

## Reexamination of Harada's (1976) Morphological Structure of an Honorific Construction *o- ... -ni naru* in Japanese

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### ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to reconsider Harada's (1976) arguments concerning the morphological structure of a subject honorific form *o- ... -ni naru* in Japanese. One of the arguments against the nominal analysis where the root of the subject honorific form is nominal comes from the fact that the sentences with the subject honorific form cannot be deleted, relativized, or clefted. The current analysis of these phenomena in Japanese reveals that these data can be handled without any stipulations and indicates that Harada's original argument that the root of the subject honorific form is verbal should be correct. I also review the morphological structure that Harada (1976) proposes, and point out two problems with it.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, I will reexamine the arguments that Harada (1976) presents in order to argue against the nominal analysis of an honorific construction *o- ... -ni naru* in Japanese (hereafter I will call it the SH form). According to the nominal analysis, which is recently proposed by Suzuki (1989), Toribio (1990), Ivana and Sakai (2003, 2007), and Takita (2006), the root of the SH form is a noun. Interestingly, Harada (1976) argues that the nominal analysis cannot be maintained, because the analysis fails to account for the data with deletion (more specifically, VP-ellipsis), relativization, and cleft sentences in Japanese. Thus, he concludes that the root in the SH form should be a verb (the verbal analysis). In this paper, I will reanalyze the data that Harada (1976) presents, and argue that the current syntactic analysis of deletion, relativization, and cleft sentences in Japanese not only explains the data, but also favors the verbal analysis that Harada (1976) originally proposes.

Second, I will reconsider Harada's (1976) morphological structure of the SH form in Japanese and point out the problems with his proposal. According to Harada (1976), the morphological structure of the SH form is formed by several transformations. What is important under his analysis is that the SH form is a kind of complex verb, where the verbal root does not form a constituent with the direct object. I will show two pieces of evidence showing that the verbal root in the SH form takes the direct object as a complement; the verbal root and the direct object form a constituent.

The organization of this paper will be as follows: In section 2, the main proposals of Harada's

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analysis of the SH form in Japanese are observed. In section 3, it will be shown that the current analysis of the data can be handled without any stipulation, and that the nominal analysis does not go through. In section 4, Harada's (1976) proposal concerning the morphological structure of the SH form and the problems with his proposal will be discussed. Section 5 is a summary of this paper.

## 2. HARADA'S (1976) TRANSFORMATIONS

Harada (1976) argues that the interaction of transformations demonstrated below creates the phonological sequence of the SH form in Japanese.

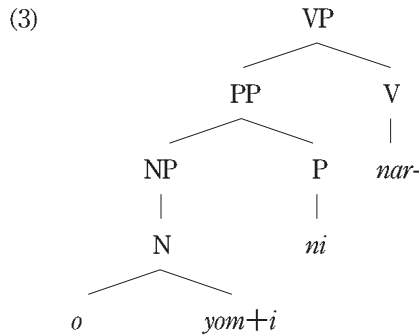
- (1) a. Subject honorific marking (optional)  
Mark the predicate as [Subject Honorific] if its subject is a socially superior to the speaker (SSS).
- b. Honorific suppletion (governed)  
If the predicate marked as [Subject Honorific] belongs to the class of 'suppletive verbs', substitute an appropriate suppletive form (mentioned in the lexicon) for it.
- c. Honorific prefixation (obligatory)  
Adjoin the honorific prefix (HP) to the predicate marked as [Subject Honorific].
- d. Honorific infinitivization (obligatory)  
Infinitivize a verb if it has an honorific prefix adjoined to it.
- e. Honorific auxiliary attachment (obligatory)  
Adjoin the honorific auxiliary *nar-* to the right of the honorific infinitive marked as [Subject Honorific].
- f. *Ni* insertion (obligatory)  
Adjoin the particle *ni* to the right of the honorific infinitive immediately preceding *nar-*.
- g. Honorific prefix spelling (obligatory)  
Spell out the honorific prefix as *o-* or *go-*, the choice depending on the etymological class of the immediately following lexical item.

With these in mind, let us consider how the SH form is created.

(2)	yom- 'read'	ik- Verb suppletive ide- 'go'
a. (1a)	yom- [+SH]	ik- [+SH]
b. (1b)	---	ide-
c. (1c)	HP-yom-	HP-ide
(1d)	HP-yom-i	HP-ide- $\phi$
d. (1e)	HP-yomi nar-	HP-ide nar-
e. (1f)	HP-yomi ni nar-	HP-ide ni nar-
f. (1g)	o-yomi ni nar-	o-ide ni nar

Let us consider the verb *yom* 'to read,' for instance. It is first marked as [+SH] by the transformation (1a). Since the verb does not have a corresponding suppletive verb form, (1b) is inapplicable. The transformation (1c) makes the verb adjoin the honorific prefix, and then the verb changes to the infinitival form due to (1d). Then, the honorific auxiliary *nar-* and the particle *-ni* are inserted and finally, the honorific prefix is spelled out and it forms *o-yomi ni nar-*, as illustrated in (2f).

As for the morphological structure of the SH form, Harada (1976) considers several possibilities. Let us first consider the following structure:



In (3), the infinitive form is treated as a noun and the infinitive and the prefix *o-* form a constituent. Furthermore, the particle *-ni* is regarded as a PP, and finally the auxiliary *nar-* is a verb, which takes PPs as a complement. There are several arguments for this morphological structure. First, it has been noted that the prefix *o-* (or allomorph *go-*) must attach to a noun, not a verb.

- (4)
- |    |                   |             |     |                               |
|----|-------------------|-------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| a. | <i>o-tabako</i>   | 'cigarette' |     |                               |
| b. | <i>o-kusuri</i>   | 'medicine'  |     |                               |
| c. | * <i>o-taberu</i> | 'to eat'    |     |                               |
| d. | * <i>o-hanasu</i> | 'to talk'   | cf. | <i>o-hanasi</i> 'talk, story' |

Second, the auxiliary *nar-* may be regarded as a verb, since Japanese has the verb that is phonetically identical to the auxiliary. Furthermore, the verb must select NPs with the particle *-ni* as a complement, as illustrated below:

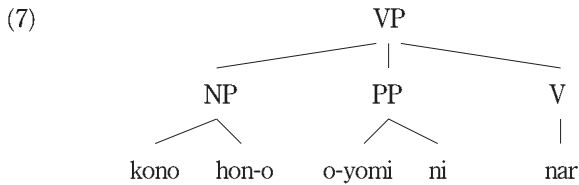
- (5)
- |    |                            |                    |               |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>Taro-ga</i>             | <i>sensei-ni</i>   | <i>nat-ta</i> |
|    | Taro-Nom                   | teacher-NI         | become-past   |
|    | 'Taro became a teacher'    |                    |               |
| b. | <i>Tanaka sensei-ga</i>    | <i>o-yasumi-ni</i> | <i>nat-ta</i> |
|    | Prof. Tanaka-Nom           | HP-take a rest-NI  | aux-past      |
|    | 'Prof. Tanaka took a rest' |                    |               |

Since the verb *nar-* always takes NP with the particle *-ni*, the SH form can also be treated as a NP + particle + verb in a parallel fashion.

Even though the nominal analysis is intuitively plausible, Harada (1976) rejects the morphological

structure of (3), pointing out a problem with selectional restriction. Consider the following structure:

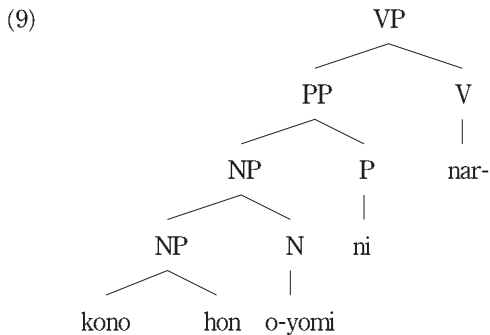
- (6)    Tanaka sensei-ga            kono hon-o            o-yom-i-ni-nat-ta  
        Prof. Tanaka-Nom            this book-Acc        HP-read-INF-particle-aux-past  
        ‘Prof. Tanaka read this book’



In (7), the NP *kono hon-o* is the direct object of the verb *yom*. Note, however, that if the auxiliary *nar-* is a transitive verb ‘to become,’ (7) should be ungrammatical because the verb *nar-* cannot take an object with the accusative case marker. Therefore, Harada (1976) concludes that the structure (3) should not be correct.

- (8)    \*Taro-ga            kono hon-o            sensei-ni            nat-ta  
        Taro-Nom            this book-Acc        teacher-NI            become-past

Harada (1976) tries to modify the nominal analysis, where the infinitive form takes a NP as a complement. The difference between (7) and (9) is that NP is no longer the complement of the verb *nar-*.



Even though the morphological structure in (9) seems quite reasonable, Harada (1976) argued that the structure like (9) cannot be justified for several reasons. The first problem is that the structure in (9) cannot explain the fact that the direct object must bear an accusative case marker, not a genitive case marker. Note that NPs inside of a NP must have a genitive case marker in Japanese, as illustrated in (11):

- (10)    Yamada sensei-wa            kono hon-o/\*-no            o-yomi ni nat-ta  
        Prof. Yamada-Top            this book-Acc/-Gen        read-SH-past

'Prof. Yamada read this book'

- (11) a. Kono hon-no/\*-o hanasi  
 this book-Gen/-Acc story  
 b. Kono hon-no/\*-o kounyuu  
 this book-Gen/-Acc purchase  
 'the purchase of this book'

Second, if the honorific infinitive is an NP, then it should be able to be deleted, as shown in (12a). However, (12b) shows that the deletion rule cannot be applied to the honorific infinitive.

- (12) a. Sumisu san-wa moo zyo-kyoozyu-ni nari-masi-ta ka?  
 Mr. Smith-Top yet associate professor-Dat become-polite-past Q  
 'Has Mr. Smith become an associate professor yet?'  
 Ee, nari-masi-ta  
 Yes, become-polite-past  
 'Yes, he has'
- b. Yamada sensei-wa moo kono hon-o o-yomi-ni nari-masi-ta ka?  
 Prof. Yamada-Top yet this book-Acc read-SH -polite-past Q  
 'Has Prof. Yamada read this book yet?'  
 \*Ee, nari-masi-ta  
 Yes, become-polite-past  
 'Yes, he has'

Third, the honorific infinitive cannot be relativized:

- (13) a. Taroo-ga nat-ta yaku-wa hamuretto da  
 Taro-Nom become-past role-Top hamlet copula  
 'The role Taro played was that of Hamlet'
- b. \*Yamada sensei-ga kono hon-o nat-ta o-yomi-wa...  
 Prof. Yamada-Nom this book-Acc read-SH-Top  
 (untranslatable)

Finally, it cannot be clefted, either.

- (14) a. Sumisu sensei-ga kondo nat-ta no wa zyokyooyu de, ...  
 Prof. Smith-Nom this time become-past C Top associate professor copula  
 'What Prof. Smith has become is an associate professor, and ...'
- b. \*Yamada sensei-ga kono hon-o nat-ta no wa o-yomi ni de, ...  
 Prof. Yamada-Nom this book-Acc become-past C Top read copula  
 (untranslatable)

Hence, Harada (1976) concludes that the honorific infinitive cannot be identified with an NP, and he adopts that the root in the SH form should be a verb, not a noun.

### 3. THE DATA RECONSIDERED

In the previous section, the reasons why Harada (1976) rejects the nominal analysis are discussed. The main examples come from the sentences containing deletion, relativization or cleft. In this section, I will reconsider the data that Harada (1976) presents, and offer an alternative analysis of it. The relevant examples are given in (12)-(14), which are repeated below for convenience:

- (15) a. Sumisu san-wa moo zyo-kyoozyu-ni nari-masi-ta ka?  
 Mr. Smith-Top yet associate professor-Dat become-polite-past Q  
 ‘Has Mr. Smith become an associate professor yet?’  
 Ee, nari-masi-ta  
 Yes, become-polite-past  
 ‘Yes, he has’
- b. Yamada sensei-wa moo kono hon-o o-yomi-ni nari-masi-ta ka?  
 Prof. Yamada-Top yet this book-Acc read-SH -polite-past Q  
 ‘Has Prof. Yamada read this book yet?’  
 \*Ee, nari-masi-ta  
 Yes, become-polite-past  
 ‘Yes, he has’
- (16) a. Taroo-ga nat-ta yaku-wa hamuretto da  
 Taro-Nom become-past role-Top hamlet copula  
 ‘The role Taro played was that of Hamlet’
- b. \*Yamada sensei-ga kono hon-o nat-ta o-yomi-wa...  
 Prof. Yamada-Nom this book-Acc read-SH-Top  
 (untranslatable)
- (17) a. Sumisu sensei-ga kondo nat-ta no wa zyokyooyu de, ...  
 Prof. Smith-Nom this time become-past C Top associate professor copula  
 ‘What Prof. Smith has become is an associate professor, and ...’
- b. \*Yamada sensei-ga kono hon-o nat-ta no wa o-yomi (ni) de, ...  
 Prof. Yamada-Nom this book-Acc become-past C Top read copula  
 (untranslatable)

Let us first consider the data with deletion. Oku (1998) argues that the following sentence below contains a phonetically-null element *pro* in the object position which is coindexed with the direct object in the first conjunct. (see also Hoji (1998), Kim (1999), Saito (2003), among others).

- (18) John-ga hon-o<sub>1</sub> yonda, sosite Mary-mo [<sub>VP</sub> *pro*<sub>1</sub> yonda]

John-Nom book-Acc read and Mary-also read  
 'John read the book<sub>1</sub>, and Mary read *pro*<sub>1</sub>, too.'

One of the evidence that the sentence in (18) is not derived by VP-ellipsis (cf. Otani and Whitman (1991)) comes from the fact that it is very hard to get the reading where the adverb is understood as the ellipsis site. The relevant examples are as follows:

- (19) a. Bill-wa kuruma-o teineini aratta.  
 Bill-Top car-Acc carefully washed  
 'Bill washed the car carefully.'  
 b. John-wa [e] arawa-nakat-ta  
 John-Top wash-not-past  
 'John didn't wash [e].'  
 (20) a. Bill-wa gohan-o sizukani tabeta  
 Bill-Top meal-Acc quietly ate  
 'Bill ate the meal quietly.'  
 b. John-wa [e] tabe-nakat-ta  
 John-Top eat-not-past  
 'John didn't eat [e].'

- (21) Bill washed the car carefully, but John didn't.

Note that the English example in (21) gets the reading where the adverb is understood as the ellipsis site. Based on the contrast, Oku argues that the phonetically null element *pro* is occupied in the position of [e], as a consequence, the b-sentences in (19)-(20) are not derived from VP-ellipsis.<sup>1</sup>

With this in mind, let us go back to the example in (15b). The unacceptability of (15b) merely indicates that *o-yomi-ni* in the SH form *o-yomi-ni nar* cannot be replaced by the phonetically null element *pro*. In other words, the form *o-yomi-ni* cannot be the argument. There are several arguments in order to capture the non-argumenthood of *o-yomi-ni*. Harada (1976), for instance, argues that *nar-* in the SH form is in fact an auxiliary and thus *o-yomi-ni* cannot be the argument. Ivana and Sakai (2003, 2007) captures this fact by saying that *nar-* is a light verb.

Note that Ivana and Sakai (2003, 2007) argues the unacceptable sentence in (15b) is attributed to the nature of light verbs in Japanese. However, the data they presented are not crystal clear, as they themselves have noticed (Ivana and Sakai (2007: 186 fn. 7)). Also, the following sentences are sounds fine with my ear even though the sentence contains a light verb, according to Sakai et al. (2004).

- (22) a. Kyoo-no tesuto-wa sinpai-ni narimasu ka?  
 Today-Gen test-Top worry-obl become Q

1 As we will observe, only arguments can be replaced by *pro*. See Saito (1985), Takezawa (1987), Hoji (1990), Murasugi (1991), among others.

- ‘are you worried about the today’s test?’
- b. Hai, narimasu.  
Yes become  
‘Yes, I’m worried.’
- c. Iie, mattaku narimasen  
No at all become-not  
‘No, I’m not worried’

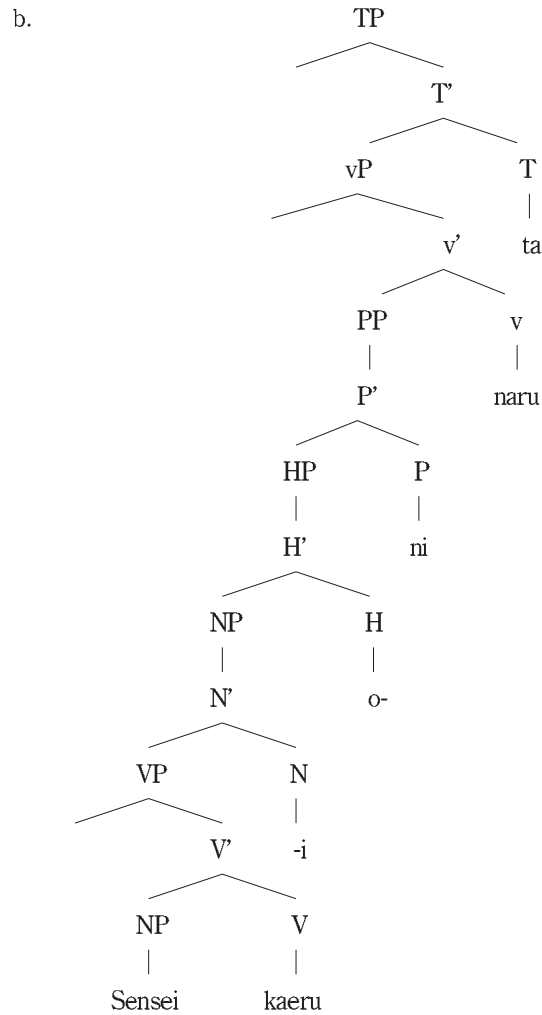
What is important here is that the sequence SHP-V-NI in the SH form in Japanese cannot be an argument. Thus, any analysis of the morphological structure of the SH form must capture this fact.

Let us move on to the sentences with relativization like (16b). According to Ochi (1997), there are at least two types of relativization in Japanese (see also Murasugi (1991)). First, when the gap is identified with arguments (NPs or PPs), *pro* is realized in the relative clause. When the gap is identified with true adjuncts, the result structures are not derived by relativization, but they merely form complex NPs, hence they are always gapless relative clauses. What is important for our concern is that NPs or PPs in the relative clauses with a gap can be replaced by *pro*.

The current analysis of relative clauses in Japanese suggests that (16b) is unacceptable because the gap of the relative head *o-yomi* can be neither a NP nor a PP. The fact that the gap in (16b) cannot be replaced by *pro* implies that the nominal analysis, where the root of the SH form is a noun, a verbal noun, or a gerund, cannot be correct. For instance, Ivana and Sakai (2003, 2007) proposes the syntactic structure of the SH form in Japanese, as illustrated below:

- (23) a. Sensei-ga o-kaeri-ni-nar-ta  
Teacher-Nom SHP-go home-NI-SH-past  
‘The teacher went home.’





Under the structure in (23b), PP is a complement of the light verb. If this structure is correct, then the question is why the PP cannot be replaced by *pro*. The following unacceptable sentence clearly shows that the PP under the proposal by Ivana and Sakai (2003, 2007) cannot be replaced by *pro*.

- (24) a. [PP Sensei-ga o-kaeri-ni]-nar-ta  
 Teacher-Nom SHP-go home-NI-SH-past  
 'The teacher went home.'
- b. \**pro*<sub>1</sub> nar-ta [PP sensei-ga o-kaeri]<sub>1</sub>  
 HP-past teacher-Nom SHP-go home  
 (untranslatable)

Let us finally consider cleft sentences in Japanese. Hoji (1990) shows that when the head is a NP,

the Japanese cleft sentence involves *pro* which is coindexed with the head. Thus, the structure like (17a) would be as follows:

- (25) Sumisu sensei-ga kondo *pro*<sub>1</sub> nat-ta no wa zyokyooyu<sub>1</sub> de, ...  
 Prof. Smith-Nom this time become-past C Top associate professor copula  
 ‘What Prof. Smith has become is an associate professor, and ...’

On the other hand, when a clefted phrase is a PP, the null operator undergoes movement to Spec CP. The relevant structure would be shown below:

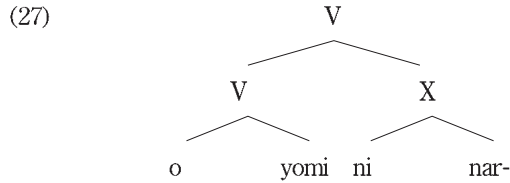
- (26) [CP *Op*<sub>1</sub> [IP Sumisu sensei-ga kondo *t*<sub>1</sub> nat-ta]] no wa zyokyooyu-ni<sub>1</sub>  
 Prof. Smith-Nom this time become-past C Top associate professor  
 de, ...  
 copula  
 ‘What Prof. Smith has become is an associate professor, and ...’

Given Hoji’s (1990) analysis of Japanese cleft sentences, the unacceptable example (17b) is also explained by saying that the clefted phrase *o-yomi-ni* is neither a NP nor a PP. If this analysis is on the right track, then it poses additional problem with the nominal analysis. The nominal analysis (see Suzuki (1989), Ivana and Sakai (2003, 2007)) proposes that the SHP (*g*)*o*- merges with the nominal root in the SH form, and then it merges with the particle-like element *-ni* to form a PP. Finally, the PP is concatenated with the (light) verb *nar-* and the whole SH form is created. The question under the nominal analysis is why the NP or the PP cannot be replaced by *pro*. Notice that the verbal analysis proposed by Harada (1976) and Niinuma and Maki (2006, 2007) nullifies the problem, since the SH form does not contain either a NP or a PP.

To summarize this section, I have shown that the recent syntactic analyses of deletion, relativization, and cleft sentences can be extended to the examples that Harada (1976) discusses in order to reject the nominal analysis. Furthermore, what is now clear is that the analyses of deletion, relativization, and cleft sentences are not compatible with the nominal analysis, and thus it cannot be maintained. Consequently, it is shown that the verbal analysis proposed by Harada (1976) and Niinuma and Maki (2006, 2007) should be correct.

#### 4. HARADA’S STRUCTURE RECONSIDERED

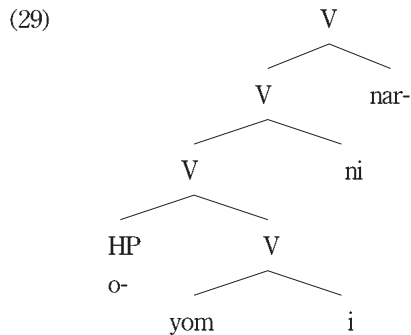
In previous sections, the detailed examination of the nominal analysis proposed by Suzuki (1989), Toribio (1990), Ivana and Sakai (2003, 2007) and Takita (2006) revealed that the nominal analysis cannot be maintained, and that the verbal analysis originally proposed by Harada (1976) should be on the right track. However, in this section, I will point out the problems with the morphological structure of Harada (1976). Let me first review Harada’s (1976) idea before the problems are discussed. Although Harada (1976) adopts the verbal analysis, the morphological structure of the SH form needs to be determined. Let us first consider a possible structure described below:



In (27), the verb *yomi* and the prefix *o-* form a constituent, and also the particle *-ni* and the auxiliary *nar-* form another constituent. And finally the complex verb is formed by combining two constituents. However, Harada (1976) rejected this structure as well because of the following contrast below:

- (28)
- |    |   |               |              |             |         |
|----|---|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------|
| a. | Yamada sensei-wa                                | kono hon-o    | o-yomi ni wa | nari-mase-n | desi-ta |
|    | Prof. Yamada-Top                                | this book-Acc | read-SH Top  | -polite-Neg | be-past |
|    | 'Prof. Yamada didn't read this book (but ...).' |               |              |             |         |
| b. | *Yamada sensei-wa                               | kono hon-o    | o-yomi wa ni | nari-mase-n | desi-ta |
|    | Prof. Yamada-Top                                | this book-Acc | read-SH-Top  | -polite-Neg | be-past |

(28) indicates that the focus particles such as *-wa*, *-mo*, or *-sae* does not come before the particle *-ni*, rather they are located between the particle *-ni* and the auxiliary *nar-*. Since the focus particles must attach to a constituent, not to a set of discontinuous elements, (28) shows that the honorific infinitive and the particle *ni* must form a constituent. Consequently, Harada (1976) proposes the morphological structure of the SH form in Japanese, as illustrated in (29).



Let us now turn to the problems with Harada's structure in (29). The first problem is concerned with coordination. Let us consider the following example:

- (30) Tanaka sensei-ga shinbun-o o-yomi ni, (sosite) sushi-o o-tabe ni nat-ta.  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom newspaper-Acc read and sushi-Acc eat-SH-past  
 'Prof. Tanaka read the newspaper and ate sushi'

As illustrated in (30), the verb and the direct object are coordinated. Under the structure in (30), the direct object and the form *o-yomi-ni* cannot form a constituent, because *o-yomi-ni* is within V.

Thus Harada's structure in (30) is expected to be unacceptable, contrary to fact.

The examples with VP-preposing face another problem with the morphological structure in (29). Consider the examples in (31):

- (31) a. Yamada sensei-wa kono hon-o o-yomi ni wa nari-mase-n desi-ta  
 Prof. Yamada-Top this book-Acc read-SH Top -polite-Neg be-past  
 'Prof. Yamada didn't read this book (but ...).'
- b. kono hon-o o-yomi ni wa Yamada sensei-wa nari-mase-n desi-ta  
 this book-Acc read-SH Top Prof. Yamada-Top -polite-Neg be-past  
 'Prof. Yamada didn't read this book.'

As discussed by Yatsushiro (1999), what is preposed in the example in (31b) is VP (or vP). If this is the case, then the question that arises under Harada's (1976) analysis is how the direct object and the verb with the affixes can form a constituent in (31b). The core of all the questions is that the main verb and the direct object cannot form a constituent under the morphological structure in (29). Thus, we need to seek an alternative analysis in order to accommodate the fact that the direct object and the verbal root in the SH form are constituenthood.<sup>2</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSION

I have examined previous analyses of the morphological structure of the SH form in Japanese. More specifically, I have focused on the examples with deletion, relativization, or cleft, which first discussed by Harada (1976). Even though the nominal analysis proposed by Ivana and Sakai (2003, 2004) and Takika (2006) may be correct, I have shown that the recent syntactic analysis of deletion, relativization, and cleft can accommodate these examples. I have also demonstrated that the verbal analysis proposed by Harada (1976) should be correct in explaining the morphological structure of the SH form in Japanese. Finally, I have pointed out the problems with Harada's (1976) morphological structure of the SH form. Alternatively, I have proposed that the affixes in the SH form undergoes lowering (affix hopping) to the verbal root within VP, so that the verbal root with two affixes and the direct object can form a constituent. If this analysis is on the right track, it constitute additional evidence for the view that the SH form is a morphological form of subject honorific agreement.

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<sup>2</sup> See Niinuma and Maki (2006, 2007), and Niinuma (2007).

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