

ADDRESSEE HONORIFICS AS ALLOCUTIVE AGREEMENT IN JAPANESE AND KOREAN¹

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1. Introduction

Japanese and Korean are each characterized by systems of honorification marked in verbal paradigms (though the means for encoding honorific forms diverge in the two languages). Addressee honorification can be construed as allocutivity, a grammatical phenomenon in which specific morphological forms are associated with properties of the speech act, including formality, relations between speech participants, and their genders (Antonov 2013, 2015; Miyagawa 2012, 2017; Oyharçabal 1993). In Japanese and Korean the absence of an honorific form in the clause has potentially rather significant functional implications (without affecting propositional semantics), so speakers/authors must make a decision in every utterance whether to use a marked or an unmarked allocutive. As an example, consider the following clauses with an addressee honorific marker in Japanese (1a) and in Korean (1b). The marked clauses in (1) and their unmarked counterparts in (2) all have the same propositional meaning, ‘it started to rain’, but differ in terms of the speaker’s politeness toward the addressee. The addressee honorific marker on the predicates in (1) is glossed as ALLO (ALLOCUTIVE), as is the null form posited in the examples in (2).²

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------|--|--------------------------------|----------|
| (1) | a. | Ame-ga | huri-hazime- | masi -ta- \emptyset . | Japanese |
| | | rain-NOM | fall-begin-ALLO-PST-DEC | | |
| | b. | Pi-ka | o-ki | sicakhay-ss- supni -ta. | Korean |
| | | rain-NOM | come-COMP | begin-PST-ALLO-DEC | |
| | | | | ‘It started to rain.’ | |
| (2) | a. | Ame-ga | huri-hazime- \emptyset -ta- \emptyset -(yo). | Japanese | |
| | | rain-NOM | fall-begin-ALLO-PST-DEC-SFP | | |
| | b. | Pi-ka | o-ki | sicakhay-ss- \emptyset -ta. | Korean |
| | | rain-NOM | come-COMP | begin-PST-ALLO-DEC | |
| | | | | ‘It started to rain.’ | |

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² The following abbreviations are used: ACC: accusative; ALLO: allocutive; COMP: complementizer; DEC declarative; E, ERG: ergative; EXHO: exhortative; FEM: feminine; FORM: formal; HON: honorific; HUM: humble; IMP: imperative; INT: interrogative; MASC: masculine; NOM: nominative; PL: plural; POL: polite; PRES: present tense; PST: past tense; T: tense; SFP: sentence final particle; SG: singular; SUB: subject; VOUV: vouvoiement

As seen in Brown's (2008) investigation of the socio-pragmatic function of the addressee honorification system in Japanese and Korean, a different social distance between the speaker and the addressee is assumed in (1) compared to (2); in the clauses without an overt allocutive marker (2), the addressee is represented as having an intimate relationship with the speaker.³ Although it is uncontroversial to say that this requirement is not so different from the person-number or gender agreement in Indo-European languages or animacy agreement in Algonquian languages (Ritter 2015), the obligatoriness of marking allocutivity in Japanese and Korean has not been fully considered as a syntactic phenomenon in the literature. The syntactically formalized speech act domain recognizes the interface between pragmatics and morphology/phonology such as hearsay (cf. Speas 2004), vocatives (Hill 2007), confirmation (Wiltschko and Heim 2016), and formality (Macaulay 2015, Ritter and Wiltschko 2018): in this paper we aim to show that addressee honorific systems must also be the object of morphosyntactic analysis. We show here that the contrasting distribution of the closed classes of allocutive markers in Japanese and Korean points to the existence of syntactic parameters modelling the typological variations observed across languages, as surveyed in Antonov (2015).

The system of addressee honorification we discussed here differs from subject honorification (cf. Kim and Sells 2007, Kishimoto 2012). As footnoted in Portner et al. (2019), addressee honorification has been labelled variously as 'performative honorifics' (Harada 1976) or 'utterance honorifics' (McCready 2019), distinguished from subject honorification. In this paper, we do not discuss subject honorification because the system of addressee honorification manifested by Japanese *masi* and Korean *supni* is clearly distinct from the configuration of subject honorification.

Given the structural alternation of addressee honorific markers between (1a) and (2a) in Japanese and (1b) and (2b) in Korean, a mechanism for feature checking is required for the interface between PF and LF in the syntactic representation.⁴ Despite being acknowledged in the individual languages (Miyagawa 2012, 2017; Portner et al. 2019), their morphosyntactic similarities and differences in the two languages have not yet been fully examined, to the best of our knowledge. Notably, we observe that Japanese allocutive marker *masi* and Korean *supni* occur in different positions in verbal structure. Moreover, it will be shown that a single language can use two different configurations of allocutivity. The Korean polite marker *yo* also expresses the speaker's politeness toward the addressee, as illustrated in (3a). We note that the examples in (3) employ a different complementizer than we see in (1)-(2).

(3) a. Pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-ss-e-**yo**. (marked)
rain-NOM come-COMP begin-PST-COMP-ALLO

³ The relationship can be neutral in the non-interactive written language.

⁴ Although the clause is grammatical and successfully expresses a propositional meaning without the addressee honorific marker, the absence of the marker may cause a serious face threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1978) between interlocutors if the context requires it. Moreover, the speaker expresses an intimacy with the addressee in the clause without the marker. Thus, a null addressee marker also has a grammatical function.

- b. Pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-ss-e-∅. (unmarked)
rain-NOM come-COMP begin-PST-COMP-ALLO
‘It started to rain.’

In this paper, we put forward the hypothesis that allocutive markers in various structural positions agree in terms of pragmatic person [Addressee] with an extended DP (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018) and a formality feature [-STATUS] (Macaulay 2015). Based on the properties of Japanese and Korean addressee honorific markers summarized in the Table 1, we argue that allocutive markers are morphosyntactic formatives.

Table 1. Addressee honorific markers in Japanese and Korean

structural properties	Japanese	Korean	
	<i>mas</i>	<i>pni</i>	<i>yo</i>
structural position	v < ALLO < T	T < ALLO < C	C < ALLO
morphologically conditioned allomorphs	<i>mas</i> with verbs <i>des</i> with others	<i>pni</i> in DECL, INT <i>psi</i> in IMP, EXHO	X
phonologically conditioned allomorphs	/mas/, /des/ V /masi/, /desi/ C	V /pni/, /psi/ C /supni/, /upsi/	X
selectional properties	✓	✓	✓
contrasts with a null form	✓	✓	✓
co-occurs with honorific vocatives	✓	✓	✓
permitted in selected CP	X	X	X
permitted in adjunct CP	✓	X	X

Below, we first briefly describe the previous literature on allocutivity (Section 2). In particular, we review Miyagawa’s treatment of allocutive agreement in Japanese and the treatment of Korean speech-style particles carrying addressee honorifics in Portner et al. (2019). In Section 3, we describe the distribution and properties of Japanese and Korean allocutive markers. In Section 4, we outline the theoretical assumptions shaping our hypothesis. In Section 5, we present our hypothesis regarding how allocutive agreement is represented and licensed in Korean and Japanese. Section 6 concludes.

2. Background: Allocutive agreement and speech act phrases

This section gives a brief overview of studies on allocutivity in Basque (Oyharçabal 1993), Japanese (Miyagawa 2012, 2017), and Korean (Portner et al. 2019). More importantly, we address some issues we noted in Miyagawa (2012, 2017) and Portner et al. (2019).

2.1 Allocutive agreement on familiarity and gender of the addressee

The functional term “allocutive” originates in Basque linguistics (Antonov 2013, 2015; Oyharçabal 1993). In Basque, a female or male addressee can be referenced by the

allocutive agreement marker *-k* or *-n*, respectively; they encode the gender of the addressee as well as the degree of formality between speaker and addressee.

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|-----|----|-----------------|--------|------------------|------|-----------------------------|
| (4) | a. | Pettek | lan | egin | dik | Informal (masculine) |
| | | Peter.ERG | worked | AUX.3E.ALLO.MASC | | |
| | | 'Peter worked.' | | | | |
| | b. | Pettek | lan | egin | din | Informal (feminine) |
| | | Peter.ERG | worked | AUX.3E.ALLO.FEM | | |
| | | 'Peter worked.' | | | | |
| | c. | Pettek | lan | egin | dizü | Formal |
| | | Peter.ERG | worked | AUX.3E.ALLO.VOUV | | |
| | | 'Peter worked.' | | | | (Oyharçabal 1993: 92 (6)) |

The familiar addressee markers *-k* and *-n* contrast with the marker *-zï* referring to the addressee who is representing as having a social distance with the speaker. As this alternation is irrelevant to formality on thematic arguments, as proven by the clauses with the same subject in (4), researchers working on Japanese and Korean point out that this agreement between a non-thematic argument and the formality markers in Basque is very similar to addressee honorific markers in Japanese and Korean even though gender features associated with the addressee are not formalized in the two languages (Antonov 2013, 2015; Miyagawa 2012, 2017; Portner et al. 2019).⁵ We share the view of these researchers that addressee honorification is a morphosyntactic amplification of syntactic phenomena, in cases where a linguistic form explicitly encodes information about the addressee.

2.2 Allocutive agreement and addressee honorification in Japanese

Miyagawa (2012) first points out that Basque allocutivity and Japanese addressee honorification are similar in encoding the speaker's attitude toward the addressee in terms of politeness. Considering the Japanese addressee honorific marker *mas* as allocutive agreement, Miyagawa (2012) proposes that *mas* is second-person agreement that occurs in main clauses. Following up this work, Miyagawa (2017) argues for Strong Uniformity and unifies agreement and agreement-less languages in Universal Grammar. He proposes that every language has both phi and delta (Topic/Focus) features originating at C. In some languages, e.g. Japanese, phi features remain at C because allocutivity, though expressed by the politeness marker *mas* on the verb, is associated with C. In order to account for allocutive agreement and the distribution of *mas*, Miyagawa make several assumptions. First, he employs Haegeman and Hill's (2011) adapted version of Speas and Tenny's (2003) Speech Act Phrases. Second, he assumes that the structure of root clauses in Japanese has multiple C heads; and third, that *mas* is generated in TP (Miyagawa 2017), although an

⁵ Instead, some discourse particles in Japanese identify the gender of the speaker. The survey in Ide and Yoshida (1999) shows that *kaa*, *yona*, *yonaa*, *ze*, *monna*, *monnaa*, and *tara* are 100% used by male speakers, while *wane*, *noyone*, *kashira*, *nanone*, and *wayo* are 100% used by female speakers, while *yone* and *ne* are used by 50~52%. The compatibility of these markers with *mas* and *des* needs to be investigated.

allocutivity probe is borne by C (Miyagawa 2017: 26). In this he follows Oyharçabal's (1993) analysis of Basque allocutivity, which is also suggested to be associated with C. Fourth, he assumes that HEARER in SAP and the 2nd person phi feature are not distinguished. Based on these assumptions, Miyagawa (2017) proposes that a phi-feature probe on C raises to a position higher than a Goal HEARER—in the specifier of saP in Haegeman and Hill (2011)—and c-commands its goal. These assumptions are represented in (5), copying Miyagawa's tree in bracketed form. Note that this structure does not reflect the proposed raising of the allocutive probe.

(5) Miyagawa (2017: 26 (18); 29 (24))

[_{SAP} SPEAKER [_{SA'} [_{saP} HEARER [_{sa'} [_{CP} TP [_C C_Q C_φALLOCUTIVE PROBE]] sa⁰]] SA⁰]]

Thus, Miyagawa (2017) proposes that *mas* is indeed implementation of phi-feature agreement and that Japanese is an agreement language.

This analysis of *mas* omits discussion of some assumptions about the morphosyntax of TP and CP. For instance, questions remain concerning the properties of each complementizer in a sequence of Cs in main clauses. Is there a C head that specifically hosts phi features? Also unclear is the relationship between *mas* and the tense head of TP, as the head of tense is occupied by past tense marker *ta*, as in (6).⁶

(6) [_T [_{PST}] *ta*] [_T [_{PST}] *masi ta*] (cf. [_T *mas*] (Miyagawa 2017: 28 (23))

Although the relationships between functional markers in T and C and allocutive markers are less obvious in Miyagawa (2012, 2017), we follow his analysis in treating addressee honorific markers as agreement markers. The difference is that we do not consider the allocutive agreement as traditional second-person phi feature agreement. The element that allocutive markers agree with is a pragmatic person feature, [Addressee] in the extended nominal speech act phrase (that is, the extended DP) (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018). The motivation for this decision will be discussed in Section 5.

2.3 Addressee honorification and speech-style particles in Korean

As representative cases of utterance-oriented markers of politeness that encode the social relation between interlocutors, Portner et al. (2019) lists the so-called speech-style particles in Korean, along with allocutive markers in Basque and the addressee honorific marker *mas* in Japanese. The Korean addressee honorific markers *supni* and *yo*, however, are not analyzed as independent functional markers or allocutive agreement markers in their study. Since Chang's (1996) classification of so-called sentence final particles in Korean into six different speech style particles, the combined form of clause-typing and politeness has been taken for granted in the literature, including work by Siemund (2018) and Portner et al. (2019). In particular, *supnita* and *eyo* are parsed as portmanteau morphemes, as in (7).

⁶ In his recent unpublished monograph called 'Syntax in the Treetops' (available online in September 2020), Miyagawa revises this view and suggests that *mas* is generated above vP in an AgrP (ms, 91f).

- (7) a. Inho-ka choysen-ul ta ha-ess-**supnita**.
 Inho-NOM best-ACC all do-PST-DEC.FORM
- b. Inho-ka choysen-ul ta ha-ess-**eyo**.
 Inho-NOM best-ACC all do-PST-DEC.POL
 ‘Inho did his best.’ (Portner et al. 2019: 6 (15))

Just as Miyagawa (2012) observes for Japanese *mas*, Portner et al. (2019) demonstrate the fact that Korean *supnita* and *eyo* only occur in main clauses. Based on the main clause phenomenon displayed by *supnita* and *eyo*, a projection cP is proposed. The head of cP carries three different features: [Status], [Formal], and [Mood]. It is proposed that *supnita* carries [Status: $S \leq A$], [Formal: +], and [Mood: DECL], while *eyo* carries [Status: $S \leq A$], [Formal: -], and [Mood: DECL]. cP selects SentMoodP, which is proposed to be similar to CP in Rizzi (1997); the fused forms *supnita* and *eyo* cannot be spelled out within SentMoodP because they cannot be embedded. We adapt the analysis of Portner et al. (2019) according to which both *supnita* and *eyo* have [Status: $S < A$], while putting aside their binary formality and mood type features.⁷ We consider the formality difference between *supnita* and *eyo* irrelevant to allocutivity per se. In communication between the same interlocutors, speakers use them interchangeably (Brown 2015). Furthermore, treating the mood feature of *supnita* and *eyo* as identical [Mood: DECL] is somewhat misleading because, as pointed out in Ceong (2019), *eyo* (or *e* itself) does not indicate declarative force. Following Ceong (2019), we treat *e* as an unspecified C element. Assuming the nature of agglutinative languages and the fact that *ta* and *yo* are each clearly analysable, we decompose *supnita* and *eyo* into two separate forms and suggest that *supni* and *yo* are indeed addressee honorific markers that express allocutivity; *ta* and *e* belong to the clause-typing C category distinct from allocutivity.

3. The distribution and properties of Japanese and Korean allocutives

Considering a typology of allocutivity, Japanese and Korean are close languages to be compared. The languages share a number of structural properties, in being: a) head-final with SOV word order; b) pro-drop and discourse-oriented languages (Barbosa 2011); c) traditionally considered as languages with no agreement (Miyagawa 2017), and allowing multiple C heads in the structure (Ceong 2019, Saito 2012); d) languages exhibiting honorific pronouns and predicates, while disallowing allocutives in complement clauses (Miyagawa 2017, Portner et al. 2019); and e) agglutinative languages with suffixed functional markers on predicates. Despite these structural similarities, they show two contrasting properties in allocutives: first, the structural positions of the allocutive markers; and second, the factors conditioning allomorphy: Japanese allocutivity interacts with verb classes, whereas Korean allocutivity interacts with modals.⁸

⁷ Being a grammatical feature of allocutivity, feature [STATUS] must be [$S < A$] for marked ALLO and [$S > A$] for unmarked ALLO. Thus, we also put aside ‘equal to’ notation in [$S \leq A$].

⁸ Miyagawa (2020) shows that Japanese allocutivity also interacts with polarity.

3.1 Structural positions of Japanese and Korean allocutives

The data in (8) show that allocutive markers occur in different positions in Japanese and Korean, and that two different formatives *supni* and *yo* serve allocutivity in Korean.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------|---|--|--------|
| (8) | a. | Ame-ga
rain-NOM | huri-hazime- masi -ta-ka.
fall-begin-ALLO-PST-INT | Japanese | |
| | b. | Pi-ka
rain-NOM | o-ki
come-COMP | sicakhay-ss- supni -kka.
begin-PST-ALLO-INT | Korean |
| | c. | Pi-ka
rain-NOM | o-ki
come-COMP | sicakhay-ss-e- yo ?
begin-PST-COMP-ALLO
'Has it started to rain?' | Korean |

Following the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985), we assume that the order of morphemes in predicates mirrors their structural positions in syntax. The structural position of the allocutive *mas* is positioned between a verb and its tense marker, while *supni* occupies the position between the tense marker and a clause-typing C; *yo* sits in a position above C. Their positions in interrogative clauses correspond exactly to the position of each marker in declaratives (see (1) and (3)). The force of the clause with *yo* in (8c) differs from (3a) in its rising intonation, indicated here by “?”. Unlike Basque, which restricts allocutivity to declarative clauses, *mas*, *supni* and *yo* display a wider distribution. In terms of the interaction of allocutivity with clause types, Basque is unusual: Antonov’s survey (2015) finds that Mandan, Nambikwara, and Pumé also show symmetric behaviors across clause types, like Japanese and Korean.

The distribution of allocutives in these two structurally similar languages suggests that allocutive markers do not need to be spelled out at the same position in the structure. This is not unexpected, in that in the domain of grammatical person, features of the subject trigger agreement on C in some languages rather than T.

3.2 Morphological realization of allocutivity in Japanese and Korean

Naturally, speakers of Japanese possess lexical knowledge with respect to *mas* and verb classes. As illustrated in (9), Japanese *mas* cannot occur in copular constructions. The portmanteau *des* (i.e., the marked form of *da* ‘be’ or a null copula, depending on adjective classes) selects only nominals and adjectives.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------|---|----------|
| (9) | a. | ama-dare-ga
raindrops-NOM | ooki- des /*mas-u- \emptyset .
big-be.ALLO-PRES-DEC | Japanese |
| | | | ‘Raindrops are big.’ | |

- b. imooto-wa genki-**desi**/*masi-ta-ka. Japanese
 sister-TOP well-be.ALLO-PST-INT
 ‘Was your sister well?’

While Japanese allocutivity interacts with verb classes, the morphological realizations of allocutivity in Korean respond to modal types; *pni* occurs in realis/indicative clauses, while *psi* occurs in irrealis/subjunctive clauses.⁹

- (10) a. cal cinay- \emptyset -**pni**-ta. Korean
 well stay-PRES-ALLO-DEC
 ‘I’m doing well.’
- b. cal cinay-(*si)-**psi**-ta. Korean
 well stay-SUB.HON-ALLO-DEC
 ‘We should get along well.’
- c. cal cinay-*(si)-**psi**-o. Korean
 well stay-SUB.HON-ALLO-COMP
 ‘Be well.’

As shown in the minimal pair in (10a) and (10b), the meaning of clauses is different depending on the form of the allocutive marker. The prohibition of the subject honorific marker *si* in (10b) and its obligatoriness in (10c) show that the subject agreement marker is distributed differently based on a person feature on the subject of a clause. Moreover, the distribution of *si* in (10) shows that the subject agreement marker is configured differently from the addressee agreement marker.

From the morphological realizations of allocutivity and their structural positions to their interaction with other functional markers in the surface, we can conclude that allocutivity in Japanese is closely associated with v, while it is close to T/C in Korean.

4. Theoretical assumptions: Speech act phrases and feature formality

Based on diverse formal features associated with pronouns and predicates in many languages, Macaulay (2015) and Ritter and Wiltschko (2018) incorporate formality into formal syntactic features. In this section we will outline two theoretical assumptions on which we rely in this study: that formality can be modeled grammatically with a [STATUS] feature and that 1st and 2nd person phi features must be distinguished in grammar from the features of Speaker and Addressee.

4.1 Macaulay (2015): Person features and formality

The nature of participants in the situations of utterances is indicated by phi features, including person, number, and gender. Is formality a phi feature? According to Macaulay

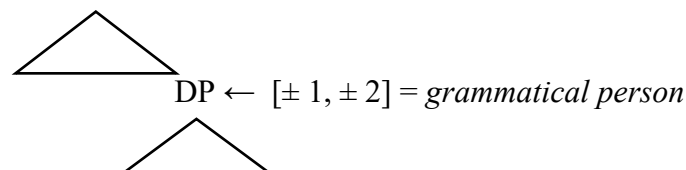
⁹ The alternation between *supni* and *pni* is phonologically conditioned; *supni* follows closed syllables, as in *cal mek-supni-ta* ‘(I) eat (it) well’. Also see Table 1.

(2015), formality in verb paradigms can be represented as phi features parallel with others. By surveying ways of encoding formality in Bengali, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Lylele, Nepali, and Tamil, Macaulay (2015) incorporates formality features into pronominal paradigms. He revises the feature geometric of Harley and Ritter (2002)—which lacks a formality feature by reason of its supposed licensing by the social context. Three kinds of formality features in the grammar are proposed in Macaulay (2015): 1) [+STATUS] indicating 1st person with a higher status than 2nd or 3rd person; 2) [-STATUS] indicating 1st person with a lower status than 2nd or 3rd person; and 3) [±STATUS], unspecified in terms of formality. We adapt these formality features by excluding third person on the basis of the pragmatic person features that will be discussed in the next section. Thus, our modified version is: 1) [+STATUS] means the grammatical Addressee has a lower status than the grammatical person Speaker; 2) [-STATUS] means Addressee has a higher status than Speaker; and 3) [±STATUS] indicates unspecified in terms of formality. We would like to clarify that status in terms of formality is *grammatical* rather than *ontological*. One can use the addressee honorific form to a person who has a lower status than oneself for expressive reasons, for instance, sarcasm or irony. One can address someone honorifically in usage without affecting the core meaning of grammatical honorification. Thus, without context, a clause with an addressee honorific marker indicates that the speaker has a lower status than the addressee or has a social distance from the addressee in being a stranger. Adapting Macaulay’s formality features, we assume that the feature [-STATUS] is the core property of allocutivity.

4.2 Ritter and Wiltschko (2018): Duality of Person Hypothesis

Siewierska (2004) demonstrates that pronouns in some languages, including Japanese and Korean, can designate the association of social relationships in terms of formality between the speech participants. For instance, first-person humble pronoun *ce* in Korean indicates that the addressee has a higher status than the speaker. Observing formality associated with pronouns across languages, including Aceh (Austronesian) and Mixteco Chalcatongo, Ritter and Wiltschko (2018) account for their properties by expanding DP structure; this expanded DP structure incorporates the Duality of Person Hypothesis (DPH), by which the primes of speech acts (Speas and Tenny 2003) are incorporated into a nominal domain above the traditional DP.

(11) Speech Act Structure ← [Speaker, Addressee] = *pragmatic person*



(Ritter and Wiltschko 2018: 2 (1))

According to this model, properties of person can be analyzed in three ways: in terms of 1) pragmatic person, realized by unary person features [SPEAKER, ADDRESSEE]; 2)

grammatical person, realized in a combination of grammatical person features [± 1] and/or [± 2]; and 3) a hybrid system (of pragmatic and grammatical person). Following Ritter and Wiltschko (2018) and Macaulay (2015), we assume pragmatic person features [ADDRESSEE] and [SPEAKER], which serve to identify the pragmatic role of a DP and can combine with a formality feature [STATUS] in the grammars of some languages.

4.3 Agreement in SAP

Modelled on the extended DP (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018) and CP (Speas and Tenny 2003, and much other work) in the nominal and verbal domains, we assume a novel Agree domain which likewise incorporates an element of the speech act, allocutivity.

(12) Agree parallels DP and CP

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. | [SAP [DP [NP]]] | (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018) |
| b. | [SAP [CP [VP]]] | (Speas and Tenny 2003) |
| c. | [Agr ALLO [Agr S [Agr O]]] | (our assumption) |

A clause in Korean that supports our assumption of AgrALLO and AgrS is shown in (13a).¹⁰

- | | | | |
|---------|--|------------|--------------------------------------|
| (13) a. | apenim- kkeyse | kito-lul | machi- si -ess-e- yo . |
| | father.HON-NOM.HON | prayer-ACC | finish-SUB.HON-PST-COMP-ALLO |
| | ‘Father-in-law has finished his prayer.’ | | |
| b. | chinkwu-ka | kito-lul | machi-ess-e- yo . |
| | friend-NOM | prayer-ACC | finish-PST-COMP-ALLO |
| | ‘(My) friend finished his/her prayer.’ | | |
| c. | [AgrALLO ALLO [AgrS S [DP AgrS S - <i>kkeyse</i>] - <i>si</i>] - <i>yo</i>] | | |

In (13a) the honorific nominative case *kkeyse* and the subject honorific marker *si* are associated with AgrS, while allocutive *yo* is associated with AgrALLO. The example (13b) lacks subject honorifics but is marked for allocutivity. These agreements are represented in (13c).

5. The representation of Japanese and Korean allocutives

5.1 Selectional properties of allocutive markers in Japanese and Korean

In this section, we demonstrate selectional properties of allocutive markers for two purposes. The c-selection properties of *mas*, *supni*, and *yo* show that they are formal

¹⁰ Honorification agreement in AgrO in Korean requires further study. Object honorification in Japanese is the subject of works such as Bobaljik and Yatsushiro (2006) and Boecks (2006), to which we refer readers.

morphosyntactic markers which interact with other functional markers. From their structural positions, it is expected that Japanese *mas* selects a verb, while Korean *supni* selects T and is selected by C, and *yo* selects C elements. In addition to their c-selection properties, these markers also display sub-category selection: Japanese *mas* in (14a) is not only incompatible with a copula, as discussed in Section 3.2, but it also selects a designated morphophonological form of a dynamic verb. As in illustrated in (14b), *mas* selects the verb stem *hataraki* ‘work’, but its null counterpart selects the stem *hararai*.¹¹

- (14) a. Peter-wa hataraki-masi-ta- \emptyset / *hatarai-masi-ta- \emptyset .
Peter-TOP work-ALLO-PST-DEC
- b. Peter-ga hatarai- \emptyset -ta- \emptyset /*hataraki- \emptyset -ta- \emptyset .
Peter-TOP work-ALLO-PST-DEC
‘Peter worked.’ (cf. Miyagawa, 2012: 86 (14))

These alternative verb forms selected by allocutivity confirm that allocutive markers are indeed morphosyntactic phenomena.

Similar properties are found in Korean as well. As shown in (15a), the allocutive *supni* selects a T element, for example, the future-like modal *keyss*, but not *l*, even though both modals express volition. (15b) shows that modal *l* is compatible with allocutive *yo*.

- (15) a. chengso-nun cey-ka ha-keyss/*l-supni-ta.
cleaning-TOP 1SG.HUM-NOM do-will-ALLO-DEC
- b. chengso-nun cey-ka ha-l/*keyss-key-yo.
cleaning-TOP 1SG.HUM-NOM do-will-COMP-ALLO
‘I will do cleaning.’

Moreover, although *ta* and *e* are both C elements, *yo* cannot select *ta* and *supni* is incompatible with *e*, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. chengso-nun cey-ka ha-keyss-supni-ta/*ha-keyss-ta-yo.
cleaning-TOP 1SG.HUM-NOM do-will-ALLO-DEC/do-will-DEC-ALLO
- b. chengso-nun cey-ka ha-keyss-e-yo/*ha-keyss-supni-e.
cleaning-TOP 1SG.HUM-NOM do-will-COMP-ALLO/do-will-ALLO-COMP
‘I will do cleaning.’

The selectional and sub-categorical restrictions on allocutive markers confirm that they are functional items with well-defined positions in the syntactic hierarchy.

¹¹ It seems that this is not a phonologically conditioned alternation because the sequence of *ki-ta* ‘came’ is otherwise possible in Japanese.

5.2 Allocutive markers that agree with vocatives

If X determines the morphological shape of Y, then we assume Y agrees with X (Ackema et al. 2006). Based on this simplified view of agreement, it is clear that a feature on the addressee determines the distribution of allocutive markers. For instance, the addressee DP can be marked by an honorific address title *nim* ‘sir; ma’am’ as a vocative in interactional communication in Korean, as shown in (17).

- (17) a. kyoswu-**nim**, pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-ss-**supni**-ta.
 professor-HON rain-NOM come-COMP begin-PST-ALLO-DEC
- b. kyoswu-**nim**, pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-ss-e-**yo**.
 professor-HON rain-NOM come-COMP begin-PST-COMP-ALLO
 ‘Professor, it began to rain.’

The honorific address title *nim* must trigger agreement with an allocutive marker, either *supni* or *yo*, depending on the complementizer. If the addressee is represented as having an intimate relationship with the speaker, for example, if Inho is a friend of the speaker, a familiar vocative, *ya*, will mark DP, and it triggers a null allocutive, as in (18).

- (18) a. Inho-**ya**, pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-ss-**∅**-ta.
 Inho-VOC rain-NOM come-COMP begin-PST-ALLO-DEC
- b. Inho-**ya**, pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-ss-e-**∅**.
 Inho-VOC rain-NOM come-COMP begin-PST-COMP-ALLO
 ‘Inho, it began to rain.’

In Japanese, the title form *san* or *sama* ‘sir; ma’am’ occurs in the place of *nim*. We propose that an honorific vocative DP, as in (17), has the pragmatic person feature [ADDRESSEE] (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018) and a formality feature [-STATUS]. A covert or overt DP with [ADDRESSEE] and [-STATUS] controls agreement in the structure. Agreement between the formality feature of the addressee and an allocutive marker are spelled out at the designated structural position(s) in the language under discussion, as determined by the identities of the relevant lexical items.

5.3 The incompatibility between allocutive markers and the second-person subject in embedded clauses

If (contrary to our view) allocutive markers agree with a second-person DP, all clauses having a second-person subject and marked for allocutivity should be well-formed. However, the examples in (19) show that this is not the case: despite having a second-person subject, ungrammaticality results when the embedded clause has allocutive marking. The sentences are ungrammatical regardless of allocutivity choices in the main clause.

- (19) a. *anata-ga oboete-i-**mas**-u-to omoi-masi-ta/omot- \emptyset -ta.
 you-NOM remember-being-ALLO-PRES-COMP think-ALLO-PST
 intended: ‘I thought that you (honorific person) remember (it).’
- b. *tangsin-i kiekha-**pni**-ta-ko sayngkakhay-ss-supni/ \emptyset -ta.
 you-NOM remember-ALLO.PRES-DEC-COMP think-PST-ALLO-DEC
 intended: ‘I thought that you (honorific person) remember (it).’

Mas and *supni* are disallowed in embedded clauses with second person subjects. This fact supports our assumption that allocutives agree strictly with the addressee. What is allowed—in fact required—is allocutive marking in the main clause in agreement with the honorific addressee when an embedded second person subject is marked with subject honorification, as in (20).

- (20) a. anata-ka oboete-irasshar-u-to omoi-**masi**-ta/*omot- \emptyset -ta.
 you-NOM remember-being.HON-PRES-COMP think-ALLO-PST
 ‘I thought that you (honorific person) remembered (it).’
- b. tangsin-i kiekha-**si**-n-ta-ko sayngkakhay-ss-**supni**/* \emptyset -ta.
 you-NOM remember-SUB.HON-PRES-DEC-COMP think-PST-ALLO-DEC
 ‘I thought that you (honorific person) remembered (it).’

In these examples, the second person subject in the embedded clause and the addressee are the same person, and necessarily carry the same [STATUS] feature. The sentences are well-formed. Honorification of a second-person subject DP is assigned differently in the grammar than an addressee. For this reason, as we noted in Section 2.2, we assume that allocutivity interacts with the pragmatic feature [Addressee] rather than a second-person feature, contrary to Miyagawa’s (2017) claims. Based on selectional properties, and agreement with (overt or covert) vocatives, we conjecture that allocutivity can be represented as in (21). A controller represented here as *ALLO_{op}* carrying [Addressee] with [-STATUS] spells out what we represent as *AgrALLO*: the target, *mas* occurs between *v* and *T* in Japanese, while it occurs in Korean as *supni* between *T* and *C* and *yo* above *C*. We model our first examples (1)-(3) ‘it started to rain.’

- (21) [_{SAP} ALLO_{op} [CP [TP [_{AgrALLO} [VP *hazime*] **masi**] *ta*] *ka*]] (Japanese *mas*)
 [_{SAP} ALLO_{op} [CP [_{AgrALLO} [TP [VP *sicakha*] *ess*] **supni**] *kka*]] (Korean *supni*)
 [_{SAP} ALLO_{op} [_{AgrALLO} [CP [TP [VP *sicakha*] *ess*] *e*] **yo**]] (Korean *yo*)

Though not argued in this paper, the generalization can be made that allocutive agreement is peripheral with respect to subject honorifics. We hypothesize that there is a pragmatic-person-related formal Agree (*AgrALLO*) domain which is hierarchically organized with the more conventional *AgrS* and *AgrO*. We plan to contribute to further

cross-linguistic and typological studies on allocutivity (focused on detailed investigation of how allocutivity and/or pragmatic person are encoded) to confirm our conjecture.

6. Conclusion

Until recently, formality associated with the addressee has not been generally accepted as a syntactic feature (Harley and Ritter 2002, Ackema et al. 2018). However, recent studies on allocutive agreement (Miyagawa 2012, 2017; Oyharçabal 1993), pragmatic person features (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018), and a [STATUS] feature (Macaulay 2015, Portner et al. 2019) suggest a revised view. In line with this view, building on studies of formality in the extended nominal domains (Macaulay 2015, Ritter and Wiltschko 2018), we have investigated pragmatic person in extended verbal domains in Japanese and Korean. Specifically, we have proposed a new approach to addressee honorific markers in Korean in the context of the grammatical phenomenon of allocutivity and compared them with similar morphological forms in Japanese. After decomposing Korean *supni-ta* and *e-yo* into allocutive markers *supni* and *yo* and C *ta* and *e*, we compare the morphosyntactic properties of *supni* and *yo* with Japanese *mas* in order to gain a better understanding of the parameters and principles of allocutivity. We have observed that allocutive agreement in Japanese and Korean occurs in different structural positions despite the fact that the allocutive markers consistently interact with a non-thematic argument, the addressee. The morphological realization of agreement can appear anywhere in the structure, from the highest position in the SAP, where the addressee also appears, to a very low position near vP. Consistently, though, allocutive agreement must be higher than honorific subject agreement. This fact fuels our proposal of an Agreement domain which preserves the hierarchy shared by the DP and CP domains.

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