



# Addressee honorifics as allocutive agreement in Japanese and Korean

Hailey Ceong & Leslie Saxon, University of Victoria

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Hailey Ceong <haileyceong@gmail.com>

Leslie Saxon <saxon@uvic.ca>

# Addressee honorification in Japanese and Korean

- **addressee honorific markers on predicates:** signify the speaker's politeness toward the addressee (Brown, 2008; Miyagawa, 2012, 2017; Portner et al., 2019 )
- **marked vs. unmarked:** clauses with the same propositional meaning can be constructed in different ways; the clauses in (1) contrast with their unmarked counterparts in (2) in terms of politeness

(1) a.	ame-ga	huri-hazime-masi-ta-∅	(marked, Japanese)
	rain-NOM	fall-begin-ALLO-PAST-DECL	
b.	pi-ka	o-ki sicakhay-ss- <b>supni</b> -ta	(marked, Korean)
	rain-NOM	come-COMP begin-PAST-ALLO-DECL	
(2) a.	ame-ga	huri-hazime-∅-ta-∅	(unmarked, Japanese)
	rain-NOM	fall-begin-ALLO-PAST-DECL	
b.	pi-ka	o-ki sicakhay-ss-∅-ta	(unmarked, Korean)
	rain-NOM	come-COMP begin-PAST-ALLO-DECL	
		<i>It began to rain.'</i>	

- ❖ the addressee honorific markers on predicates are glossed as Allocutive (ALLO)



## Goals:

- ✓ examine the morphosyntactic similarities and differences between Japanese and Korean addressee honorifics, termed allocutives following Oyharçabal, 1993 on Basque
- ✓ explore how allocutive agreement is represented and licensed in Korean (in progress)

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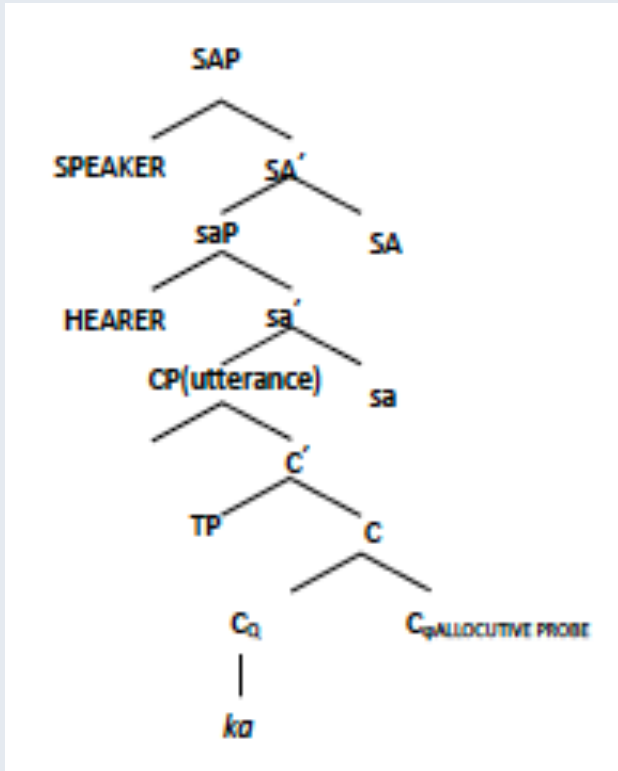
# Road map:

- 🌲 Previous account: Miyagawa (2012, 2017)
- 🌲 Analysis
  - assumptions: pragmatic person & formality features
  - observations and analysis
    - similarities and differences between Japanese and Korean
    - two allocutive forms in Korean
    - allocutive agreement **yo** in Korean SpeechActPhrase
    - allocutive agreement **pni** in T-C domain
- 🌲 Conclusion
  - remarks with implications for the formal typology of allocutives

# Addressee honorific markers as syntactic formatives

- as is characteristic of syntactic formatives, addressee honorific markers (i) construct closed categories, (ii) exhibit systematic distributions, and (iii) display strict orders
  - (i) **closed category**  
Japanese: *mas(i)*, *des(i)*, *kudasai*  
Korean: *pni*, *supni*, *psi*, *yo*
  - (ii) **systematic distribution**  
Japanese: ***mas*** with active verbs vs. ***des*** with a copula  
Korean: ***pni*** in assertions and questions vs. ***psi*** in commands and invitations
  - (iii) **strict order**  
Japanese: *v-mas-T*; *\*v-T-mas-C*  
Korean: *\*v-pni-T-C*; *T-pni-C*

# Previous analysis: Miyagawa (2012, 2017)



Miyagawa (2017: 29 (24))

- Miyagawa's analysis of Japanese allocutive *mas* is hard to test because his assumptions about the morphosyntax of TP and CP have not been spelled out fully, and so we are left asking:

- what is the relationship between *mas* and the tense head of TP?

[<sub>T</sub> [<sub>PST</sub>] *ta* ]

[<sub>T</sub> [<sub>PST</sub>] *masi ta* ]

- what are the properties of each complementizer in a sequence of Cs in main clauses?

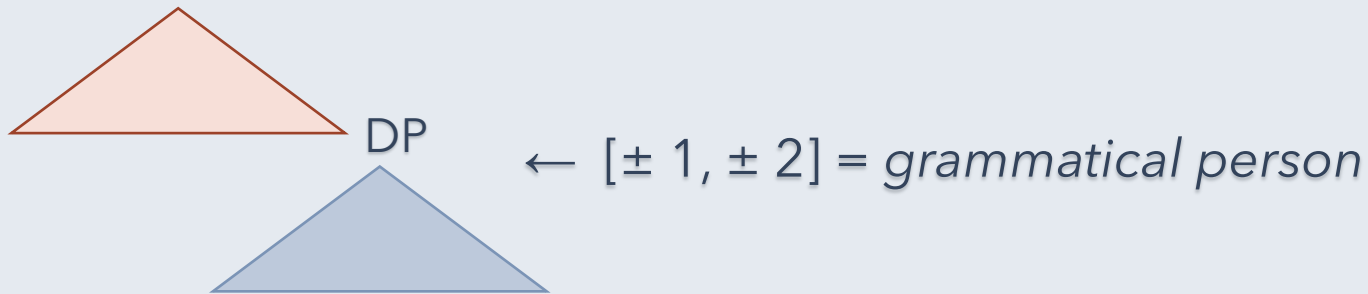
[<sub>SAP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> [<sub>C</sub> [<sub>T</sub> [<sub>T</sub> [<sub>V</sub> *ki* ] -*mas* ] -*u* ] -*ka* ] -ALLOφ ] ]

(Miyagawa, 2012, 2017 )

# Our assumption 1: Pragmatic person features (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2018)

- we assume the **Duality of Person Hypothesis**:

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

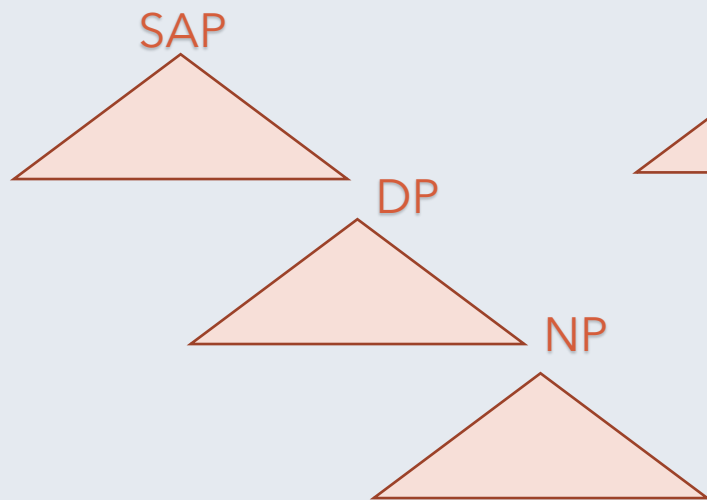


- SAP with pragmatic person features [speaker, addressee] is distinguished from DP with a combination of grammatical person features [± 1] and/or [±2]
- according to this model, properties of person can be analyzed in three ways: in terms of 1) pragmatic person; 2) grammatical person; and 3) a hybrid system (of pragmatic and grammatical person)

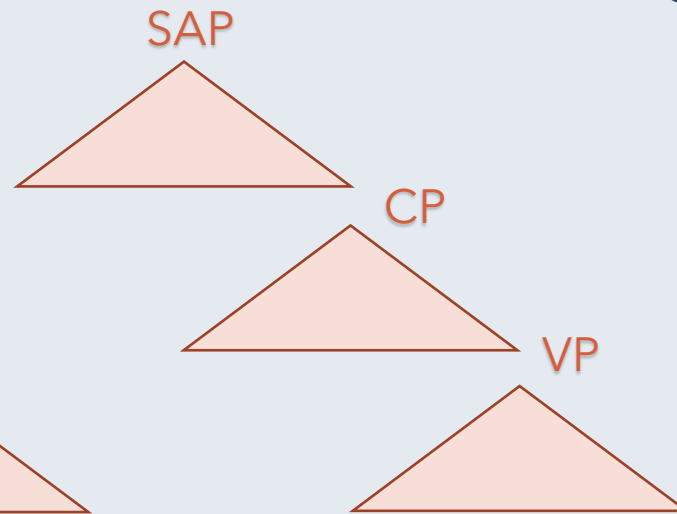
## Our assumption 2: Agree parallels DP and CP

- in addition, we extend parallels between the extended DP and CP (Wiltschko 2014, and Chomsky 1970 and much other work) to a novel Agree domain

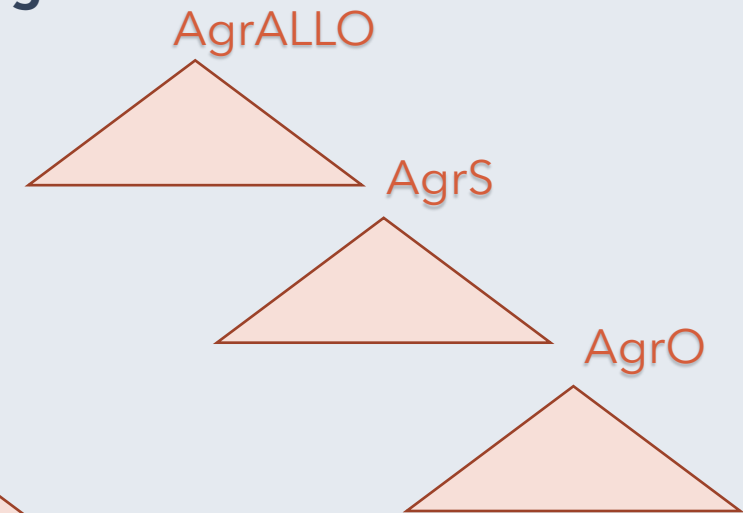
- DP:**



- CP:**



- Agree:**





## Our assumption 3: Formality feature (Macaulay, 2015)

- **[± Status]:** by examining ways of encoding formality in Hindi, Italian, Tamil, Bengali, Lyélé, Nepali, and Japanese, Macaulay (2015) proposes three kinds of formality features in the grammar:
  - [+STATUS] means 1<sup>st</sup> person has a higher status than 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person
  - [-STATUS] means 1<sup>st</sup> person has a lower status than 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person
  - [±STATUS] indicates unspecified in terms of formality
- Macaulay considers these formality features to be separate from [PARTICIPANT] person features (Harley & Ritter, 2002) in a feature geometry

## Observations of relevance for our study (many sources)

- **properties similar in Japanese and Korean languages**
  - ✓ head-final and SOV order
  - ✓ pro-drop/discourse oriented
  - ✓ traditionally considered as languages with no agreement
  - ✓ multiple C heads in the structure
  - ✓ **formality associated with pronouns and honorification on predicates**
  - ✓ **allocutives are disallowed in embedded complements**
- **properties different in Japanese and Korean relating to allocutive agreement**
  - ✓ structural positions
  - ✓ allomorphs

# Observation: structural positions of Japanese and Korean allocutives

- **mas** occurs between **v** and **T** in Japanese

(3) a. ame-ga huri-hazime-**mas**-u-∅ (v-**mas**-T)  
rain-NOM fall-begin-ALLO-PRES-DECL  
'It begins to rain.'

b. ame-ga huri-hazime-**masi**-ta-ka (v-**mas**-T)  
rain-NOM fall-begin-ALLO-PAST-INT  
'Did it begin to rain?'

- **(su)pni** occurs between **T** and **C** in Korean

(4) a. pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-ss-**supni**-kka (T-**pni**-C)  
rain-NOM come-COMP begin-PAST-ALLO-INT  
'Did it begin to rain?'

b. sicakha-keyss-**supni**-ta (T-**pni**-C)  
begin-will-ALLO-DECL  
'(I) will start.'

## Summary: contrasts between allocutives in Japanese and Korean

	Japanese <i>mas</i>	Korean <i>pni</i>
permitted in embedded CP	X	X
structural position	v < <b>ALLO</b> < T	T < <b>ALLO</b> < C
structural position with subject honorification	V·SUB.HON < <b>ALLO</b> < T	V < <sub>SUB.HON</sub> < T < <b>ALLO</b>
morphologically conditioned allomorphs	<i>mas</i> with active verbs <i>des</i> with a copula	<i>pni</i> in DECL, INT <i>psi</i> in IMP, EXHO
phonologically conditioned allomorphs	/mas/___V /masi/___C	V___/pni/ C___/supni/

## Goals mid-way: from typology to a narrower focus on Korean

- **Japanese and Korean allocutives share some but not all properties**
  - to dig deeper we will turn our attention to allocutives in Korean
- **to preview findings on Korean:**
  - as seen above, *pni* patterns like an element in the extended TP-CP domain
  - in contrast, the allocutive morpheme *yo* patterns like an element in SpeechActPhrase

## Summary: contrasts between two allocutive morphemes in Korean

	<b>Korean <i>pni</i></b>	<b>Korean <i>yo</i></b>
permitted in embedded CP	X	X
structural position	T < ALLO < C	C < ALLO
morphologically conditioned allomorphs	<i>pni</i> in DECL, INT <i>psi</i> in IMP, EXHO	X (can appear in all clause types)
phonologically conditioned allomorphs	V ___ / <i>pni</i> / C ___ / <i>supni</i> /	X
selectional properties	✓	✓
contrasts with a null form	✓	✓
co-occurs with honorific vocatives	✓	✓
allows phonological copies	X	✓

## Observation: structural position of Korean allocutive *pni*

- reprising information from above, *pni* is restricted to occurring between T and C

(5) a. pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-ss-**supni**-kka (T-*pni*-C)  
rain-NOM come-COMP begin-PAST-**ALLO**-INT  
'Did it begin to rain?'

(6) a. \*pi-ka o-ki sicakhay-**supni**-ss-ta (\**pni* < T)  
rain-NOM come-COMP begin-**ALLO**-PAST-DECL  
'It began to rain.'

b. \*sicakha-**psi**-si-ta (\**pni* < AgrS)  
begin-**ALLO**-SUB.HON-DECL  
'Let's get started.'

## Observation: structural position of allocutive (“polite”) *yo* above CP

- compare ***pni*** with ***yo***, both marking an honorific addressee (here expressed in a vocative)

(7) a. kyoswu-nim,                      pi-ka                      o-ki                      sicakhay-ss-**supni**-ta  
         professor-HON                      rain-NOM                      come-COMP                      begin-PAST-ALLO-DECL  
         ‘Professor, it began to rain.’

b. kyoswu-nim,                      pi-ka                      o-ki                      sicakhay-ss-e-**yo**  
         professor-HON                      rain-NOM                      come-COMP                      begin-PAST-COMP-ALLO  
         ‘Professor, it began to rain.’

- allocutivity is expressed in different forms before or after a clause-typing C:
  - in (7a), ***supni*** occurs before [below] the declarative C ***ta***
  - in (7b), ***yo*** occurs after [above] the unspecified clause-typing C ***e***



# Proposal: ALLO operates in the SAP domain, and can control agreement

[SAP<sub>addressee</sub> ALLO Op<sub>[-STATUS]</sub> [CP [TP [VP *sicakha*] ess] e] **yo**] 'it began'

- as **yo** can be attached to a vocative DP, occurs above CP, allows phonological copies, and shows no tense-related inflected allomorphy, we propose that **yo** is associated with an operator in SAP

[SAP<sub>addressee</sub> ALLO Op<sub>[-STATUS]</sub> [CP [AGR<sub>ALLO</sub> [TP [VP *sicakha*] ess] **supni**] ta] ∅] 'it began'

- as **pni** has **psi** as an allomorph in T-C domains (declarative/interrogative vs. imperative/exhortative), only occurs in the verbal domain, and disallows phonological copies, we propose that it is an allocutive agreement marker
- allocutive agreement is proposed as the highest type in an extended AGR domain

# Proposal: representation of allocutivity in Japanese

- what about allocutivity in Japanese?

(8) dare-ga ki-**mas**-u-ka  
who-NOM come-ALLO-PRES-INT  
'Who will come?'

(cf. Miyagawa, 2012: 87 (15))

- as **mas** alternates with **des** in verbal domains, the heads of TP and CP are occupied by present tense **u** and interrogative **ka**, and given the structurally distinct position of **mas** compared with Korean **pni**, we propose a representation of **mas** as below:

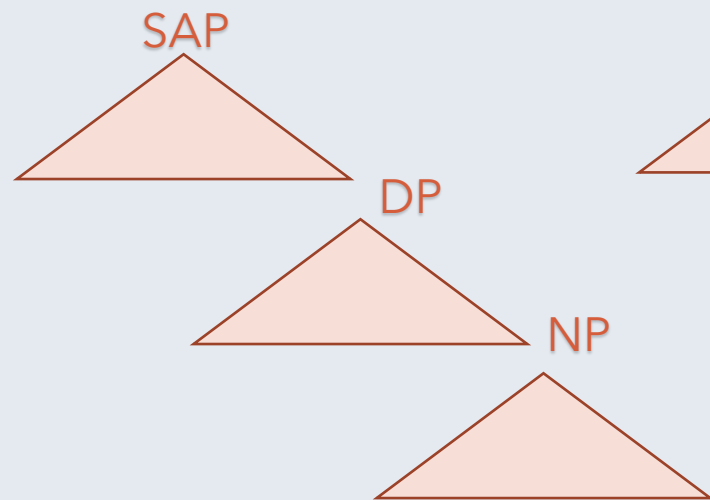
[**SAP** *addressee* ALLO *Op* [-STATUS] [**CP** [**TP** [**AGR**ALLO [**VP** *ki* ] **mas** ] *u* ] *ka* ]  $\emptyset$  ]

- thus, in proposing contrasting structural positions for Japanese and Korean allocutives, we propose language-specific patterns in the Agreement domain (see Alcázar & Saltarelli, 2014; Antonov, 2015; Haddican, 2018), parallel to what has been observed in the CP and TP domains (Wiltschko, 2014 and others)

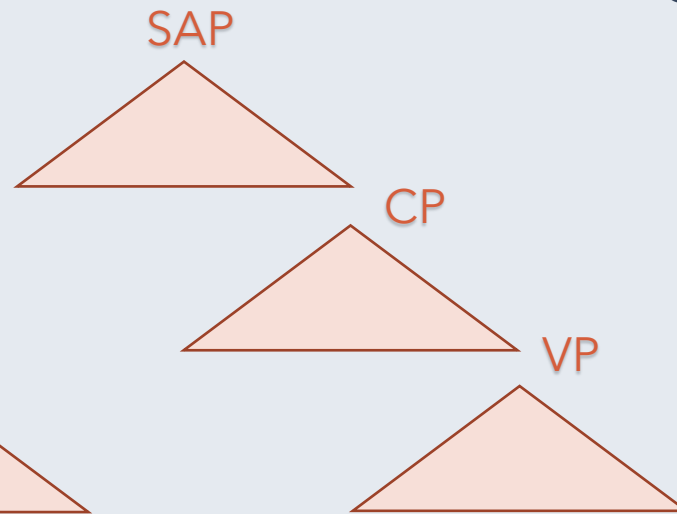
## Future study: Agree parallels DP and CP

- in future work that encompasses honorific subject marking in Korean and other languages, we hope to support the idea of Agreement paralleling the extended DP and CP proposed so fruitfully by others, and address the question of how agreement interpolates among the categories of DP and CP

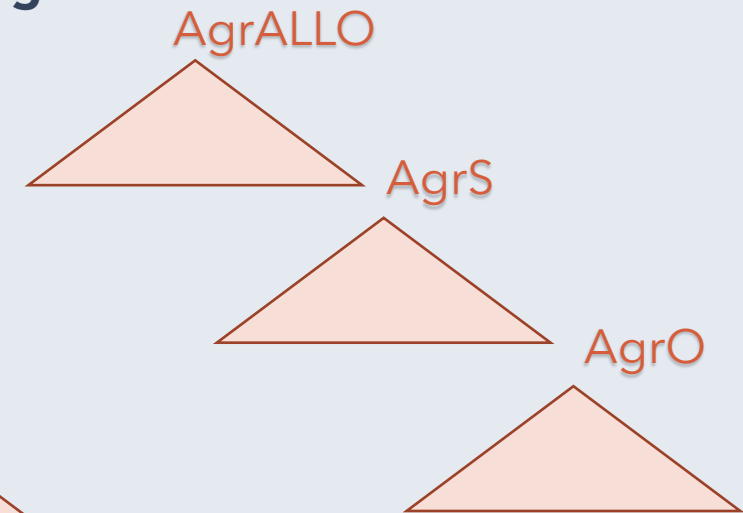
- DP:**



- CP:**



- Agree:**



## Conclusion: Observations, proposals, further research

- we have compared the morphosyntactic similarities and differences of **allocutives**, addressee honorific markers, in Japanese and Korean, languages which share a number of typological properties
- we have suggested a revised representation of Japanese allocutive **mas** based on this comparison plus assumptions concerning an Agreement domain paralleling DP and CP
- we have proposed an account of addressee honorific markers **pni** and **yo** in Korean, as respectively allocutive agreement and an allocutive form linked to an operator in SAP. This proposal assumes a pragmatic person feature [Addressee] (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2018) and a formality feature [-Status] (Macaulay, 2015)
- based on our findings we call for further typological studies on allocutivity focusing on detailed investigation of allocutivity in individual languages and Agreement forms in general

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Hailey Ceong <[haileyceong@gmail.com](mailto:haileyceong@gmail.com)>  
Leslie Saxon <[saxon@uvic.ca](mailto:saxon@uvic.ca)>