NP-INTERNAL HONORIFICATION AND N'-DELETION IN JAPANESE*

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1. Introduction

1.1. Overview

The aim of this paper is two fold. First, we will show that N'-deletion may repair a violation of some grammatical rule by looking at its interaction with NP-internal honorification in Japanese.[1] The observation that we will make below suggests that N'-deletion works in the same way as IP- and VP-deletion in that PF-deletion of a structure removes degradation that would arise if it were pronounced, as extensively studies in Lasnik (1995, 1999, 2001) and Merchant (2001), among others. Second, we will explore implications of the relevant property of N'-deletion for the analysis of honorification in Japanese. To be more concrete, we will compare two previous approaches to honorification and show that one of them is inadequate for explaining the observation while the other can capture it.

* I am especially grateful to Howard Lasnik and Mamoru Saito for their valuable comments and suggestions. I also would like to thank Yasuaki Abe, Masumi Aono, Hiroshi Aoyagi, Masatake Arimoto, Chisato Fuji, Tomohiro Fujii, Masayuki Komachi, Keiko Murasugi, Fumikazu Niinuma, Koji Sugisaki, Tatsuya Suzuki, and Yuji Takano for their helpful comments. Of course, all remaining errors are my own. The material of this paper was presented at the 133rd Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan held at Sapporo Gakuin University in November 2006 and at Cambridge-Nanzan-Tsing Hua Workshop on Word Order and Functional Categories held at Nanzan University in December 2006. I would like to thank the audience for their questions and comments.

[1] Lobeck (1990) and Saito and Murasugi (1990) reanalyze N'-deletion as NP-deletion, adopting Abney's (1987) DP-hypothesis. That is, the typical example of N'-deletion in (ia), which had been considered to have the structure in (ib), is reanalyzed to have the structure in (ic).

(i) a. This book is John's ∅ (= book).

b. [$_{NP}$ John's [$_{N'}$ book]]

c. [$_{DP}$ John [$_{D}^{0}$'s] [$_{NP}$ book]]

In this paper, however, we will use the term N'-deletion to refer to the relevant phenomenon.

Similarly, we will use the label NP instead of DP, where the difference between them is irrelevant.

Nanzan Linguistics: Special Issue 1, Vol. 2, 45-67

In particular, we will discuss the following paradigm.[2]

(1) a. #[NP Senpai-no gakki -no o -toriatukai]-wa teinei -da ga,
senior -Gen instrument-Gen HP -treatment -Top careful-Pres though
[NP kouhai-no gakki -no o -toriatukai]-wa sozatu-da
junior -Gen instrument-Gen HP -departure -Top rude-Pres

b. [NP Senpai-no gakki -no o -toriatukai]-wa teinei -da ga,
senior -Gen instrument-Gen HP -treatment -Top careful-Pres though
[NP kouhai-no ∅]-wa sozatu-da
junior -Gen -Top rude -Pres

'The senior player's treatment of musical instruments is careful, but the junior player's is rude.'

There is a clear contrast in acceptability between them.[3] The crucial difference between these sentences is that the example in (1b) lacks the head of subject NP (indicated by ∅), whose counterpart in the antecedent clause contains the honorific prefix, henthforth HP, *o-*. First, we will argue that the sentence in (1b) is in fact derived by N'-deletion and that the improvement of its acceptability ensues from this operation, thereby this provides an argument for Lasnik's position that some defective structures can be saved by deletion.

Then, we will provide an explanation for the observation, comparing two previous approaches to honorification. One of them regards honorification as an instance of agreement (Harada 1976, Shibatani 1977, Toribio 1990, Niinuma 2003, 2005, Ivana and Sakai 2003, 2005, Boeckx and Niinuma 2004, and Boeckx 2006, among others), while the other claims that honorification is not agreement, but licensing (Takita 2006). Their major claims can be briefly summarized as in (2) and (3).

(2) *Honorification as Agreement*
a. Honorification is an instance of agreement between NPs and functional categories; honorification is a symmetric relation.

b. NPs are divided into two groups; one can trigger agreement and the other cannot.

(3) *Honorification as Licensing*
a. HP is a realization of a feature on a predicate which is licensed by an argument; honorification is an asymmetric relation.
b. All NPs can potentially license the feature.

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[2] Abbreviations are the following; Nom = nominative, Acc = accusative, Dat = dative, Gen = genitive, Top = topic marker, Pres = present tense, Past = past tense, Prog = progressive, Plu = plural, and HP = honorific prefix

[3] We will discuss the status of the notation # in Section 2.1.

Discussing the observed contrast in (1), we will argue that the former approach cannot deal with it because it is odd with the generalization on deletion (Lobeck 1990, Saito and Murasugi 1990).

(4) *Generalization on Deletion*
An XP which is a complement of a functional category can be deleted iff the functional head has a specifier which it agrees with.

On the other hand, we will show that the latter approach can explain the observation in question without contradicting the generalization in (4), assuming Lasnik' claim.

This paper is organized as follows. In the rest of this section, we will briefly review the theory proposed by Lasnik (2001), which shows that VP- and IP-deletion can repair the violation of head movement. In Section 2 we will discuss the basic properties of NP-internal honorification and N'-deletion in Japanese. Then we will provide some examples which indicate that N'-deletion can remedy the otherwise unacceptable sentences which contain NP-internal honorification. Section 3 shows that the approach which regards honorification as licensing can explain the paradigm whereas the other one fails to. Section 4 concludes.

1.2. Repair by Deletion

Series of works by Lasnik (1995, 1999, 2001) argue that deletion can save some ungrammatical sentences, based on his analysis of pseudogapping and matrix sluicing. The relevant examples are indicated in (5) and (6) (examples of pseudogapping are taken from Levin 1978).

(5) *Pseudogaping*
a. If you don't believe me, you will [$_{VP}$ ∅ the weatherman].

b. I rolled up a news paper, and Lynn did [$_{VP}$ ∅ a magazine].

c. Kathy likes astronomy, but she doesn't [$_{VP}$ ∅ meteorology].

(6) *Matrix Sluicing*
Speaker A: Mary will see someone.
Speaker B: Who [$_{IP}$ ∅]?

Let us start with pseudogapping. Jayaseelan (1990) observes that pseudogapping displays some properties of VP-deletion. If the former process is subsumed under the latter, the fact that the direct object is pronounced is mysterious because the direct object, as opposed to the subject, is often analyzed as being inside a VP. To solve this puzzle, Jayaseelan (1990) proposes that a pseudogapping survivor evacuates the deletion site via Heavy NP Shift. Adopting Jayaseelan's (1990) basic idea, Lasnik (1995, 1999) proposes that the survivor in fact moves up to Spec, AgrOP before the VP, which is the complement of AgrO, is deleted in PF. Subsequently, following Ochi (1999), Lasnik (2001) assumes that a strong feature

(Chomsky 1995) on AgrO attracts its counterpart [F] on V, and once [F] has been attracted, the lower head, namely V, becomes phonologically defective, so that it induces a PF-crash, if nothing happens. This situation is illustrated in (7a). Here, Lasnik (2001) claims that there are two ways to save the structure. One way is to move the entire defective head by generalized pied-piping, as in (7b). This yields the normal SVO order. The other is to delete the XP which contains the defective head, as in (7c), where the VP which contains *believe* is deleted.

(7) *Pseudogapping as VP-deletion*

a. *You might not believe me, but you will [$_{vP}$ [$_{AgrOP}$ Bob$_i$ AgrO$_{[F]j}$ [$_{VP}$ believe$_{[t]j}$ t$_i$]]].

b. You might not believe me, but you will [$_{vP}$ *v*+AgrO+believe$_j$ [$_{AgrOP}$ Bob$_i$ t'$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t$_j$ t$_i$]]].

c. You might not believe me, but you will [$_{vP}$ [$_{AgrOP}$ Bob$_i$ AgrO$_{[F]j}$ ~~[$_{VP}$ believe$_{[t]j}$ t$_i$]~~]]].[4]

In this way, the mysterious aspect of pseudogapping is explained.

The example of matrix sluicing in (6) is analyzed in the same way. In this case, the violation of the obligatory T-to-C movement is repaired by deletion of IP.

(8) *Matrix Sluicing as IP-deletion*

Speaker A: Mary will see someone.

Speaker B:

a. * [$_{CP}$ Who$_i$ C$_{[F]j}$ [$_{IP}$ Mary will$_{[t]j}$ see t$_i$]]?

b. [$_{CP}$ Who$_i$ C+will$_j$ [$_{IP}$ Mary t$_j$ see t$_i$]]?

c. [$_{CP}$ Who$_i$ C$_{[F]j}$ ~~[$_{IP}$ Mary will$_{[t]j}$ see t$_i$]~~]?

The structure in (8a) is ungrammatical because of the PF-crash induced by the defective I, namely *will*. If it moves to C via generalized pied-piping as in (8b), the structure becomes grammatical. On the other hand, deletion of IP can save the structure because the PF-defective I is deleted in PF, as shown in (8c). That is, matrix sluicing is ascribed to IP-deletion.

In sum, VP- and IP-deletion can ameliorate the illegitimate structure that arises due to the failure of required head-movement. If these repair phenomena are one of the general properties of deletion, we expect that N'-deletion also repairs some kind of violation. In Section 2, we show that this expectation is borne out.

2. NP-internal Honorification and N'-deletion

In this section, we provide examples repaired by N'-deletion. To do so, we briefly

[4] Deletion site is indicated by double strike-through throughout this paper.

review the basic syntactic properties of NP-internal honorification and N'-deletion in Japanese first. Then, we provide crucial examples.

2.1. Basic Facts of NP-internal Honorification

This subsection concerns the basic facts of NP-internal honorification. First, look at the examples in (9) and (10).

(9) a. [$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ Yamada -sensei -no] boosi]
-Prof. -Gen hat

b. [$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ <u>Yamada-sensei-no</u>] **o-** boosi]
-Prof. -Gen HP-hat

'Prof. Yamada's hat'

(10) a. [$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ Yamada-sensei-no] tootyaku]
-Prof.-Gen arrival

b. [$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ <u>Yamada -sensei-no</u>] **go-** tootyaku]
-Prof. -Gen HP- arrival

'Prof. Yamada's arrival'

In these examples, the NP2 *Yamada-sensei* 'Prof. Yamada' is the argument of the larger nominal, namely NP1; in (9), NP2 is the possessor argument, and NP2 in (10) is the argument of the complex event nominal (Grimshaw 1990) or Verbal Noun (Kageyama 1993, henthforth VN). The speaker can show his honor to the referent of the NP2 by attaching HP to the head of NP1, as shown in (9b) and (10b).[5] Following Harada (1976), we call the constituent whose referent is the target of honor "Socially Superior to the Speaker," henthforth SSS, and it is underlined throughout this paper. Note that the presence or absence of HP does not affect the grammaticality of the examples above. That is, honorification is optional.

Next, consider the following paradigm.

(11) a. [$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ Taroo-no] tootyaku]
-Gen arrival

b. #[$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ <u>Taroo-no</u>] go- tootyaku]
-Gen HP-arrival

[5] HP is realized as *o-* or *go-*, depending on the nominal to which it is affixed.

c. *[$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ Taroo-no] go- tootyaku]
-Gen HP- arrival

'Taroo's arrival'

If an expression like *Taroo*, which is arguably inappropriate as an SSS in ordinary context, appears as opposed to an expression like *Yamada-sensei* 'Prof. Yamada,' the sentence gets degraded, as in (11b). This kind of violation is indicated by #. Following Niinuma (2003) and Takita (2006), we assume that it is syntax that determines which constituent is an SSS, but whether it is appropriate as an SSS is determined by extra-grammatical factors.[6] Note that if HP does not appear on the head of NP1, the sequence is grammatical, as shown in (11a). Note also that the representation in (11c) is ungrammatical, because there is no SSS in spite of the presence of HP. In other words, the structure like *[NP2-Gen ... HP-N1]* always induces unacceptability indicated by # when the referent of NP2 is not appropriate.

When more than one argument appears inside of the NP, as in (12), it is not the surface order but the theta-hierarchy that is crucial to determine which argument is an SSS. The highest argument in the hierarchy is understood as an SSS. Consider the following examples.

(12) a. [$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ Yamada -sensei -no] [$_{NP3}$ Taroo -e -no] go- hihan]
-Prof. -Gen -to -Gen HP -criticism

'Prof. Yamada's criticism to Taroo'

b. #[$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ Taroo -no] [$_{NP3}$ Yamada-sensei -e -no] go- hihan]
-Gen -Prof. -to -Gen HP -criticism

'Taroo's criticism to Prof. Yamada'

c. *[$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP2}$ Taroo -no] [$_{NP3}$ Yamada-sensei -e -no] go- hihan]
-Gen -Prof. -to -Gen HP -criticism

'Taroo's criticism to Prof. Yamada'

d. #[$_{NP1}$ [$_{NP3}$ Yamada -sensei -e -no]$_i$ [$_{NP2}$ Taroo -no] t_i go -hihan]
-Prof. -to -Gen -Gen HP -criticism

'Taroo's criticism to Prof. Yamada'

It is the agent that is an SSS in (12a) and (12b) since it is the highest argument. Thus, only the example in (12b) induces unacceptability. It is impossible to skip the agent, as the ungrammaticality of the representation in (12c) indicates. Further, unacceptability of (12b)

[6] For instance, the felicitous use of the example like (11b) requires some special context such as a joke or an irony.

cannot be avoided by scrambling of *Yamada-sensei-e-no* 'to Prof. Yamada' before *Taroo*, as shown in (12d). These are the basic properties of NP-internal honorification.

2.2. N'-deletion in Japanese

Let us turn to the basic properties of N'-deletion in Japanese. First, compare the typical English N'-deletion in (13a) with its Japanese equivalent in (13b).

(13) *N'-deletion in English and Japanese*

a. This book is John's ~~[book]~~.

b. Kono hon -wa John-**no** da
this book -Top -NO be.Pres

'This book is John's'

Can we analyze the example in (13b) in the same way as we analyze that in (13a)? The answer is not immediately clear, because the morpheme *no* in Japanese is ambiguous between a genitive marker and a pronoun.[7] The pronominal use of *no* is exemplified in (14).

(14) Akai **no** -o mittu kudasai
red **one**-Acc three give.me

'Please give me three red ones.'

Thus, we have to ensure that *no* in N'-deletion is a genitive marker.

In this light, Kamio's (1983) generalization in (15) is very useful.

(15) *Kamio's (1983) generalization*
The pronoun *no* can occur as a pro-form of concrete nouns, but not as a pro-form of abstract nouns.

This generalization is confirmed by the contrast in (16), taken from Arimoto and Murasugi (2005, p. 174).

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[7] In addition, some instances of C are realized as *no*. Look at the following examples, taken form Hashimoto and Murasugi (2001, p. 57).

(i) a. Robusutaa-o tabe-ta **no**-wa bosuton-de da
lobster-Acc eat-Past **C**-Top Boston-at be.Pres

'It was at Boston that we ate lobsters.'

b. Meru-o kat -tei -ru **no**-wa Saito-san da
-Acc keep-Prog-Pres **C** -Top Mr. be.Pres

'It is Mr. Saito that keeps Meru.'

Yet, this instance of *no* is irrelevant here.

(16) a. [$_{NP}$ [$_{RC}$ Taroo-ga motteki-ta] **ringo**]-wa amari oisiku-nai **no** dat-ta
-Nom bring -Past apple -Top too delicious-not NO be-Past

'The apple which Taroo brought with him was not too delicious.'

b. *[$_{NP}$ Taroo-no **sinnen**] -wa totemo katai **no** dat-ta
-Gen conviction-Top very firm NO be-Past

'Taroo's conviction was very firm.'

The example in (16a) is grammatical because *no* is the pro-form of the concrete noun *ringo* 'apple.' On the other hand, the sentence in (16b) is ungrammatical because *no* is intended to be the pro-form of the abstract noun *sinnen* 'conviction.'

Based on this generalization, Saito and Murasugi (1990) provide the examples in (17), and argue that Japanese has N'-deletion.

(17) *Examples of N'-deletion in Japanese* (Saito and Murasugi 1990, p. 288)

a. [$_{NP}$ Gakubusei -no sensei -e -no **izon**] -wa yurus -e -ru ga,
undergraduates-Gen teacher -on-Gen reliance -Top tolerate-can-Pres though
[$_{NP}$ insei **-no**] -wa yurus -e -na -i
graduate.student-NO -Top tolerate-can-not-Pres

'I can tolerate the undergraduate's reliance on the faculty, but not the graduate student's.'

b. [$_{NP}$ Taroo-no kenkyuu-ni-taisuru **taido**] -wa ii ga,
-Gen research -toward attitude-Top good though
[$_{NP}$ Hanako-**no**] -wa yoku-na -i
-NO -Top good-not -Pres

'Taroo's attitude toward research is good, but Hanako's is not.'

In these examples, the abstract nouns like *izon* 'reliance' and *taido* 'attitude' are used, so that *no* cannot be pronominal. Hence, it is ensured that they are derived by N'-deletion, as in (18).

(18) *Structures of (17)*

a. [Gakubusei-no [sensei-e-no izon]]-wa yurus-e-ru ga,
[insei-no ~~[sensei-e-no izon]~~]-wa yurus-e-na-i

b. [Taroo-no [kenkyuu-ni-taisuru taido]]-wa ii ga,
[Hanako-no ~~[kenkyuu-ni-taisuru-taido]~~]-wa yoku-na-i

In these cases, *no* is unambiguously the instance of a genitive marker.

2.3. Observation

With the basic properties in previous subsections in mind, look at the examples in (19) through (21).

(19) a. #[NP Senpai-no gakki -no o- toriatukai]-wa teinei -da ga,
senior -Gen instrument-Gen HP-treatment -Top careful-Pres though
[NP kouhai-no gakki -no o- toriatukai]-wa sozatu-da
junior-Gen instrument-Gen HP- departure -Top rude -Pres

b. [NP Senpai-no gakki -no o- toriatukai]-wa teinei -da ga,
senior -Gen instrument-Gen HP-treatment -Top careful-Pres though
[NP kouhai -no ∅]-wa sozatu-da
junior -Gen -Top rude -Pres

'The senior player's treatment of musical instruments is careful, but the junior player's is rude.'

(20) a. #[NP Yamada -sensei-no go- syuppatu]-wa itumo haya -i ga,
-Prof. -Gen HP-departure-Top always early -Pres though
[NP Taroo -no go- syuppatu]-wa itumo oso-i
-Gen HP-departure-Top always late-Pres

b. [NP Yamada-sensei-no go -syuppatu]-wa itumo haya -i ga,
-Prof. -Gen HP -departure-Top always early -Pres though
[NP Taroo-no ∅]-wa itumo oso-i
-Gen -Top always late-Pres

'Prof. Yamada's departure is always early, but Taroo's is always late.'

(21) a. #[NP Katyoo -no kureemu -e -no go -taiou] -wa subarasi -i ga,
manager -Gen complaint-to -Gen HP -response -Top excellent-Pres though
[NP sinnyu-syain -no kureemu -e -no go -taiou] -wa yoku -na -i
new -employee-Gen complaint-to-Gen HP -response -Top good -not-Pres

b. [NP Katyoo -no kureemu -e -no go -taiou] -wa subarasi -i ga,
manager -Gen complaint-to-Gen HP -response-Top excellent-Pres though
[NP sinnyu-syain -no ∅]-wa yoku-na -i
new -employee-Gen -Top good-not -Pres

'Our manager's response to the complaint is excellent, but the new employee's is not.'

The sentences in (19a), (20a) and (21a) are all unacceptable. They, however, become acceptable when N'-deletion applies to them, as in (19b), (20b) and (21b). In these examples, abstract nouns like *o-toriatukai* 'HP-treatment,' *go-syuppatu* 'HP-departure,' and *go-taiou* 'HP-response' are used, to ensure that *no* is a genitive marker.

In addition, the fact that the example in (22) supports a sloppy reading suggests that the construction under consideration may be derived by deletion.

(22) [$_{NP}$ Senpai-no zibun-no -gakki -no o- toriatukai]-wa
senior -Gen self -Gen-instrument-Gen HP-treatment -Top
teinei -da ga, [$_{NP}$ kouhai-no ∅]-wa sozatu-da
careful-Pres though junior -Gen -Top rude -Pres

'The senior player's treatment of self's musical instruments is careful, but the junior player's is rude.'

a. Strict reading: The junior player's treatment of the senior player's instruments is rude.
b. Sloppy reading: The junior player's treatment of his own instruments is rude.

In (22), the anaphor *zibun* 'self' is contained in the deletion site and the sentence has the strict reading in (22a) and the sloppy reading in (22b). The availability of the sloppy interpretation is accounted for under the deletion analysis easily, because the structure represented by ∅ may have a form of the kind: [x's treatment of x's instruments], where x is bound by *koohai-no* 'junior-Gen.' The pro-form analysis, on the other hand, can say little about the very fact that the sloppy reading is obtained, as it stands. This strongly suggests that the relevant examples undergo deletion.

Summarizing this section, after reviewing the basic properties of NP-internal honorification and N'-deletion in Japanese, we showed that N'-deletion can also repair some kind of violation. In the next section, we compare two approaches to honorification in Japanese and illustrate how they explain the relevant observation.

3. Analysis

3.1. Two Approaches to Honorification in Japanese

As already noted in (2) and (3), there are two approaches to honorification proposed in the literature. (2) and (3) are repeated here as (23) and (24), respectively:

(23) *Honorification as Agreement*
a. Honorification is an instance of agreement between NPs and functional categories; honorification is a symmetric relation.
b. NPs are divided into two groups; one can trigger agreement and the other cannot.

(24) *Honorification as Licensing*
a. HP is a realization of a feature on a predicate which is licensed by an argument; honorification is an asymmetric relation.
b. All NPs can potentially license such a feature.

The previous studies of honorification in the generative framework have mainly discussed the properties of clausal honorification, exemplified in (25).

(25) *Clausal Honorification; Subject Honorification and Object Honorification*

a. Yamada-sensei-ga hon -o **o-** yomi-**ni** -**nar** -u
-Prof. -Nom book -Acc HP-read -Dat -become -Pres

'Prof. Yamada reads a book.'

b. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei -o **o-** tasuke -**su**-ru
-Nom -Prof. -Acc HP-help -do-Pres

'Taroo helps Prof. Yamada.'

The example in (25a) is called Subject Honorification, because the subject NP is an SSS. The most remarkable property of this construction is that its predicate has morphologically complex form, *HP-verb-ni-naru*. *Ni-naru* roughly corresponds to a dative Case marker + *become*.[8] On the other hand, the example in (25b) is called Object Honorification, because it is the object that is an SSS. In this construction, its predicate has different form. It consists of *HP-verb-suru*. *Suru* is roughly corresponds to the verb *do*.

The mainstream of the analysis assumes that these constructions are instances of agreement. Harada (1976) claims that the morphologically complex predicates are derived by transformational rules, optionally triggered by the inherent property of a subject or object. Later, Toribio (1990) claims that Spec-head agreement affects the morphological form of the predicates. Recently, Niinuma (2003, 2005) and Boeckx and Niinuma (2004) update Harada's and Toribio's theory incorporating Chomsky's (2000, 2001) Agree, induced by uninterpretable features on T/*v*. One crucial assumption of this approach is that there are two kinds of nominals, one of them can Agree with T/*v*, and the other cannot.

Yet, this approach, which we call the agreement-approach, has at least two problems.[9] One of the problems is that honorification is optional as we have seen above, while the operation Agree is obligatory. Therefore, it is inadequate to employ Agree to explain this phenomenon.

Another problem is that in the case of Object Honorification, a dative NP can be an SSS as in (26a), in addition to the case where an accusative NP is an SSS as in (26b).

[8] For a more fine-grained morphological analysis of the predicate of clausal honorification, see Takita (2006).

[9] See Takita (2006) and Bobalijk and Yatsushiro (2006) for a more detailed criticism to the agreement-approach.

(26) a. Taroo-ga Yamada-sensei-**ni** o- awi -su -ru
-Nom -Prof. -**Dat** HP-meet -do -Pres

'Taroo meets Prof. Yamada.'

b. Taroo -ga Yamada-sensei-**o** o- tasuke-su-ru
-Nom -Prof. -**Acc** HP-help -do-Pres

'Taroo helps Prof. Yamada.'

This situation is incompatible with the view that agreement and Case are closely related.

Against the agreement-approach, Takita (2006) proposes an alternative which we call the licensing-approach, pointing out an asymmetry between HP and an SSS. Consider the following examples.

(27) *Honorification*

a. **Yamada-sensei-ga** hon -o yom-u
-Prof. -Nom book-Acc read-Pres

'Prof. Yamada reads a book.'

b. **Yamada-sensei-ga** hon -o **o-** yomi-**ni** -**nar** -u
-Prof. -Nom book-Acc HP-read -Dat-become-Pres

'Prof. Yamada reads a book.'

c. ***Yamada-sensei-ga** hon -o **o-** yomi-**ni** -**nar** -u
-Prof. -Nom book-Acc HP-read -Dat-become-Pres

'Prof. Yamada reads a book.'

(28) *Negative Polarity Items*

a. Taroo-ga hon -o yoma-**na** -i
-Nom book-Acc read -not-Pres

'Taroo does not read books.'

b. **Taroo-sika** hon -o yoma-**na** -i
-only book-Acc read -not-Pres

'Only Taroo reads books.'

c. ***Taroo-sika** hon-o yom-u
-only book-Acc read-Pres

'Taroo does not read books.'

The example in (27a) suggests that nominals which can be appropriate SSSs can appear in

non-honorific sentences without being SSSs. They show the property of being SSSs only if HP appears on the predicate, as in (27b). This indicates that being an SSS is not an inherent property of nominals. The fact that the example in (27c) is ungrammatical suggests that HP cannot appear without an SSS. This is reminiscent of the cases of Negative Polarity Items (henthforth NPIs), as shown in (28). The pattern is that negation can appear independent of NPIs, but not vice versa. Based on this similarity, Takita (2006) claims that HP must be syntactically licensed by nominals in the parallel way in which NPIs are licensed by negation.

Contra the agreement-approach, the licensing-approach claims that every nominal can potentially license HP. Under this approach, the sentence in (29) is analyzed as syntactically well-formed.

(29) #Taroo-ga hon-o o-yomi-ni-nar-u
-Nom book-Acc HP-read -Dat-become-Pres

'Taroo reads a book.'

Rather, they are unacceptable because of extra-grammatical factors (see Section 2.1 also). In this respect, the agreement-approach and the licensing-approach also diverge.

In the rest of this section, we show that the agreement-approach cannot deal with the observation made in Section 2.3, while the licensing-approach can naturally accommodate it.

3.2. Extension of the agreement-approach to NP-internal Honorification

Recently, Ivana and Sakai (2005) extend the agreement-approach to the NP-internal honorification, proposing the analysis summarized in (30).

(30) *Ivana and Sakai's (2005) Analysis*
- a. HP heads the functional category Honorific, which takes an NP as its complement.
- b. The head Honorific has a feature [Honorific], which acts as a probe.
- c. One class of NPs has a lexical feature [+honorific], and the other does not.
- d. The feature [Honorific] Agrees with an NP which has [+honorific].

Being faithful to the spirit of the agreement-approach, Ivana and Sakai (2005) assumes the division between NPs with the implementation in (30c). One novel point of their analysis is postulation of the functional category Honorific, which has an uninterpretable feature.

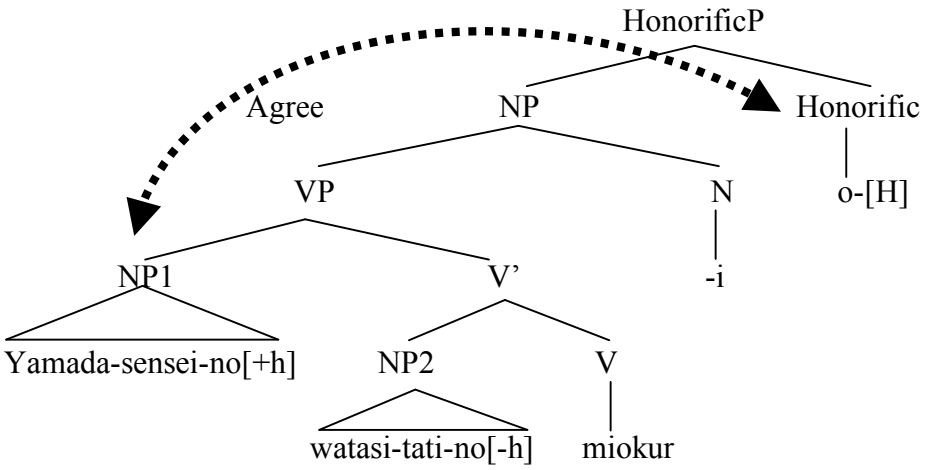
Under their analysis, the example in (31a) has the structure in (31b).[10]

[10] Ivana and Sakai (2005) assume that VNs are derived by syntactic nominalization, as English gerunds (Baker 1985).

(31) a. [[$_{NP1}$ Yamada-sensei-no] [$_{NP2}$ watasi-tati-no] o- miokuri]
-Prof. -Gen me -Pl -Gen HP-send.off

'Prof. Yamada's seeing us off'

b.



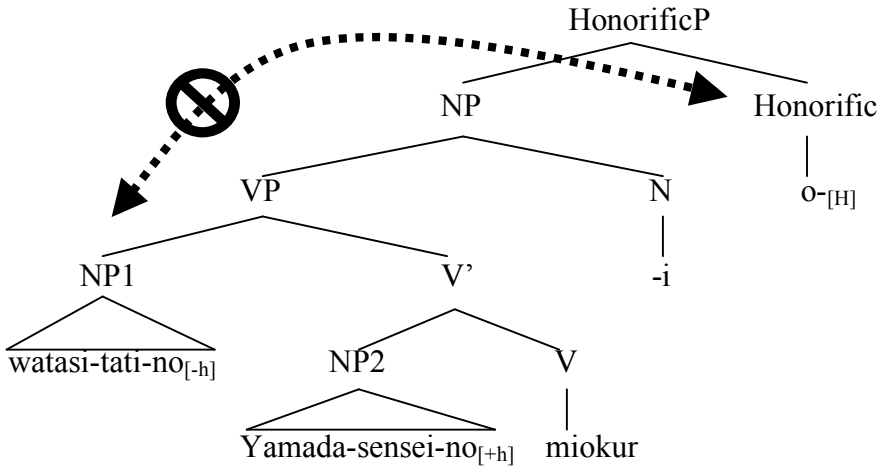
In this structure, the head Honorific Agrees with the NP1, which has the lexical feature [+honorific], so that the example in (31a) is grammatical. The order *o-miokuri* 'HP-send.off' is derived via successive cyclic head-movement, which is omitted here.

On the other hand, the unacceptable example in (32a) has the structure in (32b).

(32) a. #[[$_{NP1}$ Watasi-tati-no] [$_{NP2}$ Yamada-sensei-no] o- miokuri]
me -Pl -Gen -Prof. -Gen HP-send.off

'Our seeing Prof. Yamada off'

b.

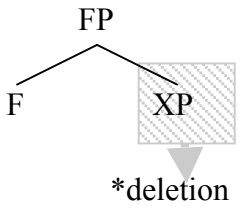


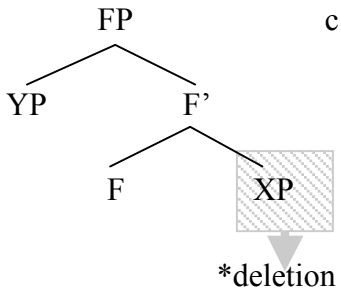
In this case, the NP1, which has [-honorific], is the closest goal, so that Agree does not hold even though NP2 has [+honorific]. In other words, the unacceptable case in (32a) is analyzed as an instance of the defective intervention.

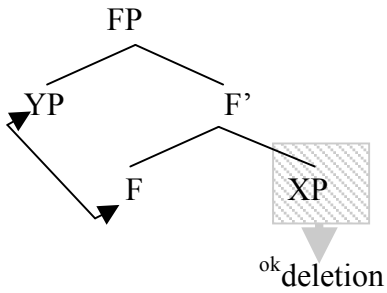
At this point, the generalization in (33), which is proposed by Lobeck (1990) and Saito and Murasugi (1990) poses a serious problem to Ivana and Sakai's (2005) analysis.

(33) *Generalization on Deletion*
An XP which is a complement of a functional category can be deleted iff the functional head has a specifier which it agrees with.

This generalization distinguishes the case in (34c) from (34a) and (34b).

(34) a.


b.


c.


The case in (34a), where the functional head F does not have a specifier, is exemplified in (35b) and (36b). On the other hand, in the examples in (35a) and (35b) represent the case in (34c) where the functional head has a specifier which it agrees with, so that they are grammatical.

(35) *Spec-head Agreement in N'-deletion* (Arimoto and Murasugi 2005, p. 150-152)
a. John's criticism of Bush is interesting, but [$_{DP}$ Bill's ~~[$_{NP}$ criticism of Bush]~~]is annoying.

b. *I wanted to read a book, so I bought [$_{DP}$ a ~~[$_{NP}$ book]~~].

(36) *Spec-head Agreement in IP-deletion* (*ibid*, p. 153)
Mary said that somebody went to Boston,

a. but I don't know [$_{CP}$ who ~~[$_{IP}$ went to Boston]~~].

b. *but I don't know [$_{CP}$ whether ~~[$_{IP}$ he went to Boston]~~].

The case in (34b), in which there is a specifier but no Spec-head agreement, is shown in (37).

(37) *Spec-head Agreement in VP-deletion* (Takahashi 1994, Martin 1996)
*John believes [$_{IP}$ Mary to [$_{VP}$ be a genius]], but I don't believe [$_{IP}$ her to ~~[$_{VP}$ be a genius]~~].

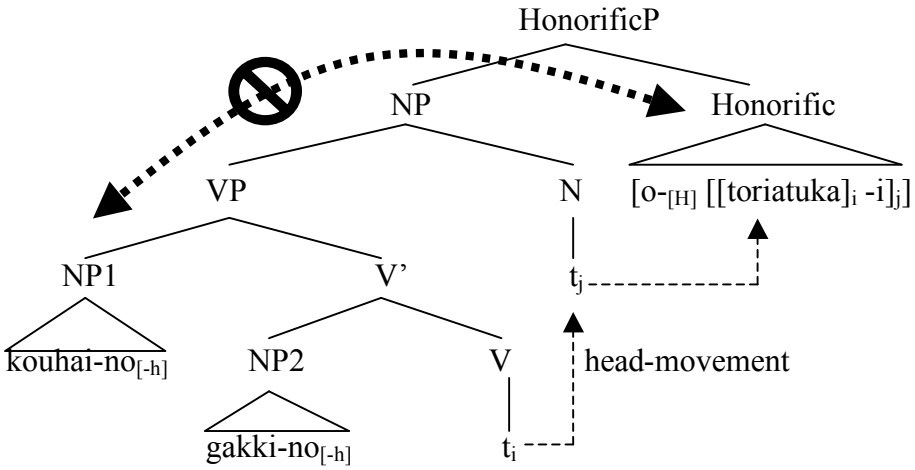
In this example, *her* in the second clause agrees with the ECM verb *believe*, not with the head *to*. Thus deletion of the complement of *to* cannot be licensed, even though *to* has a specifier.

To see how the generalization poses a problem for Ivana and Sakai's (2005) analysis, consider the structure in (38b), which represents the relevant part of the example in (38a).

(38) a. [Senpai-no gakki -no o- toriatukai]-wa teinei -da ga,
senior -Gen instrument -Gen HP-treatment -Top careful-Pres though
[kouhai-no ∅]-wa sozatu-da
junior -Gen -Top rude -Pres

'The senior player's treatment of musical instruments is careful, but the junior player's is rude.'

b.

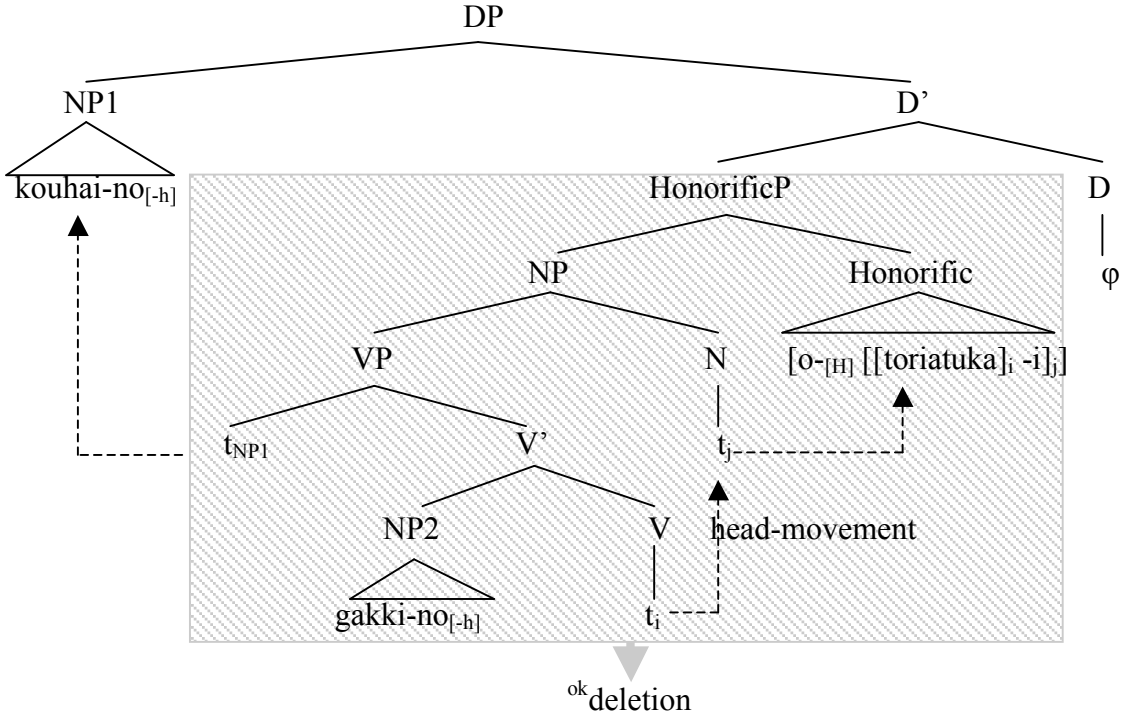


Under their analysis, the functional category Honorific cannot enter into an agreement relation with anything, since both NP1 and NP2 have [-honorific]. Therefore, deletion of the NP, which is the complement of Honorific, cannot be licensed, so that the example in (38a) cannot be derived.

Besides, there is another problem. In (38b), the sequence *o-toriatukai* 'HP-treatment' is derived via successive cyclic head-movement, so that it is located outside of the NP. Therefore, even if deletion of the NP becomes possible for somehow, the example in (38a) cannot be derived.

Can some minor modification of their analysis make it possible to account for the fact? For instance, suppose that there is another functional head above the HonorificP. This head is arguably D, and the structure in (38b) is modified to (39).

(39) *Minor Modification I; DP above HonorificP*

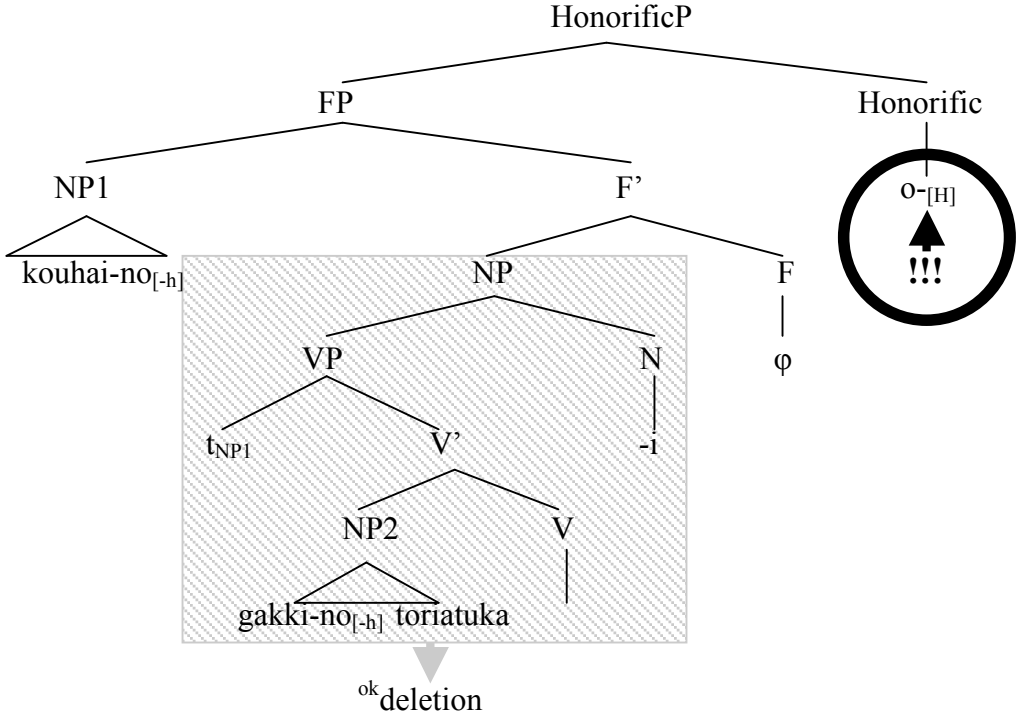


Suppose further that there is some kind of Spec-head agreement between the NP1 and D. These modifications are inevitable for their analysis to deal with deletion in non-honorific configurations. And as shown in (39), it seems possible to derive the desired word order.

This story, however, does not work. Recall that the uninterpretable feature [Honorific] on the head Honorific must probe its domain before D is introduced to the derivation. Thus, the derivation crashes before deletion of HonorificP is licensed by Spec-head agreement at DP.

Let us explore another possibility. How about some functional category F between NP and HonorificP? Unfortunately, this possibility does not work either. Look at the structure in (40).

(40) *Minor Modification II; a Functional Category between NP and HonorificP*



Even if the NP can be deleted by Spec-head agreement at FP, the head Honorific, namely *o-*/*go-* cannot be deleted, as indicated in (40). Therefore, the desired order cannot be derived.

To sum up this subsection, the agreement-approach cannot explain the relevant observation even though it is modified.

3.3. Extension of the licensing-approach to NP-internal Honorification

In this subsection, by extending the licensing-approach to NP-internal honorification, we show that the observation can be explained. First, let us review the analysis by Takita (2006).

(41) *The Nature of the Feature [Honorific]*

a. [H] is licensed iff it binds the closest XP in a theta-position.
b. If [H] is not licensed, the derivation crashes.
c. An XP is interpreted as an SSS iff it is bound by [H].
d. [H] optionally attached to a head Y^0, and phonologically realized as *o-*/*go-*.

The assumptions in (41a), (41b) and (41c) capture the asymmetry between an SSS and HP; the presence of HP always requires an XP which is appropriate as an SSS, but not vice versa. Note that unlike the assumptions in agreement-approach, our theory does not divide nominals into two groups; any XP can potentially license [H]. Note also that [H] is not the head of a functional category, but a feature attached to predicates.

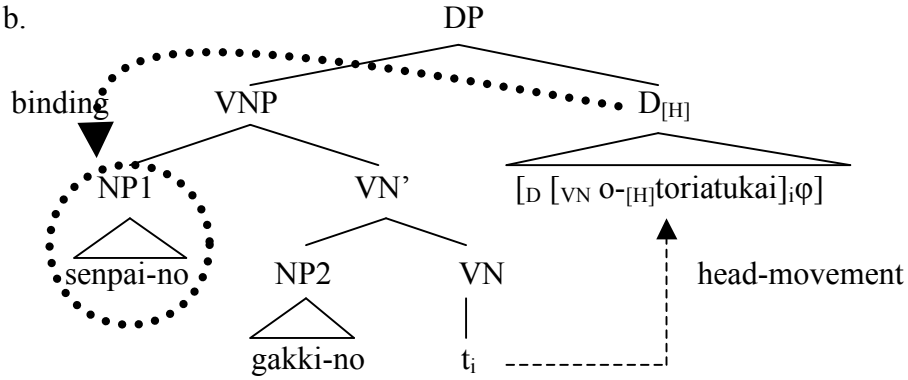
To see how the mechanism works, consider the following illustration of some sample

cases. First, look at (42b), which is the structure of the example in (42a).[11]

(42) a. [[$_{NP1}$ Senpai-no] [$_{NP2}$ gakki -no] o- toriatukai]
senior -Gen instrument -Gen HP-treatment

'The senior player's treatment of musical instruments'

b.



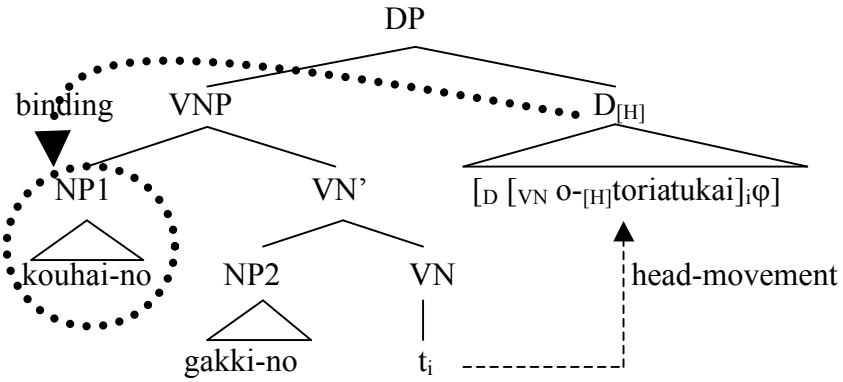
In this structure, [H] is introduced to syntax by being attached to *toriatukai* 'treatment' and reaches to D via head-movement. Then, it binds the closest XP in a theta-position,[12] in this case *senpai* 'senior,' so that it is licensed and realized as *o-*. In turn, the NP1 *senpai* 'senior' is interpreted as an SSS. Because it is appropriate as an SSS, the example in (42a) is perfect.

Next, consider the following case.

(43) a. #[[$_{NP1}$ Kouhai-no] [$_{NP2}$ gakki -no] o- toriatukai]
senior -Gen instrument-Gen HP-treatment

'The junior player's treatment of musical instruments'

b.



In this case, the closest XP is *kouhai* 'junior,' and it licenses [H]. Thus, the derivation itself

[11] We simply assume that complex event nominals like *toriatukai* 'treatment' belong to VN, contra Ivana and Sakai (2005) (see footnote 8 above). Yet, this does not affect the argument.

[12] Takita (2006) argues that licensing takes place when the relevant part of the structure undergoes spell-out. Consequently, [H] binds NP1, not NP2, regardless of whether D is a phase head or not.

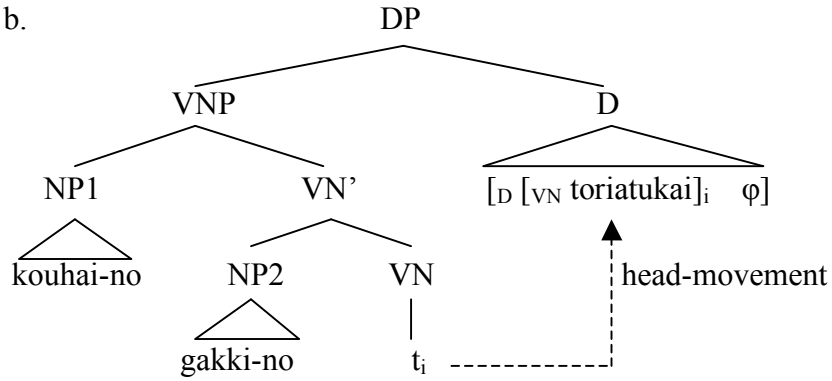
converges, but because the expression *kouhai* 'junior' is not appropriate as an SSS, the example in (43) gets #. In other words, syntax conditions NP1 to be an SSS, but it becomes unacceptable by extra-grammatical factors.

What happens if VN is introduced to syntax without [H]? (44) is the relevant case.

(44) a. [[$_{NP1}$ Kouhai-no] [$_{NP2}$ gakki -no] toriatukai]
junior -Gen instrument-Gen treatment

'The junior player's treatment of musical instruments'

b.



Nothing but N-to-D movement takes place because there is no [H] on the head. Thus, the sentence is perfect.

Here, we slightly revise the proposals in (41b), by claiming (45).

(45) *Proposal*
If [H] is not licensed it induces a PF-crash, because it cannot be phonologically realized.

More over, we claim that there are two ways to avoid PF-crash, as summarized in (46).

(46) *Two Ways to Avoid PF-crash*
a. To be licensed by whatever the closest XP in a theta-position.
b. PF-deletion of the YP which contains the phonologically "defective" [H].

Look at the examples in (47a). It represents the stage where [H] has not been licensed by anything. Thus, [H] does not have any phonological realization.

(47) a. *[[$_{NP1}$ Kouhai -no] [$_{NP2}$ gakki -no] **[H]**+toriatukai] (-wa sozatu -da)
junior -Gen instrument-Gen HP-treatment -Top rude -Pres

'The junior player's treatment of musical instruments (is rude.)'

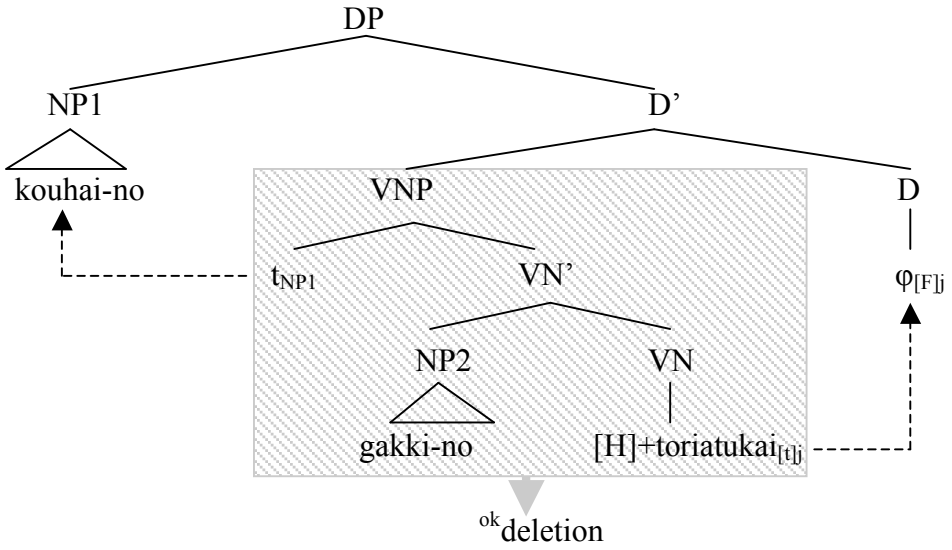
b. # [[$_{NP1}$ <u>Kouhai-no</u>] [$_{NP2}$ gakki-no] o-$_{[H]}$toriatukai] (-wasozatu-da)

c. ^{ok}[[$_{NP1}$ Kouhai-no] ~~[$_{NP2}$ gakki-no]~~ ~~**[H]**+toriatukai~~] (-wasozatu-da)

If nothing happens, it causes a PF-crash. If we employ the option in (46a), the closest XP *kouhai* 'junior' licenses [H], so that the PF-crash is avoided, but the sentence gets #. If the option in (46b) is chosen, the maximal projection which contains the defective [H] is deleted, so that the PF-crash can be circumvented.

The example in (47c) has the following structure.

(48) *Structure of (47c)*



Suppose that a strong feature on D attracts its matching feature on the head VN, rendering it phonologically defective. Note that this assumption falls into line with Lasnik (2001). Suppose further that NP1 moves to Spec, DP to check its genitive Case, as a reflex of Agree induced by an uninterpretable feature on D. This in turn makes it possible to delete the complement of D, namely VNP. At this point, the phonologically defective [H] is deleted along with VN, without being licensed. Therefore, (41c) is correctly expected to be perfect.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that in addition to VP- and IP-deletion, N'-deletion can also repair some kind of violation, and that this observation can be explained by the licensing-approach to honorification in Japanese in the parallel way to Lasnik (2001). In addition, illustrating how the agreement-approach fails to explain it, we have argued that the existence of functional category Honorific, proposed by Ivana and Sakai (2005), is highly implausible.

Finally, we point out one implication of this study. Consider the following schema.

(49) *Set of Features contained in the antecedent and the deletion site*

a. antecedent; $\{F_1, F_2, F_3\}$ ⇔ deletion site; $\{F_1, F_3\}$

b. antecedent; $\{F_1, F_2, F_3\}$ ⇔ deletion site; $\{F_1, F_2, F_3\}$

Suppose that there are two theories; one assumes that deletion can be executed if the features of the deletion site constitute the subset of the features of the antecedent, and the other claims that deletion is possible if and only if the set of features of the antecedent and the deletion site is identical. The former theory allows both cases in (49), but the latter allows only the case in (49b), so that the latter is more restrictive.

Suppose further that [H] corresponds to F_2 in (49). If one claims that the deletion site in the relevant observation does not have [H] at the beginning, he must give up the latter theory, because the formal parallelism between the antecedent and the deletion site is lost. That is, he has to assume the case in (49a) is possible.

On the other hand, if the analysis of this paper is on the right track, we can maintain the more restrictive theory. One instance of this theory is proposed by Fox and Lasnik (2003). Because this paper enables us to retain the more restrictive theory, it is a desirable result.

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