

*Japanese Honorifics:  
Its Syntax and Morphology*

by

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# **Chapter 1**

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## **Introduction**

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the morphological and syntactic properties of honorifics in Japanese. More concretely, I will propose a theory of honorifics based on the universal principles of syntax and demonstrate that the study of honorifics, which is traditionally considered as a Japanese-specific phenomenon or sociolinguistic phenomenon, can make some contributions to the study of I-language (Chomsky 1986a).

Before moving to the specific examples, it is needed to distinguish honorification from honorifics. Honorifics are linguistic expressions which make the sentences sound polite and not offensive to the addressee<sup>1</sup>. Every language has some kind of honorifics although they are not productive in many languages. Yet, some languages including Japanese have some productive grammatical system of honorifics. Harada (1976) calls the system of honorifics honorification. In this thesis, I will focus on the morphological and syntactic properties of honorification.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, in German, *Sie* 'you' is used when the hearer is not familiar with the speaker. If the hearer is familiar to the speaker, *du* 'you' is used.

I will investigate the morphological and syntactic properties of the following three types of Japanese honorification. The sentences in (1b), (2b) and (3b) are examples of honorification. The sentences in (1a), (2a) and (3a) are their non-honorific counterparts.

- (1) a. Yamada-sensei-ga      hon-o      yom-u  
                                  Prof. -Nom<sup>2</sup>    book-Acc    read-Pres
- b. Yamada-sensei-ga      hon-o      o-yom-i      ni nar-u  
                                  Prof. -Nom    book-Acc    O-read-I    NI NAR-Pres<sup>3</sup>

“Prof. Yamada reads a book.”

- (2) a. Taroo-ga      Yamada-sensei-o      tasuke-ru  
                          -Nom                    Prof. -Acc    help-Pres
- b. Taroo-ga      Yamada-sensei-o      o-tasuke      su-ru  
                          -Nom                    Prof. -Acc    O-help      SU-Pres

“Taro helps Prof. Yamada.”

- (3) a. Yamada-sensei-ga      hon-o      yom-u  
                                  Prof. -Nom    book-Acc    read-Pres
- b. Yamada-sensei-ga      hon-o      yom-are-ru

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<sup>2</sup> Nom= nominative, Acc= accusative and Pres= present tense.

<sup>3</sup> The more precise morphological analysis of the predicate will be presented in Chapter 2.

Prof. -Nom book-Acc read-ARE-Pres

“Prof. Yamada reads a book.”

First, consider the sentences in (1). Even though both sentences in (1) have the same logical meaning, only the sentence in (1b) has an additional meaning: the speaker shows his honor to the referent of the subject NP. Harada (1976) introduces a notion “Socially Superior to the Speaker” (SSS) for an NP whose referent is the target of honor, and calls this type of honorification Subject Honorification (SH) since the subject is an SSS. On the other hand, in the example (2b), it is the object, not the subject that is an SSS. This type of honorification is called Object Honorification (OH) since the object is an SSS. These two types of honorification are studied by Harada (1976). In addition, Japanese has the third type of honorification. The sentence in (3b) represents the third type, studied by Toribio (1990). Although the subject is an SSS in this type of honorification, it differs from SH in the form of the verb. Since the morpheme *-(r)are* appears, I will call this type RARE-Honorification<sup>4</sup> (RH).

Concerning the analysis of these three types of honorification,

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<sup>4</sup> Toribio (1990) calls this construction “honorific passive” since the morpheme *-(r)are* also appears in passive sentences. Yet, it is misleading to call it honorific passive since it differs from passive in several respects as I will discuss in the next chapter. To avoid this confusion, I will use RH for it.

traditional syntactic studies have assumed that the honorific interpretation of the sentence is due to some inherent property of an argument and causes “agreement,” changing the form of the predicate (Mikami 1970, Harada 1976).

For example, Harada (1976) assumes that some NPs like *sensei* ‘Prof.’ have SSS as an inherent property while other NPs do not. The following examples, however, suggest that his assumption is not correct.

- (4) a. Taroo-ga    hon-o        o-yom-i    ni na-ru  
                   -Nom book-Acc    O-read-I    NI NA-Pres  
                   “Taro reads a book.”
- b. Yamada-sensei-ga    hon-o        yom-u  
                                 Prof. -Nom    book-Acc    read-Pres  
                                 “Prof. Yamada reads a book.”

The sentence in (4a) is grammatical but unnatural because the NP *Taroo* is an SSS. On the other hand, the NP *sensei* ‘Prof.’ is *not* an SSS in (4b). This is unexpected if being an SSS is an inherent property of an NP. Rather, it suggests that being an SSS is not an inherent property of an NP. Thus, I claim that it is the syntactic context in which an NP appears that determines



whether the NP is an SSS or not<sup>5</sup>. That is, it is the element on the predicate that makes an NP to be interpreted as an SSS. This is the basic idea of this thesis.

More specifically, I will pursue the following three ideas.

- (5) a. The feature which contributes to the honorific interpretation must enter some relation with an argument to be interpreted properly if it appears on the predicate.
- b. The domain in which the honorific feature enters the relation with an argument correlates with the properties of the auxiliaries *nar-*, *su-* and *-(r)are*.
- c. The argument structure of the verb is crucial in honorification.

The theoretical background of this thesis is the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001) which assumes that syntax, the computational component of I-language (Chomsky 1986a), has two interfaces LF and PF, and each element on the relevant interface levels must be interpreted (the

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<sup>5</sup> As Niinuma (2003) noted, I assume that it is syntax that determines which NP is an SSS while it is the extra-linguistic factors that determine whether it is appropriate that the NP is an SSS in a particular context. Since the primary concern of this thesis is to investigate the morphological and syntactic properties of Japanese honorification, I will focus on the syntactic aspects and put aside the precise nature of extra-linguistic factors.

principle of Full Interpretation, Chomsky 1986a). Therefore, if the intuition of this thesis in (5a) is on the right track, the feature which is involved with honorification also obeys the principle of Full Interpretation, which is presumably one of universal principles. This is a surprising result since many traditional descriptive/taxonomic Japanese grammarians consider honorification as lexical phenomenon or Japanese-specific phenomenon. The goal of this thesis is to reduce the properties of honorification to the interaction of the property of the syntactic feature (=5a) and the properties of lexical items (=5b and 5c).

If the ideas in (5) are correct, this thesis has important implications for language learning: the learners need not learn these three types of honorification separately. That is, once the learner acquires the lexical items which appear in honorification, the learner, guided by the general principles of syntax, can determine what argument is an SSS at least for these three types of honorification. What the learners must learn are the feature which contributes honorific interpretation, the properties of the auxiliaries (*nar-* /*su-* /*-(r)are*), and the argument structures of verbs. In fact, since acquiring the argument structures of the verbs is unavoidable, the only experiences which the learners must gain are those on the honorific feature and the auxiliaries. This reduces serious burden of learners.

The organization of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 discusses the morphological and syntactic properties of honorification which is dealt by this thesis. Chapter 3 reviews the previous studies. In Chapter 4, I propose a theory of honorification to explain the properties. Based on the proposals of Chapter 4, Chapter 5 presents the analysis of SH and OH. Chapter 6 extends the theory to the analysis of RH. In Chapter 7, I will make a proposal on the basic word order of unaccusative verbs based on the analysis of honorification. Chapter 8 presents implications for education and language learning. Chapter 9 concludes the thesis.

## **Chapter 2**

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### **Setting up the Problems**

In this chapter, I will examine the morphological and syntactic properties of honorification and set up several problems. Section 2.1 is an overview of the morphological properties of the predicate. In Section 2.2, I will review the syntactic properties. Section 2.3 is a summary of this chapter.

#### **2.1. Morphological Properties**

First of all, I discuss the morphology of the predicate. Below are the typical examples of SH, OH and RH.

- (1) a. SH: o-watas-i ni nar-u ‘hand over’/ go-happyoo ni nar-u ‘announce’
  - b. OH: o-watas-i su-ru ‘hand over’/ go-syuppatu su-ru ‘leave’
  - c. RH: watas-are-ru ‘hand over’

As shown in examples in (1a) and (1b), the verbs of SH and OH have a common prefix, *o-/go-*<sup>1</sup>, which is called the “honorific prefix” (HP). In SH and OH, the verbs appear with a suffix *-i*. The nouns like *happyoo* ‘announcement’ and *syuppatu* ‘departure’ belong to Verbal Noun (henthforth VN, see Kageyama 1993). One of the characteristics of VN is that it has both nominal and verbal aspects. Roughly speaking, VN corresponds to Grimshaw’s (1990) complex event nominal. Note that SH and OH differ in only one point; in SH it is *nar-* ‘become’ that follows the sequence HP + verb + *-i*<sup>2</sup> while it is *su-* ‘do’ that follows HP + verb + *-i* in OH. On the other hand, the verb stem appears in RH and it is followed by *-(r)are*.

The morphological properties of the predicates are summarized schematically in (2). V stands for the verb stem.

- (2) a. SH: HP + V-*i*<sup>3</sup> *ni nar-u/* HP + VN *ni nar-u*  
 b. OH: HP + V-*i su-ru/* HP + VN *su-ru*

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<sup>1</sup> It depends on the lexical item which one is realized. I assume that it is specified as one of the lexical information.

<sup>2</sup> I assume that the particle *ni*, which appears between HP + V and *nar-* ‘become’, is a dative Case marker.

<sup>3</sup> The part HP + V-*i* corresponds to Harada’s (1976) HP + INF (= the infinitive form of a verb). For the reasons I will present below, Harada’s (1976) assumption that the verbs of SH and OH are infinitive is not correct. Hence, I will use the notation HP + V-*i*.

c. RH: V + *-(r)are-ru*

Let us discuss the difference between SH/OH and RH. Besides the difference of *ni nar-* ‘become’ (NARU<sup>4</sup>), *su-* ‘do’ (SURU) and *-(r)are* (RARE), one of the differences between SH/OH and RH is that HP does not appear in RH. The form of the verbs are also different between SH/OH and RH. In (2), the morpheme *-i* follows the verb stem in SH/OH<sup>5</sup>, while the verb appears without *-i* in RH. As shown in (3), V must be followed by *-i* when it is combined with HP.

(3) a. o-kaer-i

HP-go home-I<sup>6</sup>

b. \*o-kaer-u

HP-go home-Pres

In (3b) V is followed by the present tense morpheme *-(r)u*, not *-i*, so that the example is ungrammatical. On the other hand, V cannot be followed by

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<sup>4</sup> The notation NARU includes both *ni* and *nar-*.

<sup>5</sup> The morpheme *-i* becomes phonologically null if the verb stem ends with a vowel as the following example illustrates.

i) home-ru ‘praise’ → o-home-φ ni naru

<sup>6</sup> -I stands for the morpheme *-i* in the gloss. When the presence/absence of the morpheme is irrelevant to the argument, I will omit it from gloss.

*-i* in RH as the following contrast demonstrates.

(4) a. kaer-are-ru

go home-RARE-Pres

b. \*kaer-i-rare-ru

go home-I-RARE-Pres

In connection with the sequence HP + V-*i*, only SH/OH allow HP + VN to appear in front of NARU/SURU. This suggests that HP + V-*i* and nouns have the same distribution, as Kuno (1989) and Suzuki (1988) claim. Following examples from Ivana and Sakai (2003) illustrate this point.

(5) a. Daigakusee desu -ka

university student be -Question

“Are you a university student?”

b. \*Kaer-u desu -ka

go home-Pres be -Question

“Will you go home?”

c. O-kaer-i desu -ka

HP-go home-I be -Question

“Will you go home?”

In (5a), the noun *daigakusee* ‘university student’ appears in front of the copula *desu-ka* ‘be + Question’. On the other hand, the example in (5b) illustrates that the finite verb *kaer-u* ‘go home’ cannot appear in the position. That is, only nominal elements can appear in the position. The fact that the example in (5c) is grammatical indicates that HP + V-*i* can appear in the position. From this observation, Ivana and Sakai (2003) conclude that the sequence HP + V-*i* shares the same distributional property with nouns, but not with verbs. Hereafter, I will use the notation HP + V to refer to both HP + V-*i* and HP + VN.

To sum up, in this section, I have discussed the morphological properties of honorification. Especially, the following generalizations have been obtained.

(6) Properties of main verbs

- a. The distribution of HP + V in SH/OH is identical with nouns.
- b. V which appears in RH is in the stem form.



## 2.2. Syntactic Properties

This section reviews the syntactic properties of honorification. I will discuss the following three properties.

- (7) a. The subject/object orientation
- b. The indirect/direct object asymmetry in OH
- c. Peculiar properties of RH

### *2.2.1. Subject/Object Orientation*

The first property is the subject/object orientation. Consider the examples in (8).

- (8) a. Yamada-sensei-ga<sup>7</sup> Taroo-ni hon-o o-watas-i ni nat-ta  
          Prof. -Nom       -Dat<sup>8</sup> book-Acc   HP-hand over<sup>9</sup>   NARU-Past

“Prof. Yamada handed over the book to Taro.”

- b. #Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni hon-o o-watas-i ni nat-ta  
          -Nom                   Prof. -Dat   book-Acc   HP-hand over NARU-Past

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<sup>7</sup> Throughout this thesis, the NP which is interpreted as an SSS is underlined.

<sup>8</sup> Dat= dative.

<sup>9</sup> Hereafter, I will omit the morpheme *-i* from gloss.

“Taro handed over the book to Prof. Yamada.”

c. \*Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni hon-o o-watas-i ni nat-ta  
-Nom Prof. -Dat book-Acc HP-hand over NARU-Past

“Taro handed over the book to Prof. Yamada.”

The sentence in (8a) is grammatical and the subject NP *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ is an SSS. In (8b), the NP *Taroo* appears in the subject position. In this case, the NP *Taroo* is an SSS, and the sentence is marked #<sup>10</sup>. The ungrammaticality of (8c) indicates that it is impossible to obtain the interpretation that the object NP is an SSS even if the object NP can be qualified as an appropriate SSS. The same pattern of grammaticality is found in RH (see Toribio 1990).

(9) a. Yamada-sensei-ga Taroo-ni aw-are-ta  
Prof. -Nom -Dat meet-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada met Taro.”

b. #Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni aw-are-ta  
-Nom Prof. -Dat meet-RARE-Past

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<sup>10</sup> In this thesis, following Niinuma (2003), the context is restricted to the one in which only professors can be qualified as an appropriate SSS for clear judgments. I will use the symbol # for the inappropriateness of the SSS.

“Taro met Prof. Yamada.”

- c. \*Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni aw-are-ta  
-Nom Prof. -Dat meet-RARE-Past

“Taro met Prof. Yamada.”

The grammaticality of the sentence (9a) and the inappropriateness of the sentence in (9b) indicate that the subject NP is an SSS. As in the case of SH, it is impossible to interpret the object NP as an SSS. Let us call this property as subject orientation.

On the other hand, the inverse pattern is found in OH. Consider the following examples.

- (10) a. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni hon-o o-watas-i si-ta  
-Nom Prof. -Dat book-Acc HP-hand over SURU-Past

“Taro handed over the book to Prof. Yamada.”

- b. #Yamada-sensei-ga Taroo-ni hon-o o-watas-i si-ta  
Prof. -Nom -Dat book-Acc HP-hand over SURU-Past

“Prof. Yamada handed over the book to Taro.”

- c. \*Yamada-sense-ga Taroo-ni hon-o o-watas-i si-ta  
Prof. -Nom -Dat book-Acc HP-hand over SURU-Past

“Prof. Yamada handed over the book to Taro.”

In (10a), it is the object NP *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ that is an SSS. The example in (10b) illustrates that if the NP *Taroo* appears in the object position, *Taroo* is interpreted as an SSS, so that the sentence is marked #. It is impossible to interpret the subject NP as an SSS as the sentence in (10c) indicates. Let us call this property as object orientation.

Is the word order responsible for the interpretation of an SSS? Examples in (11) are the scrambled version of (8a), (9a), and (10a) respectively.

(11) a. *Taroo-ni* *Yamada-sensei-ga* *hon-o* *o-watas-i* *ni nat-ta*  
-Dat Prof. -Nom book-Acc HP-hand over NARU-Past

“Prof. Yamada handed over a book to Taro.”

b. *Taroo-ni* *Yamada-sensei-ga* *aw-are-ta*  
-Dat Prof. -Nom meet-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada met Taro.”

c. *Yamada-sensei-ni* *Taroo-ga* *hon-o* *o-watas-i* *si-ta*  
Prof. -Dat -Nom book-Acc HP-hand over SURU-Past

“Taro handed over a book to Prof. Yamada.”

As shown in (11), scrambling does not affect the interpretation of an SSS. Therefore it seems that it is the notion like subject and object that is relevant to be interpreted as an SSS.

From these observations, the following descriptive generalization can be postulated.

(12) The subject/object orientation

- a. SH/RH have the subject orientation.
- b. OH has the object orientation.

### 2.2.2. *Indirect/Direct Object Asymmetry*

Let us consider the detail of the object orientation. Harada (1976) points out that there is an asymmetry between an indirect object and a direct object in OH. He observes that if a predicate takes both an indirect object and a direct object, it is not the direct object but the indirect object that is interpreted as an SSS. Harada's (1976) following examples illustrate this point (Harada 1976, p. 530).

(13) a. Yamada-sensei-ni ootoo-o go-syookai si-ta

Prof. -Dat brother-Acc HP-introduction SURU-Past

“I introduced my brother to Prof. Yamada.”

b. #Ootoo-ni Yamada-sensei-o go-syookai si-ta

brother-Dat Prof. -Acc HP-introduction SURU-Past

“I introduced Prof. Yamada to my brother.”

c. \*Ootoo-ni Yamada-sensei-o go-syookai si-ta

brother-Dat Prof. -Acc HP-introduction SURU-Past

“I introduced Prof. Yamada to my brother.”

Among these sentences, they differ only in one point; the indirect object is *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ in (13a) while it is *otooto* ‘brother’ in (13b) and (13c). In (13a) and (13b), the indirect object is interpreted as an SSS, so that only (13b) is marked #. The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (13c) illustrates that it is impossible to interpret the direct object *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ as an SSS.

Of course, if a predicate takes only one object, it is interpreted as an SSS, as exemplified in (14).

(14) a. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni o-aw-i si-ta

-Nom Prof. -Dat HP-meet SURU-Past

“Taro met Prof. Yamada.”

b. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-o o-tasuke si-ta

-Nom Prof. -Acc HP-help SURU-Past

“Taro helped Prof. Yamada.”

Even though the object is marked by the dative Case marker in (14a) and by the accusative Case marker in (14b), both sentences are grammatical. Therefore, it is not the case that the asymmetry stems from the fact that an accusative NP cannot be an SSS.

Therefore, the following generalization can be obtained.

(15) The indirect/direct object asymmetry<sup>11</sup>

If a predicate of OH has both an indirect object and a direct object, then

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<sup>11</sup> Niinuma (2003) and Boeckx and Niinuma (2004) provide more data that indicate not only the indirect object but also other arguments (in fact, PPs) block the direct object from being an SSS. Some of their examples are presented below (Niinuma 2003 pp. 17-20, slightly modified).

i) Taroo-ga Tanaka-sensei-kara/#Mary-kara hon-o o-kar-i si-ta  
-Nom Prof.-from/ -from book-Acc HP-borrow SURU-Past

“Taro borrowed the book from Prof. Tanaka/from Mary.”

ii) Taroo-ga Tanaka-sensei-to/#Mary-to Hanako-nituite o-hanasi si-ta  
-Nom Prof.-with/ -with -about HP-talk SURU-Past

“Taro talked to Prof. Tanaka/to Mary about Hanako”

iii) Taroo-ga Tanaka-sensei-e/#Mary-e Hanako-no hon-o o-okur-i si-ta  
-Nom Prof. -to/ -to -Gen book-Acc HP-send SURU-Past

“Taro sent Hanako’s book to Prof. Tanaka/to Mary.”

Yet, as Niinuma (2003) and Boeckx and Niinuma (2004) assume, I assume if a theory can explain the indirect/direct object asymmetry, it can also explain their data straightforwardly. I will return this issue in Chapter 5.

the indirect object blocks the direct object from being an SSS.

### 2.2.3. Peculiar Properties of RH

This subsection discusses the properties of RH comparing with direct passive and indirect passive, since all the three constructions share the same morpheme *-(r)are*. First, I discuss the relation between Case and theta-roles in RH. Consider the sentences in (16).

(16) a. Yamada-sensei-ga     gakusee-o home-ta

Prof.   -Nom   student-Acc praise-Past

“Prof. Yamada praised the student.”

b. Gakusee-ga     (Yamada-sensei-ni)     home-rare-ta

student   -Nom                      Prof.   -by     praise-Pass<sup>12</sup>-Past

“The student was praised by Prof. Yamada.”

c. Yamada-sensei-ga     gakusee-o home-rare-ta

Prof.   -Nom   student-Acc praise-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada praised the student.”

The sentence in (16a) is a transitive sentence in which the nominative NP

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<sup>12</sup> I will use Pass for the passive morpheme to distinguish the morpheme from RARE in RH.



*Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ is the *Agent* argument and the accusative NP *gakusee* ‘student’ is the *Theme* argument. As the direct passive sentence in (16b) indicates, if the passive morpheme *-(r)are* appears on the verb, the *Theme* NP is marked by the nominative Case marker and the *Agent* NP is suppressed. This suggests that the relation between Case and theta-roles changes in direct passive. Yet, the relation does not change in RH; as shown in (16c), the nominative NP *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ is still the *Agent* argument and the accusative NP *gakusee* ‘student’ is the *Theme* argument. Hence, it is found that RARE does not change the relation between Case and theta-roles while the relation changes in direct passive.

Let us now compare RH with indirect passive. One of the properties of indirect passive is that all types of verbs (transitive, unergative and unaccusative) can appear in front of the morpheme *-(r)are*. Consider the following examples.

(17) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni ootoo-o home-rare-ta (transitive)  
           -Nom           -Dat   brother-Acc praise-Pass-Past

“Taro was affected by Hanako’s praising his brother.”

b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni waraw-are-ta (unergative)  
           -Nom           -Dat   laugh-Pass-Past

“Taro was affected by Hanako’s laughing.”

- c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni korob-are-ta (unaccusative)  
-Nom -Dat tumble-Pass-Past

“Taro was affected by Hanako’s tumbling.”

These verbs can also appear in RH. The next three sentences illustrate this point.

- (18) a. Yamada-sensei-ga Hanako-o home-rare-ta (transitive)  
Prof. -Nom -Acc praise-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada praised Hanako.”

- b. Yamada-sensei-ga waraw-are-ta (unergative)  
Prof. -Nom laugh-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada laughed.”

- c. Yamada-sensei-ga korob-are-ta (unaccusative)  
Prof. -Nom tumble-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada tumbled.”

These observations seem to suggest that RARE and the passive morpheme of the indirect passive behave in the same way. Yet, it is not correct since

they have totally different thematic relation. Consider the sentences presented below.

(19) a. Yamada-sensei-ga    gakusee-ni    hon-o    ur-are-ta  
   Prof.   -Nom   student-Dat    book-Acc   sell-Pass-Past  
   “Prof. Yamada was affected by the student’s selling the book.”

b. Yamada-sensei-ga    gakusee-ni    hon-o    ur-are-ta  
   Prof.   -Nom   student-Dat    book-Acc   sell-RARE-Past  
   “Prof. Yamada sold the book to the student.”

As the translations of each sentence suggest, these sentences have totally different meanings although the sentences consist of the same words. Particularly, the nominative NP is the “affectee” argument and the dative NP is the *Agent* (in the case of transitive/unergative verbs) or *Theme* (in the case of unaccusative verbs) argument in indirect passive while the nominative NP is the *Agent/Theme* argument in RH and there is no “affectee” argument.

From these observations, the following descriptive generalizations can be obtained.

(20) Peculiar properties of RH

- a. The same relation between Case and theta-roles holds in RH and its non-honorific counterpart.
- b. All types of verbs can appear in RH.

### 2.3. Summary of Chapter 2

In this chapter, I have examined the morphological and syntactic properties of honorification. As a result, following generalizations are obtained.

(21) Properties of main verbs

- a. The distribution of HP + V in SH/OH is identical with nouns.
- b. V which appears in RH is in the stem form.

(22) The subject/object orientation

- a. SH/RH have the subject orientation.
- b. OH has the object orientation.

(23) The indirect/direct object asymmetry

If a predicate of OH has both an indirect object and a direct object, then the indirect object blocks the direct object from being an SSS.

(24) Peculiar properties of RH

- a. The same relation between Case and theta-roles holds in RH and its non-honorific counterpart.
- b. All types of verbs can appear in RH.

In the next chapter, I will review two previous studies and reveal that they have some theoretical and empirical problems. After the review of previous studies, I will propose a theory of honorification to explain these generalizations in Chapter 4.

## **Chapter 3**

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### **Previous Studies**

In this chapter, I will review two previous studies (Toribio 1990 and Niinuma 2003, 2005). Toribio (1990) is the first attempt to provide a uniform explanation for SH, OH and RH in terms of Spec-Head agreement. Against Toribio's (1990) Spec-Head approach, Niinuma (2003, 2005) updates Harada's (1976) work and tries to explain the properties of OH via Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Discussing their analyses, I will point out that they have some empirical and theoretical problems.

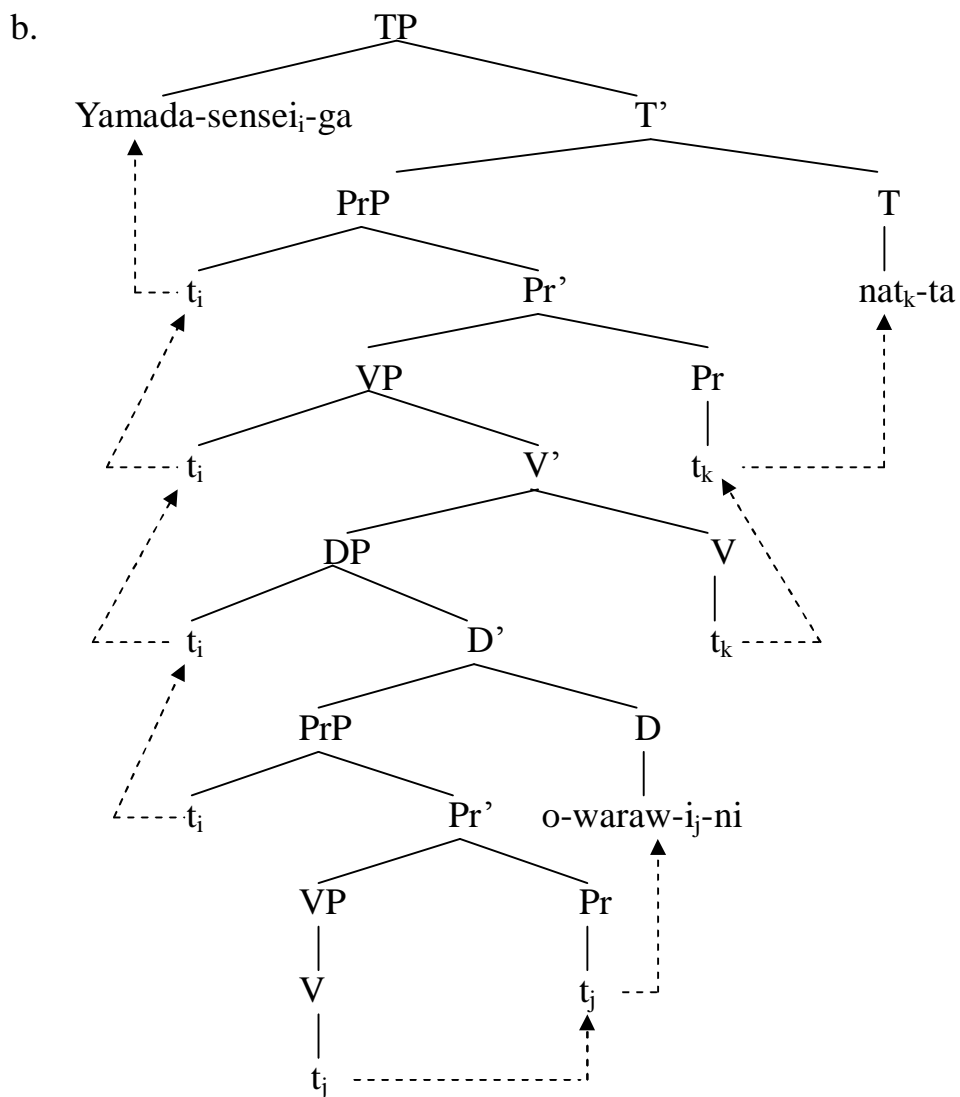
#### **3.1. Toribio (1990)**

In this section, I will discuss the analysis by Toribio (1990), which claims that honorification can be explained by Spec-Head agreement and tries to provide a unified theory of honorification. First, I will review her theory of SH, OH and RH, and then I will point out that her analysis has several critical problems.

Toribio (1990) proposes that NARU in SH is a raising verb while SURU in OH is a control verb. The structure in (1b) is proposed for a sentence of SH in (1a).

(1) a. Yamada-sensei-ga      o-waraw-i      ni nat-ta  
          -Prof. -Nom      HP-laugh      NARU-Past

“Prof. Yamada laughed.”



In (1b), Pr stands for the category proposed by Bowers (1988, 1993), which takes lexical phrasal projections like VP, AP and NP as its complement and introduces an external argument in its specifier position. In this structure, the head D (Abney 1987) takes the lower PrP as its complement and nominalizes it. Toribio (1990) claims that the noun-like distribution of HP + V can be explained by regarding the HP + V as DP.

She proposes that when an NP moves to [Spec, DP] and enters into Spec-Head relation with D, it triggers Spec-Head agreement and as a result, HP appears on the verb, which has already moved to D via head movement.

Note that her analysis attributes the subject orientation of SH to the raising nature of NARU. She assumes that the subject NP, which is base-generated in embedded [Spec, PrP], moves to [Spec, TP] successive-cyclically to check its Case feature, through [Spec, DP]. Hence, it is only the subject that can trigger Spec-Head agreement with D. In this way, the subject orientation of SH can be explained.

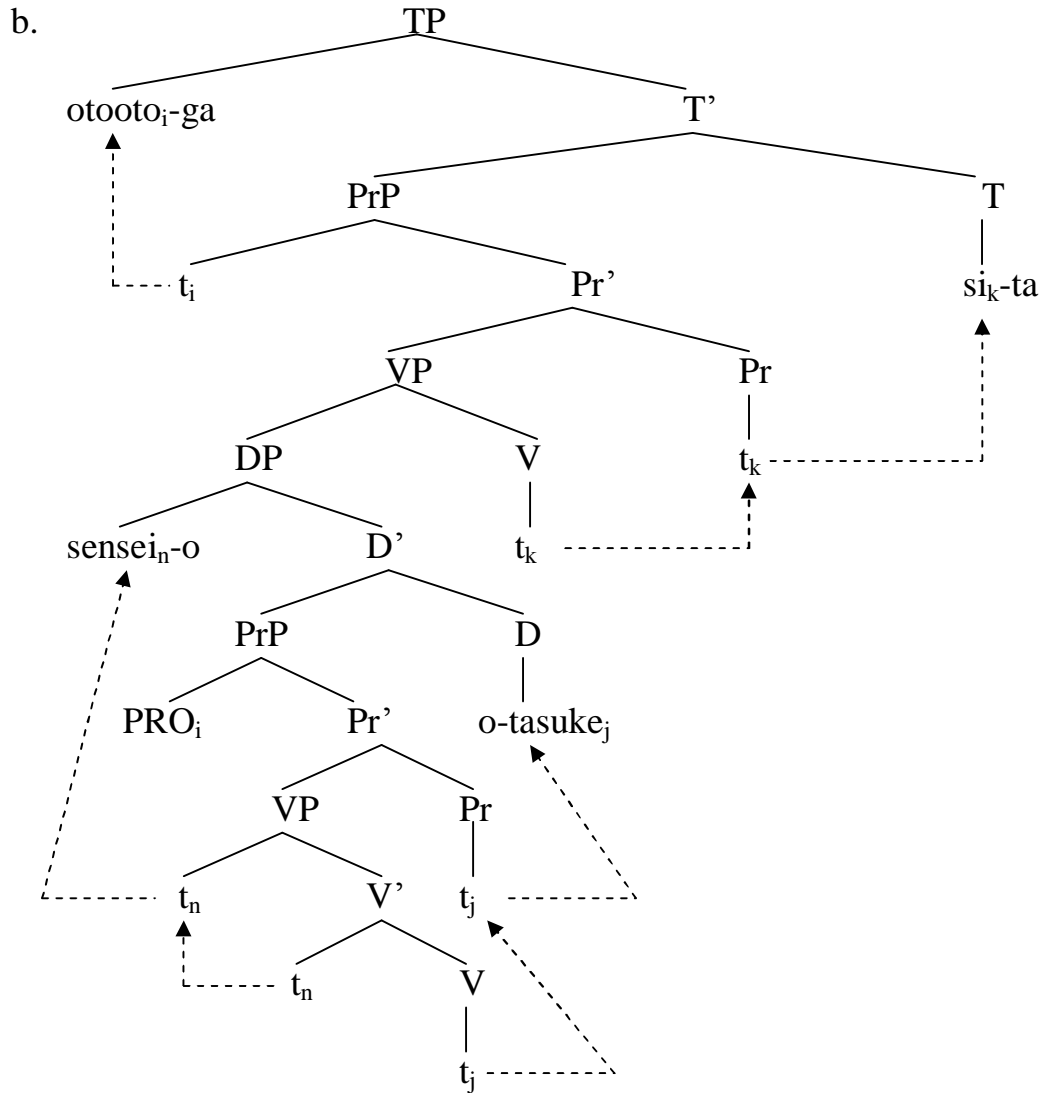
Let us now turn to her analysis of OH. The structure in (2b) is proposed for a sentence of OH in (2a).

(2) a. Otooto-ga      sensei-o    o-tasuke    si-ta



brother-Nom Prof.-Acc HP-help SURU-Past

“(My) brother helped the professor.”



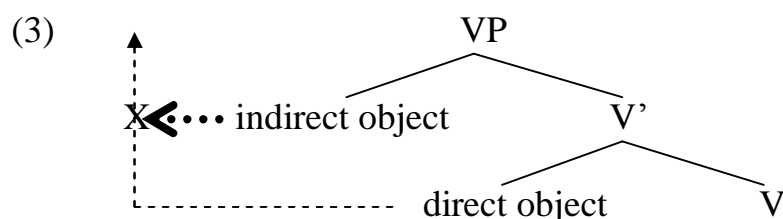
Because SURU is a control verb, the subject *otooto* ‘brother’ is base-generated in matrix [Spec, PrP] and controls PRO which is base-generated in embedded [Spec, PrP].

In this structure, it is the object that moves to [Spec, DP] and

triggers agreement with D through Spec-Head configuration. On the other hand, the subject is base-generated in the position higher than [Spec, DP], so the subject cannot enter the Spec-Head configuration with D. Therefore, her analysis can account for the object orientation of OH, attributing this property to the control nature of SURU.

Note that she stipulates [Spec, DP] as an A'-position to avoid the movement of the object over PRO to violate Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). This stipulation is crucial in the discussion below.

Toribio (1990) tries to explain the indirect/direct object asymmetry by locality consideration. She assumes the following structure.



She argues that since the indirect object is base-generated in the position higher than the position in which the direct object is base-generated, the movement of the direct object over the indirect object violates Relativized Minimality, so that the presence of the indirect object blocks the agreement between the direct object and D.

Yet, Toribio's (1990) analysis has several serious inconsistencies. The first problem concerns the indirect/direct object asymmetry. Consider the structures in (2b) and (3). Since she assumes that [Spec, DP] is an A'-position, the movement of the direct object over the indirect object does not violate Relativized Minimality, in the same way the movement of the object over PRO does not cause the violation, as Niinuma (2003) correctly points out. This means that her theory predicts that the direct object can be an SSS even if the indirect object is present, contrary to the fact.

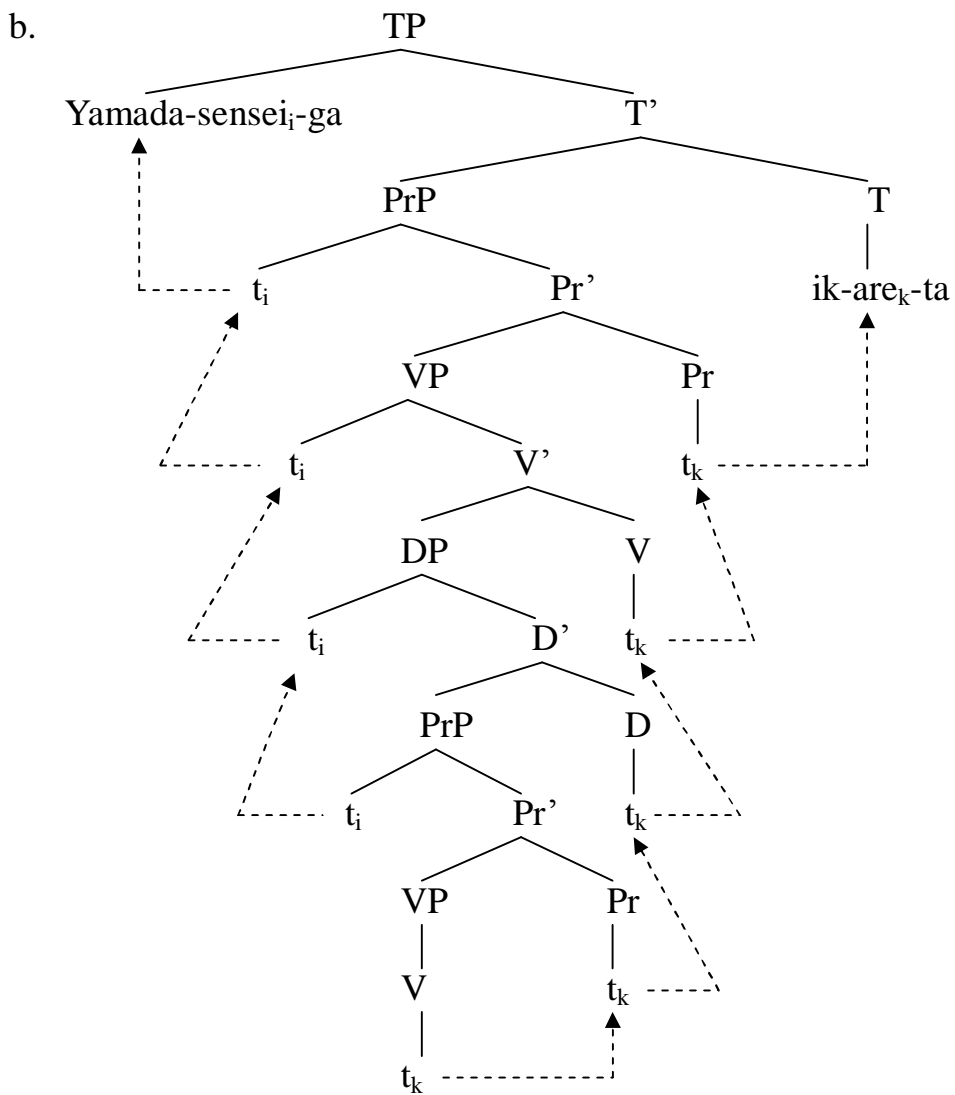
The second problem, which also stems from the assumption that [Spec, DP] is an A'-position, concerns with SH. Toribio (1990) claims that the subject moves from lower [Spec, PrP] to [Spec, TP] through [Spec, DP] in SH. This movement is a kind of improper movement (Chomsky 1986b), since both the departure site lower [Spec, PrP] and the landing site [Spec, TP] are A-positions, but the intermediate position [Spec, DP] is an A'-position by her assumption. Yet, to revise [Spec, DP] to be an A-position to avoid this problem causes another problem: the movement of the object over PRO in OH violates Relativized Minimality. Therefore, the object cannot be an SSS in OH.

Let us now consider Toribio's (1990) analysis of RH. Extending her analysis, Toribio (1990) claims that RARE in RH is also a raising verb and

proposes the following structure for RH.

- (4) a. Yamada-sensei-ga      ik-are-ta  
           -Prof. -Nom      go-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada went.”



Since *ik-* ‘go’ is an unergative verb, the subject *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof.

Yamada' is base-generated in embedded [Spec, PrP] and moves to [Spec, TP] to meet its Case requirement. Toribio (1990) claims that when the subject moves to [Spec, DP], it agrees with the verb which has already moved to D. In this way, the subject orientation of RH can be explained. She also argues that “[t]he lack of honorific morphology [=HP] in passive constructions is predicted since the verb is not nominalized” (Toribio 1990 p. 548).

What Toribio (1990) argues, however, is not consistent with what the proposed structure indicates. The first point is that since she argues that “the passive predicate *-(r)are* takes a PrP complement” (Toribio 1990 p. 548), she would suppose that RARE is a D. Nonetheless, the index on the verb in (4b) indicates that RARE appears in lowest V together with the verb *ik-* ‘go’. Even if the indexing is a mistake, the claim that RARE is a D is presumably wrong since RARE is a verb. This point is confirmed by the fact that RARE is immediately followed by past tense morpheme *-ta*.

The second point is that Toribio (1990) attributes the lack of HP to the absence of nominalization of the verb, despite of the presence of D in (4b). Although the presence of D is necessary for her because D is the locus of the honorific agreement, its presence makes it impossible to explain the fact that the verb appears without nominalization in RH. In addition, if D

has nominalized the verb, there is no reason to assume HP cannot appear on the verb. Therefore, her analysis should predict that HP appears on the verb in RH, contrary to the fact.

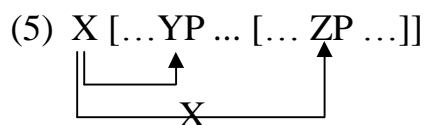
For these reasons, Toribio's (1990) analysis cannot be maintained, although her attempt to construct a unified theory of honorification and intuition that the difference of orientation between SH, OH and RH is due to the difference of the verbs are interesting.

### 3.2. Niinuma (2003, 2005)

In this section, I will review the theory proposed by Niinuma (2003, 2005). Adopting the recent Probe-Goal system proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001), Niinuma (2003, 2005) proposes that the properties of honorification can be explained in terms of Agree between an NP and a functional category. Specifically, he claims that a feature [+human] constitutes the phi-features of Japanese and when the functional category has the uninterpretable phi-features, it probes its c-commanding domain and agrees with an NP which has [+human]. If the relevant functional category is T, the form of the verbs changes to “HP + V ni nar-”, and if it is

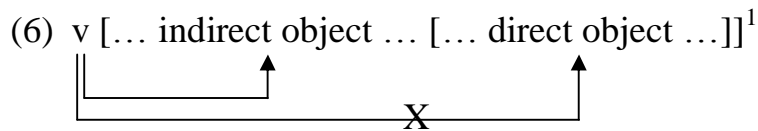
v, the form of the verb changes to “HP + V su-”. The NP which is involved in Agree is interpreted as an SSS.

The most interesting point of his proposal is that the indirect/direct object asymmetry can be explained as an instance of “defective intervention effects” (Chomsky 2000). The configuration where defective intervention arises is shown schematically in (5). X is a head, which probes its c-commanding domain to meet its featural requirement. In this structure, YP asymmetrically c-commands ZP.



Suppose that both YP and ZP can meet X’s requirement, but YP is “defective” in some sense. In this case, X cannot enter Agree relation with ZP due to the intervention of YP.

Niinuma (2003) explains the indirect/ direct object asymmetry by assuming the structure in (6), where the indirect object asymmetrically c-commands the direct object (Hoji 1985).



Given that being an SSS is a reflex of Agree with v, this structure clearly explains why the indirect object must be interpreted as an SSS when the predicate is a ditransitive verb. That is, the presence of the indirect object blocks Agree between the direct object and v.

Yet, Niinuma’s (2003, 2005) analysis is also not without problems. The first problem is empirical. Since the fact that a subject is an SSS and the appearance of NARU is related in terms of Agree with T, his theory cannot explain why the subject is an SSS in RH, even though RARE, not NARU, appears on the predicate. Although it is possible to assume that if Agree between T and an NP takes place, the verb can change to either “HP + V + ni nar-” or “V-(r)are” to account for the facts, this is just a stipulation.

The second problem is that Niinuma (2003, 2005) does not offer any morphological considerations of the predicate<sup>2</sup>. That is, he simply keeps assuming that the sequence “HP + V + ni nar-/su-” constitutes a verb as a whole. Thus, he cannot account for the noun-like distribution of HP +

<sup>1</sup> The order is irrelevant.

<sup>2</sup> Bobaljik and Yatsushiro (2004) also note this point.



V. One related question is the following: why does NARU appear when Agree with T takes place and SURU appear when Agree with v takes place?

The third problem concerns the mechanism of honorification. Although he claims that the relevant mechanism is Agree, his system has serious problems concerning Case. This problem has two aspects. One of the aspects of the problem is that honorification is an “optional” phenomenon. Consider the examples in (7).

(7) a. Taroo-ga    Yamada-sensei-ni    hon-o    o-watas-i    si-ta  
                   -Nom                    -Prof. -Dat    book-Acc    HP-hand over SURU-Past

“Taro handed over a book to Prof. Yamada.”

b. Taroo-ga    Yamada-sensei-ni    hon-o    watas-i-ta.  
                   -Nom                    -Prof. -Dat    book-Acc    hand over-Past

“Taro handed over a book to Prof. Yamada.”

The sentence in (7a) is OH and the one in (7b) is its non-honorific counterpart. Note that both sentences are grammatical. If Niinuma’s (2003, 2005) view is correct, Agree between the indirect object and the functional category v has taken place in (7a) while it has not in (7b). Therefore he

should say that *v* in (7a) has the phi-features but *v* in (7b) does not have them. This point is crucial, because agreement and Case are “the two sides of the same coin” (Boeckx 2004). The mechanism of Agree which is widely assumed is the following: the functional categories have uninterpretable phi-features, and NPs have interpretable phi-features and an uninterpretable Case feature. When a functional category which has the uninterpretable phi-features probes its domain and finds its goal, namely, an NP which has the interpretable phi-features, Agree takes place and deletes the uninterpretable phi-features of the probe and the uninterpretable Case feature of the goal. If Agree does not take place, then the uninterpretable phi-features and the uninterpretable Case feature remain, and the derivation crashes.

To see how the mechanism works, consider the next sentences.

- (8) a. John loves Mary  
b. \*John love Mary

In (8a), the functional category *T*, which has the uninterpretable phi-features, probes its domain and finds the NP *John*, which has the interpretable counterparts. Then, Agree deletes the uninterpretable

phi-features on T and the uninterpretable Case feature on *John*, and the derivation converges. On the other hand, in (8b), Agree does not take place as the morphological form of the verb *love* indicates. If Agree does not take place, then the uninterpretable phi-features on T and the uninterpretable Case feature on *John* cannot be deleted, and the derivation crashes. This is the reason why the sentence in (8b) is ungrammatical. The same situation holds for the relation between *v* and an object NP.

Let us now reconsider the sentences in (7). In (7b), because of the absence of the phi-features on *v*, Agree cannot take place, and the uninterpretable Case feature on the object *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ remains. Therefore, the derivation should crash, contrary to the fact.

The second aspect of the problem concerns with the value of Case. Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), suppose that the accusative Case marker is the reflection of Agree between an NP and *v*. Therefore, Niinuma’s (2003, 2005) theory predicts that an SSS should always be marked by the accusative Case marker. Yet, the prediction is not true. Consider the pair of the sentences in (9).

- (9) a. Taroo-ga    Yamada-sensei-ni    o-aw-i    si-ta  
                   -Nom                    -Prof. -Dat    HP-meet    SURU-Past

“Taro met Prof. Yamada”

b. Taroo-ga    Yamada-sensei-o    o-tasuke    si-ta  
                 -Nom                    -Prof. -Acc    HP-help    SURU-Past

“Taro helped Prof. Yamada.”

As shown in the sentence (9a), the fact that the dative NP can be an SSS poses a serious problem. One way to avoid this problem is to assume that when an NP agrees with *v*, the NP is marked by the dative Case marker at least in Japanese. As the example in (9b) indicates, however, an accusative NP can also be an SSS. That is, the fact that an NP which is an SSS can be marked by either the accusative Case marker or by the dative Case marker suggests that Agree is not appropriate mechanism to explain honorification. Since these problems are so serious and unavoidable, I conclude that Agree is not the correct relation to explain the properties of honorification.

In this section, I have reviewed Niinuma’s (2003, 2005) theory focusing on the mechanism which he proposes to explain the properties of honorification. Yet, it is revealed that his theory has serious theoretical and empirical problems.

### 3.3. Summary of Chapter 3

In this chapter, I have discussed two previous studies. Toribio (1990) argues that the properties of SH, OH and RH can be explained in terms of Spec-Head agreement. What is the most interesting point of her analysis is that she attributes the subject/object orientation to the difference of the verb NARU, SURU and RARE, although her analysis has several serious inconsistencies. Niinuma (2003, 2005) proposes that the mechanism Agree is involved in honorification and claims that the indirect/direct object asymmetry can be explained as an instance of the defective intervention effect. Yet, it is revealed that Agree is not appropriate to explain the properties of honorification.

## **Chapter 4**

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### **Proposals**

In the previous chapter, I have concluded that traditional syntactic approaches, namely “agreement” approaches, are not correct. Besides the empirical and theoretical problems, their analyses have one conceptual problem. Their idea that honorification is an instance of agreement has to presuppose that both arguments and predicates (in fact, some functional categories) have some common features (for example, Niinuma’s interpretable/uninterpretable phi-features). Yet, I have argued that there is no reason to assume that arguments have some features which contribute the honorific interpretation.

Against their agreement view, I will propose an alternative theory of honorification, based on the idea that the element on the predicate is due to the interpretation of an SSS. Section 4.1 presents the hypotheses and in Section 4.2, I will illustrate how the mechanism works by discussing some schematic structures. Section 4.3 is a summary of this chapter.

#### 4.1. Honorification as Licensing

In this section, I claim that licensing of an element on the predicate is adequate to explain the properties of honorification. Specifically, I will propose the feature [Honorific] ([H]) on the predicate and the following hypotheses.

- (1) a. [H] is licensed iff it binds an XP in the closest<sup>1</sup> theta-position.
- b. If [H] is not licensed, the derivation crashes.
- c. An XP is interpreted as an SSS iff it is bound by [H].

The proposals restrict the position which is relevant in honorific licensing to theta-positions to make the theory restrictive<sup>2</sup>, as stated in the hypothesis (1a). This restriction seems natural because honorification and theta-positions are both concerned with semantic interpretation.

The hypotheses (1b) and (1c) can explain the apparent optionality

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<sup>1</sup> The notion of closeness is defined as follows.

- i) Y is closer to X than Z iff;
  - a. X c-commands both Y and Z,
  - b. Y c-commands Z, and
  - c. Z does not c-command Y.

<sup>2</sup> I will return to this restriction in Chapter 5, 6 and 7. I will argue that this restriction not only makes the theory restrictive but also enables the theory to make an empirically correct analysis.

of honorification. If [H] appears in a derivation, it has to bind a closest XP, or the derivation will crash by (1b). If [H] does not appear, no XP will be bound by [H]. Therefore, no NP is interpreted as an SSS. The absence of [H] has no effect on the rest of the derivation. Thus, the fact that both honorific sentence and its non-honorific counterpart are grammatical can be explained.

The similar situation is found in indeterminate pronoun binding (see Kuroda 1965, Kishimoto 2001, among others). In Japanese, indeterminate pronouns (*dare* ‘anyone’, *nani* ‘anything’ and so on) function as *wh*-words, as shown in (2).

(2) Taroo-wa nani-o kawa-nakat-ta (-no)?

-Top what-Acc buy -Neg-Past -Q<sup>3</sup>

“What didn’t Taro buy?”

These indeterminate pronouns, however, can serve as negative polarity items when a particle *mo* appears on the verb<sup>4</sup>. Consider the following

---

<sup>3</sup> Top=topic marker, Neg=negation and Q=question marker. Even if Q is absent, the sentence can be interpreted as a question.

<sup>4</sup> The particle *mo* can also be attached to the indeterminate pronoun directly. Consider the following example.

i) Taroo-wa nani-mo kawa-nakat-ta  
 -Top anything-MO buy -Neg -Past



example.

- (3) Taroo-wa nani-o kai-mo-si-nakat-ta  
-Top anything-Acc buy-MO-do<sup>5</sup>-Neg-Past

“Taro did not buy anything.”

Kishimoto (2001) argues that the particle on the verb binds the indeterminate pronoun, and the bound pronoun is interpreted as a negative polarity item. Thus, his analysis supports the proposals of this thesis on the independent ground.

Turning to the proposals of this thesis, it is necessary to consider the timing of the licensing. When does the licensing take place? Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes that a derivation proceeds by phase-by-phase. Based on his idea, I propose the hypotheses in (4).

- (4) Licensing takes place when the strong phase where [H] is introduced completes.

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“Taro did not buy anything.”

<sup>5</sup> If the particle *mo* appears, the verb *su-* ‘do’ is inserted between the verb and negation. I do not pursue the reason of this insertion.

Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), I assume that C and  $v^*$ , which introduces an external argument, constitute the strong phase<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, I assume that  $v$ , which takes unaccusative/passive VP as its complement, is the weak phase. The completion of phase is defined as the following:

(5) A phase completes iff;

- a. a new head is merged to the phase, or
- b. no more head is selected from numeration.

(5b) is necessary for a matrix CP phase to complete.

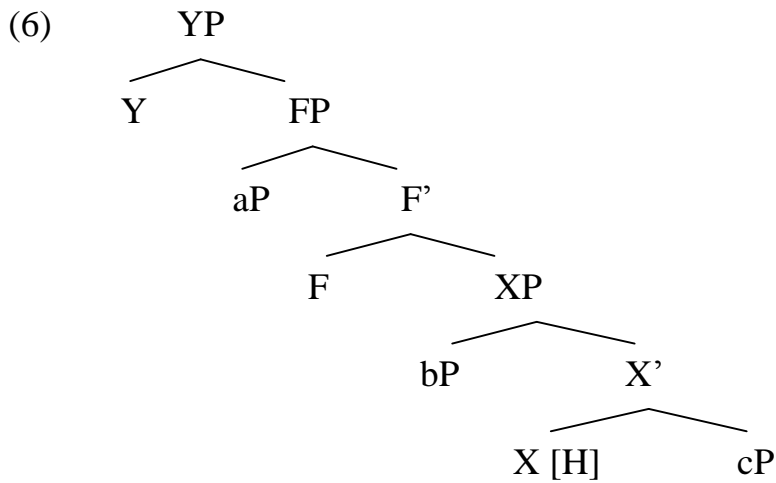
Based on the hypotheses, I will discuss in what configuration the honorific licensing takes place in the next section.

## **4.2. Configurations**

First, I will deal with the cases in which one [H] appears. Consider the configuration in (6).

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<sup>6</sup> This point plays a crucial role in the analysis of SH and OH in Chapter 5 and the analysis of RH in Chapter 6.

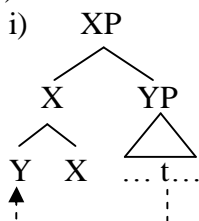


In this structure, aP, bP and cP are the arguments and receive theta-roles in the respective positions. In addition, X has [H] and F is a strong phase head. Suppose that no head movement takes place, and X remains in situ. When the phase completes (=the new head Y is merged to FP), licensing takes place, then cP is bound by [H] since it is the closest element in a theta-position. Thus, in this case, cP is interpreted as an SSS.

Suppose that X moves to F via head movement and then, a head Y is merged to FP, so that the phase completes. In this case, X c-commands bP and cP when the phase completes<sup>7</sup>. Since bP asymmetrically

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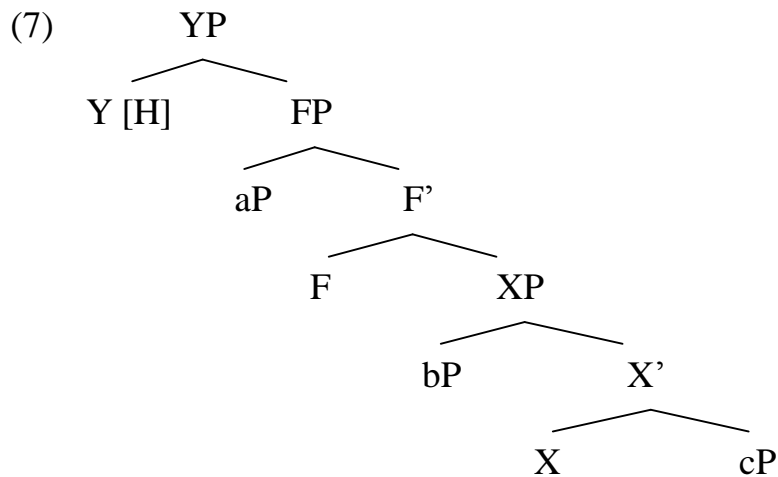
<sup>7</sup> I assume that head movement creates adjunction structure, so that the moved head (=Y) c-commands the sister of adjoined head (=YP).



c-commands cP, bP is closer to [H] than cP. Therefore, bP is interpreted as an SSS in this case.

If X is moved to Y via further head movement, [H] c-commands aP, bP and cP. Yet, [H] cannot bind aP even if it is the closest maximal projection in a theta-position, since licensing has already taken place when the head Y was merged to the phase. Further head movement to Y takes place presumably after the merge of Y and FP. Thus, aP cannot be interpreted as an SSS.

Let us next consider the following configuration in (7), slightly different from (6).



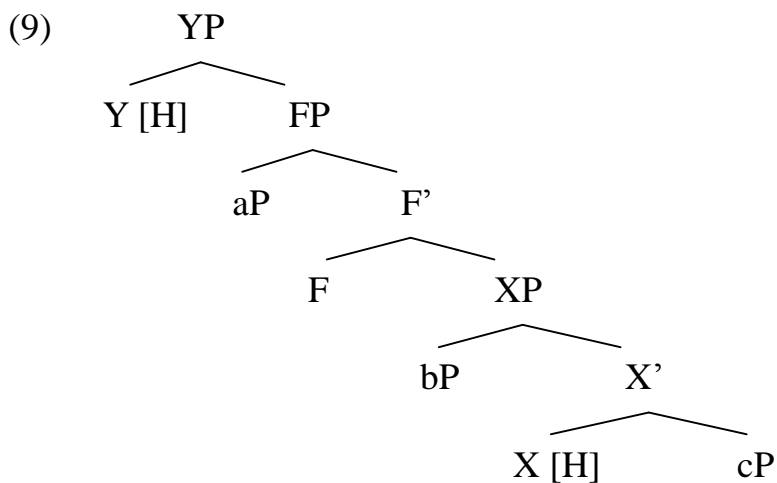
In this structure, Y has [H]. Suppose F is the strong phase. Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), I assume the Phase Impenetrability Condition

(PIC). PIC is formulated as follows; for strong phase HP with head H,

- (8) The domain of H is not accessible to operations outside HP; only H and its *edge* are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2001, p.13)

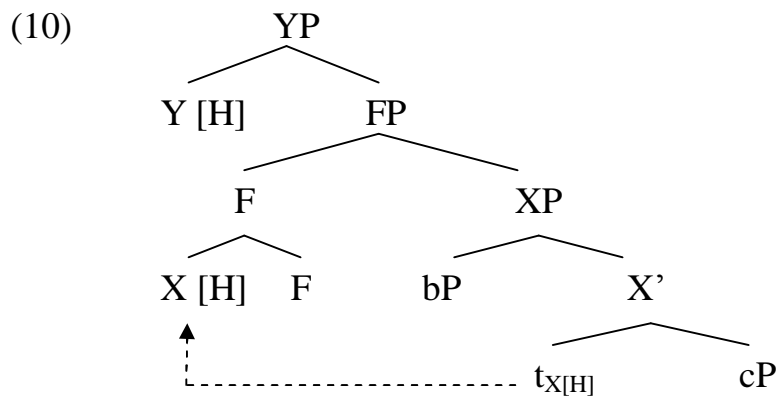
The domain of H is its complement and the edge is its specifier (and elements adjoined to HP). Thus, in (7), the domain of F is XP and the edge of FP is aP. Since the head Y is outside FP, [H] on Y binds only aP. If the position in which aP appears is a theta-position, aP is interpreted as an SSS. If not, [H] can bind nothing. Then, [H] cannot be licensed, and the derivation crashes.

Next, consider the case in which two [H]s appear, as shown in (9).



Suppose that F is a strong phase. In this case, either bP or cP is interpreted as an SSS, depending on the head movement of X. If X moves to F, bP is bound by [H] on X. Otherwise, cP is bound by [H] on X. Since [H] on Y binds only aP by PIC, aP is interpreted as an SSS. Thus, there are two SSSs in this case.

Suppose that F is not a strong phase and aP is absent (or the position is not a theta-position). In addition, X moves to F via head movement. This case is illustrated in (10).



[H] on X c-commands bP and cP. Since bP is closer to X than cP is, bP is bound by [H] on X. Besides, [H] on Y also c-commands bP and cP and bP is the closest to Y. Therefore, both [H] on X and [H] on Y bind bP, and thus only bP is interpreted as an SSS in this case.

### 4.3. Summary of Chapter 4

In this chapter, I have proposed a new theory of honorification. In this theory, [H] binds the closest XP in a theta-position and the bound XP is interpreted as an SSS. Based on the theory, I have demonstrated that how the proposals work in some configurations.

## **Chapter 5**

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### **Subject Honorification and Object Honorification**

In this chapter, I will provide an analysis of SH and OH based on the theory proposed in Chapter 4. Specifically, I will demonstrate that the three generalizations that (i) the distribution of HP + V is identical to nouns, (ii) the subject/object orientation and (iii) the indirect/direct object asymmetry can be explained.

In Section 5.1, I will propose the auxiliary hypotheses on the nature of the elements which appear in SH and OH, namely HP + V, NARU and SURU. Based on these auxiliary hypotheses, I will claim that SH and OH are kinds of Light Verb Constructions (Grimshaw and Mester 1988) and provide the syntactic structures of SH and OH respectively. Then, in Section 5.2, I will demonstrate that the theory of honorification proposed in Chapter 4 explains the generalizations. Section 5.3 argues the consequences of the proposed analysis. Section 5.4 summarizes this chapter.



## 5.1. HP + V, NARU and SURU

### 5.1.1. HP + V as Verbal Noun

In this subsection, I will propose that the sequence HP + V is a VN. Since VNs are kind of nouns, their distributions are presumably identical to nouns. Therefore, the generalization that the distribution of HP + V is identical to nouns can be explained. In addition, I will propose that the formation of HP + V takes place in the lexicon.

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, HP + V consists of two subclasses, HP + V-*i* (for example, *o-yom-i* ‘read’) and HP + VN (for example, *go-syookai* ‘introduction’). The proposal that HP + V is a VN is natural for HP + VN type since prefixation does not change the category of the word in general (for example, correct-*incorrect*). On the other hand, to claim that HP + V-*i* is also a VN, some justification seems to be needed. Thus, I will give some evidence that indicates HP + V-*i* and VN behave to their arguments in the same way.

First, consider the following examples.

- (1) a. Gakusee-tati-no    ronbun-no    happyoo    (-ga    yokat-ta)  
         student    -Plu-Gen<sup>1</sup>    paper    -Gen    announcement    (-Nom    good-Past)

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<sup>1</sup> Plu=plural, Gen=genitive

“Students’ presentation of papers (was good.)”

b. Taroo-no Tookyoo-kara-no syuppatu (-ga okure-ta)

-Gen Tokyo -from-Gen departure (-Nom delay-Past)

“Taro’s departure from Tokyo (was delayed.)”

c. Taroo-no tomodati

-Gen friend

“Taro’s friend”

The fact that VNs are followed by the nominative Case marker suggests that they are used as nouns in (1a) and (1b). In these cases, the arguments of VNs are marked by the genitive Case marker. As shown in (1c), this is the property of nouns. At this point, consider the following examples.

(2) a. Yamada-sensei-e-no hon-no o-watas-i<sup>2</sup> (-ga okure-ta)

Prof. -to-Gen book-Gen HP-hand over (-Nom delay-Past)

“Handing over the book to Prof. Yamada (was delayed.)”

b. Yamada-sensei-no nimotu-no o-okur-i (-ga okure-ta)

Prof. -Gen package-Gen HP-send (-Nom delay-Past)

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<sup>2</sup> Note that not all HP + V-*i* behave in this way. Consider the example below.

i) \*Yamada-sensei-no hon-no o-yom-i  
Prof. -Gen book-Gen HP-read

“Prof. Yamada’s reading the book”

What causes this difference is not obvious and I do not go into this matter.

“Prof. Yamada’s sending the package (was delayed.)”

The same behavior is found in HP + V-*i*. Thus, this provides evidence for the claim that HP + V-*i* is a VN.

Meanwhile, when VNs are followed by the verb *su-* ‘do’<sup>3</sup>, they behave as if they are verbs.

(3) a. Taroo-ga    ronbun-o    happyoo    si-ta  
         -Nom    paper    -Acc    announcement    do-Past

“Taro presented a paper.”

b. Taroo-ga    Tookyoo-kara    syuppatu    si-ta  
         -Nom    Tokyo    -from    departure    do-Past

“Taro departed from Tokyo.”

In these examples, the arguments are marked by the nominative Case marker or by the accusative Case marker and PP is not marked by the genitive Case marker. These sentences are called as Light Verb Construction (henthforth, LVCs, see Grimshaw and Mester 1988, Saito and Hoshi 2000). The same pattern of Case marking is found when HP + V-*i* is followed by SURU. The following examples

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<sup>3</sup> In fact, I will claim that this *su-* ‘do’ and SURU are the identical lexical item in Section 5.1.2.

illustrate this point.

(4) a. Taroo-ga    Yamada-sensei-ni    o-aw-i    si-ta  
                 -Nom                    Prof.    -Dat    HP-meet    SURU-Past

“Taro met Prof. Yamada.”

b. Taroo-ga    Yamada-sensei-kara    hon-o    o-uketori    si-ta  
                 -Nom                    Prof.    -from    book-Acc    HP-receive    SURU-Past

“Taro received the book from Prof. Yamada.”

From these observations, it turns out that HP + V-*i* and VN behave in the same way. Therefore, the hypothesis that the syntactic category of the sequence HP + V is a VN is justified.

Then, the next question is that how HP + V is formed. I propose that they are formed in the lexicon by the following steps:

(5) Step 1: a verb is nominalized in the lexicon, and its category is turned into VN.

Step 2: [H] is attached to VN.

Step 3: [H] is realized as *o-/go-*, depending on the item to which it attaches<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Although it is possible to regard the third process as a PF-process, this does not affect the

For the formation of HP + VN, the first step is simply absence. I assume that the morpheme *-i* nominalizes the verb<sup>5</sup>. This assumption seems to be natural since the suffixation changes the category of the word in general (Righthand Head Rule, see Williams 1981). For example, the suffix *-tion* changes verbs to nouns (introduce-introduction).

If it is assumed that the affixation of [H] takes place during the syntactic derivation, [H] would take VP (or nominalized VP) as its complement and projects to “HonorificP” since [H] is not argument of VN. That is, it has to be assumed that HP constitutes a kind of a functional category<sup>6</sup>. Yet, there is no reason to assume such an arbitrary functional category. Thus, I will claim the formation of HP + V takes place in the lexicon and HP + V constitute a word as a whole.

It is necessary that the nominalization of the verb precedes the attachment of [H] to the verb since [H] can be attached to only [+N] category (Toribio 1990). In addition, this ordering can explain the following contrast which I have argued in Chapter 2.

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argument.

<sup>5</sup> Kuno (1989) and Suzuki (1988) have reached the same conclusion independently.

<sup>6</sup> In fact, Ivana and Sakai (2003) provide such an analysis. On the criticism of their analysis, see appendix.

(6) a. o-kaer-i

HP-go home-I

b. \*o-kaer-u

HP-go home-Pres

The absence of the nominalizer *-i* indicates that the word *kaer* ‘go home’ is a verb. The example in (6b) is ungrammatical since HP is attached to the verb.

In this subsection, I have proposed that the syntactic category of HP + V is a VN and the formation of it takes place in the lexicon. As a result, the generalization that the distribution of HP + V is identical to nouns is explained. In the next subsection, I will discuss the nature of NARU and SURU.

### *5.1.2. Two Types of Light Verbs*

In this subsection, I will propose that both NARU and SURU are light verbs (Grimshaw and Mester 1988) in the sense that they have no theta-role and take VNPs as complements. That is, I will claim that SH and OH are kinds of LVCs. I will start the argument on SURU since this verb generally appears in LVCs in Japanese (and other languages). Then, I will claim that NARU is also a kind of light verbs but it differs from SURU in the position in which an external argument of VNP is base-generated. I will also argue that the difference stems

form the NARU's unaccusative nature.

First of all, I propose that SURU in OH is a transitive light verb. To see this, let us consider the following sentences.

(7) a. Taroo-ga tomodati-ni ootoo-o syookai si-ta

-Nom friend -Dat brother-Acc introduction su-Past

“Taro introduced the friend to his brother.”

b. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni ootoo-o go-syookai si-ta

-Nom Prof. -Dat brother-Acc HP-introduction SURU-Past

“Taro introduced his brother to Prof. Yamada.”

c. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni hon-o o-watas-i si-ta

-Nom Prof. -Dat book-Acc HP-hand over SURU-Past

“Taro handed over the book to Prof. Yamada.”

The sentence in (7a) is a typical LVC, in which a light verb *su-* ‘do’ follows a VN *syookai* ‘introduction’. The sentences in (7b) and (7c) are examples of OH. As I have shown in the previous subsection, the categorical status of HP + V is a VN, and they are followed by SURU. This suggests that OH is a kind of LVCs<sup>7,8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Hereafter, the notation SURU includes *su-* ‘do’ in non-honorific LVCs.

Following Karimi-Doostan (2005), I assume that light verbs are semantically bleached verbs (that is, they have no theta-role) and they should be distinguished from *v*. More specifically, I claim the following hypotheses.

(8) The nature of SURU

- a. SURU takes VNP as its complement.
- b. SURU is a V, and selected by *v*\* (Chomsky 2000, 2001).
- c. An external argument of VN is base-generated in [Spec, *v*\*P] of SURU, and receives a theta-role of VN there.

Since SURU is presumably transitive, it is natural that *v*\* appears above the VP as I have claimed in (8b).

To clarify this point, I will compare SURU with the verb *nar-* ‘become’.

First of all, consider the following examples.

- (9) a. Taroo-ga    si-ta-no-wa            ronbun-o    kai-ta            koto-da  
                   -Nom    do-Past-thing-Top    paper-Acc    write-Past    fact-Pres

“What Taro did is to write the paper.”

- b. Taroo-ga    si-ta-no-wa            hasit-ta            koto-da

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<sup>8</sup> Bobaljik and Yatsushiro (2004) also suggest this idea and provide some evidence.



-Nom do-Past-thing-Top run-Past fact-Pres

“What Taro did is to run.”

c. \*Taroo-ga si-ta-no-wa sin-da koto-da

-Nom do-Past-thing-Top die-Past fact-Pres

“(Lit.) What Taro did is to die.”

The example in (9a) illustrates that the subject of a transitive verb like *kak-* ‘write’ can appear in the context *x-ga si-ta-no-wa ... koto-da* ‘what x did is that ...’. In addition, the subject of an unergative verb like *hasir-* ‘run’ can appear there as in (9b). Yet, as shown in (9c), the subject of an unaccusative verb like *sin-* ‘die’ cannot appear there. This difference stems from their base-generated position of the subject; a VP-external position (= [Spec, v\*P]) for transitive verbs and unergative verbs, and a VP-internal position for unaccusative verbs. That is, it is only the argument which is base-generated in [Spec, v\*P] that can appear in the context.

Next, consider the following examples. The sentence in (10a) is an example of LVCs. The verb *nar-* ‘become’ is used in the example in (10b).

(10) a. Taroo-ga si-ta-no-wa gakkai-de happyoo si-ta koto-da

-Nom do-Past-thing-Top symposium-at announcement SURU-Past fact-Pres

“What Taro did is to present the paper at the symposium.”

b. \*Taroo-ga si-ta-no-wa sensei-ni nat-ta koto-da  
-Nom do-Past-thing-Top teacher-Dat become-Past fact-Pres

“(Lit.) What Taro did is to become a teacher.”

The fact that the sentence in (10a) is grammatical suggests that the subject of SURU is base-generated in [Spec, v\*P]. This observation supports the hypothesis in (8c). On the other hand, the fact that the example in (10b) is ungrammatical indicates that the subject of *nar-* ‘become’ is base-generated not in [Spec, v\*P] but in some VP-internal position. I assume the relevant position as [Spec, VP]. This observation suggests that the verb *nar-* ‘become’ is a kind of unaccusative verbs.

Another evidence of the unaccusativity of the verb *nar-* ‘become’ comes from *takusan* ‘much/many’-modification (Kageyama 1993).

(11) a. Takusan hon-o yon-da (transitive)  
much/many book-Acc read-Past

“Someone read many books /\*many people read the book.”

b. Takusan umare-ta (unaccusative)  
much/many be born-Past

“Many babies were born.”

c. Takusan ason-da (unergative)

much/many play-Past

“Someone played plenty of time /\*many people played.”

In (11a), what *takusan* ‘much/many’ modifies is the object, not the subject. As shown in (11b), the subject of an unaccusative verb can be modified by *takusan* ‘much/many’. It is possible since the subject of unaccusative verbs is base-generated in the VP-internal position. The example in (11c) suggests that what *takusan* ‘much/many’ modifies is not the subject but the quantity of the event. These observations suggest that only VP-internal elements can be modified by the modifier *takusan* ‘much/many’.

Then, consider the example in (12).

(12) Takusan byooki-ni nat-ta

much/many sick-Dat become-Past

“Many people became sick.”

The fact that the subject of this sentence can be modified by *takusan* ‘much/many’ suggests that the argument is base-generated in some VP-internal

position. Therefore, it is plausible to assume *nar-* ‘become’ is an unaccusative verb<sup>9</sup>.

At this point, I propose that NARU is an unaccusative type light verb<sup>10</sup>. That is, I assume that the verb *nar-* ‘become’ has two usage, namely as a main verb and as a light verb, and that the unaccusative property of *nar-* ‘become’ is inherited when it is used as light verb NARU. More concretely, I propose the nature of NARU as follows:

(13) The nature of NARU

- a. NARU takes VNP as its complement.
- b. NARU is a V and selected by *v* (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

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<sup>9</sup> The following example supports that the subject of SURU is base-generated in [Spec, v\*P].

i) takusan      hakken      si-ta  
 much/many    discovery    SURU-Past  
 “Someone discovered many things/\*Many people discovered the thing.”

<sup>10</sup> In fact, Karimi-Doostan (2005) argues that languages like Kurdish, Korean and Persian have the become-type light verbs. The become-type LVCs in these languages, however, are different from NARU in one point. Consider the following examples from Persian. The sentence in i) is an example of the do-type LVCs while the sentence in ii) is an example of the become-type LVCs.

i) Columbus    ?amrika-ra    kašf      kard  
                   America      discovery    do-past  
 “Columbus discovered America.”

ii) ?a:mrɪka:    (tavasote Columbus)    kašf      šod  
                   America      by                            discovery    become-past  
 “America was/got discovered by Columbus.”

In these languages, become-type LVCs form passive-like clauses with respect to do-type LVCs. This pattern is not found in Japanese. I leave this cross-linguistic difference for future studies. The important point is that become-type light verbs in these languages also have unaccusativity.

- c. An external argument of VN is base-generated in [Spec, VP] of NARU, and receives a theta-role of VN there.

These hypotheses state that NARU and SURU are very similar except for the type of *v* which appears above them and that the position in which the external argument of VN is base-generated. These two differences can be reduced to the more basic difference of them; unaccusativity of NARU and transitivity of SURU.

### *5.1.3. Intermediate Summary*

To sum up, I have discussed the nature of HP + V, NARU and SURU respectively. They are summarized as follows:

- (14) a. HP + V is a VN to which [H] is attached in the lexicon.
- b. NARU is an unaccusative light verb.
- c. SURU is a transitive light verb.

Based on these auxiliary hypotheses, I will provide an analysis of SH and OH and demonstrate how the proposals in Chapter 4 explain the properties of them.

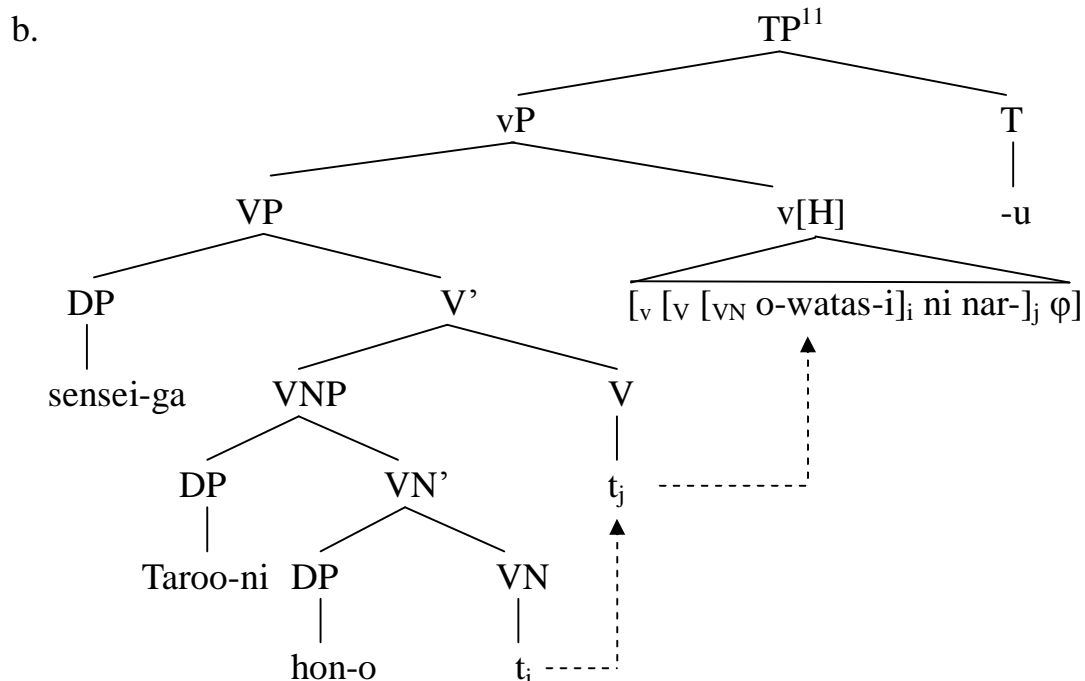
## 5.2. Analysis

In this section, I will present the syntactic structures of SH and OH respectively. First, I propose the following structure for the sentence of SH in (15a).

(15) a. Sensei-ga Taroo-ni hon-o o-watas-i ni nar-u

Prof. -Nom -Dat book-Acc HP-hand over NARU-Pres

“The professor hands over the book to Taro.”



<sup>11</sup> The irrelevant aspects (higher structure like CP, and so on) are omitted for simplicity.

In this structure, the internal arguments *Taroo* and *hon* ‘book’ is base-generated internal to VNP while the external argument *sensei* ‘Prof.’ appears in [Spec, VP]. I assume that VNP cannot project an external argument in its own projection, because of its nominal property. On the other hand, the unaccusative nature of NARU requires that all the arguments are projected internal to VP. Therefore, it follows that the external argument is generated in [Spec, VP].

Let us turn to the predicate. In this structure, the VN *o-watas-i* ‘hand over’ incorporates<sup>12</sup> (Baker 1988) to NARU, which is generated in V, and then the VN assigns its external theta-role to the external argument<sup>13</sup>. Following Kishimoto (2001), I assume that *v* in Japanese has a strong V-feature since it lacks visible morphological form (shown as  $\phi$  in the structure above), so that V-to-*v* movement takes place obligatorily. Therefore, the feature [H], which has been attached to VN, has reached *v*.

It is controversial whether or not there is V(*v*)-to-T movement in Japanese (For an argument for V-to-T movement, see Koizumi 2000; for arguments against it, Sakai 2000, Fukui and Sakai 2003 and references cited therein). Suppose that there is no *v*-to-T movement in Japanese. Since the

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<sup>12</sup> Following Baker (1988) and Kageyama (1993), I assume that incorporation takes place to check VN’s Case. In this sense, the appearance of dative Case-marker *ni* seems to be problematic. Yet, because the status of *ni* in Japanese is still unclear (see Sadakane and Koizumi 1995 and references cited therein), I keep this assumption and leave the precise nature of *ni* for future studies.

<sup>13</sup> For the derivational theta-assignment, see Saito and Hoshi (2000).

numeration of the sentence in (15a) presumably includes C but not  $v^*$ , the licensing takes place when the matrix CP completes. Since [H] still remains in  $v$ , the closest element is the subject NP *sensei* ‘Prof.’<sup>14</sup>, and it is bound by [H]. Thus, the subject NP is interpreted as an SSS. Conversely, suppose that there is  $v$ -to-T movement, so that [H] moves to T. Since  $v$  is not a strong phase by hypothesis, [H] on T can access the domain of  $v$  (=VP) and bind the closest element, namely the subject when the CP phase completes. Therefore, in either case, the subject orientation can be explained, if it is assumed that licensing takes place when the phase completes and the relevant phase is CP and  $v^*P$ , not  $vP$ . This provides an empirical support for the distinction between  $v^*P$  and  $vP$  (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

Let us now turn to the structure of OH. I propose that the sentence of OH in (16a) has the following structure.

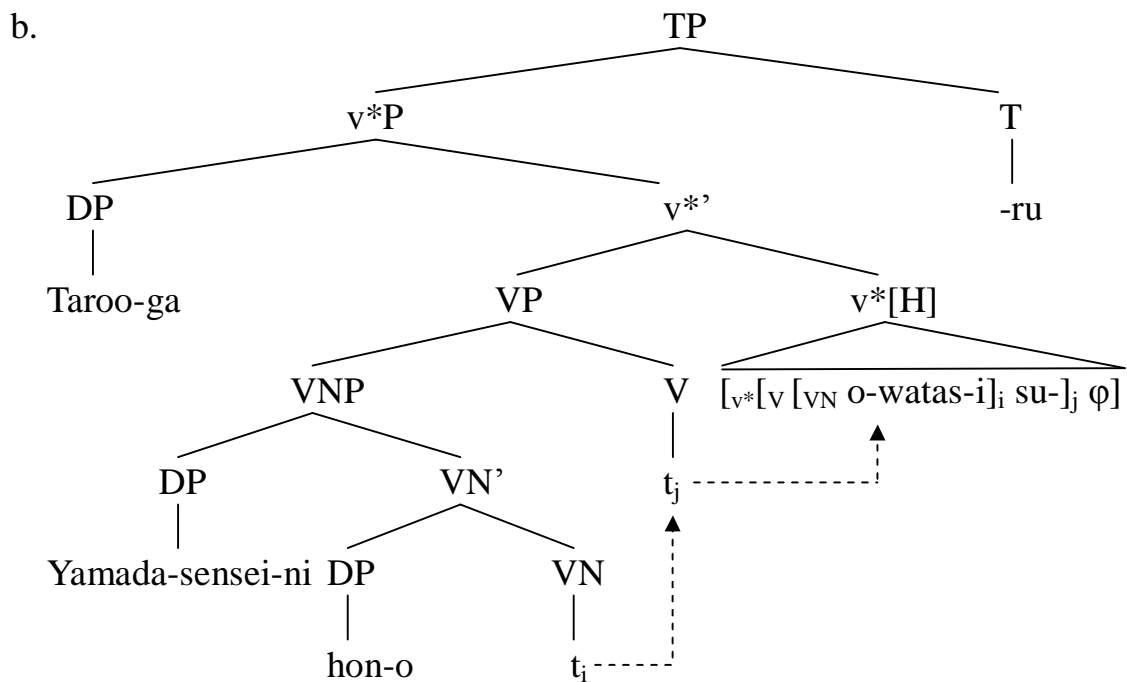
(16) a. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni hon-o o-watas-i su-ru  
           -Nom           Prof. -Dat   book-Acc   HP-hand over   SURU-Pres

“Taro hands over the book to Prof. Yamada.”

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<sup>14</sup> I assume that even if the subject moves to higher position, it leaves a trace (or copy) of it, and that [H] can be licensed by binding the trace/copy of the argument.





The internal arguments of the VN *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ and *hon* ‘book’ are base-generated internal to VNP. By hypothesis, SURU requires that the external argument is base-generated in [Spec, v\*P]. Hence, the subject NP *Taroo* is base-generated there. This is the crucial difference between SH and OH.

The VN *o-watas-i* ‘hand over’ incorporates to the verb SURU, and then the amalgamated element  $[[o-watas-i] su-]$  moves to v\* as in the case of SH. In this position, the VN assigns its external theta-role to the subject.

By hypothesis, licensing takes place when v\*P is merged to T since v\* is a strong phase head. This analysis immediately explains the object orientation of OH independently of the possibility of v-to-T movement. The subject is outside the c-commanding domain of v\*, so that the subject cannot be c-commanded by

the VN which has [H]. For the subject to be c-commanded by the VN, it is necessary that the VN moves to T via the v-to-T movement. The relevant movement, however, takes place just after the v\*P phase completes. Therefore, there is no chance that the subject is bound by [H]. On the other hand, internal arguments can be c-commanded by the VN when the v\*P phase completes. Thus, only internal arguments are the candidates that can be bound by [H] and interpreted as an SSS.

Then, following Hoji (1985), I assume that the indirect object asymmetrically c-commands the direct object in their base-generated positions. This makes it possible to explain the indirect/direct object asymmetry without further assumptions. As shown in (16b), since the indirect object is closer to [H] than the direct object by the definition of closeness, [H] binds only the indirect object, and it is interpreted as an SSS. If there is no indirect object, that is, the predicate is a transitive verb, the direct object is bound by [H]. It is irrelevant whether the object is marked by the accusative Case marker or by the dative Case marker.

In summary, I have demonstrated that the generalizations (i) the subject/object orientation and (ii) the indirect/direct object asymmetry can be explained by the proposals in Chapter 4 and the independently motivated auxiliary assumptions.

### 5.3. Consequences

In this section, I will provide some consequences of the analysis. I will discuss (i) the argument/adjunct asymmetry in honorification and (ii) Harada's (1976) objection to the noun-like property of the sequence HP + V and demonstrate that the proposed theory can explain these observations straightforwardly.

#### *5.3.1 Argument/Adjunct Asymmetry in Honorification*

Since the proposed theory restricts the position which concerns honorification to theta-positions, it predicts that only arguments can be interpreted as an SSS while adjuncts cannot. The following examples illustrate that the prediction is right.

(17) a. Taroo-ga ootoo-no-maede Yamada-sensei-o o-tasuke si-ta

-Nom brother-in front of Prof. -Acc HP-help SURU-Past

“Taro helped Prof. Yamada in front of his brother.”

b. #Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-no-maede otooto-o o-tasuke si-ta

-Nom Prof. -in front of brother-Acc HP-help SURU-Past

“Taro helped his brother in front of Prof. Yamada.”

c. \*Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-no-maede ootoo-o o-tasuke si-ta  
 -Nom Prof. -in front of brother-Acc HP-help SURU-Past

“Taro helped his brother in front of Prof. Yamada.”

(18) a. Taroo-ga ootoo-to Yamada-sensei-o o-tasuke si-ta  
 -Nom brother-with Prof. -Acc HP-help SURU-Past

“Taro helped Prof. Yamada with his brother.”

b. #Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-to otooto-o o-tasuke si-ta  
 -Nom Prof. -with brother-o HP-help SURU-Past

“Taro helped his brother with Prof. Yamada.”

c. \*Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-to ootoo-o o-tasuke si-ta  
 -Nom Prof. -with brother-o HP-help SURU-Past

“Taro helped his brother with Prof. Yamada.”

The pairs of sentences in (17a, b) and (18a, b) suggests that the presence of adjuncts does not block the direct object from being bound by [H]. In addition, the fact that the examples in (17c) and (18c) are ungrammatical indicates that adjuncts cannot be interpreted as an SSS.

Note that PPs can be bound by [H] if they are arguments, as Niinuma (2003) and Boeckx and Niinuma (2004) observe. Below are the relevant examples (they are slightly modified from the original examples in Niinuma

2003, pp. 17-18. See also the footnote 11 of Chapter 2).

(19) a. Taroo-ga Tanaka-sensei-kara hon-o o-kar-i si-ta  
-Nom Prof. -from book-Acc HP-borrow SURU-Past

“Taro borrowed the book from Prof. Tanaka.”

b. #Taroo-ga Mary-kara hon-o o-kar-i si-ta  
-Nom -from book-Acc HP-borrow SURU-Past

“Taro borrowed the book from Mary.”

(20) a. Taroo-ga Takana-sensei-to Hanako-nituite o-hanas-i si-ta  
-Nom Prof. -with -about HP-talk SURU-Past

“Taro talked to Prof. Tanaka about Hanako.”

b. #Taroo-ga Mary-to Hanako-nituite o-hanas-i si-ta  
-Nom -with -about HP-talk SURU-Past

“Taro talked to Mary about Hanako.”

The sentences in (18a) and (20b) are particularly interesting. Even if the same preposition *to* ‘with’ appears in both sentences, the PP blocks the lower argument from being an SSS if it is an argument (=20b) while it does not if it is an adjunct (=18b). These observations can be explained if it is assumed that only theta-positions are relevant to honorification.

### 5.3.2 Harada's (1976) Objection

Let us now turn to the second consequence. Harada (1976) argues against the noun-like property of HP + V based on the observations that the sequence HP + V cannot be anaphorically deleted, relativized and clefted. Relevant examples are following (they are slightly modified from the original examples in Harada 1976, p. 525).

#### (21) Anaphoric deletion

a. A: Sumisu-san-wa moo zyo-kyoozyu-ni nar-i-masi-ta ka

Smith-Mr. -Top yet associate professor-Dat become-be-Past Q

“Has Mr. Smith become an associate professor yet?”

B: Ee, nar-i-masi-ta

yes become-be-Past

“Yes, he has.”

b. A: Yamada-sensei-wa moo kono-hon-o o-yom-i ni nar-i-masi-ta ka

Prof. -Top yet this-book-Acc HP-read NARU-be-Past Q

“Has Prof. Yamada read this book yet?”

B: \*Ee, nar-i-masi-ta

Yes NARU-be-Past.

“Yes, he has.”

(22) Relativization

a. Taroo-ga nat-ta yaku-wa Hamuretto-da

-Nom become-Past role-Top Hamlet-Pres

“The role Taro played is that of Hamlet.”

b. \*Yamada-sensei-ga kono-hon-o nat-ta o-yom-i-wa ...

Prof. -Nom this-book-Acc NARU-Past HP-read-Top

“(Lit.) Reading that Prof. Yamada did this book is ...”

(23) Clefting

a. Sumisu-san-ga kondo nat-ta-no-wa kyoozyu-da

Smith -Mr. -Nom this time become-Past-thing-Top professor-Pres

“What Mr. Smith has become is a professor.”

b. \*Yamada-sensei-ga kono-hon-o nat-ta-no-wa o-yom-i ni-da

Prof. -Nom this book-Acc NARU-Past-thing-Top HP-read NI-Pres

“(Lit.) What Prof. Yamada has become this book is reading.”

The predicate of the sentences in (21a), (22a) and (23a) is a main verb *nar-* ‘become’ while that of the examples in (21b), (22b) and (23b) is a light verb NARU. Harada (1976) argues that the sequence HP + V is not a noun, since it cannot undergo above three operations.

What these observations suggest, however, is not that HP + V is not a

noun, but that the sequence “HP + V ni nar-” constitutes a word in some sense. In general, syntactic operations cannot be applied inside words (lexical integrity). Consider the following examples from Ito and Sugioka (2002, p. 7, slightly modified).

(24) a. Hanako-e-no [meeru-kaki]

-to-Gen mail-writing

“Writing a mail to Hanako”

b. \*Meeru<sub>i</sub> Hanako-e-no [t<sub>i</sub> -kaki]

mail -to-Gen writing

The example in (24b) is ungrammatical since *meeru* ‘mail’ which is a part of the compound *meeru-kaki* ‘mail-writing’ is separated from the compound by scrambling.

Thus, Harada’s (1976) observations can be explained if the sequence “HP + V ni nar-” constitutes a word. This is what the proposed analysis predicts since it assumes that HP + V incorporates to NARU, and incorporation is a kind of word formation. The fact that incorporated elements cannot undergo the syntactic operations is found in the following non-honorific LVCs.



(25) a. \*Kokuhaku<sub>i</sub>, Taroo-ga Hanako-ni ai-o t<sub>i</sub> si-ta  
 confession -Nom -Dat love-Acc do-Past

“Taro confessed his love to Hanako.”

b. \*Taroo-ga Hanako-ni ai-o si-ta-no-wa kokuhaku-da  
 -Nom -Dat love-Acc do-Past-thing-Top confession-Pres

“(Lit.) What Taro did his love to Hanako is confession.”

In the example in (25a), the VN *kokuhaku* ‘confession’ is topicalized and it is relativized in (25b). Since the VN *kokuhaku* ‘confession’ is arguably a noun, the ungrammaticality of these examples is due to the application of syntactic operations inside words.

#### **5.4. Summary of Chapter 5**

In this chapter, I have provided a new analysis of SH and OH based on the theory of honorification proposed in Chapter 4. To explain the three generalizations, (i) the distribution of HP + V is identical to nouns, (ii) the subject/object orientation, and (iii) the indirect/direct object asymmetry, I have proposed the following auxiliary hypotheses.

- (26) a. HP + V is a VN to which [H] is attached in the lexicon.
- b. NARU is an unaccusative light verb.
- c. SURU is a transitive light verb.

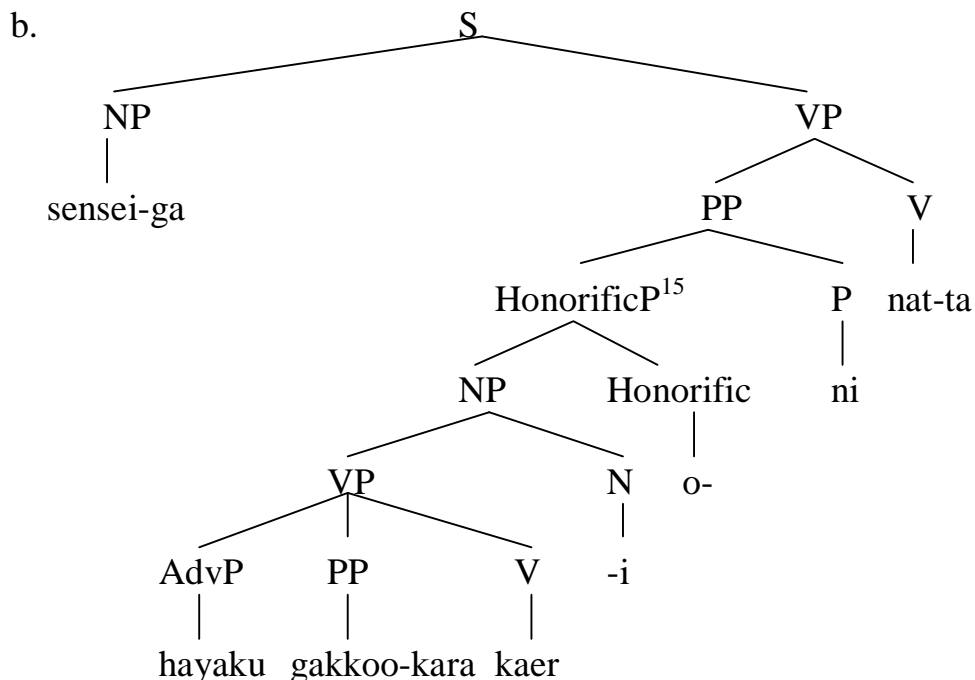
Then, I have provided the syntactic structures of SH and OH respectively and demonstrated how the proposed theory explains the generalizations. Finally, I have discussed that the adjunct/argument asymmetry and Harada's (1976) objection to noun-like property of HP + V can be explained as a consequence of the analysis.

Appendix: Ivana and Sakai (2003)

In this appendix, I will criticize an analysis by Ivana and Sakai (2003). They argue that HP is a functional head which takes a nominal complement and that NARU and SURU are both light verbs. According to their analysis, the example in (27a) has the structure like (27b).

- (27) a. Sensei-ga    hayaku    gakkoo-kara    o- kaer-i    ni nat-ta  
 Prof. -Nom    early    university-from    HP-go home    NARU-Past

“The professor went home from the university early.”



<sup>15</sup> Although Ivana and Sakai (2003) use “H/HP” for the category label of the prefix *o-*, I will use “Honorific” for it to avoid confusion.

In this structure, the nominalizer *-i* constitutes an NP, taking VP as its complement. The functional category “Honorific” selects this NP as a complement. They also assume that some transformations adjust the sequence *kaer-i o-* into the surface order *o-kaer-i*.

They seem to assume the same structure for SH and OH, and attribute the difference between SH and OH to the aspectual difference between NARU and SURU. Yet, their explanation is not explicit. Furthermore, even if their explanation based on the aspectual difference is correct, it cannot explain the indirect/direct object asymmetry in OH: the asymmetry cannot be reduced to the lexical difference since in OH, the same light verb SURU appears.

In addition, there is another problem. Although they propose this analysis to account for the noun-like distribution of HP + V, it seems that their analysis does not work. Even if transformations adjust its surface word order, the syntactic category of the sequence HP + V is still an “HonorificP”, not an NP. To avoid this problem, they speculate that “Honorific” in Japanese corresponds to D in English. Following examples illustrate that HP can attach to nouns in general.

(28) *o-tya* “tea”, *o-kane* “money”, *o-kasi* “confectionery”

If Ivana and Sakai’s (2003) speculation is correct, HP would be able to be

attached to all NPs. Yet, consider the following examples.

(29) \*o-akanboo “baby”, \*o-oosama “king”, \*o-sensei “professor”

These examples suggest that some NPs refuse to be attached by HP. This is unexpected if “Honorific” corresponds to D<sup>16</sup>. Thus, it seems that to consider HP to be an independent functional category is implausible. This suggests the hypothesis of this thesis that HP is a realization of [H] which has been attached to nouns in the lexicon is more plausible. In addition, the presence of the gap found in (29) is natural if the attachment of [H] takes place in the lexicon, not in syntax<sup>17</sup>.

In this appendix, I have reviewed the analysis proposed by Ivana and Sakai (2003) and argued that it is empirically incorrect to consider HP to be a functional category which takes an NP as its complement; they incorrectly predict that there is no gap in the affixation of HP. On the other hand, I have demonstrated that it is natural that there exists such a lexical gap if it is assumed the affixation of HP takes place in the lexicon.

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<sup>16</sup> The other way to avoid this problem is to stipulate that the distributions of “HonorificP” and NPs are identical, but this explains nothing.

<sup>17</sup> For example, Ito and Sugioka (2002) claims that the suffixation of *-mi*, which nominalizes the adjectives, is applied in the lexicon, so that the following gap is observed.

- i) atataka-mi “warmth” ⇔ \*samu-mi “coldness”
- ii) yawaraka-mi “softness” ⇔ \*kata-mi “hardness”

## **Chapter 6**

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### **RARE-Honorification**

The aim of this chapter is to extend the proposed theory of honorification to the analysis of RH. The following four generalizations are subject of the explanation; (i) main verbs appear in the stem form, (ii) RH has the subject orientation, (iii) the same relation between Case and theta-roles holds in RH and its non-honorific counterpart and (iv) all types of verbs can appear in RH.

First, I will provide a hypothesis on the verb RARE and present an analysis of RH in Section 6.1. In Section 6.2, I will discuss the consequence of the analysis. Section 6.3 is a summary of this chapter.

#### **6.1. Analysis**

First, I propose the following hypothesis on the nature of RARE.

(1) RARE has the feature [H].

The hypothesis (1) is natural since the presence/absence of RARE is the minimal difference of RH and its non-honorific counterpart, and the honorific interpretation of the sentence correlates with the presence/absence of RARE. This point is illustrated by the following examples.

(2) a. Yamada-sensei-ga      gakusee-o home-ta

Prof. -Nom      student-Acc praise-Past

“Prof. Yamada praised the student.”

b. Yamada-sensei-ga      gakusee-o home-rare-ta

Prof. -Nom      student-Acc praise-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada praised the student.”

To reveal the nature of RARE, it is worth comparing RH with indirect passive. First, let us consider the following RH sentences.

(3) a. Yamada-sensei-ga      Hanako-o      home-rare-ta      (transitive)

Prof. -Nom                      -Acc      praise-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada praised Hanako.”

b. Yamada-sensei-ga      waraw-are-ta      (unergative)

Prof. -Nom      laugh-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada laughed.”

c. Yamada-sensei-ga korob-are-ta (unaccusative)

Prof. -Nom tumble-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada tumbled.”

These examples suggest that all types of verbs can appear in RH. This property is found in indirect passive as discussed in Chapter 2. Below are the relevant examples.

(4) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni ootoo-o home-rare-ta (transitive)

-Nom -Dat -Acc praise-Pass-Past

“Taro was affected by Hanako’s praising his brother.”

b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni waraw-are-ta (unergative)

-Nom -Dat laugh-Pass-Past

“Taro was affected by Hanako’s laughing.”

c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni korob-are-ta (unaccusative)

-Nom -Dat tumble-Pass-Past

“Taro was affected by Hanako’s tumbling.”

In addition, indirect passive has an “affectee” argument as its subject.



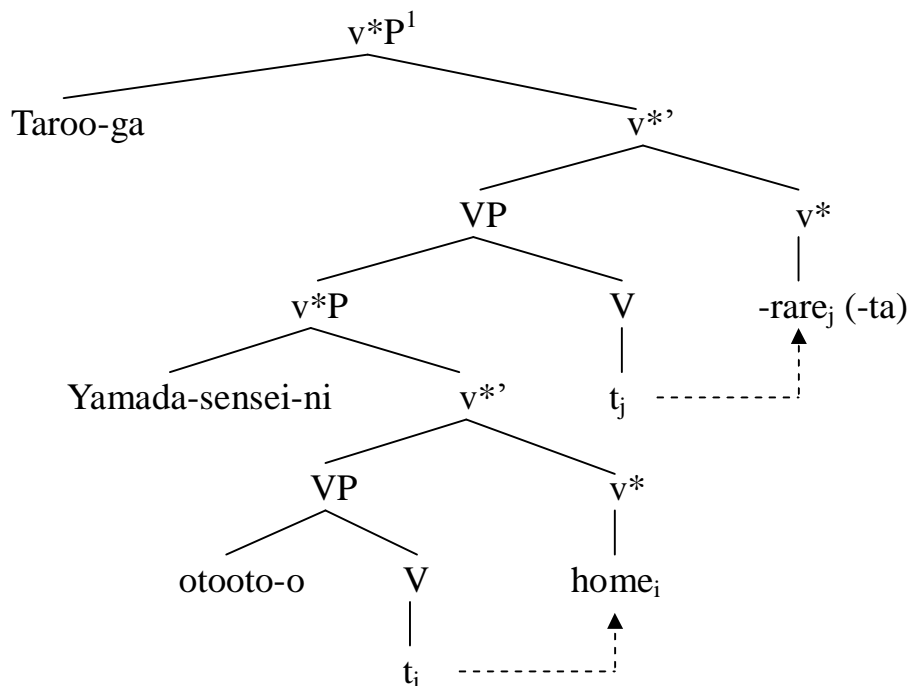
Consider the following examples.

(5) Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni ootoo-o home-rare-ta  
-Nom Prof. -Dat brother-Acc praise-Pass-Past

“Taro is affected by Prof. Yamada’s praising his brother.”

In this sentence, the subject *Taroo* is affected by the event that Prof. Yamada praised Taro’s brother. To explain these observations on indirect passive, Hoshi (1999) proposes that the passive morpheme in indirect passive takes a verbal predicate as its complements and an “affectee” argument in its specifier position, as the following structure illustrates (although the structure below is not identical to what Hoshi 1999 assumes, the crucial point is preserved).

(6) The structure of indirect passive



Note that the event that affects the subject argument is  $v^*P$ , the complement of  $-(r)are$ . When the predicate is transitive/unergative,  $v^*P$  appears as in (6), and when the predicate is unaccusative,  $vP$  does. Thus, Hoshi's (1999) analysis explains that all types of verbs can appear in indirect passive. In other words, since the lower  $v^*P/vP$  is independent of  $-(r)are$ , all kinds of verbs can appear in indirect passive. If it is assumed that RARE also takes  $v^*P/vP$  as its complement, the generalization that all types of verbs can appear in RH can be explained. Thus, I propose the following hypothesis.

<sup>1</sup> I assume that it is  $v^*$  that appears above VP in indirect passive since the “affectee” argument is introduced as an external argument.

(7) RARE takes  $v^*P/vP$  as its complement.

This hypothesis also explains the morphological property of RH: the verbs in RH appear in the stem form without HP since they are  $v^*P/vP$ .

Recall that RH does not have an “affectee” argument. The passive morpheme has the specifier position since it has to assign the “affectee” role to the argument. On the other hand, RARE has no theta-role to assign. Thus, I propose the following hypothesis.

(8) RARE does not have its specifier position.

Additional evidence that RARE does not have its specifier position comes from the observations concerning the antecedent of *zibun* ‘self’. Takita (2005) observes the following examples.

(9) a. Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-no heya-de nak-are-ta  
-Nom -Dat self -Gen room-in cry-Pass-Past

“Taro<sub>i</sub> was affected by Hanako<sub>j</sub>’s crying in self<sub>i/j</sub>’s room.”

b. Yamada-sensei<sub>i</sub>-ga Taro<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no heya-de aw-are-ta  
Prof. -Nom -Dat self -Gen room-in meet-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada<sub>i</sub> met Taro<sub>j</sub> in self<sub>i/\*j</sub>’s room.”

In the example in (9a), both *Taroo* and *Hanako* can be the antecedent of the anaphor *zibun* ‘self’, which has the subject-orientation (Kuno 1973). I assume the ambiguity in (9a) stems from the fact that indirect passive has two positions which are counted as “subject” since it has two [Spec, v\*P] positions, as shown in (6). Yet, as shown in (9b), RH does not have this ambiguity; only the nominative NP can be the antecedent of the anaphor *zibun* ‘self’. This observation suggests that RH has only one “subject” position; it has only one [Spec, v\*P]<sup>2</sup>. Suppose that it is RARE, not the main verb, that has [Spec, v\*P], where the subject is base-generated. Since the main verb is not a VN, it does not have to incorporate to RARE, contrary to the case of SH/OH. Therefore, it cannot assign its theta-role to the subject in [Spec, v\*P] of RARE, so that the derivation crashes. The only possible option is that RARE does not project its

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<sup>2</sup> In fact, there is another possibility that RH is mono-clausal; RARE merges to the main verb directly and then, the complex head is merged to arguments, so that the clause has a single v\*P/vP.

Goro (2004), however, claims that the sentence of direct passive, which also lacks the ambiguity of the antecedent of *zibun* ‘self’, is derived in this way. Consider the following example.

- i) Taroo<sub>i</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no heya-de koros-are-ta  
 -Nom -Dat self -Gen room-in kill-Pass-Past

“Taro<sub>i</sub> was killed by Hanako<sub>j</sub> in self<sub>i/\*j</sub>’s room.”

Goro (2004) assumes that when the passive morpheme merged to v before the arguments are merged to v, and the passive morpheme projects, it absorbs the verb’s accusative Case assignment capacity and suppresses the verb’s external theta-role. He also assumes that the complex head *v-(r)are* assigns its complex theta-role *Theme/affectee* to the direct object.

specifier.

So far, I have proposed the following three hypotheses on the nature of

RARE:

(10) a. RARE has the feature [H].

b. RARE takes  $v^*P/vP$  as its complement.

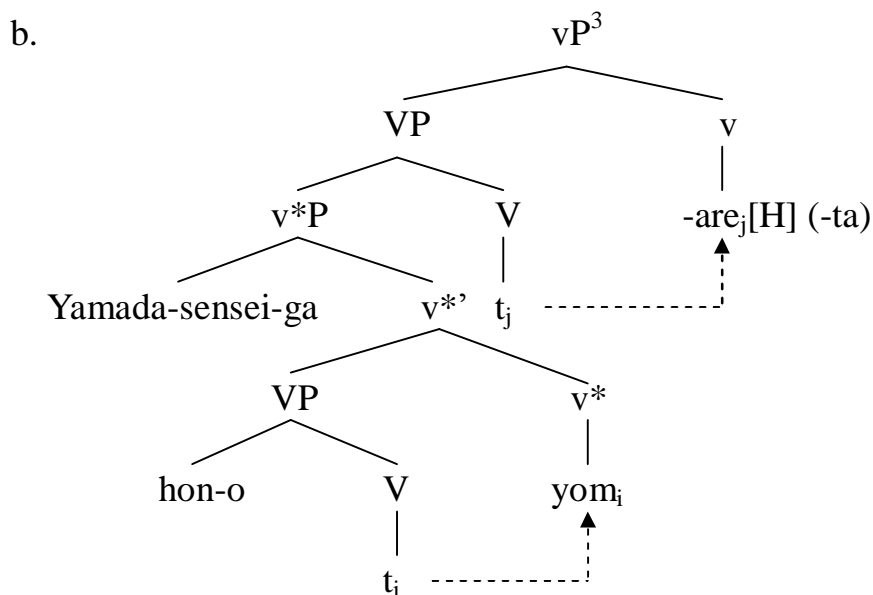
c. RARE does not have its specifier position.

Based on these hypotheses, I propose the following structure for RH.

(11) a. Yamada-sensei-ga    hon-o    yom-are-ta

Prof.   -Nom   book-Acc   read-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada read the book.”

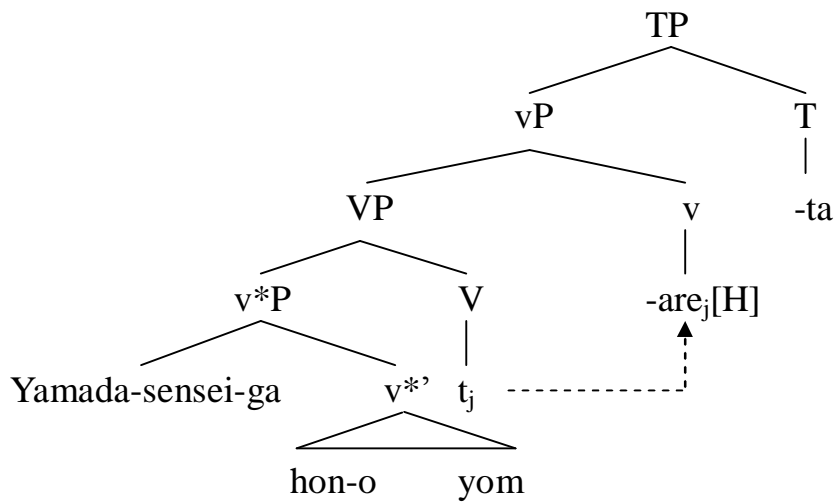


In this structure, the Case features of the arguments are checked in the same way as in the non-honorific counterparts. Firstly, let us consider how the uninterpretable Case feature of the direct object is checked. When  $v^*$ , which bears the uninterpretable phi-features, probes its domain and finds the direct object *hon* ‘book’ as a goal, Agree holds between  $v^*$  and the direct object. Hence, the uninterpretable Case feature of the direct object is deleted. Given that accusative Case is the reflex of Agree with  $v^*$ , the direct object comes to be followed by the accusative Case marker.

Secondly, let us examine how the uninterpretable Case feature of the subject is checked. Suppose that the derivation in (11b) proceeds and T is merged to  $vP$ . Below is the relevant structure.

<sup>3</sup> I assume that  $v$  appears above RARE in RH since no additional argument is introduced. See also footnote 1 of this chapter.

(12)



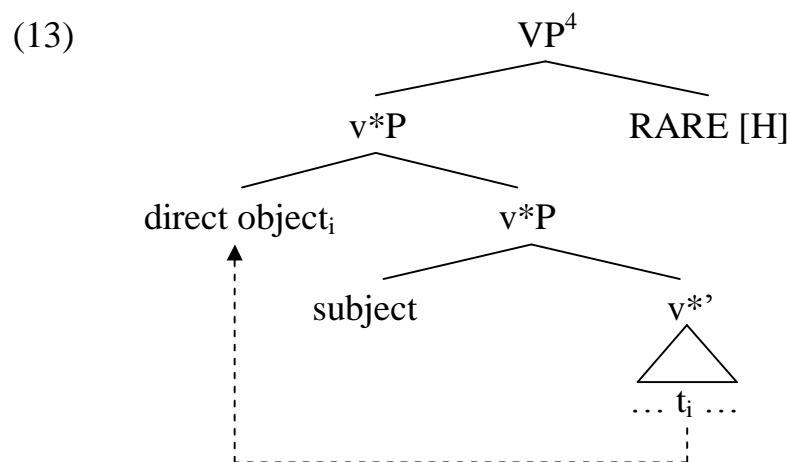
When T, which has the uninterpretable phi-features, probes its domain and finds the subject *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ as a goal, Agree holds between T and the subject. Then, the uninterpretable Case feature of the subject is deleted. Given that the nominative Case is the reflex of Agree with T, the subject comes to be followed by the nominative Case marker. Since the subject is on the edge of v\*P, T is allowed to access it by PIC. Note that v, which intervenes between T and the subject, does not block Agree since it is not a strong phase head. In the case of non-honorific sentence, the only difference is the absence of vP-VP projections of RARE: the direct object can Agree with v\* and the subject with T.

In either honorific or non-honorific sentence, the arguments are assigned respective theta-roles in their base-generated positions. Thus, the analysis can explain the generalization that the same relation between Case and theta-roles

holds in RH and its non-honorific counterpart.

This structure also explains the subject orientation of RH straightforwardly. Since  $v^*P$  is a strong phase, RARE can access only [Spec,  $v^*P$ ] by PIC. Thus, [H] on RARE can bind only the subject which is base-generated there. This configuration corresponds to that of (7) in Chapter 4. Since no more argument is introduced to this derivation until the relevant phase (=CP) completes, the subject is bound by [H].

Even if the EPP feature of  $v^*$  in Japanese is strong and the direct object must be attracted to outer [Spec,  $v^*P$ ], the analysis can explain the subject orientation. Consider the structure in (13).



Since the position where the direct object is adjoined is not a theta-position, [H] on RARE does not bind it. Therefore, the subject orientation can be explained

<sup>4</sup> The  $vP$  projection of RARE is omitted for simplicity.

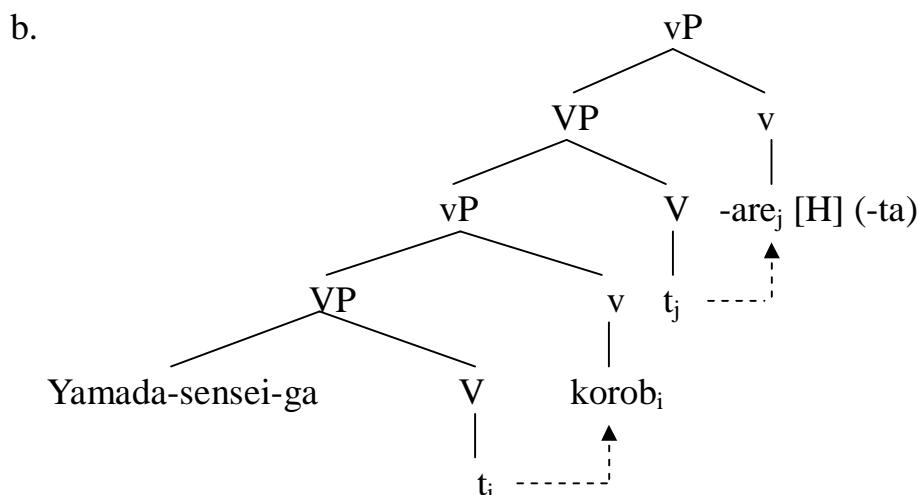


when the predicate is transitive/unergative<sup>5</sup>.

Next, suppose that the predicate is an unaccusative verb. In this case, the sentence in (14a) has the structure in (14b).

(14) a. Yamada-sensei-ga korob-are-ta  
 Prof. -Nom tumble-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada tumbled.”



This structure has only one argument, so that it is the candidate for an SSS. Recall that vP is not a strong phase. Since there is no strong phase head below [H] on RARE, it can bind the internal argument. Therefore, the proposed theory can explain the subject orientation of RH even if the predicate is an unaccusative

<sup>5</sup> Even if T in Japanese also has the strong EPP feature, so that the subject must move to [Spec, TP], the trace/copy of the subject is sufficient to license [H]. See also the footnote 14 of Chapter 5.

verb.

Note that if it is assumed that vP is also a strong phase, RARE cannot access the domain of lower vP, so that [H] binds nothing. Therefore, the derivation must crash, contrary to the fact. Hence, this analysis provides an argument for Chomsky's (2000, 2001) distinction between v\* and v.

In this section, I have proposed that the verb RARE has [H] and takes v\*P/vP as its complement while it does not have its specifier. Based on this assumption and the theory proposed in Chapter 4, I have demonstrated that the four generalizations can be explained.

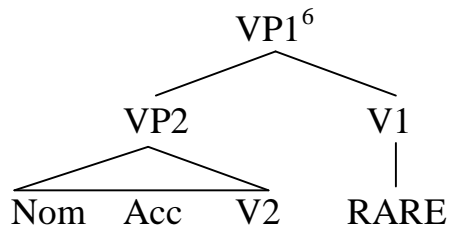
## **6.2. Consequences**

In this section, I will examine what consequences the proposed analysis has. In 6.2.1, I will argue that the proposed analysis makes it possible to discover the new observation that there is a systematic ambiguity in RH and indirect passive. Next, I will address the “multiple honorification” phenomenon and demonstrate that the theory proposed in this thesis can explain the phenomenon straightforwardly in 6.2.2.

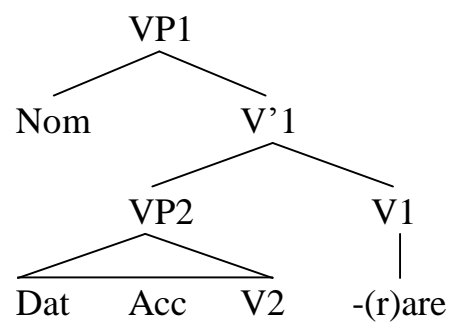
### 6.2.1 Ambiguity in RH and Indirect Passive

In this subsection, I argue that there is a systematic ambiguity in RH and indirect passive. First, let us compare the schematic structure of RH with that of indirect passive by Hoshi (1999).

(15) a. RH



b. indirect passive



It can be seen that indirect passive has one additional position where an argument can be generated, namely, [Spec, VP1]. Given that Japanese has a phonetically null pronoun *pro*, these structures predict that any sentences which have RH-reading also have the indirect passive reading. The following example illustrates that the prediction is right.

(16) Yamada-sensei-ga hon-o yom-are-ta

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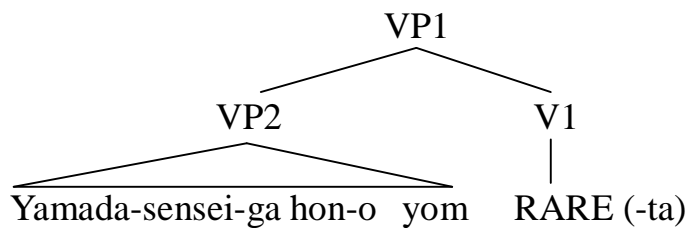
<sup>6</sup> Hereafter, I will omit v\*P/vP if it is irrelevant for simplicity.

Prof. -Nom book-Acc read-RARE/Pass-Past

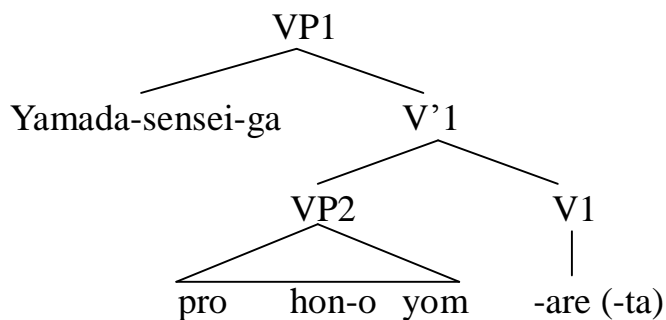
- a. “Prof. Yamada read the book (SSS = Prof. Yamada).”
- b. “Prof. Yamada was affected by someone’s reading the book.”

The sentence in (16) has the following two representations corresponding to the two readings.

(17) a. RH-reading (=16a)



b. indirect passive reading (=16b)



Even if the verb of VP2 is a ditransitive verb, it yields this ambiguity.

Consider the following example.

(18) Yamada-sensei-ga Hanako-ni hanataba-o okur-are-ta  
 Prof. -Nom -Dat bouquet-Acc send-RARE/Pass-Past

- a. “Prof. Yamada sent the bouquet to Hanako (SSS = Prof. Yamada).”
- b. “Prof. Yamada was affected by someone’s sending the bouquet to Hanako.”

If *pro* is replaced by overt nouns, however, the ambiguity disappears as the following example illustrates. In (19), the RH-reading (=19b) is absent.

(19) Yamada-sensei-ga Taroo-ni Hanako-ni hanataba-o okur-are-ta  
 Prof. -Nom -Dat -Dat bouquet-Acc send-Pass-Past

- a. “Prof. Yamada was affected by Taro’s sending the bouquet to Hanako.”
- b. \*“(Lit.) Prof. Yamada sent the bouquet to Hanako by Taro (SSS = Prof. Yamada).”

In this case, the four arguments must be generated inside VP2 to obtain the RH-reading. Yet, it is impossible since the verb *okur-* ‘send’ is a three-place predicate. Thus, the only available structure is that of indirect passive, and it yields the indirect passive reading (=19a).

The systematic ambiguity in RH and indirect passive makes it possible to

make another interesting prediction. Recall that the antecedent of *zibun* ‘self’ in RH is unambiguous: only the nominative NP can be the antecedent. The relevant example is repeated in (20).

- (20) Yamada-sensei<sub>i</sub>-ga Taro<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/\*j</sub>-no heya-de aw-are-ta (=9b)  
 Prof. -Nom -Dat self -Gen room-in meet-RARE-Past  
 “Prof. Yamada<sub>i</sub> met Taro<sub>j</sub> in self<sub>i/\*j</sub>’s room.”

Since this sentence has the RH-reading, it should also have the indirect passive reading. If it has the indirect passive reading, the antecedent of *zibun* ‘self’ should be ambiguous in that reading. This prediction turns out to be true perfectly. Consider the following examples.

- (21) a. [<sub>VP1</sub> Yamada-sensei<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>VP2</sub> pro<sub>j</sub> Taro<sub>j</sub>-ni zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-no heya-de aw]-are]-ta  
 Prof. -Nom -Dat self -Gen room -in meet-Pass-Past  
 “Prof. Yamada<sub>i</sub> was affected by someone<sub>j</sub>’s meeting Taro in self<sub>i/j</sub>’s room.”  
 b. [<sub>VP1</sub> Yamada-sensei<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>VP2</sub> Taro<sub>j</sub>-ni pro zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-no heya-de aw]-are]-ta  
 Prof. -Nom -Dat self -Gen room -in meet-Pass-Past  
 “Prof. Yamada<sub>i</sub> was affected by Taro<sub>j</sub>’s meeting someone in self<sub>i/j</sub>’s room”

Since the verb *aw-* ‘meet’ take a dative object, there is two possible positions where *pro* appears: [Spec, VP2] (=21a) or the complement of V2 (=21b). In either case, the antecedent of *zibun* ‘self’ is ambiguous between the nominative NP in [Spec, VP1] and the dative NP in [Spec, VP2].

In this subsection, I have argued that the proposed analysis of RH predicts that there is a systematic ambiguity in RH and indirect passive, and I have demonstrated that the prediction is correct. Besides, I have discussed the ambiguity of the antecedent of *zibun* ‘self’ as a further consequence of this analysis.

### 6.2.2. Multiple Honorification

In this subsection, I address the following two patterns of honorification and demonstrate that these patterns can be explained straightforwardly by the theory I have developed in Chapter 4, 5 and 6.

- (22) a. Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-aw-i ni nar-are-ta  
           Prof. -Nom                   Prof. -Dat HP-meet    NARU-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada met Prof. Tanaka.”

- b. \*Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-aw-i ni nar-are-ta  
 c. \*Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-aw-i ni nar-are-ta

- (23) a. \*Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-hanas-i s-are-ta  
 Prof. -Nom Prof. -Dat HP-talk SURU-RARE-Past

“Prof. Yamada talked to Prof. Tanaka.”

- b. \*Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-hanas-i s-are-ta  
 c. Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-hanas-i s-are-ta

The sentences in (22) are the combinations of SH and RH, and the sentences in (23) are that of OH and RH. I will call these types of honorification “multiple honorification” since these sentences have both NARU/SURU and RARE in the same clause. The example in (22a) has only one SSS *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’ and the sentence is grammatical. The fact that the examples in (22b) and (22c) are ungrammatical suggests that the neither interpretation that only the non-subject is an SSS (=22b) nor that both the subject and the non-subject are SSSs (=22c) is unavailable.

On the other hand, the pattern of grammaticality in (23) suggests that the interpretation which has only one SSS, which is either subject (=23a) or non-subject (=23b), is unavailable while the interpretation which has two SSSs (=23a) is available. To have two SSSs is, however, not the sufficient condition as the following examples suggest.



(24) a. \**Taroo-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni Satoo-sensei-o go-syookai s-are-ta*

-Nom                      Prof. -Dat                      Prof. -Acc HP-introduction SURU-RARE-Past

“Taro introduced Prof. Sato to Prof. Tanaka.”

b. #*Taroo-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni Satoo-sensei-o go-syookai s-are-ta*

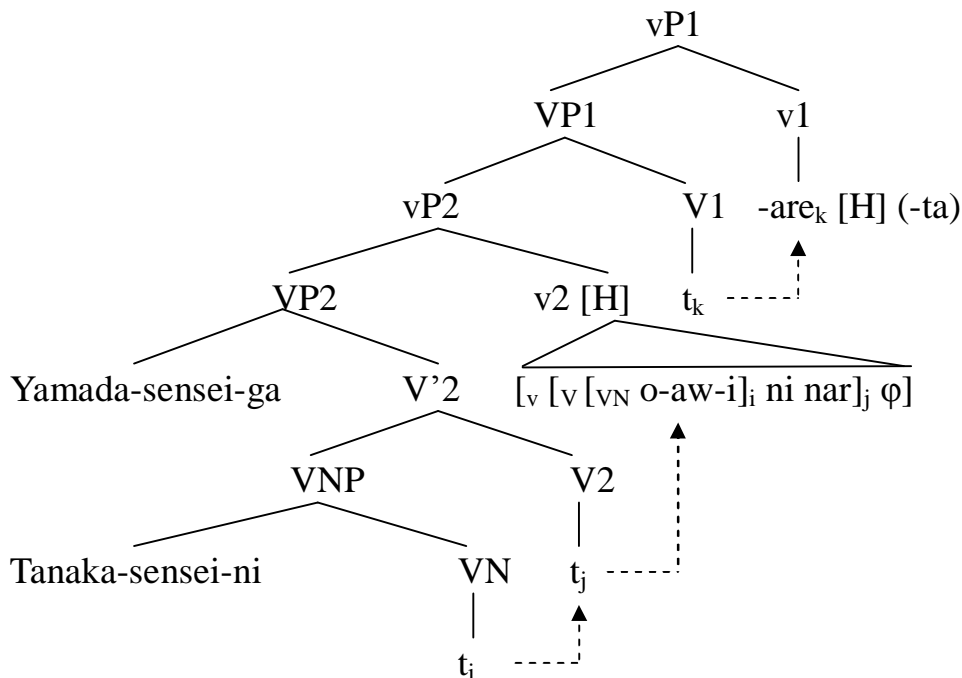
In the example in (24a), the indirect object and the direct object are interpreted as SSSs. The ungrammaticality of it indicates that such an interpretation is unavailable. In fact, only available interpretation of this sentence is that the subject and the indirect object are SSSs as shown in (24b)<sup>7</sup>.

How does the proposed theory explain the observed patterns of grammaticality? Recall that SH contains vP and OH contains v\*P as I have proposed in Chapter 5. In addition, I have proposed that RARE takes v\*P/vP as its complement. Since nothing prevents RARE from taking vP of SH as its complements, the sentence in (22) has the following structure. VP1 and vP1 are the projection of RARE and VP2 and vP2 are that of NARU.

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<sup>7</sup> Since *Taroo* is inappropriate, the sentence marked #.

(25)

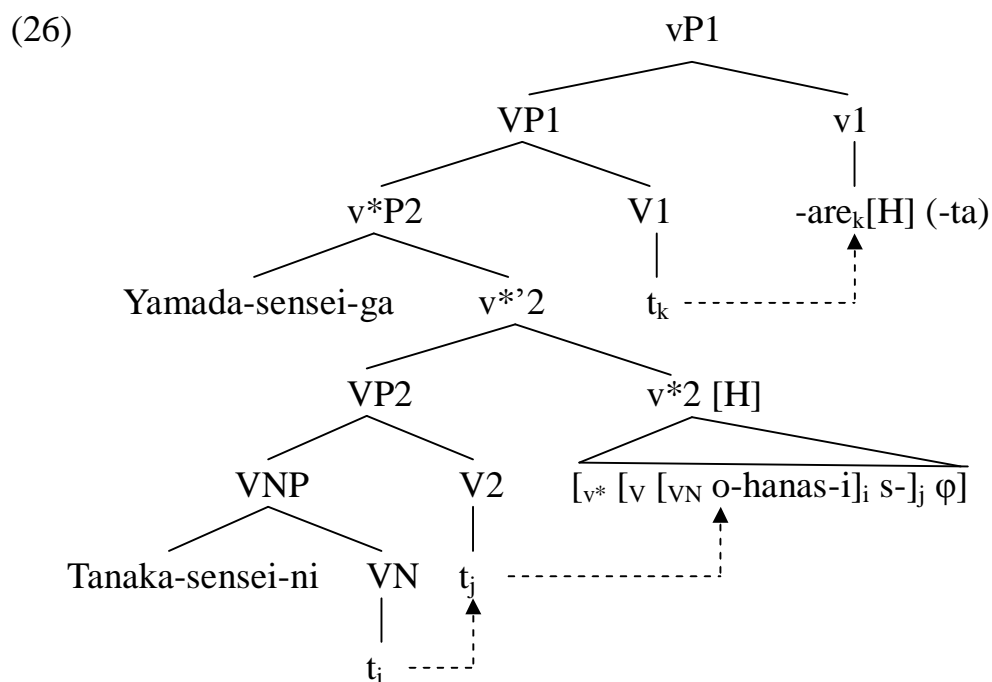


This structure corresponds to the configuration (10) of Chapter 4. It straightforwardly explains why only (22a) is grammatical. The observation requires that only the nominative NP is bound by [H]. First, let us consider the [H] on v2. This [H] has moved with VN to this position via incorporation and V2-to-v2 head movement. Since V1 (=RARE), which takes this vP2 as its complement, has overt morphological form, the head v2 does not have to move, so that it remains there. Since the nominative NP *Yamada-sensei* 'Prof. Yamada' asymmetrically c-commands the dative NP *Tanaka-sensei* 'Prof. Tanaka', [H] on v2 successfully binds the nominative NP.

Secondly, let us examine [H] on v1. Because of NARU's unaccusative nature, v2 is not a strong phase, so that [H] on v1 can access the domain of v2.

Since the closest XP to [H] on v1 is the nominative NP, [H] on v1 can bind it. Therefore, the pattern of grammaticality found in (22) can be explained.

Let us now turn to the pattern found in (23) and (24). What it suggests is that two arguments must be bound by [H] and that one of them must be a subject. To explain this pattern, I propose the following structure for the sentence in (23). This structure corresponds to the configuration (9) of Chapter 4.



First, [H] on VN moves to v\*2 via successive-cyclic head movement. When V1 (=RARE) is merged to v\*P2, the phase completes and licensing takes place. Since [H] on v\*2 c-commands only the dative NP *Tanaka-sensei* ‘Prof. Tanaka’, the dative NP is the only available element for [H] on v\*2. Thus, the dative NP

is interpreted as an SSS.

Next, let us consider [H] on v1. Since v\*P2 is a strong phase, [H] on v1 can access only to the edge of v\*P2 by PIC. Thus, [H] on v1 can bind only the nominative NP in [Spec, v\*P2]. In sum, the pattern of grammaticality in (23) follows from the fact that [H] on v2 can bind only one non-subject argument while [H] on v1 can bind only the subject.

The types of multiple honorification which I have argued so far are SH + RH and OH + RH. Yet, there are other possibilities in multiple honorification: RH + SH, RH + OH, SH + OH and OH + SH. They are exemplified in (27).

(27) a. RH + SH: \*Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-aw-are ni nat-ta  
Prof. -Nom Prof. -Dat HP-meet-RARE NARU-Past

“Prof. Yamada met Prof. Tanaka.”

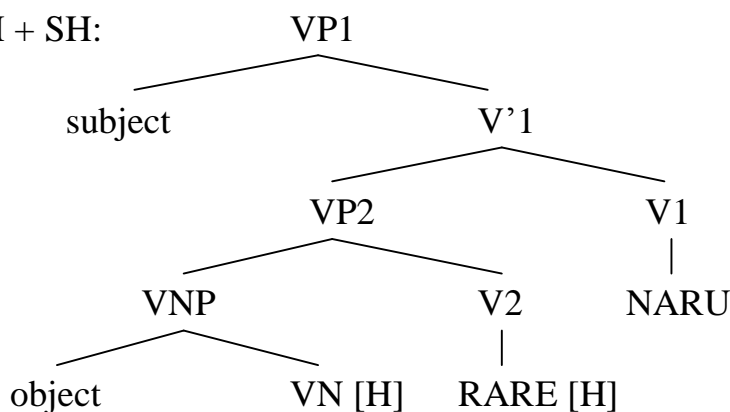
b. RH + OH: \*Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-aw-are si-ta  
Prof. -Nom Prof. -Dat HP-meet-RARE SURU-Past

c. SH + OH: \*Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-aw-i ni nar-i si-ta  
Prof. -Nom Prof. -Dat HP-meet NARU SURU-Past

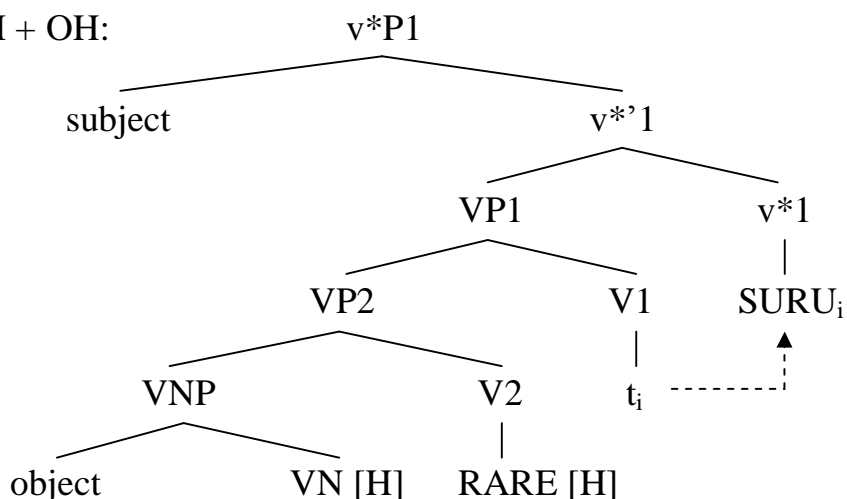
d. OH + SH: \*Yamada-sensei-ga Tanaka-sensei-ni o-aw-i si ni nat-ta  
Prof. -Nom Prof. -Dat HP-meet SURU NARU-Past

It seems problematic that the examples in (27) are all ungrammatical since multiple honorification is possible in the cases of SH + RH and OH + RH. The ungrammaticality of these sentences, however, follows from the selectional properties of NARU, SURU and RARE. Below are the schematic structures for RH + SH and RH + OH respectively<sup>8</sup>.

(28) a. RH + SH:



b. RH + OH:



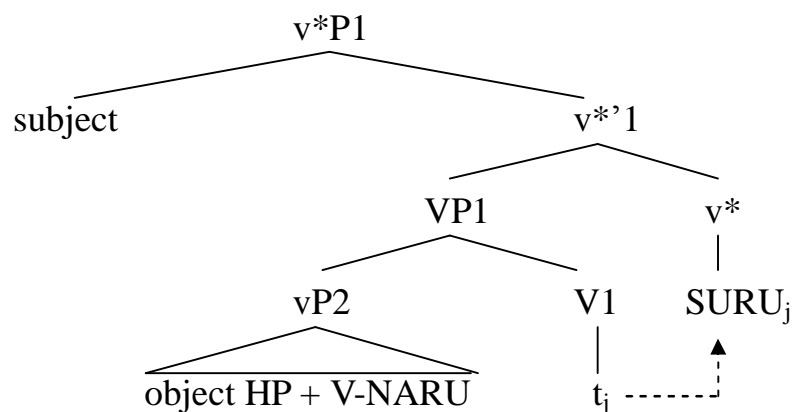
While RARE requires v\*P/vP as its complement, it selects VNP as its

<sup>8</sup> In the structures in (28), the irrelevant v\*P/vPs are omitted for simplicity.

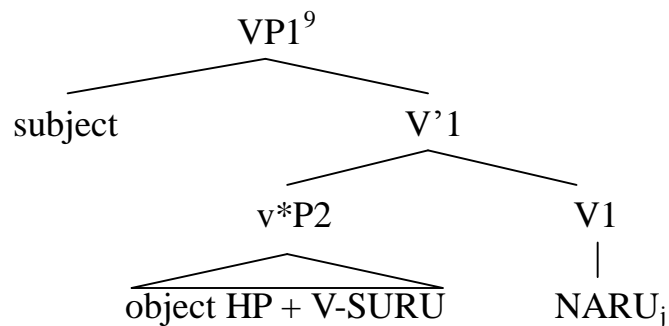
complement, as shown in (28a) and (28b). This is the reason why examples in (27a) and (27b) are ungrammatical.

Next, consider the cases in (27c) and (27d). Below, their structures are illustrated schematically.

(29) a. SH + OH



b. OH + SH



As shown in (29a), SURU takes vP as its complement. This violates the selectional restriction of SURU since it requires VNP as its complement. Thus, the sentence in (27c) is ungrammatical. Similarly, as shown in (29b), while NARU also requires VNP as its complement, NARU takes v\*P whose head is

<sup>9</sup> The vP projection of NARU is omitted.

SURU. This is the reason why the example in (27d) is ungrammatical. Therefore, the fact that only SH + RH and OH + RH are the possible types of multiple honorification can be explained by the theory of this thesis.

In this subsection, I have argued that the proposed theory of honorification explains the multiple honorification straight forwardly. First, I have reviewed the fact that the SH + RH pattern has only one SSS, which must be a subject, and that the OH + RH pattern has two SSSs, one of which must be a subject. Then, I have demonstrated that the proposed theory can explain the observations straightforwardly. I have also demonstrated that the theory can explain why the other types of multiple honorification are impossible.

### **6.3. Summary of Chapter 6**

In this chapter, I have proposed that RARE, which has [H], takes  $v^*P/vP$  as its complement and has no specifier. Based on this auxiliary hypothesis, I have demonstrated that the properties of RH can be explained. Finally, I have discussed that the proposed analysis makes it possible to discover the ambiguity in RH and indirect passive and that the patterns of grammaticality found in multiple honorification are also explained as a consequence of the analysis.

## **Chapter 7**

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### **Honorification and Word Order in Japanese**

In this chapter, to illustrate that the study of honorification can contribute to the study of I-language, I will investigate the basic word order of unaccusative verbs in Japanese based on the theory of honorification developed in the previous chapters. Specifically, against the widely held assumption that the underlying order of all unaccusative verbs are dative-nominative (Kuno 1973), I will claim that the basic word order of non-stative unaccusative verbs like *tuk-* ‘arrive’ is nominative-dative while that of stative unaccusative verbs like *ar-* ‘be’ is dative-nominative.

In Section 7.1, after the brief review of the analysis by Niinuma (2005), I will discuss that the proposed theory of honorification makes empirically wrong prediction if it is assumed that the basic word order of all unaccusative verbs is dative-nominative. Then, in Section 7.2, I will argue that the empirical problem is solved if it is correct that the basic word order of non-stative unaccusative verbs is nominative-dative while that of stative ones is dative-nominative. Finally, I will present two consequences of the proposal in Section 7.3. Section 7.4 is a summary of this chapter.



### 7.1. Problem

Kuno (1973) concludes that the basic word order of unaccusative verbs is dative-nominative based on the following observations.

- (1) a. Dokoka-ni      daremo-ga      i-ta  
          somewhere-Dat    everyone-Nom    be-Past  
          “Everyone was somewhere ( > , \* > ).”
- b. Daremo-ga      dokoka-ni      i-ta  
          everyone-Nom    somewhere-Dat    be-Past  
          “Everyone was somewhere ( > , > ).”

The contrast in (1) can be explained if the basic word order is dative-nominative and the nominative NP is moved from the position lower than the dative NP in (1b). That is, in the sentence in (1a), the nominative NP never c-commands the dative NP since it remains its original position, so that the sentence is not ambiguous. On the other hand, the sentence in (1b), the nominative NP can c-command the dative NP via scrambling, leaving its trace in the position which the dative NP c-commands. Thus, the sentence in (1b) is ambiguous.

Kuno's (1973) conclusion suggests that the dative NP is base-generated in the position higher than where the nominative NP is. Thus, for Niinuma (2005), who claims that SH is a reflex of Agree between the highest NP and T, it is only the dative NP that can be an SSS. Yet, Niinuma (2005) observes the following examples.

(2) a. Eki-ni            Yamada-sensei-ga    o-tuk-i    ni nar-u  
          station-Dat            Prof. -Nom    HP-arrive    NARU-Pres

“Prof. Yamada arrives at the station.”

b. #Eki-ni Taroo-ga    o-tuk-i    ni nar-u  
          station-Dat    -Nom    HP-arrive    NARU-Pres

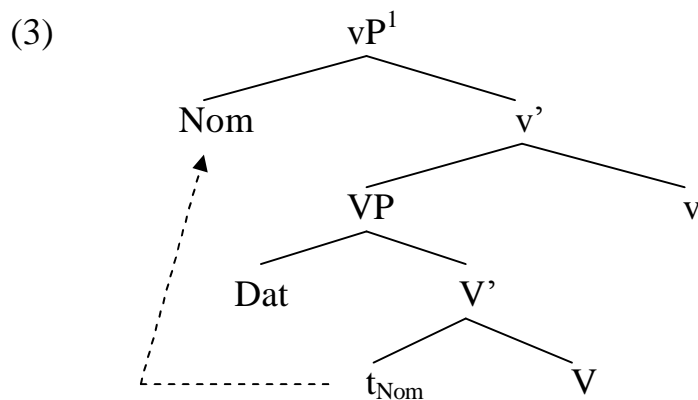
“Taro arrives at the station.”

c. \*Eki-ni Yamada-sensei-ga    o-tuk-i    ni nar-u  
          station-Dat            Prof. -Nom    HP-arrive    NARU-Pres

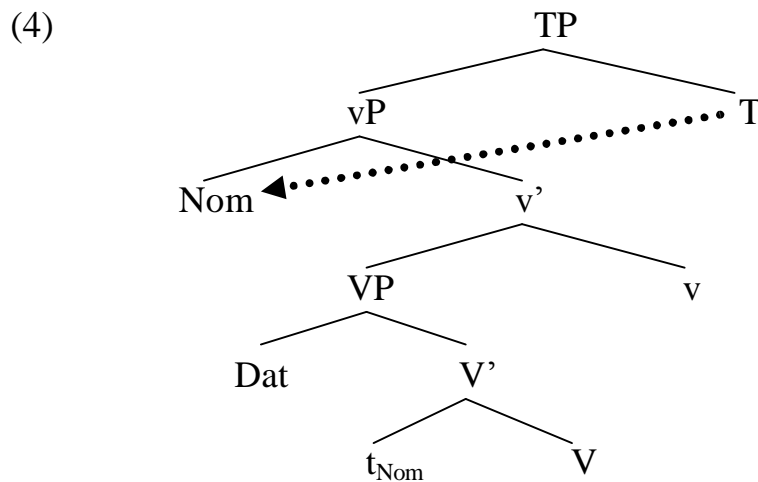
“Prof. Yamada arrives at the station.”

The grammaticality pattern found in (2) indicates that it is the nominative NP that is interpreted as an SSS. Niinuma (2005) tries to explain the fact that a nominative NP is interpreted as an SSS by proposing the following derivation. First, Niinuma (2005) assumes that the nominative NP moves to

[Spec, TP] in overt syntax to check its Case feature and it passes through [Spec, vP] along the way. The structure in (3) indicates that the nominative NP moves to [Spec, vP].



Then, T is introduced to the derivation, as shown in (4).



<sup>1</sup> Recall that Niinuma (2005) assumes that the sequence “o- ... ni nar-” constitutes a word as a whole. See also Chapter 3.

At this point, T, which bears the uninterpretable phi-features, probes its domain. Since the nominative NP is closer to T than the dative NP is, T finds it as a goal. Then, Agree between the nominative NP and T holds, and the nominative NP is interpreted as an SSS. In this way, he claims that the pattern in (2) can be explained.

Yet, Niinuma's (2005) analysis has several problems. The first problem is the theoretical one. For the nominative NP to move to [Spec, vP], it has to Agree with v (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Since Niinuma (2005) assumes that OH is the reflex of Agree between an NP and v, however, the nominative NP cannot move to [Spec, vP] without changing the predicate to the OH form "HP + V su-". Therefore, if the nominative NP moves to [Spec, vP] and agrees with T, the form of the predicate should be OH + SH, contrary to the fact. In fact, as discussed in Chapter 6, the sequence OH + SH is ungrammatical. Thus, Niinuma's (2005) solution does not work.

Besides, the analysis proposed by Niinuma (2005) makes an empirically incorrect prediction. Since he assumes that all unaccusative verbs share the same basic word order, namely dative-nominative, and the same derivation in which the nominative NP agrees with T, he should predict that the nominative NP is always an SSS. Yet, Shibatani (1978) observes that the dative NP can be an SSS. The following examples

illustrate this point.

(5) a. Yamada-sensei-ni zaisan-ga o-ar-i ni nar-u

Prof. -Dat fortune-Nom HP-be NARU-Pres

“Prof. Yamada is worth.”

b. #Taroo-ni zaisan-ga o-ar-i ni nar-u

-Dat fortune-Nom HP-be NARU-Pres

“Taro is worth.”

(6) a. Sensei-ni [rippa-na ryoosin]-ga o-ar-i ni nar-u

Prof. -Dat admirable parents -Nom HP-be NARU-Pres

“The professor has the admirable parents.”

b. #Taroo-ni [rippa-na ryoosin]-ga o-ar-i ni nar-u

-Dat admirable parents -Nom HP-be NARU-Pres

“Taro has the admirable parents.”

In each sentence, the dative NP is interpreted as an SSS. The scope ambiguity found in (7) illustrates that the verb *ar-* ‘be’ also has the dative-nominative order as its underlying order.

(7) a. Dokoka-ni [subete-no mono]-ga ar-u

somewhere-Dat all -Gen thing -Nom be-Pres

“Everything is somewhere ( > , \* > ).”

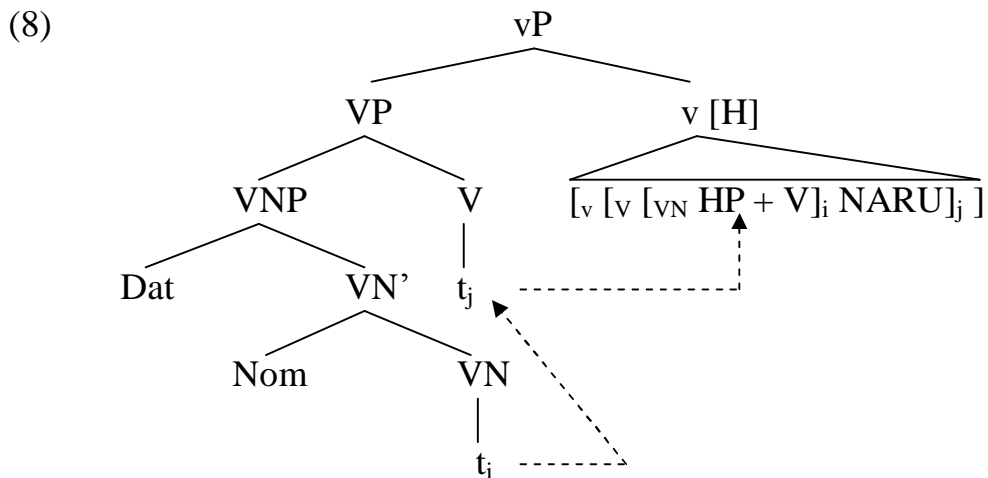
b. [Subete-no mono]-ga dokoka-ni ar-u

all -Gen thing -Nom somewhere-Dat be-Pres

“Everything is somewhere ( > , > ).”

Thus, although Niinuma’s (2005) analysis can explain the grammaticality pattern found in (2), he cannot explain the pattern in (5) and (6).

Let us now turn to the theory of this thesis. If it is assumed that dative-nominative is the basic order, the theory of this thesis predicts that the sentence of SH with an unaccusative verb has the following schematic structure.



Note that both the dative NP and the nominative NP are the internal arguments of the verb, so that they are base-generated VNP-internal positions. Since dative-nominative is the basic order, the dative NP asymmetrically c-commands the nominative NP. Therefore, this structure predicts that the dative NP is bound by [H]. Yet, this prediction is wrong as the examples in (2) indicate. That is, although the theory of this thesis can explain the grammaticality pattern found in (5) and (6) can be explained, it cannot explain the pattern in (2).

At this point, let us put the data in order. The examples in (2) are repeated in (9) and the examples in (6) are repeated in (10).

(9) a. Eki-ni            Yamada-sensei-ga    o-tuk-i    ni nar-u  
          station-Dat            Prof. -Nom    HP-arrive    NARU-Pres

“Prof. Yamada arrives at the station.”

b. #Eki-ni Taroo-ga    o-tuk-i    ni nar-u  
          station-Dat    -Nom    HP-arrive    NARU-Pres

“Taro arrives at the station.”

(10) a. Sensei-ni [rippa-na ryoosin]-ga    o-ar-i    ni nar-u  
          Prof. -Dat admirable    parents -Nom    HP-be    NARU-Pres

“The professor has the admirable parents.”

b. #Taroo-ni [rippa-na ryoosin]-ga o-ar-i ni nar-u  
 -Dat admirable parents -Nom HP-be NARU-Pres

“Taro has the admirable parents.”

These examples suggest that it is the nominative NP that is an SSS if the verb is *tuk-* ‘arrive’ type, while it is the dative NP if the verb is *ar-* ‘be’ type. In the following section, I will propose a solution which makes it possible to explain the pattern found in (9) and (10) preserving the theory of this thesis.

## **7.2. Proposal**

Recall that the analysis in the previous section assumes Kuno’s (1973) conclusion that all unaccusative verbs have the same basic order, dative-nominative. If another hypothesis is adopted, the theory of this thesis makes different prediction since what the theory states is that the argument which is closest to [H] is interpreted as an SSS. In particular, if the basic word order of *tuk-* ‘arrive’ is nominative-dative and the order of *ar-* ‘be’ is dative-nominative, the grammatical pattern found in (9) and (10)



can be explained. This is the only way to solve the puzzle preserving the theory.

One point where *ar-* ‘be’ differs from *tuk-* ‘arrive’ is that *ar-* ‘be’ has the stative meaning. In Japanese, stative verbs cannot be followed by *-tei-(ru)* which indicates progressive aspect (see Kageyama 1993, Ito and Sugioka 2002).

(11) a. *ar-* ‘be’: \**at-tei-ru*

b. *tuk-* ‘arrive’ *tui-tei-ru*

The contrast in (11) illustrates that *ar-* ‘be’ has the stative meaning while *tuk-* ‘arrive’ has the non-stative meaning. Kishimoto (2001) proposes that T which takes a stative predicate licenses not only nominative Case but also dative Case, while T which appears above a non-stative predicate licenses only nominative Case. Since stative/non-stative distinction arguably concerns with tense, it is natural to assume two Ts corresponding to the distinction.

I will claim that the difference of word order between *ar-* ‘be’ type verbs and *tuk-* ‘arrive’ type verbs corresponds to the stative/non-stative distinction. This seems natural since the basic order of another stative

unaccusative verb *i-* ‘be’ (\**i-tei-ru*) is identical to *ar-* ‘be’, as the scope ambiguity found in (1) and (7) indicates. More specifically, I propose the following hypothesis.

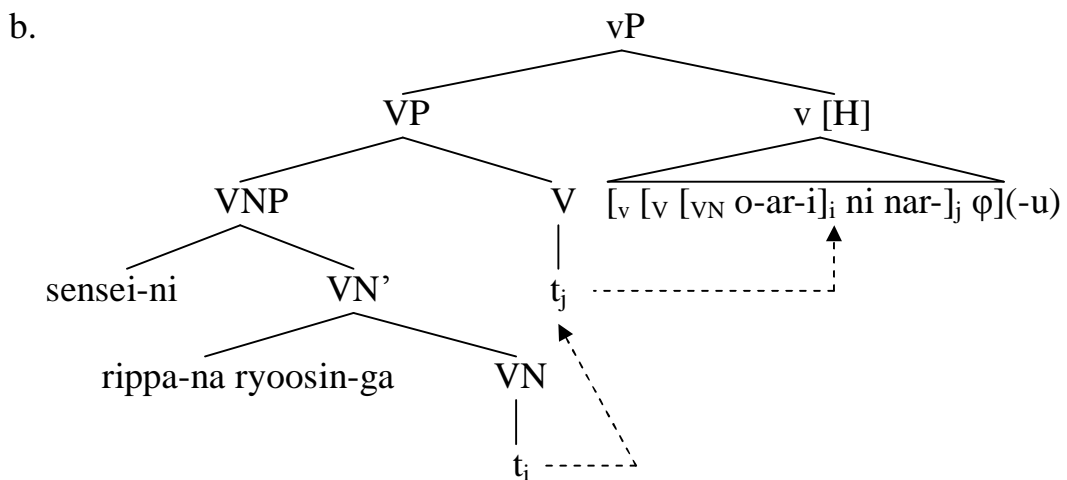
(12) The basic order of stative unaccusative verbs is dative-nominative and that of non-stative ones is nominative-dative.

In the rest of this section, I will demonstrate that the pattern of grammaticality found in (9) and (10) can be explained by the theory of this thesis if the proposal in (12) is adopted. Let us start with the analysis of the stative unaccusative verbs. I propose the following structure for the sentence in (13a).

(13) a. Sensei-ni [rippa-na ryoosin]-ga o-ar-i ni nar-u (=10a)

Prof. -Dat admirable parents -Nom HP-be NARU-Pres

“The professor has the admirable parents.”

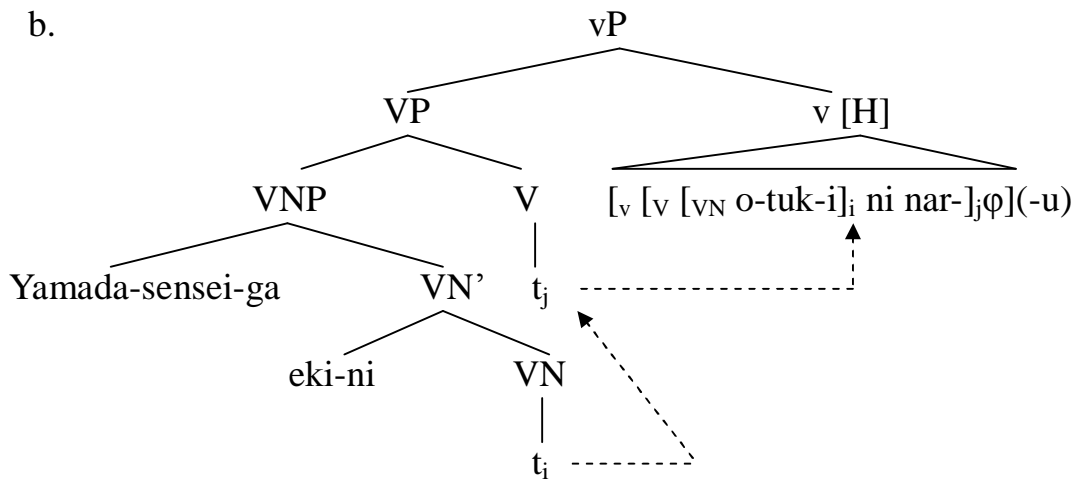


Since the basic order of the stative unaccusative verbs is dative-nominative, the dative NP asymmetrically c-commands the nominative NP, and the dative NP is bound by [H]. Therefore, the fact that the dative NP is an SSS in (13a) is explained.

Secondly, I propose the following structure for the sentence in (14a), which includes a non-stative verb.

- (14) a. Yamada-sensei-ga eki-ni o-tuk-i ni nar-u  
 Prof. -Nom station-Dat HP-arrive NARU-Pres

“Prof. Yamada arrives at the station.”



It is the nominative NP that asymmetrically c-commands the dative NP since the basic order of the non-stative verbs is nominative-dative. Thus, the nominative NP is bound by [H]. On the other hand, the dative NP cannot be bound even if it is moved to the position which intervenes between [H] and the nominative NP (for example [Spec, VP]) via scrambling, since the position is not a theta-position. Therefore, the pattern found in the case of non-stative unaccusative predicates is explained.

In this section, I have suggested that to explain the patterns of grammaticality found in (9) and (10), the theory of this thesis should require that the basic order of stative unaccusative verbs is dative-nominative and that of non-stative ones is nominative-dative, against the widely held assumption that all unaccusative verbs shares the common basic order, dative-nominative. Then, I have demonstrated that how the

theory explains the patterns based on the proposal.

### 7.3. Consequences

In this section, I provide two consequences of the proposal. The first consequence concerns the scope ambiguity. The proposal predicts that if the predicate is a non-stative verb, and the dative-marked existential quantifier precedes the nominative-marked universal quantifier, then the sentence must have the scope ambiguity. The following examples confirm the prediction.

(15) a. Dokoka-ni daremo-ga i-ta (=1a)

somewhere-Dat everyone-Nom be-Past

“Everyone was somewhere ( > , \* > ).”

b. Dokoka-ni daremo-ga tui-ta

somewhere-Dat everyone-Nom arrive-Past

“Everyone arrived somewhere ( > , > ).”

The example in (1a) is repeated in (15a). The fact that this sentence is not

ambiguous is the reason that Kuno (1973) concludes the basic order is dative-nominative. If dative-nominative is also the basic order of the verb *tuk-* ‘arrive’, the sentence in (15b) cannot not have the scope ambiguity. Yet, it *does* have the scope ambiguity; the sentence in (15b) has the reading “for every x, x is a person, there is some y where x arrived at”. This ambiguity is explained if it is assumed that the dative NP is moved from the position which is c-commanded by the nominative NP.

In addition, the proposal makes a further prediction; if the predicate is a non-stative verb, and the nominative-marked existential quantifier precedes the dative-marked universal quantifier, then the sentence cannot have the scope ambiguity. Consider the example below.

(16) Dareka-ga [subete-no basyo]-ni tui-ta  
 someone-Nom all -Gen place -Dat arrive-Past

“Someone arrived at all places ( > , \* > ).”

This sentence does not have the reading “for all y, y is a place, there is some x who arrived at y”. Hence, only one available reading is that there is only one person who has arrived at every place. Since it is impossible for one person to arrive at two distinct places simultaneously, the sentence

should become ungrammatical if it has an adjunct that forces such a reading. The following example illustrates that the prediction is correct.

- (17) \*Kyoo-no gozen-kuzi-ni dareka-ga [subete-no basyo]-ni tui-ta  
 today-Gen a.m. 9 -at someone-Nom all -Gen place -Dat arrive-Past  
 “Someone arrived every place at 9a.m. today.”

The fact that the sentence in (16) has no ambiguity can be explained if there is only one c-command relation that nominative-marked existential quantifier c-commands the dative-marked universal quantifier. This is what the proposal predicts. Thus, these observations can be explained as a consequence of the proposal.

The second consequence concerns Condition C of the binding theory (Chomsky 1981). Consider the following examples.

- (18) a. [Taroo<sub>i</sub>-no ie]-ni kare<sub>i</sub>-ga i-ta  
 -Gen house-Dat he -Nom be-Past  
 “(Lit.) He<sub>i</sub> was at Taro<sub>i</sub>’s house.”  
 b. \*[Taroo<sub>i</sub>-no ie]-ni kare<sub>i</sub>-ga tui-ta  
 -Gen house-Dat he-Nom arrive-Past

“(Lit.) He<sub>i</sub> arrived at Taro<sub>i</sub>’s house.”

Given that Condition C is “everywhere condition” (Lebeaux 1998), the fact that the sentence in (18a) is grammatical indicates that the nominative NP *kare* ‘he’ never c-commands the dative NP. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of the sentence (18b) suggests that at some point in the derivation, the dative NP is c-commanded by the nominative NP. That is, the dative-nominative order in (18b) is derived from the underlying nominative-dative order by scrambling<sup>2</sup>. Thus, this observation can be explained if the hypothesis that the basic order of the stative unaccusative verbs is dative-nominative while that of the non-stative ones is nominative-dative is correct.

In this section, I have argued that the proposal can explain the two

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<sup>2</sup> Against Lebeaux (1998), Saito (2003, 2005) claims that Condition C is an “LF condition”, based on the following observation.

i) [TP Zibunzisin<sub>i</sub>-o [Taroo-ga t<sub>i</sub> seme-ta]] (koto)  
self -Acc -Nom blame-Past fact

“Himself<sub>i</sub>, Taro blamed t<sub>i</sub>” (Saito 2003, p. 487, slightly modified)

He argues that if the Condition C is not an everywhere condition but applies at LF, after the scrambled phrase is reconstructed to its initial position, the grammaticality of the example can be explained.

Even if Saito (2003, 2005) is correct, however, this does not affect the argument. If the dative-nominative order is the underlying order of the sentence in (18b), no reconstruction takes place, so that the ungrammaticality of the example cannot be explained. On the other hand, suppose that the nominative-dative order is the underlying order. At LF, the scrambled dative NP is reconstructed to the initial position, which is c-commanded by the nominative NP. Then, Condition C applies and the sentence is correctly ruled out.



observations, both of them indicate that there is some difference between the stative unaccusative verbs and the non-stative ones.

#### **7.4. Summary of Chapter 7**

In this chapter, I have argued that the incorrect prediction is made if all unaccusative verbs have the common underlying word order, dative-nominative. Then, I have claimed that the problem is solved if it is correct that the basic word order of non-stative unaccusative verbs is nominative-dative, although that of stative ones is dative-nominative. Finally, I have demonstrated that the two facts, one of which concerns the scope ambiguity and the other Condition C, are explained as a consequence of the proposal.

## **Chapter 8**

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### **Implications for Education and Language Learning**

In this chapter, I will discuss the implications of the present study for education and language learning. In particular, comparing to the descriptive and/or taxonomic studies, I will argue that theoretical studies of language, which include the present study, can contribute to education and language learning. I will start examining how the present study of honorification can contribute to education. Then, I will argue that the theory of honorification can distinguish what the learners have to learn when they acquire honorification from what they do not have to, so that the theory can reduce the burden of learners.

First, I will discuss how the present study of honorification can contribute to education. Generally, to educate someone about something, it is necessary to know at least the following two things.

- (1) a. What properties does the object of education have?
  - b. What properties does the content of education have?

As far as the present study concerns, the relevant properties in (1a) are that of

the faculty of language. That is, it is needed to clarify the knowledge of language. Concerning this question, as argued in Chapter 7, the present study claims that there are at least two types of unaccusative verbs, one of which has the nominative-dative order as an underlying order and the other has the dative-nominative order. Since the standard analysis assumes that all unaccusative verbs share the common underlying order, these two hypotheses have to be compared. In this sense, theoretical study of honorification makes the study of the knowledge of language productive. Thus, in this way, the theoretical study of honorification can contribute to education. On the other hand, descriptive and/or taxonomic studies of language cannot make any hypotheses which can influence the other aspects of language, since it is not their goal.

Concerning the question in (1b), the content of education falls under the properties of honorification itself. That is, to educate the learners about honorification, it is necessary to know its properties. The attempt to make a formal theory of honorification, which I have made in this thesis, makes it possible to discover the new properties of honorification. For instance, the present study revealed that there is systematic ambiguity in RH and indirect passive.

In addition, the present study has deepened theoretical understanding of honorification. For example, there had been no analysis why some types of the

multiple honorification (that is, SH + RH and OH + RH) are grammatical, while the other logically possible types (that is, RH + SH, RH + OH, SH + OH and OH + SH) are ungrammatical. In this sense, the present study can contribute to clarify the content of education. On the other hand, since the descriptive and/or taxonomic studies do not make any predictions, it cannot find out the new properties.

Then, I demonstrate how the theory of honorification reduces the burden of the learners. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, the morphological and syntactic properties of SH/OH/RH can be explained by the interaction of the syntactic feature [H] and the properties of lexical items NARU, SURU and RARE. This means that what the learners have to learn is the lexical properties of [H], NARU, SURU and RARE and the argument structure of the verbs. That is, once the learner acquires the lexical items which appear in SH/OH/RH, the learner, guided by the general principles of syntax, can automatically determine what argument is an SSS at least for these three types of honorification. Thus, the learners do not have to learn them as separate constructions. In order to acquire the meaning of a verb, it is unavoidable to learn the argument structure of the verb. From this conclusion, what actually needs to be learned are that the properties of [H], NARU, SURU and RARE. It is impossible to make an easier way to learn honorification without the theoretical consideration from the

present studies. In this point, the present study can contribute to language learning.

Concerning the reduction of the burden, it is worth discussing the “irregular” forms of honorification. So far, I have argued the properties of honorification, whose predicate contains NARU, SURU, or RARE. Yet, there are some verbs which have unpredictable, irregular forms. Harada (1976) calls them “suppletive” form. Some of them are listed in (2).

(2)	SH-form	OH-form
a. ik-(u) ‘go’	irassyar-(u), o-ide, o-kos-i	ukagaw-(u)
b. su-(ru) ‘do’	nasar-(u), asobas-(u)	----
c. iw-(u) ‘say’	ossyar-(u)	----
d. mi-(ru) ‘see’	go-ran (ni nar-u)	haiken (su-ru)
e. kik-(u) ‘hear’	----	haityoo (su-ru)
f. sir-(u) ‘know’	go-zonzi	zonziage-(ru)

Consider the examples in (2a). The form *irassyar-*, *o-ide-* or *o-kos-i* is used when the subject of the sentence is an SSS while the form *ukagaw-* is used when the object is an SSS. Even if the form *o-ide* and *o-kos-i* seem to contain HP, the stem of the verb, namely *ik-* ‘go’, has been changed. These examples suggest

that some verbs have dedicated forms depending on whether the SSS is the subject or the object.

In addition, the verb *iw-* ‘say’ is changed to *ossyar-* when the subject is an SSS while it does not have the suppletive form when the object is an SSS, as shown in (2c). Conversely, the verb *kik-* ‘hear’ lacks the form for the subject. This is one of the characteristics of suppletive forms.

I assume that in the case of suppletive forms, the information whether the SSS is the subject or the object is encoded as part of the meaning of the lexical item. In other words, to know the meaning of the suppletive form, it is necessary to know which argument is an SSS.

One of the most striking examples is the case of *irassyar-*, the suppletive form of the verb *i-* ‘be’. Consider the following examples.

(3) a. Eki-ni Yamada-sensei-ga irassyar-u

station-Dat Prof. -Nom be-Pres

“Prof. Yamada is at the station.”

b. #Eki-ni Taro-ga irassyar-u

station-Dat -Nom be-Pres

“Taro is at the station.”

c. \*Eki-ni Yamada-sensei-ga irassyar-u

station-Dat            Prof. -Nom   be-Pres

“Prof. Yamada is at the station.”

(4) a. Sensei-ni    [rippa-na   ryoosin]-ga    irassyar-u

Prof. -Dat    admirable    parents    -Nom   be-Pres

“The professor has the admirable parents.”

b. #Taroo-ni    [rippa-na   ryoosin]-ga    irassyar-u

-Dat    admirable    parents    -Nom   be-Pres

“Taro has the admirable parents.”

c. \*Sensei-ni    [rippa-na   ryoosin]-ga    irassyar-u

Prof. -Dat    admirable    parents    -Nom   be-Pres

“The professor has the admirable parents.”

The pattern of grammaticality found in (3) suggests that the nominative NP is interpreted as an SSS. On the other hand, the pattern found in (4) indicates that the dative NP is interpreted as an SSS. Note that the meaning of *irassyar-* in (3) is different from the meaning of it in (4); *irassyar-* in (3) has the existential meaning while *irassyar-* in (4) has the possessive meaning. That is, if *irassyar-* has the existential meaning, the nominative NP is an SSS while if it has the possessive meaning, the dative NP is interpreted as an SSS. This suggests that the meaning of the verb controls which argument is interpreted as an SSS. Thus,

it seems plausible to assume that the information of an SSS is lexically encoded in the case of suppletive forms.

Besides, to distinguish the suppletive forms from the regular forms has one advantage. It can explain the condition on the “double honorification” (Niinuma 2003, 2005). Below is the example of double honorification.

(5) Tanaka-sensei-ga      Yamada-sensei-no-otaku-ni    sanjoo nasat-ta  
Prof. -Nom                      Prof. -Gen-house-Dat    come    do-Past

“Prof. Tanaka came to Prof. Yamada’s house.”

(Niinuma 2005, p. 57, slightly modified)

Niinuma (2003, 2005) claims that double honorification is a case of OH + SH, which can be obtained “under the condition that the object honorific form is a suppletive form<sup>1</sup>” (Niinuma 2005, p. 56). This condition, however, is problematic since Niinuma (2003, 2005) does not distinguish the regular forms from the suppletive forms (see Niinuma 2003, pp. 8-10).

Yet, the condition follows from the distinction between the regular forms and the suppletive forms, since both *sanjoo* ‘come’ and *nasar-* ‘do’ in (5) are suppletive forms of *kur-* ‘come’ and *su-* ‘do’. The lexical item *sanjoo* ‘come’ has

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, the verb *nasar-* is also the suppletive form of *su-* ‘do’. Yet, this does not affect the argument.



the information that the object is an SSS as its meaning, and the meaning of *nasar-* ‘do’ includes the information that the subject is an SSS. Since *sanjoo* ‘come’ is a noun while *nasar-* ‘do’ is a transitive verb, nothing prevents *nasar-* ‘do’ from taking *sanjoo* ‘come’ as its object, so that the sentence is grammatical.

The distinction between the regular forms from the suppletive forms has an important implication for language learning; the learners have to learn the suppletive forms as independent lexical items. At this point, the present study provides a basis for learning honorification.

In this chapter, I have discussed the implications of the present study for education and language learning. Although the implications of the present study are indirect, I believe that they provide a basis for education and language learning.

## **Chapter 9**

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### **Conclusion**

In this thesis, I have pursued the idea that it is the feature [H] on the predicate that contributes the honorific interpretation of the sentence. In particular, I have proposed the following mechanism.

- (1) a. [H] is licensed iff it binds an XP in the closest theta-position.
- b. If [H] is not licensed, the derivation crashes.
- c. An XP is interpreted as an SSS iff it is bound by [H].

Based on these proposals, I have provided a unified analysis of SH, OH and RH. As a consequence of the analysis, I have claimed that the basic word order of stative unaccusative verbs is dative-nominative, while that of non-stative ones is nominative-dative. I have also discussed the implications of this study for education and language learning.

There are some remaining issues. So far, I have claimed that only theta-positions are relevant to honorification. Harada (1976), however, observed that a possessor NP of an object NP can be an SSS. Below is the relevant

example.

- (1) Taroo-ga [Yamada-sensei-no o-nimotu]-o o-mot-i si-ta  
-Nom Prof. -Gen HP-baggage -Acc HP-bring SURU-Past  
“Taro brought Prof. Yamada’s baggage.”

In this example, the SSS is the genitive NP *Yamada-sensei* ‘Prof. Yamada’, which appears inside the accusative NP. This phenomenon is called “Possessor Honorification” by Harada (1976). Since the genitive NP does not receive a theta-role from the verb, it seems problematic that it can be interpreted as an SSS. Yet, I believe that the more detailed study of possessor honorification and deeper understanding of the internal structure of NPs are necessary to reveal the nature of possessor honorification. For example, the following contrast may provide the key.

- (2) a. Taroo-ga [Yamada-sensei-no o-nimotu]-o o-mot-i si-ta (=1a)  
-Nom Prof. -Gen HP-baggage-Acc HP-bring SURU-Past  
“Taro brought Prof. Yamada’s baggage.”

- b. ?Taroo-ga [Yamada-sensei-no nimotu]-o o-mot-i si-ta  
-Nom Prof. -Gen baggage -Acc HP-bring SURU-Past

“Taro brought Prof. Yamada’s baggage.”

Adjectives also have honorific forms. Below are the relevant examples.

(3) a. Ano kata-wa o-utukusi-i

that person-Top HP-beautiful-Pres

“He/she is beautiful.”

b. \*Watasi-wa Yamada-sensei-ga o-suki da

I -Top Prof. -Gen HP-like Pres

“I like Prof. Yamada.”

c. Yamada-sensei-wa goruhu-ga o-suki da

Prof. -Top golf -Nom HP-like Pres

“Prof. Yamada likes playing golf.”

These examples suggest that Adjective Honorification has the subject orientation.

Although I have not provided the analysis of it in this thesis, I believe that the subject orientation of it can be explained by the mechanism of this thesis.

Although further study is necessary, I conclude this thesis by pointing out that this study has the following implications for the study of linguistic theory. Firstly, the “agreement” view to honorification is not correct from both

empirical and theoretical point of view. Secondly, honorification is also governed by the universal principles of syntax, contrary to the assumption of the traditional Japanese grammars that honorification is a lexical and/or Japanese-specific phenomenon. Finally, and more broadly, this study suggests that the study of honorification can contribute to the study of I-language. In particular, this study has demonstrated that the underlying order of arguments can be investigated through the pattern of honorification.

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