

## Constructions of Viewpoint Aspect and Grammaticalization of Negative Conditionals in Korean\*

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The aim of this paper is to examine grammaticalization of negative conditionals (NCs) *-e kacikonun* and *-e senun* in Korean. The main goal of this paper is to claim that: 1) emergence of a negative evaluative sense of these conditional constructions is motivated by the speaker's construal of psychological/emotional distance in perfective usage, i.e. totality view, of *-e kaci* and *-e iss*; 2) a conditional sense of the NCs is attributed to the meaning of *-nun*, which carries various grammatical senses in PDK. This paper claims that a negative evaluative sense of these NCs originates from perfective usage, i.e. the totality view of perfectives, of *-e kaci* and *-e iss*. In particular, the speaker's frame of view looking at a situation as a single entity from an outside vantage point, and the speaker's construal of psychological/emotional distance between the speaker's belief or value system and a state of affairs of a situation result in evolution of these perfectives into a marker expressing the speaker's attitude of undesirability. Development of negative conditional usage of *-e kacikonun* and *-e senun* is contributed by connective particles *-e* and *-ko* marking sequentiality. Because of a sequential sense of the connective particles, the complexes *-e kaciko* and *-e se*, each of which a combination of [*-e kaci + -ko*] and [*-e iss + -e*], carry the information structure 'UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub>'. The conditional sense of *-e kacikonun* and *-e senun* is contributed by the marker *-nun* delivering various senses such as topic, emphatic, contrastive, and conditional in Present-day Korean (PDK).

Key words: Korean, Grammaticalization, Totality view of perfectives, Viewpoint aspect, Negative Conditionals, Psychological distance, Subjectification

### 1. Introduction

In Present-Day Korean (PDK),<sup>1</sup> the periphrastic perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* constitute a grammatical category of 'negative conditionals' conjoined with the complexes *-ko.nun* (e.g., *-e.kaci.ko.nun*) and *-e.nun* (e.g., *-e.se.nun*) respectively.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: ACC: accusative; ADD: additional; AND: adnominal; CAUS: cause; COMP: complementizer; COND: conditional; CONN: connective; CONT: contrastive; DAT: dative; DEC: declarative; EMPH: emphatic; END: ending; FUT: future; HON: honorific; LOC: locative; NC: negative conditional; NEG: negative; NF: non-finite; NOM: nominative; NOMZ: nominalizer; PERF: perfective; PDK: present-day Korean; POL: politeness; POSS: possessive; PRES: present; PROG: progressive; PROM: promissive; PST: past; Q: interrogative; RETR: retrospective; S.END: sentential ending; SVC: serial verb construction; TOP: topic.

<sup>2</sup> Periphrastic perfectives refer to a grammatical structure consisting of a connective particle and a lexical verb. What is interesting to note is that they are also used to express the speaker's epistemological stance, i.e., a subjective viewpoint, toward given situations or information.

Negative conditionals (NCs) refer to the grammatical category conveying the speaker's subjective stance of undesirability toward a situation (Akatsuka & Sohn 1994, Akatsuka 1997).<sup>3</sup> Despite frequent use of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* as a NC marker in PDK, however, studies on grammaticalization of these constructions into NCs have been underrepresented in the literature. This paper intends to fill this gap by explicating the evolution of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* into NCs.

This paper will make use of both synchronic and diachronic data. For synchronic data, this paper will make use of naturally occurring colloquial utterances in discussing the emergence of a negative sense of the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*, the information structure 'UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub>'. For historical data, *Nokeltay* will be used to trace the development of a perfective and viewpoint marking sense from the 15th century to the 18th century, and grammaticalization of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* into NCs.<sup>4</sup>

The objectives of this paper are to claim that: 1) emergence of a perfective sense, the totality view (Comrie 1976:4, Lee 1991:42), of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* is being motivated by semantic interaction between the NF markers *-e* and *-ko* and the verbs *kaci*- 'possess' and *iss*- 'exist'; 2) the emergence of a negative evaluative sense of the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* seems to be motivated by the interplay between the speaker's construal of psychological/emotional distance in totality usage of these markers and the speaker's subjective, i.e., negative or unfavorable, attitude toward a state of affairs of events; 3) a conditional sense of the NCs can be attributed to the meaning of *-nun*, which carries contrastive and conditional senses in PDK (Koo 2005, 2010).

In this paper, in describing strings of syllables or constructions consisting of morphemes such as *-e.kaci*, *-e.iss*, *-e.kaci.ko.nun*, *-e.se.nun*, all of which are regarded as a single morphosyntactic unit in Korean, we do not specify morpheme boundaries by spacing. However, we use dots to set boundaries between morphemes in order to enhance visual conspicuity.

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 describes source constructions of the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* and their usage as NCs in

<sup>3</sup> The terminology of stance, or the speaker's stance, has been widely used in recent scholarship in linguistics. However, definitions and conceptions of this term are broad and varied from individual research backgrounds, thus this term has not been fully elaborated or delineated. Furthermore, there are a number of different terminologies that refer to the notion of stance. In this paper, the label of stance will be used to stand for subjectivity, point of view, evaluation, attitude, interaction, etc. (cf. Biber et al. 1999, Nuyts 2001, Smith 2002, Dancygier & Sweetser 2005, Englebretson 2007:2).

<sup>4</sup> *Nokeltay* is a textbook used for training official interpreters of the Joseon dynasty. There are six kinds of this text book, each of which were published at different times: *Penyeknokeltay*, published in 1517; *Nokeltayenhay*, published in 1670; *Phyengankamyengnokeltayenhay*, published in 1745; *Chengenokeltay*, published in 1765; *Mongenokeltay*, published in 1790; and *Cwungkannokeltayenhay*, published in 1795.

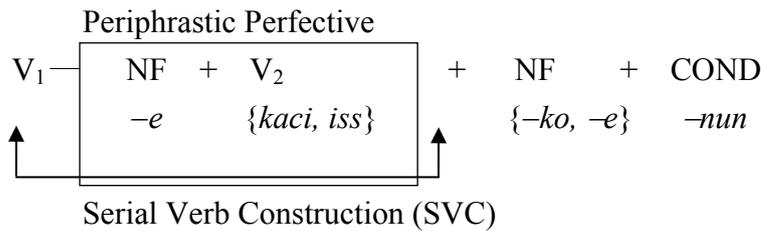
colloquial Korean language. Section 3 discusses cognitive processes, in which the speaker's interpretation of negativity is motivated. In particular, we focus on explaining a conceptual relationship between the totality view, in which the speaker shows a tendency of looking at a situation from an distal vantage point, and the emergence of the speaker's stance of undesirability, resulting in a structure of information 'UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub>' of these perfectives. Section 4 explains the formation and usage of the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* using diachronic data. Section 5 summarizes and concludes this paper.

## 2. Source construction and usage of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* as NCs

### 2.1 Source construction

From a syntagmatic point of view, the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* originated from verb serialization. The general syntagma from which these NCs emerged is presented in (1).

(1)



As shown in (1), the periphrastic perfective is part of a serial verb construction (SVC) from which V<sub>1</sub> is eliminated. As Rhee (2008:38) states, this elimination is quite reasonable in that V<sub>1</sub>, being the main verb of the predicate, has almost infinite intra-paradigmatic variability, thus almost any verb can occur in this position. In contrast, V<sub>2</sub>, being dependent on its preceding V<sub>1</sub>, tends to be integrated as a peripheral element of the SVC.<sup>5</sup>

From a morphosyntactic point of view, the source constructions undergo reanalysis (Hopper & Traugott 2003:140), where [NF *-e* + V<sub>2</sub>] is reanalyzed as a perfective. In these constructions, when the perfective [NF *-e* + V<sub>2</sub> *kaci/iss*] is followed by complexes, i.e., *-ko.nun* and *-e.nun*, the constructions *-e.kaci.ko.nun*, and *-e.se.nun* are conceived of as a single unit and function as NCs, as a whole entity.

<sup>5</sup> This is widely attested across languages. For instance, DeLancey (1991:15) regards the SVC as the seed of grammaticalization. Bynon (1985) states that all serial verb languages seem to develop grammatical function verbs (or auxiliary verbs) out of this SVC by way of reanalysis, or interaction between conceptualization of the world events and iconicity in the language (see Bruce 1988, DeLancey 1991).

For the understanding of morphosyntactic properties and a spelling of the source constructions and the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun*, and *-e.se.nun* in this paper, it should be mentioned that the perfective structure *-e.se* is the coalescence of the perfective *-e.iss* and the NF marker *-e*. In addition, the constructions *-haykacikonun* and *-haysenun*, in which *-hay* is the coalescence of the verb *ha-* ‘do’ and the NF marker *-e*, will be described as *-ha-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-ha-e.se.nun*, respectively, and the construction *-hayss*, which is the coalescence of the verb *ha-* ‘do’ and the past tense marker *-ess*, will be described as *-ha.ess*, in order to enhance visual conspicuity.

From a semantico-pragmatic point of view, periphrastic perfectives are generally categorized according to their functions: perfective, imperfective, and viewpoint marking. Note, however, that categorization or distinction of the functions of perfectives are, in fact, not mutually exclusive. Rather, “[t]he distinction among these functions must be viewed not as clearly delineated categories but as specialization (Rhee 2008:32)”. For instance, some viewpoint-marking auxiliaries such as *-e.kaci* and *-e.chiwu* carry aspectual functions, and most or many perfective and imperfective markers, particularly perfectives such as *-e.iss*, *-e.twu*, *-e.noh*, and *-e.peli*, carry viewpoint-marking functions at the same time (see Lee 1976, Kim 1990, Rhee 1996, 2008). This shows that periphrastic perfectives in Korean bear ‘Janus-like’ (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991) properties of a viewpoint-marking function as intrinsic features.

## 2.2 Usage of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* as NCs in colloquial Korean

The term ‘negative conditionality’ used here is well defined in Akatsuka (1991, 1992, 1997) and Akatsuka & Sohn (1994). They say that negative conditionality refers to the cognitive domain, which bases itself on the semantics and pragmatics of conditionals or conditional structures denoting the speaker’s attitude of undesirability, ‘I DON’T WANT IT TO HAPPEN (Akatsuka 1997)’.<sup>6</sup> The proposition of NCs described in Akatsuka (1991, 1992, 1997) and Akatsuka & Sohn (1994), is presented as follows:

- (2) If S<sub>1</sub>, (then) S<sub>2</sub> — where both S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub> explicitly/implicitly express the speaker’s negative evaluative attitude, i.e., UNDESIRABLE, towards the proposition.

(Akatsuka & Sohn 1994:205)

<sup>6</sup> Following Akatsuka & Sohn (1994) and Akatsuka (1997), the term ‘negative’, in this paper, is used with “a strictly evaluative meaning (Akatsuka & Sohn 1994)” in the sense of stance or attitude marking.

The unique feature of NCs is that they are only used to express the speaker's prediction 'UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub>', and the utterance as a whole expresses the speaker's negative attitude "I DON'T WANT IT TO HAPPEN." Additionally, owing to the inherent message of negative conditionality, an NC is typically used for the speech acts of 'warning' and 'precaution', delivering the message, 'I DON'T WANT IT TO HAPPEN (AGAIN), or AN UNDESIRABLE SITUATION SHOULD HAPPEN'. Of particular interest is that—given the semantic and pragmatic properties of these NC markers—the addressee, upon hearing the speaker's utterance of S<sub>1</sub>, can predict the negative information included in S<sub>2</sub>.

It is interesting to note that colloquial usage of the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* in PDK exhibits all the features of negative conditionality discussed in Akatsuka (1991, 1992, 1997), and in Akatsuka & Sohn (1994). This is well exemplified in Examples (3) and (4).

(3) *-e.kaci.ko.nun*

- a. *kulehkey kongpwuha-e.kaci.ko.nun*  
 like.that study-NC  
*tayhak-ey mos-ka-n-ta*  
 university-to cannot-enter-PRES-DEC  
 'If you study like that, you won't be able to pass the college entrance exam.'
- b. *swul-man masi-e.kaci.ko.nun*  
 liquor-only drink-NC  
*il-i haykyeltoy-ci-anh-a-yo*  
 problem-TOP get.resolved-COMP-NEG-S.END-POL  
 'Drinking only alcohol and nothing else doesn't resolve a problem.'

(4) *-e.se.nun*

- a. *kuttan sik-ulo il ha-e.se.nun*  
 such way-INST work do-NC  
*cwuk-to-pap-to an toy-n-ta*  
 porridge-ADD-steamed.rice-ADD NEG become-PRES-DEC  
 'If you keep working like that, everything will come to nothing.'
- b. *an-coh-un-cem-man cicekha-e.se.nun*  
 NEG-be.good-ADN-thing-only point.out-NC  
*kwankyey-ka cohaci-ci-anh-a-yo*  
 relationship-NOM improve-COMP-NEG-S.END-POL  
 'If you point out only people's bad points, your relationships won't improve.'

As shown in (3) and (4), *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* deliver the speaker's subjective attitude that a certain state of affairs would be undesirable in the given situation. For example, *-e.kaci.ko.nun* as in (3a) not only conveys the speaker's stance of disapproval toward the addressee's way of studying but also issues the pragmatic warning, 'I believe that this will eventually lead to failing the college entrance examination.' In (3b), this NC is shown to convey the speaker's emotional stance of disapproval toward the addressee only drinking alcohol. Besides, it issues a pragmatic warning, 'if you keep drinking alcohol, the problem will remain unresolved.' Similarly, the NC *-e.se.nun* as in (4a) is used to deliver the speaker's negative epistemological stance toward the addressee's lack of meticulousness and industriousness on the job and toward a situation where the business will be blighted completely, which the speaker assumes will have resulted from the addressee's characteristics. The NC *-e.se.nun* as in (4b) also shows similar semantic and pragmatic properties. In this example, the speaker is observed to deliver a subjective interpretation of undesirability about the addressee's habit of criticizing (or pointing out faults in) people, which the speaker believes will fail to improve (or ruin) the addressee's relationship with others.

The sentences in (3) and (4) show that the constructions *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* are evolving or have evolved into self-standing grammatical markers in PDK and that they are on their way to becoming (or may already be grammaticalized into) full-fledged grammatical markers. In particular, given that they are frequently used as an NC marker conveying a speaker's subjective attitude, especially toward an event or a situation where a state of affairs is construed as being undesirable or negative, and is assumed to result in a negative consequence, it can be claimed that the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* are now growing into a grammatical unit delivering a negative epistemological stance and issuing a pragmatic warning for particular situations or events. This is a case of 'specialization' (Hopper 1991).

Grammatical and self-standing properties of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* as an NC marker can also be proved by the fact that as soon as the speaker utters the locution 'S<sub>1</sub> + *-e.kaci.ko.nun* / *-e.se.nun*', the addressee, before the speaker even delivers the utterance S<sub>2</sub>, can predict the negative information, i.e. undesirability, included in S<sub>2</sub>. As can be immediately identified, this property coincides with the conventionalized semantic and pragmatic properties of NCs explained by Akatsuka (1991, 1992, 1997) and Akatsuka & Sohn (1994). Additionally, given the fact that these NCs do not show any kind of morphosyntactic variations or allow insertion of other morphemes but behave like a single unit, it can also be claimed that they are evolving into a self-standing and conventionalized grammatical marker in the Korean language.

Following Akatsuka (1991, 1992, 1997) and Akatsuka & Sohn (1994), the proposition of the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* in Examples (3) and (4) can be schematically presented as follows in (5):

- (5) UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> (e.g., not studying hard/a habit of criticizing (or pointing out faults in) people) *-e.kaci.ko.nun/-e.se.nun* leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub> (e.g., to fail the college entrance examination/to fail to improve relationships with others)

Here, one question that can be raised is where and how the sense of undesirability of these NCs emerges. Another question that can be raised is how these NCs deliver the information structure UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub>. In order to explicate the emergence of this negative sense and the information structure from those perfectives, we may need to examine their perfective usage of them in diachronic and synchronic data. In the following section, we will address these issues in more detail.

### 3. Development of a sense of negativity from perfective usage

#### 3.1 Perfective usage of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* in diachronic data

From a diachronic point of view, perfective usage of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* is first attested in the early 16th century in the *Nokeltay* data.<sup>7</sup> With reference to the perfective *-e.kaci*, it is first attested in *Penyeknokeltay* published in 1517 and it is shown in one occurrence. Over one hundred years after this first occurrence in *Penyeknokeltay*, usage of the marker is observed to occur two times in *Nokeltayenhay* and *Phyengankamyengnokeltayenhay* published in 1670 and 1745 respectively. In *Chengenokeltay*, published in 1765, this perfective is observed to occur only once and we can see a single occurrence of it in *Cwungkannokeltayenhay*, published in 1795.

With two occurrences, the perfective *-e.iss* is first attested in *Penyeknokeltay* (1517). What is notable with regard to this perfective is that it does not seem to be frequently used until the late 18th century. In fact, the same sentences found in *Penyeknokeltay* are also seen in *Nokeltayenhay*, and *Phyengankamyengnokeltayenhay*, and *Chengenokeltay*, *Mongenokeltay*, and *Cwungkannokeltayenhay* with slight variations of spelling.

From a morphosyntactic point of view, it is notable that perfective usage of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*, in *Nokeltay* data, is always realized in the form of *-e.kaci.ko*

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<sup>7</sup> Considering the fact that *Nokeltay* data represent colloquial form of a language at the time of publishing, it is reasonable to say that *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* may be used as a perfective marker, at least, in the early 16th century.

and *-e.se*, each of which is followed by the NF particles *-ko* and *-e* respectively. This shows that the meaning of these NF particles, as will be discussed below, has a significant role in establishing a perfective sense of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*. Examples (6) and (7) illustrate perfective usage of *-e.kaci.ko* in *Nokeltay*.

- (6) a. *swuwul pan-man chwihA-e.kaci.ko umsim nay-ye*  
 Liquor half-only drunk-PERF a.zest.for.lechery arise-CONN  
*nolay pulA-nAn salAm-uy cip-uy ka*  
 song sing-ADN person-POSS house-LOC go  
 ‘Getting inebriated, I went to an entertainment establishment with a desire for lechery.’ (1517 *Penyeknokeltay* 1070)
- b. *mAAm-ul eliwu-e.kaci.ko-se*  
 mind-ACC be.foolish-PERF-CONN  
*taytapha-ye nilu-toy*  
 answer-NF say-END  
 ‘Having been agitated, he answered that...’ (1670 *Nokeltayenhay* 1017)
- c. *cuksi hAntengi khun tol-hul cwu-e.kaci.ko*  
 immediately a.lump.of big stone-ACC take-PERF  
*ku salAm-uy mali-lul hyanghaye hAnpen chi-e*  
 that man-POSS head-ACC toward one.time hit-S.END  
 ‘Immediately, the thief took a piece of big stone and hit him on the back of the head with it, and...’ (1765 *Chengenokeltay* 212)
- (7) a. *cem cwuin-kwa sey nakuney sye-(e)-sye*  
 store storekeeper-with three wayfarer stand-NF-exist.NF  
*mAl po-teni cem cwuin-i nilo-toy*  
 horse look.at-while store owner-NOM say-COMP  
 ‘A storekeeper and three wayfarers made a stop and looked at a horse. Then, the storekeeper said that...’ (1517 *Penyeknokeltay* 744)
- b. *kyestay sye-(e).sye po-nAn salAm-i nilA-toy*  
 by.the.side.of stand-SEQ look.at-ADN man-NOM say-END  
 ‘The man looking at it by the side of him said that...’ (1790 *Mongenokeltay* 745)

In (6), of interest is that the situation where ‘a man got inebriated’ as in (6a), even though it has temporal structures of beginning, middle, and end, is presented as an unanalyzable entity, in terms of usage of *-e.kaci*. In other words, it can be said that perfective usage of *-e.kaci* invites us to construe whole processes as a single entity, not highlighting a particular phase or juncture of a temporal structure. The same is true for *-e.kaci* in (6b) and (6c). In these examples, we can say that this perfective

increases degrees of the speaker's subjective frame of view construing the situation where 'a man's mind becomes ignorant and foolish' as in (6b) and 'a man picked up a big piece of stone' as in (6c), respectively, as a single entity without concern for the particular phases of the situations.

A similar case can also be observed in perfective usage of *-e.iss*. As shown in (7a) and (7b), the structure of *-(e).sye* consisting of a NF marker *-e* and *-sye*, which is a variation of *-se* (the coalescence of a verb *-iss* 'exist' and the NF *-e*), does not seem to highlight or relate to the particular temporal phases or junctures of these situations. Rather, this perfective, similar to the perfective *-e.kaci*, seems to induce the speaker to construe the situations as an unanalyzable single unit. Specifically, in these examples, we can say that 'a shopkeeper and three wayfarers gather together' as in (7a) and 'the man is standing by the side of someone' as in (7b) is presented as an unanalyzable.

Considering the sentences in Examples (6) and (7), thus, we can reasonably say that the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* are employed, by the speaker, to present particular situations or events as a single entity despite the fact that they have distinguishable internal structures of beginning, middle, and end, respectively. Another interesting point to note is that the perfective structure *-e.kaci.ko* as in (6) is seen to deliver the information structure 'situation A *is followed by* situation B'. The same is true for the perfective structure *-(e).sye*, which is a variant of the perfective structure *-e.se*. As shown in (7), it delivers a structure of information 'situation A, *then* situation B' or 'situation A *is followed by* situation B'.

The emergence of the information structure of these perfective structures also seems to be strongly influenced by the semantics of the NF particles *-ko* and *-e*.<sup>8</sup> Discussions on contributions of the particles *-ko* and *-e* in the emergence of the information structure of those perfectives will be discussed in detail in the following subsections. In the next subsection, we will examine synchronic usage of the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*.

### 3.2 Perfective usage of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* in synchronic data

How the properties of the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* simplify whole processes into single entities can also be found in synchronic data. This is well illustrated in Example (8).

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<sup>8</sup> Rhee (2008:40) states that *-e* indicates 'consolidation' of event1 and event2, whereas *-ko* indicates 'isolation' of event1 and event2 (see also Koo 1987, Rhee 1996, 2007).

- (8) a. *ku salam swul-i manhi chwiha-e.kaci.ko*  
 that man liquor-NOM much get.drunk-PERF  
*mom-to ceytaylo kanwuci mos ha-te-la*  
 body-ADD properly keep.one's.balance cannot do-RETR-END  
 'The man was so drunk that he couldn't keep himself steady.'
- b. *kongkicwung-ey miseymenci swuchi-ka nophaci-e.kaci.ko*  
 in.the.air-LOC fine.dust amount-TOP increase-PERF  
*changmwun-ul yel-ki-ka kepna-n-ta*  
 window-ACC open-NOMZ-NOM be.afraid.of-PRES-END  
 'Since the amount of fine dust in the air is increasing (these days), I am afraid of opening the window.'
- c. *soi-nun kipwun-i cohaci-e.se*  
 Soyi-TOP feelings-NOM get.better-PERF  
*khosnolay-lul hungelkeli-ki-sicakha-ess-ta*  
 humming-ACC croon.to.oneself-NOMZ-start-PST-DEC  
 'As Soyi began to feel better, she started to hum softly to herself.'
- d. *shihwu-nun wenha-te-n cangnankam-ul sa-keytoy-e.se*  
 Shihoo-TOP want-RETR-ADN toy-ACC buy-CAUS-PERF  
*nemwu hayngpokhayha-ess-ta*  
 much be.happy-PST-END  
 'Because Shihoo finally bought the toy which he desired, he was so happy.'

Regarding the sentences in Example (8), what seems to be identical with examples in (6) and (7) is that the situations where 'the man got so drunk' as in (8a) and 'increase of the amount of fine dust in the air' as in (8b), all of which are introduced by the perfective *-e.kaci*, can be understood as a single objective entity. It is the same for the perfective *-e.iss*. In fact, the processes of 'changes in sentiment of Soyi,' as in (8c); and the situation in which Shihoo finally bought what he really wanted to buy,' as in (8d), can be viewed as unanalyzable wholes. Sentences such as (8c) and (8d) demonstrate that the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* show a tendency to simplify a state of affairs or processes of situations into a wrapped-up whole.

Apart from tending to simplify the processes of events into a single conceptual unit, shared properties of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* in (8) are such that they analogously deliver the information structure, 'situation A causes situation B'. Of particular interest is that *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* can be substituted for each other without a significant change of meaning in this example.

Regarding perfective usage of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* as in (6), (7), and (8), it must be noted that the tendency of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* to package a state of affairs/process of

events as an unanalyzable whole falls under the case of the totality view of perfectives (Comrie 1976:3, Friedrich 1974:8, Lee 1991:35-38). The importance of this totality view lies in the fact that the emergence of negativity in the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* seems motivated by interaction between the speaker's negative attitude toward events or information and the totality sense of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*. In the following subsections, we discuss the properties of the totality view and the conceptual relationship between the totality view and the perfectives of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*, in more detail.

### 3.3 Totality, external view, and communicative package

In general, aspect can be distinguished into two categories: inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect (Lee 1991:35-38). Inherent aspect refers to the way in which the temporal structure of a situation is looked at in terms of its inherent properties, such as telicity, punctuality, dynamicity.<sup>9</sup> Whereas, viewpoint aspect is the other way of looking at the temporal structure. It is concerned with 'how a situation is viewed by the speaker' instead of its inherent temporal properties.<sup>10</sup>

The underlying assumption of viewpoint aspect is that a situation can be presented differently depending on the speaker's viewpoint. Specifically, within the scope of viewpoint aspect, what stage, phase, or juncture of a temporal structure is focused on or highlighted is determined by the 'location' of the speaker's viewpoint or a frame of view.<sup>11</sup> Another underlying assumption is that viewpoint aspect has to do with the way a situation is viewed and presented in the course of discourse, and with the 'communicative purposes' the speaker has at a particular moment. Thus, the same situation can be presented differently depending on where it fits in the overall discourse structure and with the communicative purposes (Lee 1991:37).

Two sets of major categories of viewpoint aspect are recognized in the literature; perfective vs. imperfective and progressive vs. non-progressive (Comrie 1976, Bybee

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<sup>9</sup> Various aspectual distinctions made in terms of inherent perspective are referred to as 'situation' aspect (Smith 1983), 'lexical aspect' (Friedrich 1974, Dahl 1985, Anderson 1990). 'Aktionsart' is another term used in the literature that refers to a kind of inherent aspect.

<sup>10</sup> It is generally assumed that aspect is concerned with the internal temporal contour or constituency of a situation as a whole. Despite the long history and the extensive study of aspect, however, aspectual concepts, the terminology expressing them, and the criteria by which various aspectual categories such as perfective/imperfective are distinguished still remain unclear and confusing (cf. Comrie 1976, Bybee 1985, Chung & Timberlake 1985, Dahl 1985).

<sup>11</sup> Lee (1991:37) states that in some context, a situation or an event can be presented as "a factual statement as an after report, or as if it is an on-line description. In this context as well, the location of the speaker's viewpoint is crucial; whether it is located within or outside the event frame of the situation described."

1985:141, Chung & Timberlake 1985, Dahl 1985:189).<sup>12</sup> The perfective vs. imperfective distinction is characterized as referring to the closure of a situation (Chung & Timberlake 1985), whether viewed as a ‘bounded’ entity or ‘open-ended’ (Bybee 1985:21), whether viewed as ‘externally’ (totally) or ‘internally’ (Comrie 1976), or whether it has attained a ‘terminal’ point (Dahl 1981, Hopper 1982). These different concepts used for the perfective vs. imperfective distinction can be elaborated on using the following three general criteria: completedness, boundedness, and totality (Lee 1991:42).<sup>13</sup>

In regard to three general criteria, Comrie (1976:4) argues that totality alone is the case of perfectives. Comrie (1976:4) explains that totality looks at the situation from *outside*, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation. Whereas, the imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such, is crucially concerned with the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Lee (1991:46) calls these two ways of looking at a situation as the ‘external view’ and the ‘internal view’ respectively. Lee (1991:45) also claims that “Strictly speaking, totality is not a temporal notion. It rather belongs to a dimension of communicative packaging for presentation, that is, the way a situation is wrapped up when it is presented in the discourse. A situation can be presented as a wrapped-up whole or as unfolded such that its internal structure is accessible”.

Given the properties of the totality view of perfectives discussed above, we can say that the perfective usage of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* described in Example (6), (7), and (8) also belongs to the dimension of communicative packaging for presentation. In the previous subsection, we observe that these perfectives show a tendency to present situations and processes of events as a single conceptual entity in some sentences. On the basis of Lee’s (1991:37, 45) explanation on viewpoint aspect and totality, it is also plausible to claim that packaging/presenting situations or whole processes of events as wrapped-up wholes has to do with the way the situation is viewed and presented in the course of discourse, and with the ‘communicative purposes’ the speaker has at any particular moment.

<sup>12</sup> Because the progressive vs. non-progressive distinction is not a main concern of this paper, it will not be discussed further (see Lee 1991:42-47).

<sup>13</sup> Completedness refers to the completion of an event, or attaining a temporal point (Friedrich 1974:7, Dahl 1981, Hopper 1982:5). In this view, the speaker’s viewpoint is located at the ‘terminal juncture’ of the situation described. Boundedness refers to the inclusion of inception and end-point of a situation (Hopper 1982:6), containment of a situation by the temporal frame in which the event takes place (Chung & Timberlake 1985:217), or the presence of a limit or end-state (Bybee & Dahl 1989). Totality concerns whether a situation is viewed from the ‘outside’ (external view) and is presented as a ‘single conceptual unit’ (Friedrich 1974:8), i.e., as ‘a single unanalyzable whole’, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one (Comrie 1976:3), or viewed from ‘inside’ (internal view) and its internal temporal structure is appreciated (Comrie 1976:4).

Furthermore, the tendency of looking at situations or events as single entities, carried by *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*, may be attributed to the speaker's conceptual frame of reference being located 'outside' of or 'distant' from the events or situations. In other words, since the speaker's viewpoint is located outside of the event frame, the conceptual or metaphorical distance between the speaker and the situation under discussion may induce the speaker to construe situations or processes of events as unanalyzable unitary entities.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.4 Contributions by particles in emergence of the totality view of perfectives

As briefly mentioned in the preceding subsections, the role of the NF particles *-e* and *-ko* seems of particular significance in the emergence of the totality sense of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*. Rhee (2007) claims that particles, which have been often relegated to peripheral categories in grammar, play a significant role in determining the perfective categories (e.g., resultant/completion, bounded, and totality) and the semantics of grammaticalized markers. For example, Rhee (2008) claims that the emergence of the completion sense and the grammaticalization into a viewpoint marker of the perfectives *-e.peli-* and *-e.chiwu-* comes from semantics of the verbs and the particle *-e*. He goes on to state that "furthermore, even the semantic differences, which eventually result in functional differences, are due to the different connectives being recruited." According to Rhee (2007), regardless of the semantic and functional differences of periphrastic perfectives, a shared characteristic of those perfectives is that NF particles such as *-e* and *-ko* invariably have the sequentiality-marking function in common. The difference between these particles is that *-e* indicates 'consolidation' of event<sub>1</sub> and event<sub>2</sub>. In contrast, *-ko* indicates 'isolation' of event<sub>1</sub> and event<sub>2</sub> (Koo 1987, Rhee 1996, 2007, 2008).

The semantic contribution of *-e* and *-ko* holds true in the perfective sense of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*. The occurrence of totality view seems to be motivated by semantic interaction of the NF connective particle *-e* and the verbs *kaci-* 'to possess' and *iss-* 'to exist', respectively. Assuming that the NF particles *-e* and *-ko* analogously carry the sense of sequentiality, the speaker's interpretation of the

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<sup>14</sup> Lee (1991:48-49) states that the constitution of the totality view can be explained by Talmy's (1987) notion of 'coupling'. Lee (1991:48-49) explains that when the speaker presents a situation in a factual statement as an after-report, it is normally viewed from the speaker's frame. In this case, the referent situation is presented in relation to or through the speaker's frame. Talmy refers to this conceptual process as 'coupling', because the speaker's viewpoint is coupled with the speaker's frame. Specifically, because the speaker's frame of view is outside of or away from the event frame, the situation can be said to be viewed externally. As a result of 'coupling', it is simply reported that there is such and such a situation at a given time in a given place and the whole situation is wrapped up as a single objective entity.

relationship between events linked by *-e* may be ‘event A and (then) event B. Besides, given that the verbs *kaci-* ‘to possess’ and *iss-* ‘to exist’ carry the senses of ‘you have already obtained it’ and ‘it is present in the world as a real thing’, respectively, it may be the case that an event or situation followed by the structure *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* is more likely to be construed as a single conceptual entity.

As a result of the semantic properties of these perfectives, it seems that situations linked by the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* are likely to be interpreted as providing the information structure ‘situation A, *then* situation B’ or ‘situation A *causes* situation B’.

The remaining question is where and how a negative sense of the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* emerges from the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*. This will be discussed in the following subsection in more detail.

### 3.5 Emergence of sense of undesirability from the totality view of perfectives

It seems that the emergence of the sense of undesirability of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* was motivated by the interplay between the speaker’s construal of conceptual distance in the totality usage of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* and the speaker’s negative, or unfavorable, attitude toward events or information. Regarding the emergence of the information structure UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub>, subjectification contributes the emergence of this structure.

When it comes to the emergence of the negative sense of the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss*, provided that the speaker interprets a state of affairs of events as being distant/detached from their value system or discordant with what is believed to be desirable, it may be that the conceptual distance between the speaker’s frame and the event frame in perfective usage of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* is understood as an emotional distance between the speaker’s value system and the state of events. In other words, if the speaker feels that the present state of events does not accord with their belief system, a conceptual distance between the speaker and the event may be converted into degrees of negativity/undesirability in the speaker’s territory of a sentiment or affect. In this case, the more the speaker’s attitude about the state of affairs is unfavorable or negative, the more likely it is that their construal of emotional distance toward it increases. This is illustrated in Example (9).

(9) *-e.kaci/-e.iss-* (from *kaci-* ‘possess’; *iss-* ‘exist’)

- a. *tongneypangney nay sasaynghwal-ul ta malhakotani-e.kaci.ko*  
 everywhere my privacy-ACC all say-PERF  
*iceyn molu-nun salam-i epsulcikyengi-ta*  
 now do.not.know-ADN person-NOM be.nearly.non.existent-DEC  
 ‘Because (he/she) talked about my private life merrily with others, now almost everyone knows about it’. (So, I am quite displeased at his/her talking about this.)
- b. *kule-n elyewum-to mos cham-e.se*  
 that.sort.of-ADN difficulties-ADD NEG overcome-PERF  
*kyelkwuk ku coh-un cikcang-ul kumantwu-ko mal-ess-nya?*  
 eventually such nice-ADN job-ACC quit-NF end.up-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you quit such a nice job simply because the work was harder than you expected?’

In (9a), we can identify that what is undesirable for the speaker is the fact that ‘a third party talked about the speaker’s private life merrily with others’ and ‘now everyone knows about my private life’. This negative interpretation of the situation is based on the speaker’s belief that talking about the speaker’s private life to others is inappropriate. Regarding (9a), it is noteworthy that that the speaker’s frame of reference is concerned with the fact that ‘he/she talked about the speaker’s private life with others’. In other words, the whole process, followed by the perfective *-e.kaci*, can be viewed as an unanalyzable unit or communicative package (Comrie 1976:3). The same is true for *-e.iss* as in (9b). In this example, what is undesirable for the speaker is the subject’s lack of perseverance and the situation where the listener’s weak-mindedness led to his/her quitting such a good job. Here, we can also recognize that the subject lacks perseverance and that the event of quitting the job is presented as an unanalyzable whole. This shows that the emergence of a negative sense of the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* is motivated by the interplay between the speaker’s construal of psychological/emotional distance and the speaker’s subjective attitude toward the events.

Construal of psychological/emotional distance from the distance between the speaker’s frame and the event frame and from the speaker’s subjective emotional attitude toward situations can be supported by Suzuki’s (1998) notion of incorporation of information. In her study on evaluative markers in Japanese, Suzuki (1998:431) suggests that “[i]ncorporation of information refers to the process by which the speaker acquires a piece of information and internalizes the information. The degree of incorporation is high when the speaker has digested and integrated information into

his/her value system. The degree is lower when the process of incorporation is blocked for some reason.”

Suzuki (1998:431) goes on to state that there are several variables that influence the incorporation process. Among them is an important variable that influences the incorporation process, namely the speaker’s emotional distance from the information. One is likely to be emotionally attached to information when it is well incorporated into one’s belief system. By contrast, one would feel resistant to or detached from information when it is not incorporated or integrated into one’s value system.

On the basis of Suzuki’s (1998:431) elaboration on construal of psychological/emotional distance, we can thus claim that when information or an event has been presented as an unanalyzable unit according to the speaker’s communicative purpose, and when this unit is considered to be discrepant from the speaker’s value or belief system or hard to digest, the speaker is likely to feel that the situation or information is emotionally distant. In this case, the degree of emotional distance is high.

When it comes to the emergence of undesirability from the speaker’s construal of psychological/emotional distance, it seems motivated by the speaker’s subjective or egocentric construal of psychological distance toward given situations or information, i.e. subjectification (Traugott & König 1991). Subjectification is widely attested in grammatical and lexical change across languages (Traugott 1982, 1989, Traugott & König 1991, Traugott & Dasher 2002). The close relationship between subjectification and grammaticalization has often been addressed in literature (e.g., *since* in Traugott & König 1991). Traugott (1982) claims that language change shows a set of semantic-pragmatic tendencies and these tendencies are closely related with the speaker’s involvement. According to Traugott & König (1991), the tendencies show directionality of semantic development. The tendencies of directionality of semantic shift can be presented as follows in (10):

(10) *Semantic-pragmatic tendency I*: Meanings based in the external described situation > meaning based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation

*Semantic-pragmatic tendency II*: Meanings based in the described external or internal situation > meanings based in the textual situation

*Semantic-pragmatic Tendency III*: Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker’s subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation.

Apparently, the emergence of the negative sense of *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* falls under the case of the semantic-pragmatic tendency III. If a situation or information is



|                  |                             |                     |                              |
|------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| b. <i>icyeny</i> | <i>pAyu-n-kes-kwa</i>       | <i>kolAy</i>        | <i>yucyenhA-nAn</i>          |
| previously       | learn-ADN-thing-and         | from.old.times      | inherit-ADN                  |
| <i>mal-man</i>   | <i>kaci-ko</i>              | <i>phwungcyokhi</i> | <i>neki-ko iss-e.sye.nAn</i> |
| word-only        | have-CONN                   | satisfactorily      | think-PROG-NC                |
| <i>nam-uykey</i> | <i>yamankwuk-i-la-n</i>     |                     | <i>ilhom-ul</i>              |
| other-from       | barbaric.nation-be-COMP-ADN |                     | reputation-ACC               |
| <i>myenchi</i>   | <i>mos</i>                  | <i>hA-l-neyla</i>   |                              |
| avoid            | cannot                      | do-FUT-END          |                              |

‘If we are complacent about what we have learned and inherited from old times, we cannot avoid earning the reputation of being an uncivilized country.’

(1896 *Toknipsinmwun* 583)

Sentences in (11) are taken from newspaper articles published in *Toknipsinmwun: The Independent*, which was the first private newspaper published in the late 19th century. It is interesting that usage of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* as in (11a) and *-e.se.nun* as in (11b) analogously expresses both the totality view of perfective and the function of NCs delivering message ‘UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub>’.<sup>16</sup> Specifically, in (11a), what is undesirable for the writer is a situation in which people are ignorant of the importance of national self-defense in the era of imperialism. In this sentence, we can identify that the situation of people’s ignorance and an outdated behavior of merely writing articles is presented as a wrapped-up whole. This example also shows that the NC *-e.kaci.ko.nun* issues a pragmatic warning ‘I am sure that a lack of self-defense capabilities in a time of imperialism will necessarily result in invasion’. In (11b), the writer also displays a negative stance toward the situation in which people are complacent about what they have learned and inherited from their ancestors, which is conceived by the writer as a relic of old days. Likewise, in (11a) the writer presents the situation as a communicative package. Additionally, the construction *-e.se.nun* in (11b) is used to deliver a message ‘if you remain complacent about what you have, this country will be definitely called uncivilized and barbaric by others’.

As discussed in the previous subsection, packaging/presenting situations or a whole process of events as a wrapped-up whole has to do with the way the situation is viewed and presented in the course of discourse, and with the ‘communicative purposes’ the speaker has at a particular moment.

With regard to the conditional or prediction sense of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun*, this sense is attributed from the meaning of the marker *-nun*. It is a generally assumed

<sup>16</sup> The constructions *-ye.kaci.ko.nun* is a variant of *-e.kaci.ko.nun*.

fact that the marker *-nun* marks various senses such as topic, emphatic, contrastive, and conditional in discourse. The senses of *-nun* can be illustrated in Example (12).

- (12) a. *ku cicin-un lihithe cicinkyey-lo cinto i-lul*  
 that earthquake-TOP Richter seismometer-INST scale 2-ACC  
*kilokha-ess-ta*  
 register-PST-END  
 ‘The earthquake registered two on the Richter scale.’
- b. *icey, ile-n conglyu-uy il-un*  
 now, be.like.this-ADN kind-GEN incident-TOP  
*kyelkho ilena-e.se.nun antoy-n-ta*  
 never happen-EMPH should.not-PRES-DEC  
 ‘Now, this sort of thing should never happen.’
- c. *sallye-nun tuli-l-key*  
 save.life-CONT give.HON-PROM-END  
 ‘For your own sake, I will spare your life.’ (Sinseykyey: New World)
- d. *kim paksa-hanthey cenhwa o-myen*  
 Kim doctor.-from phone come-COND  
*nay-ka ohwuey cenhwaha-n-tako malhaycwu-l-lay-yo?*  
 I-NOM in.the.afternoon call-PRES-COMP tell-FUT-END-POL  
 ‘If Dr. Kim calls, would you please tell him I’ll call him back this afternoon?’

As shown in (12), *-nun* exhibits various functions in colloquial Korean. In (12a), *-nun* bears the function of topic marker, indicating that the entity prior to this marker is the grammatical subject of a clause. The function of this marker in (12b), however, is different from that of *-nun* in (12a). This marker is functioning as an emphatic marker, conveying the sense that it ‘should never’ happen again. The function of *-nun* in (12c) is a contrastive marker. The sentence in (12c) is quoted from a movie entitled *Sinseykyey: New World*.<sup>17</sup> The function of *-nun* in this sentence is quite intriguing in that it delivers the message that ‘you may think that I will kill you. But, for your own sake, I will spare your life.’ In other words, with usage of *-nun*, the protagonist overturns the antagonist’s idea that ‘I am going to die’. It is clear that this sense of contrast is attributed to *-nun*. Finally, the sense of *-nun* in (12d) is conditional. In this sentence, conjoined with another conditional marker *-myen* (< *mye* + *nun*), *-nun* carries the function of a conditional marker. This is a case of divergence (Hopper 1991).

<sup>17</sup> The movie *Sinseykyey: New World* was released in 2013 in Korea. It depicts a veiled enmity and a revenge plot among gangsters.

Of particular interest is that *-nun*, in (12), displays the senses of topic, emphatic, contrastive, and conditional simultaneously. For example, the speaker's stance of disapproval toward the situation in (12b) indicates that a given situation or information is in contrast to or not in accordance with the speaker's value system. Besides, the speaker wants to emphasize that he/she believes it to be undesirable. Furthermore, he/she issues a pragmatic warning delivering the message that 'I DON'T WANT IT HAPPEN (AGAIN) or AN UNDESIRABLE SITUATION SHOULD HAPPEN'.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper explored the grammaticalization processes of the periphrastic perfectives *-e.kaci-* and *-e.iss-*, grammaticalized into the category of negative conditionals combined with the complexes of *-ko.nun* and *-e.nun*, respectively. Among notable observations are that the development of the periphrastic perfectives *-e.kaci-* and *-e.iss-* into viewpoint markers was motivated by the totality view of perfective. In addition, we observed that a negative evaluative sense of these forms is derived from the speaker's construal, i.e., subjectification, of metaphorical distance between the speaker's frame and the event frame. When an event or situation is interpreted as being not well-incorporated into the speaker's knowledge or belief system, it is claimed that the metaphorical distance between the speaker and the event is construed as psychological/emotional distance from the situation or event. As a result of this conceptual process, i.e., subjectification, a negative evaluative sense of *-e.kaci-* and *-e.iss-* emerged.

We also discussed that since the non-finite particles *-e* and *-ko* have a sequentiality marking function, the perfectives *-e.kaci* and *-e.iss* came to express the information structure 'S<sub>1</sub> causes S<sub>2</sub>', and this structure was shown to develop into the meaning situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state or attitude, 'UNDESIRABLE S<sub>1</sub> leads to UNDESIRABLE S<sub>2</sub>'.

Finally, this paper claims that the negative conditionality of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* has its semantic origin in the meaning of the marker *-nun*. Providing examples of various functions of *-nun*, we discussed that it displays the senses of emphatic, contrastive, conditional, and topic. Given these senses, the NCs *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* deliver the messages: 'a given situation or information is in contrast to or not in accordance with the speaker's value system; 'the speaker wants to emphasize what he/she believes to be undesirable; and 'I DON'T WANT IT HAPPEN (AGAIN), or AN UNDESIRABLE SITUATION SHOULD HAPPEN' simultaneously.

In sum, grammaticalization of *-e.kaci.ko.nun* and *-e.se.nun* into NCs has not only been motivated by the interplay of subjectification and the totality view of perfectives, but also the marker *-nun*, expressing emphatic, contrastive, and conditional sense in PDK.

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## 韓語否定條件句之觀點貌與語法化

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本論文旨在探討韓語否定條件句（NCs）的兩個語法化詞根：（NCs）*-e kacikonun* 和 *-e senun*，以驗證以下兩點：（1）此種有著負面評價意味的條件句之出現乃因說話者為了要在完成式上（*-e kaci* 和 *-e iss*），建構一種心靈/情緒上的表達，換言之，即是有完全之表意；（2）NCs 之條件意味是因為詞根 *-nun* 在當今韓語（PDK）中帶著許多語法化意味。本文主張這些 NCs 之負面評價來自於詞根 *-e kaci* 和 *-e iss* 的完成式用法上，亦即完成式的完全之表意。尤其是說話者身為一個獨立的個體，從一個具有優勢的外在觀點來檢視一個情境，而說話者建構一個自己的信念或是價值觀和情境事件之間的心靈/情緒上的距離，導致了這些完成式演化成一種標記，以表徵說話者表達不喜歡之態度。否定條件句用語 *-e kacikonun* 和 *-e senun* 的建立是來自連接詞根 *-e* 和 *-ko* 以標示連續性。這些有著連續性表意的連接詞根（複雜詞）*-e kaci* 和 *-e iss*，各自與不同詞根作連結 [*-e kaci + -ko*] 和 [*-e iss + -e*]，但皆傳達一個訊息，即不討喜的  $S_1$  導致出不討喜的  $S_2$ 。此條件意味的詞根 *-e kacikonun* 和 *-e senun* 是源自於 *-nun* 標記，在當代韓語（PDK）中傳達著不同意思，如：主題、強調、對比或條件意味在其中。

關鍵詞：韓語、語法化、完成式之完全觀點、觀點貌、否定條件句、心靈距離、主觀意識