

Hearer honorifics as allocutive agreement in Korean and Japanese

Hailey Hyekeyeong Ceong & Leslie Saxon
University of Victoria

The term “allocutive” describes functional markers encoding addressees who are not necessarily thematic entities (Antonov, 2015). For instance, in Basque, a female or male addressee can be referenced by the allocutive agreement markers *-k* or *-n*, respectively; they encode the gender of the addressee as well as the degree of formality between speaker and addressee (Alcázar & Saltarelli, 2014, Haddican, 2018, Oyharçabal, 1993). In Korean and Japanese, “performative honorifics” (Harada, 1976) such as *-supni-* and *-mas-* (cf. Brown, 2008) indicate hearer honorification. If these items are allocutive agreement markers (Antonov, 2013; Miyagawa, 2012, 2017; Portner et al., 2019), what are the morphosyntactic similarities and differences between them? We propose that these forms agree with an allocutive operator in SAP (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2018, 2019; Speas & Tenny, 2003.). As heads of AGRP their positions within the clausal hierarchy are expected typologically and find support in selectional relations.

The distributional patterns of allocutive agreement on predicates in Korean and Japanese are illustrated below. Hearer honorifics take the forms *-supni* and *-yo* (Korean), and *-mas* (Japanese).

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| <p>(1) Korean</p> <p>a. i chaik-ul ilk-ess-supni-kka
this book-ACC read-PST-ALLO-Q</p> <p>b. i chaik-ul ilk-ess-e-yo↑
this book-ACC read-PST-COMP-ALLO
‘Did (you) read this book?’</p> | <p>(2) Japanese</p> <p>kono hon-o yomi-masi-ta-ka
this book-ACC read- ALLO-PST-Q
‘Did (you) read this book?’</p> |
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Due to the presence of the allocutive markers, the addressees of the utterances in (1) and (2) are understood as socially superior or unfamiliar to the speaker.

The allocutive markers in Korean and Japanese show different distributions which have not been adequately treated in the literature. Our syntactic representations for (1)-(2) with *-supni-*, *-yo*, and *-mas-* are shown in (3). The sequence of functional heads in each case argues, following Ceong (2019) and the Mirror Principle (Baker, 1985), that *-supni-* occurs between T and C; *-yo* occurs above C; and *-mas-* occurs between V and T.

- (3) [SAP addressee [CP [AGRP [TP [VP *ilk*] *ess*] **supni** ALLO] *kka*] ∅ ALLO] (Korean *supni*)
 [SAP addressee [CP [TP [VP *ilk*] *ess*] *e*] **yo** ALLO] (Korean *yo*)
 [SAP addressee [CP [TP [AGRP [VP *yomi*] **masi** ALLO] *ta*] *ka*] ∅ ALLO] (Japanese *mas*)

The existing syntactic analyses of such examples do not take the fine-grained approach to the interface between morphosyntax and pragmatics that we advocate. For Japanese *-mas*, Miyagawa (2012, 2017) proposes that the allocutive probe moves from C to Speech Act Phrase (SAP) and there receives its feature valuation from the addressee, but the morphology is not treated. For Korean, Portner et al. (2019) propose a category analogous to SAP which *supni+kka* heads. Our approach has more in common with this view, in that we too propose that an allocutive probe originates in SAP, headed by *-yo* in some Korean clauses. Otherwise, Korean *-supni-* and Japanese *-mas-*, heading AGRP, mark agreement with the allocutive SAP head. Through the examination of selectional properties of *-supni-*, *-yo*, and *-mas-*, partially treated in Miyagawa 2017, Portner et al 2019, Author 2019, inter alia, our study accounts for previous observations

not previously linked: (1) morpheme order in Korean and Japanese verbs, (2) morphological co-occurrence restrictions, and (3) the restriction of allocutive marking to root and root-like clauses. Future work will focus on the sometimes neglected AGRP in Korean and Japanese (but see Hirata, 2006) and its roles in Korean and Japanese syntax, for example in subject honorification.

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