The Performative Hypothesis and Honorific Allocutivity in Japanese Dialects

YAMADA Akitaka

Abstract: In this paper, we investigate the dialectal variation of honorific allocutive markers in contemporary Japanese. While the previous literature has extensively discussed variations of honorific allocutive markings in Tokyo Japanese, their dialectal variation has not been extensively investigated through the lens of theoretical linguistics. Despite our naïve prediction that patterns found in rural areas are conservative, reflecting the uses found in prescriptive grammar at earlier stages, dialects have developed patterns not attested in standard Japanese prescriptive grammar, in which honorific allocutivity is expressed in the sentence-final region. This finding is, however, consistent with the prediction of performative hypothesis, a general tendency obtained in genealogically-unrelated allocutive languages. Such convergence in diachronic and synchronic variations suggests that language is shaped under the influence of our semantic/cognitive hierarchy which is assumed to be shared in all human kinds.
Keywords: Honorific Allocutivity, Cluster Analysis, Performative Hypothesis

1. Introduction

The second decade of the twenty-first century was a stirring time for the study of honorific allocutivity, or addressee- honorification. Not only were a wide range of genealogically unrelated languages 'discovered' to have this hearer-oriented honorification system (Basque, Burmese, Japanese, Korean, Magahi, Maithili, Tagalog, Tamil, Thai, Punjabi, and some Ryukyuan languages; see Yamada 2019b, 2023c for more information), but it was also the time when researchers overhauled the performative hypothesis, in which honorific allocutivity began to play a pivotal role in syntax-discourse interface (Miyagawa 2012, 2017; Haddican 2015, 2018; McFadden 2017, 2018, Kaur 2017, 2018, 2019; Kaur and Yamada 2019; Portner et al. 2019; Yamada 2019b; Jou 2024, amo).

The performative hypothesis refers to the idea — originally proposed by the seminal work of Ross (1970) — that discourse participants, such as the addressee and the addresser, are syntactically represented in the outmost layer of a sentence. Unfortunately, when the hypothesis was first introduced, it experienced some criticism and was not productively discussed within

the Government and Binding framework. However, since the 2000s, and strongly influenced by the development of the Cartography Approach (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999), this hypothesis underwent a renaissance via the study of syntax-discourse interface, with a growing body of literature actively discussing and assuming that there is a speaker-hearer coordinate in the treetop region of a sentence (Speas and Tenny 2003). In tandem with other discourse-oriented phenomena, such as agreement morphology in imperatives, promissives, and exhortatives (Zanuttini 2008; Zanuttini et al. 2012, 2019; Kaur 2017, 2018, 2019), vocatives (Haegeman and Hill 2013; Hill 2007, 2014; Slocum 2016), discourse-particles (Haegeman and Hill 2013; Thoma 2016), conjoint/disjoint markers (Zu 2015, 2018; Wechsler and Hargreaves 2018), and speaker agreement in bonding (Zu 2015, 2018), honorific allocutivity has been treated as a morphological realization of such a highest projection in the treetop (Portner et al. 2019; Miyagawa 2012, 2017, 2022; Yamada 2019b).

As expected, an honorific allocutive marking typically appears in the sentence's periphery (e.g., Korean and Thai). Yet, it has also come to the attention of researchers that a few languages host honorific allocutivity in a position that is syntactically lower than the expected treetop region. Tokyo Japanese is one such exception. The previous literature has, therefore, extensively discussed the morphosyntactic mechanisms licensing this 'displaced' element (Yamada 2019b, Miyagawa 2022).

What remains understudied and, therefore, the central concern of this present study is the synchronic variation within Japanese dialects. As shall be discussed below, Japanese dialects encode honorific allocutivity differently. To the best of our knowledge, however, there has been no theoretical examination of what forms are used in which region, and what descriptive tendency is observed. After briefly summarizing the findings of honorific allocutivity in Tokyo Japanese (Section 2), this study conducts an online experiment for the variation (Section 3), and argues that emergent patterns in dialects are all in agreement with the performative hypothesis (Section 4). With some preliminary discussion about how the dialectal variation interacts with standard Tokyo Japanese, it is argued that the language variation is, in fact, made under the strong influence of our cognitive/semantic hierarchy, as stated in the performative hypothesis (Section 5). This paper concludes in Section 6 with some future remarks.

2. Previous literature: Honorific allocutivity in Tokyo Japanese

2.1 Honorific allocutivity in prescriptive grammar

As briefly mentioned, honorific allocutivity is seen as a reflex of the highest function

projection. For example, consider the example from Thai (Yamada 2019b) (cf., "PP" stands for pragmatic particle):

(1) [Outer layer (Sentence Periphery) [Inner layer *lian yêɛ*] *ləy lâ* ***khráp***]
study problematic PP Q AH.MASC
'She studies so badly?'

As predicted by the performative hypothesis, the honorific allocutive marking *khráp* appears in the outermost layer of the sentence. It is pronounced after other discourse-oriented expressions, such as pragmatic particles and question particles.

However, Tokyo Japanese fails to fulfill the prediction. Consider the example in (2) (Miyagawa 2012, 2017, 2022; Yamada 2019b, 2023a, b):

(2) [Outer layer (Sentence Periphery) [TP [NegP *Hasiri-**mas**-en*] *desi-ta*] *ne*]?
run-AH-NEG AH-PST SFP
'(He) did not run, did he?'

The boldfaced element *-mas*, which encodes the honorific allocutivity, is not located in the sentence periphery. Instead, it is sandwiched between the verb and the negation marker, clearly violating what has been reported as a robust crosslinguistic generalization.

Not only that, but this sentence has some peculiar characteristics. First, the sentence obligatorily uses the apparently redundant honorific marking before the tense marker, *des-*. This double marking only occurs in the past-tensed, negative sentence. As shown below, *des-* is illicit in the present-tensed sentence. Likewise, when a sentence is in the affirmative form, it is no longer permitted (Yamada 2019, 2023a):

(3) a. [Outer layer (Sentence Periphery) [TP [NegP *Hasiri-**mas**-en*] (****des***-u)] *ne*]?
run-AH-NEG AH-PRS SFP
'(He) does not run, does he?'

b. [Outer layer (Sentence Periphery) [TP *Hasiri-**masi*** (****desi***)-ta] *ne*]?
run-AH-NEG AH-PST SFP
'(He) ran, didn't he?'

Second, *-mas* causes an allomorphic form in Neg. The non-polite counterpart for (2) is

shown in (4). Here, *-mas* is simply omitted, and *des-* is replaced by the non-polite dummy element *at-* (be-support). Besides, *-en* changes into *-anak*.

(4) [Outer layer (Sentence Periphery) [TP [NegP *Hasiri-Ø-anak*] ***at-ta***] *ne*]?
run-NEG be-PST SFP
'(He) did not run, did he?'

Third, a colloquial register of contemporary Japanese is known to have developed a construction alternative to (2). Consider the sentence below:

(5) [Outer layer (Sentence Periphery) [TP [NegP *Hasira-nak*] *at-ta*] ***desu**-ne*]?
run-NEG be-PST AH-SFP
'(He) did not run, did he?'

Unlike (2), (5) contains only one instance of an honorific allocutive marking. It is now located in the outer layer, in agreement with the prediction of the performative hypothesis. Notice that this *des-* in (5) is syntactically quite different from that in (2) (Yamada 2023b): it is placed after, not before, the past tense marker.

2.2 Honorific allocutivity from a diachronic perspective

The change from (2) to (5) is NOT an instance of a grammaticalization either in the sense of Lehmann (1995) or in terms of Traugott (1995). Under these classic definitions, a grammaticalization is a process whereby what used to be a lexical element becomes a functional expression (e.g., *be going to* to *be gonna*). It is not the case that the form in (2) underwent a phonological reduction to change into (5). Instead, (5) clearly developed from a different source; they are now in competition, only because they can express a similar semantic content, not because one was derived from the other.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that the emergence of (5) shares some common properties observed in language changes, including grammaticalization. In the older prescriptive form in (2), discourse-oriented expression — that is, honorific allocutivity — is encoded in a rather unexpected 'dislocated' low mid-sentential region, while the new form in (5) is expressed in the sentence periphery. It moves upwards.

This point becomes clearer when we look at the data before (2) came into fashion. First, observe the sentence below (Miyachi 1977: 73–74; 1980: 216, 321, 267–268, 377–378, 418,

438, 465, 488–491, 660–665; Yamada 2019b:170).

(6) *mosi* *koko-he* *uma-wa* *ki-**masi**-nan-da* *kae?*
perhaps here-to horse-TOP come-AH-NEG-PST Q
'By any chance, didn't a horse come to this place?' (Shinrotei, *Muro no ume* 1789)

Notice here that the negation marker *-(a)nak* maintains its phonological form (due to back assimilation, the coda consonant changes from *k* to *n*), and *des-* is absent, which is clearly different from the pattern in (2).

Second, later, by around the 19th century, people began to use the following variants, where *des-* is replaced by *kat-* and *dat-* (Yasuda 2008; Ho 2014, 2015, 2018; Yamada 2019b):

(7) a. *ari-**mas**-en* ***kat**-ta* *yo*.
be-HA-NEG be-PST SFP
'it did not exist.' (Shunsui Tamenaga, *Harutugedori* 1836)
b. *ki-ga* *tuki-**mas**-en* ***dat**-ta* *yo*.
awareness-NOM attach-HA-NEG be-PST SFP
'I did not notice (that).' (Kokuga Umebori, *Shunshoku renrino ume* 1852)

Taking all these observations into account, it is evident that three distinct positions are involved in Japanese honorific allocutivity, as schematically expressed in (8). For space limitations, we use "saP" (speech act phrase) to label the outermost layer of the sentence (Yamada 2023a).[1)]

1) A reviewer pointed out that this sentence may be related to the "*no-da*" sentence. Previous research, however, has discussed this point and proposed that no derivational relationship can be assumed between the two (Yamada 2023a: Section 2.3.2). The present paper follows this proposal as well.

(8) a. [$_{saP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{NegP}$ VERB **-*mas*** *-nan*] Ø *-da*] Ø] : Edo period
-HA -NEG -PST ex. (6)

b. [$_{saP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{NegP}$ VERB **-*mas*** *-en*] *kat* *-ta*] Ø] : 19th century
-HA -NEG be -PST ex. (7)a

c. [$_{saP}$ [$_{TP}$[$_{NegP}$ VERB **-*mas*** *-en*] *dat* *-ta*] Ø] : 19th century
-HA -NEG be -PST ex. (7)b

d. [$_{saP}$ [$_{TP}$[$_{NegP}$ VERB **-*mas*** *-en*] **desi** *-ta*] Ø] : 19th to 21st century
-HA -NEG be.HA -PST ex. (2)

e. [$_{saP}$ [$_{TP}$[$_{NegP}$ VERB -Ø *-anak* *at* *-ta*] **desu**] : 20th to 21st century
-NEG be -PST HA ex. (5)

↑ ↑ ↑
Position 1 Position 2 Position 3

The past, negative sentence in contemporary prescriptive grammar uses Positions 1 and 2, and the latest variant only uses Position 3. From the coarse-grained perspective, we can easily see that the syntactic positions of honorific allocutivity, which are bold-faced in (8), move out of the mid-sentential area (Position 1) to the clause periphery (Position 3).

Normally, languages do not redundantly mark the same semantic information more than once within a single clause, so in this sense the double-marking in (2) looks strange. However, when we look at the data from a historical perspective, the otherwise quirky sentence in (2) is interpreted as an instance of a transitive phase in language change in which honorific allocutivity becomes expressed in the sentence periphery, as predicted by the performative hypothesis, as well as by intersubjectification and grammaticalization studies (Traugott and Dasher 2002, amo).

In this regard, the change in Middle Japanese data is also quite noteworthy. Consider the example below (Yamada 2019b: 173):

(9) *mawiri-**saburapi**-ni* *keri*.
come.OH-HA-PRF PST
'I came.' (*Ujishuui monogatari* 1220)

(10) *pitobito* *motii-**sooraw**-azu* ***soorawi**-ki*.
people use-HA-NEG HA-PST
'people did not use (it)' (*Tooyoo bunko benkan urabunsyo* 1223)

The verb *saburap-* is known to undergo a phonological reduction to become the marker of honorific allocutivity *soorow* in Middle Japanese. It was originally placed right after the verb, as in (9). But its historical descendent, *sooraw*, was distributed in wider grammatical environments, as shown in (10). Aside from the fact that both instances are pronounced *sooraw*, this sentence is quite similar to what we saw in (2): the lower instance is sandwiched between the verb and the negation marker, and the higher instance is placed before the past tense marker. Hence, these positions are reasonably seen as Positions 1 and 2, as we identified. What this tells us is that, akin to Jespersen's cycle, honorific allocutive markers show a historical cycle, where what used to be a verbal affix looks for a higher position, triggering what looks like a concord between the two positions.

Investigation of this diachronic change has revealed that what appears to be an exceptional distribution of honorific allocutivity reflects the transitive phase of diachronic language change. This change causes the morphemes to be pronounced in accordance with the performative hypothesis.

3. Data

While historical examinations have been made in the previous literature, little attention has been paid to the synchronic variation. It is true that some attempts have a connection to our study. For example, *Hoogen Bunpo Zenkoku Tizu* (released by NINJAL, 1989–2006) includes examination of *taiguu hyoogen* 'expressions regarding as to how we treat the others,' in which the distribution of *-mas* and other related honorific expressions is reported. However, this survey was mostly concerned with affirmative sentences, except for #331, in which the negative present tense form was examined. However, there is no information about negative past tense forms where the double marking is expected to be observed. This current study, therefore, examines how dialects in contemporary Japanese express honorific allocutivity in a negative past-tensed sentence, to see whether the generalization can be obtained across dialects.

Note that the literature of geolinguistics and dialectology has revealed that what is spoken in a rural area reflects what used to be spoken in the capital area. In the context of Japanese dialects, Yanagida's (1930) seminal work is perhaps the most influential: he observes that an expression for "snail" is distributed in a concentric manner around the Japanese archipelago, with Kyoto as the center. It is hypothesized that an old variant spoken in Kyoto spread outwards to rural areas, while a newer form emerged in Kyoto. People in rural areas tend to use what they think is prestigious, and so they try to adopt the language spoken in a region of

political and economic influence. However, a change in the capital/prescriptive grammar makes the old system remain only in the rural area, as illustrated in (11):

(11) Capital/prescriptive language: System 1 → System 2

Language in rural areas: (System 1) System 1

Historic Current

In this paper, we ask if this prediction also holds for the dialectal variation of honorific allocutivity in Japanese. In what follows, we show that, despite what looks like a reasonable assumption, the patterns in contemporary Japanese dialects do not exactly copy the use of earlier grammar in the prescriptive language. Each dialect independently developed its own pattern. They are, however, all in agreement with the alignment predicted in the performative hypothesis.

3.1 Participants

To uncover trends among the dialects spoken within the 47 prefectures of Japan, an online linguistic survey was conducted. The survey used a crowdsourcing service (CrowdWorks, Inc.), to obtain an equal number of participants from each prefecture. Ten participants were recruited for each survey, and 47 surveys were conducted, one for each prefecture.[2] Each participant was paid 110 yen, from which the crowdsourcing fees were deducted. The experiment was conducted over 18 days, from June 7 to 24, 2023.

Participants were removed from the subsequent analysis if their answers showed dishonest responses. Some candidates tried to join the experiment without heeding the instructions. Several steps were taken to filter out these individuals. First, their answers were rejected if they gave an unexpected answer in the dummy filler sentences (11 in total) in which they were instructed to enter a particular number. Second, we ruled out those who repeatedly attempted to join in the survey using different dialects. Finally, we removed those who gave unreliably high acceptability judgments on filler items that should not be spoken in their regional dialect.

2) However, in our first attempt, we could not find 10 participants for some prefectures (Kagawa [5], Akita [6], Ishikawa [7], Fukushima [7], Iwate [9], Yamanashi [9], Shimane [9]), possibly due to their low populations. A second round of recruitment was, therefore, conducted (June 25–July 9) for Kagawa and Akita Prefectures, Kagoshima Prefecture (where the data were incomplete), and Saga/Miyazaki Prefecture, where only four cases remained after screening.

3.2 Experimental procedure

In this study, experimental materials were presented to the participants in the following order: (i) presenting the consent form; (ii) collecting background/demographic information; (iii) providing instructions for the experiment; (iv) practice; (v) providing supplementary instructions; and (vi) the experiment. Dialects are rarely used in formal situations. Since honorific expressions are favorably used in formal situations, honorifics are not popular in dialectal conversations. In order to get participants to provide information about such rare usages, they were explicitly instructed to consider possible scenarios that could take place in (relatively) formal everyday conversations in their dialects.

3.3 Stimulus Sentences

In the experiment, we asked the participants to rate sentences predicted by the literature on the syntax of Japanese honorific allocutivity (Miyagawa 2012, 2017, 2022; Yamada 2019b, 2023a-d). As noted above, three major positions have been identified for honorific allocutivity which are repeated below in (12):

(12) a. Position 1:	*Hasiri-**mas**-en*	*desi-ta*	*ne*?
	run-AH-NEG	AH-PST	SFP
	‘(He) did not run, did he?’		
b. Position 2:	*Hasiri-mas-en*	***desi**-ta*	*ne*?
	run-AH-NEG	AH-PST	SFP
	‘(He) did not run, did he?’		
c. Position 3:	*Hasira-ø-na*	*kat-ta*	***desu**-ne*?
	run-*ø*-NEG	be-PST	AH-SFP
	‘(He) did not run, did he?’		

Considering polite and non-polite distinctions in these three slots, we used the following template to examine the variations among possible Japanese honorific allocutive constructions.[3)]

3) It is possible that other variants exist and should be examined in detail in future studies. In this sense, the survey of this study is, admittedly, preliminary. Nonetheless, it must be emphasized that all research begins with preliminary considerations, and the results of our survey do suggest unnoticed dialectal tendencies worthy of our attention. They invite us to make important generalizations about how honorific allocutive markings are distributed within a sentence.

(13) [[verb Position 1 NEG Position 2 PST] Position 3 SFP]

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

{-ø/-*ma*{*s*/*h*}} {-*nak*/−*(h)en*} {-ø/−{*k*/*d*/*y*/*j*}*at*/*desi*} {-ø/*desu*}

For the three boxed-positions, we were also concerned with phonological variations for *-mas* and *-mah*, as well as the final ending of *-(a)nak*. The combination of all these choices leads to 3 × 6 × 2 × 2 = 72 possibilities, and all of them were tested as stimulus sentences.

4. Results

The data were collected on PCIbex on a 5-point Likert scale. We used a design matrix for each prefecture. Since the arithmetic mean is strongly influenced by outliers, the median of respondents from the same prefecture was considered the representative response for that prefecture. A heatmap based on the response matrix of size 47 × 72 is shown in Figure 1. The rows are ordered according to geographical divisions, while the columns are sorted to reflect the results of agglomerative cluster analysis using Ward's method based on Euclidean distance (the heatmap function in R version 4.1.2 was used for plotting the heatmap).

In this figure, darker colors indicate higher median values for that prefecture, with black cells indicating a median value of 5 on the 5-point scale, and white cells indicating a median of 1. Calculated median values are shown in cells with a value of 4 or higher. Black or white cells indicate that consistent judgments were given by the respondents of that prefecture and are quite useful for our interpretation. Other cells show some prefecture-internal variations. Due to their inconsistency, this paper refrains from zeroing in on these cells, leaving future studies to conduct such finer-grained investigations. Instead, we explore clearly discernible trends of white and black cells in the following sections.

4.1 Global tendencies

Let us begin interpreting the figure by examining expressions widely observed across the prefectures. First, the three variants shown in (14) are given a high acceptability judgment across all the prefectures:

(14) a. [[*hasira-na* *kat-ta*]].

b. [[*hasiri-**mas**-en* ***desi**-ta*]]. Positions 1 & 2

c. [[*hasira-na* *kat-ta*] ***desu***]. Position 3

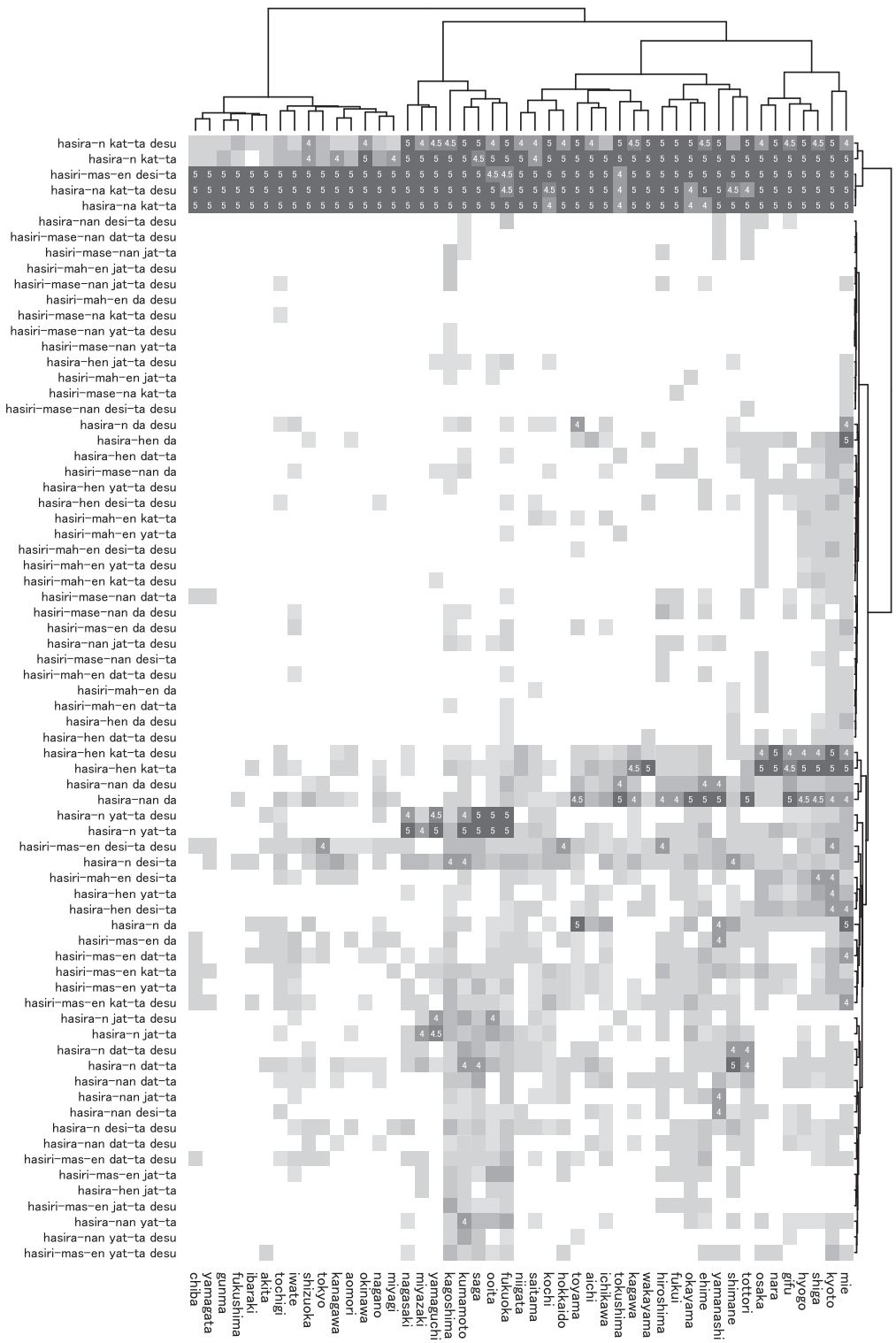

FIGURE 1: Possible honorific allocutive constructions for each prefecture.

These are the three variants present in contemporary prescriptive Japanese (Tokyo Japanese). These results are reasonable: speakers of all the prefectures tend to accept their use in the dominant grammar, which is based on the Tokyo dialect.

Second, although acceptability judgments were slightly lower in Kanto, Tohoku, and Okinawa than in other regions, many speakers judged the following sentences to be acceptable:

(15) a. [[*hasira-n* *kat-ta*]].
b. [[*hasira-n* *kat-ta*] ***desu***]. Position 3

The a-sentence is the plain form of the b-sentence, and in (15)b, the honorific allocutivity is only marked in Position 3.

4.2 Regional tendencies

4.2.1 Tendencies obtained in more than one prefecture

First, from Yamaguchi Prefecture to the Kyushu region, the following sentences were accepted by many respondents.

(16) a. [[*hasira-n* *yat-ta*]].
b. [[*hasira-n* *yat-ta*] ***desu***]. Position 3

These sentences only differ from the pairs in (15) in that the first consonant of the do/be-support element is changed into a different consonant *y*. Aside from the variation in pronunciation, the syntax of these two sentences is considered the same. The regional tendency is, therefore, to be seen as a variation in phonology, rather than the distribution of honorific allocutivity.

Second, the following sentences were given higher acceptability judgments by speakers from the Kinki region.

(17) a. [[*hasira-hen* *yat-ta*]].
b. [[*hasira-hen* *yat-ta*] ***desu***]. Position 3

Third, although the sentence in (18)a is highly acceptable in parts of the Chubu, Chugoku, and Shikoku regions, its possible polite form, namely (18)b, does not receive a high acceptability judgment.

(18) a. [[*hasira-naN* ø-*da*]].
b.* [[*hasiri-**masi**-naN* ø-*da*]]. Position 1
c.* [[*hasira-naN* ***desi**-ta*]]. Position 2
d.* [[*hasira-naN* ø-*da*] ***desu***]. Position 3

4.2.2 Local tendencies

Other sentences are sporadically used within a single prefecture, or in geographically distant prefectures:

(19) a. [[*hasira-hen* *ø-da*]]. (Mie)
b. [[*hasira-n* *ø-da*]]. (Mie, Toyama)
c. [[*hasira-n* *dat-ta*]]. (Shimane)

They are all non-polite forms, so honorific allocutivity is not overtly encoded. But the polite form for (19)c (namely, (20)) also receives relatively high acceptability judgments not only in Shimane, but also in Tottori, a neighboring prefecture. Hence, it can be seen as a local/regional feature of the San'in area.

(20) [[*hasira-n* *dat-ta*] ***desu***]. Position 3

5. Discussion

If a dialect randomly developed a pattern (independently of the performative hypothesis) then it may be predicted that we could, for example, find a dialect where only Positions 1 or 2 are used to express honorific allocutivity. But no such dialect was found in our survey (except those in (14)). It is thus reasonable to conclude that, despite this single exception, dialects develop variants that agree with the performative hypothesis.

It is plausible to consider that the variants of these dialects came into use by mimicking the variant in Tokyo Japanese (= (5)) (Hypothesis 1), or that these forms were developed independently from the use of *na kat-ta des* in Tokyo Japanese (Hypothesis 2). Unfortunately, our survey only concerns contemporary language usage, and our data alone does not show how these forms were historically introduced in the first place. Admittedly, further investigations are needed to decide which hypothesis is on the right track. However, it is worth considering what each hypothesis means for a theory of syntax and morphology. Therefore, in Sections 5.1 and

5.2, we discuss possible scenarios for the development of dialectal forms, before considering the implications of all dialectal forms for the performative hypothesis (Section 5.3).

5.1 Hypothesis 1: Contact-based language change

Suppose that the sentence peripheral use of *des* was influenced by the chunk *na kat-ta des* in Tokyo Japanese. If so, it is puzzling why people do not copy the entire phrase, instead of only partially (or locally) imitating the vocabulary item in the outermost layer (i.e., the sentence final *des*-) and leaving intact the items below the TP (i.e., the dummy copula and the negation marker).

One may propose that the copying process is sensitive to a particular syntactic domain. Let us assume with Chomsky (2000, 2001) that C and *v* are the phase heads, which cyclically spell out their complement during the derivation. If we consider that *sa* is essentially what he meant by the label C, and that it serves as a phase head, the discontinuity can be explained. As illustrated in (21), where the head *sa* takes a TP as its complement (which is colored in gray), *desu* and the rest of the expressions are in different domains. Building on this analysis, we can propose that the dialectal variation is restricted to a phase domain.

(21) $[_{saP}$ $[_{TP}$ $[_{NegP}$ *hasira-n*] *yat-ta*] $[_{sa}$ ***desu***]].

If, on the other hand, we frame our discussion within Distributed Morphology, the locality is not necessarily connected to a syntactic domain. Upon substantial contact with colloquial Tokyo Japanese, a new vocabulary insertion rule in (22) is obtained, which enables the vocabulary insertion shown in (23):

(22) sa $_{[HON:+]}$ ↔ *des*

(23) $[_{saP}$ $[_{TP}$ $[_{NegP}$ √ + NEG] dummy + PST] sa]

| | | | |

hasira *n* *yat* *ta* *des*

In this view, what is newly added to the grammar of a dialect is a single vocabulary insertion rule. Since it only affects the realization of *sa*, the rest of the heads remain as they are, giving rise to a partial copy of an urban language.

5.2 Hypothesis 2: Autonomous change within a dialect

As a second possibility, suppose that the dialectal forms are autonomously developed as a dialect-internal language change, and are not influenced by the form in colloquial Tokyo Japanese. In fact, Tokyo Japanese is known to have developed the new expression *na kat-ta des* in an environment where *ari-mas-en desi-ta* was the only possible form. So if we accept Hypothesis 2, we must assume a similar developmental path for dialectal variations that we propose for the history of (colloquial) Tokyo Japanese.

Note that the historical change of Tokyo Japanese is not easily explained by the theory of grammaticalization. Grammaticalization is a process of a lexical item becoming a grammatical item (n.b., it is not the case that *na kat-ta des* is a phonologically reduced, grammaticalized form of *ari-mas-en desi-ta*). Nor does the theory of intersubjectification, because it is a process of an objective or subjective expression acquiring a discourse-oriented meaning (n.b., *ari-mas-en desi-ta* is already an intersubjective expression).

To explain this rather unexpected change, Yamada (2023a) proposes a Distributed Morphology-based account: the new variant has emerged due to an L1 learner's abductive reasoning of vocabulary insertion rules. The gist of his analysis is as follows: *-mas* is used when it c-commands a verb, while *des-* is the elsewhere form. That is, it appears in positions where *-mas* is not licensed. Not only is it used as a copular (e.g., *kore-ga tukue des-u.* 'this is a table'), it also appear as a dummy do/be-support element (e.g., *kare-ga hasiri-mas-en desi-ta* 'he did not run.') (Yamada 2023b, d; cf., Yamada 2022). He argues that in earlier generations where the sentence final *des-* is disallowed, the grammar has category-specific vocabulary insertion rules, as listed in (24):

(24) a. $X_{[HON:+]} \leftrightarrow$ *-mas* /when the head c-commands a verb. (e.g., *hasiri-masi-ta*)

b. $X_{[HON:+]} \leftrightarrow$ *des-* /when it appears before T.
(e.g., *hasiri-mas-en desi-ta* 'run-HA-NEG HA-PST')

c. $X_{[HON:+]} \leftrightarrow$ *des-* /when it appears before Epi.
(e.g., *hasit-ta des-yoo* 'run-PST HA-EPI')

Notice, however, that while in standard cases vocabulary insertion assumes a default rule that allows an elsewhere form in the grammar, the list in (24) does not. Upon being exposed to E-languages, it is quite likely that newer generation L1 learners abductively infer the existence of a more general, a-categorical rule as in (25)b, in place of learning two independent rules in (24)b-c. If the rule in (25)b is obtained, *des-* can appear in any head, and when X is *sa*, we can

get a sentence-final instance of *des*-.

(25) a. $X_{[HON:+]} \leftrightarrow$ *-mas* /when the head c-commands a verb.
b. $X_{[HON:+]} \leftrightarrow$ *des*- /when it appears before X (where X is an arbitrary head).

By extending this explanation, we can explain how rural dialects developed the non-standard forms. One crucial difference from the scenario in Section 5.1 is that each dialect—including the colloquial Tokyo Japanese—developed Position 3 uses independently from each other. Thus, it is predicted that the emergence of Position 3 use in these rural dialects may chronologically precede the time when colloquial Tokyo Japanese started using the new variant. In contrast, Hypothesis 1 naturally predicts that there is a chronological order between the Tokyo Japanese and rural dialects.

As admitted above, our survey only examines the contemporary distributions. We cannot yet clinch the argument about which hypothesis is most suitable for explaining the data. Yet it must be emphasized that this question can, in theory, be answered with a well-designed data analysis. For example, as is commonly assumed in sociolinguistics, we can consider that language change is reflected by the speech of people of different ages (aka "the apparent time approach"). Future research is, thus, required to conduct a space-temporal investigation, to better understand the nature of the relationship between standard language and dialects.

5.3 The performative hypothesis and the template in morphosyntax

Let us finally consider what the findings tell us about the performative hypothesis. The results of our survey indicate that several dialects in addition to colloquial Tokyo Japanese have developed Position 3 uses. At the same time, it must be noted that non-Position 3 uses, for example, (2) and (7), are other possible outcomes of the human grammar. Preference for Position 3 is not an absolute rule, but it is a tendency. Does this mean that the performative hypothesis is also a tendency?

We follow the argument made in Yamada (2019b) and Miyagawa (2022) that the speaker-addressee coordinate in this sentence is present even in such *mas-des* sentences. It also assumes that there is a general pressure in language change that makes L1 learners infer grammatical rules in such a way that there is a small discrepancy between the PF realization and the LF interpretation. That is, the presence of a templatic structure in our semantics/cognition affects the direction of language change.

Yanagida's survey concerns only a simple variation in names (a choice among open-class

linguistic elements, e.g., regional names for *snail*). There exists no template prior to the choice, so the only influence was the political and economic power of the capital region. However, the distribution of honorific allocutivity is not so much a naming issue as a syntactic problem, the issue of location in a sentence structure. When it comes to syntax, there is a 'template' arguably common to human cognition/language which plays an important role in language variation.

More specifically, 'template' here means the order of functional projections. In particular, the structure assumed by the performative hypothesis plays a crucial role. The outermost projection of a sentence represents the information about the hearer/speaker, as in (26), where sa, the head of this outermost projection, contains discourse-oriented features, such as [H(onorific)A(llocutivity):+]. This [HA:+] must be interpreted at this highest speech act level at LF—this is the template common to all human languages.

(26) $[_{saP}$ ... . [...] ... sa]
|
i[HA:+]

However, languages differ where [HA:+] is pronounced at the PF. This reflects the historical source of honorific allocutivity. Japanese honorific allocutivities were derived from content honorifics. For example, *-mas* was derived from *ma(w)iras-*, which could be further decomposed into the object honorific predicate *mawir-* and the causative marker *-as*. Since it is an honorific allocutivity of verb origin, *ma(w)iras-* appeared in the mid-sentential region. We can connect the two distant positions, the head of saP and the head where *ma(w)iras-* or *-mas* is pronounced; the exact label of the projection is not relevant here, so we use FP for illustration purposes:

(27) $[_{saP}$ ... . $[_{FP}$ ... F] ... sa]
└──────┘

That is, users of the Japanese language are invited to establish an agreement relation between F and sa (see Yamada 2019b for a more elaborate model). Since agreement is a permitted operation in human language, the sentence in (8)a is generated at some point in the rich history of Japanese.

However, this gives birth to the asymmetry between the positions where [HA:+] is pronounced and interpreted. At any state of language change, there is a tension between two

opposing forces. One is to make people conservatively imitate what was produced in an earlier generation. The other is to make L1 learners seek a variant which better fits the templatic cognitive hierarchy, which is assumed to be common to all human beings (i.e., the order of functional projections). When the former force is dominant, no language change is triggered, whereas a change takes place when L1 learners find a grammatical pattern more consistent with the cognitive hierarchy. What plays the central role in diachronic and synchronic variation is the templatic projection hierarchy that, arguably, reflects the cognitive, semantic, or LF, characteristics of human language.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we examined the dialectal variation of honorific allocutive markers in contemporary Japanese. While previous literature has revealed the properties of honorific allocutivity found in prescriptive grammar, which is mostly based on the Tokyo dialect, the synchronic variation has not been extensively investigated. We initially (and naïvely) predicted that patterns found in rural areas are conservative, reflecting the uses found in the prescriptive grammar at earlier grammatical stages (= (2)). However, dialects have developed constructional patterns where honorific allocutivity is expressed in the sentence-final position, the same as established/accepted in (colloquial) standard Japanese (= (5)). This fact corroborates the performative hypothesis (Ross 1970), which proposes that the sentence-periphery is the syntactic position for expressions that encode information about the speaker and addressee.

With this finding in mind, it would be informative to investigate historical and dialectal variations in other allocutive languages. It is known that expressions for honorific allocutivity are typically developed and grammaticalized from other linguistic elements, and that different languages have different sources. In addition to content honorifics, some languages reuse and recruit number-based expressions to encode honorific allocutivity (Yamada 2023c, d). In this sense, Tamil is a language that deserves our attention (McFadden 2020: 410–412, Yamada 2019d). The honorific allocutivity of this language has developed from the plural marking. As shown in (28)a, it can appear before the question particle. Not only that, but this language also allows two more patterns as in (28)b and c, where the honorific allocutivity is expressed in a higher position (which seems to correspond to Position 3 in Japanese).

(28) a. *niiŋgae saap-ɬ-aačču-**ŋgae]**-aa ?*
you.PL eat-ASP-RES-AH-Q
'Have you eaten?'
b. *niiŋgae saap-ɬ-aačču-**ŋgae]**-aa-**ŋgae** ?*
you.PL eat-ASP-RES-AH-Q-AH
'Have you eaten?'
c. *niiŋgae saap-ɬ-aačču -aa-**ŋgae** ?*
you.PL eat-ASP-RES -Q-AH
'Have you eaten?'

Unfortunately, it is not clear which difference is the oldest among the three constructions. Future research is expected to examine the tendency of languages with different grammatical sources to test the validity of our hypothesis.

References

Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dasher, R. B. 1995. *Grammaticalization in the system of Japanese predicate honorifics*. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

Haddican, B. 2015. A note on Basque vocative clitics. In *Ibon Sarasola, Gorazarre*, ed. B. Fernandez, & P. Salaburu, 303–317. University of the Basque Country, Bilbao.

Haddican, B. 2018. The syntax of Basque allocutive clitics. *Glossa* 3(1), 101, 1–31.

Haegeman, L. and V. Hill 2013. The syntacticization of discourse. In *Syntax and its limits*, ed. R. Folli, C. Sevdali, & R. Truswell, 370–390. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hill, V. 2007. Vocatives and the pragmatics-syntax interface. *Lingua* 117, 2077–2105.

Hill, V. 2014. *Vocatives: how syntax meets with pragmatics*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Ho, C. 2014. Jutsugobu hitei koozoo ni okeru bunpoo kategorii no ketsugoo: Wakamatsu Shizuko yaku 'Shookooshi' o shiryoo to shite [The complex of grammatical categories in the predicate constitutions including negative elements: a case study of Little Lord Fauntleroy translated by Wakamatsu Shizuko]. *Bungaku Kenkyuu Ronshuu [Studies in Arts & Letters]* 41,1–13.

Ho, C. 2015. *Edo, Tookyoogo ni okeru hitei hyoogen koozoono kenkyuu [A study of the constitutions including negative expressions in the Japanese of Late Edo and Meiji period]*.

PhD thesis, Meiji University.

Ho, C. 2018. *Edo, Tookyoogo no hitei hyoogen koozoo no kenkyuu [A study of the structure of negative expressions in Edo and Tokyo Japanese]*. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan.

Jou, E., 2024. Honorification as Agree in Korean and beyond, *Glossa: A journal of general linguistics* 9(1).

Kaur, G. 2017. Variation in subject-triggered clitic restrictions: a case of Punjabi. Proceedings of Glow in Asia XI, 111–126.

Kaur, G. 2018. Addressee agreement as the locus of imperative syntax. Presentation at the 49th meeting of the North East Linguistics Society, Cornell University 2018.

Kaur, G. 2019. Not all imperatives have a Jussive head: emphasizing the role of allocutivity in syntax. Presented at Person and Perspective: a workshop honoring the work of María Luisa Zubizarreta. May 3–4, Los Angeles, University of Southern California. 3–4 May 2019.

Kaur, G. and A. Yamada 2019. Embedded allocutivity and its reference. Presented at Person and Perspective: a workshop honoring the work of María Luisa Zubizarreta. May 3–4, Los Angeles, University of Southern California. 3–4 May 2019.

McFadden, T. 2017. The morphosyntax of allocutive agreement in Tamil. Ms., Leibniz Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.

McFadden, T. 2018. Tamil allocutive agreement and the syntax of the Speech Act Phrase. Oral presentation at GLOW 41, Budapest.

Minami, F. 1974. Gendai Nihongo no Koozoo [Structure in Contemporary Japanese]. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.

Miyagawa, S. 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in the main clause. In *Main clause phenomena: new horizons*, ed. L. Aelbrecht, L. Haegeman, and R. Nye, 79–112. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Miyagawa, S. 2017. *Agreement beyond phi.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Miyagawa, S. 2022. *Syntax in the treetops*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. 1989–2006. *Hogen bunpo zenkoku tizu [National atlas of grammars in dialects]*, vol 1–6. Tokyo: Zaimusyo Insatsukyoku.

Ogawa, Y., Y. Ishizaki, and H. Aoki. 2020. *Bunpooka, goika, koobunka [Grammaticalization, lexicalization and constructionalization]*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.

Portner, P., M. Pak and R. Zanuttini 2019. The addressee at the syntax-semantics interface: evidence from politeness and speech style. *Language* 95(1), 1–36.

Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar: a handbook of generative syntax*, ed. L. Haegeman, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Ross, R. 1970. On declarative sentences. In *Readings in English transformational grammar*, eds. R. A. Jacobs, & P. S. Rosenbaum, 222–272. Waltham, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing.

Slocum, P. 2016. *The syntax of address.* PhD thesis, Stony Brook University.

Speas, P. & Tenny, C. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. In *Asymmetry in grammar vol. 1: syntax and semantics*, ed. A. M. Di Sciullo, 315–345. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Thoma, S. 2016. Discourse particles and the syntax of discourse: evidence from Miesbach Bavarian. PhD thesis, The University of British Columbia.

Traugott, E. C. and R. B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Traugott, E. C. and G. Trousdale. 2013. *Constructionalization and constructional changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wechsler, S. & Hargreaves, D. 2018. Egophoric attitudes and questions in Kathmandu Newar. *Proceedings of TripleA: Fieldwork Perspectives on the Semantics of African, Asian and Austronesian Languages* 4, 91–105. Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Publikationssystem.

Yanagida, K. 1930. *Kagyu koo [Consideration of 'snails']*. Tokyo: Tookoo Shoin.

Yamada, A. 2019a. A quantitative approach to addressee-honorific markers: identification of crucial independent variables and prototypes. *Mathematical Linguistics* 32 (2), 117–132.

Yamada, A. 2019b. *The syntax, semantics and pragmatics of Japanese addressee-honorific markers*. Doctoral Thesis. Georgetown University.

Yamada, A. 2022. A Distributed Morphology approach to Japanese phrase-final particles. In *The Proceedings of NELS* 52, 255–264.

Yamada, A. 2023a. Looking for default vocabulary insertion rules: diachronic morphosyntax of the Japanese addressee-honorification system, *Glossa: A journal of general linguistics* 8(1).

Yamada, A. 2023b. 'Desu' no bunrui: Elsewhere form tosite no teineigo [Classification of the uses of des: the elsewhere addressee-honorific form]. *A Theoretical Approach to Natural Languages*, 59–58.

Yamada, A. 2023c. Honorificity. In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Morphology*, ed. P. Ackema, S. Bendjaballah, E. Bonet, and A. Fábregas. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119693604.morphcom034

Yamada, A. 2023d. Typology of addressee-honorifics. *Nihon Gengogakkai Dai-166-kai Taikai Yokô-shû [Proceedings of the 166th Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan]*, 137–143.

Yamaguchi, T. 2015. The historical development of *saburafu*. *Yearbook of the German Cognitive Linguistics Association* 3, 71–87.

Yanagida, K. 1930. *Kagyuukoo [A study of snails]*. Kanda: Tookoo Shoin.

Yasuda, N. 2008. ‘Masenkatta’ wa Yokohama kotoba ka?: ‘masenkatta’ no mukashi to ima [Is ‘masenkatta’ a Yokohama dialect?: “masenkatta” from then to now]. *Kokugo Goishi no Kenkyuu [Studies of Etymology of Japanese]* 27, 263–280.

Zanuttini, R. 2008. Encoding the addressee in the syntax: evidence from English imperative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 26, 185–218.

Zanuttini, R., M. Pak, and P. Portner 2012. A syntactic analysis of interpretive restrictions on imperative, promissive and exhortative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30, 1231–1274.

Zanuttini, R., P. Portner, and M. Pak 2019. Person, politeness and the embeddability of imperatives. Oral presentation at Person and Perspective: a workshop honoring the work of Maria Luisa Zubizarreta. University of Southern California.

Zu, V. 2015. A two-tiered theory of the discourse. *Proceedings of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL)* 33, 151–160.

Zu, V. 2018. *Discourse participants and the structural representation of the context.* PhD thesis, New York University.