Self-Addressed Questions & Honorifications
The case of Japanese daroo-ka/desyoo-ka

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Introduction

1. SAQs are characterized as "uttered in the absence of addressee" in the literature.

2. *Daroo* is an evidential modal which expresses speaker's surmise, *desyoo* is an honorific form of *daroo*.

(1)   Kare-wa kuru daroo
       he-TOP come MOD
       '(I think) he will come.'

Introduction

3. A *daroo-ka* Q can only be interpreted as a SAQ, not ISQ (Hara 2019),but she only tests the context where speaker is alone.

(2) Kagi-wa   dokoni aru (no) daroo ka?
     key-TOP where be C   MOD Q
     '(I wonder) where the keys are.' (= SAQ)

4. A *desyoo-ka* Q can be interpreted as ISQ or SAQ (Oguro 2017), but no SAQ context is offered.

(3) Dare-ga   kuru desyoo   ka?
     who-NOM come MOD.POLITE Q
     'I wonder who will come.' (= SAQ) or 'Who will come?'
     (= ISQ)

Main Issues

▶ Almost any question (in any language) can always be solitarily uttered. Therefore, in the present literature, the impact of a second (higher) person in SAQ contexts remains open.

▶ The use of honorific markers in SAQ seems odd, given that a speaker utters a question to herself while respecting herself.

▶ It remains unknown how a SAQ marker (i.e. speaker = addressee) can be consistent with an honorific marker (i.e. speaker $\neq$ addressee) in *desyoo-ka* questions.

SAQ study

Research Questions:
We wanted to know how acceptable *daroo/desyoo-ka* Q are if we vary the following two factors:

1. how well do speakers like them in ISQ contexts, as opposed to "talk to self" kinds of contexts?
2. what is the impact of a second person?
   - ▶ In ISQ contexts, a second person is needed.
   - ▶ In talk-to-self situations, a bystander is optional.

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Stimuli Contexts

▶ **ISQ (information-seeking question: the ad. knows the answer and the sp. expects that ad knows the answer)**
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 *daroo-ka/desyoo-ka*?"

▶ **SAQ$_1$ (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 *daroo-ka/desyoo-ka*?"

▶ **SAQ$_2$(There is a bystander, but speaker is addressing herself: the by. doesn't know the answer and the sp. doesn't expect that by. knows the answer)**
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 *daroo-ka/desyoo-ka*?"

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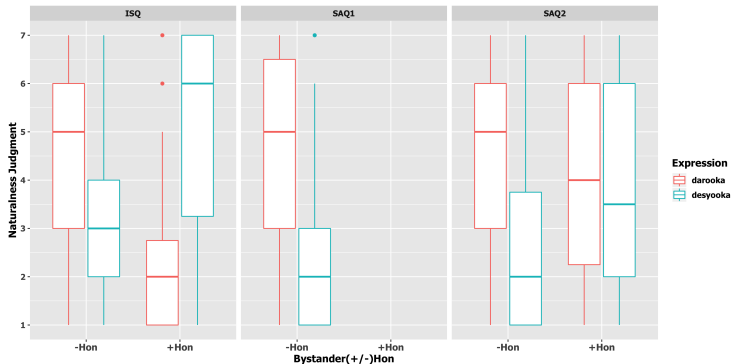Proposed Analysis
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Materials & Methods

1. A naturalness rating survey (on a 7-point Likert scale, latin-square design).

2. Dependent variables: Judgment

3. Independent variable: bystander(+/-Hon), expressions (*daroo-ka*/*desyoo-ka*), illocu.context types(ISQ/SAQ_1/SAQ_2)

4. 72 target items(3 illocu.contexts types x 2 expressions x 12 contexts)

5. The factor 'bystander' in ISQ and SAQ_2 varied for equal or higher person (e.g. a friend is changed to be a professor.)

Results

Overall, we had 74 native Japanese speakers (average age:35.2, SD=12, 44 females, 30 males) answered our survey.

Figure 1: Results of SAQ study

Interim Summary

Good/Expected:

▶ correlation between status of bystander (equal/higher) and *desyoo* (bad/good).

▶ talking to oneself counts as "talking to an equal."

Surprising:

▶ both *desyoo* and *daroo* were perfectly acceptable in information seeking questions.

▶ subjects tendentially dispreferred both *daroo* and *desyoo* in SAQ with a higher bystander.

→ Are *desyoo-ka* questions ever used in non-information-seeking contexts at all?

Corpus Evidence: desyoo-ka Q
Murakami: *Killing Commendatore*

The protagonist (P) is on a quest for a missing girl. The mythical commendatore orders P to kill him in order to achieve his aim. While the commendatore is certain that this will work, P is hesitant, asking himself loudly in the presence of the commendatore:

(4) Soo umaku mikomi   doorini monogoto-ga
     so   good   expectation as   things-NOM
     rensashite-kureru-mono-desyoo-ka?
     lead-BENF-NMLZ-daroo.HON-ka
     '(I'm not sure what sort of chain of events you're talking about,
     but) I wonder if these will lead me in the direction you anticipate?
     (Even if I kill you, there's no guarantee...)'

The protagonist (P) and his acquaintance Menshiki inspect a well-pit where, according to Menshiki, a monk in ancient times committed suicide. While they find no corpse, they find antique ceremonial bells which, according to Menshiki, were left behind by the monk. P doesn't trust this story and continues asking.

(5)   Moshi soo-da-to   shi-ta-ra, sono sokushinbutsu-wa
        if   that-COP-COMP do-PST-if this priest-TOP
        tsumari miira-wa   ittai   doko-ni
        I.mean   mummy-TOP on.earth where-DAT
        kie-ta-no-desyoo?
        disappear-PST-NMLZ-daroo.HON
        'If that's true, then where did the priest who died there – the
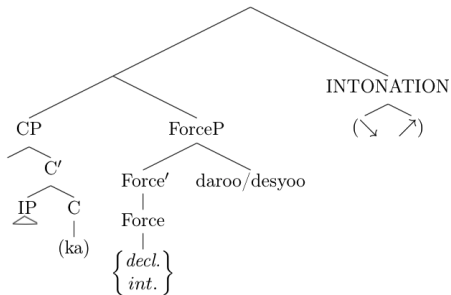   mummy, I mean – disappear to?'

desyoo-Q express joint-wondering in a formal "register".

Proposed Analysis

LF:

- ▶ *daroo* must scope over *ka* in LF à la Uegaki & Roelofsen (2018)
- ▶ *ka* locates in C node postition à la Miyagawa (2012)
- ▶ The Force head hosts the feature *decl.* or *int.* à la Zimmermann (2008)
- ▶ With *decl.* the epistemic reference point is the speaker. With *int*, the epistemic reference point is the addressee or addressee and speaker together à la Zimmermann (2008)

▶ **We propose:** *daroo* moves from CP to SPEC-ForceP: (i) modifying the strength of commitment, and (ii) determining the epistemic reference point (i.e. hosting *decl.* or *int.*)

Lexical Entries

- $\llbracket$daroo$\rrbracket = \lambda p.\lambda w.$ASSUME$(\chi,p,w)$

- $\llbracket$desyoo$\rrbracket = \lambda p.\lambda w.$ASSUME$(\chi,p,w)$ ♦ sp(c) $\propto$ ad(c)

- (χ can be speaker, hearer or both, depending on hosting which feature *decl./int.*)

- (♦: expressive meaning, $\propto$: a relation that sp(c) is formally distanced from ad(c), and sp(c) respects ad(c).)

- $\llbracket \nearrow \rrbracket =$ sp(c) EXPECTS an input from ad(c)

- $\llbracket \searrow \rrbracket =$ sp(c) ¬EXPECTS an input from ad(c)

Daroo in declaratives:

(6)   Kare-wa kuru daroo. ↘
      he-TOP come MOD
      '(I think) he will come.'

1. $\{<p \bullet \lambda w.\text{ASSUME}(\chi,p,w)> \mid p \in$ ⟦he will come⟧$^c\}$
2. decl-feature, the epistemic referent: sp.
   2.1 χ is speaker.
3. due to ↘, sp(c) does not expect an input from ad(c)

Daroo-ka in SAQ/ISQ:

(7) Kagi-wa   dokoni aru (no) daroo ka? ↘
     key-TOP where be   C   MOD Q
     '(I wonder) where the keys are.'

1. ⟦where is the key?⟧^{c}={λw.Key-At-Home(w),
   λw.Key-On-Desk(w),λw.Key-In-Office(w)}

2. *daroo* contributes:
   ▶ {<p • λw.ASSUME(χ,p,w)> | p∈ ⟦where is the key?⟧^{c}}

3. int-feature, the epistemic referents: ad, sp & ad.
   3.1 If χ are speaker & addressee, then we can derive SAQ reading.
   3.2 If χ is addressee only, then we get ISQ reading.

4. due to ↘, sp(c) does not expect an input from ad(c)

Desyoo-ka in SAQ/ISQ:

(8) Dare-ga   kuru desyoo   ka? $\searrow$
     who-NOM come MOD.POLITE Q
     'I wonder who will come.' (= SAQ) or 'Who will come?'
     (= ISQ)

1. $[\![$who will come?$]\!]^c = \{\lambda w.\text{Luther-come}(w),$
   $\lambda w.\text{Diego-come}(w), \lambda w.\text{Vanya-come}(w)\}$
2. *desyoo* contributes:
   ▶ $\{<p \bullet \lambda w.\text{ASSUME}(\chi, p, w)> ♦ \text{sp}(c) \propto \text{ad}(c) \mid p \in [\![$who will
     come?$]\!]^c\}$
3. int-feature, the epistemic referents: ad, sp & ad.
   3.1 If χ are speaker & addressee, then we can derive SAQ reading.
   3.2 If χ is addressee only, then we get ISQ reading.
4. $\text{sp}(c)$ is socially distanced from $\text{ad}(c)$ and $\text{sp}(c)$ respects $\text{ad}(c)$
5. due to $\searrow$, $\text{sp}(c)$ does not expect an input from $\text{ad}(c)$

Gist of the Analysis:

- ▶ *daroo* contributes a inferential evidential, roughly glossed as "I assume"
- ▶ in questions, ASSUME can be oriented to speaker and addressee (SAQ reading and joint speculation, see Eckardt 2020)
- ▶ in questions, ASSUME can also be oriented to the addressee alone.
- ▶ *Daroo/ desyoo* can figure in ISQ. Such ISQ allow the addressee to rest their answer on assumptions.
- ▶ Prosody harmonizes with the speaker's intention (data from literature; were not tested in study) ...

= in line with surprising finding nr.1

= missing on the intuition that *daroo* marks "self-addressed questions"

A Methodical Problem

(9) A is packing her backpack for a day trip. B is watching.
   A: Will it rain today?
       I wonder whether it will rain today.
       I'd just like to know whether it will rain today.
       If only I knew whether it will rain.
   B: The forecast predicts sunshine.

→ direct questions:

▶ politeness: indirect expressions of need of information.

▶ cooperativity: provide information, if possible.

→ Hypothesis: If you want to test questions, use urgent questions.

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UrgentQ pilot study

1. Our results show: *daroo-ka* can be used as ISQs, which contradict to Hara (2019).

2. We would like to know why Japanese informants find ISQs with *daroo-ka* acceptable/natural.

3. Hence, we decided to test the contrast between *daroo-ka* questions and plain questions in a more specific type of contexts; namely contexts where the urgency of a question disallows the possibility of performing indirect speech acts.

4. We called these urgent questions (UrgentQs).

Research Question:

Are *daroo-ka* questions acceptable in urgentQ contexts?

Hypothesis:

We hypothesized that our informants should judge the *daroo* questions as more marked in such situations, due to the extra pragmatic load they create for interpretation.

Materials & Methods

1. A naturalness rating survey (on a 7-point Likert scale, Between-Subjects Design)
2. 12 target items (2 expressions (*daroo-ka* v.s. plain-form) x 6 contexts)
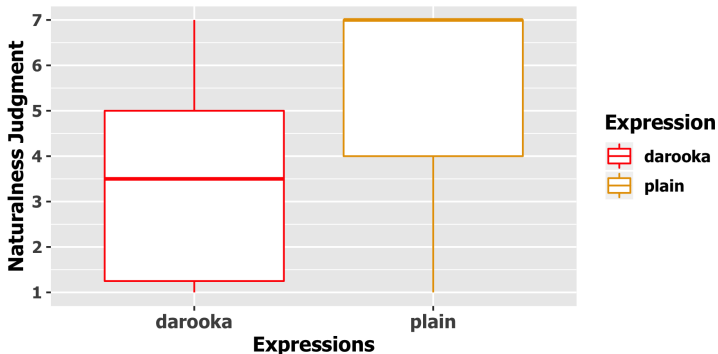
UrgentQ context:
Friend A is now in the classroom. Suddenly, friend B runs into their classroom and yells, "The classroom in the corner is on fire."

▶ B: "Where is the fire extinguisher *daroo-ka*?"
▶ B: "Where is the fire extinguisher?"

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Results

Overall, we had 8 native Japanese speakers answered our survey.

Figure 2: Results of UrgentQ study

Summary

Take-away message:

▶ Not every "question context" really tests for direct question acts. Many also tolerate indirect questions. Only "urgent" question contexts cleanly test for ISQ.

Follow-up study:

▶ We aim to revise our first study and test urgent questions in ISQ contexts. The question contexts where A asks Q to B who is in charge of answering Q; for instance:

   ▶ help-desk personnel in shops for questions Q about the shop's offers.
   ▶ parents for questions Q about the biographic data of their children.

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