

GRAMMATICALIZATION AND PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF *-KES KATH-*

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the Korean construction *-nun/un/ul kes kath* from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives based on the frameworks of grammaticalization and discourse analysis.

Three pragmatic functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* in contemporary Korean are analyzed from the synchronic perspective. The first function is to denote similarity, and is derived from the meaning of the adjective *kath-* ('sameness, identicalness'). The second function is to indicate conjecture, representing the speaker's uncertainty about the message being conveyed. The third function is to make utterances ambiguous as a politeness strategy, by softening the force of speech acts and reducing their potential threat to the interlocutors' face.

The grammaticalization path of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is also explored. First, the dissertation describes the semantic changes of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*. Its objective meaning of similarity has shifted to the subjective meaning of conjecture. When it became a way to express politeness, it gained an intersubjective, interactional function. Second, the dissertation presents the syntactic development of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*. A construction consisting of the nominalizer *kes* + *wa/kwa* + main adjective *kath-* was reanalyzed as the complementizer *kes* + [omission of comitative *wa/kwa*] + auxiliary adjective *kath-*, and then as the defunct complementizer *kes* + suffix *kath-*. Phonological reduction also occurred, as *-keskwa kath-* came to be realized as *-kes kath-*, and then as *-ke kath-* / *-kke kath-*.

The study also demonstrates how *-nun/un/ul kes kath* as an inferential evidential modal marker not only displays politeness but also indicates the evidential quality of the

information source. The study shows that *-nun/un/ul kes kath* serves additional functions as well, such as helping the speaker successfully disclaim responsibility, strengthen his/her claim, enhance solidarity, and accomplish self-politeness.

In addition, the dissertation presents a brief analysis of the semantic, syntactic, and phonological changes of three other Korean conjectural expressions, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*, which show similar shifts from conjectural to politeness functions, as well as having gained similar evidential qualities. The dissertation discusses whether they can also be considered inferential evidential modal markers.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Accusative particle
AD	Adverbial suffix; adverbializer
AH	Addressee honorific
APP	Apperceptive sentence-type suffix
CAS	Causative suffix
DC	Declarative sentence-type suffix
DR	Directional particle
GN	Genitive particle
HT	Honorific title
IN	Indicative mood suffix
INF	Infinitive suffix
INJ	Interjection
INT	Intimate speech level or suffix
NM	Nominative case particle
NOM	Nominalizer suffix
PAS	Passive suffix
PL	Plural suffix or particle
PLN	Plain speech level or suffix
POL	Polite speech level, suffix, or particle
PRS	Prospective modal suffix
PST	Past tense and perfect aspect suffix
Q	Question marker, i.e., interrogative sentence-type suffix

QT	Quotative particle
RL	Relativizer (or abnominal modifier) suffix
RT	Retrospective mood suffix
SH	Subject honorific suffix
SUP	Suppositive mood suffix
TC	Topic-contrast particle
VOC	Vocative particle

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The purpose of the study

Sentence-final particles in SOV languages such as Korean constitute an interesting research area. In such languages, speakers' attitudes toward the propositional content of a message are, according to Sohn (1994), represented in the sentence-final slots. Functional change in sentence-final particles is accompanied by meaning change in terms of increased speaker involvement and expressivity, which suggests that the grammaticalization process of the particles is interactionally motivated. In addition, according to Lee (1991), sentence-terminal suffixes in colloquial Korean serve to differentiate various epistemic modality categories: conveying assimilated information (i.e., information that is part of the speaker's established body of knowledge) and unassimilated information and informing the hearer of information that has led the speaker to his/her proposition.

This dissertation investigates the Korean sentence-final construction *-nun/un/ul kes kath* and how it has developed over time in ways that have created new functions for it. The expression *-nun/un/ul kes kath* consists of three parts: *-(n)un* (non-past in verb), *un* (past or non-past in adjective), or *-ul* (prospective) + defective noun *kes* 'fact, thing, event' + adjective *kath-* 'same'. Originally, *-nun/un/ul kes kath* comes from *-kes kwa kath-* 'is the same as' and conveys similarity. This study details how the domain of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* has expanded to include several other meanings through various processes of grammaticalization. Two major changes will be explored. First, the meaning

of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* expanded to convey conjecture, which is a functional change motivated by the use of the expression to represent the speaker's subjective state of belief, thus enhancing speaker involvement. Second, from the conjectural meaning, *nun/un/ul kes kath* developed to include a function as a politeness marker that acts as a hedging device and is used to mitigate face threatening acts (FTA).

The reason I have chosen to study *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is that even though it appears frequently in daily conversation, its various meanings and social-pragmatic functions have not yet been examined. Most of the previous studies on *-nun/un/ul kes kath* have focused only on its traditional grammatical function of marking conjecture. Only a few studies have mentioned the politeness function of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* or examined *-nun/un/ul kes kath* in relation to epistemic modality and evidentiality.

The questions this study attempts to answer are:

1. What are the functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*?
2. How has *-nun/un/ul kes kath* evolved grammatically?
3. How does this conjectural expression function as a politeness strategy?
4. What do this study's findings about the development and use of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* tell us about evidentiality in the Korean language?
5. Do the other Korean conjectural expressions *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha* exhibit similar functions as *-nun/un/ul kes kath*? Have they gone through similar grammaticalization processes?

1.2 Data and methodology

For this study, two types of data were collected: natural conversations among native Korean speakers, and scripted or partly scripted conversations from Korean television programs. The natural conversations between native Korean speakers comprise two categories. The first consists of four 50-minute audiotaped conversations with four participants in each; two are formal conversations among four Korean instructors at a meeting, and two are informal conversations among four friends at a dinner. The second consists of transcribed conversations from the Sejong Spoken Corpus, which is a collection of spoken language data that includes dialogues, lectures, and speeches. The second type of data are from television shows, and also comprise two categories: scripted conversations from 50 episodes of Korean television dramas (ten 50-minute episodes from each of five dramas), and partly scripted conversations from four television talk shows (one 60-minute episode from each of four talk shows).

The data will be analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. I will examine *-nun/un/ul kes kath* from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. The theory of grammaticalization will be used as the framework for the diachronic investigation. In addition, I will discuss the pragmatic functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* using a discourse analysis framework for the synchronic investigation. Finally, I will observe the usage of three other conjectural expressions: *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*. Throughout this dissertation, examples of the conversational data are presented in a four-line format: hangul, a romanized transcription of the hangul using the Yale system, a word-for-word gloss, and a translation to English.

1.3 The organization of the dissertation

In the remainder of this chapter, I provide the overall outline for the dissertation.

In Chapter 2, data collection and analytical methods as well as preliminary analysis on the widely accepted functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*—supplemented by several existing theories—will be presented. In particular, I will explore and analyze the pragmatic functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* in contemporary Korean from the synchronic perspective, basing the investigation on modern Korean data and using a discourse analysis framework. Then, drawing on theories of objectivity, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity, and politeness and speech acts, I will examine the three synchronic functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*: conveying similarity, conjecture, and politeness.

In Chapter 3, I will briefly summarize the theoretical background of grammaticalization, explain how the structure and source of a grammar pattern is based on changeable features of language, and I will look at the grammaticalization process of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*. I will present previous research on the historical development of the nominalizer *kes* and the adjective *kath-*, which both form part of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*. Next, I will discuss the grammaticalization path of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* from a diachronic perspective based on the grammaticalization framework suggested by Hopper and Traugott (1993), focusing on the following three aspects: meaning shift, grammatical restructuring, and phonological change.

In Chapter 4, I will discuss theories of modality and evidentiality, evidentiality in the Korean language, and several functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* as an inferential evidential modal marker. In particular, I will focus on reviewing the major studies on epistemic modality and evidentiality and the relationship between the two. Next, I will

briefly review the previous studies on evidentiality in Korean including the classification of the Korean evidential system, Korean evidential markers and pragmatics, and Korean learners' acquisition of evidentiality. Then, I will demonstrate how *-nun/un/ul kes kath* as an inferential evidential modal marker conveys politeness as an epistemic modal, as well as functioning as an evidential that indicates information source. By examining the pragmatic functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, this discussion will show how *-nun/un/ul kes kath* allows the speaker to successfully disclaim responsibility, strengthen a claim, enhance solidarity, and accomplish self-politeness.

In Chapter 5, I will briefly analyze three other conjectural expressions, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*, to investigate whether these three conjectural expressions also exhibit the newly discovered functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* presented in Chapter 4. To begin, I will summarize the syntactic features, semantic functions, and phonological evolution of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*. The discussion of *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha* will parallel the structure of this summary to illustrate that these expressions that also express the conjectural meaning have also developed to convey the politeness meaning and to mark information sources as evidentials. To conclude, I will briefly compare the four conjectural expressions *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha* to show how they resemble and differ from each other.

In Chapter 6, I will summarize the main points of the study and discuss its limitations and implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

SYNCHRONIC FUNCTIONS OF *-KES KATH-*

In this chapter, I will investigate the pragmatic functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* (*-kes kath-*) in contemporary Korean, basing the investigation on modern Korean data and using a discourse analysis framework. In present day Korean, *-kes kath-* functions generally to mark similarity, conjecture, and politeness. I discuss the findings in terms of theories of objectivity, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity (Section 2.3) and theories of politeness and speech acts (Section 2.4) to explain the synchronic functions of *-kes kath-*.

2.1 Discourse analysis

2.1.1 Frequency tokens

I begin by presenting a frequency analysis of tokens of *-kes kath* in three Korean dramas (30 episodes, 150 minutes), four Korean talk shows (four episodes, 240 minutes), and four audiorecorded natural conversations (200 minutes). The data sources are summarized in Table 1 below. A total of 517 tokens was found in this combined data set: 424 tokens in the television data, and 93 tokens in the natural conversational data. I categorized these tokens into four groups based on meaning: similarity, conjecture, politeness, and other. The last category, other, consists of tokens that do not fit in any of the first three functional groups, but the study focuses on the first three groups. Out of the combined total of 517 tokens of *-kes kath-* found in all of the data, 301 (58.2%) conveyed politeness, while 180 (34.8%) of them represented conjecture on the part of the speaker. Only 19 (3.7%) cases expressed similarity.

2.1.2 Analysis

First, I will compare the frequency of tokens of the three meanings of *-kes kath-* in the three Korean dramas. Although the politeness function is, overall, the most frequent, the distribution of the four functions of *-kes kath-* is different in each of the three dramas. As Table 1 shows, *-kes kath-* is used for conjecture and politeness at a very similar frequency in both Dramas 1 and 2. In Drama 3, however, the occurrence of tokens of the form with the politeness meaning (67.0%) is more than twice that of its occurrence with the conjectural meaning (31.0%). In all of the dramas, the similarity meaning accounted for less than 10% of the tokens. The question arises as to why there are differences among the TV dramas in the distribution of the three functions of *-kes kath-*. This can be explained by the content of the dramas. In Drama 3, *Hayan Kethap* (Behind the Great White Tower), there are many scenes of doctors' conversations or dialogues between a doctor and a patient in a general hospital. When the doctors express their opinions and ideas about diseases and various types of treatment, they want to avoid or reduce their responsibility for a message that might be viewed negatively by listeners. Therefore, they use the politeness function of *-kes kath-*.

Table 1

Frequency Tokens of Three Meanings of -kes kath- in Contemporary Korean

Data type		Similarity	Conjecture	Politeness	Other	Total
TV programs	Drama 1 <i>Ccen.uy</i> <i>Cencayng</i> 'War of Money'	3 (3.9%)	37 (47.4%)	36 (46.1%)	2 (2.6%)	78 (100%)
	Drama 2 <i>Khephi</i> <i>Phulinsu</i> 'Coffee Prince'	7 (8.4%)	36 (43.4%)	37 (44.6%)	3 (3.6%)	83 (100%)
	Drama 3 <i>Hayan Kethap</i> 'Behind the White Tower'	4 (2%)	63 (31%)	134 (66%)	2 (1%)	203 (100%)
	Talk show 1 <i>Nollewa</i> 'Come to Play'	0 (0%)	7 (39%)	11 (61%)	0 (0%)	18 (100%)
	Talk show 2 <i>Ahim.matang</i> 'AM Plaza'	1 (5%)	6 (27%)	15 (68%)	0 (0%)	22 (100%)
	Talk show 3 <i>Yasimmanman</i> 'Ambitious'	1 (8.3%)	3 (25%)	8 (66.7%)	0 (0%)	12 (100%)
	Talk show 4 <i>Hayphi</i> <i>thwukeyte</i> 'Happy Together'	2 (25%)	3 (37.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)
Natural conversation	Formal conversation	0 (0%)	12 (26.7%)	33 (73.3%)	0 (0%)	45 (100%)
	Informal conversation	1 (2.1%)	13 (27.1%)	24 (50%)	10 (20.8%)	48 (100%)
Total		19 (3.7%)	180 (34.8%)	301 (58.2%)	17 (3.3%)	517 (100%)

The next issue to consider is why the tokens with the politeness meaning occur at more than twice the frequency of tokens with the conjectural meaning in Talk Shows 1–3. In the talk shows, panelists speak almost exclusively about their private experiences and personal opinions. Therefore, tokens with the politeness meaning are much more frequent in talk shows than in dramas.

Finally, there are differences in the distribution of functions in the naturally occurring conversation data. In the formal conversation data, tokens of the politeness meaning of *-kes kath-* appear almost three times more frequently than tokens of the conjectural meaning. Additionally, in informal conversation, tokens of the politeness meaning appear about twice as frequently as tokens of the conjectural meaning. Tokens with the similarity meaning are very infrequent (3%) in both types of conversation, which correlates with the results from the data from the dramas.

Between the two different types of naturally occurring audiotaped conversations, an interesting difference is found. It is that the more formal the situation, the more frequent the use of the politeness function of *-kes kath-*. The source of the formal conversational data is a meeting of four teachers of a beginning-level university Korean language class, where the instructors proposed and discussed various teaching plans and materials. When individuals suggested their ideas or made comments about other teachers' opinions, they frequently employed *-kes kath-* as a hedging device for mitigating direct speech.

The various characteristics of each of the three functions will be discussed in detail below. I will also highlight the circumstances in which each synchronic functional meaning of *-kes kath-* emerges and the reasons for its use.

2.2 Similarity function of *-kes kath-*

People use various figures of speech when giving an opinion, representing their feelings, or explaining a situation or condition. The first function of *-kes kath-* is based on the meaning of sameness or identicalness of the adjective *kath-*, and it is related to figures of speech. The similarity meaning of *-kes kath-* comes directly from *-keskwa kath-*, a simile expression, with *kwa* dropped in most cases in contemporary Korean. In fact, if *kwa* were added in between *-kes* and *kath-* in the sentences in example (1) below, they would be very unnatural sounding.

2.2.1 Simile

Among figures of speech, two rhetorical analogy types, simile and metaphor, have similar functions. A simile is a rhetorical figure of speech that directly compares two objects, which have similar properties or shapes, using *like* or *as*. In contrast, a metaphor also compares two objects but does not use *like* or *as*, and is therefore more powerful.

2.2.1.1 Emphasis

Similes help make propositional content more vivid. Therefore, similes give strength to an utterance and emphasize or intensify the speaker's feeling, opinion, or argument, as in the examples in (1).

- (1) a. 어제 본 그 발레리나의 모습은 마치 천사가 춤추는 것 같다
ecey po-n ku palleylina-uy mosup-un machi chensa-ka
yesterday see-RL that ballerina-GN shape-TC like angel-NM

chwumchwu-nun kes kath-ta.

dance-RL **KES KATH-DC**

‘The ballerina that I watched yesterday is **like** an angel dancing.’

- b. 그림 속의 나비는 살아 움직이는 것 같다.

kulim sok-uy napi-nun sal-a wumciki-nun kes kath-ta.

painting inside-GN butterfly-TC live-then move-RL **KES KATH-DC**

‘The butterfly in the painting **seems** to move as if it is alive.’

In (1a), the speaker employs *-kes kath-* to create a simile between a dancer and an angel in order to explain how well the ballerina he/she saw yesterday dances. To find and use the similarity of two objects is the point of a simile. The original target, in this case the quality of the ballerina’s dancing, is difficult to describe. Hence, the speaker uses a secondary target, an angel’s dancing, as an object of comparison, enabling the speaker to more effectively express his/her meaning. The speaker uses a familiar item as the secondary target in order to help the listener understand the original target better. Because the listener did not see the performance of the ballerina, he/she is not familiar with the original target. However, as most people are familiar with an angel’s appearance, dancing, and singing, the beauty of the ballerina’s performance can be approximated through the comparison drawn by the speaker, even though the listener cannot imagine the exact figure the speaker saw. Therefore, sentence (1a) emphasizes the speaker’s impression of the ballerina he/she saw yesterday.

Sentence (1b) employs a different type of simile pattern from sentence (1a). The simile expression *-kes kath-* is used without an expressed secondary target to describe how vivid the painted butterfly seems. Without *-kes kath-*, the sentence cannot be true

because a painted butterfly cannot be alive and cannot move. Therefore, this sentence looks conjectural, but is actually a simile.

2.2.1.2 Exaggeration

Another function of a simile is to amplify some quality of an object or event through the comparison: making something sound larger or smaller, better or worse, and so forth, than it is in reality. The exaggeration presents the propositional content in an extreme way. Example (2), a conversation between two speakers, shows this exaggerative function of *-kes kath-*.

(2)

- 1 A: 이게 얼마만이나?
 i-ke-y elma-man-i-nya?
 this.thing-NM how.much-only-be-Q
 ‘How long has it been?’
- 2 B: 그니까, 진짜 오랜만에 보는건데.
 kunikka, cincca olaynman-ey po-nun-ke-ntey.
 so really for.the.first.time.after.long time-at see-RL-fact-but
 ‘I mean, it’s been a while since I’ve seen you.’
- 3 A: 어, 한참 됐지.
 e, hancham tway-ss-ci.
 yes long.time become-PST-SUP
 ‘Yes, it’s been a while.’

4 B: 근데 시간 진짜 금방이다.
kuntey sikan cincca kumpang-i-ta.
 but time really soon-be-DC
 ‘By the way, time really flies.’

5 A: 야, 우리 안 본 지 삼 년 됐어.
ya, wuli an bo-n ci sam nyen toy-ess-e.
 hey we not meet-RL since three year become-PST-INT
 ‘Hey, it has been three years since we met.’

6→ B: 일 년 정도 지난 거 같아.
il nyen cengto cina-n ke kath-a.
 one year about pass-RL **KES KATH-INT**
 ‘It **seems like** about one year passed by.’

In line 6, B applies *-kes kath-* to express his/her feeling that the duration of time since the two speakers met is much less than it actually is. The understatement expresses the feeling of shortened temporal duration, thus allowing the listener to more easily understand the speaker’s feelings.

In the dialogue in (3), a speaker again exaggerates using a simile with *-kes kath-*.

(3)
 1 A: 아 요즘에 이상하게 새벽에
a yocum-ey isangha-key saypyek-ey
 oh these.days-at strange-AD dawn-at
 ‘Oh, these days strangely at dawn’

- 2 B: 어.
e.
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 3 A: 천둥 되게 많이 치지 않아?
chentwung toykey manhi chi-ci anh-a?
 thunder very much hit-NOM not.be-INT
 ‘doesn’t it thunder a lot?’
- 4 나 원래 새벽에 진짜 잠 안 깨는 스타일인데.
na wenlay saypyek-ey cincca cam an kkay-nun suthail-i-ntey.
 I originally dawn-at really sleep do.not wake.up-RL style-be-but
 ‘Originally I am the type who rarely wakes up at dawn.’
- 5 그 천둥소리 땀에 잠 두 번이나 깼어 요즘.
ku chentwung-soli ttaymey cam twu pen-ina kkay-ss-e
 that thunder-sound because sleep two time-even wake.up-PST-INT
yocum.
 recently
 ‘Because of the thunder sound, I even woke up twice recently.’
- 6 진짜 크게 치더라.
cincca khu-key chi-te-la.
 really big-AD hit-RT-DC
 ‘It was really loud.’

- 7 B: 소리 땀에 깨?
soli ttaymey kkay?
 sound because wake.up-INT
 ‘Do you wake up because of the sound?’
- 8 A: 어 천둥 진짜 커!
e chentwung cincca kh-e!
 yes thunder really big-INT
 ‘Yes, thunder is really loud!’
- 9 B: 어.
e.
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 10 A: 거기다가 우리 아파트 단진데 밖에 차 세워 두면 벼락을 맞았는지
 천둥을 맞았는지 그거 있잖아 경보음.
keki-taka wuli aphathu tanci-ntey pakk-ey cha seyw-e
 there-additionally we apartment complex-but outside-at car park-INF
twu-myen pyelak-ul mac-ass-nunci chentwung-ul
 leave-if lightning-AC get.hit-PST-whether thunder-AC
mac-ass-nunci kuke iss-canh-a kyengpoum.
 get.hit-PST-whether that.thing have-you.know-INT alarm.sound
 ‘Besides, I live in an apartment complex and when I park the car outside
 my apartment, I don’t know if it was struck by lightning or thunder. Alarm
 sound, you know.’
- 11 B: 어.

e.
yes
'Yes.'

12 A: 계속 울려 계속 그제.
kyeysok wully-e kyeysok ku-ke-y.
continuously ring-INT continuously that-thing-NM
'It keeps ringing.'

13→ 자다가 진짜 엄청 놀래서 심장 터질 거 같아, 완전.
ca-taka cincca emcheng nollay-se simcang theci-l
sleep-while really very surprise-because heart burst-PRS
ke kath-a, wancen.
KES KATH-INT completely
'While I sleep, because I'm really surprised I **feel like** my heart is
bursting, completely.'

In (3), A describes how she was woken by the noise of the recent thunder and the car alarm it set off. In line 13, she tries to express her feeling of shock by comparing her startled emotion to a bursting heart with the usage of *-kes kath-*. In reality, of course, her heart did not explode, but her use of a simile to exaggerate her feeling helps her represent the extent of her surprise.

2.2.2 Expressing objectivity

Another function of similes with *-kes kath-* is to create a sense of the objectivity of the speaker's thoughts, ideas, opinions, or stances toward a propositional message by creating distance between the speaker and the utterance. I will briefly look at the

relationship between *-kes kath-* and objectivity, first discussing what objectivity in language is and how it is different from subjectivity.

Kranich (2010) described objectivity as “less based in the speaker’s belief state/attitude toward the situation, and more based on objectively verifiable properties of the situation.” According to Traugott and Dasher (2002), the term “objectivity” has been adopted in various fields of study including but not limited to linguistics, science, and philosophy because the term is associated with the concepts of truth and information structure.

2.2.2.1 Nominalization and objectivity: The function of the nominalizer *kes*

Nominalization is a grammatical process whereby an expression is transformed by acquiring the properties of a noun. Vendler (1967) explained that a sentence can be converted into a noun phrase, which can then be placed into another sentence via the process of nominalization. This process allows the newly formed expression that has noun-like properties to be used as a noun in a sentence.

Therefore, the suffix *-kes kath-*, which consists of the nominalizer *kes* ‘thing’ and *the* adjective *kath-* ‘same’ can function to create objectivity in a sentence. First, by splitting the speaker and utterance using the nominalizer *kes*, a speaker achieves distance from his/her sentence. It then becomes easier to objectivize the propositional content of the sentence. Second, *kath-* originally conveyed identicalness, meaning that the two compared items are exactly same. Through grammaticalization, the concept of identicalness changed to that of similarity, which helps the speaker deliver his/her idea

efficiently using objective description. In the next section, I will go over the theories of objectivity and subjectivity in detail.

2.3 Conjectural function of *-kes kath-*

The second function of *-kes kath-* represents the speaker's uncertainty about the message he or she is conveying. A conjecture is an idea or opinion based on incomplete or ambiguous knowledge. In other words, if the speaker makes a conclusion or describes a situation based on unclear information, the subjective point of view should be used in his/her sentence to show that it is a conjecture. For example, in the dialogue in (4), A guesses that B likes winter, using the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-*.

(4)

1 A: 오빠는 봄 여름 가을 겨울 중에.
 oppa-nun pom yelum kaul kyewul cwung-ey.
 older brother-TC spring summer fall winter among-from
 ‘Older brother, among spring, summer, autumn and winter.’

2 B: 응.
 ung.
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

3→ A: 겨울을 좋아할 거 같애.
 kyewul-ul cohaha-l ke kath-ay.
 winter-AC like-PRS **KES KATH-INT**
 ‘I **think** you like winter.’

- 4 B: 나? 다 싫어한다.
na? ta silheha-n-ta.
 I everything dislike-IN-DC
 ‘Me? I hate everything.’
- 5 A: 아 그래두.
a kulaytwu.
 ah even.though
 ‘Ah, still,’
- 6 B: 그래두? 다 싫어해.
kulaytwu? ta silheha-y.
 even.though? everything dislike-INT
 ‘Still? I hate everything.’

In this example, speaker A assumes and believes that B likes winter. If she did not so assume, she might instead ask him which season he likes. The example thus demonstrates how a speaker can apply *-kes kath-* with the conjectural meaning when expressing an uncertain conclusion or a presumption from insufficient knowledge.

2.3.1 Subjectivity

Lyons (1982, p. 103) provided a characterization of subjectivity: “Self-expression is nothing other than the expression, or externalization, of one’s belief, attitudes, etc.”

The similarity meaning of *-kes kath-* developed into the conjectural meaning, a functional change motivated by the use of *-kes kath-* to represent the speaker’s subjective belief,

enhancing the speaker's involvement. The conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-* expresses speakers' subjective stance and reflects their attitude toward the message.

Traugott (1989, p. 31) defined subjectification as “the historical pragmatic-semantic process whereby meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state, or attitude toward what is said.” The conjectural function of *-kes kath-* is motivated by the speaker's desire to strengthen the speaker's expressive involvement in the speech situation and to reinforce the message. For example, speaker B in (5) and speaker B in (6) represent not only the facts, but also their judgments and opinions. Furthermore, subjectification is a factor driving semantic change in particular because there is always a strong implication that what the speaker says is representative of his/her beliefs or conclusions, and therefore his/her attitude (Traugott, 1995, pp. 34–39).

The next two examples of the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-*, (5) and (6), are from a natural conversation. A and B are in a restaurant, where they are served food by an Asian man. A overhears the Asian man using some basic Korean phrases. A assumes the man is Korean and asks B what she thinks. B is not sure, but thinks he is Korean; she applies *-kes kath-* to her speech in order to represent her uncertainty.

(5) A: 저 사람 한국 사람이지?
ce salam hankwuk salam-i-ci?
that person Korea person-be-SUP
'Is that person Korean?'

B: 응, 한국 사람 맞는 거 같아.
ung, hankwuk salam mac-nun ke kath-a.

yes Korea person right-RL **KES KATH-INT**
'Yes, I **guess** he is Korean.'

In (6), A and B talk about a man with whom B had a blind date. B supposes the man is rich, though she does not know. Because of her uncertainty, B responds to A's question using the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-*.

(6) A: 그 남자 어때?
ku namca ett-ay?
that man how-INT
'How is that man?'

B: 부자인 거 같아요.
pwuca-i-n ke kath-a.yo.
rich-be-RL **KES KATH-POL**
'He **seems** rich.'

2.3.2 Objectivity and subjectivity

In this section, I will examine the difference between objectivity and subjectivity in language, basing my discussion on several related theories. Lyons (1982) explained that the objective and subjective components of language represent propositional content and the expression of the thoughts/beliefs of the speaker respectively. There is much research citing the studies of subjectivity by Traugott (1989, 1995) and Langacker (1985, 1991, 2000). After comparing the two scholars' work, Mushin (2001) stated that subjectification can be defined as a process during which a subjective reading comes to be assigned to a certain part of speech, citing Traugott for this speaker-oriented reading.

Alternatively, it can be viewed as the conceptualizer forming a subjective identification of a linguistic expression (Langacker, 2000).

The goal of Langacker (1985, 1991, 2000) in approaching the topic of subjectivity was to be able to explain synchronic grammatical structures in languages. Langacker also described subjectivity in the context of cognitive grammar, suggesting that it is related to the role of the observer when faced with situations in which the observer/observed asymmetry is maximized. In Langacker's approach, the term "subjective" does not pertain to the semantic content of a linguistic expression; rather, it should be understood in terms of the viewing arrangement of perspectives assumed to construe particular conceptual content. Figure 1 depicts the two viewing arrangements that represent different meanings.

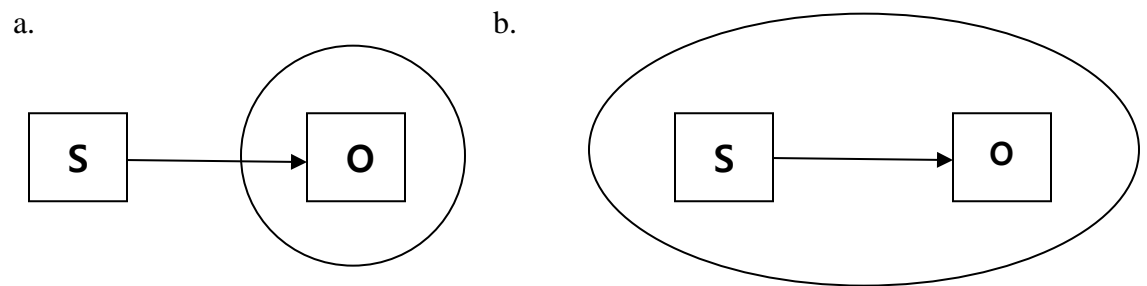


Figure 1. "Optimal" and "egocentric" viewing arrangements (Langacker, 1985, p. 121)

In the "optimal viewing arrangement," the conceptualizer (S) stays "offstage" to view some object construal (O), as in Figure (1a). This arrangement represents the maximum asymmetry between the conceptualizer and the object of conceptualization. Figure (1b) represents the "egocentric viewing arrangement," in which the conceptualizer is part of

the conceptualization of the state of affairs, and therefore “onstage.” This egocentric viewing arrangement implies the speaker’s personal involvement in the events of the scene. The asymmetry between the conceptualizer and the object of construal is diminished in this arrangement. Therefore, in Langacker’s (1991) characterization of objectivity, the subject of conception or some other facet of the ground is explicit and salient. Subjectivity is the context in which the information is implicitly grounded from the perspective of the speaker as the subject of conception.

Traugott’s (1989, 1995) work focused on the pragmatic significance of subjectivity for both language structure and language change. Epistemic meaning arises, she suggested, by the conventionalization of certain conversational implicatures. In addition, Traugott (1995) described subjectification in the context of grammaticalization as a process during which lexical material tends to be recruited in order to create text and indicate attitudes in discourse situations.

The dialogue in (7) provides another example of the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-*. In it, speaker B makes a conjecture about speaker A, and B maintains the conjecture in spite of A’s disagreement.

(7)

- 1 A: 내가 시어머니랑 살다 보니까 나도 모르게 시어머니 역할을 하고
 있나 봐.
 nay-ka siemeni-lang sal-ta po-nikka na-to molu-key
 I-NM mother-in-law-with live-while see-so I-also do.not.know-AD
 siemeni yekhal-ul ha-ko iss-na pw-a.
 mother-in-law role-AC do-being-whether see-INT
 ‘Because I am living with my mother-in-law, I guess I am acting like one.’

2→ B: 언니 나중에 시어머니 되면 깐깐할 거 같애.

enni nacwung-ey siemeni toy-myen kkankkanha-l
older.sister later-at mother-in-law become-if strict-PRS
ke kath-ay.

KES KATH-INT

‘Older sister, I **think** when you become a mother-in-law later on, you will be strict.’

3 A: 나 안 깐깐해. 난 조신해. 좋은 게 좋은 거라고 내가 너한테 해 준 걸 생각해 봐.

na an kkankkanha-y. na-n cosinha-y. coh-un ke-y coh-un
I do.not strict-INT I-NM modesty-INT good-RL thing-NM good-RL
ke-lako nay-ka ne-hanthey ha-y cwu-n ke-l sayngkakha-y
thing-QT I-NM you-to do-INF give-RL thing-AC think-INF
pw-a.

try-INT

‘I am not strict. I’m modest. (Someone said) a good thing is good. Think about what I had done for you.’

4→ B: 아니 시어머니가 되면 시어머니가 되면, 아가야 그런 게 아니란다 이러면서 연설할 거 같애 막.

ani siemeni-ka toy-myen siemeni-ka toy-myen,
no mother-in-law-NM become-if mother-in-law-NM become-if
aka-ya kule-n ke-y ani-la-n-ta ile-myense
baby-VOC like.that-RL thing-NM not.be-QT-IN-DC like.think-while
yenselha-l ke kath-ay mak.
speech-PRS **KES KATH-INT** INJ

‘I mean, when you become a mother-in-law, I **think** you will give a

speech like, “It is not like that.”

- 5 이럴 때 이렇게 해야 되는 거란다.
ile-l ttay ileh-key hay-ya toy-nun ke-la-n-ta.
this.like-PRS when this.like-AD do-must become-RL thing-QT-IN-DC
‘This is the way to do this in this kind of situation.’

- 6→ 그러므로 니가 잘못했어 막 이럴 거 같애.
kulemulo ni-ka calmosha-yss-e mak ile-l ke kath-ay.
therefore you-NM do.bad-PST-INT INJ this.like-PRS **KES KATH-**
INT
‘I **think** you will say something like, “So you did it wrong.”’

In (7), B cannot know whether A will become a strict mother-in-law in the future. Notwithstanding, B wants to give her guess based on information from her relationship with A. Three of the four sentences uttered by B have the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-* (lines 2, 4, 6). These sentences thus reflect a cognitive process in which B’s subjective judgment is involved in her utterances.

Mushin (2001) described the notion of subjectivity as “a part of the conceptual structure of information that lies behind linguistic ‘packaging’”, speaking from the point of view of cognitive grammar. The deployment of linguistic forms in discourse is motivated by cognitive and pragmatic phenomena, which are both related to subjectivity. Both the limitations and nature of the human cognitive system affect the subjective construal of some state of affairs; the former mitigates it whereas the latter structures it.

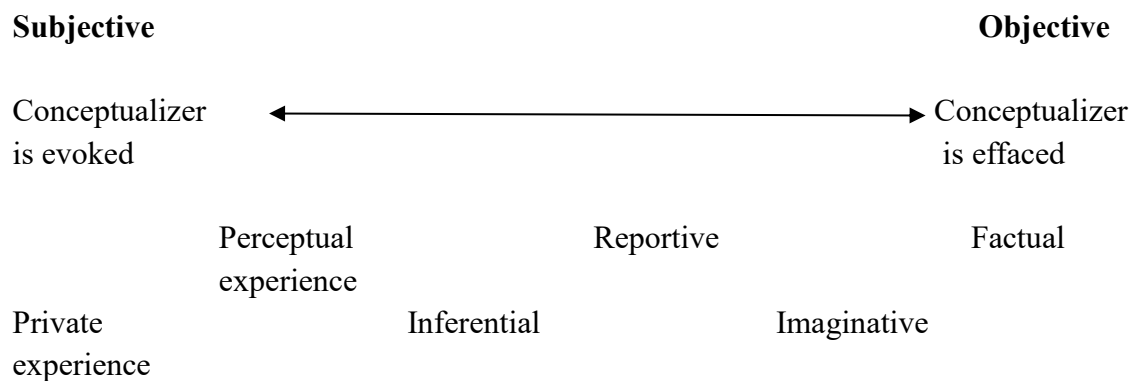


Figure 2. Relationship of epistemological stance to subjectivity (Mushin, 2001, p. 81)

2.4 Politeness function of *-kes kath-*

There are two important functions of language: the transactional function and the interactional function. According to Brown and Yule (1983), the transactional and interactional functions play different roles in language. The former is related to content while the latter is used to express social relations and personal attitudes. Some scholars believe that the main purpose of using language is to transfer the content of speech, and as a result, they focus on the transactional function more than the interactional function. However, the interactional function of language is also important in that it is used for the maintenance of social relations. Brown and Yule also proposed that the transactional function is more important in written language and the interactional function is more important in spoken language.

As the conjunctural meaning of *-kes kath-*, which serves a transactional function, becomes more widespread, the form also performs the role of a hedging device, which is an interactional function. That is to say, the suffix *-kes kath-* is used as a politeness strategy rather than inherently carrying a politeness meaning. Although the third function

of *-kes kath-*, which is its role in politeness, occurs with great frequency in spoken data, it has not received much attention in research. Some scholars even think that the polite usage of *-kes kath-* is incorrect from the perspective of prescriptive grammar. Here, I will provide and discuss some examples of politeness *-kes kath-* from the perspective of pragmatics. The excerpt in (8) is from a television drama about doctors. When the doctors give their opinions about a diagnosis or a method of a surgery, they use *-kes kath-* to present their ideas carefully, as this example illustrates. Speaker A is a patient; speaker B is a doctor.

(8) A: 교수님, 검사 결과 어때요?
kyoswu-nim, kemsal kyelkwa ett-ayyo?
 professor-HT examination result how-POL
 ‘Professor, how is the result?’

B: 역시 췌장에 문제가 있는 것 같아.
yeksi chweycang-ey mwuncey-ka iss-nun kes kath-a.
 as.expected pancreas-at problem-NM exist-RL **KES KATH-INT**
 ‘As expected, the pancreas has a problem-**KES KATH.**’

The use of *-kes kath-* mitigates the harshness of the content of B’s speech, thus showing the speaker’s consideration for the feelings of the listener, that is, the patient. It does so by expressing doubt toward B’s own act of speaking by using *-kes kath-*, and therefore weakening the illocutionary force of his statement.

In the next section, I will first review the theory of speech acts and the framework of politeness and intersubjectification. Then I will examine the features of the politeness function of *-kes kath-* using example sentences and dialogues.

2.4.1 Theory of speech acts

People use language both to deliver meaning and to affect listeners, situations, or conditions. Austin (1962) classified the actions that speech performs into three kinds of acts:

1. Locutionary acts: utterances with a certain “meaning” in the traditional sense
2. Illocutionary acts: utterances that convey a certain (conventional) force such as informing, ordering, warning, and undertaking
3. Perlocutionary acts: what occurs through or is obtained by utterances, such as convincing, persuading, deterring, and even surprising or misleading

To create the same illocutionary force, people can employ diverse locutionary acts. On the other hand, one locution can lead to many different illocutionary acts. For example, you and your friend are in the living room, where one of the windows is open, and you say to him/her, “I am really cold.” The locutionary act in this sentence is your description of feeling chilled, but its illocutionary force is to ask your friend to close the window. At that time, if your utterance makes him/her do something, for instance close the window, bring a blanket, or turn off a fan, it is a perlocutionary act.

Austin (1962) further distinguished five classes of performative speech acts depending on their function in an utterance.

1. Verdictive: an utterance that intends to make the listener do something, exemplified by the giving of a verdict, estimate, grade, or appraisal
2. Exercitive: an utterance that exercises powers, rights, or influence, for example, appointing, ordering, or warning
3. Commissive: an utterance that obligates the speaker to do a certain action, for instance, promising and announcing
4. Behabitive: an utterance that provides the speaker's attitude in the context of social relationships such as apologizing, congratulating, insulting, or challenging
5. Expositive: an utterance that is used for argument or exposition

Searle (1969) clarified and revised Austin's framework of illocutionary acts, proposing five new categories of speech acts:

1. Assertive: an utterance that represents the proposition as expressing a state of affairs as in definitions, claims, descriptions, assertions, arguments, and statements
2. Directive: an utterance that tries to make the hearer take a particular action such as requests, orders, commands, and advice
3. Commissive: an utterance that commits a speaker to some upcoming action, for example, promises, vows, pledges, and oaths
4. Expressive: an utterance that represents the speaker's attitudes and feelings toward the proposition as in congratulations, thanks, excuses, and fault

5. Declaration: an utterance that makes changes in the world in accordance with the propositional content such as dismissal, resignation, and announcement

Additionally, according to Searle (1975), an “indirect speech act” is an utterance that implicitly contains illocutionary force whereas a “direct speech act” is used strictly for the delivery of speech. In other words, there are many different meanings of messages and there could be a gap of meaning between propositional content and illocutionary force in indirect speech.

People use the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-* even when representing feelings, conditions, or situations that are certain. That is why it decreases the illocutionary force and therefore increases the politeness of an utterance. The politeness function of *-kes kath-* appears in the diverse situations of the illocutionary acts outlined by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). For example, for politeness, *-kes kath-* is used when a speaker gives his/her opinion to a listener; opposes a listener’s idea; or refuses a request, invitation, or offer, and so on. This usage of *-kes kath-* is one type of indirect speech, in Searle’s (1975) terms. In the next section, I will discuss the theory of politeness with examples of cases when *-kes kath-* is used to decrease illocutionary force.

2.4.2 Theory of politeness

The major functions of language that Brown and Yule (1983) considered the transactional and interactional functions have been categorized by other linguists in various ways, including representative and expressive (Bühler, 1934), referential and emotive (Jakobson, 1960), ideational and interpersonal (Halliday, 1973), and descriptive and

social-expressive (Lyons, 1977). In this dissertation, I will continue to use Brown and Yule's transactional-interactional distinction. Of these two major functions of language, only the former had been studied frequently by linguists until the twentieth century. Scholars in sociolinguistics became interested in the interactional function, because language is used not only for delivering the content of speech but also for conveying speakers' attitudes.

When speakers incorporate strategies into their speech to achieve functions such as politeness, this is an interactional function. Lakoff (1973) proposed a politeness principle including the following maxims: don't impose, give options, and make the addressee feel good. These maxims can provide explanations for what behaviors a speaker identifies as polite. Leech (1983) built on the politeness principle and presented six conversational maxims: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy.

The notion of the universality of indirect speech acts is based on the basic role they play with respect to universal strategies of politeness and constitutes the main idea of the universal theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1977). Based on this idea, Brown and Levinson (1987) developed the first significant framework of the politeness theory. In the next sections, I will discuss the notion of face, which includes positive and negative face, two types of face-threatening acts, and politeness strategies.

2.4.2.1 Face and face-threatening acts

Face is one important concept necessary to understand the theory of politeness. Goffman (1955) defined face as a value that one can take credit for by allowing others to assume

the stance that he/she has taken during a particular encounter. As part of their universal theory of politeness, Brown and Levinson (1978) revised Goffman's definition of face as the self-image one wishes to have in the eye of the public. That is to say, the notion of face is a self-image based on social value. There are two types of face: positive face and negative face. Positive face is defined as the need to be accepted, appreciated, liked, admired, or approved by group members; negative face, as the desire to be free of burdening or disruption from another party.

As mentioned, understanding face is necessary to understand the theory of politeness, because protecting face is an essential part of communication. However, there are sometimes situations where it is not possible to save the face of the speaker or the listener. An act that threatens or damages the face of the addressee and/or the speaker is a face-threatening act (FTA). There are two kinds of face-threatening acts, which are negative face-threatening acts and positive face-threatening acts. A negative face-threatening act occurs when people damage the freedom of action of the speaker or the listener. A positive face-threatening act occurs when the speaker or listener disregards the feelings, wishes, or will of the interlocutor. Hence, positive face is threatened when distance is created between the speaker and the interlocutor.

2.4.2.2 Politeness strategies

To protect interlocutors' face, which is an important aspect of communication, speakers apply politeness strategies in their speech. Brown and Levinson (1978) proposed four core types of politeness strategies: bald on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record.

2.4.2.2.1 Bald on-record

A bald on-record strategy does not aim to overtly diminish the threat to the hearer's face but may do so implicitly through shocking or embarrassing the addressee. Because of this aspect of the strategy, it is used mostly when the interlocutors are family or friends whose relationship is intimate.

2.4.2.2.2 Positive politeness

Positive politeness strategies function to reduce loss to a listener's positive face. They make the listener feel good by showing likeness, admiration, or sympathy. In addition, there are diverse ways to save a listener's positive face such as avoiding conflict, choosing a familiar topic, or softening disagreement.

2.4.2.2.3 Negative politeness

Negative politeness strategies are concerned with the listener's negative face, that is to say, respecting his/her right to freedom of action, self-determination, space, and freedom from imposition. There are several negative politeness strategies, for instance, indirectness to avoid intrusion, hedges on illocutionary force, and giving power to the addressee.

2.3.2.2.4 Off-record

An off-record strategy is when a speaker uses ambiguity in order to purposefully perform a face-threatening act. The ambiguity causes the duty of interpretation to fall on the hearer, and thus the responsibility for the fact-threatening act is removed from the speaker. Using vague or ambiguous expressions or conversational implicatures are examples of the off-record strategy.

2.4.3 The use of *-kes kath-* as a politeness strategy

The suffix *-kes kath-* is closely related to politeness strategies and it can be applied in diverse circumstances. When a speaker does not know a listener's mind, s/he can indirectly represent his/her opinion with *-kes kath-*. Also, when a speaker wants to carefully respond to a listener's thinking, s/he can use *-kes kath-* as a strategy of politeness. Moreover, when a speaker mentions a listener's strengths or weaknesses, s/he can imply a polite attitude through the use of this expression. Furthermore, *-kes kath-* can be offered as a hedging device for mitigating direct speech.

2.4.3.1 In indirect speech

In the example conversation in (9), three Korean men who are close friends are discussing what they think about mandatory military service. In Korea, men must undergo mandatory military service for two years and two months. Speakers A and C are of the same age, and speaker B is older.

(9)

1 A: 형은 군대 남자 한 번쯤은 갔다 와야 된다는 거에 대해 어떻게 생각해요,

hyeng-un kwuntay namca han pen-ccum-un ka-ss-ta
older.brother-TC military man one time-about-TC go-PST-and then
wa-ya toy-n-ta-nun ke-ey tayhay etteh-key
come-have.to become-IN-DC-RL thing-to about how-AD
sayngkakha-yyo,
think-POL

‘What do you think about the statement that men should do military service at least once?’

2 B: 너무 의례적인 문제다

nemwu uylzeycek-i-n mwuncey-ta
too (much) formality-be-RL problem-DC
‘It is too much of a formality issue’

3 A: 의례적인 거라?

uylzeycek-i-n ke-la?
formality-be-RL thing-QT
‘Is it too much of a formality issue?’

4 B: 응.

ung.
yes
‘Yes.’

5 A: 너는,

ne-nun
you-NM
'How about you?'

6 C: 어?
e?
what
'What?'

7 A: 남자 한 번 군대 갔다 와야 된다.
namca han pen kwuntay ka-ss-ta wa-ya toy-n-ta.
man one time military go-PST-and then come-have.to become-IN-DC
'Men should experience the military at least once.'

8 C: 남자가 뭐, 남자라고 갔다 올 필요는 없고.
namca-ka mwe, namca-lako ka-ss-ta o-l philyo-nun
man-NM INJ man-because go-PST-DC come-PRS need-RL
eps-ko.
not.exist-and
'I don't think it is necessary for every man to experience the military.'

9→ B: 옛날에 남자라면 군대 한 번 갔다 와야 된다고 그러는데, 솔직히 나
는, 안 갈라면 진짜 안 가는 게 나올 거 같애,
yeysnal-ey namca-lamyen kwuntay han pen ka-ss-ta
old.days-at man-if military one time go-PST-and then
wa-ya toy-n-ta-ko kule-nuntey, solcikhi na-nun,
come-have.to become-IN-DC-QT like.that-but honestly I-NM
an ka-lla-myen cincca an ka-nun ke-y na-ul

not go-in order to-if really do.not go-RL thing-NM better-PRS
ke kath-ay.

KES KATH-INT

‘Long ago, people used to say that men should experience the military at least once. Honestly though, I **would** not really go unless I absolutely had to.’

- 10 C: 당연한 거지,
tangyenha-n ke-ci,
fair-RL thing-SUP
‘Of course,’

- 11 A: 별루 뭐~ 시간, 몰라 옛날엔 진짜 막 그~ 죽음 죽음은 아니더라도
진::짜 고생하면서 그런지 몰라도 솔직히 지금은 많이
편해졌잖아요,
pyellwu mwe sikan, moll-a yeysnal-ey-n cincca mak ku
particularly INJ time do.not.know-INT old.days-at-TC really INJ that
cwukum cwukum-un ani-te-lay-to cincca kosaynggha-myense
death death-TC not.be-RT-QT-though really suffer-while
kule-n-ci moll-ato solcikhi cikum-un manhi
like.that-RL-NOM do.not.know-though honestly now-TC much
phyenhay-cy-ess-canh-a.yo,
comfortable-become-PST-you.know-POL
‘I don’t know. Back in the old days people died or maybe not quite died
but had a really hard time in the military but it has become a lot easier
these days, you know.’

- 12 그런 상황 속에 솔직히, 이 년, 몰라 일년 아까 형 말대로 뭐~ 일 년 동안 갔다 오면 몰라도 이 년 이 개월 동안 솔직히 갔다 오는 거에 대해서는 솔직히 나는, 별루. 과연 효율성이 있나?

kule-n sanghwang sok-ey solcikhi, i nyen, moll-a
 like.that-RL situation-inside-at honestly two year do.not.know-INT
il nyen akka hyeng mal-taylo mwe il nyen tongan
 one year a.while.ago older.brother word-as INJ one year during
ka-ss-ta o-myen moll-ato i nyen i kaywel
 go-PST-and.then come-if do.not.know-though two year two month
tongan solcikhi ka-ss-ta o-nun ke-ey tayhayse-nun
 during honestly go-PST-and then come-RL thing-to about-TC
solcikhi na-nun, pyellwu. kwayen hyoyulseng-i iss-na?
 honestly I-NM particularly really effectiveness-NM exist-Q
 ‘In this situation, honestly, two years, I don’t know, one year as
 you said may be viable, but honestly for two years and two months,
 honestly, I wonder if it is efficient?’

- 13 B: 지금, 뭐 육군 병력이 뭐 있더라두 부족하네 얼마네 이런 얘기하
 잼아.

cikum, mwe yukkwun pyenglyek-i mwe iss-te-la-twu
 now INJ army troop-NM INJ exist-RT-QT-though
pwucokha-ney elma-ney ile-n yaykiha-canh-a.
 lack-APP how.much-APP like.this-RL talk-you know-INT
 ‘Now people are saying that the army is not big enough even though
 we have an army, how many there are, and so on, you know.’

When speaker A asks what B and C think about mandatory military service, B tries to evade giving a clear response (line 2), while C says it is not necessary (line 8). Then, B

gives his opinion with *-kes kath-*: ‘Honestly though, I would not really go unless I absolutely had to’ (line 9).

To understand B’s use of *-kes kath-* in this example, it is necessary to look at how he displays his opinion about the topic. His first utterance does not give any clue to his thoughts, as he tries to avoid discussing the topic. In his second utterance, he carefully represents his opinion using *-kes kath-* for politeness, even though he is older than the other speakers and speaker C has already expressed the same opinion. However, B still does not know A’s opinion. When people do not know others’ plans, opinions, or feelings, they try to lighten their responsibility for their propositional message. The politeness usage of *-kes kath-* functions to successfully save the interlocutor’s face by avoiding an explicit expression of opinion in (9).

2.4.3.2 As a hedging device

The previous dialogue showed a speaker using a politeness strategy when unaware of the opinion of the listener. On the other hand, if a speaker knows the opinion of the listener but does not agree with it, the speaker can apply *-kes kath-* as a hedging device when expressing the conflicting opinion. In (10), three close friends of a similar age have a conversation about Internet cafes in Korea.

(10)

- 1 C: 집에서 왜 컴퓨터, 집에 컴퓨터 인터넷 다 놔두고 피씨방 가서 하나
하느냐면, 그 사람들이 단체로 즐기는 그런 맛으로 하는 거 아니야,
cip-eyse way khemphyuthe, cip-ey khemphyuthe intheneys ta
home-at why computer home-at computer internet everything

nwatwu-ko phissipang ka-se ha-nya ha-nunya-myen,
 leave-and PC.room go-and then do-Q do-Q-if
ku salam-tul-i tanchey-lo culki-nun kule-n mas-ulo ha-nun
 that person-PL-MN group-as enjoy-RL like.that-RL taste-as do-RL
ke ani-ya,
 thing not.be-INT

‘Don’t you think that the reason people go to Internet cafes even though they have a computer and the internet at home is because they enjoy playing together as a group?’

- 2→ A: 왜 좀 음, 지금도 많이 이제 그, 보편화되면서, 옛날 지금 노래방이 이렇게 자리잡은 것처럼, 피씨방도 이제 그런 식으로 일부 부정적인 시각은 뒤로 한 채, 자리잡아 가고 있는 거 같애. 자리잡아가 자리잡았지,

way com um, cikum-to manhi icey ku, pophyenhwa-toy-myense,
 why little INJ now-also much now that generalization-become-while
yeysnal cikum nolaypang-i ileh-key calicap-un kes-chelem,
 old.days now singing.room-NM like.this-AD settle-RL thing-like
phissipang-to icey kule-n sik-ulo ilpwu pwucengcek-i-n sikak-un
 PC.room-also now like.that-RL way-DR part negative-be-RL view-TC
twi-lo ha-n chay, calicapaka-ko iss-nun ke kath-ay.
 behind-DR do-RL state settle-being-RL **KES KATH-INT**
calicapaka calicap-ass-ci,
 settle settle-PST-SUP

‘Just like karaoke, which now has become commonplace, Internet cafes, despite the negative impressions that people used to have about them, **seem to be** becoming more commonplace.’

- 3→ B: 내가 생각하기에는, 피씨방 문화가 자리잡았다기보단, 이제 쇠퇴기에 들어 들어섰다는 게 더 정확한 표현인 거 같은데,

nay-ka sayngkakha-ki-ey-nun, phissipang mwunhwa-ka
 I-NM think-NOM-at-TC PC.room culture-NM
calicap-ass-ta-ki-pota-n, icyey soythoyki-ey tule tulese-ss-ta-nun
 settle-PST-DC-NOM-than-RL now decadence-at enter enter-PST-DC-RL
ke-y te cenghwakha-n phyohyen-i-n ke kath-untey,
 thing-NM more accurate-RL expression-be-RL **KES KATH**-but
 ‘In my opinion, it **might be** more accurate to say that the Internet cafes are
 in decline rather than becoming more commonplace.’

4 C: 인제 안 좋아하는 거 아니냐?

incey an cohaha-nun ke ani-nya?
 now do.not like-RL that not.be-Q
 ‘Isn’t it that you do not like them anymore?’

5 B: 그 뭐냐, 말들은 비디오방이나 노래방이나, 한창 뜰 때는, 그때는,
 문제점을 몰라. 그게 정리될 때쯤 돼서 그거에 대한 문제점을, 애길
 할 수 있는 거구, 그거에 대해서 말이 많아지는 거지. 그러니깐,
 그런 것처럼 똑같은 거야 피씨방도,

ku mwe-nya, mal-tul-un patio-pang-ina nolay-pang-ina, hanchang
 that what-Q word-PL-TC video.room-or singing.room-or prime
ttu-l ttay-nun, ku-ttay-nun, mwunceycem-ul moll-a.
 float-PRS time-TC that-time-TC problem-AC do.not.know-INT
ku-ke-y cengli-toy-l ttay-ccum tway-se
 that-thing-NM arrange-become-PRS time-approximately become-and then
ku-ke-ey tayha-n mwunceycem-ul, yayki-l ha-l swu iss-nun
 that-thing-to toward-RL problem-AC talk-AC do-PRS way exist-RL
ke-kwu, ku-ke-ey tayhayse mal-i manh-aci-nun ke-ci.
 thing-and that-thing-to about word-NM many-become-RL that-SUP
kulenikkan, kule-n kes-chelem ttokkath-un ke-ya phisipang-to,
 therefore like.that-RL thing-like same-RL thing-INT PC.room-also

‘You know, be it video cafes or karaoke, people do not know what is wrong with them when they are at the peak of popularity. People only start talking about the problems when things are starting to settle down a bit. You know, it’s the same way for Internet cafes.’

In line 2, speaker A claims that although people once thought negatively about Internet cafes, they have become commonplace. In this utterance, he uses the word *calicapa* ‘to settle’ three times. The second time, it is in the phrase *calicapaka-ko iss-nun ke kath-ay* ‘I think it is becoming settled’, which includes *-kes kath-* with the politeness meaning. He then repeats the phrase, with the same meaning, but with the past tense suffix and without *-kes kath-*: ‘It has become settled’. Thus, speaker A first tries to implicitly deliver his thoughts by suggesting uncertainty about them, but then shows more certainty on the same point. However, speaker B disagrees with the opinion of A and says, ‘I think more than settling down, the Internet cafe culture is declining’ (line 3), using *-kes kath-*. Thus, the two examples of *-kes kath-* in (10) have different functions. In the first example, speaker A attempts to indirectly represent his/her opinion (line 2). On the other hand, in the second example, speaker B’s speech illustrates the use of *-kes kath-* to explicitly but politely express disagreement (line 3). Because this is an FTA, speaker B used the politeness function of *-kes kath-* as a hedging device to decrease the illocutionary force of his utterance.

It is common for people with different opinions to use various hedging devices to avoid direct confrontation, and the suffix *-kes kath-* is one of the most frequently used structures for this purpose.

2.4.3.3 In an ambiguous answer

The next politeness strategy used to save the negative face of a listener is to give an ambiguous answer. In example (11), speaker A heard that speaker B will come to A's place tomorrow and asks B to confirm the information. Speaker B cannot go to A's home because she needs to go to Chenan, where her grandmother lives.

(11)

1 A: 너 내일 집에 온대매? 아냐?
ne nayil cip-ey o-n-tay-may? an-ya?
you tomorrow home-at come-IN-DC-while not.be-INT
'I heard that you are coming [to my] home tomorrow? Aren't you?'

2→ B: 못 갈 거 같다.
mos ka-l ke kath-ta.
cannot go-PRS **KES KATH-DC**
'I **think** I can't go.'

3 A: 못 갈 거 같애? 농구 내일 농구 하기로 한 거야?
mos ka-l ke kath-ay? nongkwu nayil nongkwu
cannot go-PRS **KES KATH-INT** basketball tomorrow basketball
ha-ki-lo ha-n ke-ya?
do-NOM-DR do-RL thing-INT
'Do you **think** you can't go? Did you decide to play basketball tomorrow?'

4 B: 아는데, 천안 내려가야 되는데. 할머니 뵈기로 해 가지구
ani-ntey, chenan naylyeka-ya toy-nuntey. halmeni

no-but Chenan go.down-have.to become-but grandmother
poyp-ki-lo ha-y kaci-kwu
 see.SH-NOM-DR do-INF have-and
 ‘No, but I have to go to Chenan. Because I am supposed to go see my
 grandmother.’

Speaker B has already planned to go to her grandmother’s home and therefore cannot go to speaker A’s. Although her plans are definite, B applies the politeness meaning of *-kes kath-* to soften her speech act in line 2, *mos ka-l ke kath-ta* ‘I think I cannot go’, thereby mitigating the FTA through the use of ambiguous speech.

2.4.4 Intersubjectivity

According to Clark and Carlson (1982), the development of meanings that reveal recipient design in an explicit way is triggered by intersubjectification. “Recipient design” means adjusting the level of communication to suit the intended audience. Because speakers must design their utterances and recruit meaning for social deictic purposes, intersubjectification cannot exist without some amount of subjectification. Intersubjectification can be thought of as an extension of subjectification in the sense that both are part of a mechanism designed to recruit meanings to express and regulate beliefs, attitudes, and so on.

Benveniste (1971) defined subjectivity as the speaker’s attitude with regard to the statement the speaker is making, and intersubjectivity as a constituent of communication and an exchange between the speaker and addressee. Sanders and Spooren (1996) and Nuyts (2001) distinguished between subjectivity and intersubjectivity based on how

much personal responsibility the speaker assumes for the evaluation of the evidence for his/her utterance's content.

In Traugott's (1995) notion of subjectification, it is characterized by the conventionalization of pragmatic inferencing. Traugott and Dasher (2002) claimed that experience is determined by language and subjectivity, and so that objectivity can be considered as a matter of linguistic perspective. It then follows that subjectivity is a prerequisite to intersubjectivity, because the speaker's attitude toward interlocutors is a function of the perspective of the speaker. The resulting model of semantic change proposed by Traugott can be formulated in terms of a unidirectional cline: nonsubjective > subjective > intersubjective (p. 134). Traugott made a distinction between subjectification and intersubjectification based on whether the meanings are more centered on the speaker (subjectification) or on the addressee (intersubjectification). Suzuki (2006, p. 18) discussed the two types of modality in Japanese under the rubrics of subjectivity and intersubjectivity, as in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Comparison of Proposed Divisions of Modality (Suzuki, 2006, p. 18)

	Subjectivity	Intersubjectivity
Haga (1954)	<i>jutte</i> 'judgment' = the speaker's attitude toward the proposition	<i>dentatsu</i> 'communication' = the illocutionary force directed toward the addressee
Benveniste (1971)	<i>subjectivity</i> = the expression of "the attitude of the speaker with respect to the statement he is making"	<i>Intersubjectivity</i> = what constitutes communication as an exchange between the speaker and addressee

Sweetser (1990)	<i>epistemic domain</i> = the speaker's world of reasoning	<i>speech act domain</i> = the world of the conversational interaction
Maynard (2001)	<i>emotive place</i> = the speaker comes into focus	<i>interactional place</i> = the partner comes into focus

According to Portner (2009), the focus on the notions of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in cognitive and functional approaches to modality is their important contribution.

Functional linguists and cognitive linguists approach this issue from different angles. The functional linguists often have a pragmatics and/or sociolinguistics point of view, whereas the cognitive linguists associate modality with the conceptualization of a situation. The differences mainly arise from how one views the status of pragmatics. The functional approach adopts the conventional view on pragmatics and puts emphasis on meaning that results from the interplay of speakers, addressees, and context. To summarize, subjectivity and intersubjectivity both serve a role in expressing primary semantic or pragmatic meanings. The difference lies in the fact that subjectivity expresses the speaker's attitude or viewpoint while intersubjectivity expresses the speaker's attention to the addressee's self-image.

The four example conversations in (12–15) illustrate the notion of intersubjectivity and the politeness function of *-kes kath-*. In (12), two speakers, A and B, are friends and A is older than B. They are talking about the actor Matt Damon.

(12)

1 A: 맏데이먼 나오는데,
 maysteyimen nao-nuntey,

Matt Damon come.out-but
'Matt Damon appears (in the movie),'

2 B: 네.
ney.
yes
'Yes.'

3 A: 하버드. 우등생이잖아,
hapetu. wutungsayng-i-canh-a,
Harvard honor.student-be-you.know-INT
'Harvard. He is an honor student, you know'

4 B: 맏데이먼이요?
maysteyimen-i-yo?
Matt Damon-be-POL
'You mean Matt Damon?'

5 A: 어.
e.
yes
'Yes.'

6 B: 아 거기 안에서?
a keki an-eyse?
ah there inside-at
'Ah, in the movie?'

- 7 A: 아니 아니. 원래.
ani ani. wenlay.
 no no originally
 ‘No, no. Originally.’
- 8 B: 원래? 정말요?
wenlay? cengmal-yo?
 originally really-POL
 ‘Originally? Really?’
- 9 A: 그래서. 그 사람이 고백한 게. 토크쇼에 나와서 그때 고백하는데,
 내가 본 건 아니야,
kulayse. ku salam-i kopaykha-n ke-y. thokhusyo-ey
 so that person-NM confess-RL thing-NM talk.show-at
nawa-se ku-ttay kopaykha-nuntey, nay-ka po-n
 come.out-and.then that-time confess-and I-NM see-RL
ke-n ani-ya,
 that-TC not.be-INT
 ‘So, he confessed. He appeared on a talk show and confessed, although I
 did not watch the show,’
- 10 B: 네.
ney.
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 11 A: 본 건 아닌데, 그냥 들은 애긴데. 썬그라스 안 끼고 거리를
 확보해도 아무도 알아보는 사람이 없대.

po-n ke-n ani-ntey, kunyang tul-un yayki-ntey. ssenkulasu an
 see-RL that-TC not.be-but just hear-RL story-but sunglasses do.not
kki-ko keli-lul hwalpohay-to amwuto alapo-nun salam-i
 wear-and street-AC stride-though none recognize-RL person-NM
eps-tay.
 not.exist-HEARSAY
 ‘I didn’t see, I just heard. No one recognizes him even though he walks
 around on the street without sunglasses on.’

12 B: 왜요?
way-yo?
 why
 ‘Why?’

13 A: 그만큼 평범하게 생겼어.
ku-mankhum phyengpemha-key sayngky-ess-e.
 that-much ordinary-AD look-PST-INT
 ‘He looks that ordinary.’

14 B: 아
a
 ah
 ‘Ah’

15 A: 맏데이먼.
maysteyimen.
 Matt Damon
 ‘Matt Damon.’

16→ B: 왜 멋있 멋있는 거 같은데
way mesiss mesiss-nun ke kath-untey
 why handsome handsome-RL **KES KATH**-but
 ‘Why? Handsome, I **think** he is handsome.’

17 A: 그지?
ku-ci?
 that-SUP
 ‘Right?’

18 B: 예, 멋있는데,
yey, mesiss-nuntey,
 yes handsome-but
 ‘Yes, handsome, but,’

In line 11, speaker A states that she heard that when Matt Damon walks around on the street without his sunglasses, people cannot recognize him. Based on this evidence, A tries to express that the actor has ordinary looks (line 13), but B disagrees. Speaker B says, ‘Why? Handsome, I think he is handsome’ (line 16). The first part of this statement (‘Why? Handsome’) does not include *-kes kath-*. She then repeats herself, but adds *-kes kath-* (‘I think he is handsome’). If she does not intend to respect the self-image of the addressee, she does not need to repeat the same comment with the hedging expression of *-kes kath-*. After this speech of A, the attitude of B suddenly changes to agree with the idea that Matt Damon is good-looking (line 17). We can assume that speaker A notices the polite approach of B’s utterance through this progression of their conversation.

Therefore, speaker B shows an intersubjective attitude toward speaker A by using the politeness meaning of *-kes kath-* as an interactional function.

In (13), when A says that B's work seems hard, B replies that she actually really enjoys her job. Nevertheless, B mitigates her response with *-kes kath-* because her opinion is completely different from that of A. As a result, the politeness meaning of the expression *-kes kath-* is part of an interactional strategy, like mitigating and hedging.

(13) A: 일하는 거 힘들겠다.
il ha-nun ke himtul-keyss-ta.
work do-RL thing hard-may-DC
'It seems your work is hard.'

B: 아니야, 이 일 재미있는 거 같아.
ani-ya, i il caymi-iss-nun ke kath-a.
not.be-INT this work fun-be-RL **KES KATH-INT**
'No, I **think** this work is fun.'

In (14), A and B, who are close friends, are in a restaurant and are very hungry. While waiting for the two dishes they ordered, they decide they will also order *mandoo* soup. However, after they eat the first two dishes, A and B are full. A says that they ordered too much. Although they are both already convinced that they will not order soup, when B responds to A, B hedges her opinion with *-kes kath-* in case A may still want to eat more.

(14) A: 음식 양이 너무 많다.

umsik yang-i nemwu manh-ta.
 food quantity-NM too much-DC
 ‘The quantity of the food is too much.’

B: 배 불러서 만둣국은 안 먹어도 될 거 같아.

pay pwull-ese mandwu-kwuk-un an mek-eto toy-l
 stomach full-because mandoo-soup-TC not eat-though okay-PRS
kes kath-a.

KES KATH-INT

‘I **think** I don’t need to eat *mandoo* soup since I’m full.’

Example (15) is from a Korean 101 teachers’ meeting. When the teachers offer a teaching method or respond to another’s opinion, they often use *-kes kath-*, representing a polite attitude. Thus, in (15), although speaker B agrees with speaker A’s opinion, B uses *-kes kath-* for politeness. B’s comment does not diminish A’s idea, and A does not think that B is disagreeing.

(15) A: 이 선생님, 액티비티 이런 식으로 하는 게 나을 것 같아요.

Lee sensang-nim, eykthipithi ile-n sik-ulo ha-nun ke-y
 Lee teacher-HT activity like.this-RL way-to do-RL that-NM
na-ul ke kath-a.yo.

better-PRS **KES KATH-POL**

‘Teacher Lee, I **think** it’s better to do the activity this way.’

B: 저도 그게 좋을 것 같아요.

ce-to ku-ke-y coh-ul ke kath-a.yo.

I-also that-thing-NM good-PRS **KES KATH-POL**

‘I **think** so, too.’

The use of *-kes kath-* in politeness strategies conveys intersubjectivity, while the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-* expresses the speaker's strong subjectivity. Because the truth of the proposition in a sentence with the conjectural *-kes kath-* is in question, the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-* functions to support the speaker's judgment. In contrast, the proposition is true in a sentence that utilizes *-kes kath-* as a politeness strategy, and its usage therefore expresses the speaker's desire to show respect to the listener. In this way, greater intersubjectivity emerges in the interactional use of *-kes kath-*. The main idea of the politeness function of *-kes kath-* is communication with the listener, not the presentation of the speaker's stance toward the proposition. Therefore, subjectivity as a feature of conjectural *-kes kath-* develops into intersubjectivity as a feature of politeness *-kes kath-*.

CHAPTER 3

GRAMMATICALIZATION OF *-KES KATH-*

As seen in the last chapter, the meaning of the suffix *-kes kath-* has developed from similarity to conjecture to politeness. Therefore, in this chapter we are going to examine how the suffix *-kes kath-* has come to have these several meanings through various processes of grammaticalization.

3.1 The theory of grammaticalization

The main goal of this chapter is to investigate the historical development and shifting pragmatic functions of *-kes kath-*. The chapter's discussion is based on the grammaticalization framework suggested by Hopper and Traugott (1993). I will first discuss the theory of grammaticalization and how the structure and source for a grammar pattern are based on the changeable features of language before turning to the specific case of the suffix *-kes kath-*.

3.1.1 Definitions of grammaticalization

The first scholar who suggested the notion of grammaticalization was Meillet (1912, p. 131), who described grammaticalization as “the attribution of a grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word.” Another widely used definition of grammaticalization was provided by Kurylowicz (1965, p. 52): “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 format to an inflectional one.”

Many other scholars have since further developed the concept of grammaticalization. Traugott and Heine (1991, p. 1) defined grammaticalization as “the linguistic process, both through time and synchronically, of organization of categories and of coding.” Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. xv) suggested that grammaticalization is “the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions.”

From the perspective of historical linguistics, the notion of grammaticalization is gradually refined and then related to the process itself. A change in rules does not have to occur in distinct steps. Hopper and Traugott (1993) explained that although the historical linguistic approach to grammaticalization has mostly focused on the syntactic processes that grammatical markers can undergo, grammaticalization shows that the flow of communication is motivated by strategic interactions. Heine and Kuteva (2002, p. 2) pointed out that “grammaticalization is defined as the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms.” According to Lehmann’s (2004, p. 155) definition, the grammaticalization of a linguistic sign is a process in which it loses autonomy by becoming more subject to the constraints of the linguistic system.

3.1.2 Reanalysis and analogy

Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 71) characterized reanalysis as “rule change” and analogy as “rule generalization.” They recognized these two mechanisms of structural change, reanalysis and analogy, as co-constitutive processes of grammaticalization.

It is difficult to directly observe how forms change and develop through reanalysis. According to Langacker (1977, p. 58), reanalysis is defined as “change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation.” In addition, Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 50) explained that “the reanalysis itself is covert until some recognizable modification in the forms reveals it.” If reanalysis had not already occurred, there is no reason for surface changes or extensions to take place (Harris, 2003, p. 536).

On the other hand, analogy is clearly observable and can be explained as the use of a new form in previously incompatible situations. Hopper and Traugott (1993, p. 32) stated that analogy “modifies surface manifestations and in itself does not affect rule change, although it does affect rule spread either within the linguistic system itself or within the community.”

The two processes interact to form the major mechanism of grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 64) argued that “only reanalysis can create new grammatical structures, however, the role of analogy should not be underestimated in the study of grammaticalization.”

3.1.3 Unidirectionality

The notion of unidirectionality is one of the most important concepts to understand the theory of grammaticalization. Syntactic change (grammatical restructuring), semantic-pragmatic change (meaning shift), and optional phonological change are the three types of change that comprise grammaticalization. Unidirectionality means that these three types of change are correlated with each other and evolve gradually, following a similar path across languages with the changes moving in one direction but not in the reverse direction (Hopper & Traugott, 2003).

The first type of change that is characteristic of grammaticalization, syntactic change, usually moves from less bound to more bound. Givón (1979, p. 208) suggested the path of grammatical restructuring below:

discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero

This shows that discourse structures move toward becoming grammaticalized syntactic structures as time progresses. The processes of morphologization and lexicalization cause the syntactic structure to erode and eventually disappear. Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 107) proposed a slightly different way of characterizing syntactic change:

major category (> intermediate category) > minor category

In the second type of change that comprises grammaticalization, semantic-pragmatic change, the shift is from more objective to more subjective and from more concrete to more abstract. Created by Traugott (1982, p. 31) to explain the semantic-pragmatic element of grammaticalization, the cline below illustrates the direction of semantic change:

propositional > textual > expressive

As seen above, Traugott (1982, p. 248) identified three functional-semantic components in a linguistic system: the propositional (or “ideational”; Halliday & Hasan, 1976), the textual, and the expressive (or “interpersonal”; Halliday & Hasan, 1976). First, the propositional component provides the resources of language that make it possible to talk about something. Second, the textual component provides the resources needed to create a cohesive discourse such as connectives, anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns, and so on. Third, the expressive component provides the resources needed to express personal attitudes in speech situations.

In the final type of change, phonological shift tends to move toward reduction. According to Heine (1993, p. 106), “Once a lexeme is conventionalized as a grammatical marker, it tends to undergo erosion; that is, its phonological substance is likely to be reduced in some way and to become more dependent on surrounding phonetic material.” However, phonological change is not an essential attribute of grammaticalization (Lessau, 1994).

3.1.4 Conditions licensing grammaticalization

According to Sohn (1999b), across languages there are five major prerequisite conditions for grammaticalization to occur:

1. Semantic suitability
2. Typological salience
3. Syntagmatic contiguity
4. Frequency of use
5. Locality

The first condition, semantic suitability, is the most important. According to Traugott and Heine (1991), only a restricted set of lexical items within a restricted set of lexical fields are likely to be sources. According to Heine (1991), concrete objects, processes, or locations (in particular, the most elementary human experiences such as physical state, behavior, or immediate environment) are usually closely linked with the source concepts that enter into grammaticalization processes.

Second, grammaticalization is constrained by the typological salience of the language. As noted by Sohn (1999b) in reference to the Korean language, both a postposition-to-nominal case cline and a verb-to-honorific suffix cline have long been recognized.

The third condition, syntagmatic contiguity, means that forms must be contiguous if they are to merge and form a grammatical element.

The fourth condition, frequency of use, simply means that the form needs to be frequently used to be grammaticalized. Hopper and Traugott (1993) argued that how grammatical a given form is depends on how frequently the form occurs in texts, because frequency can show a kind of generalization in use patterns.

Last, locality refers to the way that pragmatic or semantic shifts arise in certain syntactic slots.

3.1.5 Principles of grammaticalization

Hopper (1991, p. 22) proposed five principles that underlie the emergence of grammatical forms at the incipient stages:

1. Layering: “Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers.”
2. Divergence or split: “When a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization to a clitic, or affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element and undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical items.”
3. Specialization: “Within a functional domain, at one stage a variety of forms with different semantic nuances may be possible; as grammaticization takes place, this variety of formal choices narrows and the smaller number of forms selected assume more general grammatical meanings.”
4. Persistence: “When a form undergoes grammaticization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution.”
5. De-categorization: “Forms undergoing grammaticalization tend to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of the full categories Noun and Verb, and to assume attributes characteristic of secondary categories such as Adjective, Participle, Preposition, etc.” For instance, according to Sohn (1999b), verbs cannot assign theta roles to arguments or be inflected for tense, aspect, and mood when they grammaticalize to affixes.

In this section, I have provided brief descriptions of the previous studies on grammaticalization. In general, there must be more than one factor for language change to occur. The processes that lead to variation in linguistic phenomena are the result of grammar, semantic change, phonological attrition, and pragmatics, with these elements working in coordination. Therefore, the theory of grammaticalization provides a useful descriptive framework to examine the linguistic features of *-kes kath-* in this study.

3.2 Grammaticalization of *-kes kath-*

The suffix *-kes kath-* consists of two parts: the defective noun *kes* and the adjective *kath-*. Before investigating the developmental process of *-kes kath-*, the main function and meaning of each part, *kes* and *kath-*, will be examined.

3.2.1 Historical development of *kes*

Sohn (1999a) explained that the defective noun *kes* ‘fact, thing, event’ can function as a demonstrative, a clause, or a noun in all cases or be preceded by them. He also explained that in cases when the defective noun *kes* is used as the head of relative clauses, they often behave as if they do not have a head semantically.

The six definitions of the defective noun *kes* in the National Institute of the Korean Language’s *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (2008) are discussed below, with the example sentences in (16–21) provided in the dictionary.

First, *kes* is an abstract term for a thing, object, matter, or phenomenon:

- (16) a. 먹을 것
 mek-ul kes

eat-PRS thing
'things to eat'

b. 좋은 것

coh-un kes
good-RL thing
'good thing'

c. 고래가 물고기가 아니라는 것은 분명한 사실이다.

kolay-ka mwulkoki-ka ani-la-nun kes-un pwunmyengha-n sasil-i-ta.
whale-NM fish-NM not be-PLN-RL fact-TC obvious-RL fact-be-DC
'It is clear that whales are not fish.'

Second, *kes* can be used for animals or as a derogatory term for people:

(17) a. 새파란 것이 어른에게 대든다.

say-phala-n kes-i elun-eykey taytu-n-ta.
vivid-blue-RL thing-NM adult-to defy-IN-DC
'Younger people defy elder people.'

b. 오늘 태어난 강아지 중에서 점무늬 있는 것이 제일 예쁘다.

onul thayena-n kangaci cwung-eyse cemmwunuy iss-nun kes-i
today be born-RL puppy among-from spotted have-RL thing-NM
ceyil yeyppu-ta.
most pretty-DC
'Among the puppies born today, the spotted one is the prettiest.'

Third, *kes* can be used after a noun or pronoun to indicate that something belongs to particular person:

(18) a. 이 우산은 언니 것이다.
i wusan-un enni kes-i-ta.
 this umbrella-TC older.sister thing-be-DC
 ‘This umbrella is my elder sister’s.’

b. 내 것은 만지지 마.
nay kes-un manci-ci ma.
 my thing-TC touch-NOM do.not.do
 ‘Do not touch mine.’

Fourth, *-nun/un kes-ita* is an expression representing one’s confidence, decision, or determination:

(19) a. 담배는 건강에 해로운 것이다.
tampay-nun kenkang-ey haylow-un kes-i-ta.
 tobacco-TC health-to harmful-RL kes-be-DC
 ‘Tobacco is harmful to the health.’

b. 분명, 좋은 책은 좋은 독자가 만드는 것이다.
pwunmyeng, coh-un chayk-un coh-un tokca-ka mantu-nun kes-i-ta.
 obviously good-RL book-TC good-RL reader-NM make-RL kes-be-DC
 ‘Obviously, good books are made by good readers.’

Fifth, *-l/lul kes-ita* is an expression representing one's outlook, speculation, or subjective belief:

- (20) a. 이 제품은 틀림없이 인기를 끌 것이다.
i ceyphwum-un thullim-eps-i inki-lul kku-l kes-i-ta.
this product-TC mistake-lack-AD popularity-AC attract-PRS thing-be-DC
'This product will surely be popular.'
- b. 내일은 날씨가 좋을 것이다.
nayil-un nalssi-ka coh-ul kes-i-ta.
tomorrow-TC weather-NM good-PRS thing-be-DC
'The weather will be good tomorrow.'

Sixth, *-l/lul kes* is a phrasal ending that denotes a command or instructions:

- (21) a. 공사 중이니 주의할 것.
kongsa cwung-ini cwuuyha-l kes.
construction among-because careful-PRS thing
'Be careful because there is ongoing construction.'
- b. 손을 깨끗이 씻을 것.
son-ul kkaykkus-i ssis-ul kes.
hand-AC cleanness-AD wash-PRS thing
'Wash hands thoroughly.'

Several recent studies have discussed the historical change of *kes*. As for the source of *kes*, Hong (1983) suggested that it developed from *kes/kas/kach*, which formerly meant ‘thing, skin, surface’. In this regard, the form encoding the concept of ‘skin, surface’ of a thing extended its use to refer to the thing itself, a case of synecdoche. Incidentally, Modern Korean has a form *keth* meaning ‘skin, fur, surface, appearance’, whose pronunciation is identical with that of *kes* in many phonological environments.

Besides the nominalizer *kes*, both *-(u)m* and *-ki* are widely used as nominalizers. They appear in historical documents, showing how their functions and usages have changed. Historical records illustrate how the distribution of these nominalizers has shifted from the fifteenth century to the present time.

During the fifteenth century, *-(u)m* was widely found in documents, while *-ki* was rarely used. Syntactically, *-(u)m* has the function of a noun (conceptual thinking) and *-ki* expresses the meaning of movement (materialization), meaning that *-(u)m* could be used more than *-ki*.

According to Seo (2002), the nominalizer *-ki* began to appear from the sixteenth century, and as a result, the usage of *-(u)m* decreased while that of *-ki* expanded. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both nominalizers, *-(u)m* and *-ki*, coexisted and were often used in similar contexts. Even though *-(u)m* and *-ki* maintained a coordinate relationship from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, their functions have clearly separated. By the nineteenth century, each nominalizer had different syntactic properties. Therefore, while the historical documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have more examples of *-(u)m* than *-ki*, the frequency of the use of *-ki* is higher than that of *-(u)m* in the modern-day Korean language. Moreover, the use of *-nun/un/ul*

kes has also recently increased, with this form taking the place of the nominalizers *-(u)m* and *-ki*.

	Old Korean 14 th c.	Middle Korean 15 th c.–16 th c.	Early Modern Korean 17 th c.–19 th c.	Modern Korean 20 th c.
<i>-l</i>	Dark Grey	Light Grey		
<i>-n</i>	Dark Grey	Light Grey		
<i>-i</i>	Dark Grey			
<i>-m</i>		Dark Grey	Dark Grey	Dark Grey
<i>-ki</i>		Light Grey	Dark Grey	Dark Grey
<i>-ti</i>		Light Grey	Dark Grey	
<i>-ci</i>		Light Grey	Dark Grey	Dark Grey
<i>-kes</i>		Light Grey	Dark Grey	Dark Grey

Figure 3. Diachronic development of Korean nominalizers. Adapted from Rhee (2008, p. 241).

According to Rhee (2008), among the most frequently discussed nominalizers, *-l*, *-m*, *-n*, *-i*, *-ki*, *-ti*, *-ci*, and *-kes*, there has been a change in productivity. For instance, until the beginning of the twentieth century, *-m* was the most productive. However, *-ki* became dominant after this time. In Modern Korean, *-kes* has become predominant over *-m* and *-ki*. Moreover, Horie (2000) discovered that *kes* is semantically flexible in that, while it originated as a lexical noun, it represents both a concrete object and abstract matter. This semantic flexibility enables it to encode both “event” and “proposition” complements.

Park (2000) discussed how the distribution of *kes* has expanded from a diachronic perspective. At the phonological level, from the nineteenth century the final consonant /s/ in *kes* began to be deleted. Some example forms are given in (22).

- (22) *i kes* → *i ke* *i kes i* → *i key*
 this thing this thing NM

In the twentieth century, this contraction has come to be used more frequently, and the function of *kes* has changed. In Park's (2000) study, which looks at *kes* from the semantic perspective, the function of *kes* of referring to concrete objects expanded to include the function of indicating abstract objects or persons. Furthermore, once that shift had occurred, *kes* could be used to explain a fact, situation, or behavior and additionally represent the meaning of possibility and intention. According to Sohn (1999a), as can be seen in sentence (23) in the clause translated as 'a tank going', *kes* serves a syntactic role of the head nominal of the relative clause and is also coreferential with the whole relative clause. However, when *kes* is used in this way it does not contain any semantic meaning. In (24), *kes* is used in such a way that it does not refer to the whole preceding clause (which is translated as 'the thief coming out of the bank'). Because the thief is the one who is caught, *kes* in this sentence can be equated with *totwuk* 'thief' in the relative clause. This suggests that an incorporation of the nominal head into the relative clause has occurred. (23) and (24) are from Sohn (1999a, p. 313).

- (23) *Minho nun [thayngkhu ka ka-nu]-n kes ul po-ass-e.*
 Minho TC tank NM go-IN-RL fact AC see-PST-INT
 'Minho saw a tank going.'

- (24) *ne-n [totwuk i unhayng eyes nao-nu]-n kes ul cap-ass-ni?*
 you-TC thief NM bank from exist-IN-RL AC catch-PST-Q

‘Did you catch the thief coming out of the bank?’

Sohn (1999a) also mentioned that the verb is always used as a copula and the pronominal *kes* is often used for clefting. Rhee (2008) stated that the usage of *kes* in modern Korean is unique in the sense that it stands out as the most common, versatile, and abstract nominalizer when compared to other nominalizing morphemes, which have more specialized functions.

3.2.2 Historical development of *kath-*

The adjective *kath-* ‘same’ plays a crucial role in the meaning conveyed by *-kes kath-*. In this section, I explore the historical development of the adjective *kath-* in order to study the progression of change of *-kes kath-*.

According to the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (National Institute of the Korean Language, 2008), there are four definitions of the adjective *kath-ta*, which are discussed in turn below. The example sentences in (25–28) are provided by the same dictionary.

First, *kath-* is used for situations that do not exhibit difference:

- (25) 우리는 고향이 서로 같다.
 wuli-nun kohyang-i selo kath-ta.
 we-TC hometown-NM each other same-DC
 ‘We have the same hometown.’

Second, *kath-* is used for situations in which two things are being compared and show no difference, as shown in (26a). It can also take the form of (26b).

- (26) a. 백옥 같은 피부
paykok kath-un phipwu
 white jade same-RL skin
 ‘skin like white jade’
- b. 우리 선생님 같은 분은 세상에 또 없을 거야.
wuli sensayng-nim kathun pwun-un seysang-ey tto eps-ul
 we teacher-HT same-RL person-TC world-at also not.have-PRS
ke-ya.
 thing-INT
 ‘There will be no one like our teacher in the world.’

Third, it is used only as a stand-alone when preceded by a noun. When written as *kath-umyen*, it carries the meaning of ‘if’ as in (27a).

Also, *kath-un* is used between the same nouns to mean ‘a reasonable basis’ as in (27b). *Kath-ase(nun)* can also be used after nouns like ‘mind’ or ‘thought’ to represent the desire to follow one’s present idea or a circumstance that cannot be realized in one’s real life as in (27c).

Next, *kath-ase(nun)* is used after nouns indicating time to represent that something happened and that the situation persists at the time of utterance. However, the person does not want the situation to continue, as in (27d).

Lastly, *kath-uni(lako)* is used after invective uttered to oneself and indicates the end of the word as in (27e).

- (27) a. 맑은 날 같으면 남산이 보일 텐데 오늘은 흐려서 보이지 않는다.
malk-un nal kath-umyen namsan-i po-i-l theyntey
 clear-RL day same-if south.mountain-NM see-CAS-PRS supposedly
onul-un huly-ese po-i-ci anh-nun-ta.
 today-TC cloudy-because see-CAS-NOM not.do-IN-DC
 ‘Even though we can see Nam Mountain on a clear day, we cannot see it today because it is cloudy today.’
- b. 말 같은 말을 해야지.
mal kath-un mal-ul ha-yya-ci
 word same-RL word-AC say-have.to-SUP
 ‘Stop talking nonsense.’
- c. 마음 같아서는 물에 뛰어 들고 싶은데
maum kath-ase-nun mwul-ey ttwietul-ko siph-untey
 heart same-because-TC water-at jump-NOM want-but
 ‘I feel like jumping into the water.’
- d. 요즘 같아서는 살맛이 안 난다.
yocum kath-ase-nun sa-l- mas-i an na-n-ta.
 these.days same-because-TC live-PRS taste-NM do.not rise-IN-DC
 ‘I do not feel like living anymore in a situation like this.’
- e. 몹쓸 놈 같으니
mopssul nom kath-uni.
 bad person same-because
 ‘What a bad guy.’

Fourth, *kath-* is used after *n/nun kes* or *l/el kes* for representing conjecture or an uncertain conclusion:

- (28) 비가 올 것 같다.
pi-ka o-l kes kath-ta.
 rain-NM come-PRS fact same-DC
 ‘It seems like it will rain.’

Ahn (2007) illustrated the meaning change of the adjective *kath-* in present day Korean. Ahn’s findings are reproduced in Figure 4.

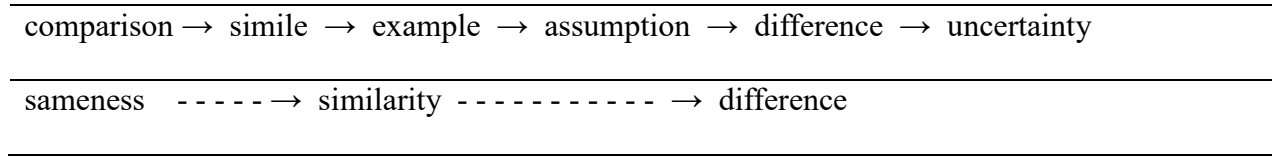
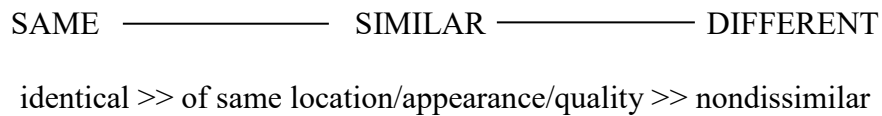


Figure 4. The meaning of *kath-* in contemporary Korean (Ahn, 2007, p. 452)

According to Ahn (2007), in Middle Korean, the comparative use (similarity) of *kath-* was frequent, whereas the speculative use (possibility) was rare. In Modern Korean, however, the speculative function (possibility) of *kath-* began to appear more often. It not only asserts a supposition, but also addresses the speaker’s intention. In terms of diachronic aspects, *kath-*, which was once used only in comparative sentences (similarity), has picked up the modal function of representing ambiguity in present day Korean.

I will now examine the meaning change of *kath*, which is similar to the semantic shift of *-kes kath-*. Rhee (2005, p. 91) presented an analysis of the newly emerging adverbial meanings of *kath* with the diagram reproduced below:



Rhee (2005) illustrated the uses of the verb *kath-* for conveying both ‘identicalness’ and ‘similarity’ senses. Although both are found in historical and contemporary data, he argued that the use of *kath-* to indicate ‘identicalness’ preceded its use to denote ‘similarity’ for two reasons. First, the usage to express ‘identicalness’ is more frequently found in historical data. Second, there are fewer syntactic constraints on the form when it is used for ‘identicalness’.

Kim (2009) discussed the diachronic development of the syntactic affix *kath-*. She explained the change in function and meaning, from similarity to qualification, that began to occur in the sixteenth century. The concessive *kath-* appeared in the eighteenth century, and the conjectural *kath-* appeared in the nineteenth century. It was not until the twentieth century that the modality function of *kath-* began to appear. As seen above, *kath-* has undergone a number of changes historically; the grammaticalization of *kath-* is still an ongoing process.

3.2.3 Grammaticalization path of *-kes kath-*

In Middle Korean, the defective noun *kes* and the adjective *kath-* were used individually. According to Park (2000, p. 218), there is evidence that *-kes kath-* as a sentence ending

began to emerge in the nineteenth century. Evidence of the combination of *kes* with *kath-* was found in a nineteenth century historical document.

Rhee (2005) discussed the use of *kes* in the sentence ending *-kes kath-*. Here, *kes* ‘thing’ is used as a semantically bleached defective noun, which is modified by a preceding relative clause. This embedded clause becomes the main clause while *-kath* becomes a sentential modal ending, representing the speaker’s modal attitude toward the proposition. In *-kes kath-*, *kes* functions as the complementizer. The use of both *kes* as a complementizer and *-kes kath-* have been around since the nineteenth century.

The question of why *-kes kath-* only began to appear in the nineteenth century has been addressed in several studies. Chronologically, in documents from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century, *wa/kwa*, the comitative case marker, was used earlier than *kath-*. *Kwa* and *wa* alternate, the former occurring after a consonant and the latter after a vowel, but only when they have the meaning ‘and, with’. During the same historical period, *-keskwa kath-* only occurs with the similarity meaning.

First, I will review the historical data used for investigating nineteenth century Korean. Ahn (2007) examined the functional meaning and frequency of *kath-* in three historical texts: *Swunchen-kimssi-enkan* (1565), *Hantjunglok* (1795), and *Thyenloy-ekthyeng* (1894). His findings are displayed in Tables 3 and 4 below.

Table 3

The Meaning and Frequency of kath- in Middle Korean (Ahn, 2007, p. 460)

Meaning	Comparison	Similarity	Exemplification	Concessive	Conjectural	Total
Tokens in <i>Swunchen-kimssi-enkan</i>	4/18 (22.22%)	12/18 (66.66%)	2/18 (11.11%)	0	0	18/18 (100%)

Ahn found that in Middle Korean, the frequency of the similarity function of *kath-* is significantly higher than the frequency of the other two functions that were found, comparison and exemplification. The sentence ending *-kes kath-* did not occur at all.

Table 4

The Meaning and Frequency of kath- in Early Modern Korean (Ahn, 2007, p. 462)

Meaning	Comparison	Similarity	Exemplification	Concessive	Conjectural	Total
Tokens in <i>Han-tyunglok</i>	28/181 (15.46%)	136/181 (75.13%)	5/181 (2.76%)	12/181 (6.29%)	0/181	181/181 (100%)
Tokens in <i>Thyenloy-ekthyeng</i>	7/72 (9.72%)	57/72 (79.16%)	1/72 (1.38%)	1/72 (1.38%)	6/72 (8.33%)	72/72 (100%)

As seen in Tables 3 and 4, while the similarity meaning of *kath-* is the use most commonly observed in historical documents, when *kath-* appears in these documents as part of *-kes kath-*, it always has either the concessive or the comitative meaning.

Although both documents are representative of nineteenth century Korean, *Hant'unglok* (1795) was written earlier than *Thyenloy-ekthyeng* (1894). No examples of the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-* appear in *Hant'unglok*. On the other hand, there are six occurrences of the conjectural *-kes kath-* in *Thyenloy-ekthyeng*, illustrating that within this roughly hundred-year period, a new usage of *-kes kath-* emerged. Some examples of sentences with *-kes kath-* from nineteenth century Korean data appear in (29). These sentences, cited in Ahn (2007), are taken from *Chenloyek, sang* and *Chenloyek, ha* (1894).

- (29) a. *pok.kuy-ka nwun ey po-y-ci ani-hA-lcilato po-y-nAn*
 pokkuy-NM eye in see-PAS-NOM no-do-although see-PAS-RL
keskAsch-i nyek-ye
KES KATH-PL consider-so
 ‘Although I do not see Pokkuy, I **feel like** I see her.’
 (*Chenloyek, ha*, 1894, cited in Ahn, 2007)
- b. *kAlAtAi calmos al-as-ta kesh-ulo*
 say in a wrong way know-PST-DC outside-with
po-ki-ey-nAn coh-un keskAsh-una
 see-NOM-on-TC good-RL **KES KATH-but**
 ‘Although it **seems** good externally, I realized I was wrong.’
 (*Chenloyek, sang*, 1894, cited in Ahn, 2007)

In the sentence in (29a), the speaker feels as if s/he sees Pokkuy even though the speaker does not. The speaker uses the similarity meaning of *-kes kath-* to describe this feeling. In the sentence in (29b), the speaker realizes that s/he was wrong although the matter being

discussed looks fine externally. In this case, *-kes kath-* represents the conjectural meaning.

I have already discussed the pragmatic functions of *-kes kath-* from a synchronic perspective in Chapter 2, but here, I will briefly review the meanings of *-kes kath-* in Modern Korean. First, the simile meaning of *-kes kath-* relies on the abstract notion of similarity derived from the meaning of ‘sameness’ conveyed by the adjective *kath-*. In (30), the speaker uses *-kes kath-* to express the intensity of his/her feelings through an exaggerated comparison. In (31), the speaker tries to describe how dark it is with a simile using *-kes kath-*.

(30) 너무 걱정돼서 심장이 터져 버릴 것 같다.

nemwu kekcengtoy-se simcang-i they-e peli-l kes kath-ta.

very worry-because heart-NM burst-IN throw-PRS **KES KATH-DC**

‘It **seems like** my heart will burst because I’m so worried.’

(31) 캄캄하니깐 우리 고래 뱃속에 있는 거 같다.

kkamkkamha-nikkan wuli kolay pays-sok-e iss-nu-n ke kath-ta.

dark-because we whale stomach-inside-at exist-IN-RL **KES KATH-DC**

‘It **seems like** I’m inside a whale since it is so dark.’

Next, in (32), the speakers use conjectural *-kes kath-* because they do not know exactly what tomorrow’s weather will be.

(32) A: 내일 날씨가 어떨 거 같아?

nayil nalssi-ka ette-l ke kath-a?

tomorrow weather-NM how-PRS **KES KATH-INT**

‘How is the weather **looking** tomorrow?’

B: 내일 눈이 올 께 같아.

nayil nwun-i o-l kke kath-a.

tomorrow snow-NM come-PRS **KES KATH-INT**

‘It **might** snow tomorrow.’

Example (33) illustrates another use, when a doctor (B) delivering a diagnosis of cancer uses *-kes kath-* in an attempt to mitigate the harshness of his words.

(33) A: 의사 선생님, 무슨 병입니까?

uysa sensayng-nim, mwusun pyeng-i-p-ni-kka?

doctor sir-HT what disease-be-AH-IN-Q

‘Sir, what disease is it?’

B: 암인 것 같습니다.

am-i-n kes kath-sup-ni-ta.

cancer-be-RL **KES KATH-AH-IN-DC**

‘**I think** it’s a cancer.’

As these examples illustrate, the usage of *-kes kath-* in contemporary Korean exhibits the different functions of simile (30)–(31), conjecture (32), and politeness (33).

As can be seen from these brief examples, *-kes kath-* has undergone diversification. In the discussion that follows, I will use the framework of grammaticalization to examine the different stages and the functional meanings of *-kes*

kath-. I will investigate the grammaticalization of *-kes kath-* in terms of semantics, syntax, and phonology.

First, unidirectional semantic change during grammaticalization is toward increased abstractness. Traugott's (1982, 1989) cline shows that semantic shifts move from concrete to abstract: propositional > textual > expressive. (34) illustrates this cline with *-kes kath-*:

(34) **Function and meaning shift of *-kes kath-***

similarity: objective (propositional) >

conjectural: subjective (textual) >

politeness: intersubjective (expressive)

As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, as the similarity meaning of *-kes kath-* expands to take on the conjectural meaning, the form's ability to express subjectivity emerges because the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-* contains the speaker's judgment toward the proposition. As such, the concept of objectivity has disappeared from the meaning. The next shift occurs when speakers use *-kes kath-*, even when they are presenting information about which they are certain and confident, in order to express politeness. The politeness meaning of *-kes kath-* conveys expressive features, showing the interactional function (intersubjectivity).

Second, unidirectional grammatical change follows the cline suggested by Givón (1979, p. 209): discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero. Syntactic restructuring follows these paths: major category (> intermediate category) > minor category (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 107). According to Bybee (1985), a parallel cline

starts with a lexical verb and develops into an auxiliary and an affix: full verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix. Hopper and Traugott (2003) also mentioned that auxiliary-like or adverbial status can form as a result of an original verbal construction downgrading. In (35), the syntactic path of *-kes kath-* is demonstrated.

(35) **Syntactic path of *-kes kath-***

nominalizer *kes* + comitative *wa/kwa* + main adjective *kath-* >
 complementizer *kes* + [omission of comitative *wa/kwa*] + auxiliary
 adjective *kath-* >
 defunct complementizer *kes* + suffix *kath-*

There are three major stages of the syntactic change of *-kes kath-*. The first stage can be called the main adjective construction, which consists of the nominalizer *kes*, *wa/kwa*, and the main adjective *kath-*, whose original function was to express identicalness, meaning that two compared items are exactly same. Through a grammaticalization process, the concept of identicalness extended to similarity. At this stage, the construction denotes the objective perspective of a speaker toward the proposition, and the main adjective *kath-* functions as a direct speech act. Next, the second stage is an auxiliary construction, which is composed of the complementizer *kes* and the auxiliary adjective *kath-*, without the comitative *wa/kwa*. At this stage, the auxiliary adjective *kath-* conveys a meaning of conjecture, functions as a direct speech act, and delivers the proposition from a subjective perspective, which is the same as a speaker-proposition perspective. Lastly, the third stage can be called a suffixal construction, which includes two elements, the defunct complementizer *kes* and the suffix *kath-*. The suffix *kath-* represents largely a politeness function from the pragmatic aspect and expresses the intersubjective

perspective, which is a speaker-addressee perspective. In addition, the suffix *kath-* here performs an indirect speech act with a hedging function. All three stages coexist in contemporary Korean. Furthermore, the process of change is still ongoing.

Lastly, the unidirectional phonological cline often leads to reduction. As I mentioned above, Heine (1993, p. 106) explained that “once a lexeme is conventionalized as a grammatical marker, it tends to undergo erosion; that is, its phonological substance is likely to be reduced in some way and to become more dependent on surrounding phonetic material.” However, according to Lessau (1994), grammaticalization does not necessarily entail phonological reduction. (36) shows the phonological reduction of *-kes kath-*.

(36) **Phonological change of *-kes kath-***

-keskwa kath- > *-kes kath-* > *-ke kath-* / *-kke kath-*

As mentioned earlier, *kes* is reduced to *ke*. However, this phonological decrease does not occur in *-keskwa kath-*. After *kwa* is deleted, *-kes kath-* changes to *-ke kath-*. Another form, *-kke kath-*, is found only in some occurrences of the prospective expression *-l-kes kath-*.

CHAPTER 4

INFERENCEAL EVIDENTIAL MODAL MARKER *-KES KATH-*

In this chapter, first, I will examine the relationship between epistemic modality and evidentiality, briefly introducing and presenting the major research on each of these notions including the background, the types of subcategories, and especially research dealing with epistemic modality and evidentiality in Korean. I will also present example conversations that demonstrate how *-kes kath-* functions as an epistemic modal to express politeness, and as an evidential to indicate information source.

4.1 Epistemic modality

According to Halliday (1985), modality represents the self-perceived probabilities or obligations involved in what the speaker is saying. Specifying the relevance of a proposition in modal terms may cause it to become arguable.

Modality can be categorized in various ways. According to Lyons (1977) and Palmer (1986), two widely accepted subcategories are epistemic modality and deontic modality. Palmer claimed that the division of modality into deontic and epistemic is justified because epistemic and deontic meanings are expressed by separate forms in many unrelated languages. Palmer (2001) also explained propositional modality and event modality. The former illustrates the attitude of the speaker concerning the status of a proposition, which suggests that epistemic modality is one type of propositional modality. The latter refers to events that are not actualized, making it both deontic and dynamic. Epistemic modals show possibility or necessity. Modals can indicate the

inference involved in the process of drawing the conclusion of the sentence that contains the modal. Yet epistemic modals do not always involve inference, reasoning, or evidence. On the contrary, deontic modals represent how the world should be based on certain norms, expectations, the speaker's desire, and so on. Bybee and Fleischman (1995) argued that deontic modality can be divided into agent-oriented and speaker-oriented categories. Agent-oriented modality includes every modal meaning that asserts conditions on an agent regarding the completion of an action that the main predicate refers to such as obligation, desire, ability, permission, and root possibility. Speaker-oriented modality consists of markers of directives that constitute speech acts that a speaker uses to encourage the addressee to perform some action. Examples of speaker-oriented modality include imperatives, optatives, and permissives. Elliott (2000) explained that convergence between the category of modality and the more weakly defined category of reality status often occurs in the literature. Reality status can be defined semantically, as distinguishing between propositions describing events grounded in perceived reality (realis) and propositions describing events that only exist as a conceptual idea, thought, or hypothetical notion (irrealis). Sweetser (1990) argued that good historical and sociolinguistic reasons exist to consider the epistemic use of modals as an extension of a more basic root (i.e., deontic) meaning. Sweetser's argument, in essence, consists of the idea that modals do not have two distinct types of uses and meanings (the traditional epistemic vs. deontic contrast). Rather, she argued, these two meanings are related in a systematic way. Sweetser claimed that the historical development of modal meanings originated from a purely nonmodal usage denoting a kind of force, then evolved to express the root/deontic meaning, and finally gained the epistemic use.

Among the categories of modality, I will focus on epistemic modality. According to Aijmer (1980), a speaker's evidence for or degree of certainty about a proposition are expressed by epistemic quantifiers. Palmer (2001) stated that epistemic modality implies different degrees of certainty regarding a proposition's truth (e.g., necessity: *must*, *cannot*; probability: *will*, *would*, *should*; possibility: *may*, *could*) and is closely related to the speaker's or writer's assessment of the communicated proposition. Bybee (1985) and Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) essentially treated modality as a diachronic notion. As an example, Bybee (1985) used the terms "agent-oriented modality" and "deontic modality" interchangeably. Bybee and Fleischman (1995) argued that modality can be considered as adding a supplement or overlay to the factual or declarative value of the proposition of an utterance, which is the most neutral semantic value. They went on to argue that epistemic modality can be understood as the expression of the degree of a speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition contained in an utterance. Langacker (1991) explained that the natural evolution of events in the world is related to the idea of potency associated with epistemic modality. When the speaker assumes the role of primary conceptualizer, he/she is in charge of assessing the probability of reality evolving in a certain direction. Nuyts (2001) claimed that the epistemic category can be defined as the likelihood of a certain hypothetical situation under consideration occurring in the past, present, or future. Gotti (2003) explained that the function of the deductive is to assert that there is only one possible conclusion that can be drawn from observable facts, while the function of the predictive is to suggest a possible conclusion or a reasonable explanation based on generally known facts.

Epistemic modality is related to two areas: possibility and necessity. The former is referred to as weak epistemic modality while the latter is referred to as strong epistemic modality. Both possibility and necessity represent the speaker's commitment to the truthfulness of what he/she is saying. The speaker's level of commitment is proportional to the strength of the epistemic modal he/she uses.

4.2 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is a grammatical category that exists in some languages and indicates the source of information based on the evidence that the speaker has collected. How the speaker obtains the evidence on which a statement is based is represented by this linguistic system. Until the late nineteenth century, most linguists focused on Indo-European languages, which have no grammaticalized information source. Thus, the concept of evidentiality had not appeared in linguistics. Some pre-twentieth century grammatical descriptions of languages with obligatory evidentials, such as Quechua and Aymara, reveal that the meaning of evidentials as markers of an information source is consistently overlooked by grammarians with Indo-European language backgrounds. Aikhenvald (2004) explained that early descriptions considered evidential markers as suffixes of adornment and emphasis or ornate particles with no meaning of their own.

Boas (1938) was the first to identify that the information source is an obligatory category in some languages, showing the function of four evidential suffixes in Kwakiutl. Jakobson defined the concept of evidential in a more specific way. He coined the term "evidential" to represent a grammatical category that is broader than simple inference (Jakobson, 1971). Since then, linguists have been investigating evidentials as a separate

category. According to Givón (1982), evidential systems are related to the details of the source of evidence that the speaker/writer has access to. In some systems, there can be various verbal and nonverbal markers that represent the attitude of the speaker or writer toward the reliability of the information. For example, Barnes (1984) reported a morpheme in the Tuyuca language that expresses how a speaker has obtained the information: whether s/he has personally seen it, has heard it or perceived it through some other sense, has inferred it, has learned it from someone else, or has concluded that it is reasonable to assume. Bybee (1985) also agreed that evidentials could reasonably be defined as markers that represent something about the source of the information contained in a proposition. Palmer (1986) claimed that evidentiality can be considered a subcategory of epistemic modality, and Chafe and Nichols (1986) explained the close relationship between evidential markers—expressions of the source of information—and how old and new knowledge are distinguished. Willett (1988) further elucidated that the study of evidentiality, which indicates the source of information on which the reliability of speaker's knowledge is based, has come to focus on the grammatical category of evidentiality across languages as a result of consensus. Aikhenvald (2004) defined evidentiality as the way speakers' expression of their own awareness of truth based on the knowledge of the information source relates to linguistic systems.

According to Aikhenvald (2004), of particular importance is whether the speaker's information comes from direct knowledge sources (the speaker has actually witnessed, heard, tasted, felt, or otherwise directly perceived something) or indirect sources (inference, hearsay).

Evidentiality research has recently expanded to include interactional meaning. Hill and Irvine (1993) examined the dialogic and socio-interactional meanings of evidentiality. They focused on the function of evidential markers in interaction. Fox (2001) claimed that most of the studies done on the topic of evidentiality in social interaction only focus on evidence in general and not on grammatical evidential markings. From her distinctive perspective, she explained how it is possible to understand evidentiality by taking a close look at how evidential marking in English indexes social meanings of authority, responsibility, and entitlement and thus how they respond to the social relationship between the speaker and the recipient. Clift (2006) focused on a nongrammaticalized form of evidentiality, the use of reported speech in interaction, as a means to examine the indexing of epistemic stance.

Evidentiality systems differ from each other in terms of the number of information sources encoded and how these are marked. According to De Haan (2006), there are two main domains of evidentiality systems: direct evidentials and indirect evidentials. Direct evidentials are used when the speaker is fairly confident about the action or event he/she is describing due to the existence of some kind of sensory evidence. Normally, such sensory evidence can include visual evidence (a direct evidential) and/or auditory evidence (a nonvisual sensory evidential). On the other hand, indirect evidentials are used when the speaker did not actually witness the event but learned about it afterwards. There are two broad subcategories of indirect evidentials: inferential and quotative. When the speaker draws a conclusion based on available physical evidence, inferential evidentials are used. When the speaker learns about the

action or event by hearing about it from another person, quotatives (also called reportatives, hearsay, or secondhand evidentials) are used.

Evidentiality systems vary according to language. There are only two forms of evidentiality in the simplest systems. More complex systems can involve more than six forms. Aikhenvald (2004) provided a typological overview of evidentiality systems across languages and classified them into two major systemic categories: Type I systems, in which the existence of the evidential source is stated but not specified, and Type II systems, in which the type of evidence is specified; for example, sensory, inferential, or reported. DeLancey (1986) provided an example from Tibetan, reproduced here as (37), which demonstrates the use of direct and indirect evidentials based on how the speakers collected the evidence for their statements.

(37) a. *K'oŋ gis yi-ge-bri-pa-soŋ.*
s/he ERG write-PERF-DIRECT
'She wrote a letter (I saw it happen).'

b. *K'oŋ gis yi-ge-bri-pa-red.*
s/he ERG write-PERF-INDIRECT
'She wrote a letter (it seems).'

Another example is given in (38), which shows the four-way distinction among evidence types of Eastern Pomo: a visual or direct knowledge evidential, a nonvisual sensory evidential, an evidential covering logical inference from circumstantial evidence, and a reported evidential (Aikhenvald, 2004):

- (38) a. *mí·p-al* *pha·bé-k-a*
 3.sg.-male-PATIENT burn-PUNCTUAL-DIRECT
 ‘He got burned.’ (I have direct evidence, e.g., I saw it happen.)
- b. *bi-Yá* *pha·bé-kh-ink’e*
 hand burn-PUNCTUAL-SENSORY
 ‘I burned my hand.’ (I feel the sensation of burning in my hand.)
- c. *bé-k-al* *pha·bé-k-ine*
 3pl-PATIENT burn-PUNCTUAL-INFERENTIAL
 ‘They must have gotten burned.’ (I see circumstantial evidence, such as signs of a fire, bandages, burn cream.)
- d. *bé-k-al* *pha·bé-kh-le*
 3pl-PATIENT burn-PUNCTUAL-REPORTED
 ‘They got burned, they say.’ (I am reporting what I was told.)

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

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

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

As I mentioned above, evidentials have been studied as a grammatical category that encodes the source of information. However, there are various views of the evidential domain in linguistics, resulting in disagreement about which area of linguistics should include evidentials. Section 4.3 examines the diverse ideas on relationships between evidentiality and epistemic modality.

4.3 Relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality

The relation between evidentiality, which is the marking of the source of the information contained in a statement, and epistemic modality, which is the degree of how confident the speaker feels about his/her statement, is one of the most exciting problems that linguists who study evidentiality are faced with. However, the literature does not always make a clear distinction between them. Dendale and Tasmowski (2001) claimed that modern studies posit three types of relations between the notions of evidentiality and modality: disjunction, inclusion, and overlap.

4.3.1 Disjunction

While some previous scholars argue that evidentiality is not an independent category, others disagree. For example, Aikhenvald (2004) argued that evidentiality should be considered a category in its own right, not a subcategory of epistemic modality or tense-aspect. De Haan (1999) also suggested that despite the fact that both epistemic modality and evidentiality are concerned with evidence, they differ in the way they interact with

the evidence. Epistemic modality first makes an evaluation of the evidence and assigns a confidence measure to the statement of the speaker based on the evaluation. On the other hand, an evidential does not interpret the evidence in any way and only asserts that evidence exists for the speaker's statement.

4.3.2 Inclusion

Most of the literature characterizes the relation between evidentiality and modality as inclusion, in which one falls within the scope of the other. When this occurs, the term evidentiality is used in a broader sense to refer to both the source and the reliability of the speaker's knowledge. Palmer (2001) claimed that evidentiality should be included in the domain of modality. On this view, evidentiality and epistemic modality would represent two subsystems of propositional modality. Willett (1988) also stated that evidential distinctions are part of what is marked in epistemic modality.

4.3.3 Overlap

Auwera and Plungian (1998, p. 86) described "overlap" as the area where modality and evidentiality partly intersect. The evidential value "inferential" provides the interface between the two concepts. They further claimed that the "inferential" value is identical to the modal value of epistemic necessity.

4.4 Evidentiality in Korean

Until 2000, few researchers in Korean linguistics were concerned with the concept of evidentiality. For this reason, many Korean expressions that have been recently called

evidential markers were previously defined as modal expressions. As new light has been cast by researchers on some of the modality markers in Korean starting in the early 2000s, more studies regarding Korean evidentiality have been conducted, and various evidential markers in Korean also have been found. However, further in-depth study of evidentiality in Korean is required in order to precisely determine where and how Korean fits within the typology of evidentiality systems and whether it also exhibits a more scattered coding system. That is why it is difficult to reach a clear consensus on the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality in Korean at this stage. For example, while some scholars argue that evidentiality is an independent category in Korean, others disagree. Also, it is uncertain whether many Korean scholars have accepted the results of studies that have suggested that a given expression should be identified as an evidential marker. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a growing interest in research on Korean evidentiality. Sohn (2018) argued that Korean has a set of inflectional suffixes that function as evidential markers. Their uses in discourse are optional, making them different from other grammatical categories such as tense, honorifics, and speech levels as well as sentence types, which are obligatorily marked.

I will briefly review the previous research on evidentiality in Korean. The types of evidentiality are categorized differently by different scholars. The Korean evidentials are generally classified into three to four categories, but some linguists argue for two types—direct and indirect evidentials—while others divide the evidentials into more than four categories.

According to Kim (2012), the Korean evidential system falls into the B1 system (three types: visual sensory, nonvisual sensory, and inferential evidentials), following the

categorization of Aikhenvald (2004). Evidentials in Korean are divided into the following three categories: direct, reportative, and inference. Sohn (2018), on the other hand, stated that the inflectional suffixes in Korean, which have a primary function of encoding the source of information, can be classified into perceptual, quotative, reported (hearsay), and inferential. Chung (2005) also claimed that there are four types of evidentiality in Korean but classified them as direct evidentials, two inferential indirect evidentials (where one is based on the state directly caused by a prior event and the other is based on the speaker's reasoning), and reportative (hearsay) evidentials.

According to Sohn (2018), more than 20 items have been proposed as evidentials in Korean so far. I will look at those that are mentioned with high frequency in these studies. First of all, one of the most well-known suffixes studied in Korean evidentiality is the retrospective suffix *-te*. Korean linguists have investigated whether its features correspond with those of an evidential marker. Sentences (39) and (40) are taken from Song (2002), who claimed that the suffix *-te* functions as the evidential marker of “past sensory observation.”

(39) *Chelswu-ka hakkyo-ey ka-te-la.*
 Chelswu-NOM school-LOC go-TE-Intros
 ‘Chelswu went to school.’ (visual sense: seeing)

(40) *Chelswu-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ass-ta.*
 Chelswu-NOM school-LOC go-PST-DECL
 ‘Chelswu went to school.’

(Examples [20] and [21] in Song, 2002, p. 154)

The suffix *-te* in (39) indicates that the event of Chelswu going to school was directly observed by the speaker. If the speaker had not actually seen this event, sentence (39) would be inappropriate. The primary difference between (39), which uses *-te*, and (40), which uses the past tense suffix *-ess/ass-*, is that the speaker in the latter does not specify the source of the information, while the speaker in the former indicates that the information is based on direct observation.

Strauss (2005) argued that a natural class of (mirative) evidential markers in Korean is formed by the sentence ender *-tela*. These markers indicate an immediate consciousness shift caused by an external sensory and/or inferential trigger that lies within the speaker's direct experience, affecting a cognitive realization that occurs instantly. The consciousness shift and realization marked by *-tela* take place in the past and resurface when narratives of times past are retold. Additionally, Kim (2005) investigated how speakers strategically use the experimental evidential marking *-telako* to detach themselves from interactionally delicate actions that they are performing such as disagreements, refusals, and challenges.

In addition, Lim (2009) argued that the suffix *-te* in the Korean language functions as a direct evidential morpheme or is at least related to direct evidentiality in some way. Chung (2010) claimed that the function of a sentence that contains *-te* is to express an inferential indirect evidential meaning that reveals the speaker's inference based on the circumstances resulting from a prior event. Moreover, Lee (2010, 2011) showed that the Korean suffix *-te* as an evidential marker functions differently depending on tense. When the suffix *-te* combines with the past tense, it represents an inferential evidential reading. In contrast, when combined with the present tense, the suffix *-te*

signifies a direct evidential reading. Furthermore, Song (2010) agreed that the suffix *-te* mainly functions as a visual/sensory evidential, and Kim (2012) explained that a speaker uses the suffix *-te* when he/she has direct (perceptual) evidence for the claim he/she is making.

Sohn (2018) argued that *-te* cannot be considered as a past tense or aspect marker in contemporary Korean, despite the fact that it incorporates past time as an inherent semantic feature, for the following reasons: (a) the meaning of the perception of the speaker is primary, (b) genuine past/perfect markers *-ess* and *-ess-ess* exist that fill an independent morphosyntactic slot preceding the *-te* slot in predicate constructions, (c) it is not allowed to be used with a proposition denoting the activity or nonsensory state of the speaker, and (d) it does not make the proposition become a past or perfective event.

Next, the suffix *-kwu* is also considered an evidential marker in Korean by some scholars. Koo (1995) studied how evidentiality is related to the morphological and functional properties of the *-kwu* class endings. Examples of *-kwu* class endings are *-kwuna*, *-kwn*, *-kuman*, and *-kulye*. The markers function as immediate evidentials, suggesting that the speaker has first-hand confirmation of the involved proposition.

Choi (1995) discussed two ways the suffix *-kwun* is used. First, it is used to express newly acquired information. Second, it is used to gain a specific status of knowledge that has a relationship with an evidentiary source through inference. Lee (1991) explained the use of *-kwun* as an evidential marker as shown in (41). According to Lee, *-kwun* usually is used to mark exclamatory sentences while also semantically adding the evidentiality meaning to the sentence. The use of *-kwun* signals that the speaker is confident that the proposition holds true.

- (41) *model kath-kwun-yo.*
model like-Evid-Ptl
'You are like a fashion model!'

(Example [18] in Lee, 1991, p. 140)

Sohn (1999b) also investigated the apperceptive type of evidential. One example is the suffix *-kwun*, which usually represents the speaker's perception of an event at the moment of speech.

- (42) *nwun i o-nun-kwun.*
snow NM come-IN-APP
'It is snowing!'

(Example [157] in Sohn, 1999a, p. 356)

Strauss (2005) stated that a natural class of evidentials, to be more specific, miratives, can be formed by *-kwun* and the sentence ender *-tela*. The use of either indicates that within the speaker, an immediate shift in consciousness has taken place. At the moment of speech, the trigger and its consequent consciousness shift occur.

Another suffix that is widely discussed by Korean linguists in reference to whether it functions as an evidential marker is *-ney*. Choi (1995) defined *-ney* similarly to how the suffixes *-te* and *-kwun* have been defined, as previously discussed, suggesting that the information the speaker is trying to convey through sentences that use the suffix *-ney* is based on factual evidence, and thus *-ney* can be considered an epistemic modal suffix. Strauss (2005) stated that a natural class of evidential (mirative) markers is

formed by the sentence ender *-ney*. At the moment of speech, *-ney* indicates a consequent shift in consciousness. Chung (2005) claimed that the spatial deictic “present” tense characterizes the temporal meaning of *-ney*.

Lee (2010, 2011) argued that the evidential *-ney* gives rise to three distinct evidential readings (i.e., direct, inferential, and reportative) by means of its interaction with tense and mood. Another role of the evidential *-ney* is to restrict the evidence acquisition time. The use of *-ney* automatically forces the evidence acquisition time to coincide with the utterance time. An inferential evidential reading can also result from some present tense evidential sentences that utilize *-ney*.

Sohn (2018) explained that *-ney* may represent two different situations when used without the politeness particle *-yo*. First, as in (43i), is its use as a familiar-level declarative sentence ender. When it is used in this way, the intonation contour typically ends in a low tone and without any exclamation, simply denoting an assertive illocution in familiar-level speech that does not have any function as an evidential. Second is its use to express either the speaker’s state or instantaneous perception of an event. In this use, the intonation contour typically ends in a slightly raised tone as long as it is not followed by the politeness particle *-yo* with a low tone. Because it expresses the source of the information of the propositional content (i.e., the speaker’s instantaneous perception), *-ney* functions as an evidential in this second use, as in (43ii).

- (43) *pakk-ey pi-ka o-ney(!)*
outside-at rain come-DEC/INST
i. ‘It’s raining outside’ (familiar level)
ii. ‘Ah, [I see] it’s raining outside!’ (evidential)

(Example [5] in Sohn, 2018, p. 12)

Lastly, many linguists have examined quotative and reportative (hearsay) evidentials in Korean. According to Lee (1991), *-tay* indicates that the speaker's information is based on hearsay, and it functions as an indirect reportative evidential. The expressions *-ta-ko han*, *-ta han*, and *-ta-n* were categorized as reportative evidentials by Kim (2000). Sohn and Park (2003) suggested that a speaker may use the indirect quotative marker *-tay* when he/she cannot read another's consciousness.

Sohn (2018) claimed that the plain-level embedded sentence enders of the four sentence types can function as quotative evidentials if they are followed by one or more inflectional suffixes including a sentence ender. This occurs due to *ko ha* omission. Sohn's study also provided explanations as to why the evidential *-tay* is generated, as in (44).

- (44) a. *nayil* *pi-ka* *o-n-ta* *ko hay-yo*
tomorrow rain-SU come-INDIC-DEC QT say-POL
- b. *nayil* *pi-ka* *o-n-ta* *hay-yo*
tomorrow rain-SU come-INDIC-DEC say-POL
- c. *nayil* *pi-ka* *o-n-ta* *ay-yo*
tomorrow rain-SU come-INDIC-DEC say-POL
- d. *nayil* *pi-ka* *o-n-tay-yo*
tomorrow rain-SU come-INDIC-QUOT-POL
 ‘They said it will rain tomorrow.’

(Example [7] in Sohn, 2018, p. 19)

The report/hearsay *-(nu)n-tan-ta*, *-tay*, *-ta-mye(nse)*, *-ta-ko* evidential markers were identified by Song (2010). In addition, Kim (2011) recognized that *-tamye* is a reportative/hearsay evidential marker, and Lee (2010) identified *-tay* as a reportative evidential. Moreover, Kwon (2012b) proposed the quotative/reportive *-ay* as an evidential marker, and Kim (2012) identified *-tay* as the reportative evidential type, which is used when the speaker heard the information expressed as a claim from someone else. Ahn and Yap (2014, 2015) traced the pragmatic functions of *-ta-ko*, *-ta-mye*, *-ta-myense*, *ta-nu-n*, and *-ta-n-ta* in discourse and examined their development. Recently, other suffixes and sentence endings such as *-ci*, *-keyss*, *-napo*, and *-moyang.i* have also started to be considered evidential markers by some Korean linguists.

In addition to studies on the structural aspects of the grammatical system of evidentials, studies in pragmatics and language acquisition have also been conducted. For example, Papafragou, Li, Choi, and Han (2006) examined the acquisition of evidentiality and how it relates to the development of evidential reasoning in children. Rhoades-Ko (2013) evaluated the second language acquisition of the evidentiality requirement in the context of Korean expressions regarding psychological states of mind. Ahn and Yap (2014, 2015) investigated a wide range of epistemic and politeness functions that hearsay evidential markers in Korean can serve within the pragmatic domain.

Although considerably more scholarship exists about the structural aspects of evidentials in the Korean language, the limited research from alternative branches of linguistics in conjunction with the fact that evidential markers are still being discovered

suggests that evidentiality in Korean requires more attention. Further analysis may reveal still-hidden evidential markers and other aspects of evidentials in Korean.

4.5 Inferential evidential modal marker *-kes kath-*

As reviewed above, the border between evidentiality and modality is not always clear in the literature. While Dendale and Tasmowski (2001) described three relations between evidentiality and modality—disjunction, inclusion, and overlap—current in modern studies, as detailed in Section 4.3, understandings of the combination of evidentiality and epistemic modality vary.

Evidential systems may vary immensely in each language. In Korean, the grammatical category of evidentiality does not exist according to the strict definition of evidentiality; however, Korean evidentiality can be recognized from the pragmatic and functional approaches. Therefore, Dendale and Tasmowski's (2001) view of inclusion is the most salient relationship, and Korean evidentiality can be considered a subclass of the category of modality (Willett, 1988; Nuyts, 2001; Palmer, 2001).

Most scholars consider *-kes kath-* as a marker of epistemic modality, and I agree that *-kes kath-* functions to represent epistemic modality. However, *-kes kath-* can also serve an evidential function. For example, in (45), speakers A and B are talking about the rain. B assumes that it will continue to rain all day, because the sky is cloudy and it is raining hard.

- (45) A: 비 정말 많이 온다.
 pi cengmal manhi o-n-ta.
 rain really much come-IN-DC

‘It is really raining a lot.’

B: 오늘 비 안 그칠 거 같아.

onul pi an kuchi-l ke kath-a.

today rain do.not stop-PRS **KES KATH-INT**

‘It **seems** the rain will not stop today.’

B’s sentence ends with the conjectural meaning of *-kes kath-* to convey the speaker’s subjective choice of information and to reflect his attitude toward it. That is to say, the conjectural *-kes kath-* manifests the speaker’s stance toward the information being conveyed. In addition to expressing the source of information, the sentence with *-kes kath-* gives rise to the inference that the speaker is not completely certain about the truth of the expressed proposition. Therefore, *-kes kath-* with a conjectural meaning has features of both epistemic modality and evidentiality, supporting Chafe and Nichols’s (1986) argument in favor of a conception of evidentiality that includes both the source of information and an estimation of its reliability.

Moreover, when the conjectural *-kes kath-* shifts to become the politeness *-kes kath-*, its evidential quality increases even more. Speakers who use the politeness function of *-kes kath-* have faith that the proposition is an established fact. They only need the interactional functional marker (politeness *-kes kath-*) as an indirect speech act. The politeness *-kes kath-* can be used as the inferential evidential modal marker. Aikhenvald (2003) claimed that epistemic modality represents the degree of certainty and probability whereas evidentiality reveals the speaker’s awareness of truth based on his/her knowledge of the information source. The speaker who uses the politeness *-kes kath-* wants to indicate what s/he knows and convey the information in a polite way. I

suggest that when it is used with the politeness meaning, the function of *-kes kath-* expands from the domain of modality to the domain of evidentiality. I propose that *-kes kath-* is an inferential evidential modal marker that indicates that the information being conveyed is not known from personal experience but inferred from indirect evidence.

Using example conversations, the next section demonstrates how *-kes kath-* performs two roles: (a) serving the politeness function as an epistemic modal and (b) providing the information source as an evidential.

4.5.1 Disclaiming responsibility

The studies that have been conducted on the topic of evidentiality have focused on both how speakers obtain information and speakers' attitude toward the information (e.g., Chafe & Nichols, 1986; Palmer, 1986; Willett, 1988; Kamio, 1994; Lazard, 1999; Fox, 2001; Mushin, 2001; Nuyts, 2001; Tantucci, 2013). Also, the idea that indirect evidential markers (inferential, reported, hearsay) allow the speaker to disclaim full responsibility for his/her utterances has been presented by many scholars. Based on the studies he conducted on the Wintu language, Pitkin (1984) asserted that the speaker claims the strongest personal responsibility for the truthfulness of his/her statement when s/he chooses to use one of the visual evidential markers. Conversely, when the speaker chooses to use the hearsay evidential, s/he is disclaiming personal knowledge and responsibility for the truthfulness of his/her statement by attributing it to others. The speaker indicates how s/he gained the particular knowledge that forms the basis of his/her statement and also simultaneously assigns a degree of certainty regarding the reliability of the evidence for that knowledge. Based on a study of the Quechua language, Vries

(1990) claimed that hearsay evidentials serve a function of allowing speakers to disclaim responsibility for what they say. Matras (2002) claimed that evidentials may overlap with reported speech or inference in Romani if speakers want to protect their discursive authority or disclaim responsibility for the possible effect that the information could have on the hearers.

In the following conversation from the Sejong Corpus, speaker A talks about the need to know how to use computers to get a job in a company. Speaker A is seeking speaker B's consent and B tries to express that he agrees with A's idea. However, B represents the information while avoiding full responsibility for the utterance by using two expressions: the hesitation device *umm* and *-kes kath-* in line 4: *khemphyuthe-lul kiponcekulo ta hay-ya toy-nun ke kath-ay* 'I think being able to use computers is a basic requirement'.

(46)

1 A: 회사 다 엑셀 쓰지 않냐? 그런 거 다 웬만큼 할 줄 알아야 되잖아,
요즘에 그치? 기본이지?

hoysa ta ayksseyl ssu-ci anhn-ya? kule-n ke ta
company all Excel use-NOM not.be-Q like.that-RL thing all
weyn-mankhum ha-l cwul al-aya toy-canh-a,
some-extent do-PRS way know-must become-you.know-INT
yocum-ey kuchi? kipun-i-ci?
lately-at right basic-be-SUP

'Doesn't every company use Excel? People need to know how to use it fairly well these days, don't they? It is a basic requirement, right?'

2 B: 많이 늘릴라구, 집에 가서, 사용하는 걸,

manhi nullil-lakwu, cip-ey ka-se, sayongha-nun ke-l,
much expand-in.order.to home-at go-and use-RL that-AC
'I am going to use it a lot more at home.'

3 A: 직장 직장에 들어갈 생각을 한다면
cikcang cikcang-ey tuleka-l sayngkak-ul ha-n-ta-myen
job.place job.place-at enter-PRS think-AC do-IN-DC-if
'If you are thinking about working in a company'

4→ B: 음. 컴퓨터를 기본적으로 다 해야 되는 거 같애, 그치?
um. khemphyuthe-lul kiponcekulo ta hay-ya toy-nun
well computer-AC fundamentally all do-must become-RL
ke kath-ay, kuchi?
KES KATH-INT right
'Well. I **think** being able to use computers is a basic requirement, right?'

5 A: 응 맞아.
ung mac-e.
yes right-INT
'Yes, that is right.'

Why does B choose to use *-kes kath-* despite the fact that both participants agree? It is possible that B uses *-kes kath-* to be polite. However, in the given situation, even a very direct statement of opinion would not threaten A's face because A initiates the topic and expresses strong support for the opinion. Moreover, B seems to agree with A because B accepts A's opinion and is planning to use the computer more at home. Although B

supports the proposition, he tries to evade a decisive expression and selects a less assertive sentence that utilizes *-kes kath-*, thereby disclaiming direct responsibility.

The following segment is excerpted from Sejong Corpus data and consists of two people having a conversation. Speaker A is talking about why he respects his teacher and provides details to support his opinion while speaker B listens without showing any reaction.

(47)

- 1 A: 말도 항상 조용조용하시고 목소리를 높게 하신 적도 없었고,
mal-to hangsang coyong coyongha-si-ko moksoli-lul noph-key
 speech-also always quiet quiet-SH-and voice-AC high-AD
ha-si-n cek-to eps-ess-ko,
 do-SH-RL time-also not.have-PST-and
 ‘He always speaks quietly and never raises his voice,’
- 2 그렇다고 뭐 좌중을 휘어잡을 수 있는 유머가 넘치는 그런 분도
 아니었는데
kuleh-ta-ko mwe cwacwung-ul hwiecap-ul swu
 be.so-DC-QT well attention.of.the.audience-AC grab-PRS way
iss-nun yume-ka nemchi-nun kulen pwun-to ani-ess-nuntey
 exist-RL humor-NM overflow-RL like.that person-also be.not-PST-but
 ‘although he is not the kind of person who is a humorous person who can
 catch the attention of the audience’
- 3 그까 학생을 대하는 진지한 모습과 항상 공부하시는 모습을 보면서,
kukka haksayng-ul tayha-nun cinciha-n mosup-kwa hangsang
 because student-AC treat-RL serious-RL shape-and always
kongpwuha-si-nun mosup-ul po-myense,

study-SH-RL shape-AC see-while

‘seeing how he always treats students earnestly and how he is always studying’

- 4 아 정말 이분은, 정말 선생님이다
a cengmal i-pwun-un, cengmal sensayngnim-i-ta.
INJ really this-person-TC really teacher-be-DC
‘ah, this person is a real teacher.’

- 5→ 선생님인 거 같다.
*sensayngnim-i-n **ke kath-ta.***
teacher-be-RL **KES KATH-DC**
‘I **think** he is a teacher.’

- 6 내가 만약 교육자가 된다면 저런 모습으로
nay-ka manyak kyoyukca-ka toy-n-ta-myen cele-n mosup-ulo.
I-NM if educator-NM become-IN-DC-if like.that-RL shape-to
‘If I become an educator, (I want to) be like him.’

Speaker A’s praise of his teacher begins before and continues after this segment. What is notable in the talk is the sudden shift in sentence endings from no overt modal or evidential marker (lines 1–4) to the use of *-kes kath-* (line 5). Considering the progress of A’s talk, in which he expresses his opinion and provides evidence using specific examples, he seems committed to his proposition. Nevertheless, A subsequently restates the proposition using *-kes kath-* after claiming factual knowledge demonstrated by the sentence ending *-ta* (line 4), perhaps because B has not vocalized a reaction to A’s statement. Kim (2011) explained that a speaker can accomplish a different interactional

outcome by managing the epistemic rights of the participants. This can be achieved when a speaker shifts his/her choice of evidential marker from some evidential markers that indicate the source of information to the *-tamye* evidential marker. The way the relationship among the speaker, the hearer, and the information is organized is relative, and it can be restructured during the course of an interaction. Likewise, A is not only reporting what he believes but also achieving an interactional relationship with B. In other words, by incorporating the source of information (evidential quality) with an interactional device (epistemic modal feature), A effectively downgrades his assertive attitude toward both the other participant and the proposition. Through this restructuring, A disclaims his direct responsibility to respond to a possible challenge such as disagreement from B.

(48) is another similar example that displays how *-kes kath-* reformulates a proposition and changes the degree of the speaker's authority toward the proposition. This Sejong Corpus excerpt is a conversation among three friends. Speaker A brought the textbook and materials from a course that she had taken previously. The other participants, B and C, want to know about the details of the course such as assignments, exams, and so on.

(48)

- 1 A: 이거, 이거 내가 발표한 거네.
 i-ke, i-ke nay-ka palphyoha-n ke-ney.
 this-thing this-thing I-NM present-RL thing-APP
 ‘This is what I presented.’
- 2 나 이거 되게 어려운 거 발표했어.

na i-ke toykey elyewu-n ke palphyoha-yss-e.

I this-thing very difficult-RL thing present-PST-INT

‘I gave a presentation on a very difficult topic.’

3 C: 불규칙활용이,

pwulkyuchik-hwalyong-i,

irregular-conjugation-NM

‘irregular conjugation’

4→ A: 난 몰랐는데 내가 제일 어려운 거 발표한 거 같애 아무리 봐도

na-n moll-ass-nuntey nay-ka ceyil elyewu-n ke palphyoha-n

I-TC do.not.know-PST-but I-NM most difficult-RL thing present-RL

ke kath-ay amwuli pwa-to

KES KATH-INT no.matter.how look-even.if

‘I did not know but no matter how I look at it, I **think** I gave the most difficult presentation.’

5 B: 좋겠다.

coh-keyss-ta.

good-may-DC

‘I envy you.’

6 A: 발표하면서 잘 몰랐어 많이.

palphyoha-myense cal moll-ass-e manhi.

present-while well do.not.know-PST-INT much

‘I did not really know the material when I was giving the presentation.’

Speaker A finds a handout of a presentation that she gave in the course. She mentions that the presentation was very difficult (line 2), but then modifies this initial assertion by

using *-kes kath-* (line 4). Through this process, speaker A disclaims her full responsibility and lets the other participants respond with alternative opinions about the proposition.

4.5.2 Strengthening a claim

In this section, I will illustrate how *-kes kath-* conveys a speaker's knowledge and strengthens a claim by distancing the speaker from his/her proposition.

The excerpt in (49) is from the Korean drama *Pyeleyse on kutay* ('My Love from the Star'). The scene takes place in a company office. Speakers A, B, and C who appear in this conversation are supervisors of Mr. Lee, who is a new employee. The order of rank among A, B, C, and Lee is Lee < A < B < C. From a cultural perspective, the hierarchical system at the workplace is very important in Korea, and subordinates are expected to display respect for superiors at work. Before this scene, even though it was his first day at work, Lee was not obedient to his supervisors, provoking their anger in response. In this scene, because Lee is running an errand for his supervisors, he does not participate in the conversation. Speaker A sees Lee's family photo on his computer and identifies the president of the company in the photo. Because of the photo, A, B, and C realize that Lee is the son of the president and become surprised and nervous.

(49)

- 1 A: 이회경 씨가 컴퓨터 바탕화면에 자기 가족사진을 깔아놓고갔는데
 요,
 ihwikyeng ssi-ka khemphyuthe pathanghwamyen-ey caki
 Lee Hwi-Kyung HT-NM computer wallpaper-at self
 kacok-sacin-ul kkalanoh-ko ka-ss-nuntey-yo,
 family-photo-AC spread-and go-PST-but-POL

‘Mr. Hwikyung Lee put his family photo as the wallpaper on his computer and left,’

2 B: 아니 회장님이 왜 저기 계신건지
ani hoycang-nim-i way ceki kyeyisi-n-ke-nci
INJ president.of.the.company-HT-NM why there stay-RL-that-whether
‘No, why is the president of the company in the photo?’

3 C: 왜겠어. 이휘경 씨가 회장님 아들이고
way-keyss-e. ihwikyeng ssi-ka hoycang-nim
why-think-INT Lee Hwi-Kyung HT-NM president.of.the.company-HT
atul-i-ko.
son-be-and
‘Why do you think? Mr. Hwikyung Lee is the son of the president and’

4→ C: 나 아까 이휘경 씨한테 신경질 내는 것 같았지.
na akka ihwikyeng ssi-hanthey sinkyengcil nay-nun
I a.while.ago Lee Hwi-Kyung HT-to get.angry-RL
kes kath-ass-ci.

KES KATH-PST-SUP

나 아까 이휘경 씨한테 신경질 내는 것 같았지.

‘I **think** I was taking it out on Mr. Hwikyung Lee a little while ago.’

5 A: 네... 좀...
ney... com...
yes a little
‘Yes... a little...’

6 C: 아... 나 왜 그랬지?

a... na way kulay-ss-ci?

INJ I why like.that-PST-SUP

‘Ah...Why did I do that?’

Speaker C’s utterance in line 4, *na akka ihwikyeng ssi-hanthey sinkyengcil nay-nun kes kath-ass-ci* ‘I think I was taking it out on Mr. Hwikyung Lee a little while ago’, is ambiguous in that it can function as an assertion or a question. Even though C did not ask the question directly to A, A attempts to respond to it. As mentioned above, subordinates are expected to show respect for their superiors in the Korean culture. Thus, A responds to C, his superior, rather than ignoring him because of the possibility that the sentence spoken by C may be a question. The subject and the speaker are the same person, namely ‘I’, in the sentence in line 4, so C likely understands better than others do whether he was taking it out on Lee. Additional evidence that proves C has already deciphered his previous interaction with Lee is C’s choice of the suffix *-ci* for his utterance. Lee (1991) claimed that *-ci* expresses the speaker’s commitment to the proposition; thus, while C’s statement may be interpreted differently, he also demonstrates his conviction through his use of the suffix *-ci*.

By constructing the claim with *-kes kath-*, C achieves distance between himself and the proposition. He positions himself as an observer making an objective comment on his own previous action and/or emotion. Although C is talking about his own feelings or condition, by detaching himself from his utterance, he both weakens his responsibility and strengthens his claim.

The next example was excerpted from the Korean drama, *Tokkaypi* ‘Goblin’. (50) is a conversation between a female speaker (F), who has already mentioned that her favorite food is beef, and a male speaker (M).

(50)

- 1 F: 해장은 하셨어요? 배 안 고파요?
haycang-un ha-sy-ess-eyo? pay an
 relieve.a.hangover-TC do-SH-PST-POL stomach do.not
koph-a.yo?
 hungry-POL
 ‘Did you get over your hangover? Are you not hungry?’
- 2 M: 너는 왜 나만 보면 그 얘길 묻는지?
ne-nun way na-man po-myen ku yayki-l mwut-nunci?
 you-TC why I-only see-when that story-AC ask-whether
 ‘Why are you asking me the same thing every time you see me?’
- 3 나 만나기 전에 좀 먹고 나오면 안 될까?
na manna-ki cen-ey com mek-ko nao-myen an
 I meet-NOM before-at little eat-and come.out-if do.not
toy-l-kka?
 become-PRS-Q
 ‘Can’t you eat something before you come see me?’
- 4 F: 같이 먹고 싶어서 그러는 거잖아요.
kathi mek-ko siph-ese kule-nun ke-canha-yo.
 together eat-NOM wish-because like.that-RL thing-you.know-
 POL

‘It is because I want to eat something with you, you know.’

5 M:

6 F: 싫음 말구요.
silh-um mal-kwu-yo.
dislike-if do.not.do-and-POL
‘Never mind if you don’t like it.’

7 M: 같이 뭐 먹고 싶은데, 소?
kathi mwe mek-ko siph-untey, so?
together what eat-NOM wish-but cow
‘What do you want to eat together, cow (beef)?’

8→ F: 소요? 우와 생각지도 못했는데 진짜 좋은 생각인 거 같아요.
so-yo? wuwa sayngkak-cito mos-hay-ss-nuntey cincca coh-un
cow-Q INJ think-although cannot-do-PST-but really good-RL
sayngkak-i-n ke kath-a.yo.
idea-be-RL **KES KATH-POL**
‘Cow (beef)? Wow, I didn’t even think about it but I **think** it is a
really good idea.’

When F tells M she wants to eat together, M suggests that they eat beef, knowing it is F’s favorite food. The most important point here is that it is M who suggests they eat beef. Therefore, even if F had then said that eating beef is a good idea as a factual statement with no overt modal or evidential marker, it would not have threatened the face of M. In line 8, F could have said *coh-un sayngkak-i-ey.yo* ‘It is a good idea’, instead of what she

did say, *coh-un sayngkak-i-n kes kath-a.yo* ‘I think it is a good idea’. Because the fact F likes beef is known by both parties, F does not need to show her agreement indirectly. However, by using *-kes kath-*, F is manipulating her position, or stance toward her comment, supporting M’s suggestion as an objective observer. Thus, *-kes kath-* enables F to deliver her agreement while distancing herself from the proposition, and by doing so, allows her to justify the utterance, achieve an objective stance, and strengthen the claim.

4.5.3 Enhancing solidarity

In this section, I will explain how *-kes kath-* conveys the speaker’s knowledge and also enhances solidarity between the speaker and the hearer by mitigating the force of an utterance. Previous research on the topic of Korean evidentiality focuses on pragmatics: how using evidential markers serves a wide range of epistemic and politeness functions (Kim, 2006, 2011; Ahn & Yap, 2014, 2015). As discussed previously, Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed that politeness consists of negative politeness and positive politeness (Section 2.3.2). I will show how *-kes kath-* can be employed in both negative and positive politeness strategies to strengthen intimacy and social bonds.

The conversation in (51) was excerpted from the Korean drama *Pyeleyse on kutay* ‘My Love from the Star’. The conversation is between Speaker A, who looks like a human but is actually an alien who has been unable to return to his home star for a long time, and L, the lawyer who is the only person who knows A is an alien. In their close, long-standing relationship, the lawyer has played the role of family member and best friend to A in order to maintain his cover as a human. A has lived on Earth for 500 years

and has never gotten old because he is an alien. Thus, A reports his death and moves to a new place to live every ten years. The lawyer helps A with this process.

(51)

- 1 A: 새로 개업한 변호사 사무실은 잘 되십니까?
saylo kayepha-n pyenhosa samwusilun cal
new open.a.business-RL lawyer office-TC well
toy-si-p-ni-kka?
become-SH-AH-IN-Q
'How is business with your newly opened lawyer's office?'
- 2 L: 그냥 뭐 무료변론 위주라서요.
kunyang mwe mwul-yopyenlon wicwu-lase-yo.
INJ INJ free-defense mainly-because-POL
'Well, you know, I mostly do pro bono.'
- 3→ A: 석달 뒤에 저 사망신고 작업 한 번 더 해주셔야 할 것 같습니다.
sek-tal twi-ey ce samang-sinko cakep han pen te
three-month after-at I death-report work one time more
hay-cwu-sy-eya ha-l kes kath-sup-ni-ta.
do-give-SH-must do-PRS **KES KATH-AH-IN-DC**
'Three months later, I **think** I need to ask you to report my death again.'
- 4 L: 아 그래요? 원랜 10년에 한 번씩 하시던 걸
a kulay-yo? wenlay-n sip nyen-ey han pen-ssik
INJ be.such-POL originally-TC ten year-at one time-each

ha-si-te-n ke-l
do-SH-RT-RL thing-AC

‘Oh, really? Originally you have been doing it every ten years’

5

아직 2년밖에 안 됐잖아요.

acik i-nyen-pakkey an tway-ss-canha-yo.

yet two-year-except.for do.not become-PST-you.know-POL

‘yet it has only been two years.’

Speaker A has finally found a way to return to his star and plans to leave Earth in three months. He could use a direct imperative sentence such as *samang sinko hay-cwu-s-ey.yo* ‘Please report my death’ or *samang sinko hay-cwu-sy-eya ha-p-ni-ta* ‘You have to report my death’. However, he chooses to use *-kes kath-* as the sentence ending in line 3, *ce samang-sinko cakep han pen te hay-cwu-sy-eya ha-l kes kath-sup-ni-ta* ‘I think you have to report my death’. He considers not only the proposition but also the relationship between himself and the hearer, so he uses the hedging device *-kes kath-* to decrease the possibility of imposition such as making the hearer uncomfortable, offended, or dissatisfied. From the pragmatic perspective, this strategy successfully performs the interactional function of maintaining solidarity.

The following four examples (52–55) show situations in which the relationship between the speaker and the hearer might be weakened by the speaker’s utterance. These examples display how *-kes kath-* helps speakers maintain solidarity between the speaker and the hearer even when the message being delivered is unpleasant.

In (52), Speaker A wants to have lunch with speaker B, but B needs to leave immediately.

(52) A: 같이 점심 안 먹고, 벌써 가려고?
kathi cemsim an mek-ko, pelsse ka-lyeko?
 together lunch do.not eat-and already go-in.order.to
 ‘Are you leaving already without having lunch together?’

B: 지금 수업이 있어서 가야 될 거 같아.
cikum swuep-i iss-ese ka-ya toy-l ke kath-a.
 now class-NM have-because go-must become-PRS **KES KATH-INT**
 ‘I have a class now and I **think** I should go.’

The proposition of speaker B departs from speaker A’s expectations. Although B cannot have lunch with A, he avoids speaking decisively by using *-kes kath-* so as not to damage the face of the addressee.

In (53), a teacher (T) and a student (S) have just finished a tennis match in which the student has won.

(53) S: 죄송합니다. 오늘 경기는 제가 이긴 것 같습니다.
coysongha-p-ni-ta. onul kyengki-nun cey-ka iki-n
 sorry-AH-IN-DC today game-TC I-NM win-RL
kes kath-sup-ni-ta.
KES KATH-AH-IN-DC
 ‘I am sorry. I **think** I won today’s match.’

T: 죄송하기는, 괜찮아. 잘했어.
coysongha-ki-nun, kwaynchanh-a. cal-hay-ss-e.
 sorry-NOM-TC okay-INT well-do-PST-INT
 ‘No need to be sorry. It’s okay. You did well.’

Solidarity between interlocutors becomes diminished when the speaker damages the face of the hearer. That is why, although the student certainly won the game, he tries to detach himself from the proposition by applying *-kes kath-* to make his utterance sound very objective and detached from personal emotions.

The next two examples show stronger face-threatening acts. In (54), the speaker (S, a staff member) requests that the hearer (M, the manager) do something the hearer does not want to do, and in (55), the speaker points out a mistake made by the hearer.

(54) S: 이번 주 미팅에 과장님께서 가셔야 할 것 같습니다.
i-pen cwu mithing-ey kwacang-nim-kkeyse ka-sy-eya
 this-time week meeting-at manager-HT-NM go-SH-must
ha-l kes kath-sup-ni-ta.
 do-PRS **KES KATH-AH-IN-DC**
 ‘I **think you**, the manager, should go to this week’s meeting.’

M: 나?
na?
 I
 ‘Me?’

In example (54), the staff member informs the manager of the meeting schedule. As the manager does not wish to attend, the staff mitigates the utterance with *-kes kath-* because the proposition—reporting the manager’s obligation/responsibility—may annoy the manager.

In the example in (55), a student (S) points out a calculation mistake made by a teacher (T).

- (55) S: 선생님, 2번 문제 계산이 틀리신 것 같은데요.
sensayng-nim, i pen mwuncey kyeysan-i
 teacher-HT two number question calculation-NM
thulli-si-n kes kath-untey-yo.
 wrong-SH-RL **KES KATH**-but-POL
 ‘Teacher, I **think** you made a calculation mistake in question two.’
- T: 어디? 아, 여기, 그렇네.
eti? a, yeki, kuleh-ney.
 where INJ here be.such-APP
 ‘Where? Oh, here, you are right.’

Because pointing out a teacher’s mistake may be understood as disrespectful or defiant, the student takes the position of an observer and constructs the utterance with *-kes kath-*.

A final point about enhancing solidarity through the use of *-kes kath-* is related to the fact that it can represent both negative and positive politeness. Lee (2001) claimed that when a speaker praises a listener, *-kes kath-* is not used because it would diminish the strength of the compliment. However, in contemporary Korean, it is not difficult to find a situation in which native Korean speakers use *-kes kath-* when they admire the listener. Contrary to Lee’s assertion, *-kes kath-* represents not only negative politeness but also positive politeness. From the interactional perspective, the usage of *-kes kath-* in situations where the listener is receiving a compliment from the speaker does not reduce the listener’s merit, but rather carries out the function of politeness to the listener.

The speaker in example (56) is a salesperson in a clothing store. He recommends a color that he believes suits his customer, but he tries to leave room for the customer's own possibly differing opinion by selecting *-kes kath-* in his utterance.

- (56) 손님, 손님은 빨간 색이 잘 어울리시는 것 같아요.
sonnim, sonnim-un ppalka-n sayk-i cal ewulli-si-nun
 customer customer-TC red-RL color-NM well suit-SH-RL
kes kath-a.yo.
KES KATH-POL
 ‘I **think** the red color looks good on you.’

The speaker of the example in (57) is an employee who compliments his boss on his good voice. Although the proposition does not damage the face of any participants, the speaker modifies the proposition from assertion to indirect speech by utilizing *-kes kath-*. By adopting this strategy, he can evade the challenging situation that could arise if his boss actually does not like his own voice. The same sentence without *-kes kath-* (*moksoli-ka cham coh-us-ey.yo* ‘You have a good voice’) might sound significantly more assertive or conclusive to the boss.

- (57) 사장님, 목소리가 참 좋으신 것 같아요.
sacang-nim moksoli-ka cham coh-usi-n kes kath-a.yo.
 boss-HT voice-NM really good-SH-RL **KES KATH-POL**
 ‘I **think** you have a good voice.’

When people need to deliver an unpleasant proposition to others, the attitude of the speaker toward the proposition has a strong influence on the bonds of the relationship

between the speaker and the hearer. From the pragmatic perspective, the speaker intends to avoid giving direct offense by adopting *-kes kath-*, which then mitigates the degree of assertiveness and establishes solidarity.

4.5.4 Self-politeness

The traditional politeness theory has focused on face-threatening acts toward the hearer, but Chen (2001) suggested a different view in which the speaker accomplishes self-politeness to save his/her own face. The three aforementioned functions of *-kes kath-* have been concerned with how the speaker saves the face of the addressee by mitigating a potential attack on the addressee. In this section, an excerpt from the Sejong Corpus shows how *-kes kath-* functions to protect the speaker's own face. In example (58), speaker A needs to do a research project in the field of North Korean studies, but has not studied it for two years. Speaker B suggests the human rights of North Korean residents as a topic, but A does not seem to be willing to accept the idea proposed by B.

(58)

- 1 A: 북한학 손 놓은 지 지금 2년이 다 됐잖아.
pwukhan-hak son noh-un ci cikum i nyen-i
 North.Korea-study hand leave-RL since now two year-NM
ta tway-ss-canh-a.
 all become-PST-you.know-INT
 'I have not studied North Korean Studies for two years, you know.'
- 2 B: 어. 그거 해 그러믄 그거 어 법학하고 관련이 있는데
e. ku-ke ha-y kule-mun ku-ke e pep-hak-hako
 yes that-thing do-INT like.that-if that-thing umm law-study-and

kwanlyen-i iss-nuntey

relation-NM have-but

‘Yes. You can do it, it is related to the study of law.’

- 3 뭐 북한 주민의 인권에 대해서 뭐 이런 거 저거하잖아.
mwe pwukhan cwumin-uy inkwen-ey tayhayse mwe
INJ North.Korea resident-GN human.rights-to about INJ
ile-n ke ce-ke-ha-canh-a
like.this-RL thing that-thing-do-you.know-INT
‘Well, people study about human rights of North Korean residents and
something like that, you know.’
- 4 요새 많이 이슈화되잖아.
yosay manhi isyuhwatoy-canh-a.
these.days much make.an.issue.of-you.know-INT
‘That’s a big issue these days.’
- 5 A: 이슈가 되기는 되지.
isyu-ka toy-ki-nun toy-ci.
issue-NM become-NOM-RL become-SUP
‘That has become an issue.’
- 6 B: 자료 좀 찾아보구
calyo com chacapo-kwu.
materials little search-and
‘Search for some materials.’
- 7 A: 아 근데 그런 거 하는 게 진짜 그런 거 하는데 귀찮아하잖아 사람이
몸으로 뛰는 거 말로 하는 거.

a kuntey kule-n ke ha-nun ke-y cincca kul-en
 INJ but like.that-RN thing do-RL thing-NM really like.that-RN
ke ha-nuntey kwichanhaha-canh-a salam-i mom-ulo
 thing do-but troublesome-you.know-INT people-NM body-by
ttwi-nun ke mal-lo ha-nun ke.
 run-RL thing speech-by do-RL thing
 ‘Oh, but you know, I feel like those tasks involving people running around
 and talking to people are so cumbersome.’

8 B: *게을러서 그래.*
keyull-ese kul-ay.
 lazy-because be.such-INT
 ‘Because you are lazy.’

9→ A: *그런 그런 걸, 게으른 것 같애.*
kule-n kule-n ke-l, keyulu-n kes kath-ay.
 like.that-RN like.that-RN thing-AC lazy-RL **KES KATH-INT**
 ‘I **think** I am lazy.’

정신적인 피로 피로 저 뭐야 피곤함 같은 것은 쉬이 참지 못해.
cengsincekin philo philo ce mwe-ya phikonha-m kath-un
 mental fatigue fatigue that what-Q tired-NOM like-RL
kes-un swii cham-ci mos-ha-y.
 thing-TC easily suppress-NOM cannot-do-INT
 ‘I cannot withstand mental fatigue easily.’

Speaker A does not want to choose the topic suggested by B because it will involve both physical and mental legwork, which A does not enjoy doing. B says the reason A does not like this type of research is because A is lazy (line 8). At this time, the face of A is

threatened by the utterance of B, which directly evaluates A's personality. A responds to B by restating B's sentence with *-kes kath-*, *keyulu-n kes kath-ay* 'I think I am lazy', to protect his own face (line 9). However, A does not seem to really agree with B's judgment, as A then defends and justifies himself by explaining that the reason he does not want to choose the topic is because he cannot stand the mental fatigue (line 10).

In example (58) above, A tries to defend himself, suggesting that he considers B's assessment of him to be incorrect, even though he agreed to it. However, when the speaker is wrong or obviously makes a mistake, s/he can still apply *-kes kath-* even after admitting his/her fault, as in example (59).

- (59) a. 제가 실수한 것 같아요.
cey-ka silswuha-n kes kath-a.yo.
 I-NM make.a.mistake-RL **KES KATH-POL**
 'I **think** I made a mistake.'
- b. 제가 틀린 것 같아요.
cey-ka thulli-n kes kath-a.yo.
 I-NM wrong-RL **KES KATH-POL**
 'I **think** I am wrong.'
- c. 제가 오늘 좀 늦은 것 같아요. 죄송합니다
cey-ka onul com nuc-un kes kath-a.yo. coysongha-p-ni-ta.
 I-NM today little late-RL **KES KATH-POL** sorry-AH-IN-DC
 'I **think** I am a little late today. I am sorry.'

In (59), the speaker uses the suffix *-kes kath-* to both indirectly describe the situation and reduce the degree of the speaker's fault. This strategy might have an effect of decreasing the responsibility and/or punishment of the speaker for the mistake.

This section has illustrated how *-kes kath-* functions in politeness strategies as an epistemic modal as well as indicating information sources as an evidential. When speakers report the content of the proposition they want to deliver with the use of *-kes kath-*, they can also show their attitude toward the hearer and/or proposition. In addition to allowing speakers to express an objective view toward the situation they are describing by detaching themselves from the proposition, *-kes kath-* also helps the speakers successfully disclaim responsibility, strengthen their claims, enhance solidarity, and accomplish self-politeness.

CHAPTER 5

KOREAN CONJECTURAL EXPRESSIONS

Korean speakers use various other conjectural expressions in addition to *-kes kath-*. In this chapter, I will examine three other Korean conjectural expressions, *-tus hata*, *-na pota*, and *moyang-ita*, to see what commonalities they share with *-kes kath-*.

To begin, I will briefly summarize the syntactic features of *-kes kath-*. Sohn (1999a, p. 263) explained that the sentence ending *-kes kath-* ‘it seems that...’ originates from the structure *-kes kwa kath-* ‘is the same as’. Sohn then explained the grammaticalization process that occurs when the adjective *kathta* ‘be same, like’ is used in conjunction with the defective noun *kes* ‘thing, fact’ (p. 284). The meaning becomes ‘it seems/feels like’ as in *nay ka cwuk-ul kes kath-a.yo* ‘I feel like I’m dying’ or *nalssi ka coh-un kes kath-a.yo* ‘the weather seems to be good’. In these constructions, relativizer suffixes are located in front of *-kes kath-*. Examples of the relativizer suffixes are *-l-* for prospective, *-un-* for perfective, and *-nun-* for progressive. It is also worth noting that a comitative particle cannot occur after *kes*.

As discussed previously, *-kes kath-* has three functions in terms of semantics in contemporary Korean. Most scholars agree that the politeness meaning can only be expressed by *-un kes kath-* in most cases and that the conjectural meaning can only be expressed by sentences with *-nun kes kath-* or *-l kes kath-* because of the tense. For example, the sentence *pi ka o-l kes kath-a* ‘It will rain’ has a future tense. If *-kes kath-* is removed from this sentence, the meaning changes to ‘It is raining’. In this example, the level of politeness is not affected by the removal of *-kes kath-*, thereby indicating that

when used in the constructions *-nun kes kath-* or *-l kes kath-*, *-kes kath-* functions to express conjecture, not politeness.

On the phonological level, if a consonant comes immediately after *kes*, the final consonant /s/ can be dropped, leaving just *ke*. That is, *-un kes kath-* can be expressed as either *-un kes kath-* or *-un ke kath-*, and *-nun kes kath-* can be expressed as either *-nun kes kath-* or *-nun ke kath-*. However, there are four different ways that *-l kes kath-* can be represented: *-l kes kath-*, *-l ke kath-*, *-l kkes kath-*, and *-l kke kath-*. The first two illustrate situations in which the final consonant /s/ is dropped from *kes*; the third and fourth forms represent a different phenomenon, in which the initial consonant /k/ changes to the tensed sound /kk/.

5.1 *-Na po/-nun-ka-po*

Sohn (2012) took a panchronic approach to examining a wide variety of synchronic grammatical phenomena and distributions of *po-*. Sohn explained that when the concrete visual verb *po-* becomes more abstract in a unidirectional shift, or is mapped from physical perception to mental perception and then to cognition, it develops polysemous meanings including “see” (physical seeing) > “regard, view” > (mental seeing) > “evaluate, judge” > “believe” > “know” > ... (p. 98). Sohn (1999a, p. 263) also explained that *-na pota* ‘it appears that...’ originates from *-napo-n-ta* (whether see-IN-DC) ‘see whether...’. *-Na pota* consists of *-na* ‘or, whether’ and the visual perception verb *pota* ‘see, look’.

Several scholars have proposed that *-na po-* can have both epistemic modality and evidentiality interpretations. Song’s (2010) research supported the idea that the verb *po-ta*

(‘see’-END) is associated with modality and evidentiality. Martin (1992) proposed that *-na po-* is an evidential modal, as in (60). *-Na po-* represents the speaker’s conjecture based on information or evidence that the speaker obtains through visual perception.

- (60) *Nwu-ka wa-ss na pota.*
 someone-MON come-PAST seem:IND
 ‘I think/It seems that someone was here.’

(Martin, 1992, p. 705)

Rhee’s (2001) investigation showed the grammaticalization of the visual perception verb *po-*. He illustrated that *-ka po-* and *-na po-* function as evidential markers that display conjecture or possibility, as in the examples in (61).

- (61) a. *ku-ka aphu-nka po-ta*
 he-Nom be.sick-Evi-Dec
 ‘He seems to be sick.’
- b. *sewul-ey ta wa-ss-na po-ta*
 Seoul-Loc all come-Pst-Evid-Dec
 ‘It looks like (we) are very close to Seoul now.’

(Rhee, 2001, p. 126)

According to Sohn (2012, p. 91), there are two distinct usages of *-na po/-nun-ka-po*; one usage is in indirect questions, employing the literal meaning of ‘see whether’. The other is for the evidential function, indicating the speaker’s conjecture in the sense of ‘it seems (looks, appears)’ or ‘I guess’. When exhibiting evidentiality, *po-* cannot take

tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) suffixes including honorifics; the modal *-keyss* (i.e., indicating the speaker's volition/conjecture); or negation. The only allowed usage is the retrospective evidential in the sense of 'according to what I heard/observed'. Imperative, propositive, or interrogative sentences are not allowed in the evidential usage. Only the declarative occurs at all speech levels.

The following conversation is excerpted from the Sejong Corpus data. A male speaker (M) and a female speaker (F) are discussing the university F attends.

(62)

- 1 M: 상명대가 여기 말고 다른 캠퍼스가 있어요?
sangmyeng-tay-ka yeki mal-ko ttalu-n
 Sangmyeng-university-NM here except-and different-RL
khaymphesu-ka iss-e.yo?
 campus-NM exist-POL
 'Sangmyeng University has another campus other than this one?'
- 2 F: 아, 천안 캠퍼스요,
a, chenan khaymphesu-yo,
 INJ Chenan campus-POL
 'Ah, there is the Chenan campus'
- 3 M: 천안에, 천안으로 다니세요, 그러면?
chenan-ey, chenan-ulo tani-s-ey.yo, kule-myen?
 Chenan-in Chenan-to attend-SH-POL like.that-if
 'In Chenan, do you commute to Chenan, then?'
- 4 F: 예.

yey.
yes
'Yes'

5 M: 그럼 집에서 다니세요?
kulem cip-eyse tani-s-ey.yo?
so home-from attend-SH-POL
'So you commute from home?'

6 F: 네, 안 멀어요.
ney, an mel-e.yo.
yes be.not far-POL
'Yes, it is not far.'

7→ M: 스쿨 버스가 이쪽까지 다니나 보죠.
sukhwul ppesu-ka i-ccok-kkaci tani-na po-c-yo.
school bus-NM this-way-to go-whether see-SUP-POL
'I **guess** the school bus comes all the way here.'

8 F: 예.
yey.
yes
'Yes.'

The dialogue is structured by speaker M asking a series of questions and speaker F answering. M listens to F's answers, collects the information in them, and draws a conclusion that the school bus travels to the venue of their meeting. Even though M has no direct evidence, such as seeing the school bus, he assumes that the bus service extends

to their present location, applying *-na po-* as the inferential evidential marker (line 7). In this situation, *-na po-* can also be considered as an epistemic modal because it represents the speaker's attitude toward the proposition.

In the next example, also from the Sejong Corpus data, speaker B is a senior of speaker A and they are having lunch together.

(63)

1 A: 선배님 밥.
 senpaynim pap.
 senior-HT meal
 ‘Senior, your meal.’

2 B: 왜?
 way?
 why
 ‘What about it?’

3 A: 맛있겠다.
 masiss-keyss-ta.
 delicious-may-DC
 ‘It looks tasty.’

4→ B: 어, 나 근데 숟가락이 없어. 젓가락만 싸 주셨나 봐.
 e na kuntey swutkalak-i eps-e. ceskalak-man ssa
 yes I but spoon-NM do.not.have-INT chopsticks-only pack
 cwu-sy-ess-na p-wa.
 give-SH-PST-whether see-INT

‘Uh, by the way I don’t have a spoon. It **seems like** (someone) only packed the chopsticks.’

- 5 A: 저기 저 갖고 올게요.
 ceki ce kac-ko o-l-key-yo.
 there I have-and come-PRM-PRS-POL
 ‘You know, I will bring it.’

When B realizes that he has no spoon, he guesses that the person who prepared his lunch box only packed chopsticks, selecting *-na po-* for his utterance. Although B did not personally observe his lunch box being packed, it is not difficult for B to assume the reason there is no spoon in it. In the sentence *ceskalak-man ssa cwu-sy-ess-na p-wa* ‘It seems like (someone) only packed the chopsticks’ (line 4), *-na po-* conveys the speaker’s conjecture based on the inferential evidence from which the speaker perceived the situation.

From the point of view of pragmatics, another important function of *-na po/-nun-ka-po* is in politeness strategies. Previous studies have discussed how the main meaningful part of these constructions, *-po*, gained the politeness function in discourse. According to Sohn (2012, p. 88), *po-* serves a role as an auxiliary verb with the rough meaning of ‘try to do (something) to see how it will turn out’ or ‘do it to try it’. It also can mean ‘experiencing an action or state’. In a face-threatening context, the auxiliary verb *po-* is often used as a hedging device to weaken a main verb’s illocutionary force, as illustrated in (64). In such a context, it represents the speaker’s politeness, thus serving the role of a politeness marker.

- (64) a. *icey ka po-si-ci-yo.*
 now go try-SH-SUG-POL
 ‘Why don’t you go now. / How about leaving now.’
- b. *ney, kelem ka-a po-llay-yo.*
 yes, then go-INT try-intend-POL
 ‘OK, then I better go.’

(Sohn, 2012, p. 88)

The development of *-na po/-nun-ka-po* from a conjectural meaning to a politeness marker is similar to that of *-kes kath-*. Kwon (2012a) focused on the politeness aspect of *-na po-*, which, he argued, is used to neutralize the speaker’s assertiveness. He demonstrated that even when speakers are certain about information, they can pretend not to understand what they are referring to by applying the inferential function of *-na po-* to make the addressee check the information.

The conversation in (65) is excerpted from the Korean drama *Tokkaypi* ‘Goblin’. In this scene, the male speaker, M, has come to the house of the female speaker, F, but he did not intend for her to see him.

- (65) F: 근데 우리 집엔 어떤 일이세요? 나 보러 왔어요?
kuntey wuli cip-ey-n ecce-n il-i-s-ey.yo?
 but we home-at-TC be.how-RL incident-be-SH-POL
na po-le w-ass-e.yo?
 I see-in.order.to come-PST-POL
 ‘What brings you to our house? Did you come to see me?’

- 2 M: 그래볼까?

kulay-po-l-kka?
like.that-try-PRS-Q
'Shall I?'

3 F: 뭐라구요?
mwe-lakwu-yo?
what-QT-POL
'Excuse me?'

4→ M: 내가 니 생각을 했**나봐**. 잠깐.
nay-ka ni sayngkak-ul ha-yss-na-p-wa. camkkan.
I-NM you think-AC do-PST-**whether-see**-INT a.short.time
'I **think** I must have thought of you. For a short period.'

F asks M why he came to her house and he answers *nay-ka ni sayngkak-ul ha-yss-na-p-wa* 'I think I must have thought of you' (line 4). His utterance includes *-na po-* to reduce the situation's threat to both her face and his own face. His face is threatened because F has caught him visiting her house secretly, and because he is confessing that he was thinking about her. Her face is threatened because his actions indicate his romantic interest in her, which puts social pressure on her. By indicating that he is uncertain of what he is saying, *-na po-* mitigates M's utterance, reducing its assertiveness. Although M is referring to himself, he expresses uncertainty in his memory or feelings using the conjectural meaning of *-na po-*. By attempting to detach himself from the proposition, he makes his statement sound objective, and his position shifts to that of an observer. The conjectural meaning of *-na po-* thus leads to its function as a hedging device and therefore as a politeness marker. As with *-kes kath-*, *-na po/-nun-ka-po* developed from

marking conjecture to marking politeness by expressing the speaker's objectivity, detachment, indirectness, or uncertainty.

Lastly, at the phonological level, according to Sohn (2012, p. 113), the phonological attrition of *-na po/-nun-ka-po* is not extensive. This is probably the case because it is not possible to further reduce *-po* without hampering communicative function, as it is already in the minimal CV form. In general, the contraction of *po-a* to *pw-a* to *p-a* (as in *po-ass-eyo* > *pw-ass-eyo* > *p-ass-eyo*), in which the CV syllable *po* is contracted to a consonant phoneme /p/, has been observed.

5.2 *-Nun/un/ul moyang-i*

The next conjectural expression we will look at is *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, which is comprised of three parts: *-(n)un* (non-past in verb), *-un* (past or non-past in adjective), or *-ul* (prospective) + noun *moyang* 'appearance, shape' + copula *i* 'is the appearance that' (Sohn, 2018, p. 24). Looking at the organization of *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, it is not difficult to infer that *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* is originally from *moyang* 'shape, form'. Shin (2013) claimed that the extension of the lexical item *moyang* to the construction *moyangita* occurs within embedded sentences or complex sentences. According to Shin, the two semantic features of *moyangita* 'look like' or 'seem to do (be)', the speaker's cognition and [\pm eye] and [\pm concrete object], are expanded from the base meaning of *moyang* 'shape' or 'form'.

Similar to *-na po-*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* also expresses epistemic modality and evidentiality. *-Nun/un/ul moyang-i* indicates the speaker's conjecture based on evidence provided by the information source. Sohn claimed that *-(u)n mo.yang i-ta* 'appear to be'

is one of the complex evidential forms (1999a), and argued that the phrasal suffix *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* can be regarded as an inferential evidential (2018). Kwon (2010) further elucidated the semantic properties and cognitive mechanism of the evidential marker, *-n moyang*, which suggests that the speaker concludes that an event has occurred, based on his/her own observation. In addition, Song (2010) illustrated that *moyang*, when combined with the copula *-i-ta*, is used as an auxiliary-like predicate and carries the meaning ‘of the appearance, appear, seem’. It essentially functions as an evidential predicate, meaning that some sensory or inferential evidence must be provided as the basis of the proposition, as shown in (66).

- (66) *[Mary-ga ja-neun]s moyang-i-da.*
 [Mary-NOM sleep-END]s appearance-COP-DCL
 ‘It seems like Mary is sleeping.’
 (The light is off. / It is very quiet in her room. / She doesn’t come to lunch.)
 (Song, 2010, p. 901)

-Nun/un/ul moyang-i, as an inferential evidential marker, indicates both the information source and the speaker’s conjecture or the possibility of the proposition. In the two examples below, although the speakers are certainly aware of the situations they are describing, they choose to use *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* in their descriptions. In example (67), speaker A recognizes that the restaurant is now open through direct visual observation.

- (67) A: 드디어 저 식당이 문을 연 모양이에요.
tutie ce siktang-i mwun-ul ye-n moyang-iey-yo.

finally that restaurant-NM door-AC open-RL **shape**-be-POL
'Finally, the restaurant **looks like** it is open.'

B: 그렇네요. 우리 언제 한번 가 봐요.
kuleh-ney-yo. wuli encey han-pen ka p-wa.yo.
be.such-APP-POL we when one-time go try-POL
'I guess so. Let's go there sometime.'

A and B are observing the situation in which the restaurant is now open. A could use the same sentence without *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* (i.e., *tutie ce siktang-i mwun-ul yel-ess-e.yo* 'The restaurant is finally open') because s/he has visual evidence to support the proposition. However, A instead delivers the information while disclaiming responsibility for the utterance by employing *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* as an expression of conjecture. The form here functions as a hedging device to reduce the degree of assertion. In using it, A may be trying to protect his/her discursive authority or avoid full responsibility for the possible effect that the proposition could have on B.

While in (67), *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* is applied to an utterance to describe an external situation and express the speaker's attitude toward the proposition, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* can also be used to indicate a speaker's realization of his/her own internal condition, emotion, or feeling. In (68), A notices that B is sleeping and wakes him up. B is surprised to find that he has fallen asleep.

(68) A: 너 여기서 뭐 해? 자?
ne yeki-se mwe ha-y? c-a?
you here-at what do-INT sleep-INT

‘What are you doing here? Are you sleeping?’

B: 어! 내가 잠깐 잔 모양이야.

e! nay-ka camkkan ca-n moyang-i-ya.

INJ I-NM a.short.time sleep-**RL** **shape**-be-INT

‘Oh! I **think** I slept for a little while.’

Although B undoubtedly understands that he was asleep, the inclusion of *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* in the sentence *nay-ka camkkan ca-n moyang-i-ya* ‘I think I slept for a little while’ allows B to objectivize his actions as an outside observer, thereby creating distance between himself and the proposition. This is an example of how, when speakers suddenly realize they have made a mistake or are in a problematic situation, they can use *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* to diminish the degree of their fault. This strategy might have an self-politeness effect, that is, it might help speakers protect their own face and reduce their responsibility and/or the punishment for the mistake.

The politeness function of *-kes kath-*, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, and *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* develops from these forms’ conjectural meaning. Kwon (2010) explained that the politeness function of *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* is used to lessen the speaker’s assertiveness. He explained that *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* is not a prototypical inferential marker in the sense that the speaker is certain about the information because s/he has directly observed it, and thus, its inferential marking function is technically not needed.

Example (65), from the Korean drama *Tokkaypi* ‘Goblin’, is repeated here as (69) with the addition of two more lines in order to focus on the last sentence with *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*. The female speaker (F) and the male speaker (M) are talking at F’s house after M pays her a surprise visit.

(69)

1 F: 근데 우리 집엔 어떤 일이세요? 나 보러 왔어요?

kuntey wuli cip-ey-n ecce-n il-i-s-ey.yo?

but we home-at-TC be.how-RL incident-be-SH-POL

na po-le w-ass-e.yo?

I see-in.order.to come-PST-POL

‘What brings you to our house? Did you come to see me?’

2 M: 그래볼까?

kulay-po-l-kka?

like.that-try-PRS-Q

‘Shall I?’

3 F: 뭐라구요?

mwe-lakwu-yo?

what-QT-POL

‘Excuse me?’

4 M: 내가 니 생각을 했나봐. 잠깐.

nay-ka ni sayngkak-ul ha-yss-na-p-wa. camkkan.

I-NM you think-AC do-PST-whether-see-INT a.short.time

‘I think I must have thought of you. For a short period.’

5 F: ...

6 M: 그래서 내가 너 보러 온 모양이라고.

kulayse nay-ka ne po-le o-n moyang-ilako.

so I-NM you see-in.order.to come-RL shape-QT
 ‘So I **think** I have come to see you.’

M answers F’s question about why he came to her house (line 1) with two inferential evidential markers, *-na po-* (line 4) and *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* (line 6). As discussed in regard to example (65), M uses *-na po-* to mitigate his self-face threatening act of admitting to thinking about her. Similarly, in line 6, he uses *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* as a politeness marker to reduce another face-threatening act toward himself, admitting that he came to see her. As he distances himself from the utterance, his position moves to that of an observer and he makes his utterance sound objective. In this instance, the conjectural meaning of *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* functions to save his face and performs as a hedging device that indicates politeness.

5.3 *-Nun/un/ul tus ha*

The conjectural expression *-nun/un/ul tus ha* consists of three parts: *-(n)un* (non-past in verb), *-un* (past or non-past in adjective), or *-ul* (prospective) + the defective noun *tus* ‘like, as, as if’ + the verb *hata* ‘to do’. According to Sohn (1999a), the main meaningful part, *-tus(i)* ‘background’, which is the subordinative conjunctive suffix, has been grammaticalized from *tus-i* (‘appearance’-AD). In (70), the speaker applies the simile expression *tus* to the word for rain in order to describe tears.

(70) *nwunmul i pi o-tus(i) ssot-a cy-ess-ta.*
 tears NM rain come-like pour-INF become-PST-DC
 ‘Tears poured down like rain.’

(Sohn, 1999a, p. 309)

Applying a simile expression to the sentence enables the propositional content to sound more vivid and valuable. In other words, similes emphasize or intensify the speaker's feeling, opinion, or argument, and thus strengthen utterances. Similar to *kes* from *-kes kath-*, *tus* is a defective noun and can be used to create distance between the speaker and the utterance by making the speaker's thoughts, ideas, opinions, or stance toward the propositional message sound objective.

The conjectural meaning of *-nun/un/ul tus ha* provides features of both epistemic modality and evidentiality. In the following conversation from the Sejong Corpus, the speakers are talking about the issue of taxi drivers refusing to pick up passengers.

(71)

- 1 A: 맞아. 가까운 거린 또 잘 안 태워 주잖아,
mac-e. kakkawu-n keli-n tto cal an thayw-e
 right-INT be.near-RL distance also well do.not take-INF
cwu-canh-a,
 give-you.know-INT
 'Right. They don't give you a ride for short distances.'
- 2 B: 정말 무진장 애를 써서 하나 잡았어.
cengmal mwucincang ay-lul sse-se hana cap-ass-e.
 really extremely effort-AC use-then one catch-PST-INT
 'I got one after so much difficulty.'
- 3 그러면 운전사 고개를 숙 내밀고
kulemyen wuncensa kokay-lul sswuk naymil-ko

then driver head-AC stretch stick.out-and
'Then the driver sticks his head out the window and'

4 어디까지 가냐는 듯한 눈빛으로 이렇게 봐,
eti-kkaci ka-nya-nun tus-ha-n nwunpich-ulo ilehkey p-wa,
where-to go-Q-RL like-do-RL one's.eyes-by like.this see-INT
'looks at me as if he's asking where I am headed to.'

5 그러면 나는, 눈치를 보면서 인제 탈려고 그래,
kulemyen na-nun, nwunchi-lul po-myense incey tha-llyeko kulay,
then I-NM sense-AC see-while now get.in-in.order.to like.that
'Then I try to get in the car while trying to read his feelings,'

6 A: 어.
e.
yes
'Yes.'

7 B: 그럼 붕 가 버려.
kulem pwung ka pely-e.
then zoom go throw.away-INT
'Then he just drives off.'

In line 4, B says *eti-kkaci ka-nya-nun tus-ha-n nwunpich* 'looks at me as if he's asking where I am headed to' to represent the speaker's choice of information and his attitude toward it. B's use of *-nun/un/ul tus ha* indicates that he is making an assumption about the taxi driver's facial expression. In other words, the conjunctural *-nun/un/ul tus ha*

expresses the speaker's stance toward the information being conveyed by the utterance. The sentence with *-nun/un/ul tus ha* also allows the addressee to infer that the speaker is not absolutely sure about the truth of the expressed proposition.

Like the three other conjectural expressions already discussed, *-nun/un/ul tus ha* also acts as a politeness marker, as in (72).

(72) A: 몇 시야? 우리 수업 다 됐지?
 myech si-ya? wuli swuep ta tway-ss-ci?
 what time-INT we class all become-PST-SUP
 ‘What time is it? Isn’t it time for our class?’

B: 응. 지금 가는 게 좋을 듯해.
 ung. cikum ka-nun ke-y coh-ul tus-ha-y.
 yes now go-RL thing-NM good-PRS like-do-INT
 ‘Yes. I **think** it would be good to go now.’

Even though both speakers understand that they should go to their class now, B carefully presents his opinion using the politeness function of *-nun/un/ul tus ha*. The use of *-nun/un/ul tus ha* modifies the expression so that it is less explicit, thereby enabling the speaker to save the interlocutor's face through the incorporation of a polite expression and simultaneously lightening the speaker's responsibility for the proposition.

5.4 Comparison of the conjectural expressions *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*

The four conjectural expressions *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha* have been compared in several previous studies. Ahn (2004) proposed that it is possible to categorize the four conjectural expressions into the two categories of “objective object” or “subjective object,” depending on the basis of speculation. The first category consists of objective expression types that speculate on a condition based on a common communicative goal between speakers. *-Na po/-nun-ka-po* and *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* belong to this category. The second category consists of expressions that are based on a judgment grounded in the direct experience of the speaker yet withhold the internal perspective of the speaker. *-Nun/un/ul kes kath* and *-nun/un/ul tus ha* belong to this category.

As epistemic modal markers, these four conjectural expressions show subjective uses. However, they also show intersubjective functions, as they are sometimes also used as inferential evidential markers and employed in politeness strategies. As discussed, both *-na po/-nun-ka-po* and *-nun/un/ul moyang-i* include visual words (i.e., *pota* ‘see, look’ and *moyang* ‘shape, form’, respectively). Both *tus* and *kes* represent the speakers’ feelings or mood in *-nun/un/ul kes kath* and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*. When information or knowledge is conveyed using these expressions, *pota*, *moyang*, *tus*, and *kes* function individually to convey evidentiality.

The characteristics of sentence endings in Korean are responsible for the similar phenomena observed in the usage of these conjectural expressions. According to Sohn (1994), speakers’ attitudes toward the propositional content of their messages can be

represented in the sentence-final slots of SOV languages such as Korean. The grammaticalization process of sentence-final particles is motivated by interaction, as evidenced by the fact that the observed functional changes increase speaker involvement and expressivity. All four of these expressions represent cases of ongoing grammaticalization, during which the forms have acquired a new categorical status as sentence-final particles through syntactic restructuring. Lee (1991, p. 471) explained that sentence-terminal suffixes differentiate various epistemic modality categories including the speaker's knowledge status, background expectation, evidentiary source of conveyed information, and the speaker's assumption about the addressee's point of view.

This dissertation focuses on *-kes kath-* among several conjunctural expressions because the frequency of the occurrences of *-kes kath-* is much higher than that of the others. Koo (2004) studied the frequency of several sentence-final particles in Korean and discovered that the highest frequency forms were *-ci ahnta/canta* (31.41%), which is used in negative propositions, *com* (21.22%), which is the diminutive marker, and *-n kes kathhta* (14.78), which is the conjunctural modal expression. She also found that *-n ka/tus siphta* (0.92%) and *-n ka/-na pota* (0.72%) occur much less frequently than *-n kes kathhta*. It is worthwhile to ask why *-n kes kathhta* is used so much more than other conjunctural expressions in Korean to express politeness. Rhee (2008) argued that the predominance of *-kes* can be explained by the following two facts: *-Kes* is one of the most frequently used words in modern Korean, and it is thus one of the most versatile morphemes. On top of its primary role as a nominalizer, it has additional roles such as complementation, clausal connection, and sentential endings with diverse tense, aspect, and modality functions. As a result, *-kes kath-* has fewer syntactic constraints and can be used more

frequently than other expressions. That is why this study focuses on the expression *-nun/un/ul kes kath* in detail and why the results of this study can be applied to the three other conjectural expressions. For all four expressions, *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*, the basic function is to express conjecture, and the conjectural meaning has developed to form the politeness meaning. Although the degree of grammaticalization and the evidentiality of these four expressions differ, they all function to mark politeness as epistemic modals, and they all refer to information sources as evidentials. Therefore, one of this study's significant contributions is that it explains the features and development of not only *-nun/un/ul kes kath* but also of the other Korean conjectural expressions *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This dissertation has examined *-nun/un/ul kes kath* from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. The study also proposed that *-nun/un/ul kes kath* can be considered to have an evidential quality. Three other expressions, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*, which exhibit similar phenomena as *-nun/un/ul kes kath* in terms of their grammaticalization processes and usage as (inferential) evidential markers, were also examined.

Chapter 2 presented a synchronic analysis of the pragmatic functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* in contemporary Korean using a discourse analysis framework to analyze modern Korean data. It also summarized theories of objectivity, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity, and politeness and speech acts, which provided the background for examining *-nun/un/ul kes kath*'s three synchronic functions, which are related to similarity, conjecture, and politeness.

The first function of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is derived from the meaning of 'sameness' or 'identicalness' of the adjective *kath-* and is related to figures of speech. This meaning comes directly from the simile expression *-keskwa kath-*, from which *kwa* has been omitted in most cases in contemporary Korean. When *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is used as a simile expression, it serves various functions: (a) it gives strength to the utterance; (b) it emphasizes or intensifies the speaker's feeling, opinion, or argument; and (c) it denotes the objectivity of the speaker's thoughts, ideas, opinions, or stance toward

the propositional message by creating distance between the speaker and the utterance. The second function of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is to express the speaker's uncertainty regarding the message s/he is conveying. Conjecture is defined as an idea or opinion based on incomplete or ambiguous knowledge. In other words, when speakers draw a conclusion or describe a situation based on unclear information, their utterances are conjecture and should express their subjective point of view. The third function of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is closely related to politeness strategies and can be applied in diverse circumstances. The speaker can express his/her opinion indirectly by using *-nun/un/ul kes kath* when s/he does not know what the listener thinks. In such situations, in which people do not know about others' plans, opinions, or feelings, they use *-nun/un/ul kes kath* to create an indirect propositional message in order to reduce their responsibility for the utterance. In addition, *-nun/un/ul kes kath* can function as a hedging device to mitigate direct confrontation. The politeness function of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* softens the speech act and consequently reduces the force of an FTA by making utterances ambiguous. When *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is used for politeness, it conveys intersubjectivity, whereas when it is employed to express conjecture, it illustrates the speaker's strong subjectivity. Because the truth of the proposition of a sentence with the conjectural *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is in question, the conjectural *-nun/un/ul kes kath* functions to support the speaker's judgment. In contrast, when *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is used as a politeness strategy, the proposition is assumed to be true and the use of the expression represents the speaker's desire to show respect to the listener. In this way, intersubjectivity emerges in the interactional use of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*. The main function of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* as a politeness strategy is communication with the

listener, not the expression of the speaker's stance toward the proposition. Therefore, subjectivity, a characteristic of the conjectural *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, develops into intersubjectivity, which is a feature of the politeness *-nun/un/ul kes kath*.

In Chapter 3, the grammaticalization path of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is examined. The chapter begins by reviewing the theoretical background of grammaticalization and how the structure and source of a grammar pattern depends on the changeable features of language. Previous research on the historical development of the nominalizer *kes* and the adjective *kath-* is presented to provide a baseline for the grammaticalization process of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*. According to Traugott's (1982, 1989) cline of grammaticalization, semantic shifts move unidirectionally from concrete to abstract: propositional > textual > expressive. The meaning shift of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* parallels Traugott's proposed cline in the following manner: similarity: objective (propositional) > conjecture: subjective (textual) > politeness: intersubjective (expressive). As illustrated in this cline, the semantic shift of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* moves from similarity to conjecture. Through this semantic shift, greater subjectivity emerges as objectivity decreases, because the speaker's judgment toward the proposition is inherent in the conjectural meaning. The next shift occurs when *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is used to express politeness instead of conjecture. In this alteration of semantic meaning, the speaker is certain about the information expressed in the proposition, thus demonstrating the loss of the conjectural meaning. With the shift to the politeness meaning, *-nun/un/ul kes kath* comes to convey expressive features, showing the interactional function (intersubjectivity).

The second way in which *-nun/un/ul kes kath* has become grammaticalized can be seen in grammatical restructuring. Possible clines of unidirectional grammatical

restructuring include the following: discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero (Givón, 1979, p. 209) and major category (> intermediate category) > minor category (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 107). According to Bybee (1985), a parallel cline starts with a lexical verb that develops into an auxiliary and then into an affix: full verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix. Hopper and Traugott (2003) also mentioned that auxiliary-like or adverbial status can form as a result of an original verbal construction downgrading. This is the direction of the syntactic path taken by *-nun/un/ul kes kath*: nominalizer *kes* + *wa/kwa* + main adjective *kath*- > complementizer *kes* + [omission of comitative *wa/kwa*] + auxiliary adjective *kath*- > defunct complementizer *kes* + suffix *kath*-.

Third, in terms of phonological change, the change is toward reduction. The phonological reduction of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is as follows: *-keskwa kath*- > *-kes kath*- > *-ke kath*- / *-kke kath*-, although the form *-kke kath*- is found only in the prospective *-l-kes kath*-.

In Chapter 4, I discussed modality, especially epistemic modality and evidential modality, and provided the theoretical background and definitions for these concepts. The chapter explains the relationship between epistemics and evidentials, briefly introducing the major research on each of these notions. Furthermore, I briefly introduced the previous studies on evidentiality in Korean, including research on the classification of the Korean evidential system, Korean evidential markers and pragmatics, and language acquisition of Korean evidentiality. Then, I demonstrated how *-nun/un/ul kes kath* as the inferential evidential modal marker not only conveys politeness as an epistemic modal but also indicates information source as an evidential, by taking a close look at example

conversations. When speakers report the content of the proposition they want to deliver through the use of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, they can also show their attitudes toward the hearer and/or proposition. In addition to allowing speakers to express an objective view toward what they are describing by detaching themselves from the proposition, *-nun/un/ul kes kath* also helps speakers successfully disclaim responsibility, strengthen claims, enhance solidarity, and accomplish self-politeness.

In Chapter 5, I briefly analyzed three other conjectural expressions, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*, to examine what commonalities they share with *-nun/un/ul kes kath*. This chapter points out how the syntactic, semantic, and phonological changes of the three other conjectural expressions, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha*, parallel those of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, as described in detail in the previous chapters. All four expressions have the conjectural meaning and display the development of gaining the politeness function and the evidential function of indicating information source; all four can be considered inferential evidential modal markers.

6.2 Limitations and implications for future study

This dissertation study's analyses were based on natural conversational data from native Korean speakers and on conversational data from television programs including dramas and talk shows. These data sources undoubtedly entail limitations for the analyses. One possible source of criticism may be that the data from the television programs are artificial. The justification for using scripted and partly scripted conversation is that it is

based on real-life conversations and designed to sound realistic and familiar to a wide range of audience members.

Another limitation comes from the fact that the grammaticalization of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* is still ongoing. As grammaticalization is a continual process, I have only been able to investigate the semantic changes most commonly observed in the data and have thus far been unable to find any hidden or new functions of *-nun/un/ul kes kath* that might be emerging right now as speakers continue to use the construction in daily conversation. In that sense, this study must inevitably leave out some current phenomena related to *-nun/un/ul kes kath*.

Further research on this dissertation's topics would be valuable. Until 2000, Korean linguistics rarely addressed the concept of evidentiality. For that reason, many expressions that had previously been identified as modals have only recently been identified as evidential markers. Starting in the early 2000s, new light has been cast on some of the modality markers in Korean. Since then, more studies regarding Korean evidentiality and various other evidential markers in Korean have begun to emerge. However, further in-depth study of evidentiality in Korean is required in order to precisely determine where and how Korean fits within the typology of evidential systems and whether it also exhibits a more scattered coding system. Moreover, until now most of the previous research has focused on forms that have clear grammatical evidence that identifies them as evidential markers, such as the direct evidential markers *-te* and *-kwu*, the quotative evidential markers *-ta(y)/-la(y)*, *-nya(y)*, *-(u)la(y)*, and *-ca(y)* and the reported (hearsay) evidential marker *-ta(y)/la(y)*. Therefore, several possible topics

deserve attention in further studies, including other potential inferential evidential markers and the distinction between modality and evidentiality in Korean.

In this dissertation, the features of the four conjectural expressions *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha* were examined as inferential evidential markers that are also undergoing grammaticalization. What is significant about this study is that it can explain not only the features that occur in one typical expression but also the features of other conjectural expressions that have similar characteristics, thus contributing to establishing a paradigm of the relationships between conjecture, politeness, and/or evidentiality for further research.

To conclude, I want to emphasize how important it is to teach these four conjectural expressions effectively to Korean as a foreign language (KFL) learners to improve communicative skills. It is crucial that KFL learners first understand the Korean conjecture/politeness system in general rather than simply memorizing each expression's meaning and/or usage when taught in the classroom. Above all, textbooks should provide appropriate explanations and examples to illustrate the functions of these expressions. Currently, the explanations of many Korean language textbooks focus only on the traditional meanings and functions. However, KFL learners also need to understand the pragmatic functions of these expressions to be able to effectively communicate with native speakers. I suggest that textbooks should include the social meanings of *-nun/un/ul kes kath*, *-na po/-nun-ka-po*, *-nun/un/ul moyang-i*, and *-nun/un/ul tus ha* as an initial step to rectify this shortcoming. In addition, instructors should give KFL learners sufficient opportunities to practice these expressions in social contexts.

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