

GRAMMATICALIZATION OF *kes* CONSTRUCTION IN
KOREAN: GRAMMATICALIZATION PATH AND
EMERGENCE OF (INTER)SUBJECTIVE MEANINGS

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TO MY BELOVED MOTHER, JONG-GEUM BAEK, WHO SHOWED ME
WHAT TRUE LOVE IS

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Abstract

This study deals with the *kes* constructions in Korean with a focus on their grammaticalization path, as well as their (inter)subjective meanings in natural discourse. This study investigates how *kes* construction has changed from a perspective of grammaticalization based on Present Day Korean corpus data.

kes construction has shown evidence of grammaticalization as it evolves to a more grammaticalized item. For example, phonological reduction, semantic change, functional divergence, and increased bondedness changed its structure. As *kes* construction is grammaticalized, it developed new meanings that are more subjective/intersubjective. These meanings are derived from its core meanings(emphasis/highlight), but these meanings have gained more specific functions as speakers use *kes* construction in various situations to show the speaker's perspective or attitude toward the proposition or the hearer, such as describing a past event as an On-the-spot event, confirmation, strong assertion/seeking agreement or compliance. As *kes* construction is frequently used in various situations, it has expanded (or changed) its boundary to the (inter)subjective side like other linguistic elements do from a grammaticalization perspective. Although *kes* construction is still context-dependent, it has distinctive features that can differentiate it from other linguistic elements.

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative particle
AD	Adnominal suffix
ADV	Adverbial suffix
ANT	Anterior
CIRCUM	Circumstantial marker
CONN	Clausal connective
CONJ	Conjunction
CONT	Counter noun
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative particle
DEL	Delimiter particle
DIR	Direction particle
DL	Declarative sentence-type suffix
DM	Discourse marker
ERG	Ergative suffix
GEN	Genitive particle
HT	Honorific title
IM	Imperative sentence-type suffix
IND	Indicative mood particle
LOC	Locative particle
NEG	Negative
NM	Nominalizer suffix
NOM	Nominative particle
MIR	Mirative
PL	Plural marker
PROG	Progressive tense marker
PST	Past tense suffix
Q	Question sentence ender
QT	Quotation suffix

RET	Retrospective sentence ender
SE	Sentence ender
SF	Suffix
SH	Subject honorific suffix
TOP	Topic particle
TP	Time particle

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the Study

This study deals with the *kes* constructions¹ in Korean with a focus on their grammaticalization path, as well as their (inter)subjective meanings in natural discourse. Most research on grammaticalization in Korean has explored grammatical items that have almost finished their grammaticalization process. Yet, even for a linguistic item that seems to be in the middle of a grammaticalization process, it is worth investigating the process in order to show the dynamic features of grammaticalization. Previous studies on the *kes* constructions have agreed that they have modal meanings, but most of these studies have focused on constructions that include the prospective adnominal suffix *-ul*, such as *ul kesita* and *ulkey*, rather than constructions with an adnominal suffix *-nun* or *-un*. In the case of *-ul kesita*, it is more grammaticalized than other types of *kes* constructions (*-un kesita/-nun kesita*), as it has already become a fixed grammatical expression indicating the speaker's intention/conviction or referring to a future event. Furthermore, when it comes to the modal meanings of *kes* constructions, most of the research has described these meanings in terms that are quite abstract, such as “emphasis,” or “paraphrase.” Such terms do not adequately describe the many modal meanings and functions of *kes* constructions in natural discourse.

Describing the (inter)subjective meanings of *kes* constructions is important for the teaching of Korean as a second language as well. The grammatical explanation of *kes* constructions in Korean language textbooks often fails to provide students enough information to understand and use these constructions. For instance, one textbook accounts for *kes* constructions as follows:

¹ A *kes* construction is a construction consisting of a “relativizer” suffix (*-nun*, *-un*, *-ul*), the defective noun *kes* ‘fact, thing’, and the copula *i(ta)*.

~nun/un keyeyo (~는/(으)ㄴ 거예요) is used to describe some events or states of affairs in a manner of clarifying or recounting them. It gives an effect of saying “What it is, is...,” “The fact is...,” or “What happens is...”²

The insufficient description of *kes* constructions stems from the fact that their meanings are context-dependent in natural discourse. Although some studies have investigated modal meanings of *kes* constructions, only a few have based their analysis on natural discourse data. It is necessary to analyze natural discourse data not only to explore the modal and pragmatic meanings of *kes* constructions, but also to understand how the meanings and functions of these constructions are related to interlocutors’ (inter)subjectivity in context. This study investigates both the grammaticalization process of *kes* constructions, and the modal and pragmatic functions of *kes* constructions in Korean as it is spoken today, with a focus on intersubjectivity.

1.2 Framework and Research Questions

This dissertation conducts both a diachronic analysis and a synchronic analysis of *kes* constructions. Both analyses are conducted within a grammaticalization framework. The diachronic analysis focuses on historical change of elements of *kes* construction while the synchronic analysis focuses on how *kes* construction is used in everyday conversation.

² Cho, Y.(2001) et al, *Integrated Korean: Intermediate 2*(p. 36), Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

According to Bisang (2011:105), grammaticalization is a “part of the study of language change, and is concerned with the question of how a lexical item develops into a marker of a grammatical category or how a marker representing a less grammatical function takes on a more grammatical one.” Most of the meanings and functions of linguistic items derive from earlier meanings, and the new meanings and functions are the result of semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic changes in the linguistic items.

Previous studies on *kes* constructions have agreed that the defective noun *kes* is grammaticalizing, and that it gained new meanings as it began to be frequently used in new contexts. However, as mentioned, most previous studies have focused on constructions with a prospective adnominal *-ul*, which have become a type of fixed expression indicating the speaker’s intention or conviction and/or referring to a future event. On the other hand, *kes* constructions with the suffix *-un/-nun* in Present Day Korean (PDK) have evolved differently than the *ul*-type constructions. Although their newly acquired meanings are still context-dependent and challenging to define, it is worth exploring the tendencies of the semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic changes these *kes* constructions have gone through. Linguistic items that are undergoing a process of grammaticalization do tend to be context-dependent, because these items have only recently acquired their new meanings, and it takes a long period of time for linguistic items to develop into fully fixed grammatical forms. In PDK, *kes* constructions, especially *(n)un*-type constructions, show high frequency. In Seo’s (2014) corpus analysis, for example, out of all items that include the defective noun *kes*, the percentage of *(n)un*-type *kes* constructions is almost twice (18.4%) that of *ul*-type *kes* constructions (10%). High frequency can play a role in the semantic change of linguistic items. Furthermore, usages of *kes* constructions in PDK corpus data show that they have

acquired (inter)subjective meanings that indicate the speaker's attitude toward the hearer. Thus, they seem to be moving toward functioning as (inter)subjective modal markers.

The grammaticalization framework enables us to examine the development of *kes* constructions that have come to be frequently used as modal expressions. Therefore, this study will investigate how *kes* constructions have changed from the perspective of grammaticalization, addressing the following questions:

- 1) How has the defective noun *kes* been grammaticalized (or how have the meanings of the defective noun *kes* changed), and how did it become an element of *kes* constructions?
- 2) How have the inter(subjective) meanings of *kes* constructions emerged, and what are the sources of these meanings?
- 3) What are the intersubjective meanings of *kes* constructions?

1.3 Methodology and Data

In order to document the grammaticalization process being undergone by the *kes* constructions, this study conducts a diachronic analysis using historical data from written text ranging from 15th century to 18th century. In addition, in order to explore the variety of usages of *kes* constructions in Present Day Korean, the study conducts a synchronic analysis using data from the Sejong spoken corpus and Korean TV shows.

1.3.1 Historical Data

In this study, I followed the historical classification of the Korean language as below.

- Old Korean: before 15th C
- Middle Korean: from 15th C to 18th C
- Present Day Korean(Contemporary Korean): from 20th C to present

Among these historical data, Middle Korean data is particularly important, because literature written before Middle Korean was mostly written in Chinese characters, and just a few of them were remained. Here is a list of Historical data used in this study.

- Old Korean

모죽지랑가 (*Mocwukcilangka*, 692–702)

- Middle Korean

15C

석보상절(*Sekbosangcel*, 1447)

내훈(*Nayhwun*, 1475)

노걸대 상(*Nogeolsang*, 15C)

노걸대 하(*Nogeolha*, 15C)

16C

순천김씨간찰(*Swunchenkimssi*,1550~1592)

번역 노걸대 상(*Pennosang*,1517)

경민편 중간본(*Kyengmincwung*,1519)

17C

박통사언해(*Pakthongsaenhay* 1677)

18C

몽어노걸대(*Mongno*, 1741)

1.3.2 Sejong Corpus data

The 21st Century Sejong Corpus makes available data collected from 1998 to 2007. The spoken dataset has 805,646 words from various types of sources, including phone calls, casual conversations, lectures, presentations, discussions, and meetings.³ The data are available only in transcript form (i.e., not in audiorecordings).

1.3.3 Korean TV show data

An audiovisual dataset of spoken PDK was collected from Korean TV shows. Audiovisual recordings provide more information than transcripts, because they show how people respond to other people's utterances. Thus, TV show data allow us to take a closer look at interactions between interlocutors. This study's dataset comes from three Korean talk shows: "Radio Star," "You Quiz on the Block," and "Because I Wanted to Talk", all broadcast between 2007 and 2023. These shows have regular hosts and different guests every week, who share stories and engage in conversation. Total 46 tokens were found and analyzed from the TV show data.

1.4 Organization of the Study

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical background of grammaticalization, including major mechanisms and principles of grammaticalization, and explores semantic changes of *kes*

³ This study does not use monologue data from the Sejong Corpus because the study is concerned with language use in interactions between interlocutors.

constructions. Chapter 3 covers how the defective noun *kes* has changed from Middle Korean and examines the structural components of *kes* constructions: adnominalizer suffixes *-un*, *-nun*, and *-ul*; the defective noun *kes*; and the copula. The chapter also discusses nominalizers in Korean, including nominalized structures with the defective noun *kes*. Chapter 4 explores nominalization and modality, focusing on the modal meanings of *kes* constructions and how these modal meanings emerged. Chapter 5 investigates the grammaticalization process undergone by *kes* constructions, that is, how they evolved as (inter)subjective modal markers from a definition structure. Chapter 6 explores (inter)subjective functions/meanings of the *kes* constructions based on an analysis of Sejong Corpus spoken data and Korean TV show data. Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation by emphasizing the need to observe semantic changes through the framework of grammaticalization in order to understand the causes and patterns of new meaning changes and discover answers to the aspects of language change that are difficult to explain from a synchronic perspective.

2. Background

2.1 Theory of Grammaticalization

As many previous studies have pointed out, grammaticalization is a type of language change, typically from lexical or less grammatical items to (more) grammatical items. This process has been described in various ways. For example, Meillet (1912:132) defined grammaticalization as “the attribution of a grammatical character to a previously autonomous word.” According to Kurylowicz (1965:69), 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.” Lehmann (1982: viii) defined grammaticalization as below:

Grammaticalization is a process leading from lexemes to grammatical formatives. A number of semantic, syntactic and phonological processes interact in the grammaticalization of morphemes and of whole constructions.

Grammaticalization thus describes a particular type of language change—from less to more grammatical—that involves semantic, morphosyntactic, phonological, and pragmatic shifts of linguistic items. The next section will explore major concepts of grammaticalization theory.

2.1.1 Reanalysis and analogy

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003), two major mechanisms of grammaticalization are reanalysis and analogy. They defined reanalysis as modifying underlying representations, whether they are semantic, syntactic, or morphological, and as bringing about rule changes.

Reanalysis often results in the loss of boundaries through the reconstruction of the semantic/syntactic structure of the grammaticalized items. Langacker (1977:58) defined reanalysis as “change in the structure of expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation.”

According to Rhee (2016), modal verbs in English, such as *can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would, do, and did*, changed from main verbs to auxiliary verbs through a reanalysis process. In the case of the Korean *kes* constructions, syntactically, *kes* has a role as a head noun of a nominalized phrase taking a modifying clause. However, the boundary between the head noun and its modifying clause has been lost, creating a new grammatical expression.

Analogy refers to a change of a linguistic form that has been assimilated to a semantically or morphologically similar one. Whereas reanalysis brings about a rule change, analogy modifies surface manifestations, without changing rules. One of the most representative examples of analogy is the formula [A: B = C:x]. Rhee (2016:239) introduced some examples of singular-plural alternation in English as a process of analogy, as below:

Singular	Older form of plural	Newer form of plural	
a. cow	kine	cows	(singular + s)
b. memorandum	memoranda	memorandums	(singular + s)
c. agendum	agenda	agendas	(plural + s)
d. criterion	criteria	criteria	(plural + s)

Between the two major mechanisms, Hopper and Traugott (2003:39) argued that reanalysis is the most important “because it is a prerequisite for the implementation of the change through analogy.”

2.1.2 Other mechanisms of language change

Metaphor, metonymy, and generalization are also major mechanisms of grammaticalization. First, metaphor is a common way to describe a concept or an object by matching it with a word or phrase that is not literally applicable to it; as a mechanism in language change, metaphor describes an extension or transfer of meaning. Sweetser (1991: 52) introduced the example of metaphor in language change below.

- a. The crack in the stone let the water flow through. (physical)
- b. I begged Mary to let me have another cookie. (social)

Sweetser (1991:52) argued that “direct physical manipulation of the environment is more prototypical than is indirect or purely social manipulation.” In this example, (a) shows the more prototypical meaning of the modal verb *let*, which has been transferred or extended to a more abstract meaning in (b). This type of semantic change has a tendency in terms of the direction of change. Heine et al. (1991) proposed the unidirectionality of such changes, following the ontological categorization below.

person > object > activity > space > time > quality

Metaphoric use of movement verbs, such as *go* and *come* in English or *kata* (to go) and *ota* (to come) in Korean, can be easily found in many languages. These verbs have meanings regarding spatial change, which tend to be transferred to meanings involving temporal change. As a result of the metaphoric process, these verbs often denote temporal meanings in many languages, including Korean.

Second, metonymy refers to a conceptual relation between two concepts that share contiguity of some sort. Metonymy makes one item denote a conceptually related meaning based on a contiguity relationship, such as “physical adjacency,” “cause-effect,” or “part for whole.”

Third, generalization is a process in which a lexical item loses its specific meanings and gains more abstract meanings instead. Hopper and Traugott (2003) explained generalization as a process of losing older and more concrete meanings and developing newer and more abstract meanings that cancel out the loss. As an example, Bybee (1988) showed how the meaning of the English word *can* has changed through the generalization process outlined below.

- i. mental ability: mental enabling conditions exist in an agent for the completion of the predicate situation
- ii. general ability: enabling conditions exist in an agent for the completion of the predicate situation
- iii. root possibility: enabling conditions exist for the completion of the predicate situation

As Bybee (1998: 290–291) explained,

many activities have both a mental and a physical component. While *can* would have originally been used with complement verbs such as *read*, *spell*, and *paint*, it might have

gradually generalized to verbs that involve both mental and physical skills, such as *sew*, *cook*, *build*, or *plant*. Once it is used with these activities, its meaning would appear to refer to general ability, and it could further be extended to use with verbs that suggest more physical than mental prowess, such as *swim* or *lift*.

Rhee (1996) described generalization as a phenomenon per se rather than a mechanism, with the example of the meaning change of the Korean verb *kata* (to go), as below:

Stage 1: lexical, 'throw away', physical removal, animate agent, physical object, from
Location 1

Stage 2: metaphorical, 'leave/abandon', physical removal, animate agent

Stage 3: metaphorical, 'quit/stop', removal, animate agent

Stage 4: metaphorical, 'disappear/spoil', removal

2.1.3 Principals of grammaticalization

Hopper (1991:22) proposed five principles of grammaticalization:

- a. Layering: "Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this is happening, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers."
- b. Divergence (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."

- c. Specialization: “Within a functional domain, at one stage a variety of forms with different semantic nuances may be possible; as grammaticalization takes place, the variety of formal choices narrows and the smaller number of forms selected assume more general grammatical meanings.”
- d. Persistence: “When a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution.”
- e. De-categorization: “Forms undergoing grammaticalization tend to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of secondary categories such as Adjective, Participle, Preposition, etc.”

Sohn (1999, 2008) introduced five major conditions for grammaticalization, as below:

- a. Semantic suitability: For any given grammatical domain, only a restricted set of lexical items is grammaticalized.
- b. Typological salience: The relation between language typology and grammaticalization depends upon language-specific features. (For example, particles and suffixes can easily be grammaticalized in Korean and Japanese, but not in Chinese because Chinese has a different language typology.)
- c. Syntagmatic contiguity: Two or more forms must be contiguous in order to merge and form a grammatical element.

- d. Frequency of use: The more grammaticalized a form, the more frequent it is.
- e. Locality: At a certain syntactic slot, pragmatic or semantic extensions occur.

These conditions apply to the grammaticalization of *kes*. First, defective nouns can more easily be grammaticalized than other nouns in Korean due to their semantic vagueness. In fact, there are many cases in which a defective noun has become a more grammatical item in Korean (e.g., *kes*, *tey*, *swu*, *ttay*, *pep*). Second, the dependent noun *kes* requires an adnominal suffix and a copula in a predicate, and these grammatical elements can create a new grammatical construction. Third, the high frequency of *kes* enables *kes* constructions to be grammaticalized. Fourth, only the *kes* constructions in a predicate, which is a sentence-ending position where tense, aspect, and modality meanings arise, can be grammaticalized as modal expressions in Korean.

When it comes to the syntagmatic contiguity principle, in *kes* constructions, the defective noun *kes* can be assigned modal meaning only when it is used with an adnominal suffix and a copula. In some *kes* constructions such as *-ul kel* or *kes kathta*, *kes* is used with an accusative particle (*-ul*) or an adjective (*kathta*) rather than a copula. Even though these constructions require the accusative particle or an adjective to express modal meaning, they can be combined with only one certain form to be assigned modal meanings. Thus, these cases can be viewed as an example of the syntagmatic contiguity principle.

As for locality, *kes* constructions have modal meaning only when they are used in predicates. This is related to the syntactic properties of Korean. In Korean, which is a head-final language, factual information is followed by temporal, aspectual, and modal information. Modality,

in particular, covers the speaker's attitude toward a proposition. Thus, modal markers must be located in a position that embraces the factual meaning of a sentence.

2.2 Semantic Changes in Kes Constructions

Grammaticalization is a process that brings about semantic, syntactic, and phonological changes to a linguistic form. I propose three subcategories of semantic change: propositional, epistemic, and pragmatic, as defined below:

Propositional change: change of information derived from the proposition

Epistemic change: change or emergence of the epistemic stance of the speaker

Pragmatic change: change or emergence of the pragmatic meaning of a linguistic item

Hopper and Traugott (2003) suggested that semantic meaning and pragmatic meaning can be distinguished by the presence of illocutionary force. For example, the interrogative sentence "Can you pass the salt?" does not ask about the hearer's ability to give the speaker the salt, but is a manner of asking the hearer to do so. In other words, the semantic meaning is the literal meaning regarding ability, but the pragmatic meaning is based on the utterance's illocutionary force in context.

The direction of semantic change goes from propositional to epistemic meaning, and from epistemic to pragmatic meaning. Meanings of *kes* constructions also can be categorized in these terms, as in Table 1.

Table 1 Subcategories of semantic change

	Propositional meaning	Epistemic meaning	Pragmatic meaning
Stage 1	definition	X	X
Stage 2	focus	emphasis	X
Stage 3	X	assumption/intention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • describing a past event as an on-the-spot event • confirmation • strong assertion/seeking agreement or compliance

A thorough investigation of the changes through each meaning is critical to understanding grammaticalization more deeply. In order to describe the changes the *kes* constructions have gone through, it is appropriate to view the changes as a subtype of grammaticalization. Because grammaticalization often brings about intersubjectification, affecting the meaning of a linguistic item to express the speaker’s attitude toward the interlocutors, we must use a broader definition of grammaticalization.

Traugott (2003:94) mentioned “pragmatic enrichment” as a process in which a linguistic item loses lexical meaning, at the same time gaining more grammatical meaning or more functions. According to Traugott, grammatical meaning can provide “pragmatic” features. Therefore, grammatical change also includes pragmatic change. Hence, we can consider pragmaticalization to be a subtype of grammaticalization, although pragmaticalization does not always occur in a grammaticalization process. Pragmaticalization can rather be described as one of the possible paths of meaning change during the grammaticalization process.

In her explanation of the polysemy of the English connective *because*, Sweetser (1990) also suggested that the semantic domain falls into the three subcategories of content, epistemic,

and pragmatic domains. The word *because* indicates a cause-effect relation between phrases or clauses in the content domain. However, its meaning and functions differ in the other domains, relying on the speaker's/writer's knowledge (epistemic domain) or the dynamic between interlocutors (pragmatic domain), as in these examples from Sweetser's study (p. 77):

- a. John came back because he loved her. (content domain)
- b. John loved her, because he came back. (epistemic domain)
- c. What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on. (pragmatic domain)

The definition of a "grammatical item" can include "pragmatic" meanings or functions; and if the definition of a particular grammatical item includes a pragmatic function, it seems plausible to say that this item's grammaticalization process includes pragmatic changes. If *kes* constructions can be classified as pragmatic markers, pragmaticalization may be the best explanation for their emergence and development from a diachronic perspective. However, *ul*-type constructions such as *(u)l kesita* already have evolved as grammatical items that indicate future tense or the speaker's/writer's assumption or intention. The development of the *ul*-type constructions led them to fall into a more "grammatical" category rather than the "pragmatic" category that includes other types of *kes* constructions (*un*-type, *nun*-type). Thus, the development of the *kes* constructions has multiple paths depending on the construction's subcategory, and the *ul*-type constructions have already gone down the "traditional" path of grammaticalization, whereas the *un*-type and *nun*-type constructions are in the middle of a "pragmatic" change.

In this chapter, I examined the main concepts and mechanisms of grammaticalization theory and explored the complex layers of meaning that *kes* construction possesses. In grammaticalization theory, the process of change in a single grammatical item is observed from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. In this study, I will examine the semantic change of *kes* construction from a diachronic perspective, and analyze the functional meanings it has in everyday conversation from a synchronic perspective. In chapter 3, I will examine the change process of the *kes* construction from a diachronic perspective and explore the semantic and syntactic features of its components.

3. Historical Change of *kes*

3.1 History of *kes*

From the Old Korean period, *kes* has been used as a defective noun. “Defective” means that this type of noun has too vague a meaning to be an independent lexical item. Thus, defective nouns, including *kes*, are used with other lexical items such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. It is still unclear where the defective noun *kes* originated, due to the limitations of the historical literature available. Hong (1983) argued that it derives from *kas* and that *kas* was used to describe the Chinese character 物, which means ‘thing’. In Middle Korean, the frequency of *kes* was lower than it is in Present Day Korean. This is because other defective nouns in Middle Korean such as *cwul*, *pa*, *i*, *tA*, and *sA* had a very similar meaning (i.e., ‘fact’). These other defective nouns, however, have now disappeared or lost that meaning. Rhee (2008) suggested the following order of nominalizers according to their productivity in use:

-m (pre-15th c.–16th c.) > *-ki* (17th c.–19th c.) > *kes* (20th c.–21st c.)

Rhee (2008) also argued that *kes* has high frequency of use in Present Day Korean and that it is a morpheme that has multiple functions, including complementation, clausal connection, and sentence ending with diverse tense, aspect, and modality functions, as well as nominalization, which is its primary function.

According to Park (2000), the distribution of *kes* has not changed from the Middle Korean of the 15th century to Present Day Korean. However, the grammaticalization of *kes* has been motivated by the increased frequency of use of the *kes* constructions, which is due to the abstract meaning of *kes* as a defective noun. *Kes* constructions can be found since the Middle Korean period, when their main function was to indicate the commentary of a speaker/writer regarding the

proposition of the sentence.

According to Choi (2012), in the 15th century, *kes* constructions (*-n kesini*, *-n kesila*) were mostly used for providing explanations or definitions of the subject of a sentence, as in (1).

(1) Middle Korean(15th C) data (Choi, 2012)

a. 壘 은 瓶 곧 혼 거시라 (Sekbosangcel, 1447)

Tam-on pyeng- koth-on kes-ila
jar-TOP bottle-like-AD kes-SE

‘A jar (壘) is like a bottle (瓶).’

b. 香泥 는 香 으 로 존 흙 꺾 티 밍 꺾 론 거시라 (Sekbosangcel, 1447)

Hyangni-nun hyang-olo c-un holk-kothI moyngkolo-n kes-ila
scented mud-TOP scent-DIR become-AD soil-like make-AD kes-SE

‘Scented mud (香泥) is something like mud with fragrances.’

c. 珮 는 玉 으 로 밍 꺾 론 귀예 드리 는 거시라 (Nayhwun, 1475)

i-non ok-ulo moyngkolo-n kwi-yey tuli-non kes-ila
earring-TOP jade-DIR make-AD ear-LOC hang-AD kes-SE

‘Earrings (珮) are made out of jade hanging on one’s ear.’

Like the examples in (1), copulas such as *-ini(la)*, *-ila* were attached to the defective noun *kes* because a noun cannot take a sentence-final suffix in a predicate, unlike verbs and adjectives, in the 15th century. Furthermore, in order to make a “definition structure,” such as “[NP1] is [NP2],” a copula needs to be attached to the second noun, “NP2,” in the predicate.

In the Middle Korean period, *kes* was also used to indicate physical objects; the defective noun *kes* in (1) demonstrates that the sentence subjects are physical objects (壘, 香泥, 珮) rather

sermons) provide an additional explanation of a word in the original text, like an annotation, and *kes* constructions have a very similar function to that of annotations, that is, providing additional information. In PDK, as Nam (1991:87) and Noh (2007) suggested, *kes* constructions are still used as a definition structure. It seems that other meanings of *kes* constructions have emerged from the definition structure in a grammaticalization process.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the distribution of *kes* had not changed from the 15th century. However, the frequency of the *kes* constructions with the copula *-ita* had increased, and the defective noun *kes* showed various types of usage in this period. In an analysis of historical data comprising written texts representing spoken forms, such as *Swunchenkimssikanchal* (A collection of letters written by Kim), *Nokeltay* (foreign language textbooks) or *Pakthongsa* (a colloquial northern Chinese textbook published between the 14th and the 18th centuries), Choi (2012) found the total frequency of *kes* to have increased in the 16th and 17th centuries. Some examples of the form's usage in this period are given in (3).

(3) Increase of frequency of *kes* in 16th C and 17th C (Choi, 2012)

a. 쇼쥬 혼 두로미 내 먹던 거시라 (*Swunchenkimssi* 13:11)
syocyu hon twulom-i nay mekten kes-ila
spirits/liquor one counter-NOM I eat/drink thing-SE
‘(This) one bottle of liquor is the one that I drank.’

b. 이 高麗-스 말소문 다문 高麗스 사해만 쓰는 거시오
i kolye-s malsom-un tamun kolye-s tsa-hay-man psu-non kes-io
this Korea-GEN language-TOP just Korea-GEN earth-LOC-only use-AD kes-SE
‘This Korean language is just only used in Korean territory.’ (*Pennosang*: 5)

c. 兄弟논 天倫이니 하늘 삼긴 덧덧흔 거시라 (*Kyengmincwung*: 22)

hyengcey-non chenlyun-ini hanol samkin testesh-on kes-ila

brother-TOP moral laws-CONJ heaven make invariable-AD kes-SE

‘Taking care of brothers is moral law as it is made by heaven and invariable.’

d. 이제 상을 들면 湯을 들일 거시니 (*Pakthongsaenhay*)

icey sang-ul tul-myen thang-ul tuli-l kes-ini

now table-ACC lift-if soup-ACC bring-AD kes-SE

‘Now if you take the table away, I will bring the soup.’

As Choi (2012) pointed out, the frequency of the *l*-type constructions (*-l kesila*) increased more than that of (*u*)*n*-type constructions from the 15th century to the 16th and 17th centuries in literature reflecting spoken language. The frequency of *-ita* also increased in this period. In the 16th century, the defective noun *kes* and copula *ita* had broadened their scope of usage, which may have motivated the grammaticalization of *kes* constructions. In Middle Korean, the defective noun *kes* and copula *ita* had more “competitors”—that is, the other defective nouns and copulas with similar meanings—but *kes* could substitute for other defective nouns due to its very abstract and general meaning. The copula *ita(ila)* showed higher frequency than another copula, *-dila*, in the 16th century. For some reason, people had chosen *ita(ila)* over *dila*, and *ita(ila)* has “survived” while *dila* disappeared in Middle Korean. Choi (2012) argued that the expanded use of *ita(ila)* is due to its semantic features; it sounds colloquial and has wider usage, and speakers are bound to choose the easy-to-speak form in terms of the economics of language use.

In contrast to PDK, in Middle Korean, *kes* was able to be combined with determiners, such as *musukes*, as in (4).

(4) *kes* combined with a determiner *musu* (Choi, 2012)

다 일즉 문디 아니후야 잇다니 성이 무스것고 (*Penyek nokeltay*)
ta ilcuk mwut-ti aniho-ya is-ta-ni syeng-i musu-kes-ko
 all early ask-not-PROG RET-CONJ name-NOM what-kes-Q
 ‘Although everyone did not ask earlier, what is your last name?’

In (4), *musukes* is a combination of the determiner *musu* ‘what’ and the defective noun *kes*. This combination was used as an interrogative word meaning ‘what’. Choi (2012) also argued that as the defective noun broadened its usage from the 15th century to the 16th century, it showed this tendency to take part in newer constructions such as *kyskes*, *sopkes*, *kyepkes*, *amokes*, and *tunkes*, in a process of forming vocabulary.

This is noteworthy point from a grammaticalization framework. Although this type of usage can be found in 15th century data, its usage continues to become both more diverse and more frequent in 16th and 17th century data. As Choi(2012) explained, as the defective noun *kes* grammaticalized, *kes* came to be used in various kinds of context due to its semantic features. In PDK, the defective noun *kes* still shows various kind of usage, including [noun+*kes*] structures.

The frequency of *kes* continued to increase between the 17th century and the 18th century, as can be seen by comparing foreign language textbooks of different periods, such as *Nokeltay enhay* (1670) and *Monge nokeltay* (1741). *Nokeltay enhay* is an extended version of *Penyek nokeltay*, which was published in the 16th century. *Monge nokeltay* is a Mongolian language textbook, which shares the same contents as other versions of *Nokeltay*.

(5) Frequency of *kes* between the 17th C and 18th C (Choi, 2012)

a. 고기를 사되 가장 솔지니란 말고 (*Nogeolsang* :19)
koki-lul sa-toy kocang solci-ni-lan malko
 meat-ACC buy-CONJ most fat-thing-ACC NEG

a'. 고기를 사되 가장 살진-거-슬 말고 (*Mongno* 2:2)

meat-ACC buy-CONJ most fat-thing-ACC NEG

'When you buy meat, do not buy the fattest one.'

b. 도흐니 사오나오니 다 혼디 헤아리자 (*Nogeolha* :8)

tyohu-ni saonao-ni ta hontoy hyeyali-cya

good-thing bad-thing all together count-SE

b'. 도흐며 사오나온 거슬 섯거 헤자 (*Mongno* 5:11)

tyohu-mye saonaon ke-sul seske hyey-cya

good-and bad thing-ACC mix count-SE

'Let us count good and bad things all together.'

c. 왼쪽 뒷다리 우희 인 마즌 보람 잇누니 놀 (*Nogeolha*:14)

oynn-yek twis-tali wuh-uy in mac-un polam is-noninol

left-side rear-leg up-DIR seal get hit-AD reward exist-SE

c'. 왼쪽 다리에 印 친 보람 잇노거슬 (*Mongno* 5:20)

oynn-yek tali-yey in-chi-n polam isnon-kes-ul

left-side leg-DIR seal-hit-AD reward exist-SE

'It is worth getting the left leg sealed.'

As (5) shows, in the 17th century *Nokeltay enhay*, *kes* is not used while another defective noun, *ni*, is used. But in the 18th century *Monge nokeltae*, the defective noun *ni* has been replaced by *kes*. The tendency toward increasing frequency of *kes* in the 18th century played an important role in its grammaticalization. With increased use, *kes* gradually lost its character as a (defective) noun. Meanwhile, it gained a new function when combined with the copula *ita* in Middle Korean. This change could have triggered a reanalysis process of *kes*, making *kes* more dependent and flexible, and thus able to make a predicate construction with the copula.

Considering these examples from Middle Korean data, they indicate that defective noun *kes* in Middle Korean seems to have been used as a dependent noun with abstract meaning, but it gradually changed into a part of a modal expression as its lexical meaning faded, and it was combined with other suffixes or copulas. In PDK, *-ul kesita*, *-ulkel*, *-ulkey* are used as modal expressions that include *kes*. Thus, the emergence of the modality functions of *kes* constructions (definition structures) is also related to the increased frequency of *kes* constructions.

3.2 Previous studies on *kes*

Most previous research on *kes* has focused on the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the defective noun *kes* rather than on characteristics of *kes* constructions. Scholars have argued that *kes* constructions are a type of modal expression with the following functions:

- emphasizing the speaker's opinion (Nam & Ko, 1985)
- emphasizing or predicting what is happening or happened in the past (Im, 1993)
- expressing the speaker's conviction, decision, or determination (National Institute of Korean Language, 2005)
- emphasizing or expressing conviction regarding what is happening now or what happened in the past (Hong, 2006)

Most studies on *kes* agreed that *kes* has meaning for emphasizing, which became a core meaning of *kes* construction. However, the modal meanings of *kes* constructions described by these studies are very abstract; for example, functions such as marking emphasis or conviction or paraphrasing do not adequately describe the details of speakers' intentions in real-world conversations.

Some recent studies have dealt with the modal meanings of *kes* constructions as stance

markers. For instance, Rhee (2011b) suggested that *kes* constructions could function as stance markers, but mainly focused on the functions of *kes* constructions with a prospective adnominal suffix (*-l kesita, -l kel, l key*) rather than *kes* constructions with the past-indicative suffix (*-un*) or the non-past-indicative suffix (*-nun*). Rhee also discussed the semantic and functional characteristics of these expressions, such as emphasis, conviction, intention, and commitment.

Jang (2009) claimed that *kes* constructions function to express assertion or “oughtness” from an objective point of view toward a proposition. Jang, whose concern was to explain *kes* constructions for pedagogical grammar purposes, defined these constructions as an expression pattern based on the fact that they share some characteristics of an expression pattern: First, they have a pragmatic or modal function that is different from the original meaning of the grammatical items comprising the construction. Second, their deletion does not affect the factual information of a proposition. Third, they have high frequency.

Sohn (2010) analyzed conversation data to investigate functions of *kes* constructions. Sohn argued that nominal predicates (e.g., *-n ke-ya*) emerge from recurrent interactional contexts, such as clarification, responding to a problem or a challenge from a recipient, or storytelling during which a speaker displays epistemic authority and takes responsibility for the information.

Cho (2011) introduced discourse functions of *kes* constructions: indicating a universal truth or norms, paraphrases or additional information, logical reasoning or conclusions, cause or reason, demonstration, suggestion, exhortation or order, resolution, annoyance, surprise, and confidence or confirmation of a fact.

Nam (1991) argued that *kes* constructions are used to denote “normative facts,” that is, something one should abide by or “general rules or truth.” Ahn (2001) agreed that they function

to express social norms. Ahn also claimed that *kes* constructions can function to express emphasis, paraphrasing, or conviction, and that these constructions can be considered normative expressions. According to Paek (2006), *kes* constructions are used to emphasize the meaning of a predicate, and also have the function of expressing the progress of an action or general norms.

Most previous studies have focused on analyzing the usage patterns of *kes* construction from a synchronic perspective. However, it is also meaningful to focus on the historical process of how it has acquired its current functional meanings from a diachronic perspective. This is because a diachronic perspective can complement and explain things that are difficult to understand through a synchronic perspective.

3.3 Structure of Kes Constructions

3.3.1 Adnominalizer suffixes *-un*, *-nun*, and *-ul*

The grammatical functions of adnominal suffixes in Korean mainly involve tense, aspect, and modality marking. The adnominal suffixes *-un*, *-nun*, and *-ul* have their own temporal, aspectual, and modal meanings depending on the context. For instance, *-nun* expresses non-past tense or progressive aspect. As for *-un*, it denotes past tense or perfective aspect, while *-ul* indicates future tense or prospective aspect. These adnominalizer suffixes also can convey modal meanings in a peripheral expression.

Sohn (2001) defined these suffixes as relativizers, or adnominalizers that connect a relative (adnominal) clause to a nominal in the main clause. In the case of *kes* constructions, these suffixes link a verbal predicate to a defective noun *kes*. According to Sohn, the original form of the

adnominal suffix is *-(u)n*, and it is realized as zero after a prospective suffix *-(u)l*. He also categorized the adnominal suffixes according to their temporal, aspectual, and modal meaning, such as past/perfect adnominal *-un*, non-past indicative adnominal *-nun*, and prospective *-ul*. Sohn outlined the Korean adnominal suffixes as in Table 2.

Table 2 Korean Adnominal Suffixes (Sohn, 2011, p. 240)

	Verb	Adjective
non-past	<i>-(n)un</i>	<i>-un</i>
past	<i>-(u)n</i>	<i>-n</i>
prospective	<i>-(u)l</i>	<i>-(u)l</i>
past prospective	<i>(e)ssul</i>	<i>a/essul</i>
retrospective	<i>-ten</i>	<i>-ten</i>
past retrospective	<i>(e)ssten</i>	<i>a/essten</i>

According to Sohn (2001), *-nu-* marks the indicative mood in Korean, but the past/perfect suffix *-un* developed with the deletion of the indicative marker *-nu-*; in fact, the Kyengsang dialect shows evidence of the past/perfect suffix *-un* also having an indicative marker in the past, as in (6).

- (6) a. *ka-n salam* (Standard Korean)
 go-AD person
 ‘a person who went’
- b. *ka-ss nun salam* (Kyengsang dialect)
 go-PST IND person
 ‘a person who went’

Sohn (2001) defined *-ul* as a prospective mood marker that indicates probability or predictability, while *-un* and *-nun* are categorized as indicative mood suffixes. Therefore, as far as their modal meanings are concerned, these three adnominal suffixes can be divided into two types: indicative (*-un*, *-nun*) and prospective (*-ul*).

Lim (2009) argued that *-ul* is an irrealis mood marker, whereas *-un* is a realis mood marker, expressing that the event or proposition in the sentence is not realistic and unable to be directly accessed. Hence, it has limitations on its usage, especially with adjectives that indicate certain attributes of an entity existing in the real world. Yap et al. (2011, p. 29) mentioned that adnominal suffixes in Korean also express tense, aspect, and mood. For example, adnominal suffixes *-n* and *-(u)l*, which appear to be linked to erstwhile nominalizers *-n* and *-l* respectively, have evolved into anterior/past and prospective markers. Choi (2012) analyzed the Middle Korean literature to investigate the grammaticalization process of *kes* constructions and claimed that *-un* has perfect aspectual meaning indicating experience, result, or memory. Meanwhile, *-ul* has imperfect aspectual meaning so that it is used to express plans, perspectives, or necessity. Therefore, adjectives that have a semantic value of [-action] cannot be used with *-ul*.

3.3.2 The defective noun *kes*

According to Ahn (2014), *kes* has the most general meaning among the Korean defective nouns, and it has had a variety of meanings. In PDK, the defective noun *kes* has been used to indicate volition or assumption with the adnominal suffix *-ul*. If *kes* refers to a person, it shows contempt for the person. This is because *kes* originally indicated an inanimate object (i.e., ‘thing’). Yae (2012) claimed that *kes* came to be used for reference to pronominals (i.e., things), nominalizers (i.e., events), and sentential nominalizers (i.e., propositions) through a generalization

process. The examples in (7) show the wide range of the usages of *kes*.

- (7) a. *i- kes-i nay chayk-i-ta*
 this-thing-NOM my book-COP-DL
 ‘This is my book.’
- b. *i chayk-i John(uy) kes-i-ta*
 this book-NOM John-GEN thing-COP-DL
 ‘This book is John’s book.’
- c. *cikum mek-nun kes-i mwe-y-a?*
 now eat-AD thing-NOM what-COP-Q
 ‘What is that you are eating now?’
- d. *ceyil khu-n ke mek-e*
 the most big-AD thing eat-DL
 ‘Eat the biggest one.’

In (7a), *kes* and the determiner *i* comprise the referential pronoun *ikes* ‘this’. In this case, *kes* is used as part of a compound word. In (7b), *kes* is used with a noun denoting the possessor (*John*) and the genitive particle *uy*, constituting a noun phrase. In (7c) and (7d), *kes* is used as a nominalizer transforming a verbal predicate (*mek* ‘to eat’; *khu* ‘to be big’) into a noun phrase. A noun phrase (NP) is often marked with nominative or accusative case in Korean, and *kes*-type noun phrases can be used with accusative particles or nominative particles. Moreover, *kes*-type noun phrases can be assigned other cases with other case particles, as in (8).

(8)

- a. 우리의 목표는 끝까지 완주하는 것에 있다 (locative)
wuli-uy mokphyo-nun kkuth-kkaci wancwuha-nun kes-ey iss-ta
 we-GEN goal-TOP end-DEL finish-TOP kes-LOC be-SE

a’. 우리의 목표는 끝까지 완주함에 있다.

a’’. 우리의 목표는 끝까지 완주하기에 있다.*

‘Our goal is to finish the race.’

b. 업무 시간에 동료들과 잡담하는 것까지 다 감시한다 (delimiter)

epmwu sikan-ey tonglyo-tul-kwa captamha-nun kes-kkaci ta kamsiha-nta
work hour-LOC coworker-PL-CON chat-TOP kes-DEL all surveillance-SE

b’. 업무 시간에 동료들과 잡담함까지 다 감시한다.*

b’’. 업무 시간에 동료들과 잡담하기까지 다 감시한다.*

‘(They are) watching their employees even when the employees are having a chat during work hours.’

c. 네가 이 자리에 참석하는 것으로 충분하다 (direction/instrument)

ney-ka I cali -ey chamsekha-nun kes-ulo chwungpwunha-ta
you-NOM this place-LOC attend-AD kes-DIR enough-SE

c’. 네가 이 자리에 참석함으로 충분하다.*

c’’.네가 이 자리에 참석하기로 충분하다.*

‘It is enough for me to see you attending this meeting.’

As the diverse examples in (8) suggest, *kes* has a wide range; it can be used in many more contexts than other nominalizers in Korean, such as *-(u)m* or *-ki*.

The defective noun *kes* also can be located in a predicate. In this case, *kes* is involved in the expression of modality. For instance, there are some fixed expressions using *kes* that indicate modal meaning, such as *-ul kes kathta*. This expression denotes epistemic modality (the speaker’s assumption) in a predicate. In most cases, *kes* needs to occur with a copula to construct a modal expression. This is because a copula also contributes to the modal meaning of *kes* constructions.

Defective nouns like *kes* in Korean show high frequency due to their relatively abstract and general meanings. Therefore, defective nouns tend to be easily grammaticalized.

3.3.3 Copula

Typologically, the Korean copula *ita* is defined as an adjective because its function is closely related to describing properties of a subject in a sentence. Its meaning is equational, definitional, identificational, or descriptive (Sohn, 2001: 281). Jeong (2009) explained that the Korean copula has been variously classified as a copula, a predicative particle, an epenthetic vowel, a suffix, a clitic, a copulative verb, and an adjective. She posited an independent category for the Korean copula, and defined *i-ta* and *an-i-ta* as positive and negative copula words, respectively.

Ahn (2004) claimed that when a noun is combined with a preceding complementizer (noun modifying suffix) *-un*, *-nun*, or *-ul*, this NP has a modality function. The copula *ita* is often combined with defective nouns such as *kes*, *te*, *pep*, forming modal expressions in a predicate. As mentioned earlier, *ul*-type *kes* constructions already had grammaticalized into grammatical items that indicate future tense or the speaker's/writer's assumption or intention. Syntactic features of the copula *ita*, mostly combined with nouns and located in the predicate, where modality emerges, have a close relationship with the emergence and development of the modality functions of the *kes* constructions. It is essential to take the location of a *kes* construction into account. It is also possible to combine a *kes* construction with connective suffixes; this type of construction does not have modal meaning. Ahn (2004) explained that the copula *ita* does not have a direct semantic relation with the subject, but shows the speaker's/writer's attitude toward the proposition of the whole sentence, as in (9).

(9)

a. 나이가 들수록 시간이 빨리 가는 법이다

nai-ka tul-swulok sikan-i ppalli ka-nun pep-ita

age-NOM enter-CON time-NOM fast go-AD pep(lit. law)-SE
'The older you get, the faster time flies.'

a'. 나이가 들수록 빨리 가는 법인 시간*

nai-ka tul-swulok ppalli ka-nun pep-in sikan
age-NOM enter-CON fast go-AD pep-AD time
'The older you get, the faster time flies.'

b. 왼손은 그저 거들 뿐이다

oyn-son-un kuce ketu-l ppwun-ita
left-hand-TOP just assist-AD ppwun(only)-SE
'Your left hand just is just for assistance.'

b'. 그저 거들 뿐인 손*

kuce ketu-l ppwun-in son
just assist-AD ppwun-AD hand
'Your left hand just is just for assistance.'

c. 저 남자는 피곤한 모양이다

ce namca-nun phikonha-n moyang-ita
the man-TOP tired-AD moyang(lit. shape)-SE
'The man seems to be tired.'

c'. 피곤한 모양인 남자*

phikonha-n moyang-in namca
tired-AD moyang-AD man
'The man seems to be tired.'

d. 이 자동차는 싸게 산 셈이다

i catongcha-nun ssakey sa-n seym-ita
this car-TOP cheap buy-AD seym(lit. count)-SE
'(I could say) I got the car for a bargain.'

d'. 싸게 산 셈인 자동차*

ssakey sa-n seym-in catongcha
cheap buy-AD seym-AD car

In (9a), (9b), (9c), and (9d), *ita* appears in a predicate as a copula indicating a modal meaning, such as judgment, assumption, or the speaker's attitude toward the proposition.

3.3.4 Emergence of the *kes* constructions

So far, I have examined each component of the *kes* construction. These components can be used independently, but their frequency of combined use has increased over time, forming a single construction. As the frequency increases, the meaning that appears only when this construction is used begins to emerge, so we should focus on the meaning and function of the combined structure, rather than looking at each independent component, when examining these constructions.

In contemporary spoken Korean data from the Sejong Corpus, the copula *i* has high frequency among the morphemes that are combined with *kes*. Adnominal suffixes *nun/n* (은/ㄴ) are also frequently combined with *kes*. Its contracted form *ke* (ㄱ) is also frequently used with the copula and adnominal suffixes in the Sejong Corpus spoken data. This tendency shows that the defective noun *kes* (*ke*) has most frequently been used as a part of a fixed construction in PDK. As mentioned, high frequency often plays a pivotal role in the grammaticalization process. Thus, *kes* constructions seem to be in the middle of a grammaticalization process.

3.4 *Kes* Constructions as Nominalizers

When examining the meanings of *kes* construction, it is important to consider its syntactic features. *kes* construction has a syntactic feature of a nominalizer that converts a verb phrase(VP)

to a noun phrase(NP), and this syntactic feature also affects the emergence of new meanings of *kes* construction. Therefore, it is necessary to first understand nominalizers in Korean.

3.4.1 The history of Korean nominalizers

According to Rhee (2011), in the Old Korean period,⁴ there were six nominalizers in Korean: *-l*, *-m*, *-n*, *-i*, *-ki*, and *-ti*. Among these, the nominalizer *-m* had the widest range of use from the Old Korean through the Middle Korean period (15th–16th centuries). In the Early Modern Korean period (17th–19th centuries), *-m* was gradually replaced by *-ki*. In the Contemporary Korean period (20th century–present), *kes* shows the most productive use as a nominalizer. Nominalizers *-m* and *-ki* do not need a morphosyntactic operation, and their source lexemes still remain vague. On the other hand, *kes* needs to be used with an adnominal suffix such as *-un*, *-nun*, or *-ul* to make a nominalized construction. The example in (10) is from the Old Korean period.

(10) 毛冬居叱沙哭屋尸以憂音 (*Mocwukcilangka*, 692–702)

毛冬: *moton* ‘every, all’

居叱: *keci* (>*kes*) ‘thing’

‘Everything is in grief.’

In the example, the Chinese characters 居叱 represent the defective noun *kes* with a determiner *moton* (毛冬 ‘every, all’). Due to its semantic abstractness, the defective noun *kes* is often combined with a lexical word such as a determiner. The origin of the defective noun *kes* is still unclear. However, Hong (1983) suggested that it was derived from *kas*, based on the text *Hwunmongcahoy*, which was written to teach Korean speakers Chinese characters in the 15th century. In *Hwunmongcahoy*, *kas* is matched to the Chinese character 物, which means ‘thing’.

⁴ It is hard to trace the use of nominalizers in this period due to the fact that the literature of the time was mostly written in Chinese characters.

Therefore, *kes* inherently has abstract meaning, and this semantic feature has played a significant role in the semantic and syntactic changes it has undergone.

3.4.2 Semantic differences of Korean nominalizers

While *-(u)m* and *-ki* belong to the same nominalizing category, there are semantic differences between the two forms. First, *-ki* has a preference for verbs rather than adjectives in its use. Kim (2005) researched frequency patterns of nominalization using *-ki* and *-(u)m* in Sejong Corpus written and spoken data, with the results presented in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 3 Nominalizers *-(u)m* and *-ki*: Frequency and percentage of use in the Sejong Corpus of contemporary written Korean

Nominalizer	Frequency		Percentage (%)	
	<i>-(u)m</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-(u)m</i>	<i>-ki</i>
Verb	11,332	15,679	55.41	87.03
Adjective	8,227	5,977	40.22	7.94
Auxiliary verb	894	3,786	4.37	5.03
Total	20,453	75,285	100	100

Table 4 Nominalizers *-(u)m* and *-ki*: Frequency and percentage of use in the Sejong Corpus of contemporary spoken Korean

Nominalizer	Frequency		Percentage (%)	
	<i>-(u)m</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-(u)m</i>	<i>-ki</i>
Verb	502	5,288	59.83	84.03
Adjective	337	1,015	40.17	15.97
Total	839	6,293	100	100

The nominalizer *-ki* was used with an adjective in only 7.94 percent of its occurrences in the written language data, and only 15.97 percent of its occurrences in the spoken language data. Kim (2005) explained this tendency based on the inherent semantics of the nominalizers. The reason that *-ki* shows a preference for verbs is largely based on the fact that the nominalizer *-ki* has an inherent semantic feature [non-existence], which *-(u)m* does not have. Thus, due to the fact that adjectives usually denote the existence of an entity, *-ki* has a limited range of use with adjectives. When *-ki* is used with an adjective, the meaning of the matrix verb would be ‘hope’ or ‘expect’, which makes the status of the embedded clause something “unreal.” Other researchers (Shim, 1980; Hong, 1990) have suggested that the semantic difference between *-ki* and *-(u)m* can be understood as the difference between “still pending” (*-ki*) and “already decided” (*-(u)m*), or imperfect (*-ki*) and perfect (*-(u)m*) aspect.

While it is difficult to trace the lexical origin of other nominalizers, *kes* is derived from a lexical noun and still has the semantic features of its original meaning ‘thing’. The meaning of *kes* has changed from ‘thing’ to a more abstract and general meaning as a defective noun; it has been semantically bleached, allowing it to become the “semantically empty” head noun of a modifier. This semantically empty head noun can be used to construct a complement clause, as Horie (2011) claimed, as in (11).

- (11) *John-un [totwuk-i kakey-eyse nao - nun] kes-ul po - ass -ta.*
 John-TOP thief-NOM shop-LOC come out - AD NM-ACC see-PST-DL
 ‘John saw (that) the thief was coming out of the shop.’

In (11), *kes* makes a modifying clause into a nominalized construction by functioning as the head noun of the clause. When a predicate that is used with *kes* includes an “active event,” which is expressed by an active verb, a nominalizer makes us consider the event as a state (Maynard, 1996,

1999). Thus, *kes* functions to change the semantic value of a proposition from an active event to a status.

The defective noun *kes* needs adnominal (or nominalizer) suffixes such as *-un*, *-nun*, or *-ul* to make a nominalized construction. Moreover, the defective noun *kes* has a broader range of uses than other nominalizers. *Kes* is used not only as a nominalizer but for other functions as well, as shown in (12).

- (12) a. *i - kes* (determiner + *kes*)
 this thing
 ‘this (thing).’
- b. *John(-uy) kes* (genitive particle + *kes*)
 John-GEN thing
 ‘John’s thing’
- c. [*kamca_i yoliha-n*]_s *kes_i-ul mek-ess-ta* (head of internally headed relative clause)
 potato cook - AD thing-ACC eat-PST-DL
 ‘I ate the potato that I cooked.’

As in (12a), the combination of the determiner *i* ‘this’ and the defective noun *kes* ‘thing’ has become a reference pronoun, *ikes* ‘this (thing)’. In (12a), *kes* seems to be a suffix rather than an individual word. In (12b), *kes* is used as a defective noun, but not as a nominalizer. In this case, *kes* is not involved in nominalization but forms a noun phrase with another noun, *John*, and the genitive particle *uy*, denoting the meaning ‘John’s thing’. In (12b), *kes* barely contains lexical meaning, merely expressing the possessive meaning. Even if the genitive particle *uy* is omitted, the possessive meaning still remains. In (12c), *kes* is a head noun of an internally headed relative clause (IHRC). In this case, syntactically, *kes* still has a nominal function as the head noun of the

IHRC, which can be retrieved from its referent (*kamca* ‘potato’) in the modifying clause.⁵ On the other hand, this *kes* is semantically weakened, denoting a very general and abstract ‘thing’. As these examples illustrate, *kes* is distinguished from other nominalizers by its syntactic and semantic characteristics.

3.4.3 Two major functions of nominalizers

According to Rhee (2011), nominalizers in Korean have multiple functions that can be categorized into two major groups: referential and expressive. Referential functions rely on the semantics of the nouns derived through nominalizing processes, such as abstractness. Expressive functions are mainly derived from sentential endings and connectives, indicating the speaker’s epistemic stances.

The referential functions of nominalizers are to refer to entities when combined with a verb stem, an adjective stem, or a clause. According to Rhee (2011), *-(u)m*, *-ki*, and *kes* can be used to derive nouns designating first order entities, second order entities, and third order entities depending on the semantic features of the element attached to the nominalizer. Table 6 shows examples for first and second order entities, while (13) shows examples of third order entities.

Table 5 Referential functions of nominalizers (from Rhee, 2011)

First order entity	<i>kuli-m</i> ‘picture’ (lit. ‘one of drawing’)
	<i>ponpo-ki</i> ‘example’

⁵ In a Korean IHRC, the head noun *kes* is a replacement for the referent in the modifying suffix. This construction can be restructured as an ordinary relative clause, as below:

[[*kamca*] *yoliha-n*]_s *kamca-ul mek-ess-ta*
 cook - AD potato-ACC eat-PST-DC
 ‘I ate the potato that I cooked.’

(spatial entities such as individuals, things, and places)	(lit. ‘one to see (as) a model’)
	<i>mek-ul-kes</i> ‘food’ (lit. ‘thing to eat’)
Second order entity (temporal entities such as actions, processes, and states)	<i>talli-m</i> ‘running’
	<i>tenci-ki</i> ‘throwing’
	<i>cwuk-nun kes</i> ‘dying’

Nominalizers *-(u)m*, *-ki*, and *kes* also derive nominals that designate third order entities such as the propositions in (13).

- (13) a. *na - nun [sesehi cwukum - uy kulimca - ka takao] - m - ul nukky - ess - ta*
 I -TOP gradually death - GEN shadow -NOM approach-NM-ACC feel - PST - DL
 ‘I felt that [the shadow of death is gradually approaching (me)].’
- b. *na - nun [wuli - ka sewul - eyse tasi manna] - ki - lul pala - ss - ta*
 I - TOP we -NOM Seoul - LOC again meet - NM - ACC hope - PST - DL
 ‘I hope that [we meet again in Seoul].’
- c. *pangkum [cip - ey chayk - ul noh - ko o - n] kes - i sayngkakna - ss - ta*
 just now home-LOC book - ACC put - and come-PST thing-NOM come to mind - PST - DL
 ‘I just realized that [I left the book at home].’

In (13), the nominalizers *-(u)m*, *-ki*, and *kes* convert the sentences in brackets into nominal propositions. These propositions can be located in the subject or object position, with a nominative particle or accusative particle, respectively, making embedded sentence constructions. Nominalizers also can be located in predicates with a copula.

The expressive functions of nominalizers are denoted by those that have been grammaticalized to sentence enders. Horie (2011) argued that sentence-final positions in Japanese and Korean are typically occupied by various particles and suffixes that indicate the speaker’s subjective attitude and evaluation toward the propositional content conveyed, as well as her/his

intersubjective assessment of/attention toward the addressee. In Korean, nominalizers used as sentence enders carry illocutionary force, delivering the speaker's request to the hearer. As Rhee (2011) pointed out, whether nominalizers can function as sentence enders without other sentence-ending suffixes remains a controversial issue. Among the nominalizers, only *-ci* is considered a fully-fledged sentence-ending structure. However, considering that a "nominalized-ending" form can carry illocutionary force, these types of forms, exemplified in (14), can be regarded as "simply nominalized constituents," analogous to the English expressions *No smoking* or *No loitering*.

- (14) a. *hupyen - ul kumha - m*
 smoking - ACC prohibit - NM
 'Smoking is prohibited.'
- b. *yaksok - ul cikhi - ki*
 promise - ACC keep - NM
 'keeping (one's) promise'
- c. *ssuleyki - lul peli- ci ma - l kes*
 trash - ACC dump -NM not AD NM
 'not dumping trash'

In (14a), the nominalizer *-(u)m* ending shows the illocutionary force of prohibition or demand for compliance. (14b) also shows illocutionary force, but it is more indirect. In the case of (14c), the illocutionary force comes not only from *kes* but also from the adnominal suffix *-l*. Because the Korean adnominal suffix *-l* indicates a prospective aspectual meaning, the *kes* ending in (14c) denotes: '(after you read this) do not dump trash'. In this case, the adnominal suffix *-l* could not be replaced by another adnominal suffix such as *-n* or *-nun*, because they do not have such prospective aspectual meaning. Therefore, the adnominal suffix *-l* and the defective noun *kes* are a fixed expression, *-l kes*, that functions to construct imperative sentences.

So far, I explored the nominalization in Korean. Nominalization itself has a modal meaning, and this modal meaning serves various pragmatic purposes in actual conversations. Thus, in chapter 4, I will first explore the nominalization and its modal meaning, and then examine the modal meaning of *kes* constructions.

4. Nominalization and Modality

4.1 Nominalization and stance marking

Verbs and adjectives in a predicate must have a nominal form to be a noun phrase (NP). Considering that an NP usually functions as a subject or direct object in a sentence, nominalization in a predicate position seems to be redundant. Horie (2011) claimed that, cross-linguistically, nominalizations in sentence-final position are not necessarily widespread phenomena, unlike the use of nominalization in an argument position (e.g., in a complement clause). However, many cognitive linguistic studies argue that nominalization is closely related to speakers' stance marking (e.g., Noh, 2007; Rhee, 2008; Yap & Matthews, 2008).

Typologically, Korean is an SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) language, and suffixes in the predicate or sentence-final position often indicate modality in Korean. Korean nominalizers in the sentence-ending position, where modal meaning occurs, have a discourse-pragmatic function of indicating a speaker's/writer's stance. While scholars define stance in different ways, it is generally agreed that stance includes attitudinal and epistemic components that share semantic features with the modal expressions in Korean predicates. Smith (2002) defined stance as a marker of point of view. Sohn (2010, p. 1) explained that, in linguistics, stance has been discussed in relation to modality, evaluation, attitude, emotion, or subjectivity. Rhee (2011, p. 13) offered the following explanation of stance:

The notion of stance covers a wide range of the speaker's emotional, attitudinal, epistemic, evidential states. Attitudinal stance largely refers to the speaker's attitude toward the addressee and is thus interactional. Epistemic stance relates to the speaker's knowledge state regarding the veracity of the proposition. Emotional stance is related to the speaker's

positive, negative or neutral emotion toward the proposition or the event denoted by it. Evidential stance refers to the source of information, or how the speaker acquired the information.

Rhee (2011) thus suggested four subcategories of stance: attitudinal, epistemic, emotional, and evidential. However, within each category, diverse terms have been used as grammatical labels of the markers; some of the labels can be used interchangeably, and some of the functional categories overlap. Rhee also suggested labels for grammatical markers in each category, which are presented in Table 8.

Table 6 Subcategories of stance (Rhee, 2011)

Stance type	Attitudinal	Epistemic	Emotional	Evidential
Grammatical markers	Cold Friendly Enthusiastic Indifference Helpless Promissive Intentional Directive Encouraging	Certain Likely Possible Impossible Conviction Suppositive ...	Positive Negative Neutral ...	Direct Indirect Inferential Reportative Non-visual Witness Non-witness Sensory Assumed ...

Most researchers on stance markers have focused on how an individual speaker (or writer) expresses his/her attitude to, evaluation of, or commitment to what it is that the individual speaker or writer is saying or writing (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999; Fitzmaurice, 2004; Sohn, 2010).

Here are some examples of nominalization that are closely related to stance marking. In Tibeto-Burman languages, the speaker's stance can be expressed by a nominalized construction, especially mirativity, as in (15a) and (15b) (Noonan, 1997; Grunow-Hårsta, 2007).

(15)

a. Chantyal (Noonan, 2008, p. 380)

aay, kattay talay tha-i nə a - tha - wa tane
gosh definitely cut-ANT focus NEG-cut-NM AFFIRMATION
'Gosh, it didn't even cut, right!'

b. Magar (Grunow-Hårsta & Yap, 2009)

ram - e sita - o ria sat - cyo
Ram-ERG Sita-GEN goat kill- MIR.NM
'Ram killed Sita's goat!' (to the speaker's surprise)

c. Cantonese (Yap et al. 2011)

keoi5 wui5 lei4 ge3
3SG will come GE(NM)
'(Don't worry) he will come.'

The nominalizers in (15a) and (15b) can be reinterpreted as markers of the speaker's stance (i.e., mirativity). Yap et al. (2011) argued that the nominalizer *ge3* can be reanalyzed as a sentence-final particle to convey speaker attitude in Cantonese (Sinitic), as in (15c). Similar developments have been observed in Japanese and Korean. In Korean, Rhee (2009) and Sohn (2010) discussed the relationship between nominalized constructions in the predicate and stance marking. According to Yap and Matthews (2008) and Rhee (2011), Korean nominalizers are highly poly-functional and can be classified into two major groups: referential and expressive. Referential functions of Korean nominalizers can be categorized in terms of the ontological dimensions of the semantics of the nouns derived through nominalizing processes, that is, the abstractness of the nominal semantics. Expressive functions of Korean nominalizers largely refer to their functions as sentential endings

and connectives that mark a speaker's epistemic stance. As mentioned earlier, the sentence-final position in Korean can indicate the speaker's attitude. Nominalized constructions in the predicate, therefore, are closely related to stance marking in Korean. Although sentence-final nominalization is not the only way to express stance, it is one way of marking speaker stance cross-linguistically.⁶

4.2 Evidential meaning of sentence-final nominalization

Evidentiality refers to a source of information regarding the proposition of an utterance. Drawing on Aikhenvald's (2004) work, Sohn (2018: 3) defined evidentials as

a linguistic category whose real-life counterpart is an information source and [...] a grammatical category which has a source of information as its primary meaning—whether the narrator actually saw what is being described, or made inferences about it based on evidence, or was told about it.

Sohn (2018) also adopted the semantic types of evidentials illustrated in Aikhenvald's (2004) study, and proposed three subcategories of evidentials in Korean: perceptual, quotative/reported, and inferential.

Evidentiality can be expressed through a variety of grammatical items, as Aikhenvald (2004) pointed out:

⁶ Sohn (2010, p. 3) claimed that stance can be expressed by a combination of lexical or grammatical means, prosody, gesture, turn design, and sequential occurrence through dialogic interaction between a speaker and another participant.

Mood, modality, tense, person, nominalizations, and complement clauses can develop overtones similar to some semantic features of evidentials. (p. 104)

Non-indicative moods and modalities, past tenses and perfects, passives, nominalizations, and complementation strategies can acquire a secondary usage to do with reference to an information source. (p. 20)

Lee (2014) viewed evidentials as a subclass of epistemic modality and proposed the following forms that include *kes* as evidentials in Korean: presumption *-(u)l ke(s)-i* and *-(u)l-ke*, and approximation *-(u)n/-nun/-(u)l kes kath*. Horie (2011) pointed out that sentence-final nominalizations in Japanese and Korean develop a variety of pragmatic/semantic functions, including evidential and modal meanings. In Korean, a *kes* construction in a predicate can signal evidentiality, as in (16). In (16), which is taken from Horie, Kim, and Tamaji's (2007, p. 3) study, the fact that the brushwood door is half-open is taken by the speaker to be non-challengeable evidence that someone came into the house.

(16) *salip - mwun - i pan - ccum yelleye iss - ess - ta. tto tulli-nta.*
brushwood-door-NOM half - about opened be-PST-DL again hear -DL

cip-aney nwukwunka-ka wa iss-nun kes-ita.
house-in someone - NOM come exist-AD thing-DL

'The brushwood door is half-open. I can hear (sounds) again. It is clear that somebody came into the house.'

However, evidentials and epistemic modal meaning do not have a clear distinction in Korean. Horie (2011, p. 11) also argued that the Korean sentence-final nominalization *kes-ita* encodes an epistemic meaning of strong probability in (17). In the same study, Horie discussed

kes-ita in the example in (16) as an evidential, and explained that the two forms have similar meanings.

- (17) *yuwel-i toy-myen pi-ka o-l kes-ita.*
June-NOM become-if rain-NOM come-FUT thing-DL
'When June rolls around, it will rain (I'm sure).' (Martin 1992: 607, glosses added)

Sohn (2018, p.17) also pointed out that evidentials and epistemic modality are often indistinguishable:

Some linguists regard the suffix *-keyss* as evidential because it indicates that the propositional content conveyed is the speaker's conjecture made through his/her deductive reasoning based on the evidence that (s)he has acquired or the relevant knowledge (s)he has. The same suffixes, however, are treated as epistemic modal elements by many linguists as well, because they satisfy the common definition of epistemic modality that it refers to the way the speaker communicates his/her doubts, certainties, and guesses or to the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the propositional content conveyed.

In this study, I will use a framework that defines evidentiality as a subclass of epistemic modality.

4.3 Definitions of modality

Lyons (1977: p. 452) defined modality as "the speaker's opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes." Palmer (2001:1) argued that modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event. The classic categorization of modality divides it into two subcategories: epistemic modality and deontic modality. This distinction does not correspond to specific forms, as the same linguistic

form can have different modal meanings depending on the context. Epistemic modality denotes "degree of knowledge" (Saeed, 1997: p. 126) or "to indicate 'what is known'" (Yule et al., 1998, p. 88). Biber et al. (1999, p. 485) defined modality as "referring to the logical status of events or states, usually relating to assessments of likelihood: possibility, necessity, or prediction." Yule et al. (1998, pp. 88-89) claimed that "epistemic uses often sound like deductions or conclusions made by the speaker" and that "it is the speaker's or writer's perspective that is being presented." Biber et al. (1999, p. 485) defined deontic modality as "referring to actions and events that humans (or other agents) directly control: meanings relating to permission, obligation, or volition." Palmer (2001, p. 8) proposed that modality can be divided into two major subcategories: propositional and event modality. The former denotes the speaker's attitude toward the truth-value or factual status of the proposition. In contrast, the latter refers to events that are not actualized, events that have not taken place but are merely potential. Palmer's categorization of modality is shown in Table 9.

Table 7 Subcategories of modality (Palmer, 2001)

Propositional modality	Epistemic	Speculative
		Deductive
		Assumptive
	Evidential	Reported
Sensory		
Event modality	Deontic	Permission
		Obligation
		Commissive
	Dynamic	Ability
		Volitive

Because modality covers a variety of meanings cross-linguistically, it is hard to give a clear definition and make clear distinctions of modality. In Korean, modality can be realized through modal suffixes such as *kyess* (epistemic) or *te* (evidential), as well as periphrastic constructions such as *-ul kes kath-* (epistemic) or *-a/eya ha-* (deontic). Cho (2017:25) summarized previous studies' proposals for subcategories of modality in Korean, as below:

- a. communicative, epistemic, deontic, emotive (Lee, 2001)
- b. epistemic, act (Park 2006)
- c. epistemic, non-epistemic (Eom, 2010)
- d. epistemic, deontic, dynamic, emotive/evaluative, evidential (Park, 2011)
- e. epistemic, act, emotive (Ku, 2015)

Because modal meanings are expressed in sentence-final position in Korean, either by modal suffixes or by periphrastic constructions, it is crucial to explore how the defective noun *kes* obtained modal meaning. First, when it comes to the location of *kes* constructions, they are located in sentence-final position, which is where tense, aspect, modality, and mood markers are indicated. Therefore, the location of *kes* constructions has contributed to the emergence of their modal meanings. Second, the copulas in *kes* constructions are also closely related to the emergence of modal meanings: In Korean, structures that combine with nouns, such as modifying suffixes, defective nouns, and copulas, are often used as modal expressions, such as *-ul ppwunita*, *-ul theita*, or *nun seymita*.

4.4 Modality in *kes* constructions

Yap et al. (2011, p. 29) argued that Korean adnominals also express tense, aspect, and mood. For example, adnominals *-n* and *-(u)l*, which appear to be linked to erstwhile nominalizers *-n* and *-l* respectively, have evolved into anterior/past and prospective markers. A nominalized construction, such as a *kes* construction, in a predicate consists of an adnominal suffix, a nominalizer, and a copula. Depending on the type of modal meaning, the copula can be omitted (i.e., with the imperative function of the *kes* ending⁷) or substituted by an accusative particle *-ul* (conveying a sense of regret or a prediction, e.g., example [10c] below). Previous researchers have argued that the [adnominal suffix–*kes*–copula] construction *un/nun keya* denotes deontic or epistemic modality, related, for instance, to obligation, general truth, or social norms (Ahn, 1997; Ahn, 2001; Noh, 2007), whereas *ul keya* in predicates is used as a modal expression indicating the speaker's prediction. According to Noh (2007), the *-un/nun keya* construction is undergoing a semantic shift from a structure for definition (or an equative sentence) to an interactive sentence ender that expresses the speaker's commitment to the validity of a proposition. Another *kes* construction, *-kes kathta*, indicates a speaker's conjecture. In this case, the whole construction functions as a modality marker denoting the speaker's assumption.

Rhee (2011) suggested several stance-marking functions of *kes* sentential endings: conjecture, prediction, regret, intention, and promissive, as in (18). The examples are Rhee's (pp. 20–21).

⁷ The imperative sense is one of the expressive functions of the *kes* ending, as in Chapter 3, example (14c), repeated here:

ssuleyki - lul peli- ci ma -l kes
trash - ACC dump -NM not AD NM
'Do not dump trash'; literally 'not dumping trash'

(18) a. Conjecture

ku-nun acik ca - ko iss - ul - ke - i - a
he-TOP still sleep- PROG - AD -thing-COP-DL
'He should be still sleeping.'

b. Prediction

ku salam mos o - l - ke - l
that person cannot come-AD-thing-ACC
'I bet he cannot come.'

c. Regret

*naccam-ina ca - l - ke - l*⁸
nap - select sleep-AD-thing-ACC
'I should have taken a nap!'

d. Intention

kkok sengkongha - l - ke - i - a
surely succeed -AD-thing-COP-DL
'I will surely succeed.'

e. Promissive

*nay-ka towacwu-l - ke - y*⁹
I - NOM help - AD -thing-COP.DL
'I will help you.'

In the case of conjecture in (18a), the speaker's conviction is not expressed in the sentence, whereas (18b) indicates strong conviction. Thus, *kes* endings have different levels of conviction, ranging from mere conjecture (18a) to prediction with conviction (18b). The *kes* ending in (18c) denotes regret, and it has an ellipsis-based construction like (18b). In this construction, the speaker

⁸ Here, *kes* is phonetically reduced to *ke* and combined with the accusative particle *-l*.

⁹ The form *y* is derived from a combination of the copula *i* and the declarative sentence ender *a*.

encourages the hearer to infer the elided main clause, and the inference brings about a variety of meanings, such as prediction and regret. The *kes* ending can also mark the speaker's determinative attitude (intention, promissive), as in (18d) and (18e).

4.5 Previous studies

4.5.1 The *ul*-type constructions

As mentioned earlier, the adnominal suffix *-ul* has imperfect aspectual meaning, and it can be considered an irrealis mood marker, which also denotes uncertainty in the real world. At this point, the speaker's personal attitude toward the proposition in the sentence can be expressed through an expression including an adnominal suffix *-ul*. It seems that *-ul*-type constructions are at a different grammaticalization stage than *(n)un*-type constructions. This type of construction can indicate conjecture, intention, regret, and promissive meaning.

The construction *-ul kesita* already has become a futurity marker, as well as a means to express the speaker's intention or conjecture. Lim (2008) argued that epistemic modality indicates the speaker's assumption, deduction, or speculation. He also argued that this type of epistemic modality is expressed by periphrastic constructions such as *(u)l ci molunta*, *-umey thullimepsta*, or *(u)l kesita*. Other *ul*-type constructions besides *-ul kesita* are not combined with a copula. However, they have modal meaning, but only if they are in a sentence-ending position, which is a syntactic slot where pragmatic or semantic extension occurs. For instance, *-ul kes kathta* denotes meanings such as uncertainty, assumption, or avoiding a conclusion. Unlike other constructions, this construction maintains its modal meaning even in a clausal ending position, as in (19).

- (19) *pi-ka o-l kes kath - ase wusan - ul kacye wa -ss- ta*
 rain-NOM come-AD thing seem - CNJ umbrella-ACC bring come-PST-DL

'I brought an umbrella because it seems to be raining.'

According to Rhee (2011b), *-ulkel* expresses the speaker's prediction, as in (18b), repeated here as (20a), or, if the subject of the sentence is the first person, it shows the speaker's regret as in (18c), repeated here as (20b).¹⁰

(20) a. Prediction

ku salam mos o-l-ke-l
that person cannot come-AD-thing-ACC
'I bet he cannot come.'

b. Regret

naccam-ina ca-l-ke-l
nap - select sleep-AD-thing-ACC
'I should have taken a nap!'

The *-ul key* construction expresses the speaker's attitude toward the interlocutor. In this structure, *kes* has been phonologically reduced as it combines with copula *i* and sentence-ending suffix *a*. The *-ul key* construction has a promissive function, and the subject of the sentence must be the first person.

(21) Promissive

nayil-kkaci chayk-ul kacta cwu-lkey
tomorrow-by book-ACC bring-lkey
'I will bring the book by tomorrow.'

¹⁰ Rhee (2011), Yae (2012), and Sohn (2010) used the term “stance marker” instead of “modal expression.” However, the function of stance markers is quite similar to that of modal expressions, which is to show the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition of the sentence.

tayhak-ey hapkyekha-myen say khemphyuthe sa cwu-lkey
university pass-if new computer buy-lkey
'If you get into university, I will buy you a new computer.'

4.5.2 The (n)un-type constructions¹¹

Whereas many *ul*-type constructions have already become modal expressions, *(n)un*-type constructions are still context-dependent, and this is the reason there is disagreement on the modal meanings of *(n)un*-type constructions among researchers. However, we can describe some of their modal meanings. First, this type of construction has a normative function. Many researchers (Ahn, 1997; Paek, 2006; Sohn, 2010; Yae, 2012) have described one of the modal meanings of *kes* constructions as a normative meaning that shows social norms or rules. This modal meaning seems to be derived from an objectification process, as these constructions have been grammaticalized through nominalization. The nominalized clause came to denote the "objectified" meaning of a proposition; a subjectification process took place later. Through the emphasis function of nominalization, a speaker was able to emphasize a proposition and express a viewpoint with these constructions. The final process of grammaticalization is intersubjectification. Traugott (2010, p. 35) accounted for subjectification and intersubjectification as below.

- a. Meanings are recruited by the speaker to encode and regulate attitudes and beliefs (subjectification), and,
- b. once subjectified may be recruited to encode meanings centered on the addressee (intersubjectification).

¹¹ The *(n)un*-type constructions include *kes* constructions combined with both adnominal suffixes *-nun* and *-un*.

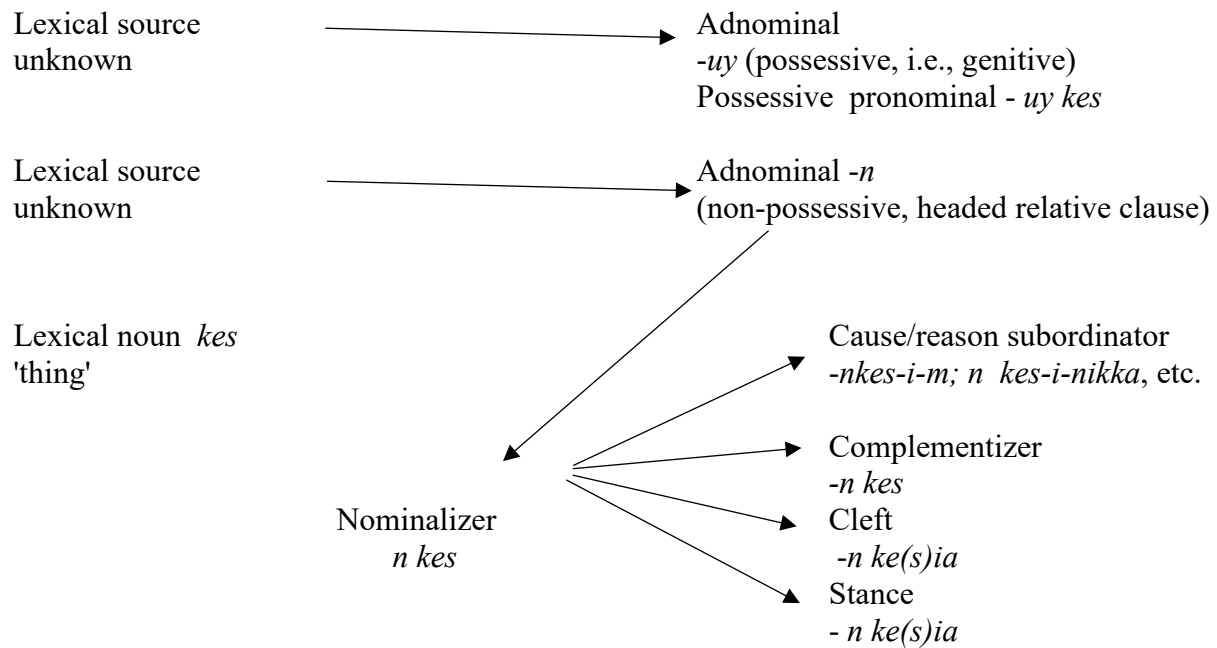
During intersubjectification, the meaning of a proposition focuses on the addressee, so that illocutionary force (i.e., compliance with rules or social norms) can be delivered to the addressee. The grammaticalization process of *kes* can be described as below.

objectification (emphasis) → subjectification (interaction) → intersubjectification

4.5.3 *Kes* constructions as stance markers

Some researchers have claimed that *kes* constructions in sentence-final position indicate the speaker's stance. Yap and Matthews (2008) proposed the grammaticalization pathways of the Korean nominalizer *-n kes* shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Grammaticalization Pathways of the Korean Nominalizer *-n kes* (Yap & Matthews, 2008)



Rhee (2011) argued that the stance-marking function of *kes* is derived from a nominalization process and that *kes* constructions can express epistemic (conjecture or prediction),

attitudinal (promissive or intention), and emotional (regret) stances. In his study, he considered the *kes* constructions as stance markers. In this study, the definition of *kes* constructions is limited to constructions that are used with the prospective adnominal suffix *-ul*. The sentential endings involving *kes* are frequently combined with the prospective adnominal *-l* in the construction. Noh (2007) argued that *-n keya* has gone through a semantic shift from a definition structure to a focus structure, and finally to an interactive sentence marker. According to Noh, *-n keya* is a sentence ender that has interactive functions as a result of a reanalysis process. In Noh's view, *-n keya?* in an interrogative structure has the function of demanding information based on the assumption of a knowledgeable recipient (i.e., the speaker is less knowledgeable than the recipient), or the function of showing active listenership. In a declarative structure, *-n keya* claims speakership in nonspontaneous interaction, or can be used to assert the speaker's stance. Yae (2012) also considered *kes* constructions as stance marking and proposed four subcategories of their functions:

- (a) declaratives: intention, conjecture, direction (explanation of rules or regulations)
- (b) exclamatives: mirativity, awakening
- (c) interrogatives: rhetorical negative emphasis, discontent, aggression
- (d) imperatives: admonition, advice

Sohn's (2010, p. 4) study is of particular interest for the current research because it is based on interactional linguistics, in which the underlying assumption is that grammar (i.e., morphosyntax, phonology, phonetics, prosody) can best be understood in terms of its natural environment, that is, in interactional contexts. She proposed the following interactional functions of *kes* constructions:

- (a) clarification
- (b) describing social norms or regulations
- (c) dispute (responding to a problem or a challenge from a recipient)
- (d) storytelling (a speaker displays epistemic authority and takes responsibility for the information)

Like Noh (2007), Sohn also mentioned that intersubjectivity is a key factor to account for the pragmatic functions of *kes* constructions.

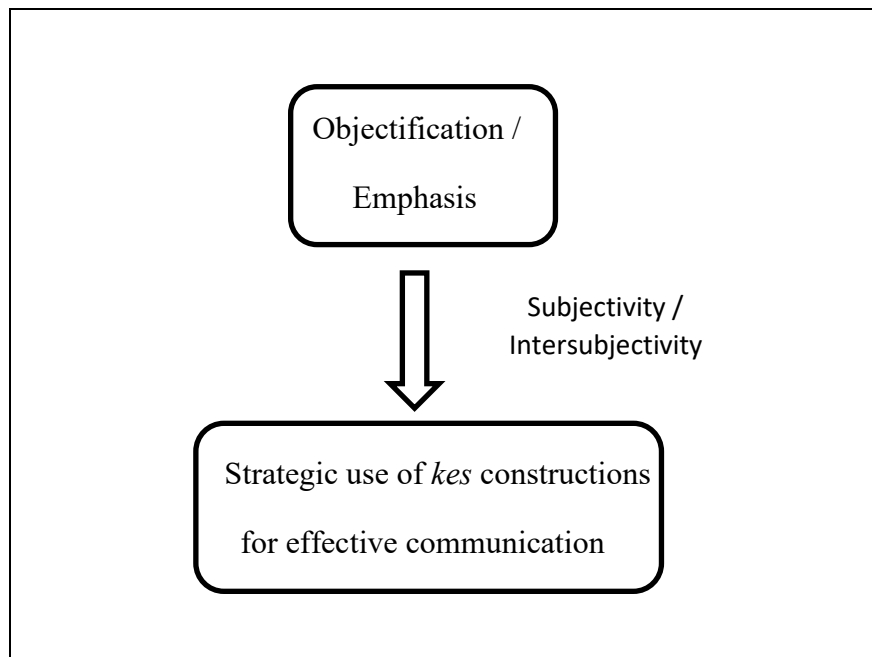
4.6 The core meanings of *kes* constructions

The modal meanings or pragmatic functions of *kes* constructions are derived from the original meaning of *kes* as a lexical item. Except for the *-ul*-type constructions, which are already grammaticalized as modal expressions indicating intention or conviction, the two core meanings of *kes* constructions are emphasis and objectification. Ahn (2007) suggested that the core meaning of emphasis includes the modal functions of emphasizing, making a declaration, and paraphrasing. He also claimed that *kes* constructions express the speaker's epistemic attitude without changing the propositional information of a sentence. In other words, the factual meaning of the sentence will not change, but a modal meaning is added to the sentence by the use of a *kes* construction. The purpose of using a *kes* construction is to indicate the fact that the speaker appreciates the proposition more than as simply a fact, and thus the meanings of emphasis, declaration, and paraphrase emerge. Noh (2007) claimed that by using *-nkeya*, the speaker gains speakership in order to unfold a story more efficiently by highlighting the conveyed message. This function of highlighting a conveyed message is closely related to the core meaning of emphasis of the *kes* constructions. As for the core meaning of objectification, when a verbal clause is transformed into a nominal clause, the speaker perceives the event or proposition as a fact. Thus, a verbal clause or

a sentence loses its semantic value of denoting an action or state, and instead gains factuality. Rhee (2011) argued that through this process, the speaker objectifies an abstract situation as if it were a concrete, tangible object that could be referred to as “a thing.”

These two core meanings of *kes* constructions can be seen in the range of their modal meanings, and they may be the basis of the pragmatic functions of *kes* constructions. Objectification and emphasis give rise to further uses of *kes* constructions, and these two core meanings are involved in the further development of modal or pragmatic meanings of *kes* constructions. Pragmatic functions can be discussed when we presuppose a discourse context in which interlocutors negotiate meaning through the conversation. In conversation, interlocutors assert their personal attitude toward an event or a proposition. Therefore, factual information is conveyed along with the speaker's attitude (i.e., evaluation, beliefs) toward the factual information in discourse. Subjectivity and intersubjectivity can be marked by expressions that show the speaker's attitude, such as modal markers. Even though *kes* constructions inherently contain objectified meaning, speakers can strategically use these forms to assert their personal attitudes or beliefs (subjectification), and even to lead the hearer to be in accord with the speaker's stance (intersubjectification) or purpose. More importantly, interlocutors use *kes* constructions with the purpose of effectively conveying their messages to other interlocutors with various types of strategies, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Semantic changes of *kes* construction



4.7 The emergence of intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity plays a significant role in discourse. Interlocutors express their personal attitudes or beliefs while considering the addressee who will receive the message in the conversation. At the discourse level, where intersubjectivity arises, we can assume that a space exists for interactional meaning. Interactional meaning is the speaker's intention or strategies for achieving the speaker's goals in the conversation. According to Sohn (2010), conversation analytic studies have shown that cognitive verbs (e.g., *I think, I feel*) or epistemic markers (e.g., *I know, I don't know*) in English do not express an individual speaker's internal state, but emerge from a joint engagement in evaluative activity. Stance marking in particular is deeply involved in intersubjectivity in discourse. Kääkkäinen (2006, p. 701) argued that stance is not a linguistic package of internal states of knowledge but “a public action that is shaped by the talk and stances of other participants in sequentially unfolding turns-at-talk.” *Kes* constructions inherently have the core meanings of emphasis and objectification, and these core meanings contribute to the

development of pragmatic functions in discourse through subjectification, as well as intersubjectification. This process might vary depending on the type of pragmatic function; one of the possible processes can be described as in Figure 2. In this process, objectification plays a major role in meaning development. When the speaker expresses his/her personal thoughts in an objectified form (i.e., a nominal structure), this objectified meaning can be highlighted by the nominal structure at the same time. Finally, in a discourse context, the speaker can strategically use this form to convey a message like: “This is a well-known fact and I want you to comply with it.” As many studies have pointed out (Ahn, 2001; Cho, 2011; Nam, 1991; Sohn, 2010), *kes* constructions are used for denoting social norms, rules, or regulations. However, this function can be developed into a way of showing that the speaker is soliciting the compliance of the addressee. The example in (22a) shows a case where a *kes* construction is used for denoting rules, while (22b) illustrates how a speaker uses the *kes* construction to assert the speaker's personal belief to the addressee.

(22)

a. Rules

A: *ceynka ceynka al-e? namwuthomak-ul,*
 Jenga Jenga know-Q wood block-ACC

‘Do you know Jenga?’

B: *ung.*
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

A: *yomanha-n namwuthomak-ul sey kay-ssik sey kay-ssik*
 this big-AD wood block-ACC three item-each three item-each
ilehkey ta ssah-a, imankhum ta ssa-n taumey,
 like this all pile-DL this much all pile-AD and then

‘Pile all the wood blocks, three pieces each, like this, and then,’

B: *ung.*
yes
‘Yes.’

A: *hana-ssik tolakamyense hana-ssik ppay-se wi-eyta ssah-nun ke-ya.*
one-each by turns one-each take way-and up side-LOC pile-AD thing-
DL

‘Take away one piece each by turns and put it on the top.’

B: *cincca?*
really
‘Really?’

A: *ssuleci-nun salam-i ci-nun ke-ya.*
all down-AD person-NOM lose-AD thing-DL
‘The person whose block falls first will lose.’

b.

A: *na na yeysnal-ey-nun kunyang cohahanta-nun mal-ey ccom khun*
I I the past-LOC-TOP just to like-AD word-GEN little big
key salanghanta-nun mal-ilakwu sayngkak-ul ha-yss-nuntey,
thing to love-AD word-named think-ACC do-PST-CIRCUM
cikum-un nan salang cachey-lanun kaynyem-i mohoha-yse
now-TOP I love itself-called concept-NOM vague-because
amwu-hanthey-twu ha-ki silh-e nan.
anyone-DAT- DEL do-MN not like-DL I

‘I used to think that the meaning of to love includes to like, but now the concept of love seems to be vague. So I don't want to say I love you to anybody.’

B: *aniya cohaha-nun kes-kwa salangha-nun ke-n cenhye tal-un ke-ya.*
no like-AD thing-and love-AD thing-TOP totally
different-AD thing-DL

ne. ni-ka sathang-ul cohahan-takwu chye pwa. sathang salangha-y?
you you-TOP candy-ACC like- QT consider see candy love-Q

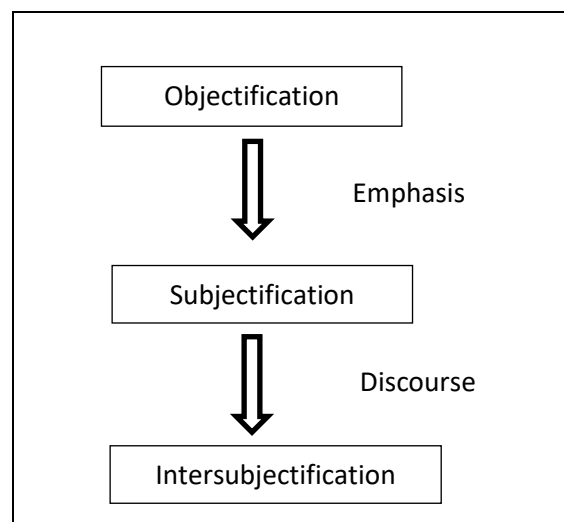
‘No, to like and to love are totally different things. If you like candies, do you love them?’

A: ...

B: *cenhye* *talun* *kaynyem-iya*.
 totally different-AD concept-DL
 ‘They are totally different concepts.’

In (22a), speaker A uses a *kes* construction to explain the rules of a game. The use of a nominal structure objectifies the meaning of the proposition, so this type of usage can be found in a situation in which the speaker considers the proposition as an objective fact. (22b) shows the use of a *kes* construction with intersubjectivity. Speaker B in (22b) uses a *kes* construction to express his/her personal viewpoint about the concepts of "to love" and "to like." The difference between (22a) and (22b) is that the speaker in (22b) is persuading the hearer, A, by using a *kes* construction in discourse, whereas the speaker in (22a) is providing what speaker A considers to be an objective explanation of rules to hearer B. The process of intersubjectification can be described as in Figure 3.

Figure 3 Emergence of (inter)subjectivity



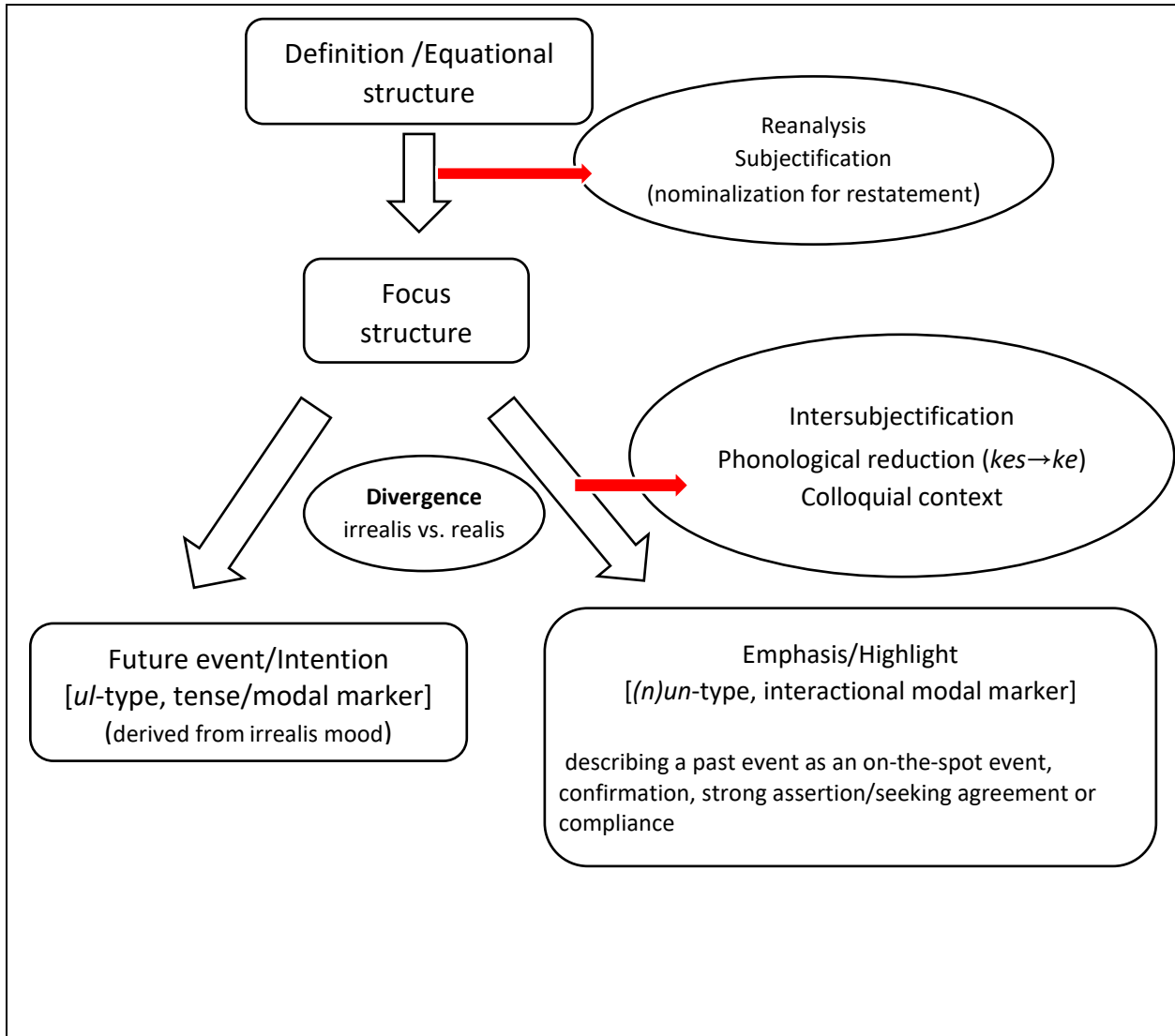
5. Grammaticalization of the Kes Constructions

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I showed how each component of the *kes* constructions that consist of a defective noun *kes*, a noun modifying suffix (*un/nun/ul*), and a copula (*ita*, including its variants *ya* and *yeyo*) has evolved. In this chapter, I will discuss how this type of *kes* construction has evolved from a definition structure to an interactional modal marker from a grammaticalization perspective. The defective noun *kes* is one of the most frequently used grammatical items in spoken PDK. Its high frequency results from its various uses in combination with other items, which in turn has led to diverse grammaticalization paths.

The definition structure has distinctive syntactic and semantic characteristics among the constructions that include *kes*, such as *-ulke l* (regret, assumption), *keskathta* (conjecture), and *ulke* (promissive). In addition, the definition structure has been used for a long time. Therefore, this discussion treats the definition structure as an initial stage of the grammaticalization process of the *kes* constructions comprising the defective noun *kes*, a noun modifying suffix (*un/nun/ul*), and the copula *ita*.

Figure 4 Grammaticalization path of kes constructions



Definition structure (Equational structure)

The copula *ita* already has equational, definitional, identificational, or descriptive meanings (Sohn, 2001). In the definition structure “[NP1] *un/nun* [NP2] *ita*,” the copula *ita* contributes to the equational meaning (i.e., NP1 equals NP2).

Shin (1993) argued that copula structures¹² function to confirm semantic identity. Therefore, in the definition structure, the subject and the predicative nominal or noun phrase share semantic features. In Middle Korean, *kes* constructions were already being used for explanation, as below.

號는 일흠 사마 브르논 거시라 (월인석보 1:15)

The defective noun *ke* in the predicate refers to the Chinese character 號, providing information about the Middle Korean usage of the character. This type of usage can be found in translation books (*unhae*) that translated Classic Chinese books into Korean with explanations and notations on the original text.

The definition structure has a nominalizer phrase (*-un/nun/ul kes*) in the predicate, but other nominalizer expressions are not used in definition structures, as shown in the examples below.

[애플펜슬(Apple Pencil)]:

A: (pointing at an Apple Pencil) 그거 뭐야?

kuke mwe-ya
that what-Q
“What’s that?”

B: a 이거 타블렛에 글씨 쓰는 거야.

i-ke thapulley-s-ey kulssi ssu-nun ke-ya
this-thing tablet-on letter write-AD kes-SE
“This is for writing on a tablet.”

¹² A structure that has a noun (or noun phrase) and a copula in a predicate.

b 이거 타블렛에 글씨 씬이야.*

c 이거 타블렛이 글씨 쓰기야.*

Of B's three responses (a, b, c), only (a) is acceptable; the defective noun *kes* in the predicate in (a) has an anaphoric function that makes the VP in the predicate (타블렛에 글씨를 쓰다) correspond to its subject (*ike* 이거). This is because the defective noun *kes* can still refer to a physical object. In contrast, other nominalizers merely have a grammatical function of converting a verb (or VP) to a noun (or NP). The defective noun *kes* in the predicate can refer to the subject in the definition structure. Still, its anaphoric usage gradually disappeared as it evolved into an expression with a newer meaning. However, this grammaticalization process has not been linear and neatly sequential; rather, over time, the meanings of the structure have included multiple stages on a continuum, with different sets of the various meanings coexisting simultaneously at different points in the grammaticalization process.

5.2 Diachronic Changes of the *Kes* Constructions

Chapter 3 described the diachronic changes of each element of the type of *kes* construction that consists of the defective noun *kes*, a noun modifying suffix *un/nun/ul*, and a copula. This chapter will discuss the diachronic changes of this type of *kes* construction as a single grammatical unit.

5.2.1 Evidence of grammaticalization

This chapter presents evidence that the *kes* constructions have undergone a grammaticalization process. Rhee (2008) proposed the following questions for analyzing whether a grammaticalization process has taken place or is taking place.

Morpho-syntactic level	<p>Is there a loss of phonological/phonetic substance?</p> <p>Is the direction of change from discourse to syntactic, from syntactic to morphological, and from morphological to phonological form?</p> <p>Is there a cross-linguistic direction in the morpho-syntactic change?</p>
Semantic level	<p>Does the meaning change from concrete to abstract meaning?</p> <p>Is the meaning getting “generalized” by semantic bleaching?</p> <p>Does the original meaning of the source affect the meaning and evolution of the grammatical element?</p> <p>Is there a cross-linguistic direction in the semantic change?</p>
Functional level	<p>Is there any functional change from cardinal category to secondary category?</p> <p>Does lexical function decrease, and grammatical function increase?</p> <p>Can a pattern of how a lexical item is maintained as a lexical item diverge from a pattern of how it gains new grammatical features?</p> <p>Is there any divergence in functions or specialization among the linguistic forms that perform the same function?</p> <p>Is there a cross-linguistic direction in the functional change?</p>
Structural level	<p>Does it show paradigmaticization by an increase of paradigmaticity?</p> <p>Does it show obligatorification by decreasing paradigmatic variability in the use of the linguistic form?</p> <p>Does it show fixation by decreasing syntagmatic variability in the use of the linguistic form?</p> <p>Does it show coalescence as a result of an increase of bondedness among linguistic forms?</p> <p>Is there a cross-linguistic direction in the functional change?</p>

This chapter's discussion of changes in the *kes* constructions is based on Rhee's (2008) analytic questions, which cover four levels: morphosyntactic, semantic, functional, and structural.

First, at the morphosyntactic level, phonological reduction (also called attrition or erosion) occurred as the *kes* construction evolved. Phonological attrition is the gradual loss of phonological substance (Lehmann, 2005:113). The defective noun *kes* has lost its final sound [s], and its contracted form *ke* is more frequently used than its original form in PDK data. As shown by Rhee (2016), this type of change can be found in other languages, including the examples as below.

Examples of phonological attrition (Rhee, 2016)

- a. (Latin) *ille* > (French) *le* [l]
- b. (Proto-Indo-European) *esti* > (English) *is* [z]
- c. (Proto-Indo-European) *oinos* > (English) *a* [e]
- d. (Proto-Bantu) *gide* 'finish' > (Bantu) *-gide* > *-ide* > *i* > (high note)

The loss of the final sound of *kes* in the *kes* constructions seems to follow the common cross-linguistic direction, which supports the claim that the changes in the *kes* constructions are part of a grammaticalization process.

Second, as illustrated by Rhee's (2016) example in (d), phonological attrition often occurs with semantic changes. Most semantic changes in grammaticalization move in the same direction: A linguistic item loses its lexical meaning and gains grammatical meaning. When it comes to the *kes* constructions, the defective noun *kes* contains a lexical meaning 'thing' in some definition structures, so that the defective noun in the predicate refers to the subject of the sentence.

However, as the *kes* constructions have grammaticalized, this lexical meaning has disappeared, and *kes* has become a grammatical element (or sentence ender) without any lexical meaning.

Third, the phonological attrition of *kes* triggered layering, and this change brought about functional divergence. As a result, there are subtypes of *kes* constructions depending on the type of copula. The contracted form *ke* is mostly found in spoken data with the polite-level ending copula *yeyo* or the intimate-level copula *ya*. In contrast, the original form *kes* is mainly found in formal speech or written data, with the deferential-level ending suffix *ipnita* or the plain form suffix *ita*. *Kes* constructions with the contracted form tend to express a speaker's attitude toward the proposition or the hearer, whereas *kes* constructions with the original form are mainly used to emphasize or highlight a proposition in formal speech or writing.

Last, at the structural level, the *kes* constructions show an increase in bondedness. As a lexical item, the defective noun *kes* had low bondedness that did not allow it to be merged with other forms. However, it has gained bondedness that enables it to be combined with other linguistic forms as it passes along its grammaticalization path.

5.2.2 Reanalysis, pragmatic inference, and subjectification

Reanalysis

The typical copula structure in Korean has the “[NP1 = NP2]” structure. The *kes* constructions had the same structure, which was reanalyzed during the grammaticalization process. Noh (2006:69) argued that the *kes* construction *nkeya* developed through syntactic reanalysis that included constituency (the rebracketing of elements) and the reassignment of morphemes to different semantic-syntactic category labels, as below.

Development of the *kes* construction *nkeya* through reanalysis (Noh, 2006)

<Source Structure>

ike hoysa-eyse pat-un ke-ya
this company-from receive-AD thing-COP

STEP 1: Definition structure

[hoysa-eyse pat-un ke]-ya

“This is that (thing) (I) received from (my) company.”

STEP 2: Focus structure

[ike hoysa-eyse pat]-un ke-ya

“(The truth) is (that this is) the thing that (I) received this from (my) company.”

“(The reason) is (that this is) the thing that (I) received this from (my) company.”

STEP 3: Interactive sentence ender (ISE)

[ike hoysa-eyse pat]-un ke-ya

“(Listen) (I) received this from (my) company.”

Noh (2006) pointed out that without a subject of the sentence, a *kes* construction (*-nkeya*) can highlight the attached proposition by framing it as the focused proposition, as in Steps 2 and 3. The structural reanalysis that led this *kes* construction (*-nkeya*) to become a focus structure may also have contributed to the emergence of this form as a marker of the speaker’s stance on a proposition.

The reanalysis of the *kes* constructions that are this study’s focus (defective noun *kes*, noun modifying suffix *un/nun/ul*, and copula *ita*) occurred due to a structural change from “[NP1] = [NP2] *kesita*” to “[S] *kesita*.”

“[NP1] *un/nun* [NP2 (verb/adj. stem + *un/nun kes*)] *ita*” → “[S] *kesita*”

In the definition structure, the defective noun *kes* in NP2 referred to NP1. This semantic relation between NP1 and NP2 (*kes*) changed as *kes* began to refer to the whole proposition rather than only the subject of the sentence. After the structural reanalysis, the *kes* construction in the predicate no longer referred to the subject, as shown in (23).

(23)

- a. [이 시계]는 [내가 산] 거야 → [내가 산] [시계] (Definition structure)
- b. [너 집에 가는] 거야 → [집에 가는] [너]* (Confirmation question)

In the confirmation question in (23b), the *kes* construction is used to emphasize the proposition (너 집에 가 ‘you are going home’), and it cannot be recovered in relativized form. This type of structural change seems to be a result of pragmatic inference.

Pragmatic inference

Pragmatic inference mostly occurs in a hearer’s interpretation of a speaker’s utterance, such that the meaning of an utterance is affected by the hearer’s perception of it as it is delivered. Pragmatic inference can be a mechanism of semantic change.

Abduction is a type of pragmatic inference that is closely related to the semantic change of the *kes* constructions. According to Hopper and Traugott (2003), abduction occurs when a learner observes the verbal activity of elders, guesses at what the grammar might be, and then decides how

to interpret its meaning. As Hopper and Traugott (2003) explained, abduction is essential to the development of cultural patterns, including language. They proposed stages of abduction in the grammaticalization process as below:

Stage 1: the hearer observes the speaker's verbal activity, 집에 가는 거야 (observe a result)

State 2: the hearer perceives a new grammatical form (-는 거야) in the speaker's utterance and guesses what it means (invoke a law)

Stage 3: the hearer infers a new meaning based on what (s)he observed and the context of the conversation (infer a case)

Let us take the example of (1b). Once the hearer heard the speaker's question (i.e., observed the result), the hearer matched a new structure ([집에 가는 거]야) to the speaker's utterance (i.e., invoked a law), and then interpreted the utterance with a new meaning (i.e., inferred what might be the case).

Subjectification

According to Traugott (1989), subjectification is a kind of semantic change. She proposed three tendencies of such meaning change:

- Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation.
- Tendency II: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation.

- Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition. (Traugott 1989: 34 –35)

As mentioned earlier, subjectification is closely related to reanalysis. The *kes* constructions have undergone structural and morphosyntactic change through reanalysis, leading to a conceptual shift. After the reanalysis, speakers were able to use these constructions to express their attitude or stance; eventually, although the *kes* constructions retained the objectification/emphasis meaning, they gained the subjectification/emphasis meaning.

Stage 1: A nominalized structure adds an emphasis meaning to the utterance.
[Objectification/Emphasis]

[집에 가]는 거야 “[It is that] I am going home”

Stage 2: The speaker’s attitude (modal meaning) is expressed through the sentence ending; the emphasis meaning also remains [Subjectification/Emphasis]

[집에 가]는 거야: “[Let me tell you that] I am going home”

Modal expressions often express the speaker’s attitude in Korean, and Korean modal expressions are located in a fixed position in the form of a suffix or sentence ender. After reanalysis, the defective noun *kes* and copula *ita* merged into a sentence ending, which came to denote a new subjective meaning along with the older emphasis meaning. The *kes* constructions also occur at the end of the sentence where modal meanings are expressed. Therefore, the location of *kes* constructions shows that they gained the subjective meaning.

Modal/pragmatic meanings of *kes* constructions: Emphasis by restatement

Emphasis or highlighting of a meaning can be expressed by other forms in Korean. For instance, Kim (김민국 2011) argued that the sentence-ending *-malita* (말이다) has a pragmatic function of confirming and emphasizing, as in (24).

(24) 몇 시에 집에 [들어왔느냐/들어왔느냐 말이다]

myech si-ey cip-ey [tulewa-ss-nunya / tule-wass-nunya-n mal-i-ta]
what time-at home-LOC [enter-PST-Q / enter-PST-Q-QT malita
'What time did you get home?' / '(I said) What time did you get home.'

In (a), the sentence ending *-malita* emphasizes the proposition before *-malita*. Without context, the expression with *-malita* would be odd. However, the conversation below clearly shows how the sentence ending *-malita* emphasizes A's utterance. In A's initial question in line 1, A asks B what time (s)he came home yesterday, without *-malita*. B's response in line 2 does not answer the question. Therefore, in line 3, A asks the same question again, this time with *-malita* to emphasize it.

1 A: 어제 몇 시에 집에 들어왔어?

ecey myech siey cipey tulewasse?
'What time did you get home yesterday?'

2 B: 친구가 갑자기 아파서 병원에 들렀다 오느라고 좀 늦었어요.

chinkwu-ka kapcaki apha-se pyengwen-ey tulle-ss-ta o-nulako com nuc-ess-eyo
'I was late because I visited my friend who was in a hospital.'

3 A: 그러니까, 몇 시에 집에 들어왔느냐 말이다.

kulenikka, myech si-ey cip-ey tulewa-ss-nunya-n malita
'(I said) what time did you get home yesterday.'

Kim (2011) observed that *-malita* has a very similar structure to a *kes* construction, consisting of the indirect quotation suffix *tanun/lanun*, a noun *mal*, and a copula *ita*. The original function of the indirect quotation suffix leads to the current expression's function of restating the proposition. When a proposition is restated in a sentence, the meaning is usually to confirm or emphasize the proposition. In Korean, nominalization in a predicate allows the speaker to restate the proposition for confirmation or emphasis.

5.2.3 The emergence of intersubjective and pragmatic functions

Intersubjectivity plays a significant role in discourse. Interlocutors express their personal attitudes or beliefs while considering the addressee who will receive the message in the conversation. At the discourse level, where intersubjectivity arises, we can assume that a space exists for interactional meaning. Interactional meaning concerns speakers' intentions or strategies for achieving their goals in the conversation. According to Sohn (2010), conversation analytic studies have shown that cognitive verbs (e.g., *I think, I feel*) and epistemic markers (e.g., *I know, I don't know*) in English do not express an individual speaker's internal state, but emerge from a joint engagement in evaluative activity. Stance marking, in particular, is deeply involved in intersubjectivity in discourse. Kääkkäinen (2006, p. 701) argued that stance is not a linguistic package of internal states of knowledge but "a public action that is shaped by the talk and stances of other participants in sequentially unfolding turns-at-talk." The Korean *kes* constructions inherently have core meanings of emphasis and objectification, and these core meanings contribute to the development of their pragmatic functions in discourse through subjectification, as well as intersubjectification. The process might vary depending on the type of pragmatic function; one

possible process can be described as in Figure 2. In this process, objectification plays a major role in meaning development. When a speaker expresses his/her thoughts in an “objectified” form, that is, with a nominal structure, the nominal structure highlights the speaker’s stance that the proposition of the utterance is an objective fact. Finally, in a discourse context, the speaker can strategically use this form to convey a message like “This is a well-known fact and I want you to comply with it.” As many studies have pointed out (Ahn, 2001; Cho, 2011; Nam, 1991; Sohn, 2010), *kes* constructions are used for denoting social norms, rules, or regulations. However, this function can be developed into a way of showing that the speaker is soliciting the compliance of the addressee. The example in (25a) shows a case where a *kes* construction is used for denoting rules, while (25b) illustrates how a speaker uses a *kes* construction to assert a personal belief.

(25)

a. Jenga rules

A: 젠가 젠가 알아? 나무토막을
ceynka ceynka al-e? namwuthomak-ul,
 Jenga Jenga know-Q woodblock-ACC

“Do you know Jenga?”

B: 응
ung.
 yes
 “Yes.”

A: 요만한 나무토막을 세 개씩 세 개씩
yomanha-n namwuthomak-ul sey kay-ssik sey kay-ssik
 this big-AD woodblock-ACC three item-each three item-each

이렇게 다 쌓아, 이만큼 다 쌓은 다음에
ilehkey ta ssah-a, imankhum ta ssa-n taumey,
 like this all pile-DL this much all pile-AD and then

“Pile all the woodblocks, three pieces each, like this, and then,”

B: 응
ung.
 yes
 “Yes.”

A: 하나씩 돌아가면서 하나씩 빼서 위에다 쌓는거야
hana-ssik tolakamyense hana-ssik ppay-se wi-eyta ssah-nun ke-ya.
 one-each by turns one-each take way-and up side-LOC pile-AD thing-DL
 “Take away one piece each by turns and put it on the top.”

B: 진짜?
cincca?
 really
 “Really?”

A: 쓰러지면 사람이 지는 거야
ssuleci-nun salam-i ci-nun ke-ya.
 all down-AD person-NOM lose-AD thing-DL
 “The person who makes blocks collapse will lose.”

b. ‘Love VS like’

A: 나 나 옛날에는 그냥 좋아한다는 말의 좀 큰
na na yeysnal-ey-nun kunyang cohahanta-nun mal-ey ccom khun
 I I the past-LOC-TOP just to like-AD word-GEN little big

게 사랑한다는 말이라구 생각을 했었는데
key salanghanta-nun mal-ilakwu sayngkak-ul ha-yss-nuntey,
 thing to love-AD word-named think-ACC do-PST-CIRCUM

지금은 난 사랑 자체라는 개념이 모호해서
cikum-un nan salang cachey-lanun kaynyem-i mohohay-se
 now-TOP I love itself-called concept-NOM vague-because

아무한테두 하기 싫어 난
amwu-hanthey-twu ha-ki silh-e nan.
 anyone-DAT- DEL do-MN not like-DL I

“I used to think that the meaning of to love includes to like, but now the concept of love seems to be vague. So I don’t want to say I love you to anybody.”

B: 아니야 좋아하는 것과 사랑하는 건 전혀 다른 거야
aniya cohaha-nun kes-kwa salangha-nun ke-n cenhye tal-un ke-ya.
 no like-AD thing-and love-AD thing-TOP totally different-AD thing-DL

너 니가 사탕을 좋아한다구 쳐 봐. 사탕 사랑해?
ne. ni-ka sathang-ul cohahan-takwu chye pwa. sathang salangha-y?
 you you-TOP candy-ACC like- QT consider see candy love-Q

“No, to like and to love are totally different things. If you like candies, do you love them?”

A: ...

B: 전혀 다른 개념이야
cenhye talu-n kaynyem-iya.
 totally different-AD concept-DL
 “They are totally different concepts.”

In (25a), speaker A uses a *kes* construction to explain the rules of the game. The use of a nominal structure objectifies the meaning of the proposition, so this type of usage can be found in a situation in which the speaker considers the proposition as an objective fact. (25b) shows an intersubjective use of a *kes* construction. Speaker B in (25b) uses the *kes* construction to express his/her personal viewpoint about the concepts of “to love” and “to like.” The difference between (25a) and (25b) is that the speaker in latter is using a *kes* construction to persuade the hearer. The process of intersubjectification can be described as below.

Stage 1: A nominalized structure adds an emphasis meaning to the utterance.
 [Objectification/Emphasis]

[집에 가]는 거야 “(It is that) I am going home”

Stage 2: The speaker’s attitude (modal meaning) is expressed through the sentence ending; the emphasis meaning also remains [Subjectification/Emphasis]

[집에 가]는 거야: “[Let me tell you that] I am going home”

A: [민지가 학교 가]는 거야? “Is Minji going to school?”

B: 아니, [집에 가]는 거야. “(Let me tell you) She is going home.”

Stage 3: The speaker’s attitude/stance is implied in the speaker’s utterance in discourse
[Intersubjectification]

[(블록이) 쓰러지면 (그) 사람이 지]는 거야.

“(I want you to follow this rule:) The person who makes the blocks collapse will lose.”

5.3 Motivations of the grammaticalization of the *kes* constructions

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 71, 73), language changes are motivated by the maximization of economy or simplicity in speaker-hearer interactions. Speakers tend to use existing forms to express different meanings, and when such attempts accumulate sufficiently,¹³ the existing forms gain newer meanings along with morphosyntactic changes (e.g., reduction) and/or phonological attrition.

5.3.1 Vagueness and frequency

As mentioned, among the defective nouns in Korean, the defective noun *kes* has the highest frequency in PDK data. The high frequency of *kes* seems to be related to its abstract meaning. Hong (2006) pointed out that it is difficult to define the meaning of the defective noun *kes* because it has such vague meaning and its interpretation is highly dependent on context. Lee (2017: 20-21) considered *kes* to belong to a category of dependent or bound nouns, which require a complex string of morphosyntactic constructions to become meaningful in an utterance. Lee (2017) also argued that Korean defective nouns are semantically opaque and are obliged to appear as the head

¹³ Hopper and Traugott (2003) called this type of speaker attempt “routinization” or “idiomatization.”

of a modified phrase. For these reasons, the defective noun *kes* often occurs in constructions with a modifying phrase that semantically complements the vagueness of *kes*.

Back and Kim (2010) analyzed the collocation relations of *kes* based on Sejong Corpus data. They reported that the copula *i(ta)* and noun-modifying suffix *nun* are the forms that have the highest and second-highest frequency among the collocates of *kes* in PDK data. These results show a tendency of *kes* to form constructions with the copula and a noun modifying suffix. In other words, the defective noun *kes* is used mostly as part of the *kes* constructions in PDK. The results also show that the defective noun *kes* is in the middle of a change from a lexical form to one of the morphemes of a fixed expression.

From a usage-based perspective, high frequency is closely related to the emergence of new meaning. Bybee and Beckner (2009), in their explanation of the grammaticalization of the English expression *be going to*, argued that as a new construction is accessed more and more as a unit, it grows autonomous from the construction that originally gave rise to it. The more speakers use a high-frequency linguistic item, the more likely they are to expand its boundaries. In the case of the *kes* constructions, the original usage is as a definition structure, and its boundary has expanded to include focus structures and interactional modal markers. As speakers repeatedly used *kes* constructions in various kinds of situations, the whole construction became one fixed unit or chunk, like a sentence ender. In this process, its meanings also have been reshaped.

5.3.2 Speaker-hearer interaction

Regarding speaker-hearer interaction, speakers have broadened (or changed) the boundaries of *kes*'s usage by referring to abstract objects or concepts with *kes* constructions. Thus,

the original meaning, which refers to a physical object, has extended to a newer meaning, which refers to an abstract object or idea.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, a definition structure often needs a “reference noun” to construct a structure with a predicate nominative (reference noun) and its matching subject. The reference noun belongs to an overarching category that covers the subject noun, as below.

[사전]은 단어의 의미를 설명하는 [책]이다.
 subject N reference N

책 ('book', reference noun) > 사전 ('dictionary', subject noun)

The sentence structure above is a typical definition structure in Korean. The reference noun 책 belongs to an overarching category that includes the subject noun 사전. From a speaker's perspective, the speaker needs to come up with a matching reference noun to construct a definition structure. The definition structure will remain incomplete if the speaker fails to find a proper reference noun. Therefore, speakers might frequently choose a “universal” reference noun with a broad and general meaning covering a more comprehensive range of categories. Because defective nouns have broad and general meanings, they can be used to replace reference nouns in such situations. Among the Korean defective nouns, *kes* has a long history of usage as a “universal reference noun” that refers to a wide range of subjects.

The defective noun *kes* is often combined with demonstratives without adding any additional meaning. Due to its general and abstract meaning, the defective noun *kes* acts as a head noun that takes demonstratives such as *i* ‘this’, *ku* ‘that’, and *ce* ‘that over there’. As the frequency of the defective noun *kes* with demonstratives has increased, the demonstratives and the defective

noun *kes* have combined to form demonstrative pronouns. Due to the high frequency, the demonstratives before the defective noun *kes* have gone through phonological and structural changes, becoming prefixes as a part of the demonstrative pronoun, yielding forms such as *ike*, *kuke*, and *ceke*. Thus, due to its high frequency, the original meaning of *kes* has been weakened, becoming more like a demonstrative pronoun.

5.4 From definition structure to intersubjective modal marker

5.4.1 The emergence of definition and focus structures

The definition structure with a defective noun *kes* is inherently an equational structure ([NP]은/는 [VP]는 것이다) in that its predicate refers to the subject of the sentence. An equational structure shows that the subject has the characteristic that the predicate describes. Therefore, if there is an NP in a predicate, a copula is attached to the NP in order to make a morphosyntactically equational structure, as below.

[NP1] 은/는 [NP2]이다. “[NP1] equals [NP2]”

If a predicate has a VP, the VP would be nominalized to make an equational structure. In this case, the nominalization enables the implication of an objective perspective or emphasis by restatement. Due to its morphosyntactic features, this “enhanced” structure has been used for providing definitions.

Due to the high frequency of *kes* constructions, the definition structure came to be used in a wide range of situations, giving rise to reanalysis. In the definition structure, the head noun *kes* refers to the subject. However, the boundary of its reference has been expanded to the whole proposition. Whereas the head noun *kes* in a definition structure matches the subject

with a nominalized predicate, reanalysis allowed the head noun *kes* to refer to the whole proposition. At this point, after reanalysis, the *kes* constructions gained a new function, focusing on the propositional meaning. Along with getting a new meaning, the *kes* constructions also attained a subjective function of denoting the speaker's stance toward the proposition.

5.4.2 Divergence

The *kes* constructions as a focus structure have been used to emphasize the propositional meaning with the speaker's perspective, which also brought about the subjectification process. Traugott and Dasher (2002: 225) suggested a pattern of semantic change, as below.

non/less subjective > subjective > intersubjective

The *kes* constructions' grammaticalization has followed this pattern, with intersubjectification occurring after subjectification, and operating as a mechanism for change from the focus structure to an interactional modal marker. However, *ul*-type constructions have evolved on a different path from other subtypes of *kes* constructions to become a future tense marker or modal marker that shows the speaker's intention or assumption. On the other hand, other *kes* constructions evolved into interactional modal markers after intersubjectification. At this point, the grammaticalization paths of the *kes* constructions diverged, as below.

non/less subjective >	subjective >	intersubjective
all <i>kes</i> constructions	<i>nun</i> -type (highlight/emphasis)	<i>nun</i> -type
	<i>ul</i> -type (future tense, speaker's intention)	(interactive modal marker)

5.4.3. Emergence of the modal meaning of *kes* constructions

Future event/intention/assumption

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the irrealis mood conveyed by *l* (≡) contributed to the emergence of *ul*-type *kes* constructions' meaning, which is describing an event or status that will occur in an unrealized time (in the future) or an event that the speaker is uncertain will actually occurred or not. The *ul*-type *kes* constructions have been grammaticalized to the extent that they now serve to indicate future tense or to indicate the speaker's assumption. However, as far as future tense markers in Korean, such as *keyss* or *ul kesita* (*ul*-type *kes* construction), also indicate the speaker's intention or assumption, these expressions do not seem to be genuine tense markers. Their temporal and modal meanings (intention, assumption) are derived from the irrealis mood. Because Korean has a two-way tense distinction between past and non-past, *ul*-type *kes* constructions, like other future tense markers in Korean, have temporal and modal meanings that vary depending on context.

The difference between *keyss* and *ul kesita* (*ul*-type *kes* construction) is that *keyss* is not derived from a marker of the irrealis mood, and that *keyss* indicates a stronger intention or assumption of the speaker than *ul*-type *kes* constructions. However, these two future-indicating expressions in Korean seem to be modal expressions that can also indicate temporal meanings. As

for the modal meaning of both expressions, they express the speaker's intention or assumption, but the degree of the speaker's attitude toward the probability of the proposition varies: *Keyss* shows a stronger intention or assumption, while *ul kesita* shows a relatively weaker intention or assumption.

In this regard, due to the two-way temporal system in Korean, there are no "pure" future tense markers. Some modal markers and expressions cross the boundary between modal meaning and temporal meaning. Aside from *ul-type kes* constructions, other constructions that include the defective noun *kes*, such as *-kel* (regret), *(ul)ke* (promissive), and *kes kathta* (assumption), have grammaticalized as modal expressions denoting the speaker's attitude or epistemic stance toward a proposition. Like other constructions with the defective noun *kes*, *ul-type kes* constructions have become modal markers, but also denote temporal meanings. The *ul-type kes* constructions are less context-dependent than other *kes* constructions (*nun-type* and *un-type*), because the former are the most grammaticalized among the subtypes of *kes* constructions. Other *kes* constructions also have modal meanings, but they are not associated with tense marking.

Emphasis/highlight (speaker's attitude toward the proposition)

The *kes* constructions have been used as definition structures and acquired new meanings, of emphasis or highlighting, through nominalization that serves to restate the proposition of the sentence. When the *kes* constructions went through the subjectification process, they gained meanings showing the speaker's subjective attitude toward a proposition. After gaining the subjective meaning, the *kes* construction served as a focus structure that could be used to

emphasize propositional content. Its function of emphasizing a proposition seems to be similar to the function of a cleft construction in English that emphasizes the sentence's embedded clause.

Once the *kes* constructions had undergone subjectification, speakers often strategically used the emphasizing function of the focus structure to indicate their attitudes. Notably, nominalized constructions are mainly associated with an objective perspective in written language. Therefore, *kes* constructions gained objective meaning through nominalization, and the objective meaning still remains at the definition structure stage. As Traugott and König (1991: 208) mentioned, meanings tend to change from being about externally described situations to being about internal situations, such as evaluation, perception, or cognition. The *kes* constructions follow this suggested semantic-pragmatic tendency. After objectification, the *kes* constructions gained the opposite meaning, that is, subjective meanings that focus on the speaker's perspective on propositional meaning. During the grammaticalization process, subjectification often brings about intersubjectification: By drawing on intersubjective functions and meanings, the speaker invites the hearer to engage with the speaker's worldview, or checks the hearer's attitude (Traugott 1995, 1999).

In Korean, evidence of intersubjectification is often associated with honorific expressions. For instance, the Middle Korean prefinal ending *sop* (ㅅ옵) was an object honorific marker to be used when the direct or indirect object should be honored, which is one of the object honorific constructions in Korean. In PDK, the prefinal *sop* (ㅅ옵) has gone through intersubjectification and become an addressee honorific marker. Addressee honorific markers show the relationship between the speaker and the hearer and thus can be evidence that the speaker is taking the hearer

or the speaker-hearer relationship into account. The prefinal *sop* (ㅅ옵) also phonologically changed to *sup* (습) in PDK and became a prefinal ending located in the predicate, where the speaker's attitude is expressed.

Because the *kes* constructions have a fixed location at sentence end in the predicate, they add the speaker's perspective to the propositional meaning of the sentence. This additional meaning can change the mood of a sentence from indicative to imperative, increasing illocutionary force, as in the conversation below.

- a. '남자는 안 울어' "Men do not cry" (Indicative)
- b. '남자는 안 우는 거야' "(I am telling you) Men do not cry" (Imperative)

In (b), the *kes* construction shows the speaker's attitude to the hearer by stating the propositional meaning, and it has an implicit force that asks the hearer to consent to the speaker's statement. At this point, intersubjectivity emerges: After subjectification, the *kes* construction gains intersubjectivity associated with the speaker's attitude toward the hearer. From this stage, *kes* constructions became intersubjective modal markers, but also entered a divergence stage, such that the interactive modal marker is only one of the meanings of the *kes* constructions. Except for the *ul*-type constructions, the subtypes of *kes* constructions do not show morphosyntactic or phonological differences and are still context-dependent. This means that *kes* constructions are still in the middle of a grammaticalization process, which is the significant difference between the *ul*-type constructions and the other subtypes of *kes* constructions.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I explored the grammaticalization process of the *kes* constructions, presenting evidence of grammaticalization, such as phonological reduction, semantic change, functional divergence, and an increase of bondedness that changed the constructions' structure as they evolved into more grammaticalized items.

Mechanisms that are involved in the grammaticalization of the *kes* constructions are reanalysis, pragmatic inference, and subjectification. As *kes* constructions grammaticalized, they developed new meanings that are more subjective/intersubjective. While some *kes* constructions have emerged as an intersubjective modal marker after gaining intersubjective meaning, some *kes* constructions, which are *ul*-type constructions, have evolved into sentence endings indicating future events, or the speaker's intention.

6. Functions of *kes* constructions

I have explained how the *kes* constructions have evolved from a definition structure to an interactive modal marker from the perspective of grammaticalization. In this chapter, I will examine the functions of *kes* constructions using Sejong Corpus spoken data and Korean TV show data. *Kes* constructions have high frequency in both datasets. In the Sejong data, the contracted/colloquial forms *keya/keyeyo* are more frequent than the long/formal forms *kesiyeyo/kesipnita*. The *kes* constructions are still used as a definition structure and to indicate assumptions and intentions, but both datasets show that *kes* constructions also have intersubjective functions.

6.1 Definition/Comment Structure

Despite the fact that the *kes* constructions are on the path of grammaticalization from a definition structure to an interactional modal marker, usages of *kes* constructions as a definition structure are still found in PDK corpus data. As Hopper and Traugott (2003: 124) mentioned, the existence of older forms and meanings alongside newer forms and meanings can lead to “layering.”

The older forms and meanings of the *kes* constructions, that is, the definition structure, have some characteristics that cannot be found in the newer forms and meanings. First, the definition structure is mainly used in written form, whereas the newer forms and meanings are primarily used in spoken form.

Second, the form used for the older meaning has not undergone phonological reduction, whereas the form used for the newer meaning usually employs a phonologically reduced form of the defective noun *kes*, that is, *ke*.

Regarding the morphosyntactic structure of the definition structure, Noh (2007: 68) claimed that the *kes* construction *-nkeya* is originally a definition structure, as in the example below.

이거	[회사에서	받은]	거야
i-ke	[hoysa-eyse	pat-un]	ke-ya
this-thing	company-from	receive-PST	ke-COP

According to Noh (2007: 69), *ke* in *-nkeya* refers to the sentence's subject in this structure, *ike*. And the conveyed message, marked by the relative clause suffix *-un*, elaborates on the features of the referent, *ike*. Hence, a definition structure displays the features of the subject in the relative clause. The meaning of *-nkeya* as a definition structure thus originates from its compositional meanings. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 5, this definition structure has been a source of other functions of *kes* constructions. As the *kes* constructions have evolved from serving the definition function to serving other functions, their morphosyntactic structure has changed. The definition structure has an equational structure for the semantic relation between the noun in the subject position and the noun in the predicate, as below.

Semantic relations of *kes* constructions as definition structures:

[소개팅]은 [이성친구를 만들 목적으로 두 남녀가 서로 만나는 것]이다

[blind date] is [a social engagement between two individuals to meet a potential boy/girlfriend]

소개팅(N1)= 이성친구를 만들 목적으로 두 남녀가 서로 만나는 것(N2)

‘Blind date’ (N1) = a social engagement between two individuals to meet a potential boy/girlfriend (N2)

N1 and N2 (or NP 2) share semantic features in this structure, and N2 becomes a “comment” on, or a (general) description of, N1 (N1 = N2). On the other hand, other *kes* constructions do not have this type of semantic relation, as shown below.

Semantic relation of *kes* constructions used for clarification:

[너](는) [지금 집에 가는 거]야?
Is it [you] [that going home]

너(N1) ≠ 지금 집에 가는 것(N2)
‘you (N1) ≠ that going home (N2)

Unlike a definition structure, N1 (너) and N2 (지금 집에 가는 것) in the *kes* construction above do not share semantic features; therefore, it does not have an equational structure. When the development of the usage of the *kes* constructions reached this point, reanalysis occurred, so that the morphosyntactic structure changed from an equational structure (N1 = N2) to a structure like “[S] *nun kesita* ([S]는 것이다).”

However, *kes* constructions used as definition structures still can be found in PDK data. It is noteworthy that when they are used in this way, they are mostly combined with formal sentence endings such as the deferential ending (*~kesipnita*) or the plain form ending (*~kesita*). In contrast, other *kes* constructions are mostly combined with colloquial forms in the intimate speech style (*~keya/kesiya*) or the polite style (*~keyeyo/kesiyeyo*). In these cases, a contracted form *ke* is more

frequently used than the original form *kes*. Another noteworthy feature of definition structures is that some are of the form “[NP]은/는 것이다,” like a cleft structure in English.

(26) Sermon 1

[가장 중요한 것]은 [잘 들을 줄 알아야 한다는 것]입니다.

(What is the most important is that we should know how to listen well.)

NP1: 가장 중요한 것 (the most important)

NP2: 잘 들을 줄 알아야 한다는 것 (that we should know how to listen well)

This type of structure seems to be another equational structure (NP1 = NP2), but it has a converted structure to emphasize the noun phrase in the subject part (NP1), like the cleft structure in English.

[잘 들을 줄 알아야 한다는 것]이 가장 중요합니다.

“The fact that we should know how to listen well is the most important.”

NP1 (subject): 잘 들을 줄 알아야 한다는 것 (that we should know how to listen well)

The sentence above is reconstructed based on the <Sermon 1> sentence. Its propositional meaning is the same as the original sentence. But, it does not convey strong emphasis as the original structure from <Sermon 1> does. The syntactic difference between the two is that the original structure has an NP2 in the predicate, whereas the reconstructed sentence does not. Thus, we can assume that the equational structure does not just indicate a comment on the subject. Instead, the structure itself has a function that emphasizes the proposition embedded in the *kes* construction.

As mentioned earlier, the definition structures are primarily found in written data, and most of the definition structures found in spoken data are in formal speech, such as lectures, sermons, or oral presentations in the deferential form (*kesipnita*) or the plain style (*kesita*). The examples below show how a definition/comment structure is actually used in PDK spoken data.

(27) Lecture on error analysis

A: 그런 구분이 나오는데 수행 분석은 퍼포먼스 어널리시스는,
kulen kwupwun-i nao-nuntey swuhayng pwunsek-un phephomensu enellesisu-nun
 such classification-NOM come out-CONN performance analysis-TOP performance analysis-TOP

이, 개별적인 학습자들이 행한 모든 수행한 모든 자료를
i, kaypyelcek-in haksupca-tul-i hayngha-n motun swuhayngha-n motun calyo-lul
 this individual-AD learner-PL-NOM perform-AD all perform-AD all data-ACC

연구하는 것을 얘기합니다.

Yenkwuha-nun kes-ul yaykiha-pnita.
 research-AD thing-ACC talk-SE

“Such classification comes out, and performance analysis is about researching all individual learners' data.”

근데 반면에, 오류 분석은 학습자 집단이 만들어 낸
kuntey panmyeney, olyu pwunsek-un haksupca ciptan-i mantul-e nay-n
 however on the other hand error analysis-TOP learner group-NOM produce-SF come out-AD

틀린 발화를 연구하는 것입니다.

thulli-n palhwa-lul yenkwuha-nun kes-ipnita.
 wrong utterance-ACC research-AD kes-SE

“However, on the other hand, error analysis is the study of incorrect utterances made by a learner group.”

<Sejong spoken data>

In this example, A is delivering a lecture on error analysis. A uses a *kes* construction in the predicate to indicate a definition of error analysis. If we remove the *kes* construction from the predicate, it still delivers the same propositional meaning. However, it sounds less natural than the original structure.

오류 분석은 학습자 집단이 만들어 낸 틀린 발화를 연구합니다.
olyu pwunsekun haksupca ciptani mantule nayn thullin palhwalul yenkwuhapnita

Without a *kes* construction, the subject 오류 분석 (error analysis) does not seem to match the verb 연구하다 (research) in the predication. This is because the verb 연구하다 usually needs a human subject that has the ability to conduct research, but the subject 오류 분석 is an abstract concept that does not have such capability. Therefore, some VP-type predicates¹⁴ seem to have a restriction on the selection of a subject. In an “S(NP1) + V” structure, the prototypical semantic relation would be:

“S[NP1] does[V] something.”

Thus, NP1 should be the one who does the action. On the other hand, a *kes* construction in a predicate can “neutralize” this type of mismatch. In this structure, the subject [NP1] is directly related to the defective noun *kes* in the predicate, as described in table 10.

Table 8. Structure with VP/NP type predicate

	VP-type predicate	NP-type predicate (Definition structure)
Subject (NP1)	오류 분석	오류 분석
Predicate	연구하다 (verb)	~연구하는 것(NP2)

¹⁴ A predicate consists of a verb or an adjective and its complements.

6.2 Assumption or intention: *ul*-type *kes* constructions

As mentioned in Chapter 4, *ul*-type *kes* constructions have already come to be used as futurity markers to express speakers' intentions or conjectures. I also showed that similar constructions that include the suffix *-ul* and the defective noun *kes* express modality, such as *-ul kes kathta*, *-ulkel*, and *-ulkey*. The *ul*-type *kes* constructions are the most grammaticalized among the *kes*-construction subtypes. As tense/modal markers that indicate a future event, assumption, or intention, *ul*-type *kes* constructions' modal meanings are derived from the adnominal suffix *ul*'s original temporal, aspectual, and modal meanings. As mentioned in Chapter 3, previous studies on the adnominal suffix *-ul* (Lim (2009), Sohn (2001), Yap et al. (2011), Choi (2012)) have defined *-ul* as a prospective/irrealis mood marker or imperfect aspectual marker that denotes probability or predictability. Because the adnominal suffixes are the only difference among the subtypes of *kes* constructions, their original meanings play a pivotal role in the modal meanings of the *kes* constructions.

In the case of *ul*-type *kes* constructions, they mainly express the speaker's intentions or assumptions. With a first-person pronoun, they indicate the speaker's intention in a statement structure. In an interrogative sentence, they denote the hearer's intention, as below.

(28) Buying ice cream (P1 is buying P2 and P9 ice cream)

<1:P1> 너도 하나 먹어.
ne-to hana mek-e
you-too one eat-SE
You can eat one too.

<2:P2> 오빠 좀 사 줘,
oppa com sa cw-e
brother please buy give-SE
Buy me some please.

<2:P9> 형!
hyeng
brother
Brother!

<3:P2> 어?
e
yes
Yes?

<4:P1> 엔초 네 개?
eyncho ney kay
Encho four CONT
Four (ice cream)?

<5:P2> 예.
ye
yes
Yes.

<6:P1> 너도 먹고 갈 거야?
Ne-to mek-ko ka-l ke-ya
you-too eat-and go-AD kes-Q
Are you too going to eat before leaving?

<7:P9> 어.
e
yes
Yes.

<8:P1> 그럼 엔초 먹어, 빨리.
kulem eyncho mek-e ppalli
then Encho eat-SE quickly
Then, hurry up and eat, Encho.

<9:P9> 싫어!
silhe
no
No!

<10:P1> 뭐:: 그럼.
mwe kulem

what then
Then what (are you eating)?

<11:P9> **비싼 거 먹을 거야.**
pissa-n ke mek-ul ke-ya
expensive-AD thing eat-AD kes-SE
I am going to eat something expensive.

<12:P1> **그래 비싼 거 먹어 아::,**
kulay pissa-n ke mek-e a
okay expensive thing eat-SE oh
Okay, eat something expensive, oh.

<13:P9> **엔초 먹을 거야.**
eyncho mek-ul keya
Encho eat-AD kes-SE
I am going to eat Encho.

<Sejong spoken data>

In this excerpt of a conversation from the Sejong Corpus, P1 asks a question with an *ul*-type *kes* construction (line 6), using the second person pronoun 너, to ask P9 whether P9 is going to eat ice cream. In line 11 and line 13, P9 also uses an *ul*-type *kes* construction to express his/her intention, to eat an expensive one (line 11) and, specifically, to eat the 엔초 ice cream (line 13). In this case, the speaker (P9) does not utter subject nouns, but they can be recovered from the context. If the *ul*-type *kes* construction denotes the speaker's or hearer's intentions, a *kes* construction in a predicate mostly co-occurs with a subject that is an animate agent.

An *ul*-type *kes* construction also can indicate the speaker's assumption. This meaning seems to be derived from the adnominal suffix *ul*'s role as an irrealis mood marker in a sentence, which denotes an event or a proposition as nonactual or nonfactual. In a sentence with an *ul*-type *kes* construction, the speaker describes an event in a proposition based on his/her assumption

because the event has not occurred yet (future event) or the speaker does not have enough information to determine whether the proposition is true or false.

(29) Vacation in kindergarten

<1:P2> 방학이긴 하지만 왜 유치원 때는 뭐지?
panghak-iki-n haciman way yuchiwen ttay-nun mwe-ci?
vacation-NM-TOP but why kindergarten time-TOP what-Q
It's vacation, but what about kindergarten?

유치원두 방학이 있었나?
yuchiwen-twu panghak-i iss-ess-na
kindergarten-too vacation-NOM is-PST-Q
Was there a vacation in kindergarten too?

<2:P1> 어. 있었을 거야.
e iss-ess-ul ke-ya
yes is-PST-AD kes-SE
Yes, I think there was (a vacation).

<3:P2> 있었나?
iss-ess-na
is-PST-Q
Was there (a vacation)?

난 유치원을 막 여기저기 번갈아 가면서 댕겨 가지구.
nan yuchiwen-ul mak yeki-ceki penkala ka-myense tayngky-e kacikwu.
I kindergarten-ACC just here-there switch go-while attend-because
Because I went to kindergarten here and there

있었는지 생각이 잘 안 나.
Iss-ess-nunci sayngkak-i cal an na
is-PST-whether remember-NOM well not come up
I am not sure that there was a vacation.

<4:P1> 있었어 있었어 잠깐.
Iss-ess-e iss-ess-e camkkanman
is-PST-SE is-PST-SE wait
There was, there was, wait.

<Sejong spoken data>

In this conversational extract, P2 answers P1's question regarding whether kindergartens have vacations with an *ul*-type *kes* construction to indicate that the proposition is the speaker's assumption. Although P2 is speaking about a past event, that is, how it was when P2 went to kindergarten, the speaker is not completely sure that there was a vacation at the time. Therefore, instead of speaking of the proposition as a past event, for example, (방학이) 있었어, the speaker uses the *ul*-type *kes* construction (있었을 거야) to indicate that it is his/her assumption rather than an event that actually happened in the past. As shown here, the *ul*-type *kes* constructions can be used as modal markers, separate from the temporal meaning (future), in conversation.

(30) GPA

<1:P1> <name>이라고, 우리 과에 <name>이라고 있어:.,
 <name>*ilako*, *wuli kwa-ey* <name>*ilako* *iss-e*
 <name>-QT our department-LOC <name>-QT is-SE
 There is a guy whose name is “##” in our department.

<2:P2> 처음 들어 봤는데?
cheum tule pwa-ss-nuntey
 first time hear see-PST-CONJ
 I never heard about him.

<3:P4> 나올 일이 별로 없어 응.
nao-l il-l pyello eps-e ung
 come out-AD matter-NOM not much not exist-SE yes
 There is not much to say about him, yeah.

<4:P1> 내 입에서 별로 나올 일이 없는 애야.
nay ip-eyse pyello nao-l il-i eps-nun ay-ya
 my mouth-LOC not much come out-AD matter-NOM not exist-guy-SE
 He is a guy I rarely talk about.

<5:P2> 왜 오빠가 싫어해?
way oppa-ka silheha-y
 why brother-NOM not like-Q

Why? You don't like him?

<6:P1> 아니 뭐~ 싫어하는 건 아닌데,
ani mwe silheha-nun ken ani-ntey
no what not like-AD thing not-CONJ
No, it's not that I don't like him but,

뭐~ 나랑 공통분모가 별로 없는 애라.
mwe na-lang kongthongpwunmo-ka pyello eps-nun ay-la.
what I-and something to share-NOM not much not exist-AD guy-SE
Well, we don't have much to share.

<7:P2> 공부 잘 해?
kongpwu cal ha-y
study well do-Q
Does he do really well in school?

<8:P3> 농구를 안 해.
nongkwu-lul an ha-y
basketball-ACC not do-SE
He does not play basketball.

<9:P2> 응::
ung
yeah.
Yeah.

<10:P1> 고마워. 지웅아. 내가, <name> 학점을 몰라서 참.
komawe. ciwung-a. nay-ka, <name> hakcem-ul molla-se cham
thank you Jiwoong-SE. I-Nom <name> grade-ACC don't know-because really.
Thank you, Jiwoong. I actually don't know his GPA.

<11:P4> <name>::.

<12:P1> 개 학점도 그리 **종진 않을** 거야::
kyay hakcem-to kuli coh-cin anh-ul ke-ya
the guy grade-too that much good-not kes-SE
His GPA might not be that good too.

<Sejong spoken data>

In this conversation, P1 is talking about a classmate in his/her department. Line 12 conveys P1 assumed that the classmate's GPA would not be good using *ul*-type *kes* construction. Since the

speaker barely knows the classmate(line 4), the speaker does not know about the classmate's GPA(line 10). And the speaker also commented on the classmate's GPA in line 12, because P2 asked a question about the classmate's GPA in line 7. As shown in c, *ul-type kes* construction describes uncertainty or probability from the speaker's perspective.

Like other types of *kes* construction, *ul-type kes* construction shows evidence of grammaticalization. *ul-type kes* construction also mainly contains a contracted form *ke* phonologically reduced from its original form, rather than the original form *kes* in Sejong spoken data. It seems to be related to a high frequency of *kes*. In Sejong spoken data, none of the *ul-type kes* construction has the original form(*kes*). On the other hand, 159 *ul-type kes* constructions that have the contracted form *ke* were found. This tendency shows that a newer meaning of *kes* construction has evolved mostly with a newer form *ke*.

Table9. Frequency of *kes* and *ke* from Sejong spoken data

	Type of construction	Frequency from Sejong Spoken data
Original form (<i>kes</i>)	<i>ulkesiya</i>	0
	<i>ulkesiyeyo</i>	0
Contracted form (<i>ke</i>)	<i>ulkeya</i>	98
	<i>ulkeyeyo</i>	61

6.3 Interactive functions of *kes* constructions: Showing the speaker's perspective

As the *kes* constructions have been undergoing the grammaticalization process, they have gained subjective and intersubjective meanings. These types of meanings are derived from a core meaning of emphasis/highlighting, but the constructions have gained more specific functions as

speakers use them in various situations that show the speakers' perspectives or attitudes toward the proposition or the hearers.

6.3.1 Describing a past event as an on-the-spot event

Aside from the propositional meaning, this type of use conveys a sense of being in a particular time and place when the speaker describes a past experience. With a *kes* construction, the speaker describes a past event that they directly experienced as if the event is occurring now, that is, at the time of the telling.

This type of use also indicates that the source of the proposition is the speaker's direct experience. For example, speakers will tell what they saw or heard in the past using *kes* constructions. Regarding the source of information, a *kes* construction shows that the speaker's utterance is based on personal experience. Therefore, this type of use is somewhat related to evidentiality, regarding how the speaker acquired the information in the utterance.

The use of *kes* constructions in the Sejong spoken data supports the on-the-spot sense meaning of *kes* constructions. First, these constructions occur with quotative forms, such as *ta(ko hata)* or *la(ko hata)*. In this case, the speaker quotes someone else's utterance with a *kes* construction combined with a quotative form to add an on-the-spot sense. For example, in the following excerpt, we see an indirect quotation marker *~tako (hata)* with the sentence-final *~tanun keya (~다는 거야)*, forming an utterance that is quoting someone else.

(31) Looking like a celebrity

<1: P1>...	연예인	닮았다는	얘기	못	들었는데,
	yeneyin	talmass-tanun	yayki	mos	tul-ess-nuntey
	celebrity	resemble-QT	talk	can't	hear-PST-CONJ

I never heard that I look like a celebrity

요즘에 막 누군가가 나에게 와 갖구 연예인 닮았다는 거야.
Yocum-ey mak nwukwunka-ka na-eykey wa kackwu yenyeyin talm-ass-tanun ke-ya
recently-TP DM someone-NOM I-DAT come and then celebrity resemble-QT sek-SE
Recently someone approached me and told me that I look like a celebrity.

<2: P2> 누구요?

nwukwu-yo
who-Q
Who?

<3: P1> 연예인 막 이러면서, 설마 박경림은 아니겠지 이러면서 있었더니,
yenyeyin mak ile-myense, selma pakkyenglim-un ani-keyssci ile-myense iss-ess-teni,
celebrity DM this-while no way Park Kyeng-Lim not-SE this-while is-PST-CONJ
I was like like “celebrity who? maybe not Park Kyeng-Lim”

양미라를 닮았대는 거야.
yangmila-lul talma-ss-tay-nun ke-ya
Yang Mira-ACC resemble-QT-AD kes-SE
What (s)he said was I look like Yang Mira.

<Sejong spoken data>

(32) Good-looking face

<1>L: (영화) 관상의, 이제, 무대인사를 갔는데,
(yenghwa) kwansang-uy, icye, mwutayinsa-lul ka-ss-nuntey,
(movie) face reading-of DM stage greeting-ACC go-PST-CONJ
“I went to a stage greeting of the movie ‘the Face reader’,

<2>Y: 네.

ne
yes
“yes”

<3>L: 고등학생 소녀였는데, 아, 저보고 김 묻었다고 하는 거예요. 그래서
kotunghaksayng sonye-yess-nuntey, a, ce-poko kim mwutess-takoha-nun ke-yeyyo. kulayse
high school student girl-was-CONJ DM I-to seaweed stained-QT-AD kes-SE so
“There was a high school girl, and what she told me was that there is something on my face, so”

<4>J: 아, 맞아요, 맞아요.

a, macayo, macayo.
oh, right right

“Oh, right, right”

<5>L: 저는 진짜, 행사장 갈 때 차에서 김밥을 먹고 갔거든요.
ce-nun cincca, hayngsacang ka-l ttay cha-eyse kimpap-ul mek-ko ka-ss-ketunyo
I-TOP really (event) venue go-AD when car-in Kimbap-ACC eat-and go-PST-SE
:Actually, I ate kimbap in the car on my way to the event”

<6> 아, 왜냐면, 저희 이제 뭐,
a, waynyamyen, cehuy icey mwe,
oh because we DM DM
“Because, we are, well”

<7>J: 아, 그럼요.
a, kulemyo
oh of course
“Yes, of course.”

<8>Y: 급하게 해야 하니까.
kuphakey hay-ya ha-nikka
quickly do-have to-because
“Because (we) have to do it quickly.”

<9>J: 이동하다 보면 이제 서둘러서 먹어야 되니까.
itongha-ta po-myen icey setwullese mek-eya toy-nikka.
move-as if DM hurry eat-have to-because
“We have to eat quickly as we move (to the event venue)”

<10>L: 행사장 가면 이제, 식당에서 (식사를) 잘 못하잖아요.
hayngsacang ka-myen icey, siktang-eyse (siksa-lul) cal mosha-canhayo.
event venue go-if DM restaurant-in (meal-ACC) well can't-SE
“As you know, if we are at the event, we can't eat at the restaurant.”

<11>이제 진짜 김밥을 먹고 갔는데
icey cincca kimpap-ul mek-ko ka-ss-nuntay
DM really Kimbap-ACC eat-and go-PST-CONJ
“Actually I ate kimbap, and went to the event”

<12>아, 어디 묻었나? 이빨에 끼었나 보다.
a, eti mwutess-na? ippal-ey kki-ess-na po-ta.
oh where stained-Q teeth-in stuck-PST-guess-SE
“I thought ‘Oh is there something on my face? Maybe I got something in my teeth.’”

<13>그랬는데 이제 잘생김이라고 이제 얘기를 주셔서
kulayssnuntay icey calsayngkim-ilako icey yayki-lul cwusye-se
and then DM handsome-QT DM story-ACC give-CONN

“And then she told me that I got <handsomeness> on my face”

<14>순간 깜짝, 이게 무슨 소리지?
swunkan kkamccak, ike-y mwusun sli-ci
moment surprise this-NOM what sound-Q
“I got confused, and thought, “what is she talking about?”

<TV show data>

In this conversation, the speakers use *kes* constructions when they quote what they have heard from other speakers. The person telling a story is the dominant speaker, and this type of use also shows the speaker’s intention to hold onto the speakership, as Noh (2006: 81) pointed out. In this excerpt, the speaker uses the *kes* construction when they deliver a long story. Meanwhile, the other interlocutors mostly listen to the main speaker and respond with short phrases.

This type of quotative use of *kes* constructions can include a direct quotative form. For example, after the speaker directly quotes someone else’s utterance, the speaker can add the phrase *ilenun keya* (이러는 거야), as below.

(33) The Extraordinary

<1>P1: 아 그러니까 더 열 받는 거야.
a kule-nikka te yel pat-nun ke-ya
oh so-because more heat get-AD kes-SE
Oh, that made me angrier.

<2>내 친구도 있었는데,
nay chinkwu-to iss-ess-nuntey
my friend-too is-PST-CONJ
There was my friend too,

<3>내 친구두 야 너는 왜 이렇게 유별나냐 이러는 거야.
nay chinkwu-twu ya ne-nun way ilehkey yupyelna-nya ile-nun ke-ya
my friend-too hey you-TOP why like this eccentric-Q this-AD kes-SE
My friend said, “Hey, why are you so eccentric?”

(34) Same age

<1:P2> 앞에 있는 애가 내 이력서 처음에 받았거든?
 aph-ey iss-nun ay-ka nay ilyekse cheum-ey pat-ass-ketun
 front-LOC is-AD person-NOM my resume first-TP receive-PST-SE
 The guy in the front received my resume first.

<2:P1> 음.
um
 hmm
 Hmm.

<3:P2> 아니 칠칠 아니에요? 저랑 동갑 아니에요?
ani chilchil ani-eyyo? ce-lang tongkap ani-eyyo
 DM seventy-seven not-Q I-and same age not-Q
 (S)he said, “Oh, weren’t you born in 1977? Aren’t you the same age as me?”

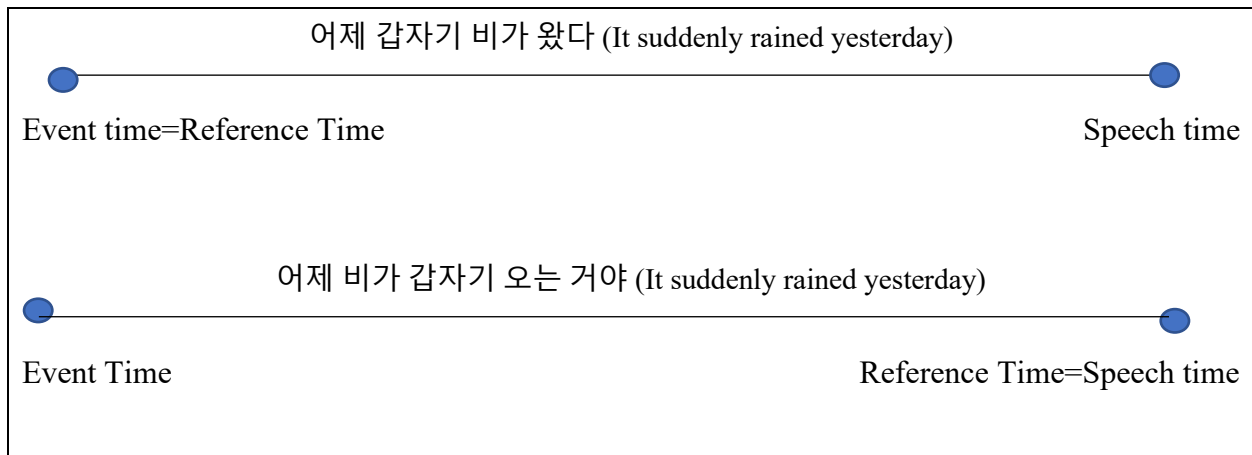
<4:P2> 막 이러는 거야.
mak ile-nun ke-ya
 DM like this-AD kes-SE
 That’s what (S)he said.

<Sejong spoken data>

In both cases, the *kes* construction appears right after the speaker directly quotes someone else’s utterance, so that the speaker describes what s(he) heard using the *kes* construction. When speakers use a *kes* construction as a direct quotation form, they are the dominant interlocutors, as in the previous example. The use of direct quotation is also closely related to the on-the-spot sense. Speakers can precisely describe what they heard without changing its syntactic structure by using direct quotation forms. When speakers restate what they heard in this way, they can focus on what exactly the utterance was. Therefore, other interlocutors participating in the conversation with the speaker can reconstruct the situation as if they were in the place where the speaker heard the utterance, contributing to the on-the-spot sense because the message delivered by the quoted speaker remains “intact.” Recall that emphasis and highlighting are the *kes* constructions’ core

meanings; when used with quotative forms, these constructions emphasize or highlight the on-the-spot sense.

Second, *kes* constructions that indicate the on-the-spot sense mostly have the present tense form, even if the proposition combined with the *kes* construction describes a past event. As in other languages, Korean speakers describe what was happening in the past in past tense forms. If they describe a past event in the present tense, the utterance's reference time (RT) matches the speech time (ST), whereas the reference time of the utterance in past tense form matches the event time (ET), as schematized below.



For these reasons, Korean speakers strategically use *kes* constructions to emphasize the on-the-spot sense.

(35) The worst taxi driver

<1> P1: 용산에서 차를 탔는데 용산에서 대방동까지,
Yongsan-eyse cha-lul tha-ss-nuntey Yongsan-eyse taypangtong-kkaci,
 Yongsan-in car-ACC take-PST-CONJ Yongsan-from Taypang-to

<2> 토요일날 오후에 탔는데 차가 너무 막히는 거야.
thoyoilnal ohwu-ey tha-ss-nuntey cha-ka nemwu makhi-nun ke-ya.
 Saturday afternoon-at take-PST-CONJ car-NOM too much congested-AD kes-SE

“I took a taxi on Saturday afternoon from Yongsan to Taebang-dong, and the traffic was really congested.”

<3> 근데 막히면 나도 화나지.
kuntey makhi-myen na-to hwana-ci.
by the way congested-if I-too upset-SE
“By the way, I would be upset too if the traffic is congested.”

<4> 물론 자기도 화가 나겠지만 이제.
mwullon caki-to hwa-ka na-keyss-ciman icye.
of course self-too anger-NOM come out-will-but DM
“Of course, the drive will be upset too.”

<5> 일반택시를 탔는데, 운전을 막 진짜,
Ilpan-thayksi-lul tha-ss-nuntey, wuncen-ul mak cincca,
Regular-taxi-ACC take-PST-CONJ driving-ACC DM really

<6> 한마디로 옛같이 하는 거야.
hanmatilo yes-kathi ha-nun ke-ya.
in a word shit-like do-AD kes-SE
“I took a regular taxi, and (the driver) was driving a taxi terribly.”

<7> 가다가 팍 스구.
ka-taka phak su-kwu.
go-while DM stop-and
“And the driver made a sudden stop”

<8> 근까 뭐 통명스러운 정도가 아니라 팍 쓰구,
kunkka mwe thwungmyengsulewu-n cengto-ka anila phak ssu-kwu,
I mean DM blunt-AD degree-NOM not DM stop-and
“It wasn’t just the driver was blunt, (s)he made a sudden stop and,”

<9> 갑자기 붕 출발하고 막 그러니까
kapcaki pwung chwulpalha-ko mak kulenikka
suddenly DM start-and DM because

<10> 막 뒤에 있는 사람은 쓰러지는 거야,
mak twi-ey iss-nun salam-un ssuleci-nun ke-ya,
DM back-in is-AD person-TOP collapse-AD kes-SE
“Because the drive suddenly stated a car, people in the back seat collapsed.”

<11> 그래 내가, 열이 받아 가지구 막,

kulay nay-ka, yeli pat-a kacikwu mak,
 so I-NOM upset-because DM

<12>이케 욱이 여기까지 나왔어.
ikhey yok-I yeki-kkaci nawa-ss-e.
 like this swearing-NOM here-to come out-PST-SE
 “So I was upset and the swearing has come this close.”

<Sejong spoken data>

The speaker in (35), the dominant interlocutor in this conversation, is describing a time (s)he met the worst taxi driver with his friends. The speaker uses *kes* constructions in line 2, 6, and 10 to describe what (s)he experienced, that is, past events, as if they were happening “now”—at the time of the conversation. Another interlocutor in this conversation mostly listens, responding to P1’s long turns with very short utterances, and repeatedly giving the turns back to P1.

(36) Memorable moment

<1>P1: 놀러 갔을 때? 놀러 갔을 때? 음, 음.
nnol-le ka-ss-ul ttay? Nol-le ka-ss-ul ttay? um, uum
 play-to go-PST-time play-to go-PST-time um um
 “when we went to hang out? um, um...”

함께 있을 때, 가장 기억에 남는 거 아휴,
hamkkey iss-ul ttay, kacang kiek-ey nam-nun ke ahyu
 together be-AD time the most memory-LOC remain-AD thing jeez
 “The most memorable thing when we are together? Jeez.”

생각이 안 나는데
sayngkak-i an na-nuntey
 think-NOM not come out-SE
 “I can’t think of any.”

<2>P2

<3>P1: 오빠랑 강촌 놀러 가구, 강촌에 놀러 갔는데,
oppa-lang kangchon nol-le ka-kwu, kangchon-ey nol-le ka-ss-nuntey

brother-and Kangchon play-to go-and Kangchon-LOC play-to go-PST-CONJ
“I went to Kangchon with him, and then.”

오빠 누나들이 다 온 거야.
oppa nwuna-tul-i ta o-n ke-ya
brother elder sister-PL-NOM all come-AD kes-SE
“What I saw was that all his sisters came to the place”

누나들이 다 출가를 해서 가족들이 다 있거든?
nwuna-tul-i ta chwulka-lul ha-yse kacok-tul-i ta iss-ketun
elder sister-NOM all leave home-ACC do-since family-PL-MON all have-SE
“They all got married and now have their own families.”

그 가족이 다 왔어. 방해 놓는다구.
ku kacok-i ta wa-ss-e. panghay nohnun-takwu
the family-NOM all come-PST-SE disturb-QT
“All of their families joined us to disturb us.”

와서 같이, 같이 컵라면 먹고.
wa-se kathi, kathi kheplamyen mek-ko.
come-and then together together cup noodle eat-and
“They came, and we ate cup noodles together.”

거기 취사가 안 돼서 같이 컵라면 먹고 그러구 왔었고,
keki chwisa-ka an tway-se kathi kheplamyen mek-ko kule-kwu wa-ssess-ko
there cooking-NOM not allow-because together cup noodle eat-and so-and come-PST-and
“Cooking was not allowed there, so we ate cup noodles together and came back.”

그리구 아 처음에 좀 긴가민가했을 그때에,
kulikwu a cheum-ey com kinkaminkaha-yss-ul ku-ttay-ey,
and oh first time-TP little not sure-PST-AD the-time-TP
“And, oh, when we first started dating, I was not sure.”

한 그때가 만난 지 한 일주일 정도 됐었나
han ku-ttay-ka manna-n ci han ilcwuil cengto tway-ssess-na
about the-time-NOM meet-AD since about one week approximately pass-PST-Q
“Was it about a week after we started seeing each other?”

오빠 개강하고 얼마 안 됐는데
oppa kaykangha-ko elma an tway-ss-nuntey
brother semester begin-and some not pass-PST-CONJ
“It hasn’t been long since his semester began.”

왜~ 첫 주에는 수업 잘 안 하니까, 안 가잖아.

way~ ches cwu-ey-nun swuep cal an ha-nikka, an ka-canha.

DM first week-TP-TOP class well not do-because not go-SE

“You know, we usually do not go to class during the first week because (professors) don’t give a lecture.”

근데 그 시간을 이용해 가지구 롯데월드 갔는데,
kuntay ku sikan-ul iyongha-y kacikwu losteyweltu ka-ss-nuntay
by the way the time-ACC use and then Lotte World go-PST-SE
“We went to an amusement park at the time.”

그때까지만 해두 아 근데 너무 웃긴 거는 내가, 그
ku-ttay-kkaci-man haytwu a kuntay nemwu wuski-n ke-nun nay-ka, ku
the-time-until-only although oh by the way very funny-AD thing-TOP I-NOM DM
“Up until then, oh, the funny thing is that I,”

오 내가 좋아하는 남자 스타일이 뭐냐면,
o nay-ka cohaha-nun namca suthail-i mwe-nyamyen
oh I-NOM like-AD man style-NOM what-QT
“Oh, my ideal type is that.”

생머리에, 눈에 쌍꺼풀 없구, 또 한 가지가 더 있는데,
sayngmeli-ey, nwun-ey ssangkkaphwul eps-kwu, tto han kaci-ka te iss-nuntay,
straight hair-with eye-LOC double eyelid not be-and and one kind-NOM more to be-CONJ
“a boy with straight hair and single eyelid, and there is one more thing.”

뭐였지, 암튼 그런 거였다? 근데 그 다음에
mwe-yess-ci, amthun kulen key-ess-ta? kuntay ku taum-ey
what-PST-Q anyway such thing-PST-SE but the next-TP
“What was it? Anyway, something like that. But the next day”

오빠가 날 만날 딱 그 처음 본 날,
oppa-ka na-l manna-l ttak ku cheum po-n nal
brother-NOM I-ACC meet-AD DM DM first see-AD day
“When he saw me for the first time.”

자기가 계속 얼굴 보면서 아우 나 왜 이렇게 늙었냐
caki-ka kyeysook elkwul po-myense awu na way ileh-key nulk-ess-nya
self-NOM continuously face see-while oh I why this-ADV old-PST-Q
“He kept looking at his face and said, Oh, why do I look so old?”

왜 이렇게 피죤피죤했냐 막 이러면서 막,
way ileh-key kkoycoycoyhaycy-ess-nya mak ile-myense mak
why this-ADV become shabby-PST-Q DM this-while DM
“He said why do I look shabby.”

그러면서 그런 고민을 하고 있었어
kule-myense kulen komin-ul ha-ko iss-ess-e
 so-while such worry-ACC do-and to be-PST-SE
 “Like that, he was thinking about such things.”

그러다가 이제 한, 두 번 정도는 내가 밤늦게 잠깐잠깐 보구,
kuletaka incey han, twu pen cengto-nun nay-ka pam-nuckey camkkancamkkan po-kwu
 and then now one two CONT about-TOP I-NOM night-late for a while see-and
 “And then, I met him once or twice for a while at night.”

이제 놀러를 갔는데, 놀러를 갈려구 딱 했는데,
incey nolle-lul ka-ss-nuntey, nolle-lul kal-lyekwu ttak hay-ss-nuntey
 now outing-ACC go-PST-CONJ outing-ACC go-in order to DM do-PST-CONJ
 “And then we went out, when we went out,”

머리를 파마를 하고 온 거야.
meli-lul phama-lul ha-ko o-n ke-ya
 hair-ACC perm-ACC do-and come-AD kes-SE
 “he showed up with his hair permed.”

<4>P3

<5>P1: 내가 곱슬머리를, 진짜 별로 안 좋아하거든
nay-ka kkopsulmeli-lul, cincca pyello an cohaha-ketun
 I-NOM curly hair-ACC really not much like-SE
 “Actually, I don’t like curly hair.”

내가 곱슬머리기 때문에 그걸 안 좋아하거든.
nay-ka kkopsulmeli-ki ttaymwuney kuke-l an cohaha-ketun
 I-NOM curly hair- because that-ACC not like-SE
 “Because I have curly hair, I don’t like it.”

난 생머리가 좋은데.
na-n ssayngmeli-ka coh-untey
 I-TOP straight hair-NOM like-CONJ
 “I like straight hair.”

머리를 이리 이러구 온 거야 이리고
meli-lul ili ile-kwu o-n ke-ya ile-ko
 hair-ACC this this-and come-AD kes-SE this-and
 “He showed up with his hair like this.”

<Sejong spoken data>

As in the other cases we have seen, the main speaker (P1) here plays a dominant role in this conversation. P1 uses *kes* constructions when she introduces moments that she thinks are noteworthy in her storytelling: a memorable moment during a trip and the moment she saw her boyfriend's new hairstyle. Her use of the *kes* constructions also helps the main speaker hold onto the speakership.

Unlike other examples, *kes* constructions are combined with past tense markers in line 3 and 5 in (36). However, these cases also have on-the-spot sense to describe a past event. In (36) dominant speaker(P1) is trying to invite the other interlocutors to the event P1 experienced in the using *kes* construction. One difference between the example (36) and other cases is that the past event the dominant speaker in (36) is trying to describe a situation something already happened and its result still affect the situation. Therefore, past tense markers in (36) rather indicate that the speaker is describing a past event that has completed when the speaker observed it with on-the-spot sense. Thus, depending on whether the incident was resolved or not at the time of observation in the past, either(present and past) tense maker can be combined with *kes* construction as below.

그 사람들이 오는 거야.

(what I saw is that) they are coming.

그 사람들이 온 거야.

(what I saw is that) they already arrived there. (It already happened and can't be reversed)

Another noteworthy point of this type of use is that the speaker expresses a “counter-expectation” while talking about her past in-person experience. As mentioned earlier, speakers often use *kes* constructions to express their stance or viewpoint on the proposition of their utterances. One of the subcategories of this function is to express a counter-expectation. In this case, the speaker delivers a story as a dominant speaker of the conversation, and uses *kes*

constructions to highlight noteworthy points of the story, that is, the story's main point or something unexpected. These are the critical moments in the storytelling that the speaker wants to emphasize so that the interlocutors pay particular attention to them; hence, the speaker strategically uses the *kes* constructions to draw the hearer's attention to the main points of the story, and to maintain the speakership until she delivers these main points.

(37) Meeting with the music director

A: 같이 지금 뮤지컬 <마타하리>에 출연하고 있는 B2B의 창섭 씨가
kathi cikum myucikhel <mathahali>-ey chwulyenha-ko iss-nun B2B-uy changsep ssi-ka
 together now musical Mata Hari-LOC appear-CONN to be-AD B2B-of Changseop Mr.-NOM

방송에서 선생님한테 혼나는 걸 봤어요.
pangsong-eyse sensayngnim-hanthey honna-nun ke-l pwa-ss-eyo
 broadcasting-from teacher-by get blamed-AD thing-ACC see-PST-SE
 “I saw Changseop get scolded by the (music) director from the TV show.”

B: 진짜?
cincca
 really
 “Really?”

A: 봤어요.
pwa-ss-eyo
 see-PST-SE
 “I saw it.”

A: 방송에서도 혼났던 창섭이가 옆에 있다고.
Pangsong-eyse-to honna-ssten changsep-i-ka yeph-ey iss-tako
 broadcasting-from-also get blamed-AD Changseop-NOM beside-LOC tobe-SE
 “Changseop, who got blamed from the TV show, is next to me.”

B: 창섭이한테 얘기 많이 들었구나.
Changsepi-hanthey yayki manhi tul-ess-kwuna
 Changseop-from story a lot hear-PST-SE
 “You heard a lot from Changseop.”

A: 예, 그러다 보니까 무서운 거예요, 저도.
yey, kuleta po-nikka mwusew-un ke-yeyyo, ce-to.

yes so se-CONN scary-AD thing-SE I-too
“Yes, that’s why I was scared too.”

근데 어느날 네 시 연습이었는데 한 시까지 와 줄 수 있냐.
kuntey enunal ney-si yensup-iess-nuntey han-si-kkaci wa cwu-l swu iss-nya
by the way one day four-o’clock practice-PST-CONN one-o’clock-by come give-AD way to be-Q
“By the way, the practice begins at 4 pm, but one day (she) asked me if I could come by 1 pm.”

그래서 제가 첫 마디가 “어, 왜요? 제가 뭐 잘못했어요?”
kulayse cey-ka ches mati-ka “e, way-yo? Cey-ka mwe calmosha-yss-eyo
so I-NOM first words-NOM oh why-SE I-NOM something do wrong-PST-SE
“So, the first thing I said was like, oh why? Did I do something wrong?”

저 그래서 열두시까지 갔어요.
ce kulayse yeltwu-si-kkaci ka-ss-eyo
I so twelve-o’clock-by go-PST-SE
“So I went there by 12.”

건반 앞에서 막 목을 풀고 있는데 문정 샘이 오셨죠.
kenpan aph-eyse mak mok-ul phwul-ko iss-nuntey mwunceng saym-i o-sy-ess-cyo
keyboard front-LOC DM throat-ACC loosen-PROG to be-CONN Moonjeong Ms.-NOM come-PST-SE
“While I warmed up my voice at the keyboard, Director Moonjeong came.”

그러면서 이제 문정 샘이 “왜 불렀는지 알아?”
kule-myense icye mwunceng saym-i “way pwulle-ss-nunci al-a?”
so-CONN then Moonjeong director-NOM why call-PST-that know-Q
“And then she said, “Do you know why I called you?”

이렇게 물어보시는 거예요.
ileh-key mwulepo-si-nun ke-yeyyo
this-ADV ask-SH-AD kes-SE
“She asked me like this.”

<Korean TV show data>

In this conversation, A is telling a story about how he first met the music director for a musical he had starred in. A is acting as the dominant speaker who mainly maintains the speakership at this point, and the other guests and TV show hosts mostly listen to A’s story, providing only short responses to A’s remarks. He explains that he had heard about the music director’s strictness from his colleague and was nervous when he first met her. When he describes

what he heard from the director, he uses a *kes* construction (이렇게 물어보시는 거예요). In this way, he delivers the story as an on-the-spot event, and also implies a counter-expectation. Considering the situation in the story—a first meeting—A would not have known what to expect the director to say, and her utterance that A quotes here (내가 왜 불렀는지 알아?) is therefore “noteworthy” because it can give the story a new direction that is unexpected from the speaker’s viewpoint at the time the events of the story were taking place. Therefore, the speaker wants the other interlocutors to pay more attention to this point, which is essential for the narrative.

(38) Water skiing

Host: 지난 번에 나왔을 때 일주일에 이제
cinan pen-ey nawa-ss-ul ttay ilcwuil-ey icey
 last time-TP appear-PST-AD time one week-per then

그 서울에서 이틀 있고 가평에서 이제 오일,
ku sewul-eyse ithul iss-ko kaphyeng-eyse icey oil
 DM Seoul-LOC two days to be-and Gapyeong-LOC then five days
 “When you were here last time, you said you stay in Seoul for two days and in Gapyeong for five days”

이렇게 해서 ‘이도오촌’이라고,
Ileh-key ha-yse ‘itoochon’-ilako
 this-ADV say-CONN ‘Two days in city and five days in rural area’-QT
 “This is so called ‘two city days–five country days’ lifestyle.”

이틀은 도시에 있고 오일은 촌에 있다고
ithul-un tosi-ey iss-ko oil-un chon-ey iss-tako
 two days-TOP city-LOC to be-and five days-TOP rural area-LOC to be -QT

이렇게 얘기했는데, 요즘은 어떻게 지내시는지요?
ileh-key yaykihay-ss-nuntey yocum-un ettehkey cinay-si-nunciyo
 this-ADV tell-PST-CONN these days how spend time-SH-Q
 “You told us that you spend two days in the city and five days in the rural area. How have you been these days?”

YJ: 요새는 영도칠촌.
yosay-nun yengtochilchon
 these days-TOP ‘no city days–seven country days’
 “I spend the whole week in the rural area these days.”

Host: 아니 그러면 저기,
ani kulemyen ceki
 oh then DM
 “Oh, wait, then”

집을 매도를 한 건 아니고 아예 그냥 뺐어?
cip-ul mayto-lul ha-n ke-n ani-ko ayey kunyang ppay-ss-e?
 house-ACC sell-ACC do-AD thing-AD not-and for good just take withdraw-PST-Q
 “You did not sell the house. Did you move out for good?”

YJ: 아, 집은, 제 집은 그대로 비어 있고요.
a, cip-un, cey cip-un kutaylo pi-e iss-koyo
 oh house-TOP my house-TOP as it is empty-PROG-SE
 “Oh, my house remains empty as it is.”

서울에서 일 있을 때, 새벽에 일 있거나 그럴 때 가고,
sewul-eyse il iss-ul ttay, saypyek-ey il iss-kena kule-l ttay ka-ko
 Seoul-LOC work to be-AD time early morning-TP work to be-or such-AD time go-and
 “I go there only when I have work in Seoul early in the morning.”

그리고 지금은 습관적으로 가평으로 가는 거 같아요.
kuliko cikum-un supkwancek-ulo kaphyeng-ulo ka-nun ke kath-ayo
 and now-TOP habitual-ADV Gapyeong-to go-AD thing like-SE
 “And now, I think I habitually go to Gapyeong.”

그러다 보니까 어느날 이렇게 강에 가는데
kule-ta po-nikka enu-nal ileh-key kang-ey ka-nuntay
 so-while-CONN one-day this-ADV river-LOC go-CONN
 “While I was staying there, one day I was on my way to the river.”

그 서핑보드 위에 누가 테이블을 이렇게 놓고
ku sephingpotu wi-ey nwuka theyipul-ul ileh-key noh-ko
 DM surfing board top-LOC somebody table-ACC this-ADV place-and

묘기를 하면서 가고 있는 거예요.
myoki-lul ha-myense ka-ko iss-nun ke-yeyyo
 stunt-ACC do-while go-PROG-AD kes-SE
 “Somebody was performing a stunt with a table on a surfing board.”

아 이거 유세윤 오빠다!

a i-ke yuseyyun oppa-ta
oh this-thing Yoo Se-yoon brother-SE
“I thought that oh, that’s Se-yoon!”

Host: 어, 그러네, 그러네.
e, kule-ney, kule-ney
oh so-SE se-SE
“Oh, that’s right.”

YJ: 네, 그래 가지고 배를 끌고 막 그 쪽으로 갔어요. 인사하려고.
ney, kulay kaciko pay-lul kkul-ko mak ku ccok-ulo ka-ss-eyo. Insaha-lyeko
yes and then boat-ACC drive-and DM that direction-toward go-PST-SE greet-in order to
“Yes, and then I drove a boat toward him to say hi.”

오빠줄 알고서는 “아~” 이러면서 갔는데,
oppa-ncwul al-kose-nun “a~” ile-myense ka-ss-nuntey
brother-know-and-TOP hey this-while go-PST-CONN
“I thought that’s him, so I said “hey~” and approached him.”

딴 사람인 거예요.
ttan salam-in ke-yeyyo
other person-AD kes-SE
“It’s someone else.”

<Korean TV show data>

In this conversation, the guest, YJ, describes two moments in which unexpected events occurred. YJ first uses a *kes* construction when she describes the surprising event of seeing a person water skiing on a table. She then uses another *kes* construction when she describes her realization that she had mistaken the water-skier for another person (one of the show’s hosts).

6.3.2 Confirmation

The confirmation function (seeking confirmation from the hearer) is mostly associated with an interrogative form. The speaker aims to check whether the speaker’s assumption is correct with another interlocutor who is more knowledgeable than the speaker. Noh (2006: 73) also pointed out

that a *kes* construction (*-n keya*) is employed when a speaker is assured that the recipient possesses the information that (s)he wants and that the recipient is more knowledgeable than the speaker. Thus, when speakers use a *kes* construction for confirmation, they already have background knowledge or awareness of what is happening but want to confirm that their assumption based on their background knowledge is correct. This type of use also has a statement form if the speaker intends to clarify a situation that seems to be unclear.

(39) Ginkgo nut tea recipe

1 <P2> 근데 그때 인제 엄마가 은행을,
kuntey ku-ttay incey emm-ka unhayng-ul,
 by the way the-time then mon-NOM ginkgo nut-ACC
 “Then, mom put ginkgo nuts.”

2 <P1> 음.
um
 okay
 “Okay.”

3 <P2> 은행 스무 알을 주전자에 넣고,
unhayng sumwu al-ul cwucenca-ey neh-ko
 ginkgo nut twenty CONT-ACC kettle-into put-and
 “Put twenty pieces of ginkgo nuts into a kettle.”

4 <P1> 음.
um
 okay
 “Okay.”

5 <P2> 그 다음에, 물 반 설탕 반 이케 해 가지구 그거를 쪄여요.
ku taum-ey, mwul pan selthang pan ikhey hay kacikwu ku-ke-lul ccol-yeyo
 that next-TP water half sugar half like this do and then that-thing-ACC boil down-
 SE
 “And then, add water and sugar half and half and boil it down.”

6 <P1> 음.
um
 okay

“Okay.”

7 <P2> 어.

e
um
“Um.”

8 <P1> 은행을,

unhayng-ul
ginkgo nut-ACC
“Ginkgo nuts?”

9 <P2> 어. 그걸 마셨더니 금방 낫드라구요.

e. kuke-l masy-essteni kumpang nas-tulakwuyo
yes that-ACC drink-CONN soon recover-RET
“Yes. I got better soon after drinking it.”

10 <P1> 잠깐만. 은행을 스무 알을 넣고,

camkkanman. unhayng-ul sumwu al-ul nehko
hold on ginkgo nut-ACC twenty CONT-ACC put-and
“Hold on. Put twenty pieces of ginkgo nuts and...”

11 <P2> 음.

um
okay
“Okay.”

12 <P1> 물 반 설탕 반,

mwul pan selthang pan,
water half sugar half
“Water and sugar half and half.”

13 <P2> 예.

ey
Yes.
“yes.”

14 <P1> 어.

e
um
“Um.”

15 <P2> 그래 가지구 쪼여.

kulay kacikwu ccoly-e
and then boil down-SE

“Then boil it down.”

16 <P1> 은행, 은행이 잠길 정도에 물인가?
unhayng, unhayng-i camki-l cengto-ey mwul-inka
ginkgo nut ginkgo nut-NOM submerged-AD degree-of water-Q
“Should the water be enough to submerge the ginkgo nuts?”

17 <P2> 물 많이 넣죠 그러니까.
mwul manhi neh-cyo kulenikka
water a lot put-SE in other words
“Put lots of water, in other words.”

18 <P1> 물을 많이 넣는 거야?
mwul-ul manhi neh-nun ke-ya
water-ACC a lot put-AD kes-Q
“Putting lots of water?”

19 <P2> 어. 그까 졸을, 졸아들을 양을 감안을 해 가지구.
e. kukka ccol-ul, ccolatul-ul yang-ul kaman-ul ha-y kacikwu.
yes I mean boiled down-AD boiled down-AD amount-ACC consider-ACC do-and then
“Yes. I mean, you should consider the amount of water to be boiled down.”

20 <P1> 어. 나두 한번 해 봐야지.
e. na-twu han-pen hay pwa-yaci.
yes I-too one-time do try-SE
“Okay, I should try too.”

<Sejong spoken data>

In (a), P2 is the dominant speaker, explaining how to make ginkgo nut tea to P1. Thus, most of P1’s utterances are short responses to P2’s explanations, such as *um* or *e* (lines 2, 4, 6, 14). In line 16, P1 asks how much water is needed to make ginkgo nut tea, to which P2 responds (‘put lots of water’) in line 17. After P2’s answer, P1 uses a *kes* construction in line 18 to confirm that what (s)he heard was correct. At this point in the exchange, P1 is already knowledgeable about making ginkgo nut tea, including the amount of water to use. Therefore, P1’s question in line 18 seems to

be an act of seeking confirmation from the hearer rather than a pure question seeking new information.

(40) Literary critics

1 <P2>나 옛날부터 궁금한 게, 어떤 문학에 있어서,
na yeysnal-pwuthe kwungkumha-n ke-y, etten mwunhak-ey issese
 I long ago-from curious-AD thing-NOM DM literature-regarding
 “I have always been curious about literature”

대가라고 막 칭하는 사람들 있잖아,
taykalako mak chingha-nun salam-tul iss-canha
 master DM call-AD person-PL to be-SE
 “There are some people who are called masters of literature.”

그 사람들 작품 순위 누가 평가하는 거야?
ku salam-tul cakphwum swunwi nwuka phyengkaha-nun ke-ya?
 the people-PL work rank who evaluate-AD kes-SE
 “Who decides rankings of literature?”

나 사실 그놈이 그놈.
na sasil ku-nom-i ku-nom
 I actually the-person-NOM the-person
 “Actually, I think they are all the same.”

2 <P1>평론가
phyenglonka
 critics
 “Critics.”

3 <P2>아니 그게 평론가 자체두 웃긴 게,
ani kukey phyenglonka cachey-twu wuski-n ke-y,
 DM DM critic itself-also ridiculous thing-NOM
 “Critics are also ridiculous.”

그놈이 그놈 같구 저놈이 저놈 같구 그러거든?
ku-nom-i ku-nom kath-kwu ce-nom-i ce-nom kath-kwu kule-ketun
 the-person-NOM the-person like-and that-person-NOM that-person like-and so-SE
 “I think they are all birds of a feather.”

4 <P1>근데 보다 보면,

kuntey po-ta pomyen
however see-while

“But, you will see if you take a closer look,”

5 <P2>뭐 문학사적 의의를 따져서 뭐 이 사람은 뭐,

mwe mwunhaksa-cek uyuy-lul ttacy-ese mwe i salam-un mwe,

DM history of literature-AD significance-ACC assess-and then DM this person-TOP DM

“well, they consider the impact on literary history, and then this author is like,”

6 <P1>문학사적 의의를 따지는 건 또 따지는 거구,

mwunhaksa-cek uyuy-lul ttaci-nun ke-n tto ttaci-nun ke-kwu

history of literature-AD significance-ACC assess-AD thing-TOP DM assess-AD thing-and

“Aside from assessing the impact on literary history,”

문학 작품 자체를 따지면 뭐, 각자 주관적이긴 하지만,

mwunhak cakphwum cachey-lul ttaci-myen mwe, kakca cwukwancek-ikin haciman

literature work itself-ACC assess-if DM each subjective-although

“When you evaluate literature, well, although it is subjective depending on each person,”

그 주관적인 것두 어느 정도 성향이 있을 거 아냐,

ku cwukwancek-in kes-twu enu cengto senghyang-i iss-ul ke anya

the subjective-AD thing-and some degree tendency-NOM to be-AD thing Q

“The subjective part can have some kind of tendency. Doesn’t it?”

근까 한 사람한테만 어필하는 것두 아니구,

kunkka han salam-hanthey-man ephilha-nun kes-twu ani-kwu

therefore one person-to-only appeal-AD thing-and not-and

“So, it is not that only one person can be attracted,”

이만큼한테 어필한다 그럼 그게,

Imankhum-hanthey ephilha-nta kulem ku-ke-y,

this much-to appeal-QT then the-thing-NOM,

“If the literature attracts this number of people, then,”

그게 명작이 되는 거지.

ku-ke-y myengcak-i toy-nun ke-ci

the-thing-NOM masterpiece-MON become-AD thing-SE

“Then it becomes a masterpiece.”

<Sejong spoken data>

The extract in (b) is part of a conversation between two college students majoring in Korean language and literature. The entire conversation shows that they already have background knowledge about literary critics, but in line 1, P2 introduces the question of who decides how to rank writers. This is not a pure question in which the speaker seeks information on a topic of which they have very limited or no background knowledge. Rather, it is a question to check whether the speaker's assumption is correct addressed to another interlocutor who is more knowledgeable about the matter than the speaker.

(41) TOEIC and TOEFL

1 <P1> 텡스갸 우리 나라에서 시험 보는 거 아니야?
theypsu-ka wuli nala-eyse sihem po-nun ke ani-ya
 TEPS¹⁵-NOM our country-LOC test take-AD thing-not-Q
 “Doesn’t TEPS take place in Korea?”

우리 나라갸 만든 거 아니야?
wuli nala-ka mantu-n ke ani-ya
 our country-NOM develop-AD thing not-SE
 “It’s developed by Korea, isn’t it?”

2 <P2> 우리 나라갸 만든 거야, 텡스는.
wuli nala-ka mantu-n ke-ya theypsu-nun
 our country-NOM develop-AD thing-SE TEPS-TOP
 “It’s developed by Korea, TEPS.”

3 <P1> 토티이랑 토티플은?
thoik-ilang thophul-un
 TOEIC-and TOEFL-TOP
 “What about TOEIC and TOEFL?”

4 <P2> 그건 미국에서 만든 거구,
ku-ke-n mikwuk-eyse mantu-n ke-kwu
 that-thing-TOP U.S.-LOC develop-AD thing-and
 “They are developed by the U.S.”

¹⁵ Test of English Proficiency developed by Seoul National University

5 <P1> 토익이랑 토플을?
thoik-ilang thophul-ul
TOEIC-and TOEFL-ACC
“TOEIC and TOEFL?”

6 <P2> 응.
ung
yes
“Yes.”

7 <P1> 그럼 그 문제가 미국 문제야?
kulem ku mwuncey-ka mikwuk mwuncey-ya
then that question-NOM U.S. question-Q
“Then, those questions are developed by the U.S.?”

8 <P2> 음.
um
yes
“Yes.”

9 <P1> 미국 문제를 우리 나라로 가져와서 하는 거야? 미국에서?
mikwuk mwuncey-lul wuli nala-lo kacye-wa-se ha-nun ke-ya? mikwuk-eyse?
U.S. question-ACC our country-to bring-and do-AD kes-Q U.S.-from
“So, we bring the questions developed by the U.S. to Korea?, from the U.S.?”

10 <P2> 채점할 때 우리 나라에서 안 해, 미국에서 하는 거야 그거,
chaycemha-l ttay wuli nala-eyse an hay, mikwuk-eyse ha-nun ke-ya ku-ke,
grading-AD time our country-LOC not do U.S-LOC do-AD kes-SE that-thing
“It’s not graded in Korea, it’s graded in the U.S.”

<Sejong spoken data>

P1 asks P2 several questions about two standardized English proficiency tests, TOEIC and TOEFL, in lines 3, 5, 7, and 9. These are follow-up questions, as P1’s responses to P2’s explanation about the two tests. In line 9, P1 asks a question with a *kes* construction to check whether his/her assumption is correct. In line 10, P2 confirms the fact that the grading procedures of the two tests take place in the United States, using a *kes* construction. Therefore, P1’s question in line 9 is not a pure question but instead a confirmation check; that is, the speaker (P1) is asking the recipient (P2)

whether P1 has correctly understood what P1 has just heard from P2. Noh (2006:78) defined this type of meaning as a marker of “active listenership.” According to Noh, if there is a dominant speaker who leads the conversation and has more knowledgeable status about the topic, other interlocutors can play the role of active listeners by showing their interest with an interrogative form.

(42) Busan International Film Festival

1 <P2> 근데 이제 부산 국제 영화제 가면은 공짜야?
kuntey icye pwusan kwukcey yenghwacey ka-myen-un kkongcca-ya
 by the way DM Busan international film festival go-if-TOP free-SE
 “By the way, is it free to attend BIFF?”

2 <P1> 아니,
ani
 no
 “No.”

3 <P2> 그럼,
kulem
 then
 “Then (how much)?”

4 <P1> 사천 원?
sachen wen
 four thousand won
 “Four thousand won?”

5 <P2> 영화를 한 편씩 개봉을 하는데, 돈 내고 보는 거야?
yenghwa-lul han phyen-ssik kaypong-ul ha-nuntey, ton nay-ko po-nun ke-ya
 movie-ACC one CONT-each release-ACC do-CONN money pay-and see-AD kes-SE
 “Movies are released one by one (in BIFF), do you need to pay to watch them?”

6 <P1> 사천 원. 어.
sachen wen e
 four thousand won yes
 “Four thousand won. Yes.”

7 <P2> 난 또 공짜라고.
na-n tto kkongcca-lako

I-TOP DM free-QT
“I thought it was free.”

<Sejong spoken data>

This exchange begins with P2 asking P1 if it is free to watch a movie at the Busan International Film Festival (BIFF). This seems to be a pure information-seeking question, of the type that can be used when the speaker has no (or very limited) background knowledge. (In fact, in line 7, P2 confirms that (s)he had thought it was free, implying that she held this false belief before the current conversation). In line 2, P1 answers P2’s question by explaining that it is not free. P2, however, asks the question again in a different form, that is, whether one needs to pay to watch a movie at BIFF, in line 5. At this point, P2 has acquired some background knowledge from P1’s utterances in lines 2 and 4. Therefore, P2’s question to P1 in line 5 seems designed to check whether P2’s current assumption based on this newly acquired background knowledge is correct or not (line 5).

(43) Secret Mukbang

1 YM: 자, 강남 씨, 너튜브로 제 2의 전성기를 지금 맞이하고 있는데,
ca, kangnam-ssi, nethyupu-lo cey-2-uy censengki-lul cikum maciha-ko iss-nuntey
DM Kangnam-HT YouTube-with the-second-of golden days-ACC now come into-PROG-CONN
“So, you are coming into your second golden days thanks to your YouTube channel.”

가장 인기 급상승한 콘텐츠가 어떤 게 있어요?
kacang inki kupsangsung-han khentheynchu-ka etten ke-y iss-eyo
the most popularity soaring-AD contents-NOM which thing-NOM to be-SE
“Which content went viral the most?”

2 GN: 사실은 평소에 못 먹게 해요, 많이.
sasulun phyengsoey mos mek-key ha-yyo, manhi
in fact usually can’t eat-ADV do-SE a lot
“Actually (my wife) does not let me eat too much.”

제가 지방간이 있어 가지고 살찌고 하니까.
cey-ka cipangkan-i iss-e kaciko. salcci-ko hanikka
I-NOM fatty liver-NOM have-because gain weight-and because

“Because I have fatty liver. (It makes me) gain weight.”

근데 그, 와이프가 올림픽에 갔어요.
kuntey ku, waiphu-ka ollimphik-ey ka-ss-eyo
but DM wife-NOM Olympics-to go-PST-SE
“But, my wife went to the Olympics”

이때다 싶어 가지고 제가 무지하게 먹은 거예요.
I-ttay-ta siph-e kaciko cey-ka mwuciha-key mek-un ke-yeyyo
This-time-to be seem-because I-NOM very much-ADV eat-AD thing-SE
“So I thought that this is the best time for binge eating.”

3 KR: 아내 몰래 먹방?

anay mollay mekpang
wife secretly mukbang
“Secret mukbang?”

4 GN: 네, 아내 몰래 먹방! 아내 몰래 그냥 하고 싶은 거 다 한다.
ne anay mollay mekpang anay mollay kunyang ha-ko siph-un ke ta ha-nta
yes wife secretly mukbang wife secretly just do-want to-AD thing all do-SE
“Yes, secret mukbang. It’s like I do whatever I want behind my wife’s back.”

근데 그게 터져 버린 거예요. 그게 안 터졌어야 되는데,
kuntey kuke-y thecy-e peli-n ke-yeyyo. kuke-y an thecy-ss-eya toy-nuntey,
but that-NOM explode-end up-AD thing-SE that-NOM not explode-PST-should-CONN
“But it went viral. It should not have gone viral.”

5 YM: 어,

e
yes
“yes.”

6 GN: 조회수가 한 400 만인가 찍어 가지고,
cohoyswu-ka han 400man-inka ccik-e kaciko,
views-NOM about 4 million-approximately hit-because

조회수가 막 대박이 나 버린 거예요.
cohoyswu-ka mak taypak-i na peli-n ke-yeyyo
views-NOM DM big hit-NOM occur end up-AD thing-SE
“It has about four million views, it went viral.”

그래서 짤이 돌아 버린 거예요.
kulayse ccal-i tol-a peli-n ke-yeyyo

therefore meme-NOM circulate-end up-AD thing-SE
“Then memes are circulating.”

7 YM: 아, SNS 에도 막 짤이 돌고, 막...
a, SNS eyto mak ccal-i tol-ko, mak
oh SNS LOC DM meme-NOM circulate-and DM
“Oh, so memes are circulating on SNS.”

8 GN: 짤이, 짤이 돌아 버려 가지고...
ccal-i, ccal-i tol-a pely-e kaciko
meme-NOM meme-NOM circulate-end up-because
“Memes, memes are circulating.”

9 YM: 어..
e
yes
“Yeah...”

10 KR: 아내가 알게 된 거야?
anay-ka al-key toy-n ke-ya
wife-NOM know-to become-AD kes-Q
“Did your wife notice?”

11 GN: 네, 아내가 전화 엄청 많이 하고 “뭐 하고 있냐 너”,
ney, anay-ka cenhwa emcheng manhi ha-ko “mwe ha-ko iss-nya ne
yes wife-NOM phone call very a lot make-and what do-PROG-Q you
“Yes, she called me a lot and saying, ‘What are you doing?’”

완전 혼났었어요, 그때.
wancen honna-ss-ess-eyo, ku-ttay
very to be scolded-PST-PST-SE the-time
“She got so angry at me. Back then.”

<TV show data>

In this conversation, a TV show guest (GN) tells a story about how one of his YouTube videos went viral. In lines 2, 4, and 6, GN uses *kes* constructions to highlight the most outstanding points of the story. In lines 6 and 8, GN tells the show’s hosts that his YouTube video went viral, and memes from the video are circulating on the Internet. Based on several elements in the whole

story (i.e., GN mentions his wife, her attempts to keep him from overeating, his overeating during her absence, and his viral video), one of the show’s hosts, KR, makes an assumption (i.e., that GN’s wife found out about his overeating in her absence), and tries to confirm whether this assumption is correct by asking a confirmation question, using a *kes* construction, in line 10 (‘Did your wife notice?’).

The mechanism of this confirmation function seems to be derived from a reiteration of the proposition through a nominalized structure. When the speaker brings “already-known” information back into the conversation, the speaker has a reason for the reiteration—in this case, seeking confirmation. The nominalized structure of the *kes* constructions can syntactically and pragmatically differentiate an utterance from pure questions without a *kes* construction. It serves as a marker that makes the hearer pay attention to the utterance so that its interactive function (seeking confirmation) can be fulfilled.

6.3.3 Strong assertion/seeking agreement or compliance

Another function of the *kes* constructions is to seek the interlocutors’ agreement or compliance with a strong assertion made by the speaker. In fact, this function has the most substantial intersubjective meaning among the subcategories of *kes* constructions. The speaker mentions rules or personal thoughts with a *kes* construction to imply the speaker’s intention to seek agreement or compliance. Because of its intersubjective meaning of seeking a hearer’s agreement or compliance, this usage often occurs along with an expression denoting obligation, such as “아/어야 하다/되다”, as below.

- a. “그런가가 아니고 당연히 그렇게 **해야 되는 거야.**”

“Not like ‘is that so?’, but you should do so.”

b. “방학은 즐겁게 보내야 되는 거야.”

“A vacation should be an enjoyable time.”

(from Sejong spoken data)

The intersubjective meaning of *kes* constructions makes utterances with them sound more assertive, implying a sense of obligation. Therefore, speakers often use *kes* constructions when mentioning rules, as below.

(44) Passing the road test

<P1> 그럼 그 마지막 구간은 그 기어 변속하는 구간이 있어.
kulem ku macimak kwukan-un ku kie pyensokha-nun kwukan-i iss-e
then the last course-TOP DM gear shift-AD course-NOM to be-SE
“And then in the last course, you need to shift gears.”

어설픈게 처음이니까 어설픈게 기어 변속하다가 속도 더 나오구.
eselphu-key cheum-inikka eselphu-key kie pyensokha-taka-nun sokto te nao-kwu
clumsy-ADV first time-because clumsy-ADV gear shift-while-TOP speed more come out-and
“If you do it with clumsy hands because if it’s your first time, you will end up speeding up.”

더 나오거나 아니면은 기어 변속하다가 시동두 꺼트려 먹구
te nao-kena animyen-un kie pyensok-hataka sitong-twu kkethuly-e mek-kwu
more come out-or otherwise-TOP gear shift-while ignition-and turn off-end up-and
“You will end up speeding up or turning off the engine while you are shifting gears.”

이게 이러니까 아예 하지 말구 일단으루 가래는 거야.
ike-y ile-nikka ayey ha-ci mal-kwu iltan-ulwu ka-lay-nun ke-ya
this-NOM like this-because at all do-not-and first gear-with go-QT-AD thing-SE
“That’s why people say that you do not shift gear and drive in first gear instead.”

그럼 이게 속도가 거기까지 안 나오면은
kulem ike-y sokto-ka keki-kkaci an nao-myen-un
then this-NOM speed-NOM there-to not come out-if-TOP

이게 또 마이너스가 되거든,
ike-y tto mainesu-ka toy-ketun
this-NOM DM minus-NOM become-SE

“Then, if you don’t speed up to a certain level, you will lose points.”

거 받으라 이거야.
ke pat-ula ike-ya.
that receive-IM this-SE

거 받구 주차할 때두 반주차만 하라 이거야 반주차만.
ke pat-kwu cwuchaha-l ttay-twu pan-cwucha-man ha-la ike-ya pan-cwucha-man.
that receive-and park-AD time-and half-parking-only do-IM this-SE half-parking-only
“Accept that. Accept that and half-park the car when you park.”

<P2> 어.
e
yes
“Yes.”

<P1> 완전 주차 하다가 괜히 빠져나오지도 못하구
wancen cwucha ha-taka kwaynhi ppacyenao-cito mosha-kwu
full parking do-while for nothing get out-can not-and
“If you try the ‘full-parking’, you might not get out.”

뭐 가지두 못하구 막 넘어가고 이러면은
mwe ka-citwu mosha-kwu mak nemeka-ko ile-myen-un
DM go-can not-and DM cross-and this-if-TOP
“Well, if you can’t drive and cross the lines and then.”

거기서부터는 사람이 긴장하게 돼,
keki-se-pwuthe-nun salam-i kincangha-key twa-y
there-LOC-from-TOP people-NOM nervous-ADV become-SE
“People get nervous at this point.”

계속 거기서 계속 그 선 밟구 있으면
kyeysok keki-se kyeysok ku sen palp-kwu iss-umyen
continuously there-LOC continuously the line step on-PROG-if
계속 마이너스 오 점씩 계속.
kyeysok mainesu o cem-ssik kyeysok
continuously minus five point-each continuously
“If you keep driving on the line, you will keep losing points, 5 points each.”

선 밟구 있으면은.
sen palp-kwu iss-umyen-un
line step on-PROG-if-TOP
“If you go onto the line.”

한 번 밟을 때마다 오 점이야.

han pen palp-ul ttay-mata o cem-iya
 one time step on-AD time-each five point-SE
 “You will lose five points per each time.”

계속 밟구 있으면 그거 밟구 있다 끝나는 거야.
kyeysok palp-kwu iss-umyen ku-ke palp-kwu iss-ta kkuthna-nun ke-ya
 continuously step on-PROG-if that-thing step on-PROG-while end-AD kes-SE
 “If you keep going over the line, you will fail.”

실격되는 거야.
silkyektoy-nun ke-ya
 disqualified-AD kes-SE
 “You will be disqualified from the test.”

<Sejong spoken data>

In this excerpt, the speaker, P1, is explaining to P2 how to pass a driving test, using *kes* constructions when mentioning test rules that lead to drivers failing to pass the test (그거 밟구 있다 끝나는 거야, 실격되는 거야). As in this example, *kes* constructions can add power to an utterance by showing the speaker’s attitude of strong assertion regarding the proposition and the hearer. Therefore, from the speaker’s perspective, it is obligatory or strongly recommended to comply with what the speaker mentions. Not only rules but also other types of propositions can be asserted with strength through using *kes* constructions, indicating the speaker’s attitude while seeking other interlocutors’ agreement or compliance. This type of use was also found in the TV show data, as below.

(45) Ideal type

1 KJ: 과거를 떠나서 둘이 이상형이고 토니부인이 꿈인데...
Kwake-lul ttenase twu-li isanghyeng-iko thoni-pwuin-i kkwum-intey
 past-ACC regardless of two-NOM ideal type-and Tony-wife-NOM dream-CONJ
 Regardless of the past, they are each other’s ideal type and (her) dream is being Tony’s wife

2 JH: 아니 저는 이상형은 아니에요, 지금은

ani cenun isanghyeng-un ani-eyyo, cikum-un
no I-TOP ideal type-TOP not-COP now-TOP
No, (he is) not my ideal type, for now.

3 KR: 지금 아니라니까.
cikum ani-lanikka
now not-SE
(He is) not (her type), now.

4 KJ: 지금 아니에요?
cikum ani-eyyo
now not-COP(Q)
(He's) not your type now?

5 JH: 초등학교 육학년 때.
chotunghakkyo yuhaknyen ttay
elementary school 6th grade time
When I was a 6th grader.

6 JS: 미성숙했을 때.
misengswukha-ys-sul ttay
immature-PST-AD time
When she was immature.

7 HJ: 자아가 형성되지 않았을 때.
caaka hyengsengtoy-ci anh-ass-ul ttay
the ego to be formed-SF not-PST-AD time
When her ego was not formed yet.

8 JH: 설부르게.
setpwulu-key
hasty-ADV
Hastily

(laughter)

9 KH: 서지혜 씨가 말이죠,
secihyey ssi-ka malicyo
Seo Ji-hye Miss.-NOM DM
Miss Seo said,

지금은 토니 오빠가 빨리 좋은 분 만나는 게 꿈이라면서
cikum-un thoni oppa-ka ppalli coh-un pwun manna-nun key kkwum-ila-myense
now-TOP Tony brother-NOM soon good-AD person meet-AD thing dream-QT-CONJ

선을 그으셨다고...

sen-ul ku-usy-ess-tako
line-ACC draw-SH-PST-QT

Now she drew the line, saying she wanted him to meet a good person soon.

10 JS:아 근데, 토니 오빠가 좋은 분 만나는 게 꿈일 정도면
a kuntey, thoni oppa-ka coh-u pwun manna-nun key kkwum-il cengto-myen
oh by the wa Tony brother-NOM good-AD person meet-AD thing dream-AD degree-if

정말 싫은 거야.

cengmal silh-un ke-ya
really dislike-AD kes-SE

Oh, by the way, if her dream is to make Tony meet a good person, that means she really does not like him.

<TV show data>

In this excerpt from a TV talk show, one guest, JH, denies that one of the other guests (Tony) is her ideal type (line 2), but then admits that maybe he would have been her ideal type when she was a teenager. This comment leads the host, JS, and another guest, HJ, to make fun of Tony, implying that he was alright as the object of a teenager's crush, but not as a mature person's partner (lines 6–7). In line 10, the host JS, although speaking in a joking tone, takes a more assertive stance by using a *kes* construction when she explains how JH's wish that Tony meets somebody else confirms JH's lack of interest in Tony herself.

This function of strong assertion is also closely related to the core meaning of emphasis/highlighting of the *kes* constructions. In all of these functions, the nominalized structure of the *kes* constructions emphasizes the speaker's utterance, showing the speaker's attitude toward the proposition and the hearer. The current range of the *kes* constructions' functions demonstrates that once a propositional meaning has been objectified, it gains (inter)subjective meaning during the grammaticalization process. In the case of the *kes* constructions, the core meaning (emphasis/highlight) acquired subjective meaning in conversational usage, coming to indicate the

speaker's attitude toward the proposition. It then also came to imply the speaker's attitude toward the hearer, extending to seeking the hearer's agreement or compliance with the speaker's attitude toward the proposition.

6.4. Discussion

One of the interesting findings from the analysis of the Sejong Corpus spoken data is that the defective noun *kes* mostly appears in its contracted form *ke* in the corpus data. This tendency is in line with phonetic erosion, one of the mechanisms of grammaticalization. Heine (2013) described phonetic erosion, or phonological attrition, as “loss in phonetic substance.” Lehmann (2005) argued that phonetic erosion can lead to loss of segments and, potentially, coalescence—that is, an “increase in bondedness.” As a result of phonetic erosion, a linguistic element often becomes part of a new constriction, just as the defective noun *kes* has become *ke*, a part of a modal expression. In the Sejong spoken data, the contracted form *ke* has a higher frequency than the original form *kes*. A total of 3,824 tokens of *kes* constructions with *ke* (*keya/keyeyo*) were found in the spoken data. In contrast, 245 tokens of *kes* constructions with *kes* (*kesipnida/kesiya/kesiyeyo*) were found in the same dataset.

Among the 245 cases of constructions with *kes*, the most formal expression, *kesipnida*, has the highest frequency (228 tokens). Most of these cases of *kesipnida* are in sermons, lectures, or public speeches requiring a high level of formality. The speakers use this construction to emphasize critical points, paraphrase what they have already said, or provide additional explanations. This tendency also shows that the use of the original form *kes* and the use of its contracted form *ke* are separating, as they have their own boundaries of meaning. The original

form *kes* has less (inter)subjectivity and is mostly used in a formal setting, while the contracted form *ke* is frequent in casual/colloquial conversation. Most (inter)subjective meanings of the *kes* constructions come from expressions that include the contracted form *ke*, which suggests that the newer (inter)subjective meanings of the *kes* constructions emerged after phonetic/morphological attrition and as they became sentence enders.

When it comes to the intersubjectivity of *kes* constructions, we need to take a deeper look into the speaker's role in a conversation and how other interlocutors respond after they hear the speaker's utterance with a *kes* construction. As Noh (2006) mentioned, *kes* constructions have functions related to speakership and listenership. For instance, when the speaker is telling a story, the speaker tends to try to retain speakership until (s)he finishes the story. In order to maintain speakership, the speaker needs to draw other interlocutors' attention using various strategies. The Sejong spoken data show a pattern that comes with the use of *kes* constructions; when the speaker highlights the "noteworthy" points with a *kes* construction, other interlocutors tend to give turns to the speaker and remain listeners, responding to the speaker's story with only short phrases. As for the "seeking confirmation" meaning, when the speaker asks a question using a *kes* construction, the hearer's response contains information that can clarify the speaker's assumption.

The TV show data show the same pattern as the Sejong spoken data. When the speaker describes a past event/experience as an "on-the-spot event," the speaker becomes a dominant speaker and highlights the most outstanding points with *kes* constructions. The TV show data also show that the subjective meanings (emphasis/highlighting, on-the-spot event, counter-expectation, confirmation) of *kes* constructions emerge in conversation. Furthermore, intersubjective meanings of *kes* constructions (seeking confirmation, agreement, or compliance) were observed in the TV

show data. These observed patterns support the hypothesis that the *kes* constructions have gained intersubjectivity as they have grammaticalized.

Another noteworthy point from the analysis of the TV show data is that *kes* constructions are frequently used to describe past events as “on-the-spot” in subtitles. Korean entertainment shows tend to use subtitles to draw viewers’ attention to specific points. Therefore, subtitles in TV shows play a role of visually presenting critical points of the show, such as providing a summary of the cast’s utterances or additional information to understand an ongoing situation. As mentioned earlier, speakers use *kes* constructions at critical points of storytelling, to emphasize the points as well as to draw the hearer’s attention to them. Korean TV shows seem to use subtitles with *kes* constructions in a similar way.

All subjective and intersubjective meanings of the *kes* constructions in the Sejong spoken and Korean TV show data seem to be derived from its core meaning, emphasis/highlighting. As the *kes* constructions have been frequently used in a variety of situations over time, they have expanded (or changed) their boundaries to include (inter)subjective meanings and functions, as other Korean expressions have been shown to do. The *kes* constructions have been grammaticalized to express interactive meanings regarding the speaker’s viewpoint or attitude. Although the *kes* constructions’ meanings are still context-dependent, they have distinctive features that differentiate them from other linguistic elements. In addition, we can observe the constructions’ grammaticalization paths from the definition structure to an intersubjective modal marker. The patterns of the *kes* constructions’ semantic, morphosyntactic, and phonetic changes correspond to grammaticalization theory. The high frequency of *kes* constructions in spoken data also support the argument that they are undergoing a grammaticalization process.

The framework of grammaticalization provides a tool that allows us to observe changes of linguistic elements. Furthermore, it enables us to consider factors in such changes and different paths of development. Thus, grammaticalization can be a tool to describe language usages that the synchronic perspective cannot explain. For KFL teachers, grammaticalization can provide a way to describe and teach “newly acquired” but frequently used meanings of linguistic elements in Korean.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Findings

This study deals with the *kes* constructions in Korean with a focus on their grammaticalization path, as well as their (inter)subjective meanings in natural discourse in Present Day Korean (PDK). In this study, I investigated how the *kes* constructions have changed from the perspective of grammaticalization. Grammaticalization theory deals with language change that is accompanied by semantic, morphosyntactic, phonological, and pragmatic shifts of a linguistic item. Evidence of language change suggested by grammaticalization theory was also found in the process of examining the changes and usage of the defective noun *kes*.

In Chapter 3, I explored how the defective noun *kes* has evolved from a diachronic perspective. The defective noun *kes* has been used in a wide variety of contexts due to its abstract meaning, leading to increased frequency of use, which played a vital role in its grammaticalization. The defective noun *kes* was used to form a nominalized structure due to its semantic characteristics. The expressive function of the nominalized structure in Korean also contributed to the emergence of (inter)subjective meanings of the *kes* constructions. As *kes* grammaticalized, it lost its character as a (defective) noun, while gaining new functions when combined with the copula *ita*. As a result, the *kes* constructions emerged and gained their own meanings. In other words, *kes* gradually lost its lexical meaning as a defective noun and became part of the *kes* constructions, taking on a grammatical role. We observed that *kes* is still undergoing a process of semantic change, as posited in grammaticalization theory. The newly acquired meanings of *kes* only manifest under specific conditions: when combined with an adnominal suffix and copula, and at the end of a sentence. Therefore, a *kes* construction has become a minimal unit to express the newly acquired meanings.

Therefore, this type of *kes* construction should be seen as a single expression rather than a combination of individual lexical items.

In Chapter 4, I explored the structure of this type of *kes* construction, focusing on its nominalized structure and sentence-end position, which are both involved in the emergence of its modal meanings. I argued that the modal meanings of the *kes* constructions are derived from their two core meanings: emphasis and objectification. These two core meanings of *kes* constructions can be seen in the range of their modal meanings, and may be the basis of the pragmatic functions of *kes* constructions. The *kes* constructions gained subjective and intersubjective meanings as they grammaticalized from a definition structure to an interactive modal marker. Subjectivity and intersubjectivity can be marked by expressions that show the speaker's attitude, such as modal markers. Even though *kes* constructions inherently contain objectified meaning, speakers can strategically use these forms to assert their personal attitudes or beliefs (subjectification), and even to lead the hearer to be in accord with the speaker's stance (intersubjectification) or purpose.

As we observed in Chapter 5, the *kes* constructions show evidence of grammaticalization, such as phonological reduction, semantic change, functional divergence, and increased bondedness that changed their structure. The mechanisms of the grammaticalization of the *kes* constructions are reanalysis, pragmatic inference, and subjectification. As the *kes* constructions grammaticalized, they developed new meanings that are more subjective and more intersubjective. While some *kes* constructions have emerged as intersubjective modal markers after gaining intersubjective meanings, some (the *ul*-type constructions) have evolved into sentence endings indicating future events, or the speaker's intentions.

The *kes* constructions have become a type of expression with interactive meaning that expresses the speaker's various intentions, with unique functions and meanings that are clearly distinguished from cases where a *kes* construction is not used. However, because the process of grammaticalization appears to be ongoing, the *kes* constructions have context-dependent characteristics and are more commonly found in spoken language than in written language. The important fact is that these changes appear to be consistent with the main patterns of grammaticalization theory, and they have been observed to acquire new meanings while being used in everyday conversation. The process of semantic change described in grammaticalization theory involves a lexical item's meaning shifting from objective to subjective, and this subjective meaning can further evolve into intersubjective meaning through use in discourse. The *kes* constructions exhibit patterns of semantic change that align with the process described in grammaticalization theory. This is a defining characteristic that can be observed most effectively within the framework of grammaticalization.

As this grammaticalization process has progressed, the definition structure has undergone subjectification. It came to be used as a focus structure with a reference noun within the sentence, and eventually as an interactive modal marker. In Chapter 6, an analysis of PDK data from the Sejong Corpus and TV shows found that *kes* constructions are still used as definition structures and to convey the speaker's assumptions/intentions. This coexistence of meanings/functions is possible because, as a given expression gains new and even divergent functions and meanings over time, the expression does not necessarily lose the older ones, but rather accrues multiple layers of meaning and function that all remain available, which is called layering.

Both PDK datasets show that the *kes* constructions also have intersubjective functions, such as describing a past event as an on-the-spot event, confirmation, and strong assertion/seeking agreement or compliance. The *kes* constructions as interactive modal markers still have context-dependent elements, but, as we observed, they are actively used in spoken language. It is possible for there to be differences of opinion when classifying and defining the interactive meanings of the *kes* constructions. However, this is one of the characteristics of grammatical items undergoing grammaticalization, and it appears that they will continue to evolve as essential and independent expressions, used actively in speech regardless of context. It is difficult to predict future changes in the *kes* constructions, but we can speculate that they will go through changes that are similar to those that other, similar expressions have gone through. When we look at the grammaticalization processes undergone by other expressions, there is a tendency for meanings to become more abstract and generalized, and to acquire a specific meaning and function that is frequently used in context. Similarly, it is expected that the *kes* constructions will gradually acquire more abstract meanings and specific functions that are frequently used. Above all, this study's significance lies in demonstrating that a comprehensive approach to describing grammar provides evidence that grammar evolves organically and follows certain patterns of change rather than fixed rules. This approach can provide a more nuanced understanding of grammar and offer a multidimensional method for describing it.

7.2 Pedagogical implication

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the grammatical explanation of *kes* constructions in Korean language textbooks often fails to provide students with enough information to understand and use these constructions. Considering the fact that *kes* constructions are often used in everyday

conversation among Korean speakers, it is important to teach (inter)subjective meanings of *kes* constructions in that it enables students to understand the correct usage of the *kes* constructions that are frequently used in actual conversations and to use them accurately. In particular, two of its (inter)subjective meanings (describing a past event as an on-the-spot event and strong assertion/seeking compliance) have often been excluded from Korean as a second/foreign language education. Therefore, I suggest classroom/writing activities that help students understand and produce expressions using *kes* constructions.

First, to teach the ‘on-the-spot’ sense of *kes* construction, a teacher shows two expressions, one with *kes* construction and another that does not contain *kes* construction, with the same propositional meaning. Then a teacher briefly explains a structural difference between the two expressions. After explaining its structural features, students are given a situation they can practice using *kes* constructions. A situation in that one dominant speaker is telling his/her own experience would be an excellent example of the practice as below.

Setting: Storytelling (A dominant speaker is telling a story to others)

Use *kes* construction to:

- Describe my own experience (what I saw/heard/felt,...)
- Describe a past event as if it is occurring now
- To indicate noteworthy point: unexpected event, highlight/emphasize the part of the story

Second, to practice strong assertion/seeking compliance, we can suggest a situation in which the speaker strongly asserts their thoughts/ideas with authority over the contents of the speaker's utterance. For instance, a person who is well knowledgeable about a particular field explains the field to a person who is less knowledgeable than the speaker as below.

Setting: conversation (the speaker is explaining rules to a person who is less knowledgeable than the speaker)

Use *kes* construction when:

- The speaker wants to express their ideas/opinion
- The speaker wants the listener to agree/comply with their ideas/opinion
- The speaker believes they have more authority over the content of their speech than the listener.

7.3 Further study

It is often difficult to find universally accepted explanations for expressions that are still in the process of grammaticalization, with consequences for the teaching of languages. That is, such expressions' current functions and meanings may not yet be included in grammar rules or may be subjectively explained by individual teachers. Therefore, language learners often struggle with understanding such expressions.

The approach proposed in this study can contribute to how we teach Korean expressions that are currently undergoing grammaticalization in the field of Korean language education. By observing these semantic changes through the framework of grammaticalization, we can understand the causes and patterns of new meaning changes and discover answers to the aspects

of language change that are difficult to explain from a synchronic perspective. These findings could guide our approach to teaching newly acquired meanings that are frequently used in spoken discourse but not yet explained in existing grammar textbooks used in Korean language education.

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