

From Evidentiality to Mirativity: on the development of Korean mirative marker *tani*

Mikyung Ahn

Many languages recruit their SAY verbs to signal hearsay evidential information (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004, Heine & Kuteva 2002). Hearsay evidential markers in Korean are also typically derived from complement-taking constructions involving the SAY verb *ha* (e.g. *V-ta ha-ko* ‘V-DEC say-CONN’ > *V-tako* ‘V-EVID’; see Ahn & Yap 2014). Among the Korean hearsay evidential markers, in this paper, I will investigate the development of *tani*, focusing on how SAY verb *ha* combines with the postverbal constituent *-ni* (e.g., connective) and, very interestingly, develops into a hearsay evidential marker and further a mirative marker with a pragmatic nuance such as expressing negative emotion.

Example (1) exemplifies the use of *-ni* in the 15th century, at which time it was used to mark causality (Rhee, 2012: 286). The connective *-ni* often combined with the lexical verb *ha* ‘say’ to form quotative *hani*, as in (2). A combination of phonological changes involving elision of the ‘say’ morpheme *ha*, i.e., *-ta ha-ni* > *-tani* followed by syllable fusion of the remaining segments /ta/ and /ni/ subsequently contributes to the rise of the grammaticalized hearsay evidential marker *tani* (EVID), as in (4). Note that the phonologically-reduced *tani* was initially found in head-final position in subordinate (e.g., converbial) clauses as seen in (3), and is now also used as a sentence final evidential marker in stand-alone constructions as a result of an insubordination process in which the main clause is elided as seen in (4). The sentence final evidential *tani* has also evolved into a mirative construction without an evidential nuance as seen in (5). An interesting question is how *tani* has acquired a mirative meaning. Diachronic evidence from Middle and Early Modern Korean suggests that echoic uses of hearsay evidential markers facilitate the ellipsis of the following main clause (see Rhee, 2012) and this triggers reanalysis of the converbial evidential marker *tani* as in (3) into a conclusive or finite sentence final evidential marker, as shown in (4) that relies on the speaker’s illocutionary force, such as mirative expressions of surprise, disbelief, dismay, etc.

- (1) *cukcay az-a mek-uni tokpyeng-i ta tyoh-kenul . . .*
 immediately take-NF eat-CAUS serious.illness-NOM all be.good-as . . .
 ‘(He) became well altogether **because** (he) took (the medicine) by force and took it, and so...’
 (1459, *Welinsekpo*, 17:21b; cited in Rhee, 2012:286 (2))
- (2) *myenAli-to alph-as-ko yengnang-uy*
 Daughter-in-law-also be.sick-PST-and daughter-POSS
hyengcyey-to alph-as-ta hA-ni
 brother-also be.sick-PST-DEC SAY-CAUS
 ‘**Because it is said** that my daughter-in-law is sick and her brother is also sick...’
 (16th century, *hyenphwungkwakssienkan*)
- (3) *cyangsa-ka twumal-epsi tomang-ul ha-yes-tani*
 Strong.man-NOM grips.without escape-ACC Do-PST-EVID
syeyseyangey hemangha-n salam-to manha-n-ci-la
 on.earth be.vain-ADN man-also be.many-ADN-NMLZ-SFP
 ‘**It being said that** a strong man escaped without grips, (I realized that) there are also many people of vain mind (like him)!’ (1896, *toklipsinmwun*)
- (4) *syewul-lul ka-tani. kakkaphA-o*
 Seoul-ACC go-EVID want.to.know-SFP.
esye iyaki-lul hA-o
 quickly story-ACC Say-IMP
 ‘He went to Seoul, **they said**. I want to know (about it). Tell me about it quickly.’ (1913, *seykemceng*)
- (5) *mwues-i-o Kumnyeni-lul taliko-o-tani*
 What-be-SFP Kumnyeni(name)-ACC take-come-MIR
 ‘What is it? You took *Kumnyeni*!’ (1911, *moktanhwa*)