

Honorificity

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ABSTRACT

This is a survey article on grammatical devices encoding Honorificity. Rather than presenting a particular theory or an analysis, this chapter synthesizes the research that has been done on Honorificity, and explores specific empirical datasets worthy of attention from researchers working on morphology and morphosyntax in general. With this goal in mind, this chapter is organized according to the positions of such grammatical devices. In Section 1, we examine Honorificity in and around the nominal domain, such as pronouns, common nouns, and other nominal derivational morphologies. In Section 2, we explore the Honorificity expressed in and around the verbal domain, such as subject and object honorifics. Finally, in Section 3, we investigate Honorificity found in the clause periphery, such as addressee honorifics, and other discourse-oriented expressions.

Keywords: Honorificity; phi-features; honorific pronouns, imposters; titles; subject honorifics; object honorifics; addressee honorifics; honorific allocutivity

In morphosyntactic investigations, the phi-features, Number, Person, Gender and Case, have gained researchers' attention, providing important and intricate grammatical patterns, allowing linguists to develop elaborate theories of morphology and beyond. Compared to these major grammatical features, Honorificity has been relegated to a 'marginal' status. Most researchers have not shown interest in it unless it happens to be grammatically encoded in their research language.

The purpose of this Chapter is to challenge this traditional attitude toward Honorificity, arguing that the better adjective for the status of Honorificity is 'advanced,' rather than 'marginal.' Contrary to our first naive impression, morphological realizations of Honorificity are found in many genealogically unrelated languages, albeit not as thoroughly documented or studied as the phi-features. Furthermore, the investigation of Honorificity not only inevitably touches the issues of the phi-features, and makes us better understand the well-studied grammatical elements from an angle different from that which has been taken for granted, but also carves out an unprecedented morphological (sometimes syntactic) process, which will give us a better understanding of the human grammar. Irrespective of one's theoretical standpoint, we will greatly benefit from an examination of the cross-linguistic diversities and commonality of honorific morphology, which will make us re-consider the extant theories in morphology. In this regard, Honorificity is an advanced topic and is expected to advance the field of morphology.

This chapter consists of three sections, reflecting the positions of honorific morphology. We will begin by investigating honorific morphology in and around the nominal domain. Pronouns are famous for their distinctions in terms of Honorificity, but Honorificity is encoded in many more places within the nominal domain, and we will see their characteristics in Section 1. In Section 2, we will look into the Honorificity in and around the verbal domain. Just as in English Number is morphologically represented both in the nominal domain (*they* as opposed to *she*) and in the verbal domain (*are* as opposed to *is*), in some languages Honorificity affects the morphology of the verb, as with the so-called subject and object honorifics. Furthermore, we will consider honorific morphology in the clause periphery. In some languages, some speaker--addressee relations are explicitly expressed in clause periphery, and the honorific relation is one of them. We will examine discourse-participant--oriented Honorificity in Section 3. The chapter ends with a concluding remark for future studies in Section 4.

1 In/around the nominal domain

When it comes to Honorificity, researchers are familiar with the T/V-distinction found in many European pronoun systems. We will explore the key data of such pronoun systems in this section, and their cross-linguistic commonality/divergences in Section 1.1. In Section 1.2, we will examine honorific expressions with a common noun origin, and in Section 1.3, we will investigate Honorificity encoded in derivational nominal affixes.

1.1 Pronouns

The study of honorific pronouns has a long history, with excellent crosslinguistic surveys, such as by Brown and Gilman (1960), Head (1978), Brown and Levinson (1987), Braun (1988), Helmbrecht (2003), and Corbett (2013). On the basis of the findings from and discussions in such precursor studies, let us examine general patterns of honorific pronouns and their theoretical implications from a morphological/morphosyntactic perspective.

To begin with, consider the example below from Kambaata (Treis 2007:305; Corbett 2013), which will serve as our baseline system for the subsequent discussions.

(1) Kambaata (Corbett 2013:15)

	sg.	pl.
1 st	<i>án</i>	<i>na'óot</i>
2 nd	<i>át</i>	<i>a'nmo'óot</i>
HON	<i>á'nnu</i>	
3 rd MASC	<i>ís (ísu)</i>	
FEM	<i>íse</i>	<i>isso'óot</i>
HON	<i>íssa</i>	

The above paradigm is seen as a small departure from the tidy six-pronoun system, as found for example in English, with the only difference being that it has special honorific forms for the second- and third-person referents.

Upon close scrutiny of world languages, however, we will realize that not all languages express Honorificity in the same fashion. Languages depart from the above baseline system in at least four different ways. We will survey these departures from Section 1.1.1 through 1.1.4.

1.1.1 The 'tidy' pronoun system vs. the 'messy' pronoun system

The first departure from the baseline system concerns the 'tidiness' of the paradigm. If Honorificity is a binary feature, it is expected to create at most 12 slots created by the combination of the values in Person and Number, as schematically shown in (2). Note that it is not common for speakers to express their respect for themselves, so A/B and G/H are collapsed (but see Section 1.1.2). The aforementioned Kambaata example matches this expected pattern.

(2)

Number/Person		sg.	pl.
1	HON: -	A	G
	+	B	H
2	HON: -	C	I
	+	D	J
3	HON: -	E	K
	+	F	L

Some languages, however, do not show such a ‘tidy’ pronoun system and possess more than 12 pronouns. To see how, consider the pronoun system in Thai below.

(3) Thai (Smyth 2012:164)

	sg.	pl.
1 st	<i>phǒm, kraphǒm, khâa, khâaphacâw, chán, dichán, raw, nǔu, kuu, úa, ay, kan</i>	<i>raw</i>
2 nd	<i>nǔu, khun, thân, thəə</i>	<i>khun, thân, thəə</i>
3 rd	<i>kháw, thân, thəə, kɛɛ</i>	<i>kháw, thân, thəə, kɛɛ</i>

As we can see, different pronouns compete for a single slot, contrary to the expectation in (2). Likewise, the Japanese system is full of pronouns with different connotations, as illustrated in (4) (Kaur and Yamada 2021). Note that Japanese does not have a plural marker, although it has an associative suffix, as will be examined in Section 1.3.4.3.

(4) Japanese

	sg.
1 st	<i>watakusi, watasi, wasi, wai, ware, warawa, wate, wagahai, atakusi, atasi, assi, atai, ore, ora, oira, kotti, kotira, boku, uti, sessya, soregasi, tin, mii, ...</i>
2 nd	<i>kimi, kiden, soti, sonata, soti, sotti, sotira, sonohou, anata, ...</i> ANTI HON: <i>kimi, anta, omae, temee, kisama, ...</i>
3 rd	<i>kare (m.), kanozyo (f.), aitu, anokata, atti, atira, ...</i>

The distinctions among these pronouns reflect their expressive dimension (Potts 2005, 2007; Yamada 2019; Kaur and Yamada 2021), and the politeness meaning is an important ingredient, forming an intricate layer of meaning. Together with other sociolinguistic factors, some pronouns have very detailed specifications in terms of politeness. For example, the Japanese *anata* ‘you.polite’ is a polite pronoun and is sharply

distinguished from *omae* ‘you.non_polite,’ which has a condescending nuance. Yet, unlike the well-known European V-forms, this so-called honorific pronoun must not be used by an inferior to a superior (Yamada and Donatelli 2020; Kaur and Yamada 2021). For instance, it is unacceptable for students to use this pronoun to refer to their teachers, while teachers can use it to address their students. If teachers use it, they are treating their students in a ‘polite’ manner. This observation illustrates the complexity of politeness encoded in grammar. Furthermore, the condition for the use of *anata* is different from the conditions for the use of other ‘politeness’-oriented expressions, such as subject/object and addressee honorifics. When the subject coincides with the second person (= the addressee), it is predicted that either the honorific morphology is present in all of these expressions, or is consistently absent throughout the sentence if the Honorificity encoded by *anata* and that encoded by verbal endings (subject and addressee honorifics) are exactly the same. Despite this apparently reasonable expectation, the use of *anata* does not necessarily require Honorificity in verbal endings (Yamada 2019; Kaur and Yamada 2021; Yamada and Donatelli 2020). Typically, however hard we try, we cannot fully express the intended meaning of Honorificity. As with slurs and epithets, the difficulty in translating into a descriptive at-issue meaning is called descriptive ineffability (Potts 2007).

Some aspects are worthy of future study. From the typological perspective, it is of great concern if we can predict what language belongs to which type. Beyond a functionalist explanation, such as language contact, it is beneficial to consider a language-internal explanation and propose a theory in the realm of formal linguistics.

In addition, the presence of Japanese-type languages makes us wonder if not all pronouns are functional (cf., Kitagawa 1981; Noguchi 1997). Given that the Thai and Japanese pronouns encode intricate ineffable expressive meanings (conventional implicature), we should ask why other languages (e.g., Kambaata) are so restricted in encoding conventional implicatures. What features are potentially expressed by pronouns, and what features should not be expressed by them? It merits asking what kind of ‘politeness’ is denoted by these honorific pronouns. It is not clear at this point if the honorific meaning encoded by *anata* is equivalent to the politeness meaning of *á'nnu* in Kambaata, given that the use of *anata* is sensitive to the social relation where the speaker is superior to the referent (the addressee). If the answer to such question is in the negative (i.e., the honorific meaning encoded by *anata* is not equivalent to the politeness meaning of *á'nnu* in Kambaata), we should ask how many honorific features have been identified in human languages, and how these features are related to each other. If the answer to the question is in the affirmative, we should ask how the apparent difference emerges among languages.

Japanese pronouns are also known for properties not observed in well-known European languages; e.g., they lack bound-variable reading (Kitagawa 1981; Noguchi 1997), and they can be modified by relative clauses. To have a better understanding of the complexity of pronouns, we need to ask if the ‘messiness’ of the paradigm relates to these other properties of pronouns.

1.1.2 Target

The second departure concerns the target of the honorification. In Kambaata, honorific forms are available for the second- and third-person referents. However, some languages allow only the second-person referent, excluding the others, and in some other languages, the first-person pronoun has an honorific form (self-honorification/humiliatives). Let us examine these examples.

Second person (addressee). Languages differ depending on whether Honorificity is directed to the addressee (second person). Unlike in Kambaata, where not only the second person but also the third person can be the target of honorification, some languages do not allow the third-person referent. For example, consider the paradigm in Spanish, in which Honorificity is morphologically distinguished only for the second person.

(5) Spanish

		sg.	pl.
1 st		yo	nostros
2 nd		tú	vostros
	HON	usted	ustedes
3 rd	<i>m.</i>	él	ellos
	<i>f.</i>	ella	ellas

The Spanish data show that Honorificity interacts with the Person feature; it is restricted to the second person. One can argue that in Spanish, Honorificity piggy-backs on the notion of addressee; cf., feature geometry as proposed in Harley and Ritter (2002) (cf., Ackema and Neeleman 2018), or, from a slightly different perspective, *usted* and *ustedes* are a kind of addressee honorifics, as examined in Section 3.1.

First person. Languages also vary depending on whether they have an honorific form for the first-person pronoun, and among the languages with first-person honorifics, two distinct patterns can be seen. First, in some languages, the target of the honorification can be the speakers themselves. In Hindi, prominent personalities (e.g., kings, politicians, and high-level officials) can elevate themselves by using an honorific pronoun to refer to themselves, which coincides with the first-person plural form (Bhatt 2014:50). Tamil uses the same strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987:202).

(6) Tamil

		sg.	pl.
1 st		<i>naan</i>	→ <i>naam</i> (Inclusive) <i>naangal</i> (exclusive)
2 nd		<i>nii</i>	→ <i>niingal</i>
3 rd	<i>m.</i>	<i>avan/ivan</i>	→ <i>ivar</i>
	<i>f.</i>	<i>aval/ival</i>	

Second, in some other languages, the honorific morphology on the first-person pronoun encodes Honorificity towards the addressee; in other words, it lowers the speaker's status relative to the addressee's. These markers are sometimes called humiliatives/humilifics and are found for example in Pohnpeian (Fleming 2016) and Japanese. At least in Japanese, although such markers are said to encode Honorificity towards the addressee, it is too much to say that they are exactly the same as addressee honorifics (see Section 3.1), because the use of humiliatives does not necessarily require an addressee honorific marking within the same sentence, as illustrated below. If they were the same, the combination of *ore* and *-mas* (*-masi*) would not be permitted.

(7) Japanese

a.	<i>sensei-wa</i>	{ <i>boku/ore</i> }- <i>ni</i>	<i>ossyat-ta.</i>
	teacher-TOP	I.HUM/I.NON_HUM-DAT	say.SH-PST

‘The teacher told me (this).’

- b. *sensei-wa* {*boku/ore*}-*ni* *ossyai-masi-ta*.
 teacher-TOP I.HUM/I.NON_HUM-DAT say.SH-AH-PRS

‘The teacher told me (this).’

As a language can possess an honorific form for the third person, as we have seen in Kambaata, it is worth asking why there is no honorific distinction in the well-known T/V system, as widely observed in European languages and beyond. In my survey, I have not found the pattern where the third person has honorific distinction while the second person lacks such distinction, suggesting that the conjecture below is a typological generalization.

- (8) Generalization I: If a language has an honorific distinction in the third person, it has an honorific distinction in the second person.

In examining the asymmetry between the second and third persons, we will benefit from a comparison with Gender. As we know Gender, distinction interacts with Person. That is, Gender is distinguished only in the third person (singular), and not in the second person. As such, in this respect, it shows a pattern opposite that of Honorificity.

1.1.3 *Reusing extant features vs. reserved forms*

The third departure concerns whether Honorificity is encoded by a special form, or by a form already existing in the paradigm. In the Kambaata example, special forms are reserved for honorific referents, but in some languages, honorific forms are ‘second hand’ expressions, and languages differ in terms of which feature is recruited for Honorificity.

1.1.3.1 Languages with a reserved form for Honorificity

Let us begin by looking at the diversity in the way Honorificity is encoded by shifting an extant feature. A shift in Number (Plurality) is a commonly-used strategy, but a shift in other phi-features, such as Number (Dual), Person are also used for such purpose.

Person. In the following, observe the paradigm of Italian., a language that manipulates the Person feature to encode Honorificity. In this language, the honorific second person is referred to using the third-person pronoun.

- (9) Standard Italian

		sg.		pl.	
1 st	io	parlo		noi	parlino
2 nd	tu	parli		voi	parlate
3 rd	<i>m.</i> lui	parla	↓		
	<i>f.</i> lei	parla		loro	parlano

According to Head (1978:167), the languages below use this Person-shift strategy.

- (10) Amharic, Bemba, Danish, Eastern Pomo, Efatese, German, Harari, Italian, Janger, Kashmiri, Kefa, Lala, Lamba, Norwegian, Nsenga, Sotho, Swedish, Tagalog, Welamo

Number (Plural forms). Number is also used to encode Honorificity. The French *vous* is, perhaps, the most famous example of this (*i.e.*, the T/V distinction), as shown in (11). In all the languages surveyed in the previous literature, this strategy seems the most common. See Head (1978:157) for the list of languages using this strategy.

- (11) French

		sg.			pl.	
1 st		je	parle		nous	parlons
2 nd		tu	parles	→	vous	parlez
3 rd	<i>m.</i>	il	parle		ils	parlent
	<i>f.</i>	elle	parle		ells	

Number (Dual forms). Not only plural forms but also dual pronouns can be used as the honorific form for the respected person. Santali well illustrates this point. For the list of languages utilizing this strategy, see Head (1978:158).

- (12) Santali

		sg.	du.	pl.
1 st		<i>iñ</i>	<i>alañ</i> (incl.) <i>aliñ</i> (excl.)	<i>abo</i> (inclusive) <i>ale</i> (exclusive)
2 nd		<i>am</i>	<i>aben</i>	<i>ape</i>
3 rd	<i>m.</i>	<i>uni</i>	<i>unkin</i>	<i>unko</i>
	<i>f.</i>			

Person and Number. Some languages adopt the hybrid strategy: both the Person and Number features are shifted to indicate Honorificity. For example, consider the following paradigm.

- (13) Danish

		sg.			pl.	
1 st		jeg	taler		vi	taler
2 nd		du	taler	→	i	taler
3 rd	<i>m.</i>	han	taler		de	taler
	<i>f.</i>	hun		↓		

A slightly different pattern is observed in (colloquial) Ainu (Kindaichi and Chiri 1936:52-53). In

this language, the inclusive first-person plural form is used for the honorific second-person pronoun.

(14) Ainu

	sg.		pl.	
1 st		ku-ani		chi-okai (exclusive)
				a-okai (inclusive)
2 nd		e-ani	→	echi-okai
			↑	
3 rd		ani		okai

As Honorificity can be encoded either through a Person, or Number shift alone, such a hybrid system can be seen as using a redundant strategy. Thus, from a morphological standpoint, it is important to ask why languages reuse different phi-features, and sometimes manipulate more than one feature value.

1.1.3.2 Languages with a reserved form for Honorificity

Just like Kambaata, some languages have a special honorific form. When a language shows an overt subject-verb agreement, special attention is paid to the verb's inflectional ending. The Spanish data mentioned in (5) illustrates this point. Here, let us examine Hungarian data, illustrating the same pattern (Koizumi 1984).

(15) Hungarian

	sg.			pl.	
1 st	é	beszelek		mi	beszelünk
2 nd	te	beszelsz	↓	ti	beszeltek
	HON	ön	beszel	ön	beszelnek
3 rd	ö	beszel		ök	beszelnek

In Kambaata, Spanish, and Hungarian, the verb conjugates as if the subject is a third-person pronoun. In this sense, these languages show an underlying Person-shift, just like in the Italian example we have seen in (9).

As for the 'reuse' languages, it is worth asking if the shifts are semantically motivated. As the Number-shift in plurality is common and well-known, a story like the following may sound reasonable at first: by using the plural form, the speaker highlights the mightiness of the referent individual by the large amount in number. It is not my intention to argue against this apparently correct, widespread view, but I would like to point out the need for a careful assessment of such view. First, if plurality can encode mightiness yielding an honorific effect, it remains unclear why the same is not applied beyond pronouns (e.g., *the teachers* cannot mean *the honorable teacher* [sg.]). Likewise, in French, *ils parlent* only means 'they speak,' and cannot mean 'he' (sg.) speaks. and 'I', the speaker, respects the referent of the pronoun 'he'¹ Second, it does not necessarily follow that some languages use Person shift, and not Number shift; at least, we need

¹ But see the Tuvan example introduced in Section 1.3.1.

to consider the semantic motivation for Person-based languages.² Furthermore, it remains to be seen why some languages utilize Person shift in addition to Number shift, despite the fact that either is enough for Honorificity in other languages.

If we propose that the reuse operations (especially Person shift) are not semantically motivated but are as a result of abstract, formal feature manipulations, some of the above-mentioned problems can be circumvented. Some other concerns emerges, though. For example, it is worth asking if there exists a language where the shift to the first person, not to the third person, encodes the speaker's politeness. In my survey, no such language has been documented.³ If the ban on the Person shift to the first person is a general constraint, we are inclined to infer that there is something special about the first person, which will make us consider a semantic motivation; for instance, we may wish to propose that it is semantically odd to encode respect using the first person. As such, it may not be easy to attribute everything to an abstract manipulation of features devoid of meaning.

1.1.4 *Honorific levels*

The final departure from our baseline Kambaata example is that some languages prepare more than two distinct levels for politeness. In Hindi, at least three different levels are recognized. For example, in some Italian dialects, at least five different systems have been attested, as illustrated in (16). The binary *tu* --- *Lei* system in (16)c is the most widespread pattern in contemporary Italian. Person and Number shifts create more options, and some dialects distinguish more than two politeness levels (Hajek et al. 2012:10).

- (16)
- a. *tu*
 - b. *tu* --- *voi*
 - c. *tu* --- *Lei*
 - d. *tu* --- *Lei* --- *voi*
 - e. *tu* --- *Lei* --- *Lui* --- *voi*
 - f. *tu* --- *Lei* --- *voi* --- *ella*

In some linguistic theories, features are proposed to distinguish different morphosyntactic and semantic categories. When a researcher assumes a feature to express a politeness/honorific meaning, what kind of feature values are to be proposed, for example, for the system in (16)e? If the system assumes a binary distinction as in (16)a, [HON: +] and [HON: -] seem to work without any problems, but when *n* different politeness levels are distinguished, we need to keep track of the order. One way to capture the order in politeness is to use a natural number (e.g., [HON: 0], [HON: 1], ..., [HON: *n*]), which is not common in arguments in other features (for such a proposal, see Yamada 2019). Gender/Noun-class--denoting features may seem akin to this distinction because the classification can go beyond the binary system, but they are still different from the above system in that the categories are ordered in such features. How to handle such an ordered category is an important question for theoretical research.

² We will benefit from examining the relation between pronouns and imposter expressions (for imposters, see Section 1.2.1). In many Iberoromance languages, the honorific form is derived from the imposters: the Portuguese honorific form *você* developed from *vossa mercê* 'your grace'; the Spanish *usted* from *vuestra merced*; and the Catalan *vostè* from *vostra mercè* 'your grace' (Hajek et al. 2012:9). In German, the honorific second-person pronoun used to be expressed by the second-person plural form *Ihr*, but in around the early 17th century, imposter nouns (i.e., *der Herr* and *die Frau*) came to be productively used, which are considered serving as catalysts making the third person pronouns *Er* and *Sie* encode a higher-level politeness (Simon 2003:107; Listen 1999:68; Takada 2011: 147-148). An examination of such historical developments is expected to shed new lights on the complexity of the Honorificity in pronoun systems.

³ The Ainu example shown in (14) is a tricky case. One may argue that it is an example of the Person shift to the first person, but it is an inclusive form, and thus, the second person is still referred to.

1.2 Common nouns

In addition to pronouns, Honorificity can also be encoded in common nouns. To get an idea of this, take a look at the English examples below.

- (17) a. Your **Majesty** told Mary that his mother doesn't approve of {their/your} marriage.
(Podobryaev 2014:50)
b. **Doctor** Cooper, here's your letter.

The boldface elements are common nouns. The one in (17)a is called an imposter, and the ones in (17)b is called a title. Although the imposters and titles in English are limited to a few lexical items, those in other languages are much more commonly used. Setting the noun in (17) to our baseline examples, let us explore typological diversities.

1.2.1 Imposters vs. titles

IMPOSTERS are linguistic expressions that are notionally first- or second-person DPs that are grammatically third person" (Collins and Postal 2012:5; Podobryaev 2014). For example, the expression *Your Majesty* refers to the second person despite its third-person disguise (cf., *Your Majesty enjoyed yourself*).

Imposter nouns are sometimes combined with a proper noun to create a compound, and an imposter used in a compound is called a TITLE. To see this difference, consider the examples below from Japanese:

- (18) Japanese

- a. Imposter

<i>sensei-wa</i>	<i>gakkai-ni</i>	<i>iki-mas-u-ka?</i>
professor-TOP	conference-to	go-AH-PRS-Q

(Reading 1) Is the professor --- an individual different from the addressee or the speaker -- coming to the conference?

(Reading 2) Are you, who is a professor, coming to the conference?

- b. Title

<i>yamada</i>	<i>sensei-wa</i>	<i>gakkai-ni</i>	<i>iki-mas-u-ka?</i>
Yamada	professor-TOP	conference-to	go-AH-PRS-Q

(Reading 1) Is Prof. Yamada_j --- an individual different from the addressee or the speaker -- coming to the conference?

(Reading 2) Is Professor Yamada_i, that is, you_i, coming to the conference?

Imposters and titles have three crucial properties: (i) they serve as an argument at the level of the at-issue meaning; (ii) they also predicate the property of the addressee; and (iii) they convey the speaker's respect for the addressee is conveyed. This is easily seen in the difficulty of making the third-person expression an imposter when the denoted occupation is not highly esteemed, as shown in (19).⁴

⁴ By adding an honorific suffix, which we will discuss in Section 1.3, the acceptability gets ameliorated. For example, if a speaker is talking to and wishes to show his or her respect for Arsène Lupin, and uses -

(21) English

a. Is *the professor* coming to the conference?

(Reading 1) Is the professor --- an individual different from the addressee or the speaker --- coming to the conference?

*(Reading 2) Are you, a professor, coming to the conference?

b. Is *Professor Yamada* coming to the conference?

(Reading 1) Is the professor --- an individual different from the addressee or the speaker --- coming to the conference?

*(Reading 2) Are you, Prof. Yamada, coming to the conference?

In Japanese, as already illustrated in (18), an argument imposter is grammatical. A non-argument imposter is also grammatical, though, as shown below.

(22) Japanese

sensei, aitu-wa gakkai-ni iki-mas-u-ka?

professor he-TOP conference-to go-AH-PRS-Q

(Reading 1) Professor_i (an individual different from the addressee or the speaker), is he_j coming to the conference?

(Reading 2) Professor_i (= the addressee), is he_j coming to the conference?

An argument imposter/title and a non-argument imposter/title can coexist within the same sentence, as in (23), which is never redundant.

(23) Japanese

(yamada) sensei, (yamada) sensei-wa gakkai-ni iki-mas-u-ka?

Yamada professor Yamada professor-TOP conference-to go-AH-PRS-Q

?(Reading 1) Prof. (Yamada)_i, is Prof. (Yamada)_j --- an individual different from the addressee or the speaker --- coming to the conference?

(Reading 2) Prof. (Yamada)_i, are you_i, Prof. (Yamada), coming to the conference?

As shown by the contrast between (18) and (19), not all nouns have an imposter/title use. It is important to know the nature of this restriction. In a morphosyntactic analysis, it would be assumed that the feature is lexically provided by the word *sensei* and *professor*, but not by the word *doroboo* or *thief*. With regard to this view, it is worth asking if an external criterion can be provided to distinguish between nouns with and without this feature. Another possible view is to argue that Honorificity is pragmatically introduced; that is, when the speaker thinks in the current context, he or she uses the given noun as a title or an imposter. It is important to ask which account is suitable for the data in each language.

We also need to ask why there is an interaction between the availability of imposter/title use and the non-argument/argument distinction in English-type languages. Another related question is the issue of definiteness. Being a countable noun, the noun *professor* must be preceded by an article when used in an argument position. As seen in (24), however, the imposter noun appearing in the non-argument position must not be preceded by an article.

(24) *The Professor, are you coming to the conference?

Languages show variation regarding this parameter (Hill 2014). As shown in (25), in French, an article can precede the imposter (Hill 2014: 62-63).⁵ Admittedly, in some cases, the addressee may not be specific. For example, when we put a word in a fryer, we do not know who we are eventually talking to. The addressee must be contextually identified, however, and in this sense, it is always definite. Analyses must be done to explain the relation between the semantic notion of definiteness and the morphosyntactic realization of definite markings.

(25) allons, les amis!

1.2.3 Target

So far, we have examined the Honorificity associated with a common noun whose honorific target is necessarily the same as the referent of the noun phrase: if someone pronounces the phrase *Dr. Sheldon Cooper*, then Sheldon Cooper is referred to as well as being the target of honorification.

The Honorificity associated with the SPEECH LEVEL SYSTEM does not have the aforementioned tendency (Errington 1988; Blust 2013; Fleming 2016). In some languages, lexical items are distinguished by their speech levels. The anthropologist Clifford Geertz, in working on the Javanese community, reports that “for ‘house’ we have three forms (*omah*, *grija*, and *daləm*), each connoting a progressively higher relative status of the listener with respect to the speaker” (Geertz 1960:248). Such an elaborate lexical distinction is also found in other neighboring languages, such as Madurese (Davies 2010), Sundanese (Anderson 1993), Balinese (Arka 2005), Sasak (Meyerhoff 2015), Buginese, Sangir, and Taba (Bowden 2001).

As illustrated in the Madurese example below, the speech level distinction is observed not only in a common noun, but also in other categories, and in this regard, their morphosyntactic/semiopragmatic status is different from that of the Honorificity we saw with an imposter/title.

(26) Madurese (Davies 2010:474-475)

a.	<i>Ba’na</i>	<i>apa</i>	<i>mare</i>	<i>ngakan?</i>	[Kasar]
	you	what	finish	AV.eat	
b.	<i>Dika</i>	<i>nape</i>	<i>mare</i>	<i>ngakan?</i>	[Tengnga’an]
	you	what	finish	AV.eat	
c.	<i>Sampeyan</i>	<i>ponapa</i>	<i>lastare</i>	<i>neddha?</i>	[Alos]
	you	what	finish	AV.eat	

‘Have you eaten?’

The sentence in (26)a is used “between persons of equal social status and by people of a superior status to those of a lower status” (Davies 2010:472). The sentence in (26)b is used “between social equals who are not well acquainted, husbands to their wives, parents-in-law to their sons- and daughters-in-law, and between buyers and sellers in the market.” It is also appropriate to use when “an older person addresses a

⁵ However, the presence of an article gives rise to a semantic effect: when there is an article, the friends need not be friends of the speaker, and when there is no article, the friends must be the friends of the speaker (Hill 2014: 63).

younger person but wants to show some respect due to the relative higher social status of the younger addressee” (*ibid.*:472). Finally, the sentence in (26)c is used “by people of lower status when addressing people of higher status” (*ibid.*:472).

In some cases, morphophonological correspondences can be identified observed (Blust 2013:127). For example, in Javanese, when a word of *ngoko* speech style has a back word, a word of *krama* speech style forms with a front vowel: e.g., *agama: agami* ‘religion’ and *bubar: bibar* ‘disperse.’ In cases where *ngoko* has *-i* or *-iC*, *krama* uses *-os*: e.g., *arti: artos* ‘meaning’ and *batin”batos* ‘inward feeling.’ For more patterns, see Blust (*ibid.*:127).

1.3 Derivational morphology

As an example of an affix encoding Honorificity, consider an honorific prefix from Japanese, such as the example below. The prefix *o-* is attached to the noun *kuruma* ‘car,’ and it encodes the speaker’s respect for the referent of the genitive marked noun phrase *sensei* ‘professor.’

(27) Japanese

<i>sensei-no</i>	<i>o-kuruma-ga</i>	<i>nakere-ba</i>	<i>taihen</i>	<i>desi-ta.</i>
professor-GEN	HON-car-NOM	absent-if	trouble	COP-PST

‘We would have been in trouble without the professor’s car.’

In the following, let us examine how the honorific derivational affixes across the world differ from this honorific prefix.

1.3.1 Sources

The source of honorific affixes also shows cross-linguistic variation. Here, let us examine some clear cases.

Number. In the Kambaata case in (1), the honorific form is seen as a word-level replacement of the non-honorific/default pronouns (i.e., a suppletion). In some cases, however, honorific pronouns are created by a clear derivational morphology. Observe the paradigm of Tuvan in (28) (Voinov 2013). Special honorific forms are provided for the second- and third-person singular forms, and these forms are a combination of the second person plural form, and the suffix *-LAR* (note that the vowel assimilates with the preceding vowel), which is originally used to form a plural marking:

(28) Tuvan (Voinov 2013:96)

	sg.	pl.
1 st	<i>men</i>	<i>bis/bister</i>
2 nd	<i>sen</i>	<i>siler</i>
HON	<i>siler-ler</i>	
3 rd	<i>ol</i>	<i>olar</i>
HON	<i>olar-lar</i>	

This means that the honorific forms contain two ‘plural’ markings, and such a double plural marking is

called REPLURALIZATION, which is also found in Tamil (Head 1978:161; Brown and Levinson 1987:200; Voinov 2013:93).⁶

A slightly different type of replurization is found in **Persian**.

(29) Persian

		sg.	pl.
1 st		<i>man</i>	<i>mā</i>
	HUM	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā-hā</i>
2 nd		<i>to</i>	<i>shomā</i>
	HON	<i>shomā</i>	<i>shomā-hā</i>
3 rd		<i>un</i>	<i>ishān</i>
		<i>in</i>	
		<i>ishān</i>	

Diminutive. In Classic Nahuatl, the most commonly used honorific suffix is *-tzin*, which is pronounced between the noun stem and the absolutive case marker (Andrews 1975:159; Launey and Mackay 2011; Romero 2014):

(30) Nahuatl *-tsin* (Launey and Mackay 2011:15, 106)

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| a. <i>cihuā-tl</i> | b. <i>cihuā-tzin-tli</i> |
| woman-ABS | woman-HON-ABS |
| ‘woman’ | ‘dear/honorable woman’ |

This marker was originally a diminutive suffix and has grown into a marker of respect by the Classic period. A clear example of non-honorific, diminutive use is seen with an inanimate, mass noun. The suffix expresses “the meaning of a portion, part, or delimited amount” (Andrews 1975:159).

(31) Nahuatl *-tzin* (Andrews 1975:159)

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| a. <i>ā-tl</i> | b. <i>ā-tzin-tli</i> |
| water-ABS | water-DIM-ABS |
| ‘water’ | ‘water in domestic use, in a well, or in a tank’ |

Augmentative. In Classical Japanese, the prefix *mi-* is considered related to the meaning of beauty; or the sacredness of the described entity (Yoshino 1984). Another prefix, *opo-*, is considered an etymological

⁶ When an honorific form has been used for a long time, the intended honorific meaning is attenuated, so a new plural morphology is called for to reintroduce the politeness meaning. The plural marking *-LAR* is added to *ol* to create *ol-ar*. The same plural morphology is applied once again to *ol-ar* to encode Honorificity, resulting in *ol-ar-lar*.

cognate of *opoki* ‘big’ and *oposi* ‘many/much’ (Kasuga 1971:53) and representing massiveness. The above-mentioned honorific prefix in Japanese, *o-*, is considered to have developed from the combination of these through phonological reduction (i.e., *opo-mi* [*opomi*-> *opom*- > *on*- > *o-*]) (Tsuji-mura 1968; Kasuga 1971). These honorific prefixes are all considered examples of augmentative-origin, expressions denoting a high degree on the relevant scale (e.g., beauty/ sacredness, amount).

Little has been revealed about the historical sources of honorific derivational affixes, and the foregoing are just a few examples, illustrating attested paths. Future investigation of Honorificity in other languages may reveal a wide range of lexical/grammatical sources, but even from the limited examples given, we can get some takeaways.

First, once again, we find Honorificity associated with a phi-feature (Number). As we have seen for pronouns, phi-features, in particular Number (Plurality), play an important role in Honorificity, and a similar conclusion can be arrived at for derivational suffixes. It is worth asking why pronouns and derivational suffixes are so strongly related to Honorificity in some languages.

Second, we should also keep in mind that not all languages encode Honorificity via phi-features. It should be determined if the Honorificity of phi-feature--based languages is manipulated in the grammar in the same way as that the Honorificity of non--phi-feature--based languages is.

1.3.2 Target

In many cases, honorific prefixes/suffixes convey the speaker’s respect for the referent of the nominal expression to which they are attached. Some honorific expressions, however, do not target the host noun.

1.3.2.1 Referent denoted by a noun

As a clear example of Honorificity directed to the referent of the host noun, observe the Nahuatl example in (32).

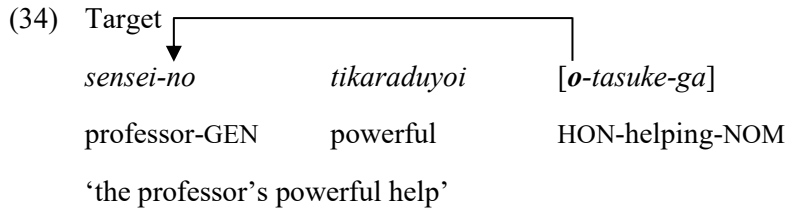
- (32) Target
 [cihuā-**tzin**-tli]
 woman-HON-ABS
 ‘dear/honorable woman’

Here, the target of honorification is the referent of the noun *cihuā* ‘woman,’ and may seem straightforward.

However, identification of the target of Honorificity does not always follow such an easy principle. First, the target of honorification changes even within a single language. When a possessor is expressed in Classic Nahuatl, two possibilities arise, as shown in (33). The morphosyntactic structures of these examples are the same, but in (33)a, the respect is unambiguously associated with the mother, the referent of the noun stem, while in (33)b, it is the possessor that the respect is directed to the possessor.

- (33) Classic Nahuatl (Launey and Mackay 2011:107)
- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|----|--------------------------------------|
| a. |
[no-nān- tzin] | b. |
[<i>i</i> -petla- tzin] |
| | my-mother-HON | | his/her-mat-HON |
| | ‘my mother’ | | ‘his/her mat’ |

Second, not all targets are identified locally within the word boundary. Consider the Japanese example given in (34), where Honorificity is directed to the referent of the noun outside the word-boundary (i.e., toward the genitive marked noun phrase).



For each language, studies are needed to come up with a detailed formal algorithm determining the referent to which the affixes are directing respect. The Nahuatl data in (33) shows a blocking effect, akin to the well-known intervention effect discussed in the morphosyntactic literature (see also the intervention effect for the object-honorific shown in Section 2.2.1). Comparison with the extant theory on constructions involving the intervention effect will be beneficial.

For the Japanese data, identifying an appropriate grammatical configuration between the target noun and the prefix is a problem, especially when we assume that the case particle *-no* is a realization of a functional head (i.e., KP analysis; Fukui and Takano 1998): if *sensei* projects an NP inside a KP headed by *-no*, it cannot c-command the prefix in *o-tasuke*. One may wish to propose that *sensei* moves to the head of KP before establishing honorific agreement with the prefix. In this case, the discussion will touch the issue of order of grammatical operations (i.e., the order between the agreement and the movement). Alternatively, one can also propose a pragmatic analysis, arguing that the target of honorification is not established in the morphology or in the syntax, but is identified by a set of inferential principles. In this case, one needs to provide a set of necessary and sufficient conditions.

1.3.2.2 Phrase-final addressee honorifics

Japanese addressee-honorific markers can figure in the phrase-periphery provided there is a phrase-final particle.⁷ Consider the examples in (35).

- (35) Japanese
- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| a. <i>watasi-wa-desu-ne</i> | b. <i>*watasi-wa-desu</i> | c. <i>watasi-wa-ne</i> |
| I-TOP-AH-PFP | I-TOP-AH | I-TOP-PFP |
| ‘As for me’ | ‘As for me’ | ‘As for me’ |

In (35)a, despite the fact that the honorific morpheme *desu* appears within a noun phrase headed by the pronoun *watasi* ‘I,’ it never conveys the speaker’s respect for the speaker; in contemporary Japanese, self-oriented honorification is prohibited. Rather, the respect is always directed toward the addressee.

As illustrated in (35)b, this phrase-peripheral addressee-honorific marker is illicit when there is no phrase-final particle (e.g., *-ne*), which is a suffix used to catch, or maintain the addressee’s attention, although a phrase-final particle can be used without a phrase-peripheral addressee-honorific marker, as in (35)c, showing that the presence of *desu* depends on another addressee-oriented morpheme.

⁷ In Korean, the speech style particle *-eyo* also appears in phrase-peripheries. However, other particles, such as *-supnita*, are never distributed in the same position.

As we will see in Section 3.1, along with other discourse-oriented expressions, addressee honorifics are typically present in the clause periphery, and even in cases where they are not present in the clause periphery, they are attached to a verb or an auxiliary. Their distribution in the phrase periphery cannot be readily explained by a common understanding of allocutive expressions. Of course, a discourse-oriented element can also surface in the noun periphery; indefinite/definite articles/affixes are good examples of such. Yet, the above examples are also different from *the* and *a* in that they are combined not only with a noun phrase, but also with other phrase peripheries. The example below clearly shows that discourse-oriented expressions can also be optionally attached to an adjective phrase, an adverbial phrase, and even to a filler. Theories must appropriately cope with these c-selection--free characteristics.

(36) Japanese

<i>ano(-desu-ne)</i>	<i>totemo(-desu-ne)</i>	<i>akai(-desu-ne)</i>	<i>ie-ni(-desu-ne)</i>	<i>sun-dei-mas-u.</i>
well-AH-PFP	very-AH-PFP	red-AH-PFP	house-at-AH-PFP	live-PRG-AH-PRS

‘(I) am living in a red house.’

1.3.3 *Hosts*

Honorific affixes differ in their selectional restriction. In Tuvan, not all nominal expressions can receive the honorific suffix. Beyond the pronoun system, this repluralization process is applied to the proximal demonstrative system, which is constituted by *bo* ‘this one’ (sg.), *bo-lar* (pl.) and *bo-lar-lar* (repluralized, honorific form). In addition, the same suffix is observed in honorific titles, such as in the archaic *deergi mındaagılar* ‘your/their highness,’ but it cannot be used in a completely productive way. For example, the distal demonstrative *demgi-ler* ‘those (ones)’ cannot have the repluralized form **demgi-ler-ler* (ibid.:100), showing a contrast with the proximal demonstrative.

In Japanese, the aforementioned prefix is applied not only to a common noun and a derived noun (see (34)), but also to a reciprocal pronoun; the non-honorific reciprocal *tagai* ‘each other’ can take the honorific prefix (*go-* to create the honorific reciprocal expression *o-tagai* ‘each other.HON.’ Much in the same way, reflexive expressions can take the honorific prefix; *zibun* ‘self’ and *zisin* ‘self’ can be preceded by the honorific prefix *go-*, resulting in *go-zibun* and *go-zisin* ‘HON-self.’

1.3.4 *Fusion*

In the aforementioned examples, we have seen affixes whose only function is to encode Honorificity. However, Honorificity can sometimes be fused with other phi-features, such as (Number), Gender and Case. Let us take a look at some examples below.

1.3.4.1 Gender

In Japanese, different suffixes (e.g., *-san*, *-kun*, *-chan*, *-tan*) are used to express how the speaker construes the referent, and Honorificity is one important criterion, but the referent’s biological gender, and the other emotions that the speaker feels towards the referent also play a role.⁸

The details of their distinction are complex, but for our purposes the crucial fact is that *-kun* is used

⁸ Of all the above-mentioned suffixes, *-chan* and *-tan* are used for children or referents the speaker finds adorable, and for this reason, they are sometimes glossed over as diminutives; for a connection between a diminutive and Honorificity, see the Nahuatl example in (30).

only for a male individual whom the speaker treats in a polite fashion, thus encoding Gender and Honorificity.⁹ Like *Mr.* and *Ms.*, aforementioned suffixes are applied only to proper nouns (**Mr. you*, **Mr. teacher*).

(37)	a.	Pronoun	b.	Common noun	c.	Proper noun
		<i>*anata-kun</i>		<i>*sensei-kun</i>		<i>yamada-kun</i>
		you-DIM.MASC		teacher-DIM.MASC		Yamada-DIM.MASC
		‘you (intended)’		‘the teacher (intended)’		‘Yamada (male)’

Although the closest translations of these expressions in English would be *Mr.* and *Ms.*, these honorific suffixes must be distinguished from the title nouns discussed in Section 1.2. First, unlike *Mr.*, *Ms.*, or *Dr.*, *-kun* can never be used alone; they are suffixes, not originating from a common noun. Second, for female referents, *-san* is used in place of *-kun*, but *-san* is also used as the unmarked form. The word *lion* serves as the unmarked cover term encompassing both *lions* and *lionesses*. The otherwise female gender, *-san*, can be used as a gender neutral form; thus, it is not clear if the expression *yamada-san* means *Ms. Yamada* or *Mr. Yamada*. Finally, *-kun* and *-san* can be used not only with a family name, but also with a first name; *Akitaka-kun* and *Akitaka-san* are both acceptable.

1.3.4.2 Case

Honorificity is also expressed by some case markers.

Nominatives. In Korean, an honorific encoding can figure in case markers. For example, *-kkeyse* is regarded as an honorific nominative case marker “representing an esteemed and honored person” (Lee and Ramsey 2000:143). As any NP marked with *-kkeyse* must co-occur with the subject-honorific verbal suffix *-si*, it is considered that the Honorificity encoded by *-kkeyse* enters an agreement relation with the verb (Choi and Harley 2019:1325).

(38)	Korean <i>-kkeyse</i> (Kim and Sells 2007)		
a.	<i>ape-nim-i</i>	<i>mence</i>	<i>ka(-si)-ess-ta.</i>
	father-HON-NOM	first	go(-SH)-PST-DECL
b.	<i>ape-nim-kkeyse</i>	<i>mence</i>	<i>ka*(-si)-ess-ta.</i>
	father-HON-HON.SUBJ	first	go(-SH)-PST-DECL

Two facts are worth mentioning, though. First, this nominative marker can also be used in an imperative sentence.

(39) Imperatives (Kim and Sells 2007)

⁹ In a man-dominant community, *-kun* can be used to refer to female individuals, but in such a case, the speaker intentionally treats the female individual as a man, or tacitly asks her to assimilate with the man-based society. In contrast, *-san* can be used for a man, without a meaning suggestive of sexual harassment, suggesting that *-kun* is the marked expression and *-san* is the elsewhere form.

<i>kyoswu-nim-kkeyse</i>	<i>mence</i>	<i>ka*(-si)-yo!</i>
father-HON-NOM	first	go(-SH)-IMP
‘Teacher, go first!’		

Second, some have argued that “the particle *-kkeyse* can often give the feeling of overdone honorification, and so in most situations *i/ka* seems more natural. Therefore, rather than thinking of *-si-* and *kkeyse* as linked together, it is probably closer to reality to regard occurrences of *-si-* [...] as compatible with any subject particle, and *-kkeyse* as carrying out the function of showing the speaker’s extreme deference” (Lee and Ramsey 2000:242).

Genitives (origin-denoting case markers/adpositions). A class/occupation-denoting common noun is used to encode Honorificity, presumably reflecting the social convention in the given society in which the social class/occupation of the class/occupation-denoting noun is highly esteemed. Similarly, when the family denoted by a proper name is considered noble, or has governed the (local) society, the act of pronouncing the last name serves as a politeness-encoding device. Toward this end, a special preposition (preposition of origin) is used; the French *de*, the German *von*, and the Dutch *van* are famous examples of such.

A case marking adposition can also achieve the same goal. For example, the one in (40)a is an example from Middle Japanese, spoken in the days of bureaucracy when the Fujiwara family had power over the society. In contrast, in contemporary Japanese, the genitive case-marker has lost this function.

(40)	Japanese		
	a. Middle Japanese	b. Contemporary Japanese	
	<i>fujiwara-no</i>	<i>mitinaga</i>	<i>fujiwara</i> <i>mitinaga</i>
	Fujiwara-GEN	Michinaga	Fujiwara Michinaga
	‘Michinaga Fujiwara’ (a person’s name)		‘Michinaga Fujiwara’ (a person’s name)

Vocatives. Aside from catching and/or maintaining the attention of the addressee, vocatives express power and solidarity between the speaker and the addressee, and in this regard, they are also an important linguistic element where Honorificity plays a role (Brown and Levinson 1987; Zwicky 1974; Hill 2014).

1.3.4.3 Associatives (Number)

My survey of Number suffixes failed to yield any example of a Number suffix fused with Honorificity. Associatives, however, are reported to be fused with Honorificity. Consider the Japanese examples below.

(41)	Japanese (pronouns)		
	a. <i>anata</i>	b. <i>anata-tati</i>	c. <i>anata-gata</i>
	you	you-ASS	you-ASS.HON
	‘you’	‘you and your associates’	‘you and your associates’

In Japanese, when the speaker wishes to refer to the referent and the group of people associated with him or her, the associative marker *-tati* is used, as in (41)b. When the speaker respects the referent, he or she uses *-gata* in place of *-tati*, as shown in (41)c. Unlike *-tati*, *-gata* has a selectional restriction: while *-tati* can be used with a pronoun, a common noun, and a proper noun, *-gata* is illicit with a proper noun, as illustrated below.

(42) Japanese (common nouns)

a.	<i>sensei</i>	b.	<i>sensei-tati</i>	c.	<i>sensei-gata</i>
	professor		teacher-ASS		teacher-ASS.HON
	‘the teacher’		‘the teacher and their associates’		‘the teacher and their associates’

(43) Japanese (proper nouns)

a.	<i>yamada</i>	b.	<i>yamada-tati</i>	c.	* <i>yamada-gata</i>
	Yamada		Yamada-ASS		yamada-ASS.HON
	‘Yamada’		‘Yamada and their associates’		‘Yamada and your associates’

For identifying the position where Honorificity is encoded, it will help to examine the relative order of morphemes in non-fusion languages. The data of fusion languages, on the other hand, pose a question regarding how Honorificity piggy-backs on an apparently independent functional category. The foregoing data show that Honorificity can fuse with the phi-features. Whether there is a natural motivation behind this relation is worth looking into in the future studies.

2 In/around the verbal domain

As we know, phi-features are reflected not only in the nominal domain, but also in the verbal domain. Honorific morphology can also be found in the verbal domain, called, CONTENT (ARGUMENT) HONORIFICS.

Content honorifics are further classified into subject and object honorifics, depending on which argument the honorific suffix is associated with. For example, observe the example from Middle Korean below.

(44) Middle Korean

<i>maja pwuin-i</i>	...	<i>esten injen-ulo</i>	<i>jelaj-lól</i>	<i>nas-sóβ-ósi-ni-ngi-sko</i>
Lady Maja-NOM		what fate-as	Buddha-ACC	give.birth.to-OH-SH-IND-AH-Q

‘For what fate, did Lady Maja give birth to Buddha?’ (Sohn 2015:177)

The boldface verbal suffixes are honorific suffixes, which all target different individuals. The first element, *-sóβ*, respects the referent of the object (Buddha), and it is called the OBJECT-HONORIFIC MARKER. The second element, *-ósi*, honorifics the referent of the subject; hence, it is called the SUBJECT-HONORIFIC MARKER. In this section, we will examine the important morphosyntactic properties of these markers in depth. The last element, *-ngi*, is an addressee-honorific marker, and we defer the discussion of such elements to Section 3.

2.1 Subject honorifics

Setting the example in (44) as our baseline example, let us examine how morphosyntactic realizations differ among subject-honorific languages. In the following, we will discuss (i) the variation in target, (ii) the issue of Fission and Fusion, and (iii) the commonality and divergence in such languages' historical sources.

2.1.1 Target

The target of subject honorification involves typological complexities, in interaction with Case, Person and Animacy.

Case. Languages differ depending on the way the target of the subject honorification is chosen in the dative-nominative construction. Consider the Japanese sentence in (45). Here, the predicate *wakar* is circumfixed by the morphemes *o-*, *-ni*, and *nar-* to encode the speaker's respect. With the verb *wakar*, the experiencer (*ozisama* 'grandfather') is marked by the dative particle, and the patient/theme (*rosiago* 'Russian') is realized with the nominative particle. Notice that, in this sentence, it is not the nominative argument but the dative argument that is the target of the honorification (Niinuma 2003; Hasegawa 2017; Kishimoto 2012).

- (45) Japanese
- | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| ↓ | | | | |
| | | | | |
| ↓ | | | | |
| ↓ | | | | |
- ozisama-ni-wa* *rosiago-ga* *o-wakari-ni* *nar-u,*
 grandfather-DAT-TOP Russian-NOM HON-understand-ni become-PRS
 ' (i) The teacher can understand Russian;
 (ii) the speaker respects *the grandfather*.'

However, not all subject-honorific languages display the same agreement pattern. For example, in Magahi, the subject-honorific marker agrees with the nominative argument, not with the dative argument, as shown below.

- (46) Magahi (Alloc to appear)
- | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| ↓ | | | | |
| | | | | |
| ↓ | | | | |
| ↓ | | | | |
- Santee-aa-ke* *baabaa* *pasand* *ha-{thi(n)/*ai}*
 Santee-NH-DAT grandfather.H like be-H/*NH
 ' (i) Santee likes the grandfather;
 (ii) the speaker respects *the grandfather*.'

Person (third person). Languages with subject honorifics are split into two groups. On one hand, there are languages, such as the example in (44), where a third-person subject is allowed to be used with a subject-honorific marking. On the other hand, as in the case of pronouns, the subject-honorific markers in some languages are confined to the second person subject. In this latter case, grammar books may not classify the relevant marker as a subject-honorific morpheme especially when the 'subject-honorific' form shows a syncretism with another grammatical category. For example, the *-ez* in *parlez* in French can be seen as a subject-honorific when the subject refers to a single addressee, but it is more often referred to as a 'plural' marker.

If we take a broader view and include the French-type verbal ending as a subject honorific, we will obtain an implicational hierarchy, as given in the following.

- (47) Generalization II: If the subject-honorific marker can refer to a non--second-person subject, it can also refer to a second-person subject, but not vice versa.

Note that, even among the second group languages, a non--second-person subject is accepted in limited occasions (Greek, Sifianou 1992:62; Turkish, Zeyrek 2001:60). Consider the Turkish example below, where the subject-honorific marking *-lar* (which is also a plural marking) is used with a non-second-person subject.

- (48) Turkish (Zeyrek 2001:60; Voinov 2013)

<i>Beyefendi</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>alır-lar?</i>
gentleman	what	have-SH
‘What would the gentleman have?’		

Person (first person). Languages also differ depending on whether they allow a first-person subject for a subject-honorific construction (i.e., the self-exalting use; see also Section 1.1.2). Generally speaking, the referent of the subject must not be the speaker himself or herself (i.e., the first person). For example, Launey and Mackay (2011:214) report that in Classic Nahuatl, however exalted the person speaking may be, the ruler (e.g., Motēuczōma) can never use the subject-honorific form when the subject is the speaker (e.g., **ni-no-cochī-tia* ‘I am sleeping [intended]’); instead, *ni-cochi* ‘I am sleeping (non-honorific form)’ must be used,

In a few limited cases, however, a self-exalting use is observed in some languages. For instance, in the following Middle Japanese example, the target of the subject-honorific morphology *-as* is the subject whose referent is *Yachihoko-no Kami* ‘the God of many swords’ (Tsuchihashi 1972; Nishida 1995:192).

- (49) Japanese (Nishida 1995:92)

<i>wa-ga</i>	<i>tat-as-er-eba</i>
I-NOM	stand-SH-PRF-when
‘When I stood up, ...’	

The relation between the subject-honorific marking and the argument noun referring to the respected referent is seen as a kind of agreement (Toribio 1990; Niinuma 2003; Boeckx and Niinuma 2004; Kishimoto 2010, 2012; see also some counterarguments, e.g., Matsumoto 1997; Bobaljik and Yatsushiro 2006; Kim and Sells 2007). In this view, the aforementioned typological variation between Japanese and Magahi is regarded as reflecting some morphosyntactic differences. Studies of their Case-assigning systems may reveal other kinds of related, systematic differences consistent with this variation.

The second-person subject restriction of the subject of French-type subject-honorific verbal inflection is, certainly, associated with the second person restriction of the pronoun, as we have discussed in Section 1.1.2. Conceptually, nothing prevents the subject-honorific marking from being used for the third-person subject. For example, we can imagine a language completely the same as French except that people use *ils parl-ez* ‘they speak-SH,’ in place of *parl-ent* ‘they speak’, when they wish to express respect for the referent. The exclusion of such third-person subject honorifics in French and other languages must receive a reasonable treatment.

Even though lack of self-exaltation may seem reasonable from a pragmatic perspective (i.e., be

humble; do not arrogantly or narcissistically show respect for yourself!), the presence of self-exaltation in some languages makes this perspective less appealing because it cannot explain why such a pragmatic restriction does not hold in all honorific languages. Thinking this way, we will benefit from asking if this restriction comes from a morphological/morphosyntactic operation. Notice that the self-exalting use is also found in pronouns (Section 1.1.2), and some have argued that what surfaces as a first-person pronoun (e.g., *wa* in (49)) is indeed an instance of a partial indexical shift --- the narrator, who refers to the god, did not change the Person feature, but shifts the respect feature in the verbal domain (Tsuchihashi 1972; Nishida 1995). If so, this phenomenon can be examined in tandem with such important topics as indexicality, and blended discourse.

2.1.2 Fission, Fusion and Suppletion

Subject-honorific markings vary depending on the way they are expressed. First, the honorific meaning diverges depending on whether it is expressed by a single morpheme or by a sequence/combination of several discontinuous morphemes (Fission). Second, honorific meaning expressed by a single morpheme is further divided into honorific meaning expressed by a special morpheme dedicated to Honorificity, and honorific meaning in which the Honorificity is encoded together with other functional categories (Fusion).

As for Fission, consider the following example below from Japanese. Unlike our baseline example in (44), the subject-honorific meaning here is not expressed by a single morpheme but by a combination of morphemes: *o-*, *-ni*, and *nar-*.

- (50) Japanese
- | | | | | |
|----|--|--------------|------------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>sensei-ga</i> | <i>uta-o</i> | <i>utat-ta.</i> | |
| | professor-NOM | song-ACC | sing-PST | |
| | ‘The professor sang a song (non-honorific).’ | | | |
| b. | <i>sensei-ga</i> | <i>uta-o</i> | <i>o-utai-ni</i> | <i>nat-ta.</i> |
| | professor-NOM | song-ACC | HON-sign-DAT | become-PST |
| | ‘The professor sang a song (subject-honorific).’ | | | |

As for Fusion, again, consider an example from Japanese.¹⁰ As shown in (51)b, the subject-honorific meaning is expressed by the morpheme *irassyar-*, a fused form of aspect and Honorificity, and a suppletion for the non-honorific progressive marker *i-*.¹¹

¹⁰ There are many different morphosyntactic strategies in contemporary Japanese, and the one in (51) has nothing to do with the strategy in (50).

¹¹ The situation in Korean is similar but slightly more complex. As illustrated in (2), in the subject honorific, the progressive marker *iss-* is replaced by *kyeysi-*. If we take the view that this *kyeysi-* is a single morpheme, the subject honorific is seen as being fused with an aspectual marker. However, if we regard it as a combination of *kyey-* and *-si*, then we will take the view that the subject-honorific morphology was applied as expected, which, however, would trigger the suppletion changing *iss-* to *kyey-*.

- (2) Korean (cf., Chung 2009:544)
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>eyute-ka</i> | <i>puhwunsu-lul</i> | <i>pulu-ko</i> | <i>iss-ta</i> |
| | Esther-NOM | Bruhns-ACC | sing-CV | PRG-DECL |

- (51) Japanese
- | | | | | |
|----|--|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>esutaa-ga</i> | <i>buruunsu-o</i> | <i>uta-te</i> | <i>i-ru</i> |
| | Esther-NOM | Bruhns-ACC | sing-CV | PRG-PRS |
| | ‘Esther is singing Bruhns (non-honorific).’ | | | |
| b. | <i>sensei-ga</i> | <i>buruunsu-o</i> | <i>uta-te</i> | <i>irassyar-u</i> |
| | professor-NOM | Bruhns-ACC | sing-CV | PRG.SH-PRS |
| | ‘The professor is singing Bruhns (subject-honorific).’ | | | |

In other languages, the subject-honorific meaning is fused not only with aspectual markers, but also with tense and object honorification, and addressee honorification, which we will see in Sections 2.2.2 and 3.1.2.

Suppletion. A lexical suppletion can be seen as a special case of fusion, where the subject-honorific feature is fused with a lexical category, not with another functional category. Below is an example from Korean.

- (52) Korean
- | | | | |
|----|-------------|----|--------------------|
| a. | <i>cata</i> | b. | <i>cwumu(*-si)</i> |
| | sleep | | sleep.SH(-*SH) |
| | ‘sleep’ | | ‘sleep’ |

Blocking in Suppletion. The subject-honorific suppletion is known to block, or be blocked by, the suppletion of other functional categories. In Korean, the subject-honorific suppletion blocks the suppletion of the negation. For instance, the verb *iss-* ‘exist’ has the suppletive negation *eps-* ‘not.exist,’ and the suppletive subject-honorific form *kyey-si-* ‘exist-SH.’ When one wishes to describe a situation where a respected person does not exist, the subject-honorific suppletive form is used with a regular negation morpheme (*an(i) kyey-si-ess-ta* ‘NEG exist-SH--PST-DECL’), preventing the suppletion of the negative form **eps-(u)si-ess-ta* ‘exist.NEG-SH-PST-DECL’ (Chung 2009:544-545; Choi and Harley 2019:1349).

In Japanese, the verb *sur-* ‘do’ has a suppletive form for subject-honorification (*nasar-* ‘do.SH’) and for potential form (*deki-* ‘can do’). Unlike in the above Korean case, however, the subject-honorific suppletion is blocked. When the two meanings are to be expressed, the acceptable construction is *o-deki-ni nar-* ‘HON-can do-DAT become,’ in which *deki* (the potential suppletive form) is embedded in the regular subject-honorific construction, not *nasar-e* ‘do.SH-can,’ where the canonical potential form *-e* is attached to the honorific suppletive form (Oseki and Tagawa 2019:3).

Failure of blocking Suppletion. In most cases, the subject-honorific suppletion is also known to block the

-
- | | | | | |
|----|--|---------------------|----------------|------------------|
| | ‘Esther is singing Bruhns (non-honorific).’ | | | |
| b. | <i>apeci-kkeyse</i> | <i>pulwunsu-lul</i> | <i>pulu-ko</i> | <i>kyeysi-ta</i> |
| | father-NOM.HON | Bruhns-ACC | sing-CV | PRG.SH-DECL |
| | ‘The professor is singing Bruhns (subject-honorific).’ | | | |

use of the corresponding non-suppletive subject-honorific form. In the other grammatical categories, this is a well-known fact; for instance, the existence of *went* prevents the utilization of the regular past tense morphology *-ed* (**went-ed*). In the example in (52), the suppletive form *cwumu* blocks the subject-honorific suffix, as in (52)b.

However, in some limited cases (e.g., to convey an extra degree of politeness), a subject-honorific affix can be attached to an already subject-honorific suppletive form (Yamada 2020; Ikawa and Yamada 2020; Koshal 1979:251). Consider the Ladakhi example below.

(53)	Ladakhi ‘(to) build’ (Koshal 1979:250-252)		
	a. <i>rtsig</i>	b. <i>žəŋ</i>	c. <i>žəŋ-ŋə-dzəd</i>
	build	build.SH	build.SH-ŋə-do.SH
	non-honorific	honorific	High-honorific

The Ladakhi verb *rtsig* ‘(to) build’ has a suppletive honorific form, *žəŋ*.¹² Although this form already encodes the honorific meaning, it can also be followed by another subject-honorific marker, *dzəd* ‘do.SH’ (which is, in fact, the subject-honorific suppletive form for the light verb; Koshal 1979:251).

Likewise, the Japanese verb *tabe* ‘(to) eat’ has its own suppletive form: *mesiagar*. Independently from such suppletive honorifics, the language can also encode the subject-honorific meaning by surrounding the verbal stem with the honorific prefix *o-*, and the verb *nar-* ‘become’ (*o-...-ni nar-*). The verb *mesiagar* can also appear in this slot, as shown in (54), which intends to convey a higher level of politeness.

(54)	Japanese ‘(to) eat’ (Yamada 2019)		
	a. <i>tabe</i>	b. <i>mesiagar</i>	c. <i>o-mesiagari-ni nar</i>
	eat	eat.SH	HON-eat.SH-DAT become
	non-honorific	honorific	high-honorific

Multiple subject-honorific markings. The examples in (53) and (54) show that an honorific suppletion can coexist with a regular subject-honorific marker/construction. Furthermore, a non-suppletive subject-honorific marking can coexist with another non-suppletive honorific marking. Consider the Korean example in (55), where *-si* is placed right after the light verb, and after the main predicate.

(55)	Korean (Kim 2019: 4)			
	<i>apeci-kkeyse</i>	<i>kong-ul</i>	<i>cap-si-ci</i>	<i>an-ha-si-ess-ta</i>
	father-NOM.HON	ball-ACC	catch-HON-CONN	NEG-do-SH-PST-DECL
	‘Father did not catch the ball.’			

In the Japanese example in (56), three honorific morphemes are present: *go-*, *nasar-*, and *irassyar*.

(56)	Japanese (Ikawa and Yamada 2020)
------	----------------------------------

¹² When combined, the inserted vowel and the preceding consonant are copied, yielding *-ŋə-* (Koshal 1987:161).

<i>sensei-wa</i>	<i>go-katuyaku</i>	<i>nasat-te</i>	<i>irassyar-u.</i>
professor-TOP	HON-work.successfully	do.HON-CV	ASP.HON-PRS

‘The professor is working successfully.’

In these languages, multiple marking is optional, and the sentence is acceptable as far as one of the boldface elements is pronounced.¹³

The fact that a suppletive form gets additional regular honorific morphology challenges the traditional notion of suppletion. Certainly, one can argue that such honorific ‘suppletive’ forms are not genuine examples of suppletion, but if so, we need to explain what they are.

The multiplicity of subject-honorific markings needs our special attention (Ikawa and Yamada 2020). A common assumption about subject-honorification is that it is a kind of agreement (Tribio 1990; Niinuma 2003; Boeckx and Niinuma 2004; Kishimoto 2012; Hasegawa 2017; Ikawa and Yamada 2020). However, the English-type subject--predicate agreement does not involve spreading, as observed in subject-honorific markings; thus, this property serves as a good data point relevant in assessing and developing such agreement approaches. Given spreading, optionality, and opacity in semantics, they may look more like a concord. Aside from the agreement approach, some have proposed a pragmatic account for subject honorification. Even for those who wish to advocate pragmatic constraints, the explanation of multiple markings is important to better understand these constructions.

2.1.3 Sources

In some cases, the historical sources of subject-honorific markings have been well-understood. Here, let us take a look at clear cases of such to see what other grammatical category/construction is close enough to subject-honorific constructions to have a diachronic relation with them.

2.1.3.1 Number

As in the case of pronouns, a plural marking is a common way of encoding Honorificity (Gujarati, Dave 1995:181; Ainu, Kindaichi and Chiri 1936). In the above-mentioned Turkish example, the subject-honorific marking is Number-based. Here, consider another example from Ainu, in which a subject-honorific has an etymological connection with Plurality, but can be separated from the regular plural marking.

- (57) Ainu
- a. *kor-pa*
have-PL/SH
Reading 1: ‘(They.PL) have.’
Reading 2: ‘... have (them.PL)’
Reading 3: ‘(He.HON) has...’
- b. *kor-pa-re-pa*

¹³ Some speakers are not fond of *go-katuyaku si-te i-ta*, a sentence with an honorific marking present only in the prefix.

have-PL-CAUS-SH

‘(the subject.HON) make ... have them a lot.’

Regarding the ambiguity shown in (57)a, the suffix *-pa* is multifunctional, and both Honorificity and plurality are expressed by this morpheme (Kindaichi and Chiri 1936:81; Chiri 1997:213).¹⁴ Although these data alone are no different from the Turkish data in (48), Ainu differs from Turkish in that it allows both markers to be present in two distinct positions, as shown in (57)b (the second *-pa* is interpreted as the honorific suffix).¹⁵ Although the Ainu-type double-plural--marking subject-honorific marker is not as common as the plural--subject-honorific syncretism, as in the Turkish example, Voinov (2013:74) reports that a similar construction may be observed in certain dialects of Tuvan (another Turkic language) (Anderson and Harrison 1999:13; Voinov 2013:74).

2.1.3.2 Valency-manipulating expressions (passives, causatives, and applicatives)

As is known, the argument structure of the verb can be changed with some additional morphemes, such as a passive marker, a causative marker, and an applicative marker. These constructions are known to develop subject-honorific uses.

Passives. Passive constructions develop into a subject-honorific marker. For example, the Japanese *-(r)are* is a verbal suffix attached to encode a subject-honorific meaning, but the same phonological exponent is also used as a passive marker (Kikuchi 1997 [1994]; Yamada 2019).

A similar honorific marking is also observed in Timucua (Broadwell 2019). In the example presented below, the intransitive verb *die* is used with the suffix *-ni*, which is used as a passive suffix elsewhere. Despite the use of this suffix, the intransitive is still an intransitive, and instead of changing the valency, this suffix encodes the honorific meaning that the referent of the subject is respected.

(58) Timucua (Broadwell 2019)

Jesus Christo nihi-ni-qe...

Jesus Christ die-HON:PASS-and:then

‘(i) Jesus Christ died and then ...;

(ii) the speaker respects *Jesus Christ*.’

¹⁴ The plural form of verbs has four different functions, denoting (i) the plurality of the subject, (ii) the plurality of the object, (iii) the plurality of the action, and (iv) respect (Refsing 1986:150-151).

¹⁵ Some verbs have a suppletive plural form (e.g., *ek* ‘come.SG’ > *arki* ‘come.PL’), and this suppletive form can also be used to denote Honorificity, as shown in (3).

(3) Ainu (Refsing 1986:151)

iarmoyam un nispa sinewpa kusu arki

the neighboring village from gentleman visit in order to come.PL

‘(i) The gentleman from the next village has come to visit...;

(ii) the speaker respects the referent of the subject.’

Causatives. Classical Nahuatl also encodes the subject-honorific meaning by increasing and reducing the valency (Andrews 1975:112; Launey and Mackay 2011: 214; Romero 2014). For instance, consider the intransitive verb *cochi* ‘(to) sleep’ in (59). The affix *-tia* can be attached to this verb stem to create the causative predicate *cochī-tia*, which, unlike the intransitive *cochi*, takes two arguments. In this language, a reflexive is marked by the special prefix *mo-* ‘self’ (cf., *no-* for the first person singular, and *to-* for the first person plural; *mo-* is used elsewhere). As in (59)c, the subject-honorific meaning is expressed with the causative suffix and this reflexive prefix: while the causative suffix has augmented the valency, this augmented slot is now closed off by the reflexive suffix; as a result, the honorific construction takes the same number of arguments as its non-honorific counterpart. For a transitive predicate, the applicative suffix is used in place of the causative suffix.

- (59) Classic Nahuatl ‘(to) sleep’ (Launey and Mackay 2011)
- a. *cochi*
sleep
‘S/he is sleeping.’
 - b. *cochī-tia*
sleep-CAUS
‘S/he is making ... sleep.’
 - c. *mo-cochī-tia*
self-sleep-CAUS
‘S/he is sleeping (lit., S/he is making her/himself sleep)’

Applicatives. Languages are equipped with means of adding an indirect object to the argument structure of a verb, and such a morpheme is called an applicative (McGinnis 2002; Legate 2002; Jeong 2006; Pylkkänen 2008). In Classic Nahuatl, in addition to the causative suffix, an applicative is used to encode Honorificity.¹⁶ Consider the example below:

- (60) Classic Nahuatl ‘(to) love’ (Andrews 1975:114)
- a. *miqui*
die
‘S/he is dying (non-honorific)’
 - b. *mo-miqui-lia*
self.3SG-die-APPL
‘S/he is dying.’ (subject-honorific)

¹⁶ In general, a transitive verb uses the applicative suffix while an intransitive verb uses the causative suffix (Andrews 1975:112-117; Launey and Mackay 2011:214). The verb *miqui* ‘die’ is an exceptional case, where an intransitive predicate is used with an applicative suffix.

As in the case of the aforementioned causative example, the applicative increases the valency, and by having the reflexive prefix, this newly introduced slot is discharged; note that when used with a transitive predicate, this construction can also be used as an object-honorific, as we will see in Section 2.2.1.

If we ignore the etymology of *mo-* and *-ilia*, we can see them as a kind of Fission-type subject honorific (i.e., a circumfix), akin to the example in (50). For the non--Fission-type, applicative-based subject-honorific marker, consider the following example from contemporary Japanese. As shown in (61), the verb *kure-* is replaced by the subject-honorific suppletive form *kudasar-*; that is, in this example, the subject-honorific feature is fused with the low-applicative. The same forms can also be used to introduced an applied argument, as shown in (62); in (62)b, the subject-honorific meaning is fused with the high-applicative form.

(61) Japanese (low-applicative)

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>sensei-ga</i> | <i>watasi-ni</i> | <i>ringo-o</i> | <i>kure-ta.</i> |
| | professor-NOM | me-for | apple-ACC | give-PST |
| b. | <i>sensei-ga</i> | <i>watasi-ni</i> | <i>ringo-o</i> | <i>kudasat-ta.</i> |
| | professor-NOM | me-for | apple-ACC | give.SH-PST |
- ‘The professor gave me an apple.’

(62) Japanese (high-applicative)

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>sensei-ga</i> | <i>watasi-ni</i> | <i>ringo-o</i> | <i>mui-te</i> | <i>kure-ta.</i> |
| | professor-NOM | me-for | apple-ACC | peel-CV | APPL-PST |
| b. | <i>sensei-ga</i> | <i>watasi-ni</i> | <i>ringo-o</i> | <i>mui-te</i> | <i>kudasat-ta.</i> |
| | professor-NOM | me-for | apple-ACC | peel-CV | APPL.SH-PST |
- ‘The professor peeled an apple for me.’

2.1.3.3 Lexical items

There are some subject honorifics of content word origin. An example of a noun-originating subject honorifics is *ano-* in Timucua.

(63) Timucua (Broadwell 2018)

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Diosi-ma</i> | <i>nacu</i> | <i>hima-no-ma</i> | <i>an-oho-qe</i> |
| God-ART | but | health-NOM-ART | HON-give-and:then |
- ‘but God gives health’

A subject-honorific can be formed by the honorific prefix *o-* in contemporary Japanese, which, as we saw in Section 1.3, develops out of an expression denoting the mightiness of the referent, thus being an example of subject honorifics of content word origin.

(64) Japanese

sensei-ga *o-hasiri-ni* *nat-ta.*
 professor-NOM HON-run-DAT become-PST

‘The professor runs.’

Given that Number is an important source of Honorificity not only in the nominal domain, but also in the verbal domain, its close relation with Honorificity has highly theoretical significance, and to find out why some languages do not have a unique form for Honorificity, reusing a phi-feature.

The morphological/morphosyntactic analysis of the existence of passive- and causative-originating honorific constructions is an interesting topic to pursue. Such constructions all share the process of decreasing the number of arguments (as for the Nahuatl causative, it is accompanied by a reflexive, reducing the possible number of independent arguments), unlike the applicative constructions, which augment the number of referents. The reason why the applicative-origin expressions can encode Honorificity seems apparent; they are just used as a device for introducing the honorification referent. In contrast, it does not seem as easy to understand how valency-reducing constructions ‘introduce’ an honorification referent; as such, a detailed analysis of such is needed.

2.2 *Object honorifics*

Object honorifics are not as common as subject honorifics. In my survey, only the subset of languages with subject honorification employs object honorification, leading to the typological generalization below.

- (65) Generalization III: If a language is equipped with object honorification, it has subject honorification.

Even among the few object-honorific languages, we can see some important variations. Here, consider the target and source of respect, and the patterns of their morphological realizations.

2.2.1 *Target and origo*

Unlike the well-studied features, such as Gender, Number, Person, and Case, Honorificity is relational; the “origo” (the respect-bearer) and the “target” (the person respected) must be identified. For each individual, a variation is observed (Fleming 2016:295).

Variation in Target. In Japanese, a dative object and an indirect object can both be a target of object honorification, when used in a transitive predicate. An example of a direct object is given in (66)a. When used in a ditransitive construction, however, the referent of the indirect object cannot be respected if there is an indirect object, as shown in (66)b (Niinuma 2003; Boeckx and Niinuma 2004; Ikawa and Yamada 2020). This is considered an intervention effect, and the target of the object honorification is the human indirect object, as shown in (66)c.

- (66) Japanese
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>mahiro-ga</i> | <i>sensei-o</i> | <i>go-syookai</i> | <i>si-ta</i> |
| | Mahiro-NOM | professor-ACC | HON-show | do-PST |

‘Mahiro introduced the professor.’

- b. **mahiro-ga* *hirosi-ni* *sensei-o* **go-syookai** **si-ta**
 Mahiro-NOM Hiroshi-DAT professor-ACC HON-show do-PST
 ‘Mahiro introduced Hiroshi to the professor.’
- c. *mahiro-ga* *sensei-ni* *hirosi-o* **go-syookai** **si-ta**
 Mahiro-NOM professor-DAT Hiroshi-ACC HON-introduce do-PST
 ‘Mahiro introduced Hiroshi to the professor.’

Classic Nahuatl shows a different pattern. In Section 2.1.3.2, we saw that in this language, subject-honorific forms are created by causative and applicative suffixes with a reflexive morphology. All the examples cited, however, are unambiguously subject honorifics, because they are used with an intransitive predicate. However, when used with a transitive predicate, the construction is ambiguous between a subject honorific and an object honorific (Andrews 1975:114; Launey and Mackay 2011:217).

- (67) Classic Nahuatl ‘(to) love’ (Andrews 1975:114)
- a. *qui-huīca*
 3SG-carry
 ‘S/he carries it (non-honorific)’
- b. *qui-mo-huīc-ilia*
 3SG-self.3SG-carry-APPL
 ‘S/he carries it.’ (subject, or object-honorific)

Just in the case of subject-honorific markers, some object-honorific marker allow self-exaltation (Nishida 1995:2). For example, in Middle Japanese, the object-honorific marker *mair-* ‘come.OH’ is frequently used in the construction *tikoo mair-e* ‘close come.OH-IMP,’ when the speaker makes the addressee come close to him- or herself, in which the target of the object honorification is clearly the speaker,

Variation in Origo. In Dunan (Yonaguni-Ryukyuan), the object-honorific marker does not specify the relation between ‘the speaker’ and the ‘target.’ Rather, the honorific relation is between the ‘referent of the subject (nominative argument)’ and the ‘referent of the object (non-nominative) argument’ (M. Yamada 2019). Thus, when the subject is lower in social status than the speaker, the first-person singular pronoun can figure as a direct object in the object-honorific construction, as shown in (68)b.

- (68) Context: The speaker of the utterance is older than *keeta* ‘Keita’ (M. Yamada 2019:69)
- a. *#keeta-ŋa* *anu-ŋki* *nnani* *ts-am-ita-N.*
 Keita-NOM 1SG-DAT kimono wear-CAUS-PST-IND
 ‘Keita helped me put on his kimono (non-honorific).’
- b. *keeta-ŋa* *anu-ŋki* *nnani* *ts-am-i* *wara-ta-N.*

Keita-NOM 1SG-DAT kimono wear-CAUS-MED OH-PST-IND
 ‘Keita helped me put on his kimono (object-honorific).’

Similarly, Fleming (2016) points out that the honorific relation of the Javanese verb *caos* ‘give’ is such that “the referent associated with the benefactive argument of the verb is owed deference entitlements by the referent associated with the subject of the verb” (Fleming 2016:295).

The current morphosyntactic studies of object honorifics are concerned with the Japanese or Korean language, and a formal theory explaining and predicting the cross-linguistic diversity of object honorifics needs to be formulated in the future work. To achieve this goal, comparison with other agreements, or agreement-like phenomena will highly relevant.

The status of the origo and target needs to be formally characterized. In fact, one peculiarity of Honorificity is that it is a two-place feature: it is only fully interpreted with both the origo and target fixed to a certain value, which apparently contrasts with the well-studied phi-features.¹⁷ However, for a theory, a detailed feature decomposition of some phi-features is proposed. For example, Person is analyzed as a set of more primitive features, such as Author and Participant (Harley and Ritter 2002), and Origo and Target in Honorificity can be analogized with such an attempt. It is worthwhile to determine if such a comparison is supported by other data points. If the answer turns out to be negative, this can be seen as a peculiarity of Honorificity, and it is important to ask why Honorificity is always a two-place feature. Of course, one may counterargue by proposing that it is, in fact, not a two-place feature by regarding the speaker’s being Origo as a constant, rather than a variable. Admittedly, this principle is obtained in many cases, but the proponents of such a view must carefully explain the exceptionality of the aforementioned Dunan and Javanese data.

2.2.2 Fusion

Object-honorific markings vary depending on the way they are expressed. Some are expressed by a single morpheme, while others are expressed by a sequence of morphemes. The baseline example in (44) illustrates the former case. As an example of the latter case, consider the Japanese example, as given below, where object honorification is expressed by the prefix *o-* and the light verb *si-* ‘do.’

(69) Japanese
 watasi-ga sensei-ni o-tutae si-ta.
 I-NOM professor-DAT HON-tell OH-PST
 ‘I told the professor (object-honorific).’

Among the former type of object honorifics, some are fused with other grammatical categories. Below are some examples.

Lexical verbs. In Korean, a few verbs have a suppletive form for object-honorification (e.g., *tuli-* ‘give.OH’ for *cwu-* ‘give,’ and *mosi-* ‘accompany.OH’ for *teyli-* ‘accompany’) (Sohn 2001:412).

Tense/subject honorifics. In Maithili, object-honorific markings, subject-honorific markings, and tense are in many cases embodied in a unitary, unanalyzable affix. To see the complexity of this, consider the repertoire of suffixes for the present tense, as shown in the following.

¹⁷ When one considers the level of politeness/respect as another slot to be specified, Honorificity is seen as a triplet. For such a tertiary analysis, see Potts (2007) and Yamada (2019).

(70) Maithili (Present tense; Yadav 1996:174)

Subject/Object	1	2 (NH)	2 (MH)	2 (H)	3 (NH)	3 (H)
1	---	iəuk	iəh	0	iəikl/0	iəinh
2 (Non-Honorific)	0	---	---	---	əhik/0	əhunh
(Mid-Honorific)	0	---	---	---	əhək	əhunh
(Honorific)	0	---	---	---	iəik/0	iəinh
3 (Non-Honorific)	0	əuk	əh	0	əik/0	əinh
(Honorific)	0	əthunh	əthunh	0	ehinh	əthinh

Applicatives. Object-honorific markers are fused with applicatives. For example, in Japanese, Honorificity is encoded by low applicatives (e.g., *moraw-* ‘receive’ and *itadak-* ‘receive.OH’) and high applicatives (e.g., *moraw-* ‘receive’ and *itadak-* ‘receive.OH’).

Multiple object-honorific markings. As in the case of subject honorification, multiple object-honorific markings can be present in some languages, mainly to enhance the level of politeness toward the referent. Consider the following example from Japanese. By replacing the light verb *si-* with *moosiage-*, the speaker can convey a higher respect for the referent of the object (Kikuchi 1997 [1994]:296).¹⁸

(71)

Japanese

watasi-ga sensei-ni o-tutae moosiage-ta.

I-NOM professor-DAT HON-tell OH-PST

‘I told the professor (object-honorific).’

Generally speaking, the relative order of functional morphemes is cross-linguistically stable (cf., Mirror Principle; Baker 1985). The variation in the fused positions, however, suggests no single cross-linguistically fixed position for object-honorific markings, which poses a puzzle for our common assumption. The presence of multiple object-honorific markings also complicates the issue. An adequate theory of object honorifics must explain and predict these distributional profiles.

3 Honorificity associated with clause periphery

In some languages, there are special honorific markers whose target is always the addressee. The sentence-final particle *kháp* is a good example of addressee honorification; note that there is no second-person overt noun phrase pronounced in the sentence.

(72) Thai (Yamada 2019:341)

a. *kháw maa kháp.*

¹⁸ The expression *moosiage-* is typically used with a communication verb, such as *tutae* ‘tell’ and *aisatu* ‘give greetings.’

he come AH.MASC
‘He comes.’

Morphemes encoding certain properties of the addressee are called allocutive markers, and some languages grammatically mark Gender, or a particular social relation between the speaker and the addressee (Zu 2018). Thus, addressee honorification is treated not only as a subtype of honorific constructions, but also as an instance of allocutive markings.

This section examines such Honorificity-markings associated with the clause periphery. In Section 3.1, we will investigate addressee-honorific markers.

3.1 Addressee honorifics

To see how addressee-honorific markings differ among languages, let us set the example in (72) as our baseline example, and consider four typological parameters as introduced in Section 3.1.1 through 3.1.4 through.

3.1.1 Position

Generally speaking, discourse-oriented expressions appear in and around the clause periphery; as such, addressee-honorific markings are also expected to be present in the clause periphery. As shown in (72), this prediction is borne out in some languages, such as Thai and Korean. In other languages, however, addressee-honorific markers are pronounced in much lower positions (Yamada 2019, 2020). For example, consider the example below from Burmese.

- (73) Burmese (Okell and Allott 2001:114; Yamada 2019:196)
- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| a. | <i>nəmɛ</i> | <i>bɛlo</i> | <i>kʰɔ-pa-θə-lé.</i> |
| | name | how | call-AH-REAL-Q |
| | ‘what would your name be?’ | | |
| b. | [ʔǎ̀lò | <i>ɛi-bà-gâ]</i> | <i>hmà-bà</i> |
| | need | exist-AH-if | order-AH |
| | ‘what would your name be?’ | | |

The example in (73)a illustrates that the addressee-honorific marker *-pa/ba* is preceded by a verb, but is followed by the realis marker and the clause-typing particle. Assuming Baker’s (1985) Mirror Principle, this order of morphemes is not easy to explain as long as we treat it as being located in the clause periphery. Furthermore, unlike in Thai and Korean, the addressee-honorific marker is embeddable in Japanese, as shown in (73)b, which is also in disagreement with the view that elements cannot be embedded in the clause periphery.

A much lower position has also been acknowledged in the literature (Yamada 2019, 2020). The addressee-honorific marker *-tamap* in Early Middle Japanese appears within a compound. Consider the verbs/verbal compounds listed in (74).

- (74) Early Middle Japanese (Yamada 2019:199)

a.	<i>omop</i>	b.	<i>id</i>	c.	<i>omopi-id</i>	d.	<i>omopi-tamape-id</i>
	think		come		think-come		think-AH-come
	‘think’		‘come’		‘remember’		‘remember’

The verb *omop* and *id* are combined to create the compound *ompo-id* ‘remember.’ The semantics of this compound is opaque, not fully compositional (i.e., not ‘think and come’ but ‘remember’), and considered a lexical compound (as opposed to a syntactic compound; cf., Yumoto 2009; Kageyama 2016). As shown in (74)d, an addressee-honorific marker is distributed within this lexical compound.

Given the typological variation, it is difficult to pin down a unique location for addressee honorifics, apparently in disagreement with the idea that functional morphemes are ordered in a fixed, universal manner, as most clearly proposed by the researchers within the cartographical enterprise (Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999). In the previous literature, one particular language was focused on, and a theory that mostly works for their target language was proposed (Miyagawa 2012, 2017, Yamada 2019 for Japanese; Haddican 2018; Kaur 2017, 2018, to appear for Punjabi; McFadden 2020 for Tamil). A general theory explaining and predicting the cross-linguistic variation has not been fully examined; this is thus an important task for the future studies.

3.1.2 Fusion

Languages also differ depending on whether the addressee-honorific meaning is expressed by a single morpheme or by a fused form.

Gender. In our baseline Thai example, addressee-honorific meaning is fused with Gender, Psychological Proximity and Sentence Mood (Smyth 2002:126). Although the target of respect is the addressee, the Gender is not the gender of the addressee but the gender of the speaker. The male speaker uses the addressee-honorific marker in (75)a when encoding politeness, while the female speaker uses the form in (75)b/c.

(75)	Thai (Smyth 2002:126)							
	a.	<i>kháp</i>	b.	<i>khâ</i>	c.	<i>khá</i>	d.	<i>khãa</i>
		AH.MASC		AH.FEM.DECL		AH.FEM.Q		AH.FEM.Q.PROX

Psychological proximity/Sentence-mood/Formality/Level of Politeness. The aforementioned basic distinction between (75)a and (75)b/c is further elaborated on by a sentence mood, and by psychological proximity (Smyth 2002:127-129). First, while (75)a can be used in an interrogative and a declarative, the feminine forms contrast in sentence mood: the form in (75)b is for the declarative, and the form in (75)c is for the interrogative. Second, when the speaker wishes to encode his or her “closeness or desired closeness to the person [he or] she is addressing” (Smyth 2002:127), the form in (75)d is used in place of that in (75)c, in which the tone is changed and the vowel is lengthened. As an impolite or informal particle, people use *wá* (interrogative) and *wâ* and *wóoy* (declarative) to express rudeness, anger, aggressiveness, or intimacy. Third, the level of politeness is an important criterion for changing the particle. For example, a male speaker uses *phâyákhâ* for royalty, and a female chooses *pheekhâ*. Reversely, when an adult male/female speaker is talking to a child, servants, or people with a markedly lower social status, they use *câ* (declarative) and *cá* (interrogative).

In contemporary Korean, addressee-honorific markings are fused with formality and the sentence-mood (Portner et al. 2019:11). Some examples are *-supnita* for the honorific, formal, declarative form; *-eyo* for the honorific, informal, declarative form; and *-e* for the non-honorific, informal, declarative form.

Copula. The Japanese addressee-honorific marker *des-* is fused with a copula marker, which appears right next to the tense suffix *des-u* ‘AH.COP-PRS’ and *desi-ta* ‘AH.COP-PST.’¹⁹

Subject-honorification. In Magahi, subject honorifics and addressee honorifics are expressed by an unanalyzable, fused form, as shown below.

(76) Magahi (Alok to appear)

Subject/Addressee	NH	H	HH
Non-honorific	<i>-au</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ain</i>
Honorific	<i>-thu(n)</i>	<i>-thu(n)</i>	<i>-thi(n)</i>
High-honorific	<i>-thu(n)</i>	<i>-thu(n)</i>	<i>-thi(n)</i>

A typologically valid theory of Fusion of the addressee-honorific feature needs to carefully explain the variation of the partner in the Fusion. As previously mentioned, it is a common assumption that allocutive markings are distributed in and around the clause periphery. In this regard, Fusion with the speaker’s Gender, and other discourse-oriented properties makes sense. Yet, the other examples are not naturally predicted by the Performative Hypothesis. Together with the data given in Section 3.1.1, and other allocutive expression, we need to theorize why this typological variation appears.

3.1.3 Sources

At least two distinct sources are identified for the grammaticalization of addressee-honorific markers. First, phi-features are known to develop into an addressee-honorific marker (Section 3.1.3.1). Second, addressee-honorific markers can also be derived from content-honorific markers (Section 3.1.3.2). In the following, let us examine some examples.

3.1.3.1 From phi-feature--based expressions

Number. As in the case of subject-honorification, some addressee honorifics are of Number origin. In Punjabi, the addressee-honorific allocutive marking *je* also has a function of marking the plurality of the audience. Thus, the sentence in (77) is ambiguous between the plural reading and the honorific reading.

(77) Punjabi (Kaur, to appear)

<i>aman</i>	<i>kitaab</i>	<i>paRh</i>	<i>reyaa</i>	<i>je</i>
Aman.NOM	book	read	PRG.M.SG	AH/PL

‘Aman is reading a book.’ (to a plural/honorific hearer)

The addressee-honorific marker in Tamil *-ngæ* also serves as a plural marker throughout the language (McFadden 2020:401; cf., *nii* ‘you’ and *nii-ngæ* ‘you.PL.’).

Pronoun. In (Souletin) Basque, the addressee-honorific allocutivity *-zũ/sy* coincides with the polite second-

¹⁹ This marker is also used in the phrase-periphery, as discussed in Section 1.3.2.2.

person singular pronoun (Antonov 2015:69).

Person restriction. It is known that phi-feature--based addressee honorifics have a person restriction on the subject. The Tamil example in (78)a illustrates this point. As shown in (78)b, the addressee-honorific marker can be used with an oblique subject, which, unlike in (78)a, does not trigger subject--predicate agreement.

- (78) Tamil (McFadden 2020:404)
- a. **niingæ* *rombaa* *smart-aa* *iru-kk-iingæ-ŋgæ*
you.PL very smart-PRED be-PRS-2PL-AH
'You're very smart (intended).'
- b. *onga/- ūkkū* *coffee* *veṇum-aa-ŋgæ?*
you.PL.OBL-DAT coffee want-Q-AH
'Do you want coffee?'

3.1.3.2 From content-honorifics

Another important source of addressee-honorification is content-honorifics. Previous studies have shown that addressee honorifics have developed from both subject and object honorifics.

Subject-honorification. Addressee honorifics were also reported to have developed from content-honorifics. The addressee-honorific marker in Muromachi-period Japanese, *gozar-*, derives from the subject-honorific marker *goza ar-* (< *go-za* 'HON-seat' and *ar-* 'exist') (Kinsui 2005, 2011).

Object-honorification. The Japanese addressee-honorific marking *-mas* is known to have developed from the object-honorific marker *ma(w)iras-* 'give.OH' (Yamada 2019; Antonov 2013). The Korean addressee-honorific ending *-supni* has as its source a combination of the object-honorific suffix *-sop*, the processive (present) marker *-no*, and the eroded Late Middle Korean addressee-honorific suffix *-ngi* (Lee and Ramsey 2011; Antonov 2013; Park 2010).

As Number is recycled in pronouns, content honorifics and addressee honorifics indicate that it has a fundamental relation with Honorificity. Studies are needed to explain the motivation for this recycling. The development from subject and object honorifics can be seen as a change in target. As we have previously seen, the target of these content honorifics (especially, object honorifics) shows intricate variation, and it is likely that such a variation leads to a change to addressee-honorification.

3.1.4 Honorificity beyond addressee-honorific markers

Beyond addressee-honorific markers, expressions directed to the context, and/or the addressee are potentially a site for Honorificity, and for vituperations and profanity.

Vocative particles. Another important source of Honorificity is a vocative. For example, Hill (2014:53) shows that, in Romanian, the use of the vocative particle *bre* conveys respect. Interestingly, the equivalent particle in Greek, *vre*, has a condescending nuance, showing variation across languages.

We have seen that Thai possesses sentence-final addressee-honorific markers, but these are also used in the periphery of a vocative noun, as shown in (79) (Smyth 2002:127). The primary function of such

a vocative-peripheral particle is to call the attention to the referred person.

- (79) Thai (Smyth 2002:127)
- | | | |
|-------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>khun</i> | <i>mêe</i> | <i>khǎa?</i> |
| TITLE | mother | AH |
- ‘Mummy?’ (daughter speaking)

Declarative (Polarity) adverbs. Adverbs used as a declarative sentence indicating the speaker’s affirmative or negative reply to the question under discussion are also a site for Honorificity. In Thai, the aforementioned addressee-honorific particles can also be used as a reply. For example, the male addressee-honorific marker *khráp*, as we have seen in (72), is translated as ‘yes’ when followed by a predicate.

- (80) Thai (Smyth 2002:127,157)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>kháw</i> | <i>chǎp</i> | <i>lǎa?</i> |
| | he | like | AH |
| | ‘He likes it, right?’ | | |
| b. | <i>khráp</i> | <i>chǎp</i> | |
| | yes.AH.MASC | like | |
| | ‘Yes.’ | | |

In Japanese, there are two affirmative polarity adverbs and two negative polarity adverbs: *hai* ‘yes.AH/FORMAL,’ *un* ‘yes.AH/IMFORMAL,’ *iee* ‘no.AH/FORMAL,’ and *uun* ‘no.AH/IMFORMAL.’ A similar distinction can be found in English: *yes*, *yeah*, *no* and, *nope*.

Imperative adverbs. Languages are equipped with speech-act adverbs co-occurring with an imperative to modify the tone of the command. For example, *please* in English, *bitte* in German, and *dooka* in Japanese well illustrate how Honorificity relates to a sentence mood. Beyond such adverbial expressions, Corbett (2013:10) also presents an example of a verbal suffix used purely for politeness, which is reserved for imperatives and prohibitives.

Addressee-honorific upgraders. Some languages possess a secondary set of allocutive markers juxtaposed with an addressee-honorific marker, changing the nuance of the politeness already encoded by the addressee-honorific marker. Such an expression is called ADDRESSEE-HONORIFIC UPGRADERS (Kikuchi 1997 [1994]; Yamada 2019). A Japanese example is given below.

- (81) Japanese
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>watasi-wa</i> | <i>tomodati-ni</i> | <i>soo</i> | <i>ii-masi-ta.</i> |
| | I-TOP | friend-DAT | so | say-AH-PST |
| | ‘I said to my friend.’ | | | |
| b. | <i>watasi-wa</i> | <i>tomodati-ni</i> | <i>soo</i> | <i>moosi-masi-ta.</i> |

	I-TOP	friend-DAT	so	say.HU-AH-PST
	‘I said to my friend.’			
c.	*? <i>sensei-wa</i>	<i>tomodati-ni</i>	<i>soo</i>	<i>moosi-masi-ta.</i>
	teacher-TOP	friend-DAT	so	say.HU-AH-PST
	‘The teacher said to my friend.’			

The plain form for the verb ‘say’ is *ii-*, as in (81)a, but when the speaker wishes to add an extra nuance to *-mas*, the verb is replaced by an addressee-honorific upgrade form *moosi-*, as in (81)b. The very detailed semantic difference is awaited. Crucial to our discussion is the fact that the existence of this marker introduces a new condition for the referent of the subject: the subject must be the speaker’s associate. Thus, the sentence gets unaccepted, as shown in (81)c. In this regard, this marker is a hybrid between an addressee-honorific marker and an argument-honorific, not only related to the politeness to the addressee, but also showing a function opposite the subject-honorific meaning.

Honorificity in the aforementioned constructions have been sporadically discussed in the previous literature (Kikuchi 1997 [1994]; Yamada 2019), and an exhaustive comparative study needs to be done, which will certainly advance our understanding of Honorificity and its relation with other grammatical categories.

4 Conclusions

When it comes to Honorificity, the T/V distinction must be the most well-known phenomenon drawing researchers’ attention. However, as described in this chapter, Honorificity is encoded not only in the nominal domain, but also in the verbal domain, and in the clause periphery. With respect to the distribution, it is akin to well-studied grammatical features, such as Person, Number, and Gender, which are found in the three aforementioned domains. We have also seen that in many languages Honorificity heavily depends on the phi-features. In particular, Number (Plurality) acts as an important source of Honorificity irrespective of the difference in the position where it appears. Pronouns, and subject and addressee honorifics all have some example of Number origin. In this regard, Honorificity is seen as an advanced topic, dependent on the more fundamental phi-features. Thus, in exploring Honorificity, we need a sufficient background understanding of the phi-features, and by studying Honorificity, we will enhance our understanding of such features.

It must be noted, however, that not all Honorificity is expressed via phi-features, showing another layer of cross-linguistic complexity. Although some data are from different languages, many examples in this chapter are from Japanese, which is admittedly a limitation of this study. The primary reason for this is that Honorificity has not been as well documented in other languages as in Japanese (although many have studied the pragmatic/sociolinguistic/anthropological aspects of this feature). With more data accumulated in the future study, a more detailed property of Honorificity shall become apparent. Although I have pointed out several possibilities for the future study in each subsection, these are just suggestions, and the readers may also find different interesting aspects of Honorificity, which will significantly enhance our understanding of human language.

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