



Tomioka, Satoshi & Ishii, Keita. 2022. Being polite and subordinate: Morphosyntax determines the embeddability of Utterance Honorifics in Japanese. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 7(1). pp. 1-37. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.16995/glossa.7684>



Open Library of Humanities

Being polite and subordinate: Morphosyntax determines the embeddability of Utterance Honorifics in Japanese

Satoshi Tomioka, University of Delaware, US, stomioka@udel.edu

Keita Ishii, University of Delaware, US, keitaish@udel.edu

Utterance Honorifics (UHs) are generally regarded as a main clause phenomenon as they reflect the speaker's attitude towards the addressee/audience. UHs in Japanese present a challenging problem to this view, however, as it has been reported that they can be embedded under some circumstances (Miyagawa 2012; Yamada 2019 and references therein). In this paper, we closely examine the embedding patterns of the three UH markers in Japanese, the verbal UH, the UH copula for a noun, and the UH copula for an adjective, and show that there are considerable variations among the three UH markers. We argue that their distributional differences are intimately tied to their morphosyntactic characteristics and their interaction with the tense and finiteness specifications in the language. More specifically, we propose that there is a close, though possibly not perfect, correspondence between the degree of embeddability of the UH markers and the syntactic size of constituents that contain them. The proposed analysis is couched within Porter et al's (2019) syntactic analysis of UHs which posits the UH head, c^0 . It will be demonstrated that the varying embeddability of the Japanese UH markers is, for the most part, consistent with Porter et al's proposal that c^0 is projected only at the root level, but we identify a few exceptional cases in which some radically 'root-like' embedded clauses can have their own cPs. We further suggest that an embedded UH is licensed via multiple Agree from the matrix clause, which makes the Japanese UH marking a kind of concord phenomenon.

Glossa: a journal of general linguistics is a peer-reviewed open access journal published by the Open Library of Humanities. © 2022 The Author(s). This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC-BY 4.0), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited. See <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>.

OPEN ACCESS



1 Utterance Honorifics

Utterance Honorifics (UHs) give an honorific character to the entire speech act associated with the sentence, indicating that the speaker is being respectful to the addressee/audience (McCready 2019, Chap 4).¹ Japanese is among the languages in which the UH marking is frequent and pervasive. (1a) is a declarative sentence in the plain form whereas (2a) comes with the utterance honorific marker *-mas-* attached to the verb.

(1) Plain

- a. Maria-wa kaigi-ni ki-ta.
 Maria-TOP meeting-LOC come-PAST
 ‘Maria came to the meeting.’
- b. Honorific meaning: Ø

(2) Utterance Honorific

- a. Maria-wa kaigi-ni ki-**mashi**-ta.
 Maria-TOP meeting-LOC come-UH-PAST
 ‘Maria came to the meeting.’
- b. Honorific meaning: The speaker is being respectful to the addressee/audience.

The two sentences denote the same semantic content – the proposition that Maria came to the meeting. The difference between them lies in the level of politeness and formality. The presence of *-mas-* in (2a) indicates that the speaker is being deferential to the addressee in communicating the propositional content of the sentence. It is therefore the preferred style of speech when the conversation is taking place in a formal setting. (1a) can be a monologue when there is no need to make reference to the addressee. When there is an addressee, the relationship between the speaker and the addressee is assumed to be close and friendly, or else it is asymmetric in such a way that the speaker is distinctly higher in the social standing than the addressee – a kind of relationship that makes the speaker feel comfortable and secure enough not to be demonstratively respectful to the addressee.

Since the interpretive effect of an utterance honorific marker concerns the speaker’s attitude towards the addressee/audience, its relevance is computed at the utterance level (hence its name). It is therefore natural to regard the utterance honorific marking as a main clause phenomenon, and analyses along these lines have been proposed. Miyagawa (2012), for instance, categorizes the UH marking in Japanese on a par with the allocutive agreement in Basque and analyzes it as an instance of addressee agreement. The presence of an addressee argument is tied to the Speech Act Phrase (SAP), and given that the projection of SAP is primarily limited to the matrix level, the UH marking is also largely a main clause phenomenon. Portner, Pak & Zanuttini (2019) generally

¹ UHs are also called *Addressee(-oriented) Honorifics*. *Teinei-go* is the Japanese term commonly used in the literature.

concur with this view. Comparing UHs with *content-oriented honorifics* (such as subject-oriented honorifics in Japanese), they claim (p.2) that ‘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.’ These authors all acknowledge, however, that UHs in Japanese can be found in some embedded contexts (Miyagawa 2012, Section 7; Portner, Pak & Zanuttini 2019, p.28). Indeed, such observations have been reported by several other authors, such as Tagashira (1973), Harada (1976), Minami (1987), Uchibori (2008), and most recently, Yamada (2019).

In this paper, we closely examine UHs under various embedding environments. In doing so, we compare the three UH markers, namely *-mas-*, which attaches to a verb, and the two varieties of the UH copula *-des-*: *-des^N-* and *-des^A-*, which suffix to a noun and an adjective, respectively. It will be shown that these UH markers behave differently under embedding, and our first objective is to provide descriptive generalizations of the distributional patterns of those UH markers. We further argue that the embeddability of the Japanese UHs is almost exclusively determined by the morpho-syntactic features of the UH markers and the surrounding functional heads. Our proposal is based on the observation that the three UH markers are mapped onto a clear ordering in terms of how rich the conjugational paradigm is. While *-mas-* maintains most of the conjugational patterns of a lexical verb, *-des^N-* shows only a small subset of them. The most extreme is *-des^A-*, which is found to be morphologically invariant. This ordering is directly translated into their syntactic position: *-mas-* is projected in the vP-edge region, as it maintains most of the inflectional patterns of a lexical verb. The UH copulas are inserted in higher positions. Of the two varieties of the copula *-des-*, *-des^A-* is inserted at the highest layer of the CP periphery whereas the position of *-des^N-* is in the IP periphery, interacting with tense morphology. The difference in the syntactic ‘height’ is argued to correspond, at least partially and possibly entirely, to the embeddability contrast among the UH markers. The lowest UH *-mas-* is the most embeddable, the highest *-des^A-* resists most strongly to embedding, and *-des^N-* sits in the middle. There are some intricate micro-variations with *-des^N-*, however, and it leads to the speculation that being tensed and being finite are separate notions in Japanese. The paper ends with some speculative discussion on the notion of ‘honorific concord’ and the problem that complement clauses of attitude verbs present.

2 Embedding Patterns of Utterance Honorific Markers

2.1 Three Types of Utterance Honorific Markers in Japanese

In this section, we briefly introduce the three UH markers in Japanese: *-mas-*, *-des^N-* and *-des^A-*. The basic distributions of these UHs are as follows: (i) *-mas-* is a suffix which attaches to a verb stem, (ii) *-des^N-* is the utterance honorified copula which attaches to nouns and nominal adjectives, and (iii) *-des^A-* is a suffix which attaches to canonical adjectives. Take a look at (3) and (4a,b), which are examples of *-mas-*, *-des^N-* and *-des^A-*, respectively.

- (3) Maria-wa asa hayaku okiru / oki-**masu**.
 Maria-TOP morning early rise.PRES / rise-UH.PRES
 ‘Maria gets up early in the morning.’
- (4) a. Maria-wa supein-jin-da / supein-jin-**desu**.
 Maria-TOP Spain-person-be.plain / Spain-person-**be**.uh
 ‘Maria is a Spaniard.’
- b. Maria-wa yasahii-Ø / yasahii-**desu**.
 Maria-TOP kind-Ø / kind-**be**.UH
 ‘Maria is kind.’

As seen in (3), *-mas-* attaches to the verb stem *oki-* ‘rise’. In (4a), *-des^N-* attaches to a noun *supein-jin* ‘Spaniard’. In (4b), *-des^A-* comes right after an canonical adjective *yasahii*. Here, some might wonder why we make a distinction between *-des^N-* and *-des^A-* though they are morphologically identical. We will provide a clear reason for this in section 2.3, however, and the important observation at this point is that *-des^N-* replaces the copula *-da* while *-des^A-* is directly attached to the adjective.

Before getting into the close examination of embedded UHs, we would like to mention the peculiarity of the ‘quotative’ environment. Unlike other subordinate clauses, a quotative phrase with *-to* can host all the UHs markers above without any restriction. Observe the examples in (5) and (6).

- (5) Maria-wa₁ [pro₁ mai-asa hayaku oki-**masu**]-to it-ta
 Maria-TOP pro every-morning early rise-UH.PRES-COMP say-PAST
 ‘Maria said, “I get up early every morning”.’
- (6) a. Anna-wa [Maria-wa supein-jin-**desu**]-to it-ta .
 Anna-TOP Maria-TOP Spain-person-**be**.UH-COMP say-PAST
 ‘Anna said, “Maria is a Spaniard”.’
- b. Anna-wa [Maria-wa yasahii-**desu**]-to it-ta.
 Anna-TOP Maria-TOP kind-**be**.UH-COMP say-PAST
 ‘Anna said, “Maria is kind”.’

In both (5) and (6), *-to* indicates that the phrase is an direct quote of what Maria/Anna said. In those cases, UH markers can be embedded under *-to* as long as Maria/Anna said so. This fact is actually not surprising because even the strictest main clause phenomena, such as Right Dislocation sentences (cf. Tanaka 2001; Tomioka 2016), can appear in this environment as shown in (7).

- (7) Maria-wa [ashita iku-no, daigaku-ni]-to kii-ta.
 Maria-TOP [tomorrow go-Q, university-LOC]-COMP ask-PAST
 ‘Maria asked, ‘will (you) go (there), to the University?’

In this respect, the quotative environment is quite different from other subordinate clauses which we are interested in.

It is also noteworthy that the quotative environment does not require the root sentence to be marked with an UH marker. As seen in (5) and (6), the matrix verb *it-ta* ‘say-PAST’ stays in a plain form but not in a UH form *ii-mashi-ta* ‘say-UH-PAST’. Again, this is not the case of other embedding environments such as relative clauses or conditionals: the embedded UHs under these subordinate clauses require the matrix verb to be UH form as we will see later. Thus, quotative context is very different from other cases. In the rest of this paper, we focus on the embedded UH in non-quotative environments.

2.2 Embedding of *-mas-*

Among the three UH markers, *-mas-* has attracted the most attention. For instance, Miyagawa (2012) and Yamada (2019) both focus primarily on this UH marker. Its popularity is probably due to the fact that it is the most embeddable of the three. Let us begin with the following three environments: Attitude Complement with *koto* ‘fact’ (Yamada 2019), temporal adjuncts, and relative clauses (Harada 1976).

- (8) Hayaku go-kaifuku-nasai-**masu** koto-o o-inori-shite-ori-masu.
Quickly HON-recover-do.HON-UH fact-ACC HON-pray-do-be.humble-UH
‘I pray for your speedy recovery.’
- (9) Go-touchaku-nasai-**masu** mae-ni o-denwa-o itada-ke-masu-deshou-ka?
HON-arrival-do.HON-UH before-DAT HON-phone-ACC receive-can-UH-MODAL-Q
‘Would you give us a call before you arrive?’
- (10) Senjitsu okutte-itadaki-**mashita** meron, totemo oishiku itadaki-mashita.
the.other.day sent-receive_{humble}-UH.PAST melon very.much delicious consume_{humble}-UH
‘We truly enjoyed the melons that you sent us the other day.’

These examples share one structural property, namely they are embedded clauses under nominal structures.² In these embedded structures, the embedded predicates must be in *rentai-kei*, the adnominal form.³

² Even though *mae* is translated as ‘before’, it is a noun which means ‘prior time’. The majority of temporal adjunct clauses involve similar nominal heads, such as *toki* ‘time’ and *sai* ‘occasion’, meaning ‘when’ and *ato* ‘posterior time’ meaning ‘after’.

³ *Rentai-kei* is one of the conjugational forms. The conjugational paradigm in Japanese is mostly about morphophonemic variations of predicates (verbs and adjectives) and auxiliary verbs (*jodou-shi*), and the variations are based on what suffix follows these elements and/or in what construction they are placed. There are six conjugational forms in Contemporary Japanese: *mizen-kei* the pre-negation form, *ren'you-kei* the continuous/adverbial form, *shuushi-kei* the conclusive form, *rentai-kei* the adnominal form, *katei-kei* the conditional form, and *meirei-kei* the imperative form. In Contemporary Japanese, *shuushi-kei*, the conclusive form, and *rentai-kei*, the adnominal form, are identical except for the copula *-da*. We will return to the matter of the conjugational paradigm in Section 3 and 4.

Additionally, *-mas-* can appear within the gerundive structure with *-te* and two conditional antecedents: *-tara* and *-to*.

- (11) Gorenraku-ga okure-**mashi**-te, moushiwake-gozai-masen-deshita
 report-NOM delay-UH-GERUND, excuse-exist-UH.NEG-UH.PAST
 ‘I sincerely apologize for the delayed communication.’
- (12) a. Go-kaifuku-nasai-**mashi**-tara zehi mata o-koshi-kudasai
 HON-recover-do.HON-UH-COND definitely again HON-come-please
 ‘Please do come back when you have made a recovery.’
- b. Kore-wa mizu-o kuwae-**masu**-to bouchou-itashi-masu.
 this-TOP water-ACC add-UH-and.then expand-do_{humble}-UH
 ‘If you add water to this, it will swell up.’

In the gerundive and the *-tara* conditional structures, the embedded verbs must be in *ren'you-kei*, the continuous (adverbial) form, whereas the *-to* conditional requires the verb to be in *shuushi-kei*, the conclusive form, which is the form used for a dictionary entry.

There are two more environments that are compatible with *-mas-*, *because*-clauses with *node* and *kara* and *although/but* clauses with *ga* and *ke(re)do*.

- (13) Because-clauses
 Watashi-ga yatte-oki-**masu**-kara / -node, mou kaette-mo
 I-NOM do-complete-UH-because / -because already return-even
 ii-desu-yo.
 good-UH-DPART
 ‘You may go home because I can finish it (for you).’
- (14) But/although-clauses
 Ame-ga futte-ki-**mashi-ta**-ga / -kedo, konomama tsuzuke-mashou
 rain-NOM fall-come-UH-PAST-but / -but as.is continue-UH.Exhort
 ‘Although it started raining, shall we keep going?’

The embedded structures compatible with *-mas-* are diverse, and the distribution is quite robust. Compared to the (non-contrastive) topic marker *-wa*, the embedding of *-mas-* is more permissive. For instance, *-wa*-phrases are not allowed in relative clauses or temporal adjuncts. It is not the case, however, that *-mas-* is freely embedded. There are some subordinate structures that do not permit *-mas-*. As noted by Minami (1987), clauses embedded under *nagara/tsutsu* ‘while/during’ cannot have *-mas-*.⁴

⁴ Another environment that *-mas-* cannot seem to appear in is the conditional construction with *-ba*, as discussed in Yamada (2019, 5.2.3.5).

- (15) a. Hon-o yomi-(***mashi**)-nagara, omachi-shite-ori-masu.
 book-ACC read-(UH)-while wait-do-be_{humble}-UH
 ‘(I) will be waiting (for you) while reading a book.’
- b. Sono jikan-wa ofisu-de koohii-o nomi-(***mashi**-){nagara/tsutsu}, shigoto-o
 that time-TOP office-at coffee-ACC drink-(UH)-while, work-ACC
 shite-ori-mashi-ta.
 do-be_{humble}-UH-PAST.
 ‘Regarding that time, I was working in my office drinking a cup of
 coffee.’

When we look at various main clause phenomena under embedding, we often encounter a situation that can be described as either ‘half-empty’ or ‘half-full’: whether something is a main clause phenomenon that can be embedded in some but not all cases or it is not a main clause phenomenon as it can be embedded in some environments. One may consider *-mas-* as one of such instances, but we would rather describe it as ‘nearly but not completely full’. The range of *-mas-* embedding structure is quite wide, and it includes the kinds of embedding environments, such as relative clauses and temporal adjuncts, which are known to be resistant to main clause phenomena.

2.3 Embedding of *-des-*

As briefly described in Section 2.1, there are two variants of the UH copula *-des-*: one attaches to a nominal category (including an adjectival noun), and the other to an adjective. While the two variants are homophonous and look indistinguishable, they should be kept apart. The tables below highlight the relevant differences.

-
- (i) Go-kaifuku *nasai-**mase**-ba / nasare-ba zehi mata o-koshi-kudasai
 HON-recover do.HON-UH-COND / do.HON-COND definitely again HON-come-please
 ‘Please do come back when you have made a recovery.’

Although Yamada uses the form *mase* in a *ba*-conditional, there is an alternative form, namely *masure*. This form is no longer in regular use nowadays, but it can still be recruited in a *ba*-conditional sentence in a very archaic speech style, as in (ii). (Incidentally, there are some online discussions on this issue. One example is found in https://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q1142087506.)

- (ii) Socchokuni moushi-masure-ba, ...
 frankly say_{humble}-UH-COND, ...
 ‘If I may express my humble opinions frankly, ...’

It seems advisable, therefore, not to categorically rule out *ba*-conditionals as impossible embedding structures for *-mas-*.

- (16) Noun: *ame* ‘rain’ Adjectival Noun: *shizuka* ‘quiet’

| | Plain | Honorific | | Plain | Honorific |
|---------|------------------|--------------------|--|----------------------|------------------------|
| Present | <i>ame-da</i> | <i>ame-desu</i> | | <i>shizuka-da</i> | <i>shizuka-desu</i> |
| Past | <i>ame-datta</i> | <i>ame-deshita</i> | | <i>shizuka-datta</i> | <i>shizuka-deshita</i> |

- (17) Adjective *oishii* ‘tasty’

| | Plain | Polite |
|---------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Present | <i>oishii-Ø</i> | <i>oishii-desu</i> |
| Past | <i>oishikatta-Ø</i> | <i>oishikatta-desu</i> |

We often find the description that *-des-* is the UH version of the plain copula *-da*. It is certainly the case for *-des^N-*, the variant that attaches to a nominal category, as shown in (16). Moreover, the copula itself inflects for tense, both in the plain form and in the honorific form. It is a different story for *-des^A-*. As shown in (17), an adjective in the plain form cannot be accompanied by *-da*. An adjective alone appears in the plain form, and it inflects for tense. The UH copula *-des-* is added to an inflected adjective, and its morphological form is invariable.

These differences will turn out to be crucial in our explanation for the embeddability contrasts between the two types of *-des-*, and their significance will be spelled out fully in Section 3. Presently, we believe that separating the two variants of *-des-* is justified, and we will proceed to describe their distributions under embedding.

2.3.1 Embedding of *-des^N-*

The embedded structures that cannot license *-mas-*, such as *-nagara-* and *-tsutsu-*clauses, also fail to embed *-des^N-*, but some of the environments that are compatible with *-mas-* cannot accommodate *-des^N-*. In other words, the embedding structures suitable for *-des^N-* are a proper subset of those that can host *-mas-*.

The following embedded structures can have *-des^N-*: *-te* gerundive, *-tara / -to* conditionals, *because*-clauses, and *although/but*-clauses.

- (18) a. Tsuma-ga amerikajin-**deshi**-te, ie-de-mo eigo-o tsukatte-ori-masu.
 wife-NOM American-be.UH-GERUND, home-LOC-also English-ACC use-be-UH
 ‘My wife being American, we use English at home.’
- b. Raishuu-wa suiyoubi-**deshi**-tara aite-ori-masu-ga...
 Next.week-TOP Wednesday-be.UH-PAST-COND open-be_{humble}-UH-but...
 ‘About next week, if it’s Wednesday, I will be free.’

- c. Kokuseki-ga amerika-**desu**-to, biza-ga iri-masu-ne.
citizenship-NOM America-be.UH-COND, visa-NOM necessary-UH-DPART
'If you are an American citizen, you need a visa.'
- d. Raishuu-no suiyoubi-wa hima-**desu**-kara, zehi kite-kudasai
Next.week-GEN Wednesday-TOP leisure-be.UH-because definitely come-please.
'Because I will be free on Wednesday next week, please come (to see me).'
- e. Toukyou-wa daitokai-**desu**-ga/kedo, sonowarini anzen-desu.
Tokyo-TOP big.city-be.UH-but/but, rather.unexpectedly safe-be.UH
'Tokyo is a big city, but it is safe (rather surprisingly).'

However, the other embedding structures that permit *-mas* do not allow *-des^N*, namely attitude complements with *koto*, temporal adjuncts, and relative clauses.

- (19) a. *Shinseihin-ga daiseikou-**desu**-koto-o o-inori-shite-ori-masu.
new.product-TOP big.success-be.UH-fact-ACC HON-pray-do-be.humble-UH.
'I sincerely hope that your new product will be a big success.'
- b. *Kuruma-ga ojama-**desu**-baai-wa sugu o-moushituke-kudasai.
car-NOM nuisance-be.UH-case-TOP immediately HON-inform.HON-please.
When the car is in your way, please tell us immediately.
- c. *Tanaka-san-o gozonji-**desu**-kata-ni
Tanaka-HON-ACC acquainted-be.UH-person.HON-DAT
go-shoukai-itada-ke-mase-n-ka?
HON-introduction-receive.humble-can-UH-NEG-Q?
'Could you introduce (me/us) to someone who knows Mrs. Tanaka?'

These structures have one feature in common. They are subordinate clauses embedded under nominal structures, and the embedded predicates must be in the adnominal form (*rentai-kei*). Conversely, the embedded clauses that permit *-des^N* require either the continuous form (*ren'yō-kei*) or the conclusive form (*shuushi-kei*).

2.3.2 Embedding of *-des^A*-

The second type of the UH copula, *-des^A*-, is banned in all the embedding clauses that disallow *-des^N*-. Thus, *-nagara*-, *-tsutsu*-clauses, attitude complements with *koto*, temporal adjuncts, and relative clauses do not permit *-des^A*-. The distribution of *-des^A*- is further restricted, as some of the *-des^N*-compatible clauses do not allow *-des^A*-. More concretely, *-te* gerundive and *-tara* / *to* conditionals are not suitable environments for *-des^A*-.

- (20) a. *Kyou-wa isogashii-**deshi**-te, sochira-ni-wa oukagai-deki-mas-en.
Today-TOP busy-be.UH-GERUND, there-LOC-TOP visit_{humble}-can-UH-NEG
'It is such a busy day today, regrettably, so I cannot go over there.'

- b. *Raishuu o-isogashii-**deshi**-tara o-tetsudai-ni ukagai-masu.
 Next.week HON-busy-be.UH-COND HON-assist-DAT go.humble-UH
 ‘If you are busy next week, I will come to help you.’
- c. ???Nedan-ga takai-**desu**-to, koushou-shi-naosu-koto-ni nari-masu.
 Price high-be.UH-COND negotiation-do-repair-fact-DAT become-UH
 ‘If the price is high, we will have to re-negotiate.’

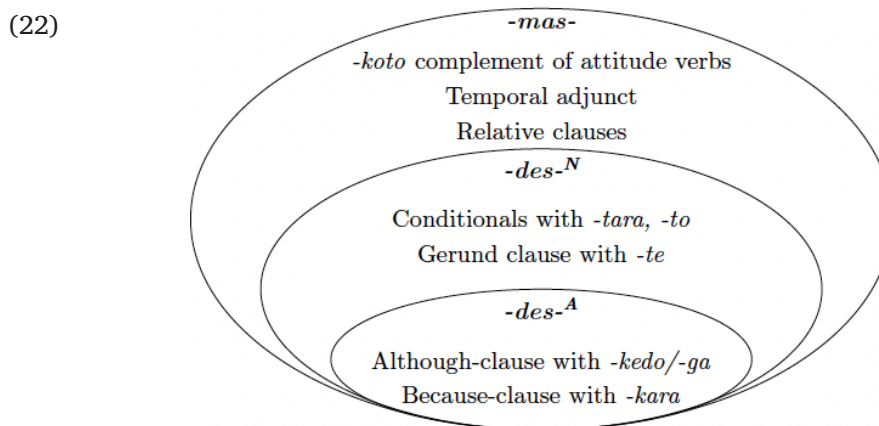
The only embedded structures that can accommodate *-des^A*- are *because*-clauses and *although*-clauses.

- (21) a. Raishuu-wa isogashii-**desu**-kara, saraishuu-ni shite-kudasai
 Next.week-TOP busy-be.UH-because the.week.after.next-DAT make-please
 ‘Because I will be busy next week, please make it to the following week.’
- b. Raishuu-wa isogashii-**desu**-ga/kedo, kanarazu ai-ni iki-masu.
 Next.week-TOP busy-be.UH-but/but, certainly see-DAT go-UH
 ‘Although I will be busy next week, I will definitely come see you.’

To sum up, *-des^A*- shows the most restricted distribution under embedding of the three UH markers.

2.4 Summary

The examination of the embedding possibilities for the three UH markers reveals that their distributional patterns are not just randomly different but show a (proper) subset-superset relation illustrated below.



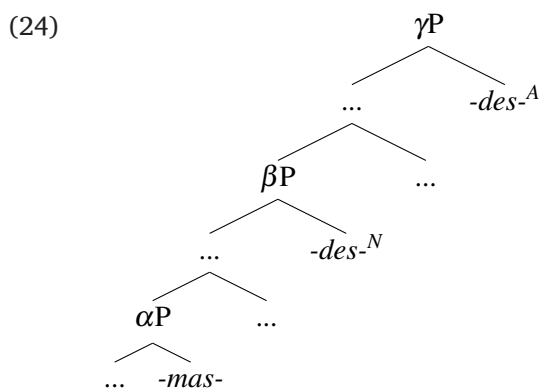
The verbal UH *-mas-* can be embedded in a wide variety of embedded clauses, but only a proper subset of them are compatible with *-des^N*-. Even a smaller proper subset applies to *-des^A*- with *because*- and *although*-clauses being the only compatible structures. In other words, the

embeddability of the UH markers becomes progressively more restricted in the order of *-mas-* → *-des^N-* → *-des^A-*. The pattern is rather surprising since the semantic/pragmatic contributions of UHs do not vary among the three UH markers. They all add such honorific characteristics as politeness, deference, and formality to the utterances.

When a supposed root phenomenon is found within a class of embedded structures, one looks for some ‘root-like’ attribute that is shared by those embedding environments. This kind of solution has been proposed, for instance, for fronting operations under embedding (e.g., Haegeman 2012) and embedded topics with *-wa* in Japanese (e.g. Tomioka 2015). Most recently, Yamada (2019, 5.3.2) makes a proposal within this tradition. He argues, focusing on *-mas-*, that the embedding of the UH marker is tied to the embedding of a speech act in the form of a Speaker Projection (SpP) and an Addressee Projection (AddrP). When embedded, an AddrP licenses an embedded occurrence of *-mas-* via local agreement. While Yamada’s analysis is consistent with the generally accepted view that an agreement relation is established locally, the distributional patterns illustrated above cannot be easily accommodated by such a strategy.⁵ If the presence of an AddrP in a given embedding environment licenses *-mas-*, the same environment should license the other UH markers. Moreover, some of the *-mas-* embedding structures, such as relative clauses, are not known to have strong root-like characteristics, and it is highly unlikely that a relative clause furnishes its own SpP and AddrP. All in all, the common wisdom we have gained from our experiences with embedded root phenomena is not very useful for the problem at hand.

We therefore opt for a dramatically different approach. Our proposal is based on the following steps.

- (23) a. Different embedders target clauses of different sizes.
 b. The three UH markers occupy different syntactic positions at the Spell-Out: *-des^A-* is in the highest position, followed by *-des^N-* and *-mas-*.



⁵ The main empirical phenomenon Yamada’s (2019, 5.3.2) analysis aims to explain is the puzzling contrast between a *koto*-clause and a *to*-clause. The former but not the later can host *-mas-* despite the fact that both of them can be complements of attitude predicates. We will briefly discuss this issue in Section 5.2.

The combination of (23ab) gives the implicational pattern from the proper subset-superset relation without any additional ingredients. If a given embedder targets βP , for instance, it can contain *-des^N*- and *-mas-* but not *-des^A*-. An embedding structure which selects αP can have *-mas-*, but neither *-des^N*- nor *-des^A*- can be included in it.

In what follows, we will closely examine morphosyntactic characteristics of the three UH markers. We first argue that the structural differences depicted in (23b) are justified. Then, we will investigate whether the structure–embeddability correspondence can account for the proper superset-subset embedding pattern. The answer to this question will turn out to be a little more complex and nuanced, and it depends on how the morphosyntax of the adnominal form of a predicate is translated into the formal syntactic framework that this paper is couched within. In our pursuit of a proper analysis, we will make our best effort to identify the precise syntactic locations of the three UH markers, but there may still be some uncertainties and room for debate. We nonetheless believe that our proposal for the overall relative hierarchical relations among the UHs has strong empirical support.⁶

3 Morphosyntax of Utterance Honorific Markers

3.1 Theoretical Assumptions

Before analyzing the morphosyntactic characteristics of the three UH markers in detail, we will spell out some crucial theoretical concepts that we assume in our analysis. First of all, we follow Portner et al. (2019) and assume that there is a functional head that encodes the information concerning the speaker’s attitude and relative social standing to the addressee. In Portner et al. (2019), it is c^0 , and the projection of cP is limited to the root clause level. We generally concur with this view although we will show a few instances of ‘root-like’ subordinate clauses that can embed a cP .

⁶ There are additional embedding structures that show interesting patterns: *-node*-clause, another type of *because*-clause and *-noni*, another type of *although/but*-clause. They can license *-mas-* and *-des^N*- but are degraded (though perhaps not outright ungrammatical) with *-des^A*-. The following are some *-node*-clause examples with the variants of *-des*-.

- (i) a. Kyou-wa ii tenki-desu-node, dekakeru-koto-ni itashi-mash-oo.
 Today-TOP good weather-be.UH-because go.out-Nml-DAT do_{humble}-UH-Propose
 ‘Since it is a nice day today, let us go out, shall we?’
- b.???Kyou-wa tenki-ga ii-desu-node, dekakeru-koto-ni itashi-mash-oo.
 Today-TOP weather-NOM good-be.UH-because go.out-Nml-DAT do_{humble}-UH-Propose
 ‘Since the weather is good today, let us go out, shall we?’

The same pattern is found with *-noni*. They are a little puzzling because *-node* and *-noni* both require the preceding predicate to be in the adnominal form. That fact itself is not surprising, as *no* in these morphemes is likely to be the general nominal head *no* (‘thing/fact’). However, these are practically the only adnominal-requiring environments in which *-des^N*- can appear. We will largely put these embedding structures aside in our analysis and assume that neither *-des^N*- nor *-des^A*- can be in the adnominal form.

(27) Conjugational Paradigms of *-mas-* & *kak-* ‘to write’

| | <i>mas</i> | <i>kak-</i> ‘to write’ |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Mizen-kei (pre-negation form) | <i>mase</i> | <i>kaka</i> |
| Ren’you-kei (continuous form) | <i>mashi</i> | <i>kaki</i> |
| Rentai-kei (adnominal form) | <i>masu</i> | <i>kaku</i> |
| Shuushi-kei (conclusive form) | <i>masu</i> | <i>kaku</i> |
| Katei-kei (conditional form) | ∅ (<i>masure</i>) | <i>kake</i> |
| Meirei-kei (imperative form) | <i>mase, mashi</i> | <i>kake</i> |

The morphological orderings of *-mas-* and other verbal suffixes are also revealing. *-Mas-* always occurs before the negative marker (28a) while it always comes after a voice marker such as causative (28b) or passive (28c). The last two examples also show that *-mas-* inflects for tense with the past tense suffix *-ta* following *-mas-*.

- (28) a. Mayu-wa sake-o nomi-mase-n-∅.
 Mayu-TOP alcohol-ACC drink-UH-NEG-PRES
 ‘Mayu does not drink alcoholic beverages.’
- b. Mayu-wa Ken-ni yasai-o tabe-sase-mashi-ta.
 Mayu-TOP Ken-DAT vegetables-ACC eat-CAUSE-UH-PAST
 ‘Mayu made Ken eat the greens.’
- c. Ken-ga Mayu-ni home-rare-mashi-ta.
 Ken-NOM Mayu-DAT praise-PASS-UH-PAST
 ‘Ken was praised by Mayu.’

These characteristics suggest that *-mas-* is either a functional category that keeps some lexical attributes or a lexical category whose lexical meaning is bleached out to the extent that, semantically speaking, it is more like a functional category. This intuition translates into two possibilities: (i) a *vP* can be iterated, and *-mas-* is a v^0 which is generated as the highest v^0 or (ii) it is a functional category, yet to be named, that selects a *vP*. In either case, it is characterizable as a ‘*vP*-edge’ element. It will be claimed in the following subsection that both versions of *-des-* are projected relatively higher than *-mas-*, which is in accordance with the structure-embeddability correspondence scheme shown earlier. One potential complication is that *-mas-* arguably undergoes a head movement to T^0 , as it inflects for tense. We will revisit this issue later when we discuss the embeddability of *-mas-* and *-des^N*.

3.3 Morphosyntax of *-des^N*- and *-des^A*-

It is not clear exactly how *-des-* entered the vocabulary of Japanese as there are several hypotheses concerning its origin (Odani 2012). While it was observed as early as in the 17th century, it did

not become common among the general population till the early to mid 19th century (Yuzawa 1954). Interestingly, it was almost always with a noun at the beginning, and it started to appear with an adjective in the late 19th century. In Contemporary Japanese, it also is categorized as *jodoushi* along with *-mas-*, but its conjugational paradigms are much more impoverished, as illustrated below.

(29) Conjugation Paradigms of *-des^N*- & *-des^A*-

| | <i>-des^N</i> | <i>-des^A</i> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Mizen-kei (pre-negation form) | ∅ | ∅ |
| Ren'you-kei (continuous form) | <i>-deshi</i> | ∅ |
| Rentai-kei (adnominal form) | ∅ | ∅ |
| Shuushi-kei (conclusive form) | <i>-desu</i> | <i>-desu</i> |
| Katei-kei (conditional form) | ∅ | ∅ |
| Meirei-kei (imperative form) | ∅ | ∅ |

The more impoverished of the two is *-des^A*-, which has only retained the conclusive form. As shown in (17) in Section 2.3, *-des^A*- does not inflect for tense and attaches to an inflected adjective. As a matter of fact, *-des^A*- does not show any morphophonemic variations, and in this sense, it is much more like *shuu-joshi* a 'sentence-final particle'. The other version of the UH copula, *-des^N*-, has one additional form, *ren'you-kei*, the continuous form. It is the form used to combine with the past tense morpheme *ta*, as in *deshi-ta* 'be.UH-PAST', and with the gerundive suffix *te*, as in *deshi-te* 'be.UH-GERUND'.

As demonstrated in (16) and (17) in Section 2.3, *-des^N*- inflects for tense, just as does its plain counterpart *-da*. On the other hand, *-des^A*- attaches to an adjective that inflects for tense. Its morphological form is always *-desu*, and there is no plain/non-honorific version of *-des^A*-. The following sentences exemplify these characteristics.

- (30) a. Sapporo-wa ame-da / dat-ta.
 Sapporo-TOP rain-be.plain.-PRES / be.plain-PAST
 'It is / was raining in Sapporo'.
 b. Sapporo-wa ame-des-u / deshi-ta.
 Sapporo-TOP rain-be.UH-PRES / be.UH-PAST
 'It is / was raining in Sapporo'.
- (31) a. Sapporo-wa samui / samuk-atta / *samui-da / *samui-datta
 Sapporo-TOP cold.PRES / cold-PAST / cold-be-PRES / cold-be.UH-PAST
 'It is / was cold in Sapporo.'

- b. Sapporo-wa samui-desu / samuk-atta desu / *samui-deshi-ta
 Sapporo-TOP cold.-PRES-be.UH / cold-PAST be.plain.UH / cold-be.UH-PAST
 ‘It is / was cold in Sapporo.’

In order to account for the observed patterns, we propose (32).

- (32) a. *-des^A*- is a morphological realization of the UH features. As such, it is directly inserted to the *c⁰* position.
 b. *-des^N*- is a morphological realization of the UH features as well as the information concerning tense. As such, it is inserted to the *T⁰* position, as argued by Yamada (2019, 3.2.3; 2020).

4 Structure – Embeddability Correspondence

4.1 Embedded Utterance Honorifics and Multiple Agree

With the assumption that an UH is licensed via Agree with a *c⁰* with the relevant honorific features, the embedded UH phenomenon can be brought about by either (33a) or (33b).

- (33) a. Contrary to Portner et al (2019), a cP can be embedded, and an embedded UH is licensed via Agree with the local *c⁰*.
 b. An embedded UH is licensed via long-distance multiple Agree with the matrix *c⁰*. The projection of a cP is mainly limited to a root clause, as in Portner et al (2019).

(33a) is the kind of analysis that we have considered but deemed not feasible. While there are a couple of embedded structures that can host all types of UHs, namely *because*- and *although/but*-clauses, the distributional discrepancies among the UH markers cannot be easily accommodated within such an analysis.⁸ The general scheme of structure–embeddability correspondence that we advocate would be served better by a proposal along the lines of (33b).

(33b) is motivated by the fact that an embedded UH cannot be licensed when the matrix predicate lacks the comparable UH marking. In other words, an embedded UH is dependent on the matching UH in the matrix. Descriptively speaking, the embedded UH marking is similar to *concord phenomena*, such as negative concord (Zeijlstra 2004; Giannakidou 2006) and modal concord (Geurts and Huitink 2006; Zeijlstra 2007).⁹

To incorporate this descriptive idea into our proposal, we assume the schematic structure (34) for the licensing of embedded UHs following the Interaction-Satisfaction model of Agree by

⁸ As we will discuss in detail at section 4.2, *because*- and *although/but*-clauses behave differently from the other embedding contexts such as temporal adjuncts or *if*-clauses with respect to UH marking. Based on this observation, we consider that *-keredomo/-ga* and *kara* clauses are more “root clause-like” (i.e., independent from the matrix clause compared to other embedding contexts).

⁹ This idea of the embedded UH marking as a concord phenomenon seemingly contradicts with Yamada’s (2019) observation that the embedded UHs have an effect to enhance the politeness level of entire clause. We will return to this point in Section 5.1.

an appearance of *-des^A* in such a clause is not licensed via a long-distance Agree relation with the matrix cP. It is instead locally licensed by an embedded cP. This conclusion slightly weakens Portner et al's claim, but we believe that it is possible to justify our hypothesis.

First of all, it is worth reiterating the fact that embedded UHs are typically optional. There seem to be no embedding structures that require UHs in them. In this respect, *although/but*-clauses are exceptional. Tagashira (1973) notes that with *-ga / ke(re)do*, the UH form is preferred over the plain form when the matrix clause is also in the polite form.

- (36) a. Chiisai kuni ?**da** / **desu** ga, hitobito-wa yutakana kurashi-o
 small country be_{plain} / be.UH though people-TOP rich life-ACC
 shite-i-masu.
 do-PROG-UH.-PRES
 'Though (this) is a small country, people there live in comfort.'
- b. Chotto ?**dekakeru** / **dekake-masu** kedo, nanika go-iriyō-no
 a.little go.out_{plain} / go.out-UH although, something Honor-necessary-GEN
 mono-ga ari-masu-ka?
 thing-NOM exist-UH-Q
 'I am about to go out now; is there anything I can get for you?'

This fact is consistent with the hypothesis that there is a cP within an *although/but*-clause. A clause embedded by *ga / ke(re)do* is a clausal unit whose honorific marking is or can be independently evaluated, and its honorific marking should match with that of the main clause, just as is the case for two consecutive root sentences spoken by one speaker. When they do not, it often causes a kind of stylistic mismatch similar to the observed effect in (36). For instance, the two sentences in (37) sound 'out of sync' without UH in the first sentence.

- (37) Chotto #**dekakete-kuru** / **dekake-ki-masu**. Nanika go-iriyō-no
 a.little go.out-come_{plain} / go.out-come-UH. something Honor-necessary-GEN
 mono-ga ari-masu-ka?
 thing-NOM exist-UH-Q
 'I am about to go out now. Is there anything I can get for you?'

In contrast, *kara* 'because' does not show as clear a contrast as *ga / ke(re)do* do. In the example below, for instance, it seems that the plain form in the *kara*-clause causes no observable ill-effects even though the matrix clause has *-mas-*.

- (38) Sensei-mo o-kaeri-ni **nat-ta** / **nari-mashi-ta** kara,
 Teacher-also HON-go.home-DAT become-PAST / become-UH-PAST because,
 sorosoro heikai-to itashi-masho-u.
 about.time adjournment-as do_{humble}-UH-Propose
 'Now that the professor has gone home, shall we adjourn?'

In this respect, the *-kara* clause shows a typical UH-embedding structure, in which an embedded UH is merely optional. However, it is possible to detect the independence of UH marking within *kara*-clauses. The effect surfaces under ellipsis. Consider the following example.

- (39) A professor invites a student to dinner. The professor encourages the student to eat more, but the student declines by saying:

Ie ie, mou juubun ?**itadai-ta** / **itadaki-mashi-ta** kara.

No no, already enough eat_{humble}-PAST / eat_{humble}-UH-PAST because

‘No (I respectfully decline your offer) because I have had enough.’

In this example, the embedded verb *itadaku* is the object-honorific (or humble) form of *eat*, and in this particular case, it indicates that the speaker (= the grammatical subject) is respectful to the addressee. Without the UH *-mas-*, however, the sentence does not sound as polite as the context requires. Thus, while the UH marking appears to be merely optional in a *-kara* clause, it becomes a preferred option when the matrix predicate is missing as a result of ellipsis. This is not a typical pattern with embedded UHs in general. For instance, UHs in temporal adjuncts and *-te* gerundives are still optional even when the matrix predicates are unexpressed, as illustrated in (40) and (41).

- (40) A professor asks ‘Have you met my wife?’, and a student answers;

Ee, senjitsu sensei-no otaku-ni o-ukagai **shi-ta** / **shi-mashi-ta**

Yes, the.other.day teacher-GEN house_{honor}-LOC HON-visit do-PAST / do-UH-PAST

toki-ni.

time-at

‘Yes, when I went to your house the other day.’

- (41) A host thanks a distinguished guest for coming;

Kyou-wa o-isogashii-naka wazawaza irashite

Today-TOP HON-busy-in.the.middle taking.trouble come_{honor}

itadai-te / **itadaki-mashi-te** ...

receive_{humble}-GERUND / receive_{humble}-UH-GERUND

‘(I thank you) for taking trouble to come (to see me) when you are so busy.’

The observed pattern with *-kara* clauses can be explained as follows. Usually, the presence of a cP is optional within a *-kara* clause. However, when the matrix predicate is missing due to ellipsis, the speaker is encouraged to use a chance to mark the utterance with an honorific by embedding a cP under *-kara*. There are no such ‘encourage’ effects with other UH-embedding environments, such as cases like (40) and (41) because the choice of using a cP is not available. Such structures do not allow cPs to be embedded, and the question of embedding cPs does not even arise.

The embeddability with *because-* and *although/but-*clauses in Japanese presents an interesting cross-linguistic puzzle. Since the lack of inflectional variation of *-des^A* mimics that of a

sentence-final particle, the embedding patterns of *-des^A*- would be expected to be in sync with what we find with the Korean UH markers, which are all sentence-final particles. However, the Korean UH markers are unembeddable even with the comparable *because*- and *although/but*-clauses in the language.

- (42) a. *cikap-ul kkamppakhay-ss>(*sup)-unikka amwukesto sa-ci*
 wallet-ACC forget-PAST>(*UH)-because anything buy-COMP
mos-hay-ss-supnita/eyo.
 cannot-be-PAST-UH
 ‘Because I forgot my wallet, I could not buy anything.’
- b. *cikap-ul kkamppakhay-ss(*sup)-ese amwukesto sa-ci*
 wallet-ACC forget-PAST>(*UH)-because anything buy-COMP
mos-hay-ss-supnita/eyo.
 cannot-be-PAST-UH
 ‘Because I forgot my wallet, I could not buy anything.’
- (43) *cikap-ul kkamppakhay-ss(*sup)-ciman hayntuphon-ulo sa-ss-supnita/eyo.*
 wallet-ACC forget-PAST(*UH)-but phone-Instrumental buy-PAST-UH
 ‘I forgot my wallet, but I bought things using my phone.’

There are two possible explanations for the cross-linguistic contrast. One hypothesis is that, unlike *because*- and *although/but*-clauses in Japanese, their Korean counterparts cannot embed cPs, which implies that embedded clauses under such embedders cannot be independently evaluated for their honorific markings. We must admit, however, that there does not seem to be any empirical evidence either to support or to refute this hypothesis.

Alternatively, we appeal to some morphosyntactic difference between the UH markers in the two languages. The UH markers in Korean are truly sentence-final particles in the sense that no other particles can follow them. In contrast, Japanese has a set of discourse particles, such as *-yo*, *-ne* and *-na(a)* that can be attached to UH-marked predicates.

- (44) Kore, *oishii-desu -yo / -ne / -naa*
 This tasty-be.UH DPART / DPART / DPART
 ‘This is tasty, (I tell you) / (isn’t it?) / (I’m impressed).’

If a sentence includes any one of these particles, it cannot be embedded even with *because*- and *although/but*-clauses.

- (45) a. **Raishuu-wa isogashii-desu-yo-kara, saraishuu-ni shite-kudasai*
 Next.week-TOP busy-be.UH-DPART-because the.week.after.next-DAT make-please
 ‘Because I will be busy next week, please make it to the following week.’

- b. *Raishuu-wa isogashii-**desu-yo-ga**/kedo, kanarazu ai-ni iki-masu.
 Next.week-TOP busy-be.UH-DPART-but/but, certainly see-DAT go-UH
 ‘Although I will be busy next week, I will definitely come see you.’

Extending Davis’ (2009) analysis of the particle *-yo*, Altinok & Tomioka (2022) argue for the presence of the outermost syntactic projection above Force/Speech Act, which they label Utt (erance)P.¹⁰ Altinok & Tomioka (2022) analyze Right Dislocation as an operation involving a movement to an UttP, the outer most periphery in syntax. As briefly touched upon in Section 2, Right Dislocation is strictly a root phenomenon, and its non-embeddability is a consequence of an UttP being not embeddable. Adopting Altinok and Tomioka’s idea, we speculate that Korean sentences with UH markers are not only cPs but also UttPs. In other words, the UH markers are c^0 elements, but in the absence of any other particles following the UH markers, a cP is always identified as the largest, outer most projection (i.e., UttP) in Korean. In Japanese, on the other hand, a sentence with an UH marker but without a discourse particle can be a cP. Under this hypothesis, *because*-clauses and *although/but* clauses do not have to be dramatically different between Japanese and Korean. The difference is that a ‘bare’ cP is allowed in Japanese but not in Korean. As a consequence, UH markers can be embedded by cP-selecting embedders in Japanese. In Korean, on the other hand, a UH-marked cP always has an additional layer of UttP, and UH markers are banned from embedded structures, just as is the case with discourse particles in Japanese.

4.3 Why the embedding of *-des^N*- is complicated

Recall that we assumed in the previous section that *-des^N*- is inserted at T^0 to support the tense feature located there. It created the three way distinction among the UH markers in terms of their syntactic position: *-mas-* is in the vP -edge region, *-des^N*- in the TP area, and *-des^A*- in the highest position as c^0 . The differences in their syntactic ‘height’ correspond to their embeddability. The most embeddable is *-mas-*, *-des^A*- is barely embeddable, and *-des^N*- sits right in the middle.

However, this picture is not workable in a straightforward way. First of all, *-mas-* also inflects for tense, which indicates that it possibly moves to T^0 (see the discussion in the next subsection). If that is the case, *-mas-* and *-des^N*- are indistinguishable as far as the size of their syntactic constituents. Second, a (finite) TP is embedded in a variety of environments, and if *-des^N*- is at T^0 and the constituent size is all that matters for embedding, we would incorrectly predict that *-des^N*- can be embedded rather freely.

¹⁰ A similar concept, under the label of ‘Discourse Phrase’, has been proposed by Benincà (2001) for hanging topics and De Cat (2007) for the right dislocation construction in French.

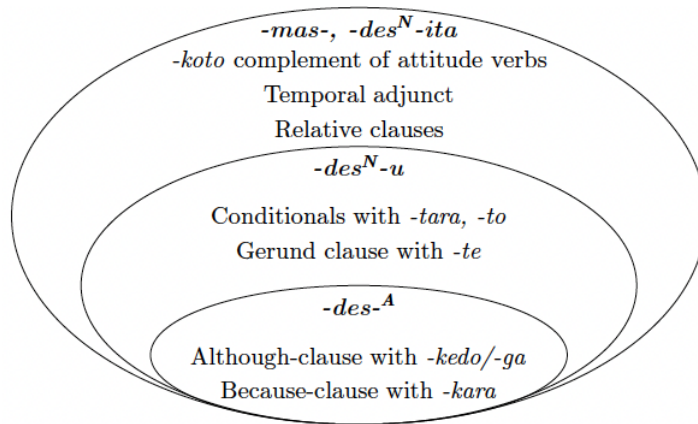
It appears that the main difference between *-mas-* and *-des^N-* comes down to the availability of *rentai-kei*, the adnominal form. The embedding environments that support *-mas-* but not *-des^N-* all require the embedded predicates to be in the adnominal form. This descriptive generalization leads to the following theoretical question: What does the availability of the adnominal form mean in the generative syntactic framework? We have suggested that the impoverished conjugational paradigm of *-des^N-* compared to *-mas-* means that the former is more functional / less lexical than the latter, but such a conjecture does not lead to any concrete solution to the puzzle.

There is another fact that makes the landscape surrounding *-des^N-* even more complicated. Although *-des^N-* in the non-PAST tense (i.e. *-des^N-u*) cannot be contained within embedded clauses under nominal structures, its past tense counterpart, *-deshita*, seems more compatible with such structures. While it is perhaps not as clearly acceptable as *-mas-*, we can definitely construct adequate sentences, as in (46). (46a) involves a *koto* complement of an attitude verb, (46b) is a relative clause example, and (46c) has *-deshita* within a temporal adjunct.

- (46) a. [Kaigi-no junbi-ga fujuubun-**deshi-ta**] koto-o fukaku
Meeting-GEN preparation-NOM inadequate-be.UH-PAST fact-ACC deeply
owabi-moushiage-masu.
apology-say_{humble}-UH
'We sincerely apologize for the fact that our preparation for the meeting was inadequate.'
- b. ?Sono atsumari-ni-wa, [Tanaka-sensei-o gozonji-**deshi-ta**] kata-ga
that gathering-at-TOP [Tanaka-teacher-ACC know_{honor}-UH-PAST] person_{honor}-NOM
takusan irasshai-mashi-ta.
many be.present-UH-PAST
'At the gathering, there were many people who knew Professor Tanaka.'
- c. [Senjitsu sensei-ga gobyouki-**deshi-ta**] sai-ni omimai-ni
the.other.day teacher-NOM sick_{honor}-be.UH-PAST occasion-at visit_{honor}-DAT
ukagai-mashi-ta.
go_{humble}-UH-PAST
'When the professor fell sick the other day, I visited her.'

We therefore need to explain not only the contrast between *-des^N-* with the other two UH markers but also the difference between the past and the non-PAST variants of the same UH marker. As a matter of fact, the past tense of *-des^N-* and *-mas-* pattern very much alike under embedding, and the previous distributional pattern is now slightly revised.

(47)



The first step is to understand the distinction between the conclusive form and the adnominal form. The two forms are morphologically indistinguishable in verbs and adjectives in Contemporary Japanese. In Classical Japanese, however, the two forms were morphologically distinct for adjectives and certain classes of verbs.¹¹

(48) a. Shuushi-kei (Conclusive) & Rentai-kei (Adnominal) of Adjectives in Old Japanese

| | Shuushi-kei (Conclusive) | Rentai-kei (Adnominal) |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>waka-</i> 'young' | <i>waka-shi</i> | <i>waka-ki, waka-karu</i> |
| <i>utsuku-</i> 'beautiful' | <i>utsuku-shi</i> | <i>utsuku-shiki, utsuku-shikaru</i> |

b. Shuushi-kei (Conclusive) & Rentai-kei (Adnominal) of Verbs in Old Japanese

| | Shuushi-kei (Conclusive) | Rentai-kei (Adnominal) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>uram-</i> 'resent' | <i>uram-u</i> | <i>uram-uru</i> |
| <i>oy-</i> 'grow old' | <i>oy-u</i> | <i>oy-uru</i> |
| <i>uk-</i> 'receive' | <i>uk-u</i> | <i>uk-uru</i> |
| <i>in-</i> 'leave' | <i>in-u</i> | <i>in-uru</i> |
| <i>ar-</i> 'exist' | <i>ar-i</i> | <i>a-ru</i> |
| <i>s-</i> 'do' | <i>s-u</i> | <i>s-uru</i> |
| <i>k-</i> 'come' | <i>k-u</i> | <i>k-uru</i> |
| <i>sak-</i> 'bloom' | <i>sak-u</i> | <i>sak-u</i> |
| <i>ker-</i> 'kick' | <i>ker-u</i> | <i>ker-u</i> |

¹¹ According to Teramura (1984), the distinction between the conclusive form and the adnominal form had been lost by the end of Muromachi Period (the mid-late 16th Century).

Even more relevant is the fact that the two past tense morphemes and the three perfect morphemes in Old Japanese all show distinct forms for *shuushi-kei* and *rentai-kei*.

(49) Shuushi-kei (Conclusive) & Rentai-kei (Adnominal) of Past Tense and Perfect Morphemes in Old Japanese

| | Shuushi-kei (Conclusive) | Rentai-kei (Adnominal) |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>-ki</i> Past ¹ | <i>-ki</i> | <i>-shi</i> |
| <i>-keri</i> Past ² | <i>-keri</i> | <i>-keru</i> |
| <i>-tari</i> Perfect ¹ | <i>-tari</i> | <i>-taru</i> |
| <i>-tsu</i> Perfect ² | <i>-tsu</i> | <i>-tsuru</i> |
| <i>-nu</i> Perfect ³ | <i>-nu</i> | <i>-nuru</i> |

Suppose that the conclusive form is the indication that a clause marked with it is a finite clause while the other forms, including the adnominal form, are non-finite. Then, the paradigm above leads to the conclusion that in Old Japanese, being ‘tensed’ and being ‘finite’ were separate notions and were distinct morphological markings because the past tense morphemes have the finite/non-finite contrast. We hypothesize that the distinction has survived and remains relevant in Contemporary Japanese despite the loss of almost all of the morphological differentiations.

This hypothesis is in accordance with the traditional grammatical treatment of the past tense morpheme *-ta* in Contemporary Japanese. This morpheme, historically derived from the perfect morpheme *-tar-* in (49), is categorized as a *jodoushi*, an auxiliary verb, and its conjugational paradigm is believed to include the adnominal form. It takes the form of *-ta*, which is homophonous to the conclusive form. Hence, *-deshi-ta*, the past tense of *-des^N-*, is either in the adnominal form or in the conclusive form whereas the non-PAST counterpart *-des-u* is unambiguously in the conclusive form.¹²

The hypothesis is also on the right track when we take a look at nominal adjectives (aka. adjectival nouns / *na*-adjectives) in Contemporary Japanese. We have stated that Contemporary Japanese has lost almost all distinctions between the adnominal and the conclusive forms. The

¹² The traditional grammar of Japanese regards the final vowel *-u* (and its morphophonemic variety *-ru*) as a part of the conjugational paradigm, rather than a morpheme that marks ‘non-PAST’. While the latter view may be more popular among the generativists, it cannot be easily maintained if we try to translate the conjugational paradigm into the current syntactic framework. Suppose that *-des-u* cannot be in the adnominal form because the form is undefined for the non-PAST tense morpheme *-(r)u*. Then, it would be predicted that all predicates that end with *-(r)u* lack the adnominal form, contrary to fact. Indeed, all lexical verbs can have this ending, and all lexical verbs have their adnominal forms defined (which is *-(r)u*, homophonous to the conclusive form in Contemporary Japanese).

word *almost* is added because the distinction between the two forms is still observable with nominal adjectives.

- (50) a. kono ryokan-wa teien-ga yuumei-da / *-na
 this inn-TOP garden-NOM famous-be_{conclusive} / -be_{adnominal}
 ‘Lit. Speaking of this inn, its garden is famous.’
- b. [teien-ga yuumei-na] ryokan-ni iki-tai
 teien-NOM famous-be_{adnominal} inn-LOC go-want
 ‘(I) want to go to an inn which is famous for its garden.’

(50a) shows that a nominal adjective *yuumei* ‘famous’ requires a be-support at the end of a sentence, and not surprisingly, the copula must be in *shuushi-kei*, the conclusive form. In (50b), on the other hand, *-na*, the adnominal form of *-da*, appears between *yuumei* ‘famous’ and the following NP *ryokan*. Notice that the adnominal clause in (50b) can host a nominative case marked argument. This indicates that there should be at least a TP projection (see Takezawa 1987). Moreover, the semantic interpretation of *-na* is identical to the typical non-PAST interpretation. Since *-na* can never replace *-da* in a root finite clause, we can conclude that a *-na*-clause is a TP that is capable of licensing a nominative case but is nonetheless non-finite.

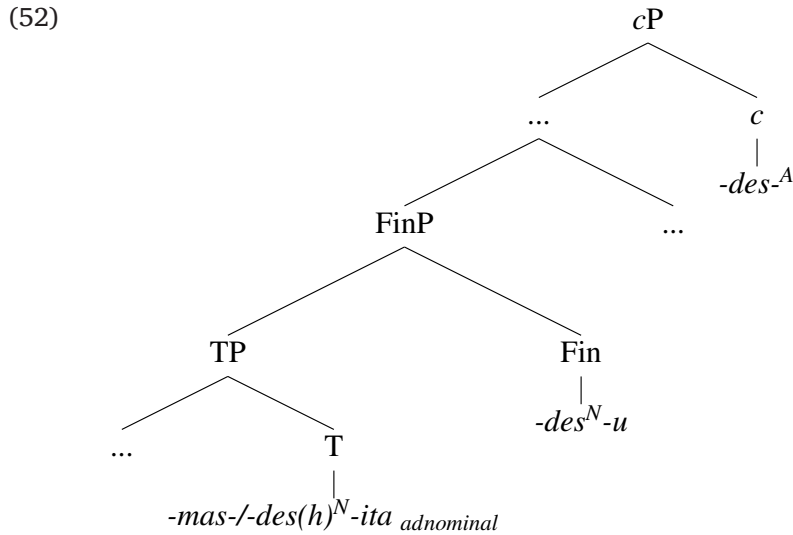
By separating the notion of ‘tensed’ from that of ‘finiteness’, we allow a combination that is often regarded as non-existent, namely a tensed non-finite clause, and we argue that a predicate in the adnominal form is precisely that. Furthermore, we can translate the contrast between the adnominal and the conclusive forms into a matter of syntactic size. In the Cartographic Syntax of Rizzi (1997; 2004), there is a separate functional projection FinP immediately above a TP. Thus, the following hypothesis presents itself:

- (51) A clause in the adnominal form is a TP whereas a clause in the conclusive form is a FinP.

The idea that a relative clause in Japanese is a TP is not new. Saito (1985) and Murasugi (1991) argue that a relative clause in Japanese does not involve an operator movement, and that, as a consequence, the projection of a CP is not necessary. Miyamoto (2014) adopts the TP-hypothesis to analyze the differences between Chinese and Japanese relative clauses. Given that a temporal adjunct clause, such as *toki* ‘(the time) when’, is structurally identical to a relative clause, the TP hypothesis also applies to such a clause. As a *koto* clause clearly lacks an operator movement for its formation, it can also be regarded as a TP.

The hypothesis expressed in (51) makes the embedability paradigm of the Japanese UH markers a consequence of the syntactic size of an embedded clause. The tree diagram below illustrates the structural positions of the UH markers. As discussed earlier, *-mas-* is generated at the vP edge and possibly moves to T^0 . Importantly, *-mas-* has the adnominal form, *mas-u*, the

same as the conclusive form (the table in (27)), and when it is in that form, it stays within a TP. In this regard, its structural position is the same as that of *deshi-ta*, the past tense of *-des^N*.



The discussion in the previous subsection concludes that *ga/ke(re)do* clauses and *kara* clauses can embed *cPs*, and *-des^A* can therefore appear in those embedded environments. According to the hypothesis (51), embedded clauses in the adnominal form are TPs. The remaining UH-embedding environments are at least as large as FinPs but not large enough to be *cPs*. For convenience, we label them as FinPs below. The structure–embeddability correspondence is shown below.

(53)

| Types of Embedded Clauses | Syntactic Size | Embeddable UHs |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|--|
| <i>ga/ke (re)do, kara</i> | <i>cP</i> | All UH markers |
| Other non-adnominal selecting clauses | FinP | All UH except for <i>-des^A</i> |
| <i>Adnominal</i> -selecting clauses | TP | adnominal forms of <i>-mas-</i> , <i>-des (h)^N-ita</i> only |

While the analysis spelled out above captures all the distributional patterns of the UH markers in purely structural terms, we acknowledge that other approaches are also possible. First of all, it should be noted that the proponents of the TP-analysis of Japanese relative clauses contrast TP with the traditional definition of CP, rather than the articulated CP structure in the Cartographic Syntax. Thus, their arguments based on the presence vs. absence of a relative-operator movement are largely irrelevant to the TP–FinP distinction. In other words, it is conceivable to reanalyze the adnominal form as in (54).

- (54) A clause in the adnominal form is a FinP [-finite] or a FinP [Ø] if finiteness is a privative feature.

With (54), the structure–embedability correspondence is only partially responsible for the embedding patterns of the UHs. The syntactic position of *-des^A-* is still relevant as its high syntactic position leads to the most restricted distribution. On the other hand, the remaining contrast is not a matter of structural size but rather a matter of feature (mis)match. An adnominal-embedding structure requires the embedded clause to be marked with [-finite] (or not to be marked with [+finite]). Since *-des^N-u*, the conclusive form of *-des^N-*, is the manifestation of [+finite], it cannot be embedded under such a structure. While the second possibility requires an additional ingredient to augment the structure–embedability correspondence, the crucial factors remain within the morphosyntax of the UH markers.

4.4 Why *-mas-* is most embeddable but not freely embeddable

In the previous subsection, *-mas-* and *-des^{hi}-ta* are bundled together in the discussion since the two UHs show the same embedding patterns. As mentioned in Section 3.2, *-mas-* has the adnominal form (i.e., *-mas-u*), and it is correctly predicted that this UH can appear in an adnominal-selecting embedding clause, regardless of the tense morphology. Recall, however, that there are cases in which *-mas-* cannot be embedded. In Section 2.2, we identify *nagara / tsutsu* ‘while/during’ and *ren’you-kei* (the continuous form) conjunction as such embedding structures. These embedding contexts, which are classified as the smallest embedding units by Mimami (1974) (Type A in his terminology), share two properties: (i) they indicate that the embedded event continuously progresses along with the matrix event and (ii) *nagara / tsutsu* attach to a verb in *ren’you-kei*, the continuous form, which is the same form of the conjunctive structure. In this subsection, we address the question of why *-mas-* cannot be embedded under these embedding markers.

First of all, it is important to be reminded that *-mas-* does have *ren’you-kei*, the continuous form (see the table in (27) in Section 3.2). Therefore, the absence of the form cannot be the reason for the unembeddability in *nagara / tsutsu* clauses and *ren’you-kei* conjunction. One popular view of the continuous form among Japanese linguists (e.g., Takumi 2008; Mihara 2015; Nishiyama 2016) is that it is the smallest inflectional form in the Japanese verbal conjugational paradigm. Mihara (2015), for instance, argues that it roughly corresponds to a *vP*. If *nagara / tsutsu* indeed selects a *vP*, (55) can explain why *-mas-* cannot be embedded by them.

- (55) *-mas-* moves out of a *vP* and to a higher functional head at Spell Out.

It is probably not controversial to suppose that *-mas-* moves to T^0 when it inflects for tense. As discussed extensively by Yamada (2019, 3.3.4), however, T^0 may not always be the final destination for *-mas-*. When combined with the negative morpheme *-en*, *-mas-* is not compatible

with the past tense morpheme *-ta*, and a copula must be inserted to support the past tense marker. The interaction between *-mas-* and negation is an important reason for Yamada's analysis that *-mas-* is in the Neg⁰ position. The statement in (55) leaves the exact Spell-Out location of *-mas-* rather vague, but it does its job in explaining why the most embeddable UH marker is still not freely embeddable. Given the theoretical assumption that a clause in the continuous form is a *vP*, it is predicted that *-mas-* cannot be embedded under *nagara* / *tsutsu*.

It should be noted, however, that some instances of *-mashi-*, the *ren'you-kei* form of *-mas-*, are found in embedded structures. The gerundive conjunction and the *-tara* conditional are among such cases.

- (56) a. Senjitsu Ginza-ni iki-**mashi**-te, sokode guuzen Suzuki-san-ni
 the.other.day Ginza-LOC go-UH-GERUND, there by.chance Suzuki-Mr.-DAT
 o-ai-shi-mashi-ta.
 HON-meet-do-UH-PAST
 'The other day, I went to Ginza and ran into Mr. Suzuki there.'
- b. Go-kaifuku-nasai-**mashi**-tara zehi mata o-koshi-kudasai
 HON-recover-do.HON-UH-COND definitely again HON-come-please
 'Please do come back when you have made a recovery.'

In these examples, *-mashi-* is followed by a suffix, *-te* or *-tara*, whereas *nagara* and *tsutsu* select a 'bare' *ren'you-kei* verb without any additional suffix attached to it. Both the conditional marker *-tara* and the conjunctive *-te* are morphologically related to the past tense *-ta*.¹³ It is therefore natural to assume that these embedding structures are not 'bare' *vPs* but rather some functional projections that can accommodate *-mas-*.

In summary, *-mas-* can be embedded by any embedder that selects a TP or larger. However, it cannot appear in a subordinate clause that is a *vP* since *-mas-* occupies a position higher than a *vP* at Spell Out. The second part is an extended part of the structure–embeddability correspondence. Although these embedded clauses that are *vPs* were not included in the proper subset-superset scheme, structural size matters for them as well: they are too small even for the most embeddable UH *-mas-*.

¹³ The relation can be easily seen when we consider the morphophonemic variation of *-ta*. When the final segment of a verb stem is a voiced consonant, the past tense marker becomes voiced (i.e., *-da*). The same voicing process is observed in the conditional and the conjunctive structures. The following are some examples.

| Verb Stem | Past Tense | Conditional | Conjunctive |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>oyog-</i> 'swim' | <i>oyoi-da</i> | <i>oyoi-dara</i> | <i>oyoi-de</i> |
| <i>manab-</i> 'learn' | <i>manan-da</i> | <i>manan-dara</i> | <i>manan-de</i> |
| <i>yom-</i> 'read' | <i>yon-da</i> | <i>yon-dara</i> | <i>yon-de</i> |

4.5 Summary

The discussion of this section is summarized as follows. We have put the structure–embeddability correspondence to test to see whether and how it can account for the distributional patterns of the UH markers. Our examination reveals that it can, at least partially, explain the embedding facts. The adjectival copula *-des^A-* presents the clearest case in favor of the correspondence. It is generated at *c*⁰ and is only embeddable under a clause that can exceptionally host a *cP*, which is primarily found at the root level. Some *because-* and *although/but-*clauses are such exceptional *cP*-hosting clauses. The nominal copula *-des^N-* is the most challenging because its embedding possibilities are sensitive to the tense marking. The past tense, *-deshi-ta*, is more embeddable than the non-PAST counterpart, *-des-u*, and its embeddability matches that of the verbal UH marker *-mas-*. The difference boils down to the question of whether *rentai-kei*, the adnominal form, of a given UH marker is defined, as the most restrictive embedding environments require the embedded predicates to be in the adnominal form. Potentially, the structure–embeddability correspondence is all that we need to deal with *-des^N-* and *-mas-*, but the success of such an analysis depends on a specific analysis of the adnominal form and the conclusive form. If the two forms lead to different sizes in syntax, no ingredients other than the structure–embeddability correspondence are necessary. If the difference between the two forms is a matter of the [\pm finite] feature, on the other hand, the structure–embeddability correspondence cannot be the whole story and must be augmented with the selection process based on the [\pm finite] feature. While the choice between the two possible approaches is left as an open question for future research, the indeterminacy on this matter does not affect the overall conclusion that the embeddability variation of the Japanese UHs is determined by the morphosyntactic characteristics of the UH markers.

5 Further Issues

5.1 On Honorific Concord

Based on the fact that the embedded UHs are always licensed by the UH marking in the matrix clause, we hypothesize, as briefly mentioned in Section 4.1, that the embedded UH marking in Japanese is a kind of concord phenomenon. One consequence of analogizing the embedded UH marking to a concord phenomenon is that embedded UHs do not make their own semantic contributions. For instance, a negative concord item has no negation meaning of its own. If it did, its presence would reverse the truth condition of the sentence where it appears.

This perspective seemingly contradicts Yamada’s (2019) observation that the embedded UH marking has an enhancement effect. In the example below, the embedded verb can be either with or without the UH marker *-mas-*, and the presence of *-mas-* arguably increases the level of politeness for the whole utterance.

- (57) Hayaku go-kaifuku-nasaru / nasai-masu koto-o o-inori-shite-ori-masu.
 Quickly HON-recover-do.HON / do.HON-UH fact-ACC HON-pray-do-be.humble-UH
 ‘I pray for your speedy recovery.’

While we agree with Yamada’s assessment of some specific cases, the generalization does not seem to us as clear as described by Yamada. First of all, the presence of an embedded UH does not compensate for the understated level of politeness at the matrix level.

- (58) ??Hayaku go-kaifuku-nasai-masu koto-o inot-te-i-masu.
 Quickly HON-recover-do.HON-UH fact-ACC pray-GERUND-be-UH
 ‘I pray for your speedy recovery.’

Unlike (57), this example has an understated honorific marking at the matrix level. It contains only the UH marker *-mas-* without any content-related honorifics such as the object-honorific *o-inori-suru* ‘pray_{humble}’. In this example, the presence of *-mas-* in the embedded clause does not seem to generate the expected enhancement effect. As a matter of fact, (58) sounds rather odd, and the oddity is due to the politeness level of the matrix predicate being not sufficiently high. In general, an embedded UH, especially one that is embedded under a nominal structure like (57)/ (58), should be accompanied by a very high level of honorific marking at the matrix level. If this stylistic requirement is generally operative, the raised honorific marking in the matrix clause, which typically accompanies an embedded UH, may be the main source of the elevated level of politeness.

The uncertainty of enhancement effects is also highlighted by the multiple occurrences of embedded UHs, as in (59).

- (59) Sensei-ga o-kaki-ni nat-ta / nari-mashi-ta go-hon-ga
 Teacher-NOM Honor-write-DAT become-PAST / become-UH-PAST Honor-book-NOM
 shuppan-no hakobi-ni nat-ta / nari-mashi-ta-koto-no
 publish-GEN plan-DAT become-PAST / become-UH-PAST-fact-GEN
 kinen-ni, oiwai-no kai-o hiraki-taku zonji-masu.
 commemoration-DAT, celebration-GEN party-ACC hold-want think-UH
 ‘For the commemoration of the occasion that the book that the professor wrote will now be published, we would like to host a celebration.’

In this example, the speaker can choose to use the honorific marking for both of the embedded verbs, either one of them, or neither of them. If an embedded UH is computed cumulatively, it would be expected that the level of the politeness increases in the order of ‘neither < either < both’. Our intuition is far from clear, as it is not easy to detect a difference among those possible combinations.

If there is some effect of increased politeness with an embedded UH, it may also be derived conversationally. First of all, the UH marking in an embedded clause is not obligatory, and the speaker can choose not to use UH marking for the embedded clause without sacrificing the overall politeness effect as long as the matrix predicate is appropriately honorified. When the speaker has nonetheless chosen to use UH for the embedded clause, there must be a reason for that choice. One reasonable hypothesis is to emphasize the politeness, which leads to the increased level of politeness. The increased level of politeness via Gricean reasoning of this kind is compatible with the concord hypothesis since it is possible to maintain the idea that an embedded UH is devoid of conventional contribution. The inconsistency of added politeness effect of embedded UHs suggests that the addressee does not necessarily interpret an embedded UH as a sign of emphasizing politeness. Another potential reason is to indicate utterance-level politeness in the early stage of speech. Given the fact that Japanese is a head-final language, the crucial UH marking comes last. Since a sentence with an embedded clause can be long, the speaker may choose not to wait till the end to indicate their respect to the addressee and use an UH on the embedded clause, which the Japanese Grammar allows via multiple Agree.

In addition to the pragmatic effect of embedded UHs, we acknowledge that there are a few syntactic issues in connection to the idea of the honorific concord. One problem is that the concord system we are proposing is made possible via a long-distance Agree relation between an embedded UH and the c^0 . This idea goes against the typical understanding that an Agree relation is regulated by a locality condition, such as the Phase Impenetrability Condition of Chomsky (2000). A potential solution is to assume that the multiple Agree mechanism for the Japanese honorific concord occurs locally at every FinP level. A UH-related feature in c^0 reaches to an UH-marker via the presence of a Fin^0 . An embedded UH is licensed via Agree with its local Fin^0 , which itself is in an Agree relationship with the matrix F^0 and c^0 . In other words, an embedded Fin^0 acts as a kind of conduit that passes a UH feature over to its local domain.¹⁴ One important consequence is that this account requires the weaker version of the structure–embeddability correspondence, in which a clause in the adnominal form is not a TP but a non-finite FinP.

The second issue is the direction of Agree. Under Deal's (2015; 2021a; 2021b) model of Agree, concord items can be licensed via downward Agree, which is widely assumed in the literature. On the other hand, Zeijlstra (2008) and his subsequent work (e.g., Miyagawa et al. 2016) argue for an upward Agree operation to account for a negative concord phenomenon in Dutch. Though we followed Deal's model in this paper, we should note that both analyses are

¹⁴ Incidentally, the honorific licensing at the FinP region has been explored for other languages. Baker & Alok (2019) propose, for instance, that the speaker and the addressee arguments sit in FinP projection. In their analysis, however, an embedded FinP that licenses a UH is not simply a channel of a feature. It has its own speaker and addressee arguments, which licenses embedded UHs.

compatible with the embedded UHs in Japanese. Thus, further research is necessary for the problem of the direction of Agree, and the future research on the UH embedding phenomena may provide an interesting discussion for this problem.

5.2 Complement Clauses of Attitude Verbs

Another puzzle of embedding UHs is a complement clause of attitude verbs with *-to*. At the onset of the paper, we mentioned that a complement clause with the complementizer *-to* can embed UHs if the embedded clauses are direct quotations. So far we have said nothing of non-quotative attitude complements, and they are rather problematic. Though complements of attitude predicates are often more permissive of main clause phenomena than some of the other embedding environments, such as conditionals or relative clauses, none of the UH markers can be embedded within a complement clause with *-to*.¹⁵ (60a), (60b) and (60c) below show the embedding of *-mas-*, *-des^N-* and *-des^A-*, respectively.

- (60) a. [Hayaku go-kaifuku nasa-ru / *nasai-**masu**] to shinjite-ori-**masu**.
 quickly HON-recovery do.HON / do.HON-UH COMP believe-do-be_{humble}-UH
 ‘I pray for your quick recovery.’
- b. [kaigi-wa raishuu-no-suiyoubi-da / *-**desu**] to, zonzite-ori-**masu**.
 meeting-TOP next.week-GEN-Wednesday-be / be.UH C know-be_{humble}-UH
 ‘I know that the meeting will be held on Wednesday next week.’
- c. [senshuu-wa o-isogashi-katta-Ø / *-**desu**] to, ukagatte-ori-**masu**.
 last.week-TOP HON-busy-PAST-Ø / -UH C hear_{humble}-be_{humble}-UH
 ‘I heard that you were busy last week.’

The restriction is only on the predicate to which *to* attaches, and as long as the *to*-adjacent predicate is in the plain form, the complement clause itself can contain an UH, as shown below.

- (61) Watakushi-wa [sensei-ga o-kaki-ni nari-**mashi-ta** go-hon-o
 I_{formal}-TOP [teacher-NOM Honor-write-DAT become-UH-PAST Honor-book-ACC
 zehi yom-ase-te itadaki-tai>(***desu**)-to]
 definitely read-Cause-GERUND receive_{humble}-want-(be.UH)-COMP]
 omot-te-ori-masu.
 think-GERUND-be_{humble}-UH
 (Talking to a professor) ‘I think that I would definitely like to read the book you
 have written.’

¹⁵ As mentioned earlier, the peculiarities of *-to* complement clauses are discussed extensively in Yamada (2019, 5.3.2), who attempts to connect the lack of *-mas-* embedding in a *-to* complement clause to the absence of AddrP in it. Since we are pursuing a different path for the UH embedding with a different set of data, we will not review his analysis.

As briefly touched upon in section 6.1, the lack of minimality effect may be solved by assuming that the plain form does not have any relevant honorific features so that it can be ‘skipped over’ in establishing an Agree relation. However, it remains unresolved why the *to*-adjacent predicate is the only one that must remain in the plain form within an attitude complement.

An interrogative complement of an attitude verb largely patterns with a *-to* complement clause.

- (62) a. *[Ashita doko-ni mairi-**masu**-ka] narubeku hayaku o-tsutae-itashi-masu
tomorrow where-DAT go_{humble}-UH-Q as.possible early Honor-inform-do._{humble}-UH
‘I will inform you as soon as possible where (I) will go tomorrow.’
- b. *Watashi-wa [Ken-ga nansai-**desu**-ka] tazune-mashi-ta
I-TOP Ken-NOM what.age-Cop.UH-Q ask-try-UH-PAST
‘I asked how old Ken is.’
- c. *Watashi-ga buchou-ni [konshuu o-isogashii-**desu**-ka(dooka)] kakuninshi-mashi-ta
I-TOP boss-DAT this.week HON-busy-UH-Q check-UH-PAST
‘It is I that checked with my boss whether he is busy this week.’

Adjacency is critical with interrogative clauses as well. Only the predicate adjacent to the Q-particle *-ka* must be in the plain form. The clause itself can contain a phrase that has an UH.

- (63) Sensei-ga o-kaki-ni nari-**mashi**-ta go-hon-ga itsu shuppan
Teacher-NOM Honor-write-DAT become-UH-PAST Honor-book-NOM when publish
sare-ru (*sare-**masu**) ka, gozonji-no kara-wa irasshai-masu-ka?
do.Pass-PRES (do.Pass-UH) Q knowing_{honor}-GEN person-TOP exist_{honor}-UH-Q
‘Is there anyone who knows when the book the professor wrote will be published?’

Interestingly, however, embedded interrogative clauses seem more amenable in terms of embedding UHs. When the clause becomes a locus of negation, for instance, the judgment improves.

- (64) a. ?[Watakushidomo-ni o-kotae-deki-**masu**-kadooka] wakari-mase-n-ga...
we_{humble}-DAT HON-answer-can-UH-whether know-UH-NEG-but
‘(Though) we are not sure whether we can answer your question.’
- b. [Musuko-ga doko-de nani-o shite-ori-**masu**-ka]-wa, watashitachi-ni-mo
son-NOM where-at what-ACC do-be_{humble}-UH-Q-TOP we-DAT-even
wakar-anai-node-gozai-masu
know-NEG-because-be_{humble}-UH
‘We ourselves aren’t sure what our son is doing where.’

We acknowledge that attitude complements present an intriguing puzzle to which we are not prepared to give even an speculative answer.

6 Conclusion

Since UHs express the speaker's attitude towards the addressee/audience in all languages where the UH system is found, it is rather puzzling why there are cross-linguistic variations in terms of their embeddability. We address this issue by examining the embedding patterns of the three UH markers in Japanese. While their semantic/pragmatic import is the same, they show vastly different distributional properties under embedding. Moreover, the variability has an 'implicational' pattern in which the embedding becomes progressively more restricted in the order of (i) *-mas-/deshi^N-ta* (the past tense of *-des^N-*), (ii) *des^N-u* (the non-PAST tense of *-des^N-*), and (iii) *-des^A-*. We have identified the root of the variation in the morphosyntactic attributes of those UH markers. Due to their categorical and inflectional differences, they are placed at different locations in syntax, and we have explored the hypothesis that their syntactic height corresponds to the degree of embeddability. The higher the UH marker is, the less embeddable it becomes, and we have attempted to theorize this correspondence.

The structure–embeddability correspondence is, for the most part, successful in accounting for the embedding patterns of the UH markers. It is possible that the correspondence is all that is necessary to account for the subset-superset relations among the UH-embedding structures. However, we leave some issues unresolved, such as the morphosyntactic analysis of the conjugational forms. We hypothesize that being tensed and being finite are separate concepts in Japanese, but the main sticking point is the question of whether the difference leads to different syntactic phrases or different feature compositions. A decisive answer to this question would be most welcome, but even without it, the main theoretical point of the paper still stands: the morphosyntactic properties of the UH markers determine their embeddability in Japanese.

The proposed account introduces a new concept of honorific concord. With this idea, Portner et al's (2019) proposal of *cP* remains largely intact. The presence of an embedded UH does not mean that a local *cP* is available in the embedded clause. While there may be some exceptional cases where a *cP* is embedded, as we claim for *because-* and *although/but-*clauses in Japanese, it is possible to maintain the thesis that the licensing head of UHs is always at the root level. We believe that the honorific concord hypothesis has many virtues, but there is still more work to be done to establish it more firmly. We have so far made only casual comparison with other concord phenomena and their theoretical explanations, and more careful and rigorous examination would be highly beneficial. It is also necessary to have systematic investigation of the increased politeness with embedded UHs. Particularly useful would be some experimental studies of this issue.

Abbreviations

ACC = accusative, CAUS = causative, COMP = complementizer, COND = conditional, DAT = dative, DPART = discourse particle, GEN = genitive, GERUND = gerundive, HON = honorific, LOC = locative, NOM = nominative, PAST = past tense, PRES = present tense, PROG = progressive, Q = question marker, UH = utterance honorific

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, we would thank the editors, Miok Pak, Paul Porter and Raffaella Zanuttini for inviting us to this exciting volume. They provided us with comments and suggestions as well as practical advice. We are also grateful to the three anonymous reviewers, who read the manuscript carefully and gave us a number of critical but helpful comments. Parts of this article were presented in spring 2021 at *Syntax-Semantics Lab* at the University of Delaware and *Workshop on Recursion across Languages* at the University of Bucharest and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. We benefited greatly from the discussion we had with the audiences at those occasions. Special thanks go to Amanda Payne for editorial assistance. All the remaining errors and shortcomings are our own.

Competing Interests

The authors have no competing interests to declare.

References

- Altinok, Dursun & Tomioka, Satoshi. 2022. Right dislocation as an utterance-edge phenomenon. Paper presented at Osaka University, July 2, 2022.
- Baker, Mark C & Alok, Deepak. 2019. On the syntax of addressee agreement and indexical shift in magahi. In *Annual meeting of the linguistic society of America*, New York, NY.
- Benincà, Paola. 2001. The position of topic and focus in the left periphery. *Current studies in Italian syntax. Essays offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, 39–64. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9780585473949_005
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework (mitopl 15). *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89–155.
- Davis, Christopher. 2009. Decisions, dynamics and the Japanese particle *yo*. *Journal of semantics* 26(4). 329–366. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jos/ffp007>
- De Cat, Cécile. 2007. French dislocation without movement. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 25(3). 485–534. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-007-9023-z>
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2015. Interaction and satisfaction in ϕ -agreement. In *Handout of talk presented at interaction of grammatical building blocks colloquium*, Universität Leipzig.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2021a. Interaction, satisfaction, and the PCC. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 1–80. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1162/ling_a_00455
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2021b. Negative concord as downward agree. *Lingbuzz/006344*.

- Geurts, Bart & Huitink, Janneke. 2006. Modal concord. *Concord phenomena and the syntax semantics interface*, 15–20.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2006. N-words and negative concord. *The Blackwell companion to syntax* 3. 327–391. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996591.ch45>
- Grimshaw, Jane. 2000. Locality and extended projection. *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series* 4. 115–134. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.197.07gri>
- Grimshaw, Jane. 2005. Extended projection. In Grimshaw, Jane (ed.), *Words and structure*, 1–73. Stanford: CSLI. Originally circulated as a manuscript in 1991.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2012. *Adverbial clauses, main clause phenomena, and composition of the left periphery: The cartography of syntactic structures, volume 8*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199858774.001.0001>
- Harada, Shin-Ichi. 1976. Honorifics. In *Japanese generative grammar*, 499–561. Brill. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004368835_013
- Ishii, Keita. 2020. On embeddability of mas. Unpublished manuscript, University of Delaware.
- McCready, Elin. 2019. *The semantics and pragmatics of honorification: Register and social meaning*, vol. 11. USA: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198821366.001.0001>
- Mihara, Kenichi. 2015. *Nihongo-no katsuyoo genshoo (the verbal conjugation phenomena in japanese)*. Hitsuji Shoboo.
- Mimami, Fujio. 1974. *Gendai nihongo-no koozoo (the structure of contemporary japanese)*. Taishuukan Shoten.
- Minami, Fujio. 1987. *Keigo (honorifics)*. Iwanami-Shoten.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in the main clause. In Aelbrecht, Lobka & Haegeman, Liliane & Nye, Rachel (eds.), *Main clause phenomena: New horizons*, 79–111. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.190.04miy>
- Miyagawa, Shigeru & Nakanishi, Nobuaki & Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2016. Negative sensitive items and the discourse-configurational nature of Japanese. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.6>
- Miyamoto, Yoichi. 2014. On Chinese and Japanese relative clauses and NP-elipsis. In Saito, Mamoru (ed.), *Japanese syntax in comparative perspective*. Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199945207.003.0003>
- Murasugi, Keiko. 1991. *Noun phrases in Japanese and English: A study in syntax, learnability and acquisition*. University of Connecticut dissertation. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/jjl-1991-0110>
- Nishiyama, Kunio. 2016. The theoretical status of ren'you (stem) in Japanese verbal morphology. *Morphology*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11525-016-9280-9>
- Odani, Masanori. 2012. “Kakanai desu” to “Kakimasen” (Two ways to express “I don’t write”). In *Nihonbungaku shiyō*, 32–44. Hosei University.
- Portner, Paul & Pak, Miok & Zanuttini, Raffaella. 2019. The speaker-addressee relation at the syntax-semantics interface. *Language* 95(1). 1–36. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2019.0008>

- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Haegeman, Liliane (ed.), *Elements of grammar*, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2004. On the cartography of Syntactic Structures. In Rizzi, Luigi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP*, 3–15. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Saito, Mamoru. 1985. *Some asymmetries in Japanese and their theoretical implications*. NA Cambridge dissertation.
- Tagashira, Yoshiko. 1973. Polite forms in Japanese'. *CLS Parasession You Take the High Node and I'll Take the Low Node* 121. 134.
- Tagawa, Takumi. 2008. *Bunsan-keitairon-ni-yoru dooshi-no-katsuyoo to gokeisei-no kenkyuu (distributed morphology approach to the verbal conjugation and word formation in Japanese)*: Tsukuba University dissertation.
- Takezawa, Koichi. 1987. *A configurational approach to Japanese case-marking*: PhD dissertation, University of Washington dissertation.
- Tanaka, Hidekazu. 2001. Right-dislocation as scrambling. *Journal of Linguistics* 37. 551–579. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226701001049>
- Teramura, Hideo. 1984. *Nihongo no shintakusu to imi (Japanese syntax and semantics)*. Tokyo, Japan: Kuroshio shuppan.
- Tomioka, Satoshi. 2015. Embedded *wa*-phrases, predication, and judgment theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 33. 267–305. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-014-9258-4>
- Tomioka, Satoshi. 2016. Information structure in Japanese. In Féry, Caroline & Ishihara, Shinichiro (eds.), *The Handbook of Information Structure*, 753–773. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199642670.013.42>
- Uchibori, Asako. 2008. A short note on Japanese politeness verb -des/mas in embedded contexts. In *Scientific approaches to language no.7*, 103–122. Kanda University of Foreign Studies.
- Yamada, Akitaka. 2019. *The syntax, semantics and pragmatics of japanese addressee-honorific markers*. Georgetown University dissertation.
- Yamada, Akitaka. 2020. Do-support and be-support as defective movements. In Ömer Eren, Sam Gray Chi-Dat Lam (Daniel) Aurora Martinez Del Rio, Asimina Giannoula (ed.), *Proceedings of CLS* 55. 435–450. University of Chicago.
- Yuzawa, Kokichiro. 1954. *Edo-kotoba no kenkyu (a study of language of edo period)*. Tokyo, Japan: Meiji Shoin.
- Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2004. *Sentential negation and negative concord*. Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.
- Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2007. Modal concord. *Semantics and linguistic theory* 17. 317–332. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3765/salt.v17i0.2961>
- Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2008. Negative concord is a syntactic agreement. Unpublished manuscript, University of Amsterdam.

