

**On the Rise of Similitive-marking Function:
A Case of the Korean Nominalizer *mankhum* ‘amount’**

In Present-Day Korean, there are a large number of nominalizers that carry diverse grammatical functions. They are often viewed as taking up an intermediate position in the grammaticalization between full lexical nouns on the one hand and grammatical-functioning markers, e.g. subordinators, sentential-endings (Ahn 1997, Rhee 2011, Yap et al. 2011, Baik 2017), and postpositions, on the other hand (Ahn 1997, Rhee 2016). Among many others belonging to this category, *mankhum* ‘amount’ (cf. Narrog & Rhee 2013) is an impressive item that exhibits semantic and functional versatility, such as a clausal connective and a postpositional particle signifying the speaker’s epistemic stance, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. *khun chip-ul sa-l mankhum ton-i eps-ta*
big house-ACC buy-ADN amount money-NOM not.exist-DEC
‘(I) don’t have money enough to buy a big house.’
- b. *ku-nun himtulkey seysang-ul sal-a o-n salam-i-n*
he-TOP laboriously world-ACC live-NF come-ADN person-be-ADN
mankhum tongcengsim-i iss-ta
amount sympathy-NOM be-DEC
‘He is sympathetic, as he has seen much of life.’
- c. *ne-mankhum na-to yeypu-ta*
you-amount I-too be.pretty-DEC
‘I am as pretty as you. / I am pretty like you’
- d. *ne-mankhum-un na-to yeypu-ta*
you-amount-TOP I-too be.pretty-DEC
‘I am pretty enough as you.’
- e. *ne-mankhum-ina na-to yeypu-ta*
you-amount-SELT I-too be.pretty-DEC
‘I am so much pretty as you.’

As for the development into a grammatical marker, this morpheme requires constrained syntactic combinations such as [ADN + *mankhum*] and [Noun + *mankhum*] for being a connective marker and a postpositional particle, respectively. In (1a) and (1b), *mankhum* is syntactically defined as a nominalizer to modify the clausal predicate *eps-ta* and *iss-ta*, but its function in both instances is understood as a subordinator signifying ‘degree’ in (1a) and ‘reason/cause’ in (1b). A notable usage of this morpheme is observed in the examples in (1c), (1d), and (1e). As a postposition affixed to nouns, including any types of nominal phrases, *mankhum* functions as a case-related postpositional marker to encode the ‘similitive relationship’ of the arguments, e.g. *ne* ‘you’ and *na* ‘I’, with respect to the referenced events/states, e.g. *yeypu-ta* ‘be pretty’. *Mankhum* in (1c) is interpreted as a typical similitive-marking particle to indicate the same state of affairs between interlocutors given in a comparative situation. In (1d) and (1e), however, subtle nuances in semantics are added. *Mankhum* in (1d) conveys the speaker’s negative stance to signal ‘downgrading’ of the state/event performed by the addressee, in which other element *-un* is exploited as an assistance to intensify the negative emphatic strategy derived from *mankhum*. The example (1e) also yields the speaker’s epistemic stance to carry his/her emphatic strategy, where another element *-ina* is considered a supporter to boost the level of emphasis drawn from this nominalizer. Unlike (1d), *mankhum* in (1e) focuses on mainly the state of affairs given in the speaker, whereby the speaker tends to evaluate him/herself as an entity to convey the same performance/state as the addressee does/is. The development of such epistemic functions is

largely due to its participation in the postpositional system.

With this respect, this paper explores the functional extension patterns displayed by this single form with an emphasis on how *mankhum* evolves from a nominal into a clausal connector and a postpositional particle. Cognitive mechanisms as a motivator involved in the development are also investigated, notably focusing on subjectification that operates semantic extensions, ranging from propositional to expressive notions (Traugott 2003, Traugott & König 1991). Reanalysis is also examined as a manipulate strategy to evoke the re-organization of grammar. This paper employs the grammaticalization framework to account for the polysemous and polyfunctional usages of *mankhum*, drawing upon synchronic and diachronic corpus data in Korean.

Abbreviations

ACC: accusative	ADN: adnominal	DEC: declarative	NF: non-finite marker
NOM: nominative	SELT: selective	TOP: topic	

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