

Fundamentals
and Their
Theoretical
Implications

HONORIFICS

I Introduction

Roadmap

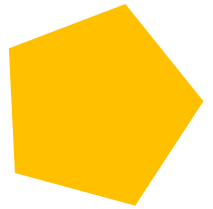
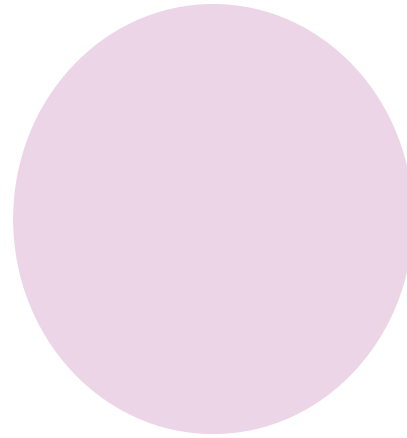
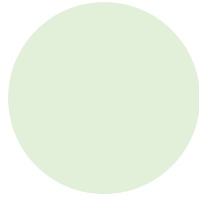
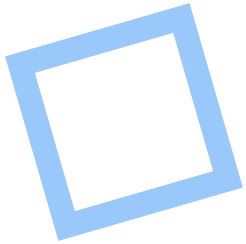
- (1) a. I {am/*is/*are} a student.
- b. L'homme est {grand/*grande}.
- c. der gute Mann/des guten Mannes

Features

- (2) a. Person
- b. Number
- c. Gender
- d. Case
- e. **Honorificity ??**

Goal of this talk

- (3) a. Make ourselves familiar with honorificity across languages
- b. Consider implications of honorifics for the discussion of agreement in general.



2 Classification

2 Classification

Honorificity

Person, Gender, Case, Number

[PN: _____]

one-place property

Honorificity: **relational**

the respect-holder

[RESPECT: _____, _____]

the respected person

two-place property

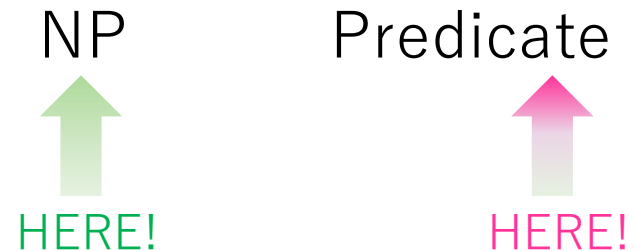
Target = {
(i) The referent of an argument NP
(ii) The addressee
(iii) None

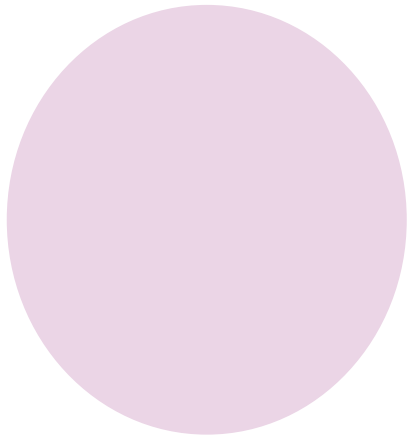
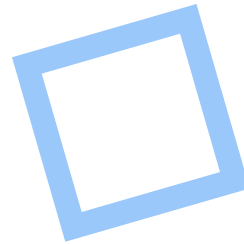
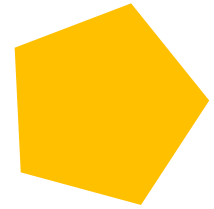
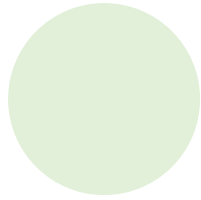
2 Classification

Classification

Target = {	(i) The referent of an argument NP	Content-honorifics
	(ii) The addressee	Utterance-honorifics
	(iii) None	Others

Positions





2.1 Content-Honorifics (A) NPs

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-1. Titles

Type A: common noun-origin

(1) English NN compounds

- a. **Detective** Conan has arrived.
- b. **Mister** Schneider has arrived.
- c. **Queen** Elizabeth has arrived.
- d. **President** Portner has arrived.

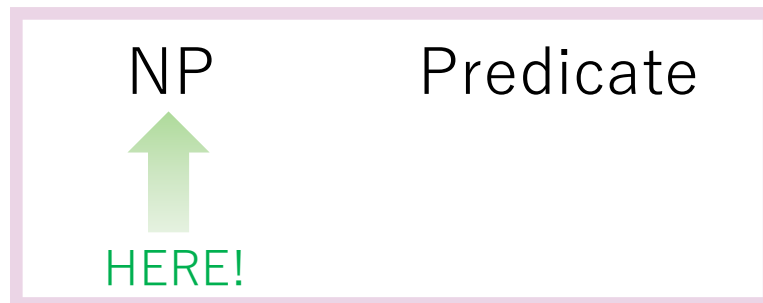
(2) Japanese

erizabesu	zyo0000-ga	tootyakusi-ta.
Elizabeth	queen-nom	arrive-PST
‘Queen Elizabeth has arrived.’		

Type B: suffix

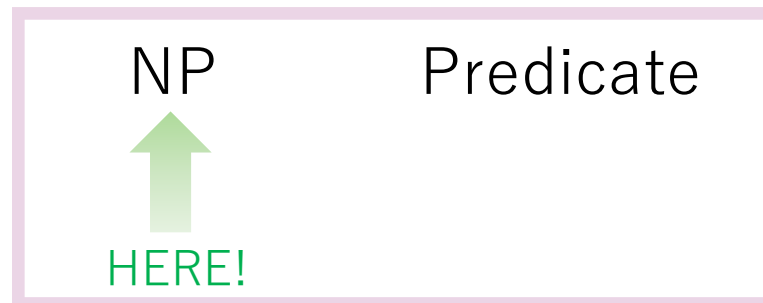
(3) Japanese

erizabesu- san-ga	tootyakusi-ta.
Elizabeth-Ms.-nom	arrive-PST
‘Ms. Elizabeth has arrived.’	



2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-2. Pronouns



(1) Languages without politeness distinction in pronouns

a. Swahili (Koizumi 1984: 208)

	sg.	pl.
1st	ni-na-sema	tu-na-sema
2nd	u-na-sema	m-na-sema
3rd	a-na-sema	wa-na-sema
	a-na-sema	wa-na-sema

b. Arabic

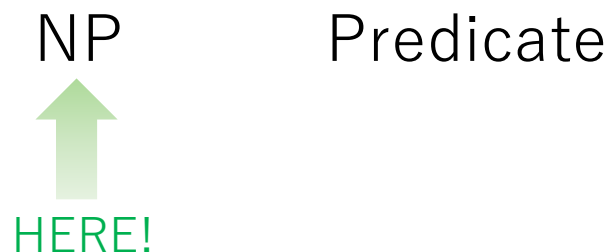
sg.	pl.
ana atkallim	ina nitkallim
inta titkallim (male)	intū titkallimū
inti titkallimī (female)	
hūwa yitkallim (male)	humma yitallimū
hīya titkallim (female)	

c. English

	sg.	pl.
1st	I speak	we speak
2nd	you speak	you speak
3rd	s/he speaks	they speak

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-2. Pronouns



(2) plurality

a. French

	sg.	pl.
1st	je parle	nous parlons
2nd	tu parles	vous parlez
3rd m.	il parle	ils parlent
f.	elle parle	elles parlent

b. Swedish

sg.	pl.
jag talar	vi talat
du talar	ni talar
han talar	de talar
hon talar	

c. Russian

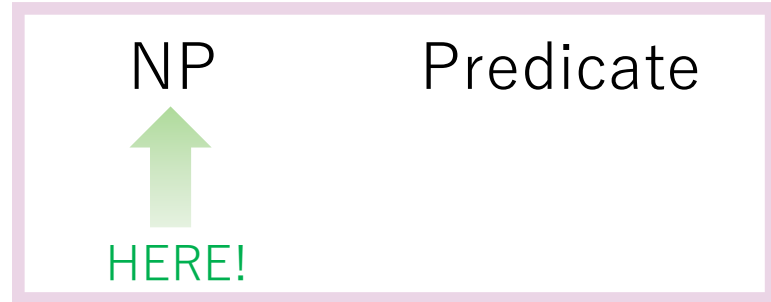
	sg.	pl.
1st	ja govoru	mi govorim
2nd	ti govori	vi govorite
3rd m.	on govorit	oni govorat

d. Selbo-Croatian

sg.	pl.
ja govorim	mi govorimo
ti govori	vi govorite
on govori	oni govore

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-2. Pronouns



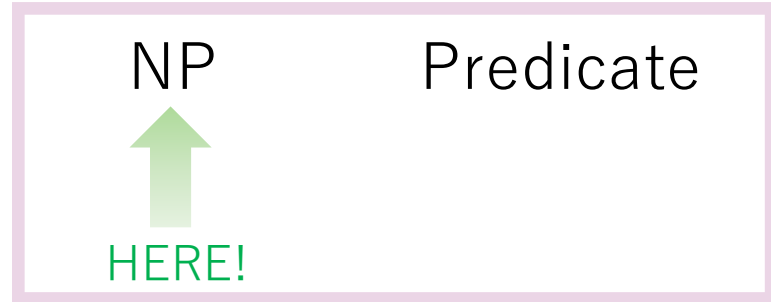
(3) **person**

a. **Italian**

	sg.	pl.
1st	io parlo	noi parliamo
2nd	tu parli	voi parlate
3rd m.	lui parla	
f.	lei parla	loro parlano

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-2. Pronouns



(4) plurality and person

a. German

	sg.	
1st	ich spreche	
2nd	du sprichst	
3rd m.	er spricht	
f.	sie spricht	

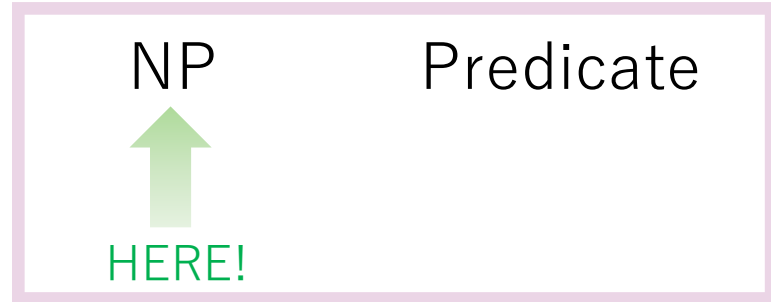
pl.	
wir sprechen	
ihr sprecht	
sie sprechen	

b. Danish

sg.		pl.
jeg taler		vi taler
du taler		i taler
han taler		de taler
hun talar		

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-2. Pronouns



(5) Special from (neutralization in plurality)

a. Urdu (Indo-Iranian)

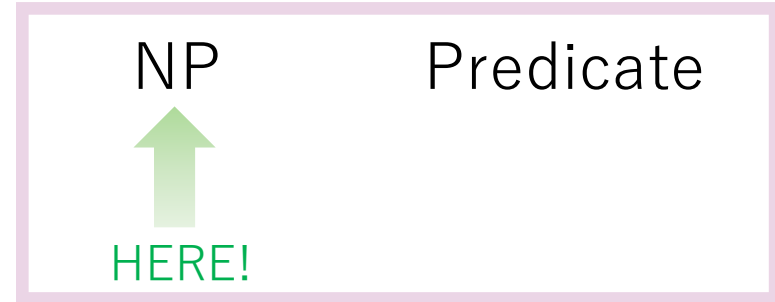
	sg.	pl.
1st	mai bōltā hū	ham bōltā hain
2nd	tū bōltā hai	tum bōltē hō
3rd	voh bōltā hai	voh bōltē hain
pol		ap bōltē hain

b. Dutch (Germanic)

sg.	pl.
ik spreek	wij spreken
jij spreekt	jullie spreken
hij spreekt	zij spreken
u spreekt	

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-2. Pronouns



(6) plurality and person

a. German

	sg.	
1st	ich spreche	
2nd	du sprichst	
3rd m.	er spricht	
f.	sie spricht	

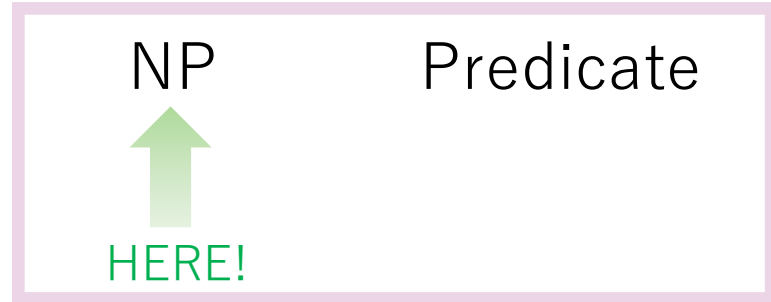
pl.	
wir sprechen	
ihr sprecht	
sie sprechen	

b. Danish

sg.		pl.
jeg taler		vi taler
du taler		i taler
han taler		de taler
hun talar		

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-2. Pronouns



(7) Special form (no neutralization in plurality)

a. Spanish

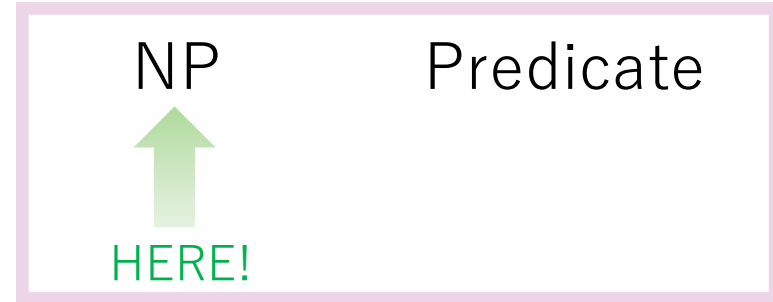
	sg.	pl.
1st m.	yo hablo	nosotros hablamos
f.		nosotras hablamos
2nd m.	tú hablas	vosotros habláis
f.		vosotras habláis
3rd m.	él habla	ellos hablan
f.	ella habla	ellas hablan
pol	usted habla	ustedes hablan

b. Hungarian

	sg.	pl.
	é beszélek	mi beszélünk
	te beszélsz	ti beszéltek
	ő beszél	ők beszélnek
	ön beszél	ön beszélnek

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-3. Associatives



(1) Japanese

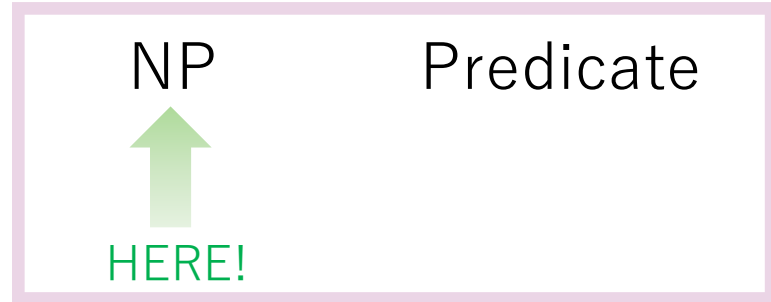
- a. **kimi-tati-wa** gakusei
you-ASS-TOP student
'you are students, right?'
- b. **kimi-ra-wa** gakusei
you-ASS-TOP student
'you are students, right?'

da-ne.
COP-SFP

da-ne.
COP-SFP

2.1 Content-Honorifics

A-4. Case Markers



(1) Korean

Wuli pwumonim-**kkeyse** ecey o-**si**-ess-ta.
my parents-NOM.HON yesterday come-HON-PAST-DEC
'My parents came yesterday.'

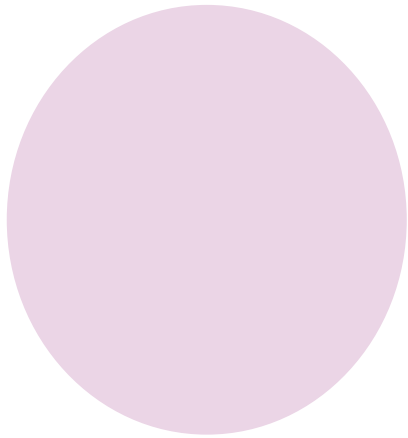
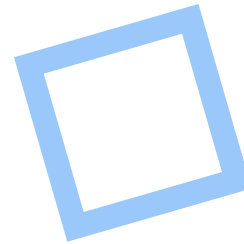
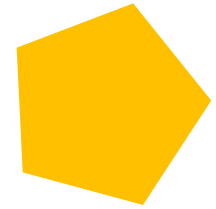
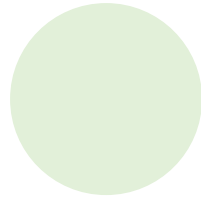
(2) Development of Plain and Honorific Dative Markers (Sohn 2002: 315)

- a. plain dative: *-uy* (genitive) + *kuey* 'there' > *-eykey* (dative)²
- b. honorific dative: *-s* (genitive) + *kuey* 'there' > *-kkey* (dative)

(3) Japanese (cf., *no/ga*)

Tennô-heika-**ni okaseraremasitewa** o-mesiagari-ni nari-masi-ta
Emperor-at *okaseraremasitewa* HON-eat-at become-HON-PST
'Emperor, [] becomes to eating'

(4) Magahi (NP+ *-aa*)



2.1 Content-Honorifics (B) Predicates

2.1 Content-Honorifics

B-1. Subject-honorifics



(1) Korean

Wuli pwumonim-**kkeyse** ecey o-**si**-ess-ta.
my parents-NOM.HON yesterday come-HON-PAST-DEC
'My parents came yesterday.'

(cf. grammaticalization into addressee-honorifics)

2.1 Content-Honorifics

B-1. Subject-honorifics

(2) Japanese

a. *sensei-wa kare-ni soodan s-are-ta.*
teacher-TOP he-DAT consult do-SH-PST
'The teacher [HON] consulted him.'

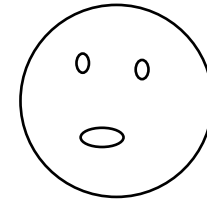
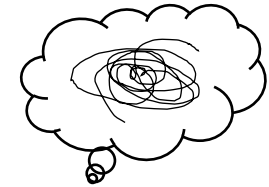
b. *sensei-wa kare-ni go-soodan s-are-ta.*
teacher-TOP he-DAT HON-consult do-SH-PST
'The teacher [HON] consulted him.'

c. *sensei-wa kare-ni soodan nasat-ta.*
teacher-TOP he-DAT consult do.SH-PST
'The teacher [HON] consulted him.'

d. *sensei-wa kare-ni go-soodan nasat-ta.*
teacher-TOP he-DAT HON-consult do.SH-PST
'The teacher [HON] consulted him.'

e. *sensei-wa kare-ni go-soodan-ni nat-ta.*
teacher-TOP he-DAT HON-consult-DAT become-PST
'The teacher [HON] consulted him.'

NP Predicate



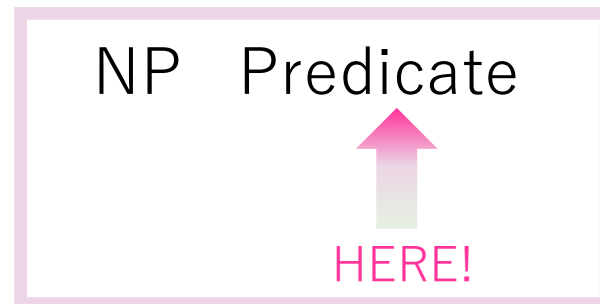
Too many...

2.1 Content-Honorifics

B-1. Subject-honorifics

(3) Magahi

- a. Tu/tohanii dauR-1-eN.
 You.SG.M/F.NH/You.PL.M/F.NH run-PRF-2.NHS
 'You ran.'
- b. Tu/tohanii dauR-1-a.
 You.SG.M/F.H/You.PL.M/F.H run-PRF-2.HS
 'You ran'
- c. Apne/apne-sab dauR-1a-thi(n).
 You.SG.M/F.HH/You.M/F-all run-PRF-2.HHS
 'You ran'



Subject	NH	H	HH
1P	-i-(a)i	-	-
2P	-eN	-a	-thi(n)
3P (lack of person)	-ai	-thi(n)	-thi(n)

2.1 Content-Honorifics

B-2. Object-honorifics



(1) Korean

할아버님께	용돈을	드렸다 (←드리었다)
harabõnim-kke	yongton-ül	türyõtta (← tûri-õss-ta)
grandfather(Hon)-Dat(OH)	pocket money-Obj	give(OH)-Past-Dec/Plain
‘I gave some pocket money to my (honorable) grandfather.’		

In Korean, OH is “a historical residue of an older suffix that used to show the speaker’s humility and deference towards the object of a sentence , but today it is observable mainly in a few special vocabulary items (Kim and Renaud 2009: Sec 10.1.3.1.2).”

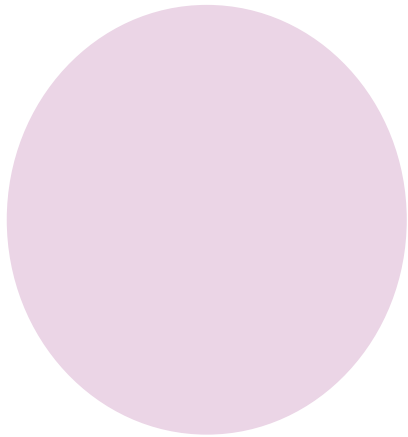
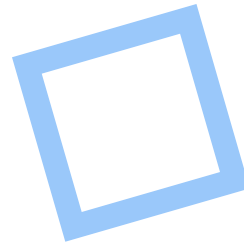
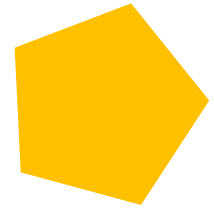
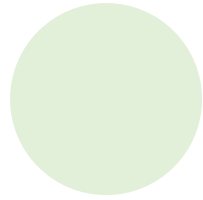
2.1 Content-Honorifics

B-2. Object-honorifics



(2) Japanese

- a. *taro-ga* *tanaka* *sensei-ni* *hanako-o* *go-syookai* *si-ta.*
Taro-NOM Tanaka teacher-DAT Hanako-ACC HON-introduce do-PST
`Taro introduced Hanako to Prof. Tanaka.
- b. *taro-ga* *tanaka* *sensei-ni* *hanako-o* *go-syookai* *moosiage-ta.*
Taro-NOM Tanaka teacher-DAT Hanako-ACC HON-introduce say.OH-PST
`Taro introduced Hanako to Prof. Tanaka.



2.2 Utterance-Honorifics

2.2 Utterance-Honorifics

C-1. Addressee-honorifics

(1) Japanese

yuki-ga hutte i-masi-ta.
snow-NOM fall PRG-AH-PST

'It was snowing (lit. Snowflakes were falling).'

(2) Korean

Ecey pi-ka o-ass-supnita.
yesterday rain-NOM come-PST-DECL.HON_A

'(i) It rained yesterday;

(ii) the speaker respects the addressee.'

(3) Thai

lian yêε ləy lǎ khráp.
study problematic PP Q HON_A.MASC

'(i) She studies so badly?;

(ii) the speaker respects the addressee, who is a male.'

NP

Predicate



2.2 Utterance-Honorifics

C-1. Addressee-honorifics

(4) Tamil

Naan jaangiri vaang-in-een-ηæ.

I Jangri buy-PST-1.SG.SUBJ-ALLOC

‘(i) I bought Jangri; (ii) the speaker respects the addressee(s).’

(5) Punjabi

karan aayaa je kii?

Karan.NOM come.PRF.MASC.SG ALLOC Q

‘(i) Has Karan come?;

(ii) the speaker is talking to an honorific hearer.’

(6) Magahi

ham ai-l-i-o.

I come-PST-1-ALLOC

‘(i) I came;

(ii) the speaker respects the addressee.’ (Verma 1991: 127)

NP

Predicate



HERE!

2.2 Utterance-Honorifics

C-1. Addressee-honorifics

(7) Poguli (Verma 1991)

(from Poguli)

iti yakh mahaanaa-khaaw dyaw raha chw-a -th
here one man-eating demon reside AUX-3Sg.m -2P

NP

Predicate



HERE!

(8) Basque

Pette-k lan egin d-i-zü.

Peter-ERG work done EXPL-ROOT-ALLOC:RESP

‘(i) Peter worked;

(ii) the speaker uses neutral/polite form to the addressee (vou-voiemment).’ (Oyharçabal 1993: 93; Haddican 2018)

(9) Burmese

nəme bɛlo k^hɔ-pa-θə-lé.

name how call-HON_A-REAL-Q

‘What would your name be?’ (Okell and Allott 2001: 114; Romeo 2008: 80)

2.2 Utterance-Honorifics

C-2. Addressee-upgraders

NP

Predicate



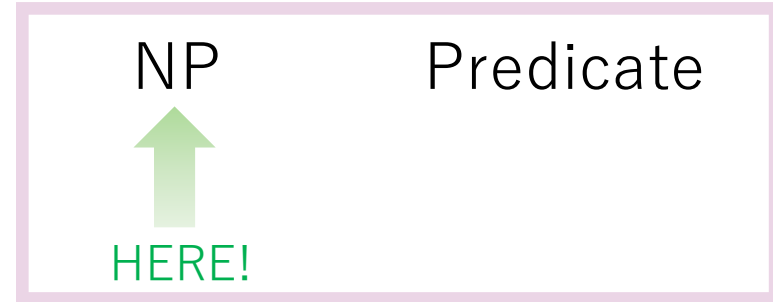
(1) Japanese

a. *yuki-ga* *hutte* *i-masi-ta.*
snow-NOM fall PRG-AH-PST
'It was snowing (lit. Snowflakes were falling).'

b. *yuki-ga* *hutte* *ori-masi-ta.*
snow-NOM fall PRG.AHU-AH-PST
'It was snowing (lit. Snowflakes were falling).'

2.2 Utterance-Honorifics

C-3. Phrase-peripheries



(1) Japanese

ano(-desu-ne) tasikani(-desu-yo) kinoo-wa(-desu-yo) isoide(-desu-yo)
uhm-AH-PFP certainly-AH-PFP yesterday-TOP-AH-PFP hastily-AH-PFP
yasui(-desu-yo) omise-ni(-desu-yo) watasi-wa(-desu-yo) iki-masi-ta yo.
inexpensive-AH-PFP store-to-AH-PFP I-TOP-AH-PFP go-AH-PST SFP
'Uhm, yesterday I went to an inexpensive store hastily (polite)'

2.2 Utterance-Honorifics

C-4. Polarity adverbs

(1) English

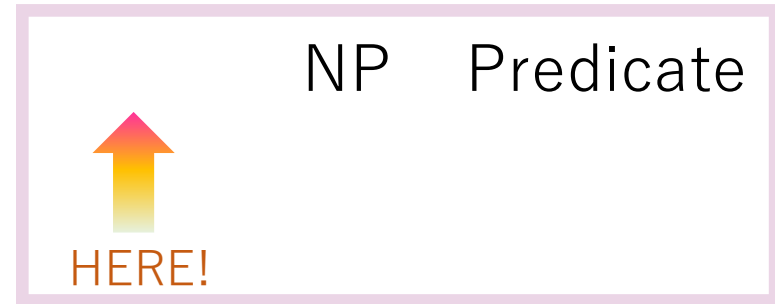
- a. **Yes** sir! I will!
- b. ?? **Yeah** sir! I will!

(2) Japanese

- a. {*hai* / #*un*} *wakari-masi-ta*.
yes/yeah understand-AH-PST
'Yes, I understood.' (Polite)
- b. {#*hai* / *un*} *wakari-ta*.
yes/yeah understand-PST
'Yeah, I understood.' (Casual)

(3) Bhojpuri

kaa jii Thiik Thaak baanii na
what PRT well same is PRT
'So, sir are you ok!'

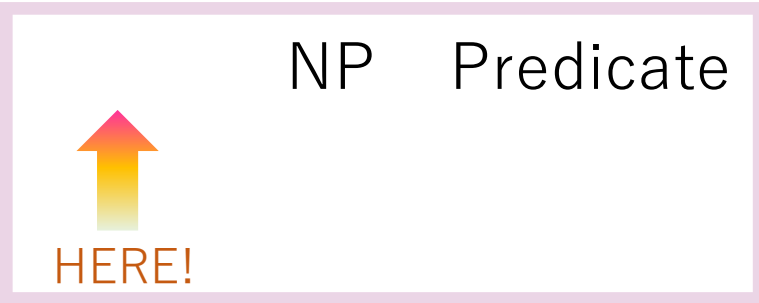


2.2 Utterance-Honorifics

C-5. Vocatives

Table 1. Vocative Particles

Language	Particle	Optional presence	Formal interpret.	Source
Arabic	ya+	+	-	http://corpus.quran.com/documentation/vocative.jsp
	+umma	-	+	
Baoulé	+è	-	+/-	Noel Aziz Hanna & Sonnenhauser (2013)
Bulgarian	(a)be/bre	+	-	Olga Mladenova—p.c.
	+le	+	-	
	ma	+	-	
Greek	vre	+	-	Tsoulas & Alexiadou (2005)
	(mo)re ¹	+	-	
Irish ²	a+	-	+/-	Brothers (1994)
Korean	+(y)a	-	-	Sohn (2001: 134)
	+nim	-	+	
Portuguese	pá	+	-	Carvalho (2010)
	ó	+	-	
Romanian	măi (mă'/fă'/bă')	+	-	Hill (2007)
	bre	+	-	
	tu	+	-	
Setswana	+a	-	+/-	Cole (1967)
Telugu	o	-	-	Arden (1905)
Toda	+(y)as	-	+/-	Emeneau (1984)
Umbundu	a+	-	+/-	Frank Collins p.c.
	epa	+	-	



(1) Romanian

- a. *măi* *Radu* Informal
 VOC *Radu*
- b. *Radu* Formal
 Radu



3 Theoretical issues

3 Theoretical Issues

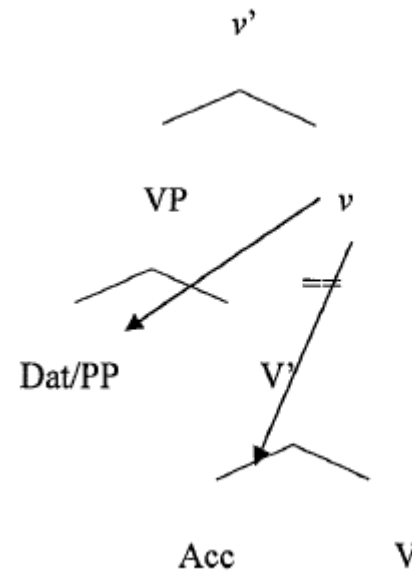
3.1 Agreement or not

(1) Japanese Object-Honorifics (Niinuma 2003)

#Taro-ga Mary-ni Tanaka sensei-o go-syookai-si-ta

Taro-Nom Mary-Dat Prof. Tanaka-Acc introduce-OH-past

‘Taro introduced Prof. Tanaka to Mary.’



3 Theoretical Issues

3.2 Interaction among Honorifics

(1) Subject-honorifics × Addressee-honorifics (Magahi, Alok to apper)

Subject	Addressee		
	NH	H	HH
NH	<i>-au</i> (cf. (9-a))	<i>-o</i> (cf. (9-b))	<i>-ain</i> (cf. (9-c))
H	<i>-thu(n)</i> (cf. (11))	<i>-thu(n)</i> (cf. (13))	<i>-thi(n)</i> (cf. (15))
HH	<i>-thu(n)</i> (cf. (14))	<i>-thu(n)</i> (cf. (14))	<i>-thi(n)</i> (cf. (12))

Table 2: Honorificity agreement with the subject and addressee

3 Theoretical Issues

3.2 Interaction among Honorifics

(2) Subject-honorifics × Addressee-honorifics × Sentence Mood
(Yamada 2019)

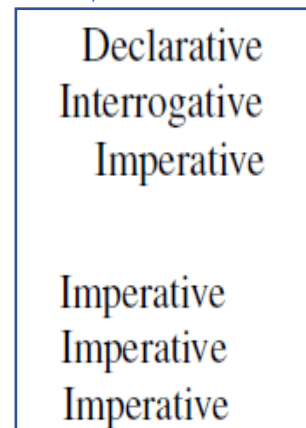
(1) **Sentence types and sentential forces**

- a. Bond gives every fish to Loren.
- b. Does Bond give every fish to Loren?
- c. Give every fish to Loren, Bond!

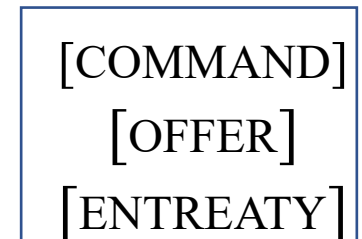
(2) **Sentence types and illocutionary forces**

- a. Soldiers, march!
- b. Have some beer!
- c. Help me!

Sentence type



Illocutionary force



3 Theoretical Issues

3.2 Interaction among Honorifics

(2) Subject-honorifics × Addressee-honorifics × Sentence Mood
(Yamada 2019)

a. <i>Koosinsi-ro!</i> march-IMP 'March!'	Imperative	→	COMMAND
b. <i>Biiru-o nom-e!</i> beer-ACC drink-IMP 'Drink beer!'	Imperative	→	FAVOR
c. <i>Watasi-o tasuke-ro!</i> me-ACC help-IMP 'Help me!'	Imperative	→	ENTREATY

7

3 Theoretical Issues

3.2 Interaction among Honorifics

(2) Subject-honorifics × Addressee-honorifics × Sentence Mood
(Yamada 2019)

a. <i>Koosinsi-te kure!</i> march-CV APPL _H 'March (for me)!'	Imperative	COMMAND
b. <i>Non-de kure!</i> drink-CV APPL _H 'Enjoy (for me)!'	Imperative	FAVOR
c. <i>Tasuke-te kure!</i> help-CV APPL _H 'Help me (for me)!'	Imperative	ENTREATY

8

3 Theoretical Issues

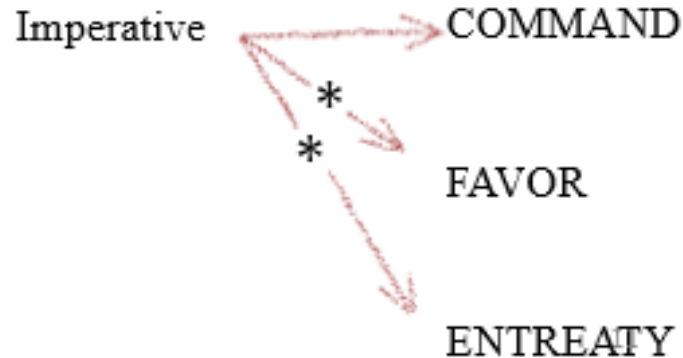
3.2 Interaction among Honorifics

(2) Subject-honorifics × Addressee-honorifics × Sentence Mood
(Yamada 2019)

Watasi-o tasuke-nasai!
I-ACC help-HONs

‘(i) Help me!;

(ii) the speaker thinks that
the addressee is
subordinate
to the speaker.’



3 Theoretical Issues

3.3 Embedded AHs

(1) Typological differences

- a. [CP[CP subject object verb] verb AH]
- b. [CP[CP subject object verb AH] verb AH]

(2) Korean

- a. *John_i-i [ku_i-uy emeni-ka o-si-**{pnita/s-eyo}**]-lako*
John-NOM his mother-NOM come-HON_S-DECL.HON_A-C
malhay-ss-ta.
say-PST-DECL

‘(i) John_i said, “his_i mother comes”;

(ii) the speaker of the RC respects the addressee of the UC.’

- b. * *John_i-i [ku_{i/j}-uy emeni-ka o-si-**{pnita/s-eyo}**]-ko*
John-NOM his mother-NOM come-HON_S-DECL.HON_A-C
malhay-ss-ta.
say-PST-DECL

‘(i) John_i said that his_{i/j} mother comes;

(ii) the speaker of the {RC/UC} respects the addressee of the {RC/UC} (intended).’

3 Theoretical Issues

3.3 Embedded AHs

(3) Japanese

wab- ‘apologize’

[*Go-meiwaku-o o-kake itasi-masi-ta-koto*]-*o*

HON-trouble-ACC HON-giving do.HON_U-HON_A-PST-C-ACC

o-wabi itasi-mas-u.

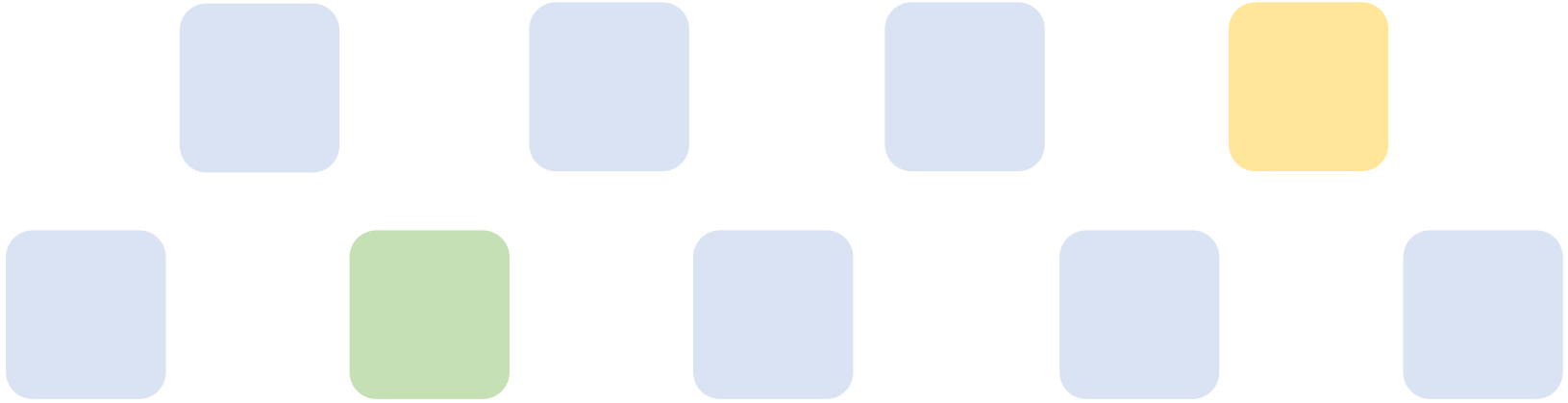
HON-apologizing do.HON_U-HON_A-PRS

‘(i) (I) apologize for having given (you) trouble;

(ii) the speaker of the utterance context respects the addressee of the utterance context (< *-mas* in the main clause);

(iii) the respect is very high;

(iv) the speaker of the utterance context respects the addressee of the utterance context (< *-mas* in the embedded clause).’



Q&A

Questions!

Questions

- Since performative honorifics do not require an SSS, in which contexts are they needed?
- Does the object honorification of the verb “be” exist, since it can be a voluntary action or not in some contexts?
- Do the politeness levels plain, polite and hyperpolite change with the context in which they’re said? Can talking in a “hyperpolite” way be seen as something bad?

Questions!

Questions

I'm confused about understanding the morphology of regular and suppletive forms. From what I understand suppletive formed honorifics are more polite way to speak than the regular forms.

When is it required to use suppletive formed honorifics instead of regular verb with prefix and auxiliary verb?

Are there cases when it is possible to choose any of these forms?

I didn't understand the difference in syntactic derivation between (23 a) and (23 b). It is also not clear for me the function of PRO in Japanese sentences, for example in (23b) *isogasi-i toki* 'the moment PRO is busy'

In English sentences PRO ("big pro") occurs in the subject position in a non-finite complement clause. However, I didn't understand how it works in Japanese sentences. In the table 8 (p.504) it was explained that INF=the infinitive form, or *ren'yoo-kei*, of a verb. What is *ren'yoo-kei*?

Questions!

Questions

So, I was curious as to what SBS would be referring to (my mind wandered in dark places, at first). Apparently, it refers to donatory verbs, therefore, it refers to a giving--receiving relationship. This was helpful: http://buna.yorku.ca/japanese/ejlt/donatory_verbs.pdf Here are some abbreviations that may be helpful for our discussion tomorrow.

SSS: Socially Superior to the Speaker

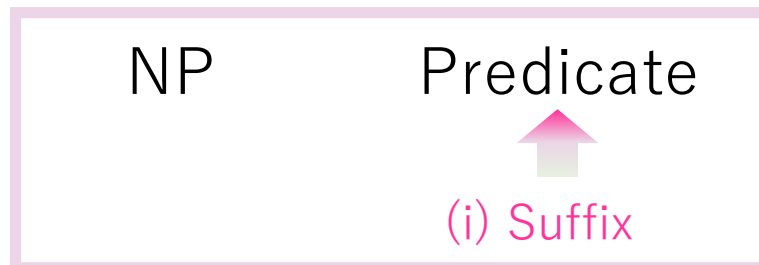
SIS: Socially Inferior to the Speaker

SES: Socially Equal to the Speaker

SBS: Socially Belonging to the Speaker

5 Addressee-honorifics

5.1 Levels/sources applicative (JAP) plurality (MAGHI)



(14) Magahi (Alok 2012)

Santee-aa dauR-l-**ain**.

Santee-NH run-PRF-1-NHS.HHA

‘Santee ran.’

- a. [-HIGH, -HON] = NH
- b. [-HIGH, +HON] = H
- c. [+HIGH, +HON] = HH
- d. [+HIGH, -HON] = Undefined

Feature Geometry

HIGH piggy-backs on HON