

## Passive *-rare* and Honorific *-rare* in Japanese

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to examine the syntactic properties of the passive and the honorific morpheme *-rare* in Japanese, and to show the differences between the two morphemes. The claim is that the differences are attributed to the structural positions in which the morpheme is realized. More specifically, the passive *-rare* can be realized in two positions, which are both below vP, while the honorific *-rare* is located in AGR, which functions as a type of agreement in Japanese (Niinuma (2003, 2005), Niinuma and Maki (2006, 2007)). Finally, I discuss the implication of the proposed analysis and consider the main properties of the morpheme *-rare* with the different meanings, such as the spontaneous and the potential.

**Keywords:** Passives · Subject Honorification · (oblique) Case · Marwari

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### 1. Introduction

In Japanese, the morpheme *-rare*, which attaches to verbs, has four meanings: spontaneous, ability, passive, and (subject) honorific. There are many interesting issues concerning this morpheme, such as: what is the “core” meaning of the morpheme, how the morpheme has been able to get four meanings, and what kind of grammatical features of the morpheme are shared by four meanings. Obviously, the settlement of the issues mentioned above is beyond of this paper. However, in this paper, I will focus on the passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare*, and investigate the issue of whether the morpheme *-rare* with the two meaning is occupied in the same position in the syntactic structure. It has been assumed in the literature that the passive *-rare* can even be located in two positions, because of the existence of the direct passive and the indirect passive. From these observations, I

will consider the syntactic position of the honorific *-rare*.

Interestingly, Hasegawa (1990, 2005) argues that the direct passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* are occupied in the same position. According to Hasegawa (1990, 2005), these morphemes are located at V which is adjacent to the main verb. The only difference between the two morphemes is whether the morpheme *-rare* has an ability to absorb the verb’s Case licensing property to the direct object. The direct passive *-rare* absorbs Case licensing property of the verb, and the direct object would be marked by the Nominative Case *-ga*. On the other hand, the honorific *-rare* does not have such ability so that the direct object can be marked as the accusative Case.

In this paper, I will show that the syntactic behavior of the honorific *-rare* is completely different from the direct passive and the indirect passive *-rare*. I will then claim that the dif-

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ferences can be attributed to the structural differences: the direct passive *-rare* is located in V, the indirect passive *-rare* in *v*, and the honorific *-rare* in AGR, respectively. If this is on the right track, it implies that even though the honorific meaning may be derived from spontaneous or passive, as discussed by traditional grammarians (cf. Tokieda (1941), Matsushita (1930)), the honorific *-rare* has also been changed the grammatical functions in the sense that the location of the morpheme is changed to AGR and it became an agreement marker, which undergoes honorific-agreement with the closest argument, which is the subject NP (cf. Niinuma (2003)).

## 2. The Properties of Passive *-rare* and Honorific *-rare*

In this section, I will provide a brief overview of the two usages of *-rare* in Japanese. Then, I will illustrate Hasegawa's (1990, 2005) unified analysis of the Japanese passives and honorifics, which plays an important role in the following discussion.

### 2.1. Passive *-rare*

It is well-known that there are two types of passive sentences in Japanese: the direct passive and the indirect passive. The direct passive is quite similar to the English passives in that the direct object is promoted to the subject position and is marked by the nominative case marker *-ga*, and the underlying agent is demoted and marked by an oblique Case *-ni* (*yotte*).

- (1) a. Taro-ga        Jiro-o        nagut-ta  
       Taro-Nom    Jiro-Acc    hit-past  
       'Taro hit Jiro'  
       b. Jiro-ga        Taro-ni (*yotte*)  
       Jiro-Nom    Taro-Dat  
       nagur-are-ta

hit-passive-past  
 'Jiro was hit by Taro'

The indirect passive, on the other hand, can be formed by intransitive and transitive verbs. Furthermore, a new argument position is added to the event denoted by the verb. (2b) is an example of the indirect passive with the intransitive verb *nak-* 'cry':

- (2) a. Kodomo-ga    nai-ta  
       child-Nom    cry-past  
       'The child cried'  
       b. Taro-ga        kodomo-ni  
       Taro-Nom    child-Dat  
       nak-are-ta  
       cry-passive-past  
       'Taro was adversely affected by the child's crying'

In the case of the indirect passive with transitive verbs, the case-marker of the direct object remains the same: the Accusative Case-marker, and the extra participant, which is represented as the subject of the sentence, is introduced in the event described by the transitive verb, as illustrated below:

- (3) a. Mary-ga        piano-o        hii-ta  
       Mary-Nom    piano-Acc    play-past  
       'Mary played the piano'  
       b. John-ga        Mary-ni        piano-o  
       John-Nom    Mary-Dat    piano-Acc  
       hik-are-ta  
       play-passive-past  
       'John was adversely affected by Mary's playing the piano'

### 2.2. Honorific *-rare*

The honorific *-rare* is one of the morphemes that is used to manifest the speaker's deference

toward the referent of the subject. As in the indirect passive *-rare*, the honorific *-rare* can be attached to intransitive and transitive verbs. The followings are the examples with the honorific *-rare*:

- (4) a. Tanaka sensee-ga      hasit-ta  
       Tanaka sensee-Nom    run-past  
       ‘Prof. Tanaka ran’  
   b. Tanaka sensee-ga      hasir-are-ta  
       Prof. Tanaka-Nom    run-hon-past  
       ‘Prof. Tanaka ran’
- (5) a. Tanaka sensee-ga      hon-o  
       Prof. Tanaka-Nom    book-Acc  
       kat-ta  
       buy-past  
       ‘Prof. Tanaka bought the book’  
   b. Tanaka sensee-ga      hon-o  
       Prof. Tanaka-Nom    book-Acc  
       kaw-are-ta  
       buy-hon-past  
       ‘Prof. Tanaka bought the book’

### 2.3. Hasegawa’s (1990) analysis

As far as I can recall, Hasegawa (1990) first proposed the unified account of the passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* in Japanese under the principles and parameters framework. The gist of Hasegawa’s (1990) proposal is that the functions of the direct passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* are the same, except for the application of verb movement. Hasegawa (1990) assumes that accusative Case assignment takes place under the mutual c-command relation between the verb and the direct object at SS. When the verb movement occurs in overt syntax, the passive morpheme absorbs its Case, so that the direct object cannot bear any Case. Hence, the direct object must raise to the subject position to get the Nominative Case. On the other hand, the

verb may be able to assign Case to the direct object when the verb movement takes place in PF. Then the subject undergoes movement to Spec VP whose head is the morpheme *-rare*, and the subject agreement takes place under the Spec-head agreement, as shown in (7):

#### (6) Direct Passive

[TP OBJ<sub>1</sub> [VP t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> Subj [VP t<sub>1</sub> V]  
 v ] -rare [SSS] ] t<sub>1</sub>]

#### (7) Subject Honorific

[TP Subj<sub>1</sub> [VP t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [VP OBJ V]  
 v ] -rare [SSS] ] t<sub>1</sub>]

In this way, Hasegawa (1990) was able to derive the direct passives and the sentences with the subject honorific *-rare* from the same structure. The only difference between the two is whether the morpheme is able to absorb Case of the verb. Thus, Hasegawa’s (1990, 2005) would expect that the position of the direct passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* should be identical, and there is no syntactic difference between the two. In the following section, I will show several differences of the morphemes.

## 3. Syntactic Differences

In this section, I will explore the syntactic differences between the passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* in Japanese.

### 3.1. Stative *aru* ‘to exist’

Kanno (1993) notes that the copula, which is also a stative predicate, may occur with the honorific *-rare*.<sup>1</sup>

- (8) a. Tanana sensee-ga      eego-ga  
       Prof. Tanaka-Nom    English-Nom  
       (o)zyoozu-da  
       good. at-Copula

- ‘Prof. Tanaka is good at English’
- b. Tanaka sensee-ga eego-ga  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom English-Nom  
 (o)zyoozu-de aru  
 good. at exist  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka is good at English’
- c. Tanaka sensee-ga eego-ga  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom English-Nom  
 (o)zyoozu-de ar-are-ru  
 good. at exist-HP-pres
- (9) a. Tanaka sensee-wa subarasii  
 Prof. Tanaka-Top great  
 kyoosi-da  
 teacher-copula  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka is a great teacher’
- b. Tanaka sensee-wa subarasii  
 Prof. Tanaka-Top great  
 kyoosi-de aru  
 teacher-be exist
- c. Tanaka sensee-wa subarasii  
 Prof. Tanaka-Top great  
 kyoosi-de ar-are-ru  
 teacher-be exist-HP-pres

As illustrated above, the verb *aru*, which follows nominal predicates, may attach the honorific *-rare*.<sup>2</sup> However, the passive *-rare* is not allowed, and this may be due to a restriction of the passive *-rare*: since passives are not compatible with the stative verbs in general.

- (10) a. \*Eego-ga Tanaka sensee-ni (yotte)  
 English-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Dat  
 (o)zyoozu-de ar-are-ru  
 good. at exist-pass-pres  
 ‘\*English is existed to be good at by Prof. Tanaka’
- b. \*Subarasii kyoosi-ga  
 great teacher  
 Tanaka sensee-ni (yotte) ar-are-ru  
 Prof. Tanaka-Dat exist-HP-pres

(untranslatable)

### 3.2. Case Absorption

As discussed in the section 2, there are two types of passives in Japanese: the direct passives and the indirect passive. The direct passive in Japanese behaves in the same way as those in English in that the object of the verb is promoted to the subject position and it receives the nominative case marker. In other words, the case assigning property of the verb in the direct passive is absorbed by the passive morpheme. On the other hand, the case assigning property of the verb in the indirect passive may be preserved, so that the direct object receives the accusative case marker. According to Nakamura (1991), the passive morpheme *-rare* optionally absorbs the case assigning property of the verb. The relevant examples are shown below:

- (11) a. Taro-ga Hanako-ni  
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat  
 nagur-are-ta  
 hit-pass-past  
 ‘Taro was hit by Hanako’  
 (direct passive)
- b. Taro-ga Hanako-ni kami-o  
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat hair-Acc  
 kir-are-ta  
 cut-pass-past  
 ‘Taro was affected by Hanako cutting her/his hair’ (indirect passive)

While the passive *-rare* has the Case absorption property, it seems that the honorific *-rare* does not have this property at all, since the direct object of the transitive verb must receive accusative Case. In other words, the honorific *-rare* does not affect the Case assigning property of the verb:

- (12) a. Tanaka sensee-ga hon-o  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom book-Acc  
 yom-are-ta  
 read-HP-past  
 'Prof. Tanaka read the book'  
 b. \*Tanaka sensee-ga hon-ga  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom book-Acc  
 yom-are-ta  
 read-HP-past

zibun<sub>1/2</sub>-no kyuuryoo-o  
 self-Gen salary-Acc  
 zenbu tukaw-are-ta  
 all use-pass-past  
 'Taro was affected by hanako's using all of  
 self's salary'

### 3.3. *Zibun* binding

*Zibun* binding is one of the diagnostics to test for subjecthood in Japanese. This test has also been used to show the difference between the direct passive and the indirect passive. In the case of the direct passive, the derived subject, not the underlying subject, is able to bind the reflexive *zibun*. On the other hand, in the indirect passive, the NP with an oblique Case *-ni*, as well as the NP with the nominative case marker *-ga*, is able to bind the reflexive.

#### (13) Direct Passive

Taro<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni  
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat  
 zibun<sub>1/\*2</sub>-no heya-de nagur-are-ta  
 self-Gen room-at hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit by Hanako in self's room'  
 (direct passive)

#### (14) Indirect passive with the intransitive verb

Taro<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni zibun<sub>1/2</sub>-no  
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat self-Gen  
 heya-ni nige-are-ta  
 room-to take-pass-past  
 'Taro was affected by Hanako's taking to  
 self's room'

#### (15) Indirect passive with the transitive verb

Taro<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni  
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat

Let us now consider the sentences with the honorific *-rare*. Takita (2006) observes that only the subject with the nominative case marker is able to bind the reflexive *zibun*. This is predictable, since the honorific *-rare* does not change any grammatical relations among arguments.

- (16) Tanaka sensee<sub>1</sub>-ga Taro<sub>2</sub>-ni  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom Taro-Dat  
 zibun<sub>1/\*2</sub>-no heya-de aw-are-ta  
 self-Gen room-in meet-HP-past  
 'Prof. Tanaka met Taro in self's room'

### 3.4. The syntactic positions of *-rare*

#### 3.4.1. Subject honorification and *-rare*

It is quite rare, but there are sentences where the direct passive *-rare* cooccurs with the subject honorific (SH) form *o-V-ni nar*, as noted by Shibatani (1978):

#### (17) Direct Passive *-rare*

- a. \*Yamada sensee-ga sono  
 Prof. Yamada-Nom that  
 hito-ni (yotte)  
 person-by  
 o-nagur-i ni nar-are-ta.  
 HP-hit-SH-passive-past  
 'Prof. Yamada was hit by that person.'  
 b. Yamada sensee-ga sono  
 Prof. Yamada-Nom that  
 hito-ni (yotte)  
 person-by  
 o-nagur-are-ni nat-ta.

HP-hit-passive-SH-past  
 ‘Prof. Yamada was hit by that person.’  
 (Shibatani (1978))

Interestingly, Kuno (1987) argues that even the indirect passive *-rare* is able to cooccur with the SH form. Note that the order of the SH form and the passive *-rare* in (17b) and (18) is opposite: in the former, the order is passive-SH, in the latter, it is SH-passive.

(18) Indirect Passive *-rare*

Watasitati      gakusei-wa,    sensei-ni  
 We              student-Top   teacher-Dat  
 totuzen  
 suddenly  
 o-nakunari-ni nar-are-te simai,  
 HP-die-SH-pass-TE..  
 ‘We, the students were affected by the  
 teacher’s sudden death...’  
 Kuno (1987)

It is also possible for predicates to bear the SH form and the honorific *-rare* in a sentence, even though it sounds redundant. It is noted in the literature (cf. Harada (1976)) that the use of the ‘double’ honorific form becomes more polite. What is important for our concern is that the position of the honorific *-rare*: it appears outside of the SH form, which is the same as the indirect passive *-rare*, not the direct passive *-rare*. It constitutes a piece of evidence against Hasegawa (1990, 2005), who argues that the direct passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* are located in the same position in the underlying structure.

(19) Honorific *-rare*

a. Tanaka sensee-ga      hon-o  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom      book-Acc  
 o-yomi-ni nar-are-ta.  
 read-SH-HP-past  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka read the book’

b. \*Tanaka sensee-ga      hon-o  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom      book-Acc  
 o-yom-are-ni nar-ta.  
 read-HP-SH-past  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka read the book’

3.4.2. Concessive particles and *-rare*

The concessive particle such as *-sae* in Japanese can be attached to predicates, as shown below:

(20) John-ga      hon-o      yomi-sae  
 John-Nom      book-Acc      read-even  
 si-ta  
 do-past  
 ‘John even read the book’

According to Yatsushiro (1999), the particle in (20) attaches to VP.<sup>3</sup> Adopting Yatsushiro’s (1999) analysis, I will assume that the particle is able to attach to *vP* or VP.

With this in mind, let us consider the following examples:

(21) Direct Passive *-rare*

a. Taro-wa      Hanako-ni  
 Taro-Top      Hanako-Dat  
 oikaker-are-sae      si-ta  
 chase-pass-even      do-past  
 ‘Taro was even chased by Hanako’

b. \*Taro-wa      Hanako-ni  
 Taro-Top      Hanako-Dat  
 oikake-sae      s-are-ta  
 chase-even      do-pass-past

(M&H (2006))

(22) Indirect Passive *-rare* with the intransitive verb

a. Taro-wa      Hanako-ni  
 Taro-Top      Hanako-Dat  
 nak-are-sae      si-ta

cry-pass-even do-past  
 ‘Taro was affected by Hanako’s crying’

- b. ?Taro-wa Hanako-ni  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Dat  
 naki-sae s-are-ta  
 cry-even do-pass-past  
 (ibid)

(23) Indirect Passive *-rare* with the transitive verb

- a. Taro-wa Hanako-ni  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Dat  
 nikki-o yom-are-sae  
 diary-Acc read-pass-even  
 si-ta  
 do-past  
 ‘Taro was affected by Hanako reading his/her diary’  
 b. ?Taro-wa Hanako-ni  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Dat  
 nikki-o yomi-sae  
 diary-Acc read-even  
 s-are-ta  
 do-pass-past  
 (ibid)

As shown above, the concessive particle *-sae* can cooccur with the passive sentences. However, Mihara and Hiraiwa (M&H) (2006) notes that the position of the direct passive and the indirect passive *-rare* are different. In the case of the direct passive *-rare*, it must be adjacent to the main verb. On the other hand, the indirect passive *-rare* does not have to be adjacent to the main verb.

Let us now turn to the honorific *-rare*. As observed by Niinuma and Maki (2007), the honorific *-rare* must be adjacent to the tense morpheme, which is supported by the dummy verb *su*. This examples clearly show that the honorific *-rare* differs from the passive *-rare*, and they constitute additional evidence against Hasegawa’s

(1990, 2005) analysis.

(24) Honorific *-rare*

- a. Tanaka sensee-ga hon-o  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom book-Acc  
 yom-are-ta.  
 read-HP-past  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka read the book’  
 b. Tanaka sensee-ga [vp hon-o  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom book-Acc  
 yomi] -sae s-are-ta.  
 read even do-HP-past  
 c. ??Tanaka sensee-ga [vp hon-o  
 Prof. Tanaka-Nom book-Acc  
 yom-are] -sae si-ta.  
 read-SH even do-past

### 3.5. Summary

In this section, I have observed the syntactic properties of the passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare*. I have also shown that the differences discussed in section 3.4 cannot be handled by the structure proposed by Hasegawa (1990, 2005) and should be attributed to the syntactic structures that the morphemes are realized.

## 4. A Proposal

This section offers a proposal concerning the syntactic positions that the passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* are realized. Before providing the structural position of the honorific *-rare*, I would like to observe previous analyses of the passive *-rare* discussed by M&H (2006). Then, I will offer a proposal based on the discussion by Niinuma and Maki (2007).

### 4.1. The structure of passive *-rare*

M&H (2006) proposes the structures of the direct passive and the indirect passive as follows:

- (25) a. direct passive  
            $[_{vP} \text{ NP } [_{VP} \text{ NP } [_V \text{ V } \text{-rare}]] \text{ v}]$   
       b. indirect passive  
            $[_{vP} \text{ NP } \text{NP } [_{VP} \text{ NP } \text{V}] [_v \text{ v } \text{-rare}]]$

What is important under their analysis is that the direct passive *-rare* is a lexical verbal affix, which is located in V, while the indirect passive *-rare* is a small verbal affix, which is realized in v. Following Washio (1990), M&H argue that both the direct and the indirect passive *-rare* have a Case absorbing property.

With this in mind, let us consider how the Case-feature of the direct object is checked off under M&H's (2006) analysis. In the direct passive, the main verb and the morpheme *-rare* are adjacent, which indicates that the morpheme absorbs the Case assigning property of the main verb. Since the direct object cannot be licensed by the verb, the direct object is checked off by T via long-distance Agree, and the direct object is marked with the nominative case marker. The passive *-rare* in the indirect passive is not adjacent to the main verb, as indicated in (25b). As a result, the verb may license the Case of the direct object, which would be marked by the Accusative Case.

Furthermore, the distribution of the concessive particle *-sae* can be handled under M&H's (2006) structure. Given that the concessive particle may be adjoined to vP or VP (cf. Yatsushiro (1999)), it follows that the direct passive *-rare* cannot be outside of the particle, while the indirect passive *-rare* can. The reason why the direct passive *-rare* and the main verb cannot be separated by the concessive particle *-sae* is because the direct passive *-rare* stays inside of VP. On the other hand, the main verb and the passive *-rare* may be separated when the concessive particle *-sae* adjoins to VP in a sentence with the indirect passive *-rare*. If the particle *-sae* adjoins to vP, then the main verb and the indirect pas-

sive *-rare* would be adjacent.

As for the interaction between the SH form and the passive *-rare*, I will modify the structures of M&H (2006), and propose the following structures:

- (26) a. direct passive  
            $[_{TP} [_{AGR} [_{vP} \text{ NP } [_{VP} \text{ NP } [_V \text{ V } \text{-rare}]] \text{ v}]] [_{AGR} \text{ SH}] \text{ T}]$   
       b. indirect passive  
            $[_{TP} [_{vP} \text{ NP } [_{AGR} [_{vP} \text{ NP } [_{VP} \text{ NP } \text{V}]] \text{ v}]] [_{AGR} \text{ SH}]] [_v \text{ v } \text{-rare}]] \text{ T}]$

The structure of the indirect passive shares the analysis discussed by Kuroda (1965), and Hoshi (1999), who argue that the indirect passive has the embedded clause. Note that even the modified version of the structures in the passives in Japanese does not change the main point: the position of the direct passive *-rare* and that of the indirect passive *-rare* are different. As for the direct passive, the derived subject licenses the subject honorific agreement with AGR. In the case of the indirect passives, there is a functional head AGR that is able to license the honorific agreement with the NP with an oblique Case *-ni* (cf. Niinuma (2003)).

One may wonder why AGR cannot be realized in the matrix clause in the indirect passives. In other words, the question is why subject honorification is incompatible with the indirect passives. As is well-known, the indirect passives require some kind of adversity meaning toward the subject. If this is the case, then it is unsuitable for the speaker to use honorification with the adversity meaning. In fact, the following sentence is inappropriate, because the described event does not match with the respect toward the subject:

- (27) #Tanaka sensee-ga   hon-o  
           Prof. Tanaka-Nom   book-Acc



nusum-are-ta  
steal-hon-past  
'Prof. Tanaka stole the book'

To summarize, I have proposed, following M&H (2006) that the position of the direct passive *-rare* and that of the indirect passive *-rare* are different: the direct passive *-rare* is located at V, and the indirect passive *-rare* at *v*. The difference is able to provide a natural account for the differences concerning the interaction of the passive *-rare* with the SH form and with the concessive particle.

#### 4.2. The position of the honorific *-rare*

I will basically follow the arguments discussed by Niinuma and Maki (2007), who claim that the honorific *-rare* is realized outside of *vP*, more specifically, it is located in AGRs.

(28) [TP [AGRs [<sub>vP</sub> SUBJ [VP OBJ V *v*] [AGR *-rare*] T]

As for double honorification, I will assume, following Volpe (2005), that honorification allows for multiple applications of the morpho-syntactic operation (such as agreement). I will also assume AGR is present only when the morphology of subject honorification is overtly realized, in accordance with the Visibility Guideline for Functional Categories (Fukui and Sakai (2003), see also Volpe (2005)). Finally, I will assume that the honorific *-rare* is located in a high AGR position, and the SH form is realized in a low AGR position, as follows:

(29) [AGRP [AGR' [AGRP [AGR' SH form] ] *-rare*] ] ]

Since it is located in AGR, the concessive particle *-sae* must intervene between the main verb and the honorific *-rare*, even though the

particle adjoins to VP or *vP*. That is why the honorific *-rare* is adjacent to the tense morpheme, as in (19), which is repeated below for convenience:

#### (30) Honorific *-rare*

- |    |                              |          |
|----|------------------------------|----------|
| a. | Tanaka sensee-ga             | hon-o    |
|    | Prof. Tanaka-Nom             | book-Acc |
|    | o-yomi-ni nar-are-ta.        |          |
|    | read-SH-HP-past              |          |
|    | 'Prof. Tanaka read the book' |          |
| b. | *Tanaka sensee-ga            | hon-o    |
|    | Prof. Tanaka-Nom             | book-Acc |
|    | o-yom-are-ni nar-ta.         |          |
|    | read-HP-SH-past              |          |
|    | 'Prof. Tanaka read the book' |          |

To summarize this section, I have claimed that the different behaviors of the honorific *-rare* indicates that it is located in AGRs, which functions as an agreement marker in Japanese, given that the passive *-rare* is located within *vP*, irrelevant of the type of passive sentences in Japanese. The proposed analysis can account for the syntactic differences between the passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* discussed in the previous section.

### 5. Summary and Discussion

In this paper, I have pointed out the empirical problems with Hasegawa's (1990, 2005) analysis concerning the passive and the honorific *-rare* in Japanese. More specifically, I have provided several pieces of evidence against Hasegawa (1990, 2005), who argues that the direct passive *-rare* and the honorific *-rare* behaves similarly. Then, I have claimed that the difference between the passive and honorific *-rare* can be attributed to the difference that these morphemes are located in a different position. The passive *-rare* appears within *vP*, and the honorific

-rare outside of vP.

There is an interesting implication for the proposed analysis. There is a controversial issue concerning the emergence of the honorific meaning of the morpheme *-rare*. Traditional grammarians including (Tokieda (1941), Hashimoto (1969), among others) have proposed that the honorific arose from the spontaneous (see also Kuno (1987) and Shibatani (2000)). On the other hand, Matsushita (1924) pursued another possibility that the honorific is derived from the passive.

The answer to the question is beyond of this present paper. However, I would like to mention a comment about it. Marwari is a language that has an honorific system similar to Japanese in that the honorific morphemes attach to a predicate. What is interesting in this language is that the use of causative morphology functions special honorific meaning, as discussed by Magier (1982). The relevant examples are shown below:

- (31) a. thū    mhāre    gainā    ghar  
           you    for-me    ornaments    make  
           ‘Make me ornaments!’  
       b. thū    sonār-ū    mhāre  
           you    by-goldfish    for-me  
           gainā    ghar-ā  
           ornaments    make-cause  
           ‘Have the goldfish make me ornaments!’  
       c. āp    mhāre    gainā  
           you    for-me    ornaments  
           ghar-ā-o  
           make-cause-polite. imperative. affix  
           ‘Please make me ornaments’ (lit. have ornaments made)
- (32) a. thū    mhane    dārū  
           you    to-me    whisky  
           pā  
           give. to. drink  
           ‘Give me whisky!’

- b. thū    unsū    mhane    dārū  
           you    by-him    to-me    whisky  
           pav-ā  
           give-causative  
           ‘Have him give me whisky!’  
       c. āp    mhane    dārū  
           you    to-me    whisky  
           pav-ā-o  
           give-cause-polite. imperative. affix  
           ‘Please give me whisky’ (lit. have whisky given to me)

(Magier (1982))

It seems that when we look at the honorific system in other languages, it is not the case that the passive meaning of the morpheme *-rare* derives the honorific meaning, since Marwari uses the causative morpheme to denote the respect toward the subject. However, Magier (1982) notes that “this is very similar to the politeness strategy employed in many languages where a polite request is made in the passive form of the verb, so that instead of directly asking someone to do something, one simply asks that the thing ‘be done’.”

Interestingly, both spontaneous and passive sentences have an effect that the agent in the event is “defocused” (cf. Shibatani (2000)). Hasegawa (2005) also mentions that “it is considered in Japanese that presenting an activity or event as a natural occurrence is more polite and respectful to the referent of the subject than doing so as a willful act of the subject, as many traditional Japanese grammarians maintain.” This “defocusing” effect can be seen in the fact that the agent NP cannot have the Nominative Case in both spontaneous and passive sentences.

- (33) a. Watasi-ni-wa    mukasi-no  
           I-Dat-Top    old days-Gen  
           koto-ga  
           thing-Nom

- sinob-are-ru  
 think of-spontaneous-pres  
 'I think of old days' (spontaneous)
- b. Kono keeki-ga Mary-ni  
 this cake-Nom Mary-by  
 tabe-rare-ta  
 eat-passive-past  
 'This cake was eaten by Mary'

Note that the subject of honorific sentences may also have an oblique Case, as shown below:<sup>4</sup>

- (34) Tanaka sensee-ni-okaremasite-wa,  
 Prof. Tanaka-Dat-hon-Top  
 hon-o yom-are-ta  
 book-Acc read-hon-past  
 'Prof. Tanaka read the book'
- (35) Minaminasama-ni-wa  
 everyone-Dat-Top  
 o-kawar-ari-mas-en-ka?  
 HP-change-be-polite-not-Q  
 'How are you, everyone?'

The oblique case is used when the speaker wants to show the higher deference toward the subject. Thus, it tends to use when the subject denotes *Tennooheeka* 'the emperor' or *Daitooryoo* 'President'

Thus, I believe that the three meaning of the morpheme *-rare* shares the property: the agent in the event is "defocused," so that it may be marked as an oblique Case.

The question that needs to be answered is why only the honorific *-rare* require an SSS subject. According to Hasegawa (2005: 514), "the basic function of *-(r)are* as a one-place predicate is to quantify an event so as to conceal or make vague the agentivity of the event; a function similar to modals or predicates like *seem*, *likely*, etc. In the case of the direct passive, the object becomes the subject and agenthood of the logical subject is set in the background of the event in

question." However, I have argued that Hasegawa's analysis cannot be maintained as it is, and my analysis offers an interesting answer to the question: Even though the honorific meaning may be derived from spontaneous or passive meaning, the honorific *-rare* is 'grammaticalized' in the sense that the morpheme is located in AGR and it functions as an agreement marker. That is the reason why the honorific *-rare* shows different behaviors from the passive *-rare*, and these differences should be attributed to the fact that the two morphemes are realized in different positions.

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- 1 Kanno (1993) shows that the honorific *-rare* cannot cooccur with the verbs that allow Nominative Objects. Interestingly, these verbs do not allow to occur with the passive *-rare*, either. The following examples illustrate the point:
    - (i) \*Doitugo-ga      Tanaka sensee-ni (yotte)  
      German-Nom      Prof. Tanaka-Dat  
      deki-rare-ru  
      can. do-pass-pres  
      ‘German is understood by Prof. Tanaka’
    - (ii) \*Enpitu-ga      Tanaka sensee-ni (yotte)  
      Pencil-Nom      Prof. Tanaka-Dat  
      ir-are-ru  
      need-pass-pres  
      ‘A pencil is needed by Prof. Tanaka’
 See Kanno (1993) for relevant discussion.
  - 2 One may wonder why the honorific *-rare* cannot cooccur with the copula *da*. The reason seems to be morphological. As is well-known,

the verbs that consist of one syllable word cannot bear the honorific morphemes *-rare* and *o-V-ni nar-*. Clearly, the copula *da* is a one syllable word, so that the attachment of the honorific morphemes to the copula is not allowed.

3 The VP structure that Yatsushiro (1999) proposes is as follows:

(i) [<sub>VP1</sub> Subject [<sub>VP2</sub> Indirect Object [<sub>VP3</sub>

Direct object V<sub>3</sub>] V<sub>2</sub>] V<sub>1</sub>]

(Yatsushiro (1999))

Based on this VP structure in (i), she argues that the particle attaches to VPs (VP1, VP2, or VP3).

4 The form *okaremasite-wa* can be divided as follows:

(i) ok-are-masi-te-wa  
put-hon-polite-Te.form-Top

