The syntax-semantics interface of the addressee-honorific construction:

the multidimensional in-situ analysis

vs

the copy analysis

1 Introduction

Topic: the addressee-honorific construction in contemporary Japanese

(1) Thai

aacaan	*maa*	*lɛ́ɛw*	*ná*	***khá.***	(Iwasaki and Horie 2005)
teacher.3	come	ASP	PP	***HON$_A$***	

'(I'd like to inform you that) the teacher has arrived ***(formal)*** .'

(2) Korean

Ecey	*pi-ka*	*o-ass*	***-supnita***	.	(Portner et al. manuscript)
yesterday	rain-nom	come-past-	**dec.formal**		

'It rained yesterday.'

(3) Basque

etorri	*n-a*	***-iz***	(Oyharçabal 1993)
come	1.ABS-PRS-	***HON$_A$***	

'I comes.'

1 Introduction

Background: Studies under formal linguistics

Honorific constructions

Agreement

- (Yes) Niimura (2003), Niinuma and Boeckx (2004), Boeckx (2006), Kishimoto (2010): Content-honorifics
  Miyagawa (2012; 2017): Addressee-honorifics
- (No) Kim and Sells (2007), Thompson (2011)

Multidimensionality

- Potts and Kawahara (2004), Potts (2007), McCready (2014)

Emphathy Theory

- Kuno (1987), Lee and Kuno (2004)

1 Introduction

Multidimensional Approaches:

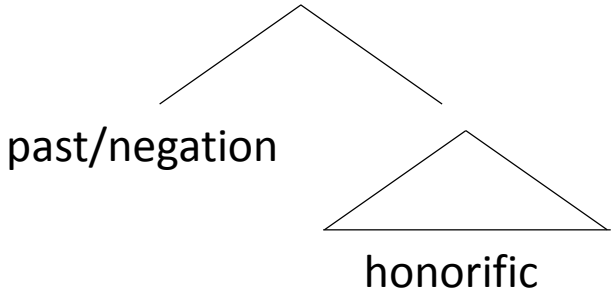
1) Previous studies: Potts and Kawahara (2004), Potts (2007), McCready (2014)

2) In a nutshell: Building a different plane for expressive meaning during the semantic composition

3) Explanandum: Honorific meaning cannot be affected by any other operators.

(4) a. * My respect and an event happened in the past.

b. An event happened in the past; I respect you at the utterance time.

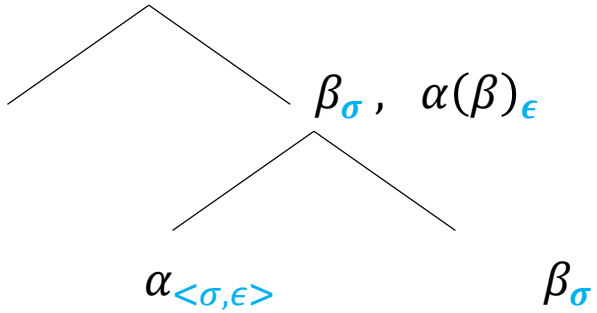


4) Proposal: Semantic compositional rules (Potts and Kawahara 2004)

(5) The interpretation of a parsetree $\mathcal{T}$ is the tuple $\langle A, \mathbf{B} \rangle$, where

i. A is the semantic value of $\mathcal{T}$'s root node; and

ii. $\mathbf{B}$ is the set consisting of all and only the interpretations of the type ε expressions in $\mathcal{T}$.



5) Hidden assumption: The addressee-honorific marker is interpreted in-situ.

This view tacitly (not necessarily though) assumes that morphemes with expressive meaning are interpreted in situ.

Theoretically, movement analysis is compatible with the multidimensional approach. But if so, the attractiveness of the multidimensionality disappears.

1 Introduction

Goal: (i) Syntax: the feature is interpreted *not in-situ but by movement*
(ii) Semantics: *probabilistic update* to the discourse component

1 Introduction

Organization of the talk

1 Introduction

2 Data

3 Syntax

4 Semantics/pragmatics

5 Conclusion

Organization of the talk

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2 Data

Bare form

(3) a. Present

(i) [$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-* ☐] *-u*].
run -PRS
'(I) run.' (tutoiement)

(iii) [$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-*]*-anai*]
run -NEG
'(I) do not run.' (tutoiement)

b. Past

(ii) [$_{TP}$ [*Hasit-*] *-ta*].
run -PST
'(I) ran.' (tutoiement)

(iv)[$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-* *-anak* *-at* *-ta*]
run NEG **-COP** PST
'(I) did not [illegible] tutoiement)

?

A-honorifics

(4) a. Present

(i) [$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-* ***imas***] *-u*].
run **HON$_A$** -PRS
'(I) run.' (vouvoiement)

(iii) [$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-* ***imas***] *-en*].
run **HON$_A$** NEG
'(I) run.' (vouvoiement)

b. Past

(ii) [$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-* ***imas***] *-ita*].
run **HON$_A$** -PST
'(I) run.' (vouvoiement)

(iv)[$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-*] *-en* ***-des*** *-ita*]
run NEG **COP$_A$** -PST
'(I) run.' (vo[illegible]ent)

?

n.b., 1) 'do/be' support under PAST + NEGATION
2) HON$_A$ appears at *v*P-periphery
3) HON$_A$ affects the form of NEG
4) HON$_A$ affects the form of 'do/be' support

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3 Syntax

(A) Multidimensional Semantics:

(a) HON$_A$ is interpreted in-situ. Therefore:

(b) Movement is ***not*** due to LF-legibility.

(c) Movement is ***not*** due to PF-legibility.

(ii)*[$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-* ***imas***]***-des*** *-ita*]
run - **HON$_A$--COP**-PST

(iv)*[$_{TP}$ [*Hasir-* ***imas***] *-anak****-at*** *-ta*]
run - **HON$_A$**-NEG-**COP**-PST

(B) Alternative analysis:

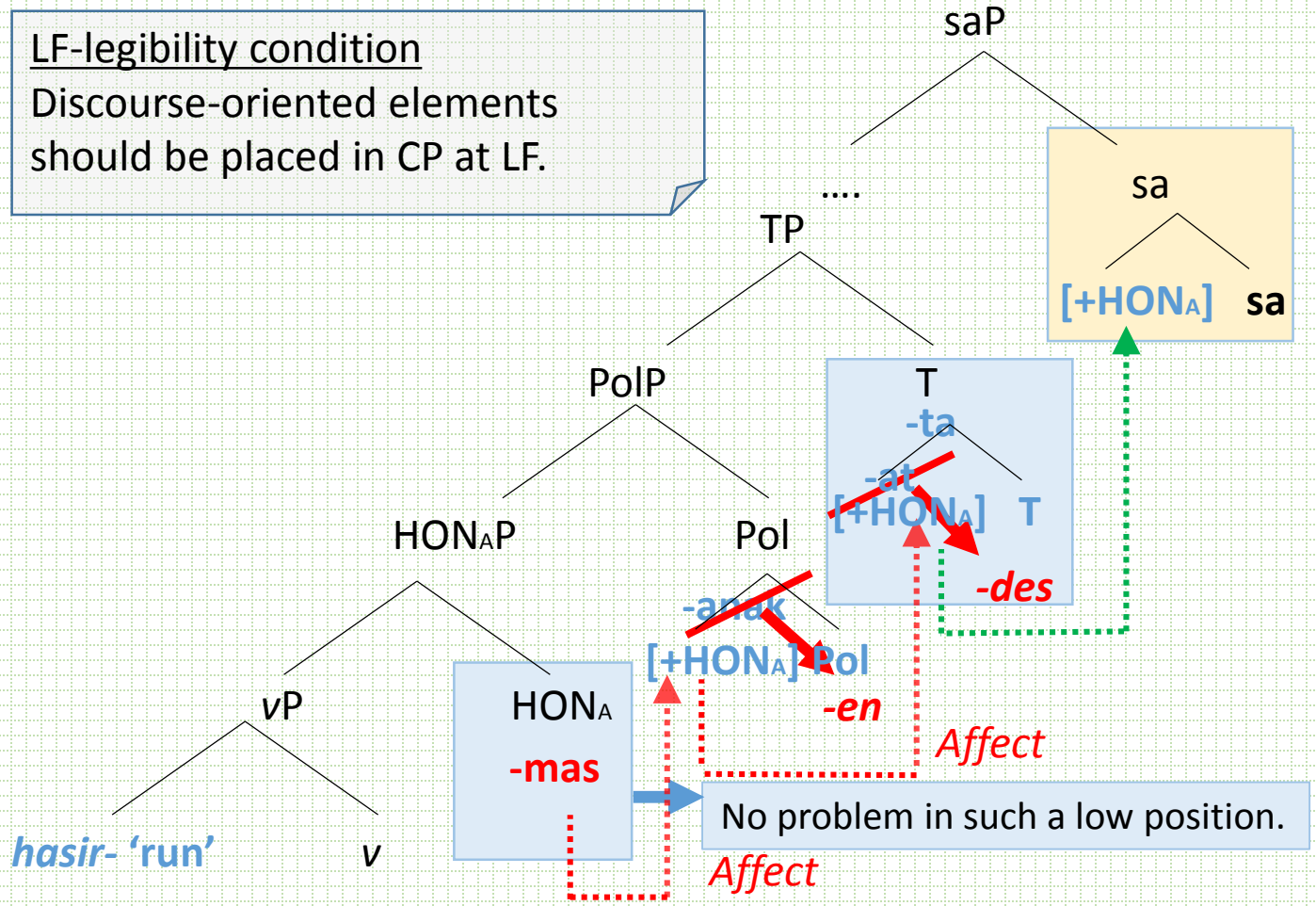
(a) HON$_A$ is interpreted in CP (*cf.* Miyagawa 1987,(2012, 2017); Speas and Tenny 2003; Haegeman and Hill 2013).

(b) Movement is due to LF-legibility (*cf.* SMT; Chomsky 2001)

(c) Multiple copies:
the highest is subject to the interpretation

Based on this syntax
What kind of denotation does this [+HON$_A$] have?

LF-legibility condition
Discourse-oriented elements should be placed in CP at LF.



No problem in such a low position.

1. Cyclic effects on the c-commanding heads (until it hits T).

2. This may remind us of the "head-movement".

n.b., 1) 'do/be' support under PAST + NEGATION
2) HON$_A$ appears at *v*P-periphery
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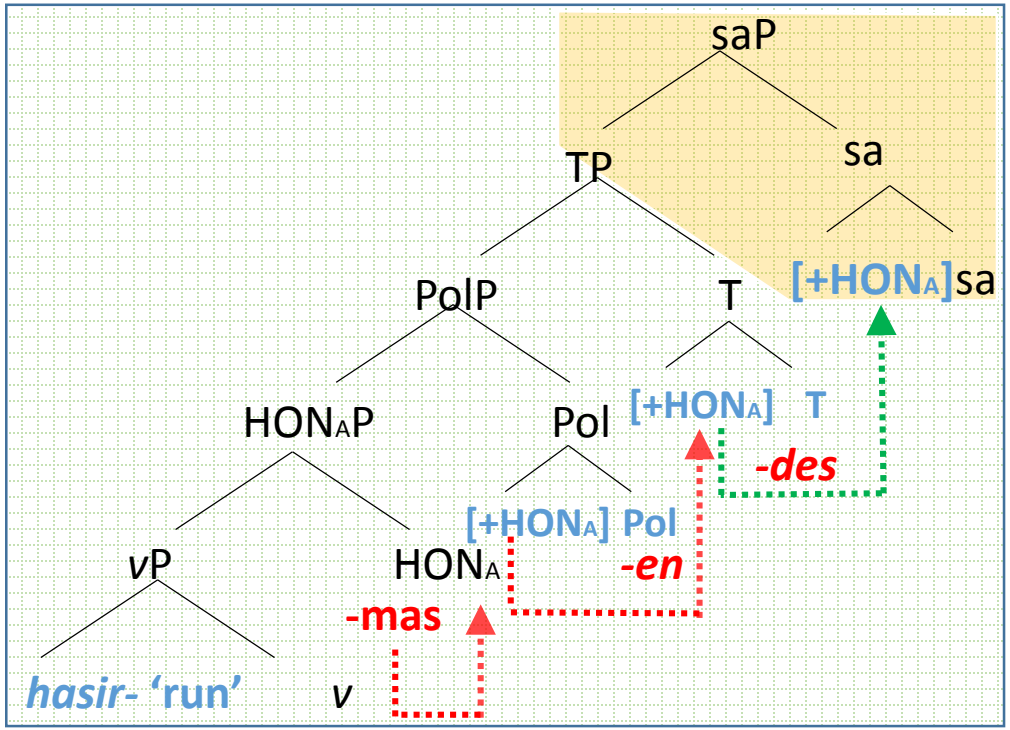


4 Semantics and Pragmatics

(A) McCready (2014): Update to the register

(5) | Sentence | HONA |

a. ⟦ HONA ⟧ = (Hon = [0.1, 0.2])

b. **Appropriateness for honorifics.**

$$\text{Utter(S) in } C = \begin{cases} \surd \text{ if } Hon(S) \sqcap \mathcal{R} \neq \emptyset \\ \times \text{ else} \end{cases}$$

c. **Dynamic registers.** $C[(S)]_H = C'$, where

$$C' = \begin{cases} C \text{ if } C \sqsubseteq Hon(S) \\ \left[\frac{min(C)+Hon(S)}{4}, \frac{max(C)+Hon(S)}{4}\right] \text{ else} \end{cases}$$

(B) Alternative

a. ⟦ HONA ⟧ $= \lambda p. < p, 1 >$

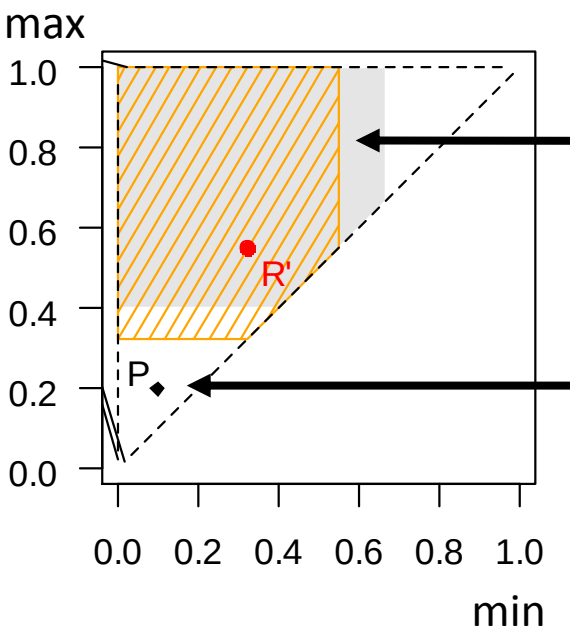
b. Generative models: e.g., $y|\boldsymbol{\Theta} \sim \text{Bernouilli}(\boldsymbol{\Theta})$

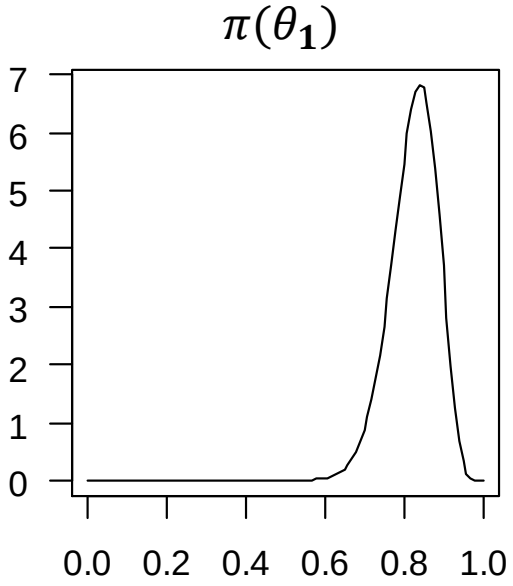
$$p(y\,|\boldsymbol{\Theta}) = \frac{\Gamma(\theta_1+\theta_2)}{\Gamma(\theta_1)\Gamma(\theta_2)} h_s^{\theta_1-1}(1-h_s)^{\theta_2-1}$$

c. Prior: $\theta_1 \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha, \beta)$

d. Dynamic registers. $\boldsymbol{\Theta}$ [(S)]H=$\boldsymbol{\Theta}'$, where

$\boldsymbol{\Theta}' = \boldsymbol{\Theta}|y \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha + y, \beta + 1 - y)$





Too discrete!

(6) A sequence of utterances

Context: R = (min, max)
[0.4, 0.66]

a. | Sentence #1 | - HONA |

[0.1, 0.2]

Context: R' = [0.33, 0.55]

Context: R = (α, β)
(1,1)

a. | Sentence #1 | - HONA |

Context: R' = (1,2)

b. | Sentence #2 | + HONA |

Context: R'' = (2,2)

C=<cg,qs,tdl,R>

C=<cg,qs,tdl,$\boldsymbol{\beta}$,$\boldsymbol{x_i}$ >

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Main claims of this presentation

(A) Previous studies:

(a) Multidimensionality **during the semantic derivation**

(b) Interpretation is **in-situ**

✔ Multidimensional Semantics
✔ Multidimensional Discourse

(B) Alternative analysis:

(a) Multidimensionality **only within the discourse context**

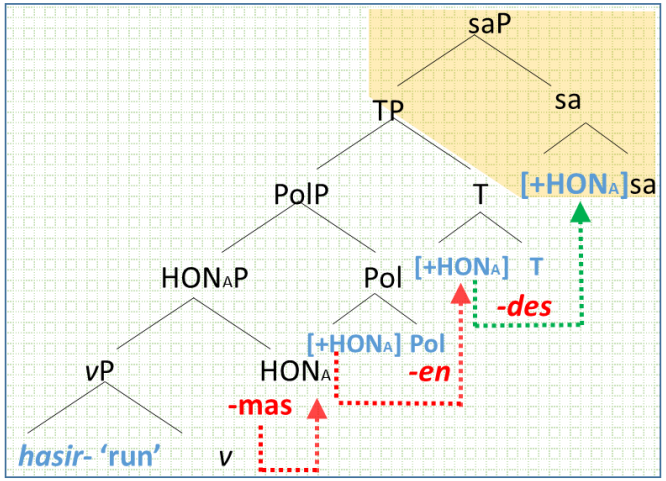
(b) Interpretation is **at a displaced position**

✱ Multidimensional Semantics
✔ Multidimensional Discourse

Question 1: What LF object does the addressee-honorific construction have ?

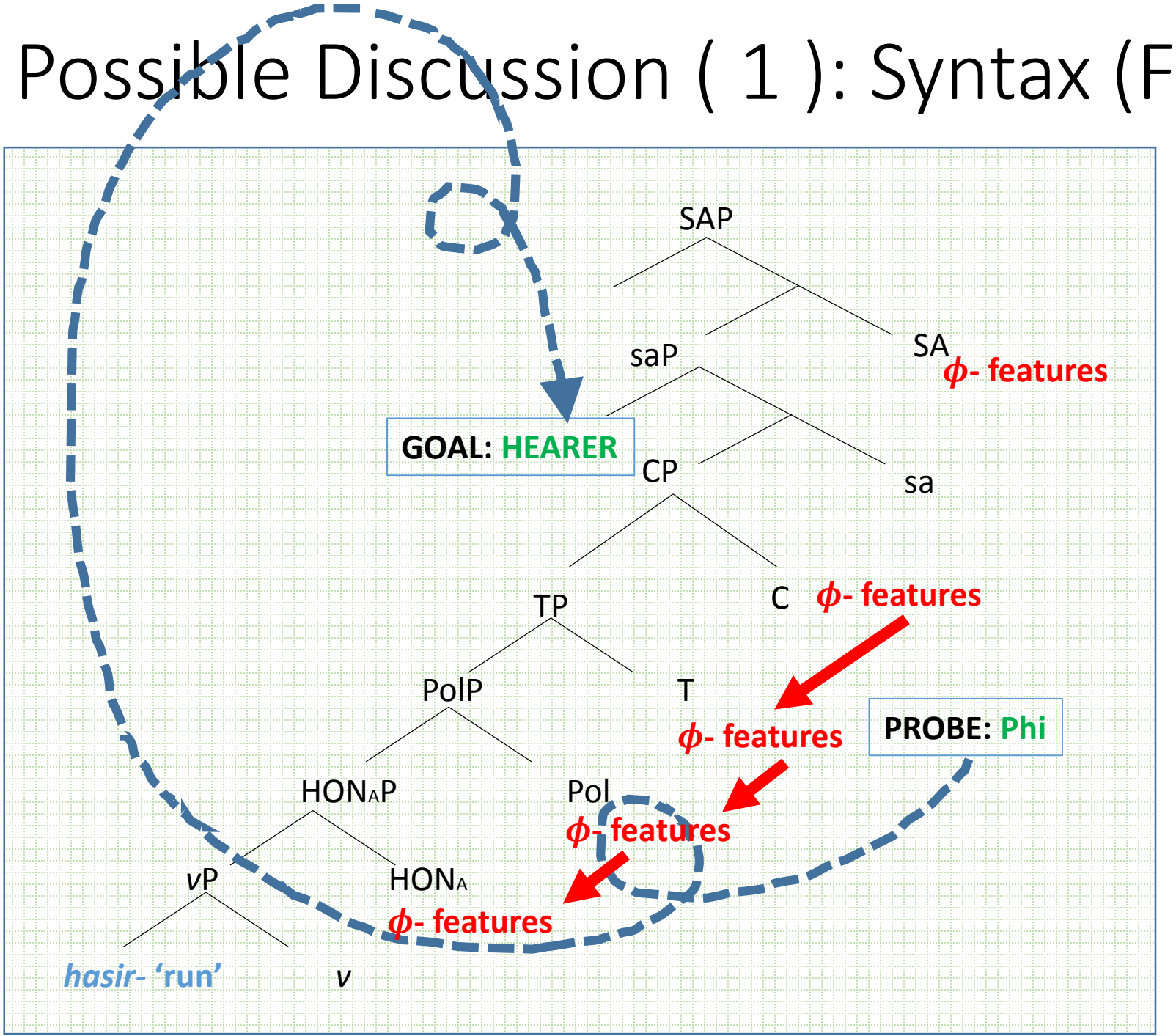
Question 2: How does the addressee-honorific meaning contribute to the context?

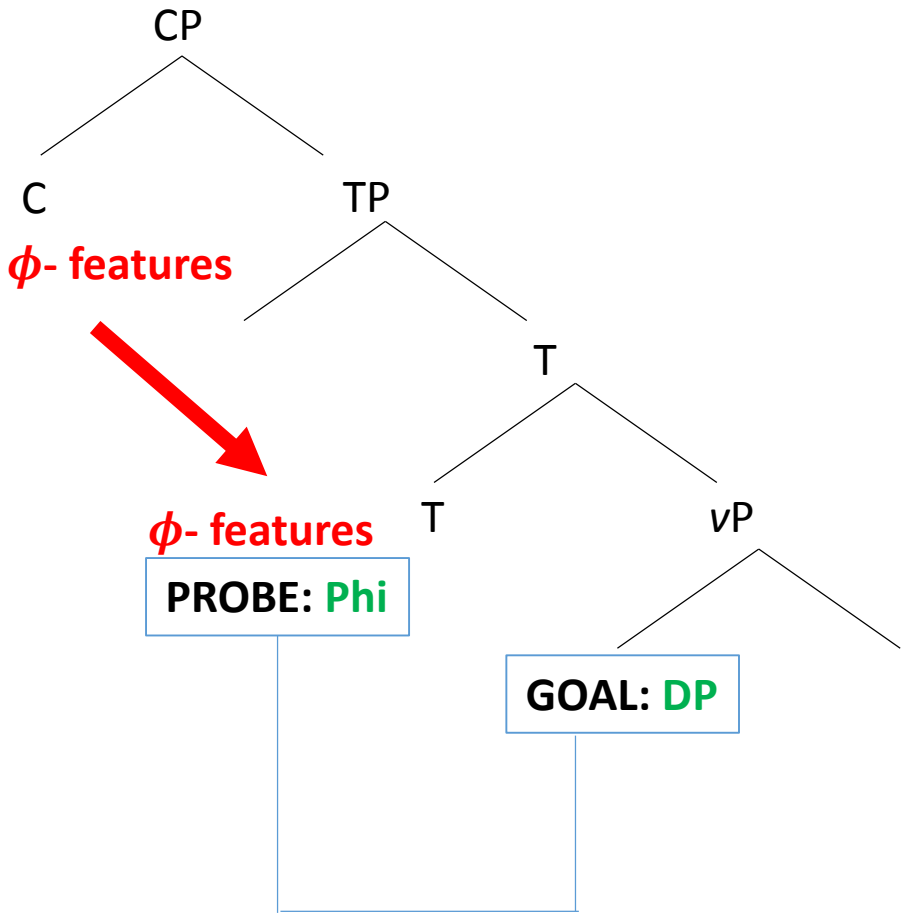
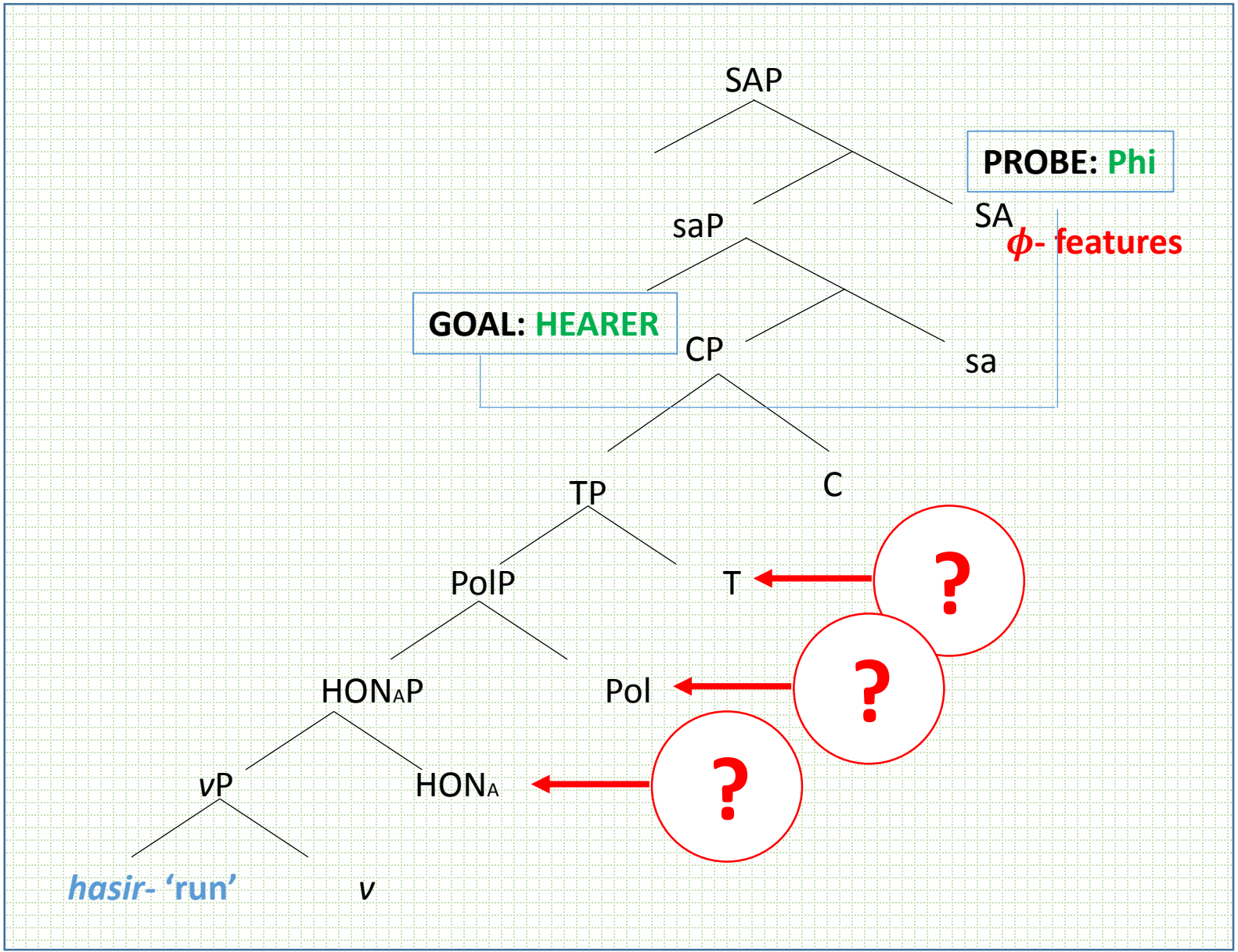
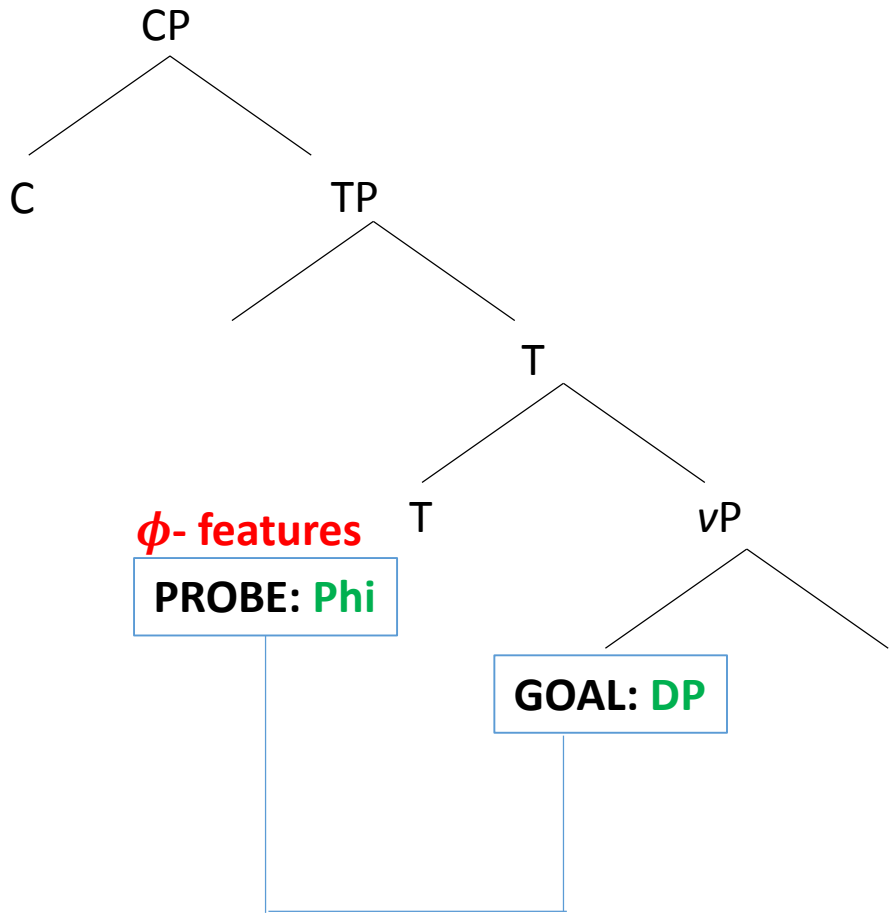
Update to the parameter (posterior distribution)



Thank you so much!

Possible Discussion (1): Syntax (Feature Inheritance)





Possible Discussion (2): Syntax (Agreement)