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A comparative syntax of the formal politeness markers in Japanese and Korean: *-Mas/-Des* and *-(Su)pni*

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Abstract: Taking Miyagawa's (2022. *Syntax in the treetops*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press) discussion as a point of departure, I examine the properties of the formal politeness markers in Japanese and Korean, namely, *-mas/-des* and *-(su)pni*. Besides being markers of formal politeness (or allocutive agreement), these elements are parallel in that they are all limited to Emonds' (1970. *Root and structure-preserving transformations*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT) root contexts and are able to license special interrogative particles, which according to Miyagawa (2022. *Syntax in the treetops*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press) is a consequence of their head-to-head ϕ -feature movement. In addition to the systematic similarities, there is an important difference concerning their base-generation in TP-internal and TP-external positions, which I suggest reflects a general pattern of grammaticalization in these languages. In addition to providing support for Miyagawa's analysis, the discussion in this paper also shows that aspects of the behavior of Japanese and Korean, such as the formal politeness markers *-mas/-des* and *-(su)pni*, can generally be better understood when they are analyzed side-by-side rather than in isolation.

Keywords: formal politeness marker; speech style; allocutive agreement; comparative syntax; syntax-pragmatics interface; cartography

1 Introduction

Several researchers discuss phenomena where the form of agreement encodes some aspects of the relation between speaker and addressee such as levels of politeness and/or formality. In the literature, this phenomenon is called allocutive agreement (Alok 2020; Antonov 2015; Ceong and Saxon 2020; Kaur and Yamada 2022; Miyagawa 2012; Miyagawa 2017; Miyagawa 2022; Oyharçabal 1993; Portner et al. 2019; Portner

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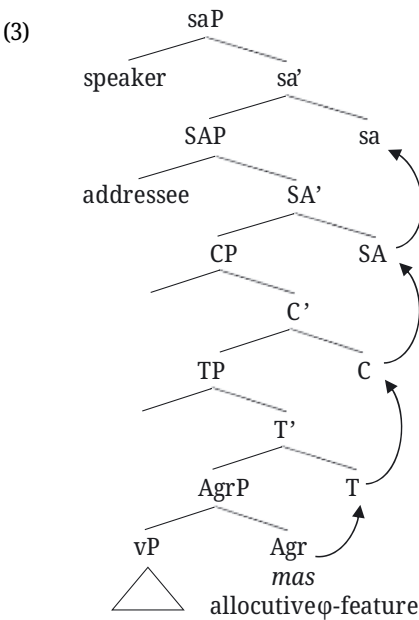
et al. 2022; Yamada 2019 among others). In his recent work, Miyagawa (2022) examines the properties of the formal politeness markers *-mas* and *-des* in Japanese, as illustrated in (1) and (2), arguing that these elements instantiate allocutive agreement.

- (1) a. Hanako-wa piza-o tabe-ru.
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PRS¹
 ‘Hanako will eat pizza.’ (colloquial)
- b. Hanako-wa piza-o tabe-**mas**-u.
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-PRS
 ‘Hanako will eat pizza.’ (formal)
 (Miyagawa 2022: 39)
- (2) a. Hanako-wa sensee-da.
 H.-TOP teacher-COP
 ‘Hanako is a teacher.’ (colloquial)
- b. Hanako-wa sensee-**des**-u.
 H.-TOP teacher-DES-PRS
 ‘Hanako is a teacher.’ (formal)
 (Miyagawa 2022: 64)

Miyagawa argues that the allocutive ϕ -feature of *-mas* and *-des* has to undergo head-to-head feature movement to a special functional projection at the top of the clause, namely, the SAP,² to have the entire utterance in its scope and mark it as being in the formal registry. More specifically, the allocutive ϕ -feature of *-mas* and *-des* is assumed to move up to the *sa* head, where it c-commands the addressee element and have its ϕ -feature valued.

¹ List of abbreviations in the glosses: ACC (accusative), COMP (complementizer), COP (copula), DAT (dative), DEC (declarative), EPST (epistemic), EVID (evidential), FOR (formal), HON (honorification), INF (infinitive), MOD (modal), NEG (negation), NML (nominalizer), NOM (nominative), OH (object honorification), POL (politeness), PRS (present), PST (past), Q (interrogative), SH (subject honorification), SSP (speech style particle), TOP (topic).

² In the literature, the label SAP usually stands for the Speech Act Phrase (Haegeman and Hill 2013; Hill 2007; Speas and Tenny 2003; see also Ross 1970). The SAP is further assumed to involve a shell structure comprising the higher *saP* and the lower SAP, which are assumed to be responsible for encoding certain properties of the speaker and the addressee, respectively. Miyagawa (2017, 2022) suggests that the label should more appropriately stand for the Speaker-Addressee Phrase (also abbreviated as SAP) and adopts the labels *SpkP* (speaker phrase) and *AddrP* (addressee phrase) for *saP* and SAP, respectively. For arguments for the existence of the SAP, see Miyagawa (2022) and references therein.



As evidence for the head-to-head feature movement, Miyagawa points out that certain heads are only licensed in the presence of *-mas* or *-des*. For instance, the occurrence of the interrogative particle *ka* depends on the occurrence of *-mas* and *-des*, as shown in (4) and (5).

- (4) a. Dare-ga ki-mas-u ka?
who-NOM come-MAS-PRS Q
'Who will come?'
b. *Dare-ga kuru ka?
who-NOM come Q
'Who will come?'
(Miyagawa 2022: 41)
- (5) a. Dare-ga sensee-des-u ka?
who-NOM teacher-DES-PRS Q
'Who is a teacher?'
b. *Dare-ga sensee-da ka?
who-NOM teacher-COP Q
'Who is a teacher?'
(Miyagawa 2022: 41)

Similarly, in (6a), negation takes the form *-en* unlike the regular form in (6b). In fact, this is the only environment in which negation is realized as *-en*, i.e., the form *-en* only shows up in the presence of the formal politeness marker *-mas*.

- (6) a. Hanako-wa piza-o tabe-mas-en.
 Hanako-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-NEG
 ‘Hanako will not eat_{FORMAL} pizza.’
 b. Taroo-wa piza-o tabe-na-i.
 Taro-TOP pizza-ACC eat-NEG-PRS
 ‘Taro doesn’t eat pizza.’
 (Miyagawa 2022: 52–53)

Furthermore, once *-mas* is inserted, all relevant heads must undergo allomorphy for politeness.

- (7) Nimotu-wa todoki-mas-en-desita/*datta desyoo/*daroo ka?
 package-TOP arrive-MAS-NEG-COP.PST INTERJECTION Q
 ‘Didn’t the package arrive?’

Miyagawa argues that the properties in (4)–(7) are all due to the fact that the allocutive ϕ -feature of *-mas* and *-des* moves up through all head positions on its way to the SAP, licensing the relevant elements.

Against this background, I examine in this paper the Korean counterparts of *-mas* and *-des* – namely, *-supnita* and *-ipnita*, shown in (8).

- (8) a. Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-supnita. (Cf. (1b))
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-SUPNITA
 ‘Hana ate pizza.’ (formal)
 b. Hana-nun sensayngnim-ipnita. (Cf. (2b))
 H.-TOP teacher-IPNITA
 ‘Hanako is a teacher.’ (formal)

Similarly to *-mas* and *-des*, *-supnita* and *-ipnita* are markers of formal politeness. They are normally inappropriate when speaking to one’s own child or close friend. I show below that there are several aspects where the behavior of *-supnita* and *-ipnita* can be better understood when they are analyzed in comparison with *-mas* and *-des* than when they are examined in isolation. Of course, the same goes for *-mas* and *-des*, i.e., some aspects of Miyagawa’s analysis of *-mas* and *-des* receive further support from the behavior of *-supnita* and *-ipnita*. I also point out a potentially general parametric difference in grammaticalization in Japanese and Korean that can only be revealed when these languages are examined together. The discussion in this paper clearly illustrates the merits of conducting comparative research on Japanese

and Korean, languages that often show systematic similarities and differences, providing an ideal ground for uncovering deeper properties of human language.

2 Basic properties of the formal politeness markers in Korean

As is well-known, Korean is an agglutinative language. Many suffixes, usually assumed to be independent functional heads, attach to the verb stem. In Korean grammar, these verbal suffixes are referred to as *emi* ‘word ending’, often translated simply as “ending”. The verb stem (or root) in Korean is always morphologically dependent and can never be used in isolation without an appropriate ending. In particular, Kang (1988) introduces the notion of morphological closure, meaning that a verb stem has to combine with an appropriate ending to close it off to be a well-formed independent word. For instance, in (9), several endings are attached to the verb stem *o-* ‘come’. Among the endings, the last element, i.e., the declarative clause type marker *-ta*, is classified as a “word-final ending” in Korean grammar literally because of its position within the word. Here, *-ta* also functions as a “morphological closer”. Basically, any element that is used as a word-final ending on a verb also functions as a morphological closer. Other elements that come between the verb stem and the word-final ending, such as the honorification marker *-si* and the past tense marker *-ess* in (9), are classified as “pre-final endings”. From a morphological point of view, the word-final ending is the only obligatory element among all the endings that can attach to a verb stem.

- (9) Sensayngnim-kkeyse o-(si)-(ess)-*(ta).
 teacher-NOM.HON come-HON-PST-DEC
 ‘The teacher has arrived.’

With this basic knowledge of Korean verbal morphology and the terminology for it, let us look into the basic properties of the formal politeness endings *-supnita* and *-ipnita* below.

2.1 *-Supnita*

As mentioned above, *-supnita* is a formal politeness ending in Korean, corresponding to *-mas* in Japanese. Thus, an utterance like (10b) is used in formal and polite situations. Normally, speakers would not utter (10b) to their own children or close friends, while (10a) is perfectly fine in those situations.

- (10) a. Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-ta. (Cf. (1))
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-DEC
 ‘Hana ate pizza.’ (colloquial)
- b. Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-supnita.
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-FOR.DEC
 ‘Hana ate pizza.’ (formal)

In the literature, researchers often treat *-supnita* as a monomorphemic portmanteau element, assuming that it indicates the formal polite speech style as well as the declarative clause type at the same time (Brown 2015; Hong 2022; Park 2019; Portner et al. 2019, 2022, among others). I suspect that might be because the internal structure of this element happens not to be crucial for their discussion at hand. But, *-supnita* actually consists of two elements, i.e., the pre-final ending *-supni* and the word-final ending *-ta* (see also Ceong and Saxon 2020 for arguments to this effect).³ Thus, the internal structure of the verb in (10b) should be more precisely represented as in (11). (Henceforth, I gloss *-supni* and related elements as *ssp* ‘speech style particle’.)

- (11) mek-ess-supni-ta
 eat-PST-SSP-DEC

Here, the word-final ending *-ta* is used productively as a declarative clause type marker, as already shown in (9) and (10a). As expected, in an interrogative sentence, a different clause type marker, namely, *-kka*, attaches to *-supni*, which supports the decomposition.

³ Sohn (1999: 235) suggests that *-supni* can also be decomposed into the honorification marker *-sup* and the indicative mood marker *-ni*. He argues that the availability of the form *-supti* supports this claim, arguing that it can be decomposed into *-sup* and *-ti*, the latter of which he assumes is a retrospective mood marker. (The main function of *-supti* is to report what the speaker saw or experienced for himself.) While this might sound plausible in some respect, I do not adopt this view here, because there is no evidence that such decomposition is possible in Contemporary Korean. First of all, the alleged endings *-ni* and *-ti* never occur independently of *-sup* (and vice versa). Whatever etymological support is available for such decomposition, it is not available for the learners of Contemporary Korean. Second, *-supni* and *-supti* do not express the same type of speech style/politeness. In fact, using *-supti* in situations where one would use *-supni* will be considered highly inappropriate or rude. This is unexpected on the decomposition view, because *-sup* in *-supti* should be enough to express formal politeness. It is also noteworthy that *-supti* feels old in style and is rarely used in Contemporary Korean in stark contrast to *-supni*, which is very productive. Given this, I continue to assume that *-supni* is represented as a monomorphemic formal politeness marker in the grammar of Contemporary Korean. (The same might be true of *-supti*, though I am not concerned with this element here.) Incidentally, even if one adopts Sohn’s view, the gist of the current analysis is not affected much anyway.

- (12) Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-supni-kka?
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-SSP-Q
 ‘Did Hana eat pizza?’ (formal)

Crucially, this shows that the formal polite speech style interpretation stems from the pre-final ending *-supni* alone. The word-final endings *-ta* and *-kka* simply indicate the type of the clause. Furthermore, *-supni* has to follow the tense marker, which indicates that it is higher than TP, i.e., *-supni* is TP-external. Note however that *-supni* has to precede the clause type markers. The clause type markers are usually assumed to be located high in the structure, i.e., in the periphery of the CP domain as the head of ForceP or MoodP. Given that *-supni* comes before the clause type markers, it should be lower than the projection that hosts the clause type markers, whatever the label, and definitely below the SAP, which is at the top of the structure. Thus, from the point of view of Miyagawa (2022), *-supni* is actually not high enough, though it is higher than *-mas*.⁴ (See Section 4 for further discussion).

Another thing to note about *-supni* is that it alternates with its allomorph *-pni* depending on its phonological environment. The former shows up when the immediately preceding element ends with a consonant, while the latter shows up when the preceding element ends with a vowel. For instance, in (13a), the formal politeness marker attaches to the verb stem which ends with a vowel. Therefore, it is realized as *-pni*. In (13b), even though the verb stem remains constant, the formal politeness marker is realized as *-supni* because what immediately precedes it is the past tense marker that ends with a consonant. In (13c), there is no past tense marker, but the verb stem ends with a consonant, so that the formal politeness marker is realized as *-supni* again.

- (13) a. Hana-nun hakkyo-ey ka-pni-ta.⁵
 H.-TOP school-to go-SSP-DEC
 ‘Hana goes to school.’
 b. Hana-nun hakkyo-ey ka-ss-supni-ta.
 H.-TOP school-to go-PST-SSP-DEC
 ‘Hana went to school.’

4 Miyagawa (2022) briefly mentions that *-supnita* is well-behaved in that it occurs at the end of an utterance and has scope over it. Strictly speaking, however, *-supni* turns out to be not as high as he expected. Incidentally, his remark also implies that he views *-supnita* as a monomorphemic element.

5 An anonymous reviewer asks a general question about the interpretation of sentences with or without the past tense marker *-ess*. Concerning this, note that (13a) receives a non-past reading in the absence of the past tense marker *-ess* unlike in (13b). This can be seen from the fact that (13a) is compatible with adverbs like *cikum* ‘now’, *mayil* ‘tomorrow’, *mayil* ‘everyday’, and so on. Since the details of the tense and aspect system of Korean go well beyond the scope of this paper, I refer the reader to Sohn (1999) for some general discussion.

- c. Salam-i cwuk-supni-ta.
 person-NOM die-SSP-DEC
 ‘A person dies.’

Given that *-supni* occurs after a consonant in present tense and in all cases of past tense utterances (as the past tense marker always ends with a consonant), it is reasonable to assume that *-supni* has a wider distribution than *-pni*. Therefore, I assume that *-supni* is the unmarked form.

2.2 *-Ipnita*

Korean also has a formal polite form for utterances involving the copula, an environment where *-des* in Japanese occurs. The form used in such situations is *-ipnita*, as shown in (14).

- (14) Hana-nun sensayngnim-ipnita. (= (2b))
 H.-TOP teacher-FOR.DEC
 ‘Hanako is a teacher.’

Note however that unlike *-des*, the form *-ipnita* can be decomposed into smaller parts. That is, it contains the copula *-i*, the formal politeness marker *-pni*,⁶ discussed in the previous section, and the declarative clause type marker *-ta*, as shown in (15).

- (15) Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-pni-ta.
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-SSP-DEC
 ‘Hana is a teacher.’

Similarly to *-(su)pni*, it can also be used with the interrogative clause type marker *-kka*, as shown in (16).

- (16) Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-pni-kka?
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-SSP-Q
 ‘Is Hana a teacher?’

In non-formal situations, *-pni* of course does not show up, so that only the copula and the clause type marker are used, as shown in (17). The fact that *-pni* can be separated from these elements provides support for the decomposition of *-ipnita* as suggested above.

⁶ Here, the formal politeness marker is realized as *-pni* because the immediately preceding element, i.e., the copula, is a vowel.

- (17) Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-ta. (cf. (2a))
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-DEC
 ‘Hana is a teacher.’

Note further that in situations like (17), the past tense marker *-ess* can be inserted between the copula and the clause type marker, as in (18a). Now, when the utterance in (18a) becomes formal, the formal politeness ending will be inserted. However, unlike in (15), its form should be *-supni*, not *-pni*, as shown in (18b). This is because the element immediately preceding the formal politeness ending, i.e., the past tense marker *-ess*, ends with a consonant.

- (18) a. Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-ess-ta.
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-PST-DEC
 ‘Hana was a teacher.’
 b. Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-ess-supni-ta.
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-PST-SSP-DEC
 ‘Hana was a teacher.’ (formal)

In conclusion, unlike the initial impression, *-ipnita* does not directly correspond to *-des*. In the surface form *-ipnita*, only *-i* is the copula, and this element has nothing to do with expressing politeness. The remaining elements, i.e., *-pni* and *-ta*, are productively used as the formal politeness marker and the declarative clause type marker, respectively. The crucial point from this observation is that Korean has just one element for marking formal politeness, namely, the pre-final ending *-(su)pni*.

- (19) Unlike Japanese, Korean has only one marker of formal polite speech style, namely, *-(su)pni*.

Therefore, in both regular verb sentences and copula sentences, *-(su)pni* is used for marking formal politeness. In this respect, Korean differs from Japanese, which uses at least two different elements for marking formal politeness, i.e., *-mas* and *-des*.

3 The interrogative clause type marker *-kka*

Recall that according to Miyagawa (2022), all the relevant heads on the path of the ϕ -features of *-mas* and *-des* undergo allomorphy to be in polite form. In particular, Miyagawa argues that the ϕ -features of *-mas* and *-des* can license the interrogative particle *-ka*. He argues these phenomena to provide support for the head-to-head feature movement analysis. In Korean, there is no comparable allomorphy phenomena. Thus, even if we follow Miyagawa and assume that the formal politeness marker should have the entire utterance in its domain by undergoing head-to-head

feature movement to the SAP at the top of the structure, it is difficult to show it directly. Still, as shown in (12), repeated here as (20), Korean has an interrogative clause type marker, namely, *-kka*, that is used in sentences involving *-(su)pni*, similarly to *-ka* in Japanese.

- (20) Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-supni-kka?
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-SSP-Q
 'Did Hana eat pizza?'

A formal question involving the copula also licenses *-kka* arguably due to the presence of *-(su)pni*, as shown in (16), repeated here as (21).

- (21) Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-pni-kka?
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-SSP-Q
 'Is Hana a teacher?'

Furthermore, an interrogative sentence involving *-kka* becomes ungrammatical if *-(su)pni* is omitted, confirming that the former depends on the latter for its licensing.

- (22) a. *Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-kka? (cf. (20))
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-Q
 'Did Hana eat pizza?'
 b. *Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-kka? (cf. (21))
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-Q
 'Is Hana a teacher?'

Of course, in such contexts, i.e., without *-(su)pni*, other interrogative endings than *-kka* can be used, as shown below.⁷

- (23) a. Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-ni/-nya/-eyo?
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-Q
 'Did Hana eat pizza?'
 b. Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-ni/-nya/-eyo?
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-Q
 'Is Hana a teacher?'

However, in the presence of *-(su)pni*, the interrogative ending must be *-kka*.

- (24) *Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-supni-ni/-nya/-eyo? (cf. (20))
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-SSP-Q
 'Did Hana eat pizza?'

⁷ The choice among these elements is based on various pragmatic factors that have to do with the nature of the utterance context and the relation between speaker and addressee, details of which do not concern us.

Given this, it is clear that there is a dependency between the interrogative ending *-kka* and the formal politeness marker *-(su)pni*.⁸ Recall that Miyagawa argues that *ka* can be licensed by *-mas/-des* in the course of their feature movement to the SAP (or via selection by some particular type of verb in the main clause). This may be extended to Korean to the effect that *-kka* is licensed by *-(su)pni* in the course of its feature movement. Note incidentally that *-kka* can also be licensed in the presence of a modal, as shown in note 8. Given that the modal precedes *-kka*, just like *-(su)pni*, it may be necessary to assume that the modal undergoes feature movement, though where and why it moves require further investigation. Alternatively, it may be that *-kka* selects for the projection of *-(su)pni* and that of a modal. If this is the case, there may be a slight difference between Korean and Japanese regarding the licensing of the interrogative endings. For the moment, I remain open between these possibilities. Note however that whichever option is taken, head-to-head feature movement of *-(su)pni* to the SAP is independently motivated.

4 The positions of *-mas*, *-Des*, and *-(Su)pni*

Recall that one important assumption that Miyagawa adopts regarding the position of *-mas* and *-des* is that these elements should have the entire utterance in their scope at some point in the derivation. With that in mind, I turn in this section to the structural positions of the formal politeness markers in Japanese and Korean and show that there are interesting similarities and differences among them.

4.1 TP-internal position of *-Mas* and *-Des*¹

Note that both *-mas* and *-des* are below tense and above the main predicate, as the data in (25) and (26) show.

⁸ The only other context where *-kka* is allowed is when it co-occurs with a modal of volition or possibility, namely, *-(u)l*.

- (i) Pap mek-ul-kka?
 meal eat-MOD-Q
 ‘Shall we eat?’

Note that this provides another piece of evidence for not treating *-supnikka* as a single monomorphemic element, i.e., it should be decomposed into *-supni* and *-kka*.

- (25) a. Hanako-wa piza-o tabe-mas-u.
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-PRS
 ‘Hanako will eat pizza.’
 (Miyagawa 2022: 39)
- b. Peter-wa hataraki-mas-ita.
 P.-TOP work-MAS-PST
 ‘Peter worked.’
 (Miyagawa 2012: 86)
- (26) a. Hanako-wa sensee-des-u.
 H.-TOP teacher-DES-PRS
 ‘Hanako is a teacher.’
 (Miyagawa 2022: 64)
- b. Hanako-wa sensee-des-ita.
 H.-TOP teacher-DES-PST
 ‘Hanako was a teacher.’

Miyagawa (2022) argues that these elements are inserted in an agreement projection between vP and TP and that only their allocutive ϕ -feature undergoes head-to-head movement to the SAP, as discussed above.

Given this, recall that various suffixal elements (or endings) can be attached to the verb stem in Korean.

- (27) Sensayngnim-kkeyse o-si-ess-supni-ta.
 teacher-NOM.HON come-HON-PST-SSP-DEC
 ‘The teacher has arrived.’

Note that the subject honorification marker *-si* occurs between the verb stem *o-* and the tense marker *-ess*, which is very similar to the position that *-mas* and *-des* occupy. It is also noteworthy that many researchers argue that subject honorification in Korean involves ϕ -feature agreement (Chung 2009; Choi 2010; Choi and Harley 2019; Kim 2012; but see also Choe 2004; Kim and Sells 2007). Furthermore, these elements are similar in that they all express politeness in some way. Given this, I propose that *-mas*, *-des*, and *-si* all occur in an agreement projection between vP and TP.

It should be pointed out however that there is one crucial difference between *-mas*, *-des*, and *-si*. That is, while the ϕ -feature agreement relation involving *-si* makes reference to the subject of the clause, the ϕ -feature agreement relation involving *-mas/-des*

makes reference to the addressee element in the SAP.⁹ This actually leads to another important difference between these elements, to which I return in Section 5.

4.2 TP-external position of *-Des2* and *-Supni*

In all the examples involving *-des* so far, e.g., (26), *-des* is used with a noun as the copula. Miyagawa (2022) points out that there is another type of *-des* that is used with adjectives, as shown in (28). (For ease of exposition, I will refer to the first type of *-des* as “*-des1*” and the second type of *-des* as “*-des2*”).

- (28) a. Ano piza-wa taka-i desu.¹⁰
 that pizza-TOP expensive-PRS DES2
 ‘That pizza is expensive.’
 b. Ano piza-wa taka-katta desu.
 that pizza-TOP expensive-PST DES2
 ‘That pizza was expensive.’
 (Miyagawa 2022: 65)

9 An anonymous reviewer asks about the status of subject honorification in Japanese, as in (i).

- (i) Tanaka sensei-ga hon-o o-yomi-ni-nat-ta.
 Prof. Tanaka-NOM book-ACC read-SH-PST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka read the book.’ (Boeckx and Niinuma 2004: 454)

In fact, subject honorification in Japanese is also a very well-studied phenomenon. One of the prominent issues is the question whether it involves syntactic agreement (see Boeckx and Niinuma 2004; Boeckx 2006; Bobaljik and Yatsushiro 2006; Ura 2000, and references therein), which is not so different from the situation of subject honorification in Korean. In (i), the position of the honorification marker seems to be between vP and TP, which in turn may be indicating that this position is commonly used for marking politeness in some way, e.g., by elements undergoing agreement with the subject or by elements undergoing feature movement to the SAP. However, exploring the implications of this conjecture seems to go beyond the scope of this paper.

10 An anonymous reviewer asks why the copula in (25), i.e., *-des1*, is represented as “des”, while *-des2* in (28) is represented as “desu”. Though I am simply following the way Miyagawa represents his data, I should also mention in response to the reviewer’s question that the form “desu” is due to the romanization convention for Japanese, which has no direct bearing on the current discussion. In fact, while *-des1* and *-des2* are romanized slightly differently in these examples, they are spelled and pronounced exactly the same in Japanese. What is important for our discussion is the fact that there is a clear syntactic difference concerning their structural height. That is, *-des1* is TP-internal, while *-des2* is TP-external, as discussed in the main text. I thank Akitaka Yamada for kindly providing a detailed explanation concerning the form “desu”.

Note, crucially, that *-des2* follows tense and never inflects for tense itself, as shown below. (See also (28)).

- (29) *Ano piza-wa taka-(i) desita.
 that pizza-TOP expensive-PRS DES2.PST
 ‘That pizza was expensive.’
 (Miyagawa 2022: 66)

It is also noteworthy that *-des2* can license *-ka* just like *-mas* and *-des1*.

- (30) a. Ano piza-wa taka-i desu ka?
 that pizza-TOP expensive-PRS DES2 Q
 ‘Was that pizza expensive?’
 (Miyagawa 2022: 66)
- b. Ano piza-wa taka-katta desu ka?
 that pizza-TOP expensive-PST DES2 Q
 ‘Was that pizza expensive?’

Given this, Miyagawa argues that *-des2* is inserted in a position higher than TP unlike *-mas* and *-des1* and that it also undergoes the same kind of head-to-head feature movement to the SAP, licensing *ka* in the course of the movement.

Now, let us turn to *-(su)pni*. In (11) and (18b), repeated below as (31a) and (31b), it is shown that in both regular verb and copula sentences, *-(su)pni* occurs above the tense marker and below the clause type marker.¹¹ While there is some disagreement in the literature regarding the precise category label for the clause type markers, e.g., Force⁰, Mood⁰, C⁰, etc., it is clear that they are in the highest position in the CP domain below the SAP, considering that they are always the last element in the sequence of functional heads (or endings) that attach to the verb stem.

- (31) a. Hana-nun phica-lul mek-ess-supni-ta.
 H.-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PST-SSP-DEC
 ‘Hana ate pizza.’
- b. Hana-nun sensayngnim-i-ess-supni-ta.
 H.-TOP teacher-COP-PST-SSP-DEC
 ‘Hana was a teacher.’

It is also worth pointing out that *-(su)pni* occurs above the modal of volition, possibility, or prediction, namely, *-keyss*, which in turn occurs above tense.

¹¹ Ceong and Saxon (2020: 11) suggest that *-(su)pni* selects T and is selected by C. Although I share Ceong and Saxon’s intuition, the precise categories that participate in the selection relations involving *-(su)pni* might be a bit different. See the discussion below.

- (32) a. Ce-nun phica-lul mek-kyess-supni-ta.
 I.POL-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MOD-SSP-DEC
 'I will eat pizza.'
- b. Ce-ka phica-lul mek-ess-keyss-supni-kka?
 I.POL-NOM pizza-ACC eat-PST-MOD-SSP-Q
 'Would I have eaten pizza?'

Even when it is used with an adjective, the position of *-(su)pni* remains the same as in regular verb and copula sentences, i.e., it is above tense and modal and below the clause type marker. This again confirms that Korean just has one formal politeness marker, i.e., *-(su)pni*.¹²

- (33) a. I cha-nun pissa-pni-ta.
 this car-TOP expensive-SSP-DEC
 'This car is expensive.'
- b. I cha-nun pissa-ss-supni-ta.
 this car-TOP expensive-PST-SSP-DEC
 'This car was expensive.'
- c. I cha-nun pissa-keyss-supni-ta.
 this car-TOP expensive-MOD-SSP-DEC
 'This car may be expensive.'
- d. I cha-nun pissa-ess-keyss-supni-ta.
 this car-TOP expensive-PST-MOD-SSP-DEC
 'This car may have been expensive.'

As pointed out above, *-(su)pni* is not itself in the highest position in CP unlike what its usual treatment as a portmanteau morpheme would suggest. However, this element is still fairly high in the structure, i.e., it is TP-external, unlike *-mas* and *-des1*. In this respect, *-(su)pni* appears to be similar to *-des2*. Concerning the position of *-des2*, Miyagawa (2022: 66) assumes, following Koizumi (1991, 1993), that it occurs in a modal phrase (ModP) above TP. However, given that *-(su)pni* can occur even above a modal, it is not clear if we can extend Miyagawa/Koizumi's assumption to *-(su)pni* at face value. It is also worth mentioning that in An (2022), it is argued that the evidentiality marker *po-* in Korean is a TP-external functional category located in MoodP_{evidential} in Cinque's (2004) cartographic hierarchy. In particular, An points out that *po-* occurs higher than the modal *-keyss*, as (34) shows.

12 Note also that the usual allomorphic alternation between *-pni* and *-supni* is observed in (33).

- (34) Koki-nun mos mek-kyess-na po-(*keyss)-ta.
 meat-TOP cannot eat-MOD-EPST EVID-MOD-DEC
 ‘It seems that (he) cannot eat meat.’
 (An 2022: 787)

Interestingly, as (35) shows, *-(su)pni* occurs even higher than evidential *po-*. This further indicates that *-(su)pni* is higher than ModP.

- (35) Hana-ka wa-ss-na po-pni-ta.
 H.-NOM come-PST-EPST EVID-SSP-DEC
 ‘It seems that Hana has arrived.’

Given this, it is clear that the position of *-(su)pni* is higher than TP and ModP at least. If *-des2* is equivalent to *-(su)pni*, then it might not be located in ModP either, though further investigation on the Japanese facts is necessary at this point to verify it.¹³

5 The distribution of the formal politeness markers and their root sensitivity

Several researchers note that the distribution of *-(su)pni* (as well as several other speech style particles in Korean) is limited to root clauses, i.e., they cannot be embedded (Hong 2018, 2022; Park 2019; Portner et al. 2019, 2022). Their analyses converge on the idea that the unembeddability of the speech style particles stems from the fact that they have to be in a local relation with the SAP, which is assumed to occur at the top of the utterance, i.e., at the root only.

- (36) *Inho-ka [ecey pi-ka o-ass-supni-ta-ko] malha-ss-supni-ta.
 I.-NOM yesterday rain-NOM come-PST-SSP-DEC-COMP say-PST-SSP-DEC¹⁴
 ‘Inho said that it rained yesterday.’
 (Portner, Pak, and Zanuttini 2019: 3)

¹³ The availability of an example like (i) may be suggesting that similarly to *-(su)pni*, *-des2* might actually be higher than ModP, though further scrutiny is necessary to be sure about this possibility.

- (i) Kore-wa taka-i desu.
 this-TOP expensive-PRS DES2
 Sikasi, are-wa motto taka-soo desu.
 but that-TOP more expensive-MOD DES2
 ‘This one is expensive. But, that one may be more expensive.’

¹⁴ (36) is from Portner et al. (2019: 3), but the glosses have been slightly modified for the sake of consistency in this paper. The differences do not affect their point.

In this respect, *-mas* is not different, i.e., it cannot occur in a complement clause.

- (37) *Hanako-wa [minna ki-mas-u to] omott-ta.
 H.-TOP everyone come-MAS-PRS COMP think-PST
 ‘Hanako thought that everyone will come.’
 (Miyagawa 2022: 58)

However, Miyagawa (2022) points out that the distribution of *-mas* is not entirely limited to main clauses either. This is illustrated by the availability of sentences like (38b) and (38c).

- (38) a. Highest S
 Hanako-wa ki-mas-u.
 H.-TOP come-MAS-PRS
 ‘Hanako will come.’
 b. S dominated by highest S
 Hanako-ga ki-mas-u kara, ie-ni ike-kudasai.
 H.-NOM come-MAS-PRS because home-at be-please
 ‘Because Hanako will come, please be at home.’
 c. Reported S in direct discourse
 Taroo-wa Hanako-ga ki-mas-u to itta.
 T.-TOP H.-NOM come-MAS-PRS COMP said
 ‘Taro said that Hanako will come.’
 (Miyagawa 2022: 48)

Miyagawa points out that the contexts in (38) correspond to what Emonds (1970) defines as the root in (39).

- (39) Root
 A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S, or the reported S in direct discourse.
 (Emonds 1970: 6)

Interestingly, Park (2019) also notes that the distribution of *-(su)pni* fits into Emonds’ definition of the root, as shown in (40).¹⁵ Note in particular that (40b) and (40c) show that *-(su)pni* can in fact occur in some non-root environments.

¹⁵ Park’s (2019) discussion is primarily concerned with some clause-peripheral phrases like vocatives rather than *-(su)pni* itself. She argues that vocative phrases occupy the specifier position of the SAP and that they have to agree with appropriate addressee-honorific endings like *-supnita*, which is consistent with the idea that the formal politeness markers are involved in allocutive ϕ -feature agreement. While she does not segment *-supnita* into *-supni* and *-ta*, Park assumes that *-supnita* as a whole is inserted in the head of ForceP and undergoes head movement to the SAP, following

- (40) a. Highest S
 Sensayngnim, Cheli-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ss-supni-ta.
 teacher.POL C.-NOM school-to go-PST-SSP-DEC
 ‘Sir, Chelswu went to school.’
- b. S dominated by highest S
 Sensayngnim, Cheli-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ss-supni-ta-manun,
 teacher.POL C.-NOM school-to go-PST-SSP-DEC-though
 ku-eykey mwela cenha-l-kka-yo?
 he-DAT what tell-MOD-Q-POL
 ‘Sir, though Chelswu went to school, what should I tell him?’
- c. Reported S in direct discourse
 Yengi-nun Sensayngnim, Cheli-ka hakkyo-ey ka-ss-supni-ta-lako
 Y.-TOP teacher.POL C.-NOM school-to go-PST-SSP-DEC-COMP
 taytapha-ess-ta.
 answer-PST-DEC
 ‘Yenghi answered, “Sir, Chelswu went to school”.’
 (Park 2019: 31–32, n.3)

Finally, recall that I pointed out in Section 4.1 that the formal politeness markers *-mas* and *-des1* in Japanese and the subject honorification marker *-si* in Korean are similar in that they are base-generated in an agreement projection between vP and TP and undergo ϕ -feature agreement with the relevant elements. But, one crucial difference is that the former elements need to establish a local relation with the addressee representation in the SAP in the root, which leads to their restricted distribution, while the latter only needs a local relation with the subject of the clause. As expected, *-si* is not confined to root environments, i.e., there is no problem for *-si* to be used in a complement clause, as shown in (41).

- (41) Hana-nun [sensayngnim-kkeyse o-si-ess-(*supni)-ta-ko]
 H.-TOP teacher-NOM.HON come-HON-PST-SSP-DEC-COMP
 malha-ess-ta.
 say-PST-DEC
 ‘Hana said that the teacher has arrived.’

To summarize, the discussion in this section shows that the formal politeness markers in Japanese and Korean, namely, *-mas*, *-des1*, *-des2*, and *-(su)pni*, all behave in the same way in that they are restricted to Emonds’ root environments. According to Miyagawa (2022), Emonds’ root contexts are those environments that allow the

Miyagawa’s (2017) earlier proposal. Despite some differences in the detail, I believe Park’s intuition is basically in line with mine.

occurrence of the SAP. Given that the formal politeness markers are required to establish a local relation with the addressee element in the SAP, their root sensitivity follows. This is where Japanese and Korean facts align perfectly. One point of difference though is that while *-mas*, *-des1*, and *-si* are all inserted in an agreement projection between vP and TP, *-si* is free to be embedded, as it does not depend on the SAP.¹⁶

6 Differences in grammaticalization

At the end of Section 4, I briefly mentioned An's (2022) work where it is argued that the evidentiality marker *po-* in Korean is a TP-external functional category. Evidential *po-* basically means something like 'seem' in English. It indicates that the speaker has some reasons, if not direct evidence, to believe that the proposition of the clause is true. Usually, the speaker makes an observation about the situation and makes inferences based on it. For instance, (42) can be uttered when the speaker sees Hana's car parked in front of her house, though the speaker did not actually see her arrive.

- (42) Hana-ka wa-ss-na po-ta.
 H.-NOM come-PST-EPST EVID-DEC
 'It seems that Hana came.' (or 'I guess that Hana came.')

Japanese has a similar expression—namely, *sooda*, as discussed by An and Maeda (2023). *Sooda* has more than one uses, but in one use, it means something like 'seem' and indicates that the speaker has some reasons to believe the proposition to be true. That is, just like evidential *po-*, the speaker makes an inference based on his/her observation of the situation.

- (43) Hanako-ga ki-sooda.
 Hanako-NOM come-INF-seem
 'Hanako seems to come.'

Evidential *po-* and *sooda* are also similar in that they are functional categories, as indicated by the fact that they are unable to introduce their own arguments.

¹⁶ An anonymous reviewer informs me that in languages like Magahi, Tamil, and Galician, politeness markers can be embedded freely (Alok 2021; Huidobro 2022; McFadden 2020, etc.). S/he suggests that in these languages, politeness markers may be located somewhere lower than the SAP. As the current paper is focused on comparing Japanese and Korean from the perspectives of Miyagawa's recent analysis, exploring a wider range of cross-linguistic data and their implications should await future research at this point. I thank the reviewer for drawing my attention to this issue.

- (44) a. *Na-nun Toto-ka o-ass-na po-ta.
 I-TOP T.-NOM arrive-PST-EPST EVID-DEC
 b. *Toto-ka o-ass-na na-eykey po-ta.
 T.-NOM arrive-PST-EPST I-DAT EVID-DEC
 c. *Toto-ka o-ass-na na-lul po-ta.
 T.-NOM arrive-PST-EPST I-ACC EVID-DEC
 (An 2022: 781)
- (45) *Boku-wa/ga/ni Ken-ga tuki-soodat-ta.
 I-TOP/NOM/DAT K.-NOM arrive-seem-PST
 ‘(Intended) To me, Ken seems to come.’
 (An and Maeda 2023)

Interestingly, however, there is a clear difference in their structural positions. That is, evidential *po-* is above TP, as can be seen from the fact that the tense marker is attached to the main verb and shows up before *po-* in (42). Attaching the tense marker to evidential *po-* leads to ungrammaticality, regardless of whether the main verb tensed or not, as shown in (46). Note further that the impossibility of tense-marking *po-* also indicates that it is not the matrix verb in a biclausal structure unlike *seem*.

- (46) *Hana-ka wa-(ss)-na po-ass-ta.
 H.-NOM come-PST-EPST EVID-PST-DEC
 ‘It seems that Hana has arrived.’

Being TP-external, it is also impossible for evidential *po-* to occur below negation.

- (47) a. Hana-ka o-ci ahn-ass-na po-ta.
 H.-NOM come-NML not-PST-EPST EVID-DEC
 ‘It seems that Hana didn’t come.’
 b. *Hana-ka wa-ss-na po-ci ahn-ta.
 H.-NOM come-PST-EPST EVID-NML not-DEC
 ‘It doesn’t seem that Hana came.’

In contrast, *sooda* can be tense-marked, based on which An and Maeda (2023) argue that it is below T and is thus TP-internal.

- (48) a. Hanako-ga ki-sooda.
 Hanako-NOM come.INF-seem.PRS
 ‘Hanako seems to come.’
 b. Hanako-ga ki-soodat-ta.
 Hanako-NOM come.INF-seem-PST
 ‘Hanako seemed to come.’

Furthermore, *sooda* can occur below negation, which is consistent with the proposal that it is TP-internal.

- (49) Ame-ga huri-sooni-mo-nakat-ta.
 rain-NOM fall.INF-seem-also-not-PST
 'It didn't seem to rain.'

The interesting observation here is that evidential *po-* and *sooda* have equivalent functions and meanings, while their structural realizations are different. That is, evidential *po-* is TP-external, while *sooda* is TP-internal. This looks quite similar to the situation of *-(su)pni* and *-mas*. That is, while *-(su)pni* and *-mas* have equivalent functions and meanings, the former is TP-external and the latter is TP-internal. In other words, in each pair, the Korean counterpart is realized in a higher position in the TP-external domain, while the Japanese counterpart is realized in a lower position in the TP-internal domain. Of course, this may simply be a coincidence and does not reveal anything significant. An alternative possibility is that there exists a systematic difference in the way certain linguistic functions are grammaticalized in Japanese and Korean. That is, while the relevant elements are realized as high functional categories in Korean, their Japanese counterparts are realized in lower positions. If that is the case, it becomes necessary and also intriguing to see how pervasive and how systematic this parametric difference is between Japanese and Korean and perhaps, cross-linguistically and why such a difference exists, though that task has to await future research.

7 Conclusions

Taking as a point of departure Miyagawa's (2022) recent discussion on the properties of the formal politeness marker (or the allocutive agreement marker) *-mas* and *-des* in Japanese, I have examined in this paper the properties of their Korean counterpart *-(su)pni*. I have shown that there are systematic differences and similarities between *-mas/-des* and *-(su)pni*. First, given that the their allocutive ϕ -features require valuation by the addressee element in the SAP, the distributions of *-mas/-des* and *-(su)pni* are perfectly identical. More specifically, both *-mas/-des* and *-(su)pni* are restricted to Emonds' (1970) root contexts, which according to Miyagawa are environments that involve the SAP. Second, *-mas/-des* and *-(su)pni* are also similar in that certain elements, such as the special interrogative particles *-ka* and *-kka*, require their presence to be licensed, which according to Miyagawa (2022) is due to the head-to-head feature movement of *-mas/-des* (and *-(su)pni*). On the other hand, I have also shown that there is a crucial difference in the structural positions of *-mas/-des* and *-(su)pni* to the effect that *-mas* and *-des1* are TP-internal

and occupy the head position of an agreement projection that I argue also hosts the subject honorification marker *-si* in Korean, while *-(su)pni* occupies a position between TP and CP. Furthermore, I have pointed out that the difference in the structural height of *-mas/-des* and *-(su)pni* appears to be parallel to the difference in the structural height of evidential *sooda* and evidential *po-*, which may potentially be revealing the tendency where Japanese elements are realized in lower structural positions than their Korean counterparts. How general or pervasive this parametric difference is between the languages in question and cross-linguistically and also why such a pattern exists require further research. Finally, I should note that honorification and politeness markers in Japanese and Korean have been studied quite extensively by numerous researchers, which I cannot begin to do justice to in this short paper. Here, I have almost exclusively focused on Miyagawa's analysis, but interested readers are referred to Portner et al. (2019, 2022), Yamada (2019), Hong (2022) for relevant discussion and references.

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