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#### **Author**

Thompson, Anie

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# IRREGULARITY IN JAPANESE HONORIFICS\*

ANIE THOMPSON

*University of California, Santa Cruz*

This article examines suppletion and feature-conditioned allomorphy in Distributed Morphology. It discusses some empirical commonalities among these kinds of allomorphy, and then examines how they could be accounted for in DM. It then moves on to a particular case of irregularity, the Japanese verbal honorific. Some of these honorifics are shown to fit the common criteria for suppletion and feature-conditioned allomorphy. However, it is then shown that the common notion of the cycle within DM cannot treat these honorifics as cases of allomorphy, suggesting that the phonological cycle must be larger than the version argued for in Embick (2010).

**Keywords:** Distributed Morphology, Japanese, honorifics, syntax, suppletion, allomorphy

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Distributed Morphology is a syntactic theory of morphology which subscribes to the notion of a cycle. The cycle provides locality conditions for interactions between morphemes. In turn, this limits the accounts the theory can provide for phonologically and semantically irregular derivations, in which either the pronunciation or meaning of a form cannot be predicted by its composition. Due to work by Borer (2009) and Embick (2010), we have well-described theories of how semantic irregularity and phonologically-conditioned allomorphy occur. However, there is less work within the theory which describes allomorphy conditioned by grammatical features instead of phonology, including suppletion. In particular, feature-conditioned contextual allomorphy which involves complex syntactic structures, often including roots, is not well understood in this theory.

Cases of feature-conditioned allomorphy are easy to come across. Unfortunately, plausible cases of feature-conditioned allomorphy over larger syntactic structures are relatively rare. The majority of familiar cases of feature-conditioned allomorphy include suppletion based on tense, aspect, gender, plurality, and case. Importantly for theories of locality, these familiar cases often tend to involve very few categorizing heads—often one or two at most. There are far fewer cases where allomorphy appears to happen over larger structures.

One of these rare cases is the Japanese verbal honorific. Productively, the honorific is a periphrastic light verb construction. However, certain verbs are replaced by irregular forms. As I will show, the behavior of these irregular honorifics is not homogenous; some irregulars are far better candidates for a suppletive analysis than others. There are some irregulars in particular which seem to be cases of true suppletion. Crucially, this allomorphy must happen over a complex syntax: I will show that the productive honorific is best analyzed as a nominalized verb and a light verb. This will prove problematic for the theories of phonological cyclicity common in the literature.

In §2, I first provide a quick introduction to DM and the theories of semantic and phonological cyclicity current in the theory. I will also provide a non-theoretical discussion of suppletion and feature-conditioned contextual allomorphy, and discuss how these phenomena can be handled in DM. I turn to the Japanese honorifics in §3. Here I present the empirical data, beginning with the productive honorifics. I then present the irregular honorifics. In §4, I outline a syntactic analysis for the productive honorific. This analysis updates the analysis provided in Ivana and Sakai 2007, which considers the honorific to be a type of

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<sup>1</sup>ACC = accusative; CLOC = circumlocative; CONT = continuative; COP = copula; DAT = dative; HON = honorific; IMPF = imperfect; NOM = nominative; PERF = perfect; POL = polite; Q = question; REN = renyoikei; TOP = topic; TLOC = translocative

light verb construction involving a nominal. I also provide evidence against the honorification-as-agreement analyses which are common in the literature, such as that provided in Boeckx and Niinuma 2004 and Boeckx 2006. After presenting this analysis, I examine how the irregulars must fit into this syntax. I conclude that these cannot be counted as cases of allomorphy under the theory as described. This means that we must either call them non-allomorphic cases, which causes a number of useful generalizations to be lost, or that we must alter the theory to allow for larger phonological cycles.

## 2 Irregular Morphology

### 2.1 A Brief Introduction to DM

First, I would like to very briefly outline the theory described here. I will be working within Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994; Harley and Noyer 1999; Embick and Noyer 2001), which is a syntactic, piece-based theory of morphology. Under this theory, the syntax manipulates feature bundles. Once the syntax is spelled out to PF and LF, further operations on the feature bundles may happen at PF before the bundles are supplied with phonological material. I will not describe these operations in detail here; the reader is referred to Harley and Noyer 1999 and Embick and Noyer 2001 for overview. In general, these operations allow features and feature bundles to be split, moved, and otherwise changed in various ways.

The insertion of phonological material in this theory is rule-based. Feature bundles are associated with phonology through VIs (vocabulary insertion rules). Example VIs for the past tense indicative of the Basque copula (Corbett 2007) and several English plurals are given in (1) and (2). The left side of the arrow corresponds to phonological material. The right side of the arrow is more involved. At the bare minimum, it specifies the features which the VI matches. It may also specify the syntactic context in which those features must sit, as in (2).

- (1)
- a.  $-\emptyset- \leftrightarrow [-\text{speaker}, -\text{participant}, -\text{pl}, +\text{past}, +\text{indic}, +\text{cop}]$
  - b.  $-\text{ir}- \leftrightarrow [-\text{speaker}, -\text{participant}, +\text{pl}, +\text{past}, +\text{indic}, +\text{cop}]$
  - c.  $-\text{in}- \leftrightarrow [+past, +\text{indic}, +\text{cop}]$
- (2)
- a.  $-\text{s} \leftrightarrow [+pl]$
  - b.  $-\text{en} \leftrightarrow [+pl] / \{\text{ox}, \text{child}, \dots\}$
  - c.  $-\emptyset \leftrightarrow [+pl] / \{\text{fish}, \text{deer}, \text{sheep}, \dots\}$

Sometimes, several VIs will be specified for the same feature. This is the case in (2), where all three VIs are specified for [+pl]. In such cases, the Subset Principle comes into play:

- (3) *Subset Principle*: The phonological exponent of a VI is inserted into a morpheme if the item matches all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme. Insertion does not take place if the VI contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several VIs meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen. Harley and Noyer (1999)

Under the Subset Principle, the VI that realizes the most features of a node will win, as long as that VI does also not realize additional features which are not associated with the syntactic node in question. So, if a syntactic node contains only [+pl, +fem], a VI specified for [+pl, +fem] will be inserted in favor of a VI specified for [+fem]. However, a VI specified for [+pl, +fem, -participant] will not be inserted, since it contains a participant specification which the syntactic node does not have.

The Subset Principle limits when VIs may be realized in particular contexts. However, it does not describe the type of contexts which VI may be specified for; nor does it specify when heads may combine to produce irregular semantics. Given the power that the theory has, the issue of locality becomes important: It is one of the ways that the predictions of the theory are constrained. Typologically, it is fairly clear that contexts of phonological and semantic irregularity tend to be local; items in local configurations are far more likely to effect irregular semantics or phonology than items in non-local configurations. However, it is not entirely clear how local these contexts must be.

The majority of work in the field assumes that the phonological cycle and the semantic cycle are the same cycle. However, as a whole, the literature makes a distinction between semantic and phonological domains of locality. I will briefly examine the literature here, and then explore some potential consequences of the assumptions made in the literature.

It is generally not disputed that the first merge of a root with a categorizing head is a domain of both phonological and semantic idiosyncrasy. Arad (2003) and Marantz (2001) make the strong proposal that this domain is also the only domain of idiosyncrasy. Unfortunately, this is empirically problematic. Consider the following English data in (4).

- (4) a.  $\text{edit} = \sqrt{\text{edit}} + v$   
        $\text{editor} = \sqrt{\text{edit}} + v + n_{or}$   
        $\text{editorial} = \sqrt{\text{edit}} + v + n_{or} + n_{ial}$   
       b.  $\text{natural} = \sqrt{\text{natur}} + al_a$   
        $\text{naturalize} = \sqrt{\text{natur}} + al_a + ize_v$   
       c.  $\text{class} = \sqrt{\text{class}} + n$   
        $\text{classify} = \sqrt{\text{class}} + n + v_{ify}$   
        $\text{classifieds} = \sqrt{\text{class}} + n + v_{ify} + n_{ed} + pl$

*Edit* has the semantics of ‘to prepare material for presentation by correcting, revising, or adapting’. *Editor* means ‘one who prepares material for presentation by correcting, revising, or adapting’. However, *editorial* refers to ‘an article which states an opinion or gives a perspective’. It need not involve the meaning of *editor* at all. In this case, the derivational morpheme *-ial* introduces idiosyncratic semantics not predicted by the base or the derivational morpheme itself. The same occurs for the other pairs in (4); *naturalize* has a reading which does not contain the meaning of *natural*, and *classifieds* does not contain the meaning of *classify*.

The strong Arad/Marantz theory cannot account for this. However, more recent work by Borer (2009) proposes that semantic idiosyncrasy is not limited to merge of the root with the categorizing head. Rather, Borer proposes that semantic idiosyncrasy can occur until the merge of the first semantic cyclic head. Under her theory, semantic cyclic heads are non-categorizing heads (i.e., heads which are not like *a*, *v* or *n*). This theory can account for the data in (4), since these structures do not contain a non-categorizing head which would force spell-out of a semantic cycle. I will adopt this theory here, as the most plausible theory of semantic idiosyncrasy available in the DM literature.

Phonological irregularity, on the other hand, seems to behave quite differently. The most well-developed theory of allomorphy is that proposed in Embick 2010 for phonologically-conditioned contextual allomorphy. Note that this is a different type of allomorphy from the topic of discussion in this paper, which is feature-conditioned. However, it is plausible that the two types will bear similarities, including locality conditions. As Embick notes, a ‘root-attached’ theory of allomorphy is too restrictive; English past tense alone indicates that relatively distant heads, such as T, must be able to affect the spell-out of the root.

Under Embick’s analysis, phonological locality has two components: Phase-cyclic locality and linear locality. This idea of two components of locality is based on a pair of generalizations. The first generalization is that linear order matters. Languages tend to show phonologically-conditioned allomorphy

when two morphemes are linearly adjacent, with no intervening overt morphology. It is possible that this is not relevant for feature-conditioned allomorphy, which does not care about its phonological environment so much as its syntactic environment. One interesting possibility is that the correlate of linear adjacency for feature-conditioned allomorphy is presence in the same morphological word—i.e., if two morphemes do not form a true morphological word, they will not affect each other’s phonology. I will not take a strong stance on this here.

The second is a generalization about syntactic cyclicity. In this theory, categorizing heads and C are taken to be cyclic heads. Embick’s schematization for the cyclicity generalization is shown in (5), where  $x$ ,  $y$  are cyclic heads,  $Z$  is a non-cyclic head, and  $\alpha$  represents a trigger for allomorphy.

- (5) a. . . .  $\alpha$  ]  $x$  ]  $Z$   
*Generalization:* Non-cyclic  $Z$  may show contextual allomorphy determined by  $\alpha$ , as long as  $x$  is not overt.
- b. . . .  $\alpha$  ]  $x$  ]  $y$   
*Generalization:* Cyclic  $y$  may not show contextual allomorphy determined by  $\alpha$ , even if  $x$  is not overt.

The generalization is that an outer, non-cyclic head  $Z$  may see across a non-overt cyclic head, and contextual allomorphy may be triggered. However, outer cyclic heads cannot see across another cyclic head, even if the intervening head is non-overt. This distinction in particular is a distinction that, if valid for one type of contextual allomorphy, should be valid for the other type. It involves the interaction of features over syntactic hierarchies, which ideally should be the same for all kinds of allomorphy.

I want to note that Embick does not differentiate between the semantic and phonological cycle. However, I will do so here. The data in (4) alone are semantically problematic for Embick’s theory. I will therefore keep Borer’s hypothesis that non-categorizing heads define the semantic cycle. This means that categorizing heads are left to define the phonological cycle. This distinguishes between the phonological and semantic cycles, and produces an alternating spell-out, where cycles are spelled out to PF and LF in essentially complementary distribution.

## 2.2 Feature-Conditioned Contextual Allomorphy and Suppletion

Before moving on to the Japanese data, it is necessary to examine the broader empirical context, and to see how this relates to the theory just outlined. I will begin by defining and explaining two terms. The first is FEATURE-CONDITIONED CONTEXTUAL ALLOMORPHY, or FCCA. I use the term feature-conditioned contextual allomorphy to refer to those allomorphic variations which are not conditioned by phonological surroundings. Rather, they are cases of allomorphy which are conditioned by the presence of a certain object, such as a grammatical feature, sitting in a certain syntactic context. Semantically regular examples include the English past tense; T[+past] is spelled out in various ways in the context of different verbs. For example, in the context of *bake*, we see the regular past *-ed*. However, in the case of *dive* we see an irregular vowel (*dove*), and in the case of *go* we see a thoroughly irregular form, *went*.

There are also contexts in which irregular semantics and phonology go hand-in-hand. This is the case for some Arabic broken plurals; examples are given in (6) (Holes 2004). When the singular appears in a certain broken plural form, its meaning becomes extended:

- |     |                    |   |
|-----|--------------------|---|
| (6) | <i>Singular</i>    | <i>Plural</i>                               |
|     | ba:b ‘door’        | ?abwa:b ‘doors; chapter, section of a book’ |
|     | bayt ‘tent, house’ | ?abya:t ‘tents, houses; verse of poetry’    |

The second term I will define is SUPPLETION, which I take to be a subset of feature-conditioned contextual allomorphy. Non-theoretically, canonical suppletive morphology is that morphology which is maximally phonologically irregular and maximally semantically regular (Corbett 2007). Importantly, as Anderson (2007) notes, the phonological irregularity associated with suppletion cannot be conditioned by phonological rule. This means that allomorphy such as that associated with the English plural marker -s is not suppletion. The different variations of this marker can be derived by phonological rule which makes mention of the stem-final segment.

Generally, the phonological criterion for suppletion is well-understood: Unpredictable irregularity. However, the second criterion—semantic regularity—is less well-defined. The question of what is sufficiently semantically regular is a matter of open (and sometimes relatively heated) debate. Some authors limit the term ‘suppletion’ to inflectional morphology. This is because inflectional morphology is most likely to involve principled changes in semantics based on grammatical features (especially grammatical features that tend to be expressed in binary terms). These changes in semantics are predicted by the regular semantics of the particular head and base involved. For example, look at the Slovene example in Table 1 (Corbett 2007). The plural of nominative *človek* ‘man, person’ appears as the irregular *ljudje*; this can be compared to the regular *grad* ‘castle’. The semantic changes are the semantic changes which are always predicted by these features.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
človek	človeka	ljudje
grad	gradova	gradovi

**Table 1:** Slovene Nominatives

One most note, of course, that not all ‘inflectional’ morphology is semantically regular. This kind of idiosyncrasy is relatively common, even when the morphology is regular. Booij (1996) gives the following examples from Dutch, which appear with the regular plural marker *-en* but which appear with idiosyncratic semantics:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
letter ‘letter’	letteren ‘arts’
vader ‘father’	vaderen ‘forefathers’
middel ‘means’	middelen ‘means of existence’
zenuw ‘nerve’	zenuwen ‘nervous breakdown’
boek ‘book’	boeken ‘financial administration’
groet ‘greeting’	groeten ‘kind regards’
gedachte ‘thought’	gedachten ‘memory’

**Table 2:** Dutch Plurals

However, it does seem to be overwhelmingly the case that, when inflectional paradigms involve phonological irregularity, they also involve semantic regularity. This is in contrast with derivational morphology, which tends to be less semantically regular. A derivational head may have a regular semantics (and perhaps even bear certain grammatical features that could trigger suppletion). However, these heads are also much more likely to condition idiosyncratic semantic changes which are not associated with the regular semantics of either the head or the structure to which it attaches. Again, review the pair *editor~editorial*; this is a case where a derivational morpheme induces idiosyncratic semantics not predicted by the base or by the derivational head.

In this paper, I will not distinguish inflectional and derivational morphology, as is the general rule in DM. However, I will distinguish between suppletion and other kinds of feature-conditioned allomorphy. Suppletion, I claim, is properly portrayed as feature-conditioned contextual allomorphy that does not involve any irregular semantics: The semantics of a suppletive form should be entirely predictable from the semantics of the base and the merged head. This is in line with the distinctions made in Corbett 2007. However, note that it does not follow arguments such as that in Bobaljik (2007), who claims that only full suppletion is suppletion, or that in Marantz (1997), who claims that only functional heads supplete. Both theories contain undesirable consequences. Bobaljik's theory results in forms such as *leave~left*, which cannot be captured by regular phonological rule, being treated as non-suppletive. This does not adequately capture the irregularity of these forms. Marantz's theory, on the other hand, greatly explodes the amount of functional morphology in the grammar; all verbs in English which supplete based on tense must in fact be instantiations of the T head. I would instead like to claim that FCCA can involve any type of head and can occur within any domain that allows phonological and semantic irregularities. The only distinction which sets suppletion apart is that requirement that suppletive forms be semantically regular.

I propose that phonologically irregular VI can be triggered by the presence of a particular grammatical feature in some morphosyntactic context, subject to the locality conditions defined by Borer and Embick. The triggering feature may sit on the irregular VI itself or on a nearby head, and the irregularity may be full or partial. Below I give relatively simple examples of each type from English. In each case, the triggering feature sits on a non-categorizing head, which is separated from the root by only one categorizing head. According to Embick's theory, this allows the triggering feature to affect the phonology of the root. However, according to Borer, it will not allow irregular semantics, since the non-categorizing head will spell out its complement to the semantics; this is in accordance with what we see.

- (7)
- a. *Irregular VI of the head containing the triggering feature* [+pl]  
ox~ox-en
  - b. *Irregular VI of a head in a local context with the triggering feature* [+comp]  
good~bett-er
  - c. *Partially irregular VI*  
dive~dove
  - d. *Fully irregular VI*  
go~went

In summary, the theory proposed here works within a post-syntactic theory of morphology. It proposes separate, alternating spell-outs to LF and PF, and allows grammatical features to trigger both irregular VI and the lookup of irregular semantics. So far, examples such as the ones we have examined are relatively straightforward for the theory. It is necessary to test the theory on less straightforward examples. For this reason, I will now turn to a case-study of Japanese honorifics, which are syntactically and semantically complex in ways not illustrated by the data examined so far.

### 3 The Japanese Honorific

#### 3.1 Productive Honorifics

Japanese has a polite language system called *keigo*, which is roughly divided into exalting language (*sonkeigo*) and humbling language (*kenzyougo*). One integral part of this system is the VERBAL REFERENT HONORIFIC. These honorifics are used to indicate the social status of certain individuals. Referent honorifics (unlike addressee honorifics) do not require the presence or participation of the individual whose status is referenced; they merely require reference to that individual.

Structurally, the productive verbal referent honorific is a periphrastic verbal construction.<sup>2</sup> It consists of a light verb (*suru* or *ninaru*) and a non-finite form of the verb called the RENYOOKEI, or stem form. The *o*+stem is preceded by the honorific prefix *o-/go-*.<sup>3</sup>

There are two types of referent honorifics. The first type is called SUBJECT HONORIFICATION. This type elevates the status of the subject relative to the speaker. The second type is NON-SUBJECT HONORIFICATION<sup>4</sup>, also known as *humbling* language. This type elevates the status of a non-subject entity relative to both the speaker and the subject (Matsumoto 1997). Subject honorification, hereby abbreviated as SH, can be seen in (8). The exalted subject is marked with nominative case; the verb appears in the *o*+stem form, and *ninaru* is used as the light verb.

- (8) a. Tanaka-san-ga o-kaer-i ninat-ta.  
Tanaka-POL-NOM HON-return.home-REN become-PERF  
'Mr. Tanaka went home.'
- b. Suzuki-sensei-ga hon-o o-yom-i ninat-ta.  
Suzuki-teacher-NOM book-ACC HON-read-REN become-PERF  
'Prof. Suzuki read the book.'
- c. Hiroda-san-ga hon-o Hanako-ni o-kas-i ninat-ta.  
Hiroda-POL-NOM book-ACC Hanako-DAT HON-lend-REN become-PERF  
'Ms. Hiroda lent the book to Hanako.'

Non-subject honorification (NSH) can be seen in (9). Again, the verb appears in the *o*+stem form, and the light verb *suru* is used. The subject is in this case humbled.

- (9) a. Taroo-ga Suzuki-sensei-o o-tasuke- $\emptyset$  si-ta.  
Taroo-NOM Suzuki-teacher-ACC HON-help-REN do-PERF  
'Taroo helped Prof. Suzuki.'
- b. Watasi-ga Hiroda-san-o o-mat-i su-ru.  
I-NOM Hiroda-POL-ACC HON-wait-REN do-IMP  
'I will wait for Ms. Hiroda.'
- c. Watasi-ga hon-o Tanaka-san-ni o-kas-i ninat-ta.  
I-NOM book-ACC Tanaka-POL-DAT HON-lend-REN become-PERF  
'I lent the book to Mr. Tanaka.'

In the case of Sino-Japanese nominal + light verb constructions (Grimshaw and Mester 1988), the honorific is formed by appending the honorific prefix *go-* to the noun. This noun then combines with the light verb. Examples are shown in (10), where we see the non-honorific pattern, SH, and NSH.

- (10) a. Yukiko-ga Ryuko-o Minamoto-ni syoukai si-ta.  
Yukiko-NOM Ryuko-ACC Minamoto-DAT introduction do-PERF  
'Yukiko introduced Ryuko to Minamoto.'
- b. Yukiko-ga Ryuko-o Minamoto-katyou-ni go-syoukai si-ta.  
Yukiko-NOM Ryuko-ACC Minamoto-section.chief-DAT HON-introduction do-PERF  
'Yukiko introduced Ryuko to Mr. Minamoto, the section chief.'

<sup>2</sup>There is another honorific strategy in Japanese, known as the *-rare-* honorific, which produces verbs homophonous with the passive (although with different patterns of case marking). This form will not be addressed in this paper.

<sup>3</sup>The honorific prefix is a productive prefix for forming honorific nouns, which are common in polite speech: *o-tya* '(honorable) tea' or *o-mizu* '(honorable) water'. Its phonological form is lexically determined, with *o-* occurring with native vocabulary and some modern loan items, and *go-* occurring mostly with Sino-Japanese words. Very rarely, the prefix *mi-* occurs with some archaic or formal words, such as *mi-na* 'the Holy Name'.

<sup>4</sup>This is also termed *object honorification* in the literature, but I agree with Matsumoto (1997) that 'object honorification' is a misleading moniker.



- c. Minamoto-katyou-ga Ryuko-o Yukiko-ni go-syoukai ninat-ta.  
 Minamoto-section.chief-NOM Ryuko-ACC Yukiko-DAT HON-introduction become-PERF  
 ‘Mr. Minamoto, the section chief, introduced Ryuko to Yukiko.’

So far, these paradigms seem identical, except for choice of light verb. However, there is a crucial difference between the two types. In NSH, a benefactive relationship commonly holds between the subject and exalted entity, as shown below in data from Matsumoto (1997).<sup>5</sup> The benefactive relationship can occur in either direction, as can be seen in (11a) and (11c) below. (11b) and (11d), on the other hand, do not stereotypically describe a benefactive situation. These examples are ill-formed.

- (11) a. Abe-san-ga sensei-o o-tasuke- $\emptyset$  si-ta.  
 Abe-POL-NOM teacher-ACC HON-help-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Mr. Abe helped the teacher.’  
 b. #Abe-san-ga Oota-sensei-o o-koros-i si-ta.  
 Abe-POL-NOM Oota-teacher-ACC HON-kill-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Mr. Abe killed Prof. Oota.’  
 c. Abe-san-ga sensei kara hon-o o-kar-i si-ta.  
 Abe-POL-NOM teacher from book-ACC HON-borrow-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Mr. Abe borrowed a book from the teacher.’  
 d. #Abe-san-ga sensei kara hon-o o-nusum-i si-ta.  
 Abe-POL-NOM teacher from book-ACC HON-steal-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Mr. Abe stole a book from the teacher.’

Notably, verbs such as *korosu* ‘kill’ and *nusumu* ‘steal’ can be used in NSH constructions if the relevant killing or stealing can be construed as a benefactive action. Again, the examples are from Matsumoto (1997).

- (12) a. Ooisi-ga nikui Kira-o tono-no tameni o-koros-i si-ta.  
 Ooisi-NOM odious Kira-ACC lord-GEN for HON-kill-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Ooisi killed the odious Kira for his lord.’  
 b. Sensei-no tameni watasi-ga deki-ru koto-wa ano Kooetu-no kakeziku-o bizyutukan  
 teacher-GEN for I-NOM can-IMP thing-TOP that Kooetu-GEN scroll-ACC art.museum  
 kara o-nusum-i su-ru koto dake desi-ta.  
 from HON-steal-REN do-IMP thing only COP-PERF  
 ‘The only thing I could do for my mentor was to steal that Koetsu scroll from the gallery.’

The examples in (11) and (12) illustrate a further interesting property of NSH. In SH, there is an honored entity which corresponds to the subject argument. In NSH, the honored entity can correspond to any non-subject argument, including arguments of source and purpose clauses. The latter in particular are non-argumental; they are non-obligatory and not tied to the argument structure of the verb. This data directly contradicts claims made in Toribio (1990) and Boeckx and Niinuma (2004), who claim that the exalted non-subject entity must be an argument. Moreover, they claim that the exalted non-subject entity will be the indirect object if both an indirect and a direct object exist. This is based on data as in (13).

- (13) a. \*Taroo-ga otouto-ni Yamada-sensei-no koto o-hanas-i si-ta.  
 Taroo-NOM brother-DAT Yamada-teacher-GEN thing HON-talk-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Taroo talked to his little brother about Prof. Yamada.’

<sup>5</sup>The exact status of the requirement is uncertain; however, Potts (2003) analyses the meaning of the honorific as a whole as a conventional implicature. As Matsumoto (1997) shows, some contexts allow a non-benefactive use, meaning that the benefactive requirement is not in the truth-conditional semantics. It is likely a conversational implicature associated with use of the form, although this has not been fully tested.

- b. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni otouto-no koto o-hanas-i si-ta.  
 Taroo-NOM Yamada-teacher-DAT brother-GEN thing HON-talk-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Taroo talked to Prof. Yamada about his little brother.’
- c. \*Yukiko-ga Minamoto-katyou-o Ryuko-ni go-syokai si-ta.  
 Yukiko-NOM Minamoto-section.chief-ACC Ryuko-DAT HON-introduction do-PERF  
 ‘Yukiko introduced Mr. Minamoto, the section chief, to Ryuko.’

This data is often used to argue for Agree-based accounts of honorification. However, it is unlikely that the non-argumental honored entities are agreeing with the verb. Even more troubling, Boeckx and Niinuma footnote some troublesome data involving locatives and the verb *syokai suru*.

- (14) a. Watasi-wa kaizyoo-ni Tanaka-sensei-o o-ture- $\emptyset$  si-ta.  
 I-TOP place-DAT Tanaka-teacher-ACC HON-take-REN do-PERF  
 ‘I took Prof. Tanaka to the place.’
- b. Watasi-wa heya-ni Tanaka-sensei-o go-annai si-ta.  
 I-TOP room-DAT Tanaka-teacher-ACC HON-usher do-PERF  
 ‘I ushered Prof. Tanaka to the room.’
- c. Watasi-wa tyousyuu-ni sensei-o go-syokai si-mas-u.  
 I-TOP audience-DAT teacher-ACC HON-introduction do-POL-IMPF  
 ‘I’ll introduce the teacher to the audience.’

Since the last example utilizes the same predicate as the critical data in (13), it is especially damning for an Agree account. I will expand later on the Agree-based analyses and problems for them in §4.2.

### 3.2 Irregular Honorifics

In addition to these productive honorifics, we also see what are described in the literature as suppletive honorifics (Matsumoto 1997; Boeckx and Niinuma 2004). I will use the term ‘irregular’ throughout in order to distinguish between the forms of the verbs and the particular analysis given to them. I will first introduce the irregulars, and then examine the plausibility of a suppletive analysis for them.

There are two types of irregularity which I will focus on here. In the first, the productive honorific is replaced with a simplex verb. In the second, the *o+*stem form is replaced, normally by a Sino-Japanese noun. These nouns tend to begin with the morphemes *go-* or *hai-*. A short, partial list of irregulars is shown below.

	<i>Plain</i>	<i>SH</i>	<i>NSH</i>
‘be’ (animate)	iru	irassyaru	oru
‘be’ (inanimate)	aru		gozaru
‘borrow’	kariru		haisyaku suru
‘come’, ‘go’	kuru, iku	irassyaru	mairu
copula	da	de irassyaru	de gozaru
‘do’	suru	nasaru	itasu
‘drink’, ‘eat’	nomu, taberu	mesiagaru	itadaku
‘read’	yomu		haidoku suru
‘say’	iu	ossyaru	mousu
‘see’	miru	goran ni naru	haiken suru

**Table 3:** Common Irregular Honorific Predicates

By far the most common type seems to be that seen in (15), where the productive honorific appears as a single verb in both the SH and NSH paradigms.

- (15) a. Suzuki-sensei-ga ossyat-ta.  
 Suzuki-teacher-NOM said.HON-PERF  
 ‘Prof. Suzuki said (it).’  
 b. Watasi-ga mousi-ta.  
 I-NOM said.HON-PERF  
 ‘I said (it).’

We also see replacement of the *o*+stem by a different nominal, as shown in (16). The nominal status of these irregular forms can be seen in (16c) and (16d). Interestingly, the Sino-Japanese N+*suru* construction are never irregular in this way; only honorifics with native verbs show this type of irregularity.

- (16) a. Tanaka-san-ga Taroo-o goran ninat-ta.  
 Tanaka-POL-NOM Taroo-ACC see.HON become-PERF  
 ‘Mr. Tanaka saw Taroo.’  
 b. Taroo-ga Tanaka-san-o haiken si-ta.  
 Taroo-NOM Tanaka-POL-ACC see.HON do-PERF  
 ‘Taroo saw Mr. Tanaka.’  
 c. sukezyuru haiken da  
 schedule see.HON COP  
 ‘looking at the schedule’  
 d. goran-no arisama  
 see.HON-GEN state  
 ‘the state of seeing’

Although these forms are certainly irregular, and often contextually replace the productive honorific, it is not clear that all the forms are suppletive. I will examine some particular forms in detail now. Some, I will show, cannot be cases of suppletion or FCCA. Others can plausibly be analyzed as such and will be examined in further detail in §4.4.

First are the verbs *taberu* ‘eat’ and *nomu* ‘drink’. These are commonly replaced with *mesiagaru* ‘eat, drink’ in the SH construction and with *itadaku* ‘eat, drink, receive’ in the NSH. I will begin with *itadaku*. As one may notice from the gloss, the verb *itadaku* has an expanded meaning in comparison to the plain verbs. This is shown in examples like the following, where the verb does not at all mean ‘eat, drink’:

- (17) O-zikan-o sai-te itadak-i, arigatou gozai-mas-u.  
 HON-time-ACC spare-CONT receive.HON-REN thanks be-POL-IMPF  
 ‘Thank you for sparing your time.’

This expanded meaning rules out *itadaku* as a suppletive verb, since this is highly non-regular semantics. It does not rule out the verb as FCCA. However, recall that under the principles of insertion used in DM, FCCA occurs when a particular phonologically irregular VI is the most specified VI for a context. This means that we expect the irregular VI to block insertion of another, less-specified regular form in what should look like Poser-blocking (Poser 1992). However, this is not true for *itadaku*; the productive honorific can also be used:

- (18) The wife of the speaker’s boss packs the boss a lunch every day. The boss doesn’t like the food, but his wife will get angry if he brings the lunch home and he hates wasting the food. The speaker,

who likes that kind of food, offers to trade lunches and eat the boss's lunch instead.

- a. Watasi-ga o-bentou-o itadak-imas-you ka.  
 I-NOM HON-lunch-ACC receive/eat-POL-shall Q  
 'Shall I eat your lunch for you?'
- b. Watasi-ga o-bentou-o o-tabe- $\emptyset$  si-mas-you ka.  
 I-NOM HON-lunch-ACC HON-eat-REN do-POL-shall Q  
 'Shall I eat your lunch for you?'

This indicates that these forms are not based on the same structure. Given this, a FCCA analysis of *itadaku* is not possible.

We also see something interesting with *mesiagaru*. It is unclear whether this form Poser-blocks *o-tabe ninaru*; speakers dislike it, but also note that it is used.<sup>6</sup> However, more intriguing is the following data in (19). It is considered grammatical—a 'double honorific'.

- (19) a. O-mesiagar-i de-su ka.  
 HON-eat/drink.HON-REN cop-POL Q  
 'Are you eating?'
- b. Mise-nai-de o-mesiagar-i ninar-imas-u ka.  
 store-interior-CLOC HON-eat/drink-REN become-POL-IMP F Q  
 'Will you eat inside the store?'

If *mesiagaru* is built over the same structure as the productive honorific, then we should also see the productive honorific commonly being doubled. This is not the case:

- (20) \*O-o-kar-i ninar-i-ninar-u.  
 HON-HON-borrow-REN become-REN-become-IMP F  
 Intended: '(Some honored person) borrows (it).'

These data, which show that *itadaku* and *mesiagaru* neither Poser-block nor are banned from appearing in the construction they appear to alternate with, indicate that a FCCA analysis for either verb is untenable.

However, other verbs are plausibly analyzed as suppletive. For example, the humbling verb *mairu* 'go, come' is plausibly considered a syncretic honorific allomorph of *iku/kuru* 'go/come'.<sup>7</sup> I argue that this is a potential case of FCCA, though I will remain agnostic on whether it should be considered suppletive. Syncretic forms, which appear to be a case of semantic irregularity, are not canonical instances of suppletion (Corbett 2007). Importantly, note that *mairu* seems to Poser-block the productive honorific, which is ungrammatical.<sup>8</sup>

- (21) a. Tosyokan-e mair-imas-you ka.  
 library-TLOC go/come-POL-shall Q  
 'Shall I go to the library?'
- b. \*Tosyokan-e o-ik-i si-mas-you ka.  
 library-TLOC HON-go-REN do-POL-shall Q  
 Intended: 'Shall I go to the library?'

<sup>6</sup>This may be similar to the *dove/dived* dichotomy in English, where the *dove* past tense is considered the grammatically correct version, but *dived* is often used.

<sup>7</sup>Syncretism is not problematic for DM. There are two potential analyses. Two separate syntactic structures can simply be specified for the same phonology, or features can be impoverished, leaving an underspecified form to acquire the default morphology.

<sup>8</sup>This cannot just be about the oft-mentioned phonological size limit on the renyoukei (Poser 1992), in which two-mora renyoukei are considered to be 'too small' to be formed: The verb *au* 'meet' allows the formation of the renyoukei *ai*, which appears in the honorific: *o-ai suru*.

Similarly, the exalting honorific correspondent of ‘go, come’, *irassyaru*, is plausibly a case of syncretic FCCA as well. Again, *irassyaru* participates in Poser-blocking; it also cannot appear as a double honorific.

- (22) a. Sensei-ga irassya-imasi-ta.  
teacher-NOM go/com.HON-POL-PERF  
‘The teacher went/came.’
- b. \*Sensei-ga o-ik-i ninat-ta.  
teacher-NOM HON-go-REN become-PERF  
Intended: ‘The teacher went.’
- c. \*Sensei-ga o-irassyar-i ninat-ta.  
teacher-NOM HON-go/come.HON-REN become-PERF  
Intended: ‘The teacher went/came.’

The same occurs for *ossyaru*, the exalting honorific counterpart of *iu* ‘say, call’. This particular irregular has no extended meaning, which indicates that it is a good candidate for a suppletive analysis.

- (23) a. Sensei-ga ossya-imasi-ta.  
teacher-NOM say.HON-POL-PERF  
‘The teacher said (it).’
- b. \*Sensei-ga o-i-i ninat-ta.  
teacher-NOM HON-say-REN become-PERF  
Intended: ‘The teacher said (it).’
- c. \*Sensei-ga o-ossyar-i ninat-ta.  
teacher-NOM HON-say.HON-REN become-PERF  
Intended: ‘The teacher said (it).’

These cases—*mairu*, *irassyaru*, *ossyaru*—are all plausible cases of FCCA, and in the case of *ossyaru*, a plausible case of real suppletion. The productive honorific counterpart is ungrammatical, and they cannot appear in the double honorific construction.

However, note that all three verbs represent only one of our classes of irregular verbs, the full irregular. It is also necessary to examine the partial irregulars. The first partial irregular I present here is *goran ninaru*, which is the exalting counterpart of *miru* ‘see, try’. Much like *ossyaru* and *irassyaru*, this form blocks the productive honorific and the double honorific.

- (24) a. Goran ninat-ta.  
see.HON become-PERF  
‘(Some honored person) saw (it).’
- b. \*O-mi-∅ ninat-ta.  
HON-see-REN become-PERF  
Intended: ‘(Some honored person) saw (it).’
- c. \*O-goran ninar-i-ninat-ta.  
HON-see.HON become-REN-become-PERF  
Intended: ‘(Some honored person) saw (it).’

However, it is unlikely that this is a true suppletive form. The plain verb *miru* has a number of meanings, including ‘(visually) see; try; meet’. *Goran ninaru* has only the meaning ‘(visually) see; try’. In order to express the honorific of ‘meet’, *oai ninaru*, which is the exalting form of the verb *au* ‘meet’, is used instead. Given this, *goran ninaru* seems to behave more like a case of FCCA.

The second form I will present is the humbling *haidoku suru* ‘read’, which is often considered to correspond to the plain verb *yomu* ‘read’. However, *haidoku suru* does not block the honorific of the plain verb; it also has a distinct difference in meaning, implying that the thing that is being read was authored by the hearer/honored person.

(25) The speaker is out to dinner with some family and a family friend. The family friend is an esteemed doctor who the speaker has only meet a few times. The family friend is older, and is having some trouble reading the menu. The speaker offers to read the menu.

- a. #Menyuu-o haidoku si-mas-you ka.  
menu-ACC read.HON do-POL-shall Q  
‘Shall I read the menu for you?’
- b. Menyuu-o o-yom-i si-mas-you ka.  
menu-ACC HON-read-REN do-POL-shall Q  
‘Shall I read the menu for you?’

Although both forms are grammatical, the usage of *haidoku suru* in context is odd; it implies that the family friend is in fact the author of the menu. Since this form neither blocks the use of the productive honorific, nor has the same range of meaning, it is unlikely that it is an allomorph of the productive honorific.

A close examination of a number of irregular Japanese honorifics shows that these verbs cannot be treated as a homogenous class. Some verbs appear to be true irregulars, bearing no formal relationship to their plain ‘counterparts’ other than loosely related lexical semantics. Some verbs appear to be honorific allomorphs of their plain counterparts; they participate in blocking relationships with the productive honorific and cannot be placed into the honorific construction themselves. This latter type of verb can be divided into two classes: Those verbs which are semantically irregular and those verbs which are semantically regular and can be classified as suppletive.

## 4 The Syntax of the Honorific

Before we can attempt the morphological analysis of the honorifics, we must determine their syntax. This is especially important in DM, where the morphological analysis can only be as good as the syntactic analysis. I will first present evidence that the productive honorific should be considered a nominal+light verb construction. I will then show that Agree need not be involved in the analysis of the honorific, and importantly cannot be involved in the analysis of the non-subject honorific, contra prior analyses (especially Boeckx and Niinuma 2004). After this, I will go on to make a syntactic proposal for the honorific.

### 4.1 The Honorific as a Light Verb Construction

Ivana and Sakai (2007) (henceforth I&S) provide a number of convincing arguments that the productive honorific consists of a light verb and a nominal. First, they show that the finite verb in the productive honorific does not behave like a full verb under some processes of nominal ellipsis. Instead, it behaves akin to the N+*ninaru* construction. The full verb *naru* ‘become’ allows a dative-marked argument to be elided. However, the N+*ninaru* construction, in which the verb is highly bleached and does little more than make the nominal a verb, does not allow elision of the N. Likewise, the *o*+stem of the honorific cannot be elided. The following data, taken from I&S, illustrate this. In (26), we see elision of the argument of the full verb. The examples in (27) and (28) show a N+*ninaru* and an honorific construction; neither can elide the nominal element.

- (26) a. Taroo-wa mou daigakusei-ni nari-masi-ta ka.  
Taroo-TOP already student-DAT become-POL-PERF Q  
'Has Taro already become a student?'
- b. Ee, nari-masi-ta.  
yes become-POL-PERF  
'Yes, he has.'
- (27) a. Go-kazoku-wa sinpai ninari-masi-ta ka.  
HON-family worry become-POL-PERF Q  
'Are you worried about your family?'
- b. \*Ee, nari-masi-ta.  
yes, become-POL-PERF  
'Yes, I am.'
- (28) a. Yamada-sensei-wa mou kono hon-o o-yom-i ninari-masi-ta ka.  
Yamada-teacher-TOP already this book-ACC HON-read-REN become-POL-PERF Q  
'Has Prof. Yamada already read this book?'
- b. \*Ee, nari-masi-ta.  
yes, become-POL-PERF  
'Yes, he has.'

These patterns are good evidence that *ninaru* and *suru* in honorific predicates are light verbs. Further evidence for the hypothesis comes from the pattern of the *o*+stem. Morphological distribution of the honorific prefix suggests that the *o*+stem is a noun. As previously mentioned, the honorific prefixes *o*-/*go*- commonly occur on nouns: *tya/otya* 'tea', *han/gohan* 'rice', and *tomodati/otomodati* 'friend'. Notably, the honorific prefix does not occur on prepositions or in non-honorific verbal constructions. However, it does occur on what have traditionally been termed [+N] categories: nouns and adjectives. In addition to the above examples, we also see things such as the following:

- (29) a. o-tegami 'letter'  
b. o-hayai 'early'  
c. o-tanosii 'fun'  
d. go-kazoku 'family'  
e. o-denwa 'telephone'

Further evidence can be found by looking at the places where independent *o*+stem forms may occur. They can occur with the copula and in case-marked positions. Only nominals occur in both these positions in Japanese.

- (30) a. O-kaer-i da.  
HON-return.home-REN COP  
'(Someone) is home.'
- b. Sensei-no o-kaer-i-o tanosimi-ni mat-te i-mas-u yo.  
teacher-GEN HON-return.home-REN-ACC enjoyment-DAT wait-CONT be-POL-IMPV PRT  
'I'm anticipating my professor's return home!'

Altogether, this is excellent evidence that the *o*+stem behaves as a nominal. Given that it appears in conjunction with the two most commonly used light verbs in Japanese, it is quite reasonable to propose that the construction is another instantiation of the nominal+light verb construction so common in Japanese. This is the general tack taken by I&S, who propose the following:

- (31) a. Watasi-ga sensei-o o-tasuke- $\emptyset$  si-ta.  
 I-NOM teacher-ACC HON-help-REN do-PERF  
 ‘I helped the teacher.’  
 b. [ [ watasi *DP*] [ [ o- [ [ sensei *DP*] tasuke *VP*] - $\emptyset$  *NP*] *HP*] si- *VP*] -ta *TP*]

In this proposal, the verb combines with a nominalizing head, which then combines with a honorification head to form an honorification phrase (HP). The light verb merges with HP, forming the productive honorific. All the heads roll up into *v* and are spelled out together.

This is, for the most part, a sound analysis. However, there are a few issues. The most startling part of the proposal is HP. There are two problems with the phrase. First, it requires a significant alteration to the selection requirements of heads. Any phrase which selects for a noun must also select for an HP—a phrase which is identical to the noun in everything except for the presence of a morpheme that is not traditionally considered a category-changing morpheme.

Second, I&S do not propose a syntactic explanation of the selection of *suru* and *ninaru*. There is some speculation regarding semantic pressures, under which *ninaru* implies that the subject is not directly involved in the action, while *suru* implies direct involvement. In this case, the lack of direct involvement is considered in some sense to be more refined; agents are ‘down and dirty’ in the action, so to speak. This speculation would also account for the usage of the passive morpheme in the other type of productive honorific, and is well worth considering. However, I&S do not have a mechanistic way for choosing the light verb, and do not mention how else the verb is chosen. Since they do not use agreement, there is no way to predict the distribution of the light verb and whether or not the subject is honored or humbled. In 4.3, I will modify the I&S analysis to account for these issues.

#### 4.2 Honorification is not Agreement

Before developing the extended analysis, it is necessary to discuss the analysis proposed by Boeckx and Niinuma (2004), henceforth B&N. Under this analysis, honorification is agreement. This follows in the steps of Shibatani (1977) and Toribio (1990), who make similar proposals for subject honorification. The argument is made based on the data in (13), reproduced below:

- (13) a. \*Taroo-ga otouto-ni Yamada-sensei-no koto o-hanas-i si-ta.  
 Taroo-NOM brother-DAT Yamada-teacher-GEN thing HON-talk-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Taroo talked to his little brother about Prof. Yamada.’  
 b. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-ni otouto-no koto o-hanas-i si-ta.  
 Taroo-NOM Yamada-teacher-DAT brother-GEN thing HON-talk-REN do-PERF  
 ‘Taroo talked to Prof. Yamada about his little brother.’  
 c. \*Yukiko-ga Minamoto-katyou-o Ryuko-ni go-syukai si-ta.  
 Yukiko-NOM Minamoto-section.chief-ACC Ryuko-DAT HON-introduction do-PERF  
 ‘Yukiko introduced Mr. Minamoto, the section chief, to Ryuko.’

B&N propose that Agree is involved in the selection of the exalted entity in NSH: *v* carries an unvalued [hon] feature, and must agree with the highest argument in its domain in order to obtain a value for [hon]. If *v* cannot establish this relation (either because there is no honored argument or because there is an unhonored intervening argument), then the syntax crashes. The structure is that in (32).

- (32) [<sub>v</sub> v [ IO [ DO V ] ] ]

Bobaljik and Yatsushiro (2006) note a number of issues for this analysis. There are three further problems for this analysis, which I will detail here. The first is that the data is more complex than the



analysis allows for. As we saw earlier, non-argumental phrases can be the exalted entity. Likewise, there are the examples, reproduced below, where the exalted entity is the accusative-marked argument:

- (14) a. Watasi-wa kaizyoo-ni Tanaka-sensei-o o-ture- $\emptyset$  si-ta.  
 I-TOP place-DAT Tanaka-teacher-ACC HON-take-REN do-PERF  
 ‘I took Prof. Tanaka to the place.’  
 b. Watasi-wa heya-ni Tanaka-sensei-o go-annai si-ta.  
 I-TOPC room-DAT Tanaka-teacher-ACC HON-usher do-PERF  
 ‘I ushered Prof. Tanaka to the room.’  
 c. Watasi-wa tyousyuu-ni sensei-o go-syukai si-mas-u.  
 I-TOP audience-DAT teacher-ACC HON-introduction do-POL-IMPF  
 ‘I’ll introduce the teacher to the audience.’

The structure in (32) will underpredict data, ruling out grammatical sentences.

Second, the B&N analysis cannot handle subject honorification. If subjects are introduced in spec,vP, they will be above v, and not within the probe domain of the head. This means that they can never enter into an Agree relation with v. The [hon] feature on v will then go unvalued, causing a crash. In order to fix this, B&N must either claim that subjects are uniformly generated below v, or move the [hon] feature to T. The latter is not an entirely undesirable idea; however, it does not explain the selection of the exalting honorific v when T bears [hon]. In general, we do not think of T as selecting for particular vs, which would be required if T bore the [hon] feature. This is not theoretically satisfactory.

Finally, the B&N analysis is also morphologically unsatisfactory. As we saw, the *o*+stem form is productively treated as a noun. It may sit independently of the light verb. However, B&N generate the prefix as a part of the light verb, with the *o*+stem as an infix. This does not account for the ability of the *o*+stem to sit on its own, nor the fact that the honorific prefix is a suffix on [+N] elements.

Although Boeckx and Niinuma note some interesting examples, where the identity of the honored element is considerably restricted, the account they give of these examples proves too restrictive. It rules out a large swath of acceptable sentences, and makes undesirable predictions for how SH must be handled.

#### 4.3 An Elaborated Morphosyntactic Proposal for the Productive Honorific

I would now like to propose an elaborated syntax. I will follow I&S in the proposal that the *o*+stem form is actually a nominalization which combines with a light verb. I will modify their proposal in providing a different location for the honorific prefix and giving a syntactic account of the selection of the light verb.

I propose that the honorific prefix is actually a feature, [hon], on the nominalizing head. The feature can be specified as either [+hon], which is associated with exalting language, or [-hon], which is associated with humbling language. Unlike the I&S proposal, this does not require a new type of syntactic phrase/head; it also does not require modification of selection restrictions, which is advantageous. It still accounts for the fact that [hon] is associated with nominal elements, and not verbs. It also still accounts for the fact that the *o*+stem functions as an independent element: The honorific prefix is generated as part of the noun itself.

In the morphology, [hon] is fissioned from the nominalizing head.<sup>9</sup> This allows the insertion of both the nominalizing morpheme and the honorific prefix. The VIs are given in (33).

- (33) a. [hon]  $\leftrightarrow$  *o*-  
 b. [hon]  $\leftrightarrow$  *go*-/{*han*, *kazoku*, . . . }  
 c. [hon]  $\leftrightarrow$  *mi*-/{*kosi*, *na*, . . . }  
 d. *n*  $\leftrightarrow$  - $\emptyset$ /{*tabe*, *tasuke*, . . . }

<sup>9</sup>Optionally, we could view the honorific nominalizing head as a circumfix; however, this would make the honorific nominal the only circumfix in the language.

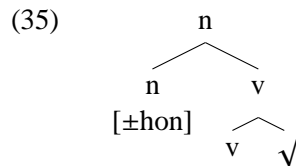
- e.  $n \leftrightarrow -i/\{nom, kaer, . . .\}$

I follow I&S in assuming that the nominalizing head occurs above a verbalizing head. I must note that this contradicts the analysis in Volpe (2005). Volpe proposes that the *renyookei* is always formed through the merge of the root with a *n* head. This is based on data as in (34), where the *renyookei* can appear with an idiosyncratic meaning:

- (34) a. *awase-∅*  
 join-REN  
 ‘a doublet’  
 b. *awase-ru*  
 join-IMPF  
 ‘join’  
 c. *awase-mono*  
 join-thing  
 ‘a joined thing’

Importantly, the *o*+stem in the honorific construction never occurs with these kinds of idiosyncratic meanings. Instead, it always occurs with the meanings associated with the root in its verbal form, including the argument structure associated with that verb. If *n* was merged directly with the root in the honorific, we would expect to see such idiosyncratic forms. Although this may be possible for forms like *awase* ‘doublet’, it should not be allowed for the productive honorifics.

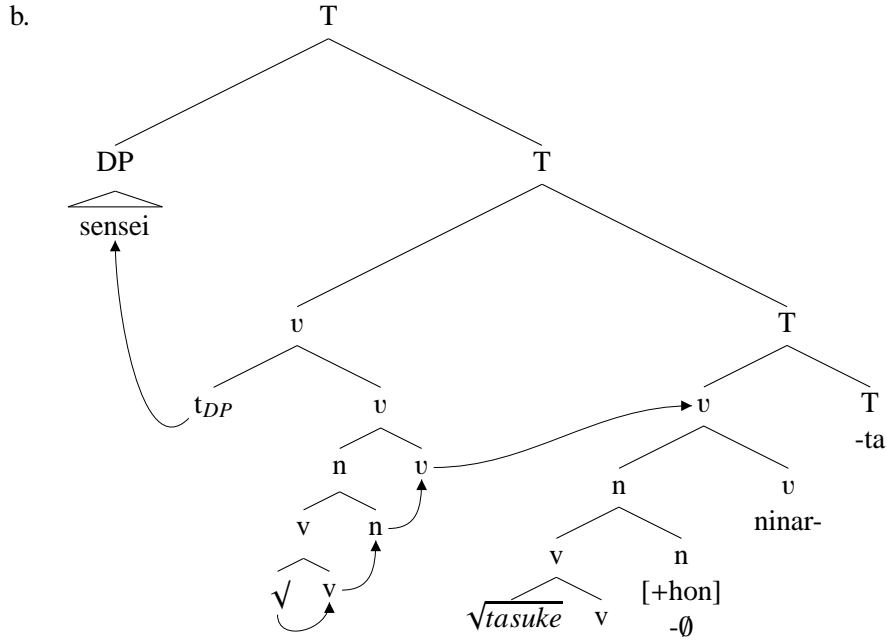
This gives us the following structure for the *o*+stem:



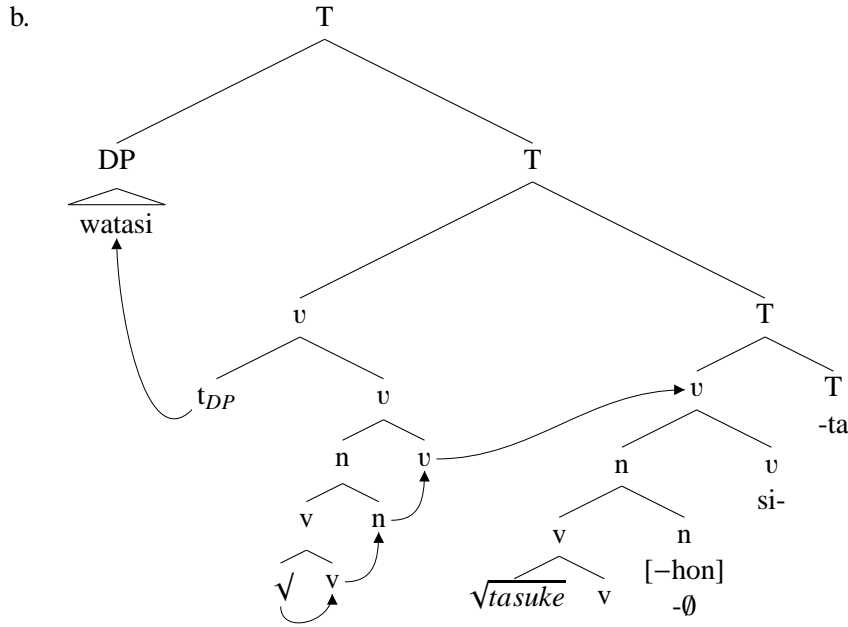
The light verb is then selected based on the properties of the *nP* with which it combines. *Suru* ‘do’ selects for a [-hon] *nP*; *ninaru* ‘become’ selects for a [+hon] *nP*. The generalization given in I&S about agentivity and honorification is still compatible with this type of analysis. I must note that the selectional restrictions of these light verbs is, of course, more complex; *suru* and *ninaru* have other uses. However, in general, these uses seem to divide strongly across this same type of agentivity distinction, where the subject of a *ninaru* light verb construction is felt to be less strongly agentive than the subject of a *suru* light verb construction.

Trees illustrating the derivations are given below. Complex head structures are simplified throughout, with the final complex head structure illustrated in T.

- (36) a. *Sensei-ga o-tasuke-∅ ninat-ta.*  
 teacher-NOM HON-help-REN become-PERF  
 ‘The teacher helped.’



- (37) a. Watasi-ga o-tasuke-∅ si-ta.  
 I-NOM HON-help-REN do-PERF  
 'I helped.'



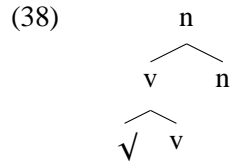
#### 4.4 The Morphosyntax of the Irregular Honorific

In §3.2, I claimed that several honorific irregulars are candidates for suppletion or FCCA. It is now necessary to examine how these irregulars fit into the structures proposed here. I will first examine the partial irregular *goran ninaru*, and then the full irregulars *mairu*, *irassyaru* and *ossyaru*.

#### 4.4.1 The Partial Irregular

Recall that *goran ninaru* has both irregular semantics and irregular phonology. This means that, if it is to be given a FCCA analysis in the theory described earlier, it must be possible to capture both irregularities within the given cycles.

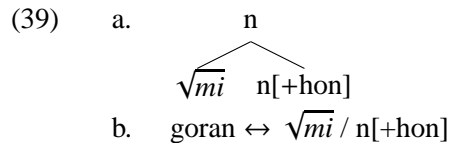
The irregular semantics and phonology are both tied to the nominal in this case. The structure of the complex nominal head is repeated below:



Three heads are involved in this structure: a root and two categorizing heads. *v* is merged with the nominal. *v*, since it is a non-categorizing head and therefore a semantic cyclic head in the theory described here, will send the nominal off to LF to be interpreted. This means that the entire nominal is sent as a phase to LF, and it may be interpreted idiomatically. Accordingly, this means that the irregular semantics of the form can be accounted for.

However, the phonology of the complex form is problematic. The form is an irregular nominal, so the entire nominal must be shipped off to PF in one phase. Under the system described in §2.2, this is not possible. The first categorizing head is *v*, which combines directly with the root. Only non-categorizing heads can see across *v* to affect the phonology of the root. However, *n* is a categorizing head and therefore cannot see across *v*. This means that the structure given here for the productive honorific cannot handle *goran ninaru* as a case of FCCA under the current theory of phonological cycles.

In order to account for the irregularity of *goran ninaru* under the current phonological theory, then, we must adjust the structure. The most straightforward way to do this is to directly combine the root and the honorific *n* head, as shown below, with the corresponding VI:



Since there is no intervening phonological cyclic head between *n* and the root, the irregular phonology is allowed (as well as the irregular semantics). However, note that this loses one of the benefits of the FCCA account, which is the blocking relationship between *goran ninaru* and the ungrammatical *\*omi ninaru*.

#### 4.4.2 The Full Irregulars

The three full irregulars to be examined, *mairu*, *irassyaru* and *ossyaru*, differ in the type of FCCA which they represent. Both *mairu* and *irassyaru* are candidates for semantically irregular FCCA, since they are syncretic in nature. In order to account for syncretism, one could posit impoverishment. For these examples, this would require impoverishment of the root. This type of impoverishment would be both new and very powerful—both undesirable consequences. Instead, the most straightforward way to include syncretism of roots in DM seems to be to posit two separate VIs: One irregular VI for the *mairu* that corresponds to *iku* ‘go’ and one irregular VI for the *mairu* that corresponds to *kuru* ‘come’. Since VIs are rules, as are impoverishment rules, this method would end up with the same number of rules, but a significantly simpler theory.

This means that the VIs for each full irregular do not themselves correspond to idiosyncratic semantics. Rather, they correspond to the regular semantics of the root involved. For this reason, the discussion here will hold for all three irregulars.

In the case of the full irregulars, we see an irregular verbal form. This is unlike *goran ninaru*, in which only the nominal is irregular. The question of what is actually phonologically irregular here is more nuanced than in the case of *goran ninaru*. There are two potentially irregular complex heads in this case: *v* and *v*. In either case, the feature [hon] on *n* must be the trigger of irregularity. As we know from the discussion of *goran ninaru*, the type of phonological cyclicity proposed in Embick 2010 will not allow *n* to affect the phonology of the root. However, let us imagine, for a moment, a theory under which it was possible for *n* to interfere with the phonology of the root over another categorizing head.

If *v* is the locus of irregularity, it undergoes phonologically irregular VI triggered by the neighboring [hon] nominal head. The nominal head must be a special  $\emptyset$ -morpheme, since the roots of *mairu*, *irassyaru* and *ossyaru* are all consonant-final and should occur with the *-i* allomorph. Likewise, the *v* head must also be a special  $\emptyset$ -morpheme, in order to prevent the insertion of a regular light verb. This would require the following set of VIs, which are specified for complex syntactic contexts:

- (40) a.  $\text{ossyar-} \leftrightarrow \text{v} / \text{n}[\text{+hon}]$
- $\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{i} \quad \text{v} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{v} \end{array}$
- b.  $\emptyset \leftrightarrow \text{n}[\text{+hon}] / \text{v}$
- $\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{i} \quad \text{v} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{v} \end{array}$
- c.  $\emptyset \leftrightarrow \text{v}$
- $\begin{array}{c} \text{n} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{v} \quad \text{n}[\text{+hon}] \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \sqrt{i} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$

Note that the VI for the root, in particular, assumes that the top node of the complex root+*v* head undergoes VI, and not the terminal nodes. This is not fully in line with the normal tenets of DM, in which only true terminal nodes undergo VI. However, if phonological cycles for insertion are larger than that given by Embick, we would need to either (a) allow insertion at non-terminal nodes, or (b) allow the proliferation of VIs specifying  $\emptyset$ -morphology in certain terminal nodes. I would suggest that, since the VIs would all have to make reference to complex syntactic structure, the more elegant analysis would allow insertion at a non-terminal node, utilizing only one VI specified for that non-terminal node.

If *v* is the locus of irregularity, it also undergoes phonologically irregular VI triggered by the [hon] nominalizing head. If insertion can occur at a non-terminal node, then only one VI need be specified for this structure:

- (41)  $\text{ossyar-} \leftrightarrow$
- $\begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{n} \quad \text{v} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{v} \quad \text{n} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \sqrt{i} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$

There are, of course, several issues with these analyses. First, these analyses would require significant revision to the phonological cycles argued for in Embick 2010; this kind of extension of the phonological cycle would need more supporting evidence. Second, even if the phonological cycle were revised, we would run into issues with VI into complex heads. We would need to propose either the existence of numer-

ous  $\emptyset$ -morpheme VIs, or allow insertion into non-terminal nodes. Either proposal reduces the elegance of the theory, and in the case of the latter proposal, also the restrictedness.

The alternate analysis for these verbs is to claim that they are not cases of FCCA at all, but are instead based on different structures. In this case, we could claim that roots such as  $\sqrt{i}$  or  $\sqrt{ik}$  also select for a rare  $v$  head with an honorific feature. This would break the generalization about the morphological distribution of [hon] discussed earlier. However, it is also similar to what is done in Kramer 2009 for Amharic irregular plurals, in which [+pl] may be a feature on Num for regular plurals, or a feature on  $n$  for irregular plurals.

However, there is one problem for this analysis; Amharic irregular plurals can often also be regularly pluralized, creating what looks like a double exponence of plurality. This is shown in (42).

(42)	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Irregular Plural</i>	<i>Double Plural</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
	mämhir	mämhir-an	mämhir-an-otʃtʃ	‘teacher’
	k’al	k’al-at	k’al-at-otʃtʃ	‘word’
	kokäb	käwakibt	käwakibt-otʃtʃ	‘star’

The Amharic irregular plurals behave like all other nouns: They combine with the plural. If the structure for Japanese irregular honorific verbs were an instance of [hon] sitting on  $v$ , then we would expect to see the honorific verb to enter into the honorific construction, like all other verbs. We do see this for *mesiagaru*; however, we don’t for *ossyaru* and its kin.

The other possibility is that *ossyaru* is simply a different root, which combines with the regular verbalizing head. For example, this is a likely analysis for *mesiagaru*; there is a separate root,  $\sqrt{mesiagar}$ , which combines with a regular verbalizing head. This verb is commonly used in place of the productive honorific, and may itself be placed into the regular honorific pattern. However, this analysis again cannot explain why *mairu*, *irassyaru*, and *ossyaru* cannot be put into the double honorific construction, like *mesiagaru*. Likewise, it does not explain the blocking effect between these irregulars and the productive honorifics.

This leaves the theory in a bind. The two possible analyses, under the current theory, do not explain the unusual blocking effects involving forms like *ossyaru*, which do not occur in the productive honorific and which block the appearance of the regular productive honorifics. However, the analyses which can account for these generalizations are not possible under the current theory. They require revision to the phonological cycle and a significant complication of VI. I would like to tentatively propose the latter: Our current conceptions of the phonological cycle and of the way VI works do not adequately account for the data described here. This means that our theory must be tweaked in order to allow for this data. This would include, although not necessitate, the possibility of non-terminal VI. However, the theory of phonological cyclicity must allow any head (including a categorizing head) to see over a categorizing head and to affect the phonology of lower items. This would require the following change to Embick’s generalization, where  $\alpha$  is a trigger for allomorphy,  $x$  is a cyclic (categorizing) head, and  $Z$  is any head::

$$(43) \quad \dots \alpha ] x ] Z$$

*Generalization:* Any head  $Z$  may show contextual allomorphy determined by  $\alpha$ , as long as  $x$  is not overt.

This allows any head to see over a phonological cyclic head. It would not allow a head to see over two phonological cyclic heads. In the following structure, where  $x$  and  $y$  are both cyclic heads,  $\alpha$  cannot function as a trigger for allomorphy on  $Z$ :

$$(44) \quad * \dots \alpha ] x ] y ] Z$$

Of course, this proposal can only be tentative, given the paucity of data here; a more in-depth analysis of cross-linguistic data is necessary. However, there are other problems for Embick's idea of phonological cyclicity (see Bennett, this volume), which also suggest that this type of amendment may be necessary.

## 5 Conclusion

This article has proposed a theory of semantic and phonological spell-out in DM, based on an amalgamation of work by Borer and Embick. This theory utilizes a system of alternating semantic and phonological cycles, in which categorizing heads are cyclic for phonology and non-categorizing heads are cyclic for semantics. Categorizing heads trigger the spell-out of the complement of the next lowest categorizing head to PF, while non-categorizing heads trigger the spell-out of their own complements to LF. I also examine how suppletion and other forms of feature-conditioned contextual allomorphy would behave in this theory.

Within the context of the theory, I then examine Japanese honorifics. Before examining the morphology of the honorifics, I propose a syntactic theory of honorifics. Based on the morphological distribution of the honorific prefix and the syntactic distribution of the *renyookei*, I propose that the *o*+stem element in the productive honorific is the nominalization of a verb. The *o*+stem then combines with a light verb, where the choice of light verb is cast as a selectional restriction between certain light verbs and [+hon] (exalting) or [-hon] (humbling) predicates.

I then treat the irregular honorifics in depth, showing that some honorifics cannot plausibly be considered as cases of contextual allomorphy. However, other honorifics show classic signs of suppletion and contextual allomorphy. They participate in Poser-blocking, which indicates that they occupy the same syntactic structure as the productive form. Likewise, if they are conditioned allomorphy of a certain syntactic structure, we would not expect them to then appear in that structure. This is what we see: Honorific forms such as *irassyaru* cannot themselves appear in the productive honorific construction. This is in opposition to other cases of allomorphy, such as the Amharic irregular plurals, which can receive a regular plural and which are not analysed as instances of FCCA. Some of these forms which could be analysed as FCCA also show no irregular semantics, indicating that they are plausibly suppletive forms.

Unfortunately, the theory as described cannot handle the full irregular honorifics as cases of FCCA. The theory predicts that these forms could not have irregular phonology, as there is a categorizing head between the root and the [hon] feature, which sits on a categorizing head. If the theory is to be preserved, this requires a different syntactic structure for these verbs. This means that they are no longer cases of contextual allomorphy. It also means that we can no longer account for the inability of these forms to appear in the productive honorific, unlike other irregulars, and for their Poser-blocking properties. If we wish to preserve these forms as cases of FCCA, we must make modifications to the theory. Most importantly, the phonological cycle cannot be as small as the cycle defined in Embick 2010. It is possible that we may wish to entertain modifications to the ways in which VI proceeds; in particular, in complex head structures, we may wish to say that VI can occur at non-terminal nodes.

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