Grammaticalization of Korean Connective *NI* & *NIKKA* and the Role of *-KKA*

Hi-Sun Helen Kim & Sang-Seok Yoon[3]

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to compare Korean connectives *-ni* and *-nikka* and propose a grammaticalization process through which *-nikka* has been developed from *-ni*. Even though these two connectives share similar meanings and functions, they are not always interchangeable. However, the differences between these two connectives have not been paid much attention by many researchers. In this paper, we investigate the grammaticalization process and the semantic shift involved in the development of the Korean connective *-nikka* and suggest that the unique meanings and functions of *-ni* and *-nikka* are result of grammaticalization process.

Grammaticalization is defined as an evolution whereby linguistic

units lose semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance (Heine & Reh, 1984). Thus, grammaticalization processes, which are essentially unidirectional, involve three correlated essential components: meaning (semantic-pragmatic) shift; structural reanalysis (or grammatical restructuring); and phonological change (Heine and Reh 1984; Lehmann 1985; Hopper & Traugott 1993). Unidirectionality of meaning refers to a shift that gradually moves toward a semantic-pragmatic abstractness: propositional > textual > expressive (Traugott 1982, 1988, 1989; Traugott and Heine 1991). In other words, meaning shifts move from an objective and referential meaning towards a more subjective, speaker-oriented attitude and point of view, but not in the reverse direction.

For investigating the grammaticalization processes of *-ni* and *-nikka*, we will first distinguish the semantic properties of them by comparing data from the 15th & 16th century (Huh, 1989) and present day Korean (PDK). We will then attempt to investigate a particular role of the morpheme *-kka* in the connective particle *-nikka*, as well as its role in the sentence final ender, *-nikka*. Finally, we will discuss the grammaticalization shifts of *-nikka* and *-ni* from clause subordinators to interactive sentence enders which behave as independent clauses. Furthermore, this paper will also investigate the possible motivation that triggered this grammaticalization.

2. THE REVIW OF *-NIKKA*

The Korean connective *-nikka* has been defined as a marker of causality, temporal sequence and / or discovery. In the scholarly literature examining *-nikka*, authors have applied a variety of perspectives and have highlighted different aspects of this connective particle. For instance, *-nikka* has often been examined by comparing it with another causal connective *-ese* in an attempt to identify the relationship between the clauses linked by each particle (K. Lee, 1988; Lukoff & Nam, 1982; Ree, 1978; S-O. Sohn, 1992). The findings of these studies indicate that *-nikka* is generally more subjective in nature, speaker-oriented and pragmatically conditioned in its use, whereas *-ese* is event-oriented and more objective in marking the inter-clausal relationship such as sequentiality of events and/or its direct causality.

With evidence from semantic, morphological, and discoursal features of *-nikka*, S-O. Sohn (1993) points out a similarity between its characteristics and the NP topic marker nun: "Like NP topics, the proposition of a *-nikka* clause is definite, discourse-dependent, presupposed, and sets a domain for the following prediction." (1993: 94)

    (1) a. *encey ka-ss-u*nikka* cikum o-ni?
         *when-go-Pst-*nikka* now come-Int?
         'When did you go and come?'

b. A: appa   cengmal kanunke-ya?
     father really   go-Q?
     'Father, are (we) really going?'
   B: ung. kan-ta-*nikka*.
     yes   go Qt-*nikka*.
     'Yes, I told you already we are going.'
c. sacin-ul   chac-ko po-*nikka*, swuswul cen pota   coh.aci-ess- nuntey.
   picture-Acc find out see-*nikka* operation before compare to better-Pst-Int.
   'When I keep looking at the picture, she looks better than before the surgery.'
d. cip-ey   ka-*nikka*-nun pheynci-ka wa   iss-te-la
   house-to go-*nikka*-Top letter-Nom come be-Pst-Retro-Dc
   'When I went home, (I found out) that the letter was there.'

S-O. Sohn explains the definiteness of *-nikka* by proposing evidence that *-nikka*, like topic marker *-nun*, cannot be used with *wh*-words as in 1a. Secondly, when *-nikka* is used in the sentence final position, the discourse role of *-nikka* is to recapitulate previously mentioned information and bring it back into focus, hence marking the entity of clause *-nikka* as the center of attention (1b). Third, the *-nikka* clause, like NP topics, constitute the framework which has been selected for it to be further discussed. In the 1c, the role of *-nikka* is to link the preceding clause with the clause to which it is attached and to set a domain which the following clause comments on. Finally, with the evidence *-nikka* can be attached to topic marker *-nun*, she pointed out that the similarity between *-nikka* and topic marker *-nun*.

The author proposes that the two functions of *-nikka* (causal and temporal), demonstrate the speaker's own subjective judgment / perception, otherwise known as 'phenomenal knowledge' (cf. Goldsmith and Woisetschlaeger, 1982). From this point of view, the connective *-nikka* is interactive and interpersonal in nature which (1) marks a causal relation as a phenomenal description, which is directly associated with the speaker's own perception, and (2) sets up a temporal domain with a sense of discovery and realization. Moreover, regarding *-nikka* clauses where both temporal and causal functions appear, S-O. Sohn suggests that although the two clauses do not seem to be related, they are in fact affixed as a result of the phenomenal nature of human cognition. The function of *-nikka* in (2) can be ambiguous between temporal and causal interpretation;

(2) mul-i   yengto-ka   toy-*nikka*   el-ess-ta
    water-Nom zero-degree-Nom become-*nikka* freeze-Pst-Dc
    'When the water became zero degrees, it froze.'

On the other hand, studies by Kim & Suh (1993, 1994) explore the meaning of *-nikka* by analyzing discourse data to explicate the interactional motivations that underlie the various functions of *nikka*-clauses (1994). In this study, the authors identify four types of contexts that the *nikka*-clause provides: (1) an affective ground for eliciting co-alignment and sympathy of the interlocutor; (2)

empirical ground for conveying disagreement obliquely; (3) a textual ground on which the speaker positions the hearer as the recipient of the extended talk or for projecting upshot in the middle of the story on which the hearers are led to orient and prepare themselves for what the speaker is going to tell; and (4) an empirical ground for justifying the preceding action in which the speaker mitigates the degree of dispreferredness by inviting from the interlocutors a more favorable evaluation thereof. They conclude that *-nikka* functions "as a device by which speakers impose their action on the interlocutor to effect some change in the interlocutor's stance, i.e. to upgrade or modify the degree of appreciation and responsiveness expected of the interlocutor into a more agreeable one." (1994: 127)

As can be seen above, various views and interpretations of *-nikka* interms of its semantic and pragmatic functions are proposed. That is, besides its basic function as the marker of causality, temporal sequence and discovery, the authors point out the interactional and subjective motivations that lie beneath the functions of *-nikka* clauses. However, it may be that it is not the semantic development of *-ni* that brings about these findings, but rather the morpheme *-kka* that result in the analysis of *-nikka* as subjective, interpersonal, and interactive in nature. Thus, it is worth investigating the roles and functions of *-kka* separate from *-ni*. In the same way, although *-ni* and *-nikka* are related and tend to have similar functions, they should not be assumed to be the same, but should also be closely examined separately.

3. *−NI* VS *−NIKKA*

According to standard Korean dictionaries, *−nikka* is defined as an emphatic form of *−ni*. If so, this means that *−nikka* and *−ni* should have similar functions and be interchangeable. On the contrary, as many scholars point out, *−nikka* and *−ni* cannot be substituted in all cases (Nam 1983; S−K. Suh, 1998). For example, Nam (1993) asserts that *−ni* and *−nikka* are not variations of the same morpheme but rather two separate morphemes. However, given the fact that *−ni* and *−nikka* share the basic functions (i.e. casualty, temporal sequence) in many cases, it cannot be assumed that they are completely separate morphemes. H−M. Sohn (1999) suggested that *−ni* must have been grammaticalized from *−nikka*, giving the example that the retrospective *−te* can only be attached to *−ni* but not *−nikka*. Although this suggestion concurs with the general unidirectional phenomenon of morphological reduction, given the fact that *−nikka* is not attested in the linguistic data of early texts, it is likely that *−nikka* may have been developed from *−ni*. In other words, since *−nikka* is more prevalent than *−ni* in contemporary Korean and the use of *−ni* is more restricted to formal and written context, it is likely that *−nikka* may have been grammaticalized from *−ni* and *−kka* in which *−kka* was a separate morpheme.

3.1. Semantic Properties of *−ni* and *−nikka*

Both *−ni* and *−nikka* are frequently used as causal connectives in PDK. While *−ni* is used more in written texts, *−nikka* is used

more interactively in speech.

(3) onul-un   nae-ka pappu-ni/-*nikka* nolle kal swu-ka   eps-ta
    today-Top I-Nom busy ni.*nikka*   play go way-Nom lack-Dc
    'Because I am busy today, I cannot go out to play.'

However, according to the data from the 15th, 16th century, neither -*nikka* nor any prototypical form of -*nikka* were found. In PDK, even though -*nikka* is used frequently in spoken conversation, its frequency in formal speech or written texts is still relatively low. In the study by Kim (1983), data from Korean text books and spoken narrative were examined to identify the frequency of different causal connectives in Korean. Results showed that out of 103 cases in written texts, and 97 cases in spoken data, -*nikka* had the second highest frequency (9.7% in written and 22.8% in spoken) among causal connectives next to -*ese* (48.5% in written and 75.2% in spoken). Furthermore, -*ni* was not found in the spoken data and only appeared 8 times (7.8%) in written data. Although writing conventions do not change as rapidly as speech forms, it is probable that like the spoken form, the causal connective -*ni* may eventually be replaced by -*nikka* in the written form.

Besides the causative meaning, -*ni* and -*nikka* also have the semantic meaning of realization, discovery, and argumentation (Nam, 1993). That is, -*ni* and -*nikka* connect two clauses of which, as a result of the preceding clause, the speaker discovers or realizes a fact in the following clause.

(4) a. mwul-ey son-ul   neh-e po-ni/*nikka* nemwu chaka-we.
       water to hand Acc put   see-*nikka*   very   cold-Dc
       'When I put my hand in the water, (I found out that) it was
       very cold.'
   b. cip-ey o-ni/*nikka*   amwu-to   eps-ess-ta.
       home to come-*nikka*   nobody-also not being Pst Dec
       'When I returned home, (I found out that) nobody was at home.'

In the above examples, there is no direct causal relationship
between preceding and main clause of *-ni/-nikka*. However, in
this case, *-ni/nikka* does not simply connect the two events, but
shows a rather weak cause and effect relationship in that
without the first clause, the proportion expressed by the second
clause cannot be realized by the speaker.

The third general function of *-ni* is to mark a temporal
sequence of two events or to indicate a cognitive sequence to
provide further information. When *-ni* is used to only mark
sequence, it cannot be substituted by *-nikka* as in the examples
below. Since there was a high frequency of the temporal function
in *-ni* from 15th and 16th century text, we can infer that the
original function and meaning of *-ni* is to indicate sequentiality.

(5) a. salibwul-i   hAn saca-lAl cizenas-*ni*/*-*nikka* ku syo-lAl cap-a mek-*uni* moda nil
       Buddah-Nom one   lion-Acc make - ni/*nikka*   that bull-Acc catch eat-uni   everyone
       says
       'Buddha made a lion, and then (the lion) ate the cow and then
       everybody talked about it …'   (Sekposangcel 6:32)

b. ho-nAn yez-i-*ni*/*-*nikka* ku   seng-i   uysim-ha-nila.

(Nung.emkyeng 2:3)

ho Top fox-ni/*nikka   that character-Nom suspicious-many-Dc

'Ho' means fox, of which its character is suspicious.

c. ku-ka kwukhoyuywon-ey tangsen-doy-*ni*/*-*nikka* kuttae-nai-ka   selun nes-iye-ss-ta.

he-Nom congressman-to   elect-become-ni/-*nikka* that-time age-Nom thirty

four-be-Pst-Dc

'He was elected as a congressman, (and that time was) when he was 34 years old.'

In 5b, -*ni* connects the events in sequential order rendering no particular meaning. In 15th, and 16th century Korean data, this type of function can be easily found. On the other hand, in PDK, -*ni* with pure sequential meaning cannot be found. Instead, the function of -*ni* illustrated in 5c, which sets the domain to introduce further information, is found in both older and modern data. Although this case does not indicate temporal sequence, it does indicate sequence of speakers' cognition.

3.2 Syntactic & Semantic Difference of -*ni* and -*nikka*.

In this section we will look at the conditions where -*ni* and -*nikka* are not interchangeable. There are cases where -*ni* and -*nikka* appear to be interchangeable. However, in such cases, their usages are semantically and pragmatically different.

When -*ni* is attached after morphemes that indicate tense and aspect, such as -*te*-(retrospective), -*li*-(conjecture), -*lye*-(conjecture), -*ke*-(supposition) -*sao*-/-*o*-(respect), -*ta*-(suspicion),

-na/no-(reason), it cannot be replaced by *-nikka*. Another case where *-ni* cannot be replaced by *-nikka* is when it is followed by defective nouns like *-mankhum*, and *-manchi* which indicate a 'degree.' The structures of tense/aspect morpheme + *-ni*, and *-ni* + defective noun have been semantically grammaticalized.

(6) a. ecey halwu cong.il huli-*teni*　onul-un　nalssi-ka　　malkta.
     yesterdayday all-day　cloudy -Rtr today-Top weather-Nom clear Dc
     'It was cloudy yesterday, but it is clear today.'

b. naynyen-imyen　kyengki-ka coh-aci-*lyeni* hako　kitay-tu-lul　　hako iss-ta.
     next year-as for economy-Nom good-become-Rtr-ni Qt expectation-Acc do be-Dc
     'Everybody expects that business will be better next year.'

c. onul-un　　　chuwu-*nimankhum* pakk-ey　　naka-ci mal-ala.
     today-Top cold-nimankum　　　outside-to go out-not-Im.
     'Since it is very cold today, you'd better not going out.'

Here, we propose that the reason why *-nikka* cannot be interchangeable with *-ni* is due to the interactive and interpersonal nature of *-kka*. In other words, the function of the structures above with *-ni* is to convey one's past experience (*-te-*), conjecture (*-li, -lye*), or supposition (*-ke-*), etc. in which the speaker does not need or seek the colloboration of the speaker. Thus, it can be concluded that the morpheme *-kka* brings in the intersubjectivity and interactiveness in that it invites and seeks the colloboration, agreement, sympathy, etc. of the interlocutor. The nature of *-kka* will further be discussed in the sections below.

Conversely, there are also cases where *-nikka* cannot be replaced by *-ni*. The first case where only *-nikka* can be used is when it is followed by the topic marker *-(n)un*.

(7) a. cip-ey   o-*nikka-nun*   chinkwu-ka wa i-ss-ess-ta.
        home-to come-*nikka*-nun friend-Nom come be-Pst-Dc.
        'When I came home, and then (I found out that) my friend
        was already at my house.'
    b. poki silh-*unikka*-n   ellun tol-a ka-sey-yo.
        see dislike-*nikka*-n quickly go back-Pol.
        'Since I don't want to see you, so please leave quickly.'

As seen above, *-nikka-nun* expresses a more emphatic meaning of *-nikka*. The topic marker *-nun*, however, cannot be attached to *-ni*. This might be due to the topic function of *-nikka*. S-O. Sohn (1993) notes that in discourse, the proposition of *-nikka* clauses constitute a discourse topic in that the proposition is known or knowable by the interlocutor. Thus the topic marker *-nun* follows *-nikka* forming the structure of '[clause *-nikka -nun*] [clause]' and manifests a strong topicality (1993:94). S-O Sohn also notes that *-nikka* clauses, like NP topics, constitute the framework which has been selected for what is going to be said (1993:90). Based on S-O. Sohn's study, it can be assumed that *-kka* has a function of nominalizing the preceding clause to give rise to the meaning of topicality.

Despite the fact that the polite ender *-yo* can be attached to

both *-ni* and *-nikka* sentence enders, the semantic and pragmatic meaning is entirely different.

(8) a. na (ce) haksaeng i-la-*nikka*(-yo)!

     I   student be-Qt-*nikka*(-Pol)

     '(I told you) I'm a student!'

   b. naeka (ceka) haksaeng i-la-*ni*(-yo)?

     I-Nom   student be-Qt-ni(-Pol)

     '(What do you mean that) I am a student? (I'm not a student.)'

When *-nikka*(*yo*) is used as sentence ender, it has the function of reasserting already mentioned information, whereas *-ni*(*yo*) as the sentence ender has the meaning of strong disagreement. The grammaticalized sentence ender of *-ni* and *-nikka* will be discussed in detail in section 4.

4. GRAMMATICALIZATION OF *-NI* AND *-NIKKA*

Only *-ni* can be found in written data from the 15th and 16th centuries, whereas *-nikka* or any prototypical form of it are absent. In S-O. Sohn (2003), she reports that the occurence of *nikka* which consists of *ni-* plus *-ska* appears in the late 19th century, when colloquial styles emerge widely in Korean literature. Hence, S-O. Sohn illustrates the historical development of *nikka* as below:

(9) *-ni* (15th C.-18th C.) > *-ni-ska* (late 19th C.) > *-nikka* (20th C.)

From this, we can assume that *-kka* was adjoined later to the connective particle *-ni*, which subsequently became the causal particle *-nikka*. One theory could be that, since written and spoken styles of Korean had been different until the early 20th century, *-kka* was only used colloquially as an interactive marker throughout history. With frequency being one of the three conditions for grammaticalization, a semantic shift must then have occurred, in which *-nikka* today has a more interactive and subjective function. Yet another explanation for the grammaticalization process of *-ni* to *-nikka* is that *-kka* is a grammaticalized lexical form that has been frequently used with *-ni*.

In the more recent data (PDK), *-ni* has been replaced by *-nikka*, with the ambiguous dual-function of temporality and causality. S-O. Sohn (2003) points out that meaning of causality in *nikka* derives from its sequential meaning through conversational implicature. This phenomenon of causal meaning developing out of sequentiality is observed cross-linguistically (Traugott and Dasher, 2002). In this vein, we further propose that the morpheme *-kka* in *-nikka* affects the semantic and pragmatic function, meaning, and emphasis of the two clauses adjoined by *-nikka*. That is, as discussed in several studies, where *-nikka* contains interactional, discoursal, and subjective functions (Kim & Suh, 1993, 1994; S-O. Sohn, 1993, 1996), we

suggest that it is the morpheme *-kka* in *-nikka* that brings about the speaker's assertion, belief, justification, and subjectivity. Let us consider the two examples illustrated below:

(10) a. khi khu-n salam-i   wa-ss-*uni*(**nikka)* ku-nun Hong Kil-dong i-ess-ta.
       hight big-Rel person-Nom come Pst-ni(*nikka) he-Nom Hong Kil-dong be-Pst-Dc
       'The tall person has come, and his name was Hong Kil-dong.'
   b. khi khu-n salam-i   wa-ss-*uni* icey-n kekceng-i eps-ta.
      hight big-Rel person-Nom come Pst-ni now-Top worry-Nom not exist-Dc
      'Since the tall person has come, now we have no worries.'
   c. ku khi khu-n salam-i wa-ss-*unikka* icey-n kekceng-i eps-ta.
      hight big-Rel person-Nom come Pst-*nikka*   now-Top worry-Nom not exist-Dc
      'Since the tall person has come, (therefore) we have no worries.'

In 10a, connective *-ni* sets up the temporal domain as a general topic which is followed by more detailed and related information. In this case, *-nikka* may not be used, because *-kka*, which brings in the speaker's assertion, belief, and/or justification, etc. can be adjoined to the *-ni* clauses that denote the speaker's subjectivity, such as a proposal of a reason. Therefore, the second clause in 6a, which marks the name of the tall person who has arrived, does not involve the speaker's subjectivity.

Examples 10b and 10c show that both *-ni* and *-nikka* are by and large interchangeable. However, there is a slight difference in pragmatic meaning, in which the sentence with *-kka* gives

more emphasis to the preceding clause and further projects the speaker's justification of why it's safe to not worry since the tall person has shown up. However, 10b implies that there is no need for the speaker to justify his/her opinion because it may be a concept which is accepted by the interlocutor. Hence, the role of *-kka* in *-nikka* is to bring in and lay emphasis on the speaker's subjectivity, knowledge, justification, belief, and assertion in which the speaker seeks to elicit the interlocutor's agreement and co-alignment.

As described above, historically *-kka* has been derived from '*-ska*' where 's' phonetically intensified the following consonant. According to Suh (1990), the role of 's' is to invite the interlocutor's collaboration and agreement. Suh attempts to explain the internal structure of *-nikka* in the following manner: *-un* (nominalizer) + *i* (word ending) + *s* (marker to seek interlocutor's collaboration) + *-ka* (marker to separate and connect clauses). Although this concept is persuasive, the author fails to offer evidence and elaboration to corroborate the speculation. Nevertheless, the evidence from other studies, as well as that of this paper, seems to generally concur with his proposed theory.

In short, it can be assumed that *-kka* was originally a discourse marker which had the function of representing the speaker's subjectivity, knowledge, justification, belief, and

assertion. That is, as the causal *-ni* and the full connective form of *-kka* have been used together frequently, the full connective form has grammaticalized into the morpheme *-kka*, which resulted in the connective *-nikka*.

5. SENTENCE FINAL *-NI* AND *-NIKKA*

In Korean, there are instances of grammaticalization in which subordinate clauses develop into sentence enders with a new function and/or meaning. For instance, H-M. Sohn (2001) discusses the grammaticalization processes involved in the development of two types of interactive sentence enders[4]: the compression type, in which grammaticalization occurred internally through semantic, pragmatic and structural compression (e.g. *-ci anh-ayo > -canh-ayo*), and the main clause omission type, in which grammaticalization took place in subordinate clause enders only after the main clauses were unrecoverably omitted (e.g. *pi ka o-nuntey-yo* 'It's raining. (What shall we do?)') (2001:283). H-M. Sohn speculates that the possible motivation for the development of interactive sentence enders is derived from the speaker's desire to maintain politeness by avoiding coerciveness or imposition toward their interlocutors in a face-threatening speech act. (2001:290) Thus, in this section, we will discuss the grammaticalization process of *-nikka* and *-ni*

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4) H-M. Sohn uses 'interactive' in the sense that the enders are used colloquially only in interactive conversational situations.

as the main clause omission type of interactive sentence enders.

5.1 Process of Grammaticalization

S-O. Sohn (1996) observes the development of the clause subordinator *-nikka*[5] to the sentence final particle *-nikka*, which is used to express the speaker's reassertion or recapitulation of a prior statement. Thus, the process of grammaticalization for *-nikka* is as follows: temporal 'when' > causal 'since' > reassertion. (1996:220) That is, temporal *-nikka* shows an unexpected or accidental discovery as in:

(11) cip-ey   ka-*nikka* pelsse pam yelhan si-yess-ta.
      house-to go-*nikka* already night 11 o'clock be-Pst-Dc
      'When I came back home, it was already 11:00 pm.'

Yet another dominant function of the clausal *-nikka* denotes the causality which expresses the subjective and speaker-oriented attitude (1996:227). The following example illustrates this case:

(12) sikan-i   eps-*unikka*   taxi tha-ca.
      time-Nom not exist-*unikka* taki take-Rq
      'Since we don't have time, let's take a taxi.'

Lastly, when *-nikka* is preceded by a morphological sentence ender, such as -*ta* (declarative), *-la* (imperative), *-ca* (propositive)

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5) In addition to *nikka*, S-O. Sohn also discusses grammaticalization of two sentence finals: quotative particle -*ko* and clause subordinator -*myense* 'while.'

and *-nya* (interrogative) the main clause may be omitted, which eventually grammaticalized into a sentential particle which behaves as an independent clause. The function of the grammaticalized *-nikka* here is to reassert the speaker's prior statement, command, proposal, or question, such as kan-ta-*nikka* 'I told you already that I will go'; ka-la-*nikka* 'I told you already to go', etc. In other words, the generalized semantic-pragmatic function of the omitted clause has been abstracted into a modal meaning which is imposed on the remaining subordinate enders.

One of the general mechanisms of grammaticalization is semantic-pragmatic inference (metaphoric/metonymic) that follows the principle of unidirectionality which moves from a less abstract concept to a more abstract concept (Traugott and Heine, 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993). The metaphorical abstraction process is proposed by Traugott and Heine as PERSON > OBJECT > SPACE> TIME > PROCESS > QUALITY. Similarly, according to S-O. Sohn (1996), grammaticalization of *-nikka* adheres to the metaphorical abstraction process, in that temporal 'since' (TIME) becomes causal and then to the function of reassertion (QUALITY). However, no historical evidence is provided to validate this claim.

5.2 Motivation

On the topic of motivation in grammaticalization, H-M. Sohn

(2001) proposes that the cause for the main clause omission is the combination of the 'least effort principle' (the speaker's strategy to dilute illocutionary force) and the speaker's pragmatic politeness and avoidance strategies to maintain politeness. As a speaker's subjectivity and attitude intensifies and increases, with *-kka* in *-nikka*, S-O Sohn (1993) claims that *-nikka* is not apt in situations where politeness is called for. This may be accounted for by the omission of the main clause in interactive sentence ender, *-ta/ -la/ -ca/ -nya -nikka* as in:

(13) ku salam-i   kan-tako hae.ss-*unikka* cakkwu mwul.e pocima
      that person-Nom go-Qt say-Pst-*nikka* repeatedly ask-not-Im.
      I have said that he will go, so stop asking me repeatedly.
      > ku salam-i kan-ta-*nikka* cakkwu mwul.e pocima
      I told you already that he will go, so stop asking me repeatedly.
      > ku salam-i kan-ta-*nikka*.
      I told you already that he will go. (So, stop asking me repeatedly)

In other words, as can be seen in the examples above, *-ta-nikka* has been grammaticalized from the indirect quotative structure, *-tako hata*. The morphemes *-ta*, *-la*, *-ca*, and *-nya* with the connective particle *-ko hata* indicate what the speaker has said or heard before. Furthermore, because *-ta-nikka* above reiterates what the speaker has already said, it expresses strength in the speaker's attitude seeking the interlocutor's co-alignment with the speaker's initiation. Due to the strong nature of this negative attitude, the main clause that follows is typically one

which is inappropriate for politeness. Hence, the main clause becomes omitted in order to maintain politeness by avoiding coercion toward the interlocutors in a face-threatening speech act.

As mentioned above, *-ni* has also been grammaticalized into an interactive ender. It can be speculated that this sentence ender is derived from the domain setting subordinate connective *-ni* which is not interchangeable with *-nikka*. Moreover, contrary to interactive enders *-nikka* and *-(ta)nikka*, which seek the interlocutor's corroboration and co-alignment, the semantic and pragmatic function of the interactive ender *-ni* voices the speaker's disagreement with the interlocutor's assumption. Observe the example below:

(14) ku namca-ka haksayng-i-la-ko ha-*ni* na-nun mit-ulswu epsta.
    that-man-Nom student-be-Qt   say-*ni* I-Top believe   cannot
    'You say that he is a student; I cannot believe that.'
    >ku namca-ka haksayng-i-la-*ni* na-nun mit-ulswu epsta.
    What do you mean/You say that he is a student; I cannot believe that.'.
    > ku namca-ka haksayng-i-la-*ni*?
    What do you mean he is a student? (I cannot believe that he is a student.)

This process of sentence ender *-ni* is similar to those of sentence ender *-(ta)nikka* in that the main clause has been omitted, which has also been motivated by the speaker's strategy for maintaining politeness.

In examining the semantic difference between interactive enders -*nikka* and -*ni*, it can be noted that -*kka* has affected the meaning and pragmatic function of *ni*. That is, interactive ender -*nikka* (and connective -*nikka*) are characterized as providing grounds for inviting the interlocutor's collaboration, co-alignment, and agreement (Kim & Suh 1994). On the other hand, the sentence ender -*ni* may be characterized as providing grounds for strongly projecting the speaker's disagreement with, or disapproval of the interlocutor's assumption. In view of that, the evidence above further suggests that the -*kka* in -*nikka* not only lays emphasis on the speaker's subjectivity, knowledge, justification, belief, and assertion but may also have the function of seeking the 'agreement' of the interlocutor for the purpose of justifying his / her standing. In other words, a possible explanation for why *kka* cannot be adjoined to the sentence ender -*ni*, is because the speaker's objective is not to receive collaboration, but rather to set a domain to further inform and strongly project one's belief and opinion to object to the interlocutor's misassumption.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we first examined the differences between connective particle -*ni* and -*nikka*. The two general semantic and pragmatic functions of -*ni* and -*nikka* are to mark temporal sequence and causality. Moreover, in PDK, the causal meaning

of *-nikka* prevails and it continues to grammaticalize, while the dominant use of *-ni* is limited to usages with tense and aspect markers or defective nouns. In addition, *-ni* can be found in a more traditional and formal speech / text style. The overall grammaticalization process can be summarized in Figure 1.
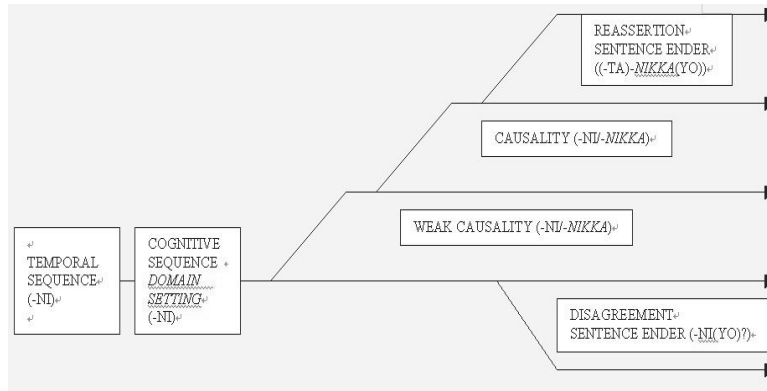

Figure 1: Grammaticalization process of *-ni* and *-nikka*

Looking at the characteristics and origin of *-kka*, we propose that the roles of *-kka* in *-nikka* are to represent the speaker's subjectivity, knowledge, justification, belief, and assertion; and to invite the co-alignment of the interlocutor. Furthermore, we speculate that *-kka* originated from a discourse marker which carried such functions. That is, as the causal *-ni* and the marker that grammaticalized into the morpheme *-kka*, have been used so frequently that the two forms eventually joined to become the connective *-nikka*.

As for the grammaticalization of *-nikka* and *-ni* interactive

sentence enders, the following process is suggested. As S-O. Sohn (1996) has suggested, the general process of -*nikka* is: temporal sequence (connective) > causal (connective) > reassertion (sentence final). The sentence ender -*nikka* is used to express the speaker's reassertion or recapitulation of a prior statement, and indirectly solicit the collaboration of the interlocutor. On the other hand, the grammaticalization process of the interactive ender -*ni* derives from the connective -*ni* that set the domain for further explanation. Thus it can be described as below: cognitive sequence (domain setting connective) > disagreement (sentence final).

Finally, the primary motivation of grammaticalization for the two sentence enders comes from the speaker's desire to maintain politeness to the interlocutor. That is, since the sentence ender -*nikka* exhibits a strong subjectivity and the sentence ender -*ni* expresses a strong negative attitude, the main clause that follows is typically one which is inappropriate for politeness. Hence, the main clause becomes omitted in order to maintain politeness by avoiding coercion toward the interlocutors in face-threatening speech acts.

In conclusion, although we have provided more insight to the grammaticalization of -*ni* and -*nikka*, further research is required to determine the precise function and development of the morpheme -*kka*.

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Grammaticalization of Korean Connective
NI & *NIKKA* and the Role of -*KKA*

Hi-Sun Helen Kim & Sang-Seok Yoon

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to investigate the grammaticalization process and the semantic shift involved in the development of the Korean causal connective -*nikka*. The two general semantic and pragmatic functions of -*ni* and -*nikka* are to mark temporal sequence and causality. In present day Korean, the causal meaning of -*nikka* prevails and it continues to grammaticalize, while the dominant use of -*ni* is limited to usages with tense and aspect markers or defective nouns.

Looking at the characteristics and origin of -*kka*, we propose that the roles of -*kka* in -*nikka* are to represent the speaker's subjectivity, knowledge, justification, belief, and assertion; and to invite the co-alignment of the interlocutor. Furthermore, we speculate that -*kka* originated from a discourse marker which carried such functions. That is, as the causal -*ni* and the marker that grammaticalized into the morpheme -*kka*, have been used so frequently that the two forms eventually joined to become the connective -*nikka*.