

Workshop on the Role of Pragmatics  
in Cyclic Language Change  
The University of Manchester  
January 27-28, 2022  
(online platform)



# From the riches to the reality to revelation: The development of *qishi/kisil* in Chinese and Korean

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This research was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2021S1A5A2A01060515) for the first author and by Seoul National University for the second author.

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# 1. Introduction

- The **Chinese** noun phrase *qishi* 'the riches, the reality' and its borrowed form *kisil* in **Korean** exhibit a series of parallel semantic and pragmatic developments ('**semasiological cyclicality**' Hansen 2008).
- Disregarding some functional differences, they have undergone roughly a series of change:
  - **[noun phrase] > [content adverbial] > [DM]**
  - **[its fruit] > [its fact/reality] > [interpretive reality] > [hidden reality] > [preface to revelation]**
  - **[content-level uses] > [context-level uses]** (Hansen 2014, 2018).

- **Modern Chinese** uses *qishi* as a DM signaling, among others, that the following information **departs from common knowledge or perceived reality**, and further that the addressee should be prepared for **surprising information** about to be revealed.
- The etymon has undergone a remarkably **similar developmental path** in **Korean**, even though oral contact between the two languages was nearly non-existent and the contact was limited to occasional import of written texts of religion, science, and technology. (cf. contact-induced change generally occurs in spoken language; Heine and Kuteva 2005: 250)
- Thus, the situation is a linguistic analogue of **identical twins reared apart**, who have grown to be remarkably similar in different environments without meaningful mutual interaction. (cf. '**semasiological**')

- The **Chinese twin** currently **prosper**s as a DM.
- The **Korean twin**, however, met an untimely **demise** in the 20th century as part of language purification initiative, because it is a phrasal (syntactic) borrowing with a high pedantic flavor.
- This is in contrast with a large number of lexical borrowings that are tolerated.

# 2. Preliminaries: Chinese and Korean

## 2.1 Genealogy and Typology

- Chinese and Korean are **typologically different and genealogically unrelated**.
- **Chinese:** Sino-Tibetan, Tonal, SVO, Isolating, Strongly analytic, Prepositional
- **Korean:** Koreanic, Altaic/Transeurasian, Non-tonal, SOV, Head-final, Agglutinating, Postpositional

## 2.2 Chinese Characters in Korean

- Early contacts between them; identifiably Korean texts written in Chinese characters date back to the **5th century CE** (Whitman 2015).
- Contacts were largely **through literature; oral communication was limited or nearly non-existent.**
- Korean script (Hankul, Hangeul) was invented in **1443**.
- Prior to the invention of Hangeul, Chinese characters were used.

- Many Koreans have knowledge of Chinese characters (in classical forms) but with their sound value different from Modern Chinese. (cf. *Kisil* vs. *Qishi*)

- 其實

- *kisil* = *qishi*      *ki* (= *qi*)      'that, its'
- + *sil* (= *shi*)      'riches, real(ity), substance'

其      basket  
 -----  
          table

實      宀 house/roof  
          田 farm-field/properties  
          貝 shell/money

- 'Riches' changes to 'fruit'. Early historical examples denote 'fruit'.



### 3. Chinese *Qishi* (其实/其實)

- In frequent use in spoken and written Chinese
- Dictionary definition:

"denotes that what is said is real; usually implies contrast with the preceding proposition"  
(现代汉语词典 *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn*)

(1) 这个问题从表面上看似乎很难，其实并不难。

Zhègè wèntí cóng biǎomiàn shàng kàn sìhū hěn nán, qíshí bìng bù nán.

'This question may seem difficult on the surface, but in fact it is not difficult.'

- **Previous studies**

- Biq (1994), Zhū (朱冠明 2002), Hsieh & Huang (2005), Wang (2005), Wang et al. (2010), Liú (刘伊念 2012), Chén (陈颖 2017), Cao (曹开建 2017)

## [Historical Data]

- *Shijing* (诗经: 11th ~ 6th c. BCE)

(2) a. 园有桃，其实之肴。 < 诗经 >

Yuán yǒu táo, qíshí zhī yáo. <Shījīng >

'There is a peach tree in the garden, (and) its fruit is used as food.'

b. 园有棘，其实之食。 < 诗经 >

Yuán yǒu jí, qíshí zhī shí. <Shījīng >

'There is a date tree, (and) (I) eat its fruit.'

• In Han dynasty (B.C. 202~ A.D. 220)

(3) a. 然士卒罢劳。其实难用。 <前汉纪>

Rán shìzú bà láo. Qíshí nán yòng. <Qiánhànjì >

'Then the soldiers were extremely tired, (and) the reality was that they couldn't be used.'

b. 名曰亡秦，其实利之也。 <新書>

Míng yuē wáng qín, qíshí lìzhī yě. <Xīnshū >

'Their proclaimed cause was to destroy Qin dynasty, (but) the truth was that he was pursuing his own profit.'

- **In Song dynasty** (960~1279 CE)
- Adverbial usage

(4) **其实**邓距成都才百六十里，高距邓千里，其欺周如此。 <资治通鉴>

**Qíshí** dèng jù chéngdū cái bǎi liùshí lǐ, gāo jù dèng qiānlǐ, qí qī zhōu rúcǐ.

<Zīzhìtōngjiàn >

'**In fact** Deng was only a 160 miles away from Chengdu and Gāo was 1,000 miles away from Deng; he looked down on Zhou because of that.'

- **In Yuan dynasty** (1271~1368)

(5) **其实**关公不知刘备在此，若知先主此处，一径来投大王。 <三国志评话>

**Qíshí** guāngōng bùzhī liúbèi zài cǐ, ruò zhī xiān zhǔ cǐ chù, yī jìng lái tóu dàwáng.

<Sānguózhìpíng huà >

'**In fact**, Guan Gong didn't know that Liu Bei was here. If he had known that the Lord was here, he would have come right away to surrender to the king.'

- **In Modern Chinese**

- No usage with the meaning of 'its fruit', 'its essence', 'its true self', 'its reality'
- Exclusively used as an **adversative adverb** or a **DM**

(6) 淑容这名字其实很好，文雅温婉，又很平淡

Shūróng zhè míngzì qíshí hěn hǎo, wényǎ wēn wǎn, yòu hěn píngdàn.

'The name Shurong is **actually** very good. It's elegant and gentle and very natural.'

- Qualifying a qualifier (adversative or challenging)



(7)A: “山岗，你知道吗？”

Shāngǎng, nǐ zhīdào ma?

'Shangang, did you know?'

B: “知道什么？”

Zhīdào shénme?

'Know what?'

A: “其实昨天我很害怕，踢死皮皮以后我就很害怕了。”

Qíshí zuótiān wǒ hěn hàipà, tī sǐ pí pí yǐhòu wǒ jiù hěn hàipà.

'In fact, I was very scared yesterday. After I kicked and killed Pippi, I was very scared.'

- Qualifying a following statement at the turn-initial position; surprising information

(8) 他离去的背影让我深深地感到，现在，他的确是独自一个人了。

其实我们谁又不是这样呢？

Tā lí qù de bèiyǐng ràng wǒ shēn shēn de gǎndào, xiànzài, tā díquè shì dúzì yīgè rénle.

Qíshí wǒmen shéi yòu bùshì zhèyàng ne?

‘As he leaves now, his back makes (me) deeply feel that he is lonely.

**In fact**, who of us are not like that?’

- Expanding an ongoing topic; perspective shift
- Signal of ‘side-note’
- ‘Softening’: semantically vacuous; often difficult to pinpoint the meaning (particularly at LP)

## 4. Korean *Kisil* ‘기실 (其實)’ \*

### 4.1 Early attestations

- *ki* (其) ‘that (its)’ + *sil* (實) ‘fruit, real(ity) true/truth’  
> ‘its fruit, its true state, its reality’
- First attested in the **early 14th century**, the expression was never popular in the history of Korean and its use was largely **restricted to classical pedantic writings**.

\*Discussion of the Korean *kisil* is extensively drawn from Eom and Rhee 2021.

## 4.2. Semantic change

- In Middle Korean (918~1600 AD) and Early Modern Korean (1601~1893)
- It began its life as a form of phrasal borrowing, with its literal meaning ‘that fruit (the fruit of that)’, ‘the fruit’, ‘its fruit’.

(9) 如地有種 含藏長養 成熟**其實**

YE-CI-YU-CONG      HAM-CANGCANG-YANG      SENGSWUK **KI-SIL**

like-soil-have-seed   store-long-raise      mature **that-fruit**

‘Just like tending the seed in the soil, keeping it grow for long, and having **its fruit** ripen..’

(1300 *Yukcopeppotankyeng* #235)

- ‘fruit’

- Korean commentaries of Chinese literature translate (C. *qishi*, K. *kisil*) as *ku yelAm* ‘that fruit’, in which *ku* is the native Korean speaker-distal demonstrative ‘that’.

(10) 標有梅 其實七兮

PHYO YU MAY KISIL CHIL HYEY

PHYOhA-nAn MAY-ye ku yelAm-i nilkwup-i-lota

wave-ADN plum-VOC that/its fruit-NOM seven-COP-EXCL

‘O, the plum tree waving its branches! You have seven plums on you!’

(1613 *Sikyengenhay* <*Shijing* 1:21a>)

- In commentaries and bilingual texts, 其實 (kisil) is also translated or appears as:

(i)	그 여릅	[ku yelAm]	'that/its fruit'
(ii)	그 實	[ku sil]	'its essence'
(iii)	그 실	[ku sil]	'its essence'
(iv)	實엔	[sil-ey-n]	'in reality'
(v)	시른	[sil-un]	'in reality/fact'
(vi)	실로	[sil-lo]	'truly, very'
(vii)	진실로	[cinsil-lo]	'truly, very'

- Since *sil* ‘fruit’ is often a **metaphor for ‘reality’** for its solid and unchangeable nature, it also had the ‘reality’ meaning from early uses of the lexeme and engendered diverse **‘reality’-denoting words**, including **‘true essence’**.

(11) 羊存則告朔之名未泯 而**其實**因可舉

YANG-CON    CUK-KOSAK-CI-MYENG-MI-MIN    I-KI-SIL-IN-KA-KE

sheep-exist    then-ritual-of-name-not-perish    and-that-essence-cause-right-raise

‘If the sheep offering remains, then the form of the *Kosak* ritual will remain (also) and **its essence** can be restored from it.

(*Non-e*, 1593 imprinting, 3-17)

- ‘essence’ (in contrast with ‘form’)

- Another early attestation with a similar meaning in 1381

(12) 妄生言語。詐爲親友。其實怨妒。

MANG-SAYNG-ENE

SA-WI-CHIN-WU

KI-SIL-WEN-THWU

absurd-make-language      deceit-make-close-friend      **that-essence**-resentment-jealousy

‘(Our body) fakes absurd words and deceives (us) as if it were (our) close friends,  
but **the essence** of that (all) is that (our body) is of resentment and jealousy.’

(1381, *Sencongyengkacip* #144)

- ‘essence’ (in contrast with ‘surface manifestation’)



- The excerpt makes reference to the **corrupt, untrustworthy, and deceitful nature of our body** (from the religious viewpoint).
- In the context, *ki-sil* means ‘that essence’ of our body which is at the foundation of diverse manifestations of **deceit** in reality as if it were our close **friend**.
- **Its conclusion, led by the expression *ki-sil*, is that our body is filled with resentment and jealousy.**

(13) 但離虛妄 名爲解脫 **其實** 未得 一切解脫

TAN-I-HEMANG

MYENG-WI-HAYTHAL

only-depart-falsity

name-regard-deliverance

**KI-SIL**

MI-TUK

ILCHEY-HAYTHAL

**that-essence** not-acquire all-deliverance

‘[For people of little knowledge,] only departing from falsity may be deliverance (from worldly passions) by name, but **the essence** is that they are not obtaining complete deliverance (that way).’

(15<sup>th</sup> c. impression, *Myopepyenhwakyeng* vol. 2, Piyuphwum 3 #1243)

- ‘essence’ (in contrast with ‘name’)

- The excerpt is an explanation about the people who have little knowledge but strive to attain *haythal*, enlightenment and deliverance.
- For these people, the only way to it is to depart from falsity, but even though such avoidance can be regarded as **deliverance in appearance (or by name)**, it is far from **deliverance in a true sense**.
- The '**essence**' (*sil*) is in contrast with the '**name**' (myeng).
- It is apparent that the **morpheme *sil* implied some form of contrast with the surface manifestations**.

- ***Kisil-un***: Topic-marked NP
- From around the **16th** century, *kisil* came to be used as a **topic-marked noun phrase, *kisil-un***, ‘its reality is ...’ with the topic particle *-un*.

(14) 未來世 一切諸佛이 비록 百千億 無數 諸法門을 닐어 其實은 一乘을 爲호미라

MILAY-SEY-yey-s      CEYPWUL-i      pilok      PAYKCHENEK      MWUSWU  
 future-world-at-GEN      all.Buddha-NOM      even.though      hundred.trillion      innumerable  
 CEY-PEPMWUN-ul      nil-e      **KI-SIL-un**      IL-SUNG-ul      WIho-m-i-la  
 all-scripture-ACC      say-CONN      **that-essence-top** one-conveyance-ACC for-NMLZ-be-DEC

‘Even though all Buddhas in the worlds to come will speak about innumerable, hundred trillion teachings, **the essence** (of all the teachings) is to help people to go to the Heavens.’

(1500, *Kaykan Pephwakyeng* #234)

- *Kisil-un* is used to **contrast** the innumerable Buddhist teachings and the one true and fundamental purpose, i.e., deliverance or reaching Nirvana.
- *Kisil-un* can be **syntactically** interpreted in **two different ways**:
  - (a) sentential subject: **'its essence is...'**
  - (b) parenthetical: **'as a matter of fact'**

- The possibility of this dual interpretation could have been the **'bridging context'** (Heine, 2002) for its development into a DM, because **the second interpretation would free the phrase from syntactic binding.**
- This usage is observed in historical data from the 16th century onward, often better interpreted as a **'parenthetical'** (Thompson & Mulac, 1991; Brinton, 2008).

(15) *syengcyung salam-tul-i malha-tay syunto-nan syengto-i-la ha-toy*  
 inside.castle person-PL-NOM say-COMP [name]-TOP saint-be-DEC say-but  
*kisil-un* *makwi-ø-la*  
**the.reality**-TOP devil-be-DEC

‘The residents of the castle city say, ‘Sundo says he is a Christian, but, **in reality**, (he) is a devil.’

(1895, *Thyenlolyektyeng* #1314)

(K. *Pilgrims Progress*)

- The excerpt describes a **hypocritical Christian Soondo** (lit. ‘lip-principle’), who disguised himself as a sincere Christian in words but is, **in fact, as vicious as the devil.**

(16) 地球는 靜하야 조금도 動치 아니하난 듯하나 其實은 暫時도 쉬지 아니하고 回轉하난 거시오이다.

CIKWU-nan CENGha-ya cokom-to TONG-chi.aniha-nan tusha-na

earth-TOP stationary-CONN a.little-even move-NEG-ADN seem-but

KISIL-un CAMSI-to swi-ci.aniha-ko HOYCENha-nan kes-i-oita

**the.reality**-TOP moment-even rest-NEG-and revolve-ADN NMLZ-be-DEC

‘The earth seems to be stationary and not moving at all, but, **in reality**, (it)  
revolves without stopping even for a moment.’

(1896 *Sincengsimsangsohak* 3:35a)

- One of the earliest modern textbooks for Korean elementary students describes **the constant movement of the earth despite its apparent stationary state.**



- *Kisil-un* functions as either a **sentential argument or a non-argument**; i.e., it is used to mean ‘the reality is’ as the clausal subject (or topic) or ‘as it were; in fact’ as a ‘parenthetical’ (Thompson & Mulac, 1991; Brinton, 2008) or ‘comment clause’ (Brinton, 2008).
- Despite this innovative usage of *kisil(-un)*, **the traditional use of *kisil***, i.e., one without the case marker and with the strong demonstrative meaning of *ki* ‘that’, **still survived in the form of set phrases**, known as *sa-ca-seng-e* (four-character-construction-word), or four-character idioms, often as an encapsulation of a time-honored wisdom or maxim, typically with a historical episode associated with it.
- ***KI-SIL-NAN-PO***      ‘its substance hardly guaranteed; doubtable quality’
- ***EN-KWA-KI-SIL***      ‘words surpassing the substance; empty exaggeration’

# *Kisil(un)* in Modern Korean (1894 ~ Present)

- The phrasal *kisil* from its early history signaled the **contrast between ‘real’ and ‘non-real’** as denoted by *sil* ‘substance, reality, fact’, and the contrast effect became even **stronger with the topic marker -un** joining the phrase.
- From around the turn of the 20th century, the use of *kisilun* became popular.  
Three major venues in which it is productively found:
  - (a) **‘old novels’** (many written in Korean-Chinese mixed writing)
  - (b) **‘new novels’** (first to use colloquial language; educated characters use much Chinese-influenced diction)
  - (c) **newspaper editorials and literati class club circulars**

- In these venues, *kisilun* is productively used in order to impress the readership that the writing is the work of **leading intellectuals with a high educational background**.
- In such writings, *kisilun* also serves as the **signal of counter expectation**, i.e., the information that follows contrasts with the preceding statement and thus should be taken as the **correct interpretation of events or states of affairs**.
- There is an interesting aspect of the use of the DM *kisil(un)*, i.e., the **interpretive nature** of the DM.

- The use of *kisilun* as a DM is **productive at the turn of the 20th century**.
- **The sudden increase in the productivity** of *kisilun* at around the turn of the 20th century is noteworthy because its occurrences are only sporadic in the 16th to 18th centuries.
- However, its use **rapidly declines**, and their occurrences in the 20th-century data are extremely rare (only four in 1950–2000 TV and radio drama corpus sources).
- In **1996** the Korean government issued a recommendation that **the word be not used** and be replaced by *sasilun* ‘the fact is’ for the phrasal use and *silcey saceng* ‘true circumstance’ for the nominal use, as part of an effort for ‘language purification’.

- The rationale seems to be due to **its non-authentic Korean word-formation pattern**, i.e., involving the use of the Chinese word-formation pattern with the determiner *ki* ‘that’. Even though its use is discouraged, it does occur in Modern Korean, albeit at a very low frequency.
- For instance, even though its occurrence in the spoken-data corpus (e.g., TV and radio drama scripts) is nearly absent, it is **occasionally attested** in literary works.

# 5. Discussion

## 5.1 (Inter)subjectification (C/K)

- ‘**Subjectification**’ (Traugott, 1982, 1995; Traugott & König, 1991) of the semantics of the lexeme *shi/sil* of *qishi/kisil* is prominent.
- *Shi/Sil*: ‘**fruit**’ > ‘**essence**’
- abstraction via metaphorization; the **significance of the fruit of a tree** is mapped onto the **significance of an event or state of affairs**
- The meaning of **culmination (i.e., fruition)** in the plant domain is likened to the meaning of the **most steadfast and meaningful part (i.e., essence) in the event** domain, a transfer from the first-order entity (individuals, things, and places) to the second-order entity (actions, processes, and states).

- *Qishi/Kisil* also focus the **'firmness' or 'steadfastness' aspect of reality**, even though the physical reality has many other aspects, e.g., fluidity, temporariness, contingency, source of joy or pain, etc.
- The meaning of *kisil* has consistently been related to the essence, an instance of **selective and subjective attention** to only the few attributes of reality out of a full range of attributes.
- Furthermore, **the essence is always used in contrastive meaning**, i.e., in contrast with the appearance from which the truth is hidden, constituting a good instance of subjectification.

- Another notable aspect is the **interpretive nature** of *qishi/kisil(un)*.
- In other words, when the DMs *qishi/kisil(un)* are used, what is following, i.e., ‘reality’, is in fact not the physical reality but **an alleged, interpretive reality, which, as the speaker claims, is hidden from the non-professional observers**, such as the more complex and deeper level of understanding of the states of affairs. (‘subjectification’)



- The development of the DMs *qishi/kisil(un)* also exhibit **intersubjectification**.
- *Qishi/kisil* also signal **an element of surprise**, interpretable as ‘What’s following is surprising’ and **further, interactionally**, as ‘This may surprise you ...’.
- By using the DMs *qishi/kisil(un)* as a signal of surprise, **the speaker is requesting the addressee to prepare their mind for noteworthy information and at the same time inviting the addressee to share the evaluation**.

## 5.2 Stance-marking (C/K)

- One important aspect of intersubjectivity is that the speakers, while showing concern about the interlocutor ('intersubjectivity'), **signal their stance** as well.
- Therefore, DMs often serve as stance markers. For instance, when the speaker uses *qishi/kisil(un)*, the speaker is presenting **his or her interpretation of reality**.

## Assertiveness/Claim of Authority (K)

- K. *kisil* signals **assertiveness**.
- The **assertive overtone** may be associated with its origin, i.e., the **pedanticism**.
- In other words, unlike common lexical borrowing, *kisil* is **a rare phrasal borrowing** involving a demonstrative and a noun, which could be found only in **high-register texts**.

## 5.3 Periphery (C/K)

- Recent literature addresses the potential **peripheral asymmetry** with respect to the semantics or functions of a form (Adamson (2000), Onodera (2007), Degand (2014), Traugott (2014), Beeching and Detges (2014), the 2016 special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 17.1).
- Many researchers hypothesize:
  - left-periphery (LP): dialogal and subjective functions**
  - right-periphery (RP): dialogic and intersubjective functions**

- *Qishi/kisil(un)* carry **both subjective and intersubjective** functions.
- In terms of their positionality, however, *qishi/kisil(un)* have **limited syntagmatic freedom** across LP, medial, and RP positions.

**LP:** (C) **moderately**

(K) **rare**

**Med:** (C) frequently

(K) nearly always

(a) post-topic position

(a) post-topic position

(b) sentence-MED & clausal-LP

(b) sentence-MED & clausal-LP

**RP:** (C) none

(K) none

- Therefore, from the perspective of positionality, it can be said that *qishi/kisil* are **not typical members** of DMs (for the lack of positional freedom).

- (C) *Qishi* at turn-initial LP carry intersubjective, interactive function (for a ‘smooth flow’ ‘preface to surprising information’) without much semantic content (similar to empty intensifiers).
- More importantly, despite its positional fixedness, *qishi/kisil* carry both the subjective and intersubjective functions, and does not occur at RP; thus **the hypothesis for LP vs RP and subjective vs intersubjective correlation is not supported** by the development of *qishi/kisil*.

## 5.4 Source Characteristics (K)

- Considering that DMs develop from frequent uses in discourse, the development of a **DM from a Sino-Korean phrasal expression** in Korean is peculiar.
- Therefore, it can be assumed that this DM developed in **high-register, literary texts**, such as philosophical, religious, legal, and scientific texts.

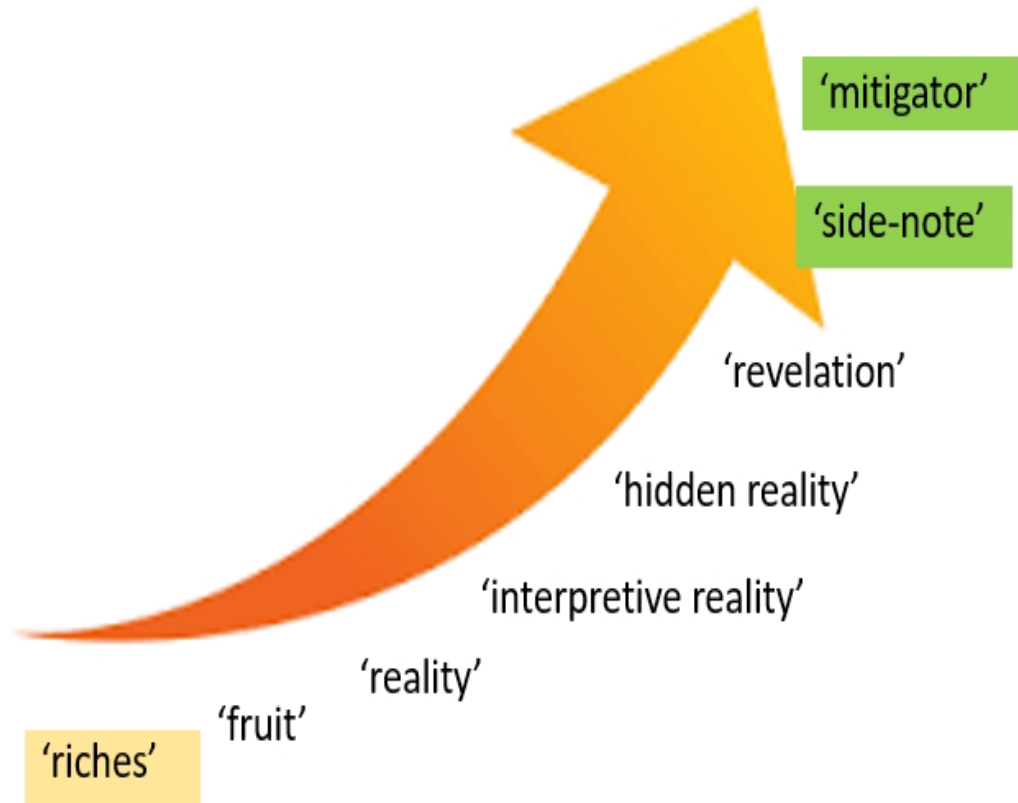
- **Restrictive distribution and peculiar source characteristics** of *kisil* led to its official demise.
- In a government decree of language policy (#1996–13, p. 111), dated 23 March **1996, *kisil* is in effect banned** and is recommended to be replaced by *sasilun* ‘the fact is’, for its adverbial use, and by *silcey saceng* ‘real situation’, for its nominal use (note: the recommended forms are also Sino-Korean words).
- This presents an intriguing issue with respect to the perception about **borrowing**.



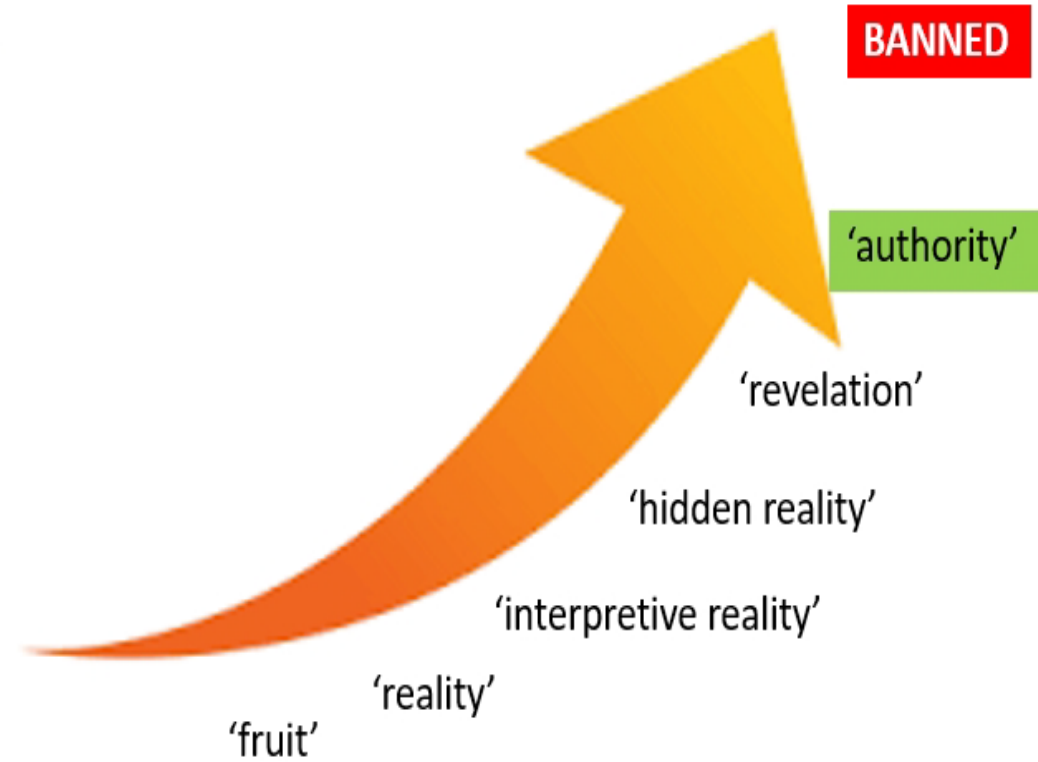
- Korean has a number of polymorphemic words borrowed from Chinese (**lexical borrowing**).
- *Kisil* is an instance of **phrasal borrowing**, whereas *sasil*, *silcey*, and *saceng* are instances of **lexical borrowing** and *silcey saceng* is a nominal compound.
- From the viewpoint of language purists, **lexical borrowing is a matter of the lexicon and is relatively tolerable** (especially when it has a long history as Sino-Korean words and has nearly blended into the native vocabulary), but **phrasal borrowing is a matter of the grammar and is something to be avoided**.

- This is a good example of the involvement of diverse factors in language change, which clearly shows that language change is not always evolutive but may be influenced by **external factors such as language policy**.

● Chinese *qishi*



● Korean *kisil*



# 6. Summary & Conclusion

- This article has analyzed the developmental paths taken by the phrasal expression **qishi in Chinese** and its borrowing **kisil in Korean**.
- The expressions consist of the **demonstrative** *qi/ki* ‘that’ and the **noun** *shi/sil* ‘fruit’.
- The core lexeme *sil* underwent **semantic extension** via metaphor to ‘essence’, ‘reality’ and further to ‘fact’, ‘truth’, etc. via metonymy.
- The lexeme implied **contrast** of reality with non-reality or non-truth that appearance misguidedly presents.

- In Korean, the contrast meaning was **reinforced by the topic-marker -un**, which appeared in Chinese-Korean mixed writings from around the 16th century.
- The expression was also used in four-character idioms.
- Towards the end of the 19th century, i.e., the beginning of the Modern Korean period, **literary works written in classical styles** and the **new literary genre**, as well as the **newspapers and other periodicals**, used *kisilun* productively since it conveyed the **flavor of pedanticism and evoked the sense of respectable writing**.

- However, it fell into **disuse in Modern Korean**, presumably due to the rejection of the pedantic style in Modern Korean, and eventually became **officially banned** towards the end of the 20th century.
- In Chinese and Korean: In terms of semantic change, *qishi/kisil(un)* exhibit **subjectification**, i.e., from sil ‘fruit’ to ‘essence’, a **selective focusing** on the ‘truth’ aspect in **contrast** with appearance, and from the ‘physical reality’ to the ‘interpreted reality’.
- It also exhibits **intersubjectification** in that the **surprise element** is a signal that the speaker is **requesting the addressee to prepare his or her mind for noteworthy information and is inviting the addressee to share the evaluation.**

- In Korean, *kisilun* signals **assertiveness** and thus is rarely used with pauses, hedges, etc., the common devices to signal hesitance. The assertiveness signal is a good instance of **stance-marking**.
- In Chinese, *qishi* has been **semantically bleached to a great extent**; it does not have any identifiable content meaning (perhaps like routinized, and thus empty miratives).

- **Positionality**

- DMs *qishi/kisilun* **do not enjoy the positional freedom** as many other DMs do (*Qishi* has a little more positional freedom, sometimes occurring at LP).
- *Qishi/kisilun* most frequently occur (i) between the sentential subject/topic and the predicate, or (ii) medially between two propositions, i.e., one expressing the appearance and the other the interpretive reality.



- In MED position, the DMs *qishi/kisilun* **bridge the two contrasting propositions**.
- DMs seem to rarely develop from borrowed lexemes, which is confirmed by the relatively low proportion of Sino-Korean DMs in Korean.
- The Sino-Korean origin is also responsible for the restricted occurrence of *kisilun* in highly pedantic texts.
- That the expression has a Sino-Korean origin and further that the borrowing involved is not at the lexical level but **the syntactic level** are also responsible for its demise in Present-Day Korean.
- This is a good instance of language change involving **diverse factors such as external intervention by language purism**.

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# Acknowledgments

- Special thanks go to:  
Prof. Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen
- Special thanks also go to:  
The Ministry of Education, The National Research Foundation of Korea,  
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Mahidol University,  
and Seoul National University.

**Thank you!**