

Evidentials in Korean*

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Song, Kyung-An. 2009. Evidentials in Korean. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*. 17(2). 1-20. Evidentiality is one of the important issues in the recent studies of linguistic typology whereby the Korean evidentials are not so much talked about. In Korean the evidentiality is not so systematically represented as other grammatical categories such as tense or honorifics. But it does have some means for evidential expression. The past retrospective ending *-deo-* has this function. And the 'say' verb *malhada* underwent many kinds of formal reduction and contraction to develop various report/hearsay evidential markers which are very frequently used in colloquial speech. The 'see' verb *boda* expresses also the evidential meaning in the biclausal structure or as an auxiliary. Besides we have some other auxiliaries for this purpose. We propose two simple tests to distinguish the modal and evidential auxiliaries.

Key Words: Evidential, Modality, Report, Information Source, Grammaticalization

1. Introduction

Evidentiality is a grammatical category which deals with the source a speaker has for his or her statement, whether he/she saw it, or heard it, or inferred it from indirect evidence. In some languages it is obligatory in every sentence, and there are also languages in which it is an optional category

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(Jacobsen, 1986; Aikhenvald, 2003a; Aikhenvald, 2004). According to Aikhenvald (2004: 1), about a quarter of world's languages have obligatory evidentiality systems.

(1a-e) are examples from Tuyuca where there are five evidential categories labelled 'visual', 'non-visual', 'apparent', 'second-hand' and 'assumed'(Palmer, 2002: 36).¹⁾

- (1) a. *dīiga apé-wi*
 soccer play+3_{SG}+PAST-VIS
 'He played soccer.' (I saw him play.)
- b. *dīiga apé-ti*
 soccer play+3_{SG}+PAST-NONVIS
 'He played soccer' (I heard the game and him.)
- c. *dīiga apé-yi*
 soccer play+3_{SG}+PAST-APP
 'He played soccer.'
 (I have seen evidence that he played: his distinctive shoe print on the playing fields. But I did not see him play)
- d. *dīiga apé-yigi*
 soccer play+3_{SG}+PAST-SEC
 'He played soccer'
 (I obtained the information from someone else)
- e. *dīiga apé-hīyi*
 soccer play+3_{SG}+PAST-ASSUM
 'He played soccer.' (It is reasonable to assume that he did.)

Evidentiality has been typically considered as one of the subcategories of modality (Palmer, 1985/2002; Willett, 1988; Frawley, 1992 Bybee et al. 1994). But recently some linguists are of the position that the two are separate categories (Bernd Heine, p.c., Aikhenvald, 2003a; de Haan, 2001, 2005; see also Nuyts, 2006: 2, de Haan, 2006: 57ff). This paper will take the second position and try to differentiate the two categories in Korean.

1) For further discussions on the form and the function of evidentials we refer to Chafe & Nichols(eds.)(1986), Aikhenvald & Dixon(eds.)(2003) and Aikhenvald (2004) among others.

Since Chafe & Nichols (eds.) (1986) evidentiality has been one of the important issues in the recent studies of linguistic typology (cf. Johanson & Utahs (eds.), 2000; Aikhenvald & Dixon (eds.), 2003; Aikhenvald, 2004). The Korean evidentials are thereby not so much talked about, although we observe some interesting phenomena in this language. Jae-mog Song (2002) might be the first attempt on the topic. It is concerned with the verbal ending *-deo-*, a visual evidential marker. Ki-Gap Lee (2008) mentions the evidential function of the verb *boda*, and the mirative function of the endings *-ne* and *-guna* which is often discussed in connection with the category evidentiality or modality. In Korean we find some further meaningful evidential markers. This paper explores the evidential markers/expressions in Korean in general to contribute to the typological discussions in this area, while describing them in the grammaticalization perspective, since there are numerous evidential markers still undergoing grammaticalization.²⁾

2. The evidential ending *-deo-*

Among Korean grammarians the ending *-deo-* is traditionally categorized as a past retrospective marker (cf. Hyun-Bae Choi, 1937; Ung Heo, 1987) or a mood or aspect marker (cf. Ho-min Sohn, 1975; Hyo-Sang Lee, 1991).³⁾ Recently it is analyzed as an evidential marker by Jae-mog Song (2002). Primarily it is used as a visual/sensory evidential (cf. (2)-(3)).

- (2) Mary-ga bang-eseo ja-deo-ra.
 Mary-NOM room-LOC sleep-SEN-DCL.
 'I saw that Mary was sleeping in the room.'
- (3) Mary-ga bang-eseo ja-deo-nde.
 Mary-NOM room-LOC sleep-SEN-DCL.
 'I saw that Mary was sleeping in the room.'

2) For precise discussions on grammaticalization we refer to Hopper & Traugott (1993), Pagliuca(ed.)(1994) and Heine(1996) among others.

3) In the Turkic and Balkan languages the evidential marker is related to the semantic notion of resultativity or past tense (Comrie, 2000: 3; Friedman, 2003).

If combined with a 'say' verb, the ending *-deo-* develops a report/hearsay evidential (cf. (4)-(5)).

- (4) Peter-ga [Mary-ga ja-n-da-go] malhayeo-ss-da.
 Peter-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP] say-PST-DCL
 'Peter said that Mary was sleeping.'
- (5) Peter-ga [Mary-ga ja-n-da-go] malha-**deo**-ra.
 Peter-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP] say-SEN-DCL
 '**I heard** that Peter said that Mary was sleeping.'

The report/hearsay meaning came from the 'say' verb *-malhada* combined with the evidential marker *-deo-*. We may say that this ending functions yet as a sensory evidential here. But in the meanwhile the *malha-deo-ra*(say-SEN-DCL) developed to a separate ending and functions as report/hearsay evidential by itself. The developmental process may be explained as follows: In Korean we also use the verb *hada*, literally 'do', as 'say' verb instead of the full form *-malhada*, i.e. instead of (5) we can say this as in (6). In (6) we may delete the COMP to get the sentence (7).

- (5) Peter-ga [Mary-ga ja-n-da-go] ha-**deo**-ra.
 Peter-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP] do/say-SEN-DCL.
 '**I heard** that Peter said that Mary was sleeping.'
- (6) Peter-ga [Mary-ga ja-n-da] ha-**deo**-ra.
 Peter-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL] do/say-SEN-DCL.
 '**I heard** that Peter said that Mary was sleeping.'
- (COMP deletion from (5))

In (7) we can delete the subject of the main clause to get the sentence (8). Now in (8) the status of *ha-deo-ra* as the main verb is doubtful. In this sentence we have namely two verbs, *ja-n-da* and *ha-deo-ra*. The first is related to the subject as main verb. But the latter is not directly related to the subject of the sentence. It rather relates to the position or attitude of the speaker. We may consider this an evidential auxiliary.⁴⁾

- (8) Mary-ga ja-n-da ha-deo-ra.
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL do/say-SEN-DCL.
 'I heard from someone that Mary was sleeping.'
 (Main Cl. Subj. deletion from (7))

What is more interesting is that we may contract the VP part of (8) like in (9), i.e. the evidential auxiliary *ha-deo-ra* is contracted to bound morpheme cluster *-deo-ra*, in which *-deo-* functions now as a report/hearsay evidential marker.

- (9) Mary-ga ja-n-da-deo-ra.
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-END-RPT-DCL.
 'I heard/It is said that Mary is/was sleeping.' (*ha*-deletion from (8))

If we compare the sentence (2) and (9), we find a slight difference between them. In (9) we have *-n-da-*, which is the trace of the erstwhile complex sentence such as (5). In present Korean, *ja-n-da-deo-ra* as shown in sentence (9) is written as a single word. But it is pointed out that the word status of the expression *ja-n-da-deo-ra* is dubious, because semi-final endings can be inserted between *-da-* and *-deo-*. In this case it is analyzed as a simple contracted form. The same point could be argued in the other contracted constructions below.⁵⁾

3. The 'say' verb (*mal*)*hada* and related phenomena

3.1 The development of the report/hearsay evidential marker

As mentioned above the verb *hada*, literally 'do', is used as a 'say' verb in Korean. The sentences (10a) and (10b) are hence of the same meaning. The constructions like (10b) underwent many kinds of formal reduction and contraction to develop various report/hearsay evidential markers.⁶⁾

4) Grammaticalization of a verb as an evidential may involve a change in its status, from main to secondary (Aikhenvald, 2004: 275).

5) We refer to Jae-mog Song (2002) for further discussion on the ending *-deo-*.

- (10) a. Peter-ga [Mary-ga ja- n- da- go]s **mal-ha-yeoss-da**
 Peter-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP]s word-do-PST-DCL
 'Peter said that Mary was sleeping.'
- b. Peter-ga [Mary-ga ja- n- da- go]s **ha-yeoss-da**
 Peter-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP]s do-PST-DCL
 'Peter said that Mary was sleeping.'

The grammaticalizational process of the evidential markers can be illustrated as follows. (11a) is the full 'say' verb sentence in which we may delete the main clause subject to get (11b). Just like the case in (8), we may consider *ha-n-da* (11b) as an evidential auxiliary.

- (11) a. Peter-ga [Mary-ga ja- n- da- go]s ha-n-da
 Peter-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP]s say-PRS-DCL
 'Peter says that Mary is sleeping.'
- b. Mary-ga ja- n- da- go ha-n-da
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP say-PRS-DCL
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'

In (11b) the COMP *-go* can be deleted as in (12a). The verbal part of (12) undergoes further formal reductions to develop finally an evidential ending as in (13). In present Korean *ja-n-dan-da* in (13) is considered a single word.

- (12) Mary-ga ja- n- da ha-n-da.
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL say-PRS-DCL
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'
- (13) Mary-ga ja- n- dan- da.
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-RPT-DCL
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'

In the colloquial speech, the same hearsay/report evidential is realized as in (14). The ending *-dae* is the reduced form of *-da-go ha-yeo* (DCL-COMP say-DCL).

6) See Haspelmath (1993), Willet (1988), LaPolla (2003), Aikhenvald (2004, chap. 9) among others for the similar origin of evidential markers.

The developmental process can be illustrated as in (15).

- (14) Mary-ga ja- n- dae.
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-RPT
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'

- (15) Developmental process of the evidential ending *-dae*

- stage 1: ja- n- da- go **ha-yeo**
 sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP say-END
 stage 2: ja- n- da- go **hae** (ending reduction)
 sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP say
 stage 3: ja- n- **da** **hae** (COMP deletion)
 sleep-PRS-DCL say
 stage 4: ja- n- **dae** (formal reduction)
 sleep-PRS-RPT

The sentence (14) is in present tense and represents the plain speech level. The ending *-dae-* can also combine with the past tense or with the ending of honorifics (cf. (16)-(17)).

- (16) Mary-ga ja- **ss-** dae.
 Mary-NOM sleep-PST-RPT
 'It is said that Mary slept.'
 (17) Mary-ga ja- **ss-** dae- yo
 Mary-NOM sleep-PST-RPT-HON
 'It is said that Mary slept.'

In formal speech, Koreans speak as in (18a) instead of (17). And the construction (18a) may undergo further formal reductions as shown in (18b-c). In present Korean, *ja-n-dabni-da* in (18c) is considered a single word.

- (18) a. Mary-ga ja- n- da- go **ha-bni-da.**

- Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP say-HON-DCL
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'
- b. Mary-ga ja- n- da **ha-bni-da.** (COMP deletion)
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL say-HON-DCL
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'
- c. Mary-ga ja- n- **dabni-da.** (formal reduction)
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-RPT.HON-DCL
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'

3.2 Some variations of report/hearsay evidential with *ha-* 'say':

The endings *-da-myeonseo/-da-myeo/-da-go/-da-neunde*

In Korean we have the verbal endings *-myeonseo/-myeo* which represent simultaneous situations. They correspond roughly to English 'while' (cf. (19)-(20)).

- (19) Mary-ga ja-**myeonseo** ko-reul go- n- da
 Mary-NOM sleep-END(while) nose-ACC snore- PRS-DCL
 'Mary is snoring while sleeping.'
- (20) Mary-ga ko-reul gol-**myeo** ja- n- da
 Mary-NOM nose-ACC snore-END(while) sleep-PRS-DCL
 'Mary is sleeping (with) snoring.'

The endings *-myeonseo/-myeo* can now combine with the 'say' verb *ha-* and develop into report/hearsay evidential markers. Sentence (21) is an example of the ending *-myeonseo* combined with the 'say' verb *ha-* which develops into a special ending through formal reductions (cf.(21)-(23)). In present Korean, *ja-n-da-myeonseo* in (23) is considered a single word.

- (21) ai-ga ja- n- da- **go** ha-myeonseo
 child-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP say- END (while)
 eomma-neun sijang-e ga-ss-da
 mother-NOM market-DIR go-PST-DCL
 'Mother went shopping, while saying the child was sleeping.'

- (22) ai-ga ja- n- da **ha**-myeonseo
 child-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL say- END(while)
 eomma-neun sijang-e ga-ss-da
 mother-NOM market-DIR go-PST-DCL
 'Mother went shopping, while saying the child was sleeping.'
- (23) ai-ga ja- n- **da**-myeonseo
 child-NOM sleep-PRS-END/saying
 eomma-neun sijang-e ga-ss-da.
 mother-NOM market-DIR go-PST-DCL
 'Mother went shopping, while saying the child was sleeping.'

Now in (23), not in (21) or (22), we may delete the main clause to get (24a) in which *-damyeonseo* should be counted as a report/hearsay evidential marker. The ending *-damyeonseo* can be replaced with *-damyeo* without any semantic change (cf. (24b)).

- (24) a. ai-ga ja- n- **damyeonseo**.
 child-NOM sleep-PRS-END.RPT
 'It is said/you said that the child is/was sleeping.'
- b. ai-ga ja- n- **damyeo**.
 child-NOM sleep-PRS-END.RPT
 'It is said/you said that the child is/was sleeping.'

As is the case with English *while*, the Korean ending *-(da)myeonseo* /*-(da)myeo* can have the concessive meaning (cf. (25)).

- (25) Mary-ga ja- n- **damyeonseo** TV bo-go iss-da.
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-END/saying TV see-END PROG-DCL
 'Mary is watching TV, while saying she'll go to bed.'

Sentence (24) can also have the concessive reading: 'Didn't you say that Mary was asleep? (You go nevertheless shopping?)'. The concessive reading of these endings seem to have been weakened in the meanwhile and developed into hearsay/report evidential markers combined with the 'say' verb *hada*, or

exactly to say, with its contracted form *-da-* in *-damyeonseo*.

In (26) we have two other examples of the evidential markers *-damyeo/-damyeonseo*.

- (26) a. Neo Mary-reul johaha-n-**damyeo/-damyeonseo**.
 You Mary-ACC like-PRS-RPT.
 'It is said you like Mary.'
 'I've heard you like Mary.'
 'You've said you like Mary.'
- b. Mary-ga dogil-e ga-n-**damyeo/-damyeonseo**.
 Mary-NOM Germany-DIR go-PRS-RPT
 'It is said/I heard/you said that Mary would go to Germany.'

Another variation of report/hearsay evidential with the 'say' verb *ha-* is the development of *-da-go hada* (-DCL-COMP say) > *-dago* (evidential). We may begin the discussion again with the example (11) repeated below. In (11) we can delete the main clause subject to get the sentence (27), as mentioned above. Now in (27) the 'say' verb *ha-n-da* can be deleted, the result of which is the sentence (28).

- (11) Peter-ga [Mary-ga ja- n- da- go]s ha-n-da.
 Peter-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP]s say-PRS-DCL
 'Peter says that Mary is sleeping.'
- (27) Mary-ga ja- n- da- go ha-n-da. (= example (11))
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP say-PRS-DCL
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'
- (28) Mary-ga ja- n- dago.
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-RPT
 'I heard that Mary would go to bed.'
 'Mary said that she would go to bed.'
 'Do you say/Is it said that Mary is sleeping?'

The morphological complex *-n-da-go* is already grammaticalized to a sentence final ending in Korean, especially in the colloquial speech. This construction is

very natural in the interrogatives, but it is also used in the declaratives without any problem.⁷⁾

A further variation of report/hearsay evidential with the 'say' verb *ha-* is the development of *-da-go ha-neunde* (-DCL-COMP *say*-CONN) > *-da-neunde* (evidential). The form *-neunde* is a connective ending with the meaning of contrast among others (cf. (29)).

- (30) Mary-ga ja- neunde John-eun TV bo-n-da.
 Mary-NOM sleep-CONN John-NOM TV watch-PRS-DCL.
 'John is watching TV, while Mary is sleeping.'

The ending *-neunde* can combine with the 'say' verb *ha-* as in (30) (cf. also (12)). In (30) we may now delete the main clause to get the sentence (31a). In colloquial speech, (31a) is a complete sentence. The verbal complex *-da-go ha-neunde* in (31a) undergoes further formal reductions to develop into an evidential marker *-daneunde* at the end (cf. (31b-d)).

- (30) Mary-ga ja- n- da- go ha-neunde
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP say-CONN
 radio-ga kyeo-issda.
 radio-NOM on-END.
 'The radio is on, while it is said that Mary is sleeping.'
- (31) a. Mary-ga ja- n- da- go ha-neunde
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL-COMP say-END
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.'
- b. Mary-ga ja- n- da ha-neunde
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-DCL say-END
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.' (COMP deletion from (31a))
- c. Mary-ga ja- n- daneunde
 Mary-NOM sleep-PRS-RPT
 'It is said that Mary is sleeping.' (formal reduction from (31b))

7) The intonations are different in the two types of the sentence.

4. The verb *boda* 'see' and related phenomena

The Korean verb *bo-da* (see-END) has developed three formal variations in relation to the modality and evidentiality: the infinitive form, the finite active form and the finite passive form. All the three forms are concerned with the possibility of an event and they are differentiated in the modality and evidentiality.⁸⁾ Contrary to the 'say' verb, the verb *boda* ('see') tends to develop modal meanings. As we may guess, the erstwhile visual meaning of this verb was weakened and it developed to verbs of modality (cf. Matlock, 1989). Hence there appear sometimes borderline cases between modality and evidentiality.

In the infinitive form,⁹⁾ *boda* ('see') functions as an auxiliary and relates to the inference based on the audio-visual, or other empirical evidence (cf. Ki-Gap Lee, 2008). It should be considered an evidential auxiliary (cf. (32)). It is restricted to the present tense, i.e. the assumption always relates to the speech time. The main verb, however, can be in the past tense.

- (32) Mary-ga ja- neunga bo-da.
 Mary-NOM sleep-END see-END(infinite)
 'Mary seems to sleep.'
 (The light is off./It is quiet in her room./She doesn't come to lunch.)

In some dialects of Korean, the auxiliary *boda* ('see') has undergone further formal contraction to a bound morpheme. In the Chola area, for example, it is no longer used as an auxiliary verb, but only as a verbal ending in the contracted form as shown in (33). The morphological complex *ja-nga-b-da* in (33) is the contracted form of *ja-neunga bo-da* in (32).

- (33) John-i ja-nga-b-da.
 John-NOM sleep-END-EVD-DCL
 'John seems to sleep.'

8) See Gordon (1986), Aikhenvald (2003b) for other examples of evidential markers developed from the verb 'see'.

9) It takes no tense marker, but other endings such as honorific markers and various declarative endings are compatible.

In the finite active form, *boda* ('see') is used as a main clause verb in complex sentences with the meaning 'think, guess, suppose' (cf. (34)).¹⁰ The erstwhile visual meaning developed into the abstract meaning. The evidential meaning seems to be excluded here.

- (34) na-neun [Mary-ga ja-l/neun geos-euro] bo-n-da.
 I-NOM [Mary-NOM sleep-END COMP-PP] see-PRS-DCL
 'I think/guess/suppose that Mary is sleeping.'

The passive form *bo-i-da* (see-PASS-DCL) might have begun its life as a visual evidential, as we may guess from its lexical meaning. In present-day Korean, it seems to function as a broad circumstantial evidential. Basically it seems to be an evidential auxiliary, i.e. we need some evidence to say as in (35).

- (35) [Mary-ga ja-neun geoseuro] bo-in-da.
 [Mary-NOM sleep-END COMP] see-PASS-DCL
 'Mary seems to sleep.'
 (The light is off./It is very quiet in her room.)

If combined with the ending of conjecture *-(eu)l* in the main verb, *bo-i-da* can function as a simple epistemic modal (cf. (36)). But in (36) it has also an evidential meaning. The ending *-(eu)l* has three-fold functions, the present and future conjecture, and the simple future. Connected with the last function of *-(eu)l*, *bo-i-da* expresses the evidentiality.¹¹

- (36) [Mary-ga ja-l geoseuro] bo-in-da.
 [Mary-NOM sleep-FUT/CNJT COMP] see-PASS-DCL
 'I suppose Mary might be sleeping.' (present conjecture/modal)
 'I guess Mary will go to bed.' (futural conjecture/modal)
 'It seems like that Mary will go to bed.' (simple future/evidential)

The sentence (36), but not (35), is compatible with *ama* ('maybe'), a typical

10) It is also used as simple transitive verb, like 'see' in English.

11) See Aikhenvald (2004) section 8.4 for the interaction of the tense and the evidentiality.

modal adverb in Korean. This supports our position related to the evidentiality of the two sentences, i.e. the sentence (36), but not (35), has a modal meaning .

5. *moyang-i-da* and some other related expressions

The form *moyangis* originally a noun with the meaning 'shape, form or appearance'. Combined with the copula *-i-da*, it is used as an auxiliary-like predicate with the meaning 'of the appearance, appear, seem' (cf. (37)). It is basically an evidential predicate, i.e. we need some sensory or inferential evidence to say it, as in (37).

- (37) [Mary-ga ja- neun]s moyang- i- da
 [Mary-NOM sleep-END]s appearance-COP-DCL
 'It seems like that Mary is sleeping.' (The light is off.)

Interestingly, the construction is incompatible with the conjectural meaning of the ending *-(eu)l*. In (38) *-(eu)l* has only the meaning of future, but not that of conjecture.

- (38) [Mary-ga ja-l] moyang- i- da
 [Mary-NOM sleep-FUT/*CNJT] appearance-COP-DCL
 'It seems like that Mary will go to bed.'

Beside the forms discussed above, we have in Korean some other related expressions such as in (39) among others.

- (39) a. [sentence] + *gat-da* (S + like-DCL)
 b. predicate + *(eu)l geos-ida* (predicate-CNJT-DCL)
 c. predicate-*gess-da* (predicate-CNJT-DCL)

The construction in (39a) is similar to that of *bo-in-da* (*see*-PASS-DCL) in (35)-(36). It is primarily concerned with the evidentiality (cf. (40a)). But if combined with the ending *-(eu)l* in the main verb, *gat-da* in (40b) has two

functions, modal and evidential, just like *bo-in-da* in (36). For (40a), but not necessarily for (40b), we should have some evidence. For example, (40a) is compatible with the foregoing sentence like 'The light is off.' But for (40b) such evidence is not obligatory.

- (40) a. [Mary-ga ja-neun geos] gat-da
 [Mary-NOM sleep-END COMP] like-DCL
 'It seems like that Mary is sleeping.'
- b. [Mary-ga ja-l geos] gat-da
 [Mary-NOM sleep-FUT/CNJT COMP] like-DCL
 'Maybe Mary is sleeping.'
 'It seems like that Mary will go to bed.'

The situation with the constructions (39b-c) is different from that of (39a). As we may guess from the ending of conjecture, they represent the modality rather than the evidentiality (cf. (41)-(42)).

- (41) Mary-ga ja- lgeos-ida.
 Mary-NOM sleep-CNJT-DCL
 'Maybe Mary is sleeping.'
- (42) Mary-ga ja- gess- da.
 Mary-NOM sleep-CNJT-DCL
 'Mary may be sleeping.'

In contrast to the evidentials, (41-42) can be expressed without any empirical evidence. They should be considered simple modal constructions.

Two simple tests can be proposed to distinguish the evidential and the modal auxiliaries above.¹²⁾ The first one is the compatibility test with modal adverbs. In Korean we have the typical modal adverbs *eojjeonji* 'I am of the feeling/intuition that...' and *eojjeomyeon* 'it could be the case that...'. These can be combined with the simple modal auxiliaries (cf. (40b), (43)), but not so easily with the evidentials (cf. (32), (44)). We assume here that the typical modal

12) These are only first trials which should be refined further. We find modal adverbs which are compatible both with the evidential and the modal auxiliaries.

adverbs combine easily with the modal auxiliaries, but not with the evidential expressions. The combinational possibilities of evidential and modal auxiliaries with the two modal adverbs *eojjeonji* and *eojjeomyeon* are summarized in table 1.

- (43) *eojjeonji* Mary-ga ja-l geos gat-da
 MADV Mary-NOM sleep-CNJT COMP like-DCL
 'I am of the feeling that Mary is sleeping.'
- (44) **eojjeonji* Mary-ga ja- neunga bo-da.
 MADV Mary-NOM sleep-END see/EVD
 'I am of the feeling that Mary is sleeping.'

auxiliaries	category	<i>eojjeonji</i>	<i>eojjeomyeon</i>	related examples
-boda	evidential	x	x	(31)
-bo-i-da(1)	evidential	x	x	(34)
-moyang-i-da	evidential	x	x	(36)
-gat-da(1)	evidential	?	??	(39a)
-bo-n-da	modal	x	o	(33) ¹³
-bo-i-da(2)	modal	o	o	(35)
-gat-da(2)	modal	o	o	(39b)
-lgeos-ida	modal	x	o	(40)
-gess-da	modal	x	o	(41)

Table 1: Combinational possibilities of evidential and modal auxiliaries with modal adverbs

Another test to distinguish the evidentials and the modal auxiliaries is the compatibility test with the foregoing evidential sentences such as 'The light/radio is off.' or 'Mary has just turned off the light/radio.' (cf. (45)).

- (45) Speaker A: 'The light/radio is off in Mary's room.' or
 'Mary has just turned off the light/radio.'
 Speaker B: [Mary be asleep. / Mary go to bed.] + Auxiliaries

13) In the context of (46) the sentence (34) is possible, for which we need some other explanation.

If the related sentence contains an evidential auxiliary, it will appear in the bracket of (45) without any problems. On the contrary, the modal auxiliaries would be inappropriate in this context. Table 2 shows the combinational possibilities of the related auxiliaries in the context of (45).

auxiliaries	category	combinational possibility	related examples
-boda	evidential	o	(31)
-bo-i-da(1)	evidential	o	(34)
-moyang-i-da	evidential	o	(36)
-gat-da(1)	evidential	o	(39a)
-bo-n-da	modal	o	(33)
-bo-i-da(2)	modal	x	(35)
-gat-da(2)	modal	x	(39b)
-lgeos-ida	modal	x	(40)
-gess-da	modal	x	(41)

Table 2: Combinational possibilities of evidential and modal auxiliaries in the context of (45)

6. Concluding Remarks

In Korean the evidentiality is not an obligatory category and hence not a systematic one such as tense or honorifics. But we find a lot of means for evidential expressions in various linguistic levels, i.e. in the morphological, lexical and also in the syntactic level. Besides the semi-final ending *-deo-*, the only Korean evidential marker discussed by now, the verbs of 'say' and 'see' are playing thereby important roles. The construction [S + *malhada* 'say'] undergoes various contractions to develop evidential endings. The verb *boda* 'see' in its infinite form and passive form expresses also the evidential meaning in biclausal structures. Besides, we have some evidential auxiliaries. We proposed two simple tests to distinguish the modal and evidential auxiliaries. They are only first trials and should be refined further. There are topics which are closely

related to evidentiality: mirativity, the interactions of evidentiality and tense/aspect, and the person of the subject among others. These are not covered in this paper and we leave them for our future research.

Abbreviations

ACC = accusative	CNJT = conjecture	COMP = complementizer
CONN = connective	COP = copula	DCL = declarative
DIR = directive	END = ending	EVD = evidential
FUT = future	HON = honorific marker	LOC = locative
MADV = modal adverb	NOM = nominative	PASS = passive
PROG = progressive	PP = postposition	PRS = present
PST = past	RETR = retrospective	RPT = report
S = sentence	SEN = sensory evidential	

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