

**Being Polite and Subordinate:
Morpho-syntax Determines Embeddability of Politeness Markers in Japanese**

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Utterance Honorifics (UH) are honorific forms which seem to act at the utterance level, giving an honorific character to the entire speech act that the sentence is used to perform (McCready 2019, Chapter 4, p.44). Miyagawa (2012) categorizes UHs in Japanese as ‘agreements that occur mainly in the main clause’. Portner et al (2019, p.2) concur: ‘A key grammatical difference between content-oriented and utterance-oriented markers is that the former can be readily embedded, but in many cases the latter cannot be.’ In this presentation, we will show that (i) the verbal UH marker *-mas* embeds rather freely while *-des*, the other UH marker, is more restricted, and (ii) the differences between Japanese and some other languages with UH, as well as the language-internal variation between *-mas* and *-des*, are almost entirely explainable in morpho-syntactic terms.

-Mas can be found in a variety of embedded contexts: (1) Attitude Complement with *koto* ‘fact’ (Yamada 2019, Contra Miyagawa 2012), temporal adjuncts, *yor*i ‘than’ clauses in comparatives, (2) conditional clauses, (3) relative clauses, and causal adjuncts. The distribution is quite robust to the extent that it is misleading to call it a main-clause-phenomenon. Historically, *-mas* developed as a shortened form of *mair-asu* ‘come_{honorific}+causative’, and its origin as a lexical verb is reflected on its full inflectional paradigm even in Contemporary Japanese. Importantly it inflects for tense: *-mas-u* (non-past), *-mash-ita* (past) both in the adnominal and the conclusive forms (Table 1). Following Yamada (2019), we argue that *-mas* is generated below T⁰. In contrast, UH markers in Thai and Korean are sentence final particles that appear outside of inflected verbs. Therefore, the embeddability of UH markers in a given language is determined based on the low/high syntax of UH markers: It is generated within the IP domain in Japanese whereas it is in the CP periphery in Thai and Korean, and the former is embeddable but the latter isn’t.

The UH copula *-des* shows different distributional patterns. It can be embedded in conditional (4) and causal adjuncts but not in relative clauses (5), *koto*-clauses (6) or temporal adjuncts. This UH marker came into existence much later than *-mas*, and while it inflects for tense in the conclusive form, its inflectional paradigm is defective, as shown in Table 1. It turns out that the embedding environments that do not support *-des* (e.g. relative clauses) demand the embedded verbs to be in the adnominal form, which is not defined for *-des* in Contemporary Japanese (Table 1). Thus, the more restricted distribution of *-des* under embedding is explainable by its morpho-syntactic characteristics.

If time permits, we will also discuss (i) why *-des* with an adjective is even more restricted, as illustrated by the ungrammatical conditional example (7): Reason: with an adjective, *-des* does not inflect for tense, so it is regarded as a CP-region particle, and (ii) why an attitude complement with *-to* ‘that’ does not embed UH markers of any kind (8), which is a very surprising constraint, as it is considered as a more ‘forgiving’ embedding structure for a main-clause-phenomenon.

- (1) Hayaku go-kaifuju-nasai-**masu**-koto-o o-inori-shite-ori-masu.
Quickly hon-recover-do.hon-**UHM**-fact-Acc hon-pray-do-be.humble-UHM
'I pray for your speedy recovery.'
- (2) Kore-wa mizu-o kuwae-**masu**-to bouchou-itashi-masu.
this-Top water-Acc add-**UHM**-and.then expand-do.humble-UHM
'If you add water to it, it will swell up.'
- (3) Senjitsu okutte-itadaki-**mashita** meron, oishiku itadaki-mashita.
the.other.day sent-receive.humble-**UHM** melon delicious consume.humble-UHM
'We truly enjoyed the melons that you sent us the other day.'
- (4) Kokuseki-ga amerika-**desu**-to, biza-ga iri-masu-ne.
citizenship-Nom America-be.**UHM**-if, visa-Nom necessary-UH-DiscP
'If you are an American citizen, you need a visa.'
- (5) *Tanaka-san-o gozonji-**desu**-kata-ni go-shoukai
Tanaka-honor-Acc acquainted.honor-be.**UHM**-person.hon-Dat hon-introduction
itada-ke-mase-n-ka?
receive.humble-can-UH-Neg-Q?
Could you introduce (me/us) to someone who knows Mrs. Tanaka?'
- (6) *Shinseihin-ga daiseikou-**desu**-koto-o o-inori-shite-ori-masu.
new.product-Nom big.success-be.**UHM**-fact-Acc hon-pray-do-be.humble-UH.
'I sincerely hope that your new product will be a big success.'
- (7) *Nedan-ga takai-**desu**-to, koushou-shi-naosu-koto-ni nari-masu.
Price high-**UHM**-if negotiation-do-repair-fact-Dat become-UH
'If the price is high, we will have to re-negotiate.'
- (8) *Hayaku go-kaifuju-nasai-**masu**-to shinjite-ori-masu.
Quickly hon-recover-do.hon-**UHM**-that believe-be.humble-UHM
'I believe that you will make speedy recovery.'

Table 1: Conjugation Paradigms of *-mas* & *-des*

	<i>-mas</i>	<i>-des</i>
Mizen-kei (pre-negation form)	<i>-mase</i>	∅
Renyou-kei (pre-verbal form)	<i>-mashi</i>	<i>-deshi</i>
Rentai-kei (adnominal form): non-past	<i>-masu</i>	∅
Rentai-kei (adnominal form): past	<i>-mashita</i>	∅
Shuushi-kei (conclusive form): non-past	<i>-masu</i>	<i>-desu</i>
Shuushi-kei (conclusive form): past	<i>-mashita</i>	<i>-deshita</i>
Merei-kei (imperative form)	<i>-mase, -mashi</i>	∅

References: McCready, E. (2019) *The semantics and pragmatics of honorification: Register and social meaning*, OUP. Miyagawa, S. (2012) 'Agreements that occur mainly in the main clause,' in *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, John Benjamin. Porter, P, M. Pak, & R. Zanuttini (2019) 'The speaker-addressee relation at the syntax-semantics interface,' *Language* 95(1):1-36. Yamada A. (2019) *The syntax, semantics and pragmatics of Japanese addressee-honorific markers*, Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown University.