

On the grammaticalization of the verbs of coming and going: A
Japanese-Korean comparative perspective

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This presentation is concerned with the complex predicates involving verbs of coming and going in Japanese and Korean. While the pattern of grammaticalization of these verbs in the complex predicate function in Modern Japanese has been examined closely by Shibatani (2004), little is known about the diachronic processes that have led to the present pattern. The point of departure of our discussion is the correspondence pattern between Japanese *-te* forms and Korean $-\emptyset$ /*-e/-a* and *-ko* forms; i.e., *de-te iku: na-kata* (exit-go), *hait-te kuru:tul-e-ota* (enter-come), *agat-te kuru:oll-a-ota* (ascend-come), *ture-te kuru:teyli-ko ota* (accompany-come), *tabe-te kuru:mek-ko ota* (eat-come). Examination of the materials from Japanese classical literature indicates that the formal pattern of these constructions in Classical Japanese was much more similar to that of the Korean counterparts, whereby infinitival compounding corresponding to the Korean $-\emptyset$ /*-e/-a* form, e.g., *tobi-yuku* (fly-go), was more prevalent than *-te* conjunctions corresponding to the Korean *-ko* forms. By examining the relationship between *-te* clause chaining constructions and the complex predicates, we question the grammaticalization scenario offered by DeLancey (1991) and followed by a number of Japanese and Korean specialists (e.g., Falsgraf and Park 1994, Kim 1996, Lee 1998), which hypothesizes that these complex predicates derive from reanalysis of clause chaining constructions. The data from classical Japanese literature suggest that there was no stage in the history of Japanese where clause chaining constructions of the form *V-te iku/kuru* occurred widely, which could have been reanalyzed as complex predicates. Where such forms are observed, they already show a certain degree of grammaticalization. We propose an alternative hypothesis that the relevant complex predicates

are a case of verbal conjunction that replaced infinitival compounds such as *ide-yuku* (exit-go) and *tobi-yuku* (fly-go) in the late Edo period (beginning of the 19th century). This replacement appears to be part of the general trend seen in both Japanese and Korean to make conjoined expressions more analytic at both levels of complex predicate formation and clause chaining. A functional motivation for such a change is also explored.