

Grammaticalization in Sentence-Final Politeness Marking in Korean and Japanese

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1. Introduction

The phenomenon of grammaticalization has drawn much attention from researchers in recent years (Givón 1979, Bybee 1984, Heine, et al. 1991, Matsumoto 1988, Sweetser 1988, Traugott and Heine 1991, among many others). In this study I am concerned with a particular aspect of the theory of grammaticalization, the question regarding conditions that license grammaticalization. I found polite markers in Korean and Japanese significantly relevant to this question in three accounts (i) the syntactic site; (ii) the way they get simplified; (iii) functional efficiency resulting from grammaticalization.

The present paper is organized in three sections. Following the section of introduction, Section 2 introduces a working hypothesis in order to account for grammaticalization involved with honorific verbs of 'saying.' The hypothesis is tested with data from Korean and Japanese. Section 3 discusses some observations and concludes the paper.

2. Grammaticalization of Addressee Honorifics

2.1. A Working Hypothesis

The Working hypothesis used in this paper is as follows:

- (1) Hypothesis on Sentence-final Polite Markers: If a language has verb-final word order, and if it has a system of honorification (as seen in Korean and Japanese), verbs of communication (e.g. *to say*, *to tell*, *to inform*) tend to undergo grammaticalization along two pathways: (i) shifting the word categories, and (ii) shifting in functional categories.

The hypothesis (1) is tested against polite markers, such as *sup-ni*, *eyo*, *sey-yo*, *ŋi*, *op-sose* in Korean and *desu*, *masu*, *sourou*, *mousu* in Japanese.

2.2. Standard Modern Korean *supni-ta*

In sentence (2), the speaker addresses messages to the hearer who is superior in social status, and the main verbs are marked by polite markers *(su)pni-ta*.

- (2) Cokom cen-ey yelcha-ka **ttena-ss-supni-ta**.
 a moment ago train-NOM leave-PAST-POL-SE
 ‘The train left just a moment ago’

The earlier appearance of *sup-ni* may be explained from the assumption that *sAp* is ancestral to the modern *sup-ni* form, which serves partially as the base of the *p-ni* form.¹ The morpheme *sAp*, according to Ogura (1938), belongs to the *zAp/sAp*-series of the non-subject honorifics, which include three other markers of *ŋi*, *so*, and *no* in the series. The *zAp/sAp*-series is further broken down into four sub-groups as *zAp*, *Ap*, *sAp*, and *cAp*, as in H. K. Kim’s (1957) table below.

<u>Early Joseon</u>		<u>Middle Joseon</u>		<u>Later Joseon</u>		<u>Modern Korean</u>
cAp	→	cAp	→	cAp	→	cap
sAp	→	sAp	→	sAp	→	sap
zAp	→	zAp	→	Ap	→	op

Table 1: Derivation of *zAp*, *Ap*, *sAp*, and *cAp* (H. K. Kim 1957)

H. K. Kim notes that the verb *sAp* became the marker of Referent Honorification, and further it had lost its original function and resulted in a simple grammatical morpheme of Addressee Honorification incorporated into the second component *ŋi*. The grammaticalization through the categorical conversion is said to take place during the late 15C and the early 16C. More detailed derivational paths of the two morphemes can be seen on Heo’s (1963) chart below.

	<u>Shilla/Koryo</u>		<u>15C - 17C</u>		<u>18C & thereafter</u>
Sub.Hono	賜 → 教(是)	→	si	→	si → si
	白教(時)	→	zAsi	→	Asi → apsi/opsi
Referent					
Hono	白	→	sAp	→	sAp ₁ → (e.g. <i>yeccu-ta/pweop-ta</i>) sAp ₂ → op/sap/jap
Addressee	音 →	→	ŋi	→ {ŋi, i}	→ {ŋi i} → (e.g. <i>hanaita/haopnai-ta</i>)
Hono					(e.g. <i>kali-ta/kapni-ta</i>)
	受勢				
	賜立 → 少時	→	syosyə	→	syosyə → sose

Table 2: Diachronic changes in *sAp* and *ŋi* (Heo 1963)

The table 2 is particularly significant on four points. (i) Three modes of honorification are identified; (ii) The split of *sAp₁* and *sAp₂* around the 17th C; (iii)

Making distinction between two subtypes in Addressee Honorification; (iv) Isolating the honorific imperative form *sose*. Heo's identification of *sAP₁* and *sAP₂* is critical from the grammaticalization point of view. The process of verb to morpheme is neatly shown in his analysis. The form *sAP₁* maintains the status of a full-fledged verb 'to tell something to Superior' up to Modern Korean with the original meaning intact. The second *sAP₂*, on the other hand, reduced its form to that of an auxiliary verb from the 18th century and eventually it turned into the functional polite marker (*su*)*p-ni-ta*, the sentence-final function word for Addressee Honorifics. The last item *sose*, which seems to correspond to Ogura's *so*-series, appears exclusively in imperative ('the speaker's petition for the superior's merciful favor'). Thus, (*su*)*p-ni* may be said to have undergone stages: lexeme → Aux and further Aux → grammatical morpheme. Middle Korean *ni* survives in the Andong dialect of Kyeongpuk Province as in a sentence like *Pakk-ey pi-ka o-nii-de* ('It's raining outside.'). Cf. Nam (1997: 1155)

2.3. Standard Modern Japanese *desu*

Turning to Japanese data, we will consider the polite form of the copula which is *de arimasu*. This corresponds to the more colloquial *desu* (Martin 1975:238). As for the origin of the auxiliary verb *desu*, Tsujimura (1967:193-4) conjectures five different possible sources: *de arimasu*, *de gozaimasu*, *de/su(ru)*, *de owasu*, and *de sourou*.

Martin (1975) picks *de arimasu* for two reasons: (i) the *de-aru* form often appears in its negative or focused form, as in *de-wa arimasen* and *de-mo arimasen* respectively; (ii) historically, the Tokyo form is *dasu* (←*de [arima]su*) and the Osaka form *dasu* (←*d[e arim]asu*). However, we still need to explain the following: first, the direct negation by using *nai* is still available as in *de-wa nai desu* and *de-mo nai desu*, which correspond to *de-wa arimasen* and *de-mo arimasen*, respectively. One advantage of this analysis is that the original *desu* is intact in the target. Second, in the Tokyo dialect the deletion took place at the syllable boundaries [*arima*], as one might naturally expect, whereas the deletion at the non-syllable boundaries (*d[e arim]a*) in the Osaka dialect seems to further require the process of fairly complicated re-syllabification before deletion. Of course, we can do away with such a path, if we take Maeda's (1961:149) explanation using *de yasus*, which is assumed to derive through *de arimasu* → *de (ari)yasu* → *d(e y)asu* → *dasu*. This analysis, however, takes the risk of allowing a wrong prediction **jasu*. Third, as Martin himself points out, the preceding analysis requires a derivational source for the Kyoto form *dosu*, namely, *d[e g]o[zai ma]su*, *de[e]o[wa]su*, or *d[e] o[ma]su*. However, this leaves the other two dialects, the Osaka dialect and that of Kyoto, inconsistent in terms of derivation despite their being immediate members of the greater Kansai dialect family. One might suggest an alternative analysis on the basis of an entirely

different source such as *sourou* combined with the humble polite marker (*de*) *goza*, namely [*de go-za sourou*]. Then, the derivation would go through two processes: (i) weakening of the second and third syllable *go-za*; and (ii) simplification of *suru* to *su*. From these processes, we may get [*de-o-wa-su*], an intermittent source for *desu*, *dosu*, and *dasu*. We can then say that *desu* may also be regarded as a product of grammaticalization from Classical Japanese *sourou*. Would one find the source of *sourou* itself in earlier Japanese that allows such derivational routes? We will address this question in Section 2.3. below.

2.4. Classical J. *sourou* and Middle K. *saloi- ta/salwe-ta*

Usage of the polite marker *sourou* in letter-writing was extremely popular in Medieval Japan and throughout Japanese feudal periods up until the turn of the 19th century. The following shows how the literary *sourou* style corresponds to the modern colloquial *desu/masu* style.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------|--------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| (2) | a. | kaki- | sourou | kaki-masu | (‘I write’) |
| | b. | kakazu- | sourou | kaki-masen | (‘I don’t write’) |
| | c. | taka-ku- | sourou | takai-desu | (‘It is not expensive’) |
| | d. | N-ni goza- | sourou | N-desu | (‘It is N’) |
| | e. | N-ni arazu- | sourou | N-zya-nai desu/ | (‘It is not N’) |
| | | | | N-zya arimasen | |

The Japanese politeness auxiliary verb *sourou* is suffixed to the infinitive (the literary negative infinitive) for addressee-oriented honorification. It had established itself as a bound morpheme (or auxiliary) far back in pre-Middle Japanese. Particularly, it became omnipresent in pre-modern Classical Japanese spoken among samurai intellectuals of the Edo period. It is said to be related originally to the noun *samurai*. Satō (1962: 2318-9) shows the etymological development of *sourou* as follows: *samorapu* > *saburapu* > *saurapu* > *sourou* (quoted from Martin 1975:1039).

Although Satō relates *samorapu* etymologically to *samurai*, as we will see below, there are some reasons to believe that *sourou* may be related to Old Korean *sAlp*. In Middle Korean texts, there are many occurrences of the non-subject honorific auxiliary *sAp-ta* or its variant *sAl-o-ta*, ‘convey messages to Superior.’ The general consensus (Ogura 1929, Heo 1963, among others) is that *sAp-ta* may be traced back to Old Korean *sAlp*. (3) below is an example of the usage of the auxiliary verb *sAp-ta*. (Quoted from Lee & Im 1983:228).

- (3) Sinha-i ningim-Al **top-sAlpa** [sAp-ta] (Seogbosang Jeol 8)
 subjects-NOM King-ACC help-HONO-and
 ‘Ministers assist the king, and’

Unlike *sap-ta*, the lexical item *salo-ta* in (4) below is used as a full-fledged di-transitive verb ‘reports/tells messages to a third party who is superior to the speaker.’ (Quoted from Nam 1997)

- (4) mis_Λ il-il **sΛlolila** (Songgang Gwangdong Byeolgok)
 what thing-ACC say-would
 ‘What should I say?’
- (5) imsik-il k_Λchoa t_{il}iko **sΛlo tΛi** (Oryun1:54)
 dishes-ACC prepare submit-and said that....
 ‘(She) prepared dishes and presented them to him and said ...’

In (5), the noun *imsik* ‘food/dishes’ is Direct Object of the lexical verb *salo-ta* and Superior as Indirect Object thereof. Recall that Old Korean *sap* (白 in the Idu transcription) was originally a di-transitive verb with the meaning of *yeccwu-ta* ‘tell an honoree about something’ or *pweop-ta* ‘have an audience of Superior.’ Cf. Table 2 above by Heo (1989). Modern Korean *salwe-ta/salæ-ta* goes back to *sap*, according to *Pyojungugeo Daesajeon* ‘Standard Unabbreviated Dictionary’ (1999:3110) edited by Gugeo Gukrip Yeonguweon ‘National Institute of the Korean Language.’ Heo also claims that *sap* underwent two separate paths: (i) it changed to *salo-ta* and further became *salæ-ta* with its original meaning intact; and (ii) it turned into an auxiliary verb of Non-Subject Honorification and eventually became a grammatical marker of Addressee Honorification in Korean.

Thus, Old Korean referent (non-subject) honorific verb *sap-ta* underwent grammaticalization (verb → grammatical morpheme) to become an Addressee-oriented polite marker. The item *salo-ta* or *sΛ-lo-ta* (as a variant of *sap-ta*) and Classical Japanese *sourou* may be contrasted as shown in Table 3 below.

	Phonological shape	Meaning	Indirect object referred to	Grammaticalization Processes
CJ <i>sourou</i>	sibilant/liquid and low vowels	‘say’ ‘tell’	Superior to the speaker	Lexical Verb → Object Hon → Addressee Hon
MK <i>salo-</i>	sibilant/liquid and low vowels	say’ ‘tell’	Superior to the speaker	Lexical Verb → Object Hon → Addressee Hon

Table 3: Correspondences between CJ *sourou* and MK *salo-ta*

It is particularly remarkable that both Old Japanese *sourou* and earlier Korean *salo-* underwent the three-stage grammaticalization paths in a parallel way, namely, Phase I (Full-fledged lexical verb) → Phase II (Non-subject (object) honorific auxiliary verb) → Phase III (Addressee honorific morphemic marker).

On the basis of etymological resemblance and diachronic parallelism in grammaticalization, which may merely be “circumstantial evidence” at best, one might suggest that Classical Japanese *sourou* and Middle Korean *salo-ta* (for that matter, Old Korean *salp*, à la Ogura 1938) shared a genetic ancestor at an earlier time.

2.5. Standard Modern Japanese *masu*

The non-copula (for that matter, non-adjective) polite marker is the bound morpheme *masu*. Since this deferential *masu* is suffixed to the predicate verb, it is, in effect, found as the rightmost element in the sentence, as in *Tomu-ga tosyokan-e iki-masu* ‘Tom goes to the library’, where *iki* is the gerund form of *ik-u* ‘go.’ The occurrence in the extreme right end of the sentence makes *masu* (as well as *desu*) the most frequently occurring element in sentences. Generally, *masu* is believed to be derived historically from Old Japanese *mawirasu*. *Koojien* (1981:2063) defines it by two entries: (i) as a di-transitive verb (‘humbly present x to Superior’ ‘submit something to Superior’); (ii) as an auxiliary verb (IO referent honorifics) attached to verbs (‘humbly do x for Superior), as shown in (6) below.

- (6) Transitive Verb for Referent (Indirect Object) Honorifics
o-kudamo-nado **mairasu** (Genji Monogatari: Yuugao)
HON-fruits-etc. present
‘(They) present fruits ...’
- (7) Auxiliary Verb for Referent (Indirect Object) Honorifics
sadaka-ni **tutahe-mairasen** (Genji Monogatari: Hashihime)
in detail convey-HONO
‘I’ll report it to you in detail.’

In literature, two kinds of *mairu* are identified: intransitive verb *mairu*₁ and transitive verb *mairu*₂, as in (8) below. The former, a full intransitive verb, is reduced to a polite marker incorporated with another polite marker *sourou* in the pre-modern period, and the latter from di-transitive donatory verb to addressee Honorifics via referent honorific. The present-day *masu* may be derived from *mawiraseru* through the form *mairase-sourou*.

- (8) Grammaticalization of the Old Japanese verb *mairu*
- a. Intransitive verb *mairu*₁ > Referent (IO) Honorifics (*mawirasu*) > Addressee Honorifics (incorporated with *sourou*)
 - b. Di-transitive verb *mairu*₂ > Referent (IO) Honorifics > Addressee Honorifics

Instead of this indirect derivation, Tsujimura (1967) suggests a possibility that *masu* be directly derived from *mawirasu* in the following way.

(9) The derivation of the auxiliary verb *masu* (Tsujimura 1967:201)

- a. mawira-su-(ru) [deletion of *wi*]
- b. mar(a)- su-(ru) [sound shift *r* → *s*]
- c. mas- su-(ru) [the deletion of *s*]
- d. ma- su [the present-say end-product]

Where does *mawirasu* itself then come from? Martin (1975:1032), following Tsujimura, decomposes the form into *maira* + *su(ru)*, where *mawir-a* is the gerund form of *mawir-u* ‘goes/comes,’ where the morpheme *-a-* is the form of the subjunctive inflection and *su(-ru)* is the verbal auxiliary. As for the presence of the light verb *su(-ru)*, Martin notes that it is attested by the negative *masen(u)*, where the segment *sen(u)* is an older form of *si-nai* (do+not). However, in what way *su(-ru)* would contribute to the meaning of *mawirasu* is not entirely clear.

Incidentally, Martin (1975:1032 footnote) mentions an alternative analysis of *mairasu* by quoting Yoshida’s (1971:284) characterization of *mairasu* as (i) “a possible blend with the old verb *masu*, a subject-exalting euphemism for ‘stay’ or ‘goes;’ (ii) and/or with the verb *mausu* < *mawosu* ‘tells; humbly does.” In his subsequent work on Old Japanese auxiliary verbs, Yoshida (1973:1081) presents a view somewhat different from the earlier one. There, he argues that *masu* is derived from the compound of the noun *ma* 目 ‘eye’ and the incomplete verb *su*.

Yoshida’s second analysis seems promising for several reasons. (i) The meaning of *mawosu* ‘tells, humbly does’ is considered to be functionally more relevant to Addressee honorification; (ii) *mawosu* is an un-analyzable lexical item (except for the word-final infinitive morpheme *-u*); (iii) historically, Old Japanese *mawosu* is an older form of *mousu* via *mawusu* (Kōjien 1981:2065). The form *mousu*, as an auxiliary verb, had a special performative function of Referent (Indirect Object) Honorification, as in *miyako-made okuri-mousi-te* ‘(I) humbly escort (the superior) to the capital, and...’ [Man’yōshū 5: 876]. In the next section, we will compare Old Japanese *maosu/mousu* to the Korean word *moesi-ta/mōsi-ta*, which have both forms of verb and auxiliary verb.

2.6. Classical Japanese *marasuru* and Korean *moesi-ta*

We reviewed some previous proposals on the origins of the Japanese polite marker *masu*. There, we briefly touched upon Yoshida’s (1971) analysis of *masu* as being derived from the old ‘saying’ verb *mousu*.

On closer examination, one will find the item *mousu* is highly homophonous, and there are three distinct honorific usages. They are: (i) *mousu*₁ (Lexical verb

to serve, to wait on); (ii) *mousu*₂ (to tell, to say); and (iii) *mousu*₃ (auxiliary for reference (IO) honorifics with loss of the original meaning).

*Mousu*₁ is a full-fledged transitive verb having the meaning to serve, to attend, to accompany, etc.

- (10) Mifune sasu situo-no tomo-ha kawa-no se **mouse**. (Man 4081)
 boat draw servants-TOP river-shallow water inform
 ‘Boatman, explain to your master that the river is shallow.’

Nakanishi (1981) translates the verb *mouse* in (10) as *explain*, as we see in the translation. However, one may suggest an alternative translation: ‘Boatman, guide safely your master to the shallow shore of the river,’ where *mouse* is translated as having the transitive meaning of ‘to accompany/guide Superior.’

*Mousu*₂ is equivalent to *tell* or *say* in English. The verb expresses Speaker’s deference toward Superior as Indirect Object (not Superior as Addressee) in a sentence.

- (11) yo-wo somuki-tamau-yosi hotoke-ni **mousase**-tamau-ni
 world-ACC betray-because Buddha-to report-for
 ‘For I tell Buddha how I betrayed other people,’
 [Genji Sakaki] (from Iwanami 1974:1177.)

The third kind (*mousu*₃) is attached to the main verb expressing Speaker’s deference toward a referent Superior, i.e. Indirect Object, and its function is merely that of an auxiliary verb with no specific meaning of ‘saying,’ as shown in the following examples.

- (12) **utiture-mousi**-tari [Heike 7]
 take POLITE
 ‘I bring them down here, sir.’

- (13) Sensei-no otaku-wo **o-tazune-mousi**-ta.
 teacher-GEN house-ACC visit- HON-PAST
 ‘I visited my teacher’s home.’

The item *mousu*₃ does not seem to have the meaning of announcement, and we may conjecture it may have derived from either *mousu*₁ or *mousu*₂. The former may have changed to an auxiliary by keeping its semantics of ‘servitude’ intact. The second choice, i.e. *mousu*₂ may have lost the original functions of full verb status as well as the semantics of saying altogether. Of the two, *mousu*₁ would cost less for the subsequent grammaticalization in comparison to *mousu*₂ in terms of the degree of the relevance, which is roughly similar to Yoshida’s (1971) suggestion that the modern *masu* might have its root in *mawosu* ‘tells,

humbly does.’ Note that the analysis proposed here has a two-stage process, namely, first, from verb to auxiliary, then from the auxiliary to bound morpheme of the polite marker *masu*.

Now let us turn to Korean data corresponding to Japanese *maosu*. The Korean lexical verb *moesi-ta* or its variants *moysi-ta/mōsi-ta* have one meaning ‘to serve Superior,’ but in two different functions, that is, the former as a lexical verb and the latter as an auxiliary verb, as exemplified for the first kind in (14) and (15) and for the second in (16) and (17) below.

- (14) K. Ce pang-ey cosang sincwu/wiphay-ka **mōsye-ce** iss-ta
 J. Ano heya-ni senzo-(no) ihai-ga **matur-are-te** aru
 that room-in ancestor mortuary tablet-NOM enshrine-PAS-be
 ‘They enshrined their ancestral tablets in that room.’
- (15) K. Hyeng-nim-i pumo-nim-ul **mōsi-ko** iss-ta
 J. O-nii-sama-ga fubo-sama-o *maosi-te* iru. (maosi = an old form)
 brother-NOM parents-ACC serve-CONT-be
 ‘His elder brother is taking care of their parents.’
- (16) K. Sensayng-nim-eykey sinay-lul cal **annay-hay-mōsye-la**
 J. Sensei-ni mati-wo yoku **goannai-moosi-age-yo**.
 teacher-DAT town-ACC well guide-RH-IMP
 ‘Take my professor and show him all around the town.’
- (17) K. Sensayng-nim-uy sillyek cal ala- **mōsi-kess-** sup-ni-ta.
 J. Sensei-(sama)-no (go)jituryoku yoku zonji moosi-age masu
 your mastered skill duly acknowledge-RH-would- POLITE
 ‘I sincerely acknowledge your (unchallengeable) masterful skill.’

In (17) above, tinted with slight sarcasm, *al-ta* is ‘to know, to acknowledge’ and it is reinforced by the honorific marker *mōsi-ta* (a modern variant of *moesi-ta*), which is in turn suffixed with an addressee-oriented polite marker *sup-ni-ta*. The following is a summary of our observations from the above data. I labeled the two homophonous verbs: *moesi-ta₁* and *moesi-ta₃* (Notice that the second is *moesi-ta₃* instead of *moesi-ta₂* simply for the sake of convenience of comparison.)

- | (18) | <u>Japanese</u> | <u>Korean</u> | <u>Functional Category</u> |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| | <i>mousu₁</i> | ~ <i>moesi-ta₁</i> | (full verb of servitude to Superior) |
| | <i>mousu₂</i> | ~ - | (full verb of reporting to Superior) |
| | <i>mousu₃</i> | ~ <i>moesi-ta₃</i> | (auxiliary verb of servitude to Superior) |

Looking at the table above, two things are noteworthy: first, the resemblance between the Korean and Japanese data is quite remarkable in terms of their phonological shape and semantic/pragmatic function ('to serve Superior'). Second, the Korean counterpart of *mousu*₂ is missing in (18b). Korean speakers use a verb *salwe-ta* or Older *salo-ta* in the place of *mousu*₂. One can assume that Japanese *mousu*₂ might have an origin entirely different from *mousu*₁. Namely, *mousu*₂ may be related to Middle Korean *malsam* or *malsam*, which corresponds to Japanese *o-kotoba* 'word, speech, language or Superior's message.' There are a few phenomena which appear to be supportive of this thought. First, we notice the phonological resemblance between Old Japanese *marasuru* and the Middle Korean noun *malsam*, whereby a noun for 'Superior's message' (something similar to *malsam*) may have been denominalized by suffixing the usual 'verblizer' *ru* to yield *marasu(mu)-ru*. Second, one frequently encounters the Korean sentence-final expression *~la-nun malssum-i-yeyo* equivalent to Japanese *~ to iuu koto desu-yo* 'that's the way it was.' Incidentally, the expression *la-n-malssum-i-ya*, a further simplified form, is ubiquitously used as sentence-filler (e.g. *you know* in American English), just as older speakers of dialects apply *na-mosi/na musu* as a sentence-filler in Japanese dialects (Prefectures of Tokushima, Gifu, Gunma etc.) Here, the two forms, Korean *la-n-malssum-i-ya* and Japanese *na-mosi/na musu* seem to correspond in terms of three separate segments, namely, (i) the complementizer K. *-n* versus J. *na*; (ii) the noun K. *malssum* versus J. *mos*; and (iii) the copula K. *i-ya* versus J. *i*. Since we do not have critical evidence of the presence of the form such as *marasumu-ru* in Old Japanese, it remains a speculation. One thing relevant to this idea, though, is that *mousu*₂ is frequently substituted by Classical Japanese *sourou*, a possible equivalent to Korean *salo-ta* 'to inform x to Superior' discussed in the previous section. A third piece of 'circumstantial' evidence is that Japanese *mousu*₂ was generally replaceable with *sourou*, which corresponds neatly to Middle Korean *salo-ta* or Modern Korean *saloy-ta*.

2.7. Middle Korean *op-ose* and Old Japanese *asobase*

Pervasive occurrences of the phrase *op-ose* are found in Middle Korean material, particularly in Buddhist narratives. The honorific imperative form *op-ose* is frequently found in prayers even today. Consider the following:

- (19) Melli ttena-ka-nun **ku-eykey** unchong-ul payphwule cwu-**si-op-ose**.
 far away leave-ATTR him mercy-ACC provide give-HON-please do
 'Give thy mercy to the person who is going far away.'

In (41), the speaker asks the Lord to give His mercy to a third person (not to the speaker himself) in the sentence. The imperative mood expresses the speaker's soliciting mercy of the addressee (Lord). Therefore, it may be regarded as a kind

of causative construction in the sense that the target noun ('Lord' in this case) is the recipient of a request (in the patient role) and at the same time is a provider of mercy (as a performer in the agent role). Thus, it bears simultaneously two components--Referent (DO) Honorification and Subject Honorification.

- (20) Yehowa-ye cwu-uy pun-ulo na-lul kyenchayk-haci ma- **op-si-** mye
 lord Your anger-with me rebuke do-not please-and
 cwu-uy cinno-lo na-lul cingkye-ha-ci ma- **op-sole**
 Your hot displeasure-with me chasten-do-not please
 'Lord, do not rebuke me in Your anger, nor chasten me in Your hot
 displeasure.'
 [The Old & New Testament (Psalms 6:7) The King James Version and
 Korean Revised Hangul Version), Daehan Seongseo Gonghoe. 1985:806]

The sentence above is a quotation from the Old Testament. This type of honorification survives only in literary writing and in dialects of a much simpler form. Below is an example of a humble request from a linguistically conservative speech community in the Kyeongsangdo region of Korea.

- (21) Ese ili twul o- **(si)-i-so** (the Kyeongsangdo Dialect)
 fast here enter come-HON-IMP
 'Welcome, please come in.'

The honorific expression *(si)-i-so* in (21) above may be a grammaticalization from *(si)-op-sole*, where *si* is an optional Subject Honorific marker, *op* Referent (Indirect Object) Honorific marker, and *sole* Addressee Honorific Marker of Imperative. The derivation involved may look something like the following:

- (22) (si)-op- so se [si + op + sole]
 (si)-op- so se [deletion of Subject Honorific marker *si* and *se*]
 (si)-op- so [deletion of the final imperative form *se*]
 (si)- i- so [weakening and loss of the second syllable and
 compensatory lengthening of *i*]

At this point, I would like to invite the reader to consider an honorific format of pre-modern Japanese somewhat similar to Korean archaic *op-sole*. Many dictionaries define *asobas-e* as the imperative form of *asobas-u*, a full intransitive/transitive honorific verb 'play,' 'go hunting,' or 'play musical instruments.' The item can also be used as an auxiliary verb. For instance, Kōjien (1981:40) gives examples *O-tori-asobas-i-ta* '(He) took it' and *Go-ran asobas-e* 'Please take a look, where *o-tori-i* is a gerund form prefixed with the honorific marker and *go-ran* is in the form of Prefix+Noun. According to Tsujimura (1968), *asobasu* is

the oldest of the nine honorific expressions in earlier Japanese. An example of old use of *asobase* is given below.

- (23) kotira-he o-hairi-asobase
 this way-to enter-HON
 ‘Please come in this way.’ [*Sugahara Denju Tenarai-kan 4.*]

It is particularly noteworthy that many examples are presented in the imperative form, that is, commanding expression to Superior or petitioning. The auxiliary *asobase* precisely expresses the notion of ‘request to Superior’ in Japanese. The petition expressed by *asobase* is suitable in honorifics. It magnified the Superior’s authority to grant his subordinate’s petition.

In (24) below, where Korean *si-op-so-se* and Japanese *asobase* are contrasted, the segment *ha-si* (do+subject honorific marker) is supplemented to the base form as seen in (48a).

- (24) a. Korean: ha si o p so se
 b. Japanese si o ba so e
 a syo ba soe [Insertion of low vowel *a*]
 a so ba se [*syo* → *so*; *soe* → *se*]

Each of the four syllables in the contrasted set is in fairly good correspondence, if we assume three historical processes, namely the *a*-insertion, the *syo*-depalatalization, and the *oe*-delabialization, in addition to adopting the light verb *ha* ‘do’ suffixed with the honorific *si* marker. Both are in the format (‘petition honorifics’), which involves the notion of causer and cause discussed above. In the petition honorifics mode, ‘the causer’ is the (humble) speaker, who solicits his superior’s favor, while the party solicited is Superior, ‘the performer,’ who is to grant his subordinate’s petition. Consequently, verb-phrase construction like (24a) and (24b) may involve two sets of honorification, respectively: Non-Subject Honorification (for Superior as the party requested), and Subject Honorification (for Superior as the causee that executes the imposed demand.) This dual nature of the honorification mode involved in expressions such as the one in (24) above has given rise to considerable confusion and discussion in the literature.

3. Concluding Remarks

In this study, a working hypothesis was introduced: verb-final languages like Korean and Japanese have a grammaticalization process that ‘saying’ verbs may undergo from a full-fledged verb to a functional marker of bound morpheme via a stage of auxiliary verbs. The study demonstrates that the Korean polite marker (*su*)*p-ni-ta* may have two components *sup* and *ni* which may be traced back to

Old Shilla lexical verb *salp-ta* ‘to let Superior know about x,’ of Referent (Indirect Object) Honorification and *yi*, a bound morpheme of the same Referent Honorification. The original sources of grammaticalization of Japanese polite markers *desu* and *masu* are explored. Both forms seem to be proven to be the end-products of grammaticalization. Other items of Japanese, such as *sourou*, *mousu*, *asobasu*, etc. are originally honorific verbs of communication (*to report*, *to announce*, *to inform*, and the like) and are highly susceptible to grammaticalization, as the hypothesis predicts. The syntactic environment (i.e. the sentence-final position of these communication verbs) is found in the sentence-final position in Korean and Japanese, and, as a result, it has relatively more probability of change. Findings also seem to indicate that some Japanese functional markers are found to have their origins in earlier Korean data.

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