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▶ **To cite this version:**

Anton Antonov. Grammaticalization of allocutivity markers in Japanese and Korean in a cross-linguistic perspective. Shared Grammaticalization: With special focus on the Transeurasian languages, pp.317-340, 2013, 9789027272140. 10.1075/slcs.132 . halshs-00625084v2

HAL Id: halshs-00625084
https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00625084v2

Submitted on 30 Mar 2012

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Grammaticalization of allocutivity markers in Japanese and Korean in a cross-linguistic perspective[*†]

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1 Allocutivity and its sources

Allocutivity is a term coined by Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (Bonaparte 1862:19-21). It is usually used to describe a phenomenon in all Basque dialects whereby, under certain circumstances, an addressee which is not an argument of the verb is systematically encoded in all (declarative) main clause conjugated verb forms. These forms are accordingly called 'allocutive' (Hualde and de Urbina 2003:242).

Although the term has been applied almost exclusively to the situation obtaining in Basque, the phenomenon is not limited to that language.

Indeed, despite language-specific differences in the degree of

* Research on this paper was carried out as part of the EFL (Empirical Foundations of Linguistics)'s GD1 "Typology and annotation of information structure and grammatical relations". EFL is a LabEx Program funded by ANR (French National Research Agency).

† This paper grew out of an invited presentation at the Symposium on *Shared grammaticalization in the Transeurasian languages* which took place on September, 21-23, 2011 at the University of Leuven, Belgium. The author wishes to thank the organizers, in particular Martine Robbeets, and all the participants, especially Sasha Aikhenvald, Bernd Heine and Andrej Malchukov as well as Guillaume Jacques (CRLAO-CNRS) for their useful comments.

grammaticalization and usage, similar "allocutivity-like" phenomena are attested in Beja (Cushitic) and Mandan (Siouan). The Indo-European usage of the so-called 'ethical dative', which is by no means unique to this language family, as it is also attested in at least two Northeast Caucasian languages, Chechen and Ingush (Molochieva 2010, Nichols 2011), can also be viewed as an instance of allocutivity, albeit not a (fully) grammaticalized one, and has in fact been suggested as one possible source of allocutivity in Basque (Alberdi 1995).

A similar phenomenon, often referred to as 'polite speech-style', is well-attested in Japanese and Korean, two languages whose mutual relationship is still subject to debate (cf. among others Robbeets 2005, Unger 2008, Vovin 2009c and Whitman to appear). Whatever their ultimate origin, it is interesting to note that these two languages seem to share a grammaticalization path for two of their 'polite speech-style' markers, K -*(su)pni*- and J -*(i)mas*-, which will be called hereafter 'allocutive' markers (cf. also Creissels 2006:172).

As far as the source of allocutive markers is concerned, in some of the languages surveyed in Antonov (in preparation), it seems to lie in the domain of pronouns, incorporated in the conjugated verb form from what were, and sometimes still are, originally second-person dative pronominal clitics. This special use of the dative case which marks a participant that is

not an argument of the predicate is often called ‘ethical dative’ in works on Indo-European languages, where it refers to a non-argumental use of the first or second person dative pronoun encoding the speaker(s) or the addressee(s) (Roberge & Troberg 2007).

In other languages, such as Mandan (Kennard 1936, Hollow 1970), the origin of allocutive markers is not entirely clear, but could lie in the grammaticalization of a (sentence-final?) particle. This is particularly plausible since in Lakota, another Siouan language, a number of verb-endings combine with enclitic particles which signal the gender (real or assumed) of the speaker (Trechter 1995). This is a phenomenon, symmetric to allocutivity, in which the speaker, and not the listener, is encoded in verbal forms regardless of whether s/he is an argument of the verb.

And then there are cases such as Beja where the origin of the allocutive clitics is unknown, although it could arguably have something to do with gender marking in personal pronouns (Appleyard 2004, 2007).

This contrasts with the situation observed in Japanese and Korean, two isolates which seem to share a different grammaticalization path for two of their allocutive markers.

This article will focus on the origin and grammaticalization of these two allocutive markers. Even though the ultimate source in each case is different, the grammaticalization path appears to have been quite similar

and, crucially, different from the one that can be posited for Basque, Beja or Mandan.

2 Allocutivity in Japanese

Allocutivity has not always been present in the language as it is not attested before Middle Japanese (Kitahara et al. 2001, Vovin 2003, Vovin 2009a, Okimori 2010, Takayama 2010, Frellesvig 2010, cf. 2.2). It mainly serves the purpose of expressing the speaker's respect for the listener, whether or not s/he is a participant of the verb. The fact that it expresses respect towards the listener makes it similar to respectful allocutive forms in certain Eastern Basque dialects (Lafitte 1978[1962], de Rijk 2008).

2.1 in synchrony

Modern Japanese utterances can basically be marked or unmarked for allocutivity, which in this language is associated with respect for the listener, whether or not s/he is a participant of the verb, and is marked by adding to the verb root a suffix *-(i)mas-* (cf. Table 1 and examples hereafter). In addition, there is a limited set of allocutive verbs which can only occur with this suffix and which express higher respect towards the listener (cf. examples and Table 2).

The following examples illustrate its use with the copula, an intransitive and a transitive verb. The second person is not an argument in any of these examples, although contrary to the situation in Basque, it could

be, except in the case of an allocutive verb.

	affirmative	negative
DECL	*Σ-imas-u* (IMPRF)	*Σ-imas-en* (IMPRF)
	Σ-imas(h)-ita (PRF)	*Σ-imasen des(h)-ita* (PRF)
INTER	*Σ-imas-u ka* (IMPRF)	*Σ-imas-en ka* (IMPRF)
	Σ-imas(h)-ita ka (PRF)	*Σ-imasen des(h)-ita ka* (PRF)
IMP	*(Σ-imas-e)/Σ-ite kudasai*	—
HORT	*Σ-imas(h)-ō*	—

Table 1: Japanese allocutive suffixes according to sentence type

Example (1) illustrates its use with the copula which has an allocutive equivalent.

(1) a. Gengogakusha=da 1/(2)/3
linguist=COP:IMPRF

« I/(You)/(S)He am/(are)/is a linguist. » (neutral copula, familiar)

b. Gengogakusha=**desu** 1/(2)/3
linguist=COP:IMPRF:**ALLOC:RSP**

« I/(You)/(S)He am/(are)/is a linguist. » (neutral copula, allocutive form: respect towards the addressee, but not towards the copula argument)

c. Gengogakusha=**degoza-imas-u** 1/3
linguiste=COP:DEFER**-ALLOC:RSP-**IMPRF

« I/(S)He am/is a linguist. » (allocutive copula, allocutive form: higher respect towards the addressee, but not towards the copula argument)

Example (2) illustrates its use with an intransitive verb which also has an allocutive equivalent.

(2) a. itta 1/(2)/3
go.PRF
« I/(You)/(S)He went. » (neutral verb, familiar style)

b. ik-**imas**(h)-ita 1/(2)/3
go-**ALLOC:RSP-**PRF
« I/(You)/(S)He went. » (neutral verb, polite style)

c. mair-**imas**(h)-ita 1/3
go/come:DEFER-**ALLOC:RSP-**PRF
« I/(S)He went/came. » (allocutive verb, polite style)

Examples (3)-(5) illustrate its use with a transitive verb (with no allocutive equivalent) in different agent-patient configurations excluding the case of a second-person argument.

(3) a. Keeki=wo tabe-ta 1/(2)/3 > 3
cake=ACC eat-PRF
« I/(You)/(S)He ate a/the cake. » (neutral verb, familiar style)

b. Keeki=wo tabe-mas(h)i-ta 1/(2)/3 > 3 ALLOC
cake=ACC eat-ALLOC:RSP-PRF
« I/(You)/(S)He ate a/the cake. » (neutral verb, polite style)

(4) a. Kare=ga watashi=wo nagutta 3 > 1
3=NOM 1=ACC hit.PRF
« He hit me. » (neutral verb, familiar style)

b. Kare=ga watashi=wo nagur-imas(h)i-ta 3 > 1 ALLOC
3=NOM 1=ACC hit-ALLOC:RSP-PRF
« He hit me. » (neutral verb, polite style)

(5) a. Watashi=ga kare=wo nagutta 1 > 3
1=NOM 3=ACC hit.PRF
« I hit him. » (neutral verb, familiar style)

b. Watashi=ga kare=wo nagur-imas(h)i-ta 1 > 3 ALLOC
1=NOM 3=ACC hit-ALLOC:RSP-PRF
« I hit him. » (neutral verb, polite style)

2.2 in diachrony

The modern allocutive ending *-(i)mas-* is chronologically the last of a series of allocutive endings which developed from an earlier object-exalting verb (cf. Table 2). As Frellesvig (2010:372) aptly puts it

> Polite style originates in exalting expressions through a process of shifting the target of respect or humility from the subject of a sentence to the hearer (respect) or speaker (humility), eventually interpreted as a characterization of the speech situation, or the relationship between speaker and hearer. Thus, **all material used to express polite style**

originates in respectful or humble forms [...]

As summarized in Table 2, allocutive verbs and auxiliaries first make their appearance in the textual record in the second part of Early Middle Japanese. They are regularly replaced by new forms, but one constant characteristic is the great ease with which object-exalting verbs become reanalyzed as respectful allocutive auxiliaries. A noteworthy difference between Japanese and Korean is the presence of allocutive verbs in the former at all stages of its history. These are always used with the allocutive suffix *-(i)mas-* in Modern Japanese.

OJ	EMJ1	EMJ2	LMJ1	LMJ2	EModJ	ModJ
		(-)faber-	*(-)sauraw-*	*-sɔɔ(rɔɔ)* *odyar-* *oryar-*	*-(i)ma[ra]se-*	*-imas-* *-(de) goza-imas-* 'be' *-(de) or-imas-* 'be' *moos(h)-imas-* 'be' *itas(h)-imas-* 'do' *mair-imas-* 'go; come'

Table 2: Allocutive forms in the history of Japanese

2.2.1 in Old Japanese

As shown in Table 2, there are no allocutive verbs or auxiliaries, and so no allocutive forms at all in our OJ corpus (Omodaka et al. 1967, Vovin 2009a). We find only subject- and object-exalting verbs. Interestingly, one of these is *imas-* 'exist; go, come', a subject-exalting verb and auxiliary, which disappears from the textual records after EMJ and has no connection whatsoever with the modern allocutive suffix *-(i)mas-*.

In view of the non-obvious nature of this lack of relationship it could be useful to illustrate its attested usage. Example (6) and (7) illustrate its use

as a subject-exalting verb (cf. Vovin 2009a:1011ff).

(6) na ko$_2$so$_2$ pa wo n-i **imas**-e-ba 2
2 FOC TOP man COP-CNV **exist:HON**-EVID-COND
« Since you are a man... » (KK 5)

(7) sabusi-k-e$_1$m-e$_2$ ya mo ki$_1$mi$_1$ **imas**-azu 3
sad-ADN-HYP-EXCLAM INTER FOC lord **come:HON**-NEG
s-i-te
do-CNV-SEQ
« [if my] lord does not come, would [I] be sad? ! [Certainly not!] »
(MYS V: 878)

Example (8) illustrates its use as a subject-exalting auxiliary.

(8) yu t-u ma-tubaki$_1$ si-ga pana-no$_2$
sacred COP-ADN PREF-camellia 3-GEN flower-GEN
ter-i-**imas**-i si-ga pa-no$_2$ pi$_1$ro$_2$r-i-**imas**-u 3
shine-CNV-**AUX:HON**-CNV 3-GEN leaf-GEN be_broad-CNV-**AUX:HON**-ADN
« a sacred true camellia, its flowers are shining, its leaves are broad... » (KK 57)

Example (9) illustrates its use as a subject-exalting suffix in an imperative verb-form with a second-person logical subject.

(9) tutum-u ko$_2$to$_2$ na-ku paya kape$_1$r-i$_1$-**mas**-e 2

impede-ADN matter exist:NEG-CNV quick return-CNV-**AUX:HON**-IMP

« Please return quickly, with nothing standing in [your] way! » (MYS XV: 3582)

In fact, there is also a second person singular pronoun *(m)(i)masi*, which must be derived from this honorific verb, but whose referent need not be someone to whom the speaker has to show respect (cf. Vovin 2005:256).

(10) AME-NO SITA pa WA-GA KO **imasi-ni** SADUKE-TAMAP-U
heaven-GEN bottom TOP 1SG-GEN child 2-DAT give-HON-FIN

« I give to you, my child, the land under the Heaven » (SM 29)

Nevertheless, contrary to Basque and possibly Beja (cf. 4.1), it is not the case that this second person pronoun has grammaticalized as a verb clitic in an allocutive function, as Japanese has always been an overall dependent-marking type of language and that the direction of derivation (verb > verbal noun > pronoun) seems far more plausible than the reverse.

2.2.2 in Early Middle Japanese

It is at this stage that allocutive verbs and auxiliaries make their first appearance in the written records (Kitahara et al. 2001, Vovin 2003). There are two of them: *faber-* 'exist; be' (allocutive verb and auxiliary) and *saburaf-* 'be' (allocutive verb and auxiliary). While the second of these is not attested in OJ , the first is but only as an object-exalting verb (and

auxiliary?) with the meaning ‘be in attendance’. Example (11) illustrates this usage.

(11) Nakamaro$_{2}$-i TADASI-KI$_{1}$ OMI$_{1}$ TOSITE **PABE$_{1}$ R-I-T-U** 3
Nakamaro-NOM loyal-ADN noble as **serve:HUM-CNV-PRF-FIN**

« Nakamaro served as a loyal noble » (SM 34)

In contrast with OJ, in EMJ this verb is used exclusively as an allocutive verb and auxiliary (cf. Vovin 2003:363-6).

Example (12) illustrates its use as an allocutive copula.

(12) midukara pa nifon-no fito n-ite nan
1 TOP Japan-GEN person COP-SEQ FOC
faber-isi 1
be:ALLOC:RSP-PST:ADN

« I was Japanese. » (HM I:165.10-11)

Examples (13)-(15) illustrate its use as an auxiliary.

(13) sono noti namu kado firo-ku mo
DEM after FOC gate wide-CNV FOC
nar-i-**faber-u** 3
become-CNV-**AUX:ALLOC:RSP-FIN**

« After that the gate of their house becomes wide » (TM 32.3)

(14) nandeu sar-u koto ka s-i-**faber-an** 1 > 3
why be_such-ADN thing INTER do-CNV-**AUX:ALLOC:RSP-HYP:ADN**

« Why should [I] do such a thing? » (TM 32.4)

(15) tada toki-doki ka yau n-i
only time-time that like COP-CNV
mes-i-**faber-an** 2 > 1
summon-CNV-AUX:ALLOC:RSP-HYP:ADN
oriori mair-i-**faber-in-an** 1
moment-moment come:DEFER-CNV-**AUX:ALLOC:RSP-PRF-HYP:ADN**

« Only at those moments when [you] wish to summon [me] like that from time to time shall [I] come. » (HM I:173.11-12)

The second of these, *saburaf-* is attested both as an object-exalting verb with the meaning ‘serve (a superior) [object-exalting verb]' and as an allocutive verb and auxiliary (Vovin 2003:366-8).

(16) **saburaf-u** fitobito 3
serve:HUM-ADN person.person

« people who served [him] » (TM 41.7)

(17) omote-wo futag-ite **saburaf-edo** 3 > 3
face-ACC cover-SEQ **AUX:ALLOC:RSP-CONCESS**

« although [she] covered [her] face » (TM 56.14-15)

2.2.3 in Late Middle Japanese

The second of the two EMJ allocutive verbs and auxiliaries makes it into LMJ under the form of an allocutive suffix *-sauraw-* which later further reduces to *-sɔɔ(rɔɔ)* (a hallmark of LMJ epistolary style) (Kitahara et al.

2001).

(18) dainagon-ga koto-wo-ba ikaga
dainagon-GEN words-ACC-TOP how
kikos-i-mes-are-**sauraf-u** 2 > 3
hear:HON-CNV-AUX:HON-PASS:CNV-**AUX:ALLOC:RSP-FIN**
« How did you hear the words of the *Dainagon* ? » (HKM II)

2.2.4 in Early Modern Japanese

The EModJ allocutive suffix *ma(ra)su(ru)* has its source in the object-exalting verb and auxiliary *ma(w)iras-* 'to give (to a superiror)', already attested in EMJ (Kitahara et al. 2001).

(19) kusuri-no tsubo-ni ofumi sofe-te **mawiras-u** 3 > 3
medecine-ACC pot-DAT letter attach-SEQ **give:HUM-FIN**
« She attached her letter to the Emperor to the elixir of immortality, and gave it [to a guard officer] » (TM 56.14-15)

This then develops into the EModJ allocutive suffix, and is thus the ultimate source of the ModJ allocutive ending *-(i)mas-*. (Kitahara et al. 2001)

(20) oni=ga maitte hito=wo kuw-i-**marasu-ru** 3 > 3
oni=NOM come.SEQ people=ACC eat-CNV-**AUX:ALLOC**-ADN
hodoni
since

« Since there is a *oni* (a kind of demon) around eating people... »
(*Obagazake*, kyogen)

2.2.5 Evolution of allocutive markers in Japanese

Table 3 summarizes the evolution, and process of grammaticalization, of allocutive markers in the history of Japanese. It is noteworthy that allocutive markers tend to develop from a reanalysis of the auxiliary use of an object-exalting verb[1], which may or may not be reanalyzed later on as an allocutive verb (cf. discussion 4.2)

	object-exalting verb	>	**allocutive verb**				
		>	**object-exalting auxiliary**	>	**allocutive auxiliary**	>	**allocutive suffix**
OJ	*mawi-* *mawos-* *paber-*		*mawi-* *-mawos-* *-paber-*				
EMJ1	*mawos-*		*-mawos-*				
				faber-	*-faber-*		
EMJ2	*mawos-* *mawiras-*		*-mawos-* *-mawiras-*				
				faber-	*-faber-*		
	saburaf-			*saburaf-*	*-saburaf-*		
LMJ1	*mawos-* *mairas-*		*-mawos-* *-mairas-*	(*-mawos-*)			
					-sauraw-		
LMJ2							*–sɔɔ(rɔɔ)*
				(*-mawos-*)			
			-marasuru *-maisuru*		*-marasuru* *-maisuru*		
EModJ				*-mŏs-*	*-mŏs-* *-ma[ra]su[ru]*		
ModJ				*mair-* *mōs-*			
							-mas-

Table 3: Sources of allocutive markers in Japanese

1 Subject-exalting verbs are also known to have given birth to allocutive auxiliaries and verbs, cf. *odyar-, oryar-* and *gozar-*, Frellesvig 2010:372-3)

3 Allocutivity in Korean

Allocutivity would seem to be a recent development in this language, as there are no secure attestations of an allocutive marker before the first alphabetically-written texts of the 15th century. This could however simply be due to the extreme paucity and the unexplicit character notations of earlier (Old Korean) stages of the language, as the allocutive marker which does appear in the Late Middle Korean texts is virtually not etymologizable (Robert Ramsey (p.c.), Ross King (p.c.), cf. Martin 1996) which would speak in favour of its old age.

Interestingly, due to sound changes, this marker later seemingly disappears and is known to live on in the modern superpolite ending *-(su)pni-* only by historical linguists. In any case, the variety of allocutive forms (speech levels) attested in Contemporary Korean is clearly unparalleled in earlier stages of the language (cf. Table 4).

3.1 in synchrony

Modern Korean utterances distinguish between several types of allocutivity, basically according to level of respect towards the listener (cf. Table 4). In the following, I will focus only on the so-called formal (or super-polite) speech level which in this language is associated with the highest respect for the listener, whether or not s/he is a participant of the verb, and is marked by adding to the verb root a suffix *-(su)pni-*.

The following examples illustrate its use with the copula, an intransitive and a transitive verb. The second person is not an argument in any of these examples, although contrary to the situation in Basque, it could be. It must be said that contrary to Japanese, Korean has no allocutive verbs.

	++familiar	**+familiar**	**familiar**	**authoritative**	**polite**	**+polite**
DECL	*Σ-(nu)n-ta* (IMPRF)	*Σ-a/e* (IMPRF)	*Σ-ney* (IMPRF)	*Σ-(u)o* (IMPRF)	*Σ-a/e-yo* (IMPRF)	*Σ-(su)pni-ta* (IMPRF)
	Σ-ss-ta (PRF)	*Σ-ss-e* (PRF)	*Σ-ss-ney* (PRF)	*Σ-ss-so* (PRF)	*Σ-ss-e-yo* (PRF)	*Σ-ss-supnita* (PRF)
INTER	*Σ-nunya/-ni* (IMPRF)	*Σ-a/e* (IMPRF)	*Σ-na* (IMPRF)	*Σ-(u)o* (IMPRF)	*Σ-a/e-yo* (IMPRF)	*Σ-(su)pni-kka* (IMPRF)
	Σ-ss-ta-nunya/-ni (PRF)	*Σ-ss-e* (PRF)	*Σ-* (PRF)	*Σ-ss-so* (PRF)	*Σ-ss-e-yo* (PRF)	*Σ-ss-supni-kka* (PRF)
IMPER	*Σ-(a)la*	*Σ-a/e*	*Σ-key*	*Σ-(u)(si)o*	*Σ-a/e(-sey)-yo*	*Σ-si-psi-o*
HORT	*Σ-ca*	*Σ-a/e*	*Σ-sey*	*Σ-(u)psita*	*Σ-a/e-yo*	*Σ-si-psi-ta*
EXCL	*Σ-nun-kwuna*	*Σ-nun-kwu-men*	*Σ-nun-kwu-lye*	*Σ-so*	*Σ-nun-kwun-yo*	—
PROM	*Σ-(u)ma*	—	—	—	—	—
PERM	*Σ-(u)lyem(una)*	—	—	—	—	—

Table 4: Korean allocutive suffixes according to sentence type

Example (21) illustrates its use with the copula.

(21) a. enehakca=i-ta. 1/3
linguiste=COP-DECL

« I/(S)He is a linguist. » (neutral in writing)

b. enehakca=i-**pni**-ta. 1/3
linguist=COP-**ALLOC:RSP2**-DECL

« I/(S)He is a linguist. » (higher respect for the addressee)

Example (22) illustrates its use with an intransitive verb.

(22) a. ka-n-ta. 1/3

go-IMPRF-DECL

« I/(S)He am/is going. » (neutral in writing)

b. ka-**pni**-ta. 1/3

go-**ALLOC:RSP2**-DECL

« I/(S)He am/is going. » (higher respect towards the addressee)

Examples (23)-(25) illustrate its use with a transitive verb in different agent-patient configurations excluding the case of a second-person argument.

(23) a. ttek=ul mek-ess-ta. 1/3 > 3

rice_cake=ACC eat-PST-DECL

« I/(S)He ate the rice cake. » (higher respect towards the addressee)

b. ttek=ul mek-ess-**supni**-ta. 1/3 > 3

rice_cake=ACC eat-PST-**ALLOC:RSP2**-DECL

« I/(S)He ate the rice cake. » (higher respect towards the addressee)

(24) a. nay=ka ku=lul ttayl-yess-ta. 1 > 3

1=NOM 3=ACC hit-PST-DECL

« I hit him. » (plain)

b. nay=ka ku=lul ttayl-yess-supni-ta. 1 > 3

1=NOM 3=ACC hit-PST-**ALLOC:RSP2**-DECL

« I hit him. » (higher respect towards the addressee)

(25) a. ku=ka na=lul ttayl-yess-ta. 3 > 1
3=NOM 1=ACC hit-PST-DECL
« He hit me. » (plain)

b. ku=ka na=lul ttayl-yess-supni-ta. 3 > 1
3=NOM 1=ACC hit-PST-**ALLOC:RSP2**-DECL
« He hit me. » (higher respect towards the addressee)

3.2 in diachrony

As already mentioned in 3, in view of the insufficient attestation of Korean prior to the invention of the alphabet towards the middle of the 15th century, it is difficult to affirm with any certainty the absence of allocutive verbs and/or auxiliairies and/or suffixes in the language before Late Middle Korean. We do know that Old Korean and Early Middle Korean had subject- and object-exalting verbs and auxiliaries, just as Late Middle Korean did, but we are unable to find any trace in the textual record of any allocutive-like forms before this later stage of the language.

In Late Middle Korean, there is a completely grammaticalized allocutive suffix *-ngi-* whose ultimate source is unknown and which, due to phonetic erosion (by loss of the velar nasal), later seemingly disappears. In fact, it is preserved in the modern superpolite allocutive ending *-(su)pni-* which has as its source a combination of the Late Middle Korean object-

exalting suffix *-sop-* (which developed from a grammaticalization of the object-exalting verb *solp-* 'say to/inform a superior') and the processive (present) ending *-no-* plus the eroded Late Middle Korean allocutive suffix *-[ng]i-*, *-sopnoi-* < *-sop-no-ngi-* (Lee & Ramsey 2011). This complex grammaticalized as the new superpolite allocutive suffix some time during the transition from Late Middle Korean into Early Modern Korean. Table 5 summarizes the allocutive forms attested in the Korean textual record.

OK	EMK	LMK	EModK	ModK
?	*?*	*-ngi-*	*-(s)opno(y[ng])i-*	*-(su)pni-*

Table 5: Allocutive forms in the history of Korean

3.2.1 in Old Korean

No allocutive forms seem to be attested in Old Korean, but due to the paucity of documents, and the complexity of the script used in those extant (especially in the Silla period [7c-10c] poems called *Hyangka*), it is impossible to be absolutely certain about it.

We do find—written with Chinese characters used both phonetically and logographically—honorific (subject-exalting) and incipient object-exalting (non-subject-exalting) forms, though, which seem to be the direct ancestors of the later (alphabetically-attested) Late Middle Korean forms. (Sasse 1988:236-7, Changkyun 1996:593-4, 866-8, An 2007:171-9)

3.2.2 in Early Middle Korean

The situation is similar to that in Old Korean. There are no attestations of

allocutive forms, but there is consistent use of Chinese characters to write phonetically or logographically later subject and non-subject exalting forms. (An 2007:170)

3.2.3 in Late Middle Korean

As already mentioned, in Late Middle Korean there are both subject- and object-exalting suffixes, along with a special allocutive suffix, *-ngi-*, which signals politeness towards the addressee (Martin 1992, Martin 1996, Lee & Ramsey 2000, Lee & Ramsey 2011). In what follows, only the usage of the allocutive and the object-exalting suffixes are illustrated as they later on give birth to one complex allocutive suffix in Early Modern Korean.

Examples (26)-(28) illustrate the usage of the allocutive suffix *-ngi-*.

(26) ka-sya-m kye-sya-m-ay wonol
go-HON:MOD-NMLZ stay:HON-HON:MOD-NMLZ-DAT today
talo-li-**ngi**-s-ka? 3 ALLOC
be_different-FUT-**ALLOC:RSP**-PRT-INTER

« Could staying or going make a difference today? » [Yong:26] (respect towards both the agent and the addressee)

(27) SIM-hi khu-**ngi**-ta 3 ALLOC
extreme-do/be:CNV be_great-**ALLOC:RSP**-DECL
SEYCWON-ha!
Shākyamuni-VOC:RSP

« It is extremely great, o Shākyamuni! » [Kumkang 58b] (respect

towards the addressee)

(28) KWONG-oy nilku-si-nwo-n kes-un esten mal
lord-GEN read-HON-ASP:MOD-ADN thing-TOP which word
i-**ngi**-s-kwo? 3 ALLOC
COP-**ALLOC:RSP**-PRT-INTER

« What words are you reading, my Lord ? » [Wen 68a] (respect towards both the agent and the addressee)

Examples (29)-(31) illustrate the use of the object-exalting suffix (respect towards non-subject), *-sop-* (and phonologically motivated allomorphs) .

(29) ZINUYCIPYENG-ul LYWOCWA-y kis-**soW**-oni 3 > 3
righteous_army-ACC Liaodong-NOM rejoice-**HUM**-SEQ

« Far and wide [the inhabitants of] Liaodong rejoiced [at the deeds of] the Righteous Army... » [Yong:41] (respect towards the non-subject)

(30) ZYELAY-s ilhwum-ul tut-**coW**-omyen 3 > 3
Tathāgata-GEN:RSP nom-ACC hear-**HUM**-COND

« If one hears the name of the Enlightened One [=Tathāgata, litt. 'thus-come/gone', one of Buddha's names in the Pali canon]... » [Sekpo 9:14,17,19,20] (respect towards the non-subject)

A combination of the two markers, the object-exalting suffix and the allocutive suffix, is also possible and will later on give birth to a new allocutive ending, which is the immediate ancestor of the modern superpolite (allocutive) ending -*(su)pni*- (cf. 3.2.4).

3.2.4 in Early Modern Korean

In Early Modern Korean the Late Middle Korean object-exalting ending is no longer used on its own, but only in combination with the processive -*no*- and the phonetically eroded form of the Late Middle Korean allocutive suffix -*ngi*- as a new allocutive ending: -*sop-no-i* < *sop-no-ngi* (Lee & Ramsey 2011).

The following example, with its Japanese translation, is from a Japanese language textbook for Koreans written in the 18th century. It illustrates the use of this ending as an equivalent of the Early Modern Japanese allocutive suffix discussed above.

(32) a. CHYEM-KWAN-tul-skuy nilu-kwo is-**sopnoy**-ita 1 > 3
all-official-PL-DAT say-SEQ exist-**ALLOC**-DECL
« [I] have told all the assembled officials... » [Chep 2:17] (respect towards the addressee)

b. SEN-KWAN-syu-ni yuu-te i-**marus**-uru 1 > 3
all-official-PL-DAT say-SEQ exist-**ALLOC**-DECL
« [I] have told all the assembled officials... » [Chep 2:17] (respect towards the addressee)

3.2.5 Evolution of allocutive markers in Korean

We have thus seen that the modern superpolite allocutive suffix *-(su)pni-* preserves a trace (although quite difficult to recognize) of the Late Middle Korean allocutive ending *-ngi-*, in a petrified complex suffix which initially indicated both respect towards the object and towards the addressee, but at the stage of Early Modern Korean was already reanalyzed as a superpolite allocutive suffix.

It is quite probable that the object-exalting suffix was then reanalyzed, just as in Japanese, as signalling respect towards the addressee which, in the case of Korean, lead to the disappearance of any productive object-exalting suffixes from later stages of the language.

Table 6 presents the evolution, and process of grammaticalization, of allocutive markers in the history of Korean. It is noteworthy that just as in Japanese, the object-exalting suffix has as its source an auxiliary use of an object-exalting verb (in the case of Korean *solp-* 'say to/inform a superior'), and that it was later on reanalyzed as an allocutive suffix, albeit in this case in an amalgamated form with an earlier allocutive suffix whose origin is as yet unknown.

	object-exalting verb >	**allocutive verb**			
		object-exalting auxiliary >		**allocutive auxiliary** >	**allocutive suffix**
OK					
EMK		*-solp-*			
LMK	*solp-/solGwo*	*-sop-*			

EModK	*solwo-*	*-ngi-*
ModK	*salwoy-*	*-(s)opno(y[ng])i-* *-(sa)opnai- > (su)pni-*

Table 6: Evolution of allocutive markers in Korean

4 J *-(i)mas-* & K *-(su)pni-*: a case of *shared grammaticalization*?

In what follows, I will address the question of whether the grammaticalization path of these two allocutive markers represents a case of shared grammaticalization, "a state whereby two or more languages have the source and the target of a grammaticalization process in common ". (cf. **Introductory talk**)

But first I will briefly present the different sources of allocutive markers in other languages where similar phenomena exist and then try to show that against this general backdrop the Japanese and Korean markers stand out as having followed a different, and quite similar in the case of each of these two languages, grammaticalization path.

4.1 Typology of allocutive systems in diachrony

The grammaticalization pathways leading to the creation of allocutive markers in languages where such a phenomenon exists are far from being well-established. The following table (Table 7) is thus a preliminary summary of some possible origins for the allocutive markers in Basque, Mandan and Beja, which are presented in more detail in Antonov (in preparation), compared to the two allocutive markers in Japanese and

Korean studied in the present article.

	Basque	**Mandan**	**Beja**	**Japanese** *-(i)mas-*	**Korean** *-(su)pni-*
sentence-final particle	*no*	*yes?*	*yes?*	*no*	*no*
oblique pronoun	*yes*	*no*	*yes?*	*no*	*no*
verbal auxiliary	*no*	*no?*	*no*	*yes*	*yes*

Table 7: Sources of allocutive markers in Japanese and Korean compared to other languages

As can be seen, contrary to Basque, Japanese and Korean, the origin of allocutive markers in Mandan, and to the extent that they exist in Beja, is quite opaque.

Basque

The development is clearest in the case of Basque for which a grammaticalization of an 'ethical dative' may be surmised, although its details are still a subject of debate (cf. Alberdi 1995). It could be represented as in the following table (Table 8):

	Stage 1		**Stage 2**		**Stage 3**
Basque	(OPTIONAL) BOUND DATIVE PRONOUN	>	(OBLIGATORY) DATIVE CLITIC	>	ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX

Table 8: Tentative grammaticalization path for allocutive markers in Basque

This is all the more probable since Basque is surrounded by Romance languages, almost all of which lack standardized varieties, in which this use of the dative is well-attested. Indeed, standard Galician has incorporated this use (of a second person dative pronominal clitic called 'pronoun of solidarity') in its normative grammar (Carballo Calero 1979, González 2006).

Mandan

The situation is far less clear in the case of Mandan, but here we might be dealing with something else, maybe a sentence- (or utterance-) final particle, a situation comparable to that observed in another Siouan language, Lakota, where a similar distinction exists between male (authoritative) and female markers which signal the gender of the speaker (Trechter 1995). Even so, a verbal origin cannot be altogether excluded, as these markers could have equally well originated from verbal or nominal heads.

Beja

In the case of Beja, the origin of the seemingly optional allocutive marker is not that clear, but could possibly be connected to the personal pronoun domain and have as its ancestor a clitic (accusative and/or dative) pronoun, even though a particle of a sort similar to the one cannot be ruled out either.

4.2 Grammaticalization path for J -(i)mas- & K -(su)pni-

From a typological point of view then, both markers have an origin which seems different to the one that can be surmised for Basque, Beja and Mandan. In both cases an earlier object-exalting verb which expresses respect for a patient/goal participant has gone through a process where it first served as a object-exalting auxiliary, was later on reanalyzed as expressing respect more generally towards the listener (the addressee)—probably due to the fact that most instances of object-exalting verbs have as

their patients the addressee—, to finally become a polite way of speaking of things and actions which do not directly affect the addressee (cf. Table 9).

Since even though the original verb in each case is different, it belongs to the same category of object-exalting verbs, and since the end result is the same, we may want to see here a process of shared grammaticalization with a similar (if not near-identical input[2]) and an identical output. The difference is that in Korean the *-(su)p-* marker has engaged in this process in combination with an older and etymologically opaque allocutive marker. Very early on, this marker all but disappeared and was no longer retrievable by Korean speakers giving the (false) impression that it is exclusively the object-exalting auxiliary which has been reanalyzed as an allocutive politeness marker. On the other hand, the import of this obsolescent allocutive marker was almost certainly completely forgotten by the end of the LMK period.

Whether this instance of (to a large extent) shared grammaticalization is analyzed as having arisen independently in each language by universal principles of grammatical change, or as having been induced by language contact, or even as having been inherited, either from a putative Koreo-Japonic ancestral language or through "parallel drift", after

2 We cannot completely rule out the possibility that the object-exalting verb *mawos-* 'to tell (a superior)' used as an auxiliary crossed paths with the object-exalting auxiliary *mairas-* 'to give (a superior)' in order to give the allocutive suffix *-mas-*.

both languages were already separate entities, is highly dependent on our view of the relationship of Japanese and Korean. In my opinion, we are most probably not dealing with a grammaticalization process induced by some inherited feature of a putative common ancestor. Indeed, honorific systems are usually late developments and, indeed, independently of the question of the existence of a common Koreo-Japonic proto-language, the markers at hand have clearly developed at a relatively recent date in the history of both languages. Given that several other allocutive markers—which later fell into disuse in the standard language, but still live on in other Japonic varieties—have developed in Japanese in the course of its attested history along similar lines (object-exalting verb > object-exalting auxiliary > allocutive auxiliary > allocutive suffix), we may want to see here a grammaticalization process induced by the type of honorific system involved: I suggest that in the case of a honorific system of the type found in Middle Japanese and Middle Korean such a development of allocutive markers is only to be expected.

As Mithun (in press) rightly points out, "With longstanding contact, languages can come to share structural features that were not necessarily borrowed directly in their modern forms.". The numerous structural similarities between Japanese and Korean may be due to exactly such contact on the Korean peninsula prior to the migration of Japonic speakers to Japan at the beginning of the second half of the first millenium BCE.

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5
Japanese	OBJECT-EXALTING VERB	OBJECT-EXALTING AUXILIARY	ALLOCUTIVE AUXILIARY	(ALLOCUTIVE VERB)	ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX
Korean	OBJECT-EXALTING VERB ?	OBJECT-EXALTING AUXILIARY ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX	OBJECT-EXALTING SUFFIX + ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX	ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX	ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX

Table 9: Grammaticalization path for two allocutive markers in J & K

List of abbreviations

Languages

EMJ	Early Middle Japanese (800-1200) (EMJ1: 9c-11c/EMJ2: 11c-12c)
EMK	Early Middle Korean (918-1392)
EModJ	Early Modern Japanese (1600-1750)
EModK	Early Modern Korean (1592-1910)
LMJ	Late Middle Japanese (1200-1600) (LMJ1: 12c-14c/LMJ2: 14c-16c)
LMK	Late Middle Korean (1392-1592)
ModJ	Modern Japanese (1750-)
ModK	Modern Korean (1910-)
ModJ	Modern Japanese (1868-)
(W)OJ	(Western) Old Japanese (700-800)
OK	Old Korean (? 668-918)

Texts and sources

Japanese

HKM	Heike monogatari (*The Tale of the Heike*) (12c-14c?)
HM	Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari (*The Tale of the Hamamatsu chūnagon*) (1064?)
KK	Kojiki Kayō (*The Songs of the Kojiki*) (712)
MYS	Man'yōshū (*Anthology of Myriad Leaves*) (>759)
SM	Senmyō (*Imperial Edicts*) (7c-8c)
TM	Taketori monogatari (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*) (late 9c-early 10c)

Korean

Chep	Chephay sine (1676)
Kumkang	Kumkang kyeng enhay() (1464)

Sekpo	Sekpo sangcel () (1447)
Wen	Wenkak kyeng enhay () (1465)
Yong	Yongpi echenka (*The Songs of the Flying Dragons*) (1445)

Gloss abbreviations

A	agent
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADN	adnominal
ALLOC	allocutive
ART	article
DECL	declarative
COND	conditional
CNV	converb
COMP	complementizer
CONCESS	concessive
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEFER	deferential (=object-exalting)
DET	determiner
DEM	demonstrative
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
EXCLAM	exclamative
FOC	focus
F	feminine
FAM	familiar
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
HUM	humble
INCL	inclusive
IND	indicative
IMP	imperative
IMPRF	imperfective
INCHO	inchoative
INSTR	instrumental
INTER	interrogative

LOC	locative
M	masculine
MOD	modulator
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NMLZ	nominalizer
PART	partitive
P	patient
PL	plural
PASS	passive
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PREF	prefix
PRS	present
PRT	particle
PREV	preverb
PRF	perfective
PST	past
REFL	reflexive
RSP	respect
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TOP	topic
U	intransitive subject
VOC	vocative

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