The vP Cartography in Standard and Nagasaki Japanese[1]

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1. Introduction

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, which is spoken in the northern part of Kyushu, hereafter called Nagasaki Japanese (NJ).[2, 3, 4, 5]

[2] List of abbreviations: ACC, accusative; AMBIV, ambivalent; ASP, aspect; DAT, dative; CAUS, causative; HON, honorific; INTRANS, intransitive; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; PASS, passive; PAST, past tense; POL, politeness marker; PRT, particle; PERF, perfect aspect; PROG, progressive aspect; Q, question; TRANS, transitive; TOP, topic; VOL, voluntary, spontaneous, circumstantial mood; 1SG, first person singular.

[3] The Japanese honorific *(r)are/(r)asu* is subject-oriented (Harada 1976, Kishimoto 2012, a.o.), as the contrast in (ia, b) and (iia, b) shows.

  (i) a. Sensei-wa   Taroo-ni suugaku-o   osie-rare-ta. (SJ)
         teacher-top   Taro-dat math-acc   teach-hon-past
         'The teacher taught Taro mathematics.'

(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.'

In addition to honorification, *(r)are* in SJ is also used for the passive and the mood morpheme *zihatu*, as shown in (2b, c). *Zihatu* yields the interpretation of voluntary, spontaneous, circumstantial mood.

(2) a. Sensei-ga   hon-o   kaw-are-ta. (honorific)
       teacher-NOM   book-ACC   buy-ARE-PAST
       'The teacher bought the book.'   (Hasegawa 2017: 1848)
    b. Kodomo-ga   sensei-ni   sikar-are-ta. (passive)
       child-NOM   teacher-DAT   scold-ARE-PAST
       'The child was scolded by the teacher.'   (Hasegawa 2017: 1871)

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    b. *Taroo-wa   sensei-ni   suugaku-o   manab-are-ta.
       Taro-TOP   teacher-DAT   math-ACC   learn-HON-PAST
       'Taro learned mathematics from the teacher.'
(ii) a. Sensei-wa   Taroo-ni   suugaku-ba   osie-rasi-ta. (NJ)
       teacher-TOP   Taro-DAT   math-ACC   teach-HON-PAST
       'The teacher taught Taro mathematics.'
    b. *Taroo-wa   sensei-ni   suugaku-ba   manab-asi-ta.
       Taro-TOP   teacher-DAT   math-ACC   learn-HON-PAST
       'Taro learned mathematics from the teacher.'

[4] In this paper, I do not address the locus and morphological properties of another type of Japanese honorific, *o-V ni naru* (see Thompson 2011, Hasegawa 2017, and Oseki and Tagawa 2018, a.o.).

[5] When the verb stem ends with a vowel, the verbal suffix in Japanese starts with the consonant (*rare*, *rasu*, *sase*, etc.) When the verb stem ends with the consonant, the verbal suffix in Japanese starts with the vowel (*are*, *asu*, *ase*, etc.).

c. (Watasi-ni-wa) sore-ga kuyam-are-ru.

                             (voluntary, spontaneous, circumstantial mood)

1SG-DAT-TOP it-NOM regret-ARE-PRES

'I regret it.'/'The given circumstances make me regret it.'

(Hasegawa 2017: 1873)

Based on the fact that *(r)are* in SJ is used for honorification, passive, and *zihatu*, Hasegawa (1988, 2017) argues that it is a uniform morpheme that conceals or makes vague the agentivity of an event, with the difference in interpretation being a matter of language use in the context. This analysis accounts for the incompatibility of the passive/*zihatu* morpheme and the honorific morpheme in SJ, as shown in (3c) and (4b). As *(r)are* is uniform irrespective of its interpretation, a terminal node that is specified for it should also be unique. This means that *(r)are* cannot occur multiple times in the same sentence.

(3) a. A-sensei-ga   B-sensei-o   home-rare-ta.   (honorific) (SJ)
         A-teacher-NOM   B-teacher-ACC   praise-HON-PAST
         'Prof. A praised Prof. B.'

     b. A-sensei-ga   B-sensei-ni   home-rare-ta.   (passive)
         A-teacher-NOM   B-teacher-DAT   praise-PASS-PAST
         'Prof. A is praised by Prof. B.'

     c. *A-sensei-ga   B-sensei-ni   home-rare-rare-ta.

                                                     (*passive-honorific)

         A-teacher-NOM   B-teacher-DAT   praise-PASS-HON-PAST
         'Prof. A is praised by Prof. B.'

(4) a. (Sensei-ni-wa)   doo omow-are-masu-ka.   (voluntary) (SJ)
          teacher-to-TOP   how think-VOL-POL-Q
          'What do you think, professor?'   (Hasegawa 2017: 1873)

     b. *(Sensei-ni-wa)   doo omow-are-rare-masu-ka. (*voluntary-honorific)
          teacher-to-TOP   how think-VOL-HON-POL-Q
          'What do you think, professor?'

However, Hasegawa's explanation fails to account for the distribution of the honorific *(r)asu* in NJ. In NJ, the passive/*zihatu* morpheme *(r)are* and the honorific *(r)asu* are morphologically different. Of importance here is the fact that the two can co-occur in NJ, as (5) demonstrates. Hence, the assumption that *(r)are* is uniform irrespective of interpretation is not tenable, at least in NJ. [6]

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

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[6] The *zihatu* morpheme *(r)are* seems to be incompatible with the honorific *(r)asu* in NJ.
   (i) ??(Sensei-ni-wa)   sore-ga   kuyam-are-rasi-ta-gotaru. (voluntary-honorific)
         teacher-to-TOP   it-NOM   regret-VOL-HON-PAST-seem
         'The teacher seems to regret it.' / 'It seems that the given circumstances
         make the teacher regret it.'
   This might be because *zihatu*, which is inserted in the v domain, is selected by the null Mood head that is specified for the *zihatu* (voluntary, spontaneous mood) interpretation. Alternatively, *zihatu* is inserted to the fused terminal node of v-Mood. Either way, the honorific morpheme, which is inserted in the aspectual domain (see the following discussion), cannot intervene between v and Mood. I leave the research on zihatu for future research.

I argue that the honorific morpheme is a morphological manifestation of the Honorific head (Hon), which is distinct from the passive morpheme, which is the morphological manifestation of the passive Voice head. This article illustrates the selectional restrictions of verbal suffixes, focusing mainly on the honorific morpheme in the verbal domain, in an attempt to clarify the vP cartography in Japanese (Section 2). Then, I account for the incompatibility of some morphemes in SJ and NJ in terms of anti-homophony under the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, Harley and Noyer 1999, a.o.) (Section 3). Section 4 summarizes the argument.

2. vP cartography
2.1. VoiceP < HonP

First, let us consider the lower periphery of the vP domain. Following the standard assumption in Distributed Morphology (Embick and Marantz 2008, Marantz 1997, 2007, a.o.), I assume that Root is selected by a categorizer. Specifically, Root is selected by v(erbalizer) to form the verb. In Japanese, the vP is in turn selected by Voice, which specifies the active/passive voice of the sentence (Pylkkänen 2008, Harley 2017) as well as transitive/intransitive alternation (Oseki 2017b).

Regarding the morphological realization of Voice, Oseki (2017b) argues for the distinction between s-marked transitive verbs (e.g., *hag-as-u* 'peel'), r-marked intransitive verbs (e.g., *tizim-ar-u* 'shrink'), and unmarked transitive/ intransitive verbs (e.g., *hag-u* 'peel,' *tizim-u* 'shrink'). In addition to the distinction, Oseki introduces the "ambivalent" morpheme *-e*, which may represent either transitive or intransitive voice (e.g., *hag-e-ru* 'peel' (intransitive), *tizim-e-ru* 'shrink' (transitive)). Based on these distinctions, Oseki argues that transitive/intransitive alternation in Japanese is not pairwise, but consists of "triplets," where one root, marked by different suffixes, may derive two transitive variants and one intransitive variant, or two intransitive

variants and one transitive variant.

(6) transitive-transitive-intransitive "triplets" (SJ/NJ)

    a. John-ga   posutaa-o   hai-da.   (unmarked transitive)

       John-NOM   poster-ACC peel-PAST

       'John peeled a poster.'

    b. John-ga   posuttaa-o hag-asi-ta.   (s-marked transitive)

       John-NOM   poster-ACC peel-TRANS-PAST

       'John peeled a poster.'

    c. Postaa-ga   hag-e-ta.   (e-marked intransitive)

       poster-NOM peel-AMBIV-PAST

       'A poster peeled.'   (Oseki 2017b: 6)

(7) intransitive-intransitive-transitive "triplets" (SJ/NJ)

    a. Syatu-ga   tizim-da.   (unmarked intransitive)

       shirt-NOM   shrink-PAST

       'A shirt shrank.'

    b. Syatu-ga   tizim-ar-ta.   (r-marked intransitive)

       shirt-NOM   shrink-INTRANS-PAST

       'A shirt shrank.'

    c. John-ga   syatu-o   tizim-e-ta.   (e-marked transitive)

       John-NOM   shirt-ACC   shrink-AMBIV-PAST

       'A poster peeled.'   (Oseki 2017b: 8–9, slightly modified)

I argue that the honorific *(r)are* in SJ and *(r)asu* in NJ are morphological manifestations of the Honorific Phrase (HonP). As shown in (8), Hon can select any kind of Voice.

(8) a. Sensei-ga   posutaa-o   hag-as-are/asi-ta.

                                                       (s-marked transitive) (SJ/NJ)

    teacher-NOM   poster-ACC   peel-TRANS-HON-PAST

    'The teacher peeled a poster.'

  b. Sensei-ga   posutaa-o   kir-are/asi-ta.   (unmarked transitive)

    teacher-NOM   poster-ACC   cut-HON-PAST

    'The teacher cut a poster.'

  c. Sensei-ga   syatu-o   tizim-e-rare/rasi-ta.

                                                       (e-marked transitive)

    teacher-NOM   shirt-ACC   shrink-AMBIV-HON-PAST

    'The teacher shrank a shirt.'

  d. Sensei-ga   wana-ni   kak-ar-are/asi-ta.

                                                       (r-marked intransitive)

    teacher-NOM   trap-DAT   catch-INTRANS-HON-PAST

    'The teacher got caught in a trap.'

  e. Sensei-ga   heya-de   yasum-are/asi-ta.

                                                       (unmarked intransitive)

    teacher-NOM   room-at   rest-HON-PAST

    'The teacher rested in a room.'

  f. Sensei-ga   hag-e-rare/rasi-ta.   (e-marked intransitive)

    teacher-NOM   bald-AMBIV-HON-PAST

    'The teacher went bald.'

In contrast, the honorific morpheme cannot precede the voice morpheme, as shown in (9) (We will consider the s-marked transitive verb and honorification in NJ in Section 3).

(9) a. *Sensei-ga   posutaa-o   hag-ar-asi-ta.   (SJ)
         teacher-NOM   poster-ACC   peel-HON-TRANS-PAST
         'The teacher shrank a shirt.'

     b. *Sensei-ga   syatu-o   tizim-ar/as-e-ta.   (SJ/NJ)
         teacher-NOM   shirt-ACC   shrink-HON-AMBIV-PAST
         'The teacher shrank a shirt.'

     c. *Sensei-ga   wana-ni   kak-ar/as-ar-ta.   (SJ/NJ)
         teacher-NOM   trap-DAT   catch-HON-INTRANS-PAST
         'The teacher got caught in a trap.'

The contrast of (8) and (9) leads to the conclusion that HonP projects above VoiceP.

Turning to the passive morpheme, we consider that *(r)are* is a morphological realization of the passive voice. As shown in (10), although the passive morpheme *(r)are* cannot be followed by the honorific *(r)are* in SJ, it can be followed by *(r)asu* in NJ.

(10) 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
         'Prof. A is praised by Prof. B.'

      c. Sensei-ga   neko-ni   nige-rare-rasi-ta.

                                              (passive-honorific) (NJ)

         teacher-NOM   cat-DAT   run.away-PASS-HON-PAST
         'The teacher was affected by a cat running away.'

On the other hand, Hon cannot precede Voice, as illustrated in (11).

(11) *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.'

The contrast of (10) and (11) also indicates that Hon selects VoiceP.

2.2. (VoiceP < CauseP) < VoiceP < HonP

Harley (2017) argues that CauseP headed with *(s)ase* selects VoiceP in Japanese (see also Kageyama 1993, 1996, Harley 1995, Miyagawa 1998, 2012, Matsumoto 2000, Volpe 2005, Pylkkänen 2008, Oseki 2017b and references therein).

(12) a. Maki-wa   kodomo-o   oko-r-ase-ta.

(intransitive-causative) (SJ/NJ)

　　　　Maki-TOP   child-ACC   angry-INTRANS-CAUS-PAST

　　　　'Maki made her child get angry.'

　　 b. Maki-wa   kodomo-ni   omotya-o   ugok-as-ase-ta.

(transitive-causative)

　　　　Maki-TOP   child-DAT   toy-ACC   move-TRANS-CAUS-PAST

　　　　'Maki made her child move the toy.'

　　 c. Maki-wa   kodomo-o   oko-rare-sase-ta.   (passive-causative)

　　　　Maki-TOP   child-ACC   scold-PASS-CAUS-PAST

　　　　'Maki made her child be scolded.'

The examples in (13) illustrate that the causative morpheme *(s)ase* can be followed by the honorific morpheme in SJ and NJ.

(13) a. Sensei-ga   hogosya-o   oko-r-ase-rare/rasi-ta.   (SJ/NJ)
         teacher-NOM   parent-ACC   angry-INTRANS-CAUS-HON-PAST
         'The teacher made the parents get angry.'

      b. Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni   tukue-o   ugok-as-ase-rare/rasi-ta.
         teacher-NOM   student-DAT   desk-ACC   move-TRANS-CAUS-HON-PAST
         'The teacher made the students move desks.'

      c. Sensei-ga   kodomo-o   oko-rare-sase-rare/rasi-ta.
         Sensei-NOM   child-ACC   scold-PASS-CAUS-HON-PAST
         'The teacher made his/her child be scolded.'

In contrast, the honorific morpheme cannot precede the causative morpheme,
as (14) demonstrates.

(14) *Sensei-ga   gakusei-ni   tukue-o   ugok-as-ar/as-ase-ta.

                                                                                       (SJ/NJ)

       teacher-TOP   student-DAT   desk-ACC   move-TRANS-HON-CAUS-PAST
       'The teacher made the students move desks.'

Based on the contrast of (13) and (14), one may consider that HonP selects
CauseP, which in turn selects VoiceP. However, the fact that CauseP may be
followed by the passive morpheme in NJ shows that HonP selects VoiceP,
which may select CauseP, which, in turn, selects the lower VoiceP.[7]

(15) Sensei-wa   tako-ba   tabe-sase-rare-rasi-ta.

                                                (causative-passive-honorific) (NJ)

       teacher-TOP   octopus-ACC   eat-CAUS-PASS-HON-PAST
       'The teacher was made to eat octopus.'

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[7] The accusative marker in NJ is -o or -ba.

(16) (VoiceP < CauseP) < VoiceP < HonP

VoiceP projects above CauseP and below CauseP. VoiceP below CauseP specifies the voice of the event the causee participates in, and VoiceP above CauseP specifies the voice of the event the causer/matrix subject participates in. For instance, (13c) yields the interpretation where the matrix subject (the teacher) actively causes the event that the causee (his/her child) is passively involved in. On the other hand, (15) instantiates the case where the caused event is in the active voice, and the matrix event is in the passive voice.

2.3. AspP < HonP/HonP < AspP

The aspect morpheme tei / teo in Japanese follows VoiceP [8]; as shown in (17)–(19), the aspect morpheme follows the verb, the causative morpheme, or the passive morpheme. Note here that the aspect morpheme in SJ is *tei/teo* irrespective of whether it is progressive or perfect, while that in NJ is *yo* for the progressive, and *to* for the perfect. As CauseP projects below VoiceP (vP < VoiceP < CauseP < VoiceP), the fact that the passive morpheme precedes the honorific morpheme instantiates that AspP projects above VoiceP.

(17) a. Yamada-san-ga   kyabia-o   tabe-tei-ta.   (SJ)
          Yamada-HON-NOM   caviar-ACC   eat-ASP-PAST
          'Mr. Yamada was eating/has eaten caviar.'

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[8] Another aspect morphere-hazime-(start doing) may precede or follow Voice (Yoshiki Ogawa, p.c.)

(i) a. Hon-ga   yomi-hazime-rare-ta.
          book-NOM   read-ASP-PASS-PAST
      b. Hon-ga   yom-are-hazime-ta.
          book-NOM   read-PASS-ASP-PAST
          'The book searted being read.'

    b. Yamada-san-ga   kyabia-ba   tabe-yo/to-tta.   (NJ)
       Yamada-HON-NOM   caviar-ACC   eat-ASP(PROG/PERF)-HON-PAST
       'Mr. Yamada was eating/has eaten caviar.'

(18) a. Yamada-san-ga   Ken-o   hasir-ase-tei-ta.   (SJ)
       Yamada-HON-NOM   Ken-ACC   run-CAUSE-ASP-PAST
       'Mr. Yamada was letting Ken run.'
    b. Yamada-san-ga   Ken-ba   hasir-ase-yo-tta.   (NJ)
       Yamada-HON-NOM   Ken-ACC   praise-CAUSE-ASP(PROG)-PAST
       'Mr. Yamada was letting Ken run.'

(19) a. Yamada-san-ga   sensei-ni   syoosan-sare-tei-ta.   (SJ)
       Yamada-HON-NOM   teacher-DAT   praise-PASS-ASP-PAST
       'Mr. Yamada was being/has been praised by the teacher.'
    b. Yamada-san-ga   sensei-ni   syoosan-sare-yo/to-tta.   (NJ)
       Yamada-HON-NOM   teacher-DAT   praise-PASS-ASP(PROG/PERF) -PAST
       'Mr. Yamada was being/has been praised by the teacher.'

The fact that the aspect morpheme cannot precede the voice morpheme also shows that AspP projects above VoiceP.

(20) a. *Yamada-san-ga   sensei-ni   syoosan-si-teo-rare-ta.   (SJ)
        Yamada-HON-NOM   teacher-DAT   praise-do-ASP-PASS-PAST
        'Mr. Yamada was being/has been praised by the teacher.'
    b. *Yamada-san-ga   sensei-ni   syoosan-si-yo/to-rare-ta. (NJ)
        Yamada-HON-NOM   teacher-DAT   praise-do-ASP(PROG/PERF)-PASS-

                                                        PAST
       'Mr. Yamada was being/has been praised by the teacher.'

HonP projects in the Aspect (Asp)/Tense (T) domain; as shown in (21)–(23), the honorific form follows the aspect morpheme/AspP.

(21) a. Yamada-san-ga   kyabia-o   tabe-teo-rare-ta.   (SJ)
          Yamada-HON-NOM   caviar-ACC   eat-ASP-HON-PAST
          'Mr. Yamada was eating/has eaten caviar.'
     b. Yamada-san-ga   kyabia-ba   tabe-yo/to-rasi-ta.   (NJ)
          Yamada-HON-NOM   caviar-ACC   eat-ASP(PROG/PERF)-HON-PAST
          'Mr. Yamada was eating/has eaten caviar.'

(22) a. Yamada-san-ga   Ken-o   hasir-ase-teo-rare-ta.   (SJ)
          Yamada-HON-NOM   Ken-ACC   run-CAUSE-ASP-HON-PAST
          'Mr. Yamada was letting Ken run.'
     b. Yamada-san-ga   Ken-ba   hasir-ase-yo-rasi-ta.   (NJ)
          Yamada-HON-NOM   Ken-ACC   praise-CAUSE-ASP(PROG)-HON-PAST
          'Mr. Yamada was letting Ken run.'

(23) a. Yamada-san-ga   sensei-ni   syoosan-sare-teo-rare-ta.
                                                                            (SJ)
          Yamada-HON-NOM   teacher-DAT   praise-PASS-ASP-HON-PAST
          'Mr. Yamada was being/has been praised by the teacher.'
     b. Yamada-san-ga   sensei-ni   syoosan-sare-yo/to-rasi-ta.
                                                                            (NJ)
          Yamada-HON-NOM   teacher-DAT   praise-PASS-ASP(PROG/PERF)-HON-
                                                                           PAST
          'Mr. Yamada was being/has been praised by the teacher.'

The honorific morpheme may precede the aspectual morpheme in SJ, while it may not in NJ.

(24) a. Sensei-ga   ronbun-o   kai-teo-rare-ta.   (SJ)
        teacher-NOM   paper-ACC   write-ASP-HON-PAST
        'The teacher was writing a paper.'

     b. Sensei-ga   ronbun-o   kak-are-tei-ta.   (SJ)
        teacher-NOM   paper-ACC   write-HON-ASP-PAST
        'The teacher was writing a paper.'

(25) a. Sensei-ga   ronbun-ba   kaki-yo-rasi-ta.   (NJ)
        teacher-NOM   paper-ACC   write-ASP-HON-PAST
        'The teacher was writing a paper.'

     b. *Sensei-ga   ronbun-ba   kak-asi-yo-tta.   (NJ)
        teacher-NOM   paper-ACC   write-HON-ASP-PAST
        'The teacher was writing a paper.'

These show that HonP may project either below AspP or above AspP in SJ, while HonP projects above AspP in NJ. I see no difference in interpretation between Asp < Hon and Hon < Asp. I leave the dialectal variation for future research.

(26) a. AspP < HonP/HonP < AspP   (SJ)
     b. AspP < HonP   (NJ)

2.4. HonP < NegP < TP

The honorific morpheme precedes negation and tense, while it cannot follow negation and tense, as shown in (27)-(29).

(27) a. Yamada-san-ga   Yuki-o   syoosan-s-are-naka-tta.   (SJ)
        Yamada-HON-NOM   Yuki-ACC   praise-do-HON-NEG-PAST
        'Mr. Yamada didn't praise Yuki.'

    b. Yamada-san-ga   Yuki-ba   syoosan-s-assa-n-yatta.   (NJ)

        Yamada-HON-NOM   Yuki-ACC   praise-do-HON-NEG-PAST

        'Mr. Yamada didn't praise Yuki.'

(28) a. *Yamada-san-ga   Yuki-o   syoosan-si-nakar-are-ta.   (SJ)

        Yamada-HON-NOM   Yuki-ACC   praise-do-NEG-HON-PAST

        'Mr. Yamada didn't praise Yuki.'

    b. *Yamada-san-ga   Yuki-o   syoosan-si-nakar-ta-are.   (SJ)

        Yamada-HON-NOM   Yuki-ACC   praise-do-NEG-PAST-HON

        'Mr. Yamada didn't praise Yuki.'

(29) a. *Yamada-san-ga   Yuki-ba   syoosan-se-n-rasi-ta.   (NJ)

        Yamada-HON-NOM   Yuki-ACC   praise-do-NEG-HON-PAST

        'Mr. Yamada didn't praise Yuki.'

    b. *Yamada-san-ga   Yuki-ba   syoosan-se-n-yatta-rasu.   (NJ)

        Yamada-HON-NOM   Yuki-ACC   praise-do-NEG-PAST-HON

        'Mr. Yamada didn't praise Yuki.'

2.5. vP cartography

In sum, the vP cartography in Japanese is schematized in (30).

(30) a. vP < (VoiceP > CauseP) < VoiceP < (AspP) < (HonP) < (AspP) <

                                          (NegP) < TP (SJ)

    b. vP < (VoiceP > CauseP) < VoiceP < (AspP) < (HonP) < (NegP) < TP

                                             (NJ)

3. Anti-Homophony
3.1. Passive – Honorific

The vP cartography in (30), where Voice and Hon are different, accounts for

the compatibility of the passive morpheme and the honorific morpheme in NJ, as shown in (5), repeated as (31a).

(31) a. A-sensei-ga   B-sensei-ni   home-rare-rasi-ta.

(passive-honorific) (NJ)

A-teacher-NOM   B-teacher-DAT   praise-PASS-HON-PAST

'Prof. A is praised by Prof. B.'

b. Sensei-ga   neko-ni   nige-rare-rasi-ta.   (passive-honorific) (NJ)

teacher-NOM   cat-DAT   run.away-PASS-HON-PAST

'The teacher was affected by a cat running away.'

However, the vP cartography (30) fails to account for the ungrammaticality of the SJ counterpart illustrated in (3c), repeated as (32).

(32) *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.'

I argue that the ungrammaticality is caused by anti-homophony/repetition avoidance: namely, the ban on adjacent identity (*rare-rare) within a given domain (see also Okutsu 1974, Neeleman and van de Koot 2006, Harbour 2008, Nevins 2012, Richards 2010, Kayne 2016, Hiraiwa 2016, Oseki 2017a and references therein). The anti-homophony analysis is supported by the fact that an intervening morpheme (e.g., an aspect morpheme or focus particle) ameliorates the ungrammaticality. This is demonstrated in (33) and (34).

(33) passive – aspect – honorific

    A-sensei-ga   B-sensei-ni   home-rare-teo-rare-ta.   (SJ)

    A-teacher-NOM B-teacher-DAT praise-PASS-ASP-HON-PAST

    'Prof. A is praised by Prof. B.'

(34) passive – focus particle *sae* 'even' – honorific

    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.'

Further evidence for anti-homophony comes from the *do so* construction. In Japanese, the active form *do so* can yield a passive interpretation when the predicate indicates agentivity. Consider (35), where the agentive adverb *wazato* 'deliberately' modifies the predicate. In this case, the active form *soo su* 'do so' in (35c) yields the passive interpretation that corresponds to (35b).

(35) a. Masao-wa   wazato   Ken-ni   hihan-s-are-ta.   (SJ)

            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, when the active voice can yield a passive interpretation in the absence of the passive morpheme, the honorific morpheme can manifest, as in

(36b).

    (36) a. Masao-wa   wazato   Ken-ni   hihan-s-are-ta.   (SJ)
                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.')

In (36b), the active form *soo-su* 'do so' substitutes for the passive verb in (36a), and yet yields the passive interpretation. In this case, with the absence of the passive morpheme, the honorific morphemecan manifest.

3.2. Transitive – Honorific

Finally, consider some unmarked/s-marked transitive variants like *hagu/ hagasu* 'peel' and *toku/tokasu* 'dissolve' in NJ.

    (37) a. John-ga   posutaa-ba   hai-da.   (unmarked transitive) (NJ)
                John-NOM poster-ACC   peel-PAST
                'John peeled a poster.'
         b. John-ga   posuttaa-ba hag-asi-ta.   (s-marked transitive)
                John-NOM poster-ACC   peel-TRANS-PAST
                'John peeled a poster.'
         c. John-ga   kona-ba   toi-ta.   (unmarked transitive)
                John-NOM powder-ACC dissolve-PAST
                'John dissolved powder.'

    d. John-ga   kona-ba   tok-asi-ta.   (s-marked transitive)

        John-NOM   powder-ACC   dissolve-TRANS-PAST

        'John dissolved powder.'   (Oseki 2017b: 6)

Of importance here is the fact that these unmarked transitive verbs may not be followed by the honorific morpheme in NJ: (38a, c) only yields the s-marked transitive interpretation, not the honorific interpretation. To yield the honorific interpretation, the s-marked variant should be selected, as shown in (38b, d). [9]

(38) a. #Sensei-ga   posutaa-ba   hag-asi-ta.

                                (*unmarked transitive-honorific) (NJ)

          teacher-NOM   poster-ACC   peel-HON-PAST

          'The teacher peeled a poster.'

     b. Sensei-ga   posuttaa-ba   hag-as-asi-ta.

                              (s-marked transitive-honorific)

          teacher-NOM   poster-ACC   peel-TRANS-HON-PAST

          'The teacher peeled a poster.'

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[9] Note that when the unmarked/s-marked transitive alternation yields easily detectable different interpretations, both variants can be followed by the honorific morpheme. For instance, the unmarked transitive form nuku 'pull' and the s-marked transitive form nukasu 'overtake' yield distinct interpretations, and they can each be followed by the honorific morpheme, as (i) shows.

(i) a. Sensei-ga   kugi-ba   nuk-asi-ta.

       teacher-NOM   nail-ACC   pull-HON-PAST

       'The teacher pulled off the nail.'

    b. Sensei-ga   maeno-hito-ba   nukas-asi-ta.

       teacher-NOM   in.front-person-ACC   overtake-HON-PAST

       'The teacher overtook the person in front of him.'

    c. #Sensei-ga   kona-ba   tok-asi-ta.

                                     (*unmarked transitive-honorific)

       teacher-NOM   powder-ACC   dissolve-HON-PAST

       'The teacher dissolved powder.'

    d. Sensei-ga   kona-ba   tok-as-asi-ta.

                                     (s-marked transitive-honorific)

       teacher-NOM   powder-ACC   dissolve-TRANS-HON-PAST

       'The teacher dissolved powder.'

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 through Late Insertion (Halle and Marantz 1993, Halle 1997, Harley and Noyer 1999, Embick and Noyer 2001, a.o.), the one closer to Root wins over the other.

(39) Local Vocabulary Insertion Theorem

       When two terminal nodes for homophonous vocabulary items are in proximity and one of the two homophonous vocabulary items can be inserted to a terminal, the terminal close to Root is selected over the other.

Under (39), *asu* in (38a, c) is inserted not to Hon, but to Voice, yielding only the s-marked transitive interpretation (see also the Local Allomorph Selection Theorem (Choi and Harley 2018, Oseki and Tagawa 2018)). [10]

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[10] The Local Vocabulary Insertion Theorem is ranked higher than the ban on homophonous sequence, as illustrated by the asu-asu sequence in (38b). When the

It is further expected that if two terminal nodes are not in a local configuration, the sentence becomes grammatical. Hence, if the focus particle *sae* 'even' or the progressive aspectual form *yo* intervenes between VoiceP and HonP, then both the unmarked transitive verb and the s-marked transitive verb can be followed by the honorific morpheme.

(40) a. (?)Sensei-ga   posutaa-ba   hagi-sae-s-asi-ta.   (NJ)
         teacher-NOM   poster-ACC   peel-even-do-HON-PAST
         'The teacher even peeled a poster.'

   b. (?)Sensei-ga   kona-ba   toki-sae-s-asi-ta.
         teacher-NOM   powder-ACC   dissolve-even-do-HON-PAST
         'The teacher even dissolved powder.'

(41) a. Sensei-ga   posutaa-ba   hagi-yo-rasi-ta.

                                      (unmarked transitive-honorific) (NJ)

         teacher-NOM   poster-ACC   peel-ASP-HON-PAST
         'The teacher was peeling a poster.'

   b. Sensei-ga   posuttaa-ba   hag-asi-yo-rasi-ta.

                                         (s-marked transitive-honorific)

         teacher-NOM   poster-ACC   peel-TRANS-ASP-HON-PAST
         'The teacher was peeling a poster.'

   c. John-ga   kona-ba   toki-yo-rasi-ta.

                                         (unmarked transitive-honorific)

         John-NOM   powder-ACC   dissolve-ASP-HON-PAST
         'John was dissolving powder.'

---

unmarked transitive verb is followed by the honorific morpheme, there's only one asu, and LVIT always selects the terminal node closer to the root. Hence, in order to yield the honorific interpretation, the s-marked transitive variant should be selected, inevitably violating the anti-homophony.

    d. John-ga   kona-ba   tok-asi-yo-rasi-ta.

                                              (s-marked transitive-honorific)

      John-NOM   powder-ACC dissolve-TRANS-ASP-HON-PAST

      'John was dissolving powder.'

4. Conclusion

In sum, this paper has investigated the selectional properties of the honorific forms *(r)are* in SJ (Harada 1976) and *(r)asu* in NJ and clarified the vP cartography in Japanese. Furthermore, it has accounted for the incompatibility of some morphemes in SJ and NJ in terms of anti-homophony and the Local Vocabulary Insertion Theorem.

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