A Hybrid Approach to Honorific Agreement

a Sprouted Valued Feature and an Unvalued Probing Feature

Shiori Ikawa and Akitaka Yamada

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1 Introduction

2 Data

3 Proposal

4 Alternatives?
- Alternative 1: Node-sprouting only
- Alternative 2: HonP only

5 Conclusion and Implications

1 Introduction

Agreement:
“A semantic feature of one element is manifested on other elements as well"
(Zeijlstra, 2008: 19)

(1) John like-**s** Mary

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Theoretical treatment of agreement

- Syntactic approach (Chomsky, 2000; 2001 a.o.)
- Post-syntactic approach (Halle & Matushansky 2006; Kramer 2010; Norris 2012, 2014; Baier 2015; Winchester 2019)

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- The syntactic agree operation (based on Chomsky (2000, 2001))
  - An unvalued feature F (probe) on a head searches its c-command domain for another occurrence of F (goal) to agree with it
  - As a result of agree, the probe gets valued by the feature on the goal

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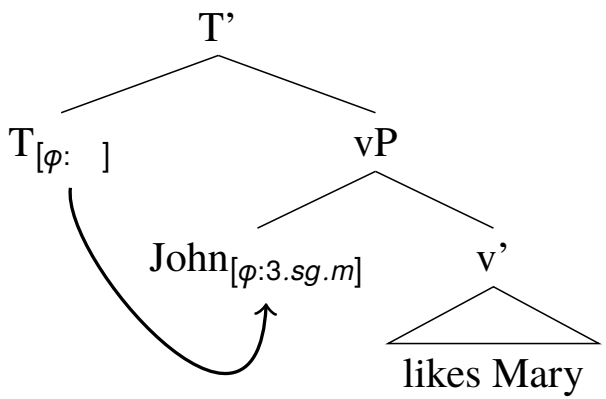
(2) *John like-***s** *Mary*



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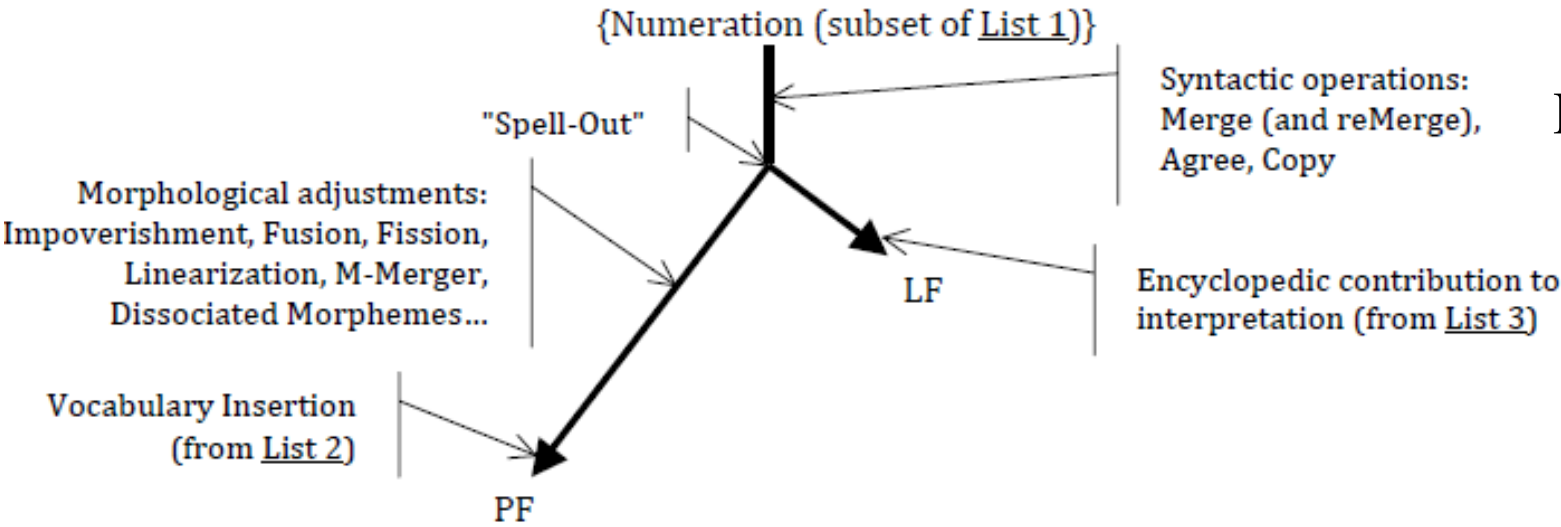
A bit about Distributed Morphology

Theoretical assumptions

- Words are composed in syntax similarly to sentences
- The narrow syntax composes bundles of features, not words
- Post-syntactic operations play pivotal roles to derive the morphological form of the words



Harley (2014)

List 1: *Feature bundles*: Syntactic primitives, both interpretable and uninterpretable, functional and contentful.[2]
List 2: *Vocabulary Items*: Instructions for pronouncing terminal nodes in context
List 3: *Encyclopedia*: Instructions for interpreting terminal nodes in context

A bit about Distributed Morphology

Distributed Morphology

Distributed Morphology (DM)

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- The narrow syntax composes bundles of features, not words
- Post-syntactic operations play pivotal roles to derive the morphological form of the words

- chief contributors:
  - proposed by Morris Halle and Alec Marantz
  - developed by their students and colleagues including
    - Eulalia Bonet (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
    - Rolf Noyer (UPenn)
    - Jim Harris (MIT)
    - Heidi Harley (University of Arizona)
    - Andrea Calabrese (UConn)
    - David Embick (UPenn), and others.
      (Source:https://www.ling.upenn.edu/r̃noyer/dm)

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- Agreement is a result of post-syntactic operation
- Some literature view Korean/Japanese honorific agreements this way (Choi & Harley 2019; Oseki & Tagawa 2019; Yamada 2019)

1.Introduction

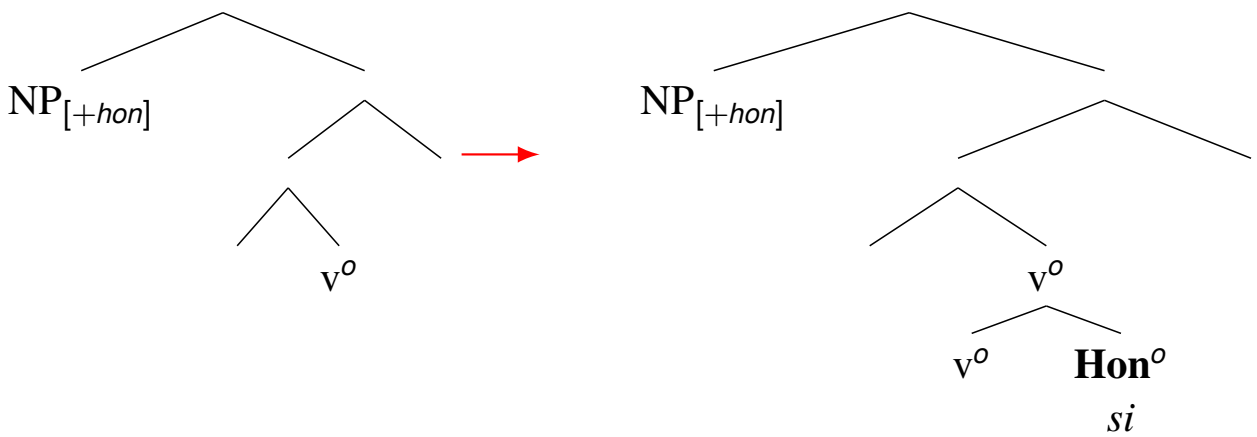
Choi & Harley (2019)

The Korean honorific morpheme *si* is the realization of the Hon node inserted post-syntactically

(3) Halapeci-kkeyse ka-**si**-ci an(i) hay-**si**-ess-ta
grandfather-NOM.hon go-HON-CI NEG do-HON-PST-DECL
'Grandfather didn't go'

(4) *Postsyntactic Hon^o-sprouting rule:*
$v^o \rightarrow [v^o \text{Hon}^o] \,/\, [\text{NP}_{[+hon]} \ldots [\ldots \_ \ldots]]$

(5)



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Claim

- Japanese honorific agreement utilizes **both** of these mechanisms
  - Object Honorifics are derived via Agree as a process in narrow syntax
  - Subject Honorifics are derived via Agree as a post-syntactic operation
- A model of grammar has to postulate both mechanisms

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2.1 Basic paradigm

(6) *Non Honorific (NH) construction*

Taroo-wa Hanako-o syootai-*si*-ta.
Taroo-TOP Hanako-ACC invite-do-PAST
'Taroo invited Hanako (NH).'

(7) *Subject Honorific (SH) construction*[1]

Sensei-wa Taroo-o **go-**syootai-**nasat**-ta.
prof-TOP Taroo-ACC HON-invite-do.HON-PAST
'The professor$_{[HON]}$ invited Taroo (SH).'

(8) *Object Honorific (OH) construction*

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[1]Japanese has other SH forms, *o*-V-*ni*-*nar* and V-*(r)are*. In this presentation, we limit our scope to *o*-V-*nasar* form, which has the form most comparable to OH.

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2.2 Argument Honorifics as agreement

Honorifics as Agreement

SH and OH are considered to be agreement, akin to φ-agreement (Toribio 1990; Niinuma 2003; Boeckx & Niinuma 2004; Kishimoto 2012; Hasegawa 2017)

Motivation 1: Intuitive similarity with φ agreement

- the information about DPs in certain structural positions decides the morphological markings on the predicates

(9) The professor invite-***s*** me.

2.2 Argument Honorifics as agreement

Motivation 2: Intervention effect

- OHs show intervention pattern (Niinuma, 2003; Boeckx & Niinuma, 2004)
  - In ditransitive constructions, only the indirect object, but not the direct object, can be the target of OH[2] (Originally observed by Harada(1976))

(10) a. Hanako-ga Tanaka.sensei-ni Mary-o go-syookai-si-ta
Hanako-NOM Tanaka.Prof-DAT Mary-ACC HON-INTRODUCE-DO-PST
'Hanako introduced(OH) Mary to Prof.Tanaka'

b. #Hanako-ga Mary-ni Tanaka.sensei-o go-syookai-si-ta
Hanako-NOM Mary-DAT Prof.Tanaka-ACC HON-INTRODUCE-DO-PST
'Hanako introduced (OH) Prof.Tanaka to Mary.'

(Boeckx & Niinuma, 2004: 456)

[2]This effect is relativized to human DPs. That is, the non-human dative DPs do not prevent the honorification of the accusative DP (Niinuma, 2003; Boeckx & Niinuma, 2004).

2.2 Argument Honorifics as agreement

Motivation 2: Intervention effect

(11) a. watasi-wa Tanaka.sensei-ni (syasin-de) otooto-o
1sg-TOP Prof.Tanaka-DAT (photo-with) brother-ACC
o-mise-si-ta
HON-SHOW-DO-PST
'I showed Prof.Tanaka to my younger brother (using a photo)'

b. #watasi-wa otooto-ni (syasin-de) Tanaka.sensei-o
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Motivation 2: Intervention effect

- This is a common pattern in φ-agreement (Baker, 2008; 2013 a.o.)

(12) a. Stella a-li-**m**-pa / *a-li-**ki**-pa **mtoto**
1.Stella SM1-PST-**OM1**-give / SM1-PST-**OM7**-give 1.child
kitabu pale
7.book 16.there
'Stella gave the child a book there' (Swaili: Riedel (2009:131))

b. Stella a-li- **ki**- penda kitabu
1.Stella SM1- PST- **OM7**- like 7.book
'Stella liked the book.' (Swaili: Riedel (2009:131))

2.3 Puzzles

Two Puzzles

- Morpheme sharing
- Different behaviors between SH and OH

[3] But see Béjar (2003) and Béjar & Rezac (2009) for the cases with interaction

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Different behavior 1: Optionality

- *go* is optional in Subject Honorifics
- *go* is not optional in Object Honorifics

(14) Sensei-wa Taroo-o (go)-syootai-**nasat**-ta.
prof-TOP Taroo-ACC invite-do.HON-PAST
'The professor$_{[HON]}$ invited Taroo (SH).'

(15) Taroo-wa sensei-o #(go)-syootai-**si**-ta.
Taroo-TOP prof-ACC invite-do-PAST
'Taroo invited the professor$_{[HON]}$ (OH) (intended).'

2.3 Puzzles

Different behavior 2: Hon-spreading

- Hon appears in multiple elements in SHs (*go* / light verb)
- Asp head can take honorific form in SHs, when present
- OHs do not allow such spreading

(16) sensei-wa (go-)katuyaku-{si/nasat}-teirassya-ru.
prof-TOP HON-act.successfully-do-ASP.HON-PRES
'The professor$_{[HON]}$ is acting successfully (SH).

(17) sensei-wa (go-)katuyaku-nasat-{tei/teirassya}-ru.
prof-TOP HON-act.successfully-do.HON-ASP/ASP.HON-PRES
'The professor$_{[HON]}$ is acting successfully (SH).'

(18) Ai-wa sensei-o **go**-syootai-**si**-{tei/*teirassyat}-ta.
Ai-TOP prof-ACC HON-invite-do-ASP/ASP.HON-PAST
'Ai was inviting the professor$_{[HON]}$ (OH).'

2.4 Interim summary

How can we explain these observations?

- Japanese honorifics show hallmarks of agreement
  - Conceptual Similarity with φ-agreement
  - Intervention effect in OH
- The following properties are not straightforwardly derived
  - SHs and OHs share morphology
  - SHs show spreading and optionality but OHs do not

Claim:

The puzzling properties follow if SH and OH respectively involve two different agreement operations

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OH: a realization of the head of HonP → Syntax

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(19) Hon-sprouting rule: $[X^o \quad] \rightarrow [[\text{HON:+}] \quad [X^o \quad]] / [\text{DP}_{[\text{HON:+}]} \ldots [\_\_]]$

- Insert [+Hon] feature to a head, when the head is c-commanded by a DP with [HON:+] FEATURE IN THE SAME PHASE

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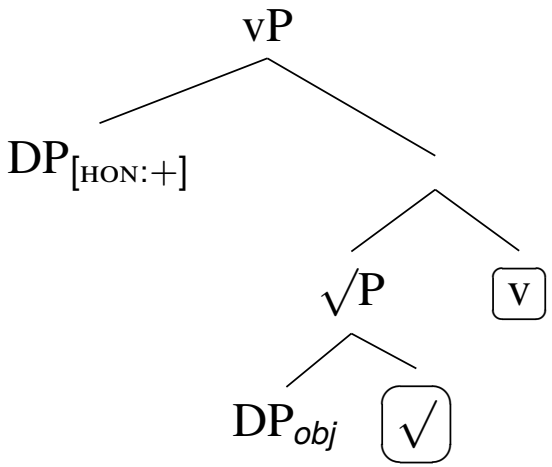

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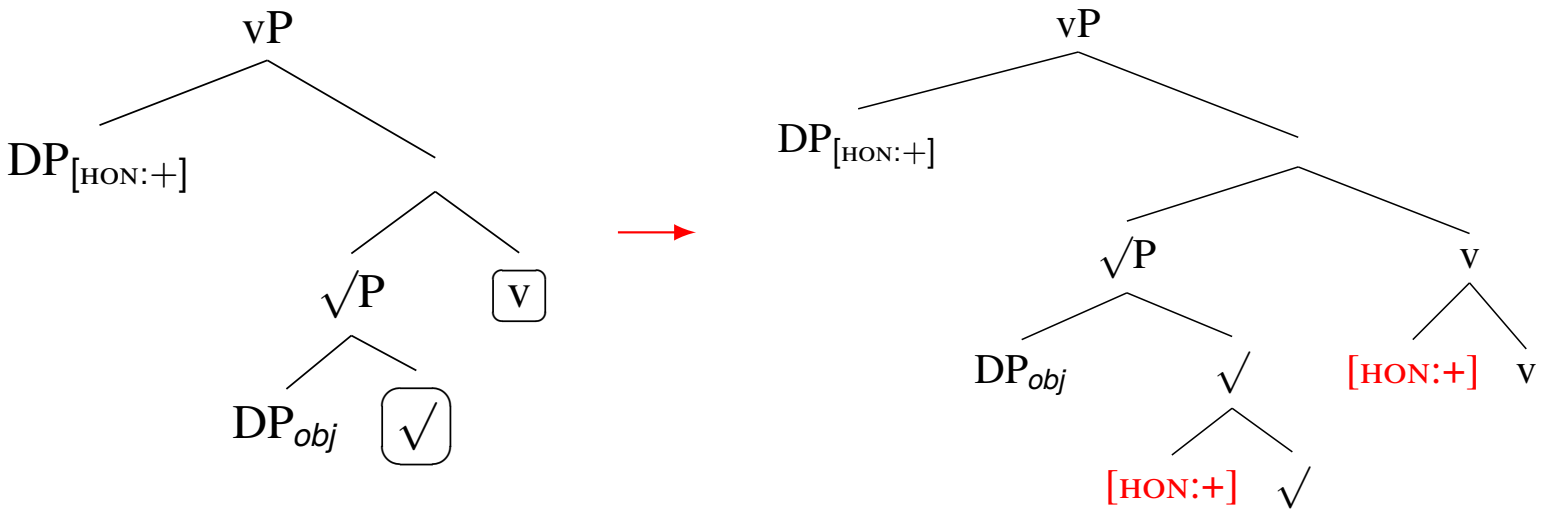

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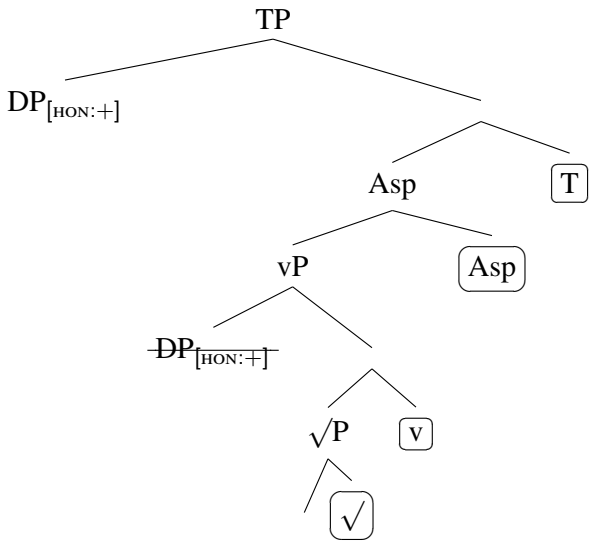

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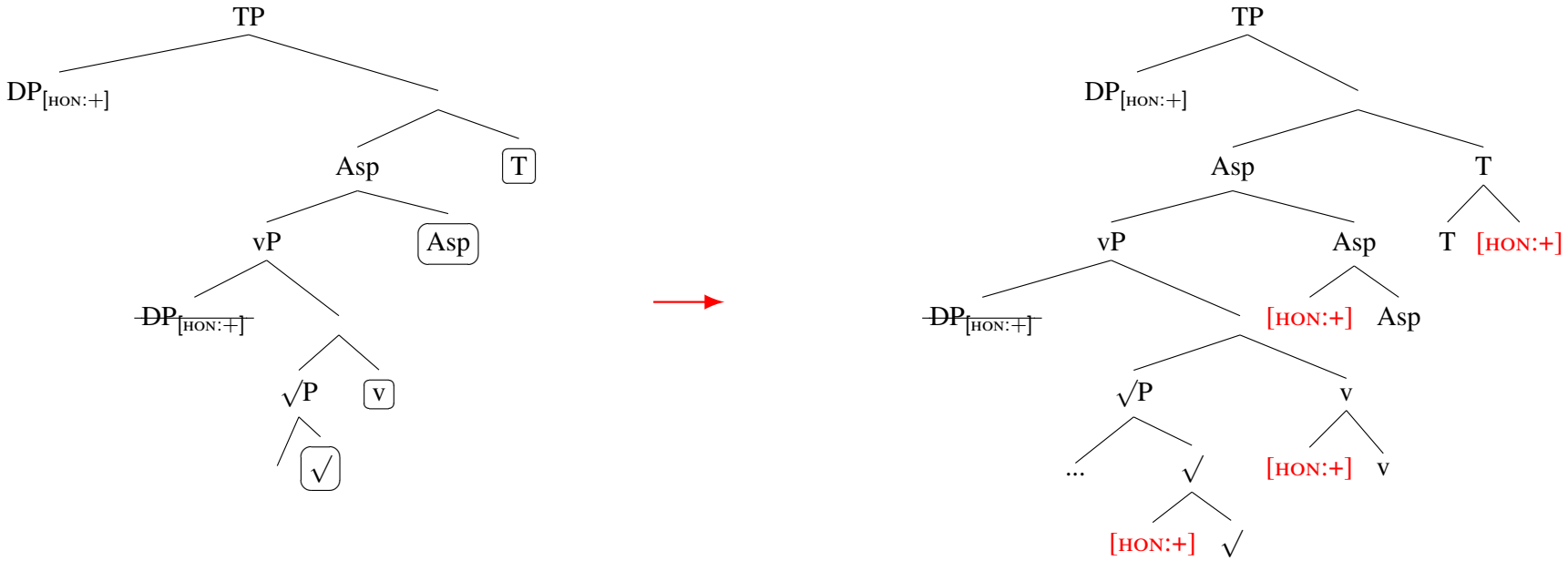

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(23) Vocabulary Insertion Rules

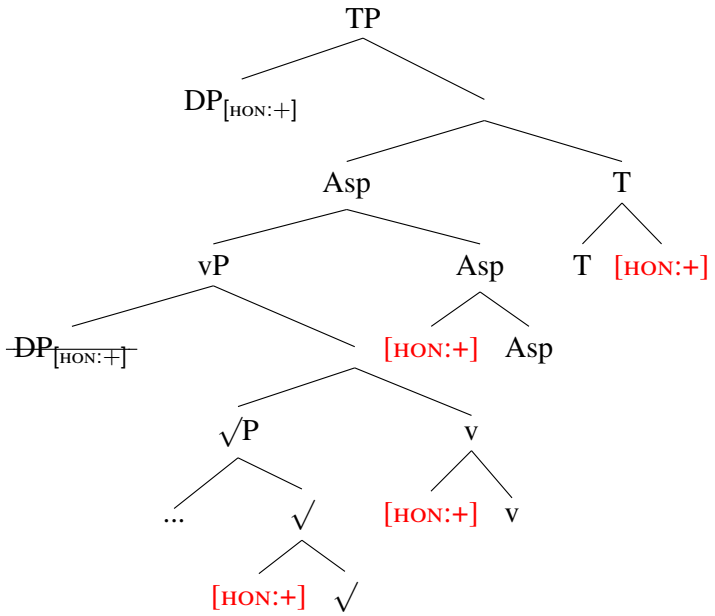
a. [HON:+] ↔ *go-*/ [$_{\sqrt{}}$ __ $\sqrt{}$].

b. v ↔ *si-*

c. [HON : +] + v ↔ *nasar-*

d. Asp ↔ *-tei*

e. [HON : +] + Asp ↔ *-teirassyar*



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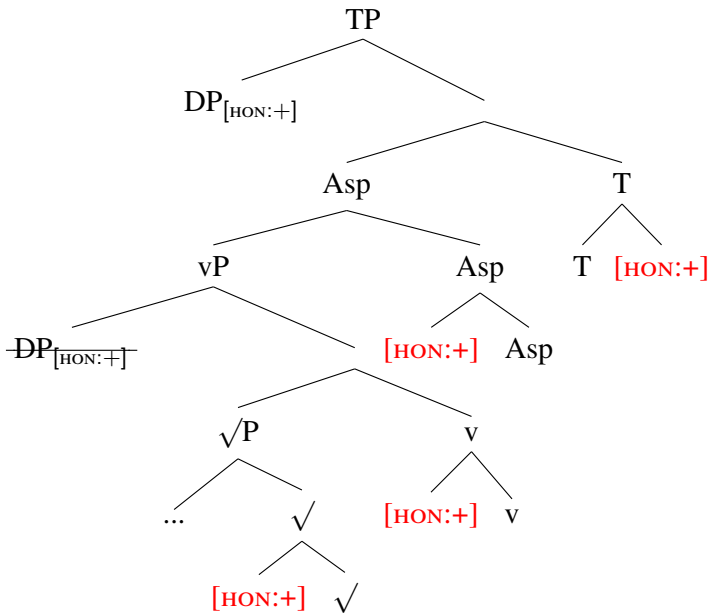

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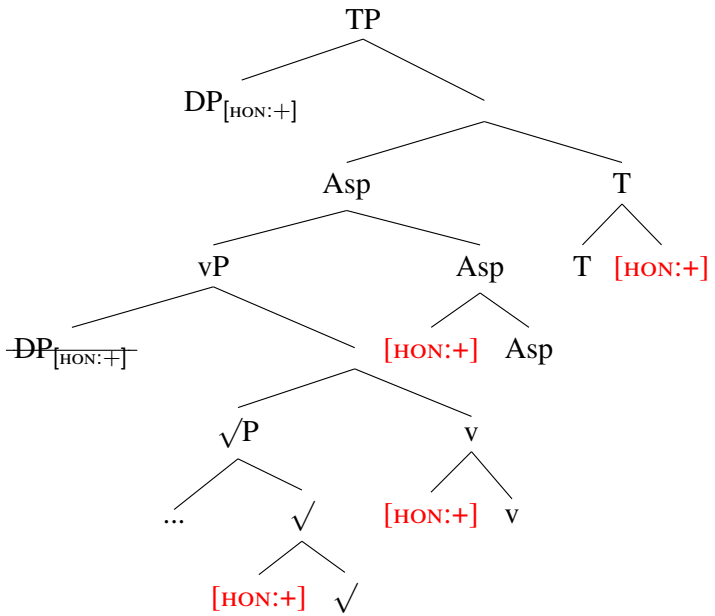

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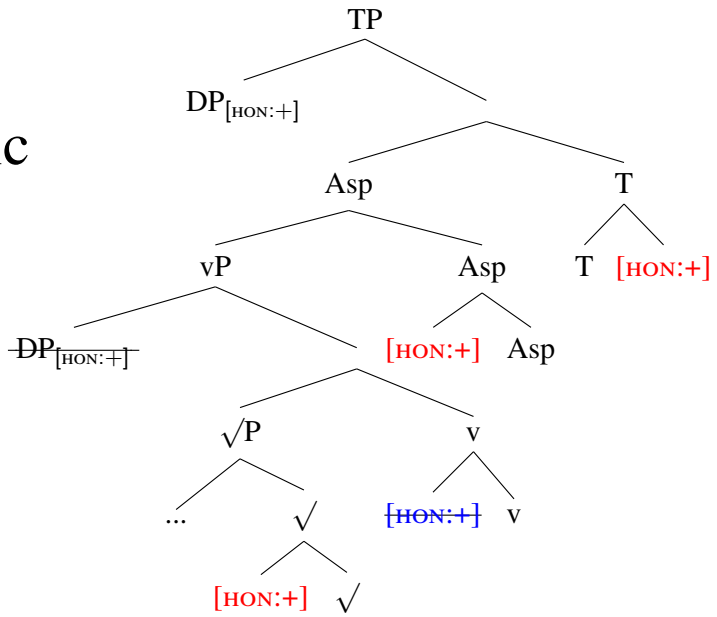

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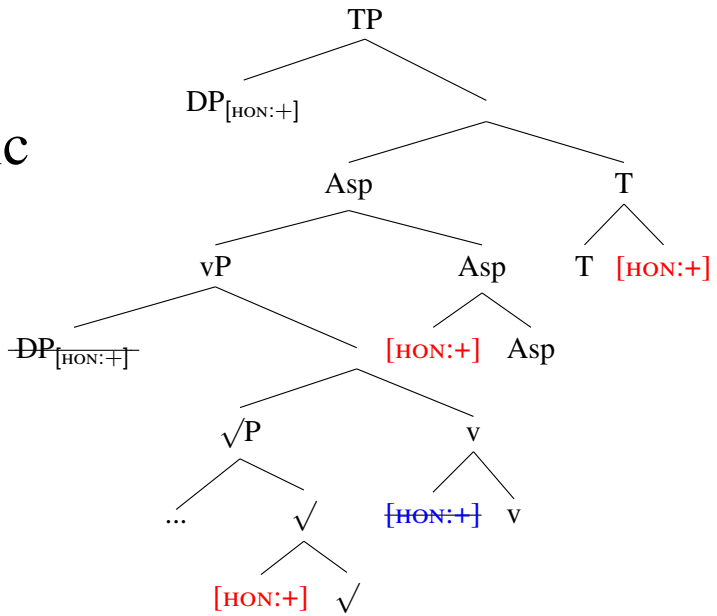
- Spell Out
  → Node-sprouting
  → Deletion
  → Vocabulary Insertion



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Desideratum: Intervention Effect (IO > DO)

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Hanako-NOM prof-DAT Taroo-ACC introduce do-PST
'Hanako introduced Taroo to the professor.'

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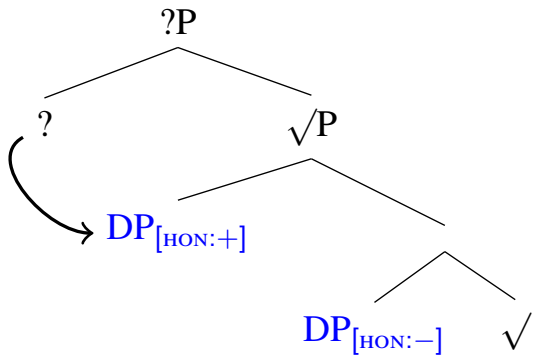

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3.2 Object-honorifics

Proposal: A Hybrid Approach

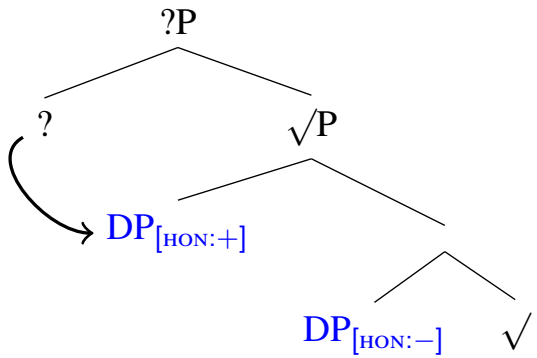
SH: a result of the Node-sprouting → Morphology
OH: a realization of the head of HonP → Syntax

Desideratum: Intervention Effect (IO > DO)

- Relation between *o/go-* and arguments
- Node-sprouting is indifferent to intervenors

A Hunch: Probe-Goal relation

- *If so, where is the probe?*



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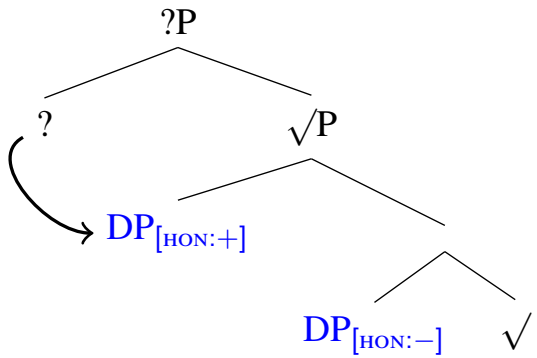

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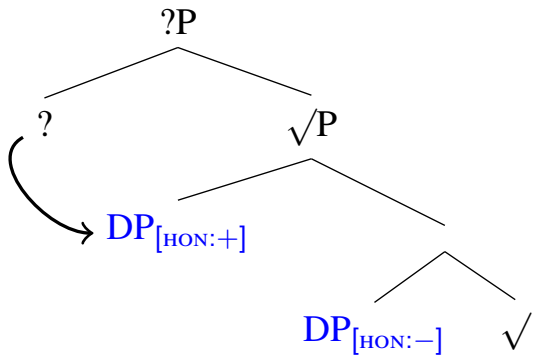

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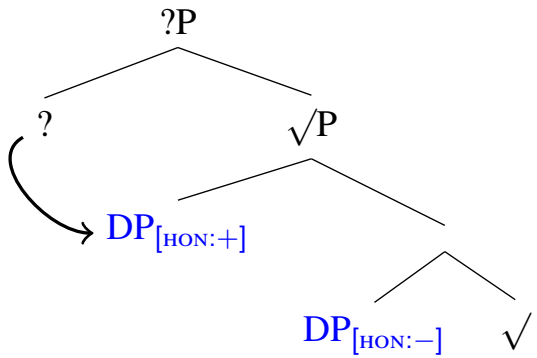

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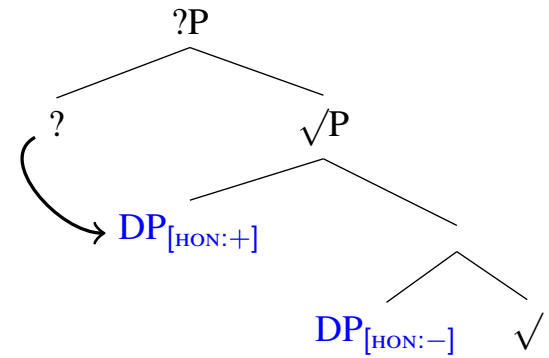

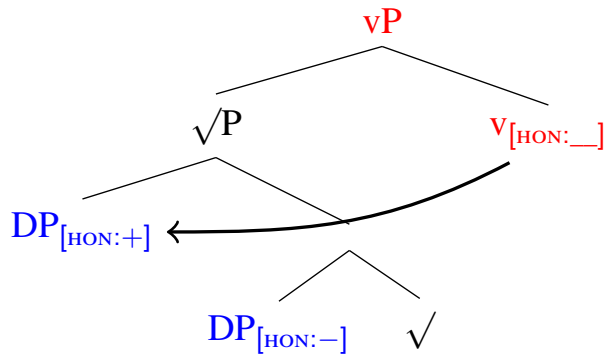

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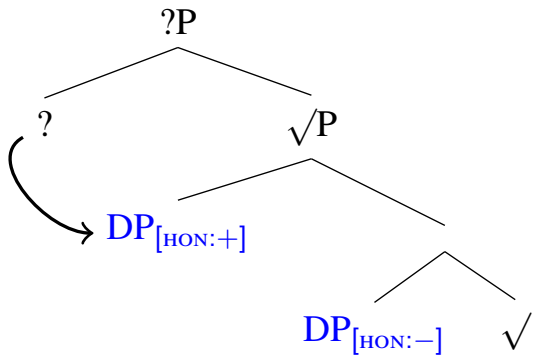

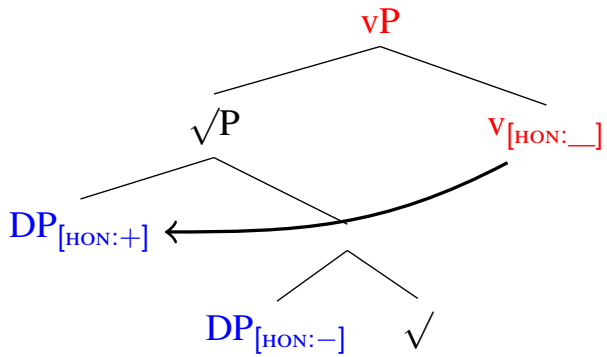

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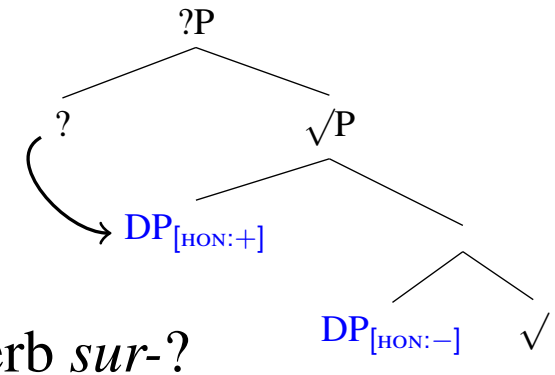

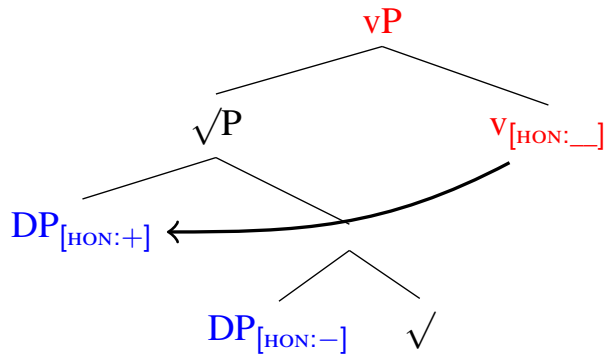

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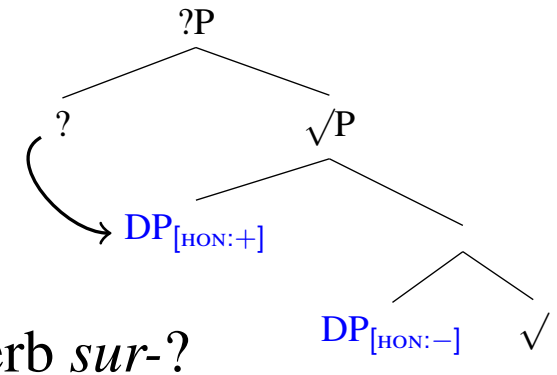

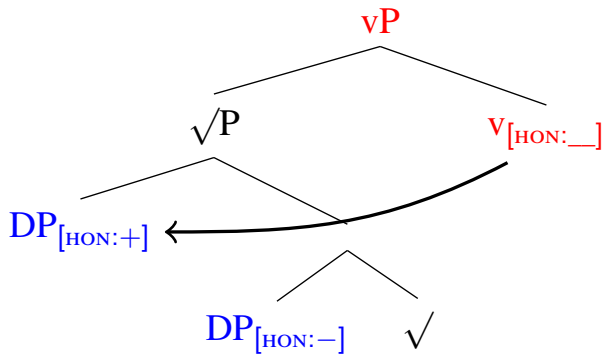

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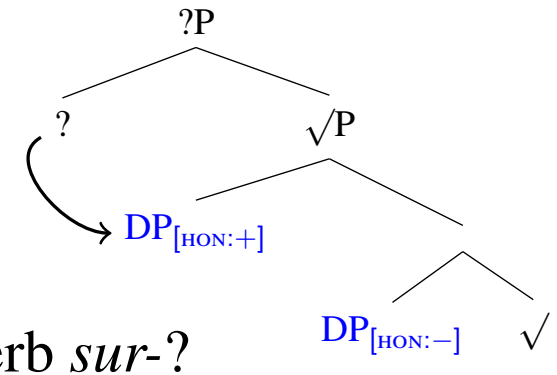

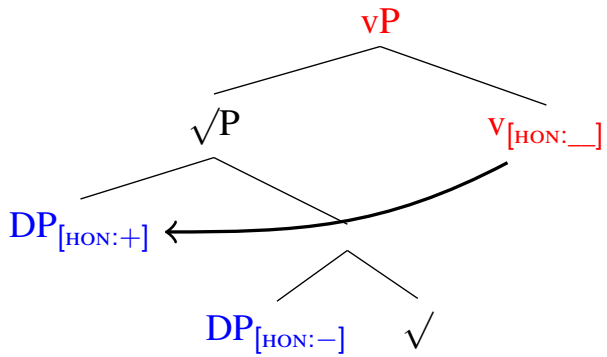

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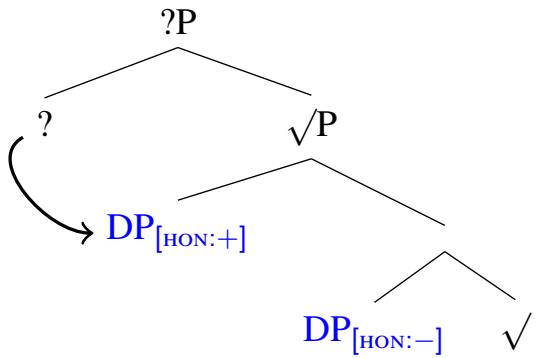

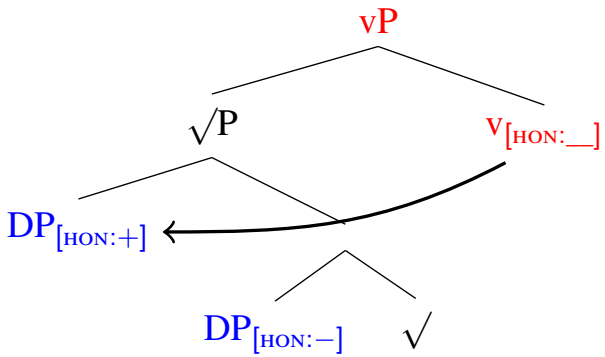

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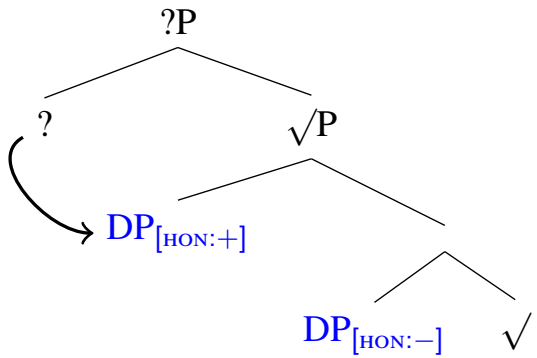

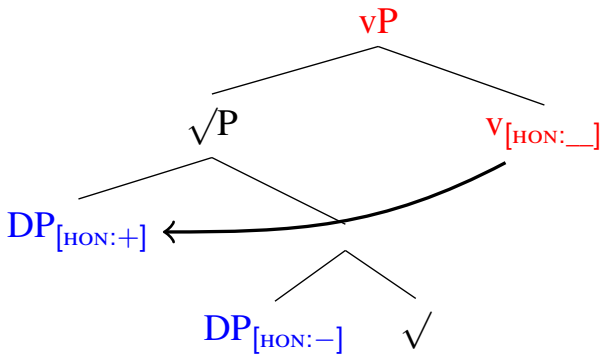

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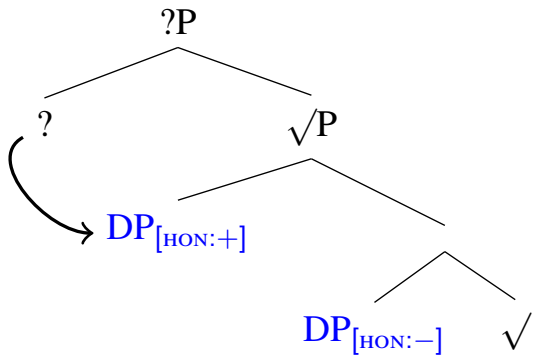

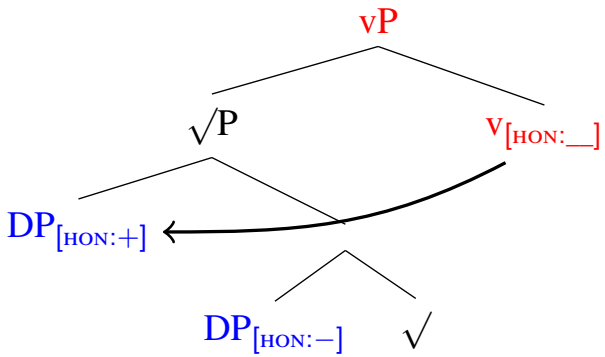

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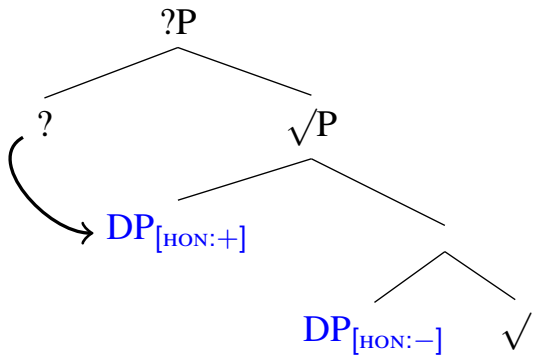

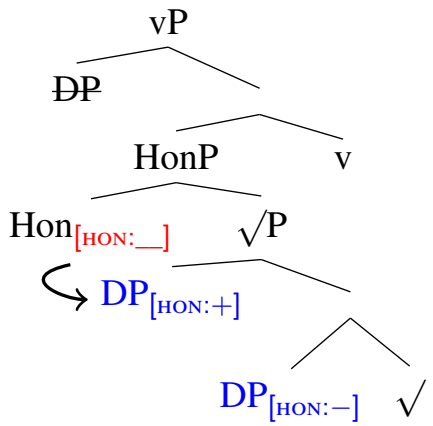

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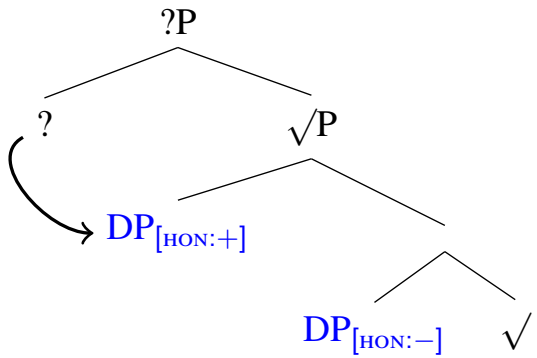

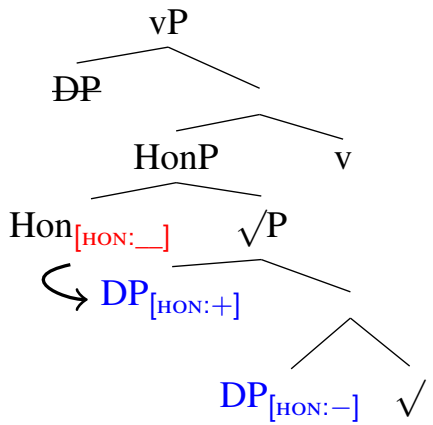

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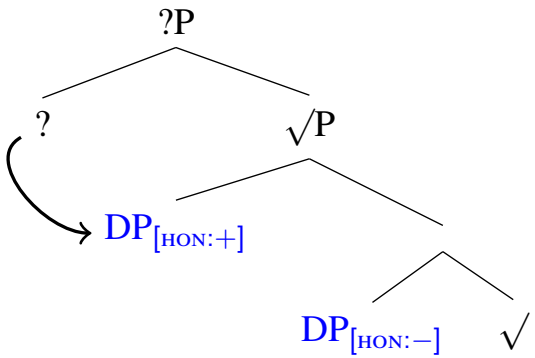

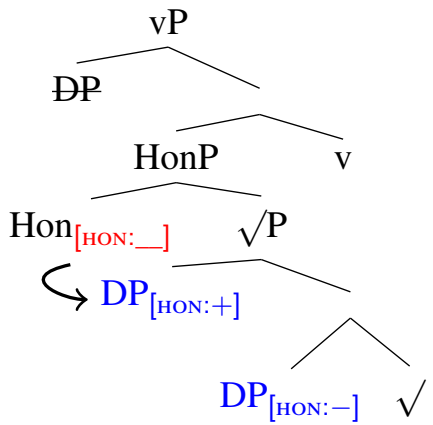

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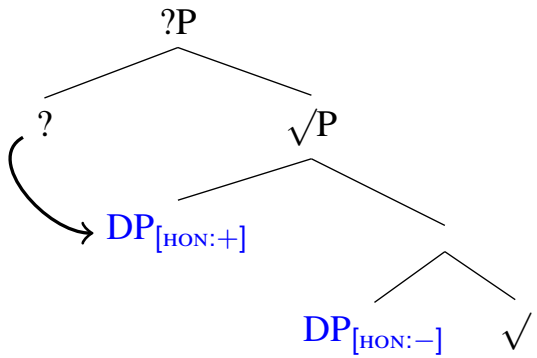

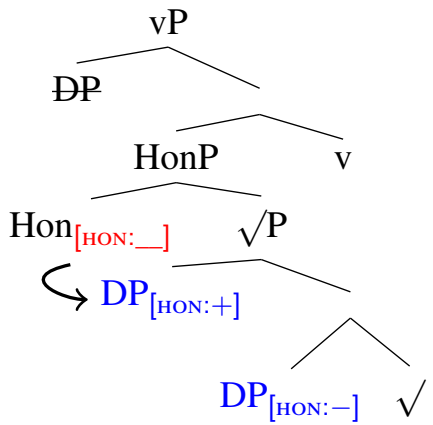

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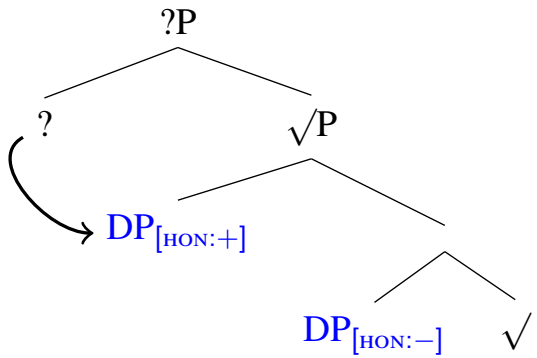

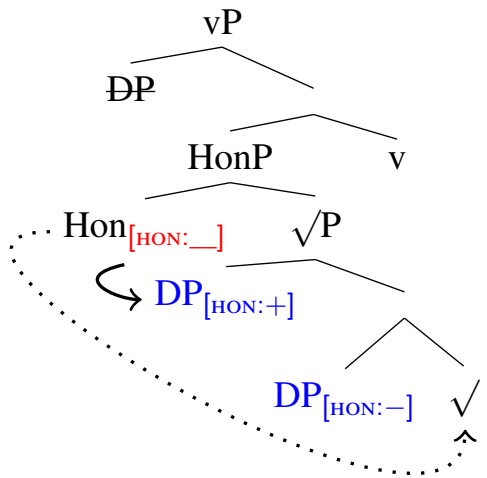

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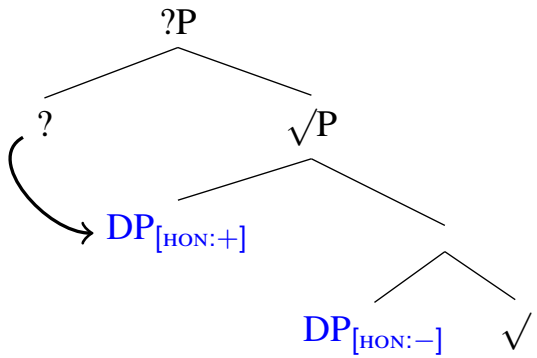

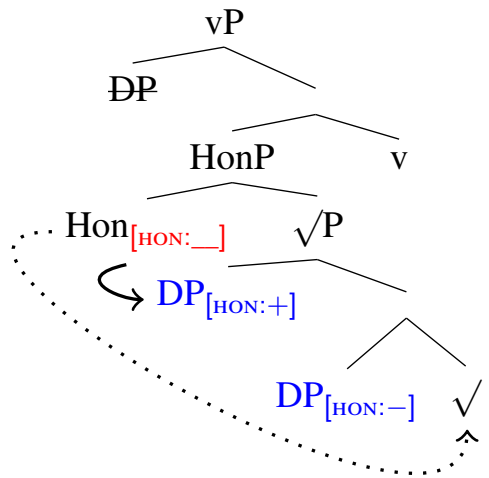

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1 Introduction

2 Data

3 Proposal

4 **Alternatives?**

- Alternative 1: Node-sprouting only
- Alternative 2: HonP only

5 Conclusion and Implications

4 Alternatives?

While we admit that it is conceptually desirable to have a unified mechanism for both constructions, the unification in either way fails.

Unification?

Our proposal :	Hybrid approach - SH: Node-sprouting - OH: HonP	→ Sec. 3	√
Alternative 1:	Node-sprouting only	→ Sec. 4.1	??
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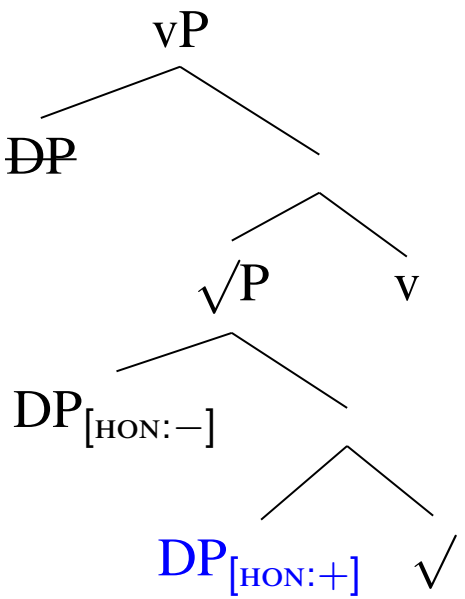

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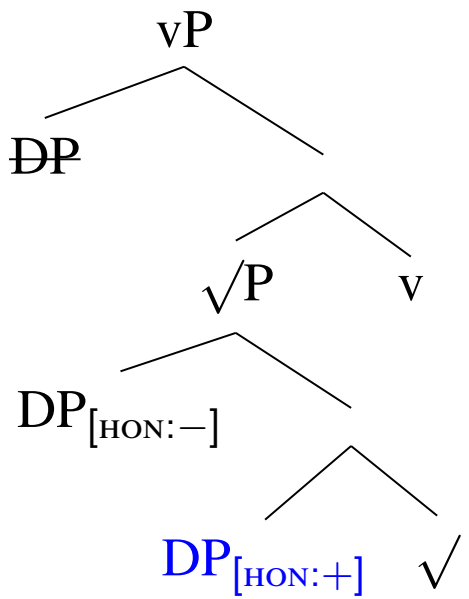

(31) # Hanako-ga Taroo-ni sensei-o **go**-syookai **si**-ta
Hanako-NOM Taroo-DAT prof-ACC HON-introduce do-PST
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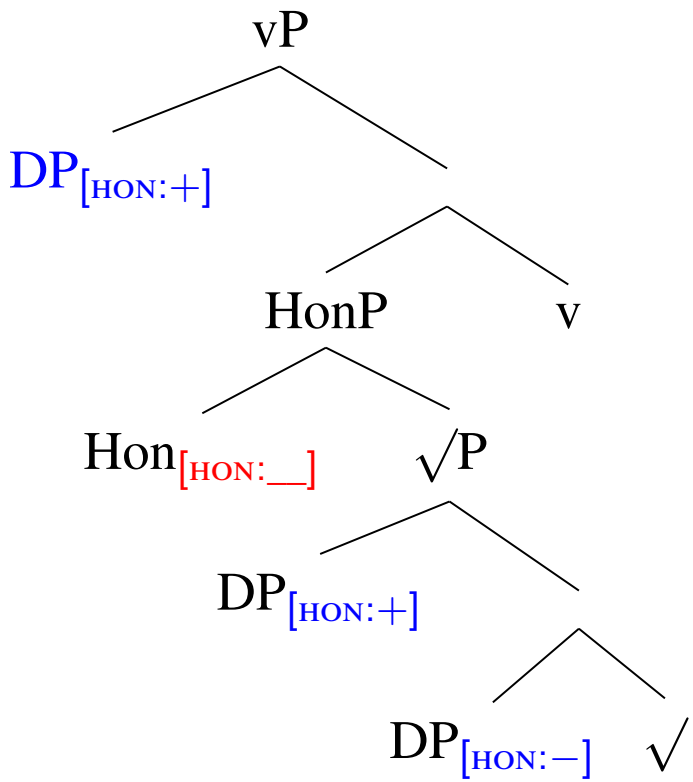

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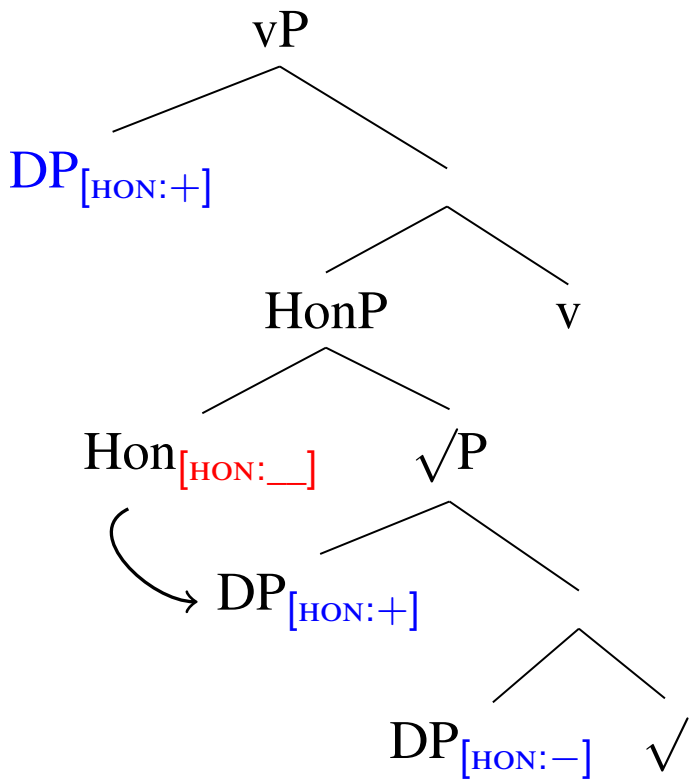

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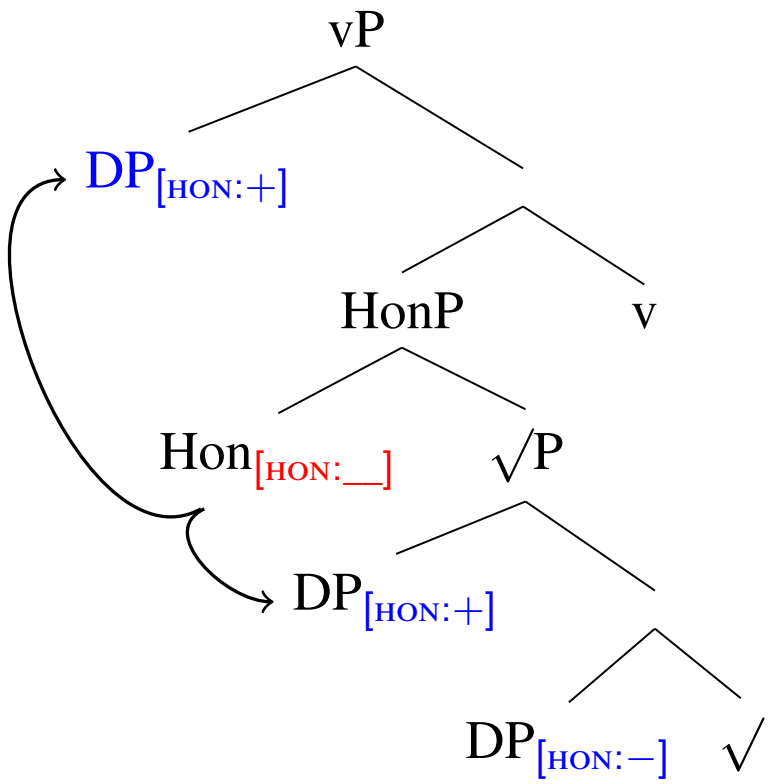

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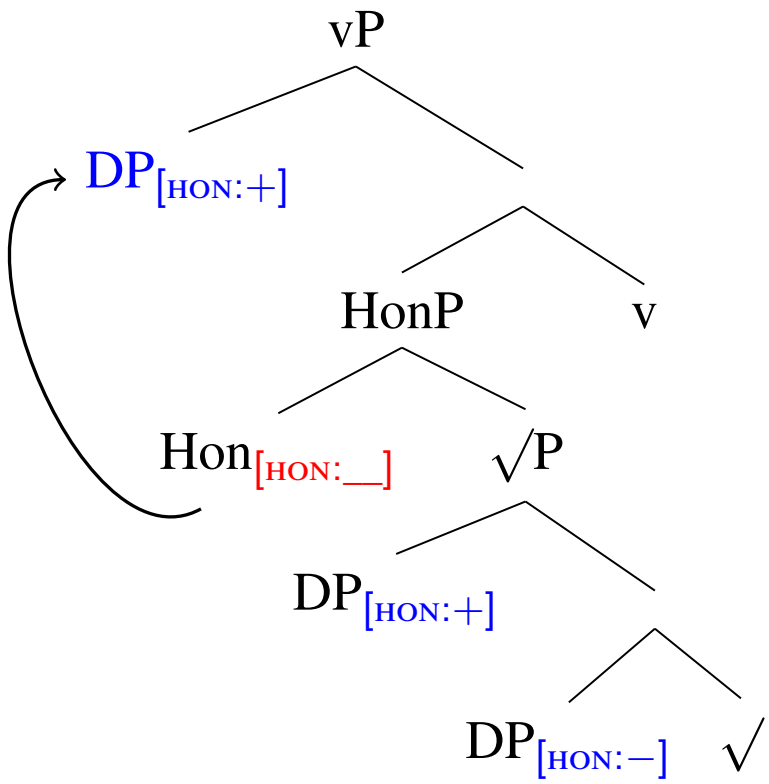
- HonP (right below *v* and realized as *o/go*) also exists in SHs
- It probes to find the closest DP with [HON:] and agrees with it

Problems



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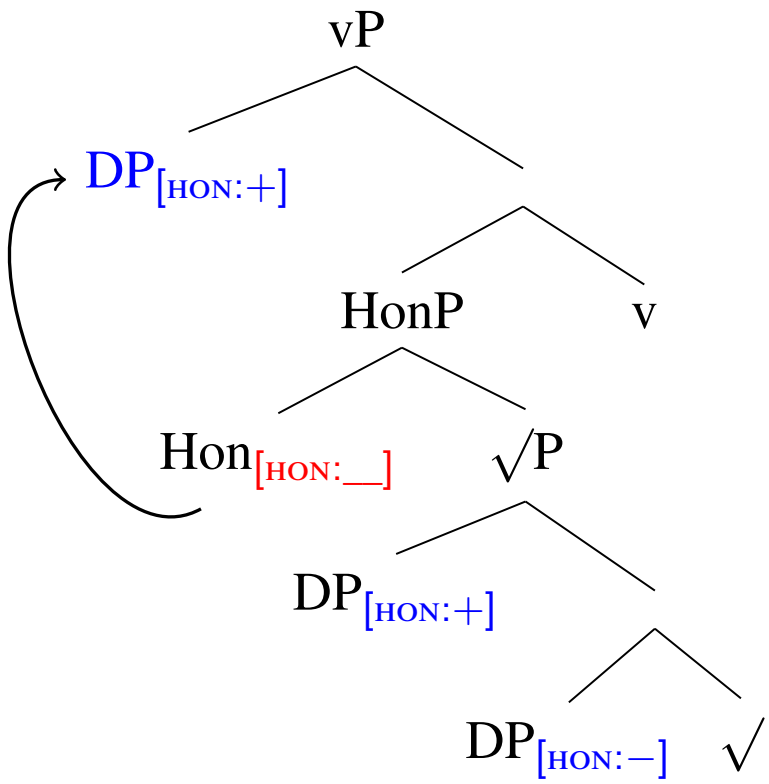

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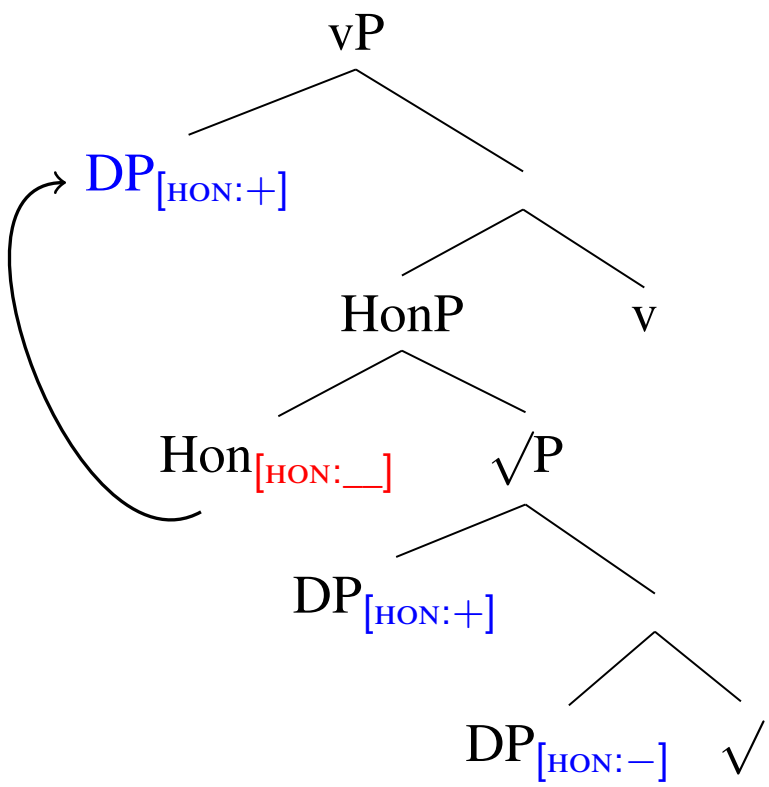

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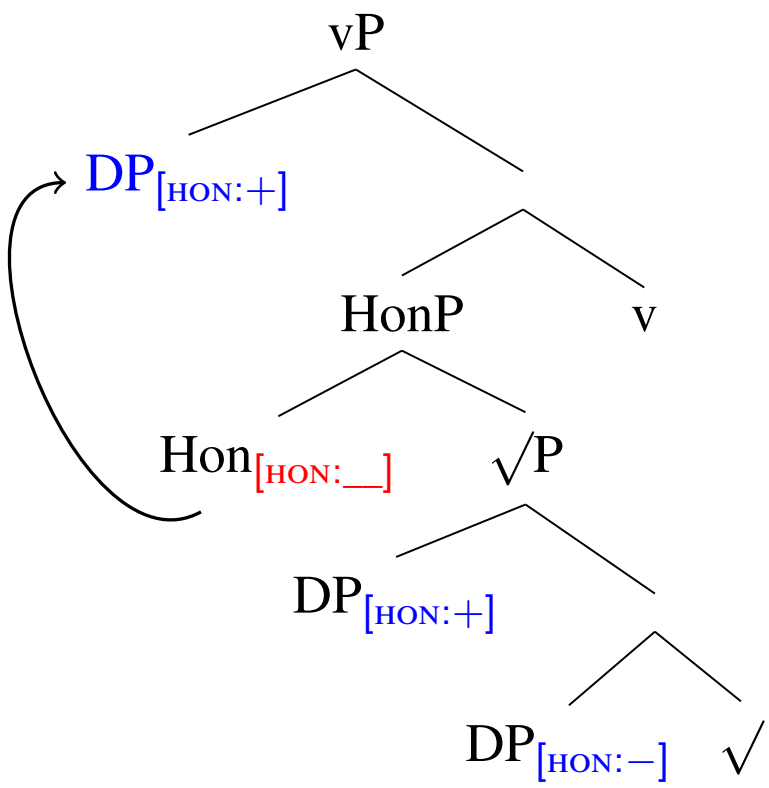

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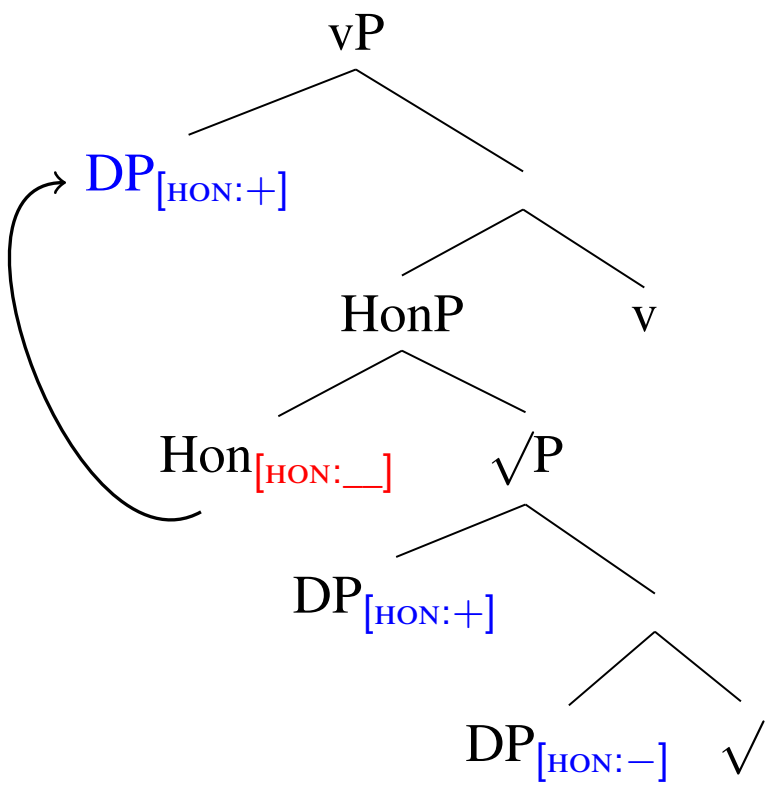

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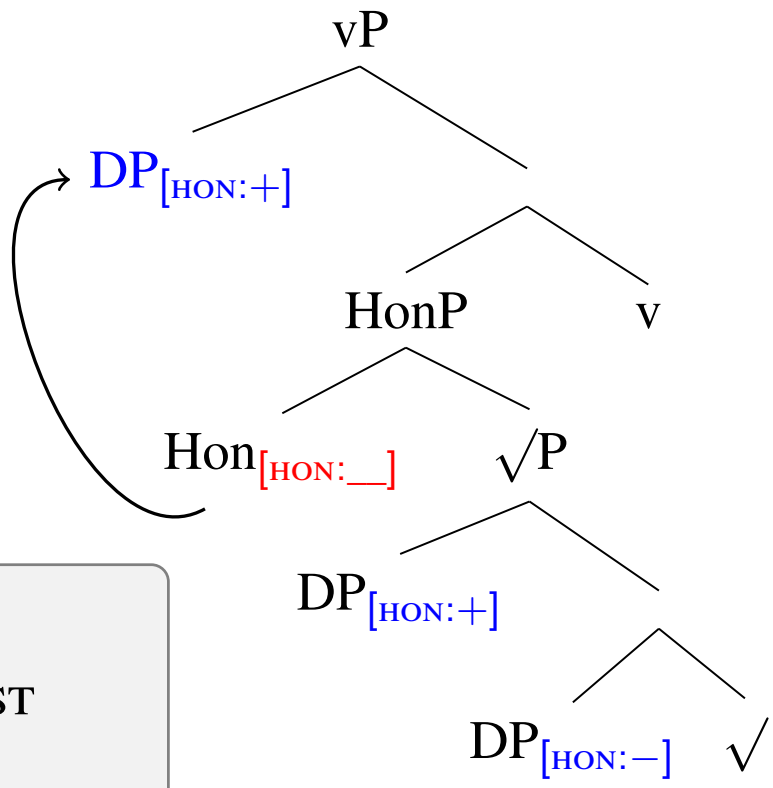

(32) # <u>sensei</u>-ga Ai-o **go**-syootai **si**-ta
prof-NOM Ai-ACC HON-invite do-PST
'The professor invited Ai.'

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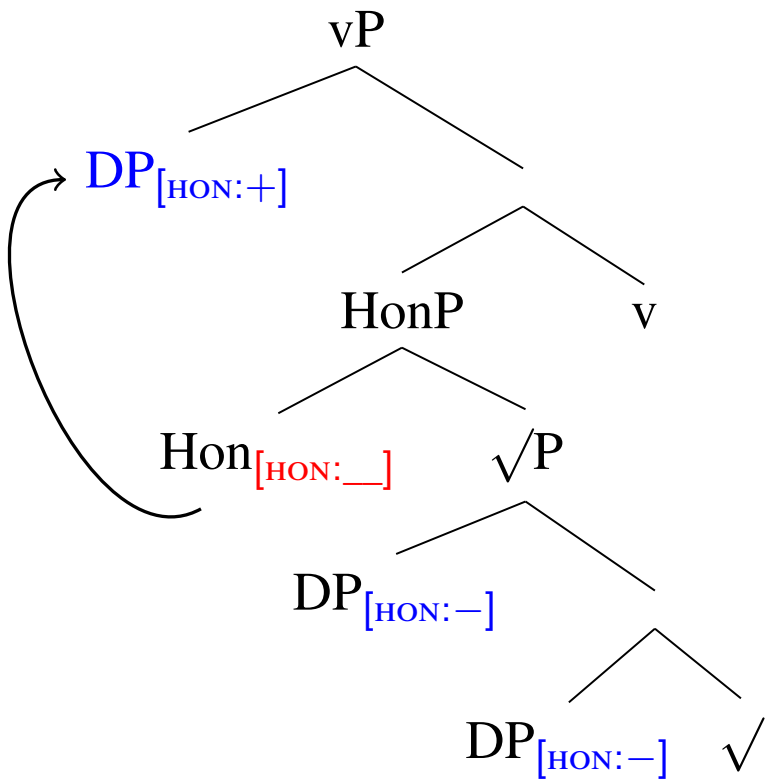
Problems

- Problem 2: Hon-spreading



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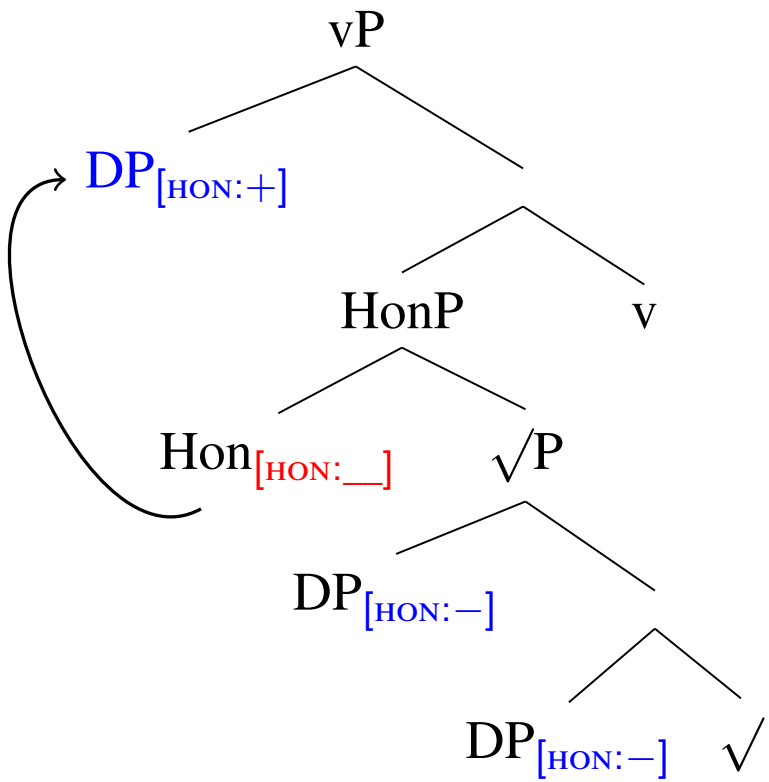
Problems

- Problem 2: Hon-spreading
  Does Hon head-move to T, rolling up the intervening heads?



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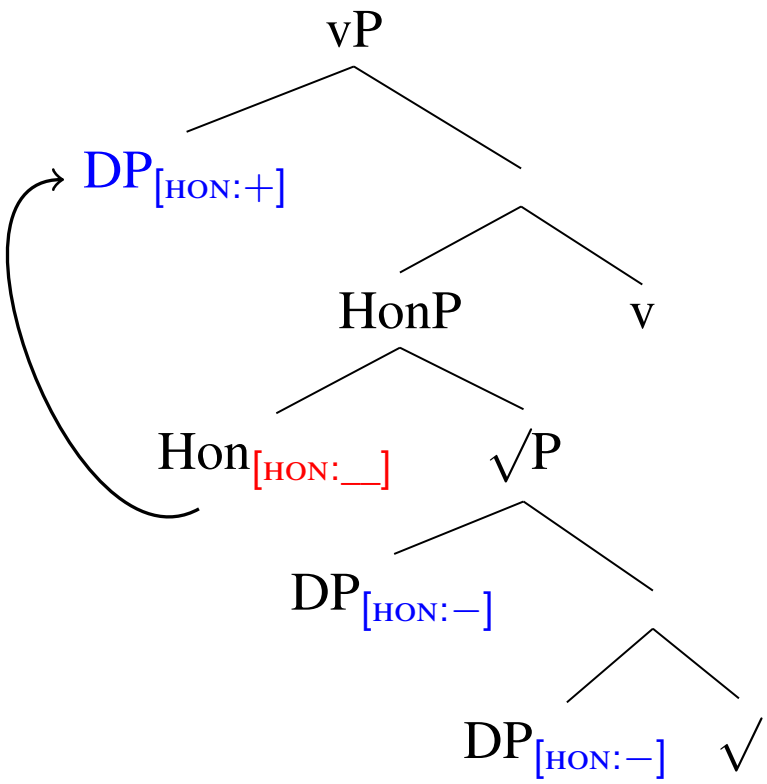

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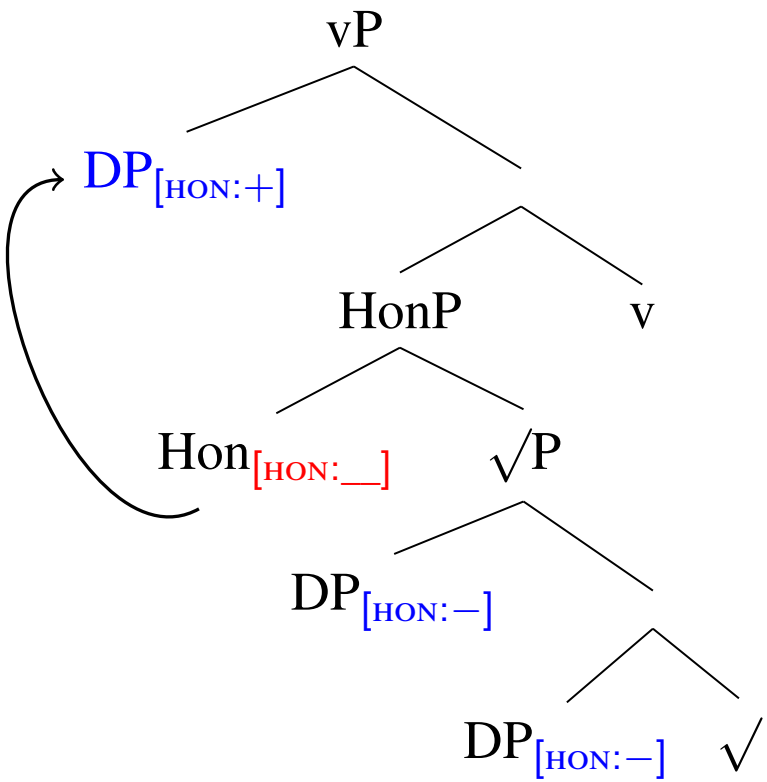

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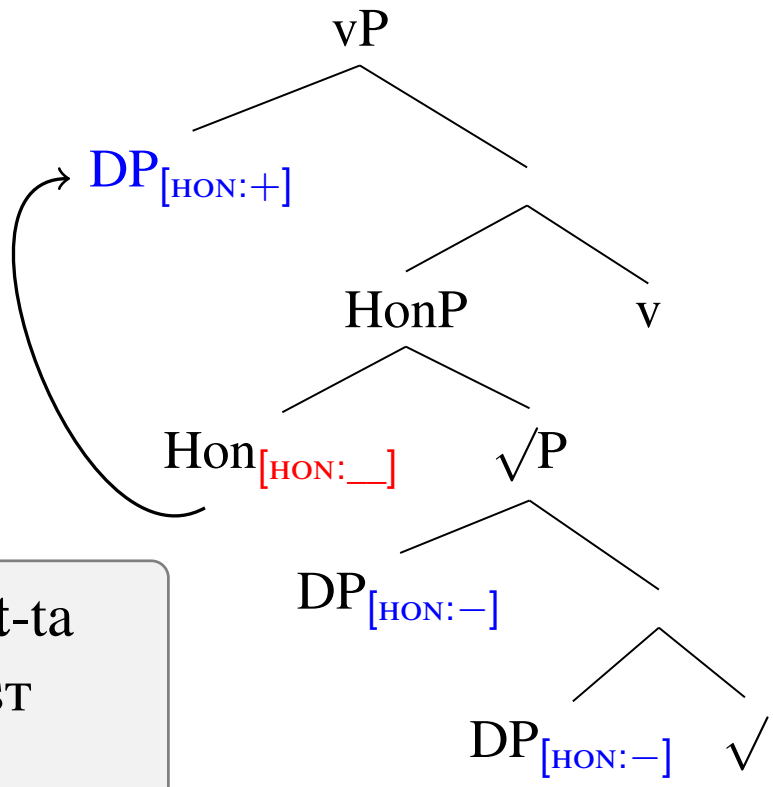

(33) # Ai-ga <u>sensei</u>-o **go**-syootai **nasat**-ta
Ai-NOM prof-ACC HON-invite do-PST
'Ai invited the professor (OH).'

1 Introduction

2 Data

3 Proposal

4 Alternatives?
- Alternative 1: Node-sprouting only
- Alternative 2: HonP only

5 Conclusion and Implications

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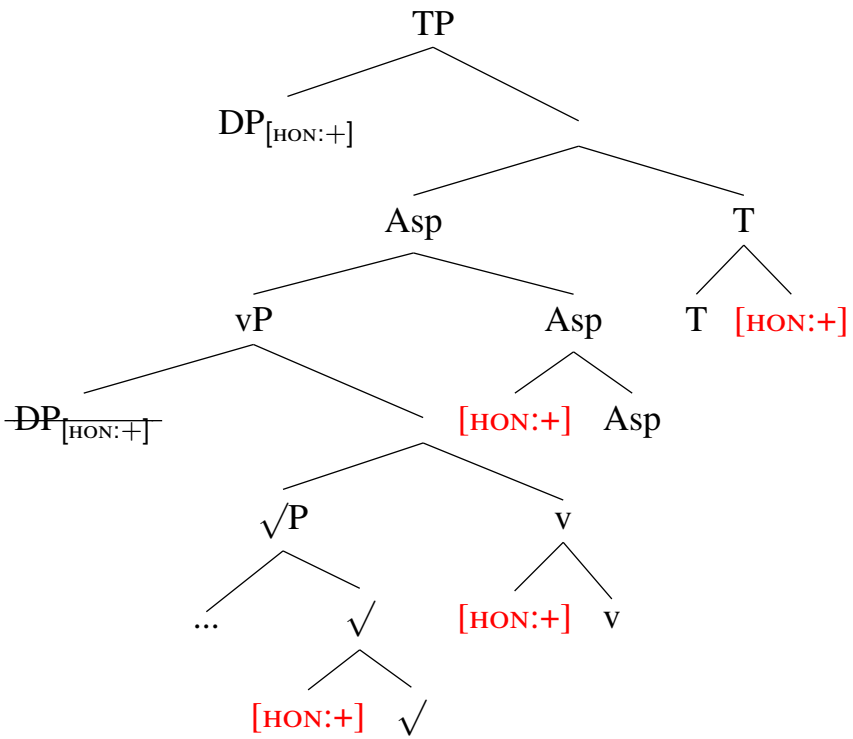
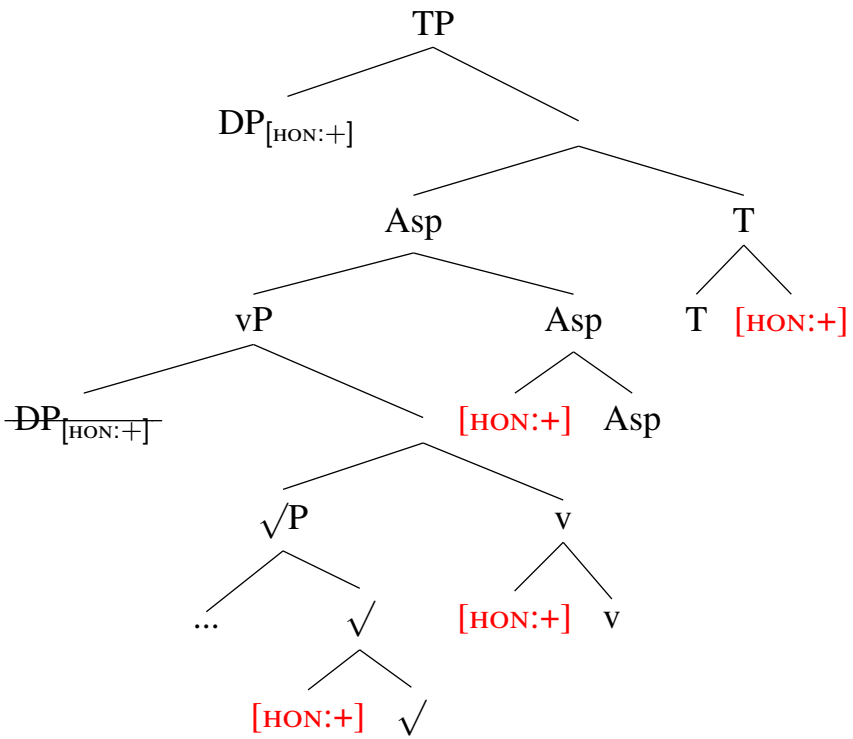


5 Conclusion and Implications

Conclusion

- Japanese SHs are derived via post-syntactic agreement
- Japanese OHs are derived via agreement in narrow syntax



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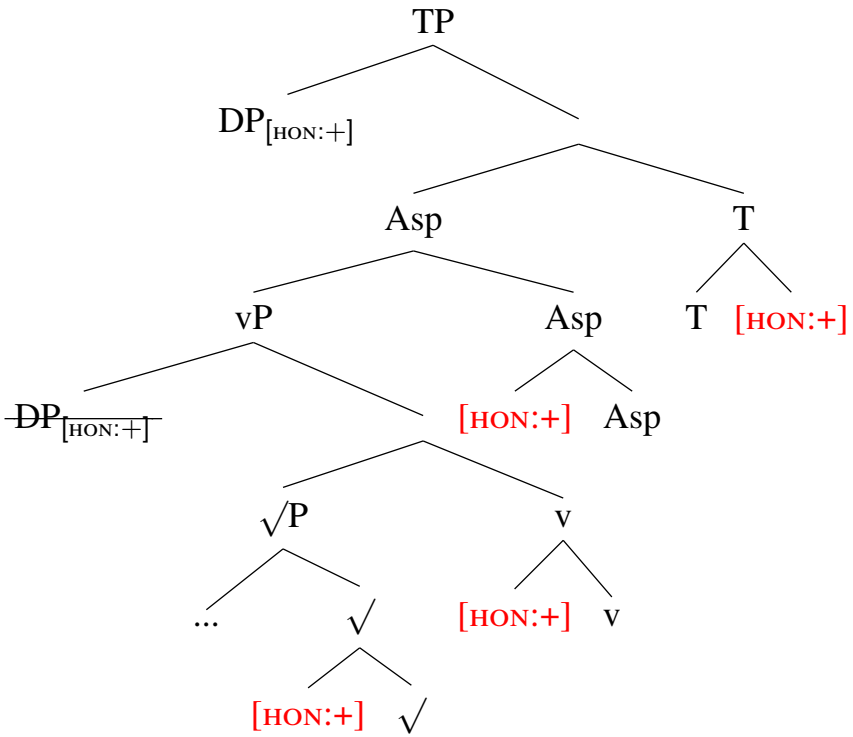

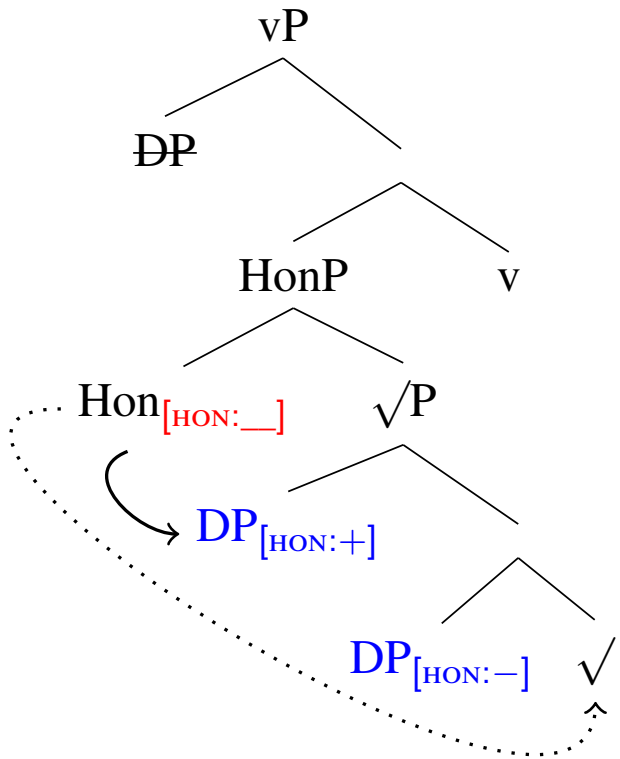

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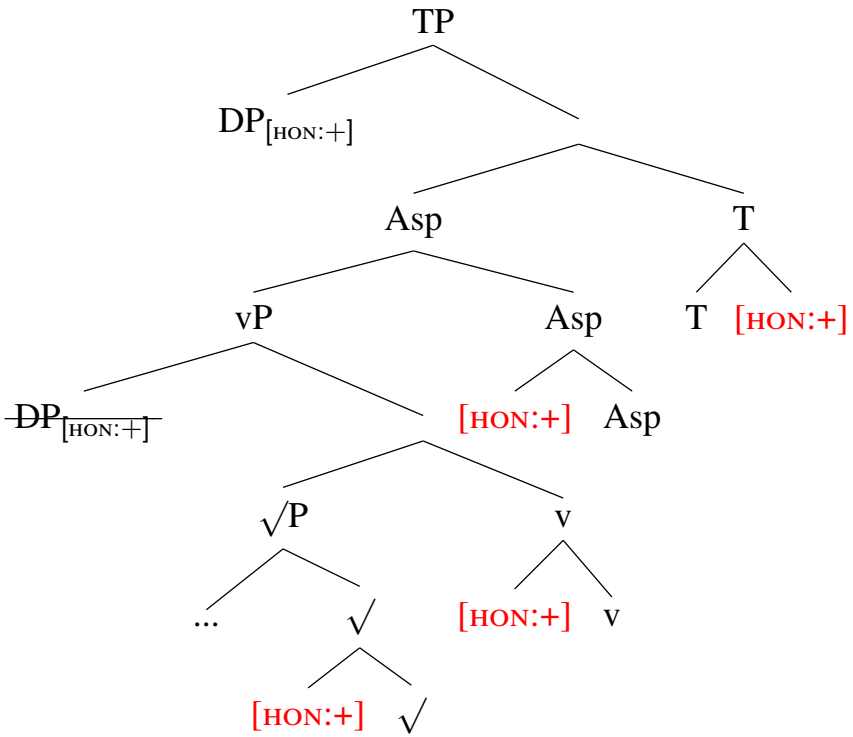
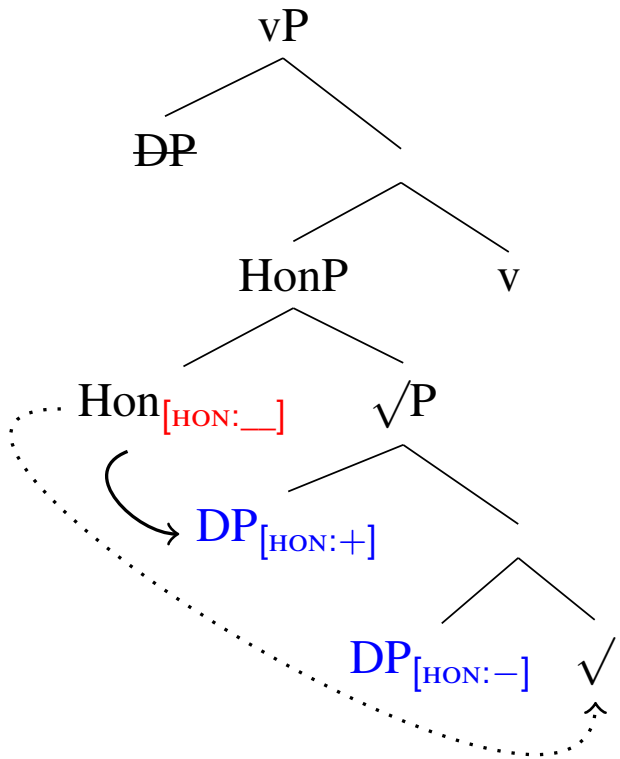
Conclusion

- Japanese SHs are derived via post-syntactic agreement
- Japanese OHs are derived via agreement in narrow syntax
- They are morphologically neutralized through Vocabulary insertion





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- **For Further Studies**: Competing subject-honorific constructions

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- **For Further Studies**: Competing subject-honorific constructions

(34) sensei-wa Taroo-o **go**-syootai-**ni nat**-ta.
professor-TOP Taroo-ACC HON-invite-ni become-PST
'The professor invited Taroo (the professor is respected).'

(35) sensei-wa Taroo-o syootai s-**are**-ta.
professor-TOP Taroo-ACC invite do-HON-PST
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  - Prediction: Multiple SH-markings (which is borne out).

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(36) sensei-wa Taroo-o **go**-syootai-**ni nat**-**teirassyat**-ta.
professor-TOP Taroo-ACC HON-invite-ni become-ASP.HON-PST
'The professor was inviting Taroo (the professor is respected).'

(37) sensei-wa Taroo-o syootai s-**are**-**teirassyat**-ta.
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Implications

- Agreement is non-monolithic
- Both narrow-syntactic and post-syntactic agree operations exist

- **For Further Studies**: Competing subject-honorific constructions
  - Prediction: Multiple SH-markings (which is borne out).
  - Remaining issue: Why different constructions?
    Not typical in agreement.

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Thank you very much for your attention!!!

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