Discrepancy on Degree of Grammaticalization of Japanese and Korean Negative Sensitive Items: A Corpus-Based Study

(Category: Functional/ Grammaticalization)

Introduction

This work considers behavior observed in -*sika* (only), which is one of the negative sensitive items (NSI) in Japanese and its Korean counterpart, -*pakkey*. Specifically, our main focus is on degree of grammaticalization discrepancy between -*sika* and -*pakkey*. One of our empirical findings with respect to this discrepancy is that unlike -*sika*, -*pakkey* can co-occur with other NSIs such as *wh+to* only when the -*pakkey* phrase is marked with primary postpositions, not with secondary postpositions. This finding provides us several interesting implications: [1] contrary to what is widely observed in the literature (See Martin (1975), Nam (1994), A-H.-O. Kim (2001), Sells (2001), Lee (2002), inter alia), -*sika* is not exactly the same as -*pakkey*. Also, [2] the discrepancy gives us implications as followed: degree of grammaticalization of -*sika* is higher than one of -*pakkey*.

Data and Observation

This paper has investigated use frequency between *sika* and *pakkey* with six different types of books such as (i) English-Japanese vs. English-Korean translation novels based on the same English titled edition, (ii) Japanese vs. Japanese-Korean translation novels based on the same Japanese titled edition, (iii) Korean vs. Korean-Japanese translation short story based on the same Korean titled edition. According to Bybee (2001) (2003), use frequency affects the degree of grammaticalization, which is called 'Frequency Effects'. Specifically, 'Frequency Effects' refers that an item with higher frequency has undergone more advanced grammaticalization. We obtain the interesting results as shown in (Table 1).

(Table 1) a. English-Japanese vs. English-Korean translation novels

(Based on Harry Porter: the Sorcerer's Stone)

sika (English-Japanese translation)	*pakkey* (English-Korean translation)
54 times	22 times

b. Japanese vs. Japanese-Korean translation novels

(Based on *noruwei no mori* 'Norwegian wood')

sika (Japanese)	*pakkey* (Japanese-Korean translation)
91 times	68 times

c. Korean vs. Korean-Japanese translation short story (Based on *ppong*)

sika (Korean-Japanese translation)	*pakkey* (Korean)
3 times	2 times

In (Table 1a, b), we can see that -*sika* greatly outnumbers -*pakkey*. This means that Japanese -*sika* is more widely used than Korean -*pakkey* in those books. Specifically, around 40 % of -*pakkey* in (Table 1a) and about 35 % of -*pakkey* in (Table 1b) do not correspond to -*sika*. Here, a question arises: if so, what items in Korean correspond to -*sika* in those translated books? It is found that -*man* or -*ppwun* 'only' in Korean are mainly translated as a counterpart of -*sika* instead of -*pakkey*. Consider the following examples.

(1)   a.   watasi-no sun-de iru ryou-nante tenjou-to mado-<u>*sika*</u> nai-mono.

I-GEN live-ASP dormitory-though roof-and window-*SIKA* NEG-MODAL

'The dormitory where I live has only a roof and window.'   (*noruwei no mori*)

    b.   ce-ka sal-ko issnun kiswuksa-nun chencang-kwa changmwun *ppwun*-in kelyo.

        I-GEN live-ASP dormitory-TOP roof-and window-*PPWUN* -MODAL (*noruweyi-uy swup*)

It has been said that *-man* or *-ppwun* in Korean are semantically quite similar to *-pakkey* (See A.H-O Kim (1997), Sells (2001), inter alia). However, many studies such as Kuno and Whitman (2004) argue that *-pakkey* is not exactly the same as *-man* or *-ppwun*. Interestingly, there also exist these Korean expressions in Japanese such as *-dake* or *-bakari* 'only'. Similarly, it is said that *-dake* or *-bakari* are not exactly the same as *-sika*, although they are semantically similar to *-sika* (See Kuno (1999) for more details). It seems that unlike Japanese speakers, Korean speakers still prefer to use *-man* or *-ppwun* instead of *-pakkey*. Based on this fact, we can assume that *-pakkey* has not completely grammaticalized and grammaticalization of *-pakkey* has been still ongoing.

Diachronic Implications

This line of reasoning can be supported by the fact that grammaticalization processes of *-sika* into NSI have been periodically earlier than ones of *pakkey*. Consider (2) and (3).

(2)   [*sika*]: mid 18th C 19th C   mid 20th C (1930's)

          1st stage of postposition (NSI)   > 2nd stage (NSI)   > 3rd stage (NSI)

          sika   > *sika*   > *sika*

(3)   [*pakkey*]: mid 15th C - end of 19th C   early-mid 20th C   still ongoing

      (Noun > Adverb) > 1st stage of postposition (NSI) > 2nd stage (NSI)   > 3rd stage (NSI)

      (*pas*   > *paskuy*) > *paskey*   > *pakkey*   > *pakkey*

As shown in (2) and (3), *-sika* as an NSI at first stage appeared in the literature in the middle of 18th century, whereas *-pakkey* appeared in the end of 19th century. In addition, *-sika* as an NSI at third stage appeared in the early-mid 20th century, while *-pakkey* appeared during mid 20th C to present day. It may be plausible to argue that *-pakkey* has been not completely grammaticalized in contrast with *-sika*. In fact, *-pakkey* in the third stage does not seem to be completely grammaticalized like *-sika* as shown in (4).

(4)   a.   konkai-wa   nougyou-**ni kansite**-*sika*   (*nani-mo*)   genkyuusi-masen.

          this time-TOP agriculture-with regard to-*SIKA*   wh-mo   mention-NEG

          'They will mention only with regard to agriculture this time.'

    b. *ipen-ey-nun   nongep-**ey kwanhayse**-*pakkey* (*amwukes-to*) enkup ha-ci anh-kess-supni-ta.

        this time-TOP agriculture-with regard to-*PAKKEY* wh-to mention-COMP NEG-FUT-DECL

(5)   a.   kore-wa jiko   genin-o   chanto kaimeisi-**te kara**-*sika*   (*nani-mo*) deki-nai.

          this-TOP accidents reason-ACC surely figure out-and then-*SIKA* wh-mo   can-NEG

          'We can do it only after we surely figured it out.'

    b.*ikes-un sako wenil-ul ceytaylo haymyeyng ha-**ko nase**-*pakkey* (*amwukes-to*) hal swu ep-ta.

        this-TOP accidents reason-ACC surely figure out-and then-*PAKKEY* wh-to can-NEG

(cf)   Wuli-nun ku pwun-eykey nolae-**lo**-*pakkey*   (*amuwkes-to*) kapul swu ep-ta.

        we-TOP   the person-to   song-with-*PAKKEY* wh-to   pay back NEG-DECL

        'We can pay him back only with songs.'

As seen in (4a) and (5a), *-sika* can be attached to secondary postpositions such as -ni kansite 'with regard to' as in (4a) or -te kara 'and then' as in (5a). Moreover, it can co-occur with *wh-mo*. In contrast, Korean counterparts of these sentences are unacceptable as in (4b) and (5b). Interestingly enough, when *-pakkey* is attached to primary postpositions such as -lo 'with', -pwute 'from', -kkaci 'until', it can co-occur with *wh-to* as illustrated in (cf). This fact sheds light on the idea that grammaticalization of *-pakkey,* which has been ongoing from third stage unlike *-sika*.