

Variation in honorificity: mismatches in allocutive languages

Gurmeet Kaur (University of Goettingen)

Akitaka Yamada (Osaka University)

Background

- Does honorificity on pronouns and allocutive markers have the same morpho-syntax?
- is it a morphosyntactic feature?
- it is acquired syntactically?

Lit. Review

	[F]	Syntactic licensing
Alloc Pron	Y	Y (agree with c)
Korean	Y	Y (bound by c) ⁴
Magahi	Y	N ¹

*c, located in the left-periphery, hosts a relational honorific feature

- However, Korean shows honorific mismatches and Magahi does not

Honorific mismatches

- Japanese honorificity mismatches without any “markedness” effects

1) **anata**-ni kore-o makase-**mas**-u
you_H-dat this-acc entrust-**AIH**-prs
 ‘I entrust this to you.’

2) **omae**-ni kore-o makase-**mas**-u
you_{NH}-dat this-acc entrust-**AIH**-prs
 ‘I entrust this to you.’

- No licensing on pronouns via c.
- Is honorificity on pronouns a [F]?

Allocutivity

- *mas* encodes a (Sp)eaker’s intent to be polite to a Hearer (Hr)
- *mas* is realized on ΣP (between TP and Asp)⁵
- it results from agreement in [politeness] between Σ and c
- 3) *mas* → [politeness: <Sp, +, Hr>]
- Thus, honorificity on *-mas* is syntactically licensed.

Japanese pronouns

- Eight 2sg forms, with distinct “honorificity”
- pronouns are also sensitive to the Sp-Hr hierarchy

4)	PN	Status	politeness
kisama:	2	Sp > Hr	low (-)
temee:	2	Sp > Hr	low (-)
omae:	2	Sp > Hr	low (-)
anta:	2	Sp > Hr	low (-)
kimi:	2	Sp > Hr	low (-)
sotti:	2	Sp >= Hr	low (-)
sotira:	2	unspecified	high (+)
anata:	2	Sp > Hr	high (+)

Issues: (a) 5 distinct forms end up with identical features, and (b) the disambiguating meaning is NOT translatable into a formal feature (Sp’s self-image, degree of offensive-ness etc.)

- All data come from the native-speaker authors’ judgements.

¹ Alok, D. and Baker, M. 2021. Person and Honorification: Features and Interactions in Magahi. Talk at LSA 2021

² Bobaljik, J and Yatsushiro, K. 2006. Problems with honorification-as-agreement in Japanese. NLLT 24, 355-384

³ Kim, J and Sells, P. 2007. Korean honorification: a kind of expressive meaning. JEAL 16(4), 303-336

⁴ Portner, P., Pak, M., Zanuttini, R. 2019. The speaker-addressee relation at the syntax-semantics interface. Language 95, 1–36.

⁵ Yamada, A. 2019. The syntax, semantics and pragmatics of Japanese addressee-honorific markers. Ph.D.thesis, Georgetown University.

Analysis of pronouns

- Honorificity on Japanese pronouns is not a formal feature (in line with the non-syntactic view to verbal honorification^{2,3})
- The pronouns are not intransitive determiners. Instead,

5) [_{PhiP} Phi [_{NP} N]]

[Person:2] “Honorificity”

- φ^0 : presuppositional meaning.
- N^0 : expressive meaning

Conclusion

- Honorificity on pronouns varies:

	[F]	Licensing by c
Japanese	N	NA
Korean	Y	Y
Magahi	Y	N

- Re-evaluation of:
 - mismatches in Korean
 - lack of mismatches in Magahi