An Emergent Category of Interpersonal Modal Endings in Korean

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1. Introduction[1]

In Korean, there are a series of pseudo suffixes that are relatively recent innovations as emergent sentence endings. These endings share many syntactic, semantic-pragmatic, and discourse functions.[2] For example, all of them occur mainly in casual interpersonal speech. All of them denote an intimate speech level (by default) when they occur without being followed by another speech-level element such as the politeness particle 요 *yo*.

Such emergent modal endings are used very productively in daily conversational interaction, more frequently than canonical endings, as observed in the following made-up but natural conversation between two Korean interractants of equal status. A drives the car, guiding B, who looks for a suitable restaurant to have dinner with A. Emergent modal endings (hereafter EMEs) are underlined. Sentence-final boundary tones (or intonation contours) are marked roughly as 〜 (rising-falling), ↘ (falling), and ↗ (rising).[3]

(1) A: 이 근방에 괜찮은 인도 음식점이 하나 있<u>는데</u>요. 〜
      i   kunpang ey kwaynchanh-un Into   umsikcem i   hana iss-<u>nuntey</u>-yo. 〜
      this area   at   decent-RL   Indian restaurant NM a   exist-EME-POL
      'There is a pretty good Indian restaurant in this area NUNTEY-YO.'

   B: 근데 전 아직 인도 음식은 좀 입에 맞지 않<u>거든</u>요. 〜
      kuntey ce-n   acik Into   umsik un com ip   ey mac-ci   anh-<u>ketun</u>-yo. 〜
      BTW   I-TC yet   Indian   food TC a.bit mouth to fit-NOM   not.do-EME-POL
      'By the way, somehow Indian food is still not to my liking KETUN-YO.'

      혹 일식집은 없<u>을까</u>요? ↗
      hok   ilsik   cip   un eps-<u>ulkka</u>-yo? ↗
      by.any.chance   Japanese   house TC non.exist-EME-POL
      'I wonder if by any chance there is a Japanese restaurant ULKKA-YO.'

      전 일식이 괜찮<u>더라구</u>요. ↘
      ce-n   il-sik   i   kwaynchanh-te-<u>lakwu</u>-yo. ↘

I-TC   Japanese-style   NM   pretty.good-RT-EME-POL
'I kind of like Japanese food LAKWU-YO.'

A. 조금 더 나가면 있을걸요. ↗
    cokum   te   naka-myen   iss-<u>ulkel</u>-yo. ↗
    a.little   more   go.out-if   exist-EME-POL
    'If we drive a little further, we will find a few ULKEL-YO.'

    좀 더 나가 볼게요. ↘
    com   te   naka-po-<u>lkey</u>-yo. ↘
    a.little   more   go.out-try-EME-POL
    'Let me drive a litter further LKEY-YO.'

B. 번거롭지 않으실른지요. ↘
    penkelop-ci   anh-usi-<u>llunci</u>-yo. ↘
    inconvenient-NOM   not.be-SH-may-EME-POL
    'I am afraid I am causing inconvenience to you LLUNCI-YO.'

A. 번거롭다니요, 〜 전혀요. ↘
    penkelop-<u>tani</u>-yo?! 〜   cenhye-yo. ↘
    inconvenient-EME-POL   not.at.all-POL
    'Inconvenient TANI-YO?! Not at all!'

B. 그럼 좀 더 나가 보실래요? ↗
    kulem   com   te   naka-po-si-<u>llay</u>-yo. ↗
    then   a.little   more   go.out-try-SH-EME-POL
    'Then, would you drive a little further LLAY-YO?'

A. 그러죠. ↘
    kule-<u>ci</u>-yo. ↘
    do.so-EME-POL.
    'Certainly I will CI-YO.'

All the underlined parts in (1) are EMEs in question. None of them are canonical endings that indicate six speech levels (deferential, polite, blunt, familiar, intimate, plain) in four sentence types (declarative, interrogative, imperative, propositive) (e.g., H. Sohn 1999/2001: 269-71).[4)] Furthermore, notice that all EMEs appear in sentence-final positions, immediately before the politeness particle *yo*, if there is one; that their sentence types are generally declarative or interrogative but pragmatically ambiguous among statement, question, suggestion, and request; that their meanings are the speaker's modality toward the addressee; that the modal meanings are largely polysemic, context-sensitive, and not easy to precisely define; and that they do not change the truth value of the propositional contents.

Only some approximate meanings can be given to each EME. Thus, the EME *-(n)untey* is somewhat equivalent to English 'well, you know, I think, what do you think?, what shall we do?, but/and 〜, . . .' depending on speech contexts.

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4) For example, the canonical ending –다 *-ta* denotes both the plain speech level and the declarative sentence type and the canonical ending –세 *–sey* denotes both the familiar speech level and the propositive sentence type, while the canonical ending –습니까 *–supnikka* denotes both the deferential speech level and the interrogative sentence type. On the other hand, the canonical endings –오 *–o* (blunt speech level), –어/아 *-e/a* (intimate speech level), and –어요/아요 *–e.yo/a.yo* (polite speech level) are used to refer to all sentence types, differentiated by intonation, context, and the speaker's intent.

It contains a trailing note, implicitly inviting the addressee's reaction to the speaker's utterance of the propositional content. The EME –*ketun* refers to the speaker's providing a mild justification, a reason, or a clarification for a past or prospective action, event, or state of affairs, equivalent roughly to English 'that's why, you know what, in fact, truly, just, . . .'. The EME –*ulkka* indicates the speaker's mild question or wondering "I wonder . . ., do you by any chance think whether . . .?, shall we . . .?, would you . . .?'. The EME –*lakwu* or -*lako* roughly means 'I casually report that . . ., I am saying that . . ., I assure you that . . .'. The EME –*ulkkel* refers to the speaker's conjecture 'I guess, I think, I am pretty sure' with a rising intonation and the speaker's regret 'I should have . . .' with a falling intonation. The EME –*ulkey* indicates the speaker' willingness or promise to do an action, 'I will, I am willing to, I promise, I assure you that I will . . .'. The EME –*ullunci* refers to the speaker's mild worry, anxiety, or concern about a future or past action, event or state of affairs, 'I am kind of worried/concerned that . . ., I am afraid that . . .'. The EME –*tani* indicates the speaker's denial of what the interlocutor has just said, 'I don't think so, quite the contrary, far from it, not at all, what you said is not true'. The EME –*ullay* refers to the speaker's (in statement) or hearer's (in question) determination or intention to do an action ('I'm willing to . . ., I am going to . . ., I would like to . . ., I intend to . . ., would you like to . . .'). Finally, the EME –*ci* refers to the speaker's suggestion, assurance, belief, or commitment with a falling or rising-falling intonation and the speaker's supposition or suspect with a rising intonation.

There are a number of questions regarding why EMEs appear so productively in coversation, what their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic functions are, where they came from and how, what kinds of underlying universal principles there are to explicate all their occurrences and functions, and what kind of grammatical category or paradigm can be established to embrace such EMEs in Korean. The aim of this paper is to address all these questions, with the objective to provide a unified account of the linguistic properties of all Korean EMEs.

The overall descriptive framework on which my proposals and arguments are based is grammaticalization theories that have transpired during the past forty years (e.g., Traugott 1982; Lehmann 1985, 1995; Hopper 1991; Traugott & Heine 1991; Bybee, J.L. & P. Hopper 2002; Traugott, E.C. and R.B. Dasher. 2002; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Davidse, Vandelanotte & Cuyckens 2010; Narrog & Heine 2011). This paper refers to a number of universal concepts, principles, and hypotheses that have been proposed to explicate the genesis of new grammatical forms and categories from existing elements and constructions. One proposal particularly relevant to the present discussion is in regard to (inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification, as quoted below:

> One branch of my own work over the twenty-five years since the publication of Traugott (1982) has been to study the semanticization over time of subjectivity, understood as relationship to the speaker and the speaker's beliefs and attitudes, and of intersubjectivity, understood as relationship to the addressee and addressee's face. I have called the diachronic process of semanticization "(inter)subjectification", . . . (Traugott 2010: 29-30)

There are a large number of works by Korean linguists that deal with various aspects of individual EME items. Some representative works include:

-(ㄴ) 은데 (요): 이기동 (1979), 이은경 (1999), Y Park (1999, 2006), 하치근 (2003), 조민하 (2011)
-거든 (요): 구현정 (1989), 이해영 (1996), 채영희 (1998), Y Park (1998), 신지연 (2000), 구현정・이성하 (2001), M Park & S Sohn (2011)
-다고 (요): 방운규 (1995), 유현경 (2002), 김흥법 (1987), 방성원 (2004), S Rhee (2007)

-다니 (요), -다면서 (요), -단다 , -다니까 (요): H Sohn (1978), 김홍범 (1987), 이금희 (2006)
-더라고 (요): H Sohn (1999), Yuen (2003)
-지 (요), -(ㄴ) 은지 (요): 서정수 (1994), H Lee (1999), 허웅 (2000), 하치근 (2006)
-을걸 (요): 강현화 (2008), 권영은 (2008), 최동주 (2009)
-잖아 (요): Kawanishi (1993), Kawanishi & S Sohn (1993), Ju & S Sohn (2011)

Since my main objective is to present a unified account of the genesis of EMEs and linguistic and discourse functions common to all EMEs, discussions on individual items are only illustrative. Readers are referred to the above and other works for detailed studies of individual EME items.

2. Discourse function of EMEs

As observed in (1), all EMEs occur mainly in casual conversational interactions which call for effective sustenance of interpersonal relations. EMEs are instrumental in effectively performing the interactional function, and not the transactional function of language. For this reason, EMEs are predominantly used in the interpersonal mode of communication such as daily interactions, telephone, on-line, and face-to-face conversations, and rarely in the presentational mode of communication such as news reports, lectures, scholarly books and journals, and newspaper articles where interpersonal relations between the speaker/writer and the general public are marginal. In formal letters, which are more or less of the presentational mode, use of EMEs is minimal, as illustrated in the e-mail message in (2), which I received from a professor in Korea when I was in Fukuoka, Japan in May, 2012. Only one EME (underlined) appears, while the deferential canonical ending (bold-faced) is predominant.

(2) 손호민 선생님께,
두 분께서 큐슈에 계신지는 몰랐**습니다**. 저도 몇 일 전에 도쿄에 볼 일이 있어서 잠시 다녀왔**습니다**. 큐슈에서 사모님과 편안하고 즐거운 시간 보내시다가 서울에 무사히 오시길 기원 **드립니다**. 마침 집사람도 6월 중순 경 서울에 잠시 오게 되어 있으니 함께 뵈러 가도록 하겠**습니다**. 집사람도 선생님과 사모님을 서울에서 뵐 수 있게 되었다고 아주 기뻐하고 있**습니다**. 그럼 21일 목요일 저녁 6:00 경 숙소로 모시러 가겠**습니다**. 그런데 서울에는 어느 호텔에 머무실 예정이<u>신지요</u>? 감사**합니다**. YKW 올림

'Dear Professor Ho-min Sohn,

I was not aware that you and Mrs. Sohn are in Kyusu SUPNITA. I myself made a short business trip to Tokyo a few days ago SUPNITA. I pray that you and Mrs. Sohn make a safe trip to Seoul after having an enjoyable time in Kyushu PNITA. As it so happened that my wife is scheduled to come back to Seoul for a while in the middle of June, we will visit you in Seoul SUPNITA. My wife was very happy to hear that she could see you two in Seoul SUPNITA. We will pick you up at your hotel on Thursday, the 21st, at 6:00 p.m. SUPNITA. By the way, may I ask which hotel you would plan to stay at in Seoul NCIYO?
Thank you PNITA.
Respectfully, YKW'

Notice in (2) that all sentence endings used are the canonical declarative ending in the deferential speech level, except one in the last part of the letter. This exceptional ending is the EME –는지요 –*(n)unciyo* 'I wonder . . ., may I ask . . .', which is used to convey a polite indirect question. This ending is pronounced with only a falling intonation in

spoken communication, indicating that it is not a straightforward question which might impair the addressee's negative face (Goffman 1967, Brown and Levinson 1987). Asking for information indirectly using an EME in the polite speech level sounds politer than the direct canonical question ending in the deferential speech level, such as **어느 호텔에 머 므실 예정이십니까**? *enu hothel ey memu-si-l yeyceng i-si-pnikka?* 'Which hotel would you plan to stay at?' Since the indirect speech act asking for information invites the addressee's answer albeit indirectly, the sentence is regarded as an interpersonal mode of communication. All the other sentences in the letter are essentially presentational in that the writer reports what he feels, felt, thinks, thought, does, did, or will do.

Thus, I propose that the major discourse function of Korean EMEs is to effectively carry on interactional discourse in casual contexts. EMEs mitigate illocutionary force, contributing to politeness and solidarity building to a great extent in casual interaction. In an asymmetrical interaction and/or in formal conversations, as between a company employee and his president, a social superior is relatively free to use EMEs but a lower person must be careful about choosing appropriate EMEs toward his or her superior, as some EMEs connote a high level of casualness and informality.

3. Genesis of EMEs

Contemporary EMEs are rarely found in Middle Korean data. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that they are relatively recent innovations. Then, where did they come from? There are many pieces of morpho-syntactic evidence that all EMEs have diachronically developed from complex sentence constructions. I propose that, essentially, two basic types of evolution are operative: (a) main-clause omission and (b) smain clause compression, the former being more productive in Korean. Let us examine the first type in 3.1 – 3.3 and the second type in 3.4.

3.1 Evidence of diachronic main-clause omission

A large number of EMEs are assumed to have developed from subordinate clauses with the unrecoverable omission of the co-occurring main clauses. One may wonder what kinds of solid evidence there are to claim that EMEs originated from subordinate clause constructions following diachronic main clause omission. I would like to advance the following several pieces of evidence in support of this claim.

First, all the EMEs of the main-clause omission type have their counterparts in subordinate clauses in contemporary Korean. Notice in (3) that the counterparts (bold-faced) in subordinate clauses have meanings similar or related to those of the corresponding EMEs in (1).

(3)　a. 비가 오는데 갈까요? ↗

　　　*pi　　ka　　o-**nuntey**　　ka-l　　kka　　yo? ↗*
　　　rain　NM　come-while　go-PRS　Q　　POL
　　　'Shall we/I go despite the rain?'

　　 b. **비가 안 오거든 오세요**. ↘

　　　*pi　　ka　　an　　o-**ketun**　　o-sey-yo. ↘*
　　　rain　NM　not　come-if　　come-SH-POL
　　　'Please come provided that it does not rain.'

c. 비가 올까 싶어요. ↘

   pi   *ka*   *o-l-kka*   *siph-eyo.* ↘

   rain   NM   come-PRS-whether   think-POL

   'I am afraid it may rain.'

d. 비가 오더라고 했어요. ↘

   pi   *ka*   *o-te-la*   *ko*   *hay-ss-eyo.* ↘

   rain   NM   come-RT-DC   QT   say-PST-POL

   '(I/Somebody) said he/she saw it raining.'

e. 비가 올걸 몰랐어요? ↗

   pi   *ka*   *o-l*   *ke*   *l*   *moll-ass-eyo?* ↗

   rain   NM   come-PRS fact AC not.know-PST-POL

   'Didn't you know that it would rain?'

f. 비가 올지 누가 알아요. ↘

   pi   *ka*   *o-l-ci*   *nwu*   *ka* *al-ayo.* ↘

   rain   NM   come-PRS-if   who   NM know-POL

   'Who would know whether it will rain?'

g. 비가 온다 (고하) 니 안 가겠어요. ↘

   pi   *ka*   *o-n-ta*   *(ko*   *ha)-ni*   *an* *ka-keyss-eyo.* ↘

   rain   NM   come-IN-DC QT   say-because not go-will-POL

   'Because (they) say it is raining, I won't go.'

h. 비가 오지 않아요? ↗

   pi   *ka*   *o-ci*   *an* *h-ayo?* ↗

   rain   NM   come-NOM not do-POL

   'Isn't it raining?'

The coexistence of the identical or similar forms with similar meanings in two different syntactic functions is strong evidence that both derived from the same source (A > B, C) or one diverged from the other, as per Hopper's (1991) principle of "divergence" (A > A, B). The direction in the case of divergence must have been from subordinate elements to EME's as per the principle of unidirectionality in grammaticalization. Subordinate elements generally have referential or textual meanings, whereas EMEs, as sentence endings, have subjectified and intersubjectified meanings that are abstract and expressive, indicating the speaker's modality toward the addressee. It is a generally accepted thesis among grammaticalization scholars that semantic and pragmatic changes are unidirectional from basic, usually concrete, literal and objective meanings to gradually more metaphorically and metonymically extended abstract, subjective meanings. EMEs are typical cases of subjectification and intersubjectification (e.g., Traugott 1982, 2010; Hopper and Traugott 2003; Davidse, Vandelanotte & Cuyckens 2010).

A second piece of evidence is that, while none of the EMEs in question developed prior to the corresponding subordinate-clause elements, there are ample research findings indicating that EMEs appeared later (e.g., 이현희 1982; 고영진 1997; 김태엽 1998, 2000; 구현정 · 이성하 2001; 안주호 2003; 하치근 2003, 2006). This suggests that, due to the unrecoverable omission of main clauses, the ending parts of subordinate clauses were grammaticalized and upgraded to main clause endings as EMEs.

A third piece of evidence that the innovated EMEs have developed from subordinate clause elements is that EMEs and the corresponding subordinate elements share some morpho-syntactic constraints. For example, both the EMEs and subordinate clause elements can take only the polite-level particle 요 *yo*. Note that the particle *yo* can occur after all major constituents, if politeness is intended. No other speech-level endings can come after the EMEs of the main-clause omission type, in the same way as after subordinate clause elements. Observe the examples in (4).

(4) a. 비가 오는데 (요) 배가 떠날까요 ? ↗
     pi   *ka*   *o-nuntey(-yo)*   *pay*   *ka*   *ttena-lkka-yo?* ↗
     rain   NM   come-while-POL   boat   NM   depart-EME-POL

    b. * 비가 오는뎁니다 배가 떠날깝니까 ? ↗
     *pi   *ka*   *o-nuntey(-p-ni-ta)*   *pay*   *ka*   *ttena-lkka-p-ni-kka?* ↗
     rain   NM   come-while-POL   boat   NM   depart-EME-AH-IN-Q

Shared syntactic constraints indicate that EMEs are recent innovations which still retain their original syntactic, semantic, and morphological properties, as per Hopper's (1991) principle of "persistence" in incipient grammaticalization.

One final piece of evidence is that all EMEs of the main clause omission type are used only as an intimate-level ending when they are not followed by the politeness particle *yo*. When they are followed by *yo*, their intimate speech level becomes defunct and, together with *yo*, they function as polite-level endings. This behavior is the same as the canonical intimate ending –어/아 –*e/a*, in that this ending also becomes defunct in terms of speech level before *yo*, becoming no more than a phonological fragment (as the first vowel) of the polite-level ending –어요/아요 –*e.yo/a.yo*. For example, 이 그림 좋아 (요) *i kulim coh-a(-yo)* 'this picture is good' and 이 그림 좋은데 (요) *i kulim coh-untey(-yo)* 'I think this picture is good, (I wonder what you think?)' are equivalent in terms of speech levels. Utterances with an intimate level ending is popularly called "half-talk" (반말 *pan mal*) in Korean, in that the utterance is understood as incomplete as to speech levels, as it is neither a deferential (e.g., *-supnita*) or polite (e.g., *-e.yo/a.yo*) level, nor a plain (e.g., *-ta*) or familiar (e.g., *-ney*) level. The fact that EMEs are incomplete 'half talk' endings suggest that they were originally not sentence-final elements but developed from non-final positions. As an SOV, head-final, honorific language, Korean indexes speech levels in sentence-final positions. But EMEs do not inherently mark a fixed speech level but are contextually determined, suggesting that they diverged from subordinate clause sources. Notice in (5) that B's response only with a subordinate clause is perceived as an intimate level without *yo* and as a polite level with *yo*.

(5) A: 언제 미아를 봤니 ? ↘
       encey   Mia   lul   po-ass-ni
       when   Mia   AC   see-PST-Q
       'When did you see Mia?'

    B: 학교에 가면서 (요). ↘
       hakkyo   ey   ka-myense(-yo)
       school   to   go-while-POL
       '(I saw her) on the way to school.'

The canonical intimate ending –*e/a* also originated from the conjunctive suffix (often called an infinitive suffix) whose basic function is to connect two predicates, as in 걸어가다 *kel-**e** kata* (walk-*e* go) 'go walking' and 잡아먹다 *cap-**a** mekta* (catch-*a* eat) 'catch and eat'. Like an EME, the canonical intimate ending -*e/a* came into being with the deletion of the second predicate. This fact further supports the thesis that the sources of the EMEs of the main clause omission type were subordinate clauses.

3.2 Grammaticalization processes

In contemporary Korean, main clauses, as well as other major constituents, are extensively omitted in conversation when they are uniquely recoverable from the given discourse contexts or speech situations. For example, observe the dialogue in (6).

(6) A: **일하러 안 가니?** ↗
         ilha-le   an   ka-ni? ↗
         work-to not go-Q
         'Aren't (you) going to work?'

     B: **비가 개면요.** ↘
         pi   ka   kay-myen yo. ↘
         rain   NM   clear.up-if POL
         '(I will) when it stops raining.'

A can easily recover B's omitted main clause content as 가요 *ka-yo*. The main clause omission which is recoverable from contexts in this way is a synchronic process. In this case, no grammaticalization is involved. The (B) construction is still perceived as a conjunctive clause, with the unexpressed main clause content understood. Thus, no structural or meaning change has taken place in the conjunctive suffix –면 –*myen* 'if'.

Grammaticalization processes such as structural reanalysis, semantic-pragmatic shift, phonological attrition, and analogical spread are activated when repeated omission of unrecoverable main clauses is conventionalized, leaving no syntactic trace. For example, observe (7).

(7) A: **일하러 안 가니?** ↗
         ilha-le   an ka-ni? ↗
         'Aren't you going to work?'

     B: **비가 많이 오는데요.** 〜
         pi   ka   manhi   o-nuntey-yo. 〜
         rain   NM   much   come-EME-POL
         'Well, it's raining a lot, so . . .'
         (I won't go; I may not go; I will go later; how can I go?; what shall I do? . . .)

Notice in (7B) that no main clause is uniquely recoverable. The omitted main clause can have various pragmatic meanings, as illustrated in the parentheses. The speech situation might give some hints as to the exact content of the omitted main clause that the speaker may have intended, but syntactically such a clause cannot be uniquely recoverable

due to the opacity. If native speakers intentionally or habitually continue to omit a certain type of main clause in certain local contexts for some reason, then language-internal grammaticalization processes tend to be activated to upgrade the subordinate clause to the status of a main clause. Grammaticalization, including structural reanalysis and semantic-pragmatic shift, takes place in the clause-final position to generate an EME, because a main clause or an independent sentence in Korean requires a sentence ending. As an agglutinative, SOV order, and head-final language, Korean requires utterance-final positions to be the speaker's territory of TAMs (tense-aspect-modality). Grammaticalization in that position involves subjectification and/or intersubjectification, with the speaker's stance as the core. Let us observe the EME –는데 *–(n)untey* as an example. It was created via the following simplified grammatical processes:

Stage 1: relative clause construction -(ㄴ)은 데에 *–(n) tey ey* (R place in/at/to) 'in/at/to the place where . . .'
Stage 2: conjunctive suffix -(ㄴ)은데 *–(n)untey* [occurs in a subordinate clause] 'while, in the circumstance that . . ., given that . . .'
Stage 3: EME –(ㄴ)은데 *-(n)untey* [occurs in a main clause]

All three stages coexist in contemporary Korean, which indicates that the stage 2 form diverged (or split) from the stage 1 construction, and the stage 3 form diverged from the stage 2 form. This phenomenon is in accord with the principle of morpho-syntactic and semantic unidirectionality (e.g., Hopper & Traugott 2003) and the principle of divergence (Hopper 1991): A > A/B; B > B/C. It is also in accord with Traugott's (1982) proposed formula of semantic change: propositional > textual > expressive.

데 *tey* is a bound place noun requiring a relative clause. This place noun underwent a metonymic extension to mean time or circumstance 'while, as, circumstance' per the principle of unidirectional semantic abstraction or pragmatic inferencing (e.g., place > circumstance/time > quality). Thus, expressions like (8) illustrate where stage 2 (textual meaning) could diverge from stage 1 (referential meaning) through frequent omission of main clauses after *–(n)untey* (cf. Bybee & Hopper 2002 for the frequency principle).
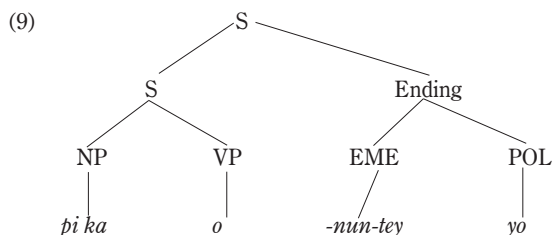
(8) 비 오는 데(에) 가지 마. ↘
  pi o-nun tey (ey) ka-ci ma. ↘
  rain come-R place to go-NOM stop.IMP
  i. 'Don't go to the place where it rains.'
  ii. 'Don't go while/as it is raining.'

Stage 2 developed from stage 1 through (a) loss of word boundary between -(ㄴ)은 and 데, (b) deletion of the place particle 에, (c) decategorization of the relativizer -(ㄴ)은 and the noun 데 to become a conjunctive suffix with the meaning of 'given that, while, in the circumstance that' per the principle of decategorization (Hopper 1991). Stage 3 developed from stage 2, motivated by massive main clause omission. In this stage, the EME coded the speaker's subjectivity and intersubjectivity, with various connotative or pragmatic meanings such as 'I wonder what to do, what shall we do?, what would you like me to do'. Thus, the sentence in stage 3 may be schematically shown in (9).

(9)

```
                    S
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
          S                 Ending
     ┌────┴────┐         ┌────┴────┐
    NP         VP       EME       POL
     |          |        |         |
   pi ka        o     -nun-tey    yo
```

Let us examine another set of EMEs consisting of a canonical sentence-type ending (declarative *-ta, -la,* interrogative *–(nu)nya,* propositive *-ca,* or imperative *-ula*) and the quotative particle (QT) *ko/kwu.* In contemporary Korean, the bare quotative particle *ko* is widely used in two contexts, one in response to an echo-question, as in (10a), and the other as an EME with a sentence type ending, as in (10b).

(10) a. A: 용호가 뭐라고 했어요? ↘
    *Yongho ka   mwue-la   **ko** hay-ss-eyo?* ↘
    Yongho NM   what-be.DC   QT say-PST-POL
    'What did Yongho say?'

    B: 비가 오더라고요. ↘
    *pi   ka   o-te-la   **ko**   yo.* ↘
    rain   NM   come-IN-DC QT   POL
    '(He said) he saw it raining.'

  b. A: 하와이 날씨는 어땠어요? ↘
    Hawaii nalssi   nun   ettay-ss-eyo? ↘
    Hawaii weather TC   be.how-PST-POL
    'How was the weather in Hawaii?'

    B. 비가 오더라고요. ↘
    *pi   ka   o-te-**lako**-yo.* ↘
    rain   NM   come-QT-EME-POL
    'I saw it raining, you know.'

In (10aB), the main clause verb of saying (*hay-ss* 'said') is understood and thus *ko* functions as an indirect quotative particle, whereas in (10bB), no such a uniquely recoverable verb can be posited. Sentences with –더라고 *–te-lako* are frequently used in casual interpersonal discourse to narrate or report the speaker's own personal experience and observation in a casual and polite way.

It is assumed that, due to the repeated main clause omission in *ko* constructions in conversation, the omission became gradually conventionalized, making the main clause unrecoverable and orphaning the quotative particle *ko* in the utterance-final position. Thus, the orphaned *ko* gradually coalesced with the preceding sentence-type ending, as per Lehmann's (1985) principle of "coalescence", to become an EME through structural reanalysis (e.g., changing a word boundary to a morpheme boundary, decategorizing a quotative particle to a modal suffix) and semantic-pragmatic shift (e.g., subjectification and intersubjectification). Thus, while the main clause predicate (e.g., 하 *-ha-* 'say') after –*la ko* (DC QT) can take any person, the grammaticalized EME –*lako* has encoded only the speaker as an abstract subject in the sense of 'I REPORT THAT'. Furthermore, due to the frequent use of *-lako* with the preceding retrospective suffix –

te, the sequence *–te-lako* behaves like an extended EME to refer to the speaker's mild narration or report of his or her own experience or observation. Notice that the innovated EME retains the reportive meaning inherited from the omitted predicate, as per Hopper's (1991) principle of persistence.

Naturally, we have no way of knowing who originated such innovations, where and when. We also do not know exactly what specific subordinate and main clauses were actually involved in initiating the innovations. All we know is that most of them are relatively recent innovations in varying degrees of maturity. Based on the above-mentioned assumptions, I propose the formula (11) to account for the unrecoverable main clause omission that triggers the genesis of EMEs.

(11)   [SCx + MCy] → [SCx] > [MCx (-yo)]
       Where SC = subordinate clause; MC = main clause

The formula (11) states that a main clause (MC) in a complex sentence construction is synchronically and recoverably omitted in discourse. If main clause omission becomes habitual and conventional after a certain type of subordinate construction, and thus no main clause is synchronically recoverable, the subordinate clause construction involved becomes gradually restructured as a main clause. In this gradual diachronic process that changes a subordinate construction to a main one, various single or complex elements that end the subordinate construction become an EME through grammatical reanalysis and semantic-pragmatic shifts, optionally followed by phonological attrition. Once reanalyzed as a new grammatical morpheme, the generated EME spreads analogically and is suffixed productively to various sentences as endings, as illustrated in (1). The innovated EME may be optionally followed by the politeness particle *–yo* if the addressee deserves the speaker's normative or strategic politeness.

3.3 Subclasses of the main clause omission type

In (1), all but –을게 *–ulkey* and –을래 *–ullay* are EMEs of the main clause omission type. Although all EMEs have similar grammatical and discourse functions in present-day Korean, they have developed from multiple structural sources, as reflected in their morphological structures. Based on the structural features of their source constructions, I propose the following three subclasses of the main clause omission type. Some additional EMEs are introduced in the list as well. Yet, the list is not exhaustive.

(a)   Relative-head type: the EMEs that have developed from relative clause constructions consisting of a relativiser and a noun phrase. The head of a noun phrase is usually a bound noun:

    -을지 ↘ *-ulci* < *-ul ci* (PRS assumed.fact) 'whether one will . . .'
    -(ㄴ) 은지 ↘ *-(n)unci* < *-(n)un ci* (IN assumed.fact) '(I wonder) whether/what/who/where/. . .'
    -(ㄴ) 은가 ↗ *-(n)unka* < *-(n)un ka* (IN whether) '(may I ask) WH one does/is . . .'
    -을까 ↗ *-ulkka* < *-ul kka* (PRS whether) '(may I ask) WH one will . . .'
    -을걸 ↗ 'I think . . .'; *-ulkel* < *-ul kes ul* (PRS fact AC) 'the fact that will . . .'
    -을걸 / 을것을 ↘ *-ulke(su)l* 'I should have . . .' < *-ul kes ul* (PRS fact AC) 'the fact that will . . .'

(b)   Conjunctive type: the EMEs that have developed from conjunctive suffixes with semantic shift, usually without for-

mal change:

-거든〜 -ketun < -ketun 'provided that, if, while, given that, on the condition that . . .'
-고 / 구↘ –ko/kwu 'by the way, as well, also, . . .' < -ko/kwu 'and'
-나↗ –na 'I wonder . . .' < -na 'whether, or'
-으려고↗ –lyeko 'would you like to . . .?' < -lye ha-ko (intend do-and) 'intending to . . .'
-을라 (고) ↘ –ulla(ko) 'I am afraid, be careful . . .' < -lye ha-ko (will do-and) 'be about to . . .'
-다니〜 -tani < -ta ko ha-ni (DEC QT say-as) 'as one says that . . .'

-다면서↗ –tamyense? 'I heard ~ is that true?' < -ta ko ha-myense (DC QT say-while) 'saying that . . .'
-다니까↗ –tanikka 'I told you that . . .' < -ta ko ha-nikka (DC QT say-because) 'because one says that . . .'
-(ㄴ) 은데〜 -(n)untey <-(n)untey 'given that' < -(n)un tey ey (R place at) 'at/in/to the place where'

(c)   Nominalizer type: the EMEs that have developed from a nominalizer:

-지↘ -ci < -ci (NOM) '(not) that, (not) to' (requires a negative word (ani 'not', mos 'unable', ma(l) 'don't')
-기는↘ –kinun 'indeed, . . ., not at all' < -ki nun (NOM TC) 'regarding that . . .'

(d)   Quotative type: EMEs that have developed from quotative constructions:

-더라고↘ –te-lako < -te-la ko (-RT-DC QT) '(say) that one saw/experienced that . . .'
-(ㄴ/는) 다고/라고↘ –(n/nun)tako/lako 'I assure you' < -(n/nun)-ta/la ko (-IN-DC QT) '(say) that . . .'

3.4 Main clause compression

The second basic type of EME genesis is diachronic reanalysis via the syntactic and semantic compression or contraction of a main clause construction (e.g., H Sohn 1978; S Sohn 1996). The EMEs illustrated in (12) belong to this type.

(12) a. Promissive –을게 -ulkey 'I promise that . . ., I am willing to . . .'
        Insistive -을래 –ullay 'I am gonna . . ., I will . . .'

   b. Affective reportive –대 -ta-y '. . . you know'
      Tag question (agreement-seeking) -잖아 –canh-a 'isn't it right!, . . . you know'

We can intuitively know that the promissive EME –을게 –ulkey is a more grammaticalized form of the "predictive" modal construction –을 거야 -ul ke-y-a (PRS fact-be-INT) 'will probably be/do'. Due to the loss of syntactic boundaries and semantic/pragmatic shift toward intersubjectification, the predictive meaning has shifted to the speaker's promise or assurance towards the addressee for the benefit of the latter. The predictive modal suffix itself is a grammaticalized and subjectified form of the originally complex (bi-clausal) construction –을 것이야/것이어 –ul kes i-a/e (PRS fact be INT) 'it may be a fact that . . .'. Notice that –ulkey, an intersubjectified EME, is an intimate-level ending as it has absorbed the canonical intimate speech level ending –어/아 –e/a in the process of grammaticalization. Syntactic and semantic differences between the promissive EME and the predictive suffix are observed in (13).

(13) a. 영수가 / 내가　갈거야 / 갈겁니다. ↘
　　　 Yengswu/nay　ka　　ka-lke.y-a/ka-lke-p-ni-ta. ↘
　　　 Yengswu/I　　NM　　go-will.probably-INT/go-will-AH-IN-DC
　　　 'Yengswu/I will probably go.'

　　b. 내가/* 영수가　갈게/* 갈겝니다. ↘
　　　 *nay/*Yengswu　ka　　ka-lkey/*ka-lkey-p-ni-ta.* ↘
　　　 I/Yengswu　　　NM　　go-EME.INT/go-EME-AH-IN-DC
　　　 'I promise/will go.'

Notice that in (13a) the subject can be any person and any speech-level ending can occur, but in (13b) the subject must be the speaker (1st person) and only the intimate or polite ending can occur. This indicates that *–ulkey* is intersubjectified as a promissive ending ('I promise to you that') from the subjectified predictive ending ('I predict that'). Promise or assurance can be made only about one's own action or dynamic state. Thus, *-ulkey* requires that the proposition contain an action verb (not stative verb like 알다 *alta* 'know', 모르다 *moluta* 'not know') or a dynamic adjective (e.g., 건강하다 *kenkanghata* 'healthy') but not a static adjective (e.g., 젊다 *celmta* 'young', 기쁘다 *kipputa* 'happy'), as shown in (14).

(14) a. 나는　모를거야 / 건강할거야 / 기쁠거야. ↘
　　　 na　nun　　molu-lke.y-a / kekangha-lke.y-a / kipp-ulke.y-a. ↘
　　　 I　　TC　　not.know-will-INT / be.healty-will-INT/be.happy-will-INT
　　　 'I may not know / I will be healthy / I will be happy.'

　　b. 나는 * 모를게 / 건강할게 /*기쁠게 ↘
　　　 *na　nun　　*molu-lkey / kekangha-lkey / *kipp-ulkey* ↘
　　　 I　　TC　　be.healty-will-INT/be.happy-will-INT
　　　 'I promise that I will not know / I will be healthy / I will be glad.'

Thus, *-ulkey* inherently contains the following semantic { }, syntactic [ ], and pragmatic < > features: {speaker's promise, assurance}, [+INT], [+1st person subject], [+action verb, +dynamic adjective ____], <benefit to hearer>.

The insistive EME –을래 *-ullay* has developed from the bi-clausal intentive construction –으려고/을려고 *–ul(l)yeko ha-y* (intending do-INT) 'I intend to do, plan to do, think about doing' with the very general *–ko ha* deletion. Compare the EME construction (15b) with its source construction (15a).

(15) a. 영수가 / 내가　가려 / 갈려 (고) 해. ↘
　　　 Yengswu/nay　ka　　ka-l(l)yeko　ha-y. ↘
　　　 Yengswu/I　　NM　　go-intend　do-INT
　　　 'Yengswu is/I am willing to go.'

　　b. 내가 /* 영수가　갈래. ↘
　　　 *nay/*Yengswu　ka　　ka-llay.* ↘
　　　 I/*Yengswu　　　NM　　go-EME.INT
　　　 'I am gonna go/*Yengswu is gonna go.'

Notice again that unlike its source construction, the EME sentence does not allow any person except the 1st person in statement and the 2nd person in question. In addition to structural compression, the EME is a result of semantic subjectification from intentive to insistive and pragmatic intersubjectification in which the speaker tacitly solicit the addressee's approval or agreement. One major pragmatic difference between –*ilkey* and –*ullay* is that the former is used when the proposition is uttered majorly for the benefit of the hearer and the latter is used when the proposition is uttered majorly for the benefit of the speaker. In casual conversation among younger generation speakers, the volitive modal suffix –*keyss-* is hardly used, being replaced by the EME –*ullay*. The EME *-ullay* has not absorbed the canonical intimate ending –*e/a* completely. Thus, the plain level –을라한다 *-ulla-nta* and the deferential level –을랍니다 *-ulla-pnita* may occur along with the polite –을래요 *–ullay-yo*.

While the EMEs in (12a) require the speaker (1st person) subject, those in (12b) allow the subject to be of any person. Yet, all of them are results of structural and semantic reduction plus subjectification and intersubjectification. The affective reportive EME –대 –*ta-y* has developed from –다고 해 *-ta ko ha-y* (DC QT say-INT) 'say that . . .' as a result of 고하 *ko ha* 'say that' deletion. Since the EME has not absorbed the intimate ending, the plain –*ta-nta,* the familiar *-ta-ney,* and the deferential –*ta-pnita* occur, in addition to the intimate/polite –*ta-y(-yo)*. This EME indicates the speaker's informing the addressee of the propositional content with a casual and affective stance, as discussed in H Sohn (1978). Thus, for example, Mia's mother may tell Mia's friend, 우리 아는 지금 잔단다 *wuli Mia nun ca-ntanta* 'I am sorry but my daughter Mia is sleeping now, (so she cannot play with you)'. This expression does not convey somebody else's report but the speaker's own with a casual and solitarity-laden stance.

The tag-question EME –*canh-a* 'is that right?' has contracted and grammaticalized from the complex negative construction *-ci ani ha-ye* (NOM not-do/be-INT) 'it is not that . . .' through compression (e.g., boundary loss, contraction, and inter-subjectification). It indicates the speaker's seeking an agreement from the addressee (e.g., Kawanishi & S Sohn 1993). As no canonical ending is incorporated, the EME can occur in all speech levels.

3.5 Common properties

As has been observed thus far, all EMEs, whether they are of the main clause omission type or of the main clause compression type, are results of essentially the same unidirectional grammatical reanalysis and analogical spread, along with unidirectional semantic-pragmaitic shift and optional phonological attrition. Reanalysis includes splitting, boundary reduction or loss, decategorization, and recategorization, among other processes.

All EMEs have developed in complex sentences, reducing complex sentences to simple sentences for which they serve as endings. I tentatively propose to generalize the grammatical meanings of all EMEs, roughly as in (16).

(16)   An EME has complex semantic-pragmatic meanings, composed of (a) the speaker as abstract subject, (b) addressee as abstract (direct
         or indirect) object, (c) the speaker's subjective and intersubjective modal meanings (functioning as abstract predicate), which have
         abstracted from the meanings of the original morphemes constituting the ending and omitted elements, (d) casualness and informal-
         ity, (e) interactive solidarity with reduced illocution, and (f) other contextually induced meanings.

For example, the extended EME *-te-lako* is interpreted as having an abstract semantic-pragmatic meaning like "I CASUALLY AND ON FRIENDLY AND POLITE TERMS INFORM YOU THAT I WITNESSED THAT . . .)." The speaker functions as the abstract subject. The statement meaning comes from the original declarative sentence ending

-la and the falling intonation. The reportive meaning is abstracted from a typical omitted predicate, that is, a verb of saying. The complement meaning of "THAT" is from the quotative particle *ko*. The meaning of "I OBSERVED" comes from the retrospective suffix *-te*. The casualness, solidarity, and relative politeness in reportive illocution all appear to be due to the omission of an explicit main-clause verb of reporting.[5]

4. Causes and motivations

We have thus far observed the two interrelated types of grammaticalization involved in the genesis of EMEs: main-clause omission and main-clause compression. As we have observed, all EMEs of both types have developed from a complex construction, changing a multi-clausal construction to a mono-clausal one following similar grammaticalization (reanalysis) processes. Once generated this way, all EMEs can be attached to any sentence for various semantic, pragmatic and strategic purposes, as long as syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic constraints are not violated. One question in regard to the main clause omission type is: what has motivated or caused native speakers to frequently or conventionally omit a certain type of main clause even when it was not uniquely recoverable?

Needless to say, the principle of minimum effort in linguistic change underlies the extensive omissions, compressions, and contractions in all parts of Korean complex or simplex sentences in daily conversation. Various major syntactic constituents and units are omitted in conversation whenever they are understood. Thus, Korean is often called a discourse-oriented language. Omitted structure and content are easily recoverable contextually or situationally. Native speakers' frequent synchronic omissions per the principle of minimum effort must have led to structural reanalyses and genesis of EMEs.

If we assume that minimum effort is the only motivating factor for main clause omission, however, some questions may arise. For one, the economy principle in communication normally applies to the extent that no communicative ambiguity thereby results. Non-recoverable omissions go against this principle. It violates Grice's (1975) Cooperative maxims, especially, that of quantity and manner and Lakoff's (1973) rule of clarity (i.e. "Be clear"). Furthermore, conversation is carried out not only by omitting contextually recoverable elements but also by adding many illocution reducing or illocution strengthening elements, violating the principle of minimum effort. For instance, in addition to the direct speech in (17a), native speakers of Korean use nominalized expressions as in (17b) and clauses equivalent to English 'it seems *or* it appears that', as in (17c) simply out of courtesy or humility.

(17) a. 저 안 가요. ↘
    ce   an   ka-yo. ↘
    I   not go-POL
    'I am not going.'

    b. 저 안 갈 거예요. ↘
    ce   an   ka-l   ke   yey-yo. ↘
    I   not   go-PRS fact be-POL
    'I am probably not going.'

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5) My analysis of the reinterpreted grammatical meaning is partly in agreement with Bybee's (1988) proposal that the lexical meaning of a morpheme or construction serves as the basis for semantic substance in grammaticalization, and with Sweetser's (1988) proposal that the aspect of meaning which is preserved in grammaticalization is the (metaphorically structured) image-schematic referential structure, as well as with Hopper's (1991) principle of persistence. See also Hopper and Traugott (2003).

c. 저 안 갈 것 같아요. ↘
   ce   an   ka-l   ke   kath-ayo. ↘
   I   not go-PRS fact same-POL
   'It appears that I am not going.'

Finally, extensive daily uses of the innovated EMEs illustrated in (1) are also against the minimum-effort principle, because sentences with EMEs usually are heavier and longer than those with canonical endings.

All this suggests that the economy principle is not sufficient to explicate the phenomena of unrecoverable main-clause omission and that native speakers habitually make purposive omissions as well. I would like to propose that the politeness principle underlies unrecoverable main-clause omission as well. As alluded to in the discussion of the EMEs *–(n)untey* and *-lako*, I would like to propose that unrecoverable main clause omission is also motivated by native speakers' intent to mitigate, dilute, or tone down the illocutionary force contained in main clauses in conversational interaction. We may say that native speakers of Korean flout or violate, for instance, Lakoff's rule of clarity or Grice's Cooperative maxims to express strategic linguistic politeness, in order to avoid coerciveness or imposition toward their interlocutors in face-threatening speech acts. That is, strategic linguistic politeness for smooth interpersonal communication appears to have been one of the main causes for repeated main clause omission, which triggered structure-internal grammaticalization. I will elaborate this proposal in terms of politeness theory in what follows.

It has been known that language has two interrelated functions: (a) a transactional function which purports to establish an optimally efficient transmission of information, and (b) an interactional function which purports to establish and maintain interpersonal relationships. In speech acts, principles such as Grice's (1975) Cooperative maxims (quality, quantity, manner, relevance) and Lakoff's (1973) rule of clarity (i.e. "Be clear") are to be observed in order to maximize the transactional function of language. The interactional function of language, on the other hand, is performed by native speakers via a variety of putatively universal politeness principles and strategies, as well as culture-specific norms and values and language-specific politeness devices. Several insightful proposals have been advanced for universal politeness principles and strategies (Goffman 1967; Lakoff 1973; Leech 1983; Fraser 1980, 1990; Brown & Levinson 1987, Watts, et al. 2005). For example, Lakoff's (1973) rules of politeness consist of (a) Don't impose, (b) Give options, and (c) Make addressee feel good. Fraser (1980, 1990) advances a so-called conversational-contract view. He suggests that politeness operates within the current terms and conditions of the conversational contract entered into by the participants in an interaction in an effort to maintain the interaction conflict-free. Fraser (1980) associates politeness with his notion of mitigation, defining mitigation as a strategy for reducing the force of a speech act whose effects are unwelcome to the addressee.

Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987) have advanced the face-saving view. In particular, Brown and Levinson maintain that linguistic strategies are means of satisfying both communicative and face-oriented ends, and describe linguistic politeness in terms of face maintenance. They establish five levels of linguistic strategies for politeness, as (a) direct strategy, (b) positive politeness strategies, (c) negative politeness strategies, (d) off-record strategies, and (e) no speech act. These five levels of strategies are to be employed in that order when the risk of face loss increases. I am particularly interested in their negative politeness and off-record strategies here. While Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategies essentially boost the addressee's positive face or self-image, their negative politeness strategies are oriented toward partially satisfying the addressee's negative face, that is, his basic desire to

maintain his freedom of action, his freedom from imposition, his territory, and his self-determination. They propose ten negative politeness strategies, some of which are: Be conventionally indirect; Give deference; Question, hedge; and Nominalize. Their off-record communicative acts are those which the speaker performs when he wishes to avoid responsibility for his acts, leaving it up to the addressee to decide how to interpret them. Some of the fifteen off-record strategies they propose are: Give hints; Give association clues; Presuppose; Understate; Be ironic; Use metaphors; Use rhetorical questions; Be ambiguous; and Be incomplete, use ellipsis. Thus, linguistic politeness is, in one way or another, closely related to indirect speech acts, unless the speech acts are performed for the interest of the addressee or for great urgency. For example, Lakoff's rules of politeness, Don't impose and Give options, may best be observed when the speech acts are performed indirectly, mitigating the speaker's assertive illocution in statement, question, proposal, and command. As we have examined, Brown and Levinson's negative politeness strategies and off-record strategies focus essentially on indirect speech acts of various types.[6]

With the above theoretical background, let us observe the Korean data in (1) again. Obviously, the most distinct pragmatic function of a main clause is to perform the speaker's speech act with appropriate illocutionary force by means of the propositional content and the typical sentence-type endings in which six different speech levels are incorporated. If the main clause is declarative, the speaker asserts the propositional content. If it is interrogative, the speaker requests the addressee to respond verbally. If it is imperative or propositive, the speaker asks the addressee to respond with some kind of action. In all these speech acts, the speaker imposes his views on the addressee to varying degrees. If the speech acts are not particularly in the interest of the addressee, they frequently constitute face-threatening acts toward the addressee.

With the main clause content unexpressed, therefore, the speaker may be able to avoid or weaken such imposition or responsibility for his acts. Since the sentence ending particle *yo* (polite) or zero (intimate) is present with appropriate intonation contours, relevant speech acts have been performed, but the lack of the expressed propositional content significantly weakens the illocutionary force, giving the addressee extensive options. Indeed, the innovated grammatical categories function as illocution-diluting devices, with their still surviving lexical meanings. The EMEs *-nun-tey*, *-nun-ka*, and *–nun-ci* and *–(u)l-ke-l* all contain a bound noun, which functions as a hedge that mitigates illocutionary force. One of Brown and Levinson's negative politeness strategies is Nominalize. Similarly, the quotative particle *ko* and the conjunctive suffixes *–na, -ketun,* and *-nikka* function as hedges, even though they are reanalyzed as sentence endings. This is because they still carry the bleached version of the original semantic content as a quotative particle or a conjunctive suffix.

As already alluded to, the original semantic contents of the omitted main clauses are superimposed with great dilution on the newly developed grammatical categories. Thus, the weakened meanings, together with the hedging functions of the innovated categories, have become conventionalized as devices of politeness in Korean. Due to the omission of a main clause, some connotation of informality is also attached to the innovated meanings. For example, compare the three sentences in (18): a complex sentence (a), a direct simplex sentence (b), and a sentence with an innovated EME (c).

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6) In fact, the mitigating strategy is employed when the speech act in question is some sort of a face-threatening act. Reinforcement of illocutionary force may occasionally be used when a speech act is in the interest of the addressee. In actual speech acts, however, mitigation is much more common than reinforcement, since an absolute majority of our conversational interactions are face-threatening acts. Main clause deletion is by and large associated with mitigation, and therefore, this paper is concerned mainly with mitigation.

(18) a. 비가 오는데 어떻게 하시겠어요? ↘
    pi   ka   o-nun-tey   ettehkey   ha-si-keyss-eyo? ↘
    rain   NM   come-given.that   how   do-SH-will-POL
    'It's raining; what are you going to do?'

   b. 비가 와요. ↘
    pi   ka   w-ayo. ↘
    rain   NM   come-POL
    'It's raining.'

   c. 비가 오는데요. 〜
    pi ka o-nun tey yo. 〜
    'It's raining ...'

Native speakers would easily judge that the innovated form (18c) is politer and sounds somewhat more informal than the other two expressions in interaction. Similarly, compare the two sentences in (19). Notice that they have the same truth value, but are different in connotative meanings.

(19) a. 비가 오더라고요. ↘
    pi   ka   o-te-la   ko   yo. ↘
    'It was raining, you know.'

   b. 비가 옵디다. ↘
    pi   ka   o-p-ti-ta. ↘
    rain   NM   come-AH-RT-DC
    'I saw it raining.'

Again, native speakers would agree that (19a) has softer illocution and is more casual than its counterpart in (19b), which is more blunt and assertive despite the use of the deferential ending – ㅂ디다 *-p-ti-ta*. Brown and Levinson's two off-record strategies are Be ambiguous and Be incomplete, use ellipsis. These are precisely what Koreans have done to attain politeness in their language use. This has led me to propose that strategic politeness is one of the two main causes (along with the economy principle) for native speakers to omit unrecoverable main clauses.

5. Grammatical category

No doubt, all the sentences with an innovated EME are now perceived and used as complete simple sentences by contemporary Koreans. Then, what grammatical category can we assign to the innovated EMEs? Many Korean dictionaries and grammar books term EMEs as "exclamatory" sentence endings.

Since all EMEs occur in sentence-final position and indicate the speaker's stance in discourse, it is obvious that they are a kind of modal elements. They do not seem to be epistemic or deontic modals, as the basic semantic-pragmatic function is to indicate neither the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth of the propositional content, nor the speaker's ability, permission, or obligation in regard to the propositional content. The primary function of EMEs is not in the speaker-proposition perspective but in the speaker-addressee perspective, indicating the speaker's modal stance toward the addressee in conversational interaction. Let us examine (20) for illustration.

(20) 비가 왔겠는데요. 〜
  pi   ka   w-ass-keyss-nuntey-yo. 〜
  rain   NM   come-PST-may-EME-POL
  'It may have rained, (what shall we do?)'

In this utterance, 비가 오 *pi ka o* is the proposition, -았 *–ass* is a tense/aspect (past/perfective) suffix indicating the anteriority of the propositional content to the utterance time, –겠 *-keyss* is an epistemic modal indicating the speaker's degree of certainty about the proposition, and –는데 *–nuntey* is an EME that indicates the speaker's stance toward the addressee. Notice that an EME occurs after an epistemic or deontic modal in a sentence.[7]

In view of the distinct morpho-syntactic, semantico-pragmatic, discourse properties that all EMEs have, I propose to assign a separate grammatical category or paradigm. In morpho-syntax, they occupy a TAM position between the slot of epistemic/deontic modal suffixes and the slot of sentence-type endings. In semantic-pragmatics, they express the speaker's intersubjectivity. In discourse, they are used as casual, interactive, interpersonal, and solidarity-building mode of communication. In view of these characteristic linguistic properties, I would like to propose, tentative as it may be, that this EME category be termed "interpersonal modal endings".

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have endeavored to give an integrated account of the genesis and morpho-syntactic and discourse functions of EMEs in Korean. Specifically, I have argued or proposed that in Korean (a) a number of modal sentence endings (termed emergent modal endings or EMEs) have recently been innovated to build up a new grammatical paradigm, to which new members are constantly being added; (b) all EMEs mainly perform an interactional (not transactional) discourse function and are used for casual interpersonal mode of communication; (c) all these EMEs have developed from a wide variety of complex constructions following universal grammaticalization principles and processes; (d) EMEs have developed via one of the two developmental patterns: main-clause omission and main-clause compression; (e) all EMEs refer to the speaker's subjectivity and intersubjectivity in their coded and/or pragmatic meanings; (f) the economy principle and the politeness principle are assumed to be two major factors that motivate unrecoverable main clause omissions; and (g) the new innovated paradigm be termed "interpersonal modal endings", as their modal functions are interpersonal on the speaker-addressee perspective.

Finally, one may wonder what has caused the recent proliferation of EMEs in Korean. I propose that the typological properties of Korean and recent radical change in Korean social structure are jointly responsible for the massive genesis of EMEs in relatively recent times.

Typologically, Korean is a typical S-O-V order language with rigid head-final syntax. It is also a language of typical agglutinative morphology, with a rich set of grammatical morphemes (particles and suffixes) attached to content words such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives to indicate their grammatical functions and relations in sentence. Another typological feature of Korean is its strong discourse-orientation. One manifestation of the discourse-orientation is the free omission of syntactic constituents, including main clauses, whenever they are understood from discourse contexts.

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7) EMEs share the same morphological slot and syntactic behavior with the "exclamatory" endings like –네 (요) *–ney(-yo)* and -군 (요) *–kwun(-yo)*. I assume that the productive genesis of new EMEs was motivated by the pre-existence of such a limited functional set, per the principle of paradigmatization (Lehmann 1985).

Anaphoric reference is frequently made in the discourse level than in the sentence level. The above typological features of Korean are partly responsible for the genesis of the emerging paradigm of a productive set of interpersonal EMEs.

Secondly, since the end of the World War II in 1945, Korea has undergone progressively rapid transformation in all walks of life. First of all, Korean society has transformed from the former rigidly closed and hierarchical feudal society to an open, democratic, globalizing, capitalistic society. Furthermore, mass media has developed to an unprecedented extent. Moreover, the opportunities of daily interpersonal communication have enormously increased. Finally, Koreans' cultural values have shifted from the traditional rigid hierarchism toward egalitarianism to a great extent, with their strong traditional collectivism retained. Thus, Koreans' overall pattern of casual interpersonal communication has shifted from the earlier power-based to the solidarity-based one. In a hierarchical feudal society, social interactions were generally static, with interpersonal communication largely normative. The contemporary Korean society, on the other hand, is based on free market economy and thus calls for constant communicative interactions. Interpersonal communication has become much more strategic for smooth day-to-day social interaction. Strategic communication requires omission of illocution-laden expressions via contraction and deletion of forms and constructions, which must have contributed to the genesis of EMEs in contemporary Korean.

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