Speaker-Hearer Dynamics and Grammaticalization of Korean Pronominals*

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Song, Kyung-An. (2013). Speaker-Hearer Dynamics and Grammaticalization of Korean Pronominals. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal, 21*(2), 115-137. In Korean with its detailed and specific honorific system one has to be very careful in selecting address and pronominal forms. Otherwise conflicts could arise between interlocutors. To avoid such a situation, Koreans developed various means of address, pronominal forms and their substitutes. The general tendency of human languages that highly-valued expressions are devaluated over time seems to have played an important role in these developments. In the history of the Korean language, we observe that the address and pronominal forms are very often devaluated and eroded or replaced by new forms. In this paper, such changes are accounted for by proposing three pragmatic principles based on the dynamic relationship between the speaker and the hearer. This relation is thus regarded as an important parameter within a process of grammaticalization.

Key Words: pronominals, address forms, grammaticalization, speaker-hearer dynamics, politeness

1. Introduction

That it is possible to identify at least some of the cognitive forces or mechanisms that influence the grammatical development of human languages has been argued for by Heine (1997; see also Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer,

1991a; Rhee, 1998; Narrog & Heine (eds.), 2011). Metaphor, analogy, reanalysis, pragmatic inference and generalization belong to this category among others. An interface between pragmatics and grammaticalzation has thereby been made identified (cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer, 1991b, chapter 3; Heine, 2002; Hopper & Traugott, 1993, p. 163ff). Furthermore, in Song (2002), it was argued that the dynamic relation between speaker and hearer could be at work in grammaticalization processes. The general tendency in human languages that highly- valued expressions are devaluated over time seems to have played an important role in these developments. The indirectness and the politeness principles also seem to be at work in this process of speaker-hearer dynamics. We showed this on the basis of the change of Korean reflexive pronouns. Song(2011) and Song(2012) also identified the speaker-hearer dynamics in the development of pronouns in Japanese and some European languages.

The present paper is concerned with pronominals and address forms in Korean by providing further evidence in favor of the interactive approach.[1] Important for the ensuing discussion will be three principles postulated in Song (2002), which are briefly discussed in section 2. A wide range of data on the development and the use of pronouns and address forms in Korean are provided by Kim (1995) and Wang, et al. (2005). The developments and usages of some individual pronouns in Korean were discussed in Yang (2004; 2005; 2006a; 2007) among others. Yang (2006b) investigated functional changes of personal pronouns in Korean and argued that the shift from third person to second person pronouns was caused by the specification of speech levels and the development of new third person pronouns. But it is not attempted yet to account for the changes of Korean pronouns in a interactive perspective.

One point to note is that we use the term "grammaticalization" in a broad sense here. The typical process of grammaticalization is the linguistic change from a lexical element to a grammatical one (Kuryłowicz, 1975, p. 52). But we consider also the functional change of a grammatical element as a process of grammaticalization.[2]

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1) See Kim (1995) for developments of Korean pronouns.
2) Bernd Heine (p.c.), a leading scholar in the study of grammaticalization, is of the position that this kind of definition is not completely wrong. See Narrog & Heine (eds.) (2011), chapter 1 for various definitions of grammaticalization.

2. Three interactive principles of linguistic change

In Song (2002), the principles in (1) were postulated to account for certain kinds of grammatical change.

(1) Some motivations for grammatical changes
    a. Preference of indirectness
    b. Generalization and devaluation of highly-valued expressions
    c. The politeness principle

According to (1a), speakers tend to weaken or minimize the direct effects that their message may have on other speech participants. To this end, modal expressions, the indirect speech acts of Searle (1975, see also Searle, 1969 and Davison, 1975) and the conversational implicatures of Grice (1975, 1978) may be employed (see also Levinson, 1983, chapters 3 and 5). For example, in pronominal and address forms, deictic and definite elements seem to be more direct than non-deictic and indefinite ones; referential elements would be more direct than non-referential ones (Givón, 1978 and also Givón, 2001, chapters 9-10 for definiteness and referentiality), and addressing and naming by means of singular forms seems to be more direct than using collective or plural forms. Finally, overt pronominal forms tend to be considered more direct than pro-drop constructions. Some common variables of directness associated with NPs, be they nominal or pronominal, are summarized in (2).

(2) Variables of directness of NPs

Direct	Indirect
a. definite	indefinite
b. deictic	non-deictic
c. referential	non-referential
d. singularity	collectivity/plurality
e. pro-form	pro-drop

With (1b) we refer to a process whereby highly-valued expressions tend to

be generalized and/or be used frequently - with the effect that there is a loss in value, because something general or frequently occurring is no longer perceived as having inherent value.

In such a case there may be need for new highly-valued expressions, which themselves may in turn be generalized and devaluated over time (Paul, 1919, p.123; Leech, 1974, chapter 4). Such a process can commonly be observed in the naming or titling of persons and jobs. The politeness principle (1c) is not different from that of Lakoff (1973, 1977; see also Leech, 1983, chapter 6). It might be also a general strategy used to avoid or weaken the direct affectedness in the human speech.

3. Pronouns, address forms and speaker-hearer dynamics

In the history of Korean we find various kinds of changes in the pronominal forms. One of the most interesting changes relates to the development of reflexive forms into personal pronouns as summarized in (3).[3]

(3) Korean personal pronouns derived from reflexive forms
      a. *jeo* (reflexive)[4] > devaluation > first person pronoun
      b. *dangsin, jane, jagi* (reflexive) > second person pronoun
      c. *dangsin, jane* (second person pronoun) > devaluation > (almost)
         out of use in present-day Korean

In the functional shifts of (3), all three principles in (1) seem to have worked together. The reflexive forms which originally meant 'the person concerned' would be more indirect than the personal pronouns (cf. (1a) and the variables of (2), see Schladt, 2000 for pathways of grammaticalization of reflexive pronouns). The principle (1b) is involved in (3a and 3c): According to the politeness principle the much devaluated reflexive *jeo* in (3a) shifted to the first person, and those of the middle or high honorific level shifted to the

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3) See Song (2002) for a detailed description of these developments.
4) This paper follows the literal transliteration scheme for academic papers of the standard romanizaton 2000 of the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sports.

second person.

In this context, the functional shift of the Korean first person pronoun na 'I' and second person neo 'you (sg.) is of interest. These are the oldest basic pronouns of Korean for first and second person reference. According to historical references that have become available now, these were the only forms for first and second person in Korean up until the first half of the Middle Ages, i.e. until the 15th century, and at this stage they were neutral in terms of honorific levels (Kim, 1995, p. 47).

Subsequently, probably as a result of the rise of an elaborate honorific system in the 15th century, various new pronominal forms emerged, undergoing some changes in their association with honorific levels. The first person pronoun *na*, originally neutral with reference to level of honorification, became in time somewhat assertive and impolite, and there appears to have been need for a new polite form. This grammatical "gap" was filled with *jeo* (cf. (3a)). In the second person, on the contrary, the originally neutral form *neo* was devaluated, and the "gap" in the paradigm of honorific expressions was filled with the forms of (3b), among others. The developmental process can be summarized as in (4).

(4) Directions of change of the Korean pronouns *na* and *neo* (cf. Kim, 1995)

	na (first person)	*neo* (second person)
a. Stage 1:	honor. neut (before 16C)	honor. neut (before 16C)
b. Stage 2:	assertive meaning (19C)	devaluated (16C)
c. Stage 3:	need for new polite forms	need for new hon. forms
d. Stage 4:	development of polite forms (end of 19C)	development of honorific forms (end of 16C)

The contrast in (4) can be appropriately accounted for by means of the principles (1b) and (1c). With respect to the politeness principle and the speaker-hearer dynamics, the first person should be lowered, whereas the second person is to be respected.

As was suggested in (3c), the devaluation process took place more

drastically in the second person. Kim enumerated the five forms of the second person in modern Korean listed in (5) according to their honorific levels (Kim, 1995, p. 93). Interestingly, *neo* is the only form in present-day Korean which is well establish- ed; all other forms are almost out of use.

(5) Pronouns of the second person singular in modern Korean
    a. high level: *geudae, dangsin, imja*
    b. middle and low level: *jane, neo*

The pragmatic force underlying the processes just sketched must have been the devaluation of competing forms. As we saw earlier, there was originally only one neutral form for the second person, namely *neo*. As the honorific system was expanded, new forms developed on the various speech levels. At the same time, honori- fic forms were devaluated, being no longer appropriate for use on their original level of honorification.

In present-day Korean there are now systematic gaps that are "unfilled", in that the earlier honorific second persons are "worn out". Therefore Koreans very often face the problem of having to address the hearer in a formal setting but lacking an appropriate honorific expression - a situation that may be the cause of conflicts between the speech participants. To avoid such conflicts, Koreans have developed various strategies.

One strategy is to recruit new honorific address forms, or rather substitutes for the second person pronouns by drawing on forms that were earlier used only for prominent or special persons, e.g. *seonsaeng(nim), yeosa(nim)* (only for women), and *samonim*. The first two of these were originally used for addressing or titling highly prominent persons, and *samonim* meant earlier 'wife of one's own teacher'; note that teachers have a high reputation in traditional Korean society. In present-day Korean, these forms tend to be generalized and to be used as everyday honorific address forms or substitutes for second person reference, whereby the syntactic and pragmatic behavior of these forms are being transformed; cf. the examples of (6).

(6)   a. seonsaeng-nim-do   hamkke   ga-sibni-kka?
       sir-HON-also   together   go-HON-INTR
       'Are you coming along, sir?'
       b. Kim-seonsaeng-nim-do   hamkke   ga-sibni-kka?
        Kim-sir-HON-also   together   go-HON-INTR
        'Are you coming along, sir(Mr. Kim)?' or
        'Is Mr. Kim coming along?'
       c. Kim-yeosa-nim-do   hamkke   ga-sibni-kka?
        Kim-lady-HON-also   together   go-HON-INTR
       'Are you coming along, madam (Mrs. Kim)?' or
       'Is Mrs. Kim coming along?'
       d. samonim-do   hamkke   ga-sibni-kka?
       wife(HON)-also   together   go-HON-INTR
        'Are you coming along, madam?' or
        'Is your wife coming along, sir?'

The form *seonsaeng-nim* in (6a) refers primarily to a second person participant. If referring to third person, it asssumes its earlier meaning, i.e. 'prominent person'. *Kim-seonsaeng-nim* in (6b) refers either to a second person or to a referential third person participant. Using (6a), i.e. not mentioning the name of the person, is considered more polite or honorific than (6b).

The form *yeosa(nim)* of (6c), originally meaning 'prominent woman', began to be used more recently for honorific address in formal settings, usually combined with the name of the person concerned, as in (6c). Conceivably, this innovation relates to speci- fic social developments of Korea. In the past, it was only a small group of women for whom the form could appropriately be used; note that social activities of women were highly restricted in the past. With the beginning of mass society in the second half of the 20th century, this form was on the verge of disappearing in ordinary Korean, for obvious reasons: It was no longer easy to find a group of women with whom this address form could felicitously be employed.

Nowadays, this form is experiencing a kind of revival, which began mainly in the setting of office work. As mentioned above, women in Korea did not commonly go out for work and they were not much socially engaged in

public life. The small number of women who were employed for simple employment such as cleaning, typing, and attending phone calls, all in one person, were expected to give up this employment after marriage. Young un-married women were thereby addressed by the form *yang* 'young, unmarried woman'(roughly corresponding to English Miss). More recently, with rapid industrialization, the social situation has changed drastically. Women do not give up their jobs with their marriage and, hence, can no longer be addressed appropriately with the form *yang*. In this situation Koreans have drawn on the rather outdated form *yeosa(nim)* for 'married woman'.

The form *samonim* in (6d) is always used without the name of the person, for the following reason. As mentioned above, it served originally a specific purpose, namely addressing or referring to the wife of one's own teacher. Since addressing a person by his or her name is considered impolite in Korea (cf. the preference of in- directness principle of (1a)), it would not be appropriate to com- bine the form *samonim* with the name of the person. But *samonim* is nowadays being extended to address the wife of a person who is ranked higher than self, and also the wife of other people in formal contexts. And about thirty years ago it began to be used generally for the formal address of married women. The functional changes of the form *samonim* can be summarized as in (7). All four usages are found in present-day Korean.

(7) Functional developments of the Korean address form *samonim*

Stage 1: honorific address or referring to the wife of one's own teacher
Stage 2: honorific address or referring to the wife of higher-positioned
    people
Stage 3: formal address or referring to the wife of other people
Stage 4: formal address or referring to married women

In sum, the three Korean address forms *seonsaeng(nim)*, *yeosa(nim)*, and *samonim* were originally used only for specific purposes. At present, their usage is, however, widely generalized as address forms and as substitutes for the second and the third person.[5] We hypothesize that two of the principles in (1) have been involved in this process, namely the devaluation and the

politeness principles. That preference of indirectness (1a) also played a role is suggested by the fact that in Korean, address forms are quite frequently used instead of second or third person markers in order to weaken or avoid direct address, which is felt to be impolite.

In addition to the three honorific address forms discussed, Koreans make also use of titles, position names, terms for pro- fessions, kinship terms, or names specific to age levels, to avoid the conflicts which can possibly arise through the inappropriate use of second person pronouns, as can be seen in the examples of (8a)-(8e). These expressions are also combined with the honorific marker -*nim*. In (8a-c), the name of the hearer can be added, or the honorific marker -*nim* can be deleted, through which the speech levels are more specified.

(8) a. gyosu- nim-do   hamkke ga-sibni-kka?
    professor-HON-also together go-HON-INTR
    'Are you coming along, sir (professor)?'
  b. hagjang-nim-do hamkke ga-sibni-kka?
    dean-HON-also together go-HON-INTR
    'Are you coming along, sir (dean)?'
  c. gisa-nim-do   hamkke   ga-sibni-kka?
    driver-HON-also together   go-HON-INTR
    'Are you coming along, sir (driver)?'
  d. nuna-do   hamkke ga?
    older sister-also together go
    'Are you coming along, (sister)?'
  e. jeolmeuni-do   hamkke   ga-sibni-kka?
    young man-also together go-HON-INTR
    'Are you coming along, young man?'

In the examples of (8), principles (1a) and (1c) seems to be concerned, i.e. preference of indirectness and the politeness principle. To address with the title or the position name is an old tradition in Korea, where politeness is

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5) We do not mean that they have lost the honorific meaning completely, but rather that their honorific meanings are somewhat devaluated.

considered a very important virtue. The honorific marker *-nim* also contributes to the politeness of addressing. To make use of titles and position names, etc. instead of the second person pronoun is to avoid the directness of addressing. The second person pronoun is definite, deictic and referential, i.e. it is highly direct according to our parameters in (2). By contrast, nominal subjects are, at least superficially, inde- finite, non-deictic and non-referential. The subjects in (8) are used without any determiners. They are nouns, having third person reference, hence they are highly indirect compared to a second person pronoun.

A third device for Koreans to avoid conflicts that possibly arise through the inappropriate use of second person pronouns is to simply delete the address forms or subjects with second person reference, as in (9). This is a salient strategy of address in Korean.

(9) hamkke   ga-sibni-kka?
    together   go-HON-INTR
    'Are you coming along?'

The principle involved here is, as we argue, preference for indirectness (1a): Through the deletion of explicit subjects direct affectedness is avoided. This strategy is applied not only to second person but also to first person, and even to the third person referents. The deletion of understood pronominals is also usual in the object position and with possessive pronominals. The simple English dialogue in (10) can be appropriately translated into Korean as in (11), where subjects are generally omitted.

(10) A simple dialogue in English
     A: Where are you going?
     B: I am going downtown.
     A: Are you going shopping?
     B: Yes, I am going shopping.
     A: When are you coming back?
     B: I am coming back in two hours.

(11) The Korean translation of the dialogue (10)

  A: eodi ga-sibni-kka?
    where go-HON-INTR

  B: sinae-e ga-bni-da.
    city-DIR go-HON-END

  A: sijangbo-reo   ga-sibni-kka?
    shopping-PURP go-HON-INTR

  B: ye, sijangbo-reo   ga-bni-da.
    yes, shopping-PURP go-HON-END

  A: eonje dora o-sibni-kka?
    when back come-HON-INTR

  B: du sigan hue dora o-bni-da.
    two hours after back come-HON-END

What is of interest here is that deletion of subjects is not only possible, rather it represents the most appropriate and usual way of speaking in Korean. In speech situations like (10) or (11), e.g. between two women neighbors who are not so much close to each other, it is hard to find a suitable subject form of the second person for the relevant honorific level, be it a pronoun or a nominal address form. The earlier honorific second person pronouns, e.g. *dangsin,* are nowadays too much devaluated, and the new address forms *seonsaeng(nim), yeosa(nim),* or *samonim* in (6) are also inappropriate in this context. A solution without any risk therefore is to simply delete or avoid explicit reference to the second person.

The case of the first person is very similar. There are two first person pronouns in ordinary use, a speaker-devaluating form *jeo* and a neutral, somewhat assertive form *na.* In speech situations like (10-11), *jeo* is felt to be too much self-devaluating, and *na* is considered too assertive. In such cases, Koreans prefer to use sentences without subject or object reference to the first person.

Several explanations for such deletion phenomena have been volunteered (e.g. Chang, 1974; Kim, 1962; for various approaches to ellipsis, see Klein, 1993). One is in terms of economic motivation (cf. e.g. Erben, 1972, p. 309ff; Flämig, 1991, p. 95; Heidolph, Flämig & Motsch, 1991, p. 143). It would be a

universally observed phenomenon to eliminate an element whose identity can be established via the context, either through simple deletion or through the replacement of the element with some other element, as is shown by the English example of (12).

(12) A: Did you read the book?
    B: Yes, I did.

The Korean examples in (11) cannot, however, be explained simply via economic motivation; they seem to belong to another category than the examples of (12). In the English example of (12), the deleted elements are clearly identifiable via the context, which is not possible in the case of the Korean examples of (11).

Within a framework of grammaticalization, deletion in the Korean examples of (11) can be accounted for with reference to the absence of honorifically appropriate first and second person pronouns in present-day Korean on the one hand and the pre- ference of indirectness principle on the other.

4. Other pronominal forms and substitutes

In addition to the pronominal and address forms discussed above there are some other pronominal forms in Korean which seem to be related to the perspective of speaker-hearer dynamics. Let us first look at third person pronouns. The three third person pronouns in (13) are supposed to have been used since the time of Old Korean (Kim, 1995, p. 47). One important point is that they also serve as determiners, as in (14). We may say that there has been no genuine third person pronouns in Korean as they exist in European languages.

(13) Korean third person pronouns
    a. i   'this' (speaker-proximal)
    b. geu 'that' (speaker-distal, hearer-proximal)
    c. jeo   'that' (speaker-distal, hearer-distal)

(14) Korean third person pronouns used as determiners
    a. i saram   'this person'
    b. geu saram 'that person'
    c. jeo saram 'that person'

These forms tend to be used no more on their own in present-day Korean but only in combination with nouns, as in (14); one nowadays finds hardly any examples of genuine pronominal use of them in ordinary spoken Korean. Kim (1995, p. 88) supposes that they were considered too weak as third person pronouns by the end of the 19th century, so that they had to be combined with nouns to survive. We may talk about a renewal or rather a reinforcement here.

In Korean, honorific forms are applied not only to the hearer but also to a third person subject, i.e. there are hearer-oriented and subject-oriented honorifics. They are found both on noun phrases and in verbal endings (cf. the verbal endings in (8)). The pronominal forms of (13), which had been used neutrally in various speech levels, appear to have been devaluated in the course of time and considered ultimately inappropriate to refer to persons by the end of the 19th century. Instead, Koreans used honorifically suitable nouns combined with the determiners, as shown in (14) as well as in (15).

(15) Substitutes of third person pronouns in Korean for various speech levels

    a. i seonsaengnim   'this person', highest level
    b. i bun   'this person', high level
    c. i saram   'this person', middle level (not honor.)
    d. i chingu   'this guy', middle low level
    e. i nom   'this guy', low level
    f. i jasig   'this creature', low level (abusive)

The end of the 19th century was the period when the written language began to be generally used and attempts were made to standardize Korean. This development also affected the variable usages of pronominals, which were standardized at that time. Earlier, there seems to have been a competition

between the two kinds of forms in (13) and (14), and it was the latter which survived in the end.

At the same time, there had always been the tendency in Korean to avoid the pronouns in referring to persons (Hur, 1965). The tendency to avoid the pronouns seems to be related to the preference of indirectness of speech. All the pronominal forms of Korean in (13) are basically deictic through which the speech partners can be directly affected, in accordance with the variables of directness in (2). This may be one of the reasons why Koreans often repeat the same nouns or simply delete them in their speech instead of using the pronominal forms.

At a first glance, the third person pronouns do not seem to be related to the speaker-hearer dynamics. But they do belong to the domain of the speaker-hearer interaction because the selection of third person pronouns expresses the speaker's attitude which can influence not only the hearer's attitude toward the speaker but consequently also the whole speech situation. This can be demonstrated with the subject-oriented honorifics, cf. (16). In the examples of (16) we see the four kinds of honorific verbal endings: hearer-honorific, subject-honorific, hearer- and subject-honorific, and non-honorific.

(16) a. *geu saram-do   hamkke   ga-si-bni-kka?
          the person-also   together   go-SHON-HHON-INTR
          'Is the person coming along?'
      b. geu saram-do   hamkke   ga-bni-kka?
          the person-also   together   go-HHON-INTR
          'Is the person coming along?'
      c. *geu saram-do   hamkke   ga-si-ni?
          the person-also   together   go-SHON-INTR
          'Is the person coming along?'
      d. geu saram-do   hamkke   ga-ni?
          the person-also together   go-INTR
          'Is the person coming along?'

The subject of these sentences, *geu saram* 'the person', is not an honorific form (cf. (15c) above). The examples (16a) and (16c), where the subject-honori-

fic is applied, therefore sound somewhat unnatural. In (16b) the hearer is respected, and in (16d) we have no honorific marker. As was said above, the selection of third person pronominals reflects the attitude of the speaker; if the subject in (16) is replaced by other forms of (15), the speech situation will change accordingly.

But there are three more devices to reduce the directness of the speech, which appear to relate to the variable of collectivity in (2d) above, namely the ones listed in (17).

(17) Devices for indirectness related to collectivity
 a. Plural forms of pronominals[6]
 b. Locative nouns or adverbs
 c. Nouns with the meaning 'home/house/family'

(18a-d) are examples in which plural pronominal forms refer to singular first or second person referents: The subjects of (18a-c) are all plural forms. But they are ambiguous between the singular and plural meaning, and can be replaced by the singular forms without any problem. For the possessive case such as in (18d), where European languages would have the singular forms, Koreans usually make use of the plural forms.

(18) a. uri-neun geureon geos an meog-eo.
   we-NOM such thing NEG eat-END
   'I do not eat such a food.'
 b. jeohi gateun saram-eun geureon de mos ga-bni-da.[7]
   we like person-NOM such place can't go-HON-END
   'A person like me can't go to such a place.'
 c. neohi-neun nae sog- ø mola.
   you(PL)-NOM my heart-ABS not-know
   'You(SG) cannot understand me.'

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6) The plural forms of the first and the second person in the European courtly language of the Middle Ages or the editorial "we" would be examples for this (cf. Behaghel, 1923, p. 274, 324ff; Paul, 1919, p. 122).
7) The subject *jeohi* is the devaluated first person, whereas *uri* in (18a) is the neutral form.

     d. uri- ø   jib   /   neohi-   ø   jib
       we-ABS house   /   you(PL)-ABS house
       'my family(home)' /   'your family(home)'

As a somewhat outdated form, Korean has a humble first person singular form, *soenne*, used e.g. between a servant and a master. This is originally a contraction of *soin* 'little person' and the plural marker *ne,* but it has no more plural meaning here. In the second person pronoun *jane* of (5b), which developed from the reflexive form (cf. (3b)), we also find the plural marker *ne,* and it as well has only a singular reading.

Locative nouns or adverbs are often used in Korean as substitutes for personal pronouns (cf. e.g. Kim, 1995, p. 95ff). They might also belong to the category of collective designation in the sense that they denote a wide range of space rather than a single and definite referent. An archaic example is *inyeog,* originally a composition of the demonstrative *i* 'this' and the noun *nyeog* 'side, direction'. It is used mainly in the south-western dialect of Korean as a second person pronoun and also as a referential indefinite pronoun (similar to German *man*; cf. Eisenberg, 1986, p. 181; Engel 1991, p. 673; Erben, 1972, p. 218).[8]

In (19), *inyeog* can refer to a second or a third person referent. In present-day Korean the form *nyeog* is no longer used as an independent noun, but only as a morpheme in a restricted number of words, e.g. *bug-nyeog* 'north, northern area, North Korea'.

(19) inyeog   -ø   il-ina   jal   ha-ji.
     this-side-ABS work-ADP   well do-END
     'You/one should do your/one's own work well first.'

With respect to the meaning of *inyeog,* literally 'this side', we may now raise the question of why it does not denote mainly the first person, but rather the second person. The proximal demonstrative *i* 'this' is usually used for the first or third person.[9] In certain contexts, however, it can, in an indirect and

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8) According to the speech situation, German *man* can refer to the first, second or the third person (Song, 1995/2011, 213).

circuitous way, refer to the hearer,[10] which may have induced the meaning of the Korean pronoun *inyeog* as a context-induced reinterpretation (cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer, 1991a, 1991b). We seem to be concerned here with a dual sense of indirectness, i.e. via the locative noun *nyeog* 'side' on the one hand and through the proximal demonstrative *i* 'this' on the other. Note that *i* 'this' is frequently used in Korean for address forms or for second person subjects, as shown in (20).

(20) a. i   saram- ø   eonje   wa-ss-eo?
        this   person-ABS   when   come-PAST-END
        'When did you come?'
     b. i   chingu-ya,   ga-myeon   an   doe!
        this   friend-VOC, go-COND   NEG   become
        'You should not go there, friend!'
     c. ani,   ige(Nom)   nugu-ya?
        INTJ,   this(Nom)   who-END
        'Good heavens, who is this?'[11]

In (20a), *i saram* 'this person' can denote second person as well as third person. In (20b), *i chingu* 'this friend/this guy', as address form, refers to the second person. In the context of (20c), *ige* 'this' is mainly related to the second person.

Other locative nouns and adverbs which can be used as a substitute of pronouns in present-day Korean are *jjog* 'side', *pyeon* 'side', *gos* 'place', *yeogi* 'here', *jeogi* 'there (distal)', *geogi* 'there (proximal)'.[12] In combination with the demonstratives *i* 'this', *geu* 'that (hearer-proximal)' and *jeo* 'that (distal)', the locative nouns refer to the first, second and the third person, respectively; cf. the examples of (21). And the adverbs are used in a similar way.

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9) In public speech of Korean *i saram* 'this person' frequently refers to the first person.

10) In German one may say to one's little daughter, "Wo kommt denn dieser Schatz her?" 'Where does this treasure come from?', where *dies* 'this' refers to the hearer.

11) We have also an English example here in which the proximal demonstrative *this* denotes the second person.

12) We may say that these forms are weakly grammaticalized, because they may also be used in the local meanings.

(21) a. i jjog-eun   gwaenchan-eunde geu jjog-eun   eotteo-seyo?
     this side-NOM good-CONN   that side-NOM how-END
     'I am O.K., and how is it with you?'
   b. na-nun mola-yo.   jeo jjog-e   mul-eo   bo-seyo.
     I-NOM not-know-END.   that side-DAT ask-END   try-END
     'I don't know. Just ask him.'

In (21a), *i jjog* 'this side' can be replaced by *i pyeon* 'this side', *i gos* 'this place' and *yeogi* 'here', whereas *geu jjog* 'that side' can be replaced by *geu pyeon* 'that side', *geu gos* 'that place' and *geogi* 'there'. And much the same applies to *jeo jjog* 'that side, third person' in (21b).

A further device for indirectness related to collectivity in Korean is provided by the nouns *jib* and *daeg* which both mean 'home/house/family' (cf. (17c)). *jib* is an original Korean word and *daeg* is of Chinese origin. As is usually the case with Sino-Korean words, the Chinese original *daeg* is more highly evaluated and considered more honorific. (22a, b) are examples where the two forms *jib* and *daeg* can replace each other.

(22) a. jib-eseo   eoje   geureoke   malha-yeoss-eoyo.[13)
     house-LOC yesterday that way   say-PAST-END
     'You said so yesterday.'
   b. daeg-eun   eonje   tteona-si-bni-kka?
     house-NOM   when   leave-SHON-HHON-INTR
     'When do you leave?'

These uses suggest that there was a process of both devaluation and semantic erosion (cf. (3c)). The noun *jib* is probably the old one, a hypothesis which might be supported by the fact that this form is used only among people with little formal education. At first, *jib* would have begun to be used for indirect reference of the second person, i.e. a more polite and honorific form than other second person pronouns. As time went on, it would have been devaluated and substituted by the new form *daeg* of Chinese origin, which has a more formal and intellectual flavor. But this form was also

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13) The locative *-eso* is used here as a subject marker.

devaluated over time and seems to have been replaced by the new forms, e.g. *seonsaengnim* for men and *samonim* for women (cf. the examples of (6)). The sentence (22b) would have been considered very formal and polite if it had been used about 40 years ago. Nowadays however, Koreans feel no longer respected when addressed with this form.

5. Conclusion

In Korean with its elaborate and specific honorific system one has to be very careful in selecting address and pronominal forms; otherwise conflicts could arise between interlocutors. To avoid such a situation, Koreans have developed various means of address, pronominal forms and their substitutes. In the history of the Korean language, we observe that the address and pronominal forms are very often replaced by new forms. This is because the existing pronouns lose their original honorific functions over time and are no longer appropriate for the corresponding speech levels.

To account for such kinds of historical change, we postulated three pragmatic principles with respect to the speaker-hearer dynamics of the speech situation: preference for indirectness, generalization and devaluation of highly-valued expressions, and the politeness principle. The general tendency to be observed in human languages in which highly-valued expressions are devaluated over time seems to have played an important role in these developments. The indirectness and the politeness principles also seem to be at work in this process of speaker-hearer dynamics.

These principles seem to be of universal character in human languages. But they may work in different forms and degrees in different cultures or according to the stages of cultural developments. In our previous articles we have identified similar tendencies in Japanese and some European languages (cf. Song, 2011; 2012).

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