Park, Jin-Ho (2011), “Grammatical Elements Containing Evidential or Mirative Components in Korean,” Language & Information Society 15. Evidentiality is a grammatical category indicating the information source. According to various studies on evidentiality, six etic categories can be posited: visual perception, non-visual perception, introspection, inference, reasoning, and hearsay. These six etic categories can be lumped together to form emic categories in each language. Mirativity is a grammatical category expressing a new, unexpected, unassimilated or non-internalized information. Some languages have an obligatory grammatical category of evidentiality and/or mirativity. Korean is not such a language. While Korean has many verbal endings and periphrastic constructions which contain an evidential and/or mirative component as a subsidiary semantic component, they are scattered here and there in the language, and there are very few elements which have an evidential and/or mirative component as a
core semantic component. Such a situation can be hardly characterized as a evidential or mirative system. However, evidentiality and mirativity are useful for describing the meaning of various verbal endings and periphrastic constructions. -kwuna and -ney have mirativity as their core semantic components, but they differ in evidentiality. -kwuna has few evidential constraints, whereas -ney tends to express only information obtained through perception or introspection. When combined with a past tense element, they can express hindsight, i.e. deferred realization both in Middle and Contemporary Korean. -te- was a past imperfec-tive marker in Middle Korean, but it came to contain additional semantic components due to competition with the newly emerging past marker -ess-. As a result, -te- has come to express mirativity in the past, and can only express information obtained through perception or introspection. -keyss- and -ul kes-i- express guessing, but they differ in evidentiality. -keyss- tend to express a guess from inference based on perceptual information, whereas -ul kes-i- tend to express a guess from reasoning based on general knowledge/assumption. -keyss-, but not -ul kes-i-, contains mirativity as a subsidiary semantic component. In addition to the above-mentioned elements, there are many periphrastic constructions which can be usefully described using evidentiality and/or mirativity.

keywords: evidentiality, mirativity, modality, perception, introspection, inference, reasoning, hearsay, 증거성, 의의성, 양태, 지각, 내성, 추리, 추론, 전문

 최근 언어유형론 학계에서 증거성 및 의의성에 대한 논의가 활발하다. 본고에서는 이러한 논의를 바탕으로 하여, 한국어에서 증거성이나 의의성의 의미성분을 포함하는 문법요소에 어떠한 것들이 있는지 살펴보고, 유형론적 연구 성과를 참고하여 이 문법요소들의 의미를 체계적으로 기술하는 방안을 모색해 보고자 한다.