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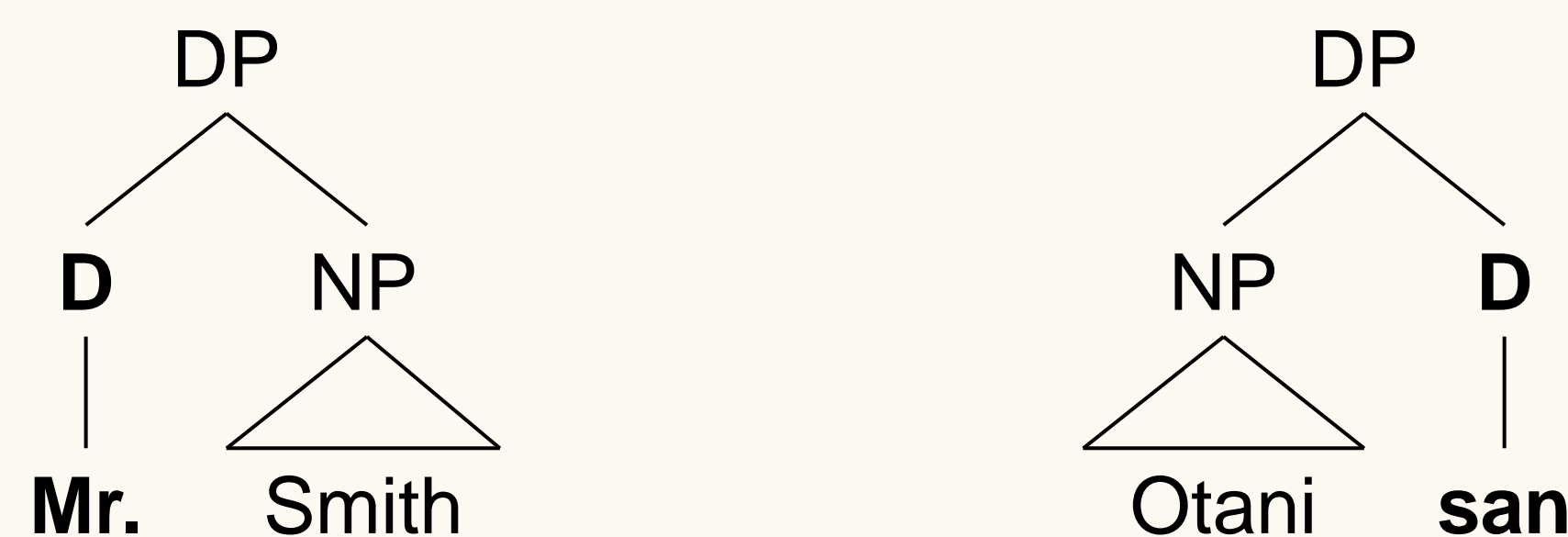
# Honorific titles are D

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## The claim

Honorific titles (henceforth “titles”) such as English *Mr.* and Japanese *san* occupy the D head position.

- (1) a. English                      b. Japanese



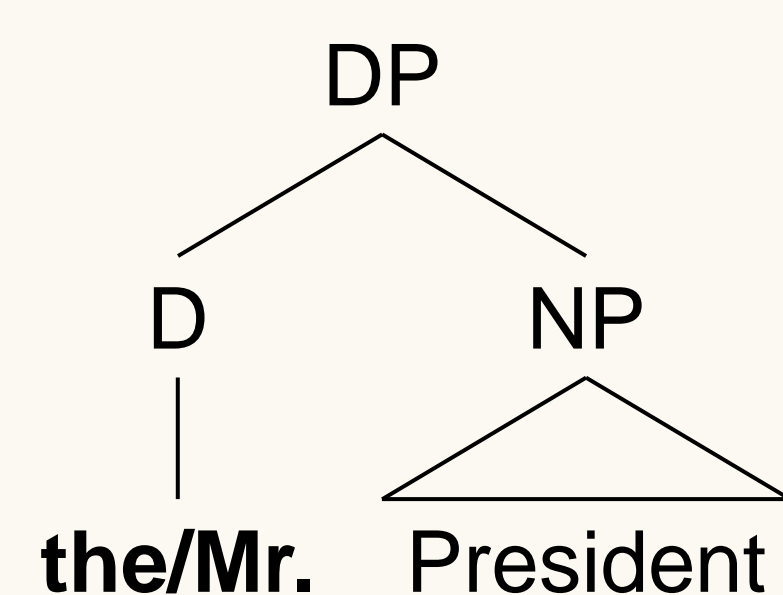
### Known exceptions

- Borrowed titles (e.g. *-san* in English, *misutaa* in Japanese)
  - Affixal titles (do not define own accent unit)
- (2) Japanese ‘Teacher Nomoto’
- a. [<sub>N</sub> Nomoto] [<sub>D</sub> sensei]                      b. [<sub>N</sub> Nomoto-sensei]
- H1LL                      HHH1L                      LHH                      HHH1L

## Supporting facts 1–2

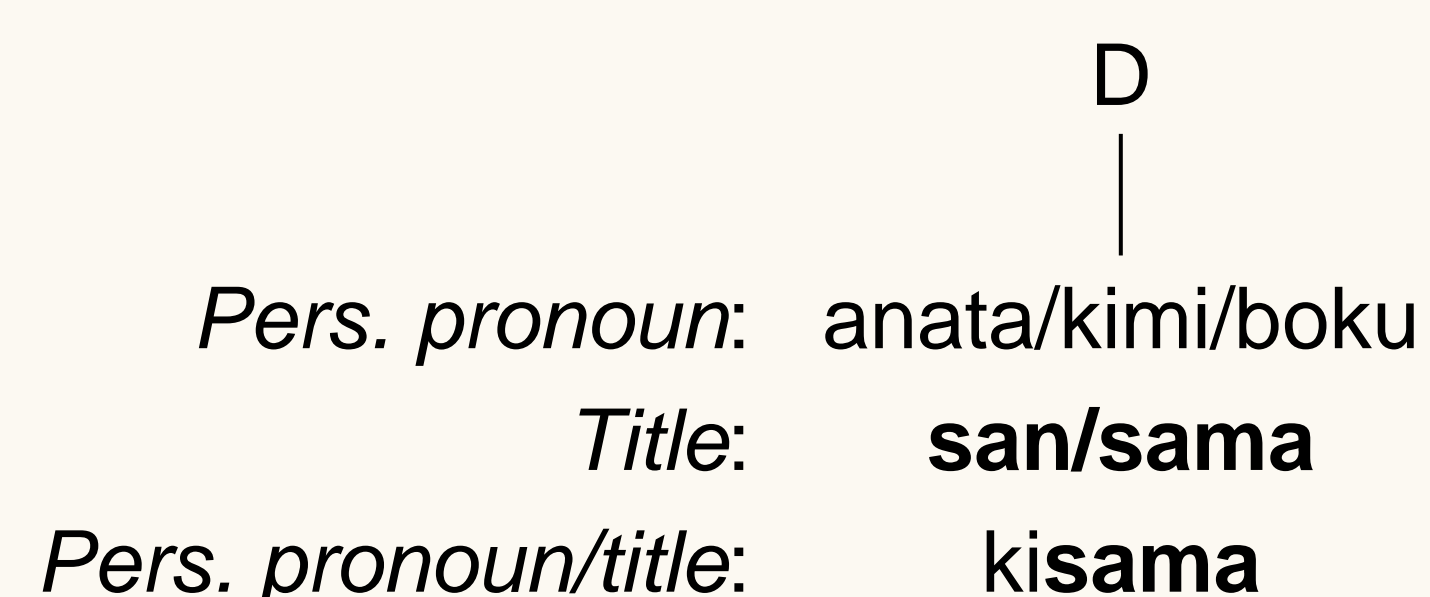
### 1. Co-occurrence restriction with definite articles

- (3) a. \**the Mr. President*  
b. \**Mr. the President*



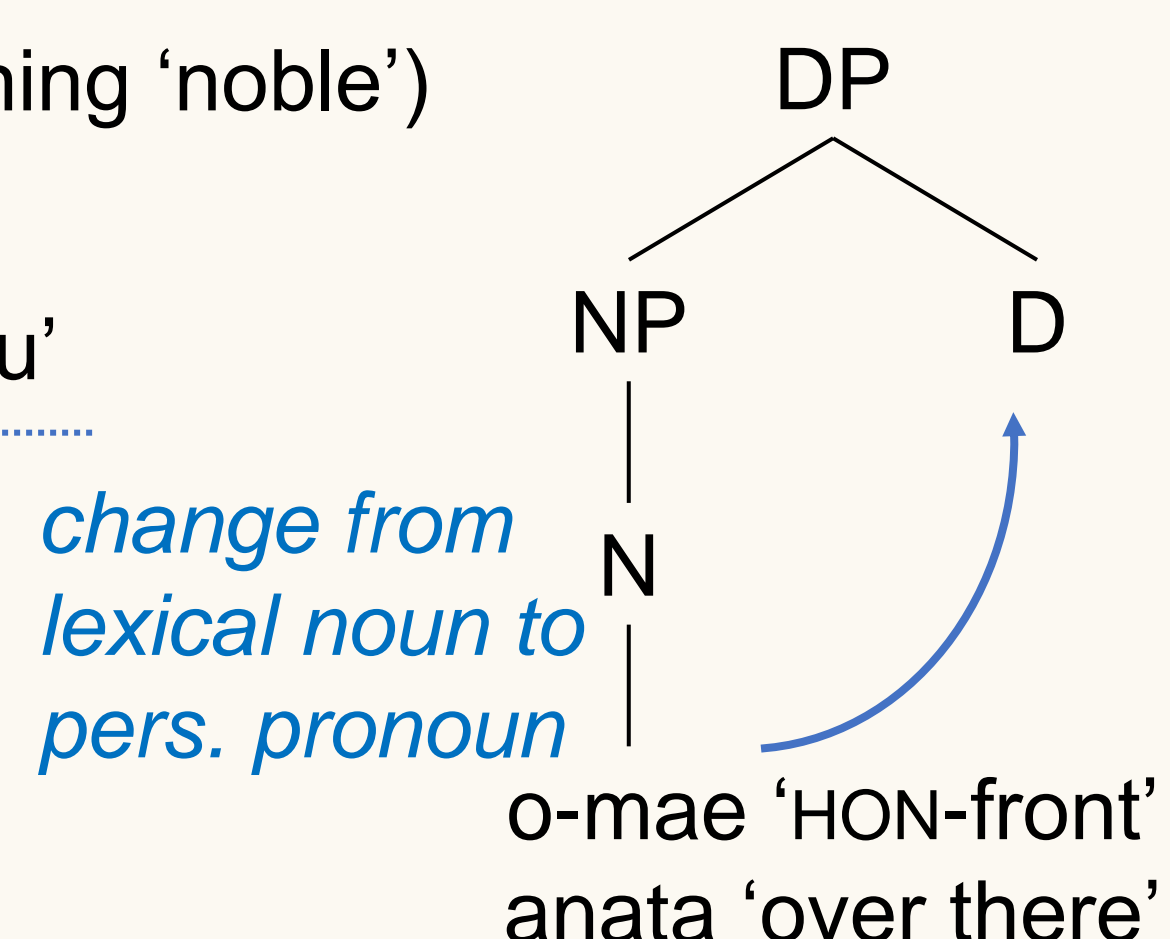
### 2. Co-occurrence restriction with personal pronouns

- (4) Japanese
- a. ‘you’ + title  
? *anata san*, \* *kimi san*
- b. ‘I’ + title  
\* *boku sama*
- c. title inside ‘you’  
*kisama* (cf. *ki-*: prefix meaning ‘noble’)



### Potential counterexamples

- (5) a. ‘you’ + title OR title inside ‘you’  
*omae san*, *anata sama*
- b. ‘I’ + title OR title inside ‘I’  
*ore sama*, *boku chan*

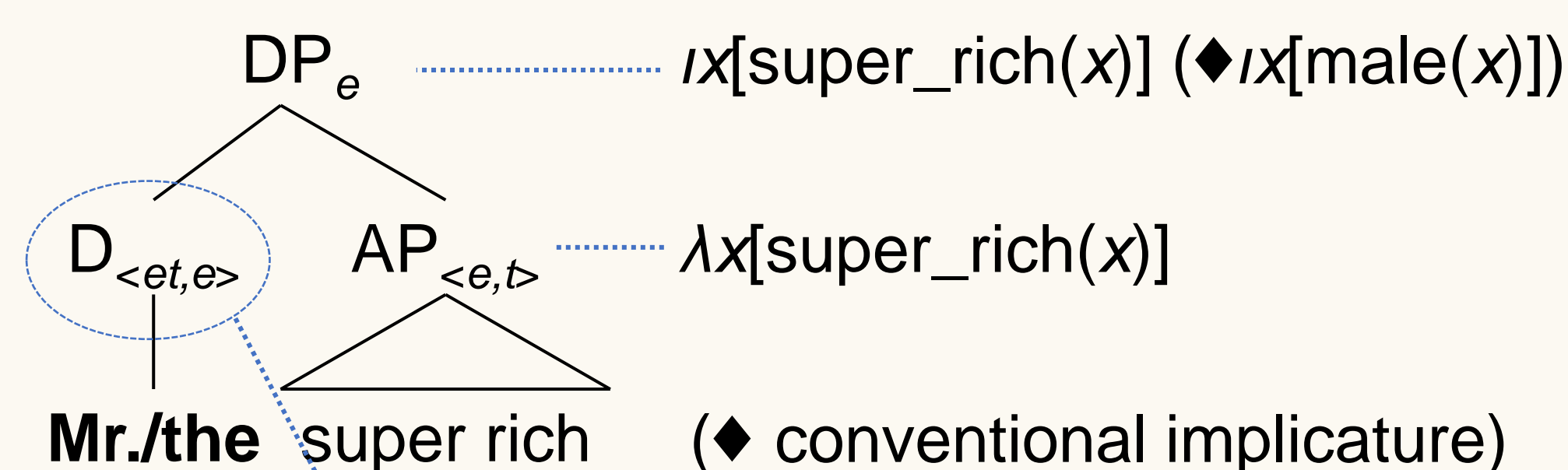


## Supporting facts 3–6

### 3. Co-occurrence with APs

Titles semantically functions identically to definite articles.

- (6) a. *Mr. Super Rich* ‘the male individual who is super rich’  
b. *the super rich* ‘the individual who is super rich’



### 4. Definite articles expressing familiarity

Definite articles can encode a meaning typically conveyed by titles (Boase-Beier & Lodge 2003: 235).

- (7) German (southern dialects in particular)
- der Franz*  
the Franz  
‘(Mr.) Franz’

Locus of honorificity

### 5. T-V distinction: Familiarity and respect

Semantic distinctions typically made by titles can be found in personal pronouns (which occur in D).

- Indo-European T-V distinction
- (8) a. French ‘you’: *tous* - *vous*  
b. German ‘you’: *du* - *Sie*
- Finer distinction in East and Southeast Asian languages
- (9) a. Japanese ‘you’: *temee*, *kisama*, *omae*, *kimi*, *anta*, *anata*  
b. Malay ‘you’: *kau*, *engkau*, *awak*, *kamu*, *anda*, *you*
- Titles differing in familiarity and respect
- (10) a. Japanese: *kun*, *chan*, *san*, *shi*, *dono*  
b. Malay: *saudara/saudari*, *encik/cik*, *tuan/puan*
- Familiar ————— Respectful

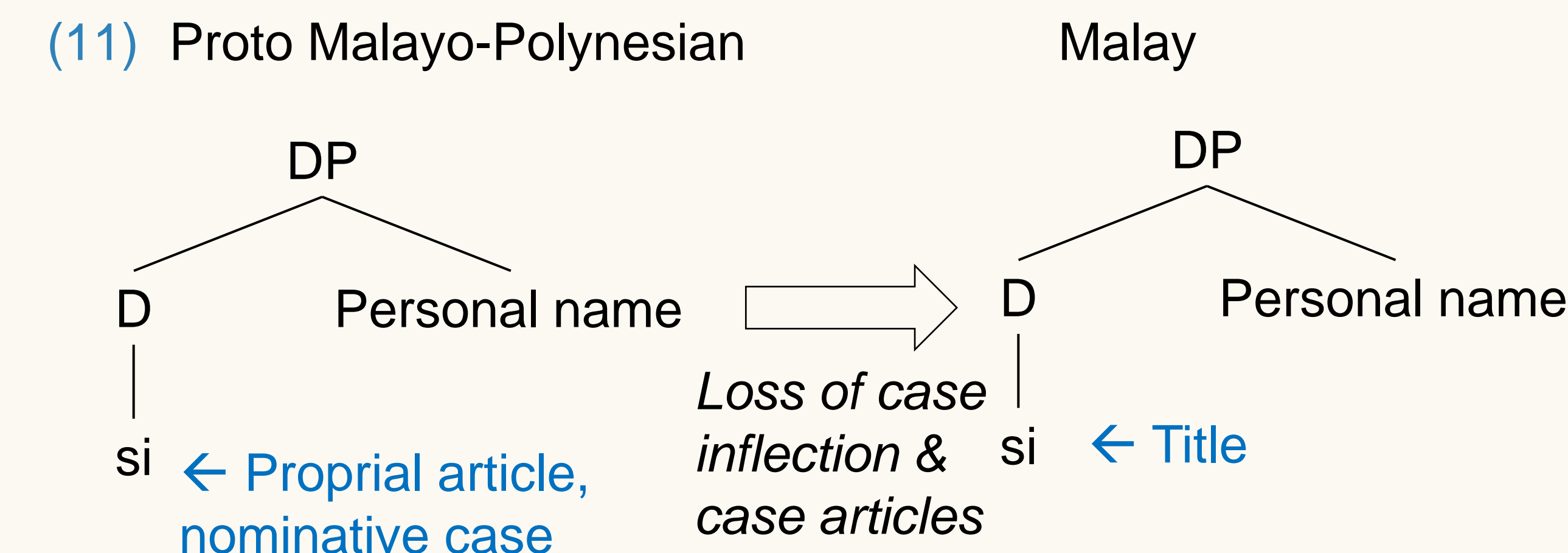
### 6. Head directionality

N head	Word order	Languages
Initial	Title Name	English, Malay, Thai, Vietnamese
Final	Name Title	Japanese, Korean, Burmese, Tibetan

→ Titles are not an adjunct/dependent, but a head.

## Supporting fact 7

### 7. Diachronic change from article to title



## Implications

### 1. Languages without articles

- If titles are D, nominals in languages without articles must be DP, contrary to Fukui (1986) and Bošković (2008, 2009), among others.
- Proponents of DPs often have to posit a null D.  
→ Titles can be used as overt evidence for D.
- Titles provide positive evidence for DP in language acquisition.

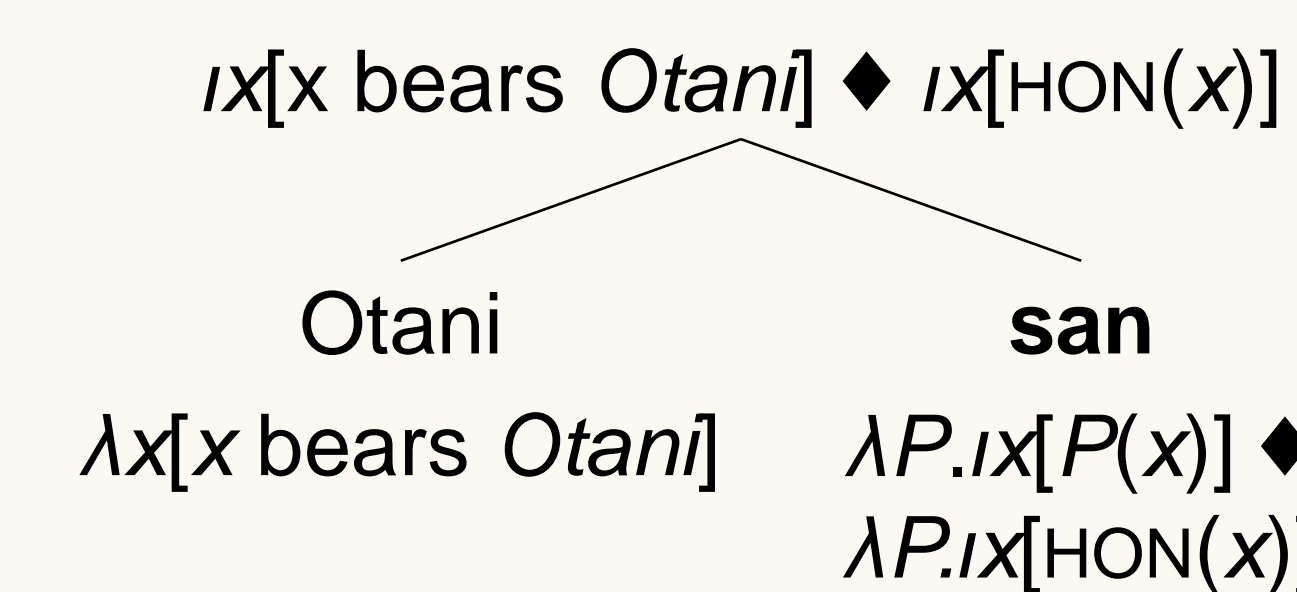
### (12) Japanese

*Hana chan*, *neko chan* [cat TITLE], *zoo san* [elephant TITLE]

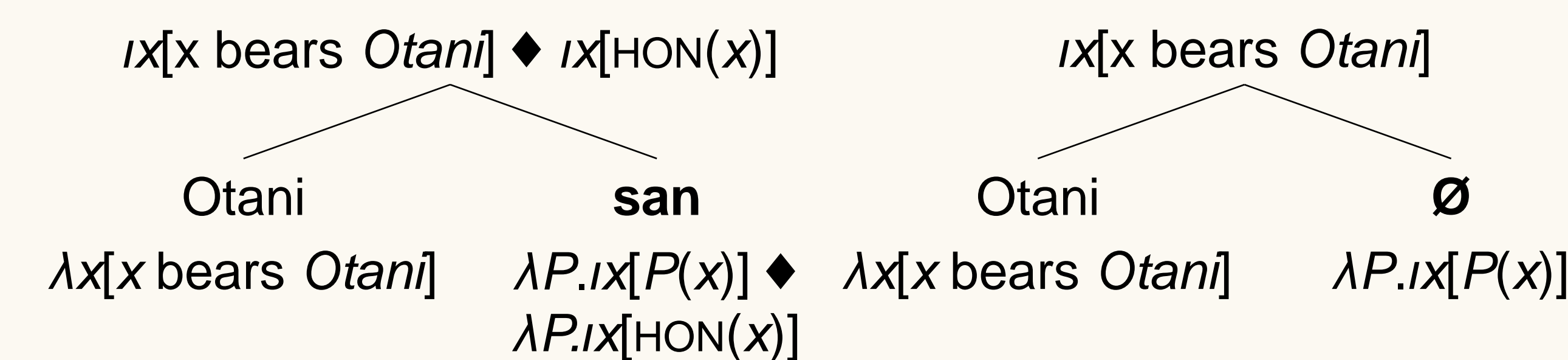
### 2. Semantics of proper names

- If titles are D, personal names cannot be D but N.
- Personal names lexically denote properties (type <e,t>) similarly to common nouns, supporting the predicative theory (Burge 1973, Guerts 1997, Matushansky 2008, Fara 2015, Muñoz 2019).

### (13) a. Overt title



### b. Covert title (/article)



### 3. Nominal Mapping Parameter (Chierchia 1998)

- Languages without articles have D, realized as either an overt title or a covert title/article and functioning as an *e*-to-*e* type shifter.
- Proper names are property-denoting (type <e,t>).  
→ It is natural to think that common nouns are also property-denoting.
- No need for a semantic parameter according to which common nouns in languages without articles denote kinds (type *e*).

**References** Boase-Beier, J. & K. R. Lodge. 2003. *The German language: A linguistic introduction*. Malden: Blackwell. ◆ Bošković, Ž. 2008. What will you have, DP or NP? In *NELS* 37, 101–114. ◆ Bošković, Ž. 2009. More on the NP-DP analysis of article-less languages. *Studia Linguistica* 63: 187–203. ◆ Burge, T. 1973. Reference and proper names. *Journal of Philosophy* 70: 425–439. ◆ Chierchia, G. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 339–405. ◆ Fara, D. G. 2015. Names are predicates. *Philosophical Review* 124: 59–127. ◆ Fukui, N. 1986. *A theory of category projection and its applications*. MIT dissertation. ◆ Guerts, B. 1997. Good news about the description theory of names. *Journal of Semantics* 14: 319–348. ◆ Matushansky, O. 2008. On the linguistic complexity of proper names. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21: 573–627. ◆ Muñoz, P. 2019. The propriat article and the semantics of names. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 12.