Variation among honorific verbal suffixes and their interaction with second-person honorific subjects

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Abstract: When it comes to honorific verbal suffixes, many would think that they are restricted to few East-Asian languages (e.g., Korean and Japanese). However, the recent survey has revealed that geneologically unrelated languages also possess comparable constructions (Yamada 2019, to appear).

In the first half of this presentation, we will examine such **cross-linguistic variation**, and in so doing try to pin down the peculiarities of Japanese addressee-honorific verbal suffixes.

The second half of this study approaches these peculiarities from a **theoretical perspective**, presenting an analysis as to how the commonality and differences among honorific expressions emerge in human languages. In particular, we discuss the interaction between honorific verbal suffixes and second-person honorific subjects.

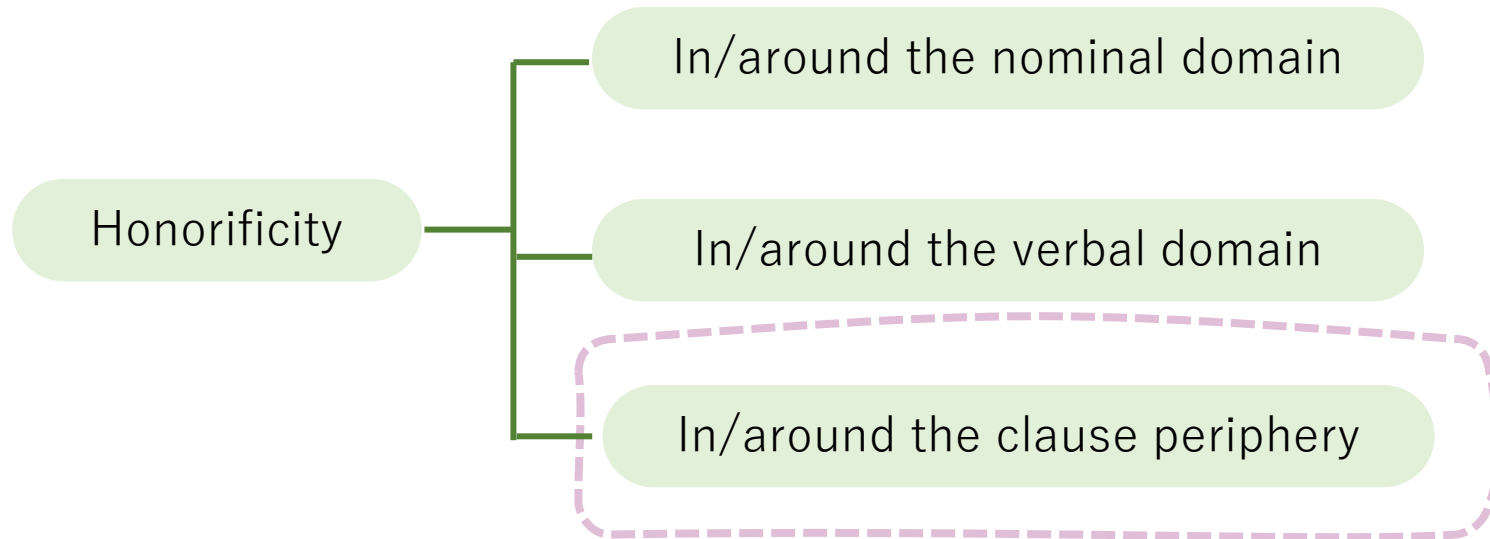# PART I
Honorific suffixes across the world

Typology

1 Introduction

Introduction

Morphosyntactic Features

- Number, Person, Gender, Case: **'STARS!'**

- Honorificity: **a marginal status**

In/around the nominal domain

Honorificity

In/around the verbal domain

In/around the clause periphery

Introduction

In/around the nominal domain

Pronouns   Common nouns   Derivational suffixes

predicate

He goes.

argument

In/around the verbal domain

Subject-honorifics   Object-honorifics

Introduction

In/around the verbal domain

| Subject-honorifics | Object-honorifics |

Subject-honorifics

(1) Middle Japanese

tyuunagon-no	*kimi-wa*	*upe-o*	*mi-**tatematuri**-**tamap**-eba,*
vice councillor-GEN	noble person-TOP	noble woman-ACC	look-HONo-HONs-when

(i) when the noble person, who is the vice councillor, has looked at the noble woman, …;
(ii) the speaker respects the referent of the subject (= the vice councillor);
(iii) the speaker respects the referent of the object (= the noble woman)

浜松中納言物語

Introduction

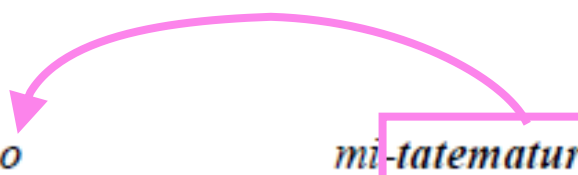## In/around the verbal domain

| Subject-honorifics | Object-honorifics |

Object-honorifics

(1) Middle Japanese

tyuunagon-no	*kimi-wa*	*upe-o*	*mi-tatematuri-tamap-eba,*
vice councillor-GEN	noble person-TOP	noble woman-ACC	look-HONo-HONs-when

(i) when the noble person, who is the vice councillor, has looked at the noble woman, ...;
(ii) the speaker respects the referent of the subject (= the vice councillor);
(iii) the speaker respects the referent of the object (= the noble woman)

浜松中納言物語

Introduction

Clause periphery

Addressee-honorifics

AH-upgraders

Honorifics in clause periphery

He goes.

Introduction

Addressee-honorifics　　　　　　　　AH-upgraders

Addressee honorifics

(2) Middle Korean

maja pwuin-i … *esten injen-ulo* *jelaj-lól* *nas-**sóβ-ósi**-ni-**ngi**-sko*

Lady Maja-NOM　　　　what fate-as　　Buddha-ACC　give.birth.to-OH-SH-IND-AH-Q

'For what fate, did Lady Maja give birth to Buddha?' (Sohn 2015:177)

Introduction

Addressee-honorifics   AH-upgraders

Addressee-honorific upgraders

Dependency on an *AH*-marker

a. ***Watasi**-wa sore-o sir-anai.*
   I-TOP   it-ACC know-HONₐ-NEG
   'I do not know that.'

b. ***Watasi**-wa sore-o siri-mas-en.*
   I-TOP   it-ACC know-HONₐ-NEG
   '(i) I do not know that;
   (ii) the speaker respects the addressee.'

a. * ***Watasi**-wa sore-o zonzi-nai.*
   I-TOP   it-ACC know.HONᵤ-HONₐ-NEG
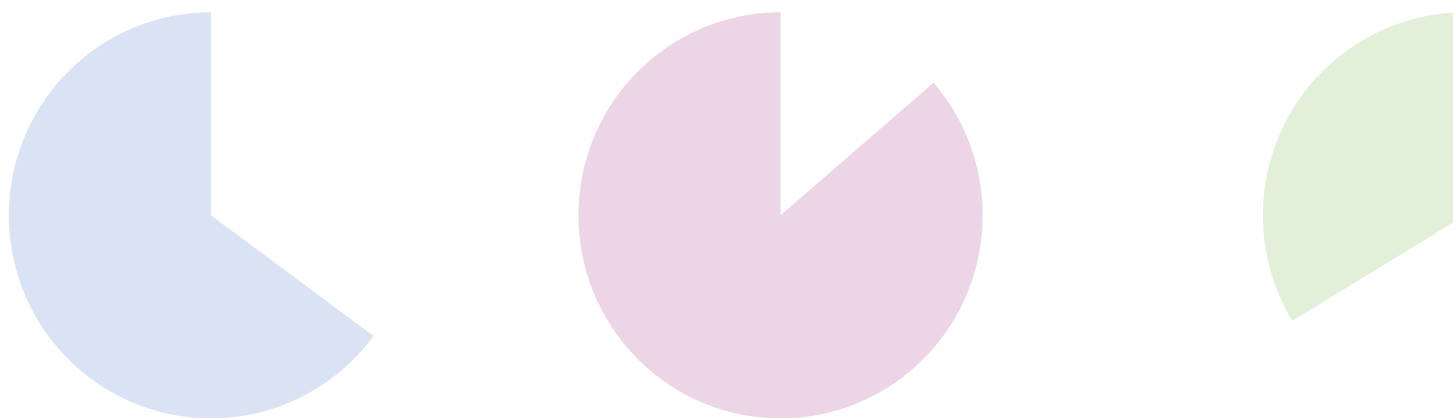   '(i) I do not know that;
   (ii) the referent of the subject, who is in the speaker's territory, is
   not as highly respected as the addressee (intended).'

b. ***Watasi**-wa sore-o zonzi-mas-en.*
   I-TOP   it-ACC know.HONᵤ-HONₐ-NEG
   '(i) I do not know that;
   (ii) the speaker respects the addressee;
   (iii) the referent of the subject, who belongs to the speaker's territory,
   is not as highly respected as the addressee.'

2 Towards the typology of addressee-honorifics

Yamada, Akitaka (to appear, manuscript) Honorificity. In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Morphology,* ed. by Peter Ackema, Sabrina Bendjaballah, Eulàlia Bonet, and Antonio Fábregas.

The manuscript is available online:

https://www.akitaka-yamada-georgetown-university.com/publications

Addressee-honorific markers

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Typological parameters

Morphosyntactic Realization

Historical development/source

Addressee honorifics

Pronunciation site/position

Grammatical interaction

Addressee-honorific markers

Parameters for typological variations

Realization	Position	Source	Interaction

Typological parameters

Morphosyntactic Realization

Historical development/source

Addressee honorifics

Pronunciation site/position

Grammatical interaction

Addressee-honorific markers

Parameters for typological variations

Realization	Position	Source	Interaction

Parameter 1: Morphosyntactic realization

Independent morpheme

(3) a. Japanese

anata-_wa_ _ramu-o_   _yon-dei-_**_masi_**-_ta._
2hon-TOP Ram-ACC call-PRG-HONₐ-PST

'You were calling Ram.'

b. Burmese

nəmɛ   _bɛlo_   _kʰɔ_-**_pa_**-_θə-lɛ́._
name   how   call-HONₐ-REAL-Q

'What would your name be?'   (Okell and Allott 2001: 114; Romeo
2008: 80)

Addressee-honorific markers

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 1: Morphosyntactic realization
Fusion

(4) **Gender**

Thai (Yamada 2019:341)

a.   *kháw*   *maa*   *khráp.*

he   come   AH.MASC

'(i) He comes;
(ii) the speaker respects the addressee (male).'

Thai (Smyth 2002:126)

a.   *khráp*   b.   *khâ*   c.   *khá*   d.   *khăa*

AH.MASC   AH.FEM.DECL   AH.FEM.Q   AH.FEM.Q.PROX

Morphosyntactic realization

Parameters for typological variations

Realization | Position | Source | Interaction

Parameter 1: Morphosyntactic realization

Fusion

(5)　**Sentence-mood**

Korean

a. Inho-ka　choysen-ul ta ha-ess-**supnita**.
Inho-NOM best-ACC　all do-PST-DECL.FORM

b. Inho-ka　choysen-ul ta ha-ess-**eyo**.
Inho-NOM best-ACC　all do-PST-DECL.POL

c. Inho-ka　choysen-ul ta ha-ess-**o**.
Inho-NOM best-ACC　all do-PST-DECL.SEMIFORM

d. Inho-ka　choysen-ul ta ha-ess-**ney**.
Inho-NOM best-ACC　all do-PST-DECL.FAM

e. Inho-ka　choysen-ul ta ha-ess-**e**.
Inho-NOM best-ACC　all do-PST-DECL.INTIM

f. Inho-ka　choysen-ul ta ha-ess-**ta**.
Inho-NOM best-ACC　all do-PST-DECL.PLN

'Inho did his best.'

Morphosyntactic realization

Realization	Position	Source	Interaction

Parameter 1: Morphosyntactic realization

Fusion

(6)   **Subject-honorifics**

Magahi

Baabaa   dauR-la-thi(n).
grandfather.H run-PRF-HS.HHA
'Grandfather ran.'   (to a teacher)

Subject	Addressee		
	NH	H	HH
NH	-au	-o	-ain
H	-thu(n)	-thu(n)	-thi(n)
HH	-thu(n)	-thu(n)	-thi(n)

Addressee-honorific markers

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Typological parameters

Morphosyntactic Realization

Historical development/source

Addressee honorifics

Pronunciation site/position

Grammatical interaction

Position

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | **Position** | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Clause periphery

(7)   Korean   Portner et al. (2019: 3)

a. *Ecey   pi-ka   o-ass-**supnita**.*
    yesterday   rain-NOM   come-PST-DECL.HONₐ

    '(i) It rained yesterday;

    (ii) the speaker respects the addressee.'

b. * *Inho-ka   [ecey   pi-ka   o-ass-**supnita**-ko]*
    Inho-NOM   yesterday   rain-NOM   come-PST-DECL.HONₐ-C

    malhayss-supnita.
    said-DECL.HONₐ

    '(i) Inho said [that it rained yesterday];

    (ii) the speaker respects the addressee (intended).'

Position

Parameter 2: Position

Clause periphery

(8) Thai

a. *lian*   *yêɛ*   *ləy* *lɔ̌* ***khráp***.
    study problematic PP   Q   HONᴀ.MASC

    '(i) She studies so badly?;

    (ii) the speaker respects the addressee, who is a male.'

b. * *Sakol* *bɔ̀ɔk* [*waaa* *kháw* *maa* ***khráp***]   *khráp*.
    Sakol say   that   he   come   HONᴀ.MASC   HONᴀ.MASC

    '(i) Sakol says [that he comes];

    (ii) the speaker respects the addressee, who is a male (intended).'

Position

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Below Q/C

(9)   Tamil (McFadden 2017, 2018)

a. *Naan   jaangiri   vaang-in-een-ŋæ.*
    I   Jangri   buy-PST-1.SG.SUBJ-ALLOC
    '(i) I bought Jangri; (ii) the speaker respects the addressee(s).'

b. *indæ   biiʧŭ   peerŭ   Marina,   illæ-ŋæḷ-aa?*
    this   beach   name   Marina   no-ALLOC-Q
    '(i) This beach's name is Marina, isn't it?;
    (ii) the speaker respects the addressee.'

c. *Maya   [avæ   pooʈʈi-le   ʤejkkæ-poo-r-aaḷ-ŋæ-nnŭ]*
    Maya   she   contest-LOC   win-PST-1.SG-ALLOC-C
    so-nn-aa
    say-PST-3.SG.FEM.SUBJ
    '(i) Maya said that she would win the contest;
    (ii) the speaker of the utterance context respects the addressee of the
    utterance context.'

Position

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | **Position** | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Below Q/C

(10) Punjabi   (Kaur 2019)

   a. *karan*   *aayaa*   *je*   *kii?*
        Karan.NOM come.PRF.MASC.SG ALLOC Q
        '(i) Has Karan come?;
        (ii) the speaker is talking to an honorific hearer.'

   b. *karan-ne*   *keyaa*   [*ki*   *raam*
        Karan-ERG.PL say.PRF.MASC.SG that Ram
        aayaa   *je*].
        come.PRF.MASC.SG ALLOC
        '(i) Karan said that Mira has come home;
        (ii) the speaker is talking to an honorific hearer.'

Position

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Below Q/C

(11) Basque

a. *Pette-k   lan   egin   d-i-zü.*
Peter-ERG work done EXPL-ROOT-ALLOC:RESP

'(i) Peter worked;

(ii) the speaker uses neutral/polite form to the addressee (vou-voiement).' (Oyharçabal 1993: 93; Haddican 2018)

b. *Jon-ek   esa-n   d-i-k   [etorri-ko*
Jon-ERG say-PRF EXPL-ROOT-ALLOC:MASC come-IRREAL

d-u-(%k)-ela].
EXPL-ROOT-ALLOC:MASC-C

'(i) Jon has said that he will come;

(ii) the speaker is talking to a familiar, male speaker.'

Position

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | **Position** | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Below T/Realis

(12) Burmese

a. *nəmɛ bɛlo kʰɔ-**pa**-θə-lɛ́.*
   name how call-HONₐ-REAL-Q
   'What would your name be?' (Okell and Allott 2001: 114, Rom... 2008: 80)

b. *[ʔǎlò çî-**bà**-gâ]   hmà-bà*
   need exist-HONₐ-if order-HONₐ
   '(i) If necessary, order (me)/let me know;
   (ii) the speaker respects the addressee.'

burmese

前へ

Position

Realization	Position	Source	Interaction

Parameter 2: Position

Below T/Realis

(13) Early Middle Japanese: *-pab(y)er*

a. *mi-kokoro-pa* [TP[NegP[[vP *siri-*]-**pab(y)er**]-*azari*]-*keri*].
   HON-heart-TOP   know-HONᴀ-NEG-PST

   '(i) I did not know your idea/thoughts;

   (ii) the speaker respects the addressee.' (Genji Monogatari, Azu-
   maya; Yamagishi 1963: 139)

b. [*tamakura-no*   *sode*   *wasure-**pab(y)eru***] *ori-ya*
   hand pillow-GEN sleeve forget-HONᴀ.ADN   time-FOC.Q
   pab(y)eru.
   exist.HONᴀ.ADN

   '(i) Is there a time when I forget the sleeve of your hand pillow? (a
   rhetorical question);

   (ii) the speaker respects the addressee.' (Izumishikibu Nikki 1010)

Position

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Below T/Realis

(14) Early Middle Japanese: -*saburaw*

  a. *tikara* [[ₙₑgₚ[*oyobi-***saburaw**]-*az*]   *ari-turu*]
      power   reach out-HONₐ-NEG COP-PRF.ADN

    '(i) (My) power did not reach out (= I could not help it);

    (ii) the speaker respects the addressee.' (Ujishuui Monogatari 1220;

    from Watanabe and Nishio 1960: 125; Yamada 2018b)

  b. [[... *kaeri-gataki* *hongoku-pe*   *kaeri-***saburawu**   *koto*]-*o* ...
           return-hard real world-to return-HONₐ.ADN C-ACC

    *e-siri-***saburaw**-*ade*]   ...
    cannot-know-HONₐ-without

    '(i) ... [without being able to understand [the fact that (I) go back to

    the real life, to which people cannot go back this easily] (as ...)];

    (ii) the speaker respects the addressee.' (Ujishuui Monogatari 1220)

Position

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Inside a VV-compound

(15)

Early Middle Japanese: *-tamap*

[[*setini* *mir-u-beki*] *koto-no* *paber-u*]-*o*
immediately cope with-PRS-must thing-GEN exist.HONₐ.ADN-ACC

*omopi-**tamape**-ide-te-namu*
think-HONₐ-come-CV-FOC

'(i) (I came to this place) remembering that there is a thing I must do immediately;

(ii) the speaker respects the addressee (< *paber*);

(iii) the speaker respects the addressee (< *-tamape*)'

Position

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | **Position** | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Multiple AH constructions

(16) Contemporary Japanese

a. Present

  (i) [[*Hasiri*]-***mas***-*u*].
     run-HON_A-PRS

    '(I) run.'

  (ii) [[*Hasiri*-***mas***]-*en*].
     run-HON_A-NEG

    '(I) do not run.'

b. Past

  (i) [_{TP}[_{NegP} *Hasiri*]-***masi***-*ta*].
     run-HON_A-PST

    '(I) ran.'

  (ii) [_{TP}[_{NegP}[*Hasiri*]-***mas***-*en*] [*desi-ta*]].
     run-HON_A-NEG   COP.HON_A-PST

    '(I) did not run.'

Position

| Realization | **Position** | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 2: Position

Multiple AH constructions

(17) Middle Japanese

pitobito [[_NegP_[*motii-**sooraw**]-azu] **sooraw**-iki]
people use-HON_A-NEG HON_A-PST

'(i) people did not use (it);

(ii) the speaker respects the addressee.' (Tooyoo Bunko Benkan Honin

Urabunsyo 1223; Kamakura Ibun #3078)

Addressee-honorific markers

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Typological parameters

Morphosyntactic Realization

Historical development/source

Addressee honorifics

Pronunciation site/position

Grammatical interaction

Source

Parameters for typological variations

Realization	Position	**Source**	Interaction

Parameter 3: Source
Phi-feature (Number)

(18) Punjabi (Kaur, to appear)

aman	*kitaab*	*paRh*	*reyaa*	*je*
Aman.NOM	book	read	PRG.M.SG	AH/PL

'Aman is reading a book.' (to a plural/honorific hearer)

Source

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 3: Source

Content honorifics

(19) Middle Japanese *–ma(w)iras: an object-honorific high-applicative marker*

Apare,   *otoko-no*   *mi-nite*   *kaku*   *ip-are-**mawirase**-baya*
alas   man-GEN   body-as   so   ask-PASS-HONo-EXCL

'(i) Alas, I wish (you/my sister) were asked the same favor (by the ex-emperor) as a male servant;

(ii) the speaker respects the referent of the implied oblique noun (= the ex-emperor) (< *-mawirase*).'

Source

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 3: Source

Content honorifics

(20) Middle Japanese *–maras: an addressee-honorific marker*

namida-o   nagas-are-**marasi**-ta.
tears-ACC   spill-HONs-HONa-PST

'(i) (People) spilled tears;

(ii) the speaker respects the referent of the subject (< -*are*);

(iii) the speaker respects the addressee (< -*marasi*).' (Amakusaban

Heike Monogatari 3-4, 173; Miyachi 1980: 166)'

Addressee-honorific markers

Parameters for typological variations

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Typological parameters

Morphosyntactic Realization

Historical development/source

Addressee honorifics

Pronunciation site/position

Grammatical interaction

Interaction

Realization	Position	Source	Interaction

Parameter 4: Interaction with other grammatical elements

Ban of a second-person subject

(21) Tamil (McFadden 2020:404)

a. *_niiŋæ_   _rombaa_   _smart-aa_   _iru-kk-iiŋæ-ŋæ_

 you.PL   very   smart-PRED   be-PRS-2PL-AH

 'You're very smart (intended).'

b. _ongaĺ- ŭkkŭ_   _coffee_   _veeṇum-aa-ŋæ?_

 you.PL.OBL-DAT   coffee   want-Q-AH

 'Do you want coffee?'

Interaction

Parameters for typological variations

Realization | Position | Source | **Interaction**

Parameter 4: Interaction with other grammatical elements

Ban of a second-person subject

(22) Punjabi (Kaur and Yamada 2021)

a. *tusii*   *raam-nuu*   *bulaa raye*   *so*   *(*je)*

     2pl.nom Ram-DOM call   prog.m.hon be.pst.2pl alloc.pl

     'You were calling Ram.'

b. *raam*   *twaa-nuu*   *bulaa reyaa*   *sii*   *je*

     Ram.nom 2pl.obl-DOM call   prog.m.sg be.pst.3sg alloc.pl

     'Ram was calling you.'

Interaction

| Realization | Position | Source | Interaction |

Parameter 4: Interaction with other grammatical elements

*Ban of a second-person subject

(23) Japanese (Kaur and Yamada 2021)

a. ***anata*-wa *ramu-o* *yon-dei-masi-ta*.**
2hon-TOP Ram-ACC call-PRG-HONₐ-PST

'You were calling Ram.'

b. *ramu-wa* ***anata*-o** *yon-dei-masi-ta*.
Ram.TOP 2hon-ACC call-PRG-HONₐ-PST

'Ram was calling you.'

PART II
Honorific verbal suffixes and second-person honorific subjects

Joint-project with Gurmeet Kaur (Georg-August Universität Göttingen)

Based on our work Kaur and Yamada (2021, to appear)

Theoretical approach

Ⅰ Introduction

Allocutivity

- Allocutivity is a phenomenon, where certain languages have distinct verbal morphology that encodes the addressee of the speech act (Oyharçabal, 1993; Miyagawa, 2012; Antonov, 2015; McFadden, 2020; Kaur, 2017; 2020a; 2020b; Haddican, 2018; Alok and Baker, 2018; Yamada, 2019b; Alok, 2020 etc.)

(1) Subject vs. speaker agreement in Jingpo (Dai 2010:5)

   a. Jongma du   hkum   ma-s-ai   *(subject agreement, neutral)*
       student arrive complete PL-PERF-3:DECL

       'The students have all arrived.'

   b. Jongma du   hkum   sa-**ga**-ai   *(speaker agreement, bonding)*
       student arrive complete PERF-**1PL**-DECL

       'The students have all arrived.'

Ⅰ Introduction

Division 1: Interaction with the 2P subject
Group 1

Group 1 disallows allocutivity with agreeing 2nd person arguments (Basque, Tamil, Magahi, Punjabi). In the absence of phi-agreement, Group 2 (Korean, Japanese) does not restrict allocutivity with any 2nd person arguments.

(2) Punjabi

a. *tusii*   *raam-nuu*   *bulaa raye*   *so*   *(*je)*
    2pl.nom Ram-DOM call   prog.m.hon be.pst.2pl alloc.pl
    'You were calling Ram.'

b. *raam*   *twaa-nuu*   *bulaa reyaa*   *sii*   *je*
    Ram.nom 2pl.obl-DOM call   prog.m.sg be.pst.3sg alloc.pl
    'Ram was calling you.'

I Introduction

Division 1: Interaction with the 2P subject
Group 2

Group 1 disallows allocutivity with agreeing 2nd person arguments (Basque, Tamil, Magahi, Punjabi). In the absence of phi-agreement, Group 2 (Korean, Japanese) does not restrict allocutivity with any 2nd person arguments.

(3)   Japanese

a.   *anata*-wa *ramu-o   yon-dei-masi-ta.*
      2hon-TOP Ram-ACC call-PRG-HONA-PST

      'You were calling Ram.'

b.   *ramu-wa* **anata**-o   *yon-dei-masi-ta.*
      Ram.TOP 2hon-ACC call-PRG-HONA-PST

      'Ram was calling you.'

Ⅰ Introduction

Division 2: Mismatch

Furthermore, Group 1 also requires featural matching between non-agreeing 2nd person arguments and allocutivity. Group 2, in contrast, allows such featural mismatches.

(4) Punjabi (Group 1)

raam {*twaa/*tai*}-*nuu* *bulaa reyaa* *sii* *je*
Ram.nom 2pl.obl/2sg.obl-DOM call prog.m.sg be.pst.3sg alloc.pl

'Ram was calling you.'

(5) Japanese (Group 2)

ramu-wa {*anata/kimi*}-*o* *yon-dei-masi-ta*
Ram-TOP 2hon/2non_hon-ACC call-PRG-HONA-PST

'Ram was calling you.'

I Introduction

Goal

Question 1: What allows featural mismatch between allocutivity and 2nd person arguments in Group 2, but not in Group 1?

Key claim: Focusing on Japanese (Group 2), we claim that featural mismatches result from the distinct nature of pronouns in the language.

→ Japanese pronouns have rich (im)politeness meaning that cannot be decomposed into formal features, and hence is NOT inherited by the pronoun in syntax. In contrast, the allocutive marker obtains its politeness feature in syntax from the *Adr*/c.

2 Existing analyses

2 Existing analysis

Performative hypothesis

Speas and Tenny 2003；
Sigurðsson 2004；
Haegeman and Hill 2013；
Hill 2014；
Miyagawa 2012, 2017；
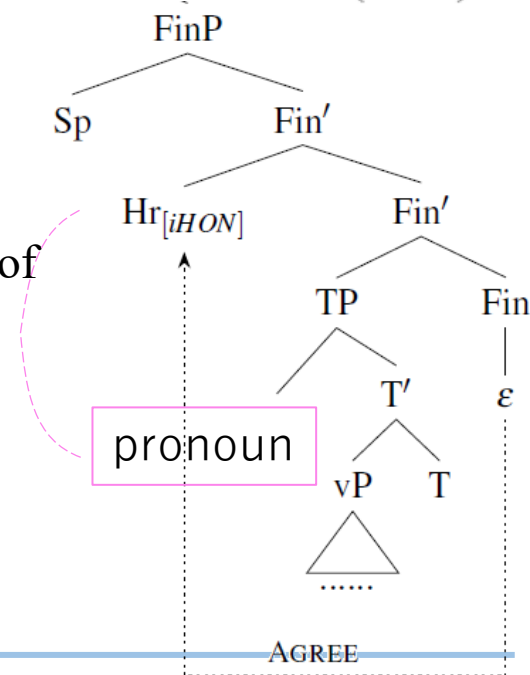Zu 2015, 2018；
Slocum 2016；
Thoma 2016；
Portner et al. 2019;
Yamada 2019

2 Existing analysis

Group 1

- For Group 1, an analysis due to Alok and Baker (2018) can be summed up follows:

  - Allocutivity corresponds to agreement between a functional head and the *Adr*(essee) in the left-periphery.

  - Pronoun = bound by HR

  - Addressee agreement is barred if another expression of the addressee triggers agreement on the verb.

2 Existing analysis

Group 1

- The key components of the analysis hold, as demonstrated below:

  - Allocutivity has been analyzed as agreement between the *Adr* and a functional head in all languages in Group 1 (Basque: Miyagawa, 2012; Punjabi: Kaur, 2020b, Tamil: McFadden, 2020 among others).

  - 1st/2nd person pronouns seem to behave like variables — this can be evidenced by the availability of bound variable readings for 1st/2nd person pronouns (assuming for e.g., Kratzer, 2009). See the following example, based on Rullman (2004).

    (6) *asii*   *saare socne*   *aaN*   [*asii*   *baRe syaane aaN*]
        1pl.nom all   think.m.pl be.pres.1pl 1pl.nom very smart   be.pres.1pl
        Indexical reading: 'We all (speaker and his/her associates) think that we are smart.'
        Bound variable reading: 'Each of us thinks that he/she is smart.'   (Punjabi)

2 Existing analysis

Group 2

- As for Group 2, Portner et al. (2019) propose an account for Korean.

- They analyze the speech style particles in Korean as realizations of c, a unique performative head in the left-periphery.

- 2nd person pronouns in the language are also argued to derive their honorific value from c.

- Like Alok and Baker (2018), this account predicts a match.

  In our proposal, Interlocutor is an argument of c and, when c binds a variable in the clause, its features are passed on to that variable. We therefore predict that, in Korean, speech style particles and second person pronouns always show the same value for the status feature. (Portner et al., 2019:27)

- However, this prediction is not borne out (also see Donovan and Palaz, 2020)

  (7) *Ne-na cal ha-si-eyo*
       you-na well do-hon-dc.pol
       'Mind your own business.' (Lit: 'YOU do well.')   (Korean, Pak 2015: 136)

3 Honorificity mismatches in Group 2: Japanese

3 Honorificity mismatches in Group 2: Japanese

Mismatch in Japanese

In Japanese, the allocutive marking and the pronoun do not have to match (Yamada, 2019b; Donovan and Palaz, 2020).

(8) a. Pronoun (hon) + Alloc (hon)   Matching

       anata-wa   *itumo muri-o*   *ossyai-**mas**-u.*

       you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say.HONs-HONA-u.

       'You are always asking me a difficult favor.'

   b. Pronoun (non-hon) + Alloc (hon)   Mismatching

       omae-wa   *itumo muri-o*   *ii-**mas**-u-ne.*

       you.NON_HON-TOP always impossible thing say-HONA-≚SFP

       'You are always asking me a difficult favor.'

- (8a): *Sp < Adr*, consider a situation where the *Sp* is a person in the customer service and must be polite, and the *Adr* is the customer, who always complains; the set-up is formal.

- (8b): *Sp > Adr*, consider a situation where a boss (*Sp*) is talking to his employee (*Adr*) and is being polite; the set-up is formal.

3 Honorificity mismatches in Group 2: Japanese

Mismatch in Japanese

In Japanese, the allocutive marking and the pronoun do not have to match (Yamada, 2019b; Donovan and Palaz, 2020).

(8)   c. Pronoun (hon) + Alloc (non-hon)   Mismatching

anata-wa   *itumo* *muri-o*   *ossyar-u.*
you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say.HONs-u.

'You are always asking me a difficult favor.'

d. Pronoun (hon) + Alloc (non-hon) (without SH)   Mismatching

anata-wa   *itumo* *muri-o*   *iw-u.*
you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say-u.

'You are always asking me a difficult favor.'

3 Honorificity mismatches in Group 2: Japanese

Mismatch in Japanese

In Japanese, the allocutive marking and the pronoun do not have to match (Yamada, 2019b; Donovan and Palaz, 2020).

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　　　　***anata*-wa**　　*itumo muri-o*　　　　　　　*ossyar-u.*
　　　　you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say.HONs-u.

　　　　'You are always asking me a difficult favor.'

　　　d. Pronoun (hon) + Alloc (non-hon) (without SH)   Mismatching

　　　　***anata*-wa**　　*itumo muri-o*　　　　　　　*iw-u.*
　　　　you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say-u.

　　　　'You are always asking me a difficult favor.'

– (8c): *Sp* < *Adr*; while the *Sp* is being polite to the *Adr*, he/she does not truly respect the *Adr*. Consider a situation where a journalist is talking to the president of a country, who he does not like very much but must be respectful to. The structure produces a sarcastic effect due to the use of the 'polite' subject and its corresponding agreement on the one hand, but the absence of the allocutive marker on the other.

3 Honorificity mismatches in Group 2: Japanese

Mismatch in Japanese

In Japanese, the allocutive marking and the pronoun do not have to match (Yamada, 2019b; Donovan and Palaz, 2020).

(8)   c. Pronoun (hon) + Alloc (non-hon)   Mismatching

anata-wa   *itumo muri-o*   *ossyar-u.*
you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say.HONs-u.

'You are always asking me a difficult favor.'

         d. Pronoun (hon) + Alloc (non-hon) (without SH)   Mismatching

anata-wa   *itumo muri-o*   *iw-u.*
you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say-u.

'You are always asking me a difficult favor.'

– (8d): $Sp < Adr$; the situation is comparable to 8c; however, the status of the Adr in 8d is not as high as that in 8c. For 8c, the Adr could be a president, a governor and so on. In 8d, on the other hand, the Adr can be a teacher, a senior or other people intermediately respected by the society.

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Previous analysis

- The allocutive marker in Japanese encodes the honorific relation between the speaker and the addressee.

(9)　a.　*ame-ga　　hut-teir-u.*
　　　　 rain-NOM fall-PRG-PRS

　　　　 'It is raining.' (Akitaka to his wife)

　　b.　*ame-ga　　hut-tei-mas-u.*
　　　　 rain-NOM fall-PRG-HONA-PRS

　　　　 'It is raining.' (Akitaka to his supervisor)

- Such examples have led scholars to treat *-mas-* as encoding the social hierarchy between the speaker and his/her honorific addressee (Miyagawa, 2017:19).

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Previous analysis

Feature

· Status: Sp < Hr

"[the sentence with *-mas* is] uttered to an addressee who is socially superior to the speaker (Miyagawa 2017)."

Position

· *-mas* is located at C, which then moves to SA, so it can c-command the Hr.

Miyagawa (2012, 2017)
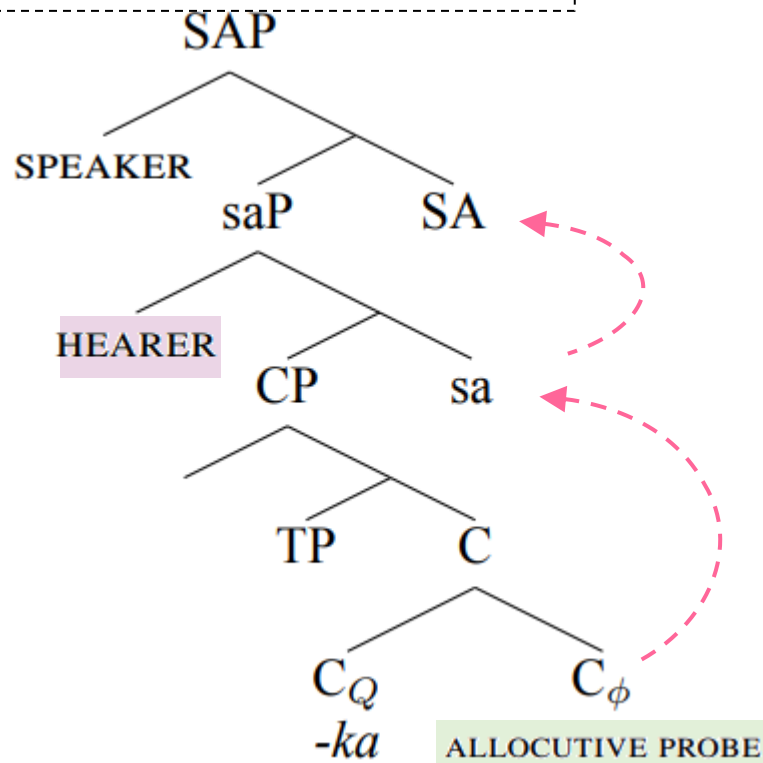
4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Intro | Existing analysis | mismatch | -mas | pronouns | Conclusion

Miyagawa (2017) | Feature | Position

Feature: Is it sensitive to the Social Hierarchy?

- However, the honorific relation is not directly determined by social hierarchy. Consider the following scenarios:

(10)
   a. Student talking to a teacher ($Sp < Adr$): √ *-mas-*
   b. Student talking to a teacher ($Sp < Adr$): √ no *-mas-*
      → speaker does not want to be polite and instead indicates extra intimacy or boredom
   c. Teacher talking to a student ($Sp > Adr$): √ no *-mas-*
   d. Teacher talking to a student ($Sp > Adr$): √ *-mas-*
      → speaker wants to convey politeness

- Given the above situations, it is clear that the intent of the speaker is intrinsic to the use of *-mas-*.

- We thus treat *-mas-* as consisting of a [+/-politeness] feature, where politeness is defined by the speaker's intent in a situation regardless of the socially determined hierarchy. [1]

- *-mas-* does not consist of any additional features: it is number and gender-neutral.

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

| Intro | Existing analysis | mismatch | -mas | pronouns | Conclusion |

| Miyagawa (2017) | Feature | Position |

Feature: Is it sensitive to the Social Hierarchy?

- Following Portner et al. (2019), we also assume a c in the left-periphery which is the locus of performative meaning and hosts a relational feature between the speaker and the addressee.

Feature

- [status] feature is modeled as manipulating the social hierarchy among the discourse participants.

- In contrast, as shown in (10), hierarchy is not directly associated with the use of *-mas-*.

- For this reason, we propose a feature named POLITENESS, distinct from the status feature for Japanese *-mas-*.

(11)   *-mas-* $\rightarrow$ [politeness:$< Sp, +, Adr >$]

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Position: Does it appear in left periphery?

Position

Question 2: Does *-mas-* realize at c akin to Korean, or is it the result of agreement with features located at c like in Group 1 systems?

- Previous studies:

  - **Group 2 (Korean)**: Allocutivity in Korean has been analysed by Portner et al. (2019) not as agreement — instead, SSPs realize c, locus of performative meaning.

  - **Group 1 (Basque, Punjabi, Magahi, Tamil)**: In Group 1, allocutivity is analysed as agreement between a functional head and the *Adr*/c in clausal periphery.

  - For Japanese too, the agreement analysis has been proposed (Miyagawa, 2012, 2017; Yamada, 2019b), as we now illustrate.

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

| Intro | Existing analysis | mismatch | -mas | pronouns | Conclusion |

| Miyagawa (2017) | Feature | Position |

Position: Does it appear in left periphery?

- Developing the idea that Japanese allocutivity involves an agreement relation, Yamada (2019b) establishes that it is located at the head of ΣP, assuming the following clause-structure:

(12) $[_{CP}$ $[_{TP}$ $[_{ΣP}$ $[_{AspP}$ $[_{vP}$ ...]]]]]

- Three pieces of evidence to show that *-mas-* is NOT realized at c are as follows:

> 1. Given the MIRROR PRINCIPLE (Baker, 1985), the order of morphemes in (13) suggests that it is between Asp (Prg) and Σ which hosts negation.

(13) *kare-wa hasit-tei-**mas**-en   desi-ta   ka ne?*
he-TOP run-PRG-HONₐ-NEG HONₐ.COP-PST Q SFP
'Wasn't he running?'

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Position: Does it appear in left periphery?

2. In Japanese, ΣP is the syntactic unit susceptible to several phonological/syntactic operations. Consistently, *-mas-* falls within this domain.

– First, it is the target of the LH...HL PITCH CONTOUR ASSIGNMENT (Yamada, 2019a):

$$(14) \quad [_{TP}[_{ΣP} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L}] \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L}]$$

ha.	*re.*	**-ma.**	*s*	*-e.*	N.	*de.*	*si.*	*-ta.*
clear up		HONₐ		-NEG		be.HONₐ		-PST

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Position: Does it appear in left periphery?

2. In Japanese, ΣP is the syntactic unit susceptible to several phonological/syntactic operations. Consistently, *-mas-* falls within this domain.

– Second, in Japanese, the ΣP constitutes the elided domain (in contrast with English where it is the vP). As shown below, *-mas-* is obligatorily elided with the negated verbal complex (Yamada, 2019a).

(15)   Lucia: [TP [ΣP   *Iki-mas-en*]   *desi-ta*]   *yo*   *ne*?
go-HONA-NEG   COP.HONA-PST   SFP   SFP
'Did you not go?'

James: a.   *[vP *Iki*]   *mas-en*   *desi-ta*   *ne*.
go   HONA-NEG   COP.HONA-PST   SFP

b.   [ΣP *Iki-mas-en*]   *desi-ta*   *ne*.
go-HONA-NEG   COP.HONA-PST   SFP
'He did not (go).'

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Position: Does it appear in left periphery?

2. In Japanese, ΣP is the syntactic unit susceptible to several phonological/syntactic operations. Consistently, *-mas-* falls within this domain.

– Third, SOO-REPLACEMENT also targets the same region, which includes *-mas-*, as illustrated in (16) (Yamada, 2019a).

(16) Lucia: *Paul-wa*   [*iki-mas-en*]   *desi-ta.*
Paul-TOP   go-HONA-NEG   COP.HONA-PST
'Paul did not go.'

James: *Elena-mo*   [***soo***   ]   *desi-ta*   *yo*   *ne.*
Elena-also   so   COP.HONA-PST   SFP   SFP
'Elena did not do so, either.'

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

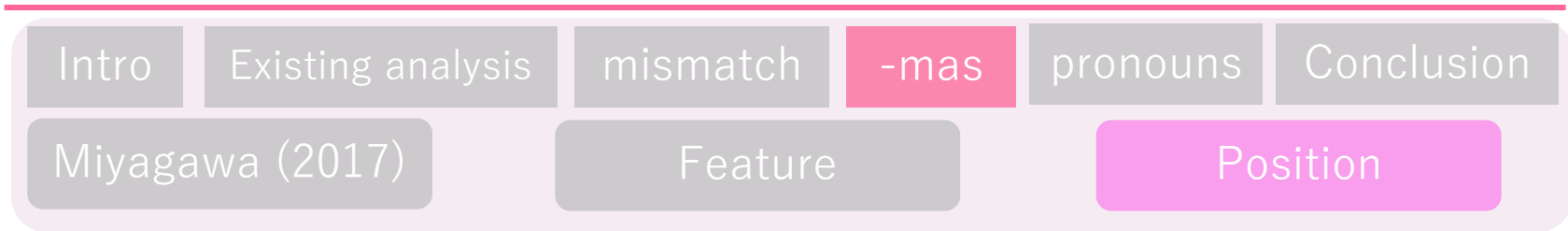## Position: Does it appear in left periphery?

3. Finally, *-mas-* is EMBEDDABLE.

- Portner et al. (2019) argue that utterance-oriented particles that are syntactically realized at c cannot be embedded because cP hosts non-propositional, performative meaning that cannot be represented as an individual.
- It can therefore not serve as one of the arguments of a lexical functor such as a verb.
- However, as shown in Kaur and Yamada (2019) and Yamada (2019b), *-mas-* is embeddable in *koto clauses*, which do not have direct speech usage.

(17)   [*gakusei-wa sensei-ga*   *intai*   *s-are-**mas**-u-koto-o*]   ***nozonde***
       student-TOP teacher-NOM retirement do-HONs-ALLOC-PRS-COMP-ACC desire
       ori-mas-en.
       PRF-ALLOC-NEG
       'The students do not want the teacher (= you) to go into retirement.' (*-mas* = UttAddr)

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Position: Does it appear in left periphery?

- The above facts show that *-mas-* is not realized at c.

- Instead, it obtains at ΣP via agreement with the head of cP or the *Adr* in the left-periphery.

- Essentially, the c head enters syntax with a valued [politeness] feature. Σ hosts an unvalued [politeness] feature, which is valued by upward agreement.

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Position: Does it appear in left periphery?

(18)

Tree diagram:
- cP
  - c : $_i[politeness :< Sp, +, Adr >]$
  - ... TP
    - ΣP
      - AspP
        - ...
        - Asp *-te i-* $[politeness :< Sp, +, Adr >]$
      - Σ
        - Σ
    - T *-ta*

Agreement

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Miyagawa (2017)   Feature   Position

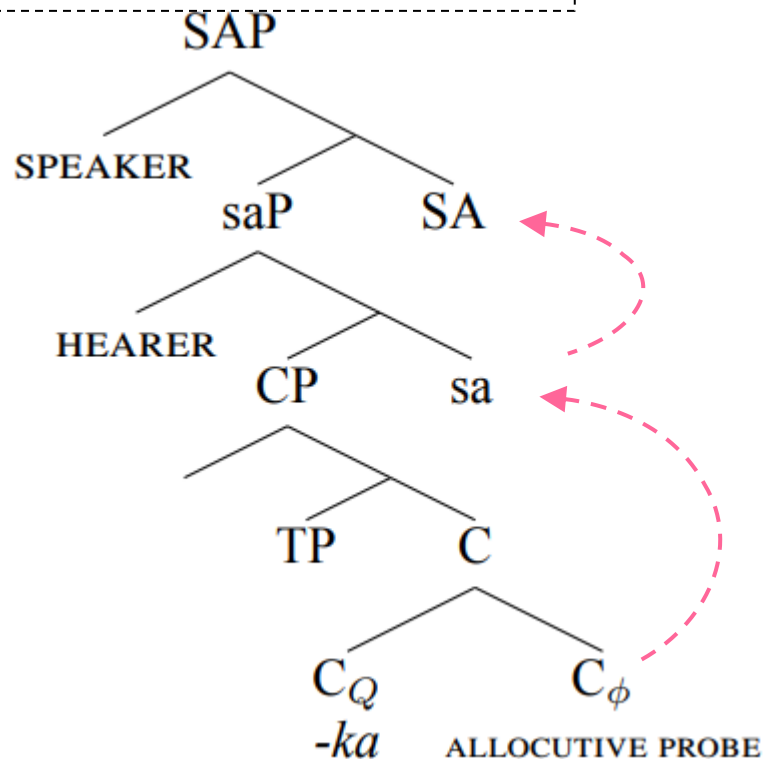## Previous analysis

Miyagawa (2012, 2017)

Feature

· Status: Sp < Hr

"[the sentence with *-mas* is] uttered to an addressee who is socially superior to the speaker (Miyagawa 2017)."

Position

· *-mas* is located at C, which then moves to SA, so it can c-command the Hr.

4 Morphosyntax of *-mas*

Proposal

Feature

· Politeness: < SP, +, HR >

Agreement

Position

· *-mas* is NOT located at C, but somewhere below T, which establishes an agreement relation with *c*.
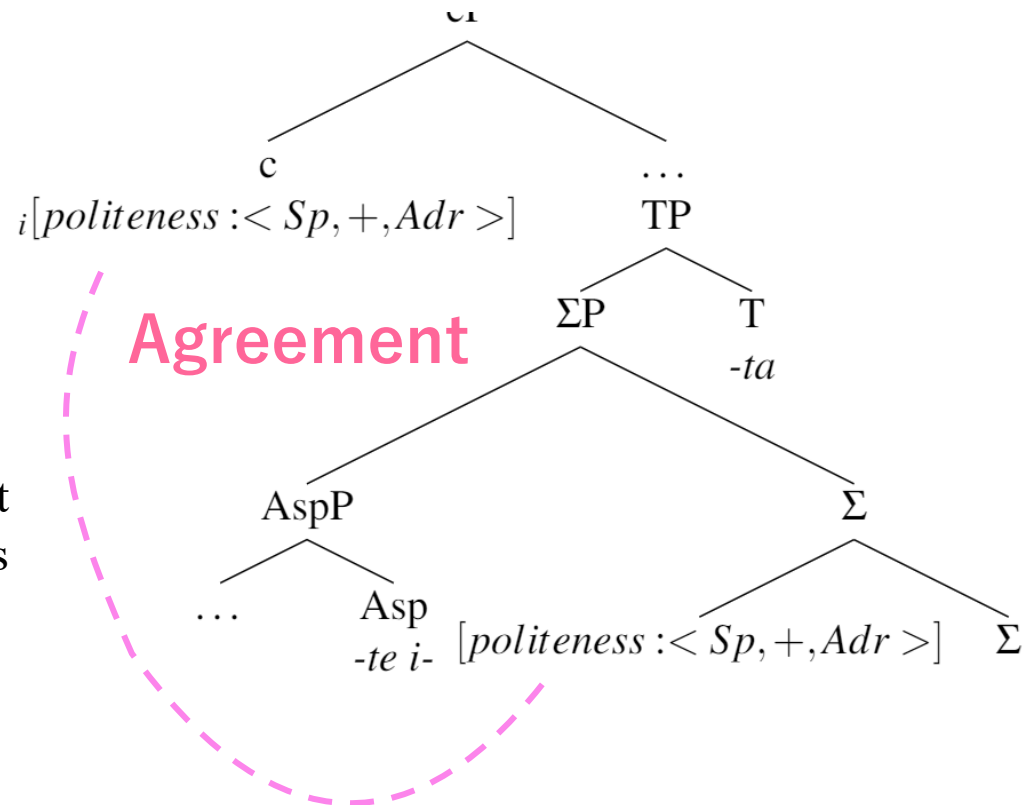
5 The Japanese pronominal system

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Intro	Existing analysis	mismatch	-mas	pronouns	Conclusion

Basic facts	Hypothesis 1	Hypothesis 2	Hypothesis 3

Basic facts: Japanese pronouns

- We first present a broad overview of Japanese pronouns:

1. **Paradigm:** Japanese 'pronouns' are unusual in that there are a large number of forms for each person (Kuroda, 1965; Hinds, 1971, 1975; Shibatani, 1990 among others).

(19)

Person	SG
1	*watakusi, watasi, wasi,* *wai, ware* (archaic), *warawa* (archaic), *wate* (archaic), *wagahai* (archaic) *atakusi, atasi, assi, atai,* *ore, ora, oira,* *boku, uti, mii, sessya, soregasi, tin,* *kotti, kotira, ...*
2	*omae, kisama, kimi, anata, anta, anchan,* *temee, soti* (archaic), *sotti, sotira, sonata* (archaic), *sonohou, ...*
3	*kare* (m), *kanozyo* (f), *yatu, aitu*

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Basic facts: Japanese pronouns

2. **Modification:** Japanese pronouns have received a lot of attention in the linguistic literature because of their nominal behaviour (Kuroda, 1965; Fukui, 1986; Noguchi, 1997; Panagiotidis, 2002 etc.).

 – First, they can be modified by adjectives and possessors (ex. from Noguchi 1997).

(20)   a.   Common noun
           tiisai boosi
           small hat
           'small hat'

b.   Pronoun
    tiisai kare
    small he
    'small he'

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Basic facts: Japanese pronouns

2. **Modification:** Japanese pronouns have received a lot of attention in the linguistic literature because of their nominal behaviour (Kuroda, 1965; Fukui, 1986; Noguchi, 1997; Panagiotidis, 2002 etc.).

 – Second, they can co-occur with demonstratives (ex. from Noguchi 1997 a.o; see Hinds 1971 for differing judgments).

(21)   a.   Common noun
            kono boosi
            this   hat
            'this hat'

       b.   Pronoun
            kono kare
            this   he
            'this he'

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Basic facts: Japanese pronouns

2. **Modification:** Japanese pronouns have received a lot of attention in the linguistic literature because of their nominal behaviour (Kuroda, 1965; Fukui, 1986; Noguchi, 1997; Panagiotidis, 2002 etc.).

 – Third, they can be modified by an *of*-phrase.

 (22)   a.   Common noun

 daigakusei-no   *boosi*
 college student-GEN hat

 'hat of college students'

       b.   Pronoun

 daigakusei-no   *kare*
 college student-GEN he

 'he of college student'

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Basic facts: Japanese pronouns

- However, their **featural make-up** remains an open issue.

  3. **Person**: Person is always distinguished. In some dialects, the 2nd person pronoun *temee* is used for 1st person (also see Panagiotidis 2002). But within a single speaker, the use of a pronoun is unambiguous.

  4. **Number**: Number is not expressed by the 'pronoun' per se, but it is independently marked by an associative marker (*-tati, -gata*, or *-ra*; Kurafuji, 1999, 2004; Hirose, 2004; Munakata, 2012).

  5. **Gender**: 3rd person pronouns have distinct forms for masculine and feminine gender .

  6. **Politeness**: Pronouns in Japanese encode different level of politeness. Let us illustrate this point with the second person pronouns.

(23)

person/politeness	impolite ←	− − − − − −	− − − − − −	→ polite
2	kisama, temee	omae, anta, anchan	kimi, sotti	anata, sotira soti (archaic)

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Hypothesis 1 (to be rejected)

Question 3: Is the 'politeness' meaning/feature of honorific pronouns the same as that in *-mas-*?

Hypothesis 1 (to be rejected): The 'politeness' meaning/feature of honorific pronouns is identical to that in *-mas-*.

- If we assume that they are identical, we run into several problems.

1. **Paradigm**: The values of politeness ($<$Sp,+ Adr$>$, $<$Sp,–, Adr$>$) would yield 2 distinct spell-out forms. However, this does not suffice to explain the availability of 8 distinct 2nd person singular forms.
   - This already indicates that the expressive content in the Japanese pronouns is richer than that on the allocutive marker.

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Hypothesis 1 (to be rejected)

2. **Restriction on the speaker**: Consider the following examples with the pronoun *anata* to disambiguate it from *-mas-*.

   – Take an interaction between a teacher and a student:

   (24)   a.   ***anata**-wa*   *LSA-ni iki-mas-u-ka?*
                you.HON-TOP LSA-to go-HON$_A$-Q

               'Are you going to the LSA?' (teacher √, student *)

         b.   **pro**   *LSA-ni iki-mas-u-ka?*
                pro   LSA-to go-HON$_A$-Q

               'Are you going to the LSA?' (teacher √, student √)

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Hypothesis 1 (to be rejected)

2. **Restriction on the speaker**: Consider the following examples with the pronoun *anata* to disambiguate it from *-mas-*.

> **Teacher-Student Test:**
>
> A teacher can produce a sentence with *anata/-mas-* to his/her students, but a student cannot use *anata* to the teacher. Only *-mas-* is permitted (Yamada and Donatelli, 2020).
>
> * If the Sp intends to be polite but is socially lower in status, she can't use *anata*, but she can use *-mas-*
>
> * If the Sp intends to be polite and is also socially higher in status, she can use *anata* and also *-mas-*

– Recall that regardless of the social hierarchy, *-mas-* can be used by the speaker if (s)he intends to be polite. Differently, *anata* encodes politeness only when the speaker is higher in status than the addressee.

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Hypothesis 2 (to be rejected)

Hypothesis 2 (to be rejected): Pronouns in Japanese consists of two features ([status] and [politeness]):

(25)   *anata*: [status: Sp>Adr, Politeness: Sp, +, Adr]
(where [status] encodes the hierarchy between the speaker and the addressee, and [politeness] encodes the intent of the speaker to show respect.)

- Can these two features account for all 2nd person forms in the pronominal paradigm?

- Following Kim-Renaud and Pak (2006), we assume that the [status] feature can have five different values: (less than, less than or equal to, equal to, greater than or equal to, greater than). Various combinations of [status] and [politeness] would yield 10 distinct possibilities of spell-out, which should be enough to accommodate 8 pronouns.

- However, this is not possible since the (im)polite meaning expressed by Japanese pronouns is more nuanced. To see this, consider the following instances:

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Hypothesis 2 (to be rejected)

1. Examining *sotira*, a 2nd person singular form found on the polite end of the scale in (23), we find that it is unspecified for [status]. It can not only be used by an inferior to a superior, but also by a superior to an inferior, making it akin to *-mas-*.

  (26) *sotira*: [Politeness: Sp, +, Adr]

2. Also note that the distinction between *anta* and *omae* cannot be reduced to the same hierarchical difference as that between *anata* and *sotira*. The latter were differentiated via the presence/absence of [status], which is the not the distinguishing property for the former two.

- The above discussion clearly shows that the '(im)polite' meaning in Japanese pronouns is too complex to be decomposed into formal features.

5 The Japanese pronominal system
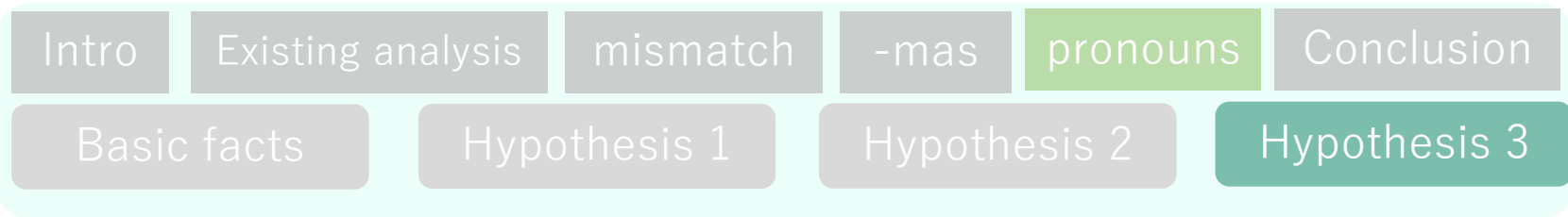
Hypothesis 3 (our proposal)

Hypothesis 3 (our proposal): The 'politeness' meaning/feature of honorific pronouns is NOT the same as that of -*mas*-, and moreover, it can NOT be captured by the decomposition of formal features.

- We take the failure of Hypotheses 1 and 2 to suggest that Japanese pronouns are NOT made in syntax (for e.g., via an operator-variable binding relation with the clause-peripheral Adr/c).

- Instead, we propose that the '(im)polite' meaning is expressive content, which the pronoun enters the syntax with.

- Following Potts (2007), we propose that the very meaning of politeness lies in the expressive dimension — a dimension of meaning orthogonal to the at-issue content of the sentence.

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Hypothesis 3 (our proposal)

- To see this, let us compare the gender of *he* and the honorificity of *anata*.

  - In (28), the sentence describes a situation where the biological gender of the referent is female, which mismatches with the gender information encoded by the pronoun, resulting in a semantically anomalous sentence (a contradiction).

    (28)   ?*He is a pretty girl. (contradiction)

  - In (29), the sentence describes a situation where the status of the referent is higher than the speaker. If *anata*'s meaning is translated as the at-issue meaning of "the speaker's being higher than the addressee in status," then the sentence would be a contradiction for the same reason applied for (28). However, the sentence is perfectly acceptable.

    (29)   ***anata*-wa watasi-yori tatiba-ga   ue   des-u.** (not a contradiction)
           you-TOP   I-than   position-NOM above COP.HONA-PRS
           'You (anata) have a position higher than mine.'

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Intro	Existing analysis	mismatch	-mas	pronouns	Conclusion

Basic facts	Hypothesis 1	Hypothesis 2	Hypothesis 3

Compatibility with other facts

- **Noun-like syntactic behavior**: As we have already shown, Japanese pronouns pattern with nouns with regard to modification by adjectives, demonstratives and genitive *of*-phrases.

- **Etymology**: Our findings align with the development of Japanese pronouns, which are of common-noun origin (Shibasaki, 2014:136).

(30) a. *temee* 'you.NON_HON' < *te-* 'hand' + *mae* 'front'

b. *omae* 'you.NON_HON' < *o-* 'HON' + *mae* 'front'

c. *kisama* 'you.NON_HON' < *ki-* 'HON' + *sama* 'person.HON'

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Compatibility with other facts

– **Absence of bound-variable readings:** Furthermore, Japanese pronouns do not allow bound-variable readings (Kitagawa, 1981; Saito and Hoji, 1983; Hoji, 1991; Noguchi, 1997), which is compatible with the claim that they are not built in syntax.

1. **The focus construction.**

(31)   a. *watasi*-*dake*-*ga* ***watasi***-*no heya-ni i-ru.*
        I-only-NOM   I-GEN   room-in be-PRS

        Only I stay in my room. (√ strict; *sloppy)

     b. *watasi*-*dake*-*ga* ***zibun***-*no heya-ni i-ru.*
        I-only-NOM   self-GEN room-in be-PST

        Only I stay in my room. (√ strict; √sloppy)

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Compatibility with other facts

– **Absence of bound-variable readings:** Furthermore, Japanese pronouns do not allow bound-variable readings (Kitagawa, 1981; Saito and Hoji, 1983; Hoji, 1991; Noguchi, 1997), which is compatible with the claim that they are not built in syntax.

2. **The relative clause construction.**

(32)   a.   ***watasi*-ga** [***watasi*-no** *heya-ni i-ru*]   *yuitu-no   ningen da.*
I-NOM   I-GEN   room-in be-PRS only-GEN man   COP
Reading 1: 'I am the only person who is in my room.' (Strict reading)
*Reading 2: 'I am the only person who is in my room.' (Sloppy reading)

b.   ***watasi*-ga** [***zibun*-no** *heya-ni i-ru*]   *yuitu-no   ningen da.*
I-NOM   self-GEN room-in be-PRS only-GEN man   COP
?Reading 1: 'I am the only person who is in my room.' (Strict reading)
Reading 2: 'I am the only person who is in my room.' (Sloppy reading)

5 The Japanese pronominal system

Compatibility with other facts

3. **The quantifier-pronoun construction.**

(33)   a. **dono** *onnna-no   hito-mo*   [***kanozyo****-ga muryoku   da*] *to   omotte*
   every female-GEN person-also   she-NOM   incompetent COP COMP think
   ir-u.
   PRG-PRS

   Reading 1: 'Every women thinks she is incompetent.' (Referential)

   *Reading 2: 'Every women thinks she is incompetent.' (Bound variable)

   b. **dono** *onnna-no   hito-mo*   [***zibun****-ga muryoku   da*] *to   omotte*
   every female-GEN person-also   self-NOM incompetent COP COMP think
   ir-u.
   PRG-PRS
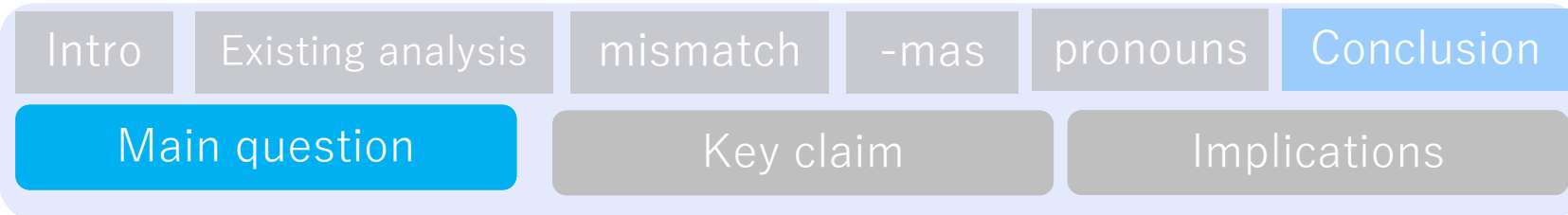
   *Reading 1: 'Every women thinks she is incompetent.' (Referential)

   Reading 2: 'Every women thinks she is incompetent.' (Bound variable)

6 Concluding remarks

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Intro	Existing analysis	mismatch	-mas	pronouns	Conclusion

Main question	Key claim	Implications

The main question

Question 1: What allows featural mismatch between allocutivity and 2nd person arguments in Group 2, but not in Group 1?

6 Concluding remark

Intro	Existing analysis	mismatch	-mas	pronouns	Conclusion

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The key claim

> Question 1: What allows featural mismatch between allocutivity and 2nd person arguments in Group 2, but not in Group 1?

Key claim: Focusing on Japanese (Group 2), we claim that featural mismatches result from the distinct nature of pronouns in the language.

$\rightarrow$ Japanese pronouns have rich (im)politeness meaning that cannot be decomposed into formal features, and hence is NOT inherited by the pronoun in syntax. In contrast, the allocutive marker obtains its politeness feature in syntax from the *Adr*/c.

6 Concluding remark

The key claim

> Question 1: What allows featural mismatch between allocutivity and 2nd person arguments in Group 2, but not in Group 1?

Key claim: Focusing on Japanese (Group 2), we claim that featural mismatches result from the distinct nature of pronouns in the language.

- To this end, we demonstrated that Japanese pronouns have rich expressive content, which cannot be decomposed into formal features.

- We take this to show that these pronouns are NOT made in syntax (at least, not entirely) (in the sense of Sigurðsson, 2004, 2014; Baker, 2008; Kratzer, 2009; Portner et al., 2019, etc.).

- Since the pronoun does not get its 'politeness' content from the Adr/c in syntax unlike the allocutive marker which does, featural mismatches between the 2nd person pronoun and the allocutive marker can obtain.

6 Concluding remark

| Intro	Existing analysis	mismatch	-mas	pronouns	Conclusion

Main question	Key claim	Implications

Implications

- It is well-known that pronouns in many IE languages also encode politeness/honorificity.

- Some IE languages have dedicated polite pronouns (Dutch, Magahi, Hindi-Urdu), while others recruit an independently existing pronoun as a polite form (French, Punjabi, German).

- Do they obtain this meaning in syntax?

- We think yes.

- The (im)polite meaning in languages belonging to the IE group can be accounted for via various values of a [hon] feature (see Ackema and Neeleman, 2018, Alok, 2020 etc.)

- Following Ackema and Neeleman (2018), we assume an [hon] feature, which is part of the person system.

    * the [hon] feature shows selectional restrictions pertaining to person; typically available only for 2nd person pronouns (but sometimes also 3rd person honorific forms are available).

    * the [hon] feature on a 2nd person pronoun only ensures that all addressees contained in its input set are identified as honorable.
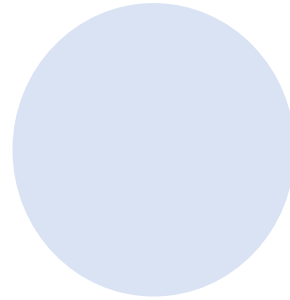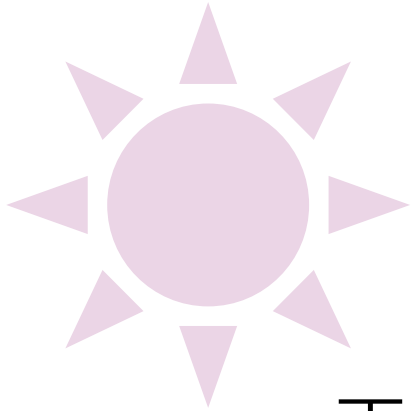
Thank you very much for your attention!

References

See the list in Yamada (to appear) and Kaur and Yamada (2021)