

THE JOURNEY OF THINKING: FROM SUBJECTIVITY TO TEXTUALITY AND TO INTERSUBJECTIVITY ¹

SEONGHA RHEE

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

1 Introduction

‘Thinking’ is fundamental in and indispensable to human existence and the notion of thinking covers a large conceptual spectrum along the continua of conviction, involvement, attitude, etc. The Korean *verbum cogitandi*, *siph-* ‘think’, displays an intriguing journey of semantic and functional change across such conceptual domains in the 600 years of history. This paper analyzes the change in the lexical, grammatical, and discursive domains from a grammaticalization perspective and addresses its theoretical significance.

There has been a body of research that analyzed the verb, but a majority of previous studies largely concentrated on semantic or syntactic analysis (Kim 1983, Cha 1984, Choi 1996, Ho 2000, Gang 2000, Lee 2005, Ahn 2006, Kim 2008, Chung 2010, Won 2012, Yang 2018, among others). However, Kim (2010) is a notable grammaticalization analysis focusing on meaning extension. The present analysis focuses on its semantic and morphosyntactic change and its synchronic functions drawing upon historical and contemporary corpora, including those of a connective of similitive, modality markers of conative, desiderative, and epistemic/evidential, and discourse markers of soliciting a common ground, among others.

As briefly indicated, the objectives of this paper is twofold: (i) to illustrate the historical paths that *siph-* traveled in the domains of lexis, grammar, and discourse; and (ii) to discuss some select

¹ This paper is based on a poster presentation at the 35th Conference of Israel Association for Theoretical Linguistics held at Open University of Israel, Ra’anana Campus, October 23-24, 2019 and an oral presentation at the 2019 Conference Language Research Institute, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, November 1, 2019. Thanks go to the audiences for their comments and suggestions. All remaining errors are mine. This research was supported by Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, the Ministry of Education and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2017S1A5A2A01027136).

issues that bear theoretical significance. In order to pursue these objectives, section 2 presents the diachronic changes based on the attestations in the historical corpus in lexical, grammatical, and discursive domains; section 3 discusses grammaticalization parameters, semantic absorption from collocates, (inter)subjectification, conceptual motivations, analogy and modeling effect, properties of discourse markers; section 4 summarizes the findings and concludes the paper.

The data for historical development are largely taken from the 21st century Sejong Corpus, a 200-million word corpus, developed by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This corpus encompasses data from the 15th to the early 20th century (1446-1912). The contemporary data are taken from the Drama-Cinema Corpus, a 24-million word corpus consisting of 7,424 drama and cinema scenarios, compiled by Min Li of Seoul National University. The scenarios are dated from 1992 through 2015.

2 Historical Change

The lexeme *siph-* displays interesting chain of change in meaning and function. We discuss it by the three levels of grammar, e.g. lexical semantics, grammatical functions, and discursive functions, making reference to the formants that get combined with *siph-* in the development.

2.1 Lexical Semantics

The verb *siph-* is attested in the earliest data sources written in Hangeul (or Hankul), the Korean alphabetic-featural writing system invented by King Sejong the Great in 1443. It began its life as *sikpu-* (and its variants, *sipu-*, *sitpu-*, *sippu-*, *sip-*, etc.) in Late Middle Korean (LMK; 15th-16th c.) with the meaning of ‘think’:²

- (1) a. ha KWihA-si-lssAY hanAl-losye na-si-n-ka **sikpu-kenmalAn**
 very be.precious-HON-as heaven-from be.born-HON-ANT-Q think-CONC
 kuli an-i-la
 thus not-be-DEC
 'Even though (one) might think, 'Was (Buddha) born from the heaven?', since [his
 appearance] is so precious-looking, but it is not so.'

(LMK 1459 *Welinsekpo* 4:33b)

² The transcription is based on the Extended Yale Romanization System (Rhee, 1996), and following the tradition of Korean historical linguists, the Chinese characters in the mixed writing of the source texts are rendered in the Modern Korean pronunciation written in upper-case. In the gloss, the following abbreviations are used: ACC: accusative; ANT: anterior adnominal; APPR: apprehensive; CAUS: causative; CONC: concessive; CONS: consecutive; DAT: dative; DEC: declarative; DESID: desiderative; END: sentence-ender; EPIS: epistemic; EVID: evidential; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; INF: infinitive; MODE: mode-adverbializer; NEG: negation; NOM: nominative; POL: politeness; PRES: present; PROS: prospective adnominal; PST: past; Q: question; QUOT: quotative; RETRO: retrospective; SEL: selective; SIM: simultaneous adnominal; SIMIL: simulative; TEN.CON: tentative conation; and TOP: topic.

- b. sayngwen-i ili w-a si-ni esti hA-l-ko **sip**-eyla
 [title]-NOM to.here come-NF exist-as how do-FUT-Q think-END
 ‘As the master has come here, (I) am thinking, ‘What should (I) do?’
 (LMK 15xx. *Swunchen kimssi* 128)
- c. [My situation is so deplorable that]
 ili w-a anc-asye cwuk-ul-ka **sip**-e
 like.this come-NF sit-CONN die-FUT-Q think-and
 ‘(I) think, should I come and sit here like this and die?, and...’
 (LMK 15xx. *Swunchen kimssi* 164)

In (1a), taken from a Buddhist commentary, the verb *siph-*, in the form of *sikpu-*, is used as the main verb taking a reported clause, direct- or indirect-speech, with the meaning of ‘think’ or ‘wonder’ or some mental activity of cogitation. Likewise, (1b) shows the use of *sip-* as the main verb denoting ‘think’, taking the self’s monologal question as its complement. Example (1c), taken from the same source shows the same verb, though spelled differently, used to mean ‘think’ with some added overtone of worries from the context. As is evident, all examples in (1) take an interrogative sentence, either reported, imagined, or self-authored, as the complement of the verb *siph-*. This means that the verb *siph-* was among the primary devices of introducing a complement clause which contains the thought content.

2.2 Modality Marker

The verb *siph-* seems to have begun to grammaticalize before LMK as it appears as a grammatical formant already in the LMK period. In the grammatical domain, its prominent function is in the modal marking, e.g. desiderative, epistemic/evidential, apprehensive, and tentative conation. We now turn to the discussion of each of these functions. All these functions are based on the conjectural nature of human thought, especially when the verb is accompanied by an interrogative clause as its complement.

2.2.1 Desiderative

From the earliest texts in LMK, *siph-* occurs with the Purposive connective *-kocye* (and its variants, *-kocya*, *-kolacya*, etc.). The periphrastic predicate *-kocye siph-* ‘lit. think in order to’ becomes morphosyntactically unverbated and semantically well entrenched as the desiderative marker denoting ‘wish’. The development is triggered by the purposive meaning of *-kocye*, since the compositional meaning of ‘(I) think in order to’ is conceptually similar to the desiderative meaning ‘(I) wish...’. The usage is exemplified in (2), in which the purposive *-kocye* (or its variants *-kocya*, *-kolacya*, etc.) occurs with the verb *siph-* with a period inserted in between in order to indicate the lexical boundary in Korean orthography:

- (2) a. MAPHASWUN-i w-a pwuthye-skuy salv-otAy
 [name]-NOM come-and Buddha-DAT say-QUOT
 ani YELPANhA-**kocye.sikpu**-niiska
 not enter.Nirvana-DESID-Q
 'Maphaswun came and said to Buddha, "Would you not want to pass away (yet)?".'
 (LMK 1459 *Welinsekpo* 23:100a)
- b. cAsik-i cwuk-ti.ma-o ce-y cwuk-**kolacya.sikpu**-ko
 child-NOM die-NEG-and self-NOM die-DESID-and
 '(I) wish that not my child but I would rather die and...'
 (LMK 15xx *Swunchen kimssi* 34)

Example (2a) shows the verb *siph-* occurring as a part of the desiderative modal marker. The speaker, Maphaswun (the Devil King Mara Papiya), whose mission it is to disturb Buddha and prevent him from being enlightened, asks Buddha if he does not want to enter the Nirvana, i.e., die. Similarly, in (2b), the speaker whose child is about to die expresses her desire to die instead of her child.

In Early Modern Korean (EMoK; 17th-19th c.) *siph-* begins to occur with the conditional connective *-myen* and forms the desiderative predicate. As is the case with the purposive-based desiderative, the development of conditional-based desiderative is strongly influenced by the semantics of the conditional marker *-myen*, since the compositional meaning of 'I think, if...' is conceptually closely related to the desiderative 'I wish...', as thinking often involves probing possibility of realization of what is wished. This is exemplified in the following example:

- (3) pyenghwancung-ul nAm-i ta al-key
 illness-ACC others-NOM all know-MODE
 nathana-keyhA-si-**myen.sipu**-te-nila
 appear-CAUS-HON-DESID-RETRO-END
 'I recall that I wanted [the prince] to let his illness be known to others (instead of hiding it in order not to worry the king).' (Lit. I recall I thought, '(It would be nice) if he made his illnesses known to others.').
 (EMoK 18xx *Hancwunglok* 148)

In (3), the speaker, a court-lady serving a prince, is stating her wish that the prince would let his health condition be known to others (who would also inform) the King, because misunderstanding ensued from the King as he did not know that the prince was hiding his illness out of filial piety, i.e. in order not to worry the king.

In Modern Korean the primary function of *siph-* is to mark desiderative with *-ko*, the reduced form of the purposive *-koc(y)a*. In history the verb carried the desiderative function with a number of different forms.

2.2.2 Epistemic & Evidential

In LMK, when *siph-* occurs with a quoted question sentence as its complement (as in (1)), the string of the question marker *-ka* and the verb *siph-* acquires the epistemic overtone of conjectural.

In other words, the syntagmatic string 'think Q?' becomes 'think if', which, in turn, becomes 'it seems that'. The modality of epistemic and the modality of evidential are often inseparable in the case of *siph*-derived forms, thus glossed as EPIS/EVID. Also noteworthy here is that the question markers in the embedded clause are those used for internal queries, e.g., monologues.³

- (4) [When a child had a fishbone stuck in the throat, a string was inserted and]
 naks mAyy-on tAy nilu-n-**ka.sikpu**-kenul
 hook tie-ANT place reach-ANT-EPIS/EVID-as
 'when [the bead in the string] seemed to have reached where the hook was tied,..'
 (Lit. 'when (I) thought, 'Has [the bead] reached the place where the hook was tied?', and...'
 (LMK 1466 *Kwukuppang enhay* I: 48b)

The writer of the excerpt (4) is describing a situation in which a child has a fishbone stuck in the throat, and thus a string with a hook to which a bead is tied is inserted into the child's throat so that the fishbone could be snatched out. In the example, the question being reported carries the function of epistemic state (i.e. probability) and evidential state (i.e. inference from the tactile feeling) of the writer. A similar functional acquisition is observable with the strings involving other question markers, e.g. *-ko*, *-la*, *-li*, which also specialize marking internal queries.

In history, the development of epistemic and evidential first begins with the interrogative clause complements, but this pattern becomes gradually extended. In EMoK, when *siph*- occurs with diverse clause types as its complement, the string of the sentence-ender and the verb *siph*- develops into an epistemic marker of probability and evidential marker of inferential. In other words, not only the interrogatives but also declaratives begin to be used with the verb *siph*- and develop into epistemic/evidential. In a 17th century data (16xx, *Hyenphwung kwakssi* 163-3), for instance, the writer of a letter uses an exclamative sentence 'Nothing is sadder than not being able to send the gifts because of the lack of the means of transportation' as the complement of the verb *siph*-, in which *siph*-, together with the preceding exclamative sentence-ender *-eyla*, marks the epistemic/evidential modality.

Also in EMoK, *siph*- begins to host the dependent noun *tAs* 'appearance' and forms an epistemic/evidential marker of probability and inferential. The conceptual motivation behind this development can be schematically: 'I think (about) the appearance' > 'it is probable that', 'I have a reason to believe that'. In the similar manner, in MoK, this evidential/epistemic function extends to another dependent noun *seng* 'appearance/property'. These two cases of dependent nouns *tAs* (which changed to *tus* in MoK) and *seng* are exemplified in the following:

- (5) a. os-sulohAye ancil-i tehA-nAn **tAs.sipu-ni**
 lacquer-because.of eye.disease-NOM increase-SIM EPIS/EVID-as
 'As (his) eye ailment seems to be aggravated by the poison from the lacquer tree,...'
 (EMoK 17xx *Senseyentok* 19)

³ There has been a large number of sentence-final particles indicating speech-act types, e.g. declarative, interrogative, hortative, imperative, propositive, etc. in Korean. There is a subset of interrogative markers, i.e. *-ka*, *-ko*, *-na*, *-la*, *-li*, etc., which are specialized in monologual questions. These question markers, labeled as 'audience-blind forms' by Koo and Rhee (2013), have participated in the grammaticalization of other markers (Rhee and Koo 2015, 2017).

- b. ku yewu-kathun kyeycipay-hako hayngpokha-l **seng.siph**-nya!
 that fox-like woman-with be.happy-PROS EPIS/EVID-Q
 'Are you thinking that you will be happy with that fox-like (sly) girl?'
 (MoK 2002 Drama *Lepingyu* Episode #11)

In (5a), the physician makes a diagnosis on the eye, the condition of which has been aggravated, and attributes the cause to the contact with the lacquer tree, well known to be poisonous. The diagnosis is based on the inference from the appearance of the patient (i.e. evidentiality) and the diagnostic decision is that of probability (i.e. epistemic). Likewise, in (5b), an excerpt from Modern Korean, the speaker is challenging her interlocutor if he truly believes that he would be happy to marry a sly and cunning girl, i.e., asking about his belief (epistemic) based on the appearance of the situation (evidential).

2.2.3 Apprehensive

In EMoK, some of the *siph*- constructions acquire the modal meaning of apprehensive ('fear'), in combination with a question marker or declarative marker. This development is directly related to the fact that human cogitation often centers around some events or situations that are feared to occur, in which case thinking is equated with worrying. The line of thought behind the development of apprehensive can be schematically presented as: 'I think 'Q?'" 'I think 'X.' (in which the question Q and the proposition X refer to some undesirable events/states) > 'I think if' > 'I fear that'. This is exemplified in the following:

- (6) a. skwum-i ha pencaphA-ni na-y cwuk-ul-**ka.sipu**-te-la
 dream-NOM very be.disorderly-as I-NOM die-pros-APPR-RETRO-DEC
 'The dreams were so disconcerting that I feared that I might die.'
 'Lit. The dreams were very disconcerting and I thought 'Will I die?''
 (EMoK 163x *Pyengcailki* 410)
- b. SINMAN-ika syaoylop-ko mwusep-ko taytyo-uy mwusAM
 [name]-NOM be.despicable-and be.scary-and king-to some
 chAMso-na hA-**ta.sipu**-key cyelchiHA-o-sy-e
 false.accusation-SEL do-APPR-MODE be.infuriated-HON-HON-and
 '[The crown prince] (increasingly) felt that Shinman was despicable and scary, and was
 angry for fear that he would make false accusations to the king, and...'
 (Lit. [The crown prince]...was in a situation that made him think, 'Shinman is
 despicable... and will make false accusations to the king,' and...'
 (EMoK 18xx *Hancwunglok* 250)

As shown in (6a), the verb *sipu*-, a variant of *siph*-, together with the preceding question marker *-ka* carries the apprehensive-marking function, with the meaning of 'I fear that'. Similarly, in (6b), the verb together with the preceding declarative marker *-ta* marks apprehensive 'for fear of'. In MoK the latter type involving a declarative is not productive, but the first type is among the most productive apprehensives (Rhee and Kuteva 2018).

2.2.4 Tentative Conation

In MoK, the verb *siph-* has become an auxiliary verb of tentative intention with a question ender *-kka*. One peculiarity of this grammatical marker is that it always involves (i) the future marker *-l-* and (ii) the first-person subject. The first characteristic is related to the fact that tentative conation is always with reference to an event in the future (cf. ‘conation’) and inherently indeterminate (cf. ‘tentative’). The second characteristic is related to the fact that the intention of a future action can be stated only when its actor is the speaker himself or herself. A minor variation of this is that it can take a non-first-person subject if it occurs in a narrative genre in which the omniscient narrator is capable of knowing the sentential subject’s mental states. Thus, the line of thought behind this development, when involving the first-person subject, is: ‘I think, ‘Will I...?’ > ‘I might as well’. This exemplified by the following:

- (7) kongsaphan-ey-lato naka-se ton pel-e o-l-**kka.siph**-ta
 construction.site-to-SEL go-CONS money earn-and come-FUT-TEN.CON-DEC
 ‘I might as well join a construction gang and make money.’ (lit. (I) think, ‘Will I go to a construction site and make money and bring it?’)
 (MoK 1999 Drama *Khaisithu* Episode #36)

In (7), the speaker, who has long been jobless and desperate to earn an income, states a tentative plan of going to a construction site and joining the construction gang in order to make money, a job often considered as the least desirable by most people. The intended action marked by the tentative conation *-kkasiph-* is indeterminate and the thinker is only entertaining the thought merely as a possibility. Thus, in reality the hearer often feels tepidity of the speaker or even insincerity of the intention and regards the utterance as strategic.

2.3 Similitive & Evaluative Connective

In MoK, the verb *siph-*, in the form of an adverbialized *siphi*, comes to function as a similitive connective, often taking a non-finite verbal form. The ‘think’ meaning of *siph-* is considerably bleached by now and its primary meaning has been changed from ‘think’ to ‘want’. The ‘want, feel like’ meaning may have prompted the acquisition of the ‘similar, comparable’ meaning. This scenario is attested in the history of the English lexeme *like*. The English *like* originated from, and is related to, OE *lic* ‘body’, OE *gelic* ‘like, similar’, OE *lician* ‘to please, be pleasing’, and in Modern English, the lexeme *like* denotes ‘like, be fond of’ as a verb, and ‘similar’ as an adjective or preposition. Thus liking and similarity are conceptually linked (Kim 2011).

- (8) minkwen-uy phal-ul cap-ko kkul-ta-**siphi** tuleo-n-ta
 [name]-GEN arm-ACC hold-and drag-INF-SIMIL enter-PRES-DEC
 ‘(He) enters the lobby holding Minkwon’s arm as if he were dragging him.’
 (MoK 1999 Drama *Kwukhuy* Episode #8)

In (8) the similitive *siphi* describes the action of the sentential subject of taking Minkwon into the lobby, likening the forcible action to dragging him. Considering that the original semantics of the

verb *siph-* is ‘think’, the simulative may be interpreted as ‘the described situation is such that it makes the observer inclined to think that’. Since the likeness in this context is based on the conceptualizer’s evaluation, the simulative is closely related to, to the extent of being often inseparable from, evaluatives with the meaning of ‘to the point of’.

Similarly, in MoK, the verb *siph-* begins to take an interjection to indicate that the situation closely resembles a situation in which such interjective utterances might well occur. For instance, the expression *acha-siph-* [INTJ-think] ‘feel like saying ‘Oh, no!’ signals the experiencer’s mental state which warrants uttering the interjection *acha* ‘Oh, no!’. This interesting type of simulative is used in sudden remembrance of something that has been forgotten or in sudden realization of the self’s inappropriate acts, usually verbal but also non-verbal.

2.4 Discourse Marker

Among the diverse functions of the grammatical forms involving the verb *siph-* in Modern Korean is that of a discourse marker (DM) in the form of *potasiphi* (< ‘as (you) see’) and *a(l)tasiphi* (< ‘as (you) know’). Note that in the case of the latter, the verb involved is *al-* ‘know’ but the ‘l’ in the coda may not be present in the DM (see 3.4 below for more discussion). These DMs signal the speaker’s solicitation of common ground. Since honorification-marking is grammatically obligatory in Korean, the verb may be marked by the subject-honorific marker *-si-*, if the implicit subject of ‘seeing’ or ‘knowing’ is a social superior, thus *positasiphi* [+HON] and *potasiphi* [-HON], and *asitasiphi* [+HON] and *atasiphi* [-HON] in contrast with honorification-modulation (cf. below, however, for deviation). The usage of these two DMs is exemplified in (9):

- (9) a. **potasiphi** choyko cemsu-lul pat-ass-ul ttay-ka 52.cem-i-pnita
 DM highest grade-ACC get-PST-PROS time-NOM 52.points-be-DEC
 ‘DM (As you see), the highest point he got was 52.’
 (MoK 2010 Drama *Kongpwuuy sin* Episode #4)
- b. **asitasiphi** ce-n mwuncey-ka manh-un kyengchal-i-ntey-yo
 DM I-TOP problem-NOM be.many-ANT police.officer-be-END-POL
 ‘DM (As you know), (sir), I’m an officer with many problems.’
 (MoK 1999 Drama *Kosuthu* Episode #12)

In (9a), the speaker, a private tutoring academy teacher, in reviewing a student’s academic records with the student’s father, indicates that the student’s math grades have been at the lowest tier throughout his high-school years, the best of which was only 52. In the scene the records are placed on the desk but since the records contain much information in dense forms, the best grade is not immediately identifiable on the part of the addressee, the consulting father. The speaker, however, says the DM *potasiphi*, which literally means ‘as you see’, as if what he is going to say were clearly visible information the addressee should have already identified from the record. One interesting aspect with this DM is that in a normal situation when the verb *po-* ‘see’ is used as a main verb in this teacher-parent consultation, the verb is expected to be marked by the subject-honorific *-si-*, i.e. *posi-*, instead of *po-* in the exemplified DM *potasiphi*. In other words, *positasiphi* is expected in the place of *potasiphi*. This is indicative of the fact that as DMs grammaticalize they tend to

depart from their typical morpho-syntactic behavior, including non-agreement, positional freedom, etc. (cf. Brinton's 1996 'pragmatic markers', Heine 2013).

Similarly, in (9b), the speaker, a police officer is speaking to his superior, a police chief, who tries to coax him not to investigate the case in which he has personal interest and offers protection and success in his career if only he agrees to comply with him. The police chief knows well about the speaker's commendable uprightness which has placed him in many problems recently. The speaker utters the DM *asitasiphi* 'as you know' as if the police chief knew very well about the speaker's problems. This in appearance signals common ground solicitation, though in a sarcastic way, as if to say 'you and I both know very well that I am a problematic officer.' A side note is that this DM contains the verb which is honorification-marked, i.e. *asi-* instead of *a-*, a state of affairs pointing to the fluctuation or variability of the DM undergoing the grammaticalization process (see 3.4 for more discussion).

3 Discussion

We have seen in the preceding discussion that the verb *siph-* has undergone a series of change in lexical meaning, grammatical functions, and discursive functions. Among a number of aspects involved in the change, we discuss some select issues, such as grammaticalization parameters, absorption from collocates, (inter)subjectification, conceptual motivation, analogy, modeling effect, and DM properties.

3.1 Grammaticalization Parameters

Diverse mechanisms and principles have been proposed in grammaticalization studies (Lehmann 1995[1982], Hopper 1991, Bybee et al. 1994, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Hopper & Traugott 2003[1993], Kuteva et al. 2019, among others). In the present discussion, we review the grammaticalization processes of *siph-* with the four parameters proposed in Heine and Kuteva (2002) and Kuteva et al. (2019), i.e. extension, erosion, decategorialization, and desemanticization

3.1.1 Extension

Extension, also called context generalization, refers to use of a grammaticalizing form in new contexts (Kuteva et al. 2019: 3). Since grammaticalization requires specific contexts to take place (Kuteva et al. 2019: 3), and thus it is a product of context-induced reinterpretation (Heine & Kuteva 2002, Rhee 2012, Kuteva et al. 2019). The use contexts of *siph-* in the course of grammaticalization have been extended over time as shown in Table 1. As a direct consequence of use context extension the functions of the forms involving *siph-* also increased as shown in Table 2. As seen in Table 2, the verb *siph-* has lost its function as a main verb, but instead has become a formant participating in many grammatical forms.

Table 1. Collocation pattern extension of *siph-*

LMK	EMoK	MoK
Interrogative Enders Exclamative Ender	Interrogative Enders Exclamative Enders Declarative Ender	Interrogative Enders Exclamative Enders Declarative Ender Infinitive Ender
Purposive Connective	Purposive Connective Conditional Connective	Purposive Connective Conditional Connective
	Dependent Noun	Dependent Nouns
		Interjections
		Free (DMs)

Table 2. Functional extension of *siph-* forms

LMK	EMoK	MoK
Verbum cogitandi (Lexical)		
Desiderative	Desiderative	Desiderative
Conjectural	Conjectural	Conjectural
Inferential	Inferential	Inferential
		Evaluative
		Similative
		Apprehensive
		Common-ground Solicitor

3.1.2 Erosion

Erosion, also called as phonetic reduction, refers to loss in phonetic substance of a grammaticalizing form (Kuteva et al. 2019: 3). As shown in the preceding exposition of the development, the verb *siph-* developed only as a component of periphrastic forms formed by the verb and its syntagmatically neighboring formants, such as the clausal speech-act marker, notably the question markers. The periphrastic forms thus created retain the formal complexity still in Modern Korean, and thus it can be said that the grammaticalization parameter erosion is applicable only to a limited extent.

However, there are two aspects that are notable in this context. The earliest desiderative form *-kocye.siph-*, one involving the purposive *-kocye*, exhibits considerable erosion in its development to *-ko.siph-*. The lexical variation of *sikpu-* and *sip-/siph-* also shows erosion from the former, but since this occurred before its grammaticalization, it may not be taken as evidence of erosion in grammaticalization. Another caveat is that the variation of the earlier *sip-* and the later *siph-* in grammaticalizing formants is not an instance of phonological strengthening counter the reductive directionality. It is only a matter of romanization of the data, i.e. ‘p’ in transcription denotes the lax bilabial stop /p/ and ‘ph’ the aspirate bilabial stop /p^h/ (Sohn 1999, Song 2005).

The other aspect with respect to erosion is that even though the phonetic erosion is not visible in orthography, *siph-* exhibits erosion in grammaticalized formants, in that it has lost phonological salience. For instance, *siph-* in grammatical formants cannot be stressed. The stress is placed on the preceding verb, i.e. the main verb, instead. Stressing *siph-* in grammatical formants renders the utterance awkward. In conclusion, erosion in the course of grammaticalization of *siph-* is not prominent but is not absent.

3.1.3 Decategorialization

Decategorialization as a grammaticalization parameter refers to loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms (Kuteva et al. 2019: 3). Since the lexeme *siph-* is a verb, it is expected to exhibit typical verbal categorial characteristics such as modifiability with an adverb, e.g. ‘deeply’, etc. or adverbial phrases or clauses, ‘for a long time’, etc.; and the ability to take an accusative-marked NP as a complement of the transitive verb, e.g. **cwukum-ul siph-* [death-ACC think] ‘think about suicide/death’, etc. Historical records, however, show that such characteristic properties are not exhibited by *siph-*, which points to the hypothesis that such loss of verbal characteristic properties must have occurred before LMK. As we have seen in the preceding discussion, grammaticalized forms are already present in LMK, and, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the earliest data written in Hangeul reflect the state of the art of the verb *siph-* only after decategorialization has considerably proceeded.

However, there is one notable development at a later stage which is a clear instance of decategorialization. We have seen in 2.3 that the verb *siph-* developed into the marker of similitive as it gets combined with an infinitive-marked verb in MoK. The acquisition of this function is only enabled by the loss of the verbal characteristic of the verb *siph-*. In other words, transitive verbs, as a general rule, as long as they remain as lexical verbs, cannot take an infinitive-marked complement. The development of similitive, thus, indicates the loss of verbal properties, i.e. decategorialization. Similarly, the verb’s ability to occur with an interjection (as listed in Table 1, and briefly discussed in 2.3), e.g. *acha-siph-* [INTJ-think] ‘feel like saying ‘Oh, no!’’, is also an instance of decategorialization of the verb *siph-*, as it is the case in Korean that verbs do not take interjections as their complements.

3.1.4 Desemanticization

Desemanticization, also called as semantic bleaching, refers to loss in meaning content (Kuteva et al. 2019: 3). As shown in the preceding exposition, the verb *siph-* has undergone much semantic change from its original meaning of ‘think’. As a matter of fact, in Modern Korean, there are few native speakers of Korean who can associate the word *siph-* with the meaning ‘think’. Many, or most, are inclined to think that *siph-* is a word, or a part of an expression, used when we want to express our desire or wish (i.e. desiderative). This strongly indicates that *siph-* is no longer a *verbum cogitandi* with the meaning of ‘think’ in contemporary Korean.

Similarly, the ‘think’ meaning is either considerably bleached in the grammatical meanings of evaluative, and apprehensive, or the meaning is nearly absent in similitive. This desemanticization process is largely due to the participating grammatical formants whose meaning strongly

influences the ‘think’ meaning of *siph-* to the point of overpowering it, and also due to the inferences that gradually led to reinterpretation of the function in which the ‘think’ meaning is overshadowed by the newly reinterpreted function.

3.2 Absorption from Collocates

Another intriguing aspect of the development of the verb *siph-* concerns the contribution of its co-occurring formants. In other words, the development shows the important role of collocations, as exemplified by the fact that the source lexeme *siph-* often forms constructions with an interrogative marker denoting the speaker-internal query (i.e., non-directed question) as the object of thought the sentential subject entertains (see 2.2.2). The explorative nature of a question, especially a self-directed question, has engendered a number of ‘thought’-related grammatical functions, such as epistemic/evidential, apprehensive, tentative conation, etc.

This state of affairs supports the ‘local context’ hypothesis of grammaticalization (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003) and the argument that what grammaticalizes is not a lexeme but a construction involving the core lexeme (Bybee et al. 1994, Kuteva et al. 2019, among others). Bybee et al. (1994) propose ‘absorption’ as one of the grammaticalization parameters, adding that this occurs typically at the late stage when the grammaticalizing form is semantically weak and cannot resist the contextual influences. Even though the notion of absorption is used in a slightly different way, the strong influence of the collocates of *siph-* as attested in its grammaticalization is a good example of how a grammaticalizing form acquires grammatical functions by absorbing the meanings of adjacent forms. In MoK, lexicographers give the semantic designations of *siph-* as ‘want’, ‘suppose’, ‘infer’, etc. but these meanings are not inherent in the verb but have been absorbed from the verb’s collocates (see Figure 1 in 3.3 below for more illustration).

3.3 (Inter)subjectification & Conceptual Motivations

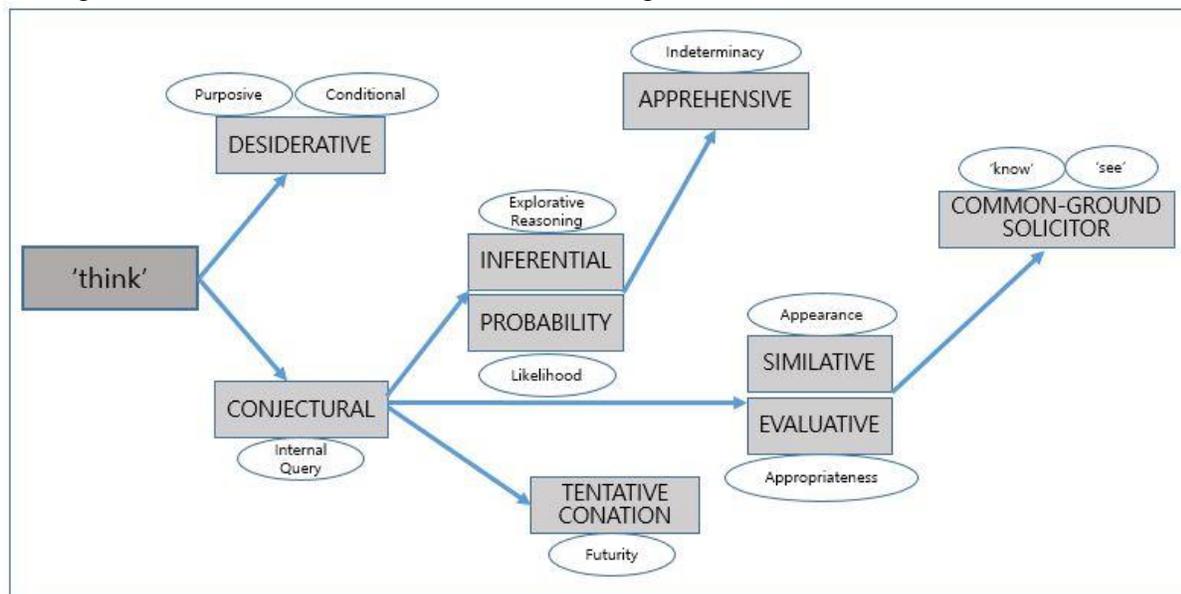
The development of *siph-* also exhibits the formative force of inference and subjectification, which enable the concept ‘think’ to extend to ‘want’, ‘like’ (desiderative); ‘intend’, ‘be inclined to do’ (tentative conation); ‘be likely’ (epistemic/evidential); ‘be similar to’ (similative); ‘to the point of’ (evaluative); ‘be afraid of’ (apprehensive), etc., which form a conceptual network along diverging strands of subjective inferences (cf. Heine et al. 1991, Stein & Wright 1995, Traugott & Dasher 2002, Davidse et al. 2010).

Furthermore, in the development of *siph-* forms into DMs, the role of intersubjectification is prominent. For instance, the development of common ground solicitation markers such as DMs *potasiphi* ‘as you see’ and *atasiphi/altasiphi* ‘as you know’ is triggered by the speaker’s intersubjectification whereby the speaker makes reference to the addressee’s cognitive states. In addition, the development of the DMs is an instance of the working of rhetorical strategies of (feigned/forced) interactivity and addressee involvement. In other words, the speaker, by using the DMs (or the precursor forms of the DMs), suggests that the addressee is in alignment with the speaker. By saying that the assertion is in line with what the addressee sees or knows, e.g. ‘as you see’ and ‘as you know’ (thus evident and unchallengeable), without the addressee’s positive

confirmation, the speaker is presupposing the validity of the claim as if it were supported by the addressee (cf. Koo 2008, Rhee 2014).

The grammatical functions of the forms involving *siph-* are the result of the interplay of the concepts associated with the verb *siph-* and its collocates and of the cumulative effect of inferences. It is for these reasons that grammatical functions often form a chain or network with neighboring functions. This can be illustrated as Figure 1, in which functional extension patterns and contributing notions from the collocates of *siph-* are graphically presented.

Figure 1. Functional extension and contributing notions from collocates



3.4 Analogy and Modeling Effect

DMs *potasiphi* 'as you see' from the verb *po-* 'see' and *altasiphi* 'as you know' from the verb *al-* 'know' are among the early attestations of the similatives involving *siph-* (from the early 20th c.). Since these forms gained positional freedom by virtue of being an adverbial, they developed into DMs. Since both of them involve verbs of perception and cognition, and are conceptually similar (cf. 'Seeing is knowing'), their uses seem to have influenced each other in argumentative contexts as a means of persuasion. In fact, the two forms are nearly interchangeable in contemporary Korean, analogous to the English (*as*) *you see* being functionally akin to (*as*) *you know*.

As briefly alluded to in 2.4, an interesting change in this respect is with the DM *altasiphi* 'as you know'. The regular form *altasiphi* 'as you see', directly formed on the verb *al-* 'know', becomes *atasiphi*, which is opaque as to the lexical base of *al-* 'know' due to the loss of /l/ from the verb. This unwarranted omission of /l/ may have been prompted by the fact that the honorific marked counterpart is *asitasiphi*, not *alsitasiphi*, a lexically-conditioned phonological change applicable to some words ending with /l/ which must be deleted when the verb is followed by /s/, /n/, /p/ (note that the honorification marker *-si-* has the onset /s/) in verb conjugation.⁴ More

⁴ Some of such verbs are *al-* 'know', *nol-* 'play', *sal-* 'live', *wul-* 'cry', *tul-* 'enter, lift', *pwul-* 'blow',

importantly, however, this could be the result of formal attraction. Even though there is no conclusive evidence, this optional omission may have been influenced by its functional relative *potasiphi*, which does not contain /l/. If this is indeed the case, this shows that a form being attracted to a well-established form may become increasingly similar to it not only in function (i.e., rhetorical common-ground solicitor) but also in form (i.e. coda-less verb form) (cf. Rhee 2014). This type of modeling effect from the trail-blazer is attested in grammaticalization elsewhere (cf. Rhee 2012).

3.5 Discourse Marker's Criterial Properties

The final issue for discussion concerns the properties of DMs. Brinton (1996) extensively lists characteristic properties of DMs ('pragmatic markers' in her terminology). Heine (2013: 1209) also lists a number of properties noting that the definition of DMs with the list of properties is 'prototypical rather than based on necessary and sufficient criteria' (see also Koo 2018 for a more comprehensive overview). In a more recent study, Heine et al. (forthcoming) list the properties by the levels of grammar as in (10):

- (10) Grammatical properties characterizing discourse markers
- a. Meaning: Their meaning is not part of the meaning of the sentence they are associated with.
 - b. Function: Their function is metatextual.
 - c. Syntax: They are not a syntactic constituent of the sentence in which they occur.
 - d. Prosody: They are likely to be set off prosodically from the rest of the sentence.
 - e. Semantic-pragmatic scope: They have scope beyond the sentence.
 - f. Placement: Depending on their function they are preferably placed at the left periphery of a sentence, less commonly at the right periphery, or within the sentence.
- (Heine et al. forthcoming)

An analysis of the two DMs shows that the above-mentioned six properties can be divided into two groups, i.e. (10a), (10c), and (10e) on the one hand and (10b), (10d) and (10f) on the other. The first group of properties are not strongly present in the development of the two DMs, whereas the second group of properties are robust in it.

With respect to the meaning of DMs (10a), the DMs *potasiphi* and *a(l)tasiphi* show that they have departed or are departing from the sentential meaning. They still bear lexical vestiges making reference to 'seeing' and 'knowing', but they are more likely to be interpreted as conceptual linkers, because they are used in contexts in which nothing is visible or there is no assurance that the addressee has the knowledge of what is to be said. The characteristic of not being a syntactic constituent (10c) is weakly applicable in that they can still function as sentential adverbs with literal meanings (in close relation to (10a)). In prototypical usage, however, the DMs, by virtue of being an adverbial, are not required constituent of the sentence. The semantic-pragmatic property (10e) is also closely related to the two properties discussed above in that the scope of the DMs can be either the sentence following them or beyond the sentence for their metatextual function (see

phwul- 'solve', *mantul*- 'make', *mel*- 'be far', *kil*- 'be long', etc.

below). These three properties, (10a), (10c), and (10e), are all weakly applicable to the DMs under our present discussion.

The other three properties are strongly manifested in the DMs *potasiphi* and *a(l)tasiphi*. In terms of the metatextual function (10b), the two DMs are indeed used as metatextual forms as indicators of common-ground solicitation, i.e. as intersubjective stance-indicators or interaction markers. The prosodic property (10d) is well exhibited by the DMs; they are set off from the rest of the sentence prosodically. When written, the prosodic separation is indicated by a comma. In terms of the placement (10f), the two DMs exhibit strong preference for the left-periphery position and their occurrence in the medial and right-periphery position is quite limited in corpus data. In sum, the three properties (10b), (10d), and (10f) are prominent with the two DMs under our discussion.

4. Summary and Conclusion

We have looked at the development of the Korean verb *siph-* ‘think’ from its earliest historical attestation in LMK. A historical investigation shows that it has undergone a series of changes across the domains of language such as lexicon, grammar, and discourse. The verb began its life with the meaning ‘think’ (subjective), which developed into periphrastic predicates of modality-marking or connectives (textual), and further to discourse markers (intersubjective).

We have also noted that the diversity of the functions of *siph-* is largely due to the diverse meanings of its collocates, an observation largely consonant with the previous arguments that grammaticalizing forms are constructions rather than lexemes (Bybee et al. 1994, Hopper & Traugott 2003[1993]). In other words, despite that much research focuses on the change of a lexeme (e.g. *go* in the futurity marker *be going to* in English), grammaticalization research must not disregard the role of participating formants, even though some participating grammatical formants may seem semantically vacuous (cf. Koo 1987). It is often the case that these very grammatical forms play crucial roles in the emergence of novel functions.

We have also noted that the developments of the verb *siph-* are largely consonant with the grammaticalization parameters, desemanticization, extension, decategorialization, and erosion, even though some of them are not prominent but subtly present. In terms of DMs, our analysis has shown that among the six definitional properties, three of them, i.e. meaning, syntax, and semantic-pragmatic scope, are weakly applicable to the two DMs, whereas the other three of them, i.e. function, prosody, and placement, are well manifested in them.

References

- Ahn, Joohoh. 2006. Syntactic characteristics of *sipta* phrase and its semantic development in Modern Korean. *Korean Semantics* 20: 371-391.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 1996. *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins, & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Cha, Hyun Sil. 1984. *Siphta*-uy uymiwa thongsakwuco [Semantics and syntactic structures of *sipta*]. *Ene* 9.2: 305-326.
- Choi, Hyoung-Kang. 1996. A study on phrasal affix in present-day Korean. MA thesis, Seoul National University.
- Chung, Hye-sun. 2010. A study on historical changes of *sipda* construction. *Emwunyenkwu* 38: 169-191.
- Davidse, Kristin, Lieven Vandelanotte, & Hubert Cuyckens (eds). 2010. *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Gang, Heung-Gu. 2000. Pocotongsa *siphta*, *pota*, *hata*-uy thongsa uymiloncek yenkwu [A syntactic-semantic study of the auxiliary verbs *siphta*, *pota* and *hata*]. *Hanemwunkyoyuk* 8: 77-100.
- Heine, Bernd. 2013. On discourse markers: Grammaticalization, pragmaticalization, or something else? *Linguistics* 51.6: 1205-1247. doi: 10.1515/ling-2013-0048.
- Heine, Bernd, Gunther Kaltenböck, Tania Kuteva, and Haiping Long. forthcoming. On the rise of discourse markers.
- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, & Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization* (revised as Kuteva et al. 2019). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ho, Kwangsu. 2000. *Siphta*-kwusenguy thongsa uymi thukcingkwa yenkyelso [Syntactic and semantic characteristics of *siphta*-constructions and the connectives]. *Kwukemwunhak* 35: 136-177.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. On some principles of grammaticalization. In: Elizabeth C. Traugott & Bernd Heine (eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization*, 2 vols. Vol. 1: 17-35. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul & Elizabeth Traugott. 2003[1993]. *Grammaticalization* (2nd ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, Eunmi. 2011. Grammaticalization of *like* in English. MA thesis, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, Korea.
- Kim, Heung Soo. 1983. *Siphta*-uy thongsa uymi thukseng [Syntactic and semantic characteristics of *sipta*]. *Kwanakemwunyenkwu* 8: 157-190.
- Kim, Keon-hee. 2008. The semantic and syntactic characteristics of *sipta*: Focused on the dependence noun + *sipta* and concluding ending + *sipta*. *Han-Geul* 280: 129-164.
- Kim, Minju. 2010. The historical development of Korean *siph-* 'to think' into markers of desire, inference, and similarity. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 1000-1016. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2009.08.010.
- Koo, Hyun Jung. 1987. Sikkuth *-a*, *-key*, *-ci*, *ko*-uy ssuimkwa uymi [The usage and meaning of suffixes, *-a*, *-key*, *-ci*, and *-ko*]. *Konkuk Emwunhak* 11-12: 167-188.
- Koo, Hyun Jung. 2008. Grammaticalization of negation markers in Korean. *Discourse and Cognition* 15.1: 1-27.
- Koo, Hyun Jung. 2018. Hankwuke tamhwaphyoci yenkwuuy tonghyangkwa cenmang [Research trends and prospect of Korean discourse markers]. In: Yong-Kwon Shin (ed.), *Hankwuke yenkwuuy saylowun hulum* [New Research Trends of Korean], 221-255. Seoul: Pakijong Publishing.

- Koo, Hyun Jung & Seongha Rhee. 2013. On an emerging paradigm of sentence-final particles of discontent: A grammaticalization perspective. *Language Sciences* 37: 70-89. doi: 10.1016/j.langsci.2012.07.002.
- Kuteva, Kuteva, Tania, Bernd Heine, Bo Hong, Haiping Long, Heiko Narrog & Seongha Rhee. 2019. *World lexicon of grammaticalization* (2nd revised ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Yeong-gyeong. 2005. A study on diachronic changes of *sipda* construction. *Hankwukmwunhwa* 35: 1-25.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1995[1982]. *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. Newcastle: Lincom Europa.
- Rhee, Seongha. 1996. *Semantics of verbs and grammaticalization: The development in Korean from the cross-linguistic perspective*. Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin. Seoul: Hankook Publisher.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2012. Context-induced reinterpretation and (inter)subjectification: The case of grammaticalization of sentence-final particles. *Language Sciences* 34.3: 284-300. doi: 10.1016/j.langsci.2011.10.004.
- Rhee, Seongha. 2014. "I know you are not, but if you were asking me": On emergence of discourse markers of topic presentation from hypothetical questions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 60: 1-16. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2013.10.005.
- Rhee, Seongha & Hyun Jung Koo. 2015. Analogy-driven inter-categorical grammaticalization and (inter)subjectification of *-na* in Korean. *Lingua* 166: 22-42. doi: 10.1016/j.lingua.2015.08.007.
- Rhee, Seongha & Hyun Jung Koo. 2017. Audience-blind sentence-enders in Korean: A discourse-pragmatic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics* 120: 101-121. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2017.09.002.
- Rhee, Seongha & Tania Kuteva. 2018. Apprehensive markers in Korean. Paper presented at the Workshop on Apprehensive Markers, the 51st Annual Meeting of Societas Linguistica Europaea, Tallinn University, Estonia, August 29-September 1, 2018.
- Sohn, Ho-min. 1999. *The Korean language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Song, Jae Jung. 2005. *The Korean language: Structure, use and context*. London: Routledge.
- Stein, Dieter & Susan Wright (eds.) 1995. *Subjectivity and subjectivisation: Linguistic Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth & Richard Dasher 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Won, Su-Yeun. 2012. A study syntactically on the structure of *sipta*. MA thesis, Korea University.
- Yang, Ji-Hyeon. 2018. A study on the sentence construction of *-(eu)lkka ha-/sip-/bo-*. *Paytalmal* 62: 25-47.

