

## On the Emergence of the Speaker's Tepidity Stance and Discourse Politeness

### 1. Introduction

- Korean has an impressive inventory of postpositional particles and clausal connectives with diverse functions.
- One peculiar form is *-na* that functions as a postpositional particle, a clausal connective, and a sentence-final particle.
- Recently, it is used as a particle for marking the speaker's stance of 'tepidity', i.e. the speaker is not enthusiastic about his/her choice.

(1) a. *yenghwa-lul po-ca*  
movie-ACC see-HORT  
'Let's watch a movie (rather than a concert)'

b. *yenghwa-na po-ca*  
movie-PRT see-HORT  
'Let's watch a movie (but I am not excited about watching it).'

- The lack of speaker's assertiveness enabled the Tepidity marker to develop into a marker of politeness, especially in hortative or imperative sentences, since attenuation (mitigation, downgrading; Caffi 2010) is a common strategy for politeness marking (Rhee 2011).

#### [Research Objectives]

- This paper intends:
  - (i) to investigate the development of *-na* from the function of marking adversativity/enumeration to the affective stance marker of tepidity and its divergences into other related functions;
  - (ii) to analyze how subjectification, intersubjectification (Traugott and Dasher 2002) and context-induced reinterpretation (Heine et al. 1991) contribute to the grammaticalization processes;
  - (iii) to illustrate how a form cuts across functional domains and grammatical categories synchronically as a cumulative effect of diachronic changes

### 2. Diachronic Development

#### 2.1 Clausal Connective: Adversative & Concessive

##### [Adversative]

- The use of the clausal connective *-na* is attested in the oldest extant poems in Old Korean, *Hyangga* (6th-10th c).

(2) *cus-a pala-na nwuli-to acheyl-uncye*  
face-EMPH yearn-CONN world-also hate-EXCLM  
'I long for the (king's) face, **but** I hate (everything else) even the world.' (8th c. Sin Chwung, *Wenka*)

### [Concessive for Emphasis]

- The adversative *-na* frequently cooccurs with *pilok* ‘though’ in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

(3) *pilok simhi kong-ul sAlanghA-na kulena kong-ul kAlAchi-otAy*  
though very.much master-ACC love-CONN but master-ACC discipline-CONN  
‘**Though** the Master’s (Junghen) mother loved him very much, [but] she disciplined him (rather than spoiling him when he was young in such a way that...) (1475, *Nayhwun* 3:15a)

### [Concessive for Universal Quantification]

- The adversative *-na* comes to list complementary antonyms for universal quantification.

(4) *kananhA-na kazAmye-na cwuku-na sa-na hAnkacilo hA-nAni*  
be.poor-CONN be.rich-CONN die-CONN live-CONN as.one do-as  
‘as (they) act together **whether** they are poor **or** rich, **whether** they live **or** die...’  
(1518 *Cengsokenhay* 6a)

## 2.2 Postpositional Particle (Nominal Disjunctive)

- In Middle Korean *-na* was used in the form of *-i-na*, i.e. preceded by the copula *i-*. But this clausal connective was reanalyzed as a nominal postposition.
- The function of the nominal disjunctive connective *-na* (and *-ina*) was largely to enumerate options, exemplars, etc.
- Similar yet diverse functions arose from context-induced reinterpretation (Heine et al. 1991).

### [Enumerative for Multiple Members]

- In the enumerative function, *-na* (and *-ina*) was most commonly used in the reduplicative form of *-na... -na... -na*, largely denoting ‘A, or B, or C, ...’.
- In the enumerative function, the last item listed is also marked with *-na*, often implying that the listing is not exhaustive.
- Due to morphosyntactic variability, *-na* may occur in the forms of *-na*, *-i-na*, *-e-na*, *-i.e-na*, *-i.ke-na*, etc.

(5) *kuli-e-na nap-i.e-na chel-i.e-na namk-i.e-na hAlk-i.e-na*  
copper-PRT lead-PRT iron-PRT wood-PRT mud-PRT  
‘**whether** (you adorn the Buddha’s statue with) copper **or** lead **or** iron **or** wood **or** mud...’  
(1447, *Sekposangcel* 13:52a)

### [Enumerative for Exemplars]

- As a postpositional particle, *-na* (and its variants) tends to present exemplars of a category.

(6) *sihok sokom-ina maysil-ina pcAn kes-kwa suyn kes tAlhi ta elwu kulhy-e*  
if salt-PRT plum-PRT salty thing-and sour thing together all mixed boil-and  
‘if you boil salty things and sour things together **such as** salt and plum...’  
(1466, *Kwukuppang* I: 32a)

### [Complementary Enumerative for Universal Quantification]

- When *-na* presents exemplars that are in the complementary relationship, they carry the meaning of wholeness.

- (7) *pam-ina nac-ina honca anc-asye ha wul-ko*  
 night-PRT day-PRT alone sit-and much weep-and  
 ‘(I) sit alone and weep a lot day **and** night.’ (15xx, *Swunchenkimssienkan* 73:15)

### [Quantified Enumerative for Minimum]

- When *-na* is attached to a quantified noun with a small number (typically ‘one’), it tends to carry the meaning of the lower limit of a spectrum being referred to.

- (8) *i pyeng-ul yehAy-ko hAn hAy-na sal-kocya neky-e*  
 this illness-ACC recover-and one year-PRT live-DESID think-and  
 ‘just hoping that I could live **just only** one year after I shake off this illness’  
 (15xx, *Swunchenkimssienkan* 28:8)

### [Quantified Enumerative for Approximation]

- The postpositional particle *-na* carries the meaning of approximation, especially when the listed NPs form a range of quantities.

- (9) *tih-e kAl-a pco-n cup hAn hop-ina twu hop-ina*  
 pound-and ground-and squeeze-ADN juice one cup-PRT two cup-PRT  
*cyekcyek koh-ay*  
 little.by.little boil.down-and  
 ‘Boil down one **or** two cupfuls of the juice squeezed from the pounded and grounded (typha plant seed pods) and...’ (1489, *Kwukupkanipang* 2:96a)

### [Quantified Enumerative for Counterexpectation/Surprise]

- When *-(i)na* is attached to a quantified noun, it tends to convey the counterexpectation or surprise meaning, translatable as ‘as many/much as’.

- (10) *sangtol misth-ul sek cah-ina phA-ni amokes-to eps-Amay*  
 stone.altar below-ACC three feet-PRT dig-as anything-even not.exist-as  
 ‘as there was nothing even after they dug **as many as** three feet under the stone altar...’  
 (16xx, *Kyeychwukilki* 53)

## 3. Further Functional Extension

- In recent years, another significant divergence of this connective is its development into a SFP to mark the speaker's self-addressed question through a process of main-clause ellipsis (Rhee 2002, Sohn 2003; ‘insubordination’, Evans 2007, 2009; ‘suspended clause’, Ohori 1995).
- The adversative connective further develops into a marker of tepidity, and further to a marker of politeness.

### 3.1 Sentence-Final Particle

#### [Monologic Interrogative & Feigned Monologic Interrogative]

- The elided main clause is easily reconstructed as containing a verb of cognition (‘know’ ‘wonder’) or appearance (‘seem’), emotion (‘feel like’) and locution (‘say’).
- The monologic interrogative marker *-na* as a verbal morphology is used to show that the speaker is (still) exploratory about a state of affairs.
- The signal of on-going exploration becomes conventionalized as a marker of the speaker’s cognitive non-definiteness and indecision.

(11) *mwusun il-i sayngki-ess-na?* (*molukeyssta, kwungkumhata...*)  
 what.kind matter-NOM occur-PST-Q.SFP (I.don't.know, I.wonder...)  
 'What happened?' (< 'I don't know...; I'm wondering...') (PDK)

(12) *i il-ul ecce-na?* (*sayngkakcwungita, kominita...*)  
 this matter-ACC do.how-Q.SFP (I'm.thinking, I'm.exploring...)  
 'What can I do with this?' (< 'I'm thinking...; I'm exploring...') (PDK)

- The monologic interrogative marker is often used in rhetorical questions.
- This function is detached from ellipsis.

(13) *nwukwu-nun hwanay-l cwul molu-na?*  
 who-TOP show.anger-ADN NOMZ not.know-Q.SFP  
 'Do you think I'm quiet because I don't know how to show my anger?' (< Lit. 'Who doesn't know how to show anger?') (PDK)

- The monologic interrogative develops into a "feigned monologue style" interrogative.

(14) "Feigned Monologue":

- The speaker says something as if it were a monologue.
- The monologue may take the form of a question, as if it were a self-addressed question.
- Because of the monologic nature of the utterance, it does not necessarily obligate the hearer to respond.
- A socially-inferior hearer may feel obliged to be responsive to please the socially-superior speaker.
- From the viewpoint of discursive strategies, the speaker shows gentleness by not imposing any direct burden of response to the intended addressee, and the implicit addressee now shows courtesy by being responsive to "what the other simply had in mind."

### [Audience-Blind-Style Interrogative & Claim of Superiority]

- The monologic interrogative marker develops into an audience-blind style (ABS; Koo & Rhee 2013) interrogative marker.

(15) SFP *-na*

- in questions [+FORMAL, -HONORIFIC]
- in questions in audience-blind discourse
- in self-addressed questions (monologic/rhetorical questions)
- in questions showing the speaker's lack of confidence (Koh 1998, Jang 2002, Han 2003, Lee & Lee 2010, Koo & Rhee 2013)

- The ABS interrogative marker is a dialogic interrogative marker but due to its root in audience-blindness, its use implies that the speaker does not consider the hearer/listener as his/her equal discourse partner (e.g., a nobleman to a servant; an officer to a private).

(16) *ppalli mos ttwi-na?*  
 fast cannot run-Q.SFP  
 'Can't you run faster?' (PDK)

- (17) *nwu-ka palphoha-lako hay-ss-na?*  
 who-NOM shoot-IMP.COMP say-PST-Q.SFP  
 ‘Who gave you an order to fire?’ (PDK)

### 3.2 Stance-Marking Particle: Tepidity

- The oldest use of postpositional *-na* is the enumerative with multiple items.
- When the repetitive pattern gradually declined through history and thus a sentence came to contain only a single *-na*-marked constituent, the meaning of *-na* changed into a marker of non-specificity by implying that there are other options unmentioned, largely signaling ‘A, among others’.
- The notion of non-specificity was further subjectified into ‘forced choice’ and ‘tepidity’, thus on the part of the speaker the *-na*-marked proposition carries the meaning: ‘I am not excited about this, but if I am obliged to make a choice, I might as well choose A’
- The composite string *-ina* (< COP + CONN) now functions as a postpositional particle; with its allomorph *-na* (if the copula *i-* is deleted when the preceding noun has no coda in the final syllable).
- Due to the tepidity associated with *-na*, it is pragmatically not appropriate when commitment is expected, such as confession of love, as marked with the promissive *-lkey*.

- (18) a. *ne-man salangha-lkey* ‘I will love you only.’  
 b. *ne-lul salangha-lkey* ‘I will love you.’  
 c. ? *ne-to salangha-lkey* ‘I will love you also.’  
 d. ?? *ne-na salangha-lkey* ‘I might as well love you’ (PDK)

- The tepidity or indeterminacy sense further extends to other non-nominal contexts, i.e. complementizer, and indicates the speaker’s metalinguistic tentativeness in choosing an expression.

- (19) *kyay sengkyek-i com thukiha-tako-na ha-lkka?*  
 that.guy personality-NOM somewhat unique-COMP-PRT say-FUT.Q.SFP  
 ‘He has somewhat peculiar personality.’ (< ‘Should I say that his personality is somewhat unique?’) (PDK)

- The tepidity or indeterminacy sense further extends to other non-nominal contexts, i.e. SFP, and signals the speaker’s tentativeness.

- (20) *simsimha-ntey yehayng-ina ka-po-lkka-na?*  
 be.bored-as travel-PRT go-TRI-FUT.Q.SFP-PRT  
 ‘I’m so bored... shall I go on a trip?’

### 3.3 Illocutionary Force Modifier: Attenuative & Politeness

- For the addressee, an operative inference from tepidity-marked proposition/question is: ‘A has other alternatives, and there is no compelling reason for the speaker to choose A’.
- The ‘no compelling reason’ sense, in turn, triggers the functional spread of the form into the domain of politeness markers. The speaker effectively says: ‘How about x, but I am open to other options that you might suggest?’
- When used in suggestion, the *-na*-marked NP is not the scope of tepidity-marking; the suggestion itself is presented in a cautious (tepid, non-enthusiastic, not burden-imposing) manner.

- (21) *kathi khephi-na han can ha-si-lkka-yo?*  
 together coffee-PRT one cup do-HON-FUT.Q.SFP-POL  
 ‘Shall we have a cup of coffee?’ (PDK)

- The particle *-na* further extends its function to mark ‘friendliness’ typically in commands.

|                             |                             |       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| (22) a. <i>ese o-key-na</i> | b. <i>han can ha-sey-na</i> |       |
| fast come-IMP-PRT           | one cup do-HORT-PRT         |       |
| ‘Welcome!’                  | ‘Let’s have a drink!’       | (PDK) |

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1 Implications in Grammar

- Even though *-na* was originally an adversative clausal connective, its frequent occurrence with a noun and a copula (i.e. predicative) triggered the reanalysis of a clausal connective as a nominal particle (N-*i-na* [N-COP-CONN] >> N-*ina* [N-PRT]).
- The epistemic *-ke-* being a verbal morphology was originally attached to the copula (e.g. *-i-ke-na*) as well as other verbs, but due to the reanalysis of *-na* into a postpositional particle, *-ke-* attachment to copula gradually decreased. (The intermediate form is *-i-e-na*.)
- The reanalysis triggered the formal and functional divergence of *V-ke-na* and *N-(i)na*; *V-ke-na* is a full-fledged verbal morphology to list the available options while *N-(i)na* is a nominal morphology for tepidity marking.

### 4.2 Discursive Strategies

- In the SFP domain, the interrogative *-na* developed in monologic and feigned monologic contexts.
- By using the *-na*-interrogative, the speaker is strategically eliding the main clause which would have contained a verb of cognition, e.g. ‘think’, ‘suppose’, ‘wonder’, etc.
- The speaker uses the ABF with sufficient audibility to elicit response from the hearer/listener.
- By using the ABF interrogative, the speaker adopts a stance (‘attitude’ ‘perspective’ etc.) (Stubbs 1986, Cumming & Ono 1997, Englebretson 2007) that s/he is not considering the hearer an equal discourse partner, thus claiming the superior status over the addressee.
- By using the tepidity-marking postpositional particle, the speaker is presenting an option not as an absolute choice but one that can be modified or replaced by the addressee, which triggers the development of politeness marking function.

### 4.3 Subjectification and Intersubjectification

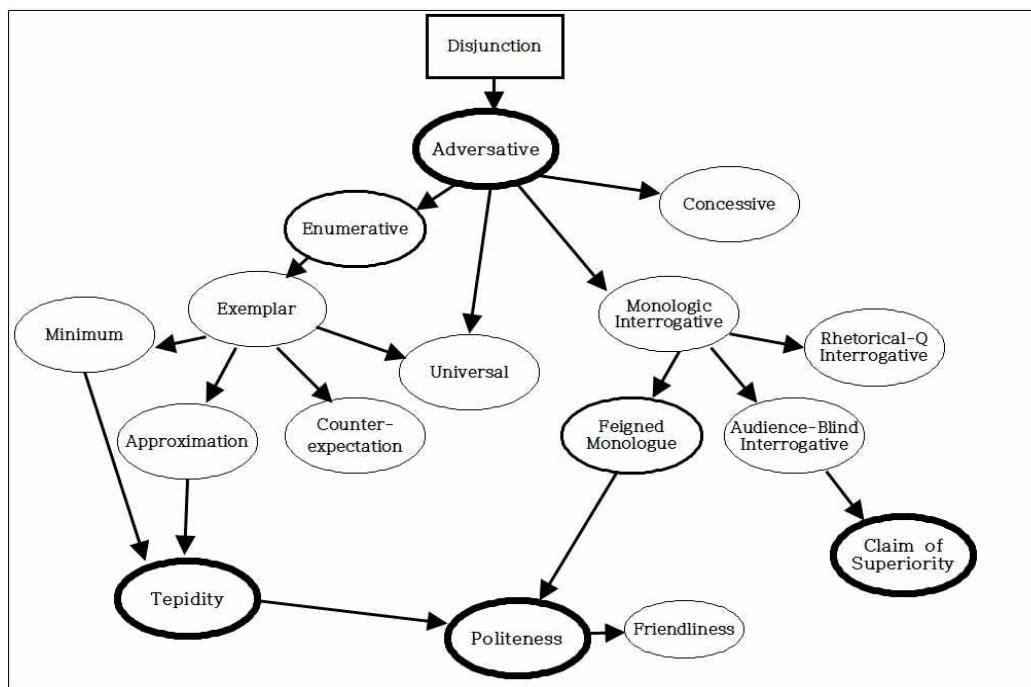
- Traugott (1982): semantic-pragmatic change in the initial propositional (ideational) content can gain either textual (cohesion-making) and expressive (interpersonal, and other pragmatic) meanings, or both: Propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)).
- The semantic change of [multiple options > indeterminacy/tentativeness] is an instance of subjectification; from the states of affairs of the world to the mental state/attitude.
- The SFP *-na* is a non-interactional, non-intersubjective interrogative form on the face of it, but the absence of intersubjective elements with it constitutes another kind of stance.
- The use of the particle *-(i)na* of tepidity is motivated by the face-consideration of the addressee, thus intersubjectification.

## 5. Summary and Conclusion

- The multi-functional *-na* began its life as a clausal adversative connective ‘but’.
- Its frequent collocation with the copula *i-* triggered the reanalysis of *-i-na* as a nominal disjunctive connective ‘or’.
- The original function of enumerating multiple objects gave rise to the meaning of ‘other options available’ and *-na* came to function as a marker of exemplars, universal quantifier, minimal member, approximation, and counterexpectation/surprise.

- The function of *-na* has extended to other domains largely carrying the tepidity meaning, and thus signaling the speaker's attitude of politeness.
- More recently, it developed into a SFP in feigned monologue and audience-blind style questions marking the speaker's attitude of claiming superiority.
- The development involved discursive strategies, subjectification and intersubjectification.

(23)



### Abbreviations:

|                              |                     |                      |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| ACC: accusative              | ADN: adnominal      | CAUS: causative      |
| COMP: complementizer         | CONN: connective    | COP: copula          |
| DEC: declarative             | DESID: desiderative | EMPH: emphatic       |
| EXCLM: exclamative           | FUT: future         | GEN: genitive        |
| HON: honorific               | HORT: hortative     | IMP: imperative      |
| INTEN: intentional           | NOM: nominative     | NOMZ: nominalizer    |
| PDK: present-day Korean      | PL: plural          | POL: polite          |
| PRES: present                | PRT: particle       | PST: past            |
| Q: interrogative             | REGRT: regret       | RETRO: retrospective |
| SFP: sentence-final particle | TOP: topic          |                      |

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