

**The emergence of pragmatic markers from Chinese nominal compounds
in Chinese, Japanese and Korean:
Perspectives from East Asian languages and beyond**
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This workshop aims to uncover the function of pragmatic markers and their historical developments in Chinese, Japanese and Korean, with special attention to those nominal compounds that are written in the same forms between these languages and used as adverbs and/or conjunctions, i.e. pragmatic markers, mostly at sentence-initial position (e.g. Chang 2015; Rhee 2018a, 2018b; Shibasaki forthcoming). These languages are spoken in the well-known cultural sphere of Chinese characters. While the same Chinese character form of a compound has a strong tendency to carry similar meanings and functions across these languages, language users and learners sometimes come across heteronyms or homographs in their daily lives, for example, those used as pragmatic markers at sentence-initial position. Heteronyms are defined as a class of words that “have the same spelling but different meanings and pronunciation” (OALD 2010); this definition can be applied to heteronyms used in Chinese, Japanese and Korean.

For example, the form-and-meaning correlation in the Chinese nominal compounds 事实(-TOP) ‘fact(-TOP)’ ‘in fact, indeed’ is strong enough to hold between Japanese *jijitsu(-wa)* and Korean *sasil(-un)*. However, a more fine-grained survey would reveal shades of difference in discourse-pragmatic functions. The Korean *sasil-un* ‘fact-TOP’ can be discourse-pragmatically closer to another Japanese counterpart *jissai(-ni)(-wa)* 実際(に)(は) ‘actuality/reality(-PT)(-TOP)’ ‘in fact’ rather than *jijitsu* 事実 ‘fact-Ø’ ‘in fact’ despite their formal difference of Chinese characters (Shibasaki (2018) and Ji-Yeon Park’s corpus survey in 2018). These Japanese are categorized under the rubric of *chūshaku no yūdō fukushi* ‘commentary inductive adverbs’ based on their discourse-pragmatic functions that they take a lead and serve to anticipate what comes next (Watanabe 1971: 318). Historically, these adverbs developed from the nominal-predicate use, i.e. from *jijitsu-nari* ‘be a fact’ to *jijitsu* ‘in fact,’ undergoing the change from the inside of the sentence as a nominal predicate to the outside of the sentence as a sentence-initial adverb (cf. *projector* in Hopper and Thompson 2008; cf. Heine and Kuteva 2007: 111). In a nutshell, the emergence of these adverbs involves an increase in structural scope in a very similar way to what is suggested in Traugott and Dasher (2002: 152-189). These historical origins and development are shown in details in the presentations by the following presenters. In addition, our survey results are likely to provide corroborating evidence for the view that constructions are formed and progress in a network, not in isolation, even across languages, because those adverbialized nominals mentioned-above have followed a similar, albeit not exactly the same, pathway of change (Traugott and Trousdale 2014).

After a short introduction to the workshop follow the four presentations. Two sets of heteronyms, i.e. 結果 ‘result’ in Chinese and Korean, and 勿論 ‘of course/needless to say’ in Japanese and Korean, are addressed from discourse-pragmatic and diachronic perspectives, trying to find cross-referenced tips among these languages as well as assessing both descriptive adequacy and theoretical underpinnings provided in Yao (2010), Yang (2013), Chang (2015) as well as Takahashi and Higashiizumi (2014, 2018).

1. Introduction (Reijirou Shibasaki)
2. On the diachronic development of Chinese *jieguo* 結果 ‘result’ as a pragmatic marker (Wenjiang Yang)
3. From object to text to stance: The case of *kyelkwa* 結果 in Korean (Seongha Rhee)
4. Semantic change of the Chinese loanword *mwullon* 勿論 in Korean (Ji-Yeon Park)
5. The development and use of *mochiron* 勿論 as a pragmatic marker in Japanese (Yuko Higashiizumi & Keiko Takahashi)

Abbreviations: PT=particle; TOP=topic marker

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On the diachronic development of Chinese *jieguo* 'result' as a pragmatic marker

Wenjiang Yang (Nankai University, China)

1 *Jieguo* in Contemporary Chinese

Jieguo 结果 has three entries in *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* (*Xiandai Hanyu Cidian*, 7th ed., 2017). The numbers after *jie* and *guo* in (1) indicate their tone patterns. *Jie1guo3* consists of *jie* (v. to yield) and *guo* (n. fruit) and thus transparent in terms of its internal structure. The conjunction *jie2guo3* 'as a result', henceforth 'PM *jieguo*' (pragmatic marker *jieguo*), derived from nominal *jie2guo3* 'result'. It denotes counter-expectation that the result is often undesirable to the speaker or the subject of the described situation as exemplified in (2). This third entry *jie2guo3* 'to kill' is mainly used in novels of old style.

(1) *jie1guo3* v. to yield fruits. *jie2guo3* ①n. result. ②conj. as a result. *jie2guo3* v. to kill.

(2) *Zhangmou fan jin daxiongmao yundongchang jian qi wanju hou meiyou liji likai,*
PN climb into panda playground pick up toy after not immediately leave
jieguo bei zhengzai jinshi de daxiongmao zai zuo tui shang henhen de yao le yi kou. (MLC)

result PASS PROG eat GEN panda on left leg on fierce ADV bite PFV one mouth

'Zhang climbed into the panda playground and picked up the toy, but he did not leave immediately. As a result, the panda which was eating bit him on the left leg fiercely.'

PM *jieguo* differs from nominal *jieguo* in five ways. First, PM *jieguo* always appears at clause-initial position¹ except the new use which will be discussed in Section 3. Nominal *jieguo* only sometimes appears at the beginning of a clause and this is the position where it developed into a pragmatic marker. Second, PM *jieguo* conveys the procedural rather than conceptual meaning and serves pragmatic functions, and therefore is grammatically optional. The omission of PM *jieguo* in (2) does not change the truth value of the sentence, which is not applicable to nominal *jieguo*. Third, *guo* in PM *jieguo* often loses its tonal contour and realizes as a neutral tone (Yao 2008: 240). This kind of phonetic reduction is a recurrent phenomenon in the grammaticalization of Chinese language. Fourth, Clause-initial PM *jieguo* can be followed by a pause or a topic marker such as *ne* in spoken language to form a prosodic domain of its own, which is a typical feature of many Chinese conjunctions. Fifth, PM *jieguo* is essentially used in counter-expectation contexts, especially in daily conversation (Chang 2015). (3b) is pragmatically odd unless 'I' do not anticipate 'his' acceptance of the gift and the gift-giving is a testing action. By contrast, nominal *jieguo* is neutral as to whether the result is positive or negative, and adversity is not part of its meaning².

(3) a. *Wo gei ta mai le liwu, jieguo ta mei shou.*

I for him buy PFV gift result he not accept
'I bought a gift for him, but he didn't accept it.'

b. **Wo gei ta mai le liwu, jieguo ta shouxia le.*

I for him buy PFV gift result he accept PRF
'I bought a gift for him, but he accepted it.'

PM *jieguo* has three functions (cf. Wang 2005). The first is to indicate temporal sequence of the preceding event(s) and the ending result as in (4). In this case, the use of *jieguo* is semantically redundant because any result entails that it must be temporally subsequent to the causal event(s). This redundancy may trigger the other two functions of *jieguo*. For one thing, the preceding event(s) and the result may be in a 'causal' relationship. In (5), *jieguo* signals that the elimination of brand products is the natural consequence of their previous behaviors. The third function, henceforth 'adversative', is that the 'result' deviates from the anticipation which will be naturally derived from the preceding discourse as in (3a). Note that both causal and adversative *jieguo* have the implication that the 'result' in question follows the event(s) in the preceding discourse although the temporal meaning is not salient.

(4) *Jintai lingchen, liang dui zai Ouzhou guanjun liansai sifenzhiyi juesai zhong zaici xiangyu.*

today before.dawn two team in Europe champion league quarter final in again meet

Jieguo liang dui zuizhong zhan cheng er bi er ping ... (MLC)

result two team eventually fight become two to two draw

'This morning, the two teams met again in the quarter-final of the Champions League. They eventually drew at two two...'

(5) *Bushao you zhe guanghui lishi de lao mingpai chanpin, jiushi yinwei yu chilaoben sixiang,*

many have DUR glorious history GEN old brand product just because constrained by rest.on.laurels idea

gubuzifeng, bu tu gaijin, er sangshi le yuanyou de youshi, jieguo bei rixinyueyi de

¹ In written language, PM *jieguo* is preceded by a comma or a period. Since there are no grammatically finite and non-finite distinctions in Chinese, the punctuation of commas and periods is marked rather randomly. Thus, in the following examples, a period before *jieguo* does not necessarily mean the closure of the previous sentence.

² This statement is contrary to Chang (2015: 160-161), who argues that *jieguo* in 14-19 c. 'is almost always loaded with a negatively evaluated tone'. Of the four examples cited as (25) in Chang (2015), only the second one is a negative result and the other three are with either positive or neutral sense. See also Zhou (2008: 66-67) for more examples of positive result in this period and Contemporary Chinese.

conceited not want improve thus lose PFV previous GEN advantage result PASS rapidly.changing GEN
keji fazhan he jilie jingzheng de shichang suo taotai. (CCL)

science.and.technology development and fierce competition GEN market PASS eliminate

‘Many famous old brand products with glorious history have lost their previous advantages because they are confined to the old-fashioned idea and so conceited that they do not want to improve. As a result, they have been eliminated by the rapid development of science and technology and the fierce competition in the market.’

2. Lexicalization and semantic extensions of *jieguo* in the history of Chinese language

It is generally assumed that *jieguo* has two homophonous sources, manifested by different Chinese characters 結裹 and 結果. According to the historical survey by Yang (2013), 結裹 had as many as 13 senses and 結果 had 8 senses. With the gradual substitution of 裹 by 果 from Yuan Dynasty (13 c.), they merged into one representation 結果 in Qing Dynasty (17-19 c., cf. Yao 2008: 224). Towards the end of 19th century, only 3 senses were still in use, i.e. ‘to yield fruits’, ‘to kill’ and ‘result’. As for the origin of ‘result’ sense, Yao (2008) and Chang (2015) argued that it derived from VP *jieguo* 結果 ‘to yield fruits’, whereas Yang (2013) put forward a different hypothesis that *jieguo* was a compound in which both *jie* 結 and *guo* 果 meant ‘to end’. (6) is his reconstructed semantic pathways of *jieguo* 結果 (115).

(6) *jieguo* I: to yield fruits *jieguo* II: fruit yielded > karma

jieguo III: to end > to cause > achievement to end > to kill to end > result

From 13th century to the end of 19th century, nominal *jieguo* expanded steadily as opposed to its verbal counterpart. Yao (2008)’s survey of four novels during Yuan Dynasty and Ming Dynasty (13-17c.) shows that nominal tokens account for 13.6% of *jieguo* (224), and in the subsequent Qing Dynasty (17-19 c.), nominal uses amount to about twice of verbal uses (225). My investigation of an annotated corpus (CNC) indicates that in Contemporary Chinese, the total of nominal *jieguo* is 3564¹ while that of verbal *jieguo* is 114. Since the sense ‘to kill’ is nearly obsolete and ‘to yield fruits’ is used in limited contexts, nominal use and PM use constitute the majority of today’s *jieguo*.

3. From noun to pragmatic marker

It is claimed in the literature (Zhou 2008, Yao 2008, Chang 2015) that the formation of PM *jieguo* took place in Contemporary Chinese, but only Yao (2008: 225) pointed out the approximate time. My investigation of the two corpora (CCL and CNC) indicates that no PM *jieguo* is attested in the data dated before 1900², so I will take Yao (2008)’s stance that PM *jieguo* emerged in early 20th century. (7) and (8) are examples from a novel which was first written in 1903 and its supplement was finished in 1928. These early uses of PM *jieguo* focus on temporal relationship, but may also have a causal reading especially in cases like (8) where the situation in the preceding discourse is static rather than dynamic. There are some bridging contexts in this period, which hint the possible path of its shift from nominal to PM use. *Jieguo* in (9) is descriptively ambiguous. Literally, *jieguo* clause means ‘the result (of the treatment) was not effective’, but it can be alternatively interpreted as ‘as a result, (it is) not effective’ since the subject of the second clause is often omitted as long as it can be recovered from the context.

(7) *Haodong dao, "Dashenmejin! Wo da si le ta, jiu wang haizhong yi tiao, shi dajia*

PN say what’s.the.big.deal I beat die PFV him then into sea one jump let everyone

renzuo chousha jiu wan le. Jieguo buguo xisheng wo yi ge ren, yu daju wuguan.” (Niehai Hua, CCL)

consider feud then over PRF result only sacrifice me one CL person with overall.situation irrelevant

‘Haodong said, "What’s the big deal? I will kill him and jump into the sea to make everyone think it was a murder out of the feud! The only sacrifice is me alone. It’s not relevant to the overall situation.”’

(8) *Women zhongguo suiran chang shou waizu qinlue, ran women zuxing li shizai hanyou yi zhong bukesiyi de qianzaili,*

we China although often PASS foreigner invade but our ethnicity in really have one CL incredible GEN potential

jieguo waizu juebu neng kongzhi women, wangwang fan shou le women de tonghua. (Niehai Hua, CCL)

result foreigner never can control us often on.the.contrary receive PFV we GEN assimilation

‘Although China is often invaded by foreigners, there is an incredible potential in our ethnicity. As a result, foreigners can never control us and are often assimilated by us.’

(9) *Huangdi xialing rang Baolugong de fashi qu zhi, jieguo wu xiao.* (Gujin Qinghai, early 20 c., CCL)

emperor order let PN GEN wizard go treat result no effect

‘The emperor ordered the wizard of Baolu Palace to treat her, but she was not cured.’

Another ambiguous case is that *jieguo* is often followed by verbs like *zhengming* ‘prove’ as in (10a). In contexts where the preceding clause is about a test or investigation, *jieguo* can be interpreted as the ellipsis of the anaphoric construction ‘the result (of N)’, so *jieguo zhengming* in (10a) can be literally translated into ‘the result

¹ PM *jieguo* is annotated as nouns in CNC.

² Some PM examples are found from *Zeng Guofan Jiashu* (mid 19 c.) in CCL, but the text is not the original Classical Chinese version but the translated version in Contemporary Chinese. It is the same case with the examples from *Jiandeng Xinhua* in Yao (2010). He used the examples of the translated version of this work to suggest that PM *jieguo* may trace back as early as Ming Dynasty (14-17 c.), which is problematic in dating.

(of the test) proved that’. At the same time, it is also possible that this *jieguo* has a PM reading, and in contexts where no test or investigation is overtly stated, as in (10b), ‘result’ reading becomes vague and PM reading becomes salient. Apart from *jieguo zhengming*, collations like *jieguo biaoming*, *jieguo xianshi* and *jieguo faxian* all have high frequency of use (Table 1), where the subjects of *xianshi* ‘show’ and *biaoming* ‘indicate’ can be the result of a test or an investigation, or in rare cases *jieguo* may have a PM reading, but as the subject of *faxian* ‘find’ must be a person or a group of people such as an institution, *jieguo faxian* can only be interpreted as ‘as a result, it is found out that’. Along similar lines, another high-frequency collocation *jieguo shi* ‘result be’ in (11a) prefers a nominal reading, but in (11b) a PM reading is more natural. In the latter case, copula *shi* becomes a semantically void element¹.

- (10) a. *Fuze banli ci an de guanli jian koushuowuping, bian yan xie bian zhenwei,*
 take.charge.of handle this case GEN official see no.evidence then test blood clarify true.or.false
jieguo zhengming na dabaizi shi wugao. (Gujin Qinghai, early 20 c., CCL)
 result prove that uncle FOC falsely.accuse
 ‘Officials in charge of the case found no evidence, so they tested their blood to see who was right. It turned out that the uncle had brought a false charge.’
- b. *Benyue shisihao, jingfang jiu ceng shoudao zhendui Aifeier tieta de zhadan konghe dianhua,*
 this.month 14th police already ever receive aimed.at Eiffel tower GEN bomb threat phone.call
jieguo zhengming shi xujing yi chang. (MLC)
 result prove be false.alarm one CL
 ‘On the 14th this month, police received a bomb threat phone call against the Eiffel Tower, which turned out to be a false alarm.’
- (11) a. *Zhe zhong xingdong, dou wei quanguo minxin suo bu yuan. Jieguo shi Yuanshi shibai,*
 this kind action all PASS whole.country popular.sentiments PASS not wish result be PN fail
Hongxian huangdi si zuo le bashisan ri, zhonggui wucheng. (Minguo Yanyi, early 20 c., CCL)
 PN emperor privately do PFV eighty.three day eventually no.achievement
 ‘Such actions were not tolerated by the people of the whole country. As a result, Yuan failed, and Emperor Hongxian only lasted for 83 days.’
- b. *Jintian women shuo de shi Qumei zheyang yi ge benlai shi yingdang shi chufang yao de dongxi,*
 today we say GEN be PN this.kind one CL originally FOC should be prescription medicine GEN thing
jieguo shi zai yaodian keyi suibian maida. (MLC)
 result be at drugstore can easily buy
 ‘Today what we are talking about is Qumei, which should be a prescription medicine, but can be bought at any drugstore.’

Table 1. Some frequent collocations of *jieguo* in Contemporary Chinese²

Collocation	Literal meaning	CCL	MLC
<i>jieguo</i> 結果	result	87584	42608
# <i>jieguo zhengming</i> 結果証明	result prove	81	162
# <i>jieguo xianshi</i> 結果顯示	result show	307	538
# <i>jieguo biaoming</i> 結果表明	result indicate	462	65
# <i>jieguo faxian</i> 結果發現	result find	837	370
# <i>jieguo shi</i> 結果是	result be	1326	256
# <i>qi jieguo</i> 其結果	its result	1471	87
# <i>suoyi jieguo</i> 所以結果	so result	24	12
# <i>yinci jieguo</i> 因此結果	so result	3	1
# <i>yushi jieguo</i> 于是結果	so result	3	1
causal conjunction + <i>jieguo</i> (total)		30	14
# <i>danshi jieguo</i> 但是結果	but result	58	101
# <i>keshi jieguo</i> 可是結果	but result	57	15
# <i>buguo jieguo</i> 不過結果	but result	14	13
adversative conjunction + <i>jieguo</i> (total)		129	129

The data in CCL and MLC³ (Table 1) roughly show the contrast between written and spoken Contemporary Chinese. As a general tendency of historical change, grammatical and lexical elements in written language lag behind those in spoken language. This tendency can be seen from the frequency of *qi jieguo* ‘its result’, where *qi* is an archaic demonstrative and sounds formal even in the fossilized construction such as *qi jieguo*, so it has much

¹ Yao (2008: 237) argues that *jieguo shi* is lexicalized and *shi* is a suffix-like element. Considering that adversative conjunctions *danshi/keshi* ‘but’ are lexicalized through reanalysis of *dan/ke* ‘but’ and *shi*, this analysis is plausible.

² # indicates clause boundary, which is a comma or a period in written form.

³ CCL corpus covers written Chinese data of both contemporary and the previous periods. MLC corpus is the collection of contemporary media language including news reports and talk shows.

lower frequency in MLC than CCL. Following this logic, the tokens of ‘causal conjunction + *jieguo*’ and ‘adversative conjunction + *jieguo*’ demonstrate that in both corpora the latter has a much higher proportion, suggesting that *jieguo* is more inclined to adversative functions. This statistics also show that adversative function of *jieguo* is more common in spoken language than in written language as compared with its causal function (129/14 vs 129/30).

Chang (2015: 162) investigated a 5-hour spoken Mandarin corpus and found that 100% of the occurrences of *jieguo* indicate a counter-expectation sense. Yao (2008: 246) surveyed a corpus of written Mandarin and found 85 out of 120 *jieguo* clauses have negative semantic prosody. The terms ‘counter-expectation’ and ‘negative semantic prosody’ are closely related. In daily conversation, *jieguo* has a strong tendency to signal that the following statement is contrary to the natural conclusion of the proposition in the preceding clause. This is the reason why (3b) is not acceptable. As a side effect, the clause introduced by *jieguo* has the connotation of adversity. Occasionally *jieguo* clause can have positive semantic prosody as long as it denotes counter-expectation, as in ‘I thought I would fail the exam, *jieguo* I passed’, where passing the exam is a desired but unexpected result.

As a new trend of development, PM *jieguo* in informal conversations has come to be used at the clause-medial position, immediately following the topic, as in (12b). This is the syntactic position for counter-expectation adverbs such as *jingran* and *jurán* ‘unexpectedly’ (12f), which are usually not used before the topic. On the contrary, typical adversative conjunctions such as *danshi*, *keshi* and *buguo* ‘but’ exclusively appear at the clause-initial position (12c, 12d). Therefore, this new use of *jieguo* behaves more like an adverb than a conjunction. (13) is a ‘traditional’ context, where *Jieguo* clause directly follows the premise clause, with the only difference in the syntactic position of *jieguo*. (14) is the response of the interviewer after the interviewee said it was a very promising company when he entered it. This type of long-distance *jieguo* in (14) signals the salience of its adversative function and weakening of the clause-linking function.

(12) a. *Wo qing ta qu kan dianying, jieguo ta jujue le.*

I invite him go see movie result he refuse PRF.

b. *Wo qing ta qu kan dianying, ta jieguo jujue le.*

c. *Wo qing ta qu kan dianying, danshi/keshi/buguo ta jujue le.*

d. **Wo qing ta qu kan dianying, ta danshi/keshi/buguo jujue le.*

e. ?*Wo qing ta qu kan dianying, jingran/juran ta jujue le.*

f. *Wo qing ta qu kan dianying, ta jingran/juran jujue le.*

‘I invited him to a movie, but (unexpectedly) he refused.’

(13) *Dixiadang Dong Biwu zhebian gei ta yi zhilin, yao ta qu Nanchang,*
underground.party PN here give him one order let him go PN
ta jieguo qu le nali, gen nvsheng qu le Lushan. (MLC)

he result go PFV where with girl go PFV PN

‘Dong Biwu, an underground party member, ordered him to go to Nanchang, but he went to Lushan with that girl.’

(14) *Dan houlai de shishi zhengming, zheci shi bu shi kanzouleyan, yinwei zheyang de yi ge gongsi*
but later GEN fact prove this.time be not be bet.on.the.wrong.horse because this.kind GEN one CL company
jieguo zhi dai le liang nian, erqie ta de quansheng shiqi hen kuai jiu guoqu le? (MLC)

result only stay PFV two year and he GEN flourishing period very quick then pass PRF

‘But later on it turned out that this time you had bet on the wrong horse, right? You actually stayed at this company for only two years, and its heydays soon passed.’

4. Conclusion

The three functions of PM *jieguo* reflect the layering of three stages in its historical development. *Jieguo* starts from the propositional meaning of ‘result’ to discourse/textual function (temporal and causal) and then to subjective function (adversative or counter-expectation). In colloquial Chinese, adversative function has become the default function of PM *jieguo*. That *jieguo* appears in the clause-medial position shows a further tendency of subjectification.

Abbreviations: ADV adverbial, CL classifier, DUR durative, FOC focus, GEN genitive, PASS passive, PFV perfective, PN proper name, PRF perfect, PROG progressive

Corpora: CCL (Center for Chinese Linguistics, PKU): http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/

MLC (Media Language Corpus): <http://ling.cuc.edu.cn/RawPub/>

CNC (cncorpus): <http://corpus.zhonghuayuwen.org/>

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From object to text to stance: The case of *kyelkwa* in Korean

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1. Introduction

Korean has maintained a long contact with China for the geographical propinquity as well as China's crucial leadership with respect to political, religious, literary and scientific development in the Northeast Asian region. The influence of this sustained contact is prominent in the fact that a large portion of Korean vocabulary consists of words of Chinese origin (see below). Many of these words retain the meanings of the historical times but many of them also changed their meanings in history. The Sino-Korean word *kyelkwa* (結果), a combination of two logographs *kyel* (結) 'bind, knot' and *kwa* (果) 'fruit', displays interesting semantic and functional change, a characteristic also shared by the etymon in Chinese. Its functional change led to the development into a discourse marker (DM) in Modern Korean.

2. Semantic change of *kyelkwa*

In contemporary Korean *kyelkwa* has three major semantic designations as in (1), taken from *Phyocwun Kwuke Taysacen* [A Complete Standard Korean Dictionary] by the National Institute of the Korean Language:

- (1) *kyelkwa* n.
a. fruition, fruit (syn. *kyelsil*)
b. a consequence from a cause; state of result
c. (in philosophy) internal conation or action as realized in external conation or action and the consequences or change ensued

The earliest attestation of the word *kyelkwa* is in a 15th century Buddhist scripture, as in (2):

- (2) ILHWA(一花)-ay KAYOYEP(開五葉)-hA-ya KYELKWA(結果)-i
one.flower-at open.five-petal-do-CONN fruit-NOM
CAYENSENG(自然成)-i-li-la
nature.completion-be-FUT-DEC
'(As I preach the truth to the world,) one flower will open five petals and the fruit will be produced naturally.' (1496 *Yukcotankyeng* II: 60a-5)

This excerpt describes what Master Bodhidharma (Dalma) said to his disciple Master Huike (Hyega), in which *kyelkwa* denotes 'the fruit' of a plant, in a figurative speech with respect to the effect of Buddhist evangelism.

Since the process from efflorescence to fruition in the botanical domain can be easily transferred to a more abstract domain of causation, through a process of metaphorization, the word came to denote 'the result' of a previous event or action. This usage is evident in a verse of a prayer poem of the Joseon Dynasty times (orally transmitted until its publication in 1908 by Chwukcen), as in (3):

- (3) na-uy illyem(一念) cinsil(眞實)-ha-myen
I-GEN sole.thought truth-be-COND
swuin(修因) *kyelkwa*(結果)-ha-nun nal-ey
disciplining result-do-ADN day-at
mithasengcon ani poi-l-kka
Holy.Amitabha.Buddha not see-FUT-Q
'If I discipline myself with a concentrated thought, when it produces a result, wouldn't I be able to see Holy Buddha?' (Joseon Dynasty, *Kwenwangka Sekmwunuypem*)

More recently, around the turn of the 20th century, the word became widely used as a noun designating the result in general. This usage often accompanied the explicit cause in the form of [X-GEN *kyelkwa*] 'X's result', in which X is a nominal (as in 4a) or often a demonstrative which refers to a foregoing event or action (as in 4b):

- (4) a. i nanli-uy kyelkwa-ka estekhey toy-yes-nA-nyo
 thiswar-GEN result-NOM how become-PST-CR-Q
 'What was the result of this war?' (1903 *Sinhakwelpo* 3:129)
- b. [Mr. Chamberlin, the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the Kingdom of Great Britain says, since the Great Britain is in dire need of internal solidarity and coalition with the U.S.A., even if the nation spends money in order to bring together all people of the British heredity around the world and fight the war,]
 ku kyelwa-ka yengkwuk incyong-uy tongmAyng-i toy-myen
 it result-NOM U.K people-GEN coalition-NOM become-COND
 ku ton-i askao-l kes-i ep-keys-ta hA-ko
 the money-NOM be.sorry-ADN thing-NOM not.exist-DEC say-and
 'if the result is the coalition of all the people of the British heritage, there is nothing to be sorry for the expense, thus he says and'

Due to the linking function of the word between the two events marking the causal relationship, the word is now functioning as a textual linker, thus qualifying as an instance of subjectification (from External/Internal to Textual; Traugott & König 1991).

The morphosyntactic structure of *ku kyelkwa* 'the result of that' is particularly notable in three aspects: (i) since the demonstrative can refer to some event in the preceding parts of the discourse, the reference can remain less specific (than GEN-marked constructs); (ii) the expression can be more autonomous (than the bound counterpart involving the GEN particle); and thus (iii) the expression can fully stand alone as an adverbial, denoting 'as a/its result'. This state of affairs further pushed the form into a pragmatic marker for presenting the logical conclusion in argumentation, as shown in (5), in which the Speaker A is asserting that B's testimony led to the suicide of his mother:

- (5) (A is pressing B to answer why B testified that A was the murderer and physically threatening to kill her otherwise. A narrates that her testimony changed his life which incriminated him even though he was innocent.)
 A: [I could have been exonerated were it not for your testimony.]
 B: [Why is it that it was because of me?]
 A: ku kyelkwa! casik-ul salinpem-uy ilum-ulo sal-key.ha-l.swu.eps-ese
 the result son-ACC murderer-GEN name-with live-CAUS-cannot-CONN
 na-y emeni-nun mokswum-ul peli-si-ess-e
 I-GEN mother-TOP life-ACC throw.away-HON-PST-END
 'The result! My mother ended her own life because she could not make her son live with a stigma of a murderer.' (2005 Drama *Kulinlocu* Episode #7)

The form has formal variants *kyelkwacekulo(n(un))* 'as a result', which are used for the speaker's interpretive function with respect to events or states of affairs. With the acquisition of the pragmatic function the forms as DMs became freer and now could even occur at the right periphery (RP).

- (6) ku.yeca namphyen-ul ppays-un ke-y ne-canha kyelkwacekulo
 the.woman husband-ACC take.away-ADN thing-NOM you-ENDDM
 '(How could you challenge the woman?) It is you who took away her husband, that is to say.'
 (2008 Drama *Talkhomhan Insayng*, Episode #15)

In the excerpt the DM has the meaning of 'in a manner of speaking, based on the result', in which the causal relation can be rather indirect and exist only in the mind of the speaker.

3. Discussion

The developmental path of *kyelkwa* in Korean exhibits some theoretically noteworthy aspects. Of these we discuss subjectification, stance-marking, periphery, and source characteristics, in turn.

3.1 Subjectification

First of all, the general direction is the increase of subjectivity, i.e., subjectification, from denoting a physical entity 'fruit' (first order) to a more abstract entity such as states (second order), in which the evaluation of the end state as the 'fruit' of the preceding state resides in the mind of the speaker. Furthermore, as alluded to in the preceding exposition, the development as a linker is an instance of the subjectification, from External to Textual domains.

3.2 Stance-marking

When the form began to be used as a DM the *kyelkwa*-derived DM acquired much of interpersonal meaning, since DMs are typically employed for persuasion in interactional contexts (thus rhetorical). The interpretive nature of the DMs well illustrates the stance-marking function. The stance-marking function is truly the primary function of DMs of global organization (cf. DMs of local organization). Interpersonality and rhetoricity work in tandem to signal the speaker's stance in a discourse scene.

3.3 Periphery

Recent literature addresses the peripheral asymmetry with respect to the semantics or functions of a form. For instance, Adamson (2000), Onodera (2007), Degand (2014), Traugott (2014), Beeching and Detges (2014) discuss the issue (see also the articles in the 2016 special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 17.1). Many researchers hypothesized that the left-periphery (LP) functions are associated with dialogal and subjective functions, whereas RP is associated with dialogic and intersubjective functions. In the case of *kyelkwa*-derived DMs, the observation is partially consonant with the hypothesis in that the DMs carry intersubjective functions both at LP and RP, but at the same time the DM at RP tends to signal intersubjective function more strongly.

3.4 Source characteristics

Korean has a large proportion of Sino-Korean words in the vocabulary, i.e., about 45.5 per cent (192,564 out of 423,152; National Institute of the Korean Language, online May 2019). However, the proportion of the DMs derived from Sino-Korean words is very low, less than 7 per cent (11 out of about 160) (Rhee 2018). The unlikelihood of Sino-Korean words becoming a DM is partly due to the fact that Sino-Korean words belong to the high register as they were introduced to Korean through scientific, philosophical, and religious literature, which was accessible by the literati class only. In terms of the lexical composition, the proportion of Sino-Korean words is high, but their use frequency in everyday usage is low. It is widely known that DMs, though universal across languages (Fraser 2006), flourish typically in oral, informal registers (Östman 1982, Watts 1989, Fraser 1990). Thus, the predominance of native Korean words in everyday colloquial language seems to explain the low percentage of Sino-Korean words in the DM inventory. Therefore, the fact that *kyelkwa* developed into a DM is closely related to the fact that this DM developed in a high register, i.e., argumentation, rather than in an informal register.

4. Summary and Conclusion

This paper addressed the development of the Sino-Korean lexeme *kyelkwa* with special focus on its semantic and functional change. The lexeme began its life as a noun designating a first-order entity, i.e., 'fruit' and extended its function to a noun of second-order entity, i.e., events. It further

developed into a DM for interpersonal and intersubjective uses, i.e., expressive functions. Of particular importance of the development are the directionality of subjectification (from objective to subjective); its domain expansion from objective signification to stance-marking; its acquisition of positional freedom as a DM by way of forming constructions, especially with a demonstrative; its strengthened intersubjective function at RP, i.e., more strongly interpretive and stance-function; and the register effect of its Sino-Korean origin, i.e., its specialization in argumentative high-register contexts.

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Semantic change of the Chinese loanword “mwullon” in Korean

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1. Introduction

The Sino-Korean word *mwullon* (勿論) ‘needless to say’ is one of the frequently used adverbs in both written and spoken languages in modern Korean. *Mwullon* is typically positioned at the initial of the sentence or in the middle of the sentence, as in (1) and (2).

- (1) *Mwullon cen kwukmin-i ta yenge-lul cal hal philyo-nun eps-ul kes-i-ta.*
MWULLON all nation-NOM all English-ACC well do necessity-TOP not.be-RL.PRS thing-COP-DEC
‘Of course, not all Korean nations need to speak English well.’

(Sungkun Kim, *Phyucen sitay-uy saylo-wun mwunhwa ilk-ki*
[The reading of new culture in a fusion era], 2003)

- (2) *Kwukmin-unhayng-un il-tung tangchem-ca-uy sinsang-un mwullon*
kwukmin-bank-TOP first-prize win-person-GEN personal.information-CNTR MWULLON
tangchem-ciyeok-to kongkay-ha-ci anh-ki-lo hay-ss-ta.
win-area-also go.public-do-NEG-NOMZ-COMP do-PST-DEC
‘Kwukmin bank decided not to disclose the winning area as well as the first-prize winner’s personal information.’

(*Hankyeley sinmwun* [Hankyeley newspaper], 2003)

Furthermore, *mwullon* can function as a pragmatic marker combined with copula *-ita* (Bae 2013; Han 2003), as in (3).

- (3) S1: *Ce, sensayngnim kuntey ce, hana, ukyen ceysi-lul hay-to*
INTJ teacher but INTJ one opinion suggestion-ACC do-conc
toy-keyss-upnikka?
become-will-HON

‘Teacher, may I give you a suggestion?’

- S2: *A, mwullon-i-eyyo.*
INTJ MWULLON-COP-POL
‘Oh, Sure.’

(*Kanguy, NGO-kyengyeng* [Lecture, NGO lecture], 2003)

■ There are two primary aims of this paper:

- (i) to trace the development of the meaning and function of *mwullon* from the 15th century to modern Korean.
- (ii) to argue that the language internal and external factors such as a productivity and a language contact may be explained how an adverbial or a pragmatic marker developed from sino-Korean *mwullon*.

- ### ■ Data
- from the 15th to 18th century: (a), from the 19th to 20th century: (b) and (d),
from the 20th century to modern Korean: (c)

- (a) **The synthesis of Korean classics database:** A 9-million word database (from BC 57 to 1910) developed

by Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (Seoul, South Korea).

(b) **The Korean historical corpus:** A 15-million word (from 1446 to 1913) largely based on 21st Century Sejong Corpus, a 200-million word corpus. Samples were collected using the search engine system UNICONC, both developed by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Seoul, South Korea).

(c) **The 21st Century Sejong Corpus:** A 200-million word corpus. It contains 216,718 sentences (805,606 morphemes) of informal conversations and 1,989,593 sentences (35,945,981 morphemes) of written texts. Samples were collected using the search engine system KKMA, developed by Seoul national university Intelligent Data Systems (IDS) laboratory (Seoul, South Korea).

(d) **New Horizon of Korean Studies:** It contains the data of researches about the Korean classics such as dictionaries, newspapers, magazines and collection of codices, from the 15th century to the 20th century, developed by Korean Studies Promotion Service (Seoul, South Korea).

■ Previous studies

- ⊙ Jin (2015) discusses the meaning and function of the construction of [*mwullon-hata*] ‘do not discuss, do not mention’, [NP-*un mwullon-hako*] ‘needless to say’ and [NP-*lul mwullon-hako*] ‘the result remains unchanged whatever the environment or condition is’ in the Enlightenment period (from the 19th to 20th century).
- ⊙ Bae (2003) has attempts to draw fine distinctions about constructions which are including *mwullon* in modern Korean.
- ⊙ Han (2003) mentions that the construction of [*mwullon-ita*] functions as a pragmatic marker in modern Korean, it means ‘absolutely, of course’ when it is used to answer questions.
- Previous researches have been mostly restricted to limited short-term surveys and forms, these do not necessarily show the subtle changes of meaning and function of *mwullon* over time.

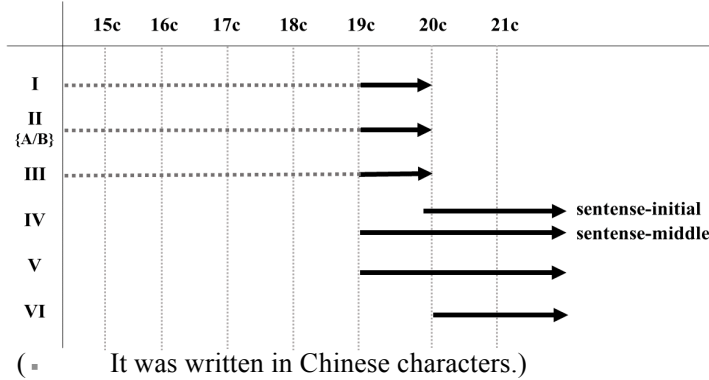
2. The formation of *mwullon* construction

I [*mwullon-ha-ta*] II A [NP-*lul-mwullon-ha-ko*] II B [*mwullon* NP-*ha-ko*]
 III [NP-(*n*)*un-mwullon-ha-ko*] IV [*mwullon*] V [NP-(*n*)*un/-to/-ya mwullon-i-ta*] VI [*mwullon-i-ta*]
 (*hata*: a verb ‘do’, *-ko*: conjunctions, *ita*: copula, *-lul/-n*)*un/-to/-ya*: a particle)

3. The distribution of *mwullon*

	I	II {A/B}	III	IV	V	VI
Grammatical function	a predicate	an adverbial	an adverbial	an adverbial	a predicate	a holophrase
The meaning	‘do not discuss, do not mention’	‘the result is not affected on whatever things are’	‘needless to say, obviously’	‘needless to say, obviously’	‘needless to say, obviously’	(to answer questions or permissions) ‘of course, sure’ (agreement with others opinion) ‘absolutely’
The position in a sentence	final	middle	middle	initial/middle	middle	

4. Emergence of *mwullon*



5. Example sentences

I [*mwullon-ha-ta*] ‘do not discuss, do not mention’

- (4) 이 규칙 마련한 후에 입학한 자만 그러케 하고 이왕 입학했던 자는 ►물론◄한다더라
(이 규칙을 마련한 후에 입학한 자만 그렇게 하고 이전에 입학했던 자는 논하지 않는다고 한다.)

‘It is said that only those who entered the school do so after setting up this rule, and those who entered the school before *do not mention* it.’

(*Kyenghyang sinmwun* [Kyenghyang newspaper], 1906)

IIA [NP-*lul-mwullon-ha-ko*] ‘the result is not affected on whatever things are’

- (5) 이 세상 나라에 동서남북을 ►물론◄하고 사람의 어미된 자는 그 자녀를 기르기 위하여 일평생에 그 몸을 버린다 하여도
(이 세상 나라에 동서남북을 막론하고 사람의 어미인 자는 그 자녀를 기르기 위해 일평생 그 몸을 일하게 한다고 하여도 ...)

‘In this world, *regardless of* the east, the west, the south and the north, a mother will work her whole life in order to raise her child ...’

(*Tayhan mayil sinpo* [Korea daily new report], 1904)

IIB [*mwullon* NP-*ha-ko*] ‘the result is not affected on whatever things are’

- (6) 그런고로 술이란 것은 ►물론◄ 귀천하고 사람 되고는 못 먹을 거시니라
(그러한 까닭으로 술이란 것은 신분의 귀하고 천한 것을 막론하고 사람으로서 못 먹을 것이다.)

‘For this reason, alcohol not be consumed, *regardless of* a higher class as well as a lower class in the society.’

(*Sinhak welpo* [New study monthly report], 1902)

III [NP-(*n*)*un-mwullon-ha-ko*] ‘needless to say, obviously’

- (7) 하나님과 사람 사이를 점점 멀게 하니 이러케 하고서야 어찌 나라는 ►물론◄하고
한 집안이던지 한 몸이라도 평안함을 얻을 수 있스리오
(하나님과 사람 사이를 점점 멀게 하니 이렇게 하고서야 어찌 나라는 말할 것도 없고 한 집안이든
지 한 몸이라도 평안함을 얻을 수 있겠는가.)

‘People drifted away from God, therefore the country does *not need to say*, how can a family or a body (person) can find their peace of mind.’

(*Sinhak welpo* [New study monthly report], 1903)

V [NP-(*n*)*un/-to/-ya mwullon-i-ta*] ‘needless to say, obviously’

- (10) *Sancang-ey cenki-na cenhwa-ka eps-um-un mwullon-i-ta.*
 mountain cabin-LOC electricity-or telephone-NOM not.exist-NML MWULLON-COP-DEC
 ‘Of course, there is no electricity or a telephone in the mountain cabin.’

(Hankyeley 21 [*Hankyeley* 21], 1999)

VI [*mwullon-i-ta*] a pragmatic marker: (to answer questions or permissions) ‘of course, sure’,
 (agreement with others opinion) ‘absolutely, certainly’

- (11) S1: *Kulehtamyen cengsin cilhwan-i-lanun kaynyem-eynun sahoeycek-i-n mayklak-i*
 then mental illness-COP-QUOT concept-to social-COP-ATTR environment-NOM
cwungyo-ha-n yekhal-ul ha-n-ta-nun mal-i-kwun-yo.
 important-do-ATTR role-ACC do-PRES-COMP-ADN talk-COP-EXCLAM-POL
 ‘Then, the social environment is important to the concept of mental illness.’

S2: *Mwullon-ipnita. Celtaycek-i-ci-yo.*
 MWULLON-HON absolute-COP-COMM-POL
 ‘*Absolutely*. It’s absolute.’

(*Sahoy-lul po-nun nonli* [The logic of seeing society], 2002)

6. Token frequency of *mwullon*

	I	II {A/B}	III	IV		V	VI	sum
				initial	middle			
15C	12 (4.29%)	262 (93.60%)	6 (2.14%)					280 (100%)
16C	2 (3.17%)	61 (96.80%)	0 (0.00%)					63 (100%)
17C	8 (8.33%)	87 (90.60%)	1 (1.04%)					96 (100%)
18C	54 (13.10%)	347 (84.00%)	12 (2.91%)					413 (100%)
19C	6 (5.61%)	89 (83.20%)	7 (6.54%)		3 (2.80%)	2 (1.90%)		107 (100%)
20C	7 (4.09%)	144 (84.20%)	6 (3.51%)	1 (0.58%)	11 (6.43%)	2 (1.20%)		171 (100%)
21C			1 (0.01%)	4500 (49.70%)	3614 (39.90%)	112 (1.24%)	824 (9.10%)	9051 (100%)

7. Discussion

- It is assumed that constructions I, II {A/B} and III have emerged after the 19th century and before those were written in Chinese characters. Constructions I, II {A/B} and III show the different degrees of grammaticalization in terms of ‘schematicity’ and ‘compositionality’ (Traugott and Trousdale 2014).
- There is a possible explanation for sudden changes in syntactic and semantic of *mwullon* from the 21st century, it might be because of the language contact with Japanese from the end of the 19th century (refers to Higashiizumi and Takahashi in this workshop).
- In the 21st century, *mwullon* grammaticalized into a pragmatic marker, it uses to express: (to answer questions or permissions) ‘of course, sure’, (agreement with others opinion) ‘absolutely, certainly’.
- Although *mwullon* has undergone sudden changes from the 20th to the 21st century, these results are broadly in line with the finding of the development of pragmatic markers (i.e., full lexical > adverbial phrase > sentential adverb > pragmatic marker) (Traugott 1995).

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The development and use of *mochiron* as a pragmatic marker in Japanese

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1. Introduction

This study examines the development and use of the Sino-Japanese nominal compound *mochiron* 勿論 ‘of course, needless to say’ as a pragmatic marker (PM) in Modern through Present-day Japanese. The Sino-Japanese word *mochiron*, a combination of two Chinese words 勿 ‘don’t, prohibit’ and 論 ‘discuss, argue, debate’, is used as part of a nominal predicate as in (1), an adverb as in (2), and a stand-alone responsive PM in conversation as in (3) in Present-day Japanese.¹

- (1) ... *danjo-ni-wa karada-no-chigai-ga aru-koto-wa mochiron-desu.*
men.women-DAT-TOP body-of-difference-NOM exist-NMLZ-TOP of.course-COP.POL
‘... it is natural that physical differences exist between men and women.’
(2004, *Baby-mo*: BCCWJ)
- (2) F09A: *Are, sazanka-ka-naa, soshitara.*
that sasanqua-Q-FP then
‘(I wonder if) that (tree is) sasanqua, then.’
F098: *Mochiron saiteru-yo.*
of.course bloom-FP
‘Of course (it has) bloomed.’
(1993, F09A181: Gennichiken)
- (3) F098: ... *ja, kore, akete ii?*
then this opengood
‘then (may I) open this?’
F032: *Mochiron.*
of.course
‘Of course.’
(2001–2004, data009: Meidai)

In this study, we will trace the development of *mochiron* from a nominal predicate to a PM from the 16th century to Present-day Japanese and discuss its formal and functional changes in terms of constructionalization (Traugott and Trousdale 2013).

2. Background

In Watanabe (1971), the compound *mochiron* which functions as an adverb as in example (2) is categorized as *yūdō fukushi* ‘commentary inductive adverbs’ (translated by Shibasaki 2018, 2019), which serve mainly at the left periphery (LP) of a sentence or an utterance to express speaker’s comment on the propositional content of the sentence.² Developing Watanabe’s insight into commentary inductive adverbs, Shibasaki (2018, 2019, forthcoming) studies some Sino-Japanese nominal compound and summarizes their development from part of a nominal predicate to a PM as in (4).

¹ The compound *mochiron* is also used as part of some idiomatic expressions or constructions, e.g., (i) *A-wa mochiron(-no-koto)*, *B(-made)(-mo)* ‘A-TOP *mochiron*(-of-NMLZ), B(-to)(-FOCP)’ ‘B as well as A’, (ii) *mochiron A-wa* + PREDICATE1, *mashiteya/iwanya/naosara* + PREDICATE2 ‘*mochiron* A-TOP + PREDICATE1, not to mention/needless to say/all the more + PREDICATE2’ ‘PREDICATE2, not to mention A + PREDICATE1’, and (iii) *mochiron A*, (*shikashi*) *B* ‘*mochiron* A, (but) B’ ‘of course A, (but) B/although A, B’.

² See Beeching and Detges (2014) for further details of left and right peripheries.

- (4) a. N (lexical) > N-predicate (functional) > Adverb (more functional)
 e.g. *douri* 道理 ‘truth, reason’ > ‘no wonder’
jijitsu 事実 ‘fact’ > ‘in fact, indeed’
 b. N-predicate (functional) > Adverb (more functional)
 e.g. *shōjiki* 正直 ‘honest, frank’ > ‘honestly (speaking), frankly (speaking)’
 c. N-predicate (functional) > Adverb (more functional) > Responsive PM (expressive)
 e.g. *mochiron* 勿論 ‘sure thing’ > *mochi!* もちっ! ‘sure!’
 (Based on Shibasaki 2018: 349; Shibasaki 2019: Slide 10, Section 4.1)

He points out that the emergence of these adverbs, i.e. PMs, involves an increase in structural scope in a very similar way to what is suggested in Traugott and Dasher (2002: 152-189).

3. From nominal predicate to PM

In Old Japanese, we can find some examples of the two Chinese words in the compound *mochiron*, i.e. 勿 ‘don’t, prohibit’ and 論 ‘discuss, argue, debate’, which are used individually with their original meaning in Chinese.

- (5) *Kisen-o agetsurau (論ふ)-koto-nakare (勿れ)*
 high.low-ACC discuss-NMLZ-don’t
 ‘(lit.) Don’t discuss the high or low; don’t judge others by their social status.’
 (Early 8C, *Nihonshoki*: Iwanami, vol. 68, p. 21)

The nominal compound *mochiron*, meaning ‘obviousness, certainty, sureness’, is attested as part of a nominal predicate in sentence-final position as in (6) and in sentence-medial position as in (7) from the 13th century.

- (6) *Kono gi, mochiron-naru-beshi*
 this righteous obviousness-COP-should
 ‘this righteousness should be obvious.’
 (1275, *Myougoki* 9: NKD)

- (7) *Douri-wa mochiron-nare-domo, tatoeba, sono-koto-o omowa-zu-tomo ...*
 truth-TOP certainty-COP-although for.example that-thing-ACC think.of-not-even.though
 ‘Although truth is certain, for example, even though (I/we) think of that thing...’
 (Early 13C, *Shōbougenzōuimonki*, p. 384: Shōgakukan, vol. 11, p. 384)

The adverbial use of *mochiron* in sentence/utterance initial position is found about 18th century as in (8) and (9).

- (8) “... *Mochiron Kaku-sama-ga toshi-o torarete, atama-ga hagateiru-no-wa*
 of.course Kaku-Mr.-NOM age-ACC grow.POL head-NOM bald-NMLZ-TOP
hajime-kara wakatteiru-koto-desu. ...”
 beginning-from know-NMLZ-COP.POL
 “Of course Mr. Kaku is aged and (you/we) know from the beginning that he is bald.”
 (1703, *Ukiyozōshishū, Kōshokuhaidokusan*: Shōgakukan, vol. 33, p. 27)

- (9) “*Kikou mita-ka*” “*Mochiron mimasu-ta*”
 you saw-Q of.course see.POL-PST
 “Did you see?” “Of course (I) saw.”
 (1794, *Sharebon, Hokkatsūjou*: NKD)

The adverb *mochiron* sometimes occurs in the utterance-final position in present-day conversation.

- (10) A40f: *Annai kaishi-shita?*
 announcement start-did
 ‘(Have you) started an announcement?’
 B40m: *Shita-yo, mochiron.*
 did-FP of.course
 ‘(I) did, of course.’ (2001–2004, data009: Meidai)

The sequence *mochiron* followed by the anaphor *sō* as in (11) and the *sayō* as in (12) can be seen as a precursor of a responsive PM.

- (11) ... *Tokaku ukiyo-wa kimama-ga yoi-zoi-no, mochiron sō-na, sorya-sō-sa.*
 anyhow life-TOP easy-NOM good-FP-FP of.course so-FP that.TOP-so-FP
 ‘... Anyhow, (it is) good (to have) an easy life, of course, (it is) so, that (is) so.’
 (1703, *Chūsei-Kinsei Kayōshū, Matsunoha*: Iwanami, vol. 44, p. 423)

- (12) Yukinaga: *Mochiron. Sayō-degozari. mashō.*
 of.course so-COP.POL POL.CNJC
 ‘Of course. (it is) so. (I) guess.’ (1773, *Sharebontaisei, Nankeizatsuwa*: CHJ)

The use of the compound *mochiron* as a stand-alone responsive PM (often followed by a final particle which marks an end of sentences/utterances) as in (13) is found from the early 20th century.

- (13) A: *Kimi-no-saikun-wa jisankin-o masani moratta-n-da-ne.*
 you-of-wife-TOP dowry-ACC really receive-NMLZ-COP-FP
 B: *Mochiron-sa.*
 of.course-FP
 A: Your wife really received the dowry, right?
 B: Of course. (1909, *Jogakusekai 1909-16, Kobanashi*: CHJ)

In present-day conversation, the responsive PM *mochiron* is sometimes repeated as in (14) to emphasize the answer.

- (14) F152: *Zangyōteate-toka-mo nai-no?*
 overtime.pay-such-also no-FP
 ‘No such (thing as) overtime pay?’
 F088: *Mochiron, mochiron.*
 of.course of.course
 ‘Of course (not), of course (not).’ (2001–2004, data017: Meidai)

Whereas some dictionaries mention that the compound *mochiron* can be reduced to *mochi* as in (4c) and (15), we did not find any example of the reduced form in the corpora used in this study.

- (15) “*Kimi-mo iku-ka*” “*Mochi, iku-sa*”
 you-also go-Q of.course go-FP
 “(Will) you also go?” “Of course, (I) go.” (Digital Daijisen)

4. Summary and conclusion

This paper addressed the development of the Sino-Japanese nominal compound *mochiron* from a nominal predicate to an adverb and a stand-alone responsive PM. It undergoes a similar formal and functional change to some other Sino-Japanese nominal compounds studied in Shibasaki (2018, 2019, forthcoming). The change found in *mochiron* is from the inside of the sentence as part of a nominal predicate to the outside of the sentence as a PM and a stand-alone responsive PM. In conclusion, the change under discussion is characterized as evidence for the constructional changes and constructionalization in a network (Traugott and Trousdale 2014). The constructional changes and constructionalization that appear to be repeated in Chinese nominal compounds in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean deserve further investigation to see similarities and differences among these languages.

Abbreviations

ACC = accusative; CNJC = conjecture form; COP = copula; DAT=dative; FOCF=focus particle; FP = final particle; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; POL = copula; PST = past; Q = question particle; QUOT = quotative

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