 (25%)	135 (100%)
Clause + adjunct	27 (23%)	92 (77%)	119 (100%)
Presentatives	71 (72%)	28 (28%)	99 (100%)
Other complex constructions	20 (71%)	8 (29%)	28 (100%)
Coordinate sentences	71 (12%)	581 (88%)	652 (100%)
Total	2517 (75%)	841 (25%)	3358 (100%)

<Table 3.4. *The relation of grammatical units to intonation units* (Croft 1995:849)>

Croft proposes three major constraints that cause a GU to be broken across IUs: the parallelism constraint, the complexity constraint, and the distance constraint. Specifically, the parallelism constraint, which is one kind of complexity constraint, indicates that there

is a major tendency to avoid parallelism in grammatical structure in a single IU. This is clearly reflected in “one [finite main] clause at a time” constraint (Croft 1995:850) in English, whose the result is tabulated in <Table 3.5> (Croft 1995:850, Table 3) below.

	No	%
No finite main clause	587	29.7
1 finite main clause	1326	67.2
2 finite main clauses	57	2.9
3 finite main clauses	4	0.2
Total	1974	100.0

<Table 3.5. *Intonation units by number of finite main clauses* (Croft 1995:850)>

Although the work of Croft (1995) has demonstrated the relationship between GUs and IUs in English only, his work in Croft (2007) reveals that the three constraints parallelism, complexity, and distance are also consistent with other languages such as Wardaman, Japanese, Mandarin and Korean as well, despite the significant differences among them. In particular, Croft (2007) demonstrates that Korean data shows a great magnitude of the effect of the complexity constraint, in that complex clauses in Korean are very likely to be broken across IUs. This result from the Korean data from Croft (Croft 2007:18, Table 11 derived from Park 2002:649, Table 2 and Park 2002:650, Table 4, with a chi-square test added by Croft 2007) is shown as <Table 3.6> below.

Clauses	Whole	Pct	Broken	Pct	Total
Simple	178	74.2%	62	25.8%	240
Complex	30	30.6%	68	86.0%	98
Total	208	61.5%	130	38.5%	338
			Chi-square	53.95	$p < 0.001$

<Table 3.6. *Simple vs. complex clauses in Korean.* (Croft 2007:18)>

The results shown in Croft (1995, 2007) would lead us to conclude that the *-ketun*-conditional constructions such as (3.35a) was very likely to be broken across IUs due to the parallelism constraint and complexity constraint proposed in Croft (1995, 2007). *-Ketun*-conditional constructions such as (3.35a) are a typical example of a subordinate construction, which is a case where there are two finite main clauses that would violate the parallelism constrain, and automatically would violate the complexity constraint by being a complex clause as well. Before further discussing the issue of *-ketun*-conditional constructions being broken across several IUs, let us first return to Croft's (1995, 2007) works on the relation between IUs and GUs.

Croft (1995, 2007) further shows that some constructions that are more prone to be grammaticalized (grammaticalizable constructions) than others (nongrammaticalizable constructions) are more often found in a single IU in the corpus, and argues that this fact directly reflects that the grammaticalizability and the occurrence in a single IU are considerably interrelated. Croft (1995) proposes two hypotheses for this significant correlation between grammaticalizability and the occurrence in a single IU. The first hypothesis is that the fact that the grammaticalizable construction occurs in one IU because it is already being grammaticalized. The second hypothesis is that the prosodic correlations simply reflect that certain semantic relations between two closely related events favor grammaticalization. Although the author did not conclude to favor either one of the two hypotheses for the other in his work in Croft (1995), through his crosslinguistic comparison with Wardaman and English in Croft (2007), he later claims that his data confirms the second hypothesis, that certain semantic relations are more likely to occur in a single IU due to their semantic closeness. The following quote from Croft (2007) illustrates the

author's generalization on the relation between the second hypothesis and the grammaticalization process.

The hypothesis also conforms to the general consensus in grammaticalization theory, that certain semantic features, categories and relations tend to be grammaticalized over and over again in the languages of the world, while others rarely if ever do. The occurrence in a single IU may be thought of as the first formal step in the path of grammaticalization.

(Croft 2007:25)

Bearing these facts in mind, let us return to our case of *-ketun*. As I have briefly mentioned above, the *-ketun*-conditional subordinate constructions are highly prone to be broken into IUs in discourse. If, as Croft (1995, 2007) argues, the frequent occurrence in a single IU is deeply correlated with being chunked in one unit, i.e., being grammaticalized, then I would like to suggest that the converse might be possible as well: namely that the frequent occurrence in separate IUs might result in semantic or syntactic separation. In other words, as two formally distinct constituents, by frequently occurring in a single IU, they would eventually become merged together, then conversely, two formally interdependent constituents, such as *-ketun*-protasis and its apodosis, by occurring consistently in two separate IUs, could also result in becoming two separate clauses. In a similar vein, as Croft also claimed that the “syntactic closeness arises from a diachronic process, grammaticalization” (Croft 1995:865), I propose that the converse might also be a possibility, that syntactic remoteness also arises from a diachronic process. If this is true

for the case of *-ketun*, then the evolution of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle might not favor the second hypothesis of Croft (1995, 2007).

Although this new assumption might be questionable at this point and thus needs to be empirically tested with other makers of Korean and in other languages, I believe that this new hypothesis would still be a reasonable explanation for the evolution of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle and its acquisition of syntactic autonomy. Nevertheless, whether the formal syntactic separation by being broken across IUs has triggered the semantic and functional shift of *-ketun* as well, or whether it was the functional shift of *-ketun* that led to the formal separation, or whether the functional and the formal shifts of *-ketun* occurred at the same time, would be a difficult question to answer, thus I leave this issue open. Nonetheless, the development from the conditional connective ending *-ketun* to the utterance-final particle *-ketun* clearly demonstrates the contribution that a spoken discourse study can make in the diachronic studies of language such as the grammaticalization theory.

### **3.5.3.2. Insubordination of *-ketun*, and grammaticalization**

As has been described in the above sections, the development of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* is undoubtedly an instance of what Evans (2007) calls as insubordination, as it involved a shift from a subordinate clause to a main clause structure. However, Evans (2007) brings up some problems that arise when we consider the insubordination process in terms of a diachronic change, specifically in the perspective of grammaticalization theory. Evans points out that insubordination goes against the usual direction of change by recruiting main clause structures from subordinate clauses (Evans 2007:376). Evans



specifies the problematic issues that insubordination provokes in the diachronic studies in the following quote.

Insubordination is an important phenomenon because of the unusual way the direction of diachronic change runs: from subordinate clause to main clause, from morphosyntax to discourse, and (in its initial stage) from grammar to pragmatics. In each of these, it is a sort of backwash against the prevailing direction in which historical developments are supposed to occur. For functionalists who have shown us in how many ways grammar can emerge from discourse, it is a reminder that elaborate grammatical structures can also be partly disassembled and co-opted as discourse devices. For theories of pragmatic implicature, it illustrates how projected grammatical structures can act as a scaffold for the inferencing process.

(Evans 2007:429)

In fact, not only insubordination, but also other diachronic developments of constructions which have come to acquire novel functions in the discourse level, such as the evolutions of discourse markers in English *indeed* and *in fact* (Traugott 1995), have always been in the center of controversies, whether they truly fit in the grammaticalization process or not, or whether they are counterexamples of grammaticalization or not. The main reason why the developments of discourse markers, as well as insubordinated constructions have been argued to cause issues whether they are cases of grammaticalization or not, seems to be, as the above quote from Evans (2007) suggests, because their diachronic changes seem to violate the unidirectionality which has been an important basis for grammaticalization theory.

Unidirectionality has been recognized to exist in various different aspects of diachronic linguistic analysis, but the only ones that concern our issue here are Givón's (1979) formulation shown below in (3.39), and Lehmann's (1995[1982]) syntagmatic parameter 'condensation.'

(3.39)

discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero

(Givón 1979:209, in Tabor and Tragott 1998)

From Evan's (2007) perspective, Givón's (1979) formulation might apparently be problematic to our case of *-ketun*'s development into an utterance-final particle. It might seem as if *-ketun* developed in the direction from syntax to discourse which might seem to be the opposite direction from the one provided by Givón (1979), since its scope clearly expanded from sentential level to discourse level. The evolution of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle also goes against Lehmann's (1995[1982]) parameter of grammaticalization, the structural scope. According to Lehmann (1995[1982]), structural scope of a grammatical means is the structural size of construction which it helps to form, and in the course of grammaticalization the structural scope should shrink, and he uses the term 'condensation' to refer to this decrease of the structural scope. The development of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particles does not agree with this syntagmatic parameter of grammaticalization proposed by Lehmann (1995[1982]), since *-ketun*'s structural scope increases from sentential level to discourse level.

Because the insubordination process and the evolution of discourse markers seem to go in the opposite direction of a typical grammaticalization path, some scholars have claimed that they should be treated as pragmaticization rather than grammaticalization (Aijmer 1996 and Erman and Kotsinas 1993, in Onodera 2011). On the other hand, other scholars such as Tabor and Traugott (1998) argue that these developments of markers with discourse functions should also be considered to be cases of grammaticalization by challenging the structural scope parameter of Lehmann (1995[1982]). Tabor and Traugott (1998) specifically question the structural unidirectionality of scope reduction which have been prominent in the studies of grammaticalization. The authors argue that Lehmann's (1995[1982]) scope reduction deserves to be empirically tested and should be given explicit formation and rather proposed a hypothesis which claim for the opposite direction of scope expansion, which they call 'The C-command Scope-Increase Hypothesis.' Their definition of the C-command Scope-Increase Hypothesis is given below.

(3.40)

The C-command Scope-Increase Hypothesis:

When an item undergoes gradual reclassification, resulting in a state in which diachronic string comparison can be applied, then its C-command Scope increases.

(Tabor and Traugott 1998:235)

They argue that this is a robust hypothesis, by illustrating four change episodes in English (the developments of the -s possessive, the VP-gerund, adverbial and conjunctive *instead (of)*, and the discourse marker *anyway*) which agree with their C-command Scope-Increase

Hypothesis. Tabor and Traugott (1998) further challenge the process of auxiliation which is undoubtedly considered as a case of scope reduction (cf. Bybee 1985, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994) as has been claimed by Lehmann: “An auxiliary of the ‘have’ or ‘be’ type starts as a main verb which takes a nominalized VP as a complement; that is, it starts at the clause level. When it has become an auxiliary, it functions at the VP level” (Lehmann 1995[1982]:144, cited in Tabor and Traugott 1998:261). Tabor and Traugott (1998) assert that the auxiliation’s morphological increase in bondedness is unquestionable, but syntactically, it has undergone the C-command Scope-Increase, rather than scope decrease. In sum, Tabor and Traugott (1998) claim that the structural unidirectionality (in any direction) remains to be a hypothesis at this point until an explicit formulation of a version of unidirectionality can be given. The authors argue instead, that other criteria such as semantic and syntactic reclassification, increase in abstraction and non-referentiality, and gradual step-by-step change should be used to identify the phenomenon of grammaticalization (Tabor and Traugott 1998:265).

Although the insubordination of *-ketun* in Korean might remain questionable to some scholars such as Evans (2007), whether it should be considered as a case of grammaticalization or not, I follow Tabor and Traugott’s (1998) argument that it should be considered to be so. As for the increase of the structural scope of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle, from sentential level to discourse level, the diachronic process of *-ketun* seems to correspond to Tabor and Traugott’s (1998) C-command Scope-Increase. Furthermore, if we consider a diachronic recurrent pattern that gradually becomes conventionalized via reanalysis and eventually acquires novel semantic/pragmatic functions and a new syntactic category as a grammaticalization process, then I argue that

the evolution of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle is not so much different from it. As I have shown in section 3.5.3.1.2, the *-ketun*-protasis and its apodosis, by frequently occurring in separate IUs, have gradually become separate clauses over time via reanalysis, which lead *-ketun*-utterances to acquire novel functions to manage the flow of information in discourse, to further develop to convey both impoliteness and politeness, and eventually to shift its syntactic category from a connective ending to an utterance-final particle. In consequence, I claim that the development from the connective ending *-ketun* into the utterance-final particle *-ketun* does not particularly differ from any other phenomena of grammaticalization.

### **3.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has revisited the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* from a conditional connective ending to an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean. By revisiting the semantic shift of *-ketun*, this chapter argued that *-ketun* gained its function as an utterance-final particle to manage the flow of information in spoken Korean via the semantic generalization process, scope expansion as well as (inter)subjectification. I particularly argued that *-ketun*'s semantic generalization occurred with *-ketun*'s gradual loss of counter-factuality and its further loss of conditionality while its presuppositionality or topicality remained. Furthermore, I claimed that *-ketun*'s function to manage the flow of discourse in spoken Korean was due to its scope expansion from the sentential level to the discourse level.

This study further claimed that the both impoliteness uses and the politeness strategic use of *-ketun* as an utterance-final particle derived from its basic information managing function, which is to present an assertion as a presupposition. It also has been argued that *-ketun*'s semantic shift from conditional to information management and again to both impoliteness and politeness was a result of both subjectification and intersubjectification processes. Moreover, it has also been argued in this chapter that the reason why it was particularly *-ketun* that developed into an utterance-final particle among the various conditional connective endings in Korean, was due to its specialization to a speech act conditional connective ending with very restricted use, as the result of the loss of competition with another conditional marker *-myen* over the domain of conditionals. This fact also challenges both Givón's (1981) and S.-H. Rhee's (1995) arguments that a high text frequency and a general meaning should be a sine qua non for a lexeme to undergo a grammaticalization process.

This present study also revisited the syntactic shift of *-ketun*, which has mostly been neglected in the previous analyses of *-ketun*'s grammaticalization process. In particular, this chapter has claimed that the insubordination process of *-ketun* might or might not correspond to the four historical trajectories of insubordination proposed by Evans (2007). In the case that *-ketun* does not fit into Evans' four steps of insubordination, this study proposed an alternate gradual process of *-ketun*'s insubordination, where the main clause of a *-ketun*-conditional sentence has never been ellipsed in the first place, unlike Evans' (2007) argument where the main clause has to be ellipsed or at least has to be implied in the context in order for the insubordination to take place. Instead, it has been claimed, for the alternate approach, that the former main clause of a *-ketun*-conditional sentence has

become the host context of the utterance ending with the utterance-final particle *-ketun*, which must be explicitly expressed in a form of an utterance or the discourse itself.

Moreover, this present study also proposed that the *-ketun*-utterance in Modern Spoken Korean has gained syntactic autonomy regardless of its semantic or functional dependence with its host context, by consistently occurring in a separate intonation unit from its apodosis. Although it has been debated whether the insubordination process, or evolution of discourse markers and utterance-final particles should be considered as a grammaticalization process or not, this study argued that it should be, following Tabor and Traugott's (1998) C-command Scope-Increase hypothesis. In consequence, this study has shown that the historical change of *-ketun* from its conditional connective ending function to its function as an utterance-final particle reflects the important contribution that a discourse study could make to diachronic linguistic studies such as grammaticalization theory.





‘I don’t want to use war as the subject matter (of my story).’

However, its reduced form *-canha* is used as an utterance-final particle with very different functions from *-ci anh-a* in Modern Spoken Korean. The excerpt (4.3) illustrates *-canha*’s function as an utterance-final particle.

(4.3) 6CM00067

(Context: This excerpt is from a conversation between a mother (P1) and a son (P2). The mother has been talking about her surgery which she had to remove her wisdom tooth.)

- 1 P1: *kuleko emma-n an kkomay-ss-e.*  
CONJ mom-TOP NEG stitch-ANT-INDC  
‘And in my case, I didn’t get stitched.’
- 2 P2: *ung=.*  
yeah  
‘Yeah=.’
- 3→ P1: *yak cwu-canha=.*  
medication give-*canha*  
‘(You know) they give you medications-*canha*=.’
- 4 *na-n yak-to an cwu-tula?*  
I-TOP medication-ADD NEG give-FH.EV  
‘I didn’t even get any medications.’
- 5 P2: *a= kulay-yo?*  
DM be.such-HON.END  
‘Ah= is that so?’

In line 3 of the excerpt (4.3), it can be seen that *-canha* is not used as a negative construction, nor as a negative question. Instead, in this particular case, *-canha* can be roughly translated in English as the discourse marker ‘you know.’ The use of *-canha* and its honorific counterpart *-canhayo* is very frequent in spoken Korean. As example (4.3) shows, these two forms manifest very different uses from the unreduced construction *-ci anh-a*. It seems that *-canha* and *-canhayo* cannot be simply treated as the phonological reduction of the negative question construction *-ci anh-a?* anymore, at least in Modern Spoken Korean.

A number of scholars have also noticed the functions of *-canha* which differ from those of *-ci anh-a?* and attempted to describe *-canha*'s functions in discourse (Kawanishi 1994, S.-H. Rhee 2004, H.-H. Lee 2004, H.-J. Koo 2008, S.-O. Sohn 2010). They argue that *-canha* as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean functions to solicit agreement, sympathy or verification from the hearer (Kawanishi 1994, S.-O. Sohn 2010, H.-J. Koo 2008). It has also been argued that *-canha* has a politeness marking function (H.-J. Koo 2008), an impoliteness marking function (H.-H. Lee 2004), various discourse functions (S.-H. Rhee 2004, H.-J. Koo 2008, S.-O. Sohn 2010), and functions to manage the flow of information as well (H.-H. Lee 2004, S.-O. Sohn 2010).

Despite their effort to illustrate *-canha*'s current functions as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean, however, none of these previous works has attempted to provide what is common to all these diverse functions and how these various functions are related to each other under the one single particle *-canha*. In other words, a more general function of *-canha* which is underlying all these various functions still remains to be explained.

The aim of this chapter is to revisit the current functions of *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean by observing spontaneous interactional conversation data. This study intends to provide a more plausible account by proposing that there can be a more general and basic function of *-canha* which is to manage the information flow in discourse that can encompass all the various functions of *-canha*. In particular, this study will argue that the basic information-managing function of *-canha* is to 'mark the speaker's belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the hearer before the time of speech.'

The present paper is organized as follows. In section 4.2, previous works on *-canha* as an utterance-final particle will be briefly summarized and their problems will be raised. In section 4.3, description of the data used for this study will be presented. It will then be argued in section 4.4 that the basic function of *-canha* is to explicitly mark the speaker's belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the hearer before the time of speech. Section 4.5 will bring discussions on some theoretical issues which concern *-canha*, and finally section 4.6 will conclude this chapter.

#### **4.2. Previous studies on *-canha***

There are several studies which have acknowledged the novel functions of *-canha* as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean. Numerous functions have been argued to be used by *-canha* in spoken Korean. First of all, it has been argued in Kawanishi (1994) and S.-O. Sohn (2010) that *-canha* functions to solicit agreement or sympathy from interlocutors, and H.-J. Koo (2008) also argues that *-canha* is used when the speaker wants to solicit verification from the interlocutor. The basis for Kawanishi's (1994) and H.-J. Koo's (2008) arguments is that the interlocutors often answer back as *yey* 'yes' or *kulehci* 'right/that's right' after hearing such utterances ending with *-canha*. However, this type of 'backchannel' (which is a feedback message such as 'uh huh' or head nods (Yngve 1970, cited in Heinz 2003)) are ubiquitous in any interactional conversation and they are not used only after *-canha* utterances. Moreover, many of the occurrences of *-canha* from my corpus were not followed by the other interlocutor's backchannel responses either. Not

infrequently, the speaker just kept continuing his or her story instead. Such an example is illustrated in (4.4) below.

(4.4) 6CM00098

(Context: P3 and P1 are talking about the synopsis of ‘Chwunhyangcen’ which is a famous novel written in Old Korean. Chwunhyang is the name of the female heroine of the story.)

- 1 P3: *Chwunhyang Chwunhyangi kath-un Chwunhyangi*  
*Chwunhyang Chwunhyang be.like-ATTR(RL) Chwunhyang*  
*kath-un kyengwu-ey,*  
*be.like-ATTR(RL) case-LOC*  
 ‘Chwunhyang (someone) like Chwunhyang, in case of Chwunhyang,’
- 2 P1: *ung.*  
*yeah*  
 ‘Yeah.’
- 3→ *caki sinpwun-cek-i-n kes-ey*  
*self social.status-like-COP-ATTR(RL) thing-LOC*  
*ekap-tway iss-ess-canha?*  
*suppression-become exist-ANT-canha*  
 ‘She was suppressed by her social status-canha?’
- 4 *kule-taka,*  
*be.such-CON*  
 ‘And then,’
- 5 *e= Itolyeng-ul manna-se,*  
*DM Itolyeng-ACC meet-PRECED*  
 ‘Um= she met Itolyeng and,’
- 6 *heyecy-ess-e,*  
*part.from.each.other-ANT-INDC*  
 ‘They were parted from each other,’  
 (P1 continues)

(4.4) shows that there wasn’t any backchannel response after P1’s *-canha* utterance shown in line 3. The absence of pause between line 3 and line 4 indicates that the speaker P1 was not waiting for any responses from the hearer either<sup>35</sup>. Hence, claiming that *-canha*’s

<sup>35</sup> Of course, there could always have been non-verbal backchannels such as head nods or facial expressions which are not transcribed in the corpus. Nevertheless, these non-verbal backchannels are also ubiquitous in interactive conversations and they do not appear solely right after *-canha*.

function is to solicit agreement because a backchannel response is often followed would not be a plausible ground for their argument. Furthermore, S.-O. Sohn (2010) argues that *-canha* with H% (rising boundary tone) reflects the speaker's effort to monitor reactions from the interlocutors and thus solicits agreement from the hearer. It is true that sometimes a positive response does in fact follows *-canha* used with a rising boundary tone such as in (4.5) below.

(4.5) 4CM00029

(Context: P1 has just finished talking about her older brother's eating habits. P4 is now starting a new story.)

- 1 → P4: *kuntey akka lamyen kkulhy-e*  
 but a.while.ago ramen boil-CON  
*mek-nun-ta-ko kulay-ss-canha-yo?*  
 eat-IMPF-DECL-COMP QUOT-ANT-canha-HON.END  
 'But you said earlier that your older brother eats ramen-canha?'  
 2 P1: *ney.*  
 yes.HON  
 'Yes.'  
 3 P4: *nay-ka Sungho-lang keuy mayil,*  
 I-NOM Sungho-with almost every.day  
 'Sungho and I almost everyday,'  
 4 *yasik-ul lamyen-ulo mek-ketun-yo,*  
 late.night.snack-ACC ramen-INSTR eat-UFP-HON.END  
 'We eat ramen as a late night snack,'  
 (P4 continues)

It can be seen in this excerpt that a positive response *yey* 'yes' (in line 2) indeed follows the speaker P4's utterance ending with *-canha* in line 1. However, not all *-canha* with a rising boundary tone is used to solicit agreement from the hearer. The excerpt (4.4) shown earlier clearly demonstrates that although *-canha* in line 3 is used with a rising boundary tone, it was not used to solicit agreement from the hearer, since the speaker continues his

story in line 4 without pausing and the hearer does not provide any backchannel either. I believe that if *-canha* with a rising boundary tone was indeed used to solicit a response from the hearer such as in excerpt (4.5), then the soliciting response function lies solely in the rising boundary tone and not in *-canha* per se. The rising boundary tone can solicit responses from hearers not only with *-canha* but also with any utterance-final particles such as the declarative sentential ending *-ta*, the indicative sentential ending *-a*, the utterance-final particle *-ketun*, or with any other utterances in any form as well. In fact, rising boundary tone by itself has numerous functions in conversations and in Korean, it has been argued that it can be used in questions, continuation rises, explanatory endings, to show annoyance, irritation or disbelief (S.-A. Jun. 2000), and that it can be used to elicit either direct or indirect reaction from the hearer (M.-H. Jo. 2011). The rising boundary tone used with *-canha* in the excerpt (4.4) would be the case where the speaker would want to show that he still wants to hold the floor as Bolinger (1982) also suggests that “rising intonation is a universal signal that a speaker has not yet completed an information unit” (Bolinger 1982, cited in Schiffrin 1987:270), and this type of display has been called as a ‘try-marker’ by Sacks and Schegloff (1979). On the other hand, the rising boundary tone in the *-canha* utterance in (4.5) would be the case where the speaker wants to show that he is expecting a reaction from the hearer. In consequence, I argue that *-canha* by itself does not carry the functions to solicit agreement or sympathy from the interlocutors.

H.-J. Koo (2008) argues that *-canha* has a politeness function. In particular, she claims that the use of *-canha* in the speaker’s expressing his own judgment can have a politeness function by first negating the proposition by the use of *-canha* (since *-canha* originated from a negative construction) and then eliciting the hearer to confirm the fact of

the proposition instead. She explains that this type of strategy is used to avoid threatening the hearer's face by not directly providing one's own argument. It will be shown in section 4.4 that *-canha* in fact can be used as a politeness strategy. However, H.-J. Koo's (2008) claim that the politeness meaning derived from its negative meaning does not seem reasonable. It is because *-canha*, although historically it has originated from a negative question construction which again derived from a negative construction, as an utterance-final particle, it has completely lost its former negating function, as I will demonstrate in section 4.3.2. Furthermore, although H.-J. Koo (2008) is correct to point out *-canha*'s use in politeness strategies, she fails to notice that *-canha* can be used in impolite strategies as well. On the other hand, H.-H. Lee (2004), who suggests that *-canha* can sometimes be used to express the speaker's negative feelings such as annoyance towards the hearer, fails to mention that *-canha* can also be used in politeness contexts. I will argue that both the politeness and impoliteness functions of *-canha* seem to be extended uses of its basic function to indicate the speaker's belief that the certain piece of information marked by *-canha* is already shared with the hearer. *-Canha*'s (im)politeness strategies will be further explored in sections 4.4.2.1 and 4.4.2.2.

Various discourse functions of *-canha* were also argued for by numerous previous works. S.-O. Sohn (2010) proposes that *-canha* is used to recall or activate information, and as a filler in discourse. It has been argued by S.-H. Rhee (2004) that *-canha* can also be used with exclamative function. H.-J. Koo (2008) claims that *-canha* can be used when giving reasons and when the speaker wants to express one's own opinion. In particular, H.-J. Koo (2008) argues that *-canha* can function to introduce a new topic to the discourse. H.-J. Koo (2008), S.-O. Sohn (2010), and S.-H. Rhee (2004), they all point out that the

lexicalized expression *iss-canha* (exist-*canha*) ‘X exists’ is often found to occur at the beginning of a story as a ‘topic presenter’ (S.-H. Rhee 2004). Although their analyses of *-canha*’s diverse discourse functions are mostly correct, their analyses do not seem exhaustive. Not only did they neglect a number of *-canha*’s discourse functions such as itsthetic uses and mirative uses, they do not give any explanation for the general and basic function which is underlying all these various discourse functions of *-canha*. In other words, what is in common between all these various discourse functions and how they are related to each other under the functions of the single marker *-canha* are still in need of explanation. In this present study, I will demonstrate in section 4.4 that *-canha*’s basic function in spoken Korean is to mark a specific piece of information that the speaker believes to already have been shared with the hearer before the time of speech. I will argue that these various discourse functions of *-canha* proposed in the literature are derived from this basic information managing function.

Lastly, two previous studies on *-canha* have acknowledged the information managing function of *-canha*. H.-H. Lee (2004) proposes that *-canh-* functions mainly as a ‘confirming’ device which functions to request confirmation about the truthfulness conveyed by *-canh-* either to the hearer or to the speaker him- or herself. Moreover, she argues that *-canh-* can sometimes presuppose the fact that ‘the speaker believes that the hearer also knows what the speaker knows’ (H.-H. Lee 2004:220), but she also claims that *-canh-* is found as well as in situations where the speaker knows that certain information has not been shared with the hearer. Although she is correct to acknowledge the information managing function of *-canha* which expresses the speaker’s belief of shared



knowledge, she does not give any explanation of when and how *-canha* can also be used even when certain belief has not been shared between the interlocutors.

S.-O. Sohn (2010) cites Cook (1990) that accessible information refers to either shared or common knowledge that is available to both the speaker and the interlocutor, and that the inaccessible information refers to information that is not familiar or available to the interlocutor, such as the speaker's inner state or new information (S.-O. Sohn 2010:253). S.-O. Sohn (2010) argues that *-canha* can occur when conveying either accessible or inaccessible information and she further claims that *-canha* has different functions depending on which type of information it is conveying. When used with accessible information, the author argues that *-canha* functions to urge the interlocutor to recall or activate knowable information. On the other hand, she argues that *-canha* solicits empathy or agreement from the interlocutor when used with inaccessible information. Furthermore, S.-O. Sohn (2010) also claims that *-canha* has different functions depending on what type of intonation contour it occurs with. For instance, *-canha* can signal that 'the speaker's assumption that the interlocutor is well aware of the current information being imparted' only when used with L% (falling boundary tone). As I have mentioned above, the author argues that when *-canha* is used with H% (rising boundary tone), it denotes new information and signals the speaker's monitoring of the addressee's awareness of the information. Nonetheless, I do not agree that *-canha* has different functions depending on the type of information (accessible or inaccessible) it is conveying or on the type of intonation contour (L% or H%) it occurs with. I will argue in the section 4.4, that *-canha*'s basic function to 'present the speaker's belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared before the time of speech' underlies all uses. I will propose that *-canha* can be

used in diverse contexts when this basic function has been used strategically depending on the situation, or when this basic function has further been extended.

### **4.3. Data description**

#### **4.3.1. Source of data**

The data used in this study is from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong corpus. For more details on the data, see section 1.6.1 of chapter 1.

#### **4.3.2. Findings**

In sum, 2030 cases of *-canh-* was found in the corpus. The two cases where *-canh-* was used within lexicalized expressions such as *kathcanhun* ‘impertinent’ and *ccocanhakey* ‘stingy’ were excluded in the observation. The rest of 2028 cases of *-canh-* all occurred in sentential ending constructions, suffixed by other sentential endings. The following <Table 4.1> summarizes the corpus findings of *-canh-*, particularly on the different types of sentential endings which are suffixed to *-canh-* and their proportions. For a comparison, I also provide a summary of the corpus findings of the

unreduced construction *-ci anh-* in <Table 4.2><sup>36</sup>, which provides the different types of suffixes which *-ci anh-* is used with, along with their proportions.

<b>Type of sentential endings suffixed to <i>-canh-</i></b>	<b>Number of tokens</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Indicative sentential endings such as: <i>-a/e(yo)</i> <sup>37</sup>	2021	99.7%
Interrogative sentential endings such as: <i>-nya, -ni, -supnikka</i>	7	0.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2028</b>	<b>100%</b>

<Table 4.1. Different types of sentential endings suffixed to *-canh-* and their proportion>

<b>Type of sentential endings suffixed to <i>-ci anh-</i></b>	<b>Number of tokens</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Indicative sentential endings such as: <i>-a/e(yo)</i>	93	21.8%
Interrogative sentential endings such as: <i>-nya, -ulkka, -ni, -supnikka, -na, -unka, etc.</i>	199	46.7%
Other sentential endings such as: <i>-ci, -ulkel, -supnita, -ta, etc.</i>	50	11.7%
Connective endings such as: <i>-ko, -umyen, -umyense, -nuntey, etc.</i>	84	19.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>426</b>	<b>100%</b>

<Table 4.2. Different types of suffixes used with *-ci anh-* and their proportion>

<Table 4.1> shows that among the 2028 cases of the reduced form *-canh-*, only 7 (0.3%) were found to be used with sentential endings other than the indicative sentential ending *-a/e* or *-a/e(yo)*. These 7 cases of *-canh-* were combined with the sentential endings *-nya, -ni, and -supnikka*, all of them being interrogative sentential endings. The result shown in <Table 4.1> signifies that most of the time (99.7%) *-canh-* is combined with the

<sup>36</sup> Unlike the reduced form *-canh-*, the unreduced construction *-ci anh-* is not only used in sentential or clausal negation but also in lexical negation suffixed with relativizers as well. The construction *-ci anh-* used in lexical negation will not be considered in this study.

<sup>37</sup> The indicative sentential ending *-a* [a] is often pronounced as *-e* [ ] as well.

indicative sentential ending *-a/e* or its honorific counterpart *-a/e-yo*. This result reflects an interesting contrast from the result shown in <Table 4.2>. <Table 4.2> shows that for the unreduced negative construction *-ci anh-*, only 21.8% of the time it was combined with the indicative sentential ending *-a/e*. It also has been shown that for 11.7% of the time *-ci anh-* was used with other sentential endings such as the committal sentential ending *-ci*, dubitative sentential ending *-ulkel*, and declarative sentential endings *-ta* or *-supnita* and so on. The most frequently combined sentential ending type with *-ci anh-* construction was the interrogative sentential endings, which indicate that the negative construction *-ci anh-* construction is being used mostly in negative question constructions. We can thus conclude from the results shown in <Table 4.1> and <Table 4.2> that the reduced form *-canh-*, unlike its unreduced form *-ci anh-*, is currently undergoing a lexicalization process with the indicative sentential ending *-a(e)* to form *-canha* (or *-canhe*) as a chunk. In other words, the entire *-canha* construction is currently undergoing a ‘chunking’ process (cf. Haiman 1994, Bybee and Thompson 1997, Bybee and Scheibman 1999) in Modern Spoken Korean as a unit, i.e., as an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean.

Since the form *-canha* already includes an indicative sentential ending *-a*, it would not be an issue whether *-canha* appears at the end of an intonation unit (cf. Chafe 1994, Du Bois et al. 1993) or not. It is because the function of the sentential ending *-a* would be to end an utterance in the first place. In fact, the corpus findings show that 87.5% (1774 cases) of the time, *-canha* appeared at the end of an utterance. Even for the rest of the 12.5% (254 cases) where *-canha* did not appear at the end of an intonation unit, the constituents which followed *-canha* turned out to be discourse markers, ‘afterthoughts’ or so called ‘increments’ (which are defined in Schegloff 2000 as “possible completion[s], followed by

further talk by the same speaker, built as a continuation of what had just been possibly completed” (Schegloff 2000:3, cited in Luke et al. 2012:156)). In other words, even for the 12.5% of exceptional cases, *-canha* was still functioning to mark the end of an utterance as an utterance-final particle.

However, since *-canha* has been originally considered to be the phonologically reduced form of the negative question construction ‘*-ci anh-a?*,’ it must be observed whether the reduced form *-canha* still functions as a negative question construction or not. The corpus result showed that among the 2028 cases of *-canh-*, only 108 cases (5.3%) were used with rising intonation transcribed with the transcription convention (Du Bois et al. 1993) ‘?’ . The remaining 1920 cases of *-canh-* (94.7%) were used with falling intonation and were transcribed with either the transcription convention ‘.’ which signifies the final transition continuity, or the transcription convention ‘,’ which signifies the continuing transition continuity. Nevertheless, when these 108 cases where *-cahn-* was used with rising intonation were observed in more detail, it was found that none of these were true negative questions. For instance,

(4.6) 6CM00098

(Context: P1, P2 and P3 are talking about stories that deal with the theme on suppression. P3 suggests the ‘Chwunhyangcen’ which is a famous novel written in Old Korean as an example. Chwunhyang is the name of the female heroine of the story.)

- 1 P3: *Chwunhyangcen-i=*,  
Chwunhyangcen-NOM  
‘Chwunhyangcen is=,’
- 2 *Chwunhyang Chwunhyangi kath-un Chwunhyangi*  
Chwunhyang Chwunhyang be.like-ATTR(RL) Chwunhyang  
*kath-un kyengwu-ey*,  
be.like-ATTR(RL) case-LOC  
‘Chwunhyang (someone) like Chwunhyang, in case of Chwunhyang,’
- 3 P1: *ung.*

- yeah  
'Yeah.'
- 4→ *caki sinpwun-cek-i-n kes-ey*  
self social.status-like-COP-ATTR(RL) thing-LOC  
*ekap-tway iss-ess-canha?*  
suppression-become exist-ANT-canha  
'She was suppressed by her social status-canha?'
- 5 *kule-taka,*  
be.such-CON  
'And then,'
- 6 *e= Itolyeng-ul manna-se,*  
DM Itolyeng-ACC meet-PRECEDE  
'Um= she met Itolyeng and,'
- 7 *heyecy-ess-e,*  
part.from.each.other-ANT-INDC  
'They were parted from each other,'
- 8 *konan-ul kukpok-hay-se hay-ss-e.*  
sufferings-ACC conquest-do-PRECEDE do-ANT-INDC  
'She overcame her sufferings.'
- 9 *kuliko nacwung-ey-nun,*  
and later-LOC-TOP  
'And then later,'
- 10 *ku= mwe-ci?*  
that what-COMT  
'That= what was it?'
- 11 *ku= com ilehkey--*  
that DM like.this  
'That= um like--'
- 12 P2: *Itolyeng-ul manna-se heyecy-e?*  
Itolyeng-ACC meet-PRECEDE part.from.each.other-INDC  
'She meets Itolyeng and then they were parted from each other?'
- 13→ P3: *manna-ss-taka heyeci-canha=?*  
meet-ANT-CON part.from.each.other-canha  
'They met and then they were parted from each other-canha=?'
- 14 P1: *ung.*  
yeah  
'Yeah.'
- 15 P3: *ung.*  
yeah  
'Yeah.'
- 16 *[way nacwung-ey,]*  
DM later-LOC  
'You know, later,'
- 17 P1: *[kuntey kiyak eps-nun ipyel-i-ci*  
but promise not.exist-ATTR(RL) farewell-COP-COMT  
*mwe=,*

- DM  
 ‘But it was a farewell without a promise (when to meet again) though=,’
- 18 P3: *um,*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah,’
- 19 *ku= nacwung-ey-nun,*  
 that later-LOC-TOP  
 ‘That= later,’
- 20 *um= caki ku=,*  
 DM self that  
 ‘Um= she that=,’
- 21 → *etten ekap-ha-te-n kes-tul-ul incey*  
 some suppression-do-FH.EV-ATTR(RL) thing-PLU-ACC DM  
*caki-ka chowel-ha-key*  
 self-NOM transcendence-do-RESUL  
*chowel-ha-nun wichi-ey-kkaci ollaka-canha=?*  
 transcendence-do-ATTR(RL) place-LOC-to.the.extent.of rise-canha  
 ‘And then she rises into a position where she is superior to those ones that  
 used to suppress her-canha=?’
- 22 *ku-kes-to kuleh-kwu,*  
 that-thing-ADD be.such-CON  
 ‘What is even more,’  
 (P3 continues)

In this excerpt, *-canha* is used three times (in lines 4, 13, 21) and all of them were used with rising intonation contour. However, none of them were used as negative question constructions. In line 4, P1 is using *-canha* to indicate that according to his belief, the information ‘Chwunhyang was suppressed by her social status’ is already shared with P2 and P3 as well, since the novel Chwunhyangcen is very well-known among Koreans. The co-occurrence of *-canha* in line 4 with the rising intonation cannot be analyzed as being used as a negative question, since P1 just keeps continuing his story to line 5. Instead, the rising intonation could have been used to signal that P1 wants to keep the floor, i.e., to indicate that P1 is not finished with his story yet. The second *-canha* shown in line 13 is used in P3’s answer for P2’s question in line 12. Note that in line 6 and 7, P1 already said

that Chwunhyang and Itolyeng met then were parted from each other. When P2 suddenly questions this fact in line 12<sup>38</sup>, P3 answers to his question by using *-canha* at the end. P3's *-canha* is used recall P2 that the Chwunhyang and Itolyeng indeed met and then were parted from each other<sup>39</sup>. The rising intonation used in P3's answer is again, not used as a negative question but is rather used to express a negative stance towards P2 for not having knowledge of such a well-known story. Lastly, the third *-canha* used by P3 in line 21 functions similarly to the first-*canha* used in line 4, to indicate that the information is shared between the interlocutors from the speaker's perspective (since Chwunhyangcen is a well known story among Koreans), and the rising intonation has been used to hold the floor.

The corpus findings thus indicate that *-canha*, even with rising intonation, does not function as a negative question. Moreover, even the cases where the reduced form *-canh-* was combined with interrogative sentential endings were also found to be difficult to translate as negative question constructions, as can be seen in the excerpt (4.7).

(4.7) 4CM00034

(Context: P5 and P2 are talking about methods of studying English language.)

- 1 → P5: *Cwungangheyleltuthulipyun-ey* <X tanci X>-lo *kky-e*  
*Cwungang.Herald.Tribune-LOC* supplement-INSTR insert-CON  
*iss-nun* *Cwungangilpo-yengmwun-phan* *iss-canh-supnikka?*  
 exist-ATTR *Cwungang.Journal-English-version* exist-canh-INTERR  
 '(You know) the English version of Cwungang Journal which is inserted in  
 Cwungang Herald Tribune as a supplement-canha?'  
 2 P2: *e.*  
*yeah*  
 'Yeah.'  
 3 P5: *ku-ke-y* *yenge-ka* *cham coh-tay-yo.*

<sup>38</sup> P2's question in line 12 might be due to the ambiguous meaning of the expression *heyecita* which can either mean 'to be(physically) parted from each other' or 'to break up a relationship.' In other words, P2 might be questioning whether Chwunhyang and Itolyeng broke up in some point of the story, which is not true.

<sup>39</sup> This type of recalling function of *-canha* will be further dealt with in section 4.4.1.1.



that-thing-NOM English-NOM very good-QUOT-HON.END  
 ‘They say that that’s very good for (studying) English.’

In line 1, *-canh-* was used with the interrogative sentential ending *-supnikka* and a rising intonation. Still, it cannot be analyzed as a negative question. If *-canhsupnikka* was used as a negative question, then P5’s utterance in line 1 must be translated as ‘Isn’t there an English version of Cwungang Journal inserted in Cwungang Herald Tribune as a supplement?’ Nevertheless, P5 is not trying to verify the existence of an English version of Cwungang Journal in Cwungang Herald Tribune. If we consider P5’s follow-up utterance in line 3, it can be seen that P5 already knew the fact that there is an English version of Cwungang Journal inserted in Cwungang Herald Tribune. Instead, the expression *-canhsupnikka* can be most closely translated as the discourse marker ‘you know’ in English, which reflects the speaker’s belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the interlocutor at the time of the speech. In this particular case, it was the rising intonation that itself seems to have been used to solicit a response from the hearer. *-Canha*’s loss of the function as a negative question construction can be more clearly illustrated in the following examples in (4.8).

(4.8) 7CM00054

(Context: A number of students are having a group discussion. They are discussing religions, the Reformation and Christianity.)

1 → P4: *echaphi i-kes-to ta ywutaykyo-eyse*  
 anyway this-thing-ADD all Judaism-LOC  
*nao-n ke-canha-yo,*  
 come.out-ATTR(RL) thing.COP-*canha*-HON.END  
 ‘This too, derived fke-rom the Judaism anyway-*canha*,’  
 2 *ani-nka-yo?*  
 NEG.COP-DUB-HON.END

‘Isn’t it?’

In line 2 of this excerpt, the speaker P4 adds a negative question *aninkayo?* ‘Isn’t it?’ right after her utterance ending with *-canha* (in line 1). The additional usage the negative question in line 2 suggests that the utterance-final particle *-canha* no longer functions as a negative question construction anymore. If P4’s utterance in line 1 had been used as a negative question in order to mean ‘Didn’t this too, derive from the Judaism anyway?’ then there would be not much need to add another negative question.

Furthermore, the following example in (4.9) demonstrates that *-canha* does not carry the negating function either.

(4.9) 4CM00029

<i>ne</i>	<i>pyello</i>	<i>an-ccye-ss-<u>canha</u></i>	<i>kuntey,</i>
you	not.much	NEG-gain-ANT- <u>canha</u>	but

‘You didn’t gain (weight) that much-canha but,’

(4.9) shows that the additional usage of the negative marker *an* indicates that the negative particle *anh* in *-canha* no longer has its negative meaning.

Through these corpus findings, we can safely conclude that the reduced form *-canh-* which derived from the negative question construction ‘*-ci anh-a?*,’ which itself originated from a *negello* construction, is not being used as a negative question construction nor as a negative construction anymore in Modern Spoken Korean. The corpus findings clearly demonstrate that *-canh-* combines with the indicative ending *-a/e* to form *-canha* as a chunk, and now functions as an utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean, whose functions differ greatly from those of the negative question construction.

In order to observe more closely the current functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean, this study explored the 2021 cases of *-canha* from the corpus. The 7 cases of *-canh-* used with interrogative sentential endings were excluded from the observation. From these 2021 occurrences of *-canha*, 100 cases were randomly chosen to be examined in full detail. Unless otherwise stated, all of the examples used in this study are from these randomly chosen 100 cases of *-canha*. The transcription of the corpus data was slightly modified based on the transcription convention developed by Du Bois et al. (1993) for this present dissertation; the transcription convention is provided in Appendix A.

#### **4.4. Current function of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in spoken Korean: ‘to mark the speaker’s belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the hearer before the time of speech’**

I will argue in this section that the basic function of *-canha* is to explicitly indicate the speaker’s belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the hearer before the time of speech. In other words, *-canha* functions to mark what the speaker believes to be “shared knowledge” or “shared information” or “common ground” (Clark 1996), or what the speaker believes to be “old information” or “pragmatic presupposition” (Lambrecht 1994).

It should be noted that in more recent work of Lambrecht (Lambrecht 2001), the author proposes a more fine-grained classification of pragmatic presupposition, which closely resembles the activation levels for referents proposed by Gundel et al. (1993) and

different notions of information status proposed by Prince (1992). Lambrecht (2001) argues that there are three types of pragmatic presupposition, namely K-presupposition, C-presupposition and T-presupposition. According to Lambrecht, K-presupposition, or “knowledge presupposition,” is basically the same notion as the “pragmatic presupposition” proposed in Lambrecht (1994). K-presupposition is more or less equivalent to “hearer-old” in the system of Prince (1992), and “referential” or “uniquely identifiable” in the hierarchy of Gundel et al. (1993) (Lambrecht 2001:474). Lambrecht argues that C-presupposition, or “consciousness presupposition,” refers to an entity or proposition whose mental representation is assumed by the speaker to have been activated in the interlocutors’ short-term memory at the time of the utterance (Lambrecht 2001:475). He further argues that a C-presupposed entity is equivalent to “discourse-old” and “inferable” in Prince (1992) and “in focus” and “activated” in Gundel et al. (1993). Lastly, for the T-presupposition, or “topicality presupposition,” Lambrecht argues that “[a]n entity or proposition is topicality-presupposed [...] if at utterance time the speaker assumes that the hearer considers it a center of current interest and hence a potential locus of predication.” (Lambrecht 2001:476). He further claims that there is no equivalent notion to his T-presupposition in the systems of Prince (1992) and Gundel et al. (1993).

This further subdivisions of pragmatic presupposition is very useful when analyzing the uses of cleft constructions (Lambrecht 2001) or pseudo-cleft constructions (Koops and Hilpert 2009). However, K-presupposition (knowledge-presupposition) is the only one among the three sub-types of presuppositions that is relevant to the functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha*. As I will argue in the remainder of this chapter, *-canha*’s basic function is to explicitly indicate what the speaker believes to be a K-presupposition.

Since K-presupposition is the same notion as “pragmatic presupposition” proposed in Lambrecht (1994), I will continue to use the term “pragmatic presupposition” when describing the current functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha*.

Although *-canha*'s basic function is to show the speaker's belief of shared knowledge, it will be shown that *-canha* can also be used even when the speaker knows (or believes) indeed that a certain piece of information has not been shared with the hearer. It will be explained that the latter uses of *-canha* are more extended uses of *-canha*'s basic information managing function. Section 4.4.1 will deal with situations where the speaker truly believes that the information he or she is conveying is shared knowledge. In section 4.4.2, the situations where the speaker uses *-canha* despite the lack of shared knowledge will be dealt with.

#### **4.4.1. *-Canha*'s uses when the speaker truly believes that a certain piece of information is shared knowledge**

##### **4.4.1.1. As an explicit marker of the speaker's belief of shared knowledge**

*-Canha* as an utterance-final particle is used as a marker which explicitly demonstrates the speaker's belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the interlocutor before the time of speech. This can be clearly shown in the excerpt in (4.10).

(4.10) 6CM00098

(Context: P1, P2 and P3 are discussing different plots in stories. They are trying to find examples of stories where the plot involves a main character who overcomes various suppressions and later comes to be in a superior position to those that used to suppress him or her. When P3 suggests the story of ‘Pyengkang Princess’ which is a famous Korean folk tale, P1 and P2 disagree. Note that P1 and P2 are in the same age and P3 is older than they are. Thus, P1 and P2 must speak in honorific style to P3.)

- 1 P3: *Pyengkang-kong=cwu-to,*  
Pyengkang-princess-ADD  
‘Also the Pyengkang Prin=cess,’
- 2 [*mac-na?*]  
be.correct-NCOMT  
‘Is it correct?’
- 3 P1: [*apeci-lul*] *chowel-ha-na?*  
father-ACC transcendence-do-NCOMT  
‘Does she overcome her father?’
- 4 *ku-ke-n ani-n ke*  
that-thing-TOP NEG.COP-ATTR(RL) thing  
*kath-untey,*  
seem-CIRCUM  
‘I don’t think that’s right,’
- 5 P2: *yey?*  
yes.HON  
‘I’m sorry?’
- 6 *mwe-la-kwu-yo?*  
what-DECL-COMP-HON.END  
‘What did you say?’
- 7→ P1: *Pyengkang-kongcwu-ka apeci-lul chowel-ha-nun*  
Pyengkang-princess-NOM father-ACC transcendence-do-ATTR(RL)  
*ke-n ani-canha?*  
thing-TOP NEG.COP-canha  
‘The story isn’t that the Pyengkang Princess overcomes her father-canha?’
- 8 P2: *apeci-lul chowel-ha-nun ke-y*  
father-ACC transcendence-do-ATTR(RL) thing-NOM  
*ani-la=,*  
NEG.COP-CONTRA  
‘It is not that she overcomes her father=,’
- 9 *ku Pyenkang-wang mith-eyse etten ekap-ul*  
that Pyengkang-king under-LOC some suppression-ACC  
*pat-taka--*  
receive-CON  
‘She was suppressed under the Pyengkang King and then--’
- 10 P1: *ung.*  
yeah  
‘Yeah.’

- 11→ P2: *ccochkyena-canha*,  
be.expelled-*canha*  
'She becomes expelled-*canha*,'
- 12→ *Pyengkang-kongcwu-ka* *Ontal-hanthey* *sicip-ul*  
Pyengkang-princess-NOM Ontal-to marriage-ACC  
*ka-n-ta-ko* *ha-nikka* *Pyengkang-wang-i*  
go-IMPF-DECL-COMP say-CAUSL Pyengkang-king-NOM  
*ccochanay-canha=*,  
*expel-canha*  
'Because Pyengkang Princess says that she wants to marry Ontal,  
Pyengkang King expels her-*canha=*,'
- 13 P1: *um*,  
yeah  
'Yeah,'
- 14 P2: *Pyengkang* *Ontal-ul* *manna-se*,  
Pyengkang Ontal-ACC meet-PRECED  
'Pyengkang and Ontal meet and,'
- 15 *cal* *tway-se*,  
good be.done-PRECED  
'Everything goes well and then,'
- 16 *nacwung-ey* *Pyengkang-wang-kkaci*  
later-LOC Pyengkang-king-even  
*awulu-n-ta-nun* *ke-ey-yo*,  
unite-IMPF-DECL-ATTR(RL) thing-COP.INDC-HON.END  
'The story is that later they eventually unite with Pyengkang King,'
- 17 P1: *um=*,  
yeah  
'Yeah=,'

As I noted briefly, in this excerpt, P1 and P2 is speaking in honorific style to P3 because he is older than they are. When P3 suggests the story of Pyengkang Princess, which is a well-known Korean folk tale, as an example of their discussion topic, P1 questions and challenges P3's suggestions in lines 3 and 4. Then, in lines 5 and 6, P2 is also questioning P3's suggestion. *Yey* 'yes' in honorific style (line 5) and the use of the honorific ending marker *-yo* (line 6) show that these challenging questions are used towards P3 and not P1. At this point, P1 realizes that P2 and he share the same story. That is the reason why P1 uses *-canha* in line 7. The use of *-canha* in line 7 does not have the honorific ending marker

-yo thus this utterance is used towards P2 and not P3. P1's use of *-canha* indicates the speaker's belief that the information conveyed by the *-canha* utterance has already been shared with P2. In the same vein, the two cases of *-canha* used by the speaker P2 in lines 11 and 12 also indicate P2's belief that these pieces of information have already been shared with P1. P2's utterances from line 14 to 16 can be seen that these utterances are used towards P3 and not P1 due to the use of the honorific ending marker *-yo* in line 16. Since P2 is now speaking to P3 who initially did not share the same idea about the story of Pyengkang Princess, P2 is no longer using *-canha* in these utterances.

Excerpt shown in (4.11) is another such instance of *-canha*.

(4.11) 4CM00041

(Context: P2 has just told P1 that she has to re-take her Morphology class because she received a low grade last time she took it. P2 is explaining the reason why she did not end up getting a good grade last time.)

- 1 P2: *wenlay* <name>      *sensayngnim-i*      *kayin-palphyo*  
originally                      professor-NOM                      individual-presentation  
*an*    *tuleka-n-ta*                      *hay-ss-ta*,  
NEG go.in-IMPF-DECL      do-ANT-DECL  
‘Originally Professor <name> said that the individual presentations will not  
be counted as points for grades,’
- 2 P1: *ung*.  
yeah  
‘Yeah.’
- 3 P2: *an*    *tuleka-n-ta*                      *kulay-ss-te-ni-man*,  
NEG go.in-IMPF-DECL      QUOT-ANT-FH.EV-DET-CON  
‘She said that it will not be counted as points but then,’
- 4 *nacwung-ey*    *ay-tul-i*                      *nemwu sihem-to*      *cal*  
later-LOC      child-PLU-NOM                      too    test-ADD      well  
*po-ko*                      *palphyo-to*                      *cal*    *ha-n*  
take-CON      presentation-ADD      well    do-ATTR(RL)  
*ke-y-a*                      *kulay-ss-te-ni*,  
thing-COP-INDC      QUOT-ANT-FH.EV-DET  
‘It turned out that all the students did so well on their tests and on their  
presentations too so what happened was,’
- 5 *ku*    *kayin*                      *palphyo-ha-n*                      *ke*



- that individual presentation-do-ATTR(RL) thing  
*cipene-n ke-y-a.*  
 insert-ATTR(RL) thing-COP-INDC  
 ‘She counted the individual presentations for points.’
- 6            *na kayin-palphyo an hay-ss-ketun.*  
 I individual-presentation NEG do-ANT-UFP  
 ‘I hadn’t done any individual presentation, you know.’
- 7→ P1:    *e ku kayin palphyo-nun cinccalwu*  
 yeah that individual presentation-TOP really  
*sensayngnim-i cheum-ey-nun ha-ko*  
 professor-NOM at.first-LOC-TOP do-CON  
*siph-un salam ha-la-ko kule-canha.*  
 want-ATTR(RL) person do-IMPR-COMP QUOT-canha  
 ‘Yeah those individual presentations, the professor really says at the  
 beginning (of the semester) that they are for students who would  
 volunteer-canha.’
- 8            P2:    *e.*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah.’
- 9            P1:    *kuntey ku-ke-y nacwung-ey ta tuleka <name>*  
 but that-thing-NOM later-LOC all go.in  
*sensayngnim-un.*  
 professor-TOP  
 ‘But in case of Professor <name>, those (individual presentations) they all  
 get counted at the end.’
- 10          P2:    *kunikka.*  
 DM  
 ‘That’s what I’m saying.’

In this excerpt, P2 has been explaining that she could not get a good grade from her Morphology class because of the professor’s change of mind on her grading system. After hearing P2’s explanation from line 1 to 6, P1 responds with *-canha* utterance in line 7. P1’s response with *-canha* indicates that she too, knows about the morphology professor and her class which P2 has been talking about. Thus P1 is using the utterance-final particle *-canha* in order to explicitly demonstrate that she and P2 are already sharing the same information.

Because *-canha*'s primary function is to explicitly represent the speaker's belief of shared knowledge, it can be very often used in recalling situations. In other words, speakers often use *-canha* when they want to resume an old topic or when they want to remind the hearers of some past events that the speakers believe to already have been shared with the hearers. Excerpt in (4.12) is such an example.

(4.12) 4CM00029

(Context: Six people are talking about diet and different methods of losing weight. P1 is suggesting one of such methods.)

- 1 P1: *pangpep kaluchyetuli-lkkey-yo.*  
method teach-VOL-HON.END  
'Let me teach you a method.'
- 2 *halwu-ey sey pen sik-hwu samsip-pwun-ey*  
day-LOC three time meal-after thirty-minute-LOC  
*chokholeys-ul tu-sey-yo.*  
chocolate-ACC take-HON-HON.END  
'Take some chocolate three times a day after each meal.'
- 3→ P2: *ya nay yayki-hay-ss-canha.*  
hey I story-do-ANT-canha  
'Hey I told you-canha.'
- 4 *Cengweni chinkwu kulehkey hay-ss-nuntey*  
Cengwen friend like.that do-ANT-CIRCUM  
*tho-hay-ss-ta-kwu yayki an hay-ss-nya?*  
vomit-do-ANT-DECL-COMP story NEG do-ANT-INTERR  
'Didn't I tell you that Cengwen's friend did that but then threw up?'

In this excerpt, the use of *-canha* in line 3 reflects P2's belief that the fact that he already told P1 a story related to P1's dieting method, and thus it has already been shared with P1. Although in line 4, P2 expresses some doubtfulness on whether he has told P1 this specific story or not, he is still using a biased question (in a form of a negative interrogative construction) which reflects that he is more certain than dubious about the fact that he already has told the story to P1. Nevertheless, *-canha* in the previous utterance (in line 3)

manifests that at least at that particular time of speech, P2 truly believed that his having told P1 the story was already shared information.

The excerpt in (4.13) illustrates an instance where the speaker successfully reminds the interlocutor about their shared event in the past.

(4.13) 6CM00071

- 1 P1: *hyeng ku-ke chilley= yayki com hay cwe*  
 older.brother that-thing Chile= story DM do give  
*po-a-yo.*  
 see-INDC-HON.END  
 ‘Please tell me about that Chile story.’
- 2 ... (2.4) *ku= nwukwu-y-a,*  
 that who-COP-INDC  
 ‘That= who was it,’
- 3 *mwusun akassi?*  
 some lady  
 ‘Something lady?’
- 4→ ... (1.3) *ecey hyeng-i*  
 yesterday older.brother-NOM  
*kulay-ss-canha-yo,*  
 QUOT-ANT-*canha*-HON.END  
 ‘You told me yesterday-*canha*,’
- 5 *ku akassi-ka pwull-e cwun nolay-la-ko.*  
 that lady-NOM sing-CON give song-DECL-COMP  
 ‘That there is a song that the lady sang for you.’
- 6 P2: *lathin kel?*  
 Latin girl  
 ‘The Latin girl?’
- 7 P1: *ney lathin kel-i-yo.*  
 yes.HON latin girl-COP-HON.END  
 ‘Yes, the Latin girl.’

In this excerpt, P1 wants P2 to tell him more about the ‘Latin girl’ story. In line 4, P1 tries to recall P2 about the fact that ‘P2 already told P1 about this story the day before.’ By doing so, P1 uses the utterance-final particle *-canha* in order to indicate that the information ‘you

told me about that story yesterday' is already shared information between him and P2. In consequence, P2 recalls the story that he told P1 the day before. In these two excerpts (4.12) and (4.13), it could be seen that *-canha*, by explicitly marking the speaker's belief of shared knowledge, can be used when the speaker wants to remind the hearer about some past events which the speaker believes to have been shared with the hearer.

#### **4.4.1.2. When conveying information that the speaker believes to be obvious**

The previous section describes the utterance-final particle *-canha* as primarily used marker to explicitly show that the information conveyed by *-canha* is something that the speaker believes to already have been shared with the hearer. Because of this characteristic, *-canha* is often times used to convey information that the speaker believes to be obvious.

##### **4.4.1.2.1. General common knowledge, or communal common ground**

Since *-canha* is used to mark what the speaker believes to be a shared knowledge, it is frequently used when the speaker is conveying what he or she believes to be general common knowledge, or 'communal common ground' (Clark 1996). Communal common ground, according to Clark (1996), is what the speaker assumes to be shared with the addressee due to the cultural communities they belong to. Some of the examples of these cultural communities would be nationality, education, employment, hobby, language, gender and so on. The utterance-final particle *-canha* is often used when the speaker believes that the information he or she is conveying is such communal common ground

and thus would already have been shared with the hearer before the time of speech.

Example (4.2) which is repeated here as (4.14), is such an instance.

(4.14) 6CM00067

(Context: This excerpt is from a conversation between a mother (P1) and a son (P2). The mother has been talking about her surgery which she had to remove her wisdom tooth.)

- 1 P1: *kuleko emma-n an kkomay-ss-e.*  
CONJ mom-TOP NEG stitch-ANT-INDC  
'And in my case, I didn't get stitched.'
- 2 P2: *ung=.*  
yeah  
'Yeah=.'
- 3→ P1: *yak cwu-canha=.*  
medication give-canha  
'(You know) they give you medications-canha.'
- 4 *na-n yak-to an cwu-tula?*  
I-TOP medication-ADD NEG give-FH.EV  
'I didn't even get any medications.'
- 5 P2: *a= kulay-yo?*  
DM be.such-HON.END  
'Ah is that so?'

-*Canha* used in line 3 reflects that the speaker P1 believes that this piece of information is already been shared with her son before the time of speech. The use of *-canha* in this case, indicates that it is common knowledge, or at least she believes that it is common knowledge that in Korea, when a person gets a surgery the hospital provides the patient some medications. Since this is such obvious communal common ground (among Koreans) at least to the speaker, she uses *-canha* to indicate her belief that this must be shared information with P2.

The excerpt in (4.15) is another instance.

(4.15) 4CM00034

(Context: P4 and P2 are talking about Choi Huy Cwun, who is a Korean singer. They just have talked about the fact that he was a widower.)

- 1 → P4: *cayhon-to hay-ss-canha-yo.*  
remarriage-ADD do-ANT-canha-HON.END  
'He also got remarried-canha.'
- 2 P2: *e?*  
what  
'What?'
- 3 → P4: *cayhon-to hay-ss-canha.*  
remarriage-ADD do-ANT-canha  
'He also got remarried-canha.'
- 4 P2: *kulay cayhon-to ha-ko kulay-ss-tay-may.*  
right remarriage-ADD do-CON be.such-ANT-QUOT-CON  
'Right, they say that he got remarried or something.'

The excerpt in (4.15), when P4 is conveying the fact that 'Choi Huy Cwun also got remarried,' she is using *-canha* at the end as shown in lines 1 and 3. This is because they are talking about a Korean TV star, thus his personal life must have been open to the public. Hence, P4 is showing her belief that the personal life of this singer must be common knowledge among Koreans. P4's use of *-canha* therefore indicates her belief that the fact about this singer's remarried life must already have been shared with P2 before the time of speech.

Often times, *-canha* is also used when conveying what the speaker, in his or her perspective, considers to be common knowledge. This is reflected in the excerpt in (4.16).

(4.16) 4CM00029

(Context: P5 has just been telling others that he falls asleep too deeply every time he drinks alcohol.)

- 1 P2: *ku-ke-y coh-un ke*  
that-thing-NOM good-ATTR(RL) thing  
*ani-ey-yo?*

- NEG-COP.INDC-HON.END  
‘Isn’t that a good thing?’
- 2 P5: *ney?*  
yes.HON  
‘I’m sorry?’
- 3 P2: *ku-ke-y* *coh-un* *ke*  
that-thing-NOM good-ATTR(RL) thing  
*ani-ey-yo?*  
NEG-COP.INDC-HON.END  
‘Isn’t that a good thing?’
- 4 P5: *ani kuntey,*  
no but  
‘No but,’
- 5→ P2: *cwusa-puli-nun* *kes-pota*  
drunken.rampage-exercise-ATTR(RL) thing-COMPAR  
*hwelssin nas-canha-yo.*  
by.far better-canha-HON.END  
‘It’s by far better than going on drunken rampages-canha.’

It might not be general common knowledge that ‘falling asleep deeply is by far better than going on drunken rampages.’ However, the use of *-canha* in line 5 indicates at least in P2’s perspective, this information is general common knowledge which is so obvious that she believes this piece of information already has been shared with P5 before the time of speech.

#### 4.4.1.2.2. Natural consequences

The excerpt in (4.17) demonstrates the use of *-canha* in a situation when the speaker is reporting a natural consequence.

(4.17) 5CM00040

- 1 P1: *nay chinkwu-nun khaynata-ey ka-ss-ta*  
my friend-TOP Canada-LOC go-ANT-CON  
*wa-ss-ketun-yo?*

- come-ANT-UIP-HON.END  
 ‘My friend went to Canada and came back, you know?’
- 2 P3: [um=.]  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah=.’
- 3 P1: [yenswu-lul] ka-ss-ta wa-ss-nuntay,  
 study-ACC go-ANT-CON come-ANT-CIRCUM  
 ‘She went to study (English) and came back but,’
- 4 caki nemwu nollay-ss-tay,  
 self too be.started-ANT-QUOT  
 ‘She told me that she was so surprised,’
- 5 kongki-ka nemwu [kkaykkushay]-kacikwu,  
 air-NOM too clean-CON  
 ‘The air was so clean so,’
- 6 P2: [um,]  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah,’
- 7 P3: e=.  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah=.’
- 8→ P1: kukka= yeki-se-nun= iluhkey huyn-sayk  
 DM here-LOC-TOP like.this white-color  
 waisyechu kule- huyn-sayk nampang  
 shirt be.such- white-color shirt  
 kath-un ke ip-umyen kkamay-ci-nun  
 be.like-ATTR(RL) thing wear-COND darken-INCHOA-ATTR(RL)  
 ke-y <@ [tangyen]-ha-canha @>  
 thing-NOM matter.of.course-do-canha  
 ‘I mean=, here= (in Korea) if you wear a white shirt like- something like a  
 white shirt, then <@ it is obvious that it becomes dirty-canha @>’
- 9 P2: [um=,]  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah=,’
- 10 P3: um,  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah,’
- 11 P1: kuntay,  
 but  
 ‘But,’
- 12 myech-il-ul ip-etwu ku-ke-y an  
 several-day-ACC wear-ADD that-thing-NOM NEG  
 kkamay-ci-te-lay=,  
 darken-INCHOA-FH.EV-QUOT  
 ‘She said that it didn’t darken even after several days of wearing=,’



In this excerpt, *-canha* is used by P1 in line 8. The speaker P1 is expressing that it is a natural consequence that a white garment would become dirty as the time passes. The fact that P1 is treating this information as a natural consequence can clearly be seen by her explicit expression *tangyenhata* ‘be obvious.’ The use of *-canha* reflects P1’s belief that this certain piece of information must have been already shared with her interlocutors since this consequence is so natural and obvious.

Excerpt in (4.18) below is another such instance.

(4.18) 4CM00029

(Context: Six people are talking together. P2 and P3 have just been said that they gained some weight. P1 complains about them to others.)

- 1 P1: *e yay-ney-ka maynnal mak*  
DM this.child-group-NOM everyday DM  
*caki-ney-tul-i ccye-ss-tay-nun*  
self-group-PLU-NOM gain-ANT-QUOT-ATTR(RL)  
*ke-ey-yo.*  
thing-COP.INDC-HON.END  
‘They always say that they gained weight.’
- 2 *nay-ka poki-ey-n hana-to an*  
I-NOM see-LOC-ATTR(RL) one-ADD NEG  
*ccye-ss-nuntey,*  
gain-ANT-CIRCUM  
‘It looks to me that they didn’t gain any weight at all,’
- 3 *kulaykackwu halwu-nun cehuy cip-ey*  
so one.day-TOP my house-LOC  
*nol-le-wa-ss-nuntey,*  
play-PURP-come-ANT-CIRCUM  
‘So one day, they came to visit my house but,’
- 4 *maynnal ce-pokwu mak nalssinha-ta ikhey= tali*  
every.day me-to DM slim-DECL like.this leg  
*pwupwun-i tali-ka com caki-pota*  
part-NOM leg-NOM DM self-COMPAR  
*mall-ass-tay-nun ke-ey-yo.*  
be.skinny-ANT-QUOT-ATTR(RL) thing-COP.INDC-HON.END  
‘They always tell me that I am slim, that the leg part that my legs are um skinnier than their legs,’
- 5 *nay-ka chi celtay ani-ta,*

I-NOM            DM    absolutely    NEG.COP-DECL  
 ‘I said hey that is absolutely not true,’  
 6            <@ *cwulca-lul*            *ttak*    *kaci-kwu*            *wa-se*  
           tape.measure-ACC    DM    take-CON            come-PRECED  
           *cay-ss-e-*                    *cay-cwu-ess-e-yo.* @>  
           measure-ANT-INDC    measure.CON-give-ANT-INDC-HON.END  
           ‘<@ I brought a tape measure and then I measure- I measured (their legs).  
           @>’  
 7            P3:    @@@  
           ‘@@@’  
 8→        P1:    <@ *icey*            *celtay*            *mal*    *mos*            *ha-canha-yo.* @>  
           now                    absolutely            speech NEG(IMPOT) do-*canha*-HON.END  
           <@ Now they absolutely can’t say (that they gained weight)-*canha.* @>

The excerpt in (4.18) shows another instance of *-canha* used when the speaker is reporting a natural consequence. In line 8, P1 is using *-canha* in order to show her belief that the information ‘now they absolutely cannot say anything about their weight’ must have been shared with the other interlocutors, since this should be a natural consequence of her action (measuring her friends’ legs with a tape measure) to prove that her friends’ legs are skinnier than hers.

#### 4.4.1.2.3. Natural causes or reasons

In previous section 4.4.1.2.2, it has been shown that *-canha* is often used by speakers when reporting (what the speaker believes to be) natural consequences. In other words, speakers use *-canha* when conveying information which they believe to be so obvious that it must already have been shared by their interlocutors. Because of this feature, *-canha* can also be used when the speaker is conveying what he believes to be natural

causes or when providing reasons or justifiable grounds for his or her utterance or action.

For instance,

(4.19) 5CM00047

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about the sandy dust phenomenon that they are witnessing at the time of speech. They are looking at cars covered with yellow sand.)

- 1 P2: *cangnan ani-ney,*  
joke NEG.COP-SEN.END  
'This is not a joke,'
- 2 *ttwukkeng-i nola-ntey,*  
roof-NOM yellow-CIRCUM  
'The roofs are yellow,'
- 3 P1: @@  
'@@'
- 4 *mwusun,*  
what  
'What,'
- 5 *ani na-nun yeki=,*  
NEG I-TOP here  
'I mean I here=,'
- 6 P2: *e,*  
yeah  
'Yeah,'
- 7 [*<X ta, X>*]  
all  
'<X all X>'
- 8 P1: [*i cha-nun pyello an--*]  
this car-TOP not.so.much NEG  
'This car is not that --'
- 9→ P2: *i-ke-nun [[hayah-canha cikum,]]*  
this-thing-TOP white-canha now  
'Now (because) this one is (a) white (car)-canha,'
- 10 P1: *[[um=.]]*  
yeah  
'Yeah=.'
- 11 P2: *cha-ka cith-ul swulok,*  
car-NOM dark-as.it.gets  
'The darker color the car is,'
- 12 P1: *e.*  
yeah  
'Yeah.'
- 13 P2: *nwul-ay=.*

yellow-INDC  
'It becomes (more) yellow=.'

In the excerpt (4.19), the speakers are talking about cars outside which are covered with yellow sand due to the sandy dust phenomenon. When P1 starts talking about a car that does not look as yellow as other cars in line 8, P2 answers back in line 9 by using the utterance-final particle *-canha*. P2 is using *-canha* to indicate that the information he is providing 'this one is a white car' is the natural cause of what has been said in P1's previous utterance (that it does not look that yellow). P2 further explains in lines 11 and 13 that 'the darker color the car is it would become more yellow.' This type of usage of *-canha* where it is used when the speaker is conveying what the speaker believes to be a natural cause seems to be derived from its uses where it was used to report natural consequences (described in section 4.4.1.2.2). That is, *-canha*'s use to convey natural cause seems to have derived from its uses where it was used to convey information which the speaker believes to be obvious. If a result of some other event is so natural and obvious, then conversely one could say that this particular result would have its natural and obvious cause as well. Thus, in the excerpt (4.19), the result that the car (pointed out by P1) is not so much yellow would have its obvious cause which would naturally have created this result. This means that at least in P2's perspective, the information 'this is a white car' is a logical cause for the consequence that it does not look that yellow. This is exactly why *-canha* is used in P2's utterance in line 9. P2 is using *-canha* in order to manifest that at least in his perspective, the information 'this is a white car' is a self-evident cause for the result 'it does not look that yellow.' Thus, P2's *-canha* is displaying the speaker's belief that this certain information logically should have been presupposed in P1's knowledge as well.

(4.20) below is an instance where *-canha* is used to convey what the speaker believes to be an obvious reason.

(4.20) 6CM00077

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about Korean basketball teams.)

- 1 P1: *a thici-ka iky-eya toy-nuntey=!*  
DM TG-NOM win-NECESS be.done-CIRCUM  
'Ah, TG should win=!'
- 2 P2: *thici-ka?*  
TG-NOM  
'TG should?'
- 3 P1: *e=.*  
yeah  
'Yeah=.'
- 4 *kulay-ya-ci eylci-ka ha-l*  
be.such-NECESS-CON LG-NOM do-ATTR(IRRL)  
*mal-i iss-ci.*  
speech-NOM exist-COMT  
'That way LG would have something to say.'
- 5 P2: *@@ wa=.*  
@@ EXCL  
'@@Wow=.'
- 6 *elyci-lul sayngkak-ha-n-ta=,*  
LG-ACC thought-do-IMPF-DECL  
'You're taking sides on LG=,'
- 7→ P1: *na-n eylci phayn-i-canha.*  
I-TOP LG fan-COP-canha  
'(Because) I'm an LG fan-canha.'
- 8 P2: *a!*  
DM  
'Ah!'
- 9 *kuleh-kwun.*  
be.such-UNASSIM  
'I see.'

In this excerpt, when P2 expresses his surprise towards the fact that P1 is taking LG's sides (in lines 5 and 6), P1 uses *-canha* at the end of his response (in line 7). P1's use of *-canha* is to convey that the fact that he is an LG fan is the apparent reason why he was taking

LG's side. For this reason, *-canha* is demonstrating P1's belief that the fact 'he is an LG fan' is such an obvious reason why he took LG's sides, that this reason should be logically have been presupposed by P2.

#### 4.4.1.3. *-Canha*'s discourse strategic functions

In the previous sections 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2, *-canha*'s functions as an explicit marker of the speaker's belief of shared knowledge (section 4.4.1.1) and its function to convey information that the speaker believes to be obvious (section 4.4.1.2) have been described. In this section, *-canha*'s discourse strategic functions will be observed. In particular, it will be shown how speakers use *-canha*'s primary function to explicitly manifest the speaker's belief of a shared knowledge and its function to convey obvious information as discourse strategies.

##### 4.4.1.3.1. Bringing a new topic in discourse, as a pre-sequence

Speakers frequently use *-canha* utterances in order to bring a new topic in discourse.

Excerpt (4.5) is repeated here as (4.21).

(4.21) 4CM00029

(Context: P1 has just finished talking about her older brother's eating habits. P4 is now starting a new story.)

1→ P4: *kuntey akka lamyen kkulhy-e*  
but a.while.ago ramen boil-CON  
*mek-nun-ta-ko kulay-ss-canha-yo?*

- eat-IMPF-DECL-COMP      QUOT-ANT-*canha*-HON.END  
 ‘But you said earlier that your older brother eats ramen-*canha*?’
- 2    P1: *ney.*  
       yes.HON  
       ‘Yes.’
- 3    P4: *nay-ka*            *Sungho-lang* *keuy* *mayil,*  
       I-NOM            Sungho-with almost every.day  
       ‘Sungho and I almost everyday,’
- 4            *yasik-ul*                            *lamyen-ulo*                            *mek-ketun-yo,*  
               late.night.snack-ACC            ramen-INSTR                            eat-UFP-HON.END  
               ‘We eat ramen as a late night snack,’  
 (P4 continues)

Right after P1 has finished talking about her older brother’s eating habits, P4 starts a new story, or changes to a new topic. When doing so, P4 is using the utterance-particle *-canha* at the end. Nonetheless, the new topic which P4 would want to bring is not about P1’s older brother’s eating ramen. Rather, the actual new topic which P4 intends to bring into discourse is about his and his friend Sungho’s eating ramen as a habit, which starts from line 3. Thus it can be said that *-canha* utterance is used as a ‘pre-sequence’ (Schegloff 2007, Levinson 1983). According to Schegloff (2007), the initial turn of a pre-sequence has two functions: it projects the contingent possibility that a base first pair part (of an adjacency pair) will be produced; and it makes relevant next the production of a second pair part, namely a response to the pre-sequence (Schegloff 2007:29). As a pre-sequence, speakers are using *-canha* utterance to form common ground with the hearers by providing a piece of information that the speakers believe to already have been shared with the hearers. This is a strategic action since providing information which is already shared before the time of speech, would have more possibility for the hearers to accept this pre-sequence.

Excerpt in (4.22) shows another such instance.

(4.22) 4CM00050

(Context: P1 and P2 have been talking about their ages. P2 brings a new topic.)

- 1 → P2: ... (2.9) *o-myense enni yo- yosay thisyu-lose*  
come-CON older.sister these- these.days tissue-INSTR  
*kunyang khulleyncing-ha-nun ke iss-canha.*  
just `cleansing-do-ATTR(RL) thing exist-*canha*  
'While I was coming, (you know) these- these days there are tissue type of  
cleansing products-*canha*.'
- 2 P1: *e e e.*  
yeah yeah yeah  
'Yeah yeah yeah.'
- 3 P2: *iss-ci.*  
exist-COMT  
'Right.'
- 4 *ku-ke-y incey= eylci-eyse phanmay-ha-nun*  
that-thing-NOM DM LG-LOC sell-do-ATTR(RL)  
*ke-ntey= achim-ey ol- alaykkey*  
thing.COP-CIRCUM morning-LOC come- day.before.yesterday  
*o-ta po-nikka cihato-eyse ku-ke*  
come-CON see-CAUSL underpass-LOC that-thing  
*selmyeng-ha-y cwu-ko mak ku-ke*  
explanation-do-CON give-CON DM that-thing  
*hana cwu-nun ke-la.*  
one give-ATTR(RL) thing.COP-DECL  
'Well=, those things are sold by the LG company= and on the morning of  
the day before yesterday when I was coming, there were some people  
explaining its usages and giving out one for each person at the underpass.'
- 5 P1: *a=.*  
DM  
'Ah=.'
- 6 P2: *ku-ke-y angkheithu ttak hay-ss-nuntay*  
that-thing-NOM survey DM do-ANT-CIRCUM  
*ecey cenhwa-ka wa-ss-e.*  
yesterday call-NOM come-ANT-INDC  
'I did a survey on that thing and yesterday I got a call.'
- 7 *tangchem-tway-ss-ta-ko.*  
prize.winning-be.done-ANT-DECL-COMP  
'That I won the prize.'  
(P2 continues to talk about her prizes.)

Right before the excerpt (4.22), the speakers have just finished talking about their ages.

And after 2.9 seconds of pause, P2 starts a new story from line 1. In fact, her story is about



her winning a prize after completing a survey for a cosmetics company, and right after this excerpt P2 later continues on to talk about what kinds of prizes she won. However, rather than directly jumping into her new topic, she uses *-canha* utterance as a pre-sequence. She opens a new discourse by bringing out a specific product of the company that she won a prize from. P2 uses the utterance-final particle *-canha* to show that she believes that P1 also knows about this particular product. The *-canha* utterance illustrates P2's effort to create common ground with P1 before starting a new story. By presenting a piece of information which she believes to already have been shared with P2, she is attempting to form a common basis and background for her new story as well as to receive attention from the hearers. It is when P1 agrees to P2's pre-sequence in line 2 that P2 starts to bring her actual topic from line 3. This excerpt shows that *-canha* as a pre-sequence not only helps the speakers to form a common basis for the upcoming story, but also helps the change of topics in discourse not to be too abrupt, but to be smoother.

This type of *-canha*'s function as a pre-sequence is very similar to that of English construction *(you) know what (x)*? As Östman (1981) explains, English construction *(you) know what (x)* functions is an attention-getting device, a topic changing device or a device that introduces a new topic to the discourse (Östman 1981:52-53), which is very much alike to how *-canha* is functioning in examples (4.21) and (4.22). More similarities between Korean utterance-final particle *-canha* and English discourse marker *you know* will be more thoroughly discussed in section 4.5.3.2.

#### **4.4.1.3.2. *Iss-canha* as a filler**

It has been pointed out in H.-J. Koo (2008), S.-O. Sohn (2010) and S.-H. Rhee (2004) that the utterance-final particle *-canha* is found to be used in a fossilized or lexicalized expression *iss-canha* (exist-*canha*) which literally means ‘X exists-*canha*.’ The corpus findings of this study showed that this expression *isscanha* is often used as a filler in discourse. For instance,

(4.23) 6CM00062

(Context: P1 and P3 are talking about movie actresses.)

- 1 P1: *peythumayn phoeype-ey nwuka nao-nya?*  
 Batman Forever-LOC who come.out-INTERR  
 ‘Who appears in the movie Batman Forever?’
- 2→ P3: *ku yeca isscanha=,*  
 that woman *isscanha*  
 ‘You know that woman=,’
- 3 *isangha-n ay.*  
 strange-ATTR(RL) child  
 ‘That strange girl.’
- 4 *sinmwun mak tal-ko tani-nun ay.*  
 newspaper DM attach-CON come.and.go-ATTR(RL) child  
 ‘The girl who carries around newspapers.’
- 5 P1: *wuma ssemen?*  
 Uma Thurman  
 ‘Uma Thurman?’
- 6 P3: *ung.*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah.’

In this excerpt, P3 is trying to remember the name of an actress. In line 2, the phrase *isscanha* is used as a filler and this entire phrase has been translated in English as the discourse marker ‘you know.’ As a filler, *isscanha* in (4.23) functions to indicate that although the speaker does not remember the name, he wants to keep the floor, thus he is filling the gap with *isscanha* meanwhile.

It must be noted that H.-J. Koo (2008), S.-O. Sohn (2010) and S.-H. Rhee (2004) all argue that the fossilized expression *isscanha* is a topic presenter or a conversation opener (though S.-O. Sohn 2010 claims that *isscanha* can also function as a filler) rather than a filler. Nevertheless, I argue that when the construction *isscanha* is used independently, its function is a filler which can roughly be translated in English as *you know*, and not a topic presenter or a conversation opener. Although it is true that often times the expression *isscanha* appears in the speaker's utterance to present a new topic, it seems to me that *isscanha* in those cases are not a fossilized expression. Below is an example provided in H.-J. Koo (2008) in which the author claims that *isscanha* is used as a topic presenter.

(4.24)

- 1:→ *ku tongpwu ciyek-ey iss-ess-nuntey, ku*  
 that east area-LOC exist-ANT-CIRCUM that  
*cwupyen-ey incey tosi-tul-i manhi*  
 surroundings-LOC DM city-PLU-NOM a.lot  
*iss-canha-yo.*  
 exist-*canha*-HON.END  
 'I was in that east area and, there are a lot of cities around that area-*canha*.'
- 2: *khun tosi-tul-i, um.*  
 big city-PLU-NOM DM  
 'Big cities, um.'

(H.-J. Koo 2008:19)

In this excerpt, the expression *isscanha* appears in line 1. Although it might be true that the utterance as a whole is used as a topic presenter, the expression *isscanha* is not used as a fossilized expression. As can be seen in the English translation, the existential construction *iss-* has to be literally translated as 'there are...' This is a very different use of *isscanha*

from the use of *isscanha* shown in the example (4.23) and the example (4.25) which will be given below, where it has mostly lost its existential function. In H.-J. Koo's (2008) example, it is not *isscanha* construction but rather it is *-canha* which functions as a pre-sequence to present a new topic in discourse as I have shown in section 4.4.1.3.1.

Excerpt in (4.25) is another instance which clearly shows *isscanha*'s function as a filler in discourse.

(4.25) 6CM00076

- 1 P1: *a kule-n ke hana sa-ya*  
 DM be.such-ATTR(RL) thing one buy-NECESS  
*toy-nuntey na.*  
 be.done-CIRCUM me  
 'Ah I need to buy one of those things.'
- 2 *ku ekkay=,*  
 that shoulder  
 'That shoulder=,'
- 3→ *ku= isscanha,*  
 that *isscanha*  
 'That= you know,'
- 4 *ekkay aphu-kwu=,*  
 shoulder hurt-CON  
 'When your shoulder hurts and=,'
- 5 P2: *ung,*  
 yeah  
 'Yeah,'
- 6 P1: *kule-n-tey ilehkey mak,*  
 be.such-ATTR(RL)-part like.this DM  
 '(The thing that does) like this to the parts (where you have pain),'
- 7→ *ha-nun kikwu isscanha.*  
 do-ATTR(RL) machine *isscanhana*  
 'You know the machine that does (like this).'

In (4.25) the speaker P1 cannot remember the name of a machine. The effort that she is trying to remember this name can be seen pervasively in this excerpt, by several uses of

*ku* ‘that,’ lengthening of her vowels (transcribed as ‘=’ in lines 2 and 3), Korean discourse marker *mak* ‘like’ and also the two uses of *isscanha* (in lines 3 and 7). Although the fossilized or lexicalized expression *isscanha* seems to have now mostly lost its existential meaning, its function as a filler seems to have derived from such a function. Since *-canha* by itself implies something that the speaker believes to have been shared with the hearer, when it is used in an existential construction *isscanha* ‘X exists-*canha*,’ it would imply that ‘there is something that you know too.’ Hence, the use of *isscanha* not only signifies that the speaker is trying to remember something him/herself, but it can also signal the hearer to help the speaker to recall what he or she is trying to remember (which was the case for P1’s utterance in line 5 in (4.23)). As a result, the use of the filler *isscanha* enables the speakers to keep the floor, and at the same time not losing the hearers’ attention by still engaging them in the discourse.

The closest English translation of *isscanha* used in the excerpts (4.23) and (4.25) would be the discourse marker *you know*, as *you know* in English is also known to have a function as a filler in a very similar way *isscanha* is used in Korean. According to Macaulay (2002), *you know* in the medial position of an utterance can be used as a “verbal filler” (Brown 1977:107, cited in Macaulay 2002:759), Erman (2001) also explains that *you know* is used when there is need for stalling for time as hesitation markers, and Fox Tree and Schrock (2002) also propose that *you know* can be used when speakers are having extra trouble expressing themselves, to encourage the addressee to infer the intention (Fox Tree and Schrock 2002:738). These findings suggest that both *you know* in English and *issacanha* in Korean function in a very similar fashion when the speakers are having trouble searching for an appropriate expression but still want to keep the floor. More

similarities between Korean utterance-final particle *-canha* and English discourse marker *you know* will be discussed in section 4.5.3.2.

#### **4.4.2. *-Canha*'s uses when the speaker knows that a certain piece of information has not been shared**

I have described in section 4.4.1 the speakers' uses of *-canha* when they truly believe that a certain piece of information is already shared knowledge. In this section however, cases where *-canha* is used even when the speaker knows that a particular piece of information has not been shared with other interlocutors will be described. It will be shown that the basic function of *-canha* 'to indicate the speaker's belief of shared knowledge' has been further extended to be used in relatively more subjective contexts where the speakers are criticizing the hearers, or showing politeness towards the other interlocutors, or even expressing theticity and mirativity.

##### **4.4.2.1. Criticizing (expressing impoliteness)**

It will be shown in this section that *-canha* is often found in situations where the speakers are expressing criticism or impoliteness towards the other interlocutors. This type of *-canha* conveying the speaker's negative stance towards the hearer usually appears in the second-pair part of a conversation, as a response of the other interlocutor's utterance.

#### 4.4.2.1.1. Refutation

-*Canha* is frequently used when the speakers want to refute the other interlocutors' arguments. -*Canha*'s refutational function is shown in (4.26) below.

(4.26) 7CM00026

(Context: P2 has just told others that she did not take the teaching training program.)

- 1 P1: *wuli= kwa-ey kulayto kyocik*  
 our department-LOC still teaching.training  
*iswu-ha-n ay kkway toy-l*  
 completion-do-ATTR(RL) child quite be.done-ATTR(IRRL)  
*they-ntey.*  
 prediction-CIRCUM  
 'There would be quite a lot of students who have completed the teaching training program, though.'
- 2 *kulayto yecaay-tul-un=,*  
 still girl-PLU-TOP  
 'Still the girls=,'
- 3 P2: *tto nay-ka,*  
 again I-NOM  
 'Well in my case,'
- 4 *phyengso-ey yecaay-tul-i kunyang,*  
 ordinary-LOC girl-PLU-NOM just  
 'Normally, the things that girls just do,'
- 5→ *ilpancek-ulo ha-nun ke*  
 general-INSTR do-ATTR(RL) thing  
*hana-to an hay-ss-canha.*  
 one-ADD NEG do-ANT-canha  
 'I didn't do any of those things that girls generally do-canha.'
- 6→ P1: *hay-ss-canha.*  
 do-ANT-canha  
 'Yes you did-canha.'
- 7 *icwung cenkong,*  
 dual major  
 'The dual major,'
- 8 *pokswu cenkong.*  
 plural major  
 'The plural major.'
- 9→ P2: *ku-kes-to amwu-to an ha-canha.*  
 that-thing-ADD no.one-ADD NEG do-canha

‘Nobody does those things either-*canha*.’

In (4.26), *-canha* was used three times. The first *-canha* used in line 5 is simply indicating the speaker’s belief that this particular piece of information is shared information, which is *-canha*’s basic function that has been described hitherto. The expression *phyengsoey* ‘normally’ (in line 4) indicates that (according to P2’s belief) ‘not doing what girls generally do’ is one of P2’s characteristics, and her use of *-canha* shows that she believes this information would have been shared with P1 who is her friend. *-Canha* which is in particular interest in this section concerns the second *-canha* in line 6 and the third *-canha* in line 9. The function of these two cases of *-canha* slightly differs from that of the first *-canha* in line 5. For instance, the second *-canha* in line 6 has been used in P1’s refutation of P2’s argument. It is clear that after hearing P2’ utterance in line 5 used with *-canha*, P1 would have realized by then that she and P2 do not share the same information, but she still insists of using *-canha* in her refutation, despite the apparent lack of shared knowledge. This insistence of P1’s *-canha* in line 6 implies as if P1 is saying ‘I know that you also know that you did things that girls normally do, so why are you saying that you didn’t?’. Hence, the use of *-canha* in line 6 renders P1’s utterance to sound very sarcastic and criticizing. When P1 further lists some of the things that P2 did in the past, the dual major/the plural major, which P1 believes to be the things that girls normally do, P2 too, argues back in line 9 by using the utterance-final particle *-canha*. P2 as well, would have known that P1 and P2 does not share the same opinion anymore as soon as she heard P1’s refutation in lines 6, 7, and 8, but insists of using *-canha* when arguing back in line 9. The use of *-canha* amongst the apparent lack of shared knowledge implies that P2 is saying



‘you know too, that nobody does dual/plural major, so why are you saying that I did things that girls normally do?’.

Excerpt (4.26) showed a situation where there has been a disagreement of what the speakers believe to be shared knowledge. It also has been shown that *-canha* could be used even in situations where the speakers are aware of the lack of shared knowledge in order to refute the others’ argument. Although it might seem at first glance as if *-canha*’s use in such situations contradicts its basic function ‘to explicitly mark the speaker’s belief of shared knowledge,’ but behind the refuting function of *-canha* still underlies its basic function. As (4.26) shows, the speakers are insisting that what they believe to be shared knowledge is still right, which necessarily implies that what the other interlocutors assume to be shared knowledge is wrong, hence a refutational meaning arises.

#### 4.4.2.1.2. Correction

*-Canha* is frequently found in situations where speakers are using *-canha* in order to correct the other interlocutors’ assessments or opinions. (4.27) is such an example.

(4.27) 6CM00062

(Context: The speakers are sitting in front of a computer. They are conversing while searching for some information on movies using the internet. In an earlier part of the discourse, the speakers already have discussed the movie ‘Alien,’ and they found out on the internet that it was released in the year 1979.)

- |   |     |                            |                           |                   |
|---|-----|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | P3: | <i>akka</i>                | <i>phalsip-kwu-nyento</i> | <i>ani-ess-e?</i> |
|   |     | a.while.ago                | eighty-nine-year          | NEG.COP-ANT-INDC  |
|   |     | ‘Wasn’t it the year 1989?’ |                           |                   |
| 2 | P1: | <i>chilsip-[kwu=.]</i>     |                           |                   |
|   |     | seventy-nine               |                           |                   |
|   |     | ‘1979.’                    |                           |                   |



#### 4.4.2.1.3. Blaming

Speakers often times use *-canha* when they are blaming the other interlocutor's action. For instance,

(4.28) 6CM00083

(Context: P4 is telling others an embarrassing story of P1. P1 is blaming P4.)

1	P1:	<i>way cakkwu ku yayki-l ha-y,</i> why repeatedly that story-ACC do-INDC 'Why do you keep telling that story,'
2→		<i>kkumccikhakey &lt;@ ku nal kiek-i cakkwu</i> terribly that day memory-NOM repeatedly <i>tteolu-canha, @&gt;</i> <i>rise-canha</i> '<@ The memory of that day keeps terribly popping into my head- <i>canha</i> , @>'

In (4.28), P1 is blaming P4 for repeatedly telling an embarrassing story of her to others. When doing so, she is using the utterance-final particle *-canha* as shown in line 2. However, the fact that 'the memory of that day keeps terribly popping into P1's head' might not be shared information between P1 and P4. Nevertheless P1 is still using the utterance-final particle *-canha*. P1's *-canha* utterance in line 2 implies that this particular information is caused by 'P4's repeatedly telling that story,' and hence a blaming meaning arises. Let us examine another similar instance.

(4.29) 6CM00071

(Context: P1 has been asking P2 to tell him more about 'the Latin girl.')

1	P2:	<i>... (2.9) molla-twu tway.</i> not.know-ADD be.done.INDC 'You don't need to know.'
---	-----	--

2 P1: @  
 ‘@’  
 3 *awu nemwu swumkil-la kule-ney=*,  
 DM too hide-PURP be.such-END  
 ‘Hey you’re trying to hide too much=,’  
 4→ *te kwungkumha-canha-yo*.  
 more be.curious-*canha*-HON.END  
 ‘I’m even more curious-*canha*.’

In this excerpt, P1 is blaming P2 for not telling him the story of ‘the Latin girl.’ P1’s reproach towards P2 is shown in line 4 by the use of *-canha*. Although P1 knows that the fact that ‘he is even more curious’ might not be shared information, he still uses the utterance-particle *-canha*. P2’s *-canha* utterance in line 4 implies that the fact that ‘P1 is even more curious’ is caused by ‘P2’s not telling him the story.’ The uses of *-canha* in both excerpts (4.28) and (4.29) have the same implication, ‘this is because of you.’ This type of blaming function of *-canha* also seems to have been derived from the basic function of *-canha* which was to indicate the speaker’s belief of shared knowledge, particularly from its function to report natural consequences which I have described in section 4.4.1.2.2. As I have previously described, when *-canha* is used to report natural consequences, the speakers are conveying that a certain consequence is so natural that this particular fact must have been already shared with others. In the similar vein, when *-canha* is used to blame others such as in (4.28) and (4.29), the speaker is letting the hearer know that the information he or she is conveying by *-canha* is such a natural result or consequence of the hearer’s previous action. For instance, in (4.29), P1’s use of *-canha* is to convey that the result ‘I am even more curious’ is such a natural consequence of ‘you not telling me the story’ and that P2 must have known this result as well. Thus what the *-canha* utterance is implying here is that ‘since you already knew that this would be a natural consequence,

then why did you do such thing?’ It is through this implication *-canha* functions to manifest reproach towards the other interlocutors.

#### 4.4.2.2. *-Canha* as a politeness strategy

Section 4.4.2.1 has described that *-canha* is often used when speakers want to express impoliteness such as when criticizing the hearers. It has been shown that the speakers sometimes use *-canha* as a means to threaten the hearers’ ‘positive face’ (c.f. Brown and Levinson 1987) by refuting, correcting or blaming them. Nevertheless, *-canha* can not only be used when expressing impoliteness but it can also be used as a politeness strategy. For instance,

(4.30) 7CM00055

(Context: P1 is bringing up a matter during a meeting. She is suggesting others to be punctual for returning to office particularly after lunch break.)

- 1 P1: *sanggun sikan com cal,*  
employment time a.little well,  
‘(I hope) the employment time gets, um, well,’
- 2 *cikhye-ss-umyen coh-keyss-e-yo.*  
follow-ANT-COND good-DCT.RE-INDC-HON.END  
‘It would be good if you are punctual (about the employment time).’
- 3 *thukhi cemsim sikan=i,*  
especially lunch time-NOM  
‘Especially the lunch time= is,’
- 4 *ikhey cham @@*  
like.this DM @@  
‘Well, like this @@’
- 5 *<@ ywunghongseng iss-key wenlay cinhayng-i*  
flexibility exist-RESUL originally process-NOM  
*tway-ss-ess-nuntey, @>*  
be.done-ANT-ANT-CIRCUM  
‘<@ Originally the lunch time was much more flexible but, @>’
- 6 *ywunghongseng iss-key ha-toy*

flexibility exist-RESUL do-CON  
*yangsim-kkes* *ha-p-si-ta* <@ *wuli.* @>  
conscience-to.the.full.extent do-POL-HON-DECL us  
‘Let <@ us @> be flexible but at the same time be conscientious.’  
7 <@ *cemsim sikan-un.* @>  
lunch time-TOP  
‘<@ For the lunch time. @>’  
8 *mwe cemsim sikan,*  
DM lunch time  
‘Well, the lunch time,’  
9→ *myech si-pwuthe myech si-kkaci tuleo-sey-yo*  
what time-since what time-until enter-HON-HON.END  
*ile-n ke-nun= ha-ki ccom*  
like.this-ATTR(RL) thing-TOP do-NOMZ a.little  
*kuleh-canha-yo.*  
be.such-*canha*-HON.END  
‘It’s not so pleasant to tell people something like you should leave at certain  
time and you should come back at certain time-*canha*.’  
10 *kuntey,*  
but  
‘But,’  
11→ *taychwung po-myen a-si-canha-yo,*  
roughly see-COND know-HON-*canha*-HON.END  
‘You know how things go-*canha*,’  
12 *kuchyo?*  
be.such.HON.END  
‘Right?’

In (4.30), P1 is trying to convince others to be punctual for the time to return to office especially after the lunch break. As can be seen here, the politeness strategy can be found pervasively throughout the entire excerpt, such as the several usages of the hedge *com* or *ccom* ‘a little’ (lines 1 and 9), politeness use of conditional construction (line 2), constant laughing to soften her opinion (lines 4, 5, 6, 7), the use of the hedge *mwe* ‘what’ (line 8), and finally the uses of *-canha* (line 9, 11). In both lines 9 and 11, *-canha* is used although the information ‘It’s not so pleasant to tell people...’ and the information ‘you know how things go’ are pieces of information that might not have been shared between the

interlocutors before the time of speech. However, P1 is still using *-canha*, as a politeness strategy. By using *-canha*, which is an explicit marker to show the speaker's belief of shared knowledge, P1 is trying to sound more polite by treating these pieces of information as if they already have been shared with the other interlocutors. In other words, the speaker is 'pretending' that the information he or she is conveying is already shared knowledge with the hearers, although he or she knows that in reality it might not be shared. This type of pretense is a type of 'ostensible communicative act' which are discussed in Clark (1996). Clark (1996) explains that most ostensible acts are designed to deal with politeness, since ostensible acts help maintain both the interlocutors' *self-worth*, to be respected by others, and their *autonomy*, to be unimpeded by others (Clark 1996: 382). In case of (4.30), the speaker is using *-canha* as an ostensible communicative act, by pretending to treat certain information as if it has already been shared with the hearers. By doing so, she is making herself sound as if she is not ordering, requesting or notifying some information to the others, but rather as if she is simply saying something that everyone already knows. This strategy enables speaker to avoid being too direct, and thereby helps avoid lowering the hearers' autonomy, i.e., avoiding threatening the other interlocutors' negative face, in Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms.

#### **4.4.2.3. Expressing theticity**

*-Canha* is also found when the speakers are conveying information by which they want to surprise their interlocutors. In other words, *-canha* is sometimes used as an explicit marking of the speakers' assumption that the information they are conveying is not yet

presupposed for the hearers at least from the speaker’s perspective. Excerpt in (4.13) is such an example.

(4.31) 4CM00034

(Context: P2 and P6 are talking about their honeymoons.)

- 1 P2: *ssawu-ci-n* *anh-ass-e-yo?*  
 fight-CON-ATTR(RL) NEG-ANT-INDC-HON.END  
 ‘Didn’t you guys fight?’
- 2 P6: *ka-se com ssawe-ss-ci.*  
 go-PRECED a.little fight-ANT-COMT  
 ‘We fought a little.’
- 3→ P2: @@ <@ *wuli-to ka-se ssawe-ss-canha. @>*  
 @@ us-ADD go-PRECED fight-ANT-canha  
 ‘@@ <@ We fought there too-canha. @>’
- 4 P6: *ccokum yakkan.*  
 a.little a.bit  
 ‘Just a little bit.’
- 5→ P2: *ka-se ssawu-ko-se-n <@ eu i-ke*  
 go-PRECED fight-CON-PRECED-TOP DM this-thing  
*cincca cal-ha-n ke-nka*  
 really well-do-ATTR(RL) thing.COP-DUB  
*cal-mos-ha-n ke-nka @>*  
 well-NEG(IMPOT)-do-ATTR(RL) thing.COP-DUB  
*kulay-ss-canha.*  
 be.such-ANT-canha  
 ‘After we fought, <@ I was like, did I do the right thing or not-canha. @>’

P2 here is conveying pieces of information that could not have been shared with P6, because they are talking about their honeymoons and are sharing information that they are hearing from the other interlocutors for the first time. Still, P2 is using *-canha* twice in lines 3 and 5. Note that every time P2 is conveying a *-canha* utterance P2 is laughing at the same time. Furthermore, the pieces of information that are marked with *-canha* (lines 3 and 5) convey serious situations which are not supposed to be funny at all. In line 3, P2 is conveying that she fought with her husband on their honeymoon, and in line 5, P2 is



conveying that the situation was so serious that after having fought with her husband she doubted herself whether marrying her husband was a right thing or not. Thus, *-canha* is used here when conveying grave situations which could not have been already shared with the hearer. This type of *-canha* seems to be conveying a thetic effect.

Thetic constructions have been explained by many scholars as “all-new utterances,” “news sentences,” “neutral descriptions,” “entirely rhematic,” where in which both the subject and the predicate are new (Schmerling 1976, Kuno 1972, Weher 1984, Krylova and Khavronina 1988, and many others, all cited in Sasse 2006: 257). Sasse (2006) proposes an alternative explanation for thetic constructions by arguing that all of the explanations of previous works given above are not adequate. Instead, Sasse (2006) claims that ‘low presuppositionality’ of the entire situation expressed should be a necessary criterion for thetic utterances, though it may not be the sufficient one. Sasse further argues that “thetic constructions are connected with an additional act of assertion which explicitly signals the low presuppositionality of the state of affairs expressed, something like “look out, addressee, an assertion is being made that adds a new situation to your presuppositional fundus”” (Sasse 2006:299-300). Roughly speaking, speakers seem to use thetic utterances in order to explicitly signal their expectation, belief or assumption that the information they are conveying must be not yet presupposed for the hearer. Sasse (1987) provides the following list of typical domains of thetic expressions which were most widely discussed in the literature.

(4.32)

1. EXISTENTIAL STATEMENTS (in a wider sense; presence, appearance, continuation, etc., positively and negatively)
2. EXPLANATIONS (with or without preceding questions such as ‘what happened?’, ‘why did it happen?’, etc.)
3. SURPRISING OR UNEXPECTED EVENTS
4. GENERAL STATEMENTS (aphorisms, etc.)
5. BACKGROUND DESCRIPTIONS (local, temporal, etc., setting)
6. WEATHER EXPRESSIONS
7. STATEMENTS RELATING TO BODY PARTS

(Sasse 1987:566-567)

The two cases of the utterance-final particle *-canha* used in excerpt (4.31) seem to engage the third domain type illustrated in the list (4.32) above, the surprising or unexpected event. In other words, the speaker P2 in (4.31) used *-canha* in order to explicitly show her assumption that a certain piece of information that she is about to convey is not yet known or not yet presupposed for the hearer, and that this piece of information would have a surprising or unexpected effect towards the hearer after she utters it. That is, the speaker wants the hearer to be surprised hearing this particular information. In my corpus, this type of *-canha* was often accompanied with the laughter of the speaker.

Excerpt in (4.33) is another such instance.

(4.33) 4CM00051

(Context: P1 has just been talking about her frequent stomachache.)

1 → P1: *hwupay-ka mak nolli-cahna.*

junior-NOM DM make.fun.of-*canha*  
 ‘My junior makes fun of me-*canha*.’  
 2        *nwuna*        *kayinki*        *iss-canha*        *kayinki*.  
           older.sister    personal.skill    exist-*canha*    personal.skill  
           ‘(He says) Hey your personal skill, you know, your personal skill.’  
 3        <@ *nay*        *kayinki-ka*        *pay*        *aphu-n*  
           my            personal.skill-NOM    stomach        hurt-ATTR(RL)  
           *ke-lay @*>  
           thing.COP-QUOT  
           ‘<@ He told me that my personal skill was to get stomachache. @>’  
 4        P2:        @@@  
           ‘@@@’

Right before the excerpt shown in (4.33), P1 has been talking that she can get a stomachache easily and that she has a stomachache overly frequently. She is now telling her hearer that one of her juniors even makes fun of her frequent stomachache by describing it as ‘her personal skill.’ -*Canha* used in line 1 seems to be used to convey a thetic effect. Making fun of one’s frequent stomachache is not a very common situation, thus this particular event could not have been easily predicted by her interlocutor. The use of -*canha* suggests that the speaker assumed that this particular information would not have been expected for the hearer and thus is trying to have a thetic, or surprising effect for the hearer by telling her this particular story.

A question that would rise at this point is, how could a marker of shared knowledge be used to convey theticity? It seems that the thetic meaning might have derived from -*canha*’s function used as a pre-sequence which I have described in section 4.4.1.3.1. Although -*canha* within the utterance used as a pre-sequence still conveys what the speaker believes to be already shared knowledge with the hearer, the main function of the -*canha* pre-sequence as a whole is to introduce a new idea, new information or new topic to the discourse by grasping the attention from the other interlocutors. The function of the -*canha*

pre-sequence therefore exactly coincides with that of thethetic constructions: to bring new or not presupposed information for the hearer. Deriving from such function, *-canha* as athetic marker conveys the speaker's belief or assumption that the information he or she is conveying is very new or even surprising to the hearers and thereby would draw their attention.

In section 4.4.1.3.1, I briefly described that the English construction *(you) know what (x)?* shows some similarities with *-canha* in that they both can be used as pre-sequences in order to introduce a new topic in discourse. Another similarity that the English construction *(you) know what (x)?* shows with *-canha* is that this construction can not only appear at the beginning of a discourse as pre-sequence, but it can also appear in the middle of a discourse to convey theticity as well. English construction *(you) know what (x)?* too, is often used when the speakers want to bring information that they believe to be new or surprising to the hearers. Thisthetic meaning of English *(you) know what (x)* as well might have derived from its function as a pre-sequence just like *-canha*'sthetic function. While English *(you) know what (x)?* construction as a pre-sequence is mainly used to bring a new idea or new topic into discourse by grasping the attention from the hearers, *(you) know what (x)* withthetic function conveys the speaker's expectation that the information he or she is about to give will be new or surprising for the hearers and will thus draw their attention. Note that in both (4.31) and (4.33), although the speakers are laughing while usingthetic *-canha* utterances, the intonation contour is still falling. The overall intonation of the entirethetic *-canha* utterances is not so much marked, and on the contrary, it even seems that the speakers ofthetic *-canha* are uttering in an overly 'unconcerned' or 'careless' tone. In fact, when used to convey theticity, *-canha* must be

always used with falling intonation contour. *-Canha*'sthetic function and its 'indifferent' tone are very similar to those of the proposition which follows the English *(you) know what (x)?* construction. The Englishthetic construction *(you) know what (x)?* often precedes propositions ending with 'indifferent' falling tones of the speaker as well, for instance as in 'You know what happened next? He fell over.' though it is not impossible to be used with rising intonation contour unlike the Koreanthetic *-canha*.

Excerpt in (4.34) is another instance of *-canha*'sthetic functions.

(4.34) 6CM00094

(Context: P2 has just asked P1 if he had seen the horror movie called 'The Ring.')

- 1 P1: *ilpon-phan-man po-ass-nuntey @@.*  
Japan-version-only see-ANT-CIRCUM  
'I only saw the Japanese version @@.'
- 2 P2: *caymi-iss-nya?*  
fun-exist-INTERR  
'Is it fun?'
- 3 P1: *mwuse-we.*  
scary-INDC  
'It's scary.'
- 4 P2: *cincca?*  
really  
'Really?'
- 5→ P1: *macimak cangmyen-i <@ apkwen-i-canha. @>*  
last scene-NOM highlight-COP-*canha*  
'The last scene <@ is the highlight (of the movie)-*canha*. @>'

P1's utterance in line 1, is an answer to P2's question whether he has seen the movie called 'The Ring.' P2's reactions to this answer shown in line 2 (*caymiissnya?* 'Is it fun?') and line 4 (*cincca?* 'Really?') clearly demonstrate that P2 himself has not seen that movie at all. Thus, after observing P2's reaction in lines 2 and 4, P1 could obviously had known that at this point, P2 cannot be sharing any knowledge concerning this movie with him.

However, P1 still uses *-canha* in line 5, when talking about the last scene of the movie. *-Canha* used in line 5 again reflects P1's assumption about the unexpectedness of P2 towards the information that 'the last scene is the highlight of the movie,' since this piece of information could never have been expected for a person who has not seen that movie. Thus P1's *-canha* in line 5 can be seen to be used for a thetic effect. Once again, laughter has been accompanied with *-canha* utterance in (4.34) as well.

While the overall tone of the thetic *-canha* utterances seem to be not so much marked, it seems that the thetic *-canha* utterances are very likely to be marked with non-verbal gestures. Although in the three examples I showed, (4.31), (4.33), and (4.34), *-canha* which was used for thetic effects was mainly occurred with laughter of the speakers, *-canha* used as thetic effects can also occur with other non-verbal gestures such as sigh, scoffs, snort, frown or rising of the eyebrows or other facial expressions expressing some type of emotion which might not have been transcribed in the corpus. For instance,

(4.35) 7CM00009

(Context: P1 is telling P2 about a Korean movie called 'Nappunnamca.')

- |   |     |  |                   |            |                      |
|---|-----|--|-------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 1 | P1: | <i>Cocayhyen</i>   | <i>nao-nun</i>    | <i>ke</i>  | <i>iss-ci.</i>       |
|   |     | Cocayhyen  | come.out-ATTR(RL) | thing      | exist-COMT           |
|   |     | 'The movie that the actor Cocayhyen is in.'                  |                   |            |                      |
| 2 |     | <i>Kimkitek</i>  | <i>kamtok.</i>    |            |                      |
|   |     | Kimkitek   | director          |            |                      |
|   |     | 'Directed by Kimkitek.'                                      |                   |            |                      |
| 3 | P2: | <i>ku-ke</i>   | <i>sipkwu</i>     | <i>sey</i> | <i>ani-ey-yo?</i>    |
|   |     | that-thing   | nineteen          | age        | NEG-COP.INDC-HON.END |
|   |     | 'Isn't that movie restricted to audience over 19 years old?' |                   |            |                      |
| 4 |     | <i>sipphal</i>   | <i>sey-nka?</i>   |            |                      |
|   |     | eighteen   | age.COP-DUB       |            |                      |
|   |     | 'Or was is 18?'  |                   |            |                      |
| 5 |     | <i>sipkwu</i>  | <i>sey-nka?</i>   |            |                      |
|   |     | nineteen   | age.COP-DUB       |            |                      |
|   |     | 'Or was is 19?'  |                   |            |                      |

- 6 *kule-lkkel-yo?*  
be.such-PRESUM-HON.END  
'I suppose?'
- 7 P1: *ppalkan sayk-i-ya.*  
red color-COP-INDC  
'It's rated R.'
- 8 *ccom ya-ha-y.*  
a.little flashy-do-INDC  
'It's a bit flashy.'
- 9 *canin-ha-ko.*  
cruel-do-CON  
'Cruel too.'
- 10→ *ttak han-mati ha-canha.*  
only one-word do-canha  
'He only says one word-canha.'
- 11 *Cocayhyen-i ha=n-mati-to an ha-y!*  
Cocayhyen-NOM one-word-ADD NEG do-INDC  
000'Cocayhyen doesn't utter a word!'
- 12 *han mati-to an ha-taka macimak-ey han mati*  
one word-ADD NEG do-CON end-LOC one word  
*ha-ketun,*  
do-UFP  
'He doesn't utter a word and then at the end he says only one word.'
- 13 P2: *han mati-to an ha-y-yo,*  
one word-ADD NEG do-INDC-HON.END  
'He doesn't say a word,'
- 14 *yenghwa naynay?*  
movie during  
'During the entire movie?'
- 15 P1: *han mati-to an ha-y.*  
one word-ADD NEG do-INDC  
'Doesn't say a word.'

From line 3 of this excerpt, P2 questions whether the movie that P1 is talking about is restricted to a certain audience. P2's questions from line 3 to 6 indicate that P2 has not seen or does not know much of about this particular movie. So P1 starts explaining about this movie from line 7. And he uses the utterance-final particle *-canha* in line 10. This is anotherthetic use of *-canha*, which is used to bring information that the speaker thinks that would be unexpected of surprising for the hearer. By the use of *-canha* in this excerpt, it can be

seen that the speaker P1 had presumed that it would be an unexpected and surprising fact for P2 that a famous movie actor Cocayhyen, who plays the main character in the movie, says only one word during the movie. In fact, P1's attempt to surprise P2 turns out to be successful which can be seen by the puzzling reaction of P2 shown in lines 13 and 14. Although no non-verbal gestures were transcribed in the excerpt (4.35) with the use of *-canha*, it is my presumption that it is very likely that the *-canha* utterance used in line 10 was used with some type of facial expression of P1 which shows oddity or absurdity.

Besides non-verbal gestures and falling intonation contour, another characteristic of thethetic *-canha* is that it can only appear with utterances that convey information that would typically be considered to be dramatic or at least not so much typical or ordinary. The invented example (4.36) would show such characteristic of thethetic *-canha*.

(4.36)

Swumi:           *way*    *ilehkey*           *nuc-ess-e?*  
                   why    like.this           be.late-ANT-INDC  
                   ‘Why are you so late?’

Hanna:

a.           (scoffs)           *o-nun*                   *kil-ey*           *cha*    *sako*  
                                   come-ATTR(RL)    way-LOC       car    accident  
                   *na-ss-ess-canha.*

happen-ANT-ANT-*canha*

‘(scoffs) I had a car accident on my way-*canha*.’

b.           (scoffs)           *cha-ka*           *wancen*           *mak-hy-ess-canha.*  
                                   car-NOM       extremely       block-PASS-ANT-*canha*

‘(scoffs) There was an extreme traffic jam-*canha*.’

c.           ??(scoffs)           *cha-ka*           *cokum mak-hy-ess-canha.*  
                                   car-NOM       a.little block-PASS-ANT-*canha*

‘??(scoffs) There was a little traffic jam-*canha*.’



In (4.36), Swumi is asking the reason why Hanna was so late. By listening to Swumi's question, Hanna could naturally know that it is not possible that Swumi already has the information why she was late, since otherwise Swumi would not be asking such question. Despite this fact, Hanna still uses *-canha* for a thetic effect in (4.36a) and (4.36b) but not in (4.36c) (the thetic use of *-canha* in (4.36) seems to engage the second domain type illustrated in the list (4.32), the explanation with or without preceding questions such as 'what happened?,' 'why did it happen?'). Both uses of *-canha* in (4.36a) and (4.36b) can be used to surprise the hearer by conveying dramatic events which the speaker believes to be unexpected for the hearer; a car accident in (4.36a) and an extreme traffic jam in (4.36b). On the other hand, *-canha* seems to be incompatible in situation shown in (4.36c), where there was only a little traffic jam. Mitigating expressions such as *cokum* 'a little' would greatly reduce the dramatic effect of the information conveyed in the proposition in certain cases such as (4.36), thus they would be incompatible with *-canha* which is supposed to bring a thetic effect (of course *cokum* 'a little' would become compatible with *-canha*'s thetic use for situations where the speaker wants to emphasize or exaggerate the small quantity of something). Consequently, it is likely that *-canha* in a thetic use would appear with expressions that exaggerate or emphasize the situation conveyed as shown in the examples above: *eu* (discourse marker or interjection expressing absurdity or anger) and *cincca* 'really' as in (4.31) in line 5 or the discourse marker *mak* which expresses the absurdity of the situation (it is a phonologically reduced form of *ma ku* which literally means 'recklessly or roughly') as in (4.33) in line 1, the adverb *ttak* 'only' as in (4.35) in line 10, and *wancen* 'extremely' as in (4.36c).

In sum, it can be seen that *-canha* utterances can sometimes be used as thetic constructions, however with some restrictions: *-Canha* utterance must convey dramatic information, which in the speaker's perspective could never have been an expected or an obvious situation for the hearer; although *-canha* utterance as thetic use can never have rising intonation contour and must be used with falling intonation contour, it still has to be marked with some other non-verbal gestures such as laughters, scoffs, snorts, or facial expressions expressing some type of emotions.

#### 4.4.2.4. Expressing mirativity

In the previous section 4.4.2.3, I have described the usage of *-canha* used when the speaker wants to surprise the hearer. However, *-canha* is also often found when the speaker is expressing his or her own surprise as well. In other words, *-canha* also seems to have a mirative function. The term 'mirativity,' according to DeLancey (2001), refers to 'the linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker' (DeLancey 2001:369-370). Thus, mirative constructions convey proposition which is 'new to the speaker, not yet integrated into his overall picture of the world' (DeLancey 1997:36). (4.37) below is an example of *-canha*'s mirative function, borrowed from S.-H. Rhee (2004)<sup>40</sup>.

---

<sup>40</sup> S.-H. Rhee (2004) claims that *-canha*-construction shown in (4.37) has an exclamative function. However, I argue that *-canha*'s such function should be considered to be mirative rather than exclamative. Although exclamations can also convey 'surprise,' the surprise conveyed by exclamations should express the speaker's 'judgment' of the situation to be 'noncanonical' (Michaelis 2001). A noncanonical situation expressed by exclamatives, according to Michaelis (2001), is a situation 'whose absence a speaker would have predicted, based on a prior assumption or set of assumptions, e.g., a stereotype, a set of behavioral norms, or a model of the physical world (Michaelis 1994, cited in Michaelis 2001:1039).' In other words, while exclamations emphasizes 'surprise' derived from the 'noncanonicity judgment' of the speaker, mirative expressions on

(4.37)  
*ne Chelswu-canha?*  
you Chelswu-EXCL  
'Oh, Chelswu!'

(S.-H. Rhee 2004:126)

It seems to me that there could be several possible situations where the utterance (4.37) could be used. One situation could be when the speaker suddenly encounters Chelswu which is a person that she already knows, at a place where she did not expect at all to meet Chelswu. Another situation could be when the speaker finds a person sitting in front of her, but since this person was facing away from the speaker, she did not realize that it was someone she already knew, which is Chelswu. When Chelswu turned around and when the speaker could finally see his face and realizes that this person was in fact Chelswu, then the speaker could utter as (4.37). In either case, *-canha* is used to express the speaker's surprise or unexpectedness of Chelswu's presence at the time of speech. Although the utterance (4.37) was used with the second person pronoun *ne* 'you' in order to explicitly utter (4.37) towards Chelswu as to say 'Hey, you're Chelswu!', the utterance without the second person pronoun is also possible in situations where Chelswu's presence is not very close to the speaker. For instance, if the speaker saw Chelswu in an unexpected place, crossing the street from very far away, she could utter 'Chelswu-*canha*!' to the person that she was with at the time of utterance, or even to herself if she wasn't with anybody else. In fact, both the function and the form of the mirative constructions with *-canha* resemble

---

the other hand, emphasizes 'surprise' derived from the 'unexpected newness' of the information conceived by the speaker.

much more an utterance used as internal monologue, i.e., spoken to oneself, rather than an utterance used interactively, since it conveys the speaker's very own surprise at the time of speech.

Excerpt in (4.38) is an example of *-canha* used to express mirativity found in my corpus.

(4.38) 6CM00062

(Context: The speakers are sitting in front of a computer. They are conversing while searching for some information on movies using the internet. They want to figure out whether it was Tim Burton or James Cameron who directed the second sequel of 'Aliens' movie. P3 is trying to search who the director was by using the movie title as the searching keyword. P1 and P2 are watching him.)

- 1 P3: *eyelien.*  
alien  
'Alien.'
- 2 P2: *iss-ci?*  
exist-COMT  
'There is (the director's name) right?'
- 3 *iss-ci?*  
exist-COMT  
'There is (the director's name) right?'
- 4 *[iss-ci?]*  
exist-COMT  
'There is (the director's name) right?'
- 5 P3: *phal-sip [phal-sip] myech-nyen.*  
eight-ten eight-ten some-year  
'(The release year is) eighty eighty something year.'
- 6 P2: *eps-na eps-na?*  
not.exist-NCOMT not.exist-NCOMT  
'There isn't? there isn't (the director's name)?'
- 7 *a= phulotyuse-lo.*  
DM producer-INSTR  
'Ah=, (try to search) by the producer.'
- 8→ P3: *eps-canha!*  
not.exist-canha  
'(The director's name) isn't there-canha!'
- 9→ *eps-canha!*  
not.exist-canha  
'(The director's name) isn't there-canha!'

10 P2: *tileykthe-lo* *po-ca!*  
director-INSTR see-HORT  
'Let's search by the director!'

In this excerpt, P3 utters the *-canha* utterance twice in lines 8 and 9, and these two utterances show *-canha*'s mirative use. P3's *-canha* utterances in lines 8 and 9 reflect that he was sure that the director's name would appear if he searched by the movie title, but then was surprised by the fact that the director's name of the movie 'Aliens' was not actually found in his search. *-Canha* utterances in lines 8 and 9 show the speaker P3's unexpectedness of the situation at the time of speech. Although P3's *-canha* utterances are spoken aloud so that P1 and P2 could hear as well, they could as well have been uttered to P3 himself. Even if we assume that P3 was searching for some information using the internet in his room by himself, P3 could easily have uttered as lines 8 and 9 to himself as a reaction to his surprise and unexpectedness. Furthermore, the fact that both of the mirative *-canha* utterances in (4.37) and (4.38) cannot be used with the honorific ending *-yo* even if we assume that the speakers were with senior interlocutors at the time of speech suggests that mirative *-canha* utterances are clearly types of internal monologue rather than utterances used interactively.

One question that would arise at this point would be then, how could a marker of shared knowledge be used to convey mirativity of the speaker? It seems to me that the mirative use of *-canha* has been further extended from thethetic use of *-canha* described in the previous section 4.4.2.3. I have described above that speakers use *-canha*, when they want to conveythetic effect, i.e., when the speakers want to surprise their hearers or when they want to convey information which they assume to be unexpected or not yet

presupposed for the hearers. If we consider that the mirative use of *-canha* is a type of internal monologue, as I just have mentioned above, then I believe that speakers are using *-canha* as a mirative marker when they are using thethetic *-canha* to themselves. In other words, if we consider that the function ofthetic *-canha* is to convey ‘surprise’ towards the hearer, then *-canha* utterance could convey the ‘surprise’ towards the speaker him/herself if thethetic *-canha* is used to oneself, since in this case the speaker would be the hearer at the same time.

Thethetic-mirative situation of *-canha* is very similar to that of the Korean sentential ending *-ci*<sup>41</sup>. According to H.-S. Lee (1999a), the sentential ending *-ci* is a ‘committal’ suffix, and he argues that the basic meaning of *-ci* is that “the speaker is biased or leaning towards committing himself/herself to or believing in the conveyed message and emphasizes that belief” (H.-S. Lee 1999a:246). H.-S. Lee (1999a) further argues that *-ci*’s function concerns the truth of the information conveyed, that is the speaker’s commitment to it. (4.39) is an example which H.-S. Lee (1999a) provides to exemplify *-ci*’s committal function.

(4.39)

[K&H: 148-149; H is showing K, who is visiting H from Korea, a Korean word processing program for MacIntosh.]

- a. K:     *nu-ka*           *mantu-n*           *ke-i-a?*  
           who-NOM    make-ATTR(RL)    thing-COP-INDC  
           ‘Who made it?’
- b. → H:   *yeki*   *iss-nun*           *salam-i*    *mantul-ess-ci.*  
           here   exist-ATTR(RL)    person-NOM   make-ANT-COMT  
           ‘Somebody here [in the U.S.] made it [obviously/of course – who else it could be].’

---

<sup>41</sup> The issue whether the sentential ending *-ci* and the morpheme *-ci* in the long form negation *-ci anh-* (which is the construction *-canha* derived from) are historically related or not has been in the controversies among Korean linguists. This controversial issue will further be discussed in section 5.2.2 of chapter 5.

According to H.-S. Lee (1999a), *-ci* in (4.39b) has been used to illustrate the obviousness of the information conveyed and the high degree of certainty that the speaker has towards the truth of the proposition. Therefore, it has been translated as ‘obviously/of course’ in English. It seems to me that *-ci* utterances in an interrogative construction can sometimes be used to have a thetic function or a mirative function (although not all cases of *-ci*-interrogatives do). First, some invented examples of *-ci* in interrogatives which seem to convey thetic effects are shown in (4.40) below.

(4.40)

a. (To a friend:)

*ne onul sayngil-i-ci? chwukha-ha-y!*  
 you today birthday-COP-COMT congratulation-do-INDC  
 ‘Today is your birthday (and you thought that I wouldn’t know)? Happy birthday!’

b. (To a student at a piano lesson:)

*yensup hana-to an hay-ss-ci? sensayngnim-un*  
 practice one-ADD NEG do-ANT-COMT teacher-TOP  
*po-myen ta al-a.*  
 see-COND all know-INDC  
 ‘You didn’t practice at all (and you thought I wouldn’t know)? I know when I see you playing.’

In both (4.40a) and (4.40b), *-ci*-interrogatives are not used to actually question the hearer for some information. Rather, (4.40a) and (4.40b) are more similar to rhetorical questions. Example (4.40a) could be uttered in a situation where the speaker is sure about the fact that today is the hearer’s birthday, but when for some reason the hearer had not mention this fact to the speaker beforehand. Thus, in order to surprise the hearer, the speaker could utter as (4.40a). Example (4.40a) is similar as saying as ‘I know that you think that I don’t know

about your birthday, but I do.’ Example (4.40b) could be uttered in a situation where the speaker, who is a piano teacher, thinks that her student is pretending to have been practicing. Thus to surprise her student, the speaker could utter as (4.40b), and this utterance is similar as saying ‘you think I don’t know that you haven’t been practicing but actually I do.’ In both cases, the speakers are uttering *-ci*-interrogatives in order to have a surprise effect towards the hearers, i.e., to have a thetic effect<sup>42</sup>.

*-Ci*-interrogatives are also found to be used in order to convey mirativity. The excerpt in (4.41) is also from H.-S. Lee (1999a).

(4.41)

[K&H: 99-115; K has put on H’s shorts, and feels uncomfortable]

- a. K: *ya ne!*  
hey you  
‘Hey, pal!’
- b. H: *way?*  
why  
‘What?’
- c. K: *heli myech-i-ya?*  
waist how.much-COP-INDC  
‘What is your waist size?’
- d. H: *thuweythinain*  
twenty.nine  
‘Size 29.’
- e. K: *mac-ul ke kath-untey.*  
fit-ATTR(IRRL) thing seem-CIRCUM  
‘They should fit me then, I presume [so I don’t understand why they do not].’
- f. *na-twu ku-ke pakk-e an toy-nuntey.*  
I-ADD that-thing outside-LOC NEG be.done-CIRCUM  
‘My waist is 29 too at most [why then are they uncomfortable?].’

---

<sup>42</sup> Of course, *-ci*-interrogatives indeed can be used as true interrogatives, to ask for a confirmation to the hearer for the fact conveyed in the sentence. It has been argued in H.-S. Lee (1999a) and also in S.-J. Chang (1973) and in H.-M. Sohn (1994) (both cited in H.-S. Lee 1999a:254) that *-ci*-interrogatives are best translated with a tag question in English. However, true *-ci*-interrogatives and thetic *-ci*-interrogatives would have slightly different intonation. Although both cases would end in rising intonation contour, the thetic *-ci*-interrogatives would have high intonation throughout the entire utterances and have a much higher intonation contour at the end than that of the true *-ci*-interrogatives.



- g. H: *way?*  
why  
'What?'
- h. *an tway?*  
NEG become.INDC  
'They don't fit?'
- i. → K: *way coi-ci i-ke way?*  
why tighten-COMT this-thing why  
'Why are they tight, these things, why [I wonder]?'
- j. H: *a, ku-ke-nun i-sip-phal-i-l*  
DM that-thing-TOP 2-10-8-COP-ATTR(IRRL)  
*ke-ta.*  
thing.COP-DECL  
'Ah, I think those are size 28.'
- k. K: *u=ng.*  
yeah  
'No wonder.'
- l. H: *pan-paci-ka eps-e na-twu.*  
half-trouser-NOM not.exist-INDC I-ADD  
'I don't have enough short pants either.'
- m. *pan-paci sa-ya tway.*  
half-trousers buy-NECESS become.INDC  
'I need to buy some.'
- (K has managed to put on the shorts.)
- n. K: *u=ng, tway-ss-e*  
yeah be.done-ANT-INDC  
'I see. It's all right.'
- o. *nay-ka i-ke-l mwe ip-kwu*  
I-NOM this-thing-ACC DM wear-CON  
*ca-keyss-ta-n yayki-n ani-nikka*  
sleep-DCT.RE-DECL-ATTR(RL) story-TOP NEG.COP-CAUSL  
'It's not that I intend to sleep with these on.'
- p. *tway-ss-u.*  
be.done-ANT-INDC  
'It's all right.'
- (K picking up a shirt H gave him a while ago, apparently not knowing what it is.)
- q. → *na-l mwe-l cwu-ess-ci?*  
I-ACC what-ACC give-ANT-COMT  
'What was it that you gave me?'
- (H sees K is wearing a sweatshirt.)
- r. H: *mwe lening syechu iss-umyen ip-ul philyo*  
DM running shirt exist-COND wear-ACC necessity  
*eps-ci mwe*  
not.exist-COMT DM  
'Well, you don't need it [I suppose], if you have a sweatshirt.'
- (H.-S. Lee 1999a:256-257)

The *-ci*-interrogatives are used twice in this excerpt, in (4.41i) and (4.41q). H.-S. Lee (1999a) explains that in (4.41i), K is wondering why H's shorts do not fit him if they are indeed size 29, and in (4.41q), K believed that he was given something by H and wonders what it was. H.-S. Lee further explains that these *-ci*-interrogatives are 'expressions of puzzlement or wondering, rather than a direct seeking of information from the addressee' (H.-S. Lee 1999a:257), and that 'the sense of 'being puzzled' or 'wondering' comes from the mismatch between the speaker's belief and the reality he/she is facing' (H.-S. Lee 1999a:257). I believe that these are mirative uses of *-ci*-interrogatives, since they are used to express the speaker's surprise or unexpectedness of the situation they are conceiving. Note that the mirative *-ci*-interrogatives also look more like an internal monologue than an interactive utterance. The *-ci*-interrogative in (4.41i) could be considered to be asked to K himself, and although (4.41q) has been translated in English by H.-S. Lee as 'What is it that you gave me?' it seems to me that it could also be translated as 'What is it that he (H) gave me?'. Although H.-S. Lee did not explicitly point out that these are 'internal monologues,' i.e., utterances spoken to the speaker him/herself, he still explains that in these cases, the speaker feels that he should know the answer to these questions but wonders why he cannot think of those answers, in other words, 'the speaker believes that he or she ought to have the information in question and tries to find an answer that is compatible with that belief' (H.-S. Lee 1999a:257). Hence, it is clear that the mirative *-ci*-interrogatives shown in (4.41) are questions asked to oneself.

Moreover, the following invented example in (4.42) distinctively show that the mirative *-ci*-interrogative must be spoken to oneself and not to the other interlocutor.

(4.42)

(Context: Minho has just asked his friend Kain if he could borrow her ruler. Kain agrees to lend her ruler but is having trouble finding it from her pencil case.)

- Kain: a.     *nay ca eti iss-ci?*  
          my ruler where exist-COMT  
          ‘Where is my ruler?’
- b.     *??nay ca eti iss-e?*  
              my ruler where exist-INDC  
              ‘??Where is my ruler?’

While (4.42a) with *-ci* is a suitable utterance for the given context, (4.42b) with the indicative sentential ending *-e* on the other hand is very strange. Because of the given situation, where Kain unexpectedly cannot find her ruler, the utterance ‘where is my ruler?’ is obviously an utterance showing mirativity, i.e., unexpected surprise of the speaker. Hence, (4.42a) is a perfectly plausible utterance since it is used with *-ci*, which indicates that the Kain is asking the question to herself. However, (4.42b) sounds strange because the interrogative used with the indicative sentential ending *-e* indicates that Kain is asking the question to Minho, which would be implying that Kain is asking Minho to tell her the location of her ruler. Consequently, this suggests that the mirative *-ci*-interrogatives are clearly questions asked to the speaker him/herself.

Once again, it seems to me that the mirative use of *-ci*-interrogatives derived from thethetic use of *-ci*-interrogatives in a similar way the mirative use of *-canha* derived from thethetic use of *-canha*. Since thethetic *-ci*-interrogatives are used to have ‘surprise effect’ towards the hearer, when they are used to the speaker him/herself as an internal monologue, than they could have the ‘surprise effect’ towards oneself, hence expressing mirativity. One

might wonder then, why the mirative function should derive from thetic function, and why can it not be the other way around, i.e., thetic function deriving from mirative function. I believe that the answer to this question would lie at the basic function of an utterance itself. Since an utterance's most basic function is to be used to communicate, i.e., to be used interactively (spoken to the other interlocutors), it seems most likely that its functions as an internal monologue should derive from its functions as an interactive utterance. Because of this reason, I believe that the mirative functions of *-canha* and *-ci*, which are both forms of internal monologues, derived from their thetic functions which are in forms of interactive utterances.

Nevertheless, it might first seem, then, the thetic use of *-canha* and the mirative use of *-canha* are in fact one single function but only differ in what context they are used in, such as whether it is used interactively towards another interlocutor (thetic *-canha*) or as an internal monologue towards the speaker him-/herself (mirative *-canha*). However, there are a number of characteristics of the mirative *-canha* which significantly differs from thetic *-canha* regarding its intonation. While thetic *-canha* utterances can never be used with a rising intonation contour but has to be used with non-verbal gestures as I have described in the previous section, the mirative *-canha* utterances are highly marked intonationally. Mirative *-canha* utterances should have high intonation throughout their entire constructions, and they should have even higher rising intonation contour at the end of their utterances. This can be seen by the transcription '!' shown in the excerpt (4.38) and '?' shown in (4.37). Moreover, unlike thetic *-canha* utterances which should be used with the honorific ending *-yo* when uttered towards senior interlocutors, mirative *-canha* utterances are not compatible with the honorific ending *-yo* even in situations where the

speaker is obliged to speak in honorific style. These notable differences suggest that the mirative use of *-canha* which shows the speaker's own surprise or unexpectedness is a distinctive use from thethetic use of *-canha* which the mirative *-canha* derived from.

## **4.5. Discussion**

### **4.5.1. *-Canha's* information managing function in discourse**

As has been described hitherto, the utterance-final particle *-canha* has a significant role in managing the flow of information in discourse, which was to explicitly indicate the speaker's belief that the information conveyed by *-canha* is already shared information with the hearer. The question might arise, then, why would speakers would say something that they think is already shared with their interlocutors? In other words, why would the speaker have to utter something that is already pragmatically presupposed among the interlocutors?

According to Lambrecht (1994), all utterances in discourse are “pragmatic assertions” by themselves, and “[f]rom the characterization of “assertion” as the proposition which the hearer is expected to know as a result of hearing a sentence, it follows (as a truism) that the asserted proposition must differ from the set of propositions which are presupposed” (Lambrecht 1994:58). This might lead to a confusion to the usage of *-canha*, since the asserted proposition of a *-canha* utterance might seem as if it does not differ from the set of propositions which are presupposed. As Lambrecht argues, an assertion cannot COINCIDE with a presupposition (Lambrecht 1994:58, emphasis his),

thus *-canha* utterances cannot be simply presenting presuppositions. On the other hand, *-canha* utterances present ‘an assertion that a certain piece of information is presupposed.’

Although a speaker might be able to assume that a certain piece of information is being shared with the other interlocutor, he or she can never be absolutely sure about: 1) whether the hearer is also thinking that the information is being shared with the speaker, or 2) whether the hearer is aware of the fact that the speaker thinks that the information is shared, unless this shared knowledge is somehow explicitly expressed. The utterance-final particle *-canha* is a tool used for that exact reason. *-Canha* can be used to explicitly signal the hearer the speaker’s acknowledgement of the hearer’s presuppositions as if to say ‘I know that you know too,’ and it can also be used to demonstrate the speaker’s presupposition so that the hearer could acknowledge the sharedness of information as to say ‘I know too, what you already know.’ These functions of *-canha* can very clearly be seen in the excerpts (4.10) and (4.11) provided in section 4.4.1.1. In the excerpt (4.10), there has been a mismatch between the speakers’ presuppositions, i.e., the storyline of a famous Korean folk tale. In (4.10), while the speakers P1 and P2 seem to share the same story, P3 does not seem to. Thus speakers P1 and P2 both use the utterance-final particle *-canha* to each other in order to explicitly signal their acknowledgement of the other’s knowledge. In the excerpt (4.11), after listening to P2 talking about her experience in a Morphology class, the other speaker P1 uses the utterance-final particle *-canha* in order to explicitly show that she already had gone through the same experience, so that P2 could acknowledge the sharedness of information.

Because of its particular information managing function, the utterance-final particle *-canha* can be a very useful tool for the speaker to manage the flow of discourse. In the excerpt (4.12) and (4.13), provided in section 4.4.1.1, *-canha* has been used to resume an old topic which has been shared with the hearers long time ago, or at least a while ago. This function of *-canha* could be seen to be used to re-activate information that has been ‘semiactive’ (cf. Chafe 1994). Furthermore, in section 4.4.1.2, it has been shown that *-canha* is often used to convey information which is, at least from the speaker’s point of view, obvious, such as general common knowledge, natural consequences or natural causes or reasons. In all these cases, shown in sections 4.4.1.2.1 (communal common ground), 4.4.1.2.2 (natural consequences), and 4.4.1.2.3 (natural causes or reasons), *-canha*’s information managing function was to provide what is (or at least what the speaker thinks to be) presupposed, in order to superimpose what is not presupposed on it. Here is a quote from Lambrecht (1994) which I believe to be greatly relevant to *-canha*’s information managing functions shown in section 4.4.1.2.

The presupposition and the assertion are thus propositions which coexist in the same sentence. To make an assertion is to establish a RELATION between a presupposed set of propositions [...] and a non-presupposed proposition, the latter being in some sense added to, or superimposed on, the former. The assertion is therefore not to be seen as the utterance “minus the presupposition” but rather as a combination of two sets of propositions.

(Lambrecht 1994:57-58)

Although the above quote from Lambrecht (1994) concerns the information structure within a sentence, I believe that his claims could easily be applied to the information structure in conversational discourse as well. In natural discourse, presupposed information and asserted information coexist. And many times, some assertions should be made in a relation to presupposed information. For instance in the excerpt (4.14), the mother uses the *-canha* utterance to indicate that it is her belief that it is common knowledge in Korea that when a person gets a surgery the hospital provides the patient some medications. She is providing this presupposed information in order to build an assertion based on that presupposition, which immediately follows that *-canha* utterance, that in her case, she did not even get any medication. This function is also often strategically used, as shown in section 4.4.1.3, when the speaker provides a pre-sequence, particularly when they would want to bring a new topic to the discourse.

In sum, the utterance-final particle *-canha* in spoken Korean functions as a device to manage the flow of information by explicitly marking the speaker's belief about shared knowledge. The utterance-final particle *-canha* can be an extremely practical tool in spontaneous conversations where the topic of the discourse constantly changes back and forth, and where the flow of information is highly dynamic and disorganized. The utterance-final particle *-canha* is used for a constant signaling or alignment of common ground between the interlocutors, in order to verify whether all the interlocutors are still with the speaker, or would still be able to follow the speaker despite the dynamicity and the turmoil of the flow of information in the discourse.



#### 4.5.2. *-Canha's intersubjectivity*

We have just observed that the utterance-final particle *-canha's* basic and main function is to explicitly show the speaker's belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the hearer. This reflects that the utterance-final particle *-canha's* function has a very high degree of intersubjectivity (Traugott and Dasher 2001, Traugott 2010). Traugott and Dasher (2001) explain that intersubjectivity "crucially involves SP[(eaker)]/W[(riter)]'s attention to AD[(dressee)]/R[(eader)] as a participant in the speech event, not in the world talked about" (Traugott and Dasher 2001:22). The authors further explain that when intersubjectivity is linguistically coded, it expresses the speaker/writer's attention to the image or "self" of addressee/reader in a social or an epistemic sense (Traugott and Dasher 2001:22). Some of the examples of most intersubjective expressions which the authors provide are overt social deixis, explicit markers of SP[(eaker)]/W[(riter)] attention to AD[(dressee)]/R[(eader)] such as hedges, politeness markers, honorific titles and so on (Traugott and Dasher 2001:23). The current functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha* which have been described hitherto strongly suggest that *-canha* is exactly such an example.

The basic function of *-canha* discussed in section 4.4.1 could be considered to be highly intersubjective since it reveals the speakers' attention and awareness towards the hearers' information status by explicitly marking their belief that a certain piece of information is also shared with the hearers. Furthermore, when this basic information managing function of *-canha* becomes more extended to convey (relatively) more subjective ideas (as discussed in section 4.4.2), *-canha* displays even more

(inter)subjectified functions<sup>43</sup>. For instance, *-canha*'s use to express the speaker's politeness or impoliteness towards the hearer (sections 4.4.2.1, 4.4.2.2) not only reveals the speaker's subjective judgement or assessment on what the hearer's presupposed presupposition should be (as in *-canha*'s impoliteness functions shown in section 4.4.2.1), but it also reflects the speaker's awareness of the hearer's self-image or 'face' (positive/negative) as well (as in *-canha*'s both impoliteness and politeness functions shown in sections 4.4.2.1 and 4.4.2.2). In other words, *-canha* is an explicit marking that reflects the speaker's awareness of whether his or her utterance will threaten the hearer's (positive or negative) face or not. Moreover, the thetic and mirative use of *-canha* also reveals the speaker's attention or expectation of whether a certain piece of information should be or should not be presupposed either for the hearer (thetic use of *-canha*, see section 4.4.2.3) or for the speaker him-/herself (mirative use of *-canha*, see section 4.4.2.4).

#### **4.5.3. Korean utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha*, and English discourse marker *you know***

The utterance-final particle *-canha*'s function to manage pragmatic presupposition in discourse seems very similar to the utterance-final particle *-ketun*'s function to manage pragmatic presupposition in discourse. Although they do share a lot in common in terms of management of presuppositions, they clearly have different manners of doing this. However, because of their functional similarities and

---

<sup>43</sup> The (inter)subjectification process of *-canha*, along with its grammaticalization process, will be dealt with in detail in chapter 5.

despite their differences, both *-ketun* and *-canha* can very often be translated in English as the discourse marker *you know*, as will be seen in the excerpts (4.43), (4.44) and (4.45) below. Although *-canha* and *-ketun* have not always been explicitly translated as English *you know* in earlier examples, for a lot of times they could have been translated as so. Of course, not all *-ketun* and not all *-canha* uses can be easily translated to English *you know* and not all functions of English *you know* coincide with those of *-ketun* and *-canha*. Nonetheless, the functional overlap between these three markers, *-ketun*, *-canha* and *you know*, seem significant and thus is worth investigating. In section 4.5.3.1, the differences and the similarities of the two utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* will be first discussed. Then in section 4.5.3.2, a comparison will be made between the functions of *-ketun*, *-canha* and the English discourse marker *you know*.

#### **4.5.3.1. -Ketun vs. -canha**

The utterance final particle *-canha*'s function in discourse seem to be very similar to that of the utterance-final particle *-ketun*. The utterance-final particle *-ketun*'s function is to present a pragmatic assertion that should be or should have been a pragmatic presupposition, and the utterance-final particle *-canha*'s function is to present what the speaker believes to be a pragmatic presupposition. Their functions look alike since they both have to do with management of presuppositions of speakers and hearers. Nevertheless, there is a clear difference between the functions of *-ketun* and *-canha* in terms of the speaker's belief of sharedness of the presupposition. While *-ketun* and *-canha* both convey presuppositions, *-ketun* conveys a presupposition that is not yet shared (thus should be or

should have been shared) and *-canha* conveys a presupposition that is already shared with the hearer. The following excerpt in (4.43) demonstrates well the different implications of *-ketun* and *-canha*.

(4.43) 6CM00092

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about the benefits that you can get from membership cards provided by cellphone companies.)

- 1 → P1: *mwe= kheyi-thi-eyphu pullwu mwusun phullaythinem mwe=*  
 DM K-T-F blue DM platinum DM  
*ile-n ke mak ttalwu*  
 like.this-ATTR(RL) thing DM separately  
*iss-ess-canha,*  
 exist-ANT-*canha*  
 ‘Well= (you know) the KTF Blue and the Platinum or something=, there used to be a lot of different types of card-*canha*,’
- 2 P2: *um.*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah.’
- 3 P1: *kuntey,*  
 but  
 ‘But,’
- 4 → *ku-ke-y khatu hana-lwu ttak*  
 that-thing-NOM card one-INSTR DM  
*thonghap-tway-ss-ketun?*  
 integrate-be.done-ANT-*ketun*  
 ‘They all got integrated into one single card (you know)-*ketun*?’
- 5 P2: *um= al-a al-a.*  
 yeah know-INDC know-INDC  
 ‘Yeah= I know I know.’  
 (P1 continues.)

In line 1 of this excerpt, P1 uses a *-canha* utterance in order to indicate that according to his belief, the fact that ‘there used to be a lot of different types of cards such as KTF Blue and Platinum’ is an already presupposed fact for the hearer P2 as well. Hearing this utterance, P2 simply agrees in line 2 by replying as ‘yeah.’ Then in line 4, P1 uses a *-ketun* utterance, in order to signal that the fact that ‘all those different cards got integrated into

one single card' should be a presupposition for the upcoming story which he continues after this excerpt. However, this time, P2 does not just agree with P1 but also claims that that information is also a presupposition for him as well, by replying as 'Yeah I know I know' in line 5. The difference in P2's reactions shown in line 2 and line 5 clearly reflects that there is a different implications between the utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha*. While *-canha* is an explicit acknowledgement of the hearer's presupposition, on the other hand, *-ketun*, since it indicates the hearer that a certain information should be or should have been a presupposition, it implies that the speaker is assuming that this information has not been presupposed for the hearer. This explains the different reactions of P2 in lines 2 and 5, and particularly P2's response in line 5 shows P2's belief that that there has been an error in what the speaker P1 believes to be common ground.

Excerpt (4.43) above illustrated a case where the other interlocutor attempts to correct the speaker's misinterpretation of their common ground. The following example in (4.44) shows a case where the speaker self-corrects herself right after realizing her miscalculation.

(4.44) 4CM00006

(Context: P1 and P2 have been talking about P2's ring. P1 and P2 are now discussing about how to choose a ring size.)

- |   |     |  |  |                              |  |  |
|---|-----|--|--|------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | P2: | <i>ani-y-a</i><br>NEG-COP-INDC                         | <i>cincca [panci-nun--]</i><br>really ring-TOP |                              |  |  |
|   |     | 'No a ring really should--'                            |  |                              |  |  |
| 2 | P1: | <i>[ippu-ta.]</i><br>pretty-DECL                       |  |                              |  |  |
|   |     | 'It's pretty.'   |  |                              |  |  |
| 3 | P2: | <i>ttak kkye-ss-ul</i><br>firmly insert-ANT-ATTR(IRRL) | <i>ttay ttak</i><br>when exactly               | <i>maca-ya</i><br>fit-NECESS |  |  |
|   |     | <i>tway.</i><br>be.done.INDC                           |  |                              |  |  |

- 4→ (It should) fit firmly when you put it on.’  
*nacwung-ey com kheci-canha.*  
 later-LOC a.little loosen-canha  
 ‘(You know) it gets a little bit loose later-canha.’
- 5 P1: *wus-ki-ci-ma ssi na eun-panci*  
 laugh-CAUS-CON-stop DM I silver-ring  
*macchwu-ess-nuntey yeysnal-ey ttak mac-ass-nuntey=,*  
 buy-ANT-CIRCUM long.time.ago-LOC firmly fit-ANT-CIRCUM  
 ‘Hey don’t joke with me. I bought a silver ring a long time ago and it used  
 to fit firmly=,’
- 6 P2: *ung [cikum--]*  
 yeah now  
 ‘Yeah and now--’
- 7→ P1: *[maynnal] son-i pwus-canha na-nun.*  
 everyday hand-NOM swell-canha I-TOP  
 ‘(You know) my hands get swollen everyday-canha.’
- 8→ *son-i ccom pwus-ketun?*  
 hand-NOM a.little swell-ketun  
 ‘My hands get a bit swollen (you know)-ketun?’
- 9 *ha= pwu-l ttay-mata nemwu ttak mac-a*  
 DM swell-ATTR(IRRL) when-every too firmly fit-CON  
*kacikwu=,*  
 so  
 ‘Ha= everytime my hand gets swollen the ring tightens too much so=,’
- 10 *ccom khu-n ke-y coh-a,*  
 a.little loose-ATTR(RL) thing-NOM good-INDC  
 ‘It’s better to get a looser ring,’

In this excerpt, the speaker P2 first argues that ‘a ring should fit firmly when it was put on’ because according to her belief, the fact that ‘a ring becomes a bit loose after a while of wearing’ is common knowledge or an obvious fact (which can be seen by her use of *-canha* in line 4). After listening to P2’s argument, P1 disagrees. When P1 explains that her hands get swollen everyday, she first uses the *-canha* utterance in line 7, then she switches her utterance into a *-ketun* utterance in line 8. P1’s *-canha* utterance in line 7 indicates that at that time of utterance, P1 thought that the fact that her hands get swollen every day was already shared knowledge with P2. However, her immediate switch to *-ketun* utterance

shows that presumably she realized that it was a miscalculation of the common ground, perhaps because she remembered P2's former argument that she believes that it is a common knowledge that 'a ring will become a bit loose after a while of wearing.'

Despite this difference, the utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* do share a lot of features though, because of the fact that they both deal with managing the presuppositions in discourse. For instance, in storytelling contexts, they both can be used to present additional background information either for the following or for the previous discourse. The excerpt in (4.45) is an instance where both *-ketun* and *-canha* are used to bring background information for the upcoming story.

(4.45) 4CM00029

(Context: The speakers have been talking about drunken rampages. P1 starts a new story about the drunken rampages of one of her friends.)

- 1→ P1: *kuntey kkok kule-n ay-tul iss-canha.*  
 but always be.such-ATTR(RL) child-PLU exist-canha  
 '(You know) there are always those kind of people around-canha.'
- 2 *swul cal mos-ha-myense na swul cal*  
 alcohol well NEG(IMPOT)-do-CON I alcohol well  
*masi-n-ta-ko kule-myense maynnal*  
 drink-IMPF-DECL-COMP QUOT-CON every.day  
*nam-tul ta maykcwu sikhi-nuntey honca*  
 other-PLU all beer order-CIRCUM alone  
*socwu sikye-talla-[kulay]-kackwu.*  
 Whiskey order-give-QUOT-so  
 'Who can't even drink very well but always say that they drink well, and order whiskey while all of others order beer.'
- 3 P2: *[cincca?]*  
 really  
 'Really?'
- 4 P3: @@  
 '@@'
- 5→ P1: *cehuy kwa chinkwu cwung-ey kule-n*  
 our department friend among-LOC be.such-ATTR(RL)  
*ay-ka iss-ketun-yo.*  
 child-NOM exist-ketun-HON.END

- 6                   ‘There is a girl in my department who is like that (you know)-*ketun*.’  
*kuntey kyay-ka*                   *cehuy cip-eyso*                   *kyay-ney*  
 but   that.child-NOM                   our   house-from   that.child-family  
*cip-i*                   *kwa*                   *ay-tul*                   *cwung-eyse*   *ceyil*  
 house-NOM   department   child-PLU   among-CON   most  
*kakka-we-yo*.  
 close-INDC-HON.END  
 ‘But among the people in my department, she is the one who lives closest  
 to my place.’
- 7                   *kunikka*                   *yay-ney*                   *cip-un*                   *cwuthayk-i-kwu*,  
 DM                   this.child-family                   house-TOP                   house-COP-CON  
 ‘I mean she lives in a house,’
- 8                   *cehuy cip-un*                   *aphathu-ey-yo*.  
 our   house-TOP   apartment-COP.INDC-HON.END  
 ‘And I live in an apartment.’  
 (P1 continues her story of her friend.)

In this excerpt, the speaker P1’s *-canha* utterance can be seen in line 1 and her *-ketun* utterance can be seen in line 5. Both *-canha* and *-ketun* have been used to provide background information for the upcoming discourse. *-Canha* utterance in line 1 has been used to provide a more general background in order to say that ‘generally there are always those type of people around who can’t even drink well but always act as if they do,’ before starting a story about a girl who is that type of a person. Thus the *-canha* utterance has been used here as a pre-sequence (see section 4.4.1.3.1), to first build common ground as a preparation to bring a new topic into the discourse. The *-ketun* utterance in line 5, was too, used to present additional background information about the girl that the speaker is about to talk about, to say that this girl is someone from her department. Although both *-ketun* and *-canha* function to bring up background information during discourse, they are not interchangeable most of the time. Particularly, in (4.45) as well, *-ketun* and *-canha* cannot be used interchangeably despite their similar function in discourse. Once again, the reason for this lies on their different implications of the speaker’s belief of the sharedness of the



presupposition conveyed. While P1's *-canha* in line 1 is used to form common ground among the interlocutors which would serve as the basis of P1's upcoming story (hence it reflects P1's belief of sharedness of information), P1's *-ketun* in line 5 is used to provide information that should be presupposed in order for the others to follow the upcoming story (hence it reflects P1's belief of lack of sharedness of information).

The only situation where *-ketun* and *-canha* might be used interchangeably would be when both *-ketun* and *-canha*'s basic functions have been further extended to express negative stance towards the hearers. The excerpt in (4.46) is an invented example where *-ketun* and *-canha* seem to be able to be used interchangeably.

(4.46)

YJ: *enni maynnal twu-si-ey o-cahna-yo.*  
 older.sister everyday two-o'clock-LOC come-UFP-HON.END  
 '(As you and I both know) You always come at two o'clock.'

AR: a. *na han-si-ey o-ketun!*  
 I one-o'clock-LOC come-ketun  
 'I come at one-ketun!'

b. *na han-si-ey o-canha!*  
 I one-o'clock-LOC come-canha  
 'I come at one-canha!'

In (4.46), YJ uses a *-canha* utterance, to indicate that she assumes that it is a presupposition for both YJ and AR that AR always come at two o'clock. AR disagrees with YJ, and in order to express her disapproval, she can use a *-ketun* utterance as in (4.46a) or a *-canha* utterance as in (4.46b). *-Ketun*, which is a marker that 'presents an assertion that should be or should have been a presupposition,' can be used in this context to convey a strong criticism towards the hearer. The reason why the *-ketun* utterance in (4.46a) should sound so

reproachful is because in this further extended use, *-ketun* is used to signal that the information conveyed by *-ketun* should have been a presupposition for the hearer, which is in this case YJ. In other words, *-ketun* here is used to criticize YJ for not having such information presupposed, that AR always has been coming at one o'clock. That is, AR's *-ketun* utterance shown in (4.46a) is similar to saying 'you should have known that I come at one o'clock' or 'how could you not know that I come at one o'clock.'

(4.46b) shows that *-canha* can be used here instead of *-ketun* as well. *-Canha*, which is a marker of the speaker's belief of shared knowledge, can be used here to convey a negative stance towards the hearer. The criticizing meaning arises since in this case, *-canha* is signaling YJ that according to the speaker AR's own belief, the information that 'AR in fact comes at one o'clock' is already shared knowledge, thus making this *-canha* utterance implicitly question YJ for saying something different from what AR believes to be common knowledge. The *-canha* utterance in (4.46) is similar to saying 'I know that you also know that I always come at one o'clock, so why are you saying that I come at two o'clock.'

This example shows that although *-canha* and *-ketun* differ in their implication of sharedness of the presupposition, when their basic information managing functions are further extended to be used to show negative stance towards the hearers, these two utterance-final particles can be used interchangeably. Though the criticisms that these both markers are implying differ from each other in a subtle way, they still share the similar function which is to reproach the hearer for not having a correct presupposition at least from the speaker's point of view.

#### 4.5.3.2. *-Ketun, -canha, and you know*

*You know* is a discourse marker in English which has been extensively studied. It has been argued in Östman (1981) that the basic function of *you know* is to show that “[t]he speaker strives towards getting the addressee to cooperate and/or to accept the propositional content of his utterance as mutual background knowledge” (Östman 1981:17). Erman (1987) argues that *you know* is used to introduce given information (Erman 1987:201, cited in Fox Tree and Schrock 2002:736), and according to Aijmer (1984), *you know* is used to instruct an addressee to seek a referent in common ground (Aijmer 1984:122, cited in Fox Tree and Schrock 2002:736). By the definitions of *you know* previously given by the predecessors, it can be assumed that the English *you know*'s function largely deals with managing pragmatic presuppositions in discourse. This fact suggests that the functions of all three markers *-ketun*, *-canha* and *you know* have to do with pragmatic presuppositions, old or given information, or common ground. And because of this commonality, *you know* can also have functions to introduce background information to the discourse (Erman 1986, cited in Fox Tree and Schrock 2002, 735, Macaulay 2002) just like the Korean utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha*.

While the functions of all three markers *-ketun*, *-canha* and *you know* share their function to manage presuppositions in discourse, it seems that English *you know* has a much broader sense than Korean *-ketun* and *-canha*. Probably that would be the reason why a lot of the instances of both *-ketun* and *-canha* could be translated into *you know* in English. Particularly, *you know* and *-canha* are strikingly similar. The first general characteristic of *you know* which resembles the function of *-canha* is that according to Schiffrin (1987), it

is “a marker of meta-knowledge what speaker and hearer share” (Schiffrin 1987:268). Stubbe and Holmes (1995) also argue that *you know* expresses “the speaker’s confidence in the addressee’s sharing of relevant knowledge or reassuring the listener of the validity of the propositions” (Stubbe and Holmes 1995:69). This function of *you know* coincides with the basic function of *-canha*, which was to present what the speaker believes to be already shared knowledge (as has been described in section 4.1). For the second characteristic of *you know* which coincides with *-canha*, Schiffrin (1987) explains that *you know* is “a marker of meta-knowledge about what is generally known” (Schiffrin 1987:268), and more specifically that it marks “the general consensual truths which speakers assume their hearers share through their co-membership in the same culture, society, or group” (Schiffrin 1987:274). A similar comment has been made in Erman (2001) that *you know* indicates the speaker’s appealing “to shared knowledge of the world, general truths, or otherwise ‘uncontroversial’ issues” (Erman 2001:1348). Example in (4.47) is such an instance of *you know*.

(4.47)

Henry: I’m not a- ... we’re all not perfect, *y’know*.

I’m not perfect Zelda, after all.

(Schiffrin 1987:276)

This type of function of *you know* also coincides exactly with the function of *-canha* of marking the speaker’s belief that the information conveyed by *-canha* is a general common knowledge, or communal common ground, which I have described in section 4.4.1.2. The third characteristic of the English discourse marker *you know* which is similar to the function of *-canha*, discussed in Macaulay (2002), is that “[y]ou know is often used when

the speaker apparently wishes to emphasize a constituent or to use a less expected expression” (Macaulay 2002:759). Stubbe and Holmes (1995) cite Holmes’ (1986) study on *you know* in New Zealand English, which shows that *you know* occurs “in stretches of relatively sustained narrative, or ‘accounts of the speaker’s personal experiences intended to amuse, amaze, or, at least, retain the interest of the addressee’” (Holmes 1986, cited in Stubbe and Holmes 1995:82).

(4.48) shows some instances of *you know* in which Macaulay explains that it is as if the speaker wished to draw attention to the constituent that follows *you know*.

(4.48)

- a. I’m sometimes actually ending up doing more out and about than I would be if I was actually *you know* out
- b. and they demand things and they *you know* stomp out
- c. so I mean it’s not as though they’re *you know* completely on their own.
- d. whether they’re *you know* into boys or into make-up or into pop or into what or whatever
- e. cos they’d cut through some of these *you know* undulating fields

(Macaulay 2002:759)

This specific function of *you know* which is used to convey ‘less expected expression’ (Macaulay 2002) or to ‘amuse or amaze the addressee’ (Holmes 1986, cited in Stubbe and Holmes 1995) is similar to thethetic function of *-canha* described in section 4.4.2.3, where I explained that *-canha* can be used to convey what the speaker assumes to be unexpected or surprising for the hearer. The fourth resemblance of *you know* to *-canha*, or to be precise, the fossilized *isscanha* construction, has already been discussed briefly in section 4.4.1.3.2. In section 4.4.1.3.2, I have described that *isscanha* construction functions as a filler in spoken Korean, particularly used when the speaker is having difficulties remembering a

specific expression and to signal the hearer to help the speaker to recall what he or she is trying to remember. As I explained briefly in section 4.4.1.3.2, a similar function has also been observed for English *you know*: it has been argued in Macaulay (2002) that *you know* is a verbal filler, in Erman (2001) that *you know* is a hesitation marker, in Fox Tree and Schrock (2002) that *you know* is used when speakers are having trouble expressing themselves and to encourage the addressee to infer the intention (Fox Tree and Schrock 2002:738) and in Holmes (1984, 1990) that *you know* expresses uncertainty regarding either the addressee's attitude or the linguistic precision of the message (Holmes 1985, 1990, both cited in Stubbe and Holmes 1995:69) . Example in (4.49) is such an instance of *you know*.

(4.49)

(Context: Conversation between two friends.)

B: there is a tried and true method well er for radios of course they just - [gestures]:  
and that works because no one can hear it but um *you know* over or something like  
that or *you know*

A: Roger

(Stubbe and Holmes 1995:69)

The last function of *you know* which overlaps with the function of *-canha* is its function as a pre-sequence, as I briefly mentioned in section 4.4.1.3.1. To be precise, it is the construction *(you) know what (X)?* that functions as a pre-sequence in English. According to Östman (1981) the construction *(you) know what (X)?* construction functions as an opener of a interaction in a similar way as the construction *guess what?* He explains that the construction *(you) know what (X)?* is an attention-getting device, a topic changing

device, or a device that introduce a new topic to the discourse (Östman 1981:52-53). For instance,

(4.50)

a. [previous topic: Christmas]  
*Y'know what?* – [What?] – We were going out to the Harvey house – and it was really scary ...

b. Daddy, *do you know what?* I did so-and-so.

(Östman 1981:53-54)

This function of *you know* as a pre-sequence looks very much alike as the function of *-canha* discussed in section 4.4.1.3.1 where it was described that a *-canha* utterance is often used as a pre-sequence in order to form common ground with the hearers and to receive attention from the hearers.

So far, it could be observed that the English discourse marker *you know* and the Korean utterance-final particle *-canha* share many similarities. In the previous section (4.5.3.1), I have argued that although both *-ketun* and *-canha* convey presuppositions, there is a clear difference in the ‘sharedness’ of the presuppositions they convey. I have demonstrated that most of the time they are not interchangeable, since *-canha* can only be used when the presupposition it conveys is already shared with the hearer (at least in the speaker’s belief), i.e., when conveying information that the hearer would also know, and *-ketun* can only be used when the presupposition is not yet shared with the hearer (at least in the speaker’s belief), i.e., when conveying information that the hearer would not yet know. In case of the English discourse marker *you know*, it can not only be used when the presupposition is already shared, just as I have described hitherto by demonstrating its

similarities with *-canha*, but it can also be used when the presupposition is not yet shared, like *-ketun*.

Erman (2001) argues that the most typical subfunction of *you know* is to urge the listener to accept part of the information as ‘known’ or ‘given’ (Erman 2001:1342). This function of *you know* exactly coincides with the basic function of *-ketun*, which is to present an assertion that should be or should have been a presupposition, i.e., to signal to the hearer that although the speaker is indeed aware of the fact that the hearer does not have the information he is conveying, he wants the hearer to treat this information as a presupposition. English *you know*, just like *-ketun*, can thus be used when conveying a presupposition that cannot have been shared with the hearer: Fox Tree and Schrock (2002) also note that “[p]eople say *you know* when addressees could not possibly know, as in “Yesterday I was in my bedroom *you know*?” (adapted from Schourup 1985:126)” (Fox Tree and Schrock 2002:735). Macaulay (2002) also acknowledges this characteristic of *you know*, by commenting that “a speaker will use *you know* when the addressee does not know what the speaker is about to say or has already said” (Östman 1981:17, cited in Macaulay 2002:755). Macaulay (2002) also explains that *you know* in initial and final position is frequently used before or after statements that clearly do not represent shared knowledge (Macaulay 2002:755).

Examples in (4.51) are instances of initial *you know* and examples in (4.52) are instances of final *you know* which convey information which do not represent shared knowledge (all adapted from Macaulay 2002).

(4.51)



- a. *you know* I had mentioned the fact that I had taught for a few years (*reporting on a conversation that the addressee had not heard and could not have known that the speaker had mentioned this*)
- b. and *you know* if they got the ball out to her (*referring to a women's rugby match that the addressee had not seen*)
- c. *you know* we were playing is it a Stapleford? (*referring to a golf competition that the addressee had not participated in*)
- d. I remember seeing a – a John Cleese video a few years ago on golfing etiquette *you know* he rolls into the car-park (*since the addressee had not seen the video he could not have known this*)
- e. *you know* I think they probably will a few times (*the address presumably does not already know what the speaker thinks*)
- f. *you know* there was a violent thunderstorm (*the addressee has already said that she did not know about the time when the system crashed because of the lightning*)  
(Macaulay 2002:756)

(4.52)

- a. and I'd said I'd go up and meet them *you know*
- b. we just all went down the road thegither *you know*
- c. and I was just saying to her "Don't leave it until it's too late" *you know*
- d. saying "No I think that's better on the top and that and that that" *you know*
- e. and he said "You didn't tell me you were going out" and I said "Yes I did" "No you didn't" *you know* so the next morning he was going out to work and he said "Well will I see you for tea tonight" *you know* "Will you be at home?" *you know*
- f. and Hilary walloped her one *you know* (All examples of new information being provided as part of a narrative)

(Macaulay 2002:756)

Another similarity which the English discourse marker *you know* shares with the Korean utterance-final particle *-ketun* is that *you know* can function to "introduce a change of information content, frequently correcting or modifying previous discourse" (Erman 2001:1342). The following examples in (4.53) are from Erman (2001), which illustrate this function of *you know*.

(4.53)

a. /.../ and we, we all buy, we all buy chips yeah, and the next minute, *you know*, we're all walking into the arcade all these girls just come up to us and start taking chips /.../

(B132801)

b. <1> /.../ I can't believe it! Oh my god! It's been a year today, *you know* a year today with Sally. I can't believe it!

<2> Explain it to me.

<1> She's been going out with her boyfriend for a year today and they get on so well!

(B132803)

c. B /.../ and he's sort of next one, *you know* next senior one after Hart.

A m—Harold.

(1.5.452)

(Erman 2001:1343)

Erman (2001) also explains that *you know* functions to “mark inserts of parenthetical comments containing information that the speaker assumes the addressee need to know in order to be able to follow” (Erman 2001:1344), such as in the following examples.

(4.54)

<1> /.../ Shelly, come round to me right, and she was, stroking Dempsey and he walked past wagging his, *you know*, when they put the tail down [and]

<2> Yeah.

<1> (continues)

(B132708)

(Erman 2001:1344)

These functions of *you know* also coincides with the function of *-ketun* as well. *-Ketun* also manages the flow of discourse by presenting an assertion that should be or should have been a presupposition, and it is used particularly when the speaker realizes that the comprehension of the discourse will become problematic without certain information being presupposed. Thus *-ketun* can be used to present an assertion as a presupposition either for

the following discourse in order to make the hearers be able to keep up the story that is about to follow. *-Ketun* can also be used to present an assertion as a presupposition for the preceding discourse or in the middle of discourse when the speaker realizes that he made a leap in his assertion and to provide information that he should have given earlier in discourse.

Besides the functions that overlap with *-ketun* and *-canha* in Korean, the English discourse marker *you know* has functions which do not coincide with those of *-ketun* and *-canha* as well. For instance, neither *-ketun* nor *-canha* has the function to mark quoted speech in discourse, as English *you know* does. The English discourse marker *you know* can introduce quoted speech in discourse (Erman and Kotsinas 1993:87, Redeker 1990:374, all cited in Fox Tree and Shrock 2002:736), as also has been argued by Erman (2001): *you know* functions in a similar fashion as the quotations marks in written text, to mark the transitions between direct and reported speech (Erman 2001:1344), and Macaulay (2002) also claims that *you know* in final position marks the end of a section of quoted dialogue (Macaulay 2002:758). The examples shown in (4.52c), (4.52d) and (4.52e) above as well as the following example in (4.55) illustrate this function of *you know*.

(4.55)

10R: I'd got caught on a phone by somebody who was asking for help *you know* and I came out

10L: mmhm

10R: thinking "This is ridiculous" *you know* "she's wanting help and yet my child's the one who's being left at home" *you know* the television *you know* and you have to hassle and say "G—please go to bed"

(Macaulay 2002:757)

In this section, the similarities and differences between the three markers *-ketun*, *-canha* and *you know* have been briefly described. It has been shown that because these three markers all deal with managing pragmatic presupposition in discourse, various discourse functions of all these three markers display functional overlap. However, it has been shown that the three markers each have functions which are unique to themselves as well, despite their functional similarities. The following table summarizes the functions that overlap and the functions that do not overlap among these three markers. The functions shown in the shaded area are the functions which overlap with each other.

	<i>-ketun</i>	<i>-canha</i>	
<i>you know</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presenting a presupposition (that is not yet shared with the hearer) → Presenting an assertion as a presupposition for the following or preceding/in the middle of discourse (in order to correct, repair or clarify the flow of discourse)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presenting a presupposition (that has already been shared with the hearer) → Communal common ground or general common knowledge</li> <li>• Theticity</li> <li>• Filler (<i>isscanha</i>)</li> <li>• Pre-sequence (<i>(you) know what (x)?</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introducing a quoted speech to the discourse</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Showing negative stance towards the hearer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Showing negative stance towards the hearer</li> <li>• Mirativity</li> </ul>	

<Table 4.3. *Functions of -ketun, -canha and you know*>

#### 4.6. Conclusion

This present chapter has observed the functions of *-canha*, which is known to be the phonologically reduced form of the negative question construction *-ci anh-a?* in Modern Spoken Korean. The result found in the naturally occurring spontaneous conversation corpus showed that unlike its unreduced form *-ci anh-a?*, the phonologically reduced form *-canha* does not function as a negative question construction anymore but rather functions as an utterance-final particle which manages the flow of information in discourse. In particular, this chapter argued that the most basic function of the utterance-final particle *-canha* is ‘to explicitly mark the speaker’s belief of shared knowledge.’ Due to this specific function, it has been shown that *-canha* is used when the speaker is conveying information what he or she believes to be obvious such as general common knowledge or communal common ground, natural consequences, natural causes or reasons. Moreover, it has also been shown that speakers often use *-canha*’s information managing function as their discourse strategies, particularly as a pre-sequence prior to bring a new topic into the discourse, or as a filler when there is a need to stall for time while they are having trouble finding an appropriate expression.

Furthermore, this chapter also claimed that *-canha* can be used even in certain situations where there is an apparent lack of shared knowledge between the interlocutors when its basic function ‘to explicitly mark the speaker’s belief of shared knowledge’ becomes further extended. Specifically, it has been argued that such extended functions of *-canha* can be often found when the speaker is expressing politeness, impoliteness, theticity or mirativity. Finally, this chapter claimed that the utterance-final particle *-canha* in spoken Korean display a very high degree of intersubjectivity (Traugott and Dasher 2001, Traugott 2010), because it explicitly indicates the speaker’s awareness of the hearer’s information

status. This chapter argued that due to this high degree of intersubjectivity, the utterance-final particle *-canha* functions as a very useful device in managing the information flow in spontaneous conversation by enabling the speakers to constantly signal and align the common ground between the other interlocutors.

**Chapter 5. From negation to shared knowledge and to theticity and mirativity:  
Grammaticalization of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in Modern Spoken  
Korean**

**5.1. Introduction**

This chapter examines the grammaticalization process of *-canha* which is an information managing utterance-final particle in Modern Spoken Korean. As has been briefly discussed in chapter 4, *-canha* is known to be the phonologically reduced form the of negative question construction *-ci anh-a?* (-CON NEG-INDC) ‘X is not?’ in Korean. There are essentially two constructions for negation in Korean, which are most commonly known as ‘the short form negation’ and ‘the long form negation’ (Nam and Ko 1985), and the negative construction which *-canha* derived from is, to be precise, the long form negation. Example (5.1) is an instance of the long form negation used in a question construction.

(5.1) 4CM00034

<i>o-cho</i>	<i>cengto</i>	<i>ccum</i>	<i>kel-li-ci</i>	<i>anh-a?</i>
five-second	degree	around	take-PASS-CON	NEG-INDC

‘Doesn’t it take about five seconds?’

Although the unreduced form *-ci anh-a?* is still being used as the long form negative question construction as in the above example, its reduced form *-canha* seems to have completely shifted its function into an utterance-final particle which has very different

functions from its unreduced form *-ci anh-a?* in Modern Spoken Korean. The excerpt in (5.2) below is an instance of the reduced form *-canha* as an utterance-final particle.

(5.2) 6CM00067

(Context: This excerpt is from a conversation between a mother (P1) and a son (P2). The mother has been talking about her surgery which she had to remove her wisdom tooth.)

- 1 P1: *kuleko emma-n an kkomay-ss-e.*  
 CONJ mom-TOP NEG stitch-ANT-INDC  
 ‘And in my case, I didn’t get stitched.’
- 2 P2: *ung=.*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah=.’
- 3→ P1: *yak cwu-canha=.*  
 medication give-canha  
 ‘(You know) they give you medications-canha.’
- 4 *na-n yak-to an cwu-tula?*  
 I-TOP medication-ADD NEG give-FH.EV  
 ‘I didn’t even get any medications.’
- 5 P2: *a= kulay-yo?*  
 DM be.such-HON.END  
 ‘Ah is that so?’

The excerpt in (5.2) clearly shows that the reduced form *-canha* no longer functions as a negative question construction, since the speaker P1 does not wait for her other interlocutor P2’s response after her use of *-canha* in line 3 and keeps continuing her story in line 4. Instead, *-canha* in this excerpt is functioning as an utterance-final particle which expresses the speaker’s belief of already shared knowledge with the other interlocutor. More specifically, *-canha* in line 3 reflects the speaker P1’s belief or assumption that the information conveyed by *-canha* that ‘hospitals provide some type of medications to the patients who had a surgery’ is already shared knowledge with the speaker P2.



It thus can be seen by the examples (5.1) and (5.2) above that the reduced form *-canha* and its unreduced form the *-ci anh-a?* construction have clearly different functions from each other. Particularly, I have argued in the previous chapter that the reduced form *-canha*'s most primary and basic function is to manage the information flow in discourse by explicitly indicating the speaker's belief of already shared knowledge with the other interlocutor. I have shown that due to this basic function, *-canha* is often found when speakers are conveying ideas which they think are obvious such as when conveying general common knowledge or 'communal common ground' (Clark 1996) and when conveying natural consequences, natural causes or reasons. Moreover, I also showed that *-canha* can be used as discourse strategic functions, for instance as a 'pre-sequence' (Schegloff 2007, Levinson 1983), or as a filler. I further argued that this basic and general function of *-canha* as an explicit marker of a shared knowledge can further be extended to use as a politeness strategy or to express the speaker's negative stance towards the hearer or to express theticity and mirativity as well.

There have been a few attempts to explain the evolution of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in terms of its grammaticalization process, such as H.-J. Koo (2008) and S.-O. Sohn (2010). In H.-J. Koo (2008), the author examines the grammaticalization process of Korean negation in general, by investigating the grammaticalization of both short form negation and long form negation in Korean. She acknowledges that the reduced form *-canh-* evolved from the long form negative question in Korean and introduces various discourse function of *-canh-* in Modern Spoken Korean such as presenting new topic into discourse, providing reasons, expressing politeness, emphasizing the speaker's assessment and asking confirmation from the hearer about the information conveyed

by *-canh-*. She explains that *-canh-* evolved with phonological reduction and intersubjectification (Traugott and Dasher 2002). She explains that the entire process of the shift from the long form negative question to *-canh-* is related to the management of ‘face,’ because the negative question per se is already a politeness strategic construction, and when its negativity and the interrogative force has been lost, its function shifted to express politeness, and finally when the politeness also became lost, its function shifted to emphasize the speaker’s assessment. Although she is correct to point out that the reduced form *-canh-* does not convey negation nor interrogative speech act anymore, she does not provide any explanation for how and why the negativity and interrogative speech act of the long form negative question construction become lost. In other words, she does not provide any justification for the intermediate stages between the unreduced negative question construction *-ci anh-a?* and the reduced form *-canh-*. Furthermore, her analysis cannot explain how *-canh-* can also have other functions she describes besides politeness and emphasis, such as presenting new topic into discourse or providing reasons.

On the other hand, S.-O. Sohn (2010) explains the evolution of the reduced form *-canh-* from the long form negative question as phonological reduction and reanalysis. The basis for her argument that there has been a semantic and syntactic reanalysis from the long form negative question to *-canh-* is the different positions that the past tense morpheme *-ass* or *-ess* occurs within these two constructions (while the past tense morpheme follows *-ci anh-* in long form negative question, it precedes *-canh-* in the reduced construction), as well as the fact that the reduced *-canh-* cannot be used interchangeably with the unreduced *-ci anh-* in Modern Spoken Korean. However, she does

not provide any explanation how and why this semantic and syntactic analysis took place during the shift from the long form negative question to *-canh-*.

Both of these analyses provided by H.-J. Koo (2008) and S.-O. Sohn (2010) fail to acknowledge several significant points in the grammaticalization process of *-canha*. Although they are both correct to point out the form *-canh-* derived from the long form negative question by phonological reduction, they fail to note that it is rather *-canha* which is the combination of *-canh-* and the indicative sentential ending *-a* as a whole which functions as an utterance-final particle rather than *-canh-* alone. Hence it is not via a simple phonological reduction but rather via phonological reduction within a ‘chunking’ process (Haiman 1994, Bybee and Scheibman 1999) that the utterance-final particle *-canha* evolved (the chunking process of *-canha* will be explained in detail in section 5.5.3.1). Furthermore, both H.-J. Koo (2008) and S.-O. Sohn (2010) do not provide any explanation why it was particularly the long form negation and not the short form negation construction which an utterance-final particle has developed, nor why it was specifically in an interrogative context of the long form negation that *-canha* evolved. Moreover, the grammaticalization processes which both of the authors provide seem oversimplified since the process seems indeed much more complicated than they explain. As it will be argued in this chapter, the grammaticalization from the long form negative question into the utterance-final particle *-canha* cannot be explained by a simple intersubjectification (as H.-J. Koo 2008 argues), or merely by a semantic/syntactic reanalysis (as S.-O. Sohn 2010 claims). Instead, it will be shown that that (inter)subjectification, semantic/syntactic reanalysis, as well as semantic generalization and chunking process are intricately intertwined during the entire grammaticalization process from the long form negative

question into *-canha*. Additionally, their grammaticalization analyses seem incomplete since they both fail to acknowledge the further grammaticalization that *-canha* is currently undergoing as an utterance-final particle to further express the speaker's politeness as well as impoliteness, theticity and mirativity in Modern Spoken Korean. This requires a whole new examination of the grammaticalization process of *-canha* from its unreduced long form negative question construction *-ci anh-a?*.

The goal of this chapter is to revisit the grammaticalization process from the negative question construction *-ci anh-a?* into the information managing utterance-final particle *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean. To be precise, this study will examine why it was specifically the long form negation and not the short form negation, and why it was particularly in its interrogative context the utterance-final particle *-canha* has evolved from. Furthermore, this study will also describe the further grammaticalization that *-canha* is currently undergoing in spoken Korean.

This chapter is organized as the following. In section 5.2, the historical origin of the utterance-final particle *-canha* will be shown, and some theoretical issues concerning the origin of *-canha* will also be raised. Section 5.3 will describe the current relationship between the two negative constructions (the short form negation and the long form negation) in Modern Spoken Korean. Section 5.4 will present the current functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha*, and section 5.5 will examine the grammaticalization process from the long form negation question into the utterance-final particle *-canha*. In section 5.6, the further grammaticalization process which *-canha* is currently undergoing as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean will be examined. Section 5.7 will discuss

the significance of the recurrent (inter)subjectification throughout the grammaticalization process *-canha* and will conclude this chapter.

## 5.2. Historical origin of the utterance-final particle *-canha*: Long form negation in Korean

As has been briefly mentioned in the previous section, the utterance-final particle *-canha* is the phonologically reduced form of the negative question construction *-ci anh-a?* which then derived from the negative construction *-ci anh-* (-CON NEG-) which is again the phonologically reduced form of the negative construction *-ci ani-ha-* (-CON NEG-do-). In Korean, there are generally two types of sentential or clausal negative construction<sup>44</sup>, the so-called ‘short form negation’ and the ‘long form negation’ (Nam and Ko 1985, H.-M. Sohn 1978, H.-B. Im 1987, D.-S. Kim 1990, all cited in T.-Y. Kim 2003) and the negative construction *-ci anh-* or *-ci ani-ha-* is what has been called the ‘long form negation.’ There is a syntactic difference between the short form negation and the long form negation in Korean. In short form negation, the predicate follows the negation morpheme *ani*; in long form negation, the predicate precedes the negative construction *-ci ani-ha-*. Some examples of these two forms of negation in Modern Korean are given below.

(5.3)

- a. *Chelswu-ka an ka-ss-ta.*  
 Chelswu-NOM NEG go-ANT-DECL  
 ‘Chelswu didn’t go.’

---

<sup>44</sup> In Korean there are also various constructions for lexical or constituent negation as well (c.f. H.-M. Sohn 1994:130-139) but this present study will only deal with the sentential or clausal negative constructions.

- b. *Chelswu-ka*            *ka-ci*            *anh-ass-ta.*  
 Chelswu-NOM            go-CON            NEG-ANT-DECL  
 ‘Chelswu didn’t go.’

(T.-Y. Kim 2003: 27)

Both of these forms of negation have been attested since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in the earliest attested documents in the history of Korean (H.-J. Koo 2008, J.-I. Kwon 1998, cited in H.-J. Koo 2008). Both the short and long forms of negation have undergone a phonological reduction throughout their history, and the examples in (5.3) above reflect the already reduced forms of these two negative constructions. The negative morpheme *ani* shortened to *an* in the short form of negation around the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (H.-J. Koo 2008:4-5)<sup>45</sup>, and the phonological reduction of the long form negation *-ci ani-ha-* into *-ci anh-* began around the 18<sup>th</sup> century (H.-J. Koo 2008:5). This process can be schematized as below.

(5.4)

- a. Phonological reduction of the short form negation: *ani* > *an*  
 b. Phonological reduction of the long form negation: *-ci ani-ha-* > *-ci anh-*

The issue of whether the short form negation and the long form negation convey the same meaning or not has been extremely controversial among the Korean linguists, and the controversies still remain unsolved. On one hand, several linguists argue that there is little

---

<sup>45</sup> However, H.-J. Koo (2008) speculates that the phonological reduction could have begun even before the 20<sup>th</sup> century in spoken Korean.



Both K. Lee (1993) and H.-S. Lee (1999a) argue that while the speaker of the short form negative interrogative (5.5b) is not biased about whether the addressee will agree with him/her (H.-S. Lee 1999a:265), the speaker of the long form negative interrogative (5.5a) is more leaning towards believing that the addressee is likely to agree with his/her belief (H.-S. Lee 1999a:265).

Since the utterance-final particle *-canha* which is in our interest in this chapter is derived from the long form negative question construction such as in (5.5a), which then derived from the long form negation in Korean, the remainder of this section will be devoted to examining the two controversial issues concerning the categorization of the long form negative question construction and the status and the origin of the morpheme *-ci* which appears in the long form negative construction (and also in the long form negative question).

The following subsection 5.2.1 will raise issues which concern the classification of the long term negative question construction in Korean, and the subsection 5.2.2 will examine the controversies concerning the status and the origin of the morpheme *-ci* which appears in the long form negation as well as in the long form negative question in Korean.

### **5.2.1. The classification of the long form negative question in Korean**

There has been a lot of controversy among Korean linguists concerning how to classify or categorize the long term negative question in Korean. This topic has been an issue in the field of Korean linguistics because the long form negative question in Korean shows a functional ambiguity. The following example has been argued by the majority of



linguists to have two different interpretations (although it seems to me, that there could indeed be three, rather than two, different interpretations).

(5.6)  
*Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-ni?*  
Yengi-NOM eat-CON NEG-INTERR

‘a. Yengi doesn’t eat? / Doesn’t Yengi eat?’

‘b. Yengi eats, doesn’t she?’

(D.-S. Kim 1981:101, in K.-K Chang 1986:20)

As the example in (5.6) shows, the long form negative question in Korean has been argued to have the following interpretations. It should be noted that I have translated the first interpretation as (5.6a) in English with two different translations. This is due to the syntactic differences between English and Korean. Unlike English, which has different syntactic constructions for an echo-question (which simply adds a rising intonation contour to the declarative sentence) and for interrogative formed by subject-auxiliary-inverse construction, Korean has only one syntactic order to form a question. Thus, what has been considered as one single interpretation by most Korean linguists can in fact have two possible interpretations where one can mean that the speaker is assuming that ‘Yengi does not eat’ (as the first translation of (5.6a) shows) and the other can mean that the speaker might assume that ‘Yengi eats’ (as the second translation of (5.6a) shows).

However, it seems to me that the main ambiguity issue of the long form negative question in Korean that has been debated by most Korean linguists was about whether the construction’s speech act is truly interrogative or not, regardless of the positive (‘Yengi eats’) or negative (‘Yengi does not eat’) assumption of the speaker. In other words, what

seems to matter in distinguishing the different interpretations of the long form negative question among Korean linguists, is whether the speaker of the question is truly in need of certain information which he or she does not possess at the time of speech. Hence, according to most Korean linguists, the long form negative question in (5.6) with the interpretation(s) (5.6a) is truly interrogative regardless of the polarity (negative or positive) of the speaker's assumption, since the speaker is requesting the hearer for some information which he or she does not have at the time of speech, i.e., the speaker is requesting the hearer to provide some explanation, verification or confirmation. On the other hand, (5.6b) has been argued to be the second interpretation of (5.6), since in (5.6b) the speaker is asking such question not because he or she lacks certain information. Instead, the speaker already knows that his or her assumption is true, and is expecting nothing but a positive answer or agreement from the hearer.

This type of functional ambiguity of the long form negative question in Korean has brought extensive discussions among Korean linguists, particularly on how to classify the long form negative question or what terminology to use to name this particular construction. Most of the scholars seem to agree that the long form negative question with the first interpretation(s) such as in (5.6a) should be categorized as a 'negative question' sentence type. However, they take slightly different views on how to categorize the long form negative question with the second interpretation such as in (5.6b). While D.-S. Kim (1981, cited in K.-K. Chang 1986) argues that it should be called as a 'confirmative question,' S.-J. Chang (1984) and J.-N. Koo (1992) both classify it as a type of 'tag question.' Unlike others, K.-K. Chang (1986, 2001) categorizes the long form negative question in Korean into three, not two, subcategories depending on their interpretations. He particularly argues

against the idea of classifying the (5.6b) type of interpretation as ‘tag question’ type, and he claims that all three interpretations should be under one single category ‘negative question.’ He further claims that the (5.6a) with the first interpretation should be sub-categorized as ‘non-presuppositional usage’ and the second interpretation of (5.6a) should be sub-categorized as ‘primarily presuppositional usage’ and (5.6b) type should be sub-categorized as ‘secondary presuppositional usage.’

While I will leave the classificational or terminological issue of the long form negative question in Korean as an open issue, I would like to argue for a different perspective towards the functional ambiguities of the long form negative question in Korean. As has been briefly mentioned above, most of the previous works on Korean long form negative question have been treating the construction as having largely two interpretations as shown in (5.6a) and (5.6b) above (K.-K. Chang 1986, 2001 are notable exceptions). Nevertheless, I would like to argue that the two translations of the first interpretation that I have given in (5.6a) should be differentiated and thus propose that the Korean long form negative question can in fact have three different functions (which is a similar view as K.-K. Chang 1986, 2001) as in (5.7) below.

(5.7)  
*Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-ni?*  
 Yengi-NOM eat-CON NEG-INTERR

- ‘a. Yengi doesn’t eat?’
- ‘b. Doesn’t Yengi eat?’
- ‘c. Yengi eats, doesn’t she?’

Furthermore, rather than classifying these three interpretations into different types of categories, I argue that these three interpretations form a gradient continuum in terms of its speech act whose boundaries might not be as clear-cut as have been previously claimed. It has been argued in both Givón (1984) and Croft (1994) that even ‘speech acts’ or ‘sentence types,’ which are previously proposed to be discrete grammatical categories, form a continuum. It seems to me that the classification issue of the three interpretations of the long form negative question in Korean has been the topic of a long discussion among Korean linguists because they are indeed not significantly discrete from each other. Instead, these three interpretations seem to form a continuum depending on several different aspects of the speaker-hearer interaction. The different degree of ‘the speaker’s subjective certainty,’ which was one of parameters underlying the semantic/pragmatic continuum of interrogative speech act proposed by Givón (1984:251) also seems to be one of the significant parameters which underlies the different interpretations of the long form negative question in Korean. Moreover, the hearer’s responses should be accounted for in the analysis of the different interpretations of the long form negative question in Korean as well. As has been argued in Croft (1994), responses make up a structurally and typologically significant class of utterance, since all speech acts involve a response of some kind, although it may be only the minimal acknowledgement of the speaker’s utterance (Croft 1994:468). In the case of the Korean long form negative question, the different degree of the speaker’s expectation on whether the hearer will agree with him or not, and the different types of responses which the speaker is expecting to receive from the hearer also seem to be important parameters which underlie the continuum. Based on these parameters, the continuum of the three different interpretations of the Korean long form

negative question ‘*Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-ni?*’ given in (5.7) could be schematized as <Table 5.1>.

English translation depending on the interpretation	Speaker’s assumption	Speaker’s subjective certainty towards his/her own assumption	Speaker’s expectation on the hearer’s agreement to his question	Type of the speaker’s expected response from the hearer	Some possible examples of the interlocutor’s expected response
(5.7a) ‘Yengi doesn’t eat?’	‘Yengi doesn’t eat.’	[most uncertain]	[most uncertain]	[most explanatory]	‘She’s not eating right now but... (explanation)’ ‘Right, it’s because ...(explanation)’
(5.7b) ‘Doesn’t Yengi eat?’	‘Yengi eats.’			[confirming or verifying]	‘Yes, you’re right.’ ‘No, actually.’
(5.7c) ‘Yengi eats, doesn’t she?’	‘Yengi eats.’	[most certain]	[most certain]	[most agreeing]	‘Yes.’ ‘Uh huh.’

<Table 5.1. *Functional continuum of the three different interpretations of the Korean long form negative question ‘Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-ni?’*>

When a single construction shows multiple interpretations such as the case of the long form negative question in Korean, it can be speculated that this construction is in the process of undergoing a semantic/functional change. It is because semantic changes generally do not occur without a stage of polysemy and because, as Traugott and Dasher (2001) argue, “[e]very change, at any level in a grammar, involves not “A > B,” i.e., the simple replacement of one item by another, but rather “A > A ~ B > B” and then sometimes “> B” alone” (Traugott and Dasher 2001:11). Current ‘layering’ (cf. Hopper 1991, in Traugott and Dasher 2001:12) of different meanings of the long form negative question in Korean suggests that this construction might be in the intermediate stage (“A ~ B”) of

semantic change. Considering the fact that the long form negative question construction derived from the long form negative declarative sentence, it can be speculated that the interpretation in (5.7a) could be the oldest meaning since this is the only interpretation where the negative meaning in the speaker's assumption still persists. Also, due to the functional gradient continuum, it can also be speculated that the interpretation in (5.7c) might be the newest meaning where the negative meaning as well as the interrogative speech act are least present. It seems to me that this functional ambiguity of the long form negative question in Korean could have been one of the significant factors which drove the construction to grammaticalize into the utterance-final particle *-canha* in spoken Korean. This issue will be further dealt with in more detail in section 5.5.

### 5.2.2. The nature of the morpheme *-ci* in the long form negation in Korean

Another major issue related to the long form negation in Korean which has been long debated among Korean linguists concerns the nature of the morpheme *-ci*. In Modern Korean, this morpheme appears largely in three different contexts such as the following invented examples:

(5.8)

- a. 'Negative *-ci*':  
*Mina-nun hakkyo-ey ka-ci anh-ass-ta.*  
 Mina-TOP school-LOC go-CON NEG-ANT-DECL  
 'Mina didn't go to school.'
- b. 'Utterance-final *-ci*':  
 A: *hoyuy-ka taum cwu-y-ess-na?*  
 meeting-TOP next week-COP-ANT-NCOMT

‘Was the meeting next week?’  
 B: → *ipen cwu-ey iss-ci.*  
 this week-LOC exist-COMT  
 ‘It’s this week (of course).’

c. ‘Connective ending *-ci*’:  
*i-kes-un ppalkan-sayk-i-ci phalan-sayk-i*  
 this-thing-TOP red-color-COP-CON blue-color-CON  
*ani-ta.*  
 NEG.COP-DECL  
 ‘This is red, not blue.’

(5.8a) is an instance of *-ci* suffixed to the predicate to form the long form negative construction. For the ease of explanation of this current section, I will call this type of *-ci* as the ‘negative *-ci*.’ The conversation (5.8b) shows an example of *-ci* used as a sentential ending, or as an utterance-final particle which appears at the end of a sentence or an utterance. H.-S. Lee (1999a) calls this type of *-ci* as ‘committal *-ci*,’ since according to him, this specific marker reflects that “the speaker is biased or leaning toward committing him/herself to or believing in the conveyed message and emphasizes that belief” (H.-S. Lee 1999a:246), and thus it is a marker which demonstrates the speaker’s commitment to the truthfulness of the information conveyed. It also has been argued in K.-H. Chang (1985) that the core meaning of *-ci* at the end of a sentence is “*imi alm* (already having information of)” (K.-H. Chang 1985:112, cited in H.-S. Lee 1999a:245), and in K. Ko (1989) that it conveys “integrated knowledge” (K. Ko 1989, cited in DeLancey 1997:46), and hence it has roughly been translated in English as ‘of course.’ In other words, the utterance-final *-ci* explicitly marks a piece of integrated knowledge of the speaker that nevertheless needs to be stated. This second type of *-ci* will be called ‘utterance-final *-ci*’ in this section. And

lastly, (5.8c) illustrates an instance of *-ci* used as a connective ending, where it is used to link two clauses in a sentence. Particularly, this third type of *-ci* can only be suffixed to the preceding clause which convey information that the speaker truly believes to be true, and with the following clause which convey contrasting information from the preceding clause as a form of a negative clause or a rhetorical question. I will call this third type of *-ci* as ‘connective ending *-ci*’ in this section.

The most controversial issue concerning these three types of *-ci* in Modern Korean which has led Korean linguists to an extensive debate is whether these three *-ci*’s are historically related to each other or not. The fundamental issue that has been causing such a conundrum seems to me to be the lack of sufficient attested documents. First of all, since Hankul, the Korean alphabet, existed only from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it is difficult to verify the exact origin of these three types of *-ci* with documents from before the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Secondly, as can be seen in the example (5.8b), the utterance-final *-ci* is a particle used in informal style in spoken Korean. Thus the utterance-final *-ci* must have evolved in spoken Korean and hence it would be extremely difficult to trace back its history due to the lack of existing diachronic spoken data for Korean<sup>46</sup>. The historical relatedness of these three types of *-ci* to each other still remains unsolved up to the present day. Since my current chapter’s main interest is not solely about the historical origin of the morpheme *-ci*, space does not allow me to discuss the very complicated and intertwined discussions that have been ongoing concerning this particular issue in full detail. However, it seems worth

---

<sup>46</sup> Even the exact period of the data that the utterance-final *-ci* is first attested remains controversial. Y.-J. Park (1995) claims that the first attested example of the utterance-final *-ci* can be found in documents of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Y.-K. Lee (2011) and S. Yi (2007:212, in Y.-K. Lee 2011:47) argue that it is not found until documents of the 18<sup>th</sup> century while Y.-H. Jang (2012) claims that it is not found until documents of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



mentioning at least briefly the different sides of the debate concerning the morpheme *-ci* in order to better understand the nature of the long form negative question and the long form negation in Korean and hence the origin of the utterance-final particle *-canha* which is the main concern of this chapter.

It has been argued by H.-S. Lee (1999a) that the negative *-ci* (such as in (5.8a)) and the utterance-final *-ci* (such as in (5.8b)) are the same *-ci*. However, D.-S. Kim (1981, in K.-K. Chang 1986), S.-J. Chang (1984), Y. Lee (2001), J.-N. Koo (1992) and Y.-H. Jang (2012) claim that only the *-ci* in the particular long form negative question which requests agreement from the hearer (and has been called ‘confirmation question’ (D.-S. Kim 1981, Y. Lee 2001) or ‘tag question’ (S.-J. Chang 1984, J.-N. Koo 1992)) is the same *-ci* as the utterance-final *-ci*. These scholars’ claim for the relatedness between the negative *-ci* and the utterance-final *-ci* are based on their synchronic semantic/functional overlap as well as the similarities among them in terms of the syntactic characteristics. However, K.-K. Chang (1986, 2001) disputes this idea and argues that the negative *-ci* and the utterance-final *-ci* cannot be the same *-ci* because they do not share the exactly same syntactic features (such as difference in the position of the tense marker).

From a diachronic perspective, J.-S. Hong (1990, in H.-S. Lee 1999a:266) argues that both the negative *-ci* and the utterance-final *-ci* have the same historical origin, deriving from *-ti* which is a Middle Korean nominalizer<sup>47</sup>. Nevertheless, Y.-J. Park (1995) suggests for a possibility that the utterance-final *-ci* might have existed as a sentential ending independently from the other two types of *-ci*. On the other hand, K.-G. Lee (p.c., in H.-S.

---

<sup>47</sup> [ti] shifted to [ i] around 18<sup>th</sup> century in Korea due to palatalization (H.-W. Park 2011:475).

Lee 1999a:266) argues while the negative *-ci* might have derived from *-ti*, the utterance-final *-ci* could have derived from the connective ending in Middle Korean *-tiWi*.

There has been various claims concerning the relatedness of the three types of *-ci* in Modern Korean and *-tiWi* which is one of the connective endings in Middle Korean<sup>48</sup>. K.-G. Lee (p.c., in H.-S. Lee 1999a:226) and Y.-K. Lee (2012) claim that *-tiWi* is the origin of the utterance-final *-ci*, while J.-L. Kim (1997) and Y.-K. Ko (2009:375-376) argue that it is the origin of the connective *-ci* (as shown in (5.8c)) (however, Y.-K. Ko additionally comments that the connective *-ci* is not the same *-ci* as the negative *-ci* (Y.-K. Ko 2009:155)). Others such as J.-M. Suh (1987:134-42, in Y.-J. Park 1995:256) and Y.-H. Jang (2012) argue that *-tiWi* is the historical source of the connective *-ci*, which later developed into the utterance-final *-ci*.

Despite this long ongoing discussion, the issue of whether the negative *-ci*, the utterance-final *-ci* and the connective ending *-ci* are historically related or not still remains unsolved. This present paper will not take any sides and thus will leave this issue as an open question, since without sufficient historical evidence, it would be impossible to verify the validity of the above arguments. Nevertheless, it seems that what this long debate among numerous Korean linguists suggests, is that all the three types of *-ci* have been

---

<sup>48</sup> The historical formal shift of *-tiWi* has been schematized as follows in J.-L. Kim (1997:45):

<b>15<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>16<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>17<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>18<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>19<sup>th</sup> Century</b>
<i>-tiWi</i>				
<i>-tiwuy</i>	<i>-tiwuy</i>	<i>-tiwuy</i>		
<i>-tiwoy</i>				
<i>-tiwuey</i>		<i>-tiwuey</i>	<i>-ciwuey</i>	
	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ci</i>	<i>-ci</i>
			<i>-cye</i>	<i>-cye</i>

demonstrating various overlapping features as well as various differences with each other in terms of their function and syntax both diachronically and synchronically.

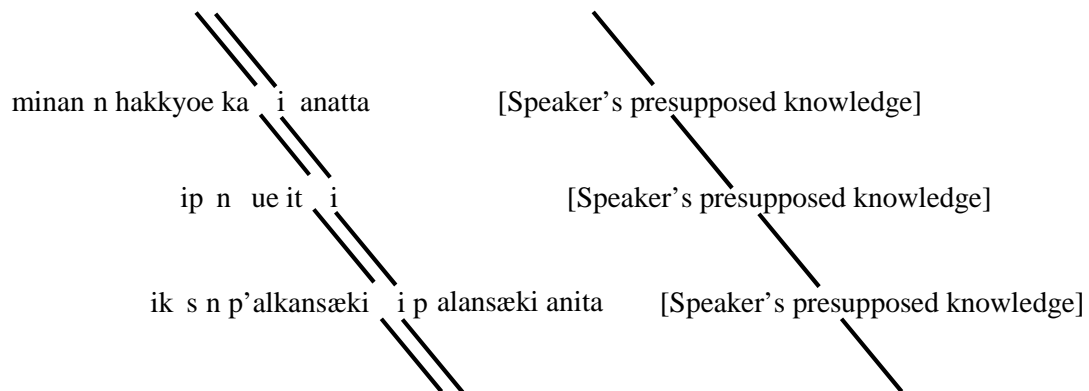
Because there isn't sufficient historical data to examine the exact origin of these three types of *-ci*, what can be seen at least from the synchronic view is that all these three types of *-ci* share a number of significant formal features; their verbal suffixal characteristics and also their phonetic features, i.e., they are pronounced the same way as [i]. Furthermore, despite their different individual usage (since synchronically they are all in different grammatical categories), there is a notable semantic and functional commonness among these three types of *-ci* as well, which is indicating that the information they are conveying is the speaker's assumed or presupposed knowledge. For instance, the fact that the short form negation and the long form negation in Korean have been argued to differ in meaning (S.-C. Song 1973, 1979, H.-B. Im 1973, C.-H. Cho 1975, K. Lee 1993, all cited in H.-S. Lee 1999a; J.-N. Koo 1992, cited in H.-W. Park 2003; H.-S. Lee 1999a) might suggest that it is because the long form negation shows a higher degree of biased perspective than the short form negation (this is a similar view to H.-S. Lee's (1999a) argument). For instance, the long form negation shown in (5.8a) above might sound stronger than its short form version *Mina-nun hakkyo-ey an ka-ss-ta* (Mina-TOP school-LOC NEG go-ANT-DECL) 'Mina didn't go to school' in terms of the speaker's stance towards the truthfulness of his own statement. This is due to *-ci*, which renders the entire sentence to have the implication 'I thought Mina went to school, but it turned out to be not true.' This implication suggests that the function of the negative *-ci* is to convey the speaker's already presupposed knowledge.

The utterance-final *-ci* as shown in (5.8b) above also conveys knowledge already presupposed knowledge by the speaker, as H.-S. Lee (1999a) also argues that it conveys the speaker's strong belief about the conveyed message. One of the characteristics of the utterance-final *-ci* is that it cannot be used with newly acquired information. For instance, B's utterance in the example (5.8b) cannot be used if the speaker B has just learned the fact that the meeting is next week. Of course, if the speaker wanted to pretend to have known that fact for some time in front of A, he could utter as (5.8b) even though he too, was ignorant of this fact until just a few moments ago (H.-S. Lee (1999a) argues that utterance-final *-ci* can convey 'obviousness' and thus can sometimes be used when the speaker is boasting).

As for the connective *-ci* shown in (5.8c), this type of *-ci* can only be used in a very specific type of construction: the clause which precedes *-ci* must convey information that the speaker assumes to be true, while the clause that follows *-ci* must either negate or rhetorically interrogate contrasting information from the information conveyed in the preceding clause. This fact also shows that the connective *-ci* is used in a construction which highlights the speaker's presupposed knowledge.

We have just observed that all the three types of *-ci* show commonness both in terms of their forms (being pronounced the same way), functions (conveying the speaker's already presupposed knowledge) and syntactic positions (being verbal suffixes) at least in from the synchronic perspective. This suggests that although it might indeed be true that the three types of *-ci* do not have the same historical origin, it is still possible that the current speakers of Modern Korean might be in the process of reanalyzing as if all these three types of *-ci* are related to each other due to their synchronic formal, functional and

syntactical overlap. This could be explained by Bybee’s usage-based theory (Bybee 2001, Bybee and Beckner 2010) where usage or experience can affect the nature of mental representation. According to her exemplar model, every token of use can impact cognitive representation since when an input of a token has the same phonological or morphosyntactic or semantic-pragmatic property with an already existing exemplar, it will be mapped on the existing exemplar by strengthening it. By using the networks representation (Bybee 1985, in Bybee 2001) where the author illustrates the mapping relations and similarities among exemplars, the relations between the three types of *-ci* discussed in this section could be shown as <Figure 5.1>.



<Figure 5.1. *Phonological and semantic-pragmatic connections yield Speaker's presupposed knowledge in Minanan hakkyoey kaci anhassta 'Mina didn't go to school', ipen cwuey issci 'It's this week (of course)', ikesun ppalkansaykici phalansayki anita 'This is red, not blue' in Modern Korean*>

<Figure 5.1> demonstrates well the relations between formal and semantic-pragmatic features of the three types of *-ci* in Modern Korean. This network representation shows that although diachronically these three types of *-ci* might not be related to each other, at least from the synchronic perspective, the speakers of Modern Korean might be developing these formal and functional links between each other due to their morphophonological and

semantic-pragmatic mappings<sup>49</sup>. Thus, regardless of their historical relationship, because of this recurrent pattern that the three types of *-ci* show in Modern Korean, I am suggesting that it is another possibility that a close relationship among these three *-ci*'s might currently be emerging in the current speakers' mental representation.

### **5.3. Short and long form negative questions in Modern Spoken Korean**

In the previous section, the long form negative construction as well as the long form negative question construction in Korean, which are the historical origin of the utterance-final particle *-canha*, have been described. Moreover, a number of problematic issues related to the long form negative constructions such as the issue of whether or not there is a semantic difference between the long and short form negations in Korean, and the classification issue of the long form negative question have also been raised. Nonetheless, considering the fact that there exist two different constructions for negation (the short form and the long form) in Korean, what should be further examined is the motivation for why it was particularly the long form negation and not the short form negation which grammaticalized into an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean. More specifically, the reason why the long form negative question and not the short form negative question evolved into an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean still remains to be explained.

---

<sup>49</sup> Similarly, Lin (2014) also shows a case study on two markers with different historical origins merging into one single particle. According to Lin, Chinese restrictive attributive modification marker DE1 and marker of adverbial DE2 which have different etymologies are merged into one particle, currently functioning as a general marker of modification. She explains that this diachronic merge is not only due to their phonetic resemblance (both pronounced as [t ]), but also due to their functional overlap. The historical development of these two distinct markers and their historical merge is discussed in detail in Lin (2014).

Though a diachronic examination might not be possible due to the lack of the diachronic spoken data, it seems worth which to observe the current usage of both long and short form negation constructions since the long form negative question is still being actively used in Modern Spoken Korean despite the fact that its reduced form *-canh-* has completely grammaticalized into the utterance-final particle *-canha* in spoken Korean. Hence, this present section will examine the usage of long and short form negation in Modern Spoken Korean by using naturally occurring interactional spontaneous conversation data in order to seek whether there was a particular trigger for the long form negation and not the short form negation to grammaticalize into an utterance-final particle.

In section 5.3.1, information about the data used for the examination will be presented, and section 5.3.2 will described the findings.

### **5.3.1. Source of data**

The data used in this study is from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong corpus. For more details on the data, see section 1.6.1 of chapter 1.

### **5.3.2. Distributional differences between the short form negation and long form negation in Modern Spoken Korean**

As has been briefly described in section 5.2, although this present study takes the point of view where the short and long form negations have different functions from each other (though the difference might be subtle), the issue of whether or not there is a semantic

difference between these two forms of negation remains controversial among Korean linguists. The present study examines whether there is any differences between these two forms of negation in Korean in terms of their actual usage in spoken Korean. First of all, the overall frequencies of the short and long forms of negation in spoken Korean used as sentential or clausal negation were observed<sup>50</sup>. <Table 5.2> shows the result.

	<b>Number of frequency</b>
<b>Short form negation in Modern Spoken Korean</b>	4261
<b>Long form negation in Modern Spoken Korean</b>	426

<Table 5.2. *The numbers of frequency of short and long form negation in spoken Korean*>

My corpus findings showed that there is a significant difference in the overall frequencies of these two forms in spoken Korean. In total, 426 cases of long form negation used as sentential or clausal negation were found, and 4261 cases of short form negation were found to be used as sentential or clausal negation. This result shows that in Modern Spoken Korean, short form negation shows 10 times higher frequency than the long form negation.

It has been argued by H.-M. Sohn (1994) that while there might not be any semantic difference between the short and long form negation in Korean, he argued that there is a stylistic difference between these two forms, where the short form negation is more informal than the long form negation. Furthermore, in J.-H. Lee's (2008) corpus-based study on Korean short and long form negations, it has been claimed that the difference between these two forms of negation is their register. J.-H. Lee's (2008) study shows that while the long form negation occurred five times as frequently as the short form negation

---

<sup>50</sup> Although both long and short form negations can also be used as lexical negation, this study only included those that are used in sentential or clausal negation.



in written data, the short form negation was five times more frequent than the long form negation in spoken data<sup>51</sup>. Although the proportion of the short form negation is much higher in my spoken Korean data<sup>52</sup>, my corpus findings' general tendency seems to agree with the result of J.-H Lee's (2008), where the short form negation is more frequently used than the long form negation in spoken Korean due to the register.

Considering the fact that the main reason of the different proportion of the short and long form negations shown in my corpus is due to the spoken nature of my data, the present study further examined whether there is any difference in the usage between these two forms within the spoken register. First of all, this paper observed the proportions of these two forms used in declarative/indicative utterances and their uses in interrogative/question constructions. Declarative or indicative utterances with rising intonation contour were also considered as interrogative constructions. However, when the rising intonation contour occurring with declarative or indicative utterances were used to show that the speaker wants to keep the floor or to show that he or she is expecting a reaction from the other interlocutor (such as backchannels), then the utterance was considered as declarative or indicative. Utterances with falling intonation were also considered as interrogative constructions if they were used with interrogative sentential endings such as *-nya* and *-supnikka*. <Table 5.3> shows the different proportions of declarative or indicative utterances and interrogative utterances used with short form negation and long form negation in spoken Korean.

---

<sup>51</sup> The corpus which was used in J.-H. Lee's (2008) work to compare the difference of the distribution of the long and short form negations in spoken and written Korean was the Sejong Raw Corpus.

<sup>52</sup> This proportional difference between my corpus findings and those of J.-H. Lee's (2008) might be due to various reasons. While this present study observed the long and short form negations used in sentential of clausal negation only, it seems that J.-H. Lee (2008) included the lexical negation type as well in her research. Moreover, J.-H. Lee's (2008) spoken data consists of only drama scripts which are not naturally occurred spontaneous speech. Thus her spoken data is closer to semi-spoken data rather than spoken data.

<b>Sentence/Utterance type</b>	<b>Short form negation</b>	<b>Long form negation</b>
Declarative/Indicative	3878 (91.0%)	163 (38.3%)
Interrogative	383 (9.0%)	263 (61.7%)
Total	4261 (100%)	426 (100%)

<Table 5.3. *The distribution of the short form and long form negation in spoken Korean, depending on the sentence/utterance type*>

The result in <Table 5.3> shows that the short form negation in spoken Korean is more often used in a declarative or indicative utterance (91.0%) than in an interrogative utterance (9.0%). However, unlike the short form negation, the long form negation is used as interrogative utterances for 61.7%, and is used as declarative or indicative utterances for only 38.3% of the time. These results suggest that at least in spoken Korean, the long form negation is more likely to be used in interrogatives than the short form negation.

The next section will further investigate whether there is any differences in the use of the interrogative types of these two negative constructions in spoken Korean.

### **5.3.3. Distributional differences of the short form negative question and the long form negative question in Modern Spoken Korean**

As described in section 5.2.1, the long form negative question in Korean is ambiguous and can have multiple interpretations. Particularly, I argued that it can have mainly three different interpretations depending on the context, and I also claimed that the speech act of these three interpretations of the long form negative question forms a continuum depending on various parameters such as the speaker's subjective certainty towards his or her own assumption and the speaker's expectation on the hearer's response

to his question. This study examined all of the 263 cases of the long form negative question in order to verify the following question: if the construction can have more than one interpretation, then how often is it used with which interpretation? Furthermore, it must be noted that although the discussion in section 5.2.1 only dealt with the ambiguity of the long form negative question in Korean, the short form negative question can also have more than one interpretation. For this reason, I observed all 383 cases of the short form negative questions as well, and compared the results of the two forms of negative questions in spoken Korean.

Before jumping into the final results of the observation, the coding method will be briefly described here. As I have showed in section 5.2.1, the long form negative question can have three different interpretations as could be seen in the example (5.7), repeated here as (5.9).

(5.9)  
*Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-ni?*  
 Yengi-NOM eat-CON NEG-INTERR

- 'a. Yengi doesn't eat?'
- 'b. Doesn't Yengi eat?'
- 'c. Yengi eats, doesn't she?'

If the negative question construction, either in short form or long form, could be most closely translated in English as (5.9a), in other words, when the speaker is questioning whether what he or she assumes to be not true is true, then it was coded as 'NEG ASSM' (interrogation with negative assumption). On the other hand, if the construction is used when the speaker is assuming that the information conveyed is true but is requesting the

hearer to provide him or her with verification or confirmation about this fact (which could be most closely translated in English as (5.9b)), then it was coded as ‘PST ASSM for VER/CONF’ (interrogation with positive assumption for requesting verification or confirmation). Lastly, if the construction is used when the speaker is assuming that the information conveyed is true, and also assumes that the hearer would take this as true as well, and is requesting the hearer to agree with him or her (which could be most closely translated in English as (5.9c)), then it was coded as ‘PST ASSM for AGR’ (interrogation with positive assumption for requesting agreement). Among the 263 cases of the long form negative question, there were 8 cases where it was impossible to define exactly how the construction is used due to the lack of sufficient context. Excluding these 8 cases, the remaining 255 cases were included in the examination. Among the 383 cases of the short form negative question, 16 cases were found to be difficult to analyze due to the lack of sufficient context. These 16 cases were excluded in the examination, and hence the remaining 367 cases of the short form negative question were observed.

The results of the observation for the long form negative question and the short form negative question will be described into two separate sections. In section 5.3.3.1, the result of the long form negative question will be first discussed. In section 5.3.3.2, the result of the short form negative question will be examined. And lastly, section 5.3.3.3, will compare the result of the long form negative question and the result of the short form negative question.

**5.3.3.1. Functional distribution of the long form negative question in Modern Spoken Korean**

The result of the observation for the long form negative question is summarized

<Table 5.4> shown below.

	'NEG ASSM'	'NEG ASSM' or 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	'PST ASSM for VER/CONF' or 'PST ASSM for AGR'	'PST ASSM for AGR'	Total
LFNQ	5 (2.0%)	10 (3.9%)	57 (22.4%)	57 (22.4%)	126 (49.4%)	255

Index:

LFNQ = Long form negative question

NEG ASSM = Interrogation with negative assumption

PST ASSM for VER/CONF = Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting verification or confirmation

PST ASSM for AGR= Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting agreement

<Table 5.4. *Functional distribution of long form negative questions in spoken Korean*>

The second column of the above table 'NEG ASSM' suggests that only 5 of the 255 cases (2.0%) were found to be used as a NEG ASSM, i.e., it was used when the speaker is asking whether what he or she assumes to be not true is true. The following excerpt is an example of the long form negative question used as NEG ASSM.

(5.10) 5CM00043

(Context: P1 is telling P2 about his experience he had when he used to work as a part-time job in a bar.)

1 P1: *ku patak-eyse ywuk kaywel iss-ess-te-ni,*  
that field-LOC six month exist-ANT-FH.EV-DET  
'After having been in that field (working in a bar) for six month,'

- 2 P2: @@  
'@@'
- 3 P1: <@ *malpal-i* *nul-te-kwun*, @>  
conversing.skill-NOM improve-FH.EV-UNASSIM  
'<@ My conversing skill got improved, @>
- 4→ P2: *a wenlay tangsin-uy= malpal-un [ileh-ci*  
DM originally your-GEN conversing.skill-TOP like.this-CON  
anh-ass-e?]  
NEG-ANT-INDC  
'Oh your conversing skill wasn't like this before?'
- 5 P1: *[na mal*  
I speech  
*toykey mos-hay-ss-e.]*  
very NEG(IMPOT)-do-ANT-INDC  
'I used to have a very bad conversing skill.'
- 6 *na cincca-lwu*  
I real-INSTR  
'For real.'

In this excerpt, after listening to P1's explanation that he acquired his conversing skill through his working experience in a bar, P2 is questioning P1 if his conversing skill was not as good as now before working at the bar. In doing so, P2 is using a long form negative question as can be seen in line 4 (marked by an arrow). As the English translation suggests, the speaker P2 is asking whether the information conveyed in his question ('your conversing skill was not good') is true (thus having a negative assumption).

Before discussing the shaded third column let us first discuss the fourth column 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF.' The corpus data showed that 57 cases of the long form negative question (22.4%) were used as PST ASSM for VER/CONF, i.e., it was used when the speaker is assuming that the information conveyed is true but is requesting the hearer to provide him or her with verification or confirmation about his or her positive assumption. The excerpt shown below is an instance of the long form negative question used as PST ASSM for VER/CONF.

(5.11) 7CM00026

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about their old classmate Swucin.)

- 1 P1: *a Swucini*  
DM Swuci  
*samswusayng*  
student.who.repeated.the.college.entrance.exam.twice  
*iss-ess-canha Swucini.*  
exist-ANT-UFP Swucin  
'Ah there was Swucin, the one who repeated the college entrance exam twice, Swucin.'
- 2 *ay emma.*  
child mom  
'A mom.'
- 3 *ay emma-nun ani-ciman,*  
child mom-TOP NEG.COP-CON  
'She's not a mom but,'
- 4 *kyelhon-ha-n akassi.*  
marriage-do-ATTR(RL) miss  
'The miss who got married.'
- 5 *acwumma?*  
missus  
'(Or should I say) Missus?'
- 6→ P4: *cikum-un ay iss-ci anh-ulkka?*  
now-TOP child exist-CON NEG-DUB  
'Wouldn't she be a mom by now?'
- 7 P1: *acik an mantul-ess-ul-kel?*  
not.yet NEG make-ANT-ATTR(IRRL)-PRESUM  
'I doubt that she had a baby yet.'

In this excerpt, the long form negative question in line 6 is used by P4. Unlike the long form negative question in the previous excerpt (5.10), the construction in this present excerpt suggests that P4 is assuming that the information conveyed ('Swucin would be a mom by now') is true, rather than not true (hence it is a positive assumption rather than a negative assumption). However, since she is not completely sure about her own assumption, she is requesting P1 to provide her some information about her assumption.

However, there were also some cases where it wasn't very clear whether the speaker is using the long form negative question as a NEG ASSM or as a PST ASSM for VER/CONF. In other words, there were some cases where the construction might have an ambiguity at least from the hearer's perspective. Excerpt (5.12) is such an instance.

(5.12) 7CM00044

(Context: P1 and P2 have been talking about the song that has been playing in the coffee shop where they are conversing. P2 is starting a new story.)

- 1 → P2: *Cihye-nun mwe= ywuhak kath-un ke*  
 Cihye-TOP DM study.abroad be.like-ATTR(RL) thing  
*ka-ko siph-ci ka-ko siph-ci anh-a?*  
 go-CON wish-CON go-CON wish-CON NEG-INDC  
 'Cihye, {don't you want to don't you want to / you don't want to} go study  
 abroad or something like that?'
- 2 P1: *ywuhak-i-yo?*  
 study.abroad-COP-HON.END  
 'Studying abroad?'
- 3 P2: *ung.*  
 yeah  
 'Yeah.'
- 4 P1: *ce-nun=,*  
 I-TOP  
 'In my case=,'
- 5 *oykwuk-ey ka-se.*  
 foreign.country-LOC go-PRECED  
 'In foreign countries.'
- 6 *oykwuk-ey ka-se kongpwu-ha-ko*  
 foreign.country-LOC go-PRECED study-do-CON  
*siph-un sayngkak-un pyello*  
 wish-ATTR(RL) thought-TOP not.particularly  
*eps-ko-yo,*  
 not.exist-CON-HON.END  
 'I don't particularly want go study in foreign countries but,'
- 7 P2: *<@ ung, @>*  
 yeah  
 '<@ Yeah, @>'
- 8 P1: *kunyang noll-e-nun ka-ko*  
 just have.fun-CON-TOP go-CON  
*siph-e-yo.*  
 wish-INDC-HON.END



‘I just want to go traveling.’

In the excerpt (5.12), the long form negative question was used in line 1 by the speaker P2. At least from the hearer’s (P1) point of view, it would not be clear if P2 is assuming that ‘Cihye does not want to go study abroad’ and asking her if this is true (NEG ASSM), or if P2 is assuming that ‘Cihye wants to go study abroad’ and asking if his assumption is true (PST ASSM for VER/CONF). The cases which showed this type of ambiguity are reflected in the shaded third column in the above <Table 5.4>, and it shows that there were 10 cases (3.9%) of them.

Before discussing the result in the shaded fifth column in <Table 5.4>, the result of the sixth column PST ASSM for AGR will be discussed first. The corpus data showed that there were 126 cases of the long form negative question (49.4%) which were used as PST ASSM for AGR, i.e., where the construction was used when the speaker is assuming that the information conveyed is true and also assumes that the hearer would be assuming that this is true as well, and is requesting the hearer to provide him or her with agreement. Excerpt (5.13) is such an example.

(5.13) 4CM00034

(Context: The speakers are talking about Korean celebrities. They have been talking about Chwucayen, who is a Korean actress.)

- 1 → P6: *ippu-ci \_\_\_\_\_ anh-e?*  
pretty-CON NEG-INDC  
‘She’s pretty, isn’t she?’
- 2 P1: *kyay-ka Cengwungin-ilang*  
that.child-NOM Cengwungin-with  
*kyelhon-ha-n-ta-kwu,*  
marriage-do-IMPF-DECL-COMP  
‘They say she’s marrying Cengwungin.’

- 3 P5: *yey.*  
yes  
'Yes.'
- 4 P4: *Cengwungin-ilang kyelhon-ha-n-tay-yo,*  
Cengwungin-with marriage-do-IMPF-QUOT-HON.END  
'They say that she's getting married to Cengwungin,'
- 5 P2: *cincca-lo?*  
real-INSTR  
'For real?'
- 6 P6: *ippu-ci?*  
pretty-COMT  
'She's pretty, right?'
- 7 *a nemwu ipp-e.*  
DM so pretty-INDC  
'Ah she is so pretty.'

In (5.13) above, P6 is using the long form negative question in line 1. The long form negative question in (5.13) is not used to ask the speaker's negative assumption ('She is not pretty') is true, but on the contrary, the speaker is assuming that the information conveyed is indeed true ('She is pretty'), thus has a positive assumption. However, unlike the speaker P4 in the excerpt (5.11), who was not entirely sure of the truthfulness of her assumption and was thus asking the hearer for a confirmation, the speaker P6 in (5.13) seems to be very confident of his own assumption. Although it cannot be seen whether any one of the other interlocutors was nodding to P6's question or not since the transcript does not provide any information of nonverbal gestures, according to the lines 2-5, no one is giving an answer at least verbally to P6's question. Instead, the other interlocutors are talking about the actress' upcoming marriage rather than P6's comment on her beauty. P6 then re-attempts his unanswered question by uttering as line 6 and 7. This time, he uses a slightly different construction which is an interrogative using with the committal ending *-ci*, which makes the utterance a very biased question towards the truthfulness of the

proposition, and hence has been translated in English as ‘right?’. Furthermore, P6’s following utterance in line 7 clearly demonstrates that P6 indeed believes that the actress is pretty. The two lines 6 and 7 suggest that the long form negative question in line 1 was not used to request verification or confirmation from the hearer, but rather it was used to request some type of agreement from the other interlocutors.

Excerpt (5.14) shown below is another such instance.

(5.14) 4CM00029

(Context: P1 has just told the others that she and her mother came to an agreement that her swimming practice in the past caused her to have thick forearms.)

- 1 → P6: *swuyeng-ha-myen ekkay-ka*  
 swim-do-COND shoulder-NOM  
*peleci-ci anh-a-yo?*  
 broaden-CON NEG-INDC-HON.END  
 ‘If you swim, it’s the shoulders which become broader, isn’t it?’
- 2 *phalttwuk-un an kwulkeci-nuntey,*  
 forearm-TOP NEG thicken-CIRCUM  
 ‘It’s not the forearms which get thicker,’
- 3 P1: *ani-ey-yo,*  
 NEG-COP.INDC-HON.END  
 ‘No,’
- 4 *swuyeng-hay- ha-nun salam-to pothong phalttwuk*  
 swim-do do-ATTR(RL) person-ADD normally forearm  
*tukke,*  
 thick  
 ‘People who swim normally they also have thick forearms,’
- 5 P6: *<@ eyi swuyeng-ul ceytaylo mos-ha-nikka*  
 DM swim-ACC properly NEG(IMPOT)-do-CAUSL  
*kule-ci, @>*  
 be.such-COMT  
 ‘<@ Hey that’s because they can’t swim properly, @>’

In this excerpt, the speaker P6 is using a long form negative question in line 1. The context suggests that P6 is assuming that the fact ‘swimming broadens shoulders (and does not

thickens forearms)’ is true. The fact that P6 was requesting agreement from the hearer(s) rather than verification or confirmation by using the long form negative question can clearly be seen in P6’s response in line 5. When the speaker P1 shows a different point of view from P6’s comments in lines 3 and 4, that the cause of her thick arms might be due to her swimming practice, P6 argues back in line 5. This fact clearly demonstrates that P6 was not asking for verification or confirmation whether her assumption is true or not by using the long form negative question in line 1, but she was indeed expecting an agreement from P1.

Nevertheless, there were also cases where it was difficult to see whether the speaker is using the long form negative question as PST ASSM for VER/CONF or if he or she is using it as PST ASSM for ARG. In other words, there were cases where it was difficult to tell whether the speaker is requesting the hearer verification or confirmation for his or her assumption, or whether he or she was requesting agreement from the hearer. There were 57 cases (22.4%) of these ambiguous cases, and this result is shown in the shaded fifth column in <Table 5.4>. The excerpt in (5.15) is such an ambiguous example.

(5.15) 4CM00028

(Context: P1 has just told P2 that she recently moved and now lives near the Express Bus Terminal station.)

- 1→ P2: *keki Nyukhoa-to kakkap-ci anh-ni?*  
that.place Nyukhoa-ADD close-CON NEG-INTERR  
‘Isn’t that place also close to the Nywukhoa department store? / That place is also close to the Nywukhoa department store, right?’
- 2 P1: *yey.*  
yes  
‘Yes.’
- 3 [*Nyukhoa kakkap-ci-yo.*]  
Nyukhoa close-COMT-HON.END  
‘The Nywukhoa department store is close.’

- 4 P2: *[acikkaci iss-ni?]*  
 still exist-INTERR  
 'Is it still there?'
- 5 P1: *yey.*  
 yes  
 'Yes.'

It is not easy to tell whether the long form negative question in line 1 is used to request confirmation or verification, or to request agreement from the hearer, about the fact that 'the Nuwykhoa department store is close to the Express Bus Terminal station.' The utterance in line 1 definitely demonstrates that the speaker P2 is quite familiar with the surroundings of the Express Bus Terminal station, since this construction suggests that P2 is assuming the fact that 'the Nywukhoa department store is close to the Express Bus Terminal station.' Therefore P2's utterance in line 1 can be considered to be used as PST ASSM for AGR. However, her additional question in line 4, suggests that she is not absolutely sure whether the department store still exists in the same place or not, i.e., she is not entirely sure about her assumption any more. This suggests that P2's utterance in line 1 might have been used as PST ASSM for VER/CONF. This is the reason why the long form negative question in line 1 might have more than one interpretation (either requesting verification/confirmation or requesting agreement), at least from the hearer's point of view.

The excerpt shown in (5.16) is another such ambiguous instance.

(5.16) 6CM00107

(Context: Eight students are discussing their upcoming group presentation. Since they were not feeling very confident about the flow of their presentation, P2 has just suggested that they should send an email to their professor and ask him for his opinion. P1 agrees.)

- 1 P1: *kyeysok mwul-e po-myen toy-canha.*  
 continually ask-CON see-CON be.done-UFP

2                   ‘We should just keep trying asking him.’  
*sensayngnim* [X]  
 teacher X  
 ‘Teacher X’

3       P2:                   [e    *cehuy co-uy*]                   *myech co-nun*                   *me=*  
                                   yeah   our   group-GEN   some   group-TOP   DM  
*ile-n*                           *sayngkak-ul ha-ko*                   *iss-ketun-yo?*  
 like.this-ATTR(RL)   thought-ACC   do-CON                   exist-UFP-HON.END  
 ‘Yeah (we should write him that) our group’s group number something um=  
 we have been having such and such thoughts,’


4→                   *kulentey com caymi-eps-ci anh-na-yo?*  
                                   but                   a.little fun-not.exist-CON   NEG-INTERR-HON.END  
 ‘But it’s a little boring, right? / But isn’t it a little boring?’

5                   *ile-n sik-ulo salccak tho-tal-ase,*  
 like.this-ATTR(RL)   way-INSTR   a.bit                   phrase-add-PRECED  
 ‘We should add a phrase like this and,’

In this excerpt, the long form negative question is used by the speaker P2 in line 4. However, it is not clear whether it was used to ask for verification or confirmation about whether their presentation seems boring for the professor (PST ASSM for VER/CONF), or whether it was used to with an assumption that their presentation would definitely seem boring for the professor as well and thus is used to request agreement (PST ASSM for AGR).

Let us now re-examine the <Table 5.4>, focusing of the overall tendency of usage that the long form negative question showed in the corpus. <Table 5.4> with is repeated here as <Table 5.4.1.> with a slight modification.

	'NEG ASSM'	'NEG ASSM' or 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	'PST ASSM for VER/CONF' or 'PST ASSM for AGR'	'PST ASSM for AGR'	Total
LFNQ	5 (2.0%)	10 (3.9%)	57 (22.4%)	57 (22.4%)	126 (49.4%)	255
	<b>Negative Assumption</b> 5 (2.0%)	<b>Positive Assumption</b> 250 (98.0)				
	<b>Negative Assumption</b> 15 (5.9%)		<b>Positive Assumption</b> 240 (94.1%)			


  
 Increase of frequency

Index:

LFNQ = Long form negative question

NEG ASSM = Interrogation with negative assumption

PST ASSM for VER/CONF = Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting verification or confirmation

PST ASSM for AGR= Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting agreement

<Table 5.4.1. Overall tendency of long form negative questions in spoken Korean>

<Table 5.4.1> suggests that the long form negative question is least frequently used when the speaker is asking whether what he or she assumes to be not true is true (NEG ASSM). If we exclude the ambiguous cases in the shaded third column (NEG ASSM or PST ASSM for VER/CONF) from the NEG ASSM, then the result shows that the long form negative question conveys negativity only 2.0% of the time. Even if we combine the ambiguous cases in the third column (NEG ASSM or PST ASSM for VER/CONF,' 3.9%) with the 2.0% of the NEG ASSM, the picture does not alter much; it still only consists of 5.9% in total. This signifies that at least in spoken Korean, the long form negative question hardly ever conveys negativity. Instead, for the most of the times (94.1%), the long form negative question is used when the speaker assumes that the information conveyed is true. Furthermore, the above table shows that the long form negative question is most frequently

used as PST ASSM for AGR (49.4%), i.e., when the speaker is requesting agreement from the hearer about the information which the speaker believes to be true. Moreover, there is a clear gradient increase of frequency of the long form negative question as the speaker's subjective certainty towards his or her own assumption becomes more certain, and as the speaker's expectation on the hearer's agreement to his or her question become more certain. In section 5.2.1, I have explained through <Table 5.1> that the speech acts of the three different interpretations of the long form negative question in Korean form a gradient continuum depending on the speaker's subjective certainty towards his or her own assumption and the speaker's expectation on the hearer's response. The above <Table 5.4.1> clearly proves that in actual use as well, the boundary between each interpretation of the long form negative question is not clear-cut as the ambiguous cases between each interpretation demonstrate. Instead, the long form negative question in spoken Korean also shows a gradient continuum among its functions. The gradual increase of the number of uses as the continuum moves towards the PST ASSM for AGR, suggests that the long form negative question in spoken Korean is currently undergoing a functional change, shifting its function from NEG ASSM into PST ASSM for AGR.

### **5.3.3.2. Functional distribution of the short form negative question in Modern Spoken Korean**

In this section, the results of the observation for the short form negative question in spoken Korean will be described. <Table 5.5> below summarizes the result for the short form negative question in spoken Korean.



	‘NEG ASSM’	‘NEG ASSM’ or ‘PST ASSM for VER/CONF’	‘PST ASSM for VER/CONF’	‘PST ASSM for VER/CONF’ or ‘PST ASSM for AGR’	‘PST ASSM for AGR’	Total
SFNQ	287 (78.2%)	72 (19.6%)	2 (0.5%)	0 (0%)	6 (1.6%)	367

Index:

SFNQ = Short form negative question

NEG ASSM = Interrogation with negative assumption

PST ASSM for VER/CONF = Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting verification or confirmation

PST ASSM for AGR= Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting agreement

<Table 5.5. Functional distribution of short form negative questions in spoken Korean>

The second column of the table above demonstrates that there were 287 cases among the 367 cases of short form negative question in spoken Korean (78.2%) is used as NEG ASSM, i.e., it was used when the speaker is asking whether what he or she assumes to be not true is true. The following example is an instance of a short form negative question used as NEG ASSM.

(5.17) 4CM00029

(Context: P6 is taking a guess at P4’s weight.)

- 1 P6: *mom-mwukey ywuk-sip kilo an naka-l*  
body-weight six-ten kilogram NEG go.out-ATTR(IRRL)  
*ke-ta ama,*  
thing.COP-DECL probably  
‘He would not weigh sixty kilograms, probably.’
- 2 P1: [*kulay po-i-nuntey,*]  
be.such see-PASS-CIRCUM  
‘He seems like (he weighs less than sixty kilograms),’
- 3 P4: [*nak-a,*]  
go.out-INDC  
‘I weigh (more than sixty kilograms.)’
- 4→ P2: *cincca ywuk-sip kilo an tway?*  
really six-ten kilogram NEG be.done.INDC

5                   ‘You really don’t weigh sixty kilograms?’  
*khi-ka            iss-nuntey,*  
 height-NOM exist-CIRUM,  
 ‘But you’re tall,’

In the excerpt (5.17), the short form negative question is used in line 4. When P6 says that he thinks that P4’s weight would be less than sixty kilograms in line 1, P2 expresses his surprise by using the short form negative question (although P4 responds that he in fact weighs more than sixty kilograms in line 3, it seems that P2 did not hear this response due to the speech overlap between P4’s utterance in line 3 and P1’s utterance in line 2). This is a definitely a case of NEG ASSM, since P2 is asking whether P4 truly does not weight sixty kilograms by using the expression *cincca* ‘really.’ His surprise or his doubt about the fact that P4 does not weight sixty kilograms can further be seen in his utterance in line 5, where he provides a reason for his doubt. The excerpt in (5.17) illustrates a case of short form negative question as NEG ASSM, used after a negative assumption which was already previously uttered by another interlocutor (line 1, by P6). Thus it was used to question an assumption which was already negated by another speaker.

The next excerpt (5.18) shows a slightly different instance of short form negative question.

(5.18) 4CM00050

(Context: Three friends are talking while walking towards a restaurant. P2 is commenting on a photo studio that they are passing by.)

1       P2:   *ccik-umyen    an    tway.*  
           take-COND  NEG  be.done.INDC  
           ‘You shouldn’t take photo (there).’  
 2       P1:   *way-ye?*  
           why-HON.END

- 3 P2: *way-nya-ha-myen* [cenmwun-sacin--]  
 why-INTERR-do-COND professional-photograph  
 ‘It’s because the professional photograph--’
- 4→ P1: [yeyppu-key an] *nawa-yo?*  
 pretty-RESUL NEG come.out-HON.END  
 ‘The pictures don’t come out pretty?’

In this excerpt, the speaker P1 is using the short form negative question in line 4. This time, P1 is not questioning about the truthfulness of an assumption which was already negated by another speaker as in the excerpt (5.17), since P2 has never uttered that ‘the pictures don’t come out pretty.’ Instead, P1 is presuming that the reason why P2 suggested her not to take photo at the studio, is because ‘the picture don’t come out pretty in that studio,’ and asking P2 if this negative assumption is true or not. The short form negative question in both (5.17) and (5.18) are instances of short form negative question asking the truthfulness of a negated assumption, i.e., NEG ASSM.

However, there were also some cases where it is not clear if the short form negative question is used to ask the other interlocutor whether the assumption being asked is negated or not. There were 72 cases of these ambiguous type (19.6%), and this is reflected in the shaded third column in <Table 5.5>. Excerpt in (5.19) is such an instance of short form negative question found in the corpus.

(5.19) 5CM00041

(Context: P3 has just told P1 that these days, one’s body figure represents that person’s social class, since only those ones who have the time and money can work out regularly.)

- 1 P3: *oppa* *cikum ilehkey* *toy-myen* *kyey-*  
 older.brother now like.this be.done-COND cla-  
*oppa* *kyeykup* *choy-ha-chung-ulo*  
 older.brother class most-low-class-INSTR

- tteleci-l* <@*wihem-ey chehay-ss-ki*  
 fall-ATTR(IRRL) danger-LOC face-ANT-NOMZ  
*ttaym-e @> yelsimhi wuntong-hay-ya tway*  
 cause-CON hard work.out-do-NECESS be.done.INDC  
*oppa-to mommay kwanli.*  
 older.brother-ADD body.figure management  
 ‘Hey if you stay as you are now, <@ you’re going to be facing the danger  
 of falling to the lowest ranking social cla- class, @> so you should be  
 working out hard and you should be taking care of your body figure.’
- 2 P1: *nay mommay-ka ette-ntey=,*  
 my body.figure-NOM how-CIRCUM  
 ‘What’s wrong with my body figure=,’
- 3 P3: *[@@@@]*  
 ‘@@@@’
- 4 P1: *[nay nay cikum mommay-nun ttak cengsang-i-ya.]*  
 my my now body.figure-NOM just normal-COP-INDC  
 ‘My my body figure is currently just normal.’
- 5→ P3: *pay an nawa-ss-e?*  
 stomach NEG come.out-ANT-INDC  
 ‘Don’t you have a big belly? / You don’t have a big belly?’
- 6 P1: *an nawa-ss-e <X wis-pay X>*  
 NEG come.out-ANT-INDC upper-stomach  
 ‘I don’t have a big belly <X upper belly X>’
- 7 P3: *a= kuluh-kwuna=,*  
 DM be.such-UNASSIM  
 ‘Ah= I see=,’

In this excerpt, the short form negative question is used in line 5 by the speaker P3. However, unlike the short form negative questions used in the excerpts (5.17) and (5.18), it is difficult to tell whether the short form negative question in (5.19) is used with either negative or positive assumption of the speaker. This is because in line 1, P3 is warning P1 that he should be working out hard since he is about to fall into the lowest social rank presumably because P3 thinks that P1 does not have a good body figure at the moment. However, P1 argues back in lines 2 and 4 that there is nothing wrong with his body figure, and that is when the speaker P3 is using a short form negative question in line 5. P3’s short form negative question is ambiguous because it is difficult to tell whether P3 is assuming

that ‘P1 does NOT have a big belly’ and asking the P1 whether this negated assumption is true or not (since P1 said that he does not have any problem with his body figure), or whether she is assuming that ‘P1 DOES have a big belly’ and asking P1 to provide with confirmation or verification about her assumption (since the speaker P3 originally thought that P1 does not have a good body figure).

The fourth column of the <Table 5.5> shows that there were only 2 cases of short form negative question (0.5%) where it could be distinguished as a clear example of PST ASSM for VER/CONF without showing much ambiguity with NEG ASSM. In other words, these 2 cases were the only ones where the speaker seems to be using the short form negative question solely to request from the hearer confirmation or verification of the information which the speaker assumes to be true. All of the other instances of the short form negative question used as PST ASSM for VER/CONF showed some degree of ambiguity with NEG ASSM and thus have been placed in the shaded third column. Excerpt (5.20) is an example of a short form negative question used as PST ASSM for VER/CONF.

(5.20) 4CM00006

(Context: P1, P3 and P4 are talking about one of their mutual friends. This friend’s name has not been revealed in the corpus and has been transcribed as <name>. P1 has just told her that their friend <name> is back in Korea. P3 and P4, who expected <name> to be still abroad, are surprised that <name> is back.)

- |    |     |   |                        |            |
|----|-----|---|------------------------|------------|
| 1  | P4: | <i>ka-l</i>   | <i>ttay-nun.</i>       |            |
|    |     | go-ATTR(IRRL)   | time-TOP               |            |
|    |     | ‘When she was leaving Korea.’   |                        |            |
| 2→ |     | <i>cathoyse</i>   | <i>nay-n-ta-ko</i>     | <i>an</i>  |
|    |     | resignation.form  | turn.in-IMPF-DECL-COMP | <u>NEG</u> |
|    |     | <i>hay-ss-e?</i>  |                        |            |
|    |     | do-ANT-INDC   |                        |            |
|    |     | ‘Didn’t she say that she’s turning in the resignation form (to her university in Korea)?’ |                        |            |
| 3  | P3: | <i>ani-y-a.</i>   |                        |            |

- NEG-COP-INDC  
'No.'
- 4→ P4: *keki-se hakkyo tani-n-ta*  
there-LOC school attend-IMPF-DECL  
*kule-ci \_\_\_\_\_ anh-ass-e?*  
be.such-CON NEG-ANT-INDC  
'Didn't she say that she is attending the university there?'
- 5 P1: *cikum layngkwici suhkwul= machi-ko o-n*  
now language school finish-CON come-ATTR(RL)  
*ke-la-te-ntey?*  
thing-DECL-FH.EV-CIRCUM  
'But she said that she has just finished the language school courses=,'
- 6 *kyay-ney enni-nun acik mos*  
that.child-GEN older.sister-TOP yet NEG(IMPOT)  
*machye-se mos o-kwu <name>-nun ilccik*  
finish-PRECEDE NEG(IMPOT) come-CON <name>-TOP early  
*machye-[kacikwu,]*  
finish-CON  
'Her older sister hasn't finished it yet so she couldn't come to Korea but  
<name> finished early so,'
- 7 P3: *[@@]*  
'@@'
- 8 P1: *<@ hapkyek-hay-se wa-ss-tay-nuntey, @>*  
admission-do-CON come-ANT-QUOT-CIRCUM  
'<@ She says that she came back after getting an admission, @>'
- 9 *thongkwa-hay-kackwu.*  
pass-do-CON  
'After passing the exam.'
- 10 P4: *a na hakkyo tani-nun cwul al-kwu=,*  
DM I school attend-ATTR(RL) NOMZ know-CON  
'Ah I thought that she was already attending to a university there so=,'

In this excerpt, the short form negative question is used in line 2 by the speaker P4. The fact that this is an instance of a PST ASSM for VER/CONF, can be proved by her utterance in line 10. Since P4 thought that <name> was already attending a university there (line 10), when she was using the short form negative question in line 2, it can be assumed that she was definitely assuming the fact that '<name> said that she was going to turn in the resignation form' is true and asking P1 for verification or confirmation. Note that when P3

confirms P1 that her assumption is indeed wrong in line 3, P1 re-attempts to verify her other assumption that ‘<name> said that she is attending to a university there’ in line 4. However, this time, rather than using another short form negative question, she uses a long form negative question, which is more prone to be used with positive assumption rather than a negative assumption.

The shaded fifth column in <Table 5.5> shows that none of the short form negative question was showing an ambiguity between PST ASSM for VER/CONF and PST ASSM for AGR. However, oddly enough, there were six exceptional cases where the short form negative question was used when the speaker is assuming a fact to be true and requesting agreement from the hearer. This type was comprised 1.6% of the short form negative questions, and it is reflected in the sixth column of <Table 5.5>. An instance of this type of the short form negative question is shown below.

(5.21) 6CM00099

(Context: P2 asked P1 why she ran away from the farming experience program last year. P1 is explaining that there were a lot of rules which made her hate the program.)

- |   |     |   |
|---|-----|---|
| 1 | P1: | <i>mwe insuthenthu= khephi-lang--</i><br>DM instant coffee-CON<br>‘Um, the instant coffee and--’                                |
| 2 | P2: | <i>e,</i><br>yeah<br>‘Yeah,’  |
| 3 | P1: | <i>ile-n ke masi-ci ma-la-kwu,</i><br>like.this-ATTR(RL) thing drink-CON stop-IMPR-CON<br>‘Not to drink those types of things,’ |
| 4 | P2: | <i>[e.]</i><br>yeah<br>‘Yeah.’  |
| 5 | P1: | <i>[mak] mwe-la kule-canha,</i><br>DM what-INDC QUOT-UFP<br>‘They were telling us stuff like that,’                             |
| 6 | P2: | <i>kuntey ku-ke cin=cca wuski-ta?</i>   |

but that-thing really be.funny-DECL  
 ‘That’s really ridiculous,’  
 7 *mal-twu an tway=*,  
 speech-ADD NEG be.done.INDC  
 ‘Doesn’t make any sense=,’  
 8 P1: *[kunkka--]*  
 DM  
 ‘I mean--’  
 9→ P2: *[ku] salam-tul-un khephi an masi-nya*,  
 that person-PLU-TOP coffee NEG drink-INTERR  
 ‘Those people, don’t they drink coffee,’  
 10 P1: *ai kukka ku-ke-y nemwu silh-ess-e*  
 DM DM that-thing-NOM so hate-ANT-INDC  
*mwe=*,  
 DM  
 ‘Well I mean I hated those (rules) so much=,’

In this excerpt, P1 is explaining that the reason why she ran away from the farming experience program was because she did not like their rules such as prohibiting drinking instant coffee. P2 is trying to show sympathy towards P1’s upset feelings in lines 6 and 7, by uttering as ‘That’s really ridiculous,’ or ‘Doesn’t make any sense.’ P2’s utterance in line 9 is also used in a similar vein, and it is expressed in a short form negative question. The short form negative question in 9 assumes that ‘Those people too, drink instant coffee (and why don’t they let you drink it),’ thus it is a positive assumption rather than a negative assumption. However, it must be noted that the short form negative question in (5.21), in fact, does not have much interrogative force since the construction as a whole seems to be a type of a rhetorical question. In other words, the short form negative question in (5.21) cannot be said to be requesting agreement with the other interlocutor. Indeed, the speaker P1 does not even provide any answer to P2’s short form negative question, as she simply keeps continuing her story in line 10. Thus the 6 cases of short form negative question which I have put in the PST ASSM for ARG have, in fact, a slightly different function from



the long form negative questions used as PST ASSM for ARG, as the examples shown in (5.13) and (5.14). This might suggest that these 6 cases of short for negative question are rather special types of the short form negative question construction used rhetorically.

Let us re-examine the <Table 5.5> above, focusing on the overall tendency of usage that the short form negative question showed in the corpus. <Table 5.5> with is repeated here as <Table 5.5.1> with a slight modification.

	'NEG ASSM'	'NEG ASSM' or 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	'PST ASSM for VER/CONF' or 'PST ASSM for AGR'	'PST ASSM for AGR'	Total
SFNQ	<b>287</b> <b>(78.2%)</b>	<b>72</b> <b>(19.6%)</b>	<b>2</b> <b>(0.5%)</b>	<b>0</b> <b>(0%)</b>	<b>6</b> <b>(1.6%)</b>	367
	<b>Negative assumption</b> <b>359</b> <b>(97.8%)</b>		<b>Positive assumption</b> <b>8</b> <b>(2.2%)</b>			
	<b>Negative assumption</b> <b>287</b> <b>(78.2%)</b>	<b>Positive assumption</b> <b>80</b> <b>(21.8%)</b>				

Index:

SFNQ = Short form negative question

NEG ASSM = Interrogation with negative assumption

PST ASSM for VER/CONF = Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting verification or confirmation

PST ASSM for AGR= Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting agreement

<Table 5.5.1. Overall tendency of short form negative questions in spoken Korean>

<Table 5.5.1> shows that the short form negative question in spoken Korean is most frequently used as NEG ASSM, i.e., when the speaker is asking whether what he or she assumes to be not true is true (78.2%). This is a the inverse result from that of the long form negative question, since the long form showed the least frequency with NEG ASSM. If we combine NEG ASSM and the ambiguous cases of NEG ASSM and PST ASSM for

VER/CONF (the second and the third column of the above table), then it suggests that the short form negative question is mostly used with negative assumption (97.8%). Even if we do not include the ambiguous cases in the shaded third column with the cases of NEG ASSM, it still shows that for the great majority of the time (78.2%), the short form negative question is used with negative assumption. This is again an inverse result from that of the long form negative question, where it showed that the long form negative question is mostly used with positive assumption (94.1%).

#### **5.3.3.3. Comparison of the functional distributions of the long form negative question and that of the short form negative question in Modern Spoken Korean**

The result for the functional distributions of both long and short forms negative question are combined into <Table 5.6> shown below.

	'NEG ASSM'	'NEG ASSM' or 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	'PST ASSM for VER/CONF' or 'PST ASSM for AGR'	'PST ASSM for AGR'	Total
LFNQ	<b>5</b> (2.0%)	<b>10</b> (3.9%)	<b>57</b> (22.4%)	<b>57</b> (22.4%)	<b>126</b> (49.4%)	255
	<b>Negative Assumption</b> <b>5</b> (2.0%)	<b>Positive assumption</b> <b>250</b> (98.0%)				
SFNQ	<b>287</b> (78.2%)	<b>72</b> (19.6%)	<b>2</b> (0.5%)	<b>0</b> (0%)	<b>6</b> (1.6%)	367
	<b>Negative assumption</b> <b>359</b> (97.8%)		<b>Positive assumption</b> <b>8</b> (2.2%)			

Index:

LFNQ = Long form negative question

SFNQ = Short form negative question

NEG ASSM = Interrogation with negative assumption

PST ASSM for VER/CONF = Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting verification or confirmation

PST ASSM for AGR= Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting agreement

<Table 5.6. *Functional distribution of short and long form negative questions in spoken Korean*>

<Table 5.6> clearly demonstrates that the long and short form negative questions show very different pictures from each other in terms of their functional distribution in their actual usage in spoken Korean. As has been just discussed in the previous section, the long and short form negative questions in spoken Korean show the inverse result regarding which function they are most frequently used with: the long form negative question is most frequently used as ASSM for AGR while the short form negative question is most frequently used as NEG ASSM. Moreover, unlike the long form negative question which shows a gradient continuum by demonstrating a gradual increase of the frequency as the table moves from NEG ASSM to PST ASSM for AGR, the short form negative question does not show a continuum which is as gradient as that of the long form negative question.

Rather, the result of the short form negative question is strongly predisposed towards the NEG ASSM and shows a very abrupt decrease of frequency as the table moves away from NEG ASSM. Furthermore, as has been previously discussed, while the long form negative question hardly ever conveys negativity (only for 2% of the time), the short form negative question almost always conveys negativity (for 97.8% of the time). It seems that these extreme differences in functional distribution of the two forms of negative question in spoken Korean requires an explanation, particularly on what drove these two forms of negative question to show such a different distribution in Modern Spoken Korean.

To begin with, the long form negative construction and the short form negative construction not only differ in their semantics (though it might be on a small scale), they also greatly differ in their style (H.-M. Sohn 1998) and their register (J.-H. Lee 2008). In other words, the long form negation, which is more formal than the short form negation, is much more frequently used in written Korean, while the short form negation, which is more informal than the long form negation, is much more frequently used in spoken Korean. Particularly, as has been described in section 5.3.2, the short form negation showed a 10 times higher frequency than the long form negation in Modern Spoken Korean. This result might suggest that the two existing negative constructions in Korean (the long form and the short form) might have been in a competition with each other over the domain of negation, and the short form might currently be taking over the domain of negation at least in spoken Korean while the long form remains dominant in written Korean.

As the short form negation expands its territory in the domain of negation in spoken Korean, or undergoes 'specialization' (a process of reducing the variety of formal choices available (Hopper 1991, Hopper and Traugott 2003)) in the domain of negation, the long

form negation on the other hand seems to be undergoing a functional shift as it loses ground in the domain of negativity in spoken Korean. This could be seen by the result of <Table 5.3> in the above section 5.3.2 where it has been shown that the majority of the long form negation (61.7%) is used in interrogative utterances rather than declarative or indicative utterances (38.3%). This result suggests that in spoken Korean, the long form negation might be developing a restriction of context, where it should appear with interrogative speech act, as a consequence of the loss of ground in negation in spoken Korean.

A close examination of each use of the long form negative question described in section 5.3.3.1 demonstrated that for the most of the time (98%), the long form negative question did not convey negativity. This result also suggests that the long form negation, at least in interrogative construction, has lost its negativity. Furthermore, this loss of negativity represents that the long form negative question is currently undergoing a functional or semantic generalization (which is the loss of specific features of meaning with the consequent expansion of appropriate contexts of use for a grammatical morpheme (Bybee et al. 1994:289)). This can be seen in the results shown in <Table 5.4>, <Table 5.4.1> and <Table 5.6> where the long form negative question as a whole seems to be gradually shifting its function from ‘asking the hearer whether a certain assumption is not true’ into ‘requesting agreement from the hearer about a certain assumption which the speaker believes to be true.’

Overall, the significant differences between the functional distribution of the long form negative question and of the short form negative question might be the consequence of the competition between the two existing constructions (the long form and the short form) in the domain of negation in Korean. In other words, the gradual functional shift

which the long form negative question seems to be currently undergoing is the consequence of the loss of the competition with the short form negation in spoken Korean. I believe that the loss of ground of the long form negation in spoken Korean, and the functional generalization of the long form negative question as the result of this loss had been a crucial trigger for the evolution of the information managing utterance-final particle *-canha*. Before discussing how *-canha* has developed from the long form negative question in spoken Korean, the current functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha* will be briefly summarized in section 5.4 below.

#### **5.4. Current functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean**

In chapter 4, the current functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha* have been described in detail. I have argued that the basic and the main function of *-canha* in spoken Korean is ‘to mark the speaker’s belief that a certain piece of information has already been shared with the hearer before the time of speech.’ In other words, *-canha* is an utterance-final particle which indicates what the speaker believes to be ‘shared knowledge,’ ‘shared information,’ or what has been called ‘common ground’ in Clark (1996). I have described that *-canha* is very often used in discourse as an information managing device which aid the speaker to signal or align the common ground between the interlocutors. Particularly, *-canha* is often used when conveying (relatively) objective factual events that the speaker assumes to already have been shared with the other interlocutor(s) before time of speech. For this reason, *-canha* is often found when the speaker wants to resume an old

topic which has been shared with the hearer a while ago (see section 4.4.1.1 of the chapter), or when the speaker is conveying information what he or she believes to be obvious such as general common knowledge (4.4.1.2.1 of chapter 4), or natural consequences (4.4.1.2.2 of chapter 4), natural causes of reasons (4.4.1.2.3 of chapter 4). I also have shown that due to *-canha*'s function as an explicit marker of the speaker's belief of a shared knowledge, it is also often used as discourse strategies such as, as a 'pre-sequence' (Schegloff 2007) (see section 4.4.1.3.1 of chapter 4), or as a filler when used as a fossilized expression *isscanha* (see section 4.4.1.3.2 of chapter 4).

The functions of *-canha* summarized hitherto are ones that are used when the speaker truly believes that a certain piece of information is already shared with the hearer, particularly used when the speaker is conveying what he or she believes to be objective factual events. Nevertheless, I also have proposed in the previous chapter that *-canha*'s basic function 'to explicitly mark the speaker's belief of already shared knowledge' can further be extended to be used even when the speaker is aware that certain information has not been shared with the hearer. It has been proposed that in such cases, *-canha*'s basic function has been extended to express (im)politeness, such as when the speaker is criticizing the hearer for not having certain information presupposed (see section 4.4.2.1 of the previous chapter), or in situations where the speaker is attempting to show politeness to others (4.4.2.2 of the previous chapter). Furthermore, I have shown that *-canha* can not only be used as a marker of 'theticity' (Sasse 1987), i.e., when the speaker assumes that a particular piece of information would not have been expected for the hearer and thus would surprise him or her (see section 4.4.2.3 of chapter 4), but also as a marker of mirativity

(DeLancey 2001), i.e., when the speaker is expressing his or her own surprise or unexpectedness at the time of speech (see section 4.4.2.4 of chapter 4)<sup>53</sup>.

The functions of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in spoken Korean which I have summarized in here are very different from those of the long form negative question which I have described in section 5.3.3.1. In the following section, how the information managing utterance-final particle *-canha* evolved from the long form negative question in spoken Korean will be further investigated in detail.

### **5.5. Grammaticalization from the long form negative question into the utterance-final particle *-canha***

In the above section 5.3, the functional distribution of the long form negation and the short form negation in spoken Korean has been examined. The results of the examination showed that the long form negation seems to be currently undergoing the process of yielding its ground in the domain of negation to the short form negation at least in Modern Spoken Korean. Instead, it was shown that the long form negation in spoken Korean was much frequently used with interrogative speech act, i.e., as long form negative question. I have shown in the section 5.2.1, that the long form negative question in Korean has functional ambiguities, that it can have three different interpretations depending on its context. I have argued that these three interpretations of the long form negative question with three different speech acts do not have a clear-cut boundary between each other but

---

<sup>53</sup> The process of the semantic extension of *-canha*'s basic function will further be dealt with in more detail in section 5.6.



they rather form a gradient continuum depending on the speaker's subjective certainty towards his or her own assumption and on the speaker's expecting response from the hearer. The corpus examination shown in section 5.3.3.1 confirmed that the long form negative question indeed forms a gradient continuum in their actual usage as well.

As I have argued in section 5.2.1, a polysemy which a single form or construction shows synchronically often signifies that the form is currently undergoing a semantic change. I believe that the three different possible interpretations of the long form negative question in spoken Korean also reflect that the construction is currently in the process of a functional shift, and that the utterance-final particle *-canha* is the consequence of this functional change. The three different interpretations of the long form negative question will be briefly repeated using the example (5.9), repeated here as (5.22).

(5.22)  
*Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-ni?*  
Yengi-NOM eat-CON NEG-INTERR

'a. Yengi doesn't eat?'

'b. Doesn't Yengi eat?'

'c. Yengi eats, doesn't she?'

The first interpretation of the long form negative question is a 'question asking whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true,' and this interpretation can be most closely translated as (5.22a). The second interpretation of the long form negative question is a 'question requesting verification or confirmation from the hearer about an assumption which the speaker believes to be true,' and this interpretation can be most closely translated as (5.22b). The third interpretation is a 'question requesting agreement from the hearer

about what the speaker assumes to be true and at the same time what the speaker thinks that the hearer will agree to as well.’ In section 5.2.1, I have speculated that the first interpretation (asking whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true or not) would be the oldest meaning of the long form negative question since it is the interpretation which still maintains the most of the original negativity of the long form negation. I have also speculated that the third interpretation (asking for agreement from the speaker about what the speaker believes to be true) would be the newest meaning of the long form negative question because it is the interpretation which conveys least the original negativity of the long form negation. The corpus study described in section 5.3.3.1 demonstrated that the long form negative question’s actual current usage indeed reflected such speculation. <Table 5.4> shown in section 5.3.3.1 has been repeated here as <Table 5.7> with slight modification.

	‘NEG ASSM’	‘NEG ASSM’ or ‘PST ASSM for VER/CONF’	‘PST ASSM for VER/CONF’	‘PST ASSM for VER/CONF’ or ‘PST ASSM for AGR’	‘PST ASSM for AGR’	Total
LFNQ	<b>5</b> (2.0%)	<b>10</b> (3.9%)	<b>57</b> (22.4%)	<b>57</b> (22.4%)	<b>126</b> (49.4%)	255

Index:

LFNQ = Long form negative question

NEG ASSM = Interrogation with negative assumption

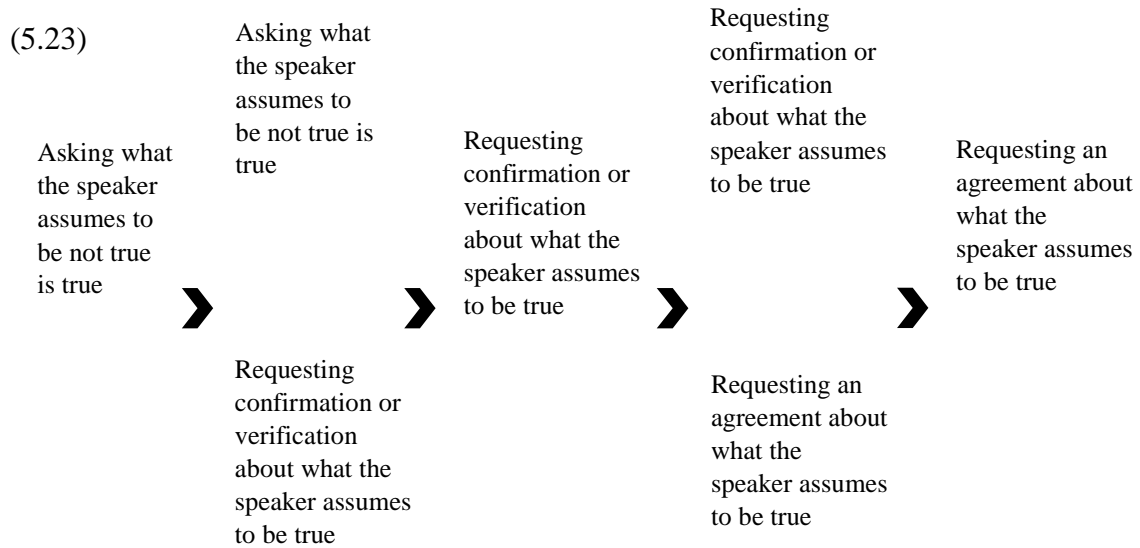
PST ASSM for VER/CONF = Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting verification or confirmation

PST ASSM for AGR= Interrogation with positive assumption for requesting agreement

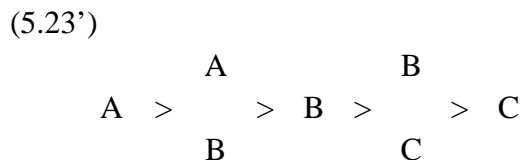
*<Table 5.7. On-going functional shift of the long form negative question in spoken Korean reflected in its functional distribution of its actual usage>*

The above result demonstrates that there are ambiguous or overlapping cases between the first and the second interpretations (shown in the shaded third column), and that there are

ambiguous or overlapping cases between the second and the third interpretations (shown in the shaded fifth column). However, there were no cases that overlap between the first and the third interpretations. This suggests that the long form negative question in spoken Korean is undergoing the following semantic or functional shift:



The on-going semantic change of the long form negative question shown in (5.23) could be schematized as (5.23') below.



As will be argued below, it is specifically the third interpretation of the long form negative question (request for agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true) which the utterance-final particle *-canha* derived from.

In the following section 5.5.1, I will investigate how the speech act of the long form negative question in spoken Korean shifted its function from ‘asking what the speaker assumes to be not true is true’ into ‘requesting confirmation or verification from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true.’ In section 5.5.2, the process of how the speech act of the long form negative question in spoken Korean shifted from ‘requesting for confirmation or verification from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to ‘requesting agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true.’ In section 5.5.3, how the utterance-final particle *-canha* evolved from the long form negative question with the speech act of ‘requesting agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ will be discussed. Lastly, section 5.5.4 will briefly summarize the overall grammaticalization process from the long form negative question into the utterance-final particle *-canha*.

### **5.5.1. From ‘asking whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true’ to ‘requesting for confirmation or verification about what the speaker assumes to be true’**

When the long form negative question is used when the speaker wants to ask whether ‘what the speaker assumes to be not true’ is true or not, then the construction could be schematized as the following.

(5.24)

<i>Yengi-ka</i>	<i>mek-ci</i>	<i>anh</i>	<i>-a</i>	?
Yengi-NOM	eat-CON	NEG	-INDC	Rising Intonation
Speaker's negated assumption			Interrogative speech act: Asking whether this assumption is true	

‘Yengi doesn’t eat?’

In (5.24), it is shown that the entire negated assumption that ‘Yengi does not eat’ is being questioned by the use of the rising intonation contour. The long form negative question used with this specific function is most likely to be used when the speaker is surprised or doubtful about a certain negative assumption, such as in this case, about the fact that ‘Yengi does not eat.’ This type of question implies that the speaker had a different expectation or assumption which has not been negated, which would be, in this case, that ‘Yengi eats,’ and that the speaker is surprised or doubtful about the situation which disagrees with his expectation or assumption. In other words, when the long form negative question is used when the speaker is asking whether ‘what the speaker assumes to be not true’ is true or not such as (5.24), it automatically implies that the speaker had a non-negated assumption (‘Yengi eats’) before the time of speech.

It is when this specific implication, that the speaker had a non-negated assumption before the time of speech, becomes part of the meaning of the construction, that the long form negative question can be used ‘when the speaker is asking for verification or confirmation about what the speaker assumes to be true.’ This second interpretation could be schematized as (5.25) below.

(5.25)

<i>Yengi-ka</i>	<i>mek</i>	<i>-ci</i>	<i>anh</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>?</i>
<u>Yengi-NOM</u>	<u>eat</u>	<u>-CON</u>	<u>NEG</u>	<u>-INDC</u>	<u>Rising Intonation</u>
Speaker's assumption		NEG		Interrogative speech act:	

Asking whether this assumption is not true

'Doesn't Yengi eat?'

Unlike (5.24), the speaker's assumption in (5.25) above is not negated any more. Instead, the speaker is now assuming that 'Yengi eats' rather than 'Yengi doesn't eat,' but since the speaker is not absolutely sure about his or her own assumption, he or she is asking the hearer whether this assumption is not true (by using the long form negation *-ci anh-*), i.e., the speaker is now asking for confirmation or verification of his or her assumption. During the shift from (5.24) to (5.25), it can be seen that the internal structure has been reanalyzed as well. While the long form negation *-ci anh-* remains within the speaker's assumption thus rendering the speaker's assumption to be a negative one in (5.24), in (5.25), the long form negation *-ci anh-* is now outside of the scope of the speaker's assumption, rendering it to be a positive one. Instead, the long form negation *-ci anh-* forms a group with the sentential ending. Note that compared to (5.24), the negative construction *-ci anh-* has a much looser relationship with the speaker's assumption in (5.25). This suggests that the long form negation *-ci anh-* has gradually started to lose its negativity from this second stage of functional shift of the long form negative question, though the negativity still remains within the scope of the sentential ending at this point.

In the next section, the shift from the long form negative question shown in (5.25) into the long form negative question 'requesting agreement from the hearer about what the speaker believes to be true' will be observed.

**5.5.2. From ‘requesting confirmation or verification about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to ‘requesting agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true’**

In the previous section, it has been shown that as the function or the speech act of the long form negative question shifts to a ‘request for confirmation or verification about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ the relationship between the speaker’s assumption and the long form negation began to loosen. It has been argued that this signifies that the long form negation was beginning to lose its negativity in the long form negative question construction. When the negativity of the long form negation becomes weaker and when the speaker’s positive assumption receives more focus instead, then the third meaning of the long form negative question could arise, which can be schematized as (5.26).

(5.26)

<i>Yengi-ka</i>	<i>mek</i>	<i>-ci</i>	<i>anh</i>	<i>-a</i>	?
<i>Yengi-NOM</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>-CON</i>	<i>NEG</i>	<i>-INDC</i>	<i>Rising Intonation</i>
Speaker’s assumption		Interrogative speech act: Request for an agreement			

‘Yengi eats, doesn’t she?’

Just like (5.25), the speaker in (5.26) also has a positive assumption rather than a negative one, that ‘Yengi eats.’ The difference between (5.25) and (5.26) is that while in (5.25), the speaker was not completely sure about his or her own assumption and needed confirmation or verification from the hearer, the speaker in (5.26) on the other hand, is very confident about his or her assumption and does not even need any confirmation or verification. Instead, the speaker in (5.26) believes that his or her assumption would be true to the hearer as well, and hence is expecting agreement from him or her.

In (5.26), it can be seen that there has been another reanalysis of the internal structure of the long form negative question as its function or speech act changes from ‘requesting verification or confirmation about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ to ‘requesting agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true.’ Unlike (5.25) where the long form negation *-ci anh-* construction still conveys some degree of negativity though its relationship with the speaker’s assumption might be loose, in (5.26), the long form negation *-ci anh-* construction does not convey negativity anymore. Instead, the long form negation *-ci anh-* has been completely reanalyzed as a part of the sentential ending or utterance-final particle construction. The reason why the long form negation *-ci anh-* is considered to be a part of the sentential ending or utterance-final particle construction in (5.26), is because when the long form negative question construction is used with the third interpretation (requesting agreement for what the speaker assumes to be true), any grammatical morpheme is unlikely to intervene between the long form negation *-ci anh-* and the sentential ending or utterance-final particle used with it. For instance, the Korean past tense marker *-ass* or *-ess* normally occurs right before a sentential ending or an utterance-final particle as can be seen (5.27a), but when it is used in the long form negative question requesting agreement from the hearer, then the past tense marker *-ass* or *-ess* is more likely to appear before *-ci anh-* rather than before the sentential ending or utterance-final particle as can be seen in (5.27b)<sup>54</sup>.

(5.27)

a. *Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-ass-e?*  
 Yengi-NOM eat-CON NEG-ANT-INDC

---

<sup>54</sup> A similar argument has also been made in D.-S. Kim (1981, cited in K.-K. Chang 1986:20).



‘Yengi didn’t eat? / Didn’t Yengi eat?’

- b.     *Yengi-ka*       *mek-ess-ci*           *anh-a?*  
      Yengi-NOM   eat-ANT-CON       NEG-INDC  
      ‘Didn’t Yengi eat? / Yengi ate, didn’t she?’

In fact, my corpus result also showed that the long form negative question which functions to ‘request agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ showed the lowest percentage of morpheme(s) intervening between the long form negation *-ci anh-* and the sentential ending or utterance-final particle.

<Table 5.8> summarizes the corpus results showing the different proportions of long form negative question in spoken Korean occurring with or without a morpheme(s) appearing between *-ci anh-* and the sentential ending or utterance-final particle depending on its speech act.

	Morpheme(s) intervening between <i>-ci anh-</i> and sentential ending	No morpheme(s) intervening between <i>-ci anh-</i> and sentential ending	Total
'NEG ASSM'	<b>3</b> <b>(60%)</b>	<b>2</b> <b>(40%)</b>	5
'NEG ASSM' or 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	<b>6</b> <b>(60%)</b>	<b>4</b> <b>(40%)</b>	10
'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	<b>6</b> <b>(10.5%)</b>	<b>51</b> <b>(89.5%)</b>	57
'PST ASSM for VER/CONF' or 'PST ASSM for AGR'	<b>5</b> <b>(8.8%)</b>	<b>52</b> <b>(91.2%)</b>	57
'PST ASSM for AGR'	<b>11</b> <b>(8.7%)</b>	<b>115</b> <b>(91.3%)</b>	126

<Table 5.8. *Proportion of long form negative question occurring with or without a morpheme(s) appearing between -ci anh- and the sentential ending or utterance-final particle depending on its speech act.*>

The above table demonstrates that as the long form negative question's function shifts from 'asking whether what the speaker assumes not to be true is true' (NEG ASSM) to 'requesting agreement from the hearer about what the speaker believes to be true' (PST ASSM for AGR), the proportion of the long form negative question with morpheme(s) intervening between *-ci anh-* and the sentential ending gradually decreases. Conversely, the proportion of the long form negative question with no morpheme(s) intervening between *-ci anh-* and the sentential ending increases as the function of the long form negative question shifts from NEG ASSM to PST ASSM for AGR. This result suggests that when the long form negative question is used with the third interpretation such as shown in (5.26), it is the long form negation *-ci anh-* construction combined with the sentential ending or utterance-final particle construction and the rising intonation contour

as a whole that conveys the interrogative speech act to request agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true.

In the next section 5.5.3, the shift from the long form negative question which ‘requests agreement from the hearer about what the speaker believes to be true’ to the utterance-final particle *-canha* will be examined.

### **5.5.3. From the long form negative question which ‘requests agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to the information managing utterance-final particle *-canha***

In this section, the shift from the long form negative question which functions to ‘request agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to the utterance-final particle *-canha* which functions to manage the information structure in discourse will be observed. First, the formal shift from the long form negative question construction into *-canha* will be examined in section 5.5.3.1, and the functional shift from ‘request for agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to ‘explicit marking of shared knowledge’ will be then examined in section 5.5.3.2.

#### **5.5.3.1. Formal shift: *-ci anh-SEN.END?* > *-canha***

In the previous section 5.5.2, it has been observed that the long form negative question has shifted its function to a ‘request for agreement about what the speaker assumes

to be true,’ and that its internal structure could be schematized as the following. (5.26) has been repeated here are (5.28).

(5.28)

<i>Yengi-ka</i>	<i>mek</i>	<i>-ci</i>	<i>anh</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>?</i>
Yengi-NOM	eat	-CON	NEG	-INDC	Rising Intonation
Speaker’s assumption		Interrogative speech act: Request for agreement			

‘Yengi eats, doesn’t she?’

I argue that it is this particular function of the long form negative question which the utterance-particle *-canha* derived from. One of the most salient shifts from the long form negative question to the utterance-final particle *-canha* is its formal shift, particularly its formal fusion and phonological reduction. The formal fusion and the phonological reduction process from the long form negative question to *-canha* could be schematized as (5.29).

(5.29)

*-ci anh-* [ i an] > *-canh-* [ an]

(5.29) shows that the two separate morphemes of the long form negation (connective ending *-ci* and negative marker *anh-*) are fused into one single morpheme, and the pronunciation also has been reduced from [ i an] to [ an].

It must be noted that when the long form negation *-ci anh-* is used in an interrogative construction, it can be used with several different types of sentential endings, such as an

indicative sentential ending *-a* or *-e*<sup>55</sup> (as shown in (5.28) above), or interrogative sentential endings such as *-ni*, *-nya*, *-supnikka*, and so on. The following table demonstrates the proportions of the different types of sentential endings used with the long form negative question depending on its different speech acts in spoken Korean.

	Interrogative sentential ending	Indicative sentential ending	Total
'NEG ASSM'	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5
'NEG ASSM' or 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	10
'PST ASSM for VER/CONF'	<b>57</b> <b>(100%)</b>	<b>0</b> <b>(0%)</b>	57
'PST ASSM for VER/CONF' or 'PST ASSM for AGR'	<b>46</b> <b>(80.7%)</b>	<b>11</b> <b>(19.3%)</b>	57
'PST ASSM for AGR'	<b>84</b> <b>(66.7%)</b>	<b>42</b> <b>(33.3%)</b>	126

<Table 5.9. Proportions of different types of sentential endings used with long form negative question depending on its different speech acts in spoken Korean.>

If we exclude the top two cases in <Table 5.9>, which are 'NEG ASSM' and 'NEG ASSM' or 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF' due to their very low token frequency, then the result of the above table shows that the proportion of the long form negation used with indicative sentential ending slowly increases as the construction shifts its function from 'PST ASSM for VER/CONF' to 'PST ASSM for AGR'. This result suggests that as the long form negative question shifts its function to 'a request for agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true,' the construction gradually becomes more compatible with the indicative sentential ending *-a*.

<sup>55</sup> The indicative sentential ending *-a* is also often pronounced as *-e* in spoken Korean.

<Table 5.10> shows the proportion of the different types of sentential ending used with the phonologically reduced form *-canh-* in spoken Korean.

Type of sentential endings suffixed to - <i>canh-</i>	Number of tokens	Percentage
Indicative sentential ending	<b>2021</b>	<b>99.7%</b>
Interrogative sentential ending	<b>7</b>	<b>0.3%</b>
Total	2028	100%

<Table 5.10. *Different types of sentential endings suffixed to -canh- and their proportion*>

The above table demonstrates that among the 2028 tokens of *-canh-*<sup>56</sup>, only 7 cases (0.3%) were found to be occurring with interrogative sentential endings, while the remaining 2021 cases of *-cahn-* (99.7%) occurred with the indicative sentential ending *-a*. What can be concluded from the results of the <Table 5.9> and <Table 5.10> is that while the long form negative construction is still being used with either interrogative sentential endings or indicative sentential ending *-a* or *-e*, though the proportion of the construction used with indicative sentential ending slightly increases as its function shifts to ‘a request for agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ its phonologically reduced form *-canh-* has become a chunk with the indicative sentential ending *-a(e)* to form *-canha* (or *-canhe*). In other words, it can be said that the entire *-ci anh-a* construction has undergone a ‘chunking’ process (cf. Haiman 1994, Bybee and Thompson 1997, Bybee and Scheibman 1999) to form *-canha*.

‘Chunking’ has been defined in Bybee and Scheibman (1999) as a process where ‘a frequently repeated stretch of speech becomes automated as a processing unit’ (Bybee

<sup>56</sup> Among the 2030 cases of *-canh* found in the corpus, the two cases where *-canh-* was used within lexicalized expressions such as *kathcanhun* ‘impertinent’ and *ccocanhakey* ‘stingy’ were excluded in the observation.

and Scheibman 1999:577). It seems that while the unreduced form *-ci anh-* still functions in long form negative question constructions, the stretch of speech *-ci anh-* combined with the indicative sentential ending *-a* has now become automated as one single unit. As has been argued in Boyland (1996, cited in Bybee and Scheibman 1999:577), as a stretch of speech undergoes a chunking process, its internal structure becomes less important and can be obscured by phonological change which renders the unit to be more efficient to process.

This seems to be exactly what took place during the chunking process of *-ci anh-a*. As this entire construction undergoes a chunking, its internal construction -CON NEG-INDC becomes less important and less transparent, which eventually led to a phonological change, to be fused into *-canha*, which is now conceived as an utterance-final particle as a whole. Note that not only the phonological features [ i ana] has been reduced to [ ana], but the chunking process has been further reflected in the Korean orthographic system as well. While there still should be a space between the connective *-ci* and the negative morpheme *-anh-* in the long form negation as well as in the long form negative question, the utterance-final particle *-canha* should be written as one single word without any space in between. Moreover, I have shown in the above section 5.5.2 that the long form negative question construction which functions to ‘request agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ hardly ever allows any morpheme(s) intervening the *-ci anh-* and the sentential ending or utterance-final particle in <Table 5.8>. However, the result showed that 8.7% of the cases still occurred with a morpheme(s) intervening between *-ci anh-* and the sentential ending or utterance-final particle. Nevertheless, for all of the 2028 cases of *-canha* in spoken Korean corpus showed that none of them had any morpheme(s) intervening between *-canh-* and the indicative sentential ending *-a*. The

following invented set of examples shows that the past tense marker *-ess* or *-ass* should occur right before *-canha* rather than right before the indicative sentential ending.

(5.30)

- a. *Yengi-ka mek-ess-canha.*  
 Yengi-NOM eat-ANT-UFP  
 ‘Yengi ate (as you and I both know).’
- b. *??Yengi-ka mek-canh-ess-e.*  
 Yengi-NOM eat-NEG-ANT-INDC  
 ‘??Yengi ate (as you and I both know).’

This further substantiates that the phonologically reduced form *-canh-* and the indicative sentential ending *-a* are not separate morphemes anymore. Instead, the entire construction *-canha* functions as one single processing unit, or as one single grammatical morpheme, an utterance-final particle to be precise, in spoken Korean. The gradual chunking process of *-canha* could be schematized as the following.

(5.31)

<b>Orthography</b>	<i>-ci anh(-a/-ni/-nya/-supnikka/...)</i>		<i>-ci anh-a</i>		<i>-canha</i>
<b>Internal Structure</b>	-CON NEG-(SEN.END: indicative or interrogative sentential ending)	➤	-CON NEG-INDC	➤	Utterance-final particle
<b>Phonological feature</b>	[ i an]		[ i ana]		[ ana]



**5.5.3.2. Functional shift: ‘a request for agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ > ‘an explicit marking of shared knowledge’**

It has been shown in the previous sections that the long form negative question which functions to ‘request agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ has the following internal structure. Example (5.25) has been repeated again here as (5.32).

(5.32)

<i>Yengi-ka</i>	<i>mek</i>	<i>-ci</i>	<i>anh</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>?</i>
Yengi-NOM	eat	-CON	NEG	-INDC	Rising Intonation
Speaker’s assumption		Interrogative speech act: Request for agreement			

‘Yengi eats, doesn’t she?’

I have shown in section 5.3.3.1 that this type of long form negative question which is used when the speaker is expecting agreement from the other interlocutor. It also has been shown in the excerpt (5.14) that when the other interlocutor did not provide with agreement to the speaker’s long form negative question, she even argued back, which showed that the speaker was not expecting a response other than an agreement. This suggests that what this type of long form negative question implies is that the speaker believes that the hearer would have the same assumption as the assumption that he or she has at the time of speech (that ‘Yengi eats’ in case of (5.32)). In other words, this type of long form negative question implies that the speaker believes that a certain piece of information is already ‘shared knowledge’ or ‘common ground’ among the interlocutors.

I have shown in section 5.3.3.1 that the long form negative question which conveys a function such as shown in (5.32) was the newest function of the long form negative question in Korean as well as the most common type of the long form negative question found in the corpus of Modern Spoken Korean. I have also demonstrated in <Table 5.4> that among the 225 cases of the long form negative question, 126 cases of them (49.4%) were functioning to ‘request agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ (PST ASSM for AGR). In fact, among these 126 cases of the long form negative question used as PST ASSM for AGR, there were even cases where the long form negative question is used when the speaker already knows that he or she and the hearer are in agreement. In other words, there were even cases when the long form negative question was not even used to request for agreement. Excerpt (5.33) is such an instance found in my corpus.

(5.33) 6CM00094

(Context: P1 and P2 are talking about the movie “15 minutes” which they both saw. P2 has just asked P1 what he thought of the movie.)

- 1 P1: *po-myense way ilehkey hwangtanghakey cwuk-e=?*  
 see-CON why like.this ridiculously die-INDC  
 ‘While I was watching it I thought, why does he die so ridiculously=?’
- 2 *[kule-myense kkuthna-ss-e.]*  
 be.such-CON end-ANT-INDC  
 ‘The movie ended that way.’
- 3 P2: *[thukhi ku=] ku= mwe-y-a,*  
 especially that that what-COP-INDC  
 ‘Especially that= that= what is it,’
- 4 *nwukwu-ci?*  
 who-COMT  
 ‘Who was it?’
- 5 *ku namca cwuinkong?*  
 that male main.character  
 ‘That male main character?’
- 6 P1: *molu-ci.*

- not.know-COMT  
'Who knows.'
- 7→ P2: *nemwu hwangtanghakey cwuk-ci anh-nya?*  
 too ridiculously die-CON NEG-INTERR  
 'He dies too ridiculously, doesn't he?'
- 8 P1: *nemwu hwangtanghakey cwuk-e.*  
 too ridiculously die-INDC  
 'He dies too ridiculously.'

In (5.33), the long form negative question is used in line 7 by the speaker P2. This long form negative question has been used to ask P1 to provide P2 with agreement about the fact that 'the male main character dies too ridiculously,' and P1 indeed provides with agreement to P2 in line 8. In fact, in line 1 of this excerpt, P1 already has expressed his impression about the movie "15 minutes" by using the same expression that P2 is using in his long form negative question in line 7, that the main character 'dies so ridiculously.' In other words, when P2 is repeating P1's expression 'dying too ridiculously' in his long form negative question in line 7, he is aware of the fact that P1 and he are already agreeing on the same assumption. Thus, the long form negative question in line 7 might be just an act to show that P2 is also sharing the same assumption as well to P1, rather than to actually request agreement from P1.

The Excerpt in (5.34) is another such instance.

(5.34) 7CM00044

(Context: P1 and P2 are old time friends and they are chatting in a cafe. P1 is still an undergraduate student, and P2 is a graduate who is currently working as an engineer in a major car company in Korea. Before this excerpt, they have been talking about P2's duties at his workplace as an engineer. Now they are talking about P1's very busy boyfriend, who is an undergraduate student majoring in mechanical engineering.)

- 1 P1: *ani mwe-ka pappayo?*  
 DM what-NOM busy-HON.END

- 2                   ‘Well, what’s so busy?’  
*kong-tay-nun*                   *way*   *pappa-yo?*  
engineering-college-TOP   why   busy-HON.END  
‘Why is it busy if you’re in the engineering department?’
- 3   P2: *kong-tay?*  
engineering-college  
‘Engineering department?’
- 4   P1: *ney.*  
yes  
‘Yes.’
- 5   P2: *hakki*           *cwung-ey-nun*           *cincca.*  
semester   middle-LOC-TOP   really  
‘During the semesters it’s really.’
- 6→ *oppa-ka*                   *tto*                   *kong-tay*  
older.brother-NOM   especially.since   engineering-college  
*nawa-ss-ci*                   *anh-nya=.*  
come.out-ANT-CON NEG-INTERR  
‘Especially since I graduated from the engineering department= (you know).’
- 7   P1: *ney.*  
yes  
‘Yes.’
- 8   P2: *oppa-to*                   *kikye-kwa*  
older.brother-ADD   mechanical-department  
*nawa-ss-nuntey.*  
come.out-ANT-CIRCUM  
‘I also majored in mechanical engineering so.’
- 9   P1: *ney.*  
yes  
‘Yes.’
- 10           @@  
‘@@’
- 11   P2: *mwe-la*           *kulay-ya*                   *toy-na.*  
what-DECL   QUOT-NECESS   be.done-DUB  
‘How should I put this into words.’
- 12           *iltan*                   *mwe= kongpwu*           *ha-nun*           *ke*  
first.of.all   DM   study           do-ATTR(RL) thing  
*cachey-ka*           *incey ccom,*  
itself-NOM   DM   a.little  
‘Well= first of all, studying that subject itself is a bit, well,’
- 13           *elyep-ko.*  
difficult-CON  
‘Difficult and.’  
(P2 continues.)

In this excerpt, the long form negative question is used in line 6 by the speaker P2. If this long form negative question was truly used as a question, then it should be translated as ‘I graduated from the engineering department, didn’t I?’. However, this question would sound very strange since there is no reason for P2 to ask P1 to provide with confirmation or agreement about a certain piece of information that concerns his own life. Therefore, the long form negative question has been translated differently. It is because although the context does not tell us explicitly that P1 already knew that the fact that ‘P2 graduated from the engineering department,’ but since they have been talking about P2’s new job as an engineer, it is very likely that P1 already knew this fact before this excerpt. Moreover, the reason why P1 is asking P2 why her boyfriend should be so busy just because he is in engineering department (in lines 1 and 2) should be because P1 is assuming that P2 should know the answer for her question because he was once an engineering student. Hence, P2’s long form negative question in line 6 could hardly be a request for agreement from P1 about the fact that he graduated from engineering department. Rather, the long form negative question has been translated to English discourse marker *you know*, which reflects P2’s acknowledgement of the fact that both P1 and himself knows that he graduated from engineering department. Furthermore, the fact that the long form negative question in line 6 does not occur with a rising intonation contour, despite the fact that it is still used with an interrogative sentential ending *-nya* also suggests that P2 was not explicitly conveying an interrogative speech act either.

The above two excerpts (5.33) and (5.34) show that the long form negative question in spoken Korean can sometimes be used even when there is not much need to request agreement from the hearer, such as when the speaker already knows that there is an

agreement between the hearer and him/herself. In these situations, the long form negative question could be used instead, when the speaker simply wants to demonstrate that he or she too agrees with the hearer (as in the excerpt (5.33)), or when the speaker wants to show his or her acknowledgement of an already shared assumption (such as in the excerpt (5.34)). In other words, the long form negative questions shown in excerpts (5.33) and (5.34) suggest that the construction can sometimes be used even with very small or no degree of interrogative speech act at all.

In fact, it does not seem uncommon not only in Korean but also in other languages such as English, that an interrogative construction conveying a negative morpheme such as a negative yes/no question or a tag question, is used to show a sharedness of an assumption or knowledge rather than truly conveying interrogative speech act. For instance, Heritage (2002) shows that English negative interrogatives, which Bolinger (1957, cited in Heritage 2002:1429) argued to convey an expectation for a positive response just like the Korean long form negative question shown in (5.32) above, are sometimes used to deploy agreement with the other interlocutors. (5.35) is an example of such use of English negative interrogatives taken from Heritage (2002).

(5.35)

[NB IV.10.R:1]

(Context: Lottie and her sister are beginning a discussion of Lottie's recent trip to Palm Springs.)

- 1 Emm: .h How wz yer tri:p
- 2 Lot: Oh<sub>h</sub>:: Go:D wonderful Emm[a,
- 3→ Emm: [**Oh idn't it beautiful do:wn the:re,**
- 4 Lot: Oh<sub>h</sub>:: Jeeziz ih wz go:rgeous::.
- 5 Emm: Wh't a ni:ce wut tim'djih git i:n. Jst a li'l whal ago?

(Heritage 2002:1429)

The above example (5.35) demonstrates that the negative interrogative ‘Oh isn’t it beautiful down there’ used by Emma in line 3, is used to show an agreement with Lottie’s previous positive comment on Palm Springs shown in line 2. It can thus be seen here that due to the Lottie’s enthusiastic comment about Palm Springs in line 2, it is evident that at this point, Emma should know that both Lottie and she are already in agreement that ‘Palm Springs is beautiful.’ Thus, Emma’s negative interrogative in line 3 could be interpreted to be used to simply show that there is a shared thought between Emma and Lottie rather than to truly request agreement from Lottie.

(5.36) is another instance of English negative yes/no question, borrowed from Keisanen (2006)<sup>57</sup>.

(5.36)

SBCSAE 0028 Hey Cutie Pie <T:00:20:20>

(Context: Prior to the following example Jeff has been telling how he had read about some scientists who had discovered a star with two planets somewhere outside of our own solar system.)

1     Jill:   (H) .. ‘God,  
2            ‘that’s so ‘incredible.  
3     Jeff:   And ^heat ‘waves.  
4            % I% t- i- it’s ^unbelievable.  
5            ‘how .. @ .. ‘man has.  
6            .. (H) = .. you know ‘like,  
7            .. (Hx)  
8     Jill:   .. From [‘this] ‘little ^point,

<sup>57</sup> The transcription conventions used by Keinasen (2006) is as follows:

Primary accent	^	Special voice quality	<VOX VOX>
Secondary accent	˘	Duration	(N), where N = time in seconds
Lengthening	=	Speech overlap	[ ]
Click	(TSK)	Inhalation	(H)
Speech overlap	[ ]	Exhalation	(Hx)
Glottal stop	%	Laughter (one pulse)	@
Truncated word	-	Short pause	..
Truncated intonation unit	--		

9 Jeff: [(Hx)]  
 10 Jill: (H) in 'the ^whole= 'universe.  
 11 like,  
 12 .. 'we've been able to 'tell ^so 'much,  
 13 just with .. (H) ^science.  
 14 (0.9)  
 15 Jeff: 'I ^know,  
 16→ **['isn't] it ^wild?**  
 17 Jill: [XX]  
 18 .. (H) 'Just with,  
 19 (0.8)  
 20 'aw,  
 21 that's 'so= ^incredible.

(Keisanen 2006:149)

From the very beginning of this excerpt, it can be seen that both Jill and Jeff are sharing the same awe towards what Jeff has just told Jill (the discovery of a star with two planets somewhere outside of our own solar system) by their expressions 'incredible' (by Jill in line 2) and 'unbelievable' (by Jeff in line 4). After Jill once again expresses her amazement through lines from 10 to 13, Jeff again indicates that he is in an agreement with Jill by uttering 'I know,' in line 15, and he adds a negative interrogative 'isn't it wild' in line 16. Since the conversation before Jeff's negative interrogative provides an ample evidence that both Jill and Jeff are already in an agreement, it does not seem necessary for Jeff to be provided with a positive response from Jill that she agrees with Jeff, especially because Jeff already recognizes that they are already in an agreement by uttering 'I know,' in line 15. Thus it can be said that Jeff used a negative interrogative in line 15 in order to express that there is a common ground between Jill and him, rather than to request agreement from her.



The following excerpt in (5.37) is an instance of an English tag question (positive statement followed by a negative tag), used for a similar function as negative interrogatives in English shown in (5.35) and (5.36), borrowed from Keisanen (2006).

(5.37)

SBCSAE 0009 Ancient Furnace <T:00:16:56>

(Context: Larry has asked Seth to redo the heating system in a house that he has recently bought. The two are going around the house checking the existing system and deciding on what should be done.)

1       Seth:            ‘How about ‘the uh ^thermostat.  
 2                           (2.3)  
 3       Larry:           ^This ‘guy?  
 4                           (1.4)  
 5       Seth:            ‘Okay.  
 6                           .. ‘I would ^definitely go with a ‘new ^thermostat.  
 7                           (0.5)  
 8       Larry:           ‘Yeah.  
 9                           (1.8)  
 10→   Larry:            **‘Kind of a [ .. X ^antique,**  
 11       Seth:                       [But that’s ‘probably a good --  
 12                           .. That’s ‘probably] a good ^spot.  
 13→   Larry:            **‘isn’t it].**  
 14       Seth:            ‘Yeah,  
 15                           that should be in a ^museum.  
 16                           (0.3)  
 17       Larry:            @@@@@

(Keisanen 2006:157-158)

When Seth suggests that Larry should get a new thermostat in line 6, Larry expresses an agreement by saying ‘Yeah,’ in line 8. At this point, it would be clear for both Larry and Seth that they are already in an agreement on a certain matter. Thus when Larry uses a tag question ‘Kind of a X antique, isn’t it’ through lines 10 and 13, it can hardly be seen that Larry is asking such question because he needs a positive response from Seth. Instead, it seems that Larry is using the tag question in lines 10 and 13 in order to show that at least

to his belief, the fact that ‘the thermostat is kind of an antique’ should be common knowledge between Larry and him, since they both agreed that it should be changed to a new one.

Through the examples (5.33)-(5.37) given above, it has been shown that both in Korean and in English, the yes/no questions conveying a negative morphemes such as Korean long form negative questions (which function to request agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true) and English negative interrogatives and tag questions are often used to express the speaker’s assumption of shared knowledge or common ground among the interlocutors, rather than to truly request for a positive response from the hearer<sup>58</sup>. It seems that because the negative questions (in both Korean and English) can often imply that the speaker is asking such questions because he or she already has a belief that a certain piece of information is already shared knowledge, the construction can sometimes be used to solely convey that implication without much degree of interrogative speech act (to request a positive response or agreement from the hearer). I argue here that it is this specific implication of the long form negative question in Korean that the utterance-final particle *-canha* has derived from.

As described in section 5.5.2, when the long form negative question in Korean shifts its function from ‘asking for verification or confirmation from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to ‘requesting agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ the literal negative meaning of the long form negation within the construction gets lost. I would like to argue that the function of utterance-final particle *-canha* is the

---

<sup>58</sup> Keisanen (2006) argues that English tag questions function more like ‘yes/no questions to be answered’ than English negative interrogatives (Keisanen 2006:51), i.e., English tag questions have higher degree of interrogative speech act than English negative interrogatives.

same function of the long form negative question which ‘requests agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ excluding the interrogative speech act that it conveys. In other words, as the function shifts from long form negative question to utterance-final particle *-canha*, the long form negative question further loses its interrogative speech act. This change could be schematized as the following.

(5.38)

a. Long form negative question in Korean, which functions to request agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true

<i>Yengi-ka</i>	<i>mek</i>	<i>-ci</i>	<i>anh</i>	<i>-a</i>	?
Yengi-NOM	eat	-CON	NEG	-INDC	Rising Intonation
Speaker’s assumption		Interrogative speech act: Request for agreement			

‘Yengi eats, doesn’t she?’

b. Utterance-final particle *-canha*

<i>Yengi-ka</i>	<i>mek</i>	<i>-canha.</i>
Yengi-NOM	eat	-UFP
Speaker’s assumption	Speaker’s belief of shared knowledge	

‘(As you and I both know) Yengi eats.’

(5.38) above illustrates that as the form shifts from long form negative question to *-canha*, their functions shift as well. It can be seen that what has been described as the implication of the long form negative question ‘that the speaker is assuming that a certain piece of information is already shared knowledge among the interlocutors before the time of speech’ has now become the part of the meaning of *-canha*. In other words, there has been a functional shift from ‘a request for an agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true’ to ‘an explicit marking of the speaker’s belief of shared knowledge.’ Moreover, (5.38) also shows that there has been a reanalysis of the internal structure along with the functional

shift. It is shown that the interrogative speech act (requesting an agreement) has been lost as the long form negative question becomes the utterance-final particle *-canha*, and as a result, *-canha* does not require a rising intonation contour anymore unlike the long form negative question shown in (5.38a). The fact that *-canha* does not convey any interrogative speech act anymore is well demonstrated in the following instance of *-canha* found in the spoken Korean corpus. The excerpt (5.2) has been repeated here as (5.39).

(5.39) 6CM00067

(Context: This excerpt is from a conversation between a mother (P1) and a son (P2). The mother has been talking about her surgery which she had to remove her wisdom tooth.)

- 1 P1: *kuleko emma-n an kkomay-ss-e.*  
 CONJ mom-TOP NEG stitch-ANT-INDC  
 ‘And in my case, I didn’t get stitched.’
- 2 P2: *ung=.*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah=.’
- 3→ P1: *yak cwu-canha=.*  
 medication give-*canha*  
 ‘(You know) they give you medications-*canha*=.’
- 4 *na-n yak-to an cwu-tula?*  
 I-TOP medication-ADD NEG give-FH.EV  
 ‘I didn’t even get any medications.’
- 5 P2: *a= kulay-yo?*  
 DM be.such-HON.END  
 ‘Ah is that so?’

In this excerpt, the utterance-final particle *-canha* has been used by the speaker P1 in line 3. This example clearly demonstrate that *-canha* is used with falling intonation contour rather than rising intonation contour, which is one of the significant difference that it shows with the long form negative question in Korean. Furthermore, the fact that the speaker P1 keeps continuing her story to line 4 without waiting for any response from the speaker P2

also suggests that the utterance-final particle *-canha* is no longer used with interrogative speech act to request a response from the other interlocutor. Instead, it can be seen that *-canha* functions as an explicit marker that expresses the speaker's belief of shared knowledge, as it has been translated in English as the discourse marker *you know*.

#### **5.5.4. The overall grammaticalization process of the long form negative question in spoken Korean into the utterance-final particle *-canha***

In this section 5.5, the different stages of the grammaticalization process of the long form negative question into the utterance-final particle *-canha* have been described in detail. Overall, the initial trigger which drove the long form negative question rather than the short form negation to grammaticalize into an utterance-final particle seems to be the result of the long competition which has been undergoing between the two existing constructions (the long form and the short form) within the same domain of negation in Korean. The co-existence of the long and short forms of negation in Korean seems to be an instance of 'layering' (Hopper 1991), where more than one construction co-exist sharing or competing for a similar or identical function. As the result of this competition, the two constructions seem to have started to settle down in different domains of negation: while the long form negation is predominantly used to express negation in written Korean, the short form negation takes charge of the negation in spoken Korean. This could be an instance of 'specialization' which is a process that has been defined in Hopper (1991) as 'the narrowing the choices that characterizes an emergent grammatical construction' (Hopper 1991:25). In other words, while the short form negation is undergoing specialization in the

domain of negation in spoken Korean, the long form negation is specializing in the domain of negation in written Korean.

As the short form negation takes over the domain of negation in spoken Korean, the long form negation in spoken Korean, which is under the process of losing its ground, seems to be undergoing a further ‘specialization’ within its usage in spoken Korean, by restricting its context of use in an interrogative speech act (as has been reflected by the corpus results which showed that the majority of the long form negation used in spoken Korean (61.7%) appeared in the long form negative question construction). However, since there would be once again two existing constructions in the domain of the negative interrogative in spoken Korean as well (the short form negative question and the long form negative question), these two constructions are once more in competition with each other (i.e., showing another ‘layering’). I have shown that as the result of this additional competition, while the short form negative question maintains its negativity and thus still conveys a strong degree of negativity in interrogative contexts, the long form negative question seems to be gradually losing its ground in the domain of negation within the domain of the negative interrogative as well. In particular, the fact that the long form negative question in spoken Korean is currently undergoing a functional change has been demonstrated by the fact that the construction currently shows at least three different interpretations.

The functional distributional pattern of the long form negative question in spoken Korean shown in <Table 5.7> suggests that the construction is currently under the change of shifting its function from ‘asking the hearer whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true’ to ‘asking for verification or confirmation about what the speaker assumes to

be true' then again to 'requesting for an agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true.' I have described in section 5.5.1 that as the function of the long form negative question shifts from 'asking the hearer whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true or not' to 'asking for verification or confirmation about what the speaker assumes to be true,' the relationship between the speaker's assumption and the long form negation *-ci anh-* becomes looser. Then in section 5.5.2, it has been seen that when the long form negative question's function further shifts to 'a request for an agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true,' the long form negation *-ci anh-* within the construction no longer conveys negativity at all. The loss of negativity of *-ci anh-* within the long form negative question in spoken Korean could be seen as an instance of semantic 'generalization,' which is a process defined in Bybee et al. (1994:289) as 'the loss of specific features of meaning with the consequent expansion of appropriate contexts of use.'

In section 5.5.3, the formal and the functional shift from the long form negative question which functions to 'request an agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true' to the utterance-final particle *-canha*. It has been shown that formally, the entire combination of the long form *-ci anh-* and the indicative sentential ending *-a* (pronounced as [ i ana]) underwent a 'chunking' process along with phonological reduction and fusion to *-canha* (pronounced as [ ana]). Functionally, it has been shown that the long form negative question underwent a further semantic generalization, by completely losing its interrogative speech act, hence resulting *-canha* to convey 'the speaker's belief of already shared knowledge.' It must be noted that as the function becomes more generalized as the form changes to *-canha*, the token frequency also increases dramatically, as can be seen in <Table 5.11>.

<b>Construction</b>	<b>Token Frequency</b>
Long form negation <i>-ci anh-</i>	426
Long form negation <i>-ci anh-</i> in interrogative context	255
‘Asking whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true or not’	<b>5</b>
‘Asking whether what the speaker assumes to be not true or not’ or ‘Asking for verification or confirmation about what the speaker assumes to be true’	<b>10</b>
‘Asking for verification or confirmation about what the speaker assumes to be true’	<b>57</b>
‘Asking for verification or confirmation about what the speaker assumes to be true’ or ‘Requesting an agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’	<b>57</b>
‘Requesting an agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true’	<b>126</b>
Utterance-final particle <i>-canha</i>	<b>2021</b>

**Increase  
of  
frequency**

<Table 5.11. *The increase of frequency from -ci anh- to -canha*>

The above table shows that as the long form negative question (long form negation *-ci anh-* in interrogative context) which functions to ‘ask whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true’ undergoes a semantic generalization to lose its negativity to function to ‘request an agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ its token frequency increases from 5 to 126. Then when the long form negative question further loses its interrogative speech act, i.e., undergoes a further semantic generalization, and shifts its function to an utterance-final particle (*-canha*), the increase of the token frequency is much greater, from 126 to 2021. This signifies that as the meaning of a construction becomes more general (semantically generalized), its context of use broadens as well as its function becomes more applicable and consequently results in higher token frequency.

Furthermore, the entire functional and formal shift from the long form negative question to *-canha* represents an instance of ‘de-categorialization’ (Hopper 1991), i.e., the



construction *-ci anh-a?* which used to be under the category of long form negative question in spoken Korean has shifted into the category of utterance-final particle as a one single grammatical particle *-canha*. While the phonologically reduced form *-canha* has been completely grammaticalized into an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean, the unreduced form *-ci anh-* still remains to function as long form negation construction, as well as a part of long form negative question in spoken Korean. This could be seen as an instance of ‘divergence’ (Hopper 1991), which is a common consequence of semantic changes where multiple forms of a common etymology diverge functionally.

## **5.6. Further grammaticalization of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean**

In the previous section 5.5, I have described how *-canha*, which evolved from the long form negative question, has now fully grammaticalized as one single discrete grammatical unit, which is an utterance-final particle which manages the information flow in discourse. My corpus data showed that the utterance-final particle *-canha*’s basic function which is to explicitly show the speaker’s belief of shared knowledge with the other interlocutor(s), can sometimes be further extended to show (im)politeness, theticity and even mirativity as well. In this section, I will examine the further grammaticalization which *-canha* might be currently undergoing in spoken Korean.

### 5.6.1. *-Canha*'s basic and general function of 'explicit marking of the speaker's belief of shared knowledge'

As I have briefly explained earlier in section 5.4, *-canha*'s most basic function in spoken Korean is to explicitly show the speaker's belief of shared knowledge. The utterance-final particle *-canha* is often used when the speaker wants to explicitly signal to the hearer that the speaker is aware of the hearer's presupposition as to say 'I know that you know too,' and also when the speaker wants the hearer to acknowledge the sharedness of information as to say 'I know too, what you already know.' Because of this characteristic, *-canha* is often found when the speaker is conveying a relatively objective fact or factual events such as the events or experiences that the speaker and the hearer have shared in the past, general common knowledge or 'communal common ground' (Clark 1996), natural consequences, natural causes or natural reasons. In fact, when the speaker is conveying a certain piece of information that would be very obvious for both the speaker and the hearer, in some contexts, it would even sound strange when *-canha* is not used as could be seen in the invented set of example in (5.40).

(5.40)

(Context: The speaker and the hearer are looking at a red car. The speaker says: )

- a.     *i*        *cha-nun*        *ppalkan-sayk-i-canha.*  
      this    car-TOP        red-color-COP-*canha*  
      'This car is red-*canha*.'
- b.     ?*i*        *cha-nun*        *ppalkan-sayk-i-ya.*  
      this    car-TOP        red-color-COP-INDC  
      '?This car is red.'

In this example, the only difference between the utterance (5.40a) and (5.40b) is their different utterance-final particles. While (5.40a) is used with the utterance-final particle *-canha*, (5.40b) is used with an indicative sentential ending. As this invented set of example shows, when both the speaker and the hearer are looking at a red car, it even sounds strange if the speaker does not use *-canha* and uses an indicative sentential ending instead. It is because when *-canha* is not used as in (5.40b), the utterance sounds as if the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know that the car is red, i.e., the fact that ‘the car is red’ is not shared knowledge. Of course, the utterance in (5.40b) would be plausible if the speaker is a teacher or an adult and if the hearer is a very young child who is learning about the names of different colors.

The invented set of example inn (5.41) is such another instance.

(5.41)

(Context: The speaker and the hearer are long time close friends and thus both speakers know well about each other’s family. The speaker S knows well about the hearer’s older sister as well. The speaker is talking about how good to have a sibling in life.)

S:     *hyengcey-ka iss-nun*                    *ke-n*             *cham coh-un*  
           sibling-NOM exist-ATTR(RL)     thing-TOP     really good-ATTR(RL)  
           *ke kath-ay.*  
           thing seem.like-INDC  
           ‘I think it’s really good to have a sibling.’

a.     *na-nun*             *nam-tongsayng-i*             *iss-kwu*             *ne-nun*  
           I-TOP             boy-younger.sibling-NOM     exist-CON     you-TOP  
           *enni-ka*                             *iss-canha,*  
           older.sister- NOM     exist-*canha*  
           ‘I have a younger brother and you have an older sister-*canha*,’  
           (She continues)

- b.    ??*na-nun*    *nam-tongsayng-i*            *iss-kwu*    *ne-nun*  
 I-TOP            boy-younger.sibling-NOM    exist-CON    you-TOP  
*enni-ka*                    *iss-e,*  
 older.sister-NOM    exist-INDC  
 ‘??I have a younger brother and you have an older sister,’  
 (She continues)

In the above invented excerpt, the only difference between the utterance (5.41a) and (5.41b) is again their different utterance-final particles. The above excerpt shows that the utterance (5.41b) which is used with the indicative sentential ending *-e* and not with *-canha* sounds almost absurd in the given context. This is because the fact that ‘the hearer has an older sister’ cannot be a type of information which can be known only to the speaker and not to the hearer. When the speaker is talking about certain facts which concern the hearer, then those facts must be shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer before the time of speech. In this type of situation, where the speaker is conveying a piece of information that there is no or very little degree of possibility this piece of information is not shared knowledge, then the use of the utterance-final particle seems almost obligatory.

The following excerpt from my corpus, which shows an actual use of *-canha* conveying a natural consequence also reflects such an instance.

(5.42) 5CM00040

- 1       P1:   *nay*   *chinkwu-nun*   *khaynata-ey*   *ka-ss-ta*  
           my    friend-TOP    Canada-LOC    go-ANT-CON  
           *wa-ss-ketun-yo?*  
           come-ANT-UIFP-HON.END  
           ‘My friend went to Canada and came back, you know?’  
 2       P3:    [*um=.*]  
           yeah

- 3 P1: *[yenswu-lul] ka-ss-ta wa-ss-nuntey,*  
 study-ACC go-ANT-CON come-ANT-CIRCUM  
 ‘She went to study (English) and came back but,’
- 4 *caki nemwu nollay-ss-tay,*  
 self too be.started-ANT-QUOT  
 ‘She told me that she was so surprised,’
- 5 *kongki-ka nemwu [kkaykkushay]-kacikwu,*  
 air-NOM too clean-CON  
 ‘The air was so clean so,’
- 6 P2: *[um,]*  
 yeah
- 7 P3: *e=.*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah.’
- 8→ P1: *kukka= yeki-se-nun= iluhkey huyn-sayk*  
 DM here-LOC-TOP like.this white-color  
*waisyechu kule- huyn-sayk nampang*  
 shirt be.such- white-color shirt  
*kath-un ke ip-umyen*  
 be.like-ATTR(RL) thing wear-COND  
*kkamay-ci-nun ke-y <@ [tangyen]-ha-canha @>*  
 darken-INCHO-ATTR(RL) thing-NOM matter.of.course-do-*canha*  
 ‘I mean, here (in Korea) if you wear a white shirt like- something like a  
 white shirt, then <@ it is natural that it becomes dirty-*canha* @>’
- 9 P2: *[um=,]*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah=,’
- 10 P3: *um,*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah,’
- 11 P1: *kuntey,*  
 but  
 ‘But,’
- 12 *myech-il-ul ipe-twu ku-ke-y an*  
 several-day-ACC wear-ADD that-thing-NOM NEG  
*kkamay-ci-te-lay=,*  
 darken-INCHOA-FH.EV-QUOT  
 ‘She said that it didn’t darken even after several days of wearing=,’

In this excerpt, *-canha* is used in line 8 by the speaker P1. P1 is conveying a natural consequence that a white colored garment would become dirty as time passes. It can clearly

be seen by her expression *tangyenhata* ‘be natural’ that she is treating this piece of information as a natural consequence, thus she is assuming that this would be a fact that should already been shared with her other interlocutors as common knowledge, and hence the utterance-final particle *-canha* is used. P1’s utterance in line 8 would sound very strange or even implausible if the utterance-final particle *-canha* would be replaced by the indicative sentential ending. It is because if *-canha* is not used in line 8, it would sound as if the speaker P1 is treating her other interlocutors as people who are ignorant of such obvious natural consequences.

All of the examples shown in (5.40), (5.41) and (5.42) above suggest that there exist certain types of contexts where the use of the utterance-final particle *-canha* is obligatory. Of course, there also exist many situations where the use of *-canha* is not essential and thus the indicative sentential ending could be used instead. However, at least in certain situations, particularly when the speaker is conveying what could be considered as ‘absolute truths’ or biological facts that people normally take for granted (such as ‘cats are animals,’ ‘all animates age,’ and so on), and also when the speaker is conveying certain facts that are directly related to the other interlocutor’s personal life, the use of *-canha* almost seems obligatory. What this suggests is that *-canha* as an utterance-final particle might be currently undergoing further grammaticalization, gradually becoming obligatory at least in certain specific contexts (such as when conveying a piece of information which is obviously shared knowledge). *-Canha*, which evolved from the long form negative question through grammaticalization process, seems to show a greater degree of grammaticalization as an utterance-final particle by becoming more obligatory, leaving the

speakers no choice but to use it at least in certain specific contexts in Modern Spoken Korean.

### 5.6.1.1. *-Canha*'s discourse strategic function as a pre-sequence

In section 4.4.1.3 of the previous chapter, I have explained that due to *-canha*'s basic function 'to explicitly indicate the speaker's belief of shared knowledge,' it can also be used in several discourse strategic ways. One of *-canha*'s discourse-strategic function is its use as a 'pre-sequence'<sup>59</sup>. As has been described in section 4.4.1.3.1 of the previous chapter, *-canha* is often found when the speaker is attempting to bring a new topic or change to a new topic in discourse. The excerpt shown in (5.43) is such an instance of *-canha*.

(5.43) 4CM00029

(Context: P1 has just finished talking about her older brother's eating habits. P4 is now starting a new story.)

- 1 → P4: *kuntey akka lamyen kkulhy-e*  
 but a.while.ago ramen boil-CON  
*mek-nun-ta-ko kulay-ss-canha-yo?*  
 eat-IMPF-DECL-COMP QUOT-ANT-canha-HON.END  
 'But you said earlier that your older brother eats ramen-canha?'  
 2 P1: *ney.*  
 yes  
 'Yes.'  
 3 P4: *nay-ka Sungho-lang keuy mayil,*  
 I-NOM Sungho-with almost every.day  
 'Sungho and I almost everyday,'  
 4 *yasik-ul lamyen-ulo mek-ketun-yo,*

<sup>59</sup> Schegloff (2007) explains that the initial turn of a pre-sequence has two functions: it projects the contingent possibility that a base first pair part (of an adjacency pair) will be produced and it makes relevant next the production of a second pair part, namely a response to the pre-sequence (Schegloff 2007:29).

late.night.snack-ACC                  ramen-INSTR                  eat-UFP-HON.END  
'We eat ramen as a late night snack,'  
(P4 continues)

Prior to this excerpt, P1 has been talking about her older brother's eating habits. After P1 has finished talking about her older brother, P4 starts a new story about his friend Sungho's and his eating habits in line 3. However, before starting this new story, P4 is using a *-canha* utterance in line 1. It can be seen that the *-canha* utterance in line 1 functions as a 'pre-sequence,' or to be precise, 'pre-announcement' (Levinson 1983). As a type of pre-sequence, the *-canha* utterance conveys a piece of information which the speaker assumes to be shared with the hearer, which enables the speaker not only to attract the attention of the hearer, but also to form common ground with the hearer which could essentially function as the basis of the upcoming story that he or she is about to start. For instance, in case of the excerpt (5.43) above, the speaker P4 is conveying what he believes to be shared with P1 in *-canha* utterance which is the fact that 'P1 talked about her older brother eating ramen earlier in the discourse.' This particular *-canha* utterance of P1 as a pre-sequence helps P1 not only to receive and maintain P4's attention for his upcoming story (which starts from line 3), but also to make the shift of the topic (from 'P4's brother's eating habits' to 'Sungho and P1's eating habits) not too abrupt and thus more smooth. Furthermore, using *-canha* as a pre-sequence could also be seen as a discourse strategic action since providing information which the speaker believes to be shared knowledge would have a greater possibility of being accepted by the hearer, as P1's positive response in line 2 shows in the excerpt (5.43) above.



## 5.6.2. *-Canha*'s further extended functions: *-Canha*'s use when the speaker is aware of the fact that a certain piece of information has not been shared with the hearer

In the above section 5.6.1, how *-canha*'s basic function 'to explicitly indicate the speaker's belief of shared knowledge' is employed in discourse has been described. However, the corpus data showed that *-canha*'s basic function has been extended and can sometimes be used even when the speaker is aware of the fact that certain information has not been shared with the hearer. These functional extensions of *-canha* suggest that as an utterance-final particle, it might be currently undergoing a further grammaticalization process or at least a further semantic or functional shift. This section will examine such extended uses of *-canha*, and will explain how these functional extension processes have taken place.

### 5.6.2.1. Expressing impoliteness

I have shown in section 4.4.2.1 of the previous chapter that *-canha* is often used to express impoliteness or criticism towards the hearer particularly by refuting or correcting the hearer's arguments or blaming the hearer's previous (verbal) action. Excerpt in (5.44) is such an example of *-canha*.

(5.44) 7CM00026

(Context: P2 has just told others that she did not take the teaching training program.)

1	P1:	<i>wuli= kwa-ey</i>	<i>kulayto</i>	<i>kyocik</i>
		our department-LOC	still	teaching.training
		<i>iswu-ha-n</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>kkway toy-l</i>

- completion-do-ATTR(RL) child quite be.done-ATTR(IRRL)  
*they-ntey.*  
 prediction-CIRCUM  
 ‘There would be quite a lot of students who have completed the teaching  
 training program, though.’
- 2            *kulayto*            *yecaay-tul-un=*,  
 still            girl-PLU-TOP  
 ‘Still the girls=,’
- 3            P2:    *tto*    *nay-ka*,  
 again I-NOM  
 ‘Well in my case,’
- 4            *phyengso-ey*            *yecaay-tul-i*            *kunyang*,  
 ordinary-LOC            girl-PLU-NOM            just  
 ‘Normally, the things that girls just do,’
- 5→            *ilpancek-ulo*            *ha-nun*            *ke*  
 general-INSTR            do-ATTR(RL)            thing  
*hana-to*    *an*    *hay-ss-canha.*  
 one-ADD    NEG    do-ANT-canha  
 ‘I didn’t do any of those things that girls generally do-canha.’
- 6→            P1:    *hay-ss-canha.*  
 do-ANT-canha  
 ‘Yes you did-canha.’
- 7            *icwung*            *cenkong*,  
 dual            major  
 ‘The dual major,’
- 8            *pokswu*            *cenkong*.  
 plural            major  
 ‘The plural major,’
- 9→            P2:    *ku-kes-to*            *amwu-to*    *an*    *ha-canha.*  
 that-thing-ADD            no.one-ADD    NEG    do-canha  
 ‘Nobody does those things either-canha.’

In this excerpt, the utterance-final particle *-canha* is used three times. The first *-canha* in line 5 is used with its basic function ‘to explicitly mark the speaker’s belief of shared knowledge’ described in section 6.1 above. In other words, by the use of *-canha*, it can be speculated that the speaker P2 believes that the fact that ‘P2 has not done any of the things that girls generally do’ has been mutually shared with P1 since P2 and P1 have been close friends. However, the two following instances of *-canha* in lines 6 and 9 show a slightly

different function from the first *-canha* in line 5. As can be seen in the *-canha* utterance in line 6, the speaker P1 is refuting P2's assumption that 'P2 has not done any of the things that girls generally do' and insists that she indeed did do such things such as the dual major (line 7) and the plural major (line 8). It is clear that as soon as P2 utters her *-canha* utterance in line 5, P1 would have realized by then that she and P2 are not sharing the same assumption anymore, about whether or not 'P2 has not done any of the things that girls generally do.' In other words, P2 would know that the idea that 'P2 indeed did those type of things that girls generally do such as the dual major and the plural major' is not shared knowledge with P2. However, she still uses the utterance-final particle *-canha* in line 6. The third *-canha* in line 9 is also used when this time, P2 argues back to P1's assumption. These two cases of *-canha* in lines 6 and 9 show a slightly different function from that of *-canha* which has been shown in section 5.6.1 where it was only used when the speaker truly believes that a certain piece of information is shared with the hearer. *-Canha* in lines 6 and 9 seem to be used instead to show a certain degree of impoliteness such as criticism or reproach towards the other interlocutor, and I will argue that this impoliteness function of *-canha* is an extended function from its basic function to explicitly indicate the speaker's belief of shared knowledge.

In the situation shown in excerpt (5.44), it can be seen that what each interlocutor assumes to be shared knowledge differs from that of the other. However it is shown that both speakers insist on the use of *-canha*, which is an utterance-final particle whose basic function is to explicitly show the speaker's belief of shared knowledge despite the apparent disagreement or mismatch of shared knowledge. The use of *-canha* despite the apparent discrepancy of shared knowledge implies that the speaker is insisting that it is his or her

assumption of a certain shared knowledge which is true and that that of the hearer is wrong. For instance, the second *-canha* in line 6 could literally mean that ‘I know that you know too, that you did those things that girls normally do such as the dual major and the plural major.’ However, given the situation that P1 is apparently aware of the fact that P2 has a different assumption, what this utterance could imply is that ‘since I know that you know too, that you did do those thing that girls normally do, then why are you saying that you didn’t?’. Similar explanation could be applied to P2’s response in line 9. When P2 heard the P1’s refutation in lines 6, 7 and 8, she should have realized that at this point, P2 and P1 do not share the same assumption. Still P2 also persist of using the utterance-final particle *-canha* in line 9 when arguing back to P1. P2’s *-canha* utterance in line 9 would literally mean ‘I know that you know too, that nobody does those things either.’ However, given the situation that P2 is evidently aware of the fact that this particular assumption has not been shared, what this utterance implies is that ‘I know you know too, that nobody does those things either so why are you saying that I did?’, hence a criticizing or blaming meaning arises. Thus, the basic function of *-canha* could be extended to be used as a marker that threatens the other interlocutor’s ‘positive face’ (c.f. Brown and Levinson 1987)<sup>60</sup> when used to criticize the other interlocutor for not having a certain piece of information presupposed.

#### **5.6.2.2. As a politeness strategy**

---

<sup>60</sup> ‘Positive face’ has been defined in Brown and Levinson (1987:61) as ‘the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants.’

I have argued in section 4.4.2.2 of the previous chapter that *-canha* can not only be used to express impoliteness, but it can also be used as a politeness strategy. I will explain, that this type of use of *-canha* as a politeness strategy is also an extended function of *-canha*'s basic function to 'explicitly show the speaker's belief of shared knowledge.' Excerpt in (5.45) is an instance of *-canha* used as a politeness strategy.

(5.45) 7CM00055

(Context: P1 is bringing up a matter during a meeting. She is suggesting others to be punctual for returning to office particularly after lunch break.)

- 1 P1: *sanggun sikan com cal,*  
employment time a.little well,  
'(I hope) the employment time gets um well,'
- 2 *cikhye-ss-umyen coh-keyss-e-yo.*  
follow-ANT-COND good-DCT.RE-INDC-HON.END  
'It would be good if you are punctual (about the employment time).'
- 3 *thukhi cemsim sikan=i,*  
especially lunch time-NOM  
'Especially the lunch time= is,'
- 4 *ikhey cham @@*  
like.this DM @@  
'Well, like this @@'
- 5 *<@ yunghongseng iss-key wenlay cinhayng-i*  
flexibility exist-RESUL originally process-NOM  
*tway-ss-ess-nuntey, @>*  
be.done-ANT-ANT-CIRCUM  
'<@ Originally the lunch time was much more flexible but, @>'
- 6 *yunghongseng iss-key ha-toy*  
flexibility exist-RESUL do-CON  
*yangsim-kkes ha-p-si-ta <@ wuli. @>*  
conscience-to.the.full.extent do-POL-HON-DECL us  
'Let <@us@> be flexible but at the same time be conscientious.'
- 7 *<@ cemsim sikan-un. @>*  
lunch time-TOP  
'<@ For the lunch time. @>'
- 8 *mwe cemsim sikan,*  
DM lunch time  
'Well, the lunch time,'
- 9→ *myech si-pwuthe myech si-kkaci tuleo-sey-yo*  
what time-since what time-until enter-HON-HON.END

	<i>ile-n</i>	<i>ke-nun=</i>	<i>ha-ki</i>	<i>ccom</i>
	like.this-ATTR(RL)	thing-TOP	do-NOMZ	a.little
	<i>kuleh-canha-yo.</i>			
	be.such- <i>canha</i> -HON.END			
	'It's not so pleasant to tell people something like you should leave at certain time and you should come back at certain time- <i>canha</i> .'			
10	<i>kuntey,</i>			
	but			
	'But,'			
11 →	<i>taychwung</i>	<i>po-myen</i>	<i>a-si-canha-yo,</i>	
	roughly	see-COND	know-HON- <i>canha</i> -HON.END	
	'You know how things go- <i>canha</i> .'			
12	<i>kuchyo?</i>			
	be.such.HON.END			
	'Right?'			

In this excerpt, P1 is bringing up an issue at a meeting and trying to convince others to be more punctual particularly for the returning time to the office after the lunch break. P1's effort to sound polite to others while conveying her opinion can be found pervasively throughout the excerpt. It can be seen that she is constantly trying to soften her opinion by using hedges such as *com* or *ccom* 'a little' (lines 1 and 9), politeness use of conditional construction (line 2), constant laughing (lines 4, 5, 6, 7), and use of discourse marker *mwe* 'what' (line 8) which could function as a hedge. The two cases of *-canha* in lines 9 and 11 could also be seen as one of her politeness strategies. It can be seen that the information conveyed in both line 9 and 11 are not the type of information which could have been already shared with her interlocutors before the time of speech. For instance, P1 is telling the others to be more conscientious of the time (line 6) since it is hard for her to tell people what time they should leave the office and what time they should come back (line 9). However, she is persistently using *-canha* which is an explicit marker of shared knowledge despite the apparent lack of this shared assumption. The politeness implication arises

through P1's attempting to treat the information as if it already has been shared with the other interlocutors. In other words, P1 is 'pretending' as if the information she is conveying is already shared knowledge with the hearer. Since she is expressing an opinion in the meeting in order to request others to be more punctual, she is already in a position which can threaten their 'negative face' (c.f. Brown and Levinson 1987)<sup>61</sup>. Her use of *-canha* hence enables her to pretend that the pieces of information that she is conveying is shared knowledge, thus makes her sound as if she is not ordering or requesting some information to others but rather as if she is simply saying something that everyone already knows. *-Canha*'s use as a politeness strategy thus helps the speaker to avoid directly threatening the hearers' 'negative face.'

### 5.6.2.3. Expressing theticity

In section 4.4.2.3 chapter 4, I argued that *-canha* can sometimes be used to express 'theticity' (c.f. Sasse 2006), i.e., the speakers' explicit signaling of their expectation, belief or assumption that the information they are conveying must not yet be presupposed for the hearer. Excerpt in (5.46) is such an instance of *-canha*.

(5.46) 6CM00094

(Context: P2 has just asked P1 if he had seen the horror movie called 'The Ring.')

- 1 P1: *ilpon-phan-man po-ass-nuntey @@.*  
 Japan-version-only see-ANT-CIRCUM  
 'I only saw the Japanese version @@.'  
 2 P2: *caymi-iss-nya?*

---

<sup>61</sup> 'Negative face' has been defined in Brown and Levinson (1987:61) as 'the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e., to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.'

- fun-exist-INTERR  
 'Is it fun?'
- 3 P1: *mwuse-we.*  
 scary-INDC  
 'It's scary.'
- 4 P2: *cincca?*  
 really  
 'Really?'
- 5→ P1: *macimak* *cangmyen-i* <@ *apkwen-i-canha.* @>  
 last scene-NOM highlight-COP-*canha*  
 'The last scene <@ is the highlight (of the movie)-*canha*. @>'

This excerpt clearly shows that the speaker P1 could obviously had known that P2 has not watched the movie 'The Ring' by P2's responses to him in line 2 (*caymiissnya?* 'Is it fun?') and in line 4 (*cincca?* 'Really?'). However, P1 still uses *-canha* in line 5 when he talks about the last scene of the movie, in spite of the apparent lack of shared knowledge. *-Canha* in line 5 is used instead to show the 'theticity' of the speaker, which reflects P1's expectation that the information 'the last scene is the highlight of the movie' could have never have been expected or presupposed for a person who has never seen that movie. I have further described in section 4.4.2.3 of the previous chapter that *-canha* with thetic function has certain restrictions. Functionally, it must convey dramatic or unusual information which at least from the speaker's perspective could never have been an expected or an obvious situations for the hearer. Formally, *-canha* utterance as thetic use can never have rising intonation contour and must be used with a falling intonation contour, though it still has to be marked with some non-verbal gestures such as laughter (as in (5.46)), scoffs, snorts, or facial expressions expressing some type of emotion.

However, the question that still remains is that, how can a marker of shared knowledge be used to convey theticity? In other words, how can a marker that explicitly



indicates the speaker's belief of a shared knowledge can be used to explicitly mark the speaker expectation of unsharedness of information? This seems very puzzling since the thetic use of *-canha* shows a completely opposite function from its basic function in terms of the speaker's expectation. While the thetic *-canha* shows that the speaker is assuming that a certain piece of information is not shared, *-canha*'s basic function reflects that the speaker is assuming that a certain piece of information is shared. Though these two functions seem almost contradictory, I will argue that the thetic function of *-canha* is also an extended function of *-canha*'s basic function which indicates the speaker's belief of shared knowledge.

More precisely, I argue that the thetic use of *-canha* derived from *-canha*'s function as 'pre-sequence' which I have described in section 5.6.1.1 above. I have explained in section 5.6.1.1, that *-canha*'s basic function 'to explicitly mark the speaker's belief of shared knowledge' can often be used discourse strategically as a 'pre-sequence' to bring a new topic to the discourse by initially forming common ground with the hearers which would serve to be the basis for the upcoming story. In Levinson (1983), different sub-types of pre-sequences have been shown such as pre-invitations, pre-requests and pre-announcements, and *-canha*'s function as pre-sequence could be seen as closest to the third type 'pre-announcements.' *-Canha*'s function as a pre-sequence or as a pre-announcement shown in section 5.6.1.1 was not different from its basic function 'to explicitly mark the speaker's belief of shared knowledge,' since the *-canha* utterance shown in 5.6.1.1 was used in order to build a common ground among the interlocutors which could serve as a basis for the upcoming new topic. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the main purposes and functions of the entire *-canha* utterance as a pre-sequence or as

a pre-announcement was 1) to draw and maintain attention from the hearers and 2) to introduce new topic or new information into discourse. In other words, although *-canha* by itself does not carry any new information (but rather carries ‘old information’ or ‘pragmatically presupposed information’), the *-canha* utterance as a whole is a part of an action to convey or bring a new information to the discourse.

These two functions of *-canha* as pre-sequence or pre-announcement described above in fact seem to be deeply related to the characteristic of thetic construction as well. As thetic constructions have been described by many scholars as “all-new utterances,” “news sentences,” “neutral descriptions,” “entirely rhematic,” where in which both the subject and the predicate are new (Schmerling 1976, Kuno 1972, Weher 1984, Krylova and Kahvronina 1988, and many other, all cited in Sasse 2006:257), one of the most prominent characteristic of thetic constructions is that they carry “new” information or information with “low presuppositionality” (Sasse 2006) at least from the speaker’s point of view. The speaker who would utter a thetic construction would be expecting that the information he or she is conveying would be “new” or “lowly presupposed” for the hearer and would thus expect the hearer to be surprised or at least to pay attention to his or her thetic utterance. This suggest that the characteristic of *-canha* as a pre-sequence or pre-announcement could be described to be pre-thetic.

Given this fact, it should not be surprising that the thetic function of *-canha* derived from its pre-thetic function. I argue that this functional shift could have taken place through ‘invited inference’ (Traugott and Dasher 2005), which is a metonymic process of functional change. As has been explained hitherto, the main function of a *-canha* utterance as a pre-sequence or pre-announcement was to precondition for a new topic or new information

in discourse, by providing (what the speaker believes to be) a piece of obvious common knowledge. In other words, even as a pre-sequence, *-canha* was already a tool to bring new information or topic into the discourse. Hence the thetic function arises when the conversational implicature that new information or new topic follows *-canha* pre-sequences has been reanalyzed that the new information is indeed coded by *-canha*.

#### 5.6.2.4. Expressing mirativity

In section 4.4.2.4 of chapter 4, I have shown that *-canha* not only expresses theticity, but it can also often times express mirativity of the speaker as well. The term ‘mirativity’ has been described in DeLancey (2001) as ‘the linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker’ (DeLancey 2001:369-370). In other words, while *-canha* as a marker of theticity functions to indicate the speaker’s belief that the hearer will be surprised upon hearing his or her utterance, *-canha* as a marker of mirativity functions to indicate the speaker’s own surprise. Excerpt in (5.47) is an instance of *-canha* as a marker of mirativity.

(5.47) 6CM00062

(Context: The speakers are sitting in front of a computer. They are conversing while searching for some information on movies using the internet. They want to figure out whether it was Tim Burton or James Cameron who directed the second sequel of ‘Aliens’ movie. P3 is trying to search who the director was by using the movie title as the search key word. P1 and P2 are watching him.)

- 1      P3:    *eyelien.*  
              alien  
              ‘Alien.’  
2      P2:    *iss-ci?*  
              exist-COMT

- 3                   ‘There is (the director’s name) right?’  
*iss-ci?*  
 exist-COMT
- 4                   ‘There is (the director’s name) right?’  
                                   *[iss-ci?]*  
 exist-COMT
- 5     P3:   *phal-sip*       *[phal-sip]*    *myech-nyen.*  
           eight-ten       eight-ten       something-year  
           ‘(The release year is) eighty eighty something year.’
- 6     P2:   *eps-na*                    *eps-na?*  
           not.exist-NCOMT   not.exist-NCOMT  
           ‘There isn’t? there isn’t (the director’s name)?’
- 7                   *a= phulotyuse-lo.*  
           DM   producer-INSTR  
           ‘Ah, (try to search) by the producer.’
- 8→   P3:   *eps-canha!*  
           not.exist-canha  
           ‘(The director’s name) isn’t there-canha!’
- 9→                   *eps-canha!*  
           not.exist-canha  
           ‘(The director’s name) isn’t there-canha!’
- 10    P2:   *tileykthe-lo*            *po-ca!*  
           director-INSTR        see-HORT  
           ‘Let’s search by the director!’

In this excerpt, *-canha* has been used twice by the speaker P3 in lines 8 and 9. *-Canha* in these two utterances reflect its mirative use, since the speaker is expressing his surprise about the fact that the director’s name does not appear when he searched on the internet by using the movie title as the keyword. If the indicative sentential ending *-e* was used instead of *-canha* as to say *eps-e!* (not.exist-INDC), then P3 would be simply conveying a new information that ‘the director’s name isn’t there.’ However, what the use of *-canha* further implies is that the speaker was certain that the director’s name would be there and therefore he is surprised due to this unexpected outcome.

I will argue here that this mirative use of *-canha* is a further derived function of thetic *-canha* which I have described in the previous section. It must be noted that as I have described in section 4.4.2.4 of the previous chapter, a *-canha* utterance with mirative function is a type of internal monologue, i.e., an utterance used when speakers are speaking to themselves. Hence, P3's *-canha* utterances in lines 8 and 9 in the excerpt (5.47) above could be considered to be spoken to P3 himself, though he uttered it loudly enough so that other interlocutors could acknowledge his own surprise as well. Furthermore, the fact that the mirative *-canha* utterances such as those shown in (5.47) are not compatible with the honorific ending *-yo* even in situations where speakers are obliged to speak in honorific style also suggests that mirative *-canha* utterances are clearly internal monologues rather than utterances used interactively. Given the fact that the thetic *-canha* was used in order to convey 'the speaker's expectation that the information he or she is conveying must be unexpected or surprising for the hearer,' and that *-canha* utterances with mirative functions are internal monologues, it could be then inferred that the mirative meaning arose when thetic *-canha* has been uttered to the speaker him- or herself, i.e., as an internal monologue. This functional shift of *-canha* from theticity to mirativity could be considered to be a type of subjectification, which is a process where "meanings becomes increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude towards what the speaker is talking about" (Traugott 1989:35, cited in Cuyckens et al. 2010:10). It is because the function of thetic *-canha* which indicates 'the assumption that the hearer will be surprised upon hearing such utterance' is now directed to the speaker him- or herself to express his or her own surprise<sup>62</sup>.

---

<sup>62</sup> In García Macías' (2014) typological study on the grammaticalization sources of mirativity, which examines 53 mirative constructions from 44 languages, also argues that one of the major sources of mirativity

It might first seem then, that thethetic *-canha* and mirative *-canha* are in fact the same marker but only differ in whether they are used interactively (thetic *-canha*) or as an internal monologue (mirative *-canha*). However, as I have explained in section 4.4.2.4 of chapter 4, thethetic *-canha* and mirative *-canha* not only differ in their context of use, but they also show distinctive formal differences with each other. While thethetic *-canha* should always be used with falling intonation contour (but with non-verbal gestures that shows some type of emotion), the mirative *-canha* should always be intonationally highly marked. With mirative *-canha*, high intonation should be used throughout the entire utterance, and an even higher rising intonation contour must show at the end of the utterance. In consequence, it can be concluded that mirative use of *-canha* which explicitly marks the speaker's surprise towards an unexpected fact is a distinctive use of the utterance-final particle *-canha* which derived from its use to express theticity.

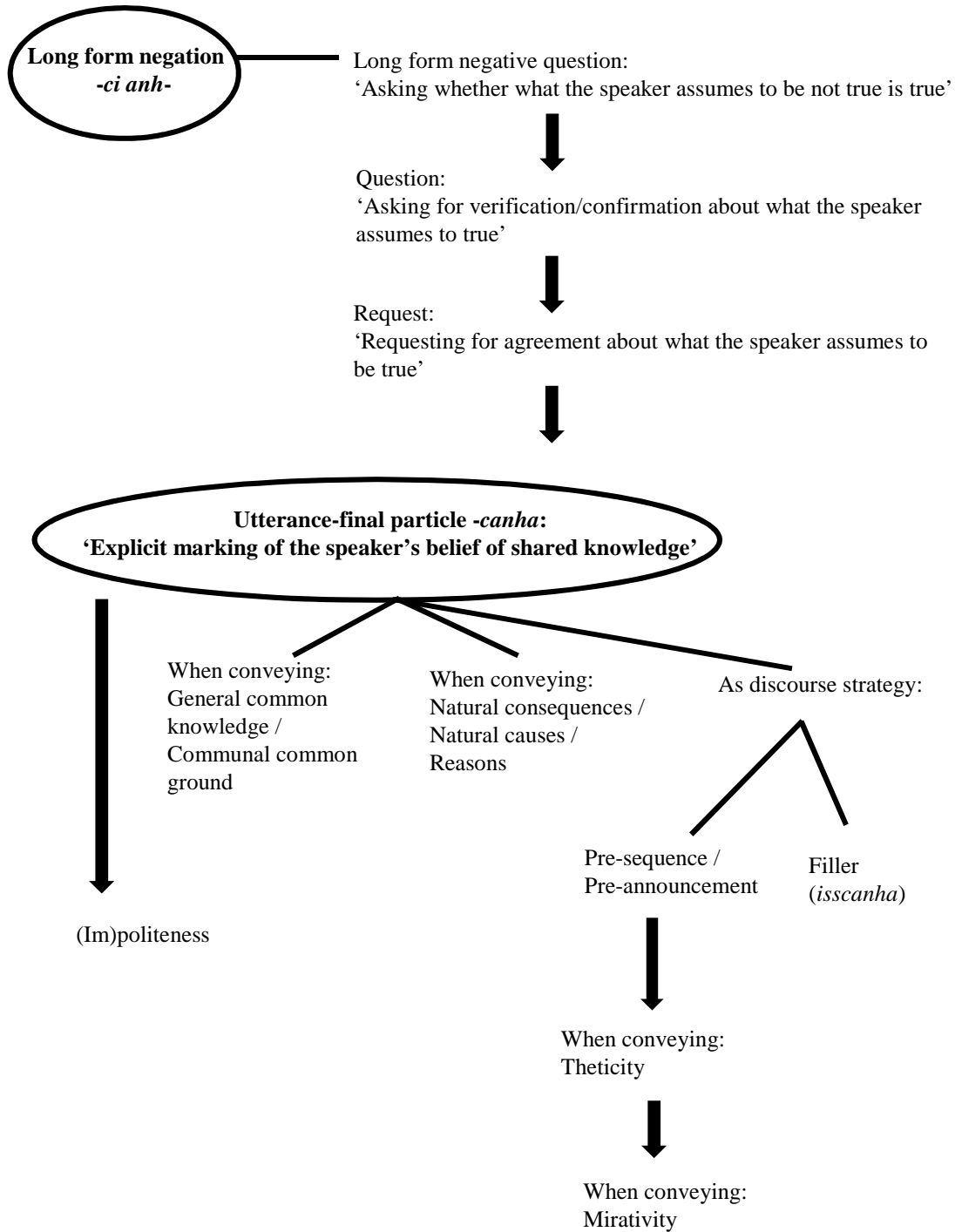
## **5.7. Discussion on recurrent (inter)subjectification throughout the grammaticalization process of *-canha* and concluding remarks**

In this chapter, the intricate grammaticalization process from the long form negative question *-ci anh-* into the utterance-final particle *-canha* has been discussed. <Figure 5.2> summarizes the grammaticalization process from the long form negative question into the utterance-final *-canha*, as well as the further grammaticalization

---

is thethetic constructions, more specifically, the presentational type of thethetic constructions (the other three sources of mirativity which he argues are inferential/non-visual markings, truth-value focus elements, and unassertive constructions). The author claims that the presentational thethetic constructions grammaticalized into mirative construction via subjectification process, where thethetic constructions which convey the addressee's unawareness shifts to mirative constructions which convey the speaker's unexpectedness.

that *-canha* seems to be currently undergoing. Inside the circles are the formal representation of the construction in question. Their contexts of use are connected by the solid lines, and the paths of the functional shifts or functional extensions have been shown by the arrows.



<Figure 5.2. The grammaticalization process of the utterance-final particle -canha>

In the previous sections 5.5 and 5.6, I have explained the semantic or functional shifts from *-ci anh-* to *-canha* took place via semantic generalization, reanalysis and invited



inference. However, the recurrent (inter)subjectification process which co-occurs in every step of the functional shift also remains to be acknowledged. Both subjectification and intersubjectification, according to Traugott (2010, Traugott and Dasher 2001), are types of semanticization, where (inter)subjective meaning comes to be conventionally coded by the forms, i.e., the (inter)subjective meaning comes to be a part of the forms. More specifically, subjectification has been defined in Traugott (2010, Traugott and Dasher 2001) as a process whereby “meanings become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude towards what the speaker is talking about” (Traugott 1989:35, cited in Cuyckens et al 2010:10). Intersubjectification on the other hand, is “the semasiological process whereby meanings comes over time to encode ... SP[eaker]/W[riter]’s attention to the ‘self’ of AD[dressee]/R[eader] in both an epistemic and social sense” (Traugott 2003:130, cited in Cuyckens et al 2010:4). Traugott and Dasher (2001:97) further explain that the intersubjectification process is subordinate to the subjectification process, since the former cannot take place without the latter.

It seems that when a construction undergoes a semantic change within the discourse level, i.e., gains a discourse function, it is often the case that it undergoes the subjectification process along with the intersubjectification process. This is not different for the grammaticalization from the long form negation *-ci anh-* into the utterance-final particle *-canha*. Moreover, the (inter)subjectification process seems to have taken place repeatedly in each stage of its semantic/functional shifts and has played a significant role in its entire grammaticalization process. For instance, when the long form negative question which functions to ‘ask whether what the speaker assumes to be not true is true’ shifts its function to ‘ask for confirmation or verification from the hearer about what the

speaker assumes to be true', subjectification also takes place. For example, the question *Yengi-ka mek-ci anh-a?* (Yengi-NOM eat-CON NEG-INDC) 'Yengi doesn't eat?' which is used to ask whether the speaker's assumption that 'Yengi doesn't eat' is true or not, implicitly implies that what the speaker had previously presupposed is the fact that 'Yengi eats' and is asking such a question because of the apparent questionable mismatch of his or her presupposition. When the meaning of this construction changes to 'Doesn't Yengi eat?' to ask for confirmation or verification from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true, the construction now explicitly codes the speaker's belief of a certain fact, that 'Yengi eats.' This is an evident subjectification process where the speaker's implicit belief comes to be explicitly coded in the construction. It is this subjectification process which rendered the long form negation *-ci anh-* to have a more detached relationship with the speaker's assumption within the construction.

The subjectified long form negative construction undergoes a further (inter)subjectification when it shifts its function once more to 'request an agreement from the hearer about what the speaker assumes to be true.' Not only the speaker's belief or presupposition about a certain assumption strengthens (hence a further subjectification), the construction also explicitly encodes the speaker's assumption that the hearer will have the same belief towards the proposition that he or she is conveying and thus will provide an agreement to the question he or she is asking. This represents a further intersubjectification process since the speaker is now encoding his or her awareness towards the hearer's presupposition as well. The complete loss of the negative meaning of the long form negation *-ci anh-* at this stage could be seen as a result of this further intersubjectification.

When the combination of the long form negation *-ci anh-* and the indicative sentential ending finally forms a chunk to *-canha* and shifts its grammatical category to an utterance-final particle as one single unit, an additional (inter)subjectification takes place. The utterance-final particle *-canha* not only encodes that the speaker is sure about the truthfulness of his or her own presupposition, it also encodes that the speaker is certain that this presupposition is also shared with the hearer as well. The loss of the interrogative speech act seems to be due to this intersubjectification, since the speaker is now so sure about the sharedness of the knowledge, he or she does not need to receive a positive response anymore.

As an utterance-final particle, *-canha* further undergoes (inter)subjectification when its basic function 'to explicitly indicate the speaker's belief of shared knowledge' becomes extended for other uses. An intersubjectification process seems to take place when *-canha*'s basic function extends to convey politeness or impoliteness, since conveying (im)politeness reflects the speaker's awareness of the hearer's 'face.' Moreover, (inter)subjectification also takes place when *-canha*'s basic function extends to express theticity since it explicitly encodes the speaker's assumption that a certain piece of information is not yet presupposed for the hearer and that the hearer will be surprised upon hearing his or her *-canha* utterance. Lastly, when thetic *-canha* further extends its function to express mirativity, an additional subjectification seems to take place, since the entire thetic effect of *-canha* is now directed to the speaker oneself to express the speaker's own surprise or counter-expectation.

In consequence, the (inter)subjectification process seems to have occurred pervasively throughout the entire grammaticalization process from the long form negation

*-ci anh-* into the utterance-final particle *-canha*. The recurrent (inter)subjectification in the grammaticalization of *-canha* suggests that the speakers of interactive spoken language are not only concerned about the way of expressing themselves, but they are also highly sensitive to their hearers' information status, particularly about their mutual common ground, i.e., whether a certain piece of information is already shared or not. The recurrent (inter)subjectification is not only a significant grounds which shows that there is an incessant dynamic negotiation of the common ground between the speakers in spoken language, but it is also an important motivation for a construction to shifts from one function to another.

## Chapter 6. Conclusion

### 6.1. General summary

This dissertation examined the two emerging utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean from a diachronic as well as synchronic perspective. This dissertation investigated what are the current functions of *-ketun* and *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean, and how they evolved from their former functions to their current functions as utterance-final particles.

Synchronically, *-ketun* and *-canha* showed very similar functions. Both *-ketun* and *-canha* manage the flow of information in discourse. In particular, it was argued in chapter 2, that *-ketun*'s main function in Modern Spoken Korean is to present a pragmatic assertion as if it were – or as if it should be or should have been – a pragmatic presupposition. I argued that when *-ketun* is used in storytelling contexts, it is used when the speakers want to mark utterances which convey information that they want the hearers to take as presupposed information, particularly to help them better understand the story to follow, or when the speakers want to make self-corrections when they realize that they made a leap in their assertions and hence to signal to the hearers that certain pieces of information should have given earlier in the discourse. The utterance-final particle *-canha*, on the other hand, as was argued in chapter 4, manages information flow by marking utterances which convey information that the speaker believes to be already shared with the hearer. I argued that *-canha* is particularly used when the speaker wants to explicitly signal his or her awareness of the sharedness of certain pieces of information that he or she is conveying so

as to say “I know that you know it too,” or when the speaker wants the hearer to acknowledge the sharedness of the information so as to say “I know too, what you already know.” The utterance-final particle *-canha* is often used when the speaker is conveying information which he or she thinks to be obvious, such as general common knowledge, or when he or she is reporting natural consequences, natural causes or reasons. Moreover, I have argued that both *-ketun* and *-canha*’s basic information managing function can be further extended when they are used in more subjective contexts, such as when expressing one’s personal idea or assessment. I have shown that in such situations, both *-ketun* and *-canha*’s basic function can be extended to be used as politeness, or impoliteness strategies, though *-canha*’s basic function can also be extended to convey theticity and mirativity (see García-Macías, In preparation).

The examination of the synchronic functions of these two utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* revealed that the functions of both of these particles have a very high degree of intersubjectivity (c.f. Traugott 2003a, 2010). I have argued that the basic information managing functions of *-ketun* and *-canha* reveal that the speakers are not only aware of their own speech, but they are also highly conscious about what effect their utterances would have on their interlocutors’ information status and the changes therein. For instance, I have shown that the use of *-ketun* explicitly manifests the speaker’s awareness of whether the hearer’s process of following his or her story would be impeded or not, without certain pieces of information being presupposed. On the other hand, I have argued that the use of *-canha* explicitly shows the speaker’s awareness of sharedness of information with the hearer, and it is hence used as a device for constantly signaling and aligning common ground with the hearers during the discourse. Furthermore, it has also

been shown that the more extended uses of both *-ketun* and *-canha* convey a high degree of intersubjectivity as well. I have argued that *-ketun* and *-canha*'s extended uses in impoliteness as well as politeness strategies show that these particles explicitly manifest not only the speaker's subjective judgment of what the hearer's presupposed information should be, but they also show the speaker's awareness of the hearer's self-image or 'face' (negative or positive). Moreover, in chapter 4, I have shown that *-canha*'s extended functions in thetic and mirative uses also explicitly demonstrate the speaker's expectation of or attention to whether certain pieces of information should be or should not be presupposed for the hearer (or the speaker him-/herself, for *-canha*'s mirative uses), and hence whether they will create an effect of surprise in the hearer (or the speaker him-/herself, for *-canha*'s mirative uses).

Although synchronically *-ketun* and *-canha* show considerable similarities in terms of their information managing functions as well as their identical syntactic positions (right peripheral position of an intonation unit) in spoken Korean, the diachronic investigations that I have described in chapter 3 and chapter 5, show that the utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* underwent very different evolutionary processes. For instance, in the grammaticalization process of *-ketun* which I described in chapter 3, the utterance-final particle *-ketun* derives from the conditional connective ending *-ketun* whose original function was to link two clauses in a sentence in a conditional relationship. *-Ketun*, which was originally one of the first conditional markers, had the most general function in the domain of conditionals in the history of Korean. However, with the emergence of the novel conditional ending *-myen* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the two conditional connective endings *-ketun* and *-myen* competed with each other in the domain of conditionals. Due to the loss of this

competition, *-ketun* lost its counter-factuality feature and hence it can now only be used as a speech act conditional connective ending in Modern Written Korean. While *-ketun* can still be used as a speech act conditional connective ending in written Korean, it underwent a further semantic change in spoken Korean: *-Ketun* can no longer function as a conditional marker in Modern Spoken Korean. This indicates that *-ketun*'s grammatical category shifted as well from a conditional connective ending to an utterance-final particle. I argued that *-ketun* also underwent a scope expansion since its information managing function, which is to mark pieces of information that should be presupposed at the utterance level, expanded to the discourse level as its function shifted from conditional marker to utterance-final particle.

Furthermore, it has been shown that *-ketun* underwent an extensive syntactic shift from a subordinate clause to a main clause structure along with its functional change into an utterance-final particle. I have claimed that *-ketun*-protasis which used to be subordinate to its main clause (apodosis) gained its syntactic autonomy by frequently occurring at the end of an utterance in spoken Korean, along with its functional shift to utterance-final particle. I also have shown that while *-ketun*-utterances in spoken Korean are now completely independent and cannot be subordinate anymore, functionally, they are still dependent to their host contexts and therefore they cannot be used on their own, but always have to occur with other utterances within the discourse. I has been argued in Evans (2007) that this type of syntactic change is not a case of grammaticalization since its direction of changes goes against the unidirectionality of grammaticalization theory by undergoing changes from syntax to discourse rather than from discourse to syntax, and increase of structure scope rather than decrease of structure scope. However, I have claimed



that *-ketun*'s change from conditional connective ending to utterance-final particle is a case of grammaticalization, as Tabor and Traugott (1998) argue that the unidirectionality of structure scope reduction in the theory of grammaticalization should be re-examined since many changes in grammaticalization which have been argued to have undergone a scope reduction, in fact underwent a structural scope increase.

Unlike *-ketun* which derived from a conditional ending, the utterance-final particle *-canha* derived from a sentential ending construction of a negative interrogative construction, hence it underwent a substantially different grammaticalization process from *-ketun*. In chapter 5 I argued that since *-canha* derived from a sentential ending construction which already includes an indicative sentential ending *-a*, the fact that *-canha* as an utterance-final particle is positioned at the end of an utterance was not an issue – unlike the utterance-final particle *-ketun* whose syntactic position greatly differs from that of its former function as a conditional connective ending. However, I have shown that the utterance-final particle *-canha* evolved from a very complicated grammaticalization process of the long form negative construction in Korean. I argued that the initial trigger of the evolution of *-canha* was the competition between the two existing forms of negation in Korean: long form negation and short form negation. Long form negation remains dominant in written register of Korean, but it seems to have lost ground in the spoken register, as shown by its low frequency compared to that of short form negation in spoken data. I have argued that because of this loss of ground in the domain of negation in spoken Korean, long form negation seems to have undergone a specialization process by mostly occurring in interrogative speech acts only. However, since there is once again two existing forms in the domain of negative interrogative (the short form negative interrogative and

the long form negative interrogative) in spoken Korean, the long form negation undergoes an additional competition within the domain of negative interrogative. The long form negative question construction currently shows a functional ambiguity with three possible interpretations. This indicates that it is losing its ground once again in the domain of the negative interrogative as well. Particularly, I have shown that the long form negative question construction is undergoing a gradual functional change from ‘asking whether the speaker’s negated assumption is true’ to ‘requesting for confirmation or verification about what the speaker assumes to be true’ and then again to ‘requesting for agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true.’ I have claimed that as the function of the long form negative question shifts from ‘asking whether the speaker’s negated assumption is true’ to ‘requesting for confirmation or verification about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ the relationship between the speaker’s assumption and the negativity within the long form negation became looser. And when the function of the long form negative question further shifts to ‘requesting for confirmation or verification about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ the negativity of the long form negation becomes lost completely.

I have further claimed that the utterance-final particle *-canha* evolved from this last stage of functional shift of the long form negative question construction where it functions to ‘request for agreement about what the speaker assumes to be true,’ when this specific construction underwent a further semantic generalization by completely losing its interrogative speech act. I have shown that along with this functional change, the entire combination of the long form negation *-ci anh-* and the indicative sentential ending *-a* underwent a chunking process as well as a phonological reduction and fusion to become a single processing unit *-canha* as an utterance-final particle whose function is to mark the

speaker's assumption of shared knowledge. Moreover, the utterance-final particle *-canha* seems to be undergoing a further grammaticalization process as its basic information managing function comes to have more extended uses to convey not only politeness and impoliteness but also theticity and mirativity.

## **6.2. Implications of the emergence of *-ketun* and *-canha* in the study of information structure and that of utterance-final particles, and suggestions for future research**

First of all, examination of the synchronic functions of the utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean suggests that in spontaneous interactional conversations, the information structure of a proposition might not be as simple as Lambrecht (1994) argues in his theory of information structure. That is, the distinction between pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic assertion might not be as clear-cut as Lambrecht describes. The current functions of *-ketun* and *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean indicate that it is not enough to describe the information structure in interactional discourse with a simple binary distinction (pragmatic assertion vs. pragmatic presupposition), since there seems to exist information status categories in between the two. For instance, the current function of the utterance-final particle *-ketun* is to construe a pragmatic assertion as a pragmatic presupposition. The current function of the utterance-final particle *-canha* is to mark pragmatic assertions which convey pragmatically presupposed information. This complexity of information structure seems natural, considering the fact that in naturally occurring spontaneous conversations, what the speakers think to be the common ground or shared knowledge is incessantly renewed and

negotiated every time an utterance is uttered within a conversation. The use of the utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* reveals that the speakers are highly aware of the on-going changes in common ground (i.e., knowledge that is presupposed to be shared) of the speaker and her interlocutors, and that they are knowledgeable about how to express their awareness linguistically. Hence, the synchronic studies of *-ketun* and *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean suggest that the theory of information structure proposed by Lambrecht (1994) needs to be further developed, in order to be applied to information status and information flow in the study of spontaneous interactional discourse.

The diachronic study of the utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha*, i.e., the study of their evolutionary processes, which I have conducted for this dissertation is by far not an exhaustive study of utterance-final particles in Korean. As I showed in chapter 1, Korean has a large number of currently emerging utterance-final particles and hence the study of *-ketun* and *-canha* can represent only a portion of the emerging number of utterance-final particles in Korean. For instance, although the present dissertation argued that the most basic functions of both utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* are to manage information in discourse, not all Korean utterance-final particles have information management as their basic function (though many of them do). For example, the basic function of the utterance-final particle *-lako/-cako/-nyako/-tako*, which are derived from the complementizer set in Korean, seems to have been an emphasizing function of the speaker's emotion at the time of utterance, rather than an information managing function. An instance of the complementizer *-nyako* used as an utterance-final particle in spoken Korean is shown in (6.1).

(6.1) 7CM00009

(Context: The speaker P1 has been complaining about the financial situation in Korea.)

- 1 P1: *uysa-to kule-n phan-ey,*  
doctor-ADD be.such-ATTR(RL) situation-LOC  
'Even doctors have the same situation,
- 2 *solcikhi,*  
honestly  
'Honestly,'
- 3 *uysa-to pwulhwang pwulhwang-i-n*  
doctor-ADD depression depression-COP-ATTR(RL)  
*ile-n sitay-ey,*  
like.this-ATTR(RL) period-LOC  
'At this period of time where even doctors go through depression,'
- 4→ *enu cikep-i ancen-ha-keyss-nyako,*  
what occupation-NOM safe-do-DCT.RE-nyako  
'What kind of occupation would be safe-nyako,'
- 5 *ku-ci?*  
be.such-COMT  
'Right?'

*-Nyako*, which is used in line 4 of excerpt (6.1), is not making the clause 'what kind of occupation would be safe' into a complement, but is an utterance-final particle. It seems that the utterance-final particle *-nyako* is used as a device to express an emphasis of his emotion at the time of his utterance, namely anxiety towards the economic depression.

Furthermore, although this study showed that *-ketun* and *-canha* underwent very different grammaticalization paths due to their very different historical sources, not all utterance-final particles in Korean with similar historical sources seem to have undergone a similar grammaticalization process either. For instance, the utterance-final particle *-nuntey* whose historical source is also a connective ending just like *-ketun*, with a circumstantial meaning 'and/but' might not have undergone a similar grammaticalization process to that of *-ketun*. While this present dissertation has argued that *-ketun* does not seem to have undergone the historical process of 'insubordination' proposed by Evans

(2007), because *-ketun* clauses do not seem to have undergone ellipsis of the main clause, *-nuntey* on the other hand, seems as if it has evolved into an utterance-final particle through the ellipsis of the main clause. An instance of *-nuntey* used as an utterance-final particle is shown in (6.2).

(6.2) 6CM00077

(Context: Speaker P1 is trying to remember an idiomatic expression which includes the word *silthalay* ‘yarn ball.’)

- 1 P2: *[sallim mithchen?]*  
household fund  
‘Fund for household?’
- 2 P1: *[mwusun silthalay,]*  
some yarn.ball  
‘Yarn ball something,’
- 3 *mwe= ani ku-ke mal-kwu.*  
DM no that-thing stop-CON  
‘Well, no, not that.’
- 4 (5.3)
- 5 P2: *mwe-ci?*  
what-COMT  
‘I wonder what it is?’
- 6 P1: *a=.*  
DM  
‘Ah=.’
- 7→ *coh-un phyohyen iss-ess-nuntey,*  
good-ATTR(RL) expression exist-ANT-*nuntey*  
‘There was this good expression-*nuntey* (but),’
- 8 *toykey=,*  
very  
‘Very=,’
- 9→ *uymisimcang-hay-ss-nuntey,*  
profound-do-ANT-*nuntey*  
‘(The meaning was) profound-*nuntey* (but),’
- 10 *u u u u u=,*  
EXCL  
‘Hmm=,’
- 11 *yehathun onul=,*  
anyways today  
‘Anyways, today=,’

(P1 starts a new story.)

In the excerpt in (6.2), the speaker P1 uses the utterance-final particle *-nuntey* twice, in lines 7 and 9. The two cases of *-nuntey* in both lines 7 and 8 do not seem to be syntactically linking any clauses in the discourse, and hence seem to be functioning as an utterance-final particle rather as a connective ending. However, it seems that the ellipsed main clause of *-nuntey* utterances can still be recoverable, which could be reconstructed as ‘but I can’t remember.’

Nevertheless, the examination of the emergence of these two utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* still can have a significant impact on the study of utterance-final particles. What is most interesting about the emergence of these two particles is that despite their very different historical sources and substantially different diachronic paths, their synchronic intersubjective functions, their exclusive usage in spoken register, as well as their synchronic syntactic position at the right peripheral position of an intonation unit, are evidently similar. It might not be very surprising that these two particles ended up occurring at the end of an intonation unit if we consider the facts that both *-ketun* and *-canha* (as well as other utterance-final particles in Korean) derived from historical sources which involve verbal suffixation in some degree and that Korean is a verb-final language. However, as I have discussed in chapter 1 of this dissertation, the rise of utterance-final particles is not unique to Korean, but is found not only in verb-final languages such as Korean, Japanese (Higashiizumi 2006, Thompson and Suzuki 2011, Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997, Mori 1999, Ohori 1995), Navajo (Mithun 2008) and Central Alaskan Yup’ik (Mithun 2008), but also in non-verbal-final languages such as English (Haselow 2011, Haselow 2012, Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen 2002),

German (Diewald and Fischer 1998, Imo 2009, all cited in Haselow 2012), and Norwegian (Andvik 1992, Fretheim 1989, all cited in Haselow 2012). More striking is the parallel that can be evidenced in the similarly intersubjective functions of utterance-final particles across languages. For example, the functions of the English utterance-final particle *you know* that shows considerable functional overlap with Korean *-ketun* and *-canha* as I have discussed in chapter 4 of this dissertation (though the functions of *you know* that I discussed in chapter 4 also include the functions of non-utterance-final *you know*), the intersubjective “management of common ground” function of English final *then*, *though* and *even* (Haselow 2011, 2012), the intersubjective functions of utterance-final *kara*, *kedo*, and *ba* in Japanese (Ohori 1995) and so on all show this functional parallelism. This indicates that there is a very strong tendency across different spoken languages that highly intersubjective lexical items emerge at the right peripheral position of an intonation unit. Therefore, the study of the emergence of the two utterance-final particles *-ketun* and *-canha* not only represents part of a study of utterance-final particles in spoken Korean, but also part of a much larger study, the study of utterance-final particles in spoken languages in general. It would be difficult to provide an exact answer for the reason or motivation behind the increasing number of utterance-final particles across languages by observing only two specific utterance-final particles within one language. However, I would like to conclude this dissertation by proposing a speculative explanation for these changes and suggest that further research would be needed for a more explicit explanation for the current extensive emergence of utterance-final particles in spoken languages.

Traugott (2003) argues that in the theory of grammaticalization, more attention should be paid to the contexts in which lexical items become grammaticalized, by



proposing a novel definition of grammaticalization with more emphasis on the contexts where grammaticalization occurs:

The process whereby lexical material in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts is assigned grammatical function, and once grammatical, is assigned increasingly grammatical, operator-like function.

(Traugott 2003:645)

Traugott argues that the precise syntactic structure of the original construction as well as the particular inferences from it are crucial in enabling grammaticalization and hence different contextual sources will give rise to different instances of grammaticalization (Traugott 2003:644-645). This means that conversely, when different lexical items with different sources grammaticalize into the same grammatical category, such as the emergence of utterance-final particles in spoken Korean as well as many other spoken languages, there must be some significant commonalities in the contexts in which all these changes occur. Therefore, in order to understand what is the common contextual environment that attracts the emergence of utterance-final particles in spoken Korean as well as in various spoken languages, we need to consider that common properties that these particles show synchronically as utterance-final particles.

Despite the different historical sources (though typologically subordinators seem to be the most common type of historical sources of utterance-final particles), different diachronic paths, as well as different basic word orders, utterance-final particles show the following significant synchronic resemblances: They only occur in spoken register; they have highly intersubjective functions; they do not have prosodic prominence of their own,

i.e., they are prosodically (and some are even morphologically) bound to the utterance that they occur with; and they all occur at the right peripheral position of an intonation unit. Considering these facts, it seems to me that the motivation behind the emergence of utterance-final particles across different languages might lie in the structure of spoken languages per se. It is because every spoken language is divided into small segments, namely intonation units, and since intonation units reflect the verbalization of a speaker's focus of consciousness at that moment (Chafe 1994:63), there are a lot of aspects which the intonation units of many languages share despite their typological and genealogical differences. Croft argues that "the intonation unit emerges as the most plausible basic unit of the grammar of spoken language, because of its ubiquity and its status as a cognitively constrained unit" (Croft 1995:875). For instance, the final position of an intonation unit constitutes a point which is often called a transition relevance place (or TRP). A transition relevance place is a place where a turn may or may not go to another speaker (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Levinson 1983:297). This is a highly context-sensitive place as the speakers which are engaged in the conversation uses this specific place to signal whether they will keep to floor, or take the turn from the current speaker in turn, yield the floor to any other speakers of the conversation, or yield the floor to a specific speaker. In other words, it is a place where speakers make important interactive decisions which are crucial for a successful communication. A transition relevance place can be determined not only by its grammatical structure, since a possible transition relevance place may take place right after a constructional component (such as a sentence, clause, phrase, or lexical constructions, see Sacks et al 1974), but also by phonological cues such as a pause, or rising or falling intonation contour, or even by the gaze of the speakers (see Kendon 1967, Argyle

1973, all cited in Levinson 1983). Hence, this indicates that the transition relevance place requires a complete awareness of one's own speech and as well as a careful understanding of the intention of the other interlocutors' speech. That is, a transition relevance place is a highly context-sensitive place where the intersubjectivity between the interlocutors is mostly dynamic within a conversation.

It seems to me that this prominent degree of intersubjectivity of the transition relevance place might be the underlying motivation for the increasing number of utterance-final particles in various spoken languages. As the place per se is highly intersubjective, it might be the most optimal place where explicit markers of intersubjectivity can emerge. In other words, a linguistic expression which explicitly signals intersubjectivity between the speaker and the hearer is more likely to occur in a position within a language structure where intersubjectivity among speakers is in action most dynamically, such as the right peripheral positional of an intonation unit. This speculation is also in accordance with Traugott's (2011b) argument that (in English) the left periphery of a clause of intonation unit is often associated with subjective materials such as topic marking and epistemic modals, while the right periphery is often associated with intersubjective marking such as question tag or final *no doubt* or final *of course*. Nevertheless, the validity of this speculation cannot be fully justified in this present dissertation which examined only two utterance-final particles (*-ketun* and *-canha*) in Modern Spoken Korean. The future direction of research should be a further study on the other emerging utterance-final particles in Korean which I did not discuss in this dissertation (such as the utterance-final particles enlisted in (1.13) in chapter 1); a further study on the emergence of utterance-final particles in various spoken languages with varying basic word orders, and comparative

research which discusses the rise of utterance-final particles across languages from a typological perspective.

## APPENDIX

### Appendix A: Transcription conventions

The transcription conventions used by Sejong 21<sup>st</sup> Century Corpus has been slightly modified by the transcription conventions developed by Du Bois et al. (1993) in this study.

.	Final transitional continuity
,	Continuing transitional continuity
?	Appeal or rising intonation
!	Booster: Higher than expected pitch on a word
--	Truncated intonation unit
-	Truncated word
=	Lengthening of a segment
[ ]	Speech overlap
<X X>	Uncertain of transcription; difficult to hear
X	Uninterpretable syllable
@	Laugh pulse
<@ @>	Laughing vocal quality
<Q Q>	Quotational vocal quality

## REFERENCES

- Aijmer, Karin. 1984. 'Sort of' and 'kind of' in English conversation. *Studia Linguistica* 38.118-28.
- Aijmer, Karin. 1996. *Conversational routines in English*. London: Longman.
- Almela Pérez, Ramón. 1985. El *si* introductor de oraciones independientes en español. *Lingüística Española Actual* 7, 5-13.
- Andvik, Eric E. 1992. *A pragmatic analysis of Norwegian modal particles*. Dallas: International Academic Bookstore.
- Argyle, Michael. 1973. *Social interaction*. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd.
- Ariel, Mira. 1988. Referring and accessibility, *Journal of linguistics* 24.65-87.
- Barth-Weingarten, Dagmar and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2002. On the development of final *though*. *New reflections on grammaticalization*, ed. by Ilse Wischer and Gabriele Diewald, 345-61. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Blakemore, Diane. 1987. *Semantic constraints on relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1957. *Interrogative structures of American English*. Alabama: University of Alabama press.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1982. Nondeclaratives from an intonational standpoint. *Papers from the parasession on non-declarative sentences of the 18<sup>th</sup> regional meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society*, 1-22. Chicago: Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago.

- Börjars, Kersti and Nigel Vincent. 2011. Grammaticalization and directionality. *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, ed. by Heiko Narrog and Bernd Heine, 163-76. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boyland, Joyce Tang. 1996. *Morphosyntactic change in progress: A psycholinguistic approach*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Bréal, Michel. 1991 [1882]. Wolf, George (ed. and translator), *The beginnings of semantics; Essays, lectures and reviews*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 1996. *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brown, Gillian. 1977. *Listening to spoken English*. London: Longmans.
- Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Burridge, Kate. 1998. From modal auxiliary to lexical verb: The curious case of Pennsylvania German *wotte*. *Historical linguistics 1995. Selected papers from the 12<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Vol. 2: Germanic linguistics*, ed. by Richard M. Hogg and Linda van Bergen, 19-31. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan L. 1985. *Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan. 2001. *Phonology and language use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bybee, Joan. 2003. Mechanisms of change in grammaticalization: The role of frequency. *The handbook of historical linguistics*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda, 602-23. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

- Bybee, Joan and Clay Beckner. 2010. Usage-based theory. *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*, ed. by Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog, 827-55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bybee, Joan L. and William Pagliuca. 1985. Cross-linguistic comparison and the development of grammatical meaning. *Historical Semantics, historical word-formation*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak, 59-83. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bybee, Joan L. and William Pagliuca. 1987. The evolution of future meaning. *Papers from the VIIth International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat, Onofrio Carruba and Giuliano Bernini, 109-122. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bybee, Joan and Joanne Scheibman. 1999. The effect of usage on degrees of constituency: the reduction of *don't* in English. *Linguistics* 37.575-96.
- Bybee, Joan and Sandra Thompson. 1997. Three frequency effects in syntax. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 23.65-85.
- Campbell, Lyle. 1991. Some grammaticalization changes in Estonian and their implications. *Approaches to grammaticalization vol. 1*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine, 285-99. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Chae, Yeon Kang. 1986. *Hyenday hankwuke yenkyelemiey tayhan yenkwu – uymi kinungul cwungsimulo [Studies on modern Korean connective endings – Focusing on their semantic functions]* – Ph.D. dissertation, Sungkyunkwan University.



- Chae, Young Hee. 1998. Tamhwaey ssuinun ‘-ketun’uy hwayongcek kinung [The pragmatic functions of ‘-ketun’ in discourse]. *Hankwuke uymihak [Korean Semantics]* 3.159-77.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. *Subject and topic*, ed. by Charles N. Li, 25-55. New York: Academic Press.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1980. The deployment of consciousness in the production of a narrative. *The pear stories*, ed. by Wallace Chafe, 9-50. New York: Ablex.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Chang, Kyung-Hee. 1985. *Hyentay kwukeuy yangsangpemocwu yenkwu [A study of modality categories in Modern Korean]*. Seoul: Tower.
- Chang, Kyung-Key. 1986. Kwukeuy pwucenguymwunmwunkwa cencey [Presuppositions of yes-no questions in Korean]. *Ehakyenkwu [Language Research]* 22.19-40.
- Chang, Kyung-Key. 2001. Kwuke pwucenguymwunmwunuy thongsacek yenkwu [A syntax of the Korean Negative question]. *Ene [Korean Journal of Linguistics]* 26.185-208.
- Chang, Suk-Jin. 1973. Generative study of discourse: Pragmatic aspects in Korean with respect to English. *Language Research* 9. Supplement. Seoul: Language Research Institute, Seoul National University.
- Chang, Suk-Jin. 1984. Kwukeuy pwukauymwun [Korean tag question]. *Ene [Korean Journal of Linguistics]* 9.259-77.

- Cho, Choon-Hak. 1975. The scope of negation in Korean. *The Korean language: Its structure and social projection*, ed. by Ho-Min Sohn, 63-80. The Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii.
- Choi, Hyun Bae. 1937. *Wulimalpon [The book of our language]*. Seoul: Jengumsa.
- Clark, Herbert H. 1996. *Using language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1986. Conditionals: A typology. *On conditionals*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott, Alice ter Meulen, Judy Snitzer Reilly and Charles A. Ferguson, 77-99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, Haruko Minegishi. 1990. An indexical account of the Japanese sentence-final *no*. *Discourse Processes* 13.401-39.
- Croft, William. 1994. Speech act classification, language typology and cognition. *Foundations of speech act theory: Philosophical and linguistic perspectives*, ed. by Tsohatzidis, Savas L., 460-77. London: Routledge.
- Croft, William. 1995. Intonation units and grammatical structure. *Linguistics* 33.839-82.
- Croft, William. 2000. *Explaining language change: An evolutionary approach*. London: Longman.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical construction grammar: Syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Croft, William. 2003. *Typology and universals, second edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Croft, William. 2007. Intonation units and grammatical structure in Wardaman and in cross-linguistic perspective. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 27.1-39.

- Crystal, David. 1969. *Prosodic systems and intonation in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cuyckens, Hubert, Kristin Davidse and Lieven Vandelanotte. 2010. Introduction. *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*, ed. by Kristin Davidse, Lieven Vandelanotte and Hubert Cuyckens, 1-26. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Dancygier, Barbara. 1998. *Conditionals and prediction: Time, knowledge and causation in conditional constructions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daneš, Frantisek. 1966. A three-level approach to syntax. *Travaux linguistiques de Prague* 1.225-40.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1.33-52.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2001. The mirative and evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33.369-82.
- Diewald, Gabriel and Kirstin Fischer 1998. Zur diskursiven und modalen Funktion der Partikeln aber, auch, doch und ja in Instruktionsdialogen. *Linguistica* 38.75-99.
- Dik, Simon C. 1978. *Functional grammar*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Dik, Simon C. 1980. *Studies in functional grammar*. London: Academic Press.
- Du Bois, John W., Stephan Schuetze-Coburn, Susanna Cumming and Dane Paolino. 1993. Outline of discourse transcription. *Talking data: Transcription and coding in discourse research*, ed. by Jane A. Edwards and Martin D. Lampert, 45-89. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Erman, Britt. 1986. Some pragmatic expressions in English conversation. *English in speech and writing*, ed. by Gunnel Tottie and Ingegerd Bäcklund, 131-47. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

- Erman, Britt. 1987. *Pragmatic expressions in English: A study of you know, you see and I mean in face-to-face conversation*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Erman, Britt. 2001. Pragmatic markers revisited with a focus on *you know* in adult and adolescent talk. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33.1337-59.
- Erman, Britt and Ulla-Britt Kotsinas. 1993. Pragmaticalization: the case of *ba'* and *you know'*. *Studier i Modersspråkvvetenskap* 10.76-93. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, ed. by Irina Nikolaeva, 366-431. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fillmore, Charles. 1990a. Epistemic stance and grammatical forms in English conditional sentences. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 26.137-62.
- Fillmore, Charles. 1990b. The contribution of linguistics to language understanding. *Proceedings of the first symposium in cognition, language, and culture*, ed. by Aura Bocaz, 109-28. Universidad de Chile.
- Fox Tree, Jean E. and Josef C. Schrock. 2002. Basic meanings of *you know* and *I mean*. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34.727-47.
- Fraser, Bruce. 1988. Types of English discourse markers. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 38.19-33.
- Fraser, Bruce. 1990. An approach to discourse markers. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14.383-95.
- Fraser, Bruce. 1999. What are discourse markers? *Journal of Pragmatics* 31.931-52.
- Frege, Gottlob. 1892. Über Sinn und Bedeutung. *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik* 100.25-50. Reprinted in Frege 1952:56-78.

- Frege, Gottlob. 1952. On sense and reference. *Translations from the philosophical writings of Gottlob Frege*, ed. by Peater Geach and Max Black, 56-78. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fretheim, Thorstein. 1989. The two faces of the Norwegian inference particle ‘da.’ *Sprechen mit Partikeln*, ed. by Harald Weydt, 403-15. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Furkó, Bálint Péter. 2005. The pragmatic marker: Discourse marker dichotomy reconsidered: The case of *well* and *of course*. Debreceni Egyetem: Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Debrecen dissertation.
- García Macías, José Hugo. 2014. Mirative meanings and their grammaticalization sources. Paper presented at the 40<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- García Macías, José Hugo. In preparation. *From the unexpected to the unbelievable: thetics, miratives and exclamatives in the conceptual space*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico.
- Givón, Talmy. 1979. *On understanding grammar*. New York: Academic Press.
- Givón, Talmy. 1981. On the development of the numeral “one” as an indefinite marker. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 2.35-53.
- Givón, Talmy. 1984. The speech-act continuum. *Interrogativity: a colloquium on the grammar, typology and pragmatics of questions in seven diverse languages*, ed. by William S. Chisholm Jr., 245-54. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. *Universals of language*, ed. by Joseph H. Greenberg, 73-113. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg and Ron Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form or referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69.274-307.

- Ha, Ji Sun. 2006. *Hankwukekyoywukul wuyhan congkyelkinung yenkyeleme yenkwu [A study of the connective ending functioning as final ending for teaching the learners of Korean as a second language]*. MA thesis, Hanyang University.
- Haiman, John. 1978. Conditionals are topics. *Language* 54.564-89.
- Haiman, John. 1994. Ritualization and the development of language. *Perspectives on grammaticalization*, ed. by William Pagliuca, 3-28. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. 1967. Notes on transitivity and theme in English Part 2. *Journal of Linguistics* 3.199-244.
- Haselow, Alexander. 2011. Discourse marker and modal particle: The functions of utterance-final *then* in spoken English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43.3603-23.
- Haselow, Alexander. 2012. Subjectivity, intersubjectivity and the negotiation of common ground in spoken discourse: Final particles in English. *Language and Communication* 32.182-204.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1998. Does grammaticalization need reanalysis? *Studies in Language* 2.131-39.
- Heine, Bernd. 2003. Grammaticalization. *The handbook of historical linguistics*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda, 575-601. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Heine, Bernd. 2013. On discourse markers: Grammaticalization, pragmaticalization, or something else? *Linguistics* 51.1205-47.
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, and Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Heine, Bernd and Mechthild Reh 1984. *Grammaticalization and reanalysis in African language*. Hamsburg: Helmut Buske.
- Heinz, Bettina. 2003. Backchannel responses as strategic responses in bilingual speakers' conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 35.1113-42.
- Heritage, John. 2002. The limits of questioning: negative interrogatives and hostile question content. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34.1427-46.
- Higashiizumi, Yuko. 2006. *From a subordinate clause to an independent clause: A history of English because-clause and Japanese kara-clause*. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo Publishing.
- Holmes, Janet. 1984. Hedging your bets and sitting on the fence: Some evidences for hedges as support structures. *Te Reo* 27.47-62.
- Holmes, Janet. 1986. Functions of you know in women's and men's speech. *Language in Society* 15.1-21.
- Hong, Jong-Seon. 1990. *Kwuke cheyenhwa kwumwunuy yenkwu [A study on nominalization in Korean]*. Seoul: Tonga.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. On some principles of grammaticalization. *Approaches to grammaticalization vol. I*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine, 17-35. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization, second edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Im, Hong-Bin. 1973. Pwucenguy Yangsang [Aspects of negation]. *Sewultay kyoyangkwacengpwu nonmwuncip [Collection of essays of Colleges of Arts and Sciences of Seoul National University]* 5.115-40.
- Im, Hong-Bin. 1987. Kwuke pwucengmwunuy thongsawa uymi [Syntax and semantics of Korean negative constructions]. *Kukesaynghwal 10 [Korean Language Life 10]*. Kukeyenkwaso [Korean Language Institute].
- Imo, Wolfgang. 2008. Individuelle Konstrukte oder Vorboten einer neuen Konstruktion? Stellungsvarianten der Modalpartikel halt im Vor- und Nachfeld. *Konstruktionsgrammatik II: Von der Konstruktion zur Grammatik*, ed. by Anatol Stefanowitsch and Kirstin Fischer, 135-55. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Jakobson, Roman and Morris Halle. 1956. *Fundamentals of language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Jang, Yoon-hee. 2012. Kwuke congkyelemiuy thongsicek pyenhwawa cayngcem [A general survey of diachronic change of Korean sentence-terminating enders]. *Kwukesa Yenkwu [Historical Korean Studies]* 14.63-99.
- Jeon, Young Jin. 2002. *Kwuke yenkyelemiuy congkyelemihwa yenkwu [A study on the becoming conclusive ending of connective ending]*. MA thesis, Kyungsoong University.
- Jo, Min-Ha. 2011. *Yenkyelemiuy congkyelkinungkwa ekyanguy yekhal [A study on the finalizing function of connective endings and the role of intonation]*. Ph.D. dissertation, Korea University.
- Jucker, Andreas H. and Sara W. Smith. 1998. *And people just you know like 'wow': Discourse markers as negotiating strategies. Discourse markers: Descriptions and*



- theory*, ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv, 171-210. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Jun, Sun-Ah. 2000. K-ToBI (Korean ToBI) labelling convention (version 3.1). UCLA Working Paper in Phonetics 99.
- Jung, Jung Deok. 1986. *Kwuke cepsokemiuy uymi thongsaloncek yenkwu [Semantic and syntactic studies on Korean connective endings]*. Ph.D. dissertation, Hanyang University.
- Jung, Yonhee. 2001. *Hankwuke yenkyelemiuy mwunpenhwa [Grammaticalization of Korean clause connectives]*. Ph.D. dissertation, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.
- Karttunen, Laurie. 1973. Presuppositions of compound sentences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4.169-93.
- Katz, Jerrold J. and Jerry A. Fodor 1963. The structure of a semantic theory. *Language* 39.170-210.
- Kawanishi, Yumiko. 1994. An analysis of interactional markers in Korean: A comparative study of *-canh-a(yo)* vs. *-ci(yo)*. Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistics 5: East Asian Linguistics, 82-100.
- Keisanen, Tiina. 2006. Patterns of stance taking: Negative yes/no interrogatives and tag questions in American English conversation. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oulu.
- Kendon, Adam. 1967. Some functions of gaze-direction in social interaction. *Acta Psychologica* 26.22-63.
- Kim, Dong Sik. 1980. Hyentay kwukepwucengpepuy yenkwu [Studies on the Modern Korean negation]. *Kwukeyenkwu [Korean Studies]* 42.

- Kim, Dong Sik. 1981. Pwuceng anin pwuceng [Negation which is not a negation]. *Ene [Korean Journal of Linguistics]* 6.99-116.
- Kim, Dong Sik. 1990. *Pwucengpep, kukeyenkwu etikkaci wassna [Negation, how far have the Korean studies came]*. Tongachwulphansa.
- Kim, Jin Soo. 1987. *Kwukecepsokmwun yenkwu [Studies on Korean connective constructions]*. Ph.D. dissertation, Choongnam University.
- Kim, Jong Lok. 1997. Cwungseykwuke cepsokemi 'tiWi'uy thongsicek pyenchenkwa kinung [The diachronic change and the functions of the Middle Korean connective ending '-tiWi']. *Mwunhakkwa Ene [Literature and Language]* 19.29-54.
- Kim, Kyu-hyun. 2010. The sentence-ending suffix *-ketun* in spoken Korean discourse: Sequential organization of informing as account-giving. *Sahoyenehak [The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea]* 18.217-48.
- Kim, Kyu-hyun and Kyung-Hee Suh. 2010a. *Ketun* in conversation: Soliciting news receipt as sequentially-motivated action. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics, vol. 17*, ed. by Shoichi Iwasaki, Hajime Hoji, Patricia M. Clancy and Sung-Ock Sohn, 423-38. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Kim, Kyu-hyun and Kyung-Hee Suh. 2010b. The sentence-ending suffix *-ketun* in Korean conversation with reference to *-nuntey*: Sequence organization and management of epistemic rights. *Tamhwawa inci [Discourse and Cognition]* 17.1-38.
- Kim, Tae-yeup. 1998. Kwuke picongkyelemiuy congkyelemihwaey tayhaye [The functional shift of endings from nonfinal to final]. *Enehak [Linguistics]* 22.171-89.

- Kim, Tae-Yeup. 2003. Kwuke pwucengmwunuy yuhyeng myengchingey tayhaye [A study on terms of two types in Korean negative sentence]. *Wulimalkul [The Korean Language and Literature]* 27.33-52.
- Kim, Yu Jin. 2008. *Hankwuke mwunpephangmok payyel yenkwu: Congkyelkinung yenkyelemilul cwungsimulo [A study of the selection and arrangement of grammatical elements as a foreing language: A point of the connective ending as final endings]*. MA thesis, Kyung Hee University.
- Ko, Kyounghee. 1989. The integrated/new knowledge markers in Korean. MA thesis, University of Oregon.
- Ko, Young Keun. 2009. *Phyocwuncwungsey kwukemwunpeplon [Standard grammar of Middle Korean]*. Cipmwuntang.
- Koo, Hyun Jung. 1989a. Cokenuy wonhyungthaewa ‘-ketun’ [Prototypical conditional maker and ‘-ketun’]. In *Ceyhyo Iyongjwupaksa hoykapkinyem nonmwuncip [Festschrift for Ceyhyo Lee Yong-ju]*, 117-31. Seoul: Hansaym.
- Koo, Hyun Jung. 1989b. Cokenkwa cwuce [Conditionals and topics]. *Ene [Language]* 14.53-75.
- Koo, Hyun Jung. 1999. Grammaticalization of Conditionals in Korean. *Ehakyenkwu [Language Research]* 35.543-58.
- Koo, Hyun Jung. 2002. Coken tamhwawa kongsonpep [Conditionals in discourse: A politeness strategy perspective]. *Enekwahakyenkwu [The Journal of Linguistic Science]* 23.1-22.

- Koo, Hyun Jung. 2008. "Ani, an hanun key anicanha": Pwuceng phyohyenuy mwunpephwa [Grammaticalization of negation markers in Korean]. *Tamhwawa Inci [Discourse and Cognition]* 15.1-27.
- Koo, Hyun Jung and Seongha Rhee. 2001. Coken phyocieyse mwuncangcongkyel phyocilouy mwunpephwa [The grammaticalization from conditional marker to sentential ending marker]. *Tamhwawa inci [Discourse and Cognition]* 8.1-19.
- Koo, Jong-Nam. 1990. Pwucengmwunuy thongsacek kwucowa uymi [The syntactic structure and the semantics of the negative construction]. *Hankwukenemwunhak [Korea Language and Literature]* 28.403-23.
- Koo, Jong-Nam. 1992. Kwuke ywunghaphyeng pwukaumwunmwunuy kwucowa uymi [The meaning and structure of amalgam type tag questions]. *Ene [Korean Journal of Linguistics]* 17.285-312.
- Koops, Christian and Martin Hilpert. The co-evolution of syntactic and pragmatic complexity. *Syntactic complexity: Diachrony, acquisition, neuro-cognition, evolution*, ed. by Talmy Givón and Masayoshi Shibatani, 215-38. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Krylova, Olga A. and Serafima A. Khavronina. 1988. *Word order in Russian*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1972. Functional sentence perspective: A case study from Japanese and English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 3.269-320.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1978. Generative discourse analysis in America. *Current trends in textlinguistics*, ed. by Wolfgang U. Dressler, 275-94. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.

- Kuroda, Sige-Yuki. 1972. The categorical and thethetic judgment: Evidence from Japanese syntax. *Foundations of Language* 9.153-85.
- Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1975[1965]. The evolution of grammatical categories. *Esquisses linguistiques* 2.38-54. (Diogenes 1965:55-71.)
- Kwon, Jae Il. 1985. *Kwukeuy pokhappmwun kwuseng yenkwu [Studies on Korean complex constructions]*. Seoul: Cipmwuntang.
- Kwon, Jae Il. 1988. Cepsokmwun kwusenguy pyenchen yangsang [The aspect of the changes in the connective constructions]. *Ene [Language]* 13.493-515.
- Kwon, Jae Il. 1998. *Hankwukemwunpepsa [History of Korean]*. Pakiceng.
- Kwon, Jae Il. 2003. Kwue hankwukeeyse seswulmwun silhyenpangpepuy kongsithaywa thongsithay [The synchrony and diachronic of Korean declarative sentences in spoken discourse]. *Enehak [Linguistics]* 37.25-46.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 2001. A framework for the analysis of cleft constructions. *Language* 39.463-516.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1977. Syntactic reanalysis. *Mechanisms of syntactic change*, ed. by Charles N. Li, 57-139. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lee, Eun Kyung. 1996. *Kwukeuy yenkyelemi yenkwu [On Korean connective endings]*. Ph.D. dissertation, Seoul National University.
- Lee, Hong-Bae. 1972. Problems in the description of Korean negation. *Ehakyenkwu [Language Research]* 8.60-75.

- Lee, Hyo Sang. 1991. *Tense, aspect, and modality: a discourse-pragmatic analysis of verbal affixes in Korean from a typological perspective*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.
- Lee, Hyo Sang. 1999a. A discourse-pragmatic analysis of the committal *-ci* in Korean: A synthetic approach to the form-meaning relation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31.243-75.
- Lee, Hyo Sang. 1999b. Discourse-pragmatics of the Korean connective *-nunte/(û)nte*: A case of grammaticalization of figure-ground relation. Paper presented at New Reflections on Grammaticalization: International Symposium, Potsdam, Germany.
- Lee, Hyun Hee. 1994. 19seyki kwukeuy mwunpepsacek kochal [The history of grammar of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Korean]. *Hankwukmwunhwa [Korean Culture]* 15.57-81.
- Lee, Hyun-Hee. 2004. ‘-canh’ un tanci ‘-ci anh-’ uy umwunloncek chwukyakyenginka? [Is ‘-canh’ merely a phonological reduction form of ‘-ci anh’?]. *Hankwukehak [Korean Linguistics]* 23.203-28.
- Lee, Jin-Hwa. 2008. A corpus-based study of short-form and long-form negations in Korean. *Korean language in America, vol. 13*, ed. by Hye Sook Wang, 43-57. The American Association of Teachers of Korean.
- Lee, Jong-chul. 2002. Emalemi ‘-ketun’ey tayhan hwayongloncek yenkwu [A pragmatic study on the final ending ‘-geodeun’]. *Kwuke kyoywuk [Korean Language Education]* 108.271-90.
- Lee, Keedong. 1993. *A Korean grammar on semantic pragmatic principles*. Seoul: Hankwuknwunhwas.

- Lee, Ki-Yong. 1979. Twukaci pwucengmewunuy tonguyseng yepwuey tayhaye [On the synonymy of two kinds of negation in Korean]. *Kukehak [Journal of Korean Linguistics]* 8.59-94.
- Lee, Kwang Ho. 1980. Cenpsokemi '-myen'uy uymikinungkwa ku sangkwankeng [The semantic functions of the connective ending '-myen']. *Ene [Language]* 5.33-65.
- Lee, Sang Tae. 1988. *Kwukecepsokemi yenkwu [Studies on Korean connective endings]*. Ph.D. dissertation, Keimyung University.
- Lee, Youngmyn. 2001. Hwakinmwun '-ci'uy pemcwu hwakinul wuihaye [A study on the confirmative question and the verbal ending '-ci']. *Kwukehak [Korean History]* 38.241-69.
- Lee, Yu-ki. 2012. Seswulmwun congkyelhyengsikuy pyenchen kwaceng [The shift process of the sentence final forms of declarative]. *Kwukesa Yenkwu [Historical Korean Studies]* 14.29-62.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1985. Grammaticalization: Synchronic variation and diachronic change. *Lingua e stile* 20.303-18.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1995[1982]. *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. Munich: LINCOM EUROPA (originally published as *Thoughts on grammaticalization: A programmatic sketch, vol. 1*. University of Cologne: Arbeiten des Kölner Universalienprojekts 49).
- Lehmann, Christian. 2002. *Thoughts on grammaticalization, second, revised edition*. Arbeitspapiere des Seminars für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Erfurt 9. Erfurt: Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lewis, Diana. 2003. Rhetorical motivations for the emergence of discourse particles, with special reference to English of course. *Particles*, ed. by Ton van der Wouden, Ad Foolen, and Piet Van de Craen, special issue of *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 16.79-91.
- Li, Boya. 2006. Chinese final particles and the syntax of the periphery. Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden.
- Lin, You-Min. 2014. DE-marked modifying constructions in Chinese: Accounting for the shift between predication and attribution. Paper presented at 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Construction Grammar, University of Osnabrück, Germany.
- Luke, Kang-kwong, Sandra A. Thompson and Tsuyoshi Ono. 2012. Turns and increments: A comparative perspective. *Discourse Processes* 49.155-62.
- Macaulay, Ronald. 2002. You know, it depends. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34.749-67.
- McGloin, Naomi H. and Yumiko Konishi. 2010. From connective particle to sentence-final particle: A usage based analysis of shi 'and' in Japanese. *Language Sciences* 32.507-88.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1912. L'évolution des forms grammaticales. *Scientia* (Rivista di Scienza) XII:XXVI,6. Reprinted in Meillet 1958:130-48.
- Meillet Antoine. 1958. *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*. Paris. Champion. (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris 8).
- Michaelis, Laura. 1994. Expectation contravention and use ambiguity: The Vietnamese connective c ng. *Journal of Pragmatics* 21.1-36.



- Michaelis, Laura. 2001. Exclamative constructions. *Language typology and language universals: An international handbook*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath, 1038-58. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Mithun, Marianne. 2008. The extension of dependency beyond the sentence. *Language* 84.69-119.
- Montolío Durán, Estrella. 1993. 'Si me lo permiten ...'. Gramática y pragmática: sobre algunas estructuras condicionales regulativas en español. Aproximaciones pragmalingüísticas al español. *Diálogos Hispánicos* 12.119-47.
- Mori, Junko. 1999. "Well I may be exaggerating but...": Self-qualifying clauses in negotiating of opinions among Japanese speakers, *Human Studies* 22.447-73.
- Mulder, Jean and Sandra A. Thompson. 2008. The grammaticalization of 'but' as a final particle in English conversation. *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: The multifunctionality of conjunctions*, ed. by Ritva Laury, 179-204. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Nakayama, Toshihide and Kumiko Ichihashi-Nakayama. 1997. Japanese *kedo*: Discourse genre and grammaticalization. *Japanese Korean Linguistics* 6, ed. by Ho-min Sohn and John Haig, 607-19. Stanford: CSLI.
- Nam, Ki Sim and Young Geun Ko. 1985. *Phyocwunkwukemwunpeplon [The standard Korean grammar]*. Seoul: Tahpchwulphansa.
- Narrog, Heiko and Bernd Heine. 2011. Introduction. *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, ed. by Heiko Narrog, and Bernd Heine, 1-16. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Oh, Choon-Kyu. 1971. On the negation of Korean. *Ehakyenkwu [Language Research]* 7.45-66.
- Ohuri, Toshio. 1995. Remarks on suspended clauses: A contribution to Japanese Phraseology. *Essays in semantics and pragmatics in honor of Charles J. Fillmore*, ed. by Masayohi Shibatani and Sandra A. Thompson, 201-18. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Okamoto, Shigeko. 1995. Pragmaticization of meaning in some sentence-final particles in Japanese. *Essays on semantics and pragmatics in honor of Charles J. Fillmore*, ed. by Masayoshi Shibatani and Sandra A. Thompson, 219-46. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Onodera, Noriko O. 1995. Diachronic analysis of Japanese discourse markers. *Historical pragmatics*, ed. by Andreas H. Jucker, 393-437. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Onodera, Noriko O. 2011. The grammaticalization of discourse markers. *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, ed. by Heiko Narrog, and Bernd Heine, 614-35. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 1981. *You know: A discourse-functional approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 1982. The symbiotic relationship between pragmatic particles and impromptu speech. *Impromptu speech: A symposium*, ed. by Nils Erik Enkvist, 147-77. Abo Academi: Abo Academi kopieringscentral.
- Park, Hyeong-Woo. 2003. Pwucengmwunuy ywuhyeng pwunlywu [Classifying the patterns of Korean negative sentences]. *Chenglamemwunkyoywuk [Chenglam Language and Literature Education]* 26.375-405.

- Park, Hyeong-woo. 2011. 18seyki kwuke pwucengmwun yenkwu [A study on negative sentences in the 18<sup>th</sup> century]. *Hanmincokemwunhak [Hanmincok Linguistics and Literature]* 59.463-98.
- Park, Jeong-Woon. 2006. Hankwuke cokenmwunuy insikthayto [Epistemic stance in Korean conditional sentences]. *Tamhwawa inci [Discourse and Cognition]* 13.109-32.
- Park, Josheph Sung-Yul. 2002. Cognitive interactional motivations for the intonation unit. *Studies in Language* 26.637-80.
- Park, Mee-Jeong & Sung-Ock Sohn. 2002. Discourse, grammaticalization, and intonation: An analysis of *-ketun* in Korean. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics, vol. 10*, ed. by Noriko Akatsuka, Susan Strauss, and Bernard Comrie, 306-19. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Park, Seok Joon. 1999. Hyentay kwuke congkyelemiuy cheykyehwaey tayhan myech kaci - moklok selcengkwa kwanlyenhaye ‘-ketun’kwa ‘-lyeko’lul cwungsimulo - [Systemizing modern Korean sentential endings – Focusing on ‘-ketun’ and ‘-lyeko’-]. *Kyoywukyeykkwu [Journal of Educational Research]* 7.225-44.
- Park, Yong-Yae. 1998. A discourse analysis of the Korean connective *ketun* in conversation. *Crossroads of Language, Interaction and Culture* 1.71-89.
- Park, Yong-Yae. 1999. The Korean connective *nuntey* in conversational discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31.191-218.
- Park, Young Joon. 1995. Congkyelemi ‘-ci’ey tayhaye - ku kiweney tayhan haymyengul cwungsimulo - [About the sentential ending ‘-ci’ - focusing on its explanation for its origin]. *Hankwukehak [Korean Linguistics]* 1.249-66.

- Pomerantz, Anita. 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. *Structure of social action*, ed. by J. Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage, 57-101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Prince, Ellen F. 1981. Toward a taxonomy of given-new information. *Radical Pragmatics*, ed. by Peter Cole, 223-55, New York: Academic Press.
- Prince, Ellen F. 1992. The ZPG letter: subjects, definiteness and information-status. *Discourse description: diverse linguistic analyses of a fund-raising text*, ed. by William Charles Mann, and Sandra A. Thompson, 295-325. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Quirk, Randolph, Duckworth, Anne P., Svartvik, J., Rusiecki, J. P. L., and A. J. T. Colin. 1964. Studies in the correspondence of prosodic to grammatical features in English. In *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Linguistics*, 679-91. The Hague: Mouton.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London/New York: Longman.
- Redeker, Gisela 1990. Ideational and pragmatic markers of discourse structure. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14.367-81.
- Rhee, Seongha. 1998. *Mwunpephwauy ihay [Understanding grammaticalization]*. Seoul: Hankwukmwunhwasa.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2004. Grammaticalization and lexicalization of rhetorical questions in Korean. *Hyentay Mwunpep Yenkwu [Studies in Modern Grammar]* 35.111-39.
- Russell, Bertrand. 1905. On denoting. *Mind* 14.479-93.

- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language* 50.696-735.
- Sacks, Harvey and Emanuel A. Schegloff. 1979. Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology*, ed. by George Pasthas, 23-8. New York: Irvington Publishers, Inc.
- Saeed, John I. 2003. *Semantics, second edition*. MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Saigo, Hideki. 2011. *The Japanese sentence-final particles in talk-in-interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1987. The thetic/categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25.511-80.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 2006. Theticity. *Pragmatic organization of discourse in the languages of Europe*, ed. by Giuliano Bernini and Marcia L. Schwartz, 255-310. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2000. On a turn's possible completion, more or less: Increments and trail-offs. Paper presented at the Conference on Interactional Linguistics, Spa, Belgium.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis, vol. I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schmerling, Susan. F. 1976. *Aspects of English sentence stress*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Schorup, Lawrence C. 1985. *Common discourse particles in English conversation: Like, well, y'know*. New York: Garland.
- Schwenter, Scott A. 1996. The pragmatics of independent *si*-clauses in Spanish. *Hispanic Linguistics* 8.316-51.
- Schwenter, Scott A. 1998. From hypothetical to factual and beyond: Refutational *si*-clauses in Spanish conversation. *Discourse and cognition: Bridging the gap*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Köenig, 423-35. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Schwenter, Scott A. 1999. *Pragmatics of conditional marking: Implicature, scalarity, and exclusivity*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Seo, Tae Ryong. 1979. Kwuke cepsokmwuney tayhan yenkwu [Studies on the Korean conditional clauses]. *Kwuke Yenkwu [Korean studies]* 40.
- Seo, Tae Ryong. 1988. *Kwuke hwalyong emiuy hyengthaywa uymi [The form and meaning of Korean endings]*. Ph.D. dissertation, Seoul National University.
- Shin, Ji-Yeon. 2000. Emalemi '-ketun'ey tayhan yenkwu [A study on the word final ending '-geodeun']. *Theyksuthuenehak [Textlinguistics]* 8.251-70.
- Simon-Vandenberg, Anne-Marie. 2007. *No doubt* and related expressions: A functional account. *Structural-functional studies in English grammar*, ed. by Mike Hanney and Gerard J. Steen, 9-34. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Sohn, Ho Min. 1978. Kin hyengkwa ccalpun hyeng [Long and short forms]. *Ehakyenkwu [Language Research]* 14.141-51.
- Sohn, Ho-Min. 1994. *Korean*. London: Routledge.

- Sohn, Sung-Ock. S. 2003. On the emergence of intersubjectivity: An analysis of the sentence-final *nikka* in Korean. *Japanese/Korean linguistics, vol. 12*, ed. by William McClure, 52-63. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Sohn, Sung-Ock. S. 2010. The role of frequency and prosody in the grammaticalization of Korean *-canh-*. *Formal evidence in grammaticalization research*, ed. by An Van linden, Jean-Christophe Verstraete and Krinstin Davidse, 245-73. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Son, Okhyun and Youngjoo Kim. 2009. Hankwuke kwueey nathanan congkyelemihwatoy n yenkyelemi yangsang yenkwu [A study on the connective endings functioning as final endings in Korean spoken language]. *Hankwuke uymihak [Korean Semantics]* 28.49-71.
- Song, Seok Choong. 1973. Some negative remarks on negation in Korean. *Ehakyenkwu [Language Research]* 9.252-63.
- Song, Seok Choong. 1975. A suspicious analysis of the suspensive morpheme and its homonyms. *Ehakyenkwu [Language Research]* 11.1-8.
- Stalnaker, Robert. 1974. Pragmatic presuppositions. *Semantics and philosophy*, ed. by Milton K. Munitz, and Peter Unger, 197-213. New York: New York University Press.
- Stawson, Peter F. 1950. On referring. *Mind* 59.320-44.
- Stubbe, Maria and Janet Holmes. 1995. *You know, eh* and other 'exasperating expressions': An analysis of social and stylistic variation in the use of pragmatic devices in a sample of New Zealand English. *Language and Communication* 15.63-88.

- Suh, Cheong-Soo. 1996. *Kwuke mwunpep [Korean grammar]*. Seoul: Hanyang University Press.
- Suh, Jong Mok. 1987. *Kwuke uymwunmwun yenkwu [Study on Korean interrogatives]*. Seoul: Thapchwunphansa.
- Suh, Sang Kyu. 1984. Kwuke pwucengmwunuy uymi haysek wenli [The interpreting principles of negation in Korean]. *Mal [Speech]* 9.41-79.
- Sweetser, Eve. 1991. *From etymology to pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tabor, Whitney and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1998. Structural scope expansion and grammaticalization. *The limits of grammaticalization*, ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat and Paul J. Hopper, 230-72. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thompson, Sandra A. and Ryoko Suzuki. 2011. The grammaticalization of final particles. *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, ed. by Heiko Narrog and Bernd Heine, 668-80. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: an example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 57.33-65.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1995. The role of the development of discourse markers in a theory of grammaticalization. Paper presented at the International Conference on Historical Linguistics 12, Manchester.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2001. Legitimate counterexamples to unidirectionality. Paper presented at Freiburg University: [www.stanford.edu/~traugott/papers/Freiburg.Unidirect.pdf](http://www.stanford.edu/~traugott/papers/Freiburg.Unidirect.pdf)



- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2003a. From subjectification to intersubjectification. *Motives for Language Change*, ed. by Raymond Hickey, 124-39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2003b. Constructions in grammaticalization. *The handbook of historical linguistics*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda, 624-47. MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2010. (Inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification: A reassessment. *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*, ed. by Kristin Davidse, Lieven Vandelanotte and Hubert Cuyckens, 29-71. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2011a. Grammaticalization and mechanisms of change. *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, ed. by Heiko Narrog and Bernd Heine, 19-30. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2011b. Pragmatics and language change. *The Cambridge handbook of pragmatics*, ed. by Keith Allan and Kasia Jaszczolt, 549-65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. and Richard B. Dasher. 2001. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. and Ekkehard König. 1991. The semantics-pragmatics of grammaticalization revisited. *Approaches to grammaticalization, vol. 1*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine, 189-218. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. and Ekkehard König. 1991. *Approaches to grammaticalization, vol. 2*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- van der Wouden, Ton and Ad Foolen. 2011. Pragmatische partikels in de rechterperiferie. *Nederlande Taalkunde* 16.307-22.
- Weher, Barbara. 1984. *Diskursstrategien im Romanischen*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Yang, Dong-Whee. 1976. Korean negation revisited. *Ene [Korean Journal of Linguistics]* 1.183-217.
- Yap, Foong Ha, Wang, Jiao and Charles Tsz-kwan Lam. 2010. Clausal integration and the emergence of mitigative and adhortative sentence-final particles in Chinese. *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics* 8.63-86.
- Yeom, Jae-Il. 2005. The semantics of -ketun in Korean. *Eneyenkwu [Language Research]* 41.749-84.
- Yi, Seunghee. 2007. *Kwuke chengcanophimpepuy yeksacek pyenhwa [The diachronic change of the Korean hearer-oriented honorific system]*. Thayhaksa.
- Yngve, Victor H. 1970. On getting a word in edgewise. In Papers from the 6<sup>th</sup> regional meeting, *Chicago Linguistics Society*, 567-78. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Yoo, Hyun-Kyung. 2003. Yenkyelemiuy congkyelemicek ssuimey tayhaye [The study of the functional shift of endings from connective to final]. *Hankul [Korean Language]* 261.123 -48.
- Yoon, Pyung Hyun. 1989. *Kwukeuy cepsokemiey tayhan yenkwu – uymiloncek kinungul cwungsimulo – [Studies on Korean connective endings – focusing on their semantic functions]* Ph.D. dissertation, Chonnam University.

## **Corpus**

21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Corpus. 2011. Distributed by 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sejong Project. URL:

<http://www.sejong.or.kr/>