

# Mismatches in honorificity across allocutive languages

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## 1 Introduction

- 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.)
- A classic example comes from Basque.

- (1) a. *Pette-k lan egin di-k*  
Peter-ERG work do.PFV 3ERG-M  
'Peter worked.' (said to a male friend)
- b. *Pette-k lan egin di-n*  
Peter-ERG work do.PFV 3ERG-F  
'Peter worked.' (said to a female friend)

(Oyharçabal, 1993: 92-93)

- As existing documentation shows, allocutive forms may or may not interact with 2nd person arguments in the clause.
- This divides allocutive languages into two groups:
- 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.'

(3) Japanese

- a. *anata-wa ramu-o yon-dei-masi-ta.*  
2hon-TOP Ram-ACC call-PRG-HON<sub>A</sub>-PST  
'You were calling Ram.'
- b. *ramu-wa anata-o yon-dei-masi-ta.*  
Ram.TOP 2hon-ACC call-PRG-HON<sub>A</sub>-PST  
'Ram was calling you.'

- 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-HON<sub>A</sub>-PST  
'Ram was calling you.'

- **Goal:** to answer the following question:

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 analysis

### 2.1 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.

- 2nd person pronouns are licensed via an operator-variable binding relation with the *Adr*, assuming the Person Licensing Condition à la (Baker, 2008), which requires any 1st/2nd person pronoun to be locally bound either by the closest *c*-commanding (*Sp*)eaker or *Adr* operator, or by another 1st/2nd person element.
  - The ban on allocutivity with 2nd person agreement is argued to follow from “Kinyalolo’s Generalization” (Kinyalolo, 1991; Carstens, 2005).
  - Essentially, the 2nd person features on the agreement head (T) and allocutive agreement are treated as being predictable from each other due to their shared relationship with the *Adr*.
  - This allows only one instance of agreement to be realized.
  - Furthermore, since both allocutivity and 2nd person pronouns inherit their features from the same source (i.e. the *Adr*), they must match.
- 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)

## 2.2 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)

- Hence, the issue of featural mismatches in Group 2 still remains.

### 3 Honorificity mismatches in Group 2: 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    |
|        | <i>anata-wa itumo muri-o ossyai-mas-u.</i>                            |             |
|        | you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say.HONs-HON <sub>A</sub> -u. |             |
|        | ‘You are always asking me a difficult favor.’                         |             |
| b.     | Pronoun (non-hon) + Alloc (hon)                                       | Mismatching |
|        | <i>omae-wa itumo muri-o ii-mas-u-ne.</i>                              |             |
|        | you.NON_HON-TOP always impossible thing say-HON <sub>A</sub> -SFP     |             |
|        | ‘You are always asking me a difficult favor.’                         |             |
| c.     | Pronoun (hon) + Alloc (non-hon)                                       | Mismatching |
|        | <i>anata-wa itumo muri-o ossyar-u.</i>                                |             |
|        | 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 |
|        | <i>anata-wa itumo muri-o iw-u.</i>                                    |             |
|        | you.HON-TOP always impossible thing-ACC say-u.                        |             |
|        | ‘You are always asking me a difficult favor.’                         |             |

- All sentences above are mono-clausal, indicating a unique locus of performative meaning (c<sup>0</sup>).
- The sentences above are not different in their truth-conditional semantics. However, they are NOT in free variation.
- To illustrate their distinct meanings/usages, we provide a possible scenario for each sentence above.
  - (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.
  - (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.
  - (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 Towards an account

### 4.1 The allocutive marker in Japanese patterns with Group 1

- 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-HON<sub>A</sub>-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).
- 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.<sup>1</sup>
- *-mas-* does not consist of any additional features: it is number and gender-neutral.

### 4.2 Analysis of Japanese *-mas-*

- 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-*.

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<sup>1</sup>The comparison with Korean speech style particles remains to be undertaken.



(15) Lucia: [TP [ $\Sigma$ P *Iki-mas-en*] *desi-ta*] *yo ne?*  
 go-HON<sub>A</sub>-NEG COP.HON<sub>A</sub>-PST SFP SFP  
 ‘Did you not go?’

James: a. \* $[_{VP}$  *Iki*] *mas-en desi-ta ne.*  
 go HON<sub>A</sub>-NEG COP.HON<sub>A</sub>-PST SFP  
 b.  $[_{\Sigma}$ P *Iki-mas-en*] *desi-ta ne.*  
 go-HON<sub>A</sub>-NEG COP.HON<sub>A</sub>-PST SFP  
 ‘He did not (go).’

– 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-HON<sub>A</sub>-NEG COP.HON<sub>A</sub>-PST  
 ‘Paul did not go.’

James: *Elena-mo [soo ] desi-ta yo ne.*  
 Elena-also so COP.HON<sub>A</sub>-PST SFP SFP  
 ‘Elena did not do so, either.’

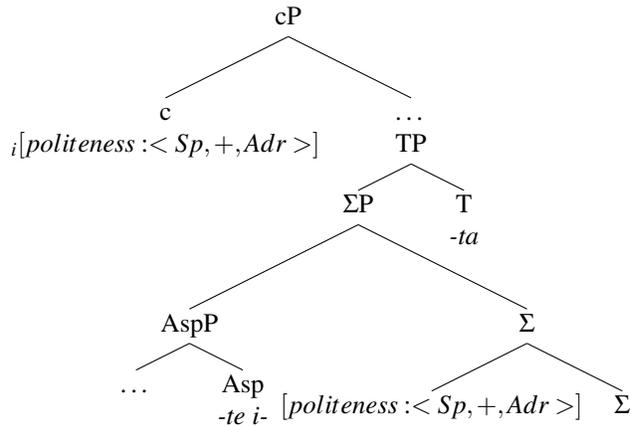
3. Finally, *-mas-* is EMBEDDABLE.

- 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-HON<sub>S</sub>-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)

- The above facts show that *-mas-* is not realized at c.
- Instead, it obtains at  $\Sigma$ P 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.  $\Sigma$  hosts an unvalued [politeness] feature, which is valued by upward agreement.

(18)



**Take-home lessons**

- The allocutive marker in Japanese obtains its features from c/Adr via agreement, like in Group 1 systems
- What permits featural mismatching between the allocutive marker and the 2nd person pronoun in Japanese but not in Group 1?

### 4.3 The Japanese pronominal system

- This section attempts to derive the availability of mismatches from the special encoding of (im)politeness content in 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	<i>watakusi, watasi, wasi,</i> <i>wai, ware (archaic), warawa (archaic), wate (archaic), wagahai (archaic)</i> <i>atakusi, atasi, assi, atai,</i> <i>ore, ora, oira,</i> <i>boku, uti, mii, sessya, soregasi, tin,</i> <i>kotti, kotira, ...</i>
2	<i>omae, kisama, kimi, anata, anta, anchan,</i> <i>temee, soti (archaic), sotti, sotira, sonata (archaic), sonohou, ...</i>
3	<i>kare (m), kanozyo (f), yatu, aitu</i>

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	b. Pronoun
	<i>tiisai boosi</i>	<i>tiisai kare</i>
	small hat	small he
	‘small hat’	‘small he’

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

(21)	a. Common noun	b. Pronoun
	<i>kono boosi</i>	<i>kono kare</i>
	this hat	this he
	‘this hat’	‘this he’

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

(22)	a. Common noun	b. Pronoun
	<i>daigakusei-no boosi</i>	<i>daigakusei-no kare</i>
	college student-GEN hat	college student-GEN he
	‘hat of college students’	‘he of college student’

• 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)	<hr/> person/politeness    impolite ←    -----    -----    → polite <hr/>				
	2	kisama, temee	omae, anta, anchan	kimi, sotti	anata, sotira soti (archaic)

N.B. 1, We use the term ‘politeness’ here loosely, and it should not be confused with the feature [politeness] used for *-mas-* earlier.

N.B. 2, The level of politeness is never on a categorical scale. The pronouns in the same column do not necessarily show the same level of politeness, though the table above is a possible approximation.

## 4.4 Analysis of Japanese pronouns

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 ( $\langle \text{Sp}, + \text{Adr} \rangle$ ,  $\langle \text{Sp}, - \text{Adr} \rangle$ ) 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.
  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<sub>A</sub>-Q  
‘Are you going to the LSA?’ (teacher  $\checkmark$ , student \*)
      - b. **pro** *LSA-ni iki-mas-u-ka?*  
pro LSA-to go-HON<sub>A</sub>-Q  
‘Are you going to the LSA?’ (teacher  $\checkmark$ , student  $\checkmark$ )

### 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.

**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:

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. Furthermore, we compared *omae* and *anta*, which are on the impolite side of the scale. Both forms are sensitive to status and are typically uttered when Sp > ADr. In some contexts, the distinction is loosely related to the speaker's gender — *anta* seems to be used more often by a female speaker, and *omae* by a male. Taking this observation into account would require adding the gender of the speaker to the featural composition of the pronoun, as shown for *omae* in (27).

(27) *omae*: [status: Sp > ADr, Politeness: Sp, +, ADr, Sp: male]

This gender-distinction, albeit a plausible approximation, is not borne out in all instances. However, to disambiguate *anta* and *omae*, it looks like a distinct feature (e.g. gender) is needed.

3. 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.

**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.
- 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.HON<sub>A</sub>-PRS  
 ‘You (anata) have a position higher than mine.’

- This shows that the meaning associated with *anata* is ineffable by descriptive, at-issue, meanings, a symptom of expressive meaning.

- **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’

- **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)

### 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)

### 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)

## 5 Concluding remarks

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

- Featural mismatches in Japanese obtain NOT due to the distinct nature of allocutivity (as compared with Group 1), but instead due to the distinct nature of its pronouns which are built pre-syntactically in the lexicon.

- 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.
- Comparison with pronouns in Indo-European languages:
  - 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.
  - For illustration, let us take French, which has two 2nd person pronouns: the singular form *tu* and the plural form *vous*.
  - In addition to its regular plural usage, *vous* can have both a polite singular and a polite plural interpretation.
  - A possible analysis has been provided by Ackema and Neeleman (2018).
  - *vous* enters syntax with the following feature set: [2 pl hon]
  - To use *vous* as a singular honorific 2nd person pronoun, the plural feature on *vous* gets deleted at LF, in the presence of honorific feature value.
 

(34) Ackema & Neeleman (2018: 46)  
 PL  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$ /[ \_ HON] (at LF)
  - This deletion yields a 2nd person pronoun, which is underspecified for number, and is therefore compatible with both a singular and a plural honorific addressee reading.
 

(35) { 2 hon }  $\leftrightarrow$  /vous/
  - Note that one would still have to assume two underlying featural specifications of *vous*: (i) [2 pl] for its regular plural usage, regardless of honorificity, and (ii) [2 pl hon] where the [pl] feature is deleted to denote an honorific addressee, singular or plural.

- The above facts indicate that politeness meanings in languages like French can be decomposed into formal features like [hon].
- We take this to conjecture that pronoun formation in French-like languages can take place in syntax in contrast with Japanese-like systems.
- If this conjecture holds, it will have important consequences for the syntax-lexicon asymmetry.
- Unlike syntax, which is a module dedicated to manipulation of formal features via universal operations, the lexicon is more idiosyncratic and must be learnt by an individual interacting with the society.
- Politeness/honorificity based on phi-features is reasonably analyzed as a syntactic operation, while complex politeness meanings obtain in the lexicon.

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