Grammaticalization of Noun Phrase Complement Constructions into Conjunctive Endings in Korean*

Sookhee Chae

(Seoul National University)

This paper examines the grammaticalization process of noun phrase complement constructions into conjunctive endings in Korean with a special focus on constructions containing bound nouns that exhibit heterosemy with free nouns in Contemporary Korean. The process consists of two stages: the first stage is the transition of free nouns into bound nouns and the second stage is the transition of noun phrase complement constructions into conjunctive endings. The first stage is characterized by restrictions on elements preceding and following bound nouns and the weakening of lexical meaning. Characteristics of the second stage include fixation of forms and expression of grammatical meaning. Regarding the second stage, the cooccurence relation of these constructions with main clause sentence type is examined, as it shows that these constructions share similar features with conjunctive endings. The constructions in focus have undergone the first stage and are in the second stage at the moment.

Key words: grammaticalization, bound nouns, conjunctive endings, free nouns, noun phrase complement constructions

1. Introduction

The Korean language has special constructions, which function like conjunctive endings alongside 'real' conjunctive endings. The majority of them are noun phrase complement constructions, each of which consist of an adnominal ending, a noun, and optionally a particle that follows the noun.

These constructions exhibit a tendency to function as single units syntactically. In semantic aspects, they express delicate relational meanings between clauses, which conjunctive endings cannot convey in detail. The delicate meanings that they express stem from the nouns contained in them. In (1a), a noun phrase complement construction '-n palam-ey' links the subordinate clause 'pi-ka o-nu-' to the main clause 'kyengki-ka chwisotoy-' resulting in the former being the cause of the latter in the same way as the conjunctive ending '-ase' does in (1b).[1] However, '-n palam-ey' in (1a) conveys detailed causal meaning indicating that the event in the subordinate clause was something sudden, like 'palam (sudden blow),' alongside the basic causal meaning exhibited by '-ase' in (1b).

> (1) a. pi -ka   o-nu-n   palam-ey kyengki-ka chwisotoy-ess-ta
>   rain-Nom come-Pres-Adn BN-Loc   match-Nom   be cancelled-Pst-Dec
>   'Because it rained, the match was cancelled.'
>   b. pi-ka   o-ase   kyengki-ka chwisotoy-ess-ta
>   rain-Nom come-Conj   match-Nom   be cancelled-Pst-Dec
>   'Because it rained, the match was cancelled.'

Some of these constructions are in the process of being grammaticalized into conjunctive endings. This kind of grammaticalization is not new. Contemporary Korean[2] has conjunctive endings formed by the same kind of grammaticalization process. Some examples are '-ulsay, -unpa, -uncuk'.[3] This is motivated by speakers' desire to express relations between clauses more clearly and informatively, with detailed meaning conveyed by nouns in the constructions.

This paper focuses on the grammaticalization process of these constructions and the characteristics exhibited in each stage of the process. The scholarly

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1) The Yale Romanization System is used here for transliteration and the following abbreviations are used: Acc: accusative; Adn: Adnominal ending; BN: bound noun; Conj: conjunctive ending; Cop: Copula; Dec: declarative; Fut: future; Gen: genitive; Imp: Imperative, Inst: instrumental; Int: Interrogative; Loc: locative; Nom: nominative; Pl: plural; Pres: present; Prop: propositive; Pst: past; and Top: topic.

2) This paper divides historical stages of the Korean language into four stages: Old Korean, Middle Korean, Modern Korean, and Contemporary Korean.

3) '-ulsay' is from Middle Korean '-ulssʌy' which is the combination of adnominal ending '-l', bound noun 'sʌ' and locative case particle 'ʌy'. '-unpa' is the combination of adnominal ending '-n', and bound noun 'pa', while '-uncuk' is the combination of adnominal ending '-n' and bound noun '-cuk' which is from Chinese '卽'. See Lee (1993).

literature has thus far paid only scant attention to the characteristics of this process, and this paper is, in part, an effort to redress the deficiency. Although the process has been treated generally in other works, individual aspects of the process and their sensitivity to the specific characteristics of the nouns have been overlooked. Thus, this paper examines the grammaticalization process in consideration of the characteristics of the nouns.

2. Noun Phrase Complement Constructions and Grammaticalization

Chae (2002) labels the aforementioned constructions as 'noun phrase complement constructions corresponding to conjunctive endings' and suggests a list of 69 constructions, as seen in (2) below. The underlined items must be removed from the list as '-n cuk' is a conjunctive ending '-uncuk', 'kolo' of '-n ko-lo' is an adverb, and '-l cey' is the abbreviation of '-l cek-ey'.4)

(2) a. temporal preceding
       -n kkuth-ey, -n taum-ey, -n taylo, -n twi-ey, -n ilay-lo, -n ihwu-ey,
       -n cokcok, -n hwu-ey
   b. temporal simultaneity
       -n kil-lo, -n kil-ey, -l nyekh-ey, -n tocwung-ey, -n/l tongan-ey, -l
       ttay-ey, -l mwulyep-ey, -n/l sai-ey, -l cek-ey, -l cey, -n/l cuum-ey,
       -n cha-ey, -n/l cham-ey
   c. temporal following
       -l ttay-kkaci
   d. enumeration
       -n tey-ey-taka
   e. opposition
       -n taysin-ey, -n panmyen-ey, -l ppwun
   f. background
       -n kawuntey-ey, -n tocwung-ey, -n/l matang-ey, -n cwung-ey, -n
       cha-ey, -n/l cham-ey, -n the-ey, -n/l phan-ey, -n phankwuk-ey
   g. comparison
       -n/l pa-ey

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4) See *Pyocwunkwuketaysacen* [*The Great Dictionary of Standard Korean*] or *Yonsei Hankwuke Sacen* [*Yonsei Korean Dictionary*].

h. metaphor

   -n/l tus, -n/l tusi, -n yang, -n chek, -n chey

i. exemplification

   -n tung

j. cause

   -n kyelkwa, -n ko-lo, -n kwankyey-lo, -n kim-ey, -n kkatalk-ey, -n
   tek-ey, -n tek-ulo, -n tekpwun-ey, -n tekpwun-ulo, -n tekthayk-ey,
   -n tekthayk-ulo, -n malyen-ulo, -n mankhum, -n palam-ey, -n sesul-ey,
   -n isang, -n cuk, -n thas-ey, -n thas-ulo, -n the-lo, -n thong-ey, -n
   thong-ey

k. condition

   -n/l kyengwu-ey, -n nal-ey-nun, -n han

l. purpose

   -n seym-ulo, -l yang-ulo

Some of the constructions above are in the process of being grammaticalized into conjunctive endings.

Ahn (1997) assumes the grammaticalization process of Korean nouns conforms to the following pattern: "free lexeme>bound lexeme>clitic>ending · particle · suffix", according to the cline of grammaticality of "content word>grammatical word>clitic>inflectional affix" in Hopper and Traugott (1993, p. 7). She regards Korean bound nouns as clitics and deals with noun phrase complement constructions as changing into endings, particles or suffixes depending on the stage of the clitic. The following are the constructions she suggests are being grammaticalized into conjunctive endings:

(3) -n palam-ey, -n sesul-ey, -n kim-ey, -n thong-ey, -n the-ey, -n cham-ey,
    -n cha-ey, -n phan-ey, -n chay-lo, -l kyem, -l yang-ulo, -n/l ttay, -n/l
    tongan, -l cuum, -l mwulyep, -l nyekh, -l cek, -n ci, -n tus, -n yang, -l
    han, -l ppwun-tele, -l ppwun, -n cokcok, -n taylo

Kim (1997) assumes the process to consist of "free noun>bound noun" and "bound noun construction>ending". Her term 'bound noun constructions' corresponds to 'noun phrase complement construction' used in this paper.[5)]

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5) The term 'bound noun construction' does not exhibit the syntactic position of these
   constructions clearly. Noun constructions should be complement constructions to function

The following are the constructions she suggests are being grammaticalized into conjunctive endings:

(4) -n kil-ey, -n kim-ey, -n malyen-ulo, -n palam-ey, -n sesul-ey, -n seks-ey, -n cha-ey, -n cham-ey, -n the-ey, -n thong-ey, -n phan-ey, -n pa, -n yang-ulo, -l yang-ulo

The grammaticalization process suggested by Ahn (1997) and Kim (1997) have the following two stages in common:

(5) a. free noun > bound noun
    b. noun phrase complement construction > conjunctive ending

Both of them assume that the suggested constructions belong to the second stage (5b) at the moment. This paper agrees with them on the grammaticalization process and the position of the constructions in the process. However, the list of constructions they suggest are not homogeneous sets, especially concerning characteristics of the nouns. This holds true for the constructions in (2), which includes the constructions of Ahn (1997) and Kim (1997).[6] The nouns contained in them can be classified as in (6) below.

(6) a. free nouns
    1) Native Korean
       kawuntey (middle), kil (way), kkuth (end), thas (fault), kkatalk (reason), nal (day), taum (next), twi (back), ttay (time), sai (interval), seym (calculation)
    2) Sino-Korean
       taysin (substitute), tek (virtue), tekpwun (virtue), tekthayk (virtue), tocwung (way, route), tongsi (the same time), panmyen (the other side), isang (more than, above), phankuk (situation), han (limit), kyelkwa (result), kyengwu (case), ihwu (after this), hwu (after)

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like endings. If the constructions are relative ones, the nouns are parts of the relative clauses that full clauses cannot precede the constructions.

6) The construction '-n seks-ey' of Kim (1997) is removed as it is almost a dead expression that it is not registered in the corpus based dictionary like *Yonsei Korean Dictionary.*

b. bound nouns[7]
  1) Native Korean
    ① matang (yard), palam (wind), the (ground), phan (place), nameci
       (rest, remaining portion), sesul (burnished blade)
    ② taylo (as), tus (as if, like), tusi (as if, like), ppwun (only),
       nyekh (around), cek (the time), tey (place), pa (way), chay
       (just as), kim (occasion), mankhum (extent), cokcok (every
       occasion), tongan (period), cuum (the time), malyen (preparation),
       mwulyep (around), cham (moment), chek (pretense), thong
       (situation)
  2) Sino-Korean
    ① kyem (as well), tung (et cetera), cwung (middle), $yang_1$ (shape),
       ilay (ever since), chey (pretense)
    ② $yang_2$ (shape), cha (the second, succeed), kwankyey (relation)

Among the constructions containing nouns above, the constructions with
free nouns cannot be dealt with using the grammaticalization process in
(5). These nouns have not undergone the first stage of "free noun > bound
noun" process. Besides, the constructions themselves still maintain lexical
meaning, which directly exhibits the relation between clauses.

The bound nouns of (6) above assume a complicated aspect. The native
Korean bound nouns are divided into two groups: the origins of the first
group can be traced back in Contemporary Korean while those of the second
group cannot. That is, the first group is heterosemous[8] in Contemporary
Korean while the second group is not. Thus, it can be explained through
the grammaticalization process of (5). On the other hand, the second group
consists of bound nouns in Modern Korean and in Middle Korean. They
must have undergone the grammaticalization process of "free noun > bound
noun" during some period in the history of the Korean language, but this
cannot be proven with the documents available currently.[9] Thus, they

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7) Neither *The Great Dictionary of Standard Korean* nor *Yonsei Korean Dictionary* regard
   'nameci', 'sesul', and 'kwankyey' as bound nouns. However, both dictionaries describe the
   usage separately. They should be described as bound nouns when the restricted distribution
   and the abstract meaning apart from the free counterparts are considered.

8) Lichtenberk (1991) suggested the term hetersemy to avoid problems on definitions of
   polysemy. According to him, heterosemy is "cases (within a single language) where two or
   more meanings or functions that are historically related, in the sense of deriving from the
   same ultimate source, are borne by reflexes of the common source element that belong in
   different morphosyntactic categories" (Heine, 1997, p. 9).

can be explained only concerning the second stage of "noun phrase complement construction > conjunctive ending".

Sino-Korean nouns are also divided into two groups: the first group exhibits the literal meaning of the Chinese character, while the second group does not. That is, the first group maintains the lexical meaning. This, in turn, means that the first group cannot be dealt with as proper examples of the grammaticalization process of (5), although it is certainly part of the group of bound nouns in Contemporary Korean. On the other hand, the second group does not directly reflect the literal meaning of the Chinese character when it is used in the noun phrase complement construction. 'Yang' means 'shape', but the construction '-l yang-ulo' means 'in order that'.[10] 'Cha' means 'the second' or 'suceed', but '-n cha-ey' means 'at the very moment when'. It is difficult to find a relationship between the meaning of the nouns and those of the constructions. They also must have gone through a stage of "free noun > bound noun" in some period of the history of the Korean language, but this cannot be proven with the documents available at the moment. 'Yang' was a bound noun even in Middle Korean, while the usage of 'cha' as a bound noun is not found even in Modern Korean documents. 'Kwankyey' is the only example where the stage of "free noun > bound noun" is witnessed among the nouns of this group. 'Kwankyey' means 'relation' but '-n kwankyey-lo' means 'because,' which is separate from the meaning of both the free noun and the Chinese character. 'Kwankyey' in this construction is a bound noun in Contemporary Korean.

In sum, among the constructions suggested in (2) only a few can be explained according to the grammaticalization process seen in (5). This is partially due to the high percentage of constructions with free nouns that express meaning between clauses. It is also due to lack of available data regarding the origin of bound nouns.

For this reason, this paper will examine those forms including bound nouns whose origin can be traced back in Contemporary Korean. They will be the following:

(7) -n kwankyey-lo, -n nameci, -n matang-ey, -n palam-ey, -n sesul-ey, -n the-ey, -n phan-ey

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9) For historical development of Korean bound nouns, see Lee (1988) and Wang (1988).

10) 'Yang' here is 'yang$_2$' whose meaning is remote from 'shape'. 'Yang' in the construction '-n yang' is 'yang$_1$' which retains the literal meaning.

The constructions above can be explained according to the grammaticalization process suggested in (5). They have undergone the first stage of "free noun > bound noun" process and are in the second stage of "noun phrase complement construction > conjunctive ending". That is, they are in the process of being grammaticalized into conjunctive endings. These constructions exhibit the grammaticalization process best among the constructions suggested in (2). We now turn to an examination of the characteristics exhibited in each stage of the process.

3. The First Stage: Free Noun > Bound Noun

In the grammaticalization process of noun phrase complement construction into conjunctive ending, the first stage is the transition of free noun to bound noun. Once free nouns become bound nouns, they do not appear independently in sentences but must instead be preceded by a modifier. Most of them also have restrictions on the particles that may follow them.[11] In terms of meaning, they are less specific and more abstract than free nouns. That is, their lexical meaning has weakened.

Each of the constructions suggested in (7) has a bound noun. These bound nouns have heteronyms which are free nouns in Contemporary Korean. Compared with their heteronymic free nouns, the bound nouns in (7) exhibit the characteristics mentioned above. This again reflects the transition from free noun to bound noun seen in the grammaticalization process in (5).

In this section, the characteristics exhibited during the first stage of the grammaticalization process will be examined. They are restrictions on preceding and following elements and weakening of lexical meaning.

3.1. Restrictions on Preceding and Following Elements

Through the first stage of the grammaticalization process seen in (5), free nouns become bound nouns. The nouns contained in the constructions suggested in (7) display this transition clearly as they are heterosemous in Contemporary Korean. In aspects of grammatical context, they exhibit restrictions on preceding and following elements compared with their free

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11) In the literature on bound nouns, these characteristics are pointed out as the essential characteristics of bound nouns. See Ko (1970), Lim (1991), Lee and Chae (1999), Lee and Ramsey (2000) and Shin (2000) for details.

counterparts.

For example, the free noun 'palam' can combine with any particle. On the other hand, the bound noun 'palam' is always used after modifiers, like the demonstrative 'ku' and adnominal clauses. At the same time, it can only be followed by the locative case particle 'ey'. Other particles cannot follow the bound noun 'palam'. The examples below contrast these two nouns. 'Palam' in (8) is a free noun and that in (9) is a bound noun.

(8) a. **palam**-i   pwul-ese   nalssi-ka   chwup-ta.
       wind-Nom blow-because   weather-Nom be cold-Dec
       'It's cold because the wind blows.'
   b. i   pyek-i   **palam**-ul mak-ass-ta.
       this   wall-Nom   wind-Acc block-Pst-Dec
       'This wall blocked the wind.'
   c. **palam**-uy him-ulo   phwungcha-lul tolly-ess-ta.
       wind-Gen power-Inst   windmill-Acc   turn-Pst-Dec
       'They turned the windmill with the power of the wind.'

(9) a. ku   **palam**-ey kyengki-ka   chwisotoy-ess-ta
       that BN-Loc   match-Nom   be cancelled-Pst-Dec
       'Because of it the match was cancelled.'
   b. pi-ka   o-nu-n   **palam**-ey kyengki-ka   chwisotoy-ess-ta
       rain-Nom come-Pres-Adn BN-Loc   match-Nom   be cancelled-Pst-Dec
       'Because it rained, the match was cancelled.'
   c. kamwen   **palam**-ey manh-un   salamtul-i
       personnel cut BN-Loc   be many-Adn people-Nom
       ilcali-lul ilh-ess-ta.
       job-Acc lose-Pst-Dec
       'Many people lost their jobs because of a sweeping reduction in personnel.'
   d. ku-nun ku soli-ey   nemwu nolla-ase
       he-Top that sound-Loc too   be astonished-Conj
       camos   **palam**-ulo ttwienao-ass-ta.
       night clothes BN-Inst   come out-Pst-Dec
       'He came out in his night clothes, astonished by the sound.'

The restrictions bound nouns display are slightly different depending on the noun. Table 1 below shows their restrictions in detail.

Table 1. Restrictions on elements surrounding bound nouns

		kwankyey	palam	sesul	nameci	matang	the	phan
preceding elements	nouns	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	demonstratives	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
	adnominal clauses	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
following elements	nominative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	accusative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	locative 'ey'	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
	instrumental 'lo'	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	copula 'i-'	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
	Ø	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

3.2. Weakening of Lexical Meaning

Compared with free nouns, the meaning of bound nouns is rather abstract and their interpretation depends on the context. This is due to weakening of lexical meaning. Hopper and Traugott (1993) explained this weakening of meaning in terms of generalization of meaning. According to them, "in the process of grammaticalization, meanings expand their range through the development of various polysemies" and "it is only collectively that they (the polysemies) may seem like weakening of meaning" (Hopper & Traugott, 1993, p.100). These assertions are applicable to lexical weakening witnessed at the stage of "free noun > bound noun".

The nouns contained in the constructions of (7) exhibit weakening of lexical meaning clearly when they are compared with their heteronymic free noun counterparts. The noun 'the' makes a good example. The free noun 'the' means 'site,' as in (10) below. On the other hand, the bound noun 'the' has the somewhat abstract meaning of 'context in which the event takes place'. It is interpreted according to the components around it, such as '-n the-ey' for 'background' as in (11a) and '-l the-i-' for 'plan', 'conjecture' or 'volition' as in (11b-d).[12)]

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12) Construction '-l the-i-' is usually used in contracted form '-l they-' as in '-l theyntey, -l theymyen, -l theyci' and so on.

(10) i   **the**-ey-nun   yeycen-ey cel-i   iss-ess-ta.
       this site-Loc-Top   before-Loc temple-Nom   be-Pst-Dec
       'There used to be a temple on this site.'

(11) a. ney aphkalim-to   mos-ha-nu-n   **the**-ey
        your taking care-even   cannot-do-Pres-Adn BN-Loc
        nam   kekceng-un way ha-ni?
        others care-Top   why do-Int
        'How can you care about others when you cannot take care of
        yourself?'
     b. nayil   ka-l   **the**-i-ni   cwunpiha-ela.
        tomorrow go-Adn BN-Cop-Conj   get ready-Imp
        'We're going to go tomorrow, so get ready.'
     c. sicangha-l   **the**-i-ntey   ese   mek-ela.
        be hungry-Adn BN-Cop-Conj   quickly eat-Imp
        'You must be hungry, so eat quickly.'
     d. nayil   kkok kukcang-ey ka-l   **the**-i-ta.
        tomorrow surely cinema-Loc go-Adn BN-Cop-Dec
        'I'll surely go to the cinema tomorrow.'

Other nouns contained in the constructions of (7) exhibit similar relations
with their free counterparts. They have lost some of their specific meaning
and sound more abstract. That is, their meaning has become less lexical.
However, their source meaning is retained to some degree, even after they
become bound nouns.[13] The changes in each item are shown below in
Table 2:
Metaphor is the main mechanism involved in these changes in the first
stage of the grammaticalization process. A detailed explanation on metaphor
as a mechanism concerning each noun suggested above will take place in
4.2. with the grammatical meaning the construction containing it conveys.

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13) Retention of earlier meaning after grammaticalization is often mentioned in the works on
    grammaticalization. See, for example, Bybee et al. (1994).

Table 2. Comparison of meaning: free nouns and bound nouns

	free noun	bound noun
kwankyey	relationship	cause related to the event
palam	wind	sudden unexpected cause, force, inappropriate attire
sesul	burnished blade	high-handed cause, threatening attitude
nameci	rest, remaining portion	consequence of the event
matang	yard	context in which the event takes place
the	site	context in which the event takes place
phan	place in which something happens	context in which the event takes place

4. The Second Stage: Noun Phase Complement Construction > Conjunctive Ending

In the grammaticalization process of noun phrase complement constructions into conjunctive endings, the second stage is the transition of the noun phrase complement construction into conjunctive endings. Each of the constructions concerning this stage acts like one single unit in both form and meaning. Although they are not completely grammaticalized in Contemporary Korean, they exhibit similar features as conjunctive endings.

In this section, the characteristics exhibited in the second stage of the grammaticalization process will be examined. They include the fixation of forms and emergence of grammatical meaning. The cooccurence relation of these constructions with main clause sentence type will also be examined, as it shows that these constructions share similar features with conjunctive endings. In examining characteristics, the mechanism of grammaticalizaiton will also be discussed in connection with extension of grammatical function.

4.1. Formal Fixation of the Construction

If a construction is completely grammaticalized into an ending, it will not change its form. The constructions in (7) exhibit formal fixation to considerable degree, when they link clauses. This conforms to the second stage of the grammaticalization process.

Table 1 in 3.1. shows that the elements preceding and following the bound nouns in the constructions of (7) are very restricted. As far as

grammaticalization into conjunctive endings is concerned, the adnominal endings before the bound nouns need to be checked. For 'kwankyey', 'nameci', 'palam', and 'sesul', '-n' is the only adnominal ending that can precede the bound nouns. On the other hand, either '-n' or '-l' can come before 'the'. However, '-n' is always used before 'the-ey' while '-l' is always used before 'the-i-'. For 'matang' and 'phan', either '-n' or '-l' can precede. Regarding the following particles, 'palam' and 'sesul' accepts only the locative particle 'ey', while 'kwankyey' restricts itself to the instrumental particle 'lo'. No particle may follow 'nameci'. 'Matang', 'the', and 'phan' can accept either the locative particle 'ey' or the copula 'i-'.14)

The examination so far shows that these bound nouns are used in highly restricted contexts regarding the preceding adnominal endings and the following particles. This reflects the fact that the constructions are fixed considerably in their forms.

As Kim (1997) asserts, the fact that other elements cannot intervene between the components of the construction is further evidence that the constructions are becoming fixed. An ending does not let any additional elements appear within it. For example, the aforementioned conjunctive ending '-unpa' cannot be used as '*-un ku pa' in any situation.

Among the constructions of (7), those that do not allow any intervention are more grammaticalized than those that do. Constructions such as '-n kwankyey-lo, -n nameci, -n the-ey' do not allow any additional elements to intervene between the elements within them while the others do. Sentences like (12) below are inappropriate as they contain additional elements within the noun phrase complement constructions.

(12) a. *kongsa-lul   ha-nu-n   **ku**   kwankyey-lo
        construction-Acc do-Pres-Adn   that BN-Inst
        ku   kakey-nun mwun-ul tat-ass-ta.
        that store-Top door-Acc close-Pst-Dec
    b. *ai-nun   nolla-n   **ku** nameci wulum-ul thettuli-ess-ta.
        kid-Top be startled-Adn that BN   cry-Acc   burst-Pst-Dec

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14) Those which accept the copula are used in the constructions which are in the process of grammaticalization into final endings. See Ahn (1997) and Kim (1997) for details.

c. ʔilson-i   mocala-nu-n   *i*   the-ey
hands-Nom be short-Pres-Adn this BN-Loc
nu-ka   ne-lul   top-keyss-ni?
who-Nom you-Acc help-Fut-Int

4.2. Expression of Grammatical Meaning

Table 2 above shows that bound nouns have less specific and more abstract meanings than their free counterparts. In the second stage of the grammaticalization process, these abstract meanings, in turn, convey grammatical meaning upon noun phrase complement constructions in their entirety. The grammatical function of the adnominal endings that precede the nouns and the particles that follow them make this possible. For the constructions in (7), the meanings expressed are cause and background. Throughout the grammaticalization process of (5), the semantic change proceeds from lexical to grammatical. The mechanisms leading to this change are metaphor and reanalysis.[15)

4.2.1. Cause
'-n palam-ey, -n nameci, -n sesul-ey, -n kwankyey-lo' link clauses with causal meaning.
'Palam' in (13a) is a free noun which means 'wind'. By contrast, in (13b) 'palam' is a bound noun that means 'sudden cause,' like wind. The meaning was changed by metaphor. As this metaphor spread, a clause even came to precede the noun. This resulted in 'clause+-n palam-ey'. Because of this, the structure began to be reanalyzed, as in (14b).[16) Thus, the construction '-n palam-ey' came to have a causal grammatical meaning as in (13c).

(13) a. Thaykukki-ka   **palam**-ey phelleki-n-ta.
         Korean flag-Nom wind-by   flutter-Pres-Dec
         'The Korean flag is fluttering in the wind.'

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15) Metaphor and reanalysis have been suggested as mechanisms of grammaticalization in many works on grammaticalization. Rhee (1998, pp. 219-269) introduces the concepts in Korean and provides Korean examples regarding these mechanisms.

16) In Contemporary Korean, this boundary change is not fixed yet. If the grammaticalization process is complete, it will be fixed.

b. pi-ka   o-ass-ta.
rain-Nom come-Pst-Dec
Ku **palam**-ey kyengki-ka chwisotoy-ess-ta
that BN-Loc   match-Nom be cancelled-Pst-Dec
'It rained. Because of it, the match was cancelled.'
c. pi-ka   o-nu-**n**   **palam-ey** kyengki-ka chwisotoy-ess-ta
rain-Nom come-Pres-Adn BN-Loc   match-Nom be cancelled-Pst-Dec
'Because it rained, the match was cancelled.'

(14) a. [[[pi-ka o-nu]-n] palam]-ey >
b. pi-ka o-nu-[n palam-ey]

'-n nameci' and '-n sesul-ey' can be explained in similar ways. The free noun 'nameci' meaning 'rest' or 'remaining portion' was grammaticalized into a bound noun meaning 'consequence of the event' through metaphor. As this metaphorical usage spread and the boundary was changed by reanalysis, the entire construction '-n nameci' came to have the grammatical meaning of cause. Likewise, the free noun 'sesul' meaning 'burnished blade' became a bound noun meaning 'threatening attitude' through metaphor. This bound noun expanded its meaning into 'high-handed cause by someone'. Then, the entire construction '-n sesul-ey' came to have the grammatical meaning of cause.

'-n kwankyey-lo' also expresses causal meaning, as in the constructions mentioned above. However, the mechanisms involved are slightly different from them. The free noun 'kwankyey' means 'relationship' as in (15a). It also indicates 'related matter' itself directly, as in (15b). In (15b), it takes on 'inha-ese,' which contains the causal conjunctive ending '-ese' and means 'because it is caused.' However, this can be omitted as the noun and the particle themselves convey the meaning of 'cause,' as in (15c). This occurs through a kind of metonymy.[17] As the structure 'Noun+kwankyey-lo inha-ese' spreads, a clause came to precede the noun. This resulted in 'clause+-n kwankyey-lo inha-ese' and 'clause+-n kwankyey-lo'. As 'inha-ese' is often omitted, the structure began to be reanalyzed and the construction '-n kwankyey-lo' became to have a causal grammatical meaning as in (15d).

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17) Hopper and Traugott (1993, p. 81) points out that "contiguity in the utterance, often resulting ellipsis, has also been used as an example of metonymy". Although they limits this kind of metonymy to lexical items, it is useful for the semantic change here.

(15) a. twu   salam-un   kyeysok   cohun   **kwankyey**-lul
        two   person-Top continuously good   relationship-Acc
        yuciha-ess-ta.
        maintain-Pst-Dec
        'The two people were on good terms afterwards.'
     b. cihachel kongsa   **kwankyey**-lo   inha-ese
        subway   constructions related matter-Inst be caused-Conj
        ku   ccok kil-un   thonghayng-i ceyhantoy-n-ta.
        that   side road-Top   passage-Nom be restricted-Pres-Dec
        'Because of the subway construction, the road on that side is
        closed.'
     c. cihachel kongsa   **kwankyey**-lo
        subway   constructions related matter-Inst
        ku   ccok kil-un   thonghayng-i ceyhantoy-n-ta.
        that   side road-Top   passage-Nom be restricted-Pres-Dec
        'Because of the subway construction, the road on that side is
        closed.'
     d. cihachel kongsa-lul   ha-nu-**n**   **kwankyey-lo**
        subway   constructions-Acc do-Pres-Adn   BN-Inst
        ku   ccok kil-un   thonghayng-i ceyhantoy-n-ta.
        that   side road-Top   passage-Nom   be restricted-Pres-Dec
        'Because the subway is under construction, the road on that side
        is closed.'

4.2.2. Background

'-n matang-ey, -n the-ey, -n phan-ey' link clauses so that the propositions
in the subordinate clauses become the background of the propositions in
the main clauses. The mechanisms involved in the grammaticalization process
of these constructions are similar to those of '-n palam-ey, -n nameci, -n
sesul-ey'.

'Matang' in (16a) is a free noun which means 'yard'. 'Matang' in (16b) is
a bound noun and roughly means 'context in which the event takes place',
an abstract entity. The meaning was changed through metaphor. As this
metaphor spread, a clause even came to precede the noun. This resulted
in 'clause+-n matang-ey' and the structure began to be reanalyzed. Thus,
the construction '-n matang-ey' came to have a grammatical meaning of
background, as in (16c).

(16) a. ai-ka   **matang**-eyse nolko iss-ta.
         child-Nom yard-Loc   be playing-Dec
         'The child is playing in the yard.'
     b. il-i   calmos toy-ess-ta.
        things-Nom badly   become-Pst-Dec
        i   **matang**-ey ettehkey talun il-ulpeli-keyss-ni?
        this BN-Loc   how   other tasks-Accundertake-Fut-Int
        'Things went badly. How can we undertake other tasks in this situation?'
     c. il-i   ilehkey toy-**n**   **matang-ey**
        things-Nom so   become-Adn BN-Loc
        ettehkey talun il-ul   peli-keyss-ni?
        how   other tasks-Acc undertake-Fut-Int
        'How can we undertake other tasks while the situation is like this?'

'-n the-ey, -n phan-ey' can be explained in similar ways. The bound noun 'the' is derived from the free noun 'the,' meaning 'ground'. As in the case of 'matang', the bound noun 'the' has the somewhat abstract meaning of 'context in which the event takes place'. As this metaphorical usage spread and the boundary began to change through reanalysis, the entire construction '-n the-ey' came to convey the grammatical meaning of background. Likewise, the free noun 'phan,' means 'the place in which something happens,'18) while the bound noun equivalent means 'context in which the event takes place'. As the metaphor spread, a clause even came to precede the noun. This resulted in a boundary change through reanalysis and the entire construction '-n phan-ey' came to convey the grammatical meaning of background.

4.3. Cooccurence Relation with Main Clause Sentence Type

The Korean language has four sentence types: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and propositive.19) They are identified by final verb endings.

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18) Its usage is rather restricted to idiomatic expressions like 'phan-ul kkay-ta (to destroy the atmosphere)', 'phan-i peleci-ta (a round of something starting)' and 'phan-ey kkietul-ta (to wedge oneself in a situation)'. 'phan' is often used in a compound like 'ssawum-phan (fighting-place/situation)', 'ssilum-phan (ssirum-place/situation)', and so on.

19) Exclamative is often seen as the fifth type. See Noh (1983) and Nam & Ko (1993).

Some Korean conjunctive endings do not occur with specific sentence types of the main clause. For example, causal conjunctive ending '-ase' does not appear with imperatives and propositives, while '-nikka' does, as in (17).

(17) a. *pappu-**ase** ppalli ka-{la/ca}.
        busy-Conj fast go-{Imp/Prop}
     b. pappu-**nikka** ppalli ka-{la/ca}.
        busy-Conj   fast   go-{Imp/Prop}
        'Since you're in a hurry, {go/let's go} quickly.'

Some constructions in (7) exhibit similar features (Woo, 1996; Ahn, 1997; Kim, 1997). Although this fact cannot be construed as direct evidence of the grammaticalization process of noun phrase complement constructions into conjunctive endings, it at least displays that these constructions share similar features with conjunctive endings. Besides, it is a phenomenon that cannot occur if these constructions do not function as single units. For this reason, the cooccurence relation of the constructions with the main clause sentence type needs to be examined.

In the case of '-n palam-ey', '-n kwankyey-lo', '-n nameci', and '-n sesul-ey', accepting imperatives or propositives as the main clause would be inappropriate. (15) shows that the imperative and the propositive cannot be the main clause of a sentence for these constructions.

(18) a. pi-ka   o-nu-**n**   **palam-ey**
        rain-Nom come-Pres-Adn BN-Loc
        kyengki-lul chwisoha-{ela/ca}.
        match-Acc cancel-{Imp/Prop}
     b. *kongsa-lul   ha-nu-**n**   **kwankyey-lo**
        construction-Acc do-Pres-Adn BN-Inst
        mwun-ul tat-{ala/ca}.
        door-Acc close-{Imp/Prop}
     c. *hwa-ka   na-**n**   **nameci**, yeki-lul   ttena-{ala/ca}.
        anger-Nom arise-Adn BN   here-Acc leave-{Imp/Prop}
     d. *chwikayk-i   selchyetay-nu-**n**   **sesul-ey**
        drunken costumer-Nom run wild-Pres-Adn BN-Loc
        motwu cip-ulo   tolaka-{ala/ca}.
        all   home-Inst return-{Imp/Prop}

Unlike the constructions above, the constructions '-n matang-ey', '-n the-ey' and '-n phan-ey' can occur with any sentence type of the main clause. As they are used to suggest the background in which the event of the main clause takes place, any sentence type may serve as the main clause. This holds true for the conjunctive ending '-untey,' which has the same function, as (19) demonstrates (Yi, 1996). This again shows that these constructions share similar features with the conjunctive ending of background.

(19) a. Kongpwu-lul ha-eyaha-**nuntey** cam-i   o-n-ta.
      study-Acc   do-have to-Conj   sleep-Nom come-Pres-Dec
      'I have to study, but I'm sleepy.'
   b. Thomi-lul   manna-kosiph-**untey** eti-ey   iss-ni?
      Tommy-Acc meet-want to-Conj   where-Loc be-Int
      'I want to see Tommy, but do you know where he is?'
   c. Nay-ka chayk-ul sa-ass-**nuntey** ay-tul-hanthey com   ilkecwu-ela.
      I-Nom   book-Acc buy-Pst-Conj kid-Pl-to   please read-Imp
      'I bought a book. Read it to the kids.'
   d. Cikum sicang-ey ka-**nuntey** kathi   ka-ca.
      now   market-to go-Conj   together go-Prop
      'I am going to the market now. Let's go together.'

In semantic aspects, these constructions are used to express the negative attitude of the speaker toward the state of affairs described in the subordinate clause. Thus, rhetorical questions are often most suitable for the main clause.

(20) a. il-i   ilehkey toy-**n**   **matang-ey**
      things-Nom so   become-Adn BN-Loc
      ettehkey talun il-ul   peli-keyss-ni?
      how   other tasks-Acc undertake-Fut-Int
      'How can we undertake other tasks while the situation is like this?'
   b. ney aphkalim-to   mos-ha-nu-**n**   **the-ey**
      your taking care-even cannot-do-Pres-Adn BN-Loc
      nam   kekceng-un way ha-ni?
      others care-Top   why do-Int
      'How can you care about others while you cannot take care of yourself?'

    c. wuli-to   elyewu-**n**   **phan-ey**   nam   kekceng-un way ha-ni?
    we-even behard-Adn BN-Loc   others care-Top   why do-Int
    'How can you care about others while we can hardly earn a living?'

The aforementioned cooccurence relation can be summarized as in Table 3 below:

Table 3. cooccurence relation with main clause sentence type

meaning	sentence type construction	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	Propositive
cause	-n kwankyey-lo	+	+	-	-
	-n palam-ey	+	+	-	-
	-n nameci	+	+	-	-
	-n sesul-ey	+	+	-	-
background	-n matang-ey	+	+	+	+
	-n the-ey	+	+	+	+
	-n phan-ey	+	+	+	+

The cooccurence relations suggested above show that the constructions share similar features with conjunctive endings.

5. Conclusion

Some noun phrase complement constructions in Korean function like conjunctive endings. This paper focused on constructions containing bound nouns that exhibit heterosemy with free nouns, and treated these constructions as examples of the process of grammaticalization toward conjunctive endings in Contemporary Korean. The process consists of two stages: the first stage is the transition of free nouns to bound nouns and the second stage is the transition of noun phrase complement constructions to conjunctive endings. The first stage is characterized by restrictions on the elements preceding and following bound nouns and the weakening of lexical meaning. Charac-teristics of the second stage include fixation of form and expression of grammatical meaning. These two stages are gradual. However, it is important to note that the first stage is only concerned with nouns while the second stage is concerned with the entire construction, including the adnominal

endings preceding the nouns and the particles following them.

The grammaticalization process of these constructions is ongoing. However, many other factors continually intervene in the process, making it difficult to predict which constructions will become conjunctive endings and which will remain as syntactic constructions. Future studies need to focus on defining the effect of the process and endeavoring to determine which constructions hold the greatest potential of becoming conjunctive endings.

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Sookhee Chae
Department of Korean Language and Literature
College of Humanities
Seoul National University
Sillim-dong San 52 Gwanak-gu,
Seoul, 151-742 Korea
E-mail: suki77@snu.ac.kr