
**GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE KOREAN VERB PPACITA AND THECITA**

Iksoo Kwon (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

**ABSTRACT**

The aim of this paper is accounting for the grammaticalization process where Korean verbs ppacita ‘fall into’ and thecita ‘blow up’ come to be auxiliary verbs from lexical ones and accounting for the reason why they show the subtle different distribution regardless of their similar grammatical function as negative connotative markers and emphatic markers. There are some cases, however, where the verb thecita only can occur and the other verb ppacita cannot. To better track the distribution of the verbs, I will account for the lexical meanings of the verbs first and its metaphoric extensions. Based on the accounts, this paper argues that explication for the distinctive semantic properties which determine the auxiliary verb’s distribution can be enhanced by considering the verb’s aspectual idiosyncrasy and the effect of a frequently used idiom with regard to the verb thecita.

1. **INTRODUCTION**

Grammaticalization comes to be recognized as a persuasive methodology to account for various linguistic phenomena. According to the traditional definition of Kuriłowicz (1975), grammaticalization is an expansion of range including transfers from less grammatical to more grammatical linguistic forms. One of the linguistic items where the transfer is frequently accounted for is the so-called serial verb constructions. This paper aims at accounting for the grammaticalization process where Korean verbs ppacita ‘fall into’ and thecita ‘blow up’ come to be auxiliary verbs from lexical ones and at accounting for the reason why they show the subtly different distribution regardless of their similar grammatical function as negative connotative markers and emphatic markers, by means of its semantic idiosyncrasy of the verbs.


(1) ku    chayk-un    nalk-a    ppaci-ess-ta  
the   book-Nom    old-Conn   fall into-Past-Dec  
‘the book is old like hell’

(2) chelswu-nun    nuli-e/keyul-le    theci-ess-ta  
chelswu-Nom    slow/lazy-Conn   blow up-Past-Dec  
‘Chelswu’s action is slow/lazy like hell.’

In (1), the auxiliary ppacita marks that the speaker has a negative attitude against the event that the book is old and also marks that the age of the book is extremely old. In (2), the auxiliary verb thecita strengthen the meaning of negativity against the event that chelswu is slow or lazy and also marks the speaker’s negative connotation against the event. In this vein, the two verbs seem to show similarities in their meaning and...

function and to be relevant to Hopper’s notion of layering. However, unexpectedly, there are some cases where the verb *thecita* only can occur and the other verb *ppacita* cannot. In other words, even though the two verbs that seemingly convey similar distribution, they sometimes show complementary distribution against each other as follows:

(3) chelswu    elkwul-i      pwu-e            theci-/*ppaci-ess-e.
    chelswu    face-Nom    swollen-Conn      blow up/fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘Chelswu’s face is swollen as hell’

(4) ce   mal-la         *theci-/ppaci-n      namwus kaci-lul  po-a
    that skinny-Conn    blow up/fall into-Conn    twig-Acc       see-Dec
    ‘Look at that skinny twig’

(5) kimchi-ka      si-e           theci-/ppaci-ess-ta
    kimchi-Nom   sour-Conn      blow up/fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘Kimchi turned sour as hell.’

The sentences (3) and (4) show us that the complementary distribution of the verb usages, which implies that there might be underlying semantic constraints to restrict possible collocations. The semantic constraints stem from the original meaning of the lexical verbs. According to M.-H. Kim (1984), since the verb *ppacita* ‘fall into’ is a verb that conveys counter-directionality schematically and the other verb *thecita* ‘blow up’ is a verb that conveys pro-directionality, the former is compatible only with linguistic items which denote decrease in mass or substance etc. and the latter only with linguistic items which denote increase. In spite of the complementary distribution, the reason why the two verbs are interchangeable in (5) is that the event of taste’s going bad can be construed either as pro-directionality or as counter-directionality, i.e. the taste of Kimchi will go bad as time goes by or the fresh taste of it will be lost as time goes by. Against Kim’s argument, S.-O. Park (2003) argues that the notion of directionality employed in M.-H. Kim (1984) needs to be specified since the directionality would be reversed according to viewpoints. Instead, Park argues that the phenomena can be explicated more precisely with parameters of expansion and contraction rather than with the directionality-oriented ones. Additionally, the reason why either of the two verbs can be used in (5) is that the event denoted by the verb *sita* ‘turn sour’ is not relevant with any notion of the two, namely expansion and contraction.

However, even though the notions are much more clarified than the previous ones, they do not seem to account for the cases where the two verbs can be used interchangeably as shown in (6):

(6) Chelswu-nun      keyul-le       ppaci-/theci-ess-ta
    Chelswu-Nom     lazy-Conn      fall into/blow up-Past-Dec
    ‘Chelswu is lazy as hell.’

The notion of laziness cannot be accounted for fully by means either of the previous notions which are directionality-oriented or of the notions such as expansion and contraction, since laziness is not to be measured by amount of substance unless it is
metaphorically done. It is also presumptuous to think that the reason why both of the
two auxiliaries can be in use is that the event is not relevant to any notions referred to,
due to over-generality of its explanatory force which contradicts their argument on
specificity. In this paper, I will argue that accounts for the distinctive semantic
properties which determine the verb’s collocation can be enhanced with the verb’s
aspect as well as with the previous notions. Specifically, the idiosyncratic properties
which the verb thecita conveys but the verb ppacita does not in its aspectual procedure
such as build-up processes and subsequent release of abruptness help to determine the
verb’s collocation.

In section 2, I will review previous research on the auxiliary verbs ppacita and
thecita and more specifically, on the criteria which determine distributions of the two
verbs. In the following section, to better track the semantic properties of the auxiliary
verbs, I will account for the lexical meanings of both the verbs and its metaphoric
extensions. In section 4, as an alternative, I will argue that the aspectual idiosyncrasy of
the verbs, existence of buildup processes for the verb thecita, should be taken into
account for the criteria with which the distributions of the verbs in question are
determined.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Several linguists discuss the characteristics of the auxiliary verbs ppacita and
thecita. K.-D. Lee (1976), M.-H. Kim (1984), and S.-O. Park (2003) recognize that the
verbs are in use as auxiliary verbs which mark that state or degree of negativity in the
event denoted by the main verb is of extremity and which emphasize propositions
denoted by the main verb. K.-K. Lee (1986) also refers to such a function of the verb
thecita as a negativity marker and as an emphatic marker in sentences. Also, T.-I. Chung
(2003) and I.-S. Seo (2000) champion grammaticalization of the auxiliaries by
providing syntactic evidence.

Nevertheless, there are a few issues on which the linguists do not have an
agreement. Firstly, K.-D. Lee (1976) argues that main verbs which are compatible with
the auxiliary verbs ppacita and thecita should denote negativity such as evaluation of
that the main verbs do not need to be constrained by such a semantic limitations.

(7) yenghuy-nun     chakha-y     ppaci-ess-ta
Yenghuy-Nom   be kind-Conn   fall into-Past-Dec
‘Yenghuy is (too) kind.’

They argue that in sentence like (7), the kindness itself does not need to be negative.
Rather, the evaluation of the speaker on the kindness is negative. In this sense, for the
semantic constraints on the main predicates, Park’s (2003) and Kim’s (1984) arguments
seem to be more plausible.

Secondly, there is another discrepancy among linguists on the collocational
constraints. Even though the two auxiliary verbs seem to have the similar function as a
negativity marker and emphatic marker, in some cases the two auxiliaries show
complementary distribution. Let us take a look at the following examples:

(8=3) chelswu    elkwul-i     pwu-e     theci/*ppaci-ess-e.

In sentences (8) and (9), only one item of the two can be employed. As for the distributional characteristics of the two auxiliaries, M.-H. Kim (1984) argues that directionality which the auxiliary verbs imply due to its lexical meaning determines the possible combinations and collocations of the two auxiliaries. In other words, the auxiliary *ppacita* is compatible only with main verbs which are relevant to pro-directionality while the other auxiliary *thecita* only with main verbs of counter-directionality. Furthermore, the reason why both of the auxiliaries are interchangeable in (10) is that the event of taste’s going bad can be construed as implying either pro-directionality or counter-directionality.

Against her argument, S.-O. Park (2003) argues that the criterion of determining the possible collocations of the auxiliaries should be more specified to the notions of expansion and contraction. That is, since the notion of directionality is so abstract and subjective, the directionality would reverse according to viewpoints, which might means no less than an ad-hoc explication. According to Park, with the notions of expansion and contraction, we can deal with sentences with more explanatory power due to its specificity. Therefore, (8) and (9) can be accounted for by means of expansion and of contraction respectively.

However, Park does not provide any account for the grammaticality of (10). In spite of the specified notions of expansion and contraction, the fundamental logic accounting for (10) seems to remain problematic that the irrelevance of event or state denoted by main verbs to the auxiliaries’ semantic properties let the sentences such as (10) be regarded grammatical. I will argue that another factor that augments those criteria is the verb’s aspectual idiosyncrasy, which will be discussed in section 3. Above all, let us look into the lexical meanings of both of the verbs and their metaphoric extensions to better track the semantic properties of the auxiliary verbs.

3. Grammaticalization of the Verbs *Ppacita* and *Thecita*

3.1 Grammaticalization of the Verb *Ppacita*

3.1.1 Lexical Meaning

The verb *ppacita* which means ‘to fall into’ consists of the verb *ppata* ‘to withdraw’ and the verb *cita* ‘fall’ in its origin. Rhee (1996) explicated the origin of the verb as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
(11) \quad ppata & \quad + \quad cita & \quad > \quad ppa-a-cita & \quad > \quad ppacita \\
\text{withdraw+ fall} & \quad \text{withdraw-NF-fall} & \quad \text{fall/sink/…} & \quad \text{(Rhee 1996: 190)}
\end{align*}
\]

(9=4) *chelswu* face-Nom *swollen-Conn* blow up/fall into-Past-Dec

‘Chelswu’s face is swollen as hell’

(10=5) *kimchi-ka* *si-e* *theci/ppaci-ess-ta*

kimchi-Nom sour-Conn blow up/fall into-Past-Dec

‘Kimchi turned sour as hell.’

Apparently the meaning of the verb *ppaita* is conventionalized now as for something to move downward due to the gravitational force (*cita*) rather than to inchoate its movement from the static position (*ppata*), even though both of the meanings are synthesized and melted into the verb *ppacita*.¹ The verb seems to undergo semantic changes through relevant cognitive strategies and form a semantic network of polysemy. Let us gloss with the lexical properties for the verb *ppacita* borrowing from S.-H. Rhee (1996)’s categorization on the verb. According to his arranged data of seventeen significations of the verb in *Dong-A say kwuke sacen* ‘Dong-A New Korean Dictionary,’ we can find that most of them seem to be clearly metaphorical, namely, to denote events that do not involve downward or physical movement (Rhee 1996):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. (X-Nom) Y-Loc <em>ppacita</em>:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X falls into Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y= a. mire, snow, water: fall into, drown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. (X-Nom) (Y-Loc) Z-Inst <em>ppacita</em>:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X departs Y through Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z = a. chimney: go out through</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. (X-Nom) Y-Loc <em>ppacita</em>:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X changes location to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y = a. shortcut: take instead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. (X-Nom) Y-Loc <em>ppacita</em>:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X falls into Y fig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y= a. betting: be unable to come out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. hardship: be unable to come out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. (X-Nom) Y-Ablat <em>ppacita</em>:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X departs from Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X= a. list: be omitted from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. location: come out of, disappear from, do not exist at, be absent from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. (X-Nom) Y-Ablat/Allat <em>ppacita</em>:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X is inferior to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y= a. peer: be inferior to, fall short of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. X-Nom <em>ppacita</em>:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X departs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X = a. jug bottom: be missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. grime, stain: get washed away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. flesh, energy: lose weight, become tired</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8. (X-Nom) Y-Loc fig. <em>ppacita</em>:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X falls into Y fig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<Table 1. Rhee (1996)’s table of semantic properties of *ppacita*>

First of all, the cases accounted for in <Table 1> are construed as events of falling into, changing to, and departing from certain situations. To determine which meaning is lexical does not seem to be easy to answer. T.-I. Chung (2003) argues that there are two salient candidates: one is to sink or to fall into the sunken place or water and the other is to displace and separate from where it was. M.-Y. Kim (1996) which makes historical accounts for the verb also argues that the two major meanings are salient in Middle Korean. On the other hand, I.-S. Seo (2000) postulates only one meaning as a prototype, that is, to sink or fall into the sunken place. Even though there is not a solid agreement on a prototype, most of scholars agrees that the verb clearly conveys meaning of sinking or falling basically. Now, the prototypical usage of the verb in sentences is as follows:

---

¹ The superiority of the latter meaning of the two can be compatible with Talmy’s ideas of Figure and Ground. According to Talmy (2000), the Figure and Ground relation can also be accounted for the word formation, a grammaticalized verb in this case, the perfective aspect of verbs can prevail over other meanings which consist of the overall meaning of the verb. In the verb *ppacita*, the perfective aspect of the subcomponent verb *cita* is more salient, which means that it functions as Figure with regard to the other subcomponent verb *ppata*.

(12) *tongcen-i* *haswukwu kwumeng-ey* *ppaci-ess-ta*
    coin-Nom     sewage    hole-Loc    fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘A coin fell into a sinkhole.’ <Rhee’s cat. 1>

To better grasp what the verb denotes, the first prototypical meaning of the verb can be schematized as Figure 1:

![Figure 1. Prototypical Schematicization of the verb *ppacita*](image)

When hearing the verb *ppacita*, firstly, interlocutors can evoke a situation where an object fell into the sunken place which is deep enough to feel a hardship to pick up the object. Secondly, the interlocutors are likely to subconsciously evoke the situation where the fallen object remains as it was before it falls into the sunken place. In other words, we cannot denote the situation referred to by the verb *ppacita* without the presupposition that, for instance, the object remains on surface. And subsequently, they would feel disparity with their expectation seeing the fallen object, instead of the object which remains on surface. Considering the reason why the sentence (13) is unacceptable, the semantic presupposition of the verb will be clear:

(13) *wonlay* *kwumeng-ey* *iss-ten* *ku* *kong-i*  
    originally    hole-Loc    be-Past    the ball-Nom
    *kwumeng-ey* *ppaci-ess-e*  
    hole-Loc    fall-into-Past-Dec
    **‘A ball which was originally in the hole falls into the hole.’**

On the other hand, the physical separation like (14) is possibly thought to be as another

2 When the depth of the sunken place where the object fell into is not deep enough to make subjects feel uncomfortable or undesirable, people are more likely to use the other form of verb *tul-e ka-ta* ‘go into’ rather than the verb *ppaci-ta* as follows:

*kolpu* *kong-i* *hol* *an-ulo* *tul-e ka-(o)ess-e/?ppaci-ess-ta*
    golf ball-Nom hole inside-Inst go into-Conn go-Past-Dec/fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘The golf ball went into the hole.’
    [situation: the speaker hopes that the ball goes into the hole]

In this sense, we can learn that the situation where the verb *ppacita* is in use is likely to be embedded by undesirability.
salient sense of the verb as Chung (2003) argues:

\[(14) \text{nay ippal-i ppaci-ess-ta} \]
\[\text{my tooth-Nom get removed-Past-Dec} \]
\[\text{‘My tooth falls out.’ <Rhee’s cat. 3>} \]

As for the second candidate, it has a sense of disparity in expectation between the state before the separation and after it. We can figure it out by means of another schematization of the verb as in Figure 2:

![Figure 2. Prototypical Schematization of the verb ppacitaii](image)

Here, the downward arrow does not denote only the gravitational force. Rather the arrow indicates whatever external forces can change the state of the object. According to Rhee (1996: 193), this secondly posited meaning is linked to the original form of the verb, namely \text{ppata} ‘pull out’ and it leaves us room for its developing into the meaning of undesirability by means of metaphor.\(^3\) The physically observed difference between the initial state and the later state which is accounted for in both of the candidates for prototypical meaning in common possibly yields the psychological gap which is to develop into the abstract meaning of disparity. The disparity is possibly to develop into the undesirability due to the gap between the reality and our expectation. In this vein, the schematization is pertinent and it includes semantic properties such as separation, falling, disparity and even friction during the separation process.\(^4\)

To sum up this section, the verb’s prototype seems to me to be consisted of two, instead of one. Even though the two candidates accounted for above seem to share the semantic property, i.e. disparity between expectation and reality or between before and after, in common, it does not seem that the original meanings themselves are identical fundamentally. It should be discussed more thoroughly in order to determine the prototype. However, the aim of this section is to track back the semantic properties of the verb rather than to determine the prototype, I will go on to figure out the metaphorical extensions of the verb \text{ppacitai}.

\(^3\) ‘[T]he undesirability sense is also promoted by a component of the original source construction, i.e., the verb \text{ppata} ‘pull out’. The major denotation of this intransitive verb is associated with ‘departure from original location’, which was metaphorically equated with deviation from the normal state (Rhee 1996: 193).’

\(^4\) The property of friction which I suggest as an additional template to be metaphorically extendable is to be discussed in section 3.1.2.
3.1.2 Metaphorical Meaning

To begin with, let us consider the examples which contain the verb in a metaphorical sense with regard to falling resulted from the gravitational effect which is attested as the prototypical situation denoted by the verb *ppacita*:

(15) ceswuci-uy mwul-i ta ppaci-ess-ta
reservoir-Gen water-Nom all get removed-Past-Dec
‘The water went out of the reservoir.’ <Rhee’s cat. 7>

Different from the original sense of falling due to the gravitational effect in (14), the sense accounted for in (15) denotes of decline of the surface of water instead. The directionality of the decline is downward which facilitate the sense to be well associated with the gravitational effect by means of metaphor. Even though the verb *ppacita* in (15) is not totally free from its physical domain, it can be regarded as metaphorical transition since it denotes decrease in amount of water as well as the decline of the surface. In this sense, we can understand the situation where the parallel line formed by group of particles—here, the surface line formed by the water in reservoir—declines means that the amount of the contents—here, the amount of water—decreases. This is empirically related to the MORE IS UP metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) in a sense that amount of mass is measured by means of height in a metaphoric way. Furthermore, further metaphorical extension enables the verb to be in use of situation where there is no verticality at all but only to concern the decreasing amount of fillers of a certain container and even the removal of the filler:

(16) ku pwungsen-un palam-i ppasi-ess-ta
the balloon-Nom wind-Nom fall into-Past-Dec
‘The balloon gets lack of its air.’ <Rhee’s cat. 7>

(17) ku-nun sal-i manh-i ppaci-ess-ta
he-Nom flesh-Nom much fall into-Past-Dec
‘He loses his weight.’ <Rhee’s cat. 7>

(18) ellwuk-i cal ppaci-ci anh-nunta.
Stain-Nom well fall into-Conn not-Dec
‘This stain does not come off.’ <Rhee’s cat. 7>

In (16), the amount of the air (the filler) in the balloon (the container) goes out of the container. In (17), human body plays a role of a container and the amount of flesh which consists of the body is being lost. Also in (18), the stain, the filler, is not to be separated and removed from the clothes.

The filler can be non-physical material which also advocates the metaphorical extensible usage of the verb as in (19):

(19) ne kwunki-ka ppaci-ess-e.
you discipline-Nom get removed-Past-Dec
‘You are lack of discipline.’ <Rhee’s cat. 7>

When the meaning of loss of the filler becomes more salient in a metaphorical sense, we can use it even in the case where there is no overt filler and container, but where there is
only the meaning of paucity in need such as in (20):

(20) ku-nun eti-ey nay noa-to ppaci-ci-anh-a
    he-Nom where-Loc release put-Conn fall into-Conn-not-Dec
    ‘Wherever debut he will make, he is not in lack of competitiveness.’ <Rhee’s cat. 6>

The meaning of paucity derived from the original meaning of the falling can be further developed in a metaphorical sense. Since people are likely to subjectificate situation, the meaning of the verb, paucity can be extended to disparity between the original state where the item did not undergo the metaphorical change yielding the meaning of paucity yet and the current state, which eventually yield undesirability. In other words, due to the notion of Subjectification (Traugott 1995), we can attain the meaning of undesirability stemmed from disparity from the meaning of paucity especially when we found epistemological gap between the physical state of the removed or fell-out objects and the expected state of them. It is our counter- expectation that is included in expressions which contain the verb. The disparity can be shown as a form of exclusion, absence, and so forth as follows:

(21) cenmwun-i ta ppaci-ess-ta
    whole passage-Nom all fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘The whole passage is left out.’ <Rhee’s cat. 5>

(22) na-nun pwusang-ulo tim-eyse ppaci-ess-ta
    I-Nom injury-Inst team-Abl fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘I was dropped from the team because of injury.’ <Rhee’s cat. 5>

On the other hand, I referred to the aspect of perfectiveness which the verb can be characterized to contain in previous section. How does it affect the meaning of the verb in a metaphorical sense? According to Rhee (1996), the aspect of telicity is likely to be connected with its irreversibility and further with its undesirability. Let us track down how the property is transited while it is grammaticalized.

(23) chelswu-ka kang-ey ppaci-ess-ta
    chelswu-Nom river-Loc fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘Chelswu fell into the river.’ <Rhee’s cat. 1>

In (23), the verb ppacita is in use as the lexical meaning of falling. To be more specific, the agent Chelswu unintentionally undergoes the change of his state from not being in the water to being in the water. Here we can assume that the verb meaning can undergo another subjectification process which yields either positive connotation or negative connotation upon the container in expressions:

(24) chelswu-ka yenghuy-wa salang-ey ppaci-ess-ta
    chelswu-Nom yenghuy-Conj love-Loc fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘Chelswu fell in love with Yenghuy.’ <Rhee’s cat. 4>

(25) *chelswu-nun yenghuy-uy sokimswu-ey ppaci-ess-ta*
    *chelswu-Nom yenghuy-Gen trick-Loc fall into-Past-Dec*
    ‘Chelswu is tricked by Yenghuy.’ <Rhee’s cat. 4>

In (24), the container is love which is beneficial for the agent due to positiveness of the nuance of the container and in (25), the container is a trick which is malevolent for the agent due to the negativity. However, it is true that the verb can be used more frequently as negative connotations. Since the aspect of the verb can be said to be telic and perfective, the verb can develop further toward negativity stemmed from the undesirability which is due to the irreversibility.

Adding to Rhee’s categorization of the verb’s meanings, the meaning of passage which is yielded by focusing on the process of the filler’s going out is likely to develop to the meaning of state of easiness especially used to refer to traffic situation frequently as in (26):

(26) *onul-un cha-ka cal ppaci-ney*
    *today-Cont car-Nom well get removed-Dec*
    ‘Today’s traffic condition is good.’

The prototypical scenario of the meaning derivation is as follows: when one tries to get out of difficult situations, the ease of getting out is metaphorically mapped onto the slippery image as the reduced friction which facilitates the passage. This development goes on and it can be understood as an object’s attractiveness recently as in (27) and (28):

(27) *ku yeca-nun mommays-ka cal ppaci-ess-ta*
    *the woman-Nom bodyline-No m well fall into-Past-Dec*
    ‘Her body looks good.’

(28) *ipen-ey nao-n suphochu kha cengmal cal ppaci-ess-te-la*
    *this time-Loc release-Conn sportive car really well fall into-Past-Evid-Dec*
    ‘The sports car which is released this time is sleek as hell.’

In schematization accounted for in Figure 2 above, we can understand that less friction facilitates the filler’s passage out of the container. Furthermore, this semantic property leaves a room to develop into production metaphorically. As a matter of fact, (27) and (28) are both relevant to the notion of production in that her body or the sports car is born or created comely. In this vein, this paper argues that this should be added to Rhee’s categorization as an additional meaning extension of *ppacita*:

(29) Additional Semantic Property to Rhee’s:
    8. X-Nom *ppacita*:
        the passage of X out of its container is production > the friction of the passage is of little (easily separated) > attractive
        X= a. car: be designed well
b. body: be in a good shape

To sum up this section, the prototypical meaning of the verb *ppacita* is due to its falling due to the gravity. The deflation, its paucity or lack of fillers, and further absence or exclusion of fillers are connected to the abstract notion of disparity, which is also linked to the displacement from location to location. In addition, the recent emergence of the meaning related passage which is often developing into the meaning of attractiveness might stem from the reduced friction which might happen during the separation process which can be metaphorically understood as production.

### 3.1.3 Grammaticalization Patterns of the Verb *Ppacita*

With all the semantic properties discussed in the previous sections including metaphorical meanings, I will explicate the pattern of the grammaticalization of the verb *ppacita* considering its extended usage as an auxiliary verb. As an auxiliary verb, it augments the meaning of extremity originally stemmed from the meaning of telicity as attested in the previous section. Let us take a look at the examples which contain the verb:

(30) *ku uica-nun nalk-a ppaci-ese anhc-ki-ey wuyhem-ha-ta*

the chair-Nom old-Conn fall into-Conn sit-nominalizer-Loc
danger-do-Dec

‘It is dangerous to sit on the chair which is too old.’

(31) *ku mwunkwu-nun hunhay ppaci-ess-ta*

the phrase-Nom rife fall into-Past-Dec

‘The phrase is tedious as a copybook.’

(32) *chelswu-nun chensengeek-ulol keyul-le ppaci-ess-ta*

chelswu-Nom natural-Inst lazy-Conn fall into-Past-Dec

‘Chelswu is lazy in his nature.’

In (30)-(32), the verb *ppacita* shows us the tendency of Context Induced Reinterpretation (CIR; Heine 1994). The verb *ppacita* is used as an auxiliary verb which semantically augments the meaning of extremity. In (30), the auxiliary verb’s meaning stemmed from disjointedness (separation), one of its semantic properties is likely to be linked the chair’s instable assembly due to its being worn. For instance, if a chair is too worn and its leg fell out when it being lifted, the literal sense of the sentence can be understood pertinently on that situation. In (31), however, the physical disjointedness is not accounted for any more. Instead, the meaning of extremity which is stemmed from the telicity of the event referred to by the lexical verb, constrains the verb’s usage to intensify the negative connotation of the sentence by means of developing the meaning into irreversibility and undesirability. Also in (32), the auxiliary verb as an intensifier modifies the adjective *keyul* ‘lazy’ increasing the degree of laziness.

In addition, as for its another accounted property, extremity, we can reveal the fact that the verb *ppacita* conveys it by investigating its collocation with another expression of extremity. When the verb *ppacita* as an auxiliary verb which semantically marks extremity is employed with linguistic items which idiosyncratically convey the meaning...
of extremity such as ssekta ‘spoil’ or ‘be rotten,’ the sentence which contains both of the extremity conveyers is to be hyperbolic:

(33) ku cengchika-nun ssek-e ppaci-ess-ta
    the politician-Nom rotten-Conn fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘The politician is corrupt to the core.’

In (33), the main verb ssekta already has the meaning of extremity since it denotes the end result of something that went bad already. With the main verb’s meaning, the auxiliary verb’s meaning of extremity derived from the semantic property telicity which subsequently will evoke undesirability would be synthesized and maximize the sentential meaning so that it has the hyperbolic meaning which can be equivalent to the English expression ‘to the core.’ The typical instance where we can also verify the semantic effect of the verb as an auxiliary is as follows:

(34) chelswu-nun chakha-y ppaci-ess-ta
    chelswu-Nom be kind-Conn fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘Chelswu is too kind (namely gullible).’

In (34), the original sentence chelswu-nun chakha-ta ‘Chelswu is kind’ denotes that the subject is a good-natured man. However, when the auxiliary verb ppacita is added in the sentence, the sentential meaning comes to be extreme and even to be reversed in that the agent is too gullible. This typical instance shows us that the auxiliary verb ppacita lost its core meanings such as falling, separation, disparity and that it plays a functional role that intensifies sentential meanings with the remnant meaning of extremity.

There are several evidences which champion the verb’s grammaticalization such as its morphological or syntactic constraints. Firstly, generalizing the examples which contain the verb, the auxiliary verb ppacita is compatible only with intransitive verbs and some of adjectives due to its descriptive properties, while the verb as the main verb has no such a functional constraint:

(35) *chelswu-nun talli-e ppaci-ess-ta
    chelswu-Nom run-Conn fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘Chelswu runs as hell.’

(36) chelswu-nun keyul-le ppaci-ess-ta
    chelswu-Nom sluggish-Conn fall into-Past-Dec
    ‘Chelswu is sluggish as hell.’

Comparing (35) and (36), the auxiliary verb ppacita is compatible with the adjective keyuluta ‘be sluggish’ which it is not with the verb tallita ‘run.’ In all of the examples that I accounted previously in this section, the elements with which the auxiliary verb is posited are all verbs of description or adjectives.

Secondly, the auxiliary verb is combined mostly with the past tense marker –ess-. According to Rhee (1996), ‘[T]he extremity sense is further marked by the past tense marker (or the homophonic perfect aspect marker) –ess-, thus marking the verb as the descending motion is completed.’ Consider the Korean native’s grammatical judgment

on the following examples:

(37) Chelswu-nun chaka-y ppaci-ess-e/*ppaci-l ke-ya
 Chelswu-Nom kind-Conn fall into-Past-Dec/fall into-Fut-Dec
 ‘Chelswu is gullible/ *will be gullible.’

The auxiliary verb is compatible only with the past tense. The compatibility of the verb has to do with the auxiliary meaning that ‘such a deteriorating process reached the terminus and thus is irrevocable (Rhee 1996: 193).’

The last characteristics of the auxiliary verb ppacita is that it is likely to be in use with Korean intensifier nemwu ‘too’ while the lexical form of the verb is not likely to be modified directly by the intensifier:5

(38) chelswu-nun nemwu yak-a ppaci-ess-ta.
 chelswu-Nom too cunning-Conn fall into-Past-Dec
 ‘Chelswu is too cunning (with negative connotation).’

(39) ?chelswu-nun nemwu mul-ey ppaci-ess-e
 chelswu-Nom too water-Loc fall into-Past-Dec
 ‘?Chelswu fell too into the water.’

In (38), the intensifier nemwu ‘too’ modifies the element yakta ‘cunning,’ not the auxiliary verb ppacita. Since there is an overt element which the intensifier needs to modify in the sentence, the sentence is grammatical. However, the meaning of the sentence (39) is not clear for most Korean natives not given a certain context since there is not overt element modified by the intensifier nemwu. Since the intensifier cannot modify the locative adverbial mul-ey ‘into the water’ and the content verb ppacita ‘fall into,’ the sentence is not acceptable. In short, there is no overt element that the intensifier needs to modify in (39), the meaning of the sentence is not clarified. This shows that the verbs ppacita used in (38) and (39) are different in its characteristics, one of which functions as an auxiliary verb and the other of which remains as what the lexical verb originally is. This champions that the verb ppacita underwent grammaticalization.

So far, we discussed grammaticalization process which the verb ppacita underwent in detail. The point to be mentioned is that the range of meaning extension seems to be bound by the original meaning of the verb. This characteristics in the change follows what Hopper (1991) terms persistence, which denote that the meaning of an earlier form has an influence on the later form even long after semantic and phonological changes took place.

3.2 THE VERB THECITA
3.2.1 LEXICAL MEANING

Relatively, research on the verb thecita are less conducted than on the verb ppacita since a few scholars (K.-D. Lee 1976, M.-H. Kim 1984, Y.-S. Kim, S.-O. Park

5 T.-I. Chung (2003) and I.-S. Seo (2000) employ another test frame using another modifier cokum ‘a little bit’ and prove that the verb ppacita is grammaticalized when it is not compatible with the modifier due to its semantic clash, i.e. extremity versus degree of little.
2003 and so forth) recently recognize this verb’s status as a grammaticalized auxiliary. The scholars agree with the fact that the verb thecita forms a layer with the verb ppacita since it functions as a negativity marker and an emphatic marker similar to the verb ppacita. Let us gloss of the semantic properties of the verb thecita:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. X-Nom thecita: X crack</th>
<th>4. X-Nom thecita: X be beaten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X = container</td>
<td>X = person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. body parts:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hands (chapped), lips, pimple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. construct:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam, dike, garment, balloon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. X-Nom thecita: X blow up</th>
<th>5. X-Nom thecita: X burst out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X = explosive, bomb, volcano,</td>
<td>X = a. emotion: anger, tears, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. nose bleeding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. applause, shouting, song.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. X-Nom thecita: X take place</th>
<th>6. X-Nom thecita: X be disclosed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X = war, accident, luck</td>
<td>X = secret.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<Table 2. A Table of Semantic Properties of the verb thecita>

The semantic properties of the verb thecita are classified as cracking and taking place all of a sudden roughly. First of all, the basic meaning of the verb is construed as follows:

(40) hongswu ttaymwun-ey twuk-i theci-ess-ta
flood cause-Inst bank-Nom blow up-Past-Dec
‘A bank is crashed due to the flood.’ <cat.1>

(41) chwuwuy-ey sonpal-i theci-ess-ta
cold-Inst hand and foot-Nom blow up-Past-Dec
‘(Our) hands and feet got chapped due to the cold weather.’ <cat.1>

(42) phokphalmwul-i ku-uy aph-eyse theci-ess-ta
explosive-Nom his (Gen) front-Loc blow up-Past-Dec
‘An explosive blew up in front of him.’ <cat.2>

Basically, the verb thecita presupposes that there exists a certain container which contains fillers enough. In (40) and (41), our body parts and a bank are containers which contain our cells and water respectively. The verb denotes the situations where the containers crack and their fillers come out more or less. In (42), the verb’s usage is pertinent since the objective of explosives is to harm targets with their fillers inside the container, namely a bomb or an explosive, by cracking themselves.

Let us look into how we can schematize events denoted by the verb thecita. The schematization of the verb cannot be glossed as a static scene. Rather, it can be illustrated a series of sequences of schemas which mean the verb presupposes build-up events before the salient accident occurs:
On stage (a), there is no force to influence on the fillers of the container. On the next stage (b), there exists a force due to increased intensity of fillers which makes the boundary of the container change. Then, the capacity of the container is overloaded so that the container has a chasm as seen on the stage (c). As the forces to push the particles into the chasm are increasing, the blocked container comes to make abrupt release, i.e. explodes and the particles which come out due to the explosion accumulates around the hole as can be seen on the stage (d). On the last stage (e), there exists a hole and the particles are stacked forming a resultative schema, which strengthens the aspect of irreversibility. It should be noted that the last stage (e) is focused inherently when the verb is in use, which means the verb *thecita* tends to focus on its resulting status rather than ongoing process and that the interval between stage (c) and (d) should be short and instant enough to yield abrupt release for the explosion of stage (d). Also, different from the case of the verb *ppacita*, the verb *thecita* presupposes the buildup processes such as (a) through (c) stage. Without the processes, the verb *thecita* cannot be construed. This can be accounted for in (43):

\[
\text{pwungsen-ey} \quad \text{palam-i} \quad \text{eps-ese} \quad \text{theci-e} \\
\text{balloon-Loc} \quad \text{air-Nom} \quad \text{not exist-be-and} \quad \text{blow up-Conn} \\
\text{peri-ess-ta} \\
\text{throw-Past-Dec} \\
**A balloon is lack of air and blew up.**
\]

In sum, the verb *thecita* is to blow up in literal sense and its characteristics is to have aspectual peculiarity. That is, the verb denotes an event where the resulting state is focused and where a sequence of schemas should be presupposed, i.e. buildup processes. Let us look into how the lexical meanings can be extended metaphorically in the next section.

### 3.2.2 Metaphoric Meaning

The prototypical meaning of the verb *thecita* is to blow up in a physical domain. That means, the auxiliary which intends to denote any non-physical events or statuses is to be regarded as metaphorical extensions from its lexical meaning ‘blow up.’ Among the semantic properties enumerated in the list, most of the meanings denoted by the verb...

are understood in terms of the physical sense of the verb ‘blow up.’ For instance, let us exemplify one of the extensions:

(44) cencayng-i kapcaki theci-ess-ta
    war-Nom suddenly blow up-Past-Dec
    ‘A war broke out all of a sudden.’ <cat. 3>

(45) khophi-ka kapcaki theci-ess-ta
    nose bleeding-Nom suddenly blow up-Past-Dec
    ‘All of a sudden, blood runs out from a nose.’ <cat. 5>

In (44), an occurrence of a war or an accident is construed as a blow-up. Since the event denoted by the auxiliary is so perfective that we can hardly think the event reversible, the irreversibility of the broke-up is linked to the occurrence of a war. In addition, abruptness which is a part of the idiosyncratic properties of the verb makes the metaphorical extension in (44) more plausible. In (45), nose bleeding is construed as an entity even though bleeding is an event. When hearing the sentence (45), we understand that the verb intensifies the abruptness of the situation where blood runs out from a nose. The irreversibility and abruptness seem to be crucial to understand the expressions which contain metaphoric extensions of the verb:

(46) ku-nun ku somwun-ey pwuntong-i theci-ess-ta
    he-Nom the rumor-Inst anger-Nom blow up-Past-Dec
    ‘He lost his temper because of the rumor.’ <cat. 5>

In (46), there exist no such a thing pwuntong physically which denotes anger. However, the speaker construes its existence as if it existed and if it had an entity which is able to be blown up physically. Since the speaker construes the non-physical concept in terms of the physical item, (46) contains the metaphorical extension. Also, if the verb is in use when denoting an appearance of a certain person, it denotes that the person is slapped and beaten:

(47) kwenthwu senswu-nun sangtaypang-eykey silkes et-e
    boxing player-Nom counterpart-LOC fully get-Conn
    theci-ess-ta
    blow up-Past-Dec
    ‘The boxer is beaten up by his counterpart.’ <cat. 4>

To sum up this section, the verb thecita has its polysemous characteristics with its various meanings under which there are two fundamental semantic properties, i.e. irreversibility and abruptness (as well as build-up process).

3.2.3 Grammaticalization Patterns of the Verb Thecita

Based on all the semantic properties discussed in the previous sections including metaphoric extensions, the pattern of the grammaticalization of the verb Ppacita is to be discussed in this section. Similar to the verb Ppacita, as a negativity marker and emphatic maker, it augments the meaning of extremity originally stemmed from the
meaning of telicity. Comparing with the verb *ppacita*, the degree of extremity seems to be more radical due to the strong implicature of irreversibility in the lexical semantic properties. Let us look into the examples which contain the verb:

(48) yenghuy-uy elkwul-i pwu-e theci-ess-ta
yenghuy-Gen face-Nom swollen-Conn blow up-Past-Dec
‘Yenghuy’s face is swollen up like hell.’

(49) chelswu-nun nuli-e/keyul-le theci-ess-ta
chelswu-Nom slow/lazy-Conn blow up-Past-Dec
‘Chelswu’s action is slow/lazy like hell.’

In this case, Heine (1994)’s CIR can also be accounted for in examples (48) and (49). In (48), the situation where her skin is swollen so severely that her skin might crack would make the lexical meaning of the verb can be in use. However, in (49), there remains no physical sense of the predicate any more. Instead, the auxiliary marks the speaker’s negative attitude toward the event denoted by main verbs and emphasizes the degree of the event. In addition, the auxiliary *thecita* has similar morphological or syntactic constraints already attested in section 3.1.3 where we accounted for grammaticalization of the verb *ppacita*, e.g. compatibility with activity verbs, compatibility with modifier *nemwu* ‘too,’ and tense restriction. I will reiterate the test frame for the verb *thecita*.

Firstly, generalizing the examples which contain the verb, the auxiliary verb *thecita* is compatible only with adjectives while the verb has no such a functional constraint:

(50) *chelswu-nun keyulu-key talli-e theci-ess-ta
chelswu-Nom sluggishly run-Conn blow up-Past-Dec
‘Chelswu runs sluggishly as hell.’

(51) chelswu-nun keyul-le theci-ess-ta
chelswu-Nom sluggish-Conn blow up-Past-Dec
‘Chelswu is sluggish as hell.’

We can learn that the auxiliary verb *ppacita* is compatible with the adjective *keyuluta* ‘be sluggish,’ but not with the verb *tallita* ‘run’ in comparing (50) and (51).

Secondly, the auxiliary verb is combined mostly with the past tense marker –*ess*-, similar to the case of the verb *ppacita*. In this case, the auxiliary *thecita* does not seem to be compatible with any other tense markers but the past tense marker –*ess*:-

(52) Chelswu-nun chaka-y theci-ess-e/*theci-l ke-ya/theci-n-ta
Chelswu-Nom kind-Conn fall into-Past/Fut/Prog/-Dec
‘Chelswu is gullible/ *will be gullible.’

As seen in (52), the past tense is the only tense which is compatible with the auxiliary verb. The compatibility of the verb seems to stem from the irreversibility which can be spotted in a situation where extremely deteriorating process reached at the apex. Furthermore, due to the lexical meaning ‘blow up,’ the irreversibility conveyed by the
verb *thecita* seems to more radical and more deteriorating than the verb *ppacita* for some Korean natives including myself:

(53) kulehkey keyul-le ppaci-ese/theci-ese mwuess-ul ha-keyss-ni?
so sluggish-Conn fall into/blow up what-Acc do-would-Int?
‘What could you do if you are so sluggish?’

This seems to be correlated with the fact that the degree of irreversibility which the verb *thecita* carries is stronger than the other verb *ppacita*. Our common sense tells us that restoring some situation which can be denoted by the verb *thecita* is more difficult than the other, for instance we are likely to think making bigger a balloon again is quite easier than gathering all the debris of the broken balloon.

The characteristics of the auxiliary verb *thecita* is that it is likely to be in use with Korean intensifier *nemwu* ‘too’ while the lexical form of the verb is not likely to be modified directly by the intensifier:

(54) chelswu-nun nemwu keyul-le theci-ess-ta.
chelswu-Nom too sluggish-Conn blow up-Past-Dec
‘Chelswu is too sluggish (with negative connotation).’

(55) *chelswu-nun nemwu theci-ess-e
chelswu-Nom too blow up-Past-Dec
*Chelswu was too blew up.’

In (54), the intensifier *nemwu* ‘too’ modifies the element *keyuluta* ‘sluggish,’ not the auxiliary verb *thecita*. Since there is an overt element which the intensifier needs to modify in the sentence, the sentence is grammatical. However, the meaning of the sentence (55) does not make any sense since there is no overt element that the intensifier needs to modify. In some context, (55) makes sense in that Chelswu was beaten up. If the sentence makes sense, the verb *thecita* is modified by the intensifier *nemwu*. Then, the verb is not the same kind as the one used in (54). This advocates that the verb *thecita* underwent grammaticalization and converts its function from main verb to auxiliary.

In this sense, it shares considerable parts of properties with the grammaticalized auxiliary *ppacita*. However, as referred to in the introduction, the two auxiliary verbs are complementarily distributed for some reasons. The ultimate aim of this paper is to shed light on the reasons.

### 3.3 PPACITA VS. THECITA

Up to now, we accounted for the semantic properties of the verbs *ppacita* and *thecita* covering their literal meanings as well as metaphorical ones. Even though it is true that the two verbs share considerable parts of their semantic properties in common, it is also true that the two verbs as auxiliaries are complementarily distributed in some cases as follows:

(56) chelswu-nun chakha-y ppaci-ess-ta/*theci-ess-ta
chelswu-Nom kind-Conn fall out-Past-Dec/*blow up-Past-Dec

‘Chelswu is such a gullible person.’

The complementary distribution of the two auxiliaries in (56) does not seem to be fully accounted for by means of the notions such as expansion and contraction according to S.-O. Park (2003)’s and Y.-S. Kim (1998)’s arguments, since the predicate *chakha- ‘be kind’* has nothing to do with the notion of expansion and contraction either in a literal sense or in a metaphoric sense. In this section, I will argue that there is another distinctive factor to be augmented which determines the acceptability of the sentence, that is, aspectual properties of the verbs.

### 3.3.1 Changes from the Original State

If we could categorize the situations where one of the verbs can be used and where the other cannot, the categorization would facilitate for us to grasp the aspectual properties of the verbs more clearly. Considering the examples containing either of the verbs discussed above, the situations can be categorized in terms of change. To begin with, let us look into the previous examples concerning to the changes from the original state or the expected state:

(57) *ku mwunkwu-nun hunhay ppaci/*theeci-ess-ta*
    *the phrase-Nom rifle fall into/blow up Past-Dec*
    ‘The phrase is tedious as a copybook.’

(58) *ce mal-la ppaci/*theeci-n namwus kaci-lul po-a*
    *that skinny-Conn fall into/blow up Conn twig-Acc see-Dec*
    ‘Look at that skinny twig’

(59) *kimchi-ka si-e ppaci/theci-ess-ta*
    *kimchi-Nom sour-Conn fall into/blow up Past-Dec*
    ‘Kimchi turned sour as hell.’

The examples (57-59) are denoting situations where a phrase, a twig and Kimchi turned into the state of tedium, skinniness, and sourness respectively, which are conveying negative connotations. In (57-58), the verb *ppacita* can be in use whereas the verb *thecita* cannot. Considering that the verb *ppacita* is in use of denoting disparity between expectation and reality or between before and after in section 3.1.1, the argument that the verb *ppacita* is compatible with processes that entails changes seems to be plausible. In other words, since the verb is metaphorically related to bleaching of properties, it tends to denote the situation where properties which constitute the subject are lost, focusing on the procedure rather than the results. Therefore, the phenomena where the verb *ppacita* can be used in (57-59) are to be accounted for. However, in (59), even though the situation contains change of states, the verb *thecita* as well as the verb *ppacita* can be used. How can we deal with the seemingly exception?

The verb *thecita* inherently focuses on results rather than processes discussed in section 3.2.1. The aspectual characteristics of the verb can be attested by means of a

---

*Nevertheless, the reason why expressions containing the verb *ppacita* as an auxiliary could mean perfectivity, which is further to be interpreted into negativity is that the construction is affected by the past inflectional affix mostly.*
certain test frame, by inserting adverbials cemcem ‘gradually.’ The aspectual characteristics of the verb is to be well-understood comparing the case of the verb ppacita:

(60)  
\begin{verbatim}
kong-uy palam-i cemcem ppaci-ess-ta  
ball-Gen air-Nom gradually fall into-Past-Dec
\end{verbatim}
‘The ball lost its air gradually [The ball becomes flat gradually].’

The verb ppacita is compatible with the adverbial cemcem as shown in (60), which is further to be plausible as compatible with the bleaching process. However, the other verb thecita is not compatible with the adverbial due to its semiafactivity as shown in (61), which means that the verb does not leave any room for its being compatible with the process. On the other hand, unexpectedly, the verb ppacita can also be combined with the adverbial kapcaki ‘suddenly’:

(62)  
\begin{verbatim}
kong-uy palam-i kapcaki ppaci-ess-ta  
ball-Gen air-Nom suddenly fall into-Past-Dec
\end{verbatim}
‘The ball lost its air suddenly [The ball becomes flat suddenly].’

We can generalize two points from the examples above: firstly, the verb thecita focuses on the event’s results rather than its ongoing processes and secondly, the verb ppacita generally can be used in denoting the change of states and does not have any constraint on being combined with resultative expressions. In this sense, in (59) the verb thecita can be used without problems since Kimchi’s resulting status is focused on in the sentence. Therefore both of the verbs can be spotted in (59).

However, there is still one thing unexplained. If it could be used in expressions focusing results such as (59), the verb thecita should also be used in (57) and (58), which yields unacceptability. This can be answered by investigating the degree of grammaticalization of the verb. Since the other verb thecita seems to be less grammaticalized than the verb ppacita does, the verb still conveys parts of lexical meanings which eventually constraint its combination with physical contraction. In other words, the fact that the word thecita entails physical expansion (discussed in section 3.2.1) is so strong that its semantic properties constrain its combination with the opposite situations including attrition or contraction, i.e. skinnier twig than expected in this case. As for (57), the phrase cannot be a target to be considered by discussing if it can expand or contract either in a literal sense or in a metaphorical sense.

Therefore, on the cases with changes, the verb ppacita can be used in denoting change of state by showing complementary distribution with the verb thecita in most of cases. The verb thecita can be used when the cases are related with the idiosyncratic...
meaning, i.e. expansion or contraction since it is less grammaticalized than the other and it still carries some of lexical properties which yield some constraints on combination. On the other hand, the verb *ppacita* is relatively free in combination with other elements.

### 3.3.2 No Changes From the Original State

Similar to the logic discussed by means of investigating aspectual idiosyncrasy of the verbs in the previous section, the cases where there is no change can be accounted for. Examples containing the verbs in the cases where they denote situations without changes of state are as follows:

(64) *ku cengchika-nun ssek-e ppaci/*theci-ess-ta*

-the politician-Nom rotten-Conn fall into/blow up-Past-Dec

‘The politician is corrupt to the core.’

(65) *cop-a ?ppaci-/theci-n pang kwusek*

-narrow-Conn fall into/blow up-Rel room corner

‘Such a cramped room’

(66) *chelswu-nun nuli-e/keyul-le ppaci-/theci-ess-ta*

-chelswu-Nom slow/lazy-Conn fall into/blow up-Past-Dec

‘Chelswu’s action is slow/lazy like hell.’

In these cases, we can also draw a plausible generalization on the aspectual idiosyncrasy of the verb *ppacita*. In (64), our common sense tells us that the corruptibility of the politician is due to the absence of his or her quantification. Since the verb *ppacita* is likely to be used in denoting the disparity between expectation and reality, its use in (64) seems to be natural. As for the other verb *thecita*, it cannot be used since the politician or the politician’s corruptness is not to be understood by means of notions, expansion and contraction. In (65), the verb *thecita* can be used because the cramped room can be understood by means of spatial width or narrowness, which is related with the notions, (psychological) expansion and contraction. The acceptability of the verb *ppacita* in (65) is controversial, but if it is acceptable, it should be related with the relative freedom of combination with the verb discussed in section 3.3.1. As for (66), of course, the verb *ppacita* can be used due to its psychological disparity. However, even though the subject’s slowness and sluggishness are not relevant targets to be discussed by means of the notions of expansion and contraction, the verb *thecita* is in use unexpectedly. How can we account for this phenomenon?

The phenomenon seems to be connected with the speaker’s viewpoint. In some cases, if it is correct that the speaker’s viewpoint has an influence on the expression, it is possible to say that the speaker’s negative connotation against the referred event can be expressed through the verb *thecita*. The fact that there exists an idiomatic expression *sok-thecita* [inside-blow up: be eagerly worried] endorses the affectedness of the speaker’s viewpoint. In this vein, (66) could be reanalyzed as follows:

(67) *chelswu-nun nuli-e/keyul-le (nay sok) theci-ess-ta*

-chelswu-Nom slow/lazy-Conn (my inside) blow up-Past-Dec

‘Chelswu’s action is slow/lazy like hell.’
In (67), assuming that nay sok of the idiomatic expression is omitted, the unexpected usage of the verb thecita can be accounted for. As for (64) and (65), they cannot be accounted for in this way since the auxiliary verb in the sentences cannot carry the speaker’s overt viewpoint.7

The verbs ppacita and thecita are both perfective verbs, which leave room for developing into the meaning of completeness as attested up to now. Even though the verbs share a meaning of the completeness and further that of irrevocability, which leads eventually the meaning of undesirability, the verb thecita shows distributional difference from the other verb ppacita in that the verb thecita is more compatible with situations related with notions of physical or psychological expansion or contraction due to its seemingly and relatively less degree of grammaticalization and focuses on results of state rather than ongoing processes. On the other hand, the verb ppacita is generally to be combined with situations where change of states occurs and seems to be more grammaticalized than the other. It is proved that investigating aspectual idiosyncrasy of the verbs helps understand more plausible account for the distributions of the auxiliary verbs.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The verbs ppacita ‘fall into’ and thecita ‘blow up’ are attested to grammaticalized into auxiliaries both of which function as a negative connotation marker and emphatic marker. Even though their functions are similar, they show distributional differences. This paper tries to consolidate the criteria with which we can distinguish the distribution of the verb from the other. In section 2, previous approaches toward the distinction of the auxiliaries are traced, which turns out to be insufficient. To grasp the distributional difference of the auxiliaries, we firstly consider lexical meanings, metaphoric meaning, and grammaticalized patterns of the verbs respectively in section 3.1 and 3.2. Based on them, to augment the previous criteria which are postulated by several linguists, i.e. directionality and notions of expansion or contraction, this paper argues that we need to investigate aspectual idiosyncrasies of the lexical verbs eventually. With the aspectual properties, we can generally distinguish the distribution of the auxiliaries as discussed in section 3.3.

REFERENCES


---

7 The auxiliary verb as a negativity marker also conveys the speaker’s viewpoint of course. However, the viewpoint is not overt. In other words, the verb thecita is likely to be connected with the subject of the sentences rather than with the speaker. In (70), the speaker as well as the subject can be connected with the verb semantically, which leaves room for the verb to be used unexpectedly.


