

**Grammaticalization, analogy, and analogically-oriented grammaticalization**  
**A corpus-based study of the development of the Korean existential verb construction *isi-e***

Minju Kim (Claremont McKenna College)

Using diachronic corpus data, this study examines the development of the Korean existential verb construction *isi-e* (*isi* ‘to exist’ plus the connective *e* ‘and’), which, in the form of the bound morpheme *se*, led to the creation of three postpositions and three connectives. While doing so, this study will also investigate the interaction between grammaticalization and analogy, and in particular, the case of “analogically-oriented grammaticalization” (Lehmann 2004), a form of grammaticalization whose course of development is directed by analogy to earlier grammaticalization.

In Korean, before the 15th C, the postpositions *ey*, *eykey*, and *lo* denoted both goals ‘to’ and sources ‘from’. The problem of dual function was solved by the arrival of new postpositions with *se*, which took over the source meaning. In the 15th C, *eyse* was first grammaticalized from *ey isi-e* (*ey* ‘at’, *isi* ‘to exist’ - *e* ‘and’). This grammaticalization was made possible because *ey* also carried the locative meaning ‘at’ and could be combined with *isi-e*. The combination of *ey isi-e* brought about a new postposition *eyse* which denotes a source.

Following the example of *eyse*, *eykeyse* emerged from *eykey* through analogically-oriented grammaticalization. *Eykey* carried the locative meaning ‘at’ and hence its combination with *isi-e* could lead to the grammaticalization of *eykese*. However, because *eykey* could be used only with a human referent, the combination *eykey isi-e* (“to exist at a human referent”) was much less frequent than *ey isi-e* (“to exist at a location”: 7 tokens vs. 335 tokens). The low frequencies of intermediate examples as well as of tokens of *eykeyse* (15 tokens) in the 15th C corpus suggest that the grammaticalization of *eykeyse* was motivated by the development of *eyse*. Lastly, in the 15th C, another source marker *lose* emerged from *lo* by analogy to *eyse* and *eykeyse*. Unlike *ey* and *eykey*, *lo* did not have a locative meaning and hence its grammaticalization was purely motivated by analogy.

In the connective domain, the combination of *se* with the three connectives *e*, *ko*, and *mye*, which all expressed the meaning of ‘and,’ engendered three new connectives *ese*, *kose*, and *myense*. Among the three, *ese* grammaticalized first from the aspectual construction V-*e isi-e* in which the existential verb construction *isi-e* expressed duration. The durative meaning came to emphasize the relation of the combined clauses because it could denote that V2 takes place “in the persisting situation of V1”; this created the new connective *ese*. Following the example of *ese*, *kose* and *myense* soon arose. It is noteworthy that in the 15th C, the tokens of *ese*, *kose*, and *myense* numbered 980, 11, and 3 respectively and their intermediate examples followed the same order: numerous examples for *ese*, 4 for *kose*, and zero for *myense*. This demonstrates that the developments of *kose* and *myense* cannot be independent; rather, they are motivated by analogy to the grammaticalization of *ese*.

This study will demonstrate the close interactions involving three different processes of grammaticalization, analogy, and analogically-oriented grammaticalization in the emergence of new grammatical constructions.