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# Grammaticalization of allocutivity markers in Japanese and Korean in a cross-linguistic perspective

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## 1 What is allocutivity?

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. According to HUALDE & DE URBINA [2003:242]

Allocutivity refers to the encoding in the conjugated verb form of an addressee that is not an argument of the verb. Allocutivity is obligatory in Basque main clauses when the addressee is given familiar treatment.

## 2 Allocutivity in Basque

Allocutivity is present in virtually all varieties of Basque, even though its vitality varies from one dialect to another, mainly because of different sociolinguistic rules for its use and the complexity of the forms themselves. The syntactic rules for its use also show some variation which may be due to contact with Spanish (cf. ADASKINA & GRASHCHENKOV [2009]).

It is attested since the first texts from the 16th century and its origin is subject to some debate.

### 2.1 in synchrony

- 1 (1) *Bilbo-ra n-oa*  
Bilbao-ALL 1U-go  
« I am going to Bilbao. »
- 1 (ALLOC:M) a. *Bilbo-ra n-oa-k*  
Bilbao-ALL 1U-go-ALLOC:FAM:M  
« I am going to Bilbao. » (said to a man)
- 1 (ALLOC:F) b. *Bilbo-ra n-oa-n*  
Bilbao-ALL 1U-go-ALLOC:FAM:F  
« I am going to Bilbao. » (said to a woman)
- 3 (2) *Bilbo-tik da-tor*  
Bilbao-EL ASP:3U-come  
« S/He is coming from Bilbao. »
- 3 (ALLOC:M) a. *Bilbo-tik za-torr-e-k*  
Bilbao-EL ASP:3U-come-e-ALLOC:FAM:M  
« S/He is coming from Bilbao. » (said to a man)

- b. *Bilbo-tik za-torr-e-n* 3 (ALLOC:F)  
 Bilbao-EL ASP:3U-come-e-ALLOC:FAM:F  
 « S/He is coming from Bilbao. » (said to a woman)
- (3) *Diru-a da-kar-t* 1>3  
 money-DET ASP:3P-bring-1A  
 « I am bringing the money. »
- a. *Diru-a za-karr-e-a-t* 1>3 (ALLOC:M)  
 money-DET ASP:3P-bring-e-ALLOC:FAM:M-1A  
 « I am bringing the money. » (said to a man)
- b. *Diru-a za-karr-e-na-t* 1>3 (ALLOC:F)  
 money-DET ASP:3P-bring-e-ALLOC:FAM:F-1A  
 « I am bringing the money. » (said to a woman)
- (4) *Bilbo-ra n-arama-∅* 3>1  
 Bilbao-ALL 1P-take-3A  
 « S/He is taking me to Bilbao. »
- a. *Bilbo-ra n-arama-∅-k* 3>1 (ALLOC:M)  
 Bilbao-ALL 1P-take-3A-ALLOC:FAM:M  
 « S/He is taking me to Bilbao. » (said to a man)
- b. *Bilbo-ra n-arama-∅-n* 3>1 (ALLOC:F)  
 Bilbao-ALL 1P-take-3A-ALLOC:FAM:F  
 « S/He is taking me to Bilbao. » (said to a woman)
- (5) *Euskara da-rabil-∅* 3>3  
 basque\_language ASP:3P-use-3A  
 « S/He is using Basque. »
- a. *Euskara za-rabil-∅-e-k* 3>3 (ALLOC:M)  
 basque\_language ASP:3P-use-3A-e-ALLOC:FAM:M  
 « S/He is using Basque. » (said to a man)
- b. *Euskara za-rabil-∅-e-n* 3>3 (ALLOC:F)  
 basque\_language ASP:3P-use-3A-e-ALLOC:FAM:F  
 « S/He is using Basque. » (said to a woman)

## 2.2 in diachrony

- (6) *Iaun-a, begira gait-za-c, gal-du guihoaçac* 1PL (ALLOC:M)  
 lord-DET take\_care:IMP 1PL:P-AUX-2:FAM:M:A lose-PTCP go:PRS:1PL:ALLOC:M  
 « O Lord, save us, we are going to perish. » (Mt, 8, 25) (LEIÇARRAGA [1571:14])

- a. *gu-íhoa-ça-c*  
1PL:U-go-PL-2:FAM:M  
« we are going [to you] » (said to a man)
- b. *Magistru-á, ez-tuc*                      *ansia-rik*              *ceren gal-du-ak*  
master-DET NEG-have:2:FAM:A>3P anguish-PART COMP lose-PTCP-PL  
***goac-en?***  
go:PRS:1PL-COMP  
« Master, carest thou not that we perish? » (Mc, 4, 38) (LEIÇARRAGA [1571])

### 3 Allocutivity-like phenomena in other languages

Although the term is applied almost exclusively to the situation obtaining in Basque, the corresponding phenomenon is by no means limited to that language.

Indeed, despite differences in the degree of grammaticalization and usage, it is attested in Beja (Cushitic) and Mandan (Siouan), as well as in the Nakh languages Chechen and Ingush, where it seems reasonable to assume that it will possibly evolve into becoming grammaticalized in a similar fashion.

#### 3.1 Allocutivity in Beja

Beja is a Cushitic language (possibly the earliest off-shoot of the family according to APPLEYARD [2004:192]) of the southern coast of the Red Sea, spoken by less than two million people in parts of Egypt, Sudan, and Eritrea.

According to APPLEYARD [2004:185]

The dependent pronouns of the 2nd person are possessive *-k* (sg.) : *-kna* (pl.) and object *-hook* (sg) : *-hookna* (pl.). To the singular object forms (also the possessive suffixes in some dialects) may be added optionally the allocutive clitics *-a* (masc.) : *-i* (fem.), which refer to the gender of the person addressed and thus create a gender distinction in the 2nd person sing. dependent pronouns *-hooka* : *-hooki*. **They may also be added after the 1st sg. object suffix, not to define the gender of that person, but again to refer to the gender of the addressee.[...]**

1>2M

- (7) *rihán-hook-a*  
see:PST:1-2:ACC-2:M  
« I saw you. » (said to a man) (APPLEYARD [2007:459])

1>2F

- (8) *rihán-hook-i*  
see:PST:1-2:ACC-2:F

« I saw you. » (said to a woman) (APPLEYARD [2007:459])

- (9) *rihya-heèb-a* 3>1 (ALLOC:M)  
 see:PST:3-1:ACC-ALLOC:2:M  
 « He saw me. » (said to a man) (APPLEYARD [2007:459])

- (10) *rihya-heèb-i* 3>1 (ALLOC:F)  
 see:PST:3-1:ACC-ALLOC:2:F  
 « He saw me. » (said to a woman) (APPLEYARD [2007:459])

### 3.2 Allocutivity in Chechen

Chechen belongs to the Nakh branch of the Northeast Caucasian language family and is spoken by about two million people.

According to MOLOCHIEVA [2007:4]

There is a special use of the dative, restricted to the addressee (2s/p, 1incl, \*1excl), which can be combined with the evidential and mirative, and which denotes that the information is no news for the hearer. The evidential dative must immediately follow the sentence-final verb, a position, restricted for both indirect and direct objects.

	SG	PL
1P	—	— (EXCL) <i>vain(a)</i> (INCL)
2P	<i>hwuun(a)</i>	<i>shun(a)</i>
3P	—	—

Table 1: Allocutive suffixes in Chechen

MOLOCHIEVA [2007:5] gives the following examples

- (11) *Muusa hwa-v-ie-na xilla shun* 3 (ALLOC:PL)  
 Musa into-V-come-PRF COP:PST 2PL:DAT  
 « Musa has come [, you know]. » (Context: I didn't see him but I knew that you expected him)
- (12) *As suuna koch ec-na hwuun* 1>3>1 (ALLOC:SG)  
 1:ERG 1:DAT dress buy-PRF 2:DAT  
 « I bought myself a dress [, you know]. » (Context: You already knew that I was going to buy something for myself)

- 1>3>2 (ALLOC:SG) (13) *As hwuuna koch ec-na hwuun*  
1:ERG 2:DAT dress buy-PRF 2:DAT  
« I bought you a dress [, you know]. » (Context: You knew that I was going to buy you/me something)

Zarina Molochieva (personal communication, 30/11/09) writes that

The information is not new for the addressee, or the addressee should be interested in this information, and the speaker knows that the information is relevant for the addressee, otherwise s/he wouldn't use the addressee-dative form.[...]

But in some examples ADDR.DAT is used even if the situation is kind of 'new', for instance, 'Our neighbour has died' + ADDR.DAT. The addressee did not expect or was (not?) interested in the neighbour's death, but the speaker knows that the addressee knows this person too (and probably the person was ill), and the information is relevant for the addressee.

### 3.3 Allocutivity in Mandan

Mandan is a moribund Siouan language.

According to KENNARD [1936:16]

In all declarative forms, the imperative, optative and interrogative, Mandan distinguishes between speech addressed to men and to women. The quotative declarative is the only form in which there is no distinction. The essential unit is the final element of the verbal complex, which is usually the final element in a sentence. In all tenses of the indicative mode, the final element of the morpheme is *-c* (=[-ʃ]) in speech addressed to men, and *-re* in speech addressed to women.

HOLLOW [1970:456ff] adds that

[The masculine forms are] used in addressing men, male animals, mixed groups, tobacco plants, rocks and the Deity, whereas [the feminine forms are] used in addressing women, female animals and all plants except tobacco.

- 1A(ALLOC:M) (14) *nųmąk mąx<sup>a</sup>na ókapąte í-wa-ror-ox<sup>e</sup>re-ʔš*  
man one 3POSS.origin PV-1A-talk-INCHO-DECL:ALLOC:M  
« I'm going to tell [you] about the origin of Lone Man. » (*The Creation* in HOLLOW [2010:vol. 3, p. 7, l. 1])

- (15) *ráh-nq, ó <ka>ptik-nq mĩʔšak m<sup>a</sup>nq wá-kawek*  
 go-IMP:F <by\_striking>fall\_off-IMP:F myself wood 1A-gather  
*mq-máke-ʔre* 1P(ALLOC:F)  
 1P-stay-DECL:ALLOC:F  
 « Go on! Knock it off! As for me, I'll gather wood and I'll stay here. » (*Old Woman's Grandson* in HOLLOW [2010:vol. 3, p. 67, l. 5-6])
- (16) *wa-pũh-tiki mánq-tere wa-rupa-nĩ í-ʔaki-ta o-wá-ru-ska-nĩ*  
 1A-fart-CNV tree-big 1A-hold-CNV PV-top-LOC PV-1A-by\_hand-pull-CNV  
*á-wa-reh-t-oʔš* 1>3 (ALLOC:M)  
 TR-1A-go-POT-DECL:ALLOC:M  
 « When I farted, I held on to a big tree, and I pulled it out and took it upward. » (*Old Man Coyote and the Wild Potato* in CARTER [1991:p. 39, l. 71])
- (17) *mĩ-náse mĩ-nĩ-kinq-s-oʔš* 1>3>2 (ALLOC:M)  
 1POSS-name 1A-2P-tell-PST-DECL:ALLOC:M  
 « I told you my name. » (*Old Man Coyote and the Wild Potato* in CARTER [1991:p. 39, l. 67])
- (18) *warúte-xta-nĩ sí-mĩ(r)-om<sup>2</sup>qk-oʔš* 3 (ALLOC:M)  
 be\_hungry-very-CNV travel-PROG-PST-DECL:ALLOC:M  
 « He was very hungry, so he was travelling. » (*Old Man Coyote and the Wild Potato* in CARTER [1991:p. 29])
- (19) *káni ó <wa>ptik-tiki má-kamĩʔš-ka-š* 3>1 (ALLOC:M)  
 when <1A>fall\_off-CNV 1P-hurt-IMPRF-DECL:ALLOC:M  
 « And when I fell back down, it (the tree) hurt me. » (*Old Man Coyote and the Wild Potato* in CARTER [1991:p. 39, l. 72])

	male addressee	female addressee
declarative	$\Sigma-(o)ʔš$	$\Sigma-(o)ʔre$
interrogative	$\Sigma-(o)ʔša$	$\Sigma-(o)ʔra$
imperative	$\Sigma-ta$	$\Sigma-rq$

Table 2: Mandan allocutive suffixes according to sentence type

## 4 Intermediate summary

In some of the languages surveyed in ANTONOV [to appear], the source of allocutive markers seems to lie in the domain of pronouns, incorporated in the conjugated



verb form from what were, and sometimes still are, originally 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 dative pronoun encoding either the addressee or the speaker (or both of them).

In other languages, such as Mandan, the origin of allocutive markers is not entirely clear, but could lie in the grammaticalization of a (sentence-final?) particle (cf. other Siouan languages where such a particle is obligatorily present but signals the gender of the speaker).

And 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. (cf. Table 3 for a sum-up.)

	Basque	Beja	Chechen	Mandan
pronoun > clitic > suffix	<i>yes?</i>	<i>no?</i>	<i>yes?</i>	<i>no</i>
particle > clitic > suffix	<i>no</i>	<i>no?</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes?</i>

Table 3: Sources of allocutive markers

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

In what follows, I will focus on the origin and grammaticalization of Japanese *-(i)mas-* and Korean *-(su)pni-*. Even though the ultimate source in each case is different I will try to show that the grammaticalization path appears to have been the same and, crucially, different to the one that can be posited for Basque, Beja or Mandan.

## 5 Allocutivity in Japanese

Allocutivity has not always been present in the language as it is not attested before Middle Japanese. 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.

### 5.1 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 *-imas-* (cf. Table 4 on page 9).

	affirmative	negative
declarative	$\Sigma$ -imas-u (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -imas(h)-ita (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -imas-en (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -imasen des(h)-ita (PRF)
interrogative	$\Sigma$ -imas-u ka (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -imas(h)-ita ka (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -imas-en ka (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -imasen des(h)-ita ka (PRF)
imperative	( $\Sigma$ -imas-e)/ $\Sigma$ -ite kudasai	—
exclamative (hortative)	$\Sigma$ -imas(h)-ō	—

Table 4: Japanese allocutive suffixes according to sentence type

- (20) *Gengogakusha = da* 1/3  
 linguist=COP:IMPRF  
 « I/(S)He is a linguist. » (neutral copula, familiar)
- a. *Gengogakusha = desu* 1/3 (ALLOC)  
 linguist=COP:IMPRF:ALLOC:RSP  
 « I/(S)He is a linguist. » (neutral copula, allocutive form : respect towards the addressee, but not towards the copula argument)
- b. *Gengogakusha = degoza-imas-u* 1/3 (ALLOC+)  
 linguiste=COP:DEFER-ALLOC:RSP-IMPRF  
 « I/(S)He is a linguist. » (allocutive copula, allocutive form : higher respect towards the addressee, but not towards the copula argument)
- (21) *itta* 1/3  
 go.PRF  
 « I/(S)He went. » (neutral verb, familiar style)
- a. *ik-imas(h)-ita* 1/3 (ALLOC)  
 go-ALLOC:RSP-PRF  
 « I/(S)He went. » (neutral verb, polite style)
- b. *mair-imas(h)-ita* 1/3 (ALLOC+)  
 go/come:DEFER-ALLOC:RSP-PRF  
 « I/(S)He went/came. » (allocutive verb, polite style)
- (22) *Keeki = wo tabe-ta* 1/3 > 3  
 cake=ACC eat-PRF  
 « I/(S)He ate a/the cake. » (neutral verb, familiar style)
- a. *Keeki = wo tabe-mas(h)i-ta* 1/3 > 3 (ALLOC)  
 cake=ACC eat-ALLOC:RSP-PRF  
 « I/(S)He ate a/the cake. » (neutral verb, polite style)
- (23) *Kare = ga watashi = wo nagutta* 3 > 1  
 3=NOM 1=ACC hit.PRF

- 3 > 1 (ALLOC)      « He hit me. » (neutral verb, familiar style)
- a. *Kare = ga watashi = wo nagur-imas(h)i-ta*  
 3=NOM    1=ACC            hit-ALLOC:RSP-PRF  
 « He hit me. » (neutral verb, polite style)
- 1 > 3      (24) *Watashi = ga kare = wo nagutta*  
 1=NOM            3=ACC    hit.PRF  
 « I hit him. » (neutral verb, familiar style)
- 1 > 3 (ALLOC)      a. *Watashi = ga kare = wo nagur-imas(h)i-ta*  
 1=NOM            3=ACC    hit-ALLOC:RSP-PRF  
 « I hit him. » (neutral verb, polite style)

## 5.2 in diachrony

According to FRELLESVIG [2010:372]

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, and, as with exalting auxiliaries and auxiliary verbs, the development of the individual polite style markers is often complex.

OJ	EMJ <sub>1</sub>	EMJ <sub>2</sub>	LMJ <sub>1</sub>	LMJ <sub>2</sub>	EModJ	ModJ
		(-)faber-	(-)sauraw-	-sɔɔ(rɔɔ) odyar- oryar-	-(i)ma[ra]se-	-imas- -(de) goza-imas- -(de) or-imas- moos(h)-imas- itas(h)-imas- mair-imas-

Table 5: Allocutive forms in the history of Japanese

### 5.2.1 in Old Japanese

Absence of allocutive forms and/or verbs. Honorific and deferential verbs only.

1. *imas-* ‘exist; go, come’ (honorific verb and auxiliary)

- (25) *na ko<sub>2</sub>so<sub>2</sub> pa wo n-i imas-e-ba*  
 2 FOC TOP man COP-CNV exist:HON-EVID-COND  
 « Since you are a man... » (KK 5)
- (26) *sabusi-k-e<sub>1</sub>m-e<sub>2</sub> ya mo ki<sub>1</sub>mi<sub>1</sub> imas-azu s-i-te*  
 sad-ADN-HYP-EXCLAM INTER FOC lord come:HON-NEG do-CNV-SEQ  
 « [if my] lord does not come, would [I] be sad?! [Certainly not!] »  
 (MYS V: 878)
- (27) *yu t-u ma-tubaki<sub>1</sub> si-ga pana-no<sub>2</sub>*  
 sacred COP-ADN PREF-camellia 3-GEN flower-GEN  
*ter-i-imas-i si-ga pa-no<sub>2</sub> pi<sub>1</sub>ro<sub>2</sub>r-i-imas-u*  
 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)
- (28) *tutum-u ko<sub>2</sub>to<sub>2</sub> na-ku paya kape<sub>1</sub>r-i<sub>1</sub>-mas-e*  
 impede-ADN matter exist:NEG-CNV quick return-CNV-AUX:HON-IMP  
 « Please return quickly, with nothing standing in [your] way! » (MYS  
 XV: 3582)

Interestingly, there is also a second person pronoun *imasi*:

- (29) AME-NO SITA *pa wa-ga ko imasi-ni* SADUKE-TAMAP-U  
 heven-GEN bottom TOP 1SG-GEN child 2-DAT give-HON-FIN  
 « I give to you, my child, the land under the Heaven » (SM 29)

2. *mawos*- 'say' (humble verb and auxiliary)

- (30) *tare so<sub>2</sub> opomape<sub>1</sub>-ni mawos-u*  
 who FOC emperor-DAT tell:HUM-FIN  
 « Who will report to the emperor? » (KK 97)
- (31) *mi<sub>1</sub>yako<sub>1</sub> made okur-i-mawos-i-te*  
 capital up\_to see\_off-CNV-AUX:HUM-CNV-SEQ  
 « [I would] see [you] off to the capital, and ... » (MYS V: 876)

3. *maw[i]*- 'come/go' (humble verb [and auxiliary?])

- (32) *yo<sub>2</sub>-ki pi<sub>1</sub>to<sub>2</sub>-no<sub>2</sub> imas-u kuni-ni ware mo*  
 good-ADN person-GEN exist:HON-ADN country-LOC 1 also  
*mawi-te-m-u*  
 go:HUM:CNV-PHF-HYP-FIN

« I would also have gone to the land where the Buddha (lit.: good person) resides[...] » (BS 8)

- (33) *iyamasini are pa mawi-ko<sub>2</sub>-m-u*  
 even\_more 1 TOP come:HUM-come-HYP-FIN  
 « [I] would like to come even more » (MYS XX: 4298)

4. *pabe<sub>1r</sub>*- 'be in attendance' (humble verb [and auxiliary?])

- (34) *Nakamaro<sub>2</sub>- i TADASI-KI<sub>1</sub> OMI<sub>1</sub> tosite PABE<sub>1R</sub>-I-t-u*  
 Nakamarö-NOM loyal-ADN noble as serve:HUM-CNV-PRF-FIN  
 « Nakamarö served as a loyal noble » (SM 34)

5.2.2 in Early Middle Japanese

1. *faber*- 'exist; be' (allocutive verb and auxiliary)

- (35) *midukara pa nifon-no fito n-ite nan faber-isi*  
 1 TOP Japan-GEN person COP-SEQ FOC be:ALLOC:RSP-PST:ADN  
 « I was Japanese. » (HM I:165.10-11)

- (36) *sono noti namu kado firo-ku mo nar-i-faber-u*  
 DEM after FOC gate wide-CNV FOC become-CNV-AUX:ALLOC:RSP-FIN  
 « After that the gate of their house becomes wide » (TM 32.3)

- (37) *nandeu sar-u koto ka s-i-faber-an*  
 why be\_tel-ADN thing INTER do-CNV-AUX:ALLOC:RSP-HYP:ADN  
 « Why should [I] do such a thing? » (TM 32.4)

- (38) *tada toki-doki ka yau n-i*  
 only time-time that like COP-CNV  
*mes-i-faber-an* *oriori*  
 summon-CNV-AUX:ALLOC:RSP-HYP:ADN moment-moment  
*mair-i-faber-in-an*  
 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)

2. *saburaf*- 'serve (a superior) [deferential verb] > be (allocutive verb and auxiliary)'

(39) *saburaf-u fitobito*  
serve:HUM-ADN person.person  
« people who served [him] » (TM 41.7)

(40) *omote-wo futag-ite saburaf-edo*  
face-ACC cover-SEQ AUX:ALLOC:RSP-CONCESS  
« although [she] covered [her] face » (TM 56.14-15)

3. *mawiras-* 'give (to a superior)'

(41) *kusuri-no tsubo-ni ofumi sofe-te mawiras-u*  
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)

5.2.3 in Late Middle Japanese

1. *-sa(\*b/m)uraw->-saw(raw)*

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

5.2.4 in Early Modern Japanese

1. *mairasu > ma(ra)su(ru)*

(43) *oni=ga maitte hito=wo kuw-i-marasu-ru hodoni*  
oni=NOM come.SEQ people=ACC eat-CNV-AUX:ALLOC-ADN since  
« Since there is a *oni* (a kind of demon) around eating people... »  
(*Obagazake*, kyogen)

5.2.5 Evolution of allocutive markers in Japanese

Table 6 presents the evolution, and process of grammaticalization, of allocutive markers in the history of Japanese.

	deferential verb >	deferential auxiliary >	allocutive verb >	allocutive auxiliary >	allocutive suffix
OJ	<i>mawi-</i> <i>mawos-</i> <i>paber-</i>	<i>mawi-</i> <i>-mawos-</i> <i>-paber-</i>			
EMJ <sub>1</sub>	<i>mawos-</i>	<i>-mawos-</i>	<i>faber-</i>	<i>-faber-</i>	
EMJ <sub>2</sub>	<i>mawos-</i> <i>mawiras-</i>  <i>saburaf-</i>	<i>-mawos-</i> <i>-mawiras-</i>	<i>faber-</i> <i>saburaf-</i>	<i>-faber-</i> <i>-saburaf-</i>	
LMJ <sub>1</sub>	<i>mawos-</i> <i>mairas-</i>	<i>-mawos-</i> <i>-mairas-</i>	( <i>-mawos-</i> )		<i>-sauraw-</i>
LMJ <sub>2</sub>			( <i>-mawos-</i> )	<i>-marasuru</i> <i>-maisuru</i>	<i>-sɔɔ(rɔɔ)</i>
EModJ			<i>-mōs-</i>	<i>-mōs-</i> <i>-ma[ra]su[ru]</i>	
ModJ			<i>mair-</i> <i>mōs-</i>		<i>-mas-</i>

Table 6: Sources of allocutive markers in Japanese

## 6 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 (Ramsey (p.c.), 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 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 7).

### 6.1 in synchrony

Modern Korean utterances distinguish between several types of allocutivity, basically according to level of respect towards the listener. 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-*.

- (44) *enehakca = i-ta.* 1/3  
 linguiste=COP-DECL  
 « I/(S)He is a linguist. » (neutral in writing)  
 a. *enehakca = i-pni-ta.* 1/3 (ALLOC+)  
 linguist=COP-ALLOC:RSP2-DECL  
 « I/(S)He is a linguist. » (higher respect for the addressee)
- (45) *ka-n-ta.* 1/3  
 go-IMPRF-DECL  
 « I/(S)He am/is going. » (neutral in writing)  
 a. *ka-pni-ta.* 1/3 (ALLOC+)  
 go-ALLOC:RSP2-DECL  
 « I/(S)He am/is going. » (higher respect towards the addressee)
- (46) *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)  
 a. *ttek = ul mek-ess-supni-ta.* 1/3>3 (ALLOC+)  
 rice\_cake=ACC eat-PST-ALLOC:RSP2-DECL  
 « I/(S)He ate the rice cake. » (higher respect towards the addressee)
- (47) *nay = ka ku = lul ttayl-yess-ta.* 1>3  
 1=NOM 3=ACC hit-PST-DECL  
 « I hit him. » (plain)  
 a. *nay = ka ku = lul ttayl-yess-supni-ta.* 1/3>3 (ALLOC+)  
 1=NOM 3=ACC hit-PST-ALLOC:RSP2-DECL  
 « I hit him. » (higher respect towards the addressee)
- (48) *ku = ka na = lul ttayl-yess-ta.* 3>1  
 3=NOM 1=ACC hit-PST-DECL  
 « He hit me. » (plain)  
 a. *ku = ka na = lul ttayl-yess-supni-ta.* 3>1 (ALLOC+)  
 3=NOM 1=ACC hit-PST-ALLOC:RSP2-DECL  
 « He hit me. » (higher respect towards the addressee)

## 6.2 in diachrony

### 6.2.1 in Old Korean

No allocutive forms seem to be attested, 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 *Hyangga*), it is impossible to be absolutely certain about it.



	+familiar	+familiar	familiar	authoritative	polite	+polite
<b>declarative</b>	$\Sigma$ -(nu)n-ta (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-ta (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -a/e (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-e (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -ney (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-ney (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -(u)o (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-so (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -a/e-yo (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-e-yo (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -(su)pní-ta (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-supníta (PRF)
<b>interrogative</b>	$\Sigma$ -nunya/-ní (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-ta-nunya/-ní (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -a/e (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-e (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -na (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -(PRF)	$\Sigma$ -(u)o (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-so (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -a/e-yo (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-e-yo (PRF)	$\Sigma$ -(su)pní-kka (IMPRF) $\Sigma$ -ss-supní-kka (PRF)
<b>imperative</b>	$\Sigma$ -(a)la	$\Sigma$ -a/e	$\Sigma$ -key	$\Sigma$ -(u)(si)o	$\Sigma$ -a/e(-sey)-yo	$\Sigma$ -si-psí-o
<b>hortative</b>	$\Sigma$ -ca	$\Sigma$ -a/e	$\Sigma$ -sey	$\Sigma$ -(u)psíta	$\Sigma$ -a/e-yo	$\Sigma$ -si-psí-ta
<b>exclamative</b>	$\Sigma$ -nun-kwuna	$\Sigma$ -nun-kwu-men	$\Sigma$ -nun-kwu-lve	$\Sigma$ -so	$\Sigma$ -nun-kwun-yo	—
<b>promissory</b>	$\Sigma$ -(u)ma	—	—	—	—	—
<b>permissive</b>	$\Sigma$ -(u)lvem(una)	—	—	—	—	—

Table 7: Korean allocutive suffixes according to sentence type

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

Table 8: Allocutive forms in the history of Korean

We do find—written with Chinese characters used both phonetically and logographically—honorific (subject-exalting) and incipient deferential (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])

### 6.2.2 in Early Middle Korean

The situation is similar to that in Old Korean. No attestations of allocutive forms, but consistent use of Chinese characters to write phonetically or logographically later subject and non-subject exalting forms. (AN [2007:170])

### 6.2.3 in Late Middle Korean

1. -ngi- allocutive suffix (politeness towards addressee)

(49) *ka-sya-m*                      *kye-sya-m-ay*                      *wonol*  
 go-HON:MOD-NMLZ stay:HON-HON:MOD-NMLZ-DAT today  
*talo-li-**ngi**-s-ka?*  
 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)

(50) *SIM-hi*                      *khu-**ngi**-ta*                      *SEYCWON-ha!*  
 extreme-do/be:CNV be.great-ALLOC:RSP-DECL Shākyamuni-VOC:RSP  
 « It is extremely great, o Shākyamuni! » [Kumkang 58b] (respect towards the addressee)

(51) *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?*  
 COP-ALLOC:RSP-PRT-INTER  
 « What words are you reading, my Lord ? » [Wen 68a] (respect towards both the agent and the addressee)

2. -sop- deferential suffix (respect towards non-agent)

- (52) ZINUYCIPYENG-*ul* LYWOCWA-*y* *kis-soW-**oni***  
 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-agent)
- (53) ZYELAY-*s* *ilhwum-**ul** tut-coW-omyen*  
 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-agent)
- (54) *na-y* ZYELAY *nilo-sya-n* KYENG-*ey* UYSIM-*ol ani*  
 1-NOM Tathāgata speak-HON:MOD-ADN sutra-LOC doubt-ACC NEG  
*ho-zop-nwo-ni*  
 do-HUM-ASP:MOD-SEQ  
 « I do not doubt the scriptures spoken by the Enlightened One... » [Sekpo 9:26-7] (respect towards the non-agent)

#### 6.2.4 in Early Modern Korean

- (55) CHYEM-KWAN-*tul-skuy nilu-kwo is-sopnoy-ita*  
 all-official-PL-DAT say-SEQ exist-ALLOC-DECL  
 « [I] have told all the assembled officials... » [Chep 2:17] (respect towards the addressee)
- a. SEN-KWAN-*syu-ni yuu-te i-marus-uru*  
 all-official-PL-DAT say-SEQ exist-ALLOC-DECL  
 « [I] have told all the assembled officials... » [Chep 2:17] (respect towards the addressee)

#### 6.2.5 Evolution of allocutive markers in Korean

The following table (Table 9) presents the evolution, and process of grammaticalization, of allocutive markers in the history of Korean.

	deferential verb >	deferential auxiliary >	allocutive verb >	allocutive auxiliary >	allocutive suffix
OK					
EMK				-sop-	
LMK	<i>solp-/solGwo</i>			-sop-	
EModK	<i>solwo-</i>				-ngi-
ModK	<i>salwoy-</i>				-(s)opno(y[ng])i- -(sa)opnai- > (su)pni-

Table 9: Evolution of allocutive markers in Korean

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

### 7.1 Typology of allocutive systems in diachrony

The following table (Table 10) presents possible origins for several of the allocutive markers.

	Basque	Beja	Chechen	Mandan	Japanese <i>-(i)mas-</i>	Korean <i>-(su)pni-</i>
particle	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes?</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>
pronoun	<i>yes</i>	<i>no?</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no?</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>
verb	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes?</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>

Table 10: Sources of allocutive markers in Japanese and Korean compared to other languages

In the case of Basque, Beja and Mandan, we do not always have a clear picture of how the allocutive markers of these three languages came into existence.

#### 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 11):

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

Table 11: 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 (GONZÁLEZ [2006]).

#### Chechen

On the other hand, the fact that this ‘ethical dative’ is not restricted to IE languages can be ascertained by looking at languages such as Hungarian and Chechen (and Ingush). In the case of Chechen (as well as in the case of Galician) we are still, admittedly at stage 1, but a possible transition on to stage 2 cannot be ruled out.

## 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.

## Mandan

The situation is far less clear in the case of Mandan, but here we might be dealing with something else, like a particle (of unknown origin?), a situation comparable to that observed in other Siouan languages, such as Lakhota, where a similar distinction exists between male (authoritative) and female **illocutive** markers (TRECHTER [1995]).

## 7.2 Grammaticalization path for J *-(i)mas-* & K *-(su)pni-*

Table 12 on page 21 presents the grammaticalization path for Japanese *-(i)mas-* and Korean *-(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 deferential verb which expresses respect for a patient/goal participant has gone through a process where it first served as a deferential auxiliary, was later on reanalyzed as expressing respect more generally towards the listener (the addressee)—probably due to the fact that most instances of deferential 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.

Since even though the original verb in each case is different, it belongs to the same category of deferential or addressee-honorific 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<sup>1</sup>) 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 which has since almost disappeared giving the (false?) impression that it is exclusively the deferential 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 (at least partially) shared grammaticalization is analyzed as having arisen independently in each language by universal principles of

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<sup>1</sup>We cannot completely rule out the possibility that the deferential verb *mawos-* ‘to tell (a superior)’ used as an auxiliary crossed paths with the deferential auxiliary *mairas-* ‘to give (a superior)’ in order to give the allocutive suffix *-mas-*.

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5
<b>Japanese</b>	DEFERENTIAL VERB >	DEFERENTIAL AUXILIARY >	ALLOCUTIVE VERB >	ALLOCUTIVE AUXILIARY >	ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX
<b>Korean</b>	DEFERENTIAL VERB > ? >	DEFERENTIAL AUXILIARY ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX	} }	ALLOCUTIVE AUXILIARY >	ALLOCUTIVE SUFFIX

**Table 12:** Grammaticalization path for two allocutive markers in J & K

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 both languages were already separate entities, is highly dependent on our view of the relationship of Japanese and Korean.

My personal answer to this question would be that we are most probably not dealing with a grammaticalization process induced by some inherited feature of the proto-language. Indeed, honorific systems are usually late developments and this is especially true of allocutive markers used to signal respect for the listener.

Furthermore, 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—have developed in Japanese in the course of its attested history along similar lines (addressee-honorific verb > allocutive auxiliary) we may want to see here a grammaticalization induced by a locally (that is to say, in the case of a honorific system of the type found in Middle Japanese and Middle Korean) universal principle of grammatical change.

On the other hand, the existence of an opaque allocutivity marker in LMK which ‘disappears’ in a combination with the deferential auxiliary/suffix *-sop-* starting from EMK and the fact that this change coincides in part with the 16th century Japanese invasion prevent us from completely ruling out an influence from the Japanese language in which a semantically identical addressee-honorific verb (cf. note), was being used as an allocutive auxiliary at least in some Japanese varieties.

## 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 ( <i>The Tale of the Heike</i> ) (12c-14c?)
HM	Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari ( <i>The Tale of the Hamamatsu chūnagon</i> ) (1064?)
KK	Kojiki Kayō ( <i>The Songs of the Kojiki</i> ) (712)
MYS	Man'yōshū ( <i>Anthology of Myriad Leaves</i> ) (>759)
SM	Senmyō ( <i>Imperial Edicts</i> ) (7c-8c)
TM	Taketori monogatari ( <i>The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter</i> ) (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 ( <i>The Songs of the Flying Dragons</i> ) (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
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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