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, njo, 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 (supni-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. The morpheme *sap*, according to Ogura (1938), belongs to the *zalp/salp*-series of the non-subject honorifics, which include three other markers of *ji, so, and no* in the series. The *zalp/salp*-series is further broken down into four sub-groups as *zap, ap, sap, and cap*, as in H. K. Kim’s (1957) table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early Joseon</th>
<th>Middle Joseon</th>
<th>Later Joseon</th>
<th>Modern Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cap</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>cap</td>
<td>cap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sap</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>sap</td>
<td>sap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zap</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>sap</td>
<td>cap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *ji*. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shilla/Koryo</th>
<th>15C - 17C</th>
<th>18C &amp; thereafter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub.Hono</td>
<td>賜 (<em>教</em> 賜(是)) -&gt; si -&gt; si -&gt; si</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent</td>
<td>白教(時) -&gt; zasi -&gt; asi -&gt; apsi/opsi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hono</td>
<td>白 -&gt; sap -&gt; sap <em>1</em> (e.g. yeccu-ta/pweop-ta)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sap <em>2</em> (e.g. hanaita haopnai-ta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(e.g. kali-ta/kapni-ta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hono</td>
<td>受勢</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>賜立 <em>少時</em> -&gt; syosyo -&gt; syosyo -&gt; sose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Diachronic changes in *sap* and *ji* (Heo 1963)

The table 2 is particularly significant on four points. (i) Three modes of honorification are identified; (ii) The split of *sap _1_ and sap _2_ around the 17th C; (iii)
Making distinction between two subtypes in Addressee Honorification; (iv) Isolating the honorific imperative form sose. Heo’s identification of sso and suo is critical from the grammaticalization point of view. The process of verb to morpheme is neatly shown in his analysis. The form suo1 maintains the status of a full-fledged verb ‘to tell something to Superior’ up to Modern Korean with the original meaning intact. The second suo2, 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 Honorics. 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 gni 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 (→ de arimasu). 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 (de arimu)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 yasu, which is assumed to derive through de arimasu → de (ari)yasu → de yasu → dasu. This analysis, however, takes the risk of allowing a wrong prediction *yasu. Third, as Martin himself points out, the preceding analysis requires a derivational source for the Kyoto form dosu, namely, de g af[zai masu, de of[wa]su, or de of[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 salo-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 nimgim-Al top-sapa [sap-ta] (Seogbosang Jeol 8) subjects-NOM King-ACC help-HONO-and ‘Ministers assist the king, and ….’
Unlike *sap*-*ta*, the lexical item *salol*-*ta* in (4) below is used as a full-fledged dis-
transitive verb ‘reports/tells messages to a third party who is superior to the
speaker.’ (Quoted from Nam 1997)

(4)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{misa il-il salollila (Songgang Gwangdong Byeolgok)}
\text{what thing-ACC say-would}
\text{‘What should I say?’}
\end{align*}
\]

(5)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{imsik-il kachoal tiliko salo tae (Oryun1:54)}
\text{dishes-ACC prepare submit-and said that…..}
\text{‘(She) prepared dishes and presented them to him and said …’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 *salp* (Elf in the
Idu transcription) was originally a di-transitive verb with the meaning of
yeccwwu-*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/salae*-*ta
goes back to *salp*, according to Pyojungugeo Daesajeon ‘Standard Unabbrevi-
ated Dictionary’ (1999:3110) edited by Gugeo Gukrip Yeonguweon ‘National
Institute of the Korean Language.’ Heo also claims that *salp* underwent two
separate paths: (i) it changed to *salo*-*ta* and further became *salae*-*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 *salp*-*ta* underwent
grammaticalization (verb → grammatical morpheme) to become an Addressee-
oriented polite marker. The item *salo*-*ta* or *salo*-*ta* (as a variant of *salp*-*ta*) and
Classical Japanese *sourou* may be contrasted as shown in Table 3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Phonological Shape</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Indirect Object Referred To</th>
<th>Grammaticalization Processes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td><em>sourou</em></td>
<td>‘say’ ‘tell’</td>
<td>Superior to the speaker</td>
<td>Lexical Verb → Object Hon → Addressee Hon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td><em>salo-</em></td>
<td>‘say’ ‘tell’</td>
<td>Superior to the speaker</td>
<td>Lexical Verb → Object Hon → Addressee Hon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \( w \)]
b. mar(a)- su-(ru)  [sound shift \( r \rightarrow s \)]
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, (Lexical verb
to serve, to wait on); (ii) mousu₂ (to tell, to say); and (iii) mousu₃ (auxiliary for reference (IO) honorifics with loss of the original meaning).

Mousu₁ 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.’

Mousu₂ 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 (mousu₃) 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 mousu₃ does not seem to have the meaning of announcement, and we may conjecture it may have derived from either mousu₁ or mousu₂. The former may have changed to an auxiliary by keeping its semantics of ‘servitude’ intact. The second choice, i.e. mousu₂ may have lost the original functions of full verb status as well as the semantics of saying altogether. Of the two, mousu₁ would cost less for the subsequent grammaticalization in comparison to mousu₂ 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Functional Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mousu₁</td>
<td>moesi-ta₁</td>
<td>(full verb of servitude to Superior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mousu₂</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(full verb of reporting to Superior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mousu₃</td>
<td>moesi-ta₃</td>
<td>(auxiliary verb of servitude to Superior)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 mousu₂ is missing in (18b). Korean speakers use a verb salwe-ta or Older salo-ta in the place of mousu₂. One can assume that Japanese mousu₂ might have an origin entirely different from mousu₁. Namely, mousu₂ 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 ‘verbizer’ ru to yield marasu(mu)-ru. Second, one frequently encounters the Korean sentence-final expression ~la-nun malssum-i-ya-yo 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 musi 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 musi 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 marasumaru in Old Japanese, it remains a speculation. One thing relevant to this idea, though, is that mousu₂ is frequently substituted by Classical Japanese sourou, a possible equivalent to Korean slo-ta ‘to inform x to Superior’ discussed in the previous section. A third piece of ‘circumstantial’ evidence is that Japanese mousu₂ was generally replaceable with sourou, which corresponds neatly to Middle Korean slo-ta or Modern Korean saloy-ta.

2.7. Middle Korean op-sose and Old Japanese asobase

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

\[(19)\] Melli tena-ka-nun ku-ekey unchong-ul payphwule cwu-si-op-sose.
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-sose**  
    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 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-sose, where **si** is an optional Subject Honorific marker, **op** Referent (Indirect Object) Honorific marker, and **sose** Addressee Honorific Marker of Imperative. The derivation involved may look something like the following:

(22) **(si)**-op- so se  [**si** + **op** + **sose**]  
    **(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-sose. 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-tor-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 → xo; 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*-depalatal-
ization, 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 Hono-
rification (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 $sālp-ta$ ‘to let Superior know about x,’ of Referent (Indirect Object) Honorification and $yč$, 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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