

Honorification in Standard/Nagasaki Japanese and Anti-Homophony

This paper investigates the cartographic structure of vP and the morphological properties of the honorific morpheme (*r*)*are* in Standard Japanese (SJ) and its counterpart, *-(r)asu*, in the Sasebo, Nagasaki dialect that is located in the northern part of Kyushu: Nagasaki Japanese (NJ). Furthermore, I account for the incompatibility of some morphemes in SJ/NJ in terms of anti-homophony under the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, Harley and Noyer 1999, a.o.).

- (1) Sensei-wa Taroo-ni suugaku-o osie-rare/rasi-ta.
 teacher-TOP Taro-DAT math-ACC teach-HON(SJ)/HON(NJ)-PAST
 ‘The teacher taught Taro mathematics.’

Hasegawa (1988, 2006) argues that (*r*)*are* in SJ is a uniform morpheme for honorification and passive. The analysis accounts for the incompatibility of the passive morpheme and the honorific morpheme in SJ, as shown in (2a). However, in NJ, where the passive morpheme (*r*)*are* and the honorific morpheme (*r*)*asu* are different, they can co-occur, as shown in (2b).

- (2) a. *A-sensei-ga B-sensei-ni home-rare-rare-ta. (*passive-honorific) (SJ)
 A-teacher-NOM B-teacher-DAT praise-PASS-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. A is praised by Prof.B.’
 b. A-sensei-ga B-sensei-ni home-rare-rasi-ta. (passive-honorific) (NJ)
 A-teacher-NOM B-teacher-DAT praise-PASS-HON-PAST

Hence, the assumption that the (*r*)*are* morpheme is uniform irrespective of interpretation is not tenable, at least in NJ. I argue that the honorific morpheme is a morphological manifestation of the Honorific head (Hon), which is distinct from the passive morpheme: the morphological manifestation of the passive Voice head (Voice_{PASS}). Hon can follow any kind of Voice, including passive, as shown in (1) and (2b). On the other hand, Hon cannot precede Voice_{PASS}, as illustrated in (3). This indicates that Hon selects VoiceP, but not vice versa (SJ and NJ behave in the same way unless noted).

- (3) *A-sensei-ga B-sensei-ni home-rasi-rare-ta. (*honorific-passive) (NJ)
 A-teacher-NOM B-teacher-DAT praise-HON-PASS-PAST
 ‘Prof. A is praised by Prof.B.’

In this way, I investigate selection properties of the honorific morpheme in an attempt to clarify the vP cartography in Japanese.

HonP projects above CauseP, which in turn selects VoiceP_{PASS} (Harley 2017).

- (4) Sensei-wa kodomo-o oko-rare-sase-rasi-ta. (NJ)
 teacher-TOP child-ACC scold-PASS-CAUS-HON-PAST
 ‘The teacher made his/her child to be scolded.’

More specifically, the fact that CauseP may be followed by passive morpheme shows that HonP selects VoiceP_{PASS}, which in turn selects CauseP (VoiceP < CauseP < VoiceP < HonP).

- (5) Sensei-wa tako-o tabe-sase-rare-rasi-ta. (NJ)
 teacher-TOP octopus-ACC eat-CAUS-PASS-HON-PAST
 ‘The teacher was made to eat octopus.’

Furthermore, HonP projects in the Aspect (Asp)/Tense (T) domain; the honorific form may follow the aspectual verb, and precedes negation and tense.

- (6) Yamada-san-wa kyabia-o tabe-yo-rassa-n-yatta. (NJ)
 Mr.Yamada-TOP caviar-ACC eat-ASP-HON-NEG-PAST
 ‘Mr. Yamada wasn’t eating caviar.’

In sum, the vP cartography in Japanese is schematized in (7).

- (7) vP < (VoiceP_{PASS} < CauseP) < VoiceP_{PASS} < (AspP) < HonP < (NegP) < TP (NJ)

The vP cartography in (7), where Voice_{PASS} and Hon are different, accounts for the compatibility of the passive morpheme and the honorific morpheme in NJ, as shown in (2b), while it cannot account for the ungrammaticality of the SJ counterpart illustrated in (2a). I argue that the ungrammaticality is caused by anti-homophony/repetition avoidance: the ban on adjacent identity (**rare-rare*) within a given domain (see also Okutsu 1974, Neeleman and van de Koot 2006, a.o.). In contrast, the honorific morpheme (*r*)*asu* in NJ is not homophonous with the passive morpheme, and hence they can cooccur, as shown in (2b). The anti-homophony analysis is supported by the fact that an intervening morpheme (e.g. aspect or a focus particle) ameliorates the ungrammaticality.

- (8) A-sensei-ga B-sensei-ni home-rare-teo-rare-ta.
 A-teacher-NOM B-teacher-DAT praise-PASS-ASP-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. A is praised by Prof.B.’

- (9) Yamada-sensei-ga Shota-ni tatak-are-sae-s-are-ta. (SJ)
 Yamada-teacher-NOM Shota-DAT hit-PASS-even-do-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. Yamada was even hit by Shota.’

Another evidence for anti-homophony comes from *do so* construction in Japanese. In Japanese, the active form *do so* can yield passive interpretation when the predicate indicates agentivity. Consider (10), where the agentive adverb *wazato* ‘deliberately’ modifies the predicate. In this case, the active form *soo su* ‘do so’ in (10c) yields the passive interpretation that corresponds to (10b).

- (10) a. Masao-wa wazato Ken-ni hihan-s-are-ta.
 Masao-TOP deliberately Ken-DAT criticize-do-PASS-PAST
 ‘Masao was deliberately criticized by Ken.’
 b. Shota-mo wazato Ken-ni hihan-s-are-ta.
 Shota-also deliberately Ken-DAT criticize-do-PASS-PAST
 ‘Also, Shota was deliberately criticized by Ken.’
 c. Shota-mo soo si-ta.
 Shota-also so do-PAST
 ‘Shota did so, too. (Int.)Also, Shota was deliberately criticized by Ken.’

Importantly, in sentences like (10c), where the active Voice can yield passive interpretation in the absence of the passive morpheme, the honorific morpheme can manifest, as in (11b).

- (11) a. Masao-wa wazato Ken-ni hihan-s-are-ta.
 Masao-TOP deliberately Ken-DAT criticize-do-PASS-PAST
 ‘Masao was deliberately criticized by Ken.’
 b. Oka-sensei-mo soo s-are-ta.
 Oka-teacher-also so do-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. Oka did so, too. (Int. Also, Prof. Oka was deliberately criticized by Ken.)’

Moreover, The (*r*)*are* form that yields the interpretation of ability ‘can’ is incompatible with the honorific form (*r*)*are* in SJ because of anti-homophony. In NJ, the potential morpheme (*r*)*are* and the honorific morpheme (*r*)*asu* are not homophonous, but the acceptability of the sequence (*r*)*are* (potential) – *rasu* (honorific) is also degraded.

- (12) *Sensei-wa nasubi-o tabe-rare-*rare/??rasi-ta.
 teacher-TOP egg plant-ACC eat-CAN-HON(SJ)/HON(NJ)-PAST
 ‘The teacher could eat egg plant.’

This might be because *re*, the allomorph of the potential (*r*)*are*, is available; the sequence of *re-rasu* is more suitable than the sequence *rare-rasu* in view of Anti-Homophony.

- (13) Sensei-wa nasubi-o tabe-re-rasi-ta. (NJ)
 teacher-TOP it-ACC eat-CAN-HON-PAST
 ‘The teacher could eat egg plant.’

Finally, I observe that some unmarked transitive verbs like *hagu* ‘peel’ may not be followed by the honorific morpheme in NJ: (14a) only yields s-marked transitive interpretation, not honorific interpretation. Instead, the s-marked variant *hagasu* ‘peel’ should be selected in order to yield the honorific interpretation, as shown in (14b).

- (14) a. #Sensei-ga posutaa-o hag-asi-ta. (*unmarked transitive-honorific)
 teacher-NOM poster-ACC peel- ϕ TRANS-HON-PAST
 ‘The teacher peeled a poster.’
 b. Sensei-ga posutaa-o hag-as-asi-ta. (s-marked transitive-honorific)
 teacher-NOM poster-ACC peel-TRANS-HON-PAST

I take the fact as a regulation related with anti-homophony: in this case, s-marked transitive morpheme (*-asu*) and the honorific morpheme (*-asu*) in NJ are homophonous. When two terminal nodes for homophonous morphemes are in proximity and one of the two homophonous morphemes is inserted to a terminal, the one closer to Root wins over the other; in (14a), *asu* is inserted not to Hon, but to Voice, yielding only s-marked transitive interpretation. This regulation is ranked higher than the ban on homophonous sequence, as is illustrated by the *asu-asu* sequence in (14b).

In sum, this paper tries to clarify the vP cartography in Japanese, focusing on the selection properties of the honorific morpheme. Furthermore, the incompatibility of some morphemes in SJ/NJ are accounted for in terms of anti-homophony.

Selected References: Harley, H. 2017. The bundling hypothesis and the disparate functions of little *v*. *The Verbal Domain*. 3-28; Hasegawa, N. 2006. Honorifics. *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, Second edition. 493-543.