Semantic Changes in Grammaticalization of Postpositionoids from Movement Verbs in Korean*

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This paper attempts to provide an account of semantic changes displayed by six verbs in the course of their grammaticalization into ten postpositionoids. These source verbs, despite their phonological and morphosyntactic complexity, have shared semantic characteristics in that they denote movement containing manner components. For semantic change mechanisms it is proposed here that various mechanisms such as variable frame of focus, metaphor, metonymy, pragmatic inference, subjectification, and hyperbole are the driving forces, and individual instances of semantic change operation are illustrated. Of note among these mechanisms is that hyperbole has not been proposed as a semantic change mechanism in grammaticalization to date, but is seen to be operative in grammaticalization of an allative marker -*ey tayko* from *tayta* 'touch'.

Key words: grammaticalization, postpositionoids, movement verbs, semantic change mechanism

1. Introduction

In recent scholarship of grammaticalization verbs of movement have received serious attention for their crosslinguistic commonalities and important ramifications in linguistic analysis from a crosslinguistic perspective. Verbs of movement in Korean exhibit a systematic semantic encoding of various motional components, and their semantics and morphosyntax render interesting insights into grammaticalization theory. In addition to the morphosyntactic devices of specifying simple horizontal

deixis such as andative and venitive, which are found in many languages, Korean has a more elaborate system for specifying more fine-grained motional notions such as ascension, descension, ingression, egression, reversion, as well as others that specify manners and features of local geography involved in motions.[1] The richness and systematicity of this deictic system is fundamentally due to the meticulous lexical-ization pattern and to the syntactic idiosyncrasy in Korean that makes use of verb serialization which is compositional, and hence, in principle, unlimited. This paper addresses grammaticalization phenomena displayed by a subset of verbs of movement that grammaticalized into postpositionoids[2] with special focus on their semantic changes. These verbs are as listed in (1) below.

(1) a. nemta   go over   movement over landmark
     b. tayta   touch   movement of contact on landmark
     c. pwuthta   adhere   movement of attachment onto landmark
     d. takuta   draw near movement of approximation toward landmark
     e. cochta   follow   movement of following landmark in motion
     f. ttaluta   follow   movement of following landmark in motion

These verbs are still productively used as lexical verbs in modern Korean, which, however, have undergone formal and semantic divergence resulting in emergence of postpositionoids as in (2), thus forming 'heterosemous' relations (Lichtenberk, 1991).[3]

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1) Rhee (1996) classifies movement verbs into three subcategories: Motional verbs, Directional verbs, and Manner verbs. Motional verbs and Directional verbs typically grammaticalize into aspectual markers (sometimes with speaker's evaluative view-points), whereas Manner verbs, if not all, develop into various adpositions (the following discussion for more detail).

2) The term 'postpositionoids' as used here is intended to include full-fledged 'simplex postpositions' and more peripheral 'complex postpositions' (or secondary postpositions) (Lehmann, 1982, 1995); Matsumoto, 1998; Rhee, 2002a).

3) As an anonymous reviewer rightly points out these postpositionoids have other extended meanings associated with them. This list is not intended to be an exhaustive catalogue of all senses but as one of representatives. Detailed discussion for development into each of these senses should exceed the scope of this paper, and must await future research.

(2) a. -neme[4]   over   (< nemta 'go over')
    b. -ey tayko   to (allative)   (< tayta 'touch')
    c. -pwuthe   from (ablative)   (< pwuthta 'adhere')
    d. -eysepwuthe   from (ablative)   (< pwuthta 'adhere')
    e. -lopwuthe   from (ablative)   (< pwuthta 'adhere')
    f. -eytaka[5]   to (allative)   (< takuta 'draw near')
    g. -cocha   even (NPI)   (< cochta 'follow')
    h. -ttala   on (adversative)   (< ttaluta 'follow')
    i. -ey ttala   according to, along (< ttaluta 'follow')
    j. -ul ttala   according to, along (< ttaluta 'follow')

These postpositionoids exhibit differential degrees of postpositional characteristics, with several retaining more verbal characteristics, while others having acquired more postpositional properties.[6] It is to be noted also that the verb *ttaluta* 'follow' has diverged into three postpositional forms, i.e. *-ttala, -ey ttala,* and *-ul ttala,* and similarly *pwuthta* has diverged into *-pwuthe, -eysepwuthe,* and *-lopwuthe,* all of which are used in modern Korean with semantic differences ('divergence' Hopper, 1991; Hopper & Traugott, 1993).

2. Source Characteristics

Rhee (1996) suggests semantic classification of verbs of movement into three major categories as 'motional verbs' (encoding movement of horizontal axis, e.g., 'come' and 'go'), 'directional verbs' (encoding movement with directional reference to landmark, e.g., 'enter', 'exit', etc.), and 'manner verbs' (encoding movement with proximation, orientation, etc., e.g., 'adhere', follow', etc.). Of these classes it is notable that motional verbs and

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4) Postposition *-neme* [-ne/me, with the vergule sign for orthographic boundary] is derived from the verb *nemta*. In verbal use it is written as [nem/e]. Many Korean speakers are confused in this orthographic division. Many dictionaries list [ne/me] as a noun, which seems to be due to the fact that it can take postpositional particles such as *-ey* 'at', *-eyse* 'from', etc. However, since Korean allows stacking of multiple postpositional particles, attachability of particles per se does not establish its nominal status. In fact, most Korean speakers, relying on their native speaker intuition, consider [ne/me] as either an adverb or a postposition.

5) The postpositionoid *-eytaka* has three more phonologically reduced variant forms, e.g., *-eyta, -taka,* and *-ta*; and two related forms for animate host NPs, i.e., *-hantheytaka* and *-hantheyta.*

6) For morphosyntactic analysis of these postpositionoids, see Rhee (2002b).

directional verbs largely grammaticalize into tense, aspect, and modality
(TAM) markers, whereas adpositions are grammaticalized from manner
verbs. More precisely, even among the manner verbs, those encoding
inherent manner, e.g. 'run', 'walk', 'flow', etc. do not grammaticalize into
adpositions; only those that contain semantic components of local geography,
proximation, and orientation develop into various adpositions. This leads
us to a cursory discussion of source characteristics of these adpositions.

2.1. Syntactic Properties

Korean is a serial verb language, where two or more verbs can be
serialized by way of using non-finite markers. Languages with this
characteristic typically exhibit rich verbal grammaticalization phenomena.
It is for this reason that DeLancey (1991, p. 15) called serial verb
constructions 'the seed of grammaticalization'. Serial verb constructions
bear special significance in Korean, especially in grammaticalization
studies, because the serialization process is systematic in terms of the
ordering of the participating verbs. Typical combinations are as follows:[7]

(3) a. chinkwu-lul   ttalu-a   tul-e   o-ta
       friend-Acc   follow-NF   enter-NF   come-Inf
       'to come in following a friend'
    b. pakk-ulo   thwi-e   na-a   ka-ta
       outside-to   jump-NF   exit-NF   go-Inf
       'to jump out/ to go out jumping'

The above patterns can be generalized into the following scheme.[8]

(4) [NP-Particle] [Manner] [Directional] [Motional]

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7) The Yale Romanization System is used here for transliteration and the following
abbreviations are used: Acc: accusative; CE: counter-expectation; Dec: declarative; Imp:
imperative; Inf: infinitive; Loc: locative; Neg: negative; NF: non-finite; Nom: nominative; NPI:
negative polarity item; Obj: object; Pres: present; Pst: past; Sg: singular; and Top: topic.

8) This scheme is part of a more generalized scheme in Korean, as suggested in Rhee (1996,
p. 260): [NP-Particle] [Manner] [Directional] [Motional] [Aspect] [Tense] [Modality]. An anon-
ymous reviewer points out that -pwuthe and -cocha may not have the same status as
-ttala, and thus not developed from this source structure, since examples with
accusative-marked NPs with the former do not seem to be source sentences of the
counterpart sentences without accusative-marked NPs. A historical survey, however,
strongly suggests that these postpositional particles were derived from them. Synchronic
incompatibility seems to be due to semantic change whereby old meanings became no
longer transparent.

Of particular importance in the above scheme is that the particles are omissible, an idiosyncrasy of Korean syntax, and thus [Manner] verbs have a higher chance of compacting with a preceding pronoun. With this higher possibility of collocation with the preceding noun, and the perceived higher relevance to the noun due to their proximity, these manner verbs secured a higher possibility of grammaticalization into postpositions on its syntagmatic dimension ('relevance' Bybee, 1985).

2.2. Semantic Properties

Semantically, the verbs that grammaticalized into adpositionoids have relationality (Matsumoto, 1998) as their semantic component. In other words, the verbs should be diadic. This is in line with the observation of Matsumoto (1998, pp. 42-43) that Japanese complex postpositions were developed from those that contain a relationality sense. It is particularly true with Korean postpositionoids because those that encode 'proximation', 'orientation', 'local geography' require the presence of a landmark to be referenced by the mover/trajector. In addition, these grammaticalizing verbs contain 'agentivity' as their semantic component. Therefore, the verb *tahta* 'get touched' is diadic and relational in its simple formation of 'X gets touched by Y', but did not grammaticalize;[9] while its transitive counterpart *tayta,* with inherent agentivity, did grammaticalize.[10]

2.3. Source Constructs

As is commonly attested in Korean grammaticalization studies on verbs, the postpositionoids under discussion here also make use of non-finite

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9) An anonymous reviewer suggested that -*eyta* may have been grammaticalizaed from *tahta* 'get touched', thus calling into question the viability of [+agentive] component as a prerequisite. However, this lacks support in that its putative form previous to erosion, i.e. -*eytaha*, is not attested in the history of the Korean language. Interchangeability between -*eytaka* and -*eyta,* and the layered occurrences of these two forms strongly suggests their shared origin. Another reviewer also suggested that *pwuthta* and *takuta* do not seem to involve an agent. As Rhee (1996) provides a more detailed description, these forms, especially *pwuthta,* seem to have been predominantly used with an accusative-marked NP in earlier stages of Korean, a contrast with contemporary usage where locative/allative -*ey* is more frequently use.

10) However, invoking the notion of 'transitivity' is problematic in that, due to a Korean idiosyncrasy, prototypical intransitive verbs, e.g. 'come' and 'go', can also take an NP marked with an accusative marker, thus making it impossible to differentiate transitive and intransitive verbs in strictly surface syntactic terms.

markers. Among a handful of non-finite markers the most commonly used ones are '-a/e' and '-ko'. One common function of these two non-finite markers is that they signal that the sentential end has not yet been reached. However, they show delicate yet significant differences in their semantics. The most important difference is that '-a/e' emphasizes connection between the two (or more) serialized verbs; while '-ko' emphasizes disconnection between them (Koo, 1987). For this reason Rhee (1996) labels them as 'consolidating connective' and 'isolating connective', respectively. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(5) a. koki-lul   kwup-e   mek-ta
        meat-Acc   roast-NF   eat-Inf
    b. tocwung-ey ca-ko   ka-ta
        middle-at   sleep-NF go-Inf

In (5a) 'roasting' action and 'eating' action take place in the same (or nearly same) time-frame, and thus this phrase can be interpreted as 'eat roasted meat' in addition to its more literal meaning of 'roast meat and eat it'. On the other hand, the event denoted by (5b) has two separate phases, i.e., sleeping and continuing the journey. In other words, the non-finite marker -a/e allows co-occurrence of 'roasting' and 'eating' while -ko forces separation of two sub-events.

The postpositionoids under discussion here also make use of non-finite markers, as shown in the following.

(6) a. -neme   nem + e
    b. -pwuthe   pwuth + e
    c. -cocha   coch + a
    d. -ttala   ttalu + a
    e. -eytaka   [-ey] taku + a
    f. -ey tayko   [-ey] tay + ko
    g. -ey ttala   [-ey] ttalu + a
    h. -ul ttala   [-ul] ttalu + a
    i. -lopwuthe   [-lo] pwuth + e
    j. -eysepwuthe   [-eyse] pwuth + e

It is also notable in the above that (6e)-(6j) still bear traces of connecting

devices with the preceding noun, i.e,. particles such as locative *-ey*, accusative *-ul*, directional *-lo*, and ablative *-eyse*. Therefore, the postpositionoids under discussion here can be summarized as follows:

(7) a. Simplex postpositions
        Noun-Manner-NF: e.g. *-pwuthe, -cocha, -ttala*
    b. Complex postpositions
        Noun-Particle-Manner-NF: e.g. *-eytaka, -eykeytaka, -ey tayko,*
                                        -ey ttala, -ul ttala, -lopwuthe,
                                        -eysepwuthe

3. Semantic Change

Now we turn to semantic change that occurred along the path of grammaticalization of these postpositionoids, mainly addressing the issue of semantic change mechanisms in five categories. The overall semantic change along the path from movement verbs to postpositionoids can be summarized as follows:

(8)   Form   Source > Target
    a. -neme   go over > over
    b. -ey tayko   touch > to (allative)
    c. -pwuthe   adhere > from (ablative)
    d. -eyse/-lo-pwuthe   adhere > from (ablative)
    e. -eytaka   draw near > to (allative)
    f. -cocha   follow > even (NPI)
    g. -ttala   follow > on (adversative)
    h. -ey/ul ttala   follow> according to, along

### 3.1. Adhere > From; Follow > According-to

One peculiarity of semantic change is the apparent antonymization as in [adhere > from] and [follow > according to] as shown in the following examples.

(9) a. kkem-i   pyek-ey   pwuth-ess-ta
       chewing.gum-Nom   wall-Loc   adhere-Pst-Dec
       'A chewing gum is stuck on the wall.'
    b. sewul-pwuthe   pwusan-kkaci   talli-ess-ta
       Seoul-from   Busan-till   run-Pst-Dec
       '(I) ran from Seoul to Busan.'

(10) a. ku-lul   kkuth-kkaci   ttala-ss-ta
        he-Acc   end-till   follow-Pst-Dec
        '(I) followed him till the end.'
     b. pep-ul/ey ttala   simphanhay-ss-ta
        law-according.to judge-Pst-Dec
        '(I) made a judgment according to a law.'

In examples (9a) and (10a) respectively, *pwuth-* and *ttalu-* are used as main verbs, whereas in (9b) and (10b) their derived forms are used as postpositionoids. An analogous phenomenon is also exhibited by *-eytaka* (draw near > allative) (cf. §3.2). In treating similar cases in Korean, presenting supportive cross-linguistic data, that can be largely characterized as [comitative-instrumental-status-source] chain, Rhee (1996, 2000) proposes the notion 'frame of focus' operating on event schemas. In conceptual-ization of a schematized event, language users employ certain frames of focus that can either be telescoped or microscoped with particular focus on any subpart of the event. It tends to always occur in dynamic event schemas contra static image schemas. For this reason, the Location schema (*a la* Heine, 1993), though it is the most commonly used schema in the development of auxiliaries, seldom gives rise to antonymization for its lack of dynamicity. From a brief survey it is obvious that most antonymization processes seem to result from the use of the Motion schema, the Action schema, and less commonly, the Accompaniment schema. This is in consonance with the characteristic of most observed cases of antonymization, i.e., the reversion of the motional directions.

To illustrate the point, let us first consider the semantic change of 'attaching' or 'following' into 'detaching' or 'leading' senses, largely drawing on the exposition provided in Rhee (2000), where it was shown that Korean *pwuthta,* Chinese *gen* and Old French *à* all underwent a semantic change of reversed directions including such components as 'following', 'accompaniment', and 'from'. Figure 1 is a schema of a 'following' event.

Figure 1. 'Following' Event Schema
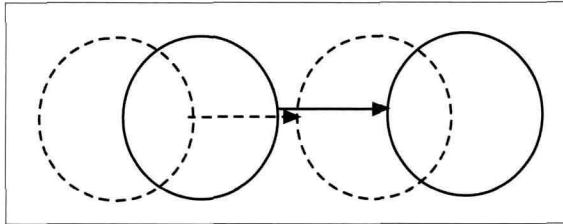
The most common, or rather the closest to the original, meaning utilizes the focus with a microscopic view superimposed on the above schema. From a grammaticalization viewpoint, this focus is typical in the stage when the word is not yet grammaticalized, thus in its lexical stage, or if it is en route to grammaticalization it belongs to the earlier stages of grammaticalization where lexical characteristics may be still preserved. This is not surprising when we consider that grammaticalization in a sense is a meaning-generalization process in many cases, and in early stages of grammaticalization words tend to have higher specificity, and the semantic focus being placed on the detail is a logically natural consequence. Therefore, we can view this less grammaticalized stage as utilizing microscopic frame of focus as the following Figure 2.

Figure 2. 'Approximation' Focus on 'Following' Schema
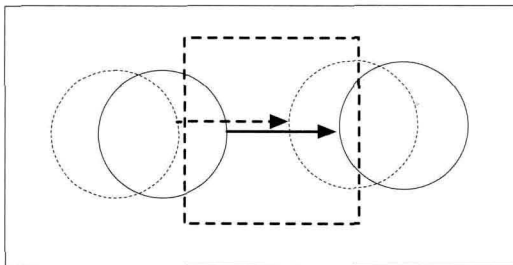
When the approximating act comes under focus as illustrated in the above Figure 2, such senses as 'arriving (at a place)', 'catching (fire)', 'motion toward', etc. are primary.

When the 'following' event schema receives a different frame of focus, the grammaticalizing word can acquire still different meaning. For example, the focus may be placed on both 'the follower' and 'the followed' from a much wider angle in a telescopic view with the focus

frame as shown in the following Figure 3.

Figure 3. 'Accompaniment' Focus on 'Following' Schema
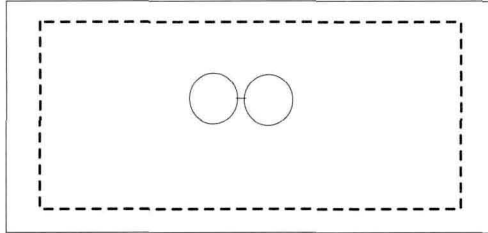
In the above schema, as a result of widening the frame of the focus, the details of the event, e.g. specifying the follower and the followed, the direction of the following event, etc. are crucially demoted. In this focus frame, therefore, the two involved entities are viewed as 'being together', hence giving rise to the new meaning of 'associative'. This framing of focus largely results in the meaning of 'with'.

Still another option in framing of focus is maintaining the same telescopic viewing of the event with specified focus on 'the follower' as in the following Figure 4.[11)]

Figure 4. Focus on 'Following' Schema
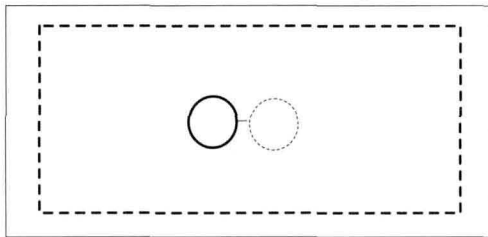
In the above schematic representation 'the follower' comes into focus. This type of focus framing seems to appear in a later stage of grammatical-calization when the lexical meaning of the original grammaticalizing item is less transparent as a result of meaning generalization process.

With reference to the specified focus, a little more discussion is in

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11) The idea of differential focusing is reminiscent of Langacker's (1991) concept of 'active zone', which refers to that a part of a schema becomes activated or focused by the language user.

order. In principle, the specified focus can be applied either to 'the follower' as well as to 'the followed'. However, in case of this type of focus framing the focus is almost invariably placed on the 'follower'. This has an interesting bearing with our routine discourse strategy. When a following event is described 'the followed' is usually the reference point and 'the follower' is the agent carrying out the approximative action. In this schematic arrangement, the agent, the follower, is conceptually more salient. When the following event schema is preserved and therefore 'the followed' is still available though not with any focus, the role of 'the followed' is to serve the 'the follower' as being its background. From this focus shift the meaning is drastically changed. In other words, the direction denoted by the verb of a deictic directional movement is reversed by the focus attributed to 'the follower' of the event. This kind of change can be schematically represented as the following:

Figure 5. Phases of Semantic Reversal from Allative to Ablative
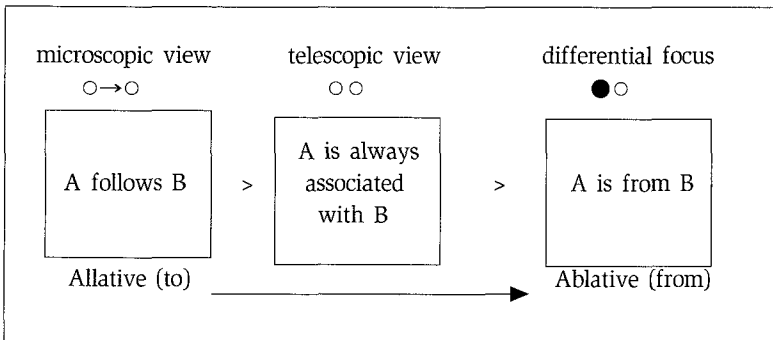
From the above schematization we can see the development of seemingly antonymous meanings in the course of grammaticalization following the path of [to > with > from]. This variable focus frame approach can account for the semantic change that occurred to the verbs *pwuthta* and *ttaluta* that grammaticalized to ablative postpositionoids.

3.2. Draw-near > To

As briefly noted in §3.1, the second type of semantic change is [draw near > to], as is manifested by *-ey taka* developed from the movement verb *takuta* 'draw near', as exemplified in the following examples.

(11) a. ku-ka   pyek-ey   taka-se-ss-ta
          he-Nom   wall-to   draw.near-stand-Pst-Dec
          'He walked up to the wall (and stood).'
      b. kukus-ul   chayksang-eytaka   noh-ala
          that-Acc   desk-to/on   put-Imp
          'Put it on the desk.'

Again, the example (11a) has *taku-* as a component of a main verb, whereas (11b) has its derived form as a postpositional particle.[12] This can be interpreted as a result of end-point focus from 'going' schema according to the frame-of-focus mechanism (equally amenable with Lakoff's (1987) image-schema transformation (IST)). This type of change can be attributed to metonymy along the eventual chain of procedural teleology. In other words, 'drawing near' event is viewed as uninterrupted. Therefore, the direction sense with reference to the landmark is naturally retained through this conceptual contiguity.

This type of change, i.e., one based on conceptual contiguity per procedural teleology is also widespread. For example, the development of English *be going to* into a futurity marker, though many scholars attribute it to metaphor, involves this type of metonymic semantic change. It is widely known that English *be going to* was used only with purpose clause headed by *to*, as exemplified in *I am going to marry the girl*. However, addressees of this utterance make a pragmatic inference in the following way ('context-induced reinterpretation' Heine et al. 1991; 'invited inference' Traugott & Dasher, 2002).

(12) a. A is in motion.
      b. A has the purpose of marrying the girl.
      c. The end-point of A's motion is a marrying event.
      d. A's marriage is an imminent future event.

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12) The verbal status of the verb *takuta* in modern Korean is so marginal that most dictionaries list it as a defective verb that needs to be combined with (an)other verb(s). This marginal status seems to be applicable even to its usage in Middle Korean and is indicative of the fact that grammaticalization of the verb started out long time ago and has been in progress slowly. This verb's main verb usage seems to be restricted to such expressions as *kyelhon nalcca-lul takuta* [marriage date-Acc draw.near] 'to advance the marriage date'. This type of usage divergence often creates polysemy or heterosemy.

And this series of inference may give rise to a grammatical reanalysis as to its structure. I.e., *marry* is the main verb and *am going to* is merely an indicator of imminent future. This analysis drawing on metonymy, rather than [space>time] metaphor, is in more consonance with a general grammaticalization tenet that grammaticalization is a gradual process.[13)]

More specifically, the change of [go to > to] as one attributable to conceptual contiguity is also found in Rama, Fa d'Ambu, Ewe, Mandarin Chinese, etc. (Heine et al. 1993; Heine & Kuteva, 2002). The following Ewe example well illustrates the point.

(13) a. é   -yi   apé
         3.Sg   -go   home
         'She went home.'
      b. me- kplɔ   e   yi   apé
         1.Sg accompany 3.Sg.Obj [go] home
         'I escorted him home.'

                                    (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 160)

In (13a) *-yi* is used as a verb, but in (13b) it is an allative marker corresponding to 'to'.

One peculiarity of *-taka* surfaces when we look at its history. The allative particle *-taka* typically occurs with a locative noun.[14)] The types of co-occurring NPs exhibit the residue semantics of the source verb, i.e., as *takuta* 'draw near' has motional semantics and thus involves reference location, *-taka* is attached to a spatial noun and the predicate of the following clause denotes a motion, physical or otherwise. Previously *-taka* could co-occur with an Accusative-marked NP, but in modern Korean only Locative-marked NP can co-occur. If the preceding NP is *yeki* 'here', *ceki* 'there', or *keki* 'there', omission of the locative *-ey* renders the phrase more natural.

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13) Grammaticalization of [go to > Future] is widely attested. Crosslinguistically such has been reported in Bari, Sotho, Zulu, Margi, Klao, Igbo, Teso, Tzotzil, Tamil, Basque and numerous others across language families and areas (Heine & Kuteva, 2002).

14) Rhee (1996, pp. 240-241) designated *-taka* as an emphatic marker and provides exposition that includes the particle use addressed here and an emphatic marker that occurs in a serial verb construction. Since serial verb constructions basically refer to verbal morphology, they fall beyond the scope of this paper.

3.3. Touch > To

Another type of change similar to the previously discussed [draw-near > to] is [touch > to], which took place with *-ey tayko* from the movement verb *tayta* 'touch', as shown in the following examples.

(14) a. son-ul   ima-ey   tay-ess-ta
        hand-Acc   forehead-Loc   touch-Pst-Dec
        '(I) touched my forehead with my hand.'
     b. ku-nun   pakk-ey tayko   solichi-ess-ta
        he-Top   outside-to   yell-Pst-Dec
        'He yelled toward outside [He shouted out (the door)].'

The touching event is similar to a drawing-near event, with crucial difference in realization of contact. I.e., touching assumes contact, whereas drawing near does not. The semantic change involved in [touch > to] can be characterized as a case of hyperbole, whereby mere direction is encoded by contact.[15] For example, in (14b) his shouting assumes a direction, i.e., toward outside, which is linguistically coded with 'touch' as if he is touching the goal (i.e., the conceptualized entity 'outside'). This type of change might be analyzed as an instance of metaphorization whereby an event in the concrete domain (i.e., touching something) is mapped to a more abstract domain (i.e., shouting at/to). However, in a strict sense the mapping does not seem to be between the 'touching event' and the 'shouting event'. Rather, it is more amenable if the mapping is between 'touching' and 'direction', since *-ey tayko* is encoding directionality. Therefore, this change seems to be attributable to the variable focus frame, i.e. focus on the toucher's procedural path along the touching action. In other words, the speaker uses the rhetorical strategy

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15) As an anonymous reviewer suggests this development may be interpreted in a very different way, i.e., the fact that the verb that formerly denoted 'contact' has been developed into a particle that denotes 'direction' may be viewed as an instance of semantic reduction. This is perfectly amenable because contact includes a directional motion at its pre-culmination stage. The differing interpretations seem to be crucially dependent on the viewpoints. assumed by the analyses The semantic reduction interpretation is viable if the analysis is focusing on the change of the formant. On the other hand, if the analysis focuses on the language user's cognitive strategy of using a 'contact'-denoting formant to encode a mere 'direction', this is an instance of hyperbole. Since the author adopts the latter view with more strategic use of linguistic forms, this case is presented as an instance of hyperbole as a mechanism.

of hyperbole whereby 'towardness/aboutness' concept is represented as 'touching' that has been realized. The 'realization' sense is particularly important in that the non-finite particle -ko in -ey tayko encodes disconnection of two events, thus labeled as an isolating particle (cf. §2.3), and that, therefore, -ey tayko is tantamount to 'having touched (something) and then' in its interpretation.

Similar changes are attested cross-linguistically as, for example, in Japanese (*ni tuite* [stick to > about; Matsumoto, 1998), and in English (*touching, on*; Kortmann & König, 1992) as shown in the following examples.

(15) a. Taroo-wa sono koto   ni tuite setumeesita
        Taro-Top the   matter about   explaindid
        'Taro explained about the matter.' (Matsumoto, 1998, p. 28)
     b. a book on the subject
     c. Touching the issue the committee had a long discussion.

One thing noteworthy here is that the concept 'hyperbole' has not yet been proposed as a mechanism of semantic change that results in grammaticalization. However, since it is a consensus that grammaticalization, or linguistic change in general, is a result of cognitive strategic use in manipulating linguistic forms, hyperbole, a notable rhetorical strategy is a perfect candidate for semantic change mechanism. Hyperbole seems to be more commonly associated with lexical change, but it may be operative in grammatical change.   For instance, Korean past marker -ess seems to be used in non-past situations as in the following example.

(16) ne-nun   icey   cwuk-ess-ta
     you-Top   now   die-Pst-Dec
     'You are in trouble now (Lit. You are now dead).'

It is for this reason that -ess is thought to have moved from the past-marking function to anterior-marking function by some scholars. This grammatical change is clearly a result of hyperbole that was employed for its emphatic-marking function.

3.4. Follow > Even [NPI]

The next type of semantic change is one that took place with -*cocha* 'even' developed from the movement verb *cochta* 'follow'.[16] The postpositionoid -*cocha* is used as a negative polarity item, marking the speaker's attitude that the reference event is least likely, or that the reference entity is least likely to be associated with the given event/situation, thus meaning 'unfortunately unexpectedly' as shown in the following example.

(17) a. ku-nun   susung-ul   cocha-ss-ta
        he-Top   mentor-Acc follow-Pst-Dec
        'He followed his mentor('s teachings).'
      b. John-cocha an   o-ass-ta
        John-even   Neg come-Pst-Dec
        'Even John did not come.'

The speaker's attitude associated with the example above is that 'John' was the least likely person not to come. This is an instance of metaphorization. The source verb *cochta* 'follow' prototypically makes reference to physical movement, though it is equally amenable for non-physical movement, e.g., following certain principles. The emergence of this grammaticalized NPI meaning is due to metaphorization involving the source and the target as follows.

(18) Source : physical linear movement toward a referenced object
      Target : abstract movement along the continuum of likelihood

Still an unsettling element with this analysis is apparent here. Why does the speaker select the extreme member on the continuum of likelihood, since in principle, any member might be selected in the 'abstract movement along the continuum of likelihood'? This is evidently a case involving 'subjectification' (Traugott, 1989; Traugott & König, 1991,

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16) According to Rhee (1996, p. 249), the verb *cochta* was also used as a postpositionoid marking associative as in the following example.
   imuysye cyang-cochye kaci-e o-la [quickly sauce-Associative take-NF come-Imp] '(Bring side-dishes, and) quickly bring sauce also.' (Penyek Nokeltay, 1517)
   However, this usage seems to have been relegated to disuse in Modern Korean.

p.209), but the reasons for the selection of this terminal member are in no way clear. They may be merely due to a human tendency for self-sarcasm in certain situations.

3.5. Follow > On (Unexpectedly)

Still another type of semantic change is [follow > on], as displayed by *-ttala,* derived from the movement verb *ttaluta* 'follow' as in the following examples:

(19) a. ku-nun   na-lul   ttala-ss-ta
       he-Top   I-Acc   follow-Pst-Dec
       'He followed/liked me.'
    b. ku   nal-ttala   mopsi   chwu(p)-ess-ta
       the   day-on(CE)   very   cold-Pst-Dec
       'It was very cold that day (of so many days to pick).'
    c. onul-ttala   kyothong-i   makhi-n-ta
       today-on(CE)   traffic-Nom   get.blocked-Pres-Dec
       'The traffic is particularly bad today (of so many days to pick).'

As seen in the above examples (18b) and (18c), *-ttala* is a postpositional particle with the speaker's counter-expectation (CE). The grammaticalized *-ttala* is used only with temporal nouns, such as today, yesterday, that time, etc., with the speaker's attitude of unexpectedness of a described event taking place on that particular time, thus resembling the semantics of the English expression 'of so many days/moments to pick'. The sentences that take *-ttala* often carry sarcastic overtone and taking an adverbial phrase *way haphilimyen* 'why, with what necessity' as if protesting this unfortunate association of a particular time and a particular event. This is again a case of subjectification, whereby speaker's attitude is manifested (as in the development of English *while,* Traugott, 1982; Traugott & König, 1991). However, why 'follow' brought forth this peculiar counter-expectation meaning is puzzling. Rhee (1996), citing p.c. with Manfred Krifka, suggests the following : After experiencing many things people will develop natural expectations for the things they experience. It is noteworthy when such an expectation is not met. The combination of many experiences resulted in the development of natural expectations, and the failure for an event to meet the expectations seems

to have been the source of such a counter- expectation marker (Rhee, 1996, p. 247). The semantic change associated with linear conception of an event and a notable end-point result seems to be also displayed by English expression 'end up with'. However, the conceptual shift involved in the development from 'follow' to 'unexpectedness' seems still opaque and calls for more investigation.

4. Conclusion

This paper investigated grammaticalization phenomena displayed by six verbs of movement that gave rise to ten postpositionoids. These postpositionoids are constructed upon movement containing manner components and they are phonologically and morphosyntactically complex. As for semantic changes, we have seen that various mechanisms such as variable frame of focus, metaphor, metonymy, pragmatic inference, subjectification, and hyperbole are operative in the grammaticalization processes of these postpositionoids. However, certain aspects in the developments of negative polarity marker and counter-expectation marker remain for future research.

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