

The Licensing and Morphology of the Polite Form of Japanese Locative Demonstratives*

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This paper focuses on a series of Japanese demonstratives (kotira/sotira/atira/dotira 'here/there/there/where') whose behavior differs from honorific expressions and beautification words studied in previous works. Scrutiny of environments where the items appear reveals that they are licensed by the polite items desu/masu in addition to honorific verbs. Their behavior is in common with the polite items desu/masu which are allowed in embedded clauses in that they are licensed long-distantly by an item in the matrix clause.

Keywords: the polite form, honorifics, long-distance agreement, demonstratives

1. Introduction

One of the ways employed in Japanese to express honorification/politeness is to attach the honorific prefix *o-/go-* on nouns, adjectives, or adverbs (1)¹.

- (1) a. Sore-wa Sasaki-sensei-no o-nimotu da. (Noun)
That-Top Sasaki-professor-Gen HP-luggage is
'That is Professor Sasaki's luggage.'
b. Hanako-san-wa totemo o-utukusi-i. (Adjective)
Hanako-Polite-Top very HP-beautiful-Pres
'Hanako is very beautiful.'

According to the honorific/polite meaning the words bear, these nouns/adjectives are categorized into two classes: honorific expressions and beautification words. Honorific expressions require the possessor or the person that they modify to be respected, as illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. sensei-no go-kazoku
professor-Gen HP-family
'The professor's family'
b. * watasi-no go-kazoku
I-Gen HP-family
'My family' (Sakai and Ivana (2009: 438))

Beautification words contain the honorific prefix, but they do not contain the honorification meaning, as can be observed from the grammaticality of (3b) (cf. Sakai and Ivana (2009: 446)).

* I am grateful to Akira Watanabe, Noriko Imanishi, Ayaka Sugawara, Sakumi Inokuma, Shun'ichiro Inada and two anonymous reviewers for giving me helpful comments and suggestions. I also thank Chizuru Nakao, Yuki Ishihara, Tomoe Arai and Hiromune Oda for the judgments. All remaining errors are my own.

¹ The abbreviations used in this paper are: Abs = Absolutive, Acc = Accusative, Aux = Auxiliary, Erg = Ergative, Excl = Exclamation, Dat = Dative, Gen = Genitive, HP = Honorific Prefix, Neg = Negation, Nom = Nominative, Perf = Perfect, Pres = Present, Q = Question Particle, Sg = Singular, Top = Topic.

- (3) a. sensei-no o-cha
 professor-Gen HP-tea
 ‘The professor’s tea’
 b. watasi-no o-cha
 I-Gen HP-tea
 ‘My tea’

Using honorific expressions (and beautification words also) is grammatical regardless of whether the sentence contains verbs with honorification/politeness or not.² This is shown in (4).

- (4) a. Sensei-no go-kazoku-ga soto-de o-mati-desu/o-mati-da.
 professor-Gen HP-family-Nom outside-at HP-wait-Polite/HP-wait-is
 b. Sensei-no go-kazoku-ga soto-de matte-i-masu/matte-iru.
 wait-is-Polite/wait-is
 ‘The professor’s family is waiting outside.’

There are three possible honorific forms of verbs which honorific expressions with *o-/go-* are grammatical with: (i) honorific prefix + the nominalized form of V + the polite forms *desu/masu* (e.g. *o-mati-desu*/HP-wait-Polite), (ii) honorific prefix + the nominalized form of V + copula *da* (e.g. *o-mati-da*/HP-wait-is) and (iii) V + *desu/masu* (e.g. *matte-i-masu*/wait-is-Polite). Honorific expressions can also appear in sentences with the verb in the plain form.

Apart from honorific expressions and beautification words, there is a class of words which convey honorification/politeness but behave differently from the words in the two classes mentioned above. The words that belong to this class clearly interact with the honorification/politeness of the sentence. The aim of this paper is to provide an analysis of the distribution of this class of words; specifically, I propose that the items agree with the same element with which the polite items *desu/masu* agree. As shown in the next section, this explanation goes along with a claim made by a previous work that the polite items *desu/masu* in embedded clauses are licensed in a long-distance manner by the element which licenses *desu/masu* in the matrix clause.

The examples below show that the word *dotira* ‘where’ can appear in environments where the verb is in the honorific form (5b), is attached both the honorification prefix and the polite form (5a), or is with only the polite form (6a):

- (5) a. Yamada-sensei-wa dotira-ni o-sumai-desu ka?
 Yamada-professor-Top where-at HP-live-Polite Q
 b. Yamada-sensei-wa dotira-ni o-sumai na {no ka naa / no daroo}?³
 HP-live is(adnominal) no Q Excl no I.wonder
 ‘Where does Professor Yamada live?’

² Sakai and Ivana (2009) propose that in honorification words, honorification agreement occurs in the nominal domain, since the honorification meaning is present in the absence of a verb. They claim that the honorific prefix bearing the honorific feature agrees with the structurally nearest *nP* with an honorific feature, which consists of NP (the person in a socially high status) and *n* (applicative suffixes such as *san* ‘Mr./Miss/Mrs.’ and *sama* ‘Mr./Miss/Mrs.’).

³ Japanese has a form of “plain” questions which makes use of *no*, as in (i) below.

- (i) Hanako-wa dotira-ni sum-deiru no?
 Hanako-Top where-at live-is Q
 ‘Where does Hanako live?’

However, as some of the native speakers I consulted reported and I myself also feel, this form can be used in contexts not completely “plain.” For example, this form would be used when parents-in-law speak to their children-in-law, with some kind of distance between the speaker and the hearer. In contrast, the forms *no ka naa* and *no daroo* used in (5b) are plain, since they are generally used in conversations between friends or when talking to oneself. To avoid complication in judgment, I use *no ka naa* and *no daroo* for plain questions throughout this paper.

- (6) a. Hanako-wa dotira-ni sum-deiru no desu ka?
 Hanako-Top where-at live-is *no* Polite Q
 b. * Hanako-wa dotira-ni sum-deiru {no ka naa / no daroo}?
no Q Excl *no* I.wonder
 ‘Where does Hanako live?’

Using *dotira* ‘where’ is ungrammatical when the verb is in the plain form, as in (6b).

Note that, in addition to the meaning of location shown in examples (5) and (6), the word *dotira* has the interpretation of partitive (‘which one’) and direction (‘which way.’) As exemplified in (7a), *dotira* in the partitive meaning allows the verb to be in the plain form, behaving differently from locative *dotira* ‘where.’

- (7) a. Yamada-sensei-wa dotira-o eranda/o-erabi-ni-nat-ta no?
 Yamada-professor-Top which-Acc chose/HP-choose-Dat-become-past Q
 b. Yamada-sensei-wa dotira-o erabi-masi-ta/o-erabi-ni-nari-masi-ta ka?
 choose-Polite-past/HP-choose-Dat-become-Polite-past Q
 ‘Which one did Professor Yamada choose?’

Partitive *dotira* ‘which one’ can also appear in sentences where the verb is in the polite form, the honorific form, or when the verb has both the honorific prefix and the polite *masu*, as in (7). It seems that partitive *dotira* ‘which one’ does not convey much honorification/politeness, and perhaps the partitive use is similar to beautification words in this respect.

Other items that fall under the class of “honorific” expressions which behave like *dotira* ‘where’ are the demonstratives which share the morpheme *-tira* with *dotira* ‘where.’ As is well known, Japanese demonstratives have the paradigm *ko-so-a-do*. Some examples are given in Table 1 (taken from Martin (1975: 1066)).

Table 1. The Paradigm of Japanese Demonstratives⁴

	proximal	mesial	distal	indeterminate
individual	<i>ko-re</i>	<i>so-re</i>	<i>a-re</i>	<i>do-re</i>
place	<i>ko-ko</i>	<i>so-ko</i>	<i>a-soko</i>	<i>do-ko</i>
direction/alternative	<i>ko-tira, ko-tti</i>	<i>so-tira, so-tti</i>	<i>a-tira, a-tti</i>	<i>do-tira, do-tti</i>

The locative demonstratives *kotira/sotira/atira* ‘here/there/there’ are also ungrammatical when the verb is in the plain form:

- (8) a. Yamada-sensei-wa kotira/sotira/atira-ni o-sumai-desi-ta/o-sumai-dat-ta/
 Yamada-professor-Top here/there/there-at HP-live-Polite-past/HP-live-is-past/
 sunde-i-masi-ta.
 live-is-Polite-past
 ‘Professor Yamada was living here/there.’
 b. * Hanako-wa kotira/sotira/atira-ni sum-dei-ta-yo.
 Hanako-Top here/there/there-at live-is-past-Excl
 ‘Hanako was living here/there.’

In the next section, the behavior of the items *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* in embedded clauses is investigated and we conclude that the items are licensed by *desu/masu* indicating politeness. Furthermore, building on the

⁴ In their deictic uses, proximal roughly refers to what is near the speaker, mesial to what is near the hearer, and distal to what is away from both. (For their non-deictic uses, see Kuno (1973).)

proposal of Miyagawa (2012) about the agreement involved in sentences with *desu/masu*, I claim that *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ can be in a long-distant agreement relation with the probe in the agreement operation involved in sentences containing *desu/masu*. This contrasts with honorific verbs, which consistently require a local relation with the items they agree with. The proposal put forth neatly explains the distribution of the polite forms of the locative demonstratives, which is different from the distribution of honorific expressions, beautification words, or the polite items *desu/masu* in embedded clauses. In section 3, I briefly discuss the morphological make-up of the items *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where.’ Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. The “Long-Distant” Nature of Politeness

In embedded clauses, using *dotira* ‘where’ is grammatical if the embedded verb is in the honorific form (9a), while it is not when only the matrix verb is in the honorific form (9b). (Compare this with the grammaticality of the sentence with the plain locative item *doko* ‘where.’)

- (9) a. Taro-wa [Yamada-sensei-ga dotira-ni o-sumai ka] tazune-ta.
 Taro-Top Yamada-professor-Nom where-at HP-live Q ask-past
 ‘Taro asked where Professor Yamada is living.’
 b. *Yamada-sensei-wa [Taro-ga dotira-ni sum-deiru ka] o-tazune-ni-nat-ta.
 Yamada-professor-Top Taro-Nom where-at live-is Q HP-ask-Dat-become-past
 ‘Professor Yamada asked where Taro is living.’
 cf. Yamada-sensei-wa [Taro-ga **doko**-ni sum-deiru ka] o-tazune-ni-nat-ta.
 Yamada-professor-Top Taro-Nom where-at live-is Q HP-ask-Dat-become-past
 ‘Professor Yamada asked where Taro is living.’

Dotira ‘where’ is also allowed to appear in embedded clauses such as embedded questions if the matrix verb is in the polite form accompanying *desu/masu*, as exemplified in (10). The plain locative item *doko* ‘where’ does not have this difference in grammaticality.

- (10) Taro-wa [Hanako-ga dotira-ni sum-deiru ka] tazune-{*ta/masi-ta}.⁵
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom where-at live-is Q ask-past/Polite-past
 ‘Taro asked where Hanako is living.’
 cf. Taro-wa [Hanako-ga **doko**-ni sum-deiru ka] tazune-{ta/masi-ta}.
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom where-at live-is Q ask-past/Polite-past
 ‘Taro asked where Hanako is living.’

Kotira/sotira/atira ‘here/there/there’ behave in the same way as *dotira* ‘where’:

⁵ An anonymous reviewer reports that (6a) and (10) are ungrammatical for him/her and that the honorific form (i.e. *o-sumai*/HP-live) has to be used for the example to be acceptable. He/she points out the possibility that those who judged (6a) and (10) grammatical are confusing the locative use with the partitive use. Below I give an example which I find to be unambiguously locative.

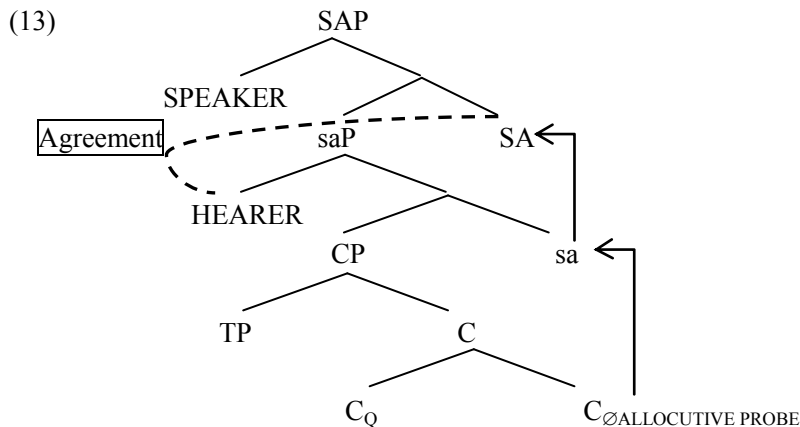
- (i) Hanako-wa dotira-no syussin {*na no ka naa / desu ka}?
 Hanako-Top where-*no* nativity is(adnominal) *no* Q Excl Polite Q
 ‘Where is Hanako from?’
 cf. Hanako-wa dotira-ni sum-deiru no desu ka? (=6a)
 Hanako-Top where-at live-is *no* Polite Q
 ‘Where does Hanako live?’
 (ii) Taro-wa [Hanako-ga dotira-no syussin ka] tazune-{*ta/masi-ta}.
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom where-*no* nativity Q ask-past/Polite-past
 ‘Taro asked where Hanako is from.’

- (11) a. Taro-wa [Yamada-sensei-ga kotira/sotira/atira-ni o-sumai kadooka] tazune-ta.
 Taro-Top Yamada-professor-Nom here/there/there-at HP-live whether ask-past
 ‘Taro asked whether Professor Yamada is living here/there.’
 b. *Yamada-sensei-wa [Taro-ga kotira/sotira/atira-ni sum-deiru kadooka] o-tazune-ni-nat-ta.
 Yamada-professor-Top Taro-Nom here/there/there-at live-is whether HP-ask-Dat-become-Past
 ‘Professor Yamada asked whether Taro is living here/there.’
 cf. Yamada-sensei-wa [Taro-ga **koko/soko/asoko**-ni sum-deiru kadooka] o-tazune-ni-nat-ta.
 Yamada-professor-Top Taro-Nom here/there/there-at live-is whether HP-ask-Dat-become-Past
 ‘Professor Yamada asked whether Taro is living here/there.’
- (12) Taro-wa [Hanako-ga kotira/sotira/atira-ni sum-deiru kadooka] tazune-{*ta/masi-ta}.
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom here/there/there-at live-is whether ask-past/Polite-past
 ‘Taro asked whether Hanako is living here/there.’
 cf. Taro-wa [Hanako-ga **koko/soko/asoko**-ni sum-deiru kadooka] tazune-{ta/masi-ta}.
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom here/there/there-at live-is whether ask-past/Polite-past
 ‘Taro asked whether Hanako is living here/there.’

Here also, the plain locative demonstratives *koko/soko/asoko* ‘here/there/there’ are perfectly grammatical when the matrix verb is in the honorific form or in the plain form.

The facts given above suggest that *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ can be licensed from outside the clause they reside. What is more, they are allowed in the presence of the polite *desu/masu* in the matrix clause, since they are ungrammatical with only the matrix verb in the honorific form, as in (9b) and (11b).

Miyagawa (2012) proposes that the polite *desu/masu* forms are instantiations of allocutive agreement, in which an appropriate agreement marker is realized depending on the hearer. Building on the observation that allocutive agreement takes place in the C domain, Miyagawa (2012) claims for the following structure for the C domain of the sentences containing *desu/masu*.⁶



‘SA’ and ‘sa’ in the structure stand for ‘speech act’ and project phrases that contain the covert SPEAKER and HEARER. C which hosts the probe of allocutive agreement raises to ‘SA’ via ‘sa’ and agrees with the goal HEARER.⁷ According to Miyagawa (2012), this structure accounts for the ungrammaticality of the polite forms

⁶ Miyagawa (2012) does not make clear the precise location of *desu/masu*; he only claims that it is realized in the C domain.

⁷ Consider the word order which is realized in allocutive agreement observed in Souletin, a dialect of Basque:

desu/masu in embedded questions:

- (14) Hanako-wa [dare-ga kuru/*ki-masu ka] sitte i-mas-u.
 Hanako-Top who-Nom come/come-Polite Q know be-Polite-Pres
 ‘Hanako knows who is coming.’ (Miyagawa (2012: 89))

The matrix verb selects for questions, but the existence of *desu/masu* requires the larger structure shown in (13). The existence of *desu/masu* thus leads to selectional mismatch of the matrix verb.

However, some constructions allow *desu/masu* to appear in embedded clauses. For example, in direct discourse complement headed by *to* (15a) and in adverbial clauses (15b), *desu/masu* are allowed (cf. Harada (1976)).

- (15) a. Taro-wa [Hanako-ga ki-masi-ta to] it-ta. (direct discourse complement)
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom come-Polite-Past C say-Past
 ‘Taro said that Hanako came.’ (Harada (1976: 544))
 b. [Hima desi-ta kara] Ginza-ni iki-masi-ta. (adverbial clause)
 free Polite-Past since Ginza-to go-Polite-Past
 ‘I went over to the Ginza Street because I had nothing to do.’ (Harada (1976: 559))

Miyagawa (2012) claims that in these constructions the structure in (13) exists in the embedded clause. He proposes that in “root” clauses originally put forward by Emonds (1969), for example, in the reported S in direct discourse (direct discourse complement (15a)) and an S immediately dominated by the highest S (adverbial clauses (15b)), Speech Act Phrase is allowed to project.

In addition to the environments listed by Harada (1976) and others, Uchibori (2008) gives a few more environments where *desu/masu* can appear in embedded clauses and observes that *desu/masu* which appear in complement clauses of verbs such as *negaw* ‘hope’ behave like *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ in most part.⁸ The difference in judgment between (16a) and (16b) shows that the polite items *desu/masu* in the embedded clause are grammatical in the presence of the matrix polite *desu/masu*, but not in the presence of the matrix honorific verb. (Naturally, the plain form of the matrix verb does not suffice to make *desu/masu* in the embedded clause grammatical (16c).)

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- (i) (To a male friend)
 Pettek lan egin dik.
 Peter.Erg work.Abs do.Perf Aux-3rd.Sg.Abs-2nd.Sg.Colloquial.Masculine.Allocutive-3rd.Sg.Erg
 ‘Peter worked.’ (Miyagawa (2012: 82))

Note that the allocutive agreement marker (glossed 2nd.Sg.Colloquial.Masculine.Allocutive) is attached before the subject agreement marker (glossed 3rd.Sg.Erg). If allocutive agreement is occurring in the C domain, the word order should be “subject agreement marker (the structurally lower element) - allocutive agreement marker (the structurally higher element).” The situation is the same in Japanese as in Souletin: the past tense forms of the polite forms *desu/masu* (the realization of allocutive agreement) are formed by attaching the past tense morpheme *-ta* to the polite items (*desi-ta/masi-ta*). Since my proposal made below builds on Miyagawa’s (2012) claim, it also carries the problem of how the word order is derived. I leave this problem for future research. (I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing up the point.)

⁸ Uchibori (2008) observes that *desu/masu* in complement clauses of verbs such as *motom* ‘ask/request’ cannot be licensed by *desu/masu* in the matrix clause (compare this with (16a)):

- (i) ?*Sono isya-wa oosama_i-ni [_{e_i} maisyoku-go kusuri-o nomi-masu-yoo(ni)] motome-masi-ta.
 that doctor-Top king-Dat each.meal-after medicine-Acc take-Polite-C ask-Polite-past
 ‘The doctor asked the king to take the medicine after each meal.’ (Uchibori (2008: 112))

She claims that the ungrammaticality is due to the modality of the clause, but that the situation is different for complement clauses of *negaw* ‘hope.’ For detailed discussion, the reader is referred to Uchibori (2008).

- (16) a. Hitobito-wa [ame-ga huri-masu-yoo(ni)] negai-masi-ta.
 people-Top rain-Nom fall-Polite-C hope-Polite-past
 ‘People hoped that it could rain.’ (Uchibori (2008: 113))
- b. ??/*Oohisama-wa [ame-ga huri-masu-yoo(ni)] negaw-are-ta.
 queen-Top rain-Nom fall-Polite-C hope-honorific-past
 ‘The queen hoped that it would rain.’ (Uchibori (2008: 117))
- c. ?*Hitobito-wa [ame-ga huri-masu-yoo(ni)] negat-ta.
 people-Top rain-Nom fall-Polite-C hope-Past
 ‘People hoped that it could rain.’ (Uchibori (2008: 113))

Uchibori (2008) argues for simultaneous long-distance licensing of *desu/masu* in embedded clauses and those in matrix clauses by some modal head in the matrix clause (related to the speaker’s attitude towards the hearer).⁹

Taking into account the “long-distant” nature of the licensing of *desu/masu*, I claim that *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ undergo long-distant agreement with an item in Speech Act Phrase (13) in the matrix clause, required by the existence of *desu/masu*. Specifically, I argue for a simultaneous agreement between the probe and the two goals: HEARER in the matrix Speech Act Phrase and *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ in the embedded clause. This is because the data presented in this section indicate that this class of item can appear in the existence of the polite items *desu/masu* in the same clause or the matrix clause. I limit myself to claiming that the probe of the long-distance agreement has an ability to probe down into the embedded clause, and do not commit myself to the theoretical details of long-distance agreement in this paper.

My claim goes along in some part with Uchibori’s (2008), although the items considered in this paper have a wider distribution than *desu/masu* that can appear in embedded clauses. *Desu/masu* are allowed in embedded clauses of only a limited number of constructions, while *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ are allowed in almost any construction as long as *desu/masu* are in the sentence or an honorific verb exists in a local domain.

The “long-distant” characteristic of the polite *desu/masu* contrasts with the honorific forms of the verb. Recall that honorific forms on the matrix verb cannot license *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ in the embedded clause, as repeated in (17) below.

- (17) a. Taro-wa [Yamada-sensei-ga dotira-ni o-sumai ka] tazune-ta.
 Taro-Top Yamada-professor-Nom where-at HP-live Q ask-past
 ‘Taro asked where Professor Yamada is living.’
- b. * Yamada-sensei-wa [Taro-ga dotira-ni sum-deiru ka] o-tazune-ni-nat-ta.
 Yamada-professor-Top Taro-Nom where-at live-is Q HP-ask-Dat-become-past
 ‘Professor Yamada asked where Taro is living.’

The fact shows that the honorific prefix, when it agrees with a goal with an honorific feature (including *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where,’ assuming that they can carry either the allocutive feature or the honorific feature), has to be in a local relation with the goal. This is in line with previous researches on honorifics (cf. Boeckx and Niinuma (2004) and Sakai and Ivana (2009) among others).¹⁰

What property of *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where,’ then, contributes to the peculiar

⁹ The data in (16) can also be explained by assuming that the Speech Act Phrase projects in the embedded clause, although the environment might not be one of the “Root” clauses proposed by Miyagawa that allows the Speech Act Phrase.

¹⁰ Boeckx and Niinuma (2004) account for Japanese object honorification by claiming that *v* has to be in an Agree relation (cf. Chomsky (2000)) with the object (= target of honorification). Object honorification fails if there is another object, and this as an instance of “defective intervention” according to them.

behavior described above? In the next section, I briefly discuss the morphological make-up of the items and point out interesting data compared to their plain counterpart *kotti/sotti/atti/dotti*.

3. A Note on the Morphological Make-Up of *Kotira/Sotira/Atira/Dotira*

As observed from Table 1 above, we can relate directional and partitive/alternative *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* (cf. (7)) to *kotti/sotti/atti/dotti*. *Kotti/sotti/atti/dotti* are the plain counterparts of *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira*. If we strip away *ko/so/a/do* which indicate proximal, mesial, distal, and indeterminate from *kotti/sotti/atti/dotti* and *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira*, the residue is the morphemes *-tti* and *-tira*, respectively. The morpheme distinctive of *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* is *-ra*. This *-ra* is the associative plural marker, although *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* themselves have no plural meaning.¹¹ *-Ra* is the morpheme used to make the plural form of some demonstratives (and some pronouns and proper nouns). See the examples below.

- (18) kore/sore/are ‘this/this/that’ → korera/sorera/arera ‘these/these/those ones’
 kare/kanojo ‘he/she’ → karera/kanojora ‘him and others/her and others’

This morpheme also attaches to some demonstratives and makes looser the range delimited by the item, for example *kokora/sokora* ‘around here/there’ (cf. *koko/soko* ‘here/there.’) It is reasonable to suggest that the formal/plain distinction between *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* and *kotti/sotti/atti/dotti* is due to this associative marker, since euphemism is a common way to indicate honorification/politeness in Japanese.

What about the remaining morpheme *-ti* (or *-tti*, for *dotti*)? Although it remains only a speculation at this point, the morpheme seems to be related to the same morpheme that appears in expressions such as *boku-n-ti* ‘my (male) home’ and *atasi-n-ti* ‘my (female) home.’ The morpheme *-ti* in these expressions is part of the noun *uti* ‘home.’ The English counterpart can be used as a directional or a locative with or without a preposition (Collins (2007)):

- (19) a. I went (*to) home.
 b. I did my homework *(at) home.
 c. I stayed (at) home.

Furthermore, Kayne (2005, 2010) points out that *here*, *there*, and *where* in English have the uses of locative, non-locative (partitive), and reinforcer. In this context, it is interesting that there is a difference between the possible uses of *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* and *kotti/sotti/atti/dotti*. Recall that both the polite forms and the plain forms have the directional and the partitive/alternative uses (Table 1 and (7)). The surprising fact is that *kotti/sotti/atti/dotti* cannot be used as the plain counterparts of locative *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* (Compare this with the pure locative items *koko/soko/asoko/doko*):

- (20) a. *Hanako-wa **kotti/sotti/atti**-ni sum-deiru-yo.
 Hanako-Top this/that/that-at live-is-Excl
 ‘Hanako lives here/there.’
 cf. Hanako-wa **koko/soko/asoko**-ni sum-deiru-yo.
 Hanako-Top here/there/there-at live-is-Excl
 b. *Hanako-wa **dotti**-ni sum-deiru no?
 Hanako-Top which-at live-is Q
 ‘Where does Hanako live?’

¹¹ Japanese has other associative plural markers such as *-tati* and *-domo* (cf. Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004)).

- cf. Hanako-wa **doko-ni** sum-deiru no?
 Hanako-Top where-at live-is Q

What property of the items contributes to the difference, and what can we learn by comparing Japanese demonstratives with English demonstratives? These are the problems left for future research.

Before closing this section, I give another fact worth noting concerning the difference in interpretation between partitive *dotira* and partitive *dotti*. Although the judgment differs between speakers, at least some speakers allow the reading in which *dotira* refers to three objects as in (21a), in addition to the reading in which *dotira* refers to two objects (21b). (The best way to refer to three objects is to use the item *dore* ‘which.’) There is no such reading for *dotti*; it can refer only to two objects (22).

- (21) a.(?) Pan to men to gohan, **dotira-o** tabe-masu ka?
 bread and noodles and rice which-Acc eat-Polite Q
 ‘Bread, noodles, or rice, which would you like to eat?’
 cf. Pan to men to gohan, **dore-o** taberu?
 bread and noodles and rice which-Acc eat
 ‘Bread, noodles, or rice, which will you eat?’
 b. Pan to gohan, **dotira-o** tabe-masu ka?
 bread and rice which-Acc eat-Polite Q
 ‘Bread or rice, which would you like to eat?’
 (22) a. * Pan to men to gohan, **dotti-o** taberu?
 bread and noodles and rice which-Acc eat
 ‘Bread, noodles, or rice, which will you eat?’
 b. Pan to gohan, **dotti-o** taberu?
 bread and rice which-Acc eat
 ‘Bread or rice, which will you eat?’

Whether these facts have any relation to the “long-distant” nature of *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ is not obvious, but they might be clues to investigate the nature of demonstratives.

4. Concluding Remarks

This paper has shown that the polite forms of the Japanese locative demonstratives *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ in the embedded clause interact with the polite items *desu/masu* in the matrix clause in a long-distant manner. This behavior of *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ has never been noted in the literature before. From the fact that it resembles the relation between the polite items *desu/masu* in the embedded clause and in the matrix clause in some environments, I have proposed that the items *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ agree with the same element with which the polite items *desu/masu* agree. Further, when the polite forms of the locative demonstratives are in embedded clauses, they are licensed through long-distance agreement with the element in the matrix clause with which the polite items *desu/masu* in the matrix clause agree.

The details of the process of long-distance agreement (in particular, the problem of word order (cf. note 7) and the problem of how items agree across a clause boundary) are left to be investigated in future study. In addition, specifically what property of *kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘here/there/there/where’ contributes to their behavior is open for future research, but approaching the problem from the nature and the inner structure of demonstratives seems to be promising.

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