Self-Addressed Questions and Honorification: The Case of Japanese daroo-ka/desyoo-ka

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INTRODUCTION Self-addressed questions (SAQ) are characterized as "uttered in the absence of addressee" in the literature. Japanese is a *wh-in-situ* language and questions are marked by particles. There are two common ways of forming SAQ in Japanese: (i) the use of self-addressed question particles *yara* or *kana*, in sentence final position, and (ii) the use of the modal *daroo/desyoo* (+/- honorific) with an optional question particle *ka*, as shown in (1).

- (1) Kagi-wa doko-ni a.ru-daroo-ka
 - Key-TOP where-LOC be-MODAL-Q(=SAQ)
 - '(I wonder) where is the key?'

GOAL We aim at providing the semantic analysis of *daroo/desyoo* in both SAQ and information-seeking question (ISQ), and the pragmatic profile of Japanese SAQs, especially focusing on the impact of the second (higher) person in context. This improves on existing accounts, which either lack of the triggering factors for the use of honorifics in ISQ and SAQ, or are restricted to SAQ contexts in which speaker is alone.

BACKGROUND Oguro (2017) showed that a *desyoo-ka* question like (2) can be interpreted as a ISQ or a SAQ, and *desyoo* is an honorific form of the modal *daroo*, which expresses surmise. The use of honorific markers in SAQ seems at odds with the literature, since there is no addressee in the context. However, Oguro (2017) argues that a *desyoo-ka* SAQ can tolerate the presence of the hearer under a syntactic approach and it is thus plausible to use honorific markers in Japanese SAQ, but he doesn't explain to whom the honorific markers in SAQ refer. Hara (2019) showed that *daroo-ka* interrogatives can be interpreted as SAQs as in (3) but her discussion is restricted to SAQ in contexts in which the speaker is alone. Hence, the impact of a second (higher) person in context remains open. In sum, the literature fails to address the role of the addressee in SAQ-contexts, and it remains unknown how a SAQ marker (i.e. speaker = addressee) can be consistent with a honorific marker (i.e. speaker \neq addressee) in *desyoo-ka* questions.

- (2) Kagi-wa doko desyoo-ka
 Key-TOP where MODAL(HON)-Q
 'Where is the key? or (I wonder) where is the key?'(=ISQ or SAQ)
- (3) *Marie-wa wain-o nomu daroo-ka?* Marie-TOP wine-acc drink MODAL-Q(=SAQ) 'I wonder if Marie drinks wine.' (Hara 2019)

NEW DATA We conducted a naturalness rating survey on a 7-point Likert scale with the latin square design to examine how natural questions involving *darooka/desyooka* appear in three different contexts, exemplified below:

i) ISQ (Information Seeking Question):

Taro wants to watch TV, but he can't find the remote control. Taro's wife usually knows where it is. So, Taro goes to ask his wife: "Where is the remote darooka/desyooka?"

ii) **SAQ1 (Speaker is alone):**

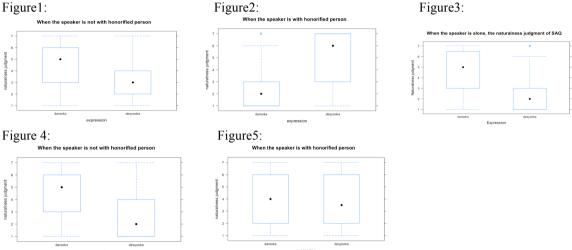
Taro is alone at home. He wants to watch TV, but he can't find the remote. He asks himself: "*Where is the remote darooka/desyooka*?"

iii) SAQ₂ (There is a bystander, but speaker is addressing herself):

Taro's friend Miyagawa is visiting Taro at home for the first time. They decide to watch TV, but Taro can't find the remote. Taro murmurs: "Where is the remote darooka/desyooka?"

The factor 'bystander' in (i) and (iii) varied for *equal* or *higher person*. Overall, we had 70 Japanese native speakers answered the survey and achieved the following results: Surprisingly, we found that it is more natural to ask ISQ with *darooka* when addressing a equal-ranked person, and with *desyooka* when addressing an higher person (Figure 1&2). The

results of SAQ₁ fit the literature that *darooka* is preferred (Figure 3). In SAQ₂, when not addressing a higher person (i.e. bystander is equal to the speaker), *darooka* was rated as more natural (Figure 4). Interestingly, the judgments become less distinct when SAQ₂ are asked in the presence of higher-ranked bystanders. That is, even though the Japanese informants know that the high-ranked person doesn't know the answer, they find using *desyooka* mildly acceptable (Figure 5).



PROPOSAL The collected data shows that it is natural for Japanese speakers to form SAQs even if they are not alone; thus the pragmatic profile of SAQs should not be limited to situations in which the speaker is alone but include situations in which the speaker believes that the bystander doesn't know the answer. The bystander in the SAQ₂ context can engage in joint speculations or leave the question alone because he is not requested to answer. A third possibility is that the bystander happens to know the true answer to the question and asserts the answer in a licit action. We model honorification building on addressee (*ad*) and speaker (*sp*) in context; the use of honorific/non-honorific forms conveys different presuppositional meanings; with low intervals for informal, high intervals for formal contexts (McCready 2019) Using (Uegaki & Roelofsen 2018) to account for SAQ and ISQ, we propose:

- (4) a. SAQ: $[[daroo-ka]]^{c}(Q)$ is defined in context *c* if (i) *sp(c)* makes public that she will not commit to formal behavior with respect to *ad(c)* (Hon=[0,.5]), and (ii) *sp(c)* believes that *ad(c)* doesn't know the answer and doesn't request an answer. (to 4b.)
 - b. If defined, $[[daroo-ka]]^{c} = \lambda Q_{\ll_{s,t>,t>}} Q \bullet (Hon [0, .5]): <<s,t>,t>^{a} x t^{s}$
- (5) a. SAQ: [[desyoo-ka]]^c(Q) is defined in context c if (i) sp(c) makes public that sp(c) will behave formally with respect to ad(c) (Hon=[.5,.9]), (ii) sp(c) believes that ad(c) doesn't know the answer and doesn't request an answer, and (iii) sp(c) hopes ad(c) to react to Q. (to 5c.)
 - b. ISQ: $[[desyoo-ka]]^{c}(Q)$ is defined in context *c* if (i) sp(c) makes public that sp(c) will behave formally with respect to ad(c) (Hon=[.5,.9]), (ii) sp(c) believes that ad(c) knows the answer and requests an answer. (to 5c.)
 - c. If defined, $[[desyoo-ka]]^c = \lambda Q_{\ll_{s,t>,t>}} Q \bullet (Hon [.5, .9]): <<s,t>,t>^a x t^s$

Since we found that *daroo-ka* questions can be used as ISQs, we want to know why informants find them acceptable. Thus, we ran a pilot study of testing how natural (on 7-point Likert scale) if using *daroo-ka* ISQ in contexts where an emergent accident happens. We provided emergent contexts and 8 participants filled in the online survey. The results show that *daroo-ka* is dispreferred in ISQ, contexts of urgency (mean:3.4). Details will be shown in the talk.

Selected References: Hara, Y.2019. Daroo ka⁺: The interplay of deictic modality, sentence type, prosody and tier of meaning. Miyagawa, S. 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in main clauses. 79–112. Oguro, T. 2017. Speech act phrase, conjectural questions and hearer. University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics 23(1):191–199. McCready, E. 2019. *The Semantics and Pragmatics of Honorification*. OUP. Uegaki, W.&Roelofsen, F.2018. *Do modals take propositions or sets of propositions? Evidence from Japanese darou*. Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistics Theroy, 28. 809-829.