

Subject honorification and the position of subjects in Japanese

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Abstract Subject honorification in Japanese is often characterized as targeting subjects, but in this article, we propose to formulate it as vP-level agreement, where an honorific head agrees with an argument (carrying the semantic feature [+honorific]) that appears in its associated Spec,vP. This proposal provides a straightforward account for some honorification facts which cannot be accounted for if subject honorification is simply taken to target subjects: namely, (1) the fact that subject honorification is often, but not always, possible at two distinct structural levels in the aspectual construction where the main verb is followed by the aspectual verb *iru*; (2) the fact that in the possessive construction with the animate verb *iru* ‘have’, subject honorification can target not only the dative subject but also the nominative object. Furthermore, on the basis of what we call ‘the *kara*-subject construction’, the overt constituent position of subjects is shown to vary according to whether T contains the Case feature [+nominative] to license a nominative argument: Subjects undergo raising to Spec,TP when T carries [+nominative], but when T lacks it, subjects are not raised to Spec,TP.

Keywords Subject honorification; Subject raising; EPP; Phase; *Kara*-subject; Nominative case; vP-level agreement

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1 Introduction

Subject honorification is one well-known diagnostic for subjecthood in Japanese, and is often thought to target subjects referring to individuals judged to be worthy of respect (see Harada 1976, Shibatani 1978, Kishimoto 2000). Since Harada (1976), this has been a widely accepted structural description of subject honorification. Nevertheless, this characterization needs to be made more precise under the Predicate-internal Subject Hypothesis, where two distinct subject positions are posited—i.e. Spec,vP and Spec,TP. Theoretically, a subject could occupy either Spec,vP or Spec,TP. Thus, in order to appropriately characterize the syntactic orientation of subject honorification, it is necessary to specify which position it targets. An accurate specification of the target of subject honorification is also called for empirically; as we will discuss at length, it is not possible under the traditional account to explain the fact that in an aspectual construction where the main verb is followed by an aspectual verb *iru* ‘be’, a subject-honorific marker may be added to either the main verb or the aspectual verb. In this article, we will attempt to provide an analysis that can better describe the phenomenon in question.

Subject honorification has the property that some feature of a nominal is reflected on the verb morphologically. In this sense, subject honorification can be regarded as an instance of agreement (see Mikami 1970, Toribio 1991, Kishimoto 2000, Ura 2000, Hasegawa 2006, and others). In this article, the ‘*kara*-subject’ construction is seen to provide empirical evidence that a local relation should be established between a subject-honorific head and its associated argument in order for subject honorification to be licit. In this light, we propose to formulate subject honorification as agreement licensed at the level of vP—i.e. subject honorification is rendered licit when an honorific head successfully agrees with an argument located in Spec,vP, comprising the honorified verb. Under this proposal, the structural relation licensing subject honorification is characterized without appealing to the notion of ‘subject’, but the subject orientation of honorification emerges as a natural consequence of vP-level agreement. It will also be shown that an

exceptional case where subject honorification targets a non-subject argument can be adequately treated under the proposed analysis.

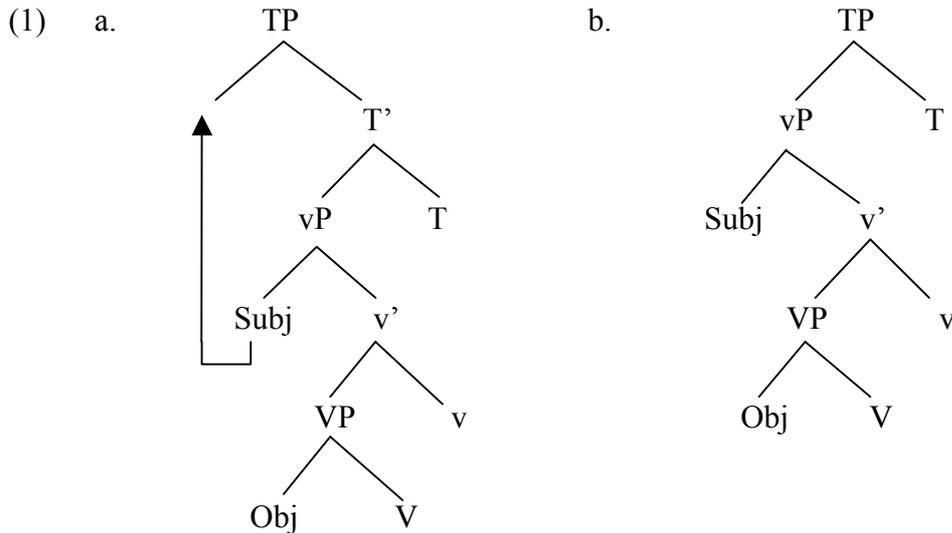
Furthermore, it will be seen that the constituent position of subjects can be assessed by way of subject honorification. In the literature on Japanese, there has been a dispute over whether subjects appear in vP-internal position (e.g. Fukui 1986, 1995, Kuroda 1988) or are raised to Spec,TP by virtue of an EPP requirement imposed on T (e.g. Miyagawa 1989a, 1989b, Kishimoto 2001). Drawing on the data regarding the *kara*-subject construction, Japanese is argued to be a language where the specifier requirement (i.e. the EPP requirement) of T is motivated when tense carries a Case feature [+nominative], that is, when T is specified for [+nominative], the EPP requirement is activated. Subject raising is most typically instantiated in Japanese, since clauses are in most cases constrained by the nominative-case constraint that at least one nominative argument is necessary per clause. It is shown that subject raising is not instantiated in a syntactic context where this nominative-case requirement is not implemented.

The discussion proceeds as follows. First, in section 2, on the basis of the *kara*-subject construction, we propose a reformulation of subject honorification as vP-level agreement. This section also look at various types of light verb projections and see whether subjects undergoing A-movement to Spec,TP need to go through them. Section 3 discusses how subject raising is motivated in Japanese. Section 4 discusses an exceptional case where subject honorification targets a non-subject. A conclusion is presented in section 5.

2 Subject honorification as agreement

Let us begin by noting that under the Predicate-internal Subject Hypothesis (see Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Sportiche 1988, Fukui 1986, Kitagawa 1986, Kuroda 1988, McCloskey 1997, and others), subjects originate in the specifier position of vP as arguments of verbs. Subjects occupy distinct constituent positions depending on whether or not they undergo raising to Spec,TP. If tense projection (TP) has a syntactic constraint (i.e.

the EPP requirement) requiring that the specifier position be filled in overt syntax, subjects are overtly raised to Spec,TP, as (1a). If, on the other hand, no such specifier requirement is imposed on T, they remain in vP-internal position without overt raising to Spec,TP, as (1b).



Since Harada's (1976) pioneer work on the syntactic properties of honorifics in Japanese, it has been commonly assumed that subject honorification has subject orientation, and hence targets only subjects, as its name implies. This assumption has enjoyed wide popularity in the linguistic literature on Japanese (see Kuno 1973, Shibatani 1978, and many others). Nevertheless, given the Predicate-internal Subject Hypothesis, a more accurate definition on the possible target of subject honorification needs to be provided. This is precisely because even the simplest clause has two positions with which a subject can be associated—i.e. Spec,TP and Spec,vP.

If subjects merged to Spec,vP are always raised to Spec,TP, it might not matter whether subject honorification targets a subject located in Spec,vP or in Spec,TP. As we will discuss below, however, there are cases in Japanese where subjects remain in Spec,vP, even though they are most typically raised to Spec,TP. Due to the presence of two distinct structural positions which subjects can occupy, subject honorification cannot be appropriately characterized by just saying that a subject counts as its syntactic target. In this section, by

looking at what we call ‘the *kara*-subject construction’, the lower subject appearing in Spec,vP is argued to serve as the target of subject honorification.

2.1 Alternative marking of source subjects

In this section, in the light of source subjects marked with the oblique *kara* ‘from’ (‘the *kara*-subjects’, hereafter), we will argue that arguments located in Spec,vP (viz. the lower subjects) are identified as syntactic targets of subject honorification. It is argued that subject honorification can be characterized as vP-edge agreement, where an honorific head agrees with an argument specified as [+honorific], which is located in its vP, (without appealing to the notion of subject).

To begin, let us note some basic syntactic properties of subject honorification in Japanese. Japanese falls into a nominative-accusative language, where subjects are most typically marked with nominative case, as exemplified in (2).

- (2) a. John-ga Mary-o home-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc praise-Past
 ‘John praised Mary.’ (Transitive)
- b. John-ga {hasit-ta/taore-ta}.
 John-Nom run-Past/fall-Past
 ‘John {ran/fell down}.’ (Unergative/Unaccusative)
- c. John-ga tanka-de hakob-are-ta.
 John-Nom stretcher-with carry-Pass-Past
 ‘John was carried on a stretcher.’ (Passive)

One important structural feature of subject honorification, which has often been noted since Harada (1976), is that subject honorification can be triggered only by subjects (with the exception of a case to be discussed in section 4). Accordingly, in ordinary clauses where the

subjects are marked with nominative case, subject honorification targets the nominative-marked subjects, but not other arguments, as exemplified in (3).

- (3) a. *Ito-sensei-ga* *Mary-o* **o-home-ni-nat-ta.**
 Ito-teacher-Nom Mary-Acc Hon-praise-Lv-Past
 ‘Prof. Ito praised Mary.’
- b. **Mary-ga* *Ito-sensei-o* **o-home-ni-nat-ta.**
 Mary-Nom Ito-teacher-Acc Hon-praise-Lv-Past
 ‘Mary praised Prof. Ito.’
- c. **Mary-ga* *Ito-sensei-ni* *hon-o* **o-atae-ni-nat-ta.**
 Mary-Nom Ito-teacher-Dat book-Acc Hon-give-Lv-Past
 ‘Mary gave Prof. Ito a book.’

The target of subject honorification is not determined by surface case marking. This is evidenced by the fact that in the dative-subject construction (4), subject honorification takes the dative subject, but not the nominative object, as its target.¹

- (4) a. *Ito-sensei-ni* *Mary-ga* **o-mie-ni-nar-u.**
 Ito-teacher-Dat Mary-Nom Hon-see-Lv-Pres
 ‘Prof. Ito can see Mary.’
- b. **Mary-ni* *Ito-sensei-ga* **o-mie-ni-nar-u.**
 Mary-Dat Ito-teacher-Nom Hon-see-Lv-Pres
 ‘Mary can see Prof. Ito.’

On the basis that possible targets for subject honorification are generally confined to

¹ The honorific verb *o-mie-ni-naru* can be used as meaning ‘come, visit’, but this use is irrelevant for the purpose of the present paper.

subjects, it has been traditionally assumed that subject honorification has subject orientation (see Harada 1976, Shibatani 1978, and others).

The traditional analysis taking subject honorification to target subjects is not sufficiently precise, however, if the Predicate-internal Subject Hypothesis is adopted. Since the Predicate-internal Subject Hypothesis posits that two distinct structural subject positions—Spec,vP and Spec,TP—are projected even in a simple clause, it is necessary to discern whether subject honorification picks out a subject located in Spec,vP or in Spec,TP. On the basis of *kara*-subject constructions, we propose that subject honorification is instantiated at the vP-level rather than at the TP-level, by way of an honorific head's agreement with an argument (carrying the semantic feature [+honorific]) that appears in its associated Spec,vP. In effect, given that a local relation is needed for licensing subject honorification, there is a sense in which the target of subject honorification is characterized in this manner, because the honorific affix *o-* is morphologically attached to the verb, but not to tense, as can be seen in (3a) and (4a).

Let us now discuss the core proposal on how subject honorification is licensed. First of all, we postulate that in the subject-honorific construction, the semantic feature [+honorific] is assigned to an argument, and that an honorific head H (realized as a subject-honorific marker) carries the uninterpretable feature [α honorific], which needs to be deleted after valuation. The uninterpretable feature dictates the syntactic environment where an argument with the interpretable semantic feature [+honorific] is allowed to occur, and the semantic feature [+honorific], which is assigned to a nominal in the subject-honorific construction, is responsible for generating the sense of honorification. The assignment of this semantic feature to an argument is granted if the argument is taken to refer to an individual worthy of respect. For instance, a nominal like *Ito-sensei* 'Prof. Ito' may refer to a person worthy of deference, so subject honorification can be grammatically expressed when it appears in the subject position of the subject-honorific construction.

Next, on the assumption that Honorific Phrase (HP) comprising an honorific head is projected immediately above vP, we propose that if the uninterpretable feature on H is

verbs are sometimes used as honorific verbs (e.g. *irrassyar-u* for *iku* ‘go’ and *kuru* ‘come’); when suppletion takes place on an honorific verb, the cluster of ‘V+v+H(+v)’ may be realized as a single word, but tense is always materialized as an independent morpheme. Note that fusion of terminal nodes, which we assume should be a prerequisite for suppletion, can take place when they are adjacent. In English, the sequence of PAST+*go* is realized morphologically as *went*, but when an independent head *not* intervenes between them, the two nodes are realized separately, as *did not go* (see Halle and Marantz 1993).³ Thus, the kind of suppletion observed for honorific verbs would be expected if H is positioned immediately above v (as V+v+**H**+T) rather than T (as V+v+T+**H**).

Subject honorification is a local agreement phenomenon. We propose that subject honorification is licensed if the honorific head (as a probe) finds a goal with the relevant semantic feature within an accessible domain restricted by the Phrase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (see Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004). On this proposal, the honorific head H (i.e. the probe), which is projected above vP, can have only a restricted search domain, such that it can seek a goal located at the edge of vP.

(6) [..... [HP [vP **AG**₁ [vP **AG**₂ [v]Vv] **H**]]

The syntactic effect of subject orientation for honorification naturally falls out under this analysis; the PIC allows the honorific head H to access **AG**₁ (i.e. a subject located in vP), but **AG**₂ (i.e. a non-subject argument merged below VP) is not accessible from H. Accordingly, in (6), only when the semantic feature [+honorific] is assigned to **AG**₁ can the derivation for the subject-honorific construction converge.⁴ (This does not mean that all

³ This is the notion employed in Distributed Morphology. We use it just for illustrative purposes. Presumably, the notion may be transposed into the minimalist framework by appealing to head movement, but we will not discuss it in this paper.

⁴ Although some pragmatic factors play a role in honorification, honorification is

instances of Agree should be constrained by the PIC. We will turn to this discussion in section 3.)

According to Chomsky (2000), indirect feature-driven movement is divided into two types: one is A-movement induced when an attracting head has unvalued ϕ -features (i.e. grammatical features related to person, number, gender, etc.), which are to be valued by an attracted constituent, and the other is A'-movement instantiated with P(eripheral)-features (discourse-oriented features such as topic, focus, force, etc.). We assume that when v , as well as T, is assigned an EPP feature for establishing a ϕ -feature relation, an argument is A-moved into its Spec, and that the argument is identified as the subject of the predicate once its ϕ -feature set values and deletes the ϕ -feature set of v under Matching.⁵ The ϕ -feature agreement to identify the subject can be established regardless of where the argument receives a θ -role. Note that A-movement is not motivated by Case, so the relevant ϕ -feature relation is not established via the Case licensing of an accusative argument, although the v -head can value its Case feature. Operator movement, on the other hand, is

constrained syntactically. Bocekx and Niimura (2003) treat object (*or* non-subject) honorification as agreement (see also Bobaljik and Yatsushiro 2006), but this is a different kind of honorification phenomenon, in that it picks out a non-subject rather than a subject as its target, and that this type of honorification is possible only with agentive verbs. As suggested by one reviewer, it might be possible to extend the analysis proposed in this paper to account for non-subject honorification, perhaps by assuming that the head sequence of V-H- v -T is morphologically realized as *o-V-suru* (Hon-V-do). The discussion of non-subject honorification, however, goes beyond the scope of this paper, so this question is left open for further research.

⁵ In Japanese, overt subject-predicate agreement is not manifested, but certain predicates impose grammatical restrictions on their subjects (e.g. person restrictions are obtained for *tai* 'want' and *hosi-garu* 'want'; see Nitta (1991, 1997) and many others), which empirically motivates the analysis taking ϕ -feature agreement to be instantiated between the subject and v for the purpose of 'subject' identification.

induced if a P-feature is assigned—the kind of feature that Chomsky postulates for operator movement, and an element moved by operator movement does not enter a ϕ -feature relation with v even if it moves through vP .

Potential targets for subject honorification are confined to arguments which are base-generated in Spec,vP via external Merge (in which the honorific verb resides) or those which are A-moved into it via internal Merge. In contrast, arguments moved through vP by operator movement never serve as targets for subject honorification. The facts follow if an argument needs to enter into a ϕ -feature relation with v to qualify as a target for subject honorification. To be concrete, when an argument appears in vP via A-movement or External Merge, its ϕ -features are used to value and delete the ϕ -features on v ; in consequence, this argument is identified as the subject of the predicate, and qualifies as a target of subject honorification. In contrast, no such ϕ -feature relation is established for an argument moving into vP via A' -movement motivated by P-feature, hence, it does not count as a potential target for subject honorification. Note, further, that no ϕ -feature relation is established between v and an argument entering into vP via scrambling as well, even though a scrambled phrase sometimes shows A-properties (see section 4); thus, the possibility that an argument scrambled into vP qualifies as a target of subject honorification is excluded. This means that only the arguments having a ϕ -feature relation locally with the v -head are visible for a search by the honorific head H—which induces the syntactic process to license subject honorification.

If the PIC constrains subject-honorific agreement, subject honorification is predicted to be possible on the condition that H can find a goal (an argument) at the edge of vP standing as complement to H. On this proposal, the syntactic target of subject honorification is characterized without resorting to the notion of ‘subject’. Nevertheless, the subject orientation of subject honorification follows, given that an argument positioned in Spec,vP by either base-generation or A-movement should count as a subject (see section 4 for discussion of an exceptional case). In Japanese, honorific marking on the verb is optional. If the verb is not marked for honorification, the sentence does not comprise a honorific

head H which projects HP. In this case, no honorific restriction is imposed on the clause, i.e. honorification is not grammatically expressed; accordingly, the argument appearing in Spec,vP does not have to refer to a person worthy of deference.

Let us now look at some concrete examples to discuss what structural position subjects should occupy in order for subject honorification to be licit. The fact that subject honorification targets arguments appearing in Spec,vP rather than those located in Spec,TP can be verified by making use of what we call the ‘*kara*-subject’ construction (or the source-subject construction). First, in Japanese, subjects may sometimes be assigned the oblique marking *kara* ‘from’ in lieu of the nominative case *ga*, as seen in (7).

- (7) a. Kon-kai-wa {John-ga/John-kara} kihu-o yobikake-ta.
 this-time-Top John-Nom/John-from donation-Acc call.for-Past
 ‘John called for a donation this time.’
- b. {John-ga/John-kara} Mary-ni sono-koto-o hanasi-ta.
 John-Nom/John-from Mary-Dat that-fact-Acc tell-Past
 ‘John told Mary about that fact.’

The two variants in each sentence in (7) carry the same logical meanings regardless of their subject marking, and show how subjects may be marked by *kara*, alongside *ga*: the oblique marker *kara* may be assigned to an agent subject insofar as it is also identified as a kind of source.⁶

The oblique *kara*, which is used to specify a ‘source’, should bear inherent Case, and thus, the argument occurring with *kara* does not require an external Case head for its Case licensing. The oblique marker *kara* is construed as a postposition categorically, which presumably projects a PP syntactically. Notably, however, the *kara*-marked argument does

⁶ Other verbs that can take agent sources as subjects include *yuu* ‘say’, *tanomu* ‘ask’, *meiziru* ‘order’, and (*tegami-o*) *kaku* ‘write (a letter)’.

not act as a locative adjunct. Rather, this argument serves as a subject, just like the nominative argument in (7a, b). The grammatical status of the *kara*-marked argument can be confirmed by reflexivization. As shown in (8), the agent argument of *hanasu* ‘tell’ can count as the antecedent of the reflexive *zibun* ‘self’, whether it is marked with the nominative case *ga* or the oblique *kara*.⁷

- (8) a. John_i-ga Mary-ni zibun_i-no himitu-o hanasi-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat self-Gen secret-Acc tell-Past
 ‘John told Mary his own secrets.’
- b. Ken_i-kara-mo Mary-ni zibun_i-no himitu-o hanasi-ta.
 Ken-from-also Mary-Dat self-Gen secret-Acc tell-Past
 ‘Ken also told Mary his own secrets.’

As often discussed (e.g. Shibatani 1978, Katada 1991), the reflexive *zibun* ‘self’ is subject-oriented. Since the *kara*-marked nominals counting as agents pattern with nominative subjects with regard to reflexivization, we can state that *kara*-marked agent arguments function as subjects, just like nominative subjects. Evidently, whether or not a given argument can assume the grammatical function of subject does not depend on the syntactic distinction of DP and PP, so the agent arguments in (7) acquire subject status regardless of whether they are marked with the nominative *ga* or the oblique *kara*.⁸

⁷ Presumably for pragmatic reasons, some speakers need to establish a context where the referent of the *kara*-subject is emphasized, in order for the *kara*-marked subject to serve as the antecedent of the reflexive *zibun*. On the other hand, an adjunct marked by *kara* can never serve as a possible antecedent for *zibun*.

⁸ Even in English, the syntactic distinction of PP versus DP does not impose a strict restriction on the grammatical function that a nominal can bear, as can be seen by the fact that a verb like *put* takes a locative PP as an argument, even though locative PPs are often identified as adjuncts.

As we will discuss below, the assignment of the oblique marking *kara* ‘from’ to the subject should be possible when T does not include the Case feature [+nominative]. Obviously, this option is not available in English, since finite T always carries [+nominative]. If the preposition *from* is assigned to the subject, the derivation necessarily crashes, on the grounds that the uninterpretable Case feature [+nominative] on T fails to be deleted. Therefore, it is simply not possible in English to derive a sentence like **From John told Mary about it.*

The assignment of the oblique *kara*-marking is not confined to subjects. *Kara*-marking can be assigned to other arguments, if identified as ‘sources’ thematically.⁹ Example (9) represents a case where the *kara*-marked argument is a possessor, which is identified as a source as well.

- (9) John-wa Mary-kara hon-o kari-ta.
 John-Top Mary-from book-Acc borrow-Past
 ‘John borrowed a book from Mary.’

The *kara*-phase in (9) is an indirect internal argument, which appears in VP. Accordingly, in (9), the subject of the verb *kariru* ‘borrow’ appears in the clause, in addition to the

⁹ There is another use of the oblique *kara* ‘from’, which specifies ‘ordering’. The ‘ordering’ use of *kara* differs from the ‘source’ use, in that a nominal with *kara* shows behavior akin to a floating quantifier.

- (i) John-wa kudamono-o ringo-kara tabe-ta.
 John-Top fruit-Acc apple-from eat-Past
 ‘John ate the fruit, starting from the apple.’

When a *kara*-nominal specifies ‘ordering’, an independent argument that serves as its host can appear in a separate syntactic position, as seen in (i).

kara-argument. In (9), since the *kara*-phrase is not a subject, it does not serve as the antecedent of the subject-oriented reflexive *zibun*.

- (10) *John-wa Mary_i-kara zibun_i-no hon-o kari-ta.
 John-Top Mary-from self-Gen book-Acc borrow-Past
 (Lit.) ‘John borrowed self’s book from Mary.’

The fact that *zibun* cannot take the *kara*-argument as its antecedent is naturally expected, since the *kara*-argument is not a subject.

In (7), *kara*- and *ga*-marked arguments serve as agents in one way or another, so we can assume that the arguments marked with the oblique *kara* ‘from’ are merged to Spec,vP, (by virtue of the selection of an external argument for v), in just the same way that the nominative subjects are, as represented in (11).¹⁰

- (11) [TP [vP SU-*ga*/SU-*kara* [vP V] V-v] T]

We assume here, following Chomsky (2000, 2001), that V is located in vP as a consequence of V-to-v raising. Importantly, the *kara*-marked subject ends up in a surface structural position distinct from one occupied by the nominative subject, even though they are base-generated in the same position. The structural difference that emerges depending on the morphological marking of subjects may be detected by the availability of NPI interpretation for the indeterminate pronoun *dare* ‘anyone’ in (12).

- (12) Kon-kai-wa {*dare-ga/dare-kara} kihu-o yobikake-**mo**
 this-time-Top anyone-Nom/anyone-from donation-Acc call.for-Q

¹⁰ This means that subjects are merged to vP whose head position is filled by the verb raised from its associated VP.

si-nakat-ta.

do-Neg-Past

‘No one called for a donation this time.’

As discussed by Kuroda (1965), Kishimoto (2001), and others, if the indeterminate pronoun *dare* ‘anyone’ is bound by *mo*, the complex of *dare* + *mo* is interpreted as an NPI. In (12), where the Q particle *mo* immediately follows the main verb, the indeterminate pronoun marked with *kara* is construed as forming part of an NPI, but the one bearing nominative case is not.¹¹ As Kishimoto (2001) argues, the adverbial particle *mo* appearing with the verb extends its scope over the associated vP, but not beyond; hence, *mo* can only bind an indeterminate pronoun included in vP. The facts of indeterminate pronoun binding (12) suggest then that the *kara*-subject remains in Spec,vP, while the nominative subject is displaced and moved to Spec,TP, as represented in (13).

- (13) a. [TP [[VP SU-*kara* [VP \forall] V-v-**mo**] si-nakat] ta]
b. *[TP SU-NOM [[VP ~~SU-NOM~~ [VP \forall] V-v-**mo**] si-nakat] ta]

On the basis of the data regarding indeterminate pronoun binding, we can state that the EPP requirement is imposed on T (which has the effect of attracting a subject to Spec,TP) when the clause includes a nominative subject, but that the EPP is not instantiated when an oblique subject appears in the clause by way of replacing the nominative *ga* with the oblique *kara*.

As often discussed (see e.g. Takezawa 1987, Tada 1992, and others), there is good reason to believe that T is the Case licenser of a nominative argument. We thus assume that

¹¹ The difference in acceptability between the nominative and oblique subjects with regard to indeterminate pronoun binding is clear for the speakers the author has consulted, but the judgments might not be shared by all speakers, for one reviewer did not see a clear contrast.

when an Agree relation is established between finite T furnished with [+nominative] and its associated nominative argument, the uninterpretable Case feature [α nominative] on the nominative argument is deleted after valuation, and at the same time, [+nominative] on T, which is also uninterpretable, is deleted. Obviously, no nominative argument appears in the clause when nominative case is replaced by *kara*. This suggests that in the *kara*-subject construction, finite T is not accorded with [+nominative]. In Japanese, it is possible for finite T not to comprise the Case feature [+nominative], and when finite T lacks the Case feature [+nominative], no EPP requirement is imposed.¹²

In the literature, it is often claimed that the EPP works in tandem with some grammatical features, but there is an issue whether it is linked to Case or agreement. Bošković (2002) and Martin (1999) propose that the EPP should emerge in combination with Case. In contrast, Kuroda (1988), Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), and Miyagawa (2010) take agreement to be crucial. In Japanese, the specifier requirement of T is effected when T possesses the Case feature [+nominative]. The facts of the *kara*-subject construction suggest that the EPP requirement (imposed on T) be fixed on the basis of Case.

Turning now to the question of how subject honorification behaves in the oblique-subject construction, observe that both nominative and oblique subjects in (7) can be targeted by subject honorification, as shown in (14).¹³

¹² Chomsky (2000) claims that manifestation of structural Case depends on the type of the probe, as finite T (nominative), *v* (accusative), and the like, and that structural Case is regarded as a single undifferentiated feature. The present proposal departs from Chomsky's analysis, in positing some different types of Case features (such as [α nominative] and [α accusative]). The Japanese fact suggests that finite T is not necessarily tied to the Case feature [+nominative], and that there are cases in which finite T does not possess [+nominative] (cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2001).

¹³ The judgments on honorification may vary, perhaps by virtue of idiolectal variation: some speakers find subject honorification with *kara*-subjects rather awkward, but other speakers are comfortable with this type of honorification.

- (14) {*Ito-sensei-kara/Ito-sensei-ga*} John-ni sono-koto-o o-hanasi-**ni-nat**-ta.
 Ito-teacher-from/Ito-teacher-Nom John-Dat that-fact-Acc Hon-tell-Lv-Past
 ‘Prof. Ito told John about that fact.’

This state of affairs is naturally expected, given that the agent argument serves as a subject syntactically irrespective of whether it occurs with the nominative *ga* or the oblique *kara*.¹⁴ In a sentence like (15), in contrast, subject honorification targeting the *kara*-argument is not possible (even if it is taken to refer to an individual worthy of respect contextually).

- (15) *John-wa *Ito-sensei-kara* hon-o o-kari-**ni-nat**-ta.
 John-Top Ito-teacher-from book-Acc Hon-borrow-Lv-Past
 ‘John borrowed a book from Prof. Ito.’

The *kara*-argument in (15) does not serve as a subject syntactically (i.e. this argument does not appear in subject position, but in a structural position below VP), so that it does not

¹⁴ Non-subject honorification can target a *kara*-marked argument, as well as an accusative argument, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) a. John-ga *Ito-sensei-o* uti-ni o-okuri-si-ta.
 John-Nom Ito-teacher-Acc home-to Hon-send-do-Past
 ‘John send Prof. Ito home.’
 b. John-ga *Ito-sensei-kara* hon-o o-kari-si-ta.
 John-Nom Ito-teacher-from book-Acc Hon-borrow-do-Past
 ‘John borrowed books from Prof. Ito.’

This shows that the syntactic distinction of DP versus PP does not play a role in determining the target of non-subject honorification as well.

count as a target for subject honorification.

The important fact is that as seen in (14), subject honorification can be anchored to the *kara*-marked subject, as well as the nominative subject, despite a difference in their surface position.

- (16) a. [TP [HP [vP SU-*kara* [vP \forall]V-v] H] T]
 b. [TP SU-NOM [HP [vP ~~SU-NOM~~ [vP \forall]V-v] H] T]

The nominative subject occupies Spec,TP, as a consequence of subject raising, but note that Spec,TP lies outside the c-command domain of the honorific head; hence, the honorific head H cannot access the subject in Spec,TP. Furthermore, the *kara*-subject does not undergo subject raising; subject honorification would fail to target the *kara*-marked subject if it picked out a subject located in Spec,TP. Thus, we can reasonably conclude that subject honorification takes an argument in Spec,vP (but not one in Spec,TP) as its target. Under the view held here, subject honorification is vP-level agreement, where an honorific head agrees with an argument appearing in Spec,vP. This analysis squares with Saito's (2009) claim that the subject should be identified with reference to Spec,vP.

In essence, the honorification data regarding the *kara*-subject construction, where the subject receives the oblique *kara* by replacing nominative case, show that subject honorific agreement requires a syntactically local relation for its licensing. Subject honorification—honorific agreement—is licensed at the level of vP, in the sense that an argument (marked with [+honorific]) which is either merged to Spec,vP or moved to it by A-movement can sanction honorific marking on the verb. Needless to say, the facts would come as a surprise under the classic analysis (e.g. Harada 1976, Shibatani 1978), which simply takes subject honorification to target subjects (i.e. the analysis advanced without defining precisely where in clause structure subject honorification should take place).

2.2 The aspectual construction

Under the analysis taking subject honorification to pick out a subject occupying Spec,vP (i.e. the lower subject position) as its target, we can provide a ready account for the fact that *kara*-subjects—which are not raised to Spec,TP—can be targeted by subject honorification. Bearing in mind a difference in the structural position of the *kara*- and *ga*-marked subjects, we will now discuss how subject honorification behaves in the aspectual construction formed by embedding the *kara*-subject clause under the aspectual verb *iru* ‘be’.¹⁵ In the following paragraphs, we show that when an argument is raised to Spec,TP via A-movement, it moves through the edge of vP projected from the aspect verb.

At the outset, observe that in (17), where *hanasu* ‘tell’ is followed by *iru* ‘be’, the subject of the verb *hanasu* ‘tell’ may be marked with either the oblique *kara* ‘from’ or the nominative *ga*, due to the fact that it is construed as an agent source.

- (17) a. Ken-ga Eri-ni sono-koto-o hanasi-te i-ru.
 Ken-Nom Eri-Dat that-fact-Acc tell-Te be-Pres
 ‘Ken is telling that matter to Eri.’
- b. Ken-kara Eri-ni sono-koto-o hanasi-te i-ru.
 Ken-from Eri-Dat that-fact-Acc tell-Te be-Pres
 ‘Ken is telling that matter to Eri.’

¹⁵ The aspectual expression *-te iru* consists of the morpheme *-te* and the verb *iru* ‘be’, and can convey a number of different meanings, which are largely determined depending on the host verb to which it attaches. When the preceding verb is an activity verb like *hasiru* ‘run’, the predominant meaning is a progressive one. Thus, *hasit-te i-ru* (run-Te be-Pres) has the salient meaning of ‘in the process of running’. On the other hand, when the host verb is an inchoative verb *sinu* ‘die’, it predominantly has a perfective meaning, so *sin-de i-ru* (die-Te be-Pres) has a salient meaning paraphrasable as ‘in the state of being already dead’.

The sole visible difference between (17a) and (17b) lies in the morphological marking of the subjects: while the subject in (17a) is marked in the nominative case, the subject in (17b) receives *kara*-marking.

The morphological marking of subjects brings out a syntactic consequence on subject honorification when the clause is embedded under the aspectual verb *iru*. First, when the subject bears nominative case, as in (17a), the subject honorific marker may appear on either the main or the aspectual verb.¹⁶

- (18) *Sensei-ga* *Eri-ni* *sono-koto-o* {**o-hanasi-ni-nat-te** *i-ru/hanasi-te*
 teacher-Nom Eri-Dat that-fact-Acc Hon-tell-Lv-Te be-Pres/tell-Te
o-ide-ni-nar-u}.
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘The teacher is telling that matter to Eri.’

¹⁶ *O-ide-ni-naru* is a suppletive honorific form of *iru* ‘be’. The verb part *ide* in this honorific expression has its origin in the motion verb *izu* ‘come out, go out’, which is no longer in use in present-day Japanese. Thus, this suppletive form can also be used as honorific forms of *iku* ‘go’ and *kuru* ‘come’. The aspectual verb has another honorific form *irassiyaru*, but we do not use this form, since the relevant judgments becomes less clear for some speakers, if not all. Apparently, the reason seems to be that the bi-clausal structure of the aspectual construction tends to be reanalyzed as a mono-clausal structure, *irassiyaru* being reduced to a bound form. (In fact, *-te-irassiyaru* may be contracted to *-terassiyaru* (without the verb stem *i-*), but contraction is not possible with the suppletive form *o-ide-ni-naru*, suggesting that reanalysis does not take place in the case of *o-ide-ni-naru*). Note that it is not impossible to duplicate the same honorific marker in the aspectual construction, as *o-osie-ni-nat-te o-ide-ni-nar-u* (Hon-teach-Lv-Te Hon-be-Lv-Pres), but the verbal sequence is rather awkward (unless the speaker shows an excessively humble attitude).

In (18), both types of honorification can be understood to target the subject. On the other hand, when the subject is marked with *kara* ‘from’, as in (17b), a contrast in acceptability emerges, as in (19), which varies according to where the honorific marker is attached.

- (19) *Sensei-kara* Eri-ni sono-koto-o {**o-hanasi-ni-nat-te** i-ru/*hanasi-te
 teacher-from Eri-Dat that-fact-Acc Hon-tell-Lv-Te be-Pres/tell-Te
o-ide-ni-nar-u}.
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘The teacher is telling that matter to Eri.’

When the subject occurs with *kara*, the honorific marker can be attached only to the main verb. If it is attached to the aspectual verb, subject honorification cannot be directed to the *kara*-phrase; hence the sentence is not acceptable. The difference in the possibility of subject honorification between (18) and (19) can be attributed to the fact that the *kara*-subject, unlike the nominative subject, stays vP-internally without subject raising.¹⁷

A remark is in order at this point. In Japanese, the morpheme *-te* is often assumed to form part of the verb (see e.g. McCawley and Momoi 1986, Kageyama 1993), but *-te* may be regarded as appearing in the structural position occupied by tense for the following reasons; *-te* may be positioned to the right of a negative marker if there is one (e.g. *mi-naku-te* (see-Neg-Te)), and can also be separated from the verb by an adverbial particle like *mo* ‘also’ (e.g. *mi-te* (see-Te) → *mi-mo si-te* (see-also do-Te)) in the same way as tense (e.g. *mi-ta* (see-Past) → *mi-mo si-ta* (see-also do-Past)). Moreover, verbs occurring with the

¹⁷ The judgments on the difference between nominative and *kara*-marked subjects might be rather subtle for speakers who do not readily allow for *kara*-marking on subjects (and sometimes for speakers who have no trouble in marking them with *kara*), but for other speakers, the relevant contrast is clear. The reported judgments come from the group of speakers who find the clear contrast.

morpheme *-te* have an infinitival/participial character semantically. We thus postulate that *-te* fills a non-finite T-head position (see Yuasa 2005). On this premise, the aspectual construction should have the structure (20).

(20) [TP [vPasp [VP ... [TP ... [vP [VP \forall] V-v] *te*] \forall]V-v_{asp}] T]

It is also assumed that the aspectual *iru*, which is a lexically independent verb, has a full-fledged vP structure, where V is moved to v, just like an ordinary lexical verb. In the aspectual construction where the main verb in the *te*-form is followed by the aspectual verb *iru*, therefore, two TP projections are present. Nevertheless, in the subsequent discussion, we will refer to the upper tense projection simply as ‘TP’, since the lower non-finite TP is not relevant for the discussion of the EPP.

Under the present view, the upper aspectual verb *iru* is classified as a raising predicate. The aspectual verb *iru* does not impose any selectional restrictions on the subject of the clause. Thus, as shown in (21), an inanimate subject is allowed to appear, and the clausal idiom *kankodori-ga naku* ‘hardly get any customers’, which literally means ‘cuckoos sing’, can be embedded under the aspectual *iru*.

- (21) a. Ame-ga hut-te i-ru.
rain-Nom fall-Te be-Pres
‘It is raising.’
- b. Kono-mise-de-wa kankodori-ga nai-te i-ru.
this-shop-in-Top cuckoo-Nom sing-Te be-Pres
‘This shop is hardly getting any customers.’

If the aspectual construction involves raising (rather than control), the subject of the main predicate is raised from the lower to the upper clause if T has an EPP feature; if not, this movement is not implemented, as represented in (22).

- (22) a. [TP SU [_{vPasp} ~~SU~~ [... [_{vP} ~~SU~~ [_{VP}]V-v]]V-v_{asp}] T [+EPP]]
 b. [TP [_{vPasp} [... [_{vP} SU [_{VP}]V-v]] V-v_{asp}] T]

If, as suggested earlier, the EPP requirement of T is activated due to the presence of [+nominative], this brings us to the expectation that in the aspectual construction, the subject will be raised to TP if marked with nominative case, but will remain in the lowest vP-internal position if marked with *kara*. The difference in the structural position of subjects in the aspectual construction is confirmed by (23).

- (23) Kyoo-wa { *dare-ga/dare-kara } kodomo-ni hanasikake-**mo** si-te
 today-Top anyone-Nom/anyone-from child-Dat talk-Q do-Te
 i-na-i.
 be-Neg-Pres
 ‘No one is talking to the child today.’

In (23), the subject marked with *kara* is construed as forming part of an NPI, but the nominative subject is not. The fact of indeterminate pronoun binding suggests that in the aspectual construction where the main verb is embedded under the aspectual *iru*, the *kara*-subject remains in Spec,vP, while the nominative subject is displaced from the vP-internal subject position.

- (24) a. [TP SU-NOM [_{vPasp} ~~SU-NOM~~ [... [_{vP} ~~SU-NOM~~ [_{VP} ... ~~V~~] V-v-**mo**] si-te] i] ru]
 b. [TP [_{vPasp} [... [_{vP} SU-*kara* [_{VP} ... ~~V~~] V-v-**mo**] si-te] i] ru]

In (23), the nominative subject fails to serve as part of an NPI, because it lies outside vP which comprises *mo*, as illustrated in (24a), but the NPI interpretation is allowed for the *kara*-subject, because it resides in vP without subject raising, as in (24b). In the aspectual

construction, just like a simple clause, the EPP requirement is imposed on T when a nominative subject, but not a *kara*-marked subject, appears in the clause.

The difference in the position of the two kinds of subjects may also be assessed by looking at the focus interpretation pertinent to sentences like (25), where *bakari* ‘only’ immediately follows the main verb (Kishimoto 2010).

- (25) {Ken-ga/Ken-kara} kodomo-ni kogoto-o it-te-**bakari** i-ru.
 Ken-Nom/Ken-from child-Dat complaint-Acc say-Te-only be-Pres
 ‘Ken is only making complaints to the child.’

In (25), *bakari* can be associated the *kara*-marked subject, but not the nominative subject; (25) can be taken to carry the meaning of ‘only Ken is telling that matter to the child’ when the subject is marked with *kara*, but not when it is marked with nominative case. As discussed by Kishimoto (2010), *bakari* can only be associated with an argument located below vP. The interpretive fact of (25) also illustrates that the nominative subject is raised to Spec,TP, while the *kara*-subject remains in Spec,vP.¹⁸

In (18), the subject is assigned nominative case. In this case, the subject-honorific marker can appear on either the main or the aspectual verb. This honorification fact can be accounted for, given the configurations (26), where the subject base-generated in the lower vP has been raised to TP, passing through the higher aspectual vP.¹⁹

¹⁸ The scope judgments might be subject to idiolectal variation: one reviewer reports that s/he does not find a clear contrast, but the speakers the author has consulted find the difference; also, for some speakers, judgments on *bakari*-association are easier than those involving indeterminate pronoun binding.

¹⁹ In the representations illustrating the formal licensing of subject honorification, only the features located on the relevant positions are represented.

of the passive vP (see also section 2.3). Thus, in (31), there is no way for the uninterpretable honorific feature on the honorific marker associated with the passive morpheme to be deleted in agreement with the semantic feature [+honorific] on the *kara*-phrase. Accordingly, in (31), subject honorification cannot target the *kara*-phrase even if it counts as an agent.

Furthermore, the demoted agent does not count as a potential goal for T. In (31), the passive subject (i.e. the theme) is the only argument that can be attracted by T. The movement of the subject proceeds from its base position to TP through the passive and transitive vPs. There is good reason to believe that an adjunct does not count as an intervener inducing an intervention effect for A-movement; therefore, the subject is allowed to move to TP across the adjunct to fulfill the EPP requirement of T, even when it starts from the object position.

The facts regarding subject honorification in the aspectual constructions (19) and (20) illustrate that subject honorification is anchored to an argument with a syntactically local relation. In the aspectual construction where the subject is raised to Spec,TP, subject honorific agreement associated with the main verb is licensed by virtue of the subject's merging to the lowest vP where the main verb is located (i.e. external Merge). On the other hand, subject honorific agreement associated with the aspectual verb is made available via the subject's moving through the upper aspectual vP on its way to TP via A-movement (i.e. internal Merge). In the present analysis, both types of subject honorification are manifestations of vP-level agreement.

2.3 Light verb projections

As we discussed above, in order for subject honorification to be licensed, an argument marked [+honorific] needs to move into the vP comprised of the verb bearing a subject-honorific marker. The honorification facts of the aspectual construction carry the implication that when subjects undergo A-movement to Spec,TP, they stop at the edge of

light verb projections on their way. In this section, we will look into how subject honorification behave in unaccusative and passive clauses, due to an issue over whether or not these vPs should constitute strong phrases constrained by the PIC.

In the literature, there are at least two different views on the phasehood of unaccusative and passive vPs. According to Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004), transitive and unergative vPs form strong phases that induce the PIC effects, but unaccusative and passive vPs do not (see also Chomsky 2008, Radford 2009). On the other hand, mainly drawing on the interpretive effects induced by A'-movement, Legate (2003) claims that unaccusative/passive vPs also constitute strong phases constrained by the PIC (see also Nissenbaum 2000).²¹

The rationale for the distinction on the light verb projections made by Chomsky is that the unergative/transitive vPs complete a thematic complex, introducing an argument (an agent or an experiencer), but unaccusative/passive vPs do not possess the ability to host an argument, due to the lack of ϕ -features to implement Case/agreement checking. (The passive and unaccusative subjects are internal arguments originated from the object positions.) In the present analysis, the search domain for the honorific head H is restricted by the PIC. If the difference noted above with regard to the v-head's ability to host an argument is viable for the determination of the phase property, subject honorification is expected to behave differently, according to whether the light verb appearing below the honorific head H can introduce an argument.

²¹ We assume, with Chomsky (2001, 2004), that unaccusative/passive Vs occur with their associated light verbs. This is not the only analysis available in the literature, however. Chomsky (1995) holds that light verbs are not associated with unaccusative/passive Vs. Legate (2003) does not commit herself to the question of whether or not the unaccusative/passive Vs should be accompanied by light verbs. The phasehood of verbal projections is independent of the question of whether they are associated with light verb projections, as noted by Legate (2003).

kara-phrase selected by the unaccusative verb *todoku* ‘reach’ in (40) cannot be a target for subject honorification.

- (40) **Nimotu-ga Sato-sensei-kara o-todoki-ni-nat-ta.*
package-Nom Sato-teacher-from Hon-reach-Lv-Past
‘The package reached from Prof. Sato.’

The fact illustrates that the unaccusative vP prevents the honorific head H from accessing an argument located below VP, and that H can only have access to an argument moving through the unaccusative vP by A-movement.

In the aspectual constructions (34) and (38), subject honorification is allowed at the two different vP levels, even though the subjects are internal arguments originated from object positions. The data suggest that subject honorification with the honorific marker appearing on the unaccusative/passive as well as the aspectual verbs is licensed, on the grounds that the subject is raised to TP via A-movement, while going through the relevant vPs. This suggests that when arguments move to Spec,TP, they stop by passive/unaccusative vPs, and enter into a ϕ -feature relation with these projections (to be identified as their subjects). Since the honorific heads associated with the passive/unaccusative vPs pick out only the subjects, we can reasonably state that they must constitute strong phrases.

2.4 Summary

In this section, we have seen that nominative subjects undergo raising to Spec,TP, while *kara*-subjects remain internal to vP without subject raising. When the verb is embedded under the aspectual verb *iru* ‘be’, the *kara*-marked subject can be an honorific target when a subject honorific marker is attached to the main verb, but not the aspectual verb. This shows that an argument marked with [+honorific] can serve as the target of subject honorification only if it appears in Spec,vP comprising the verb with an honorific marker,

by way of either base-generation or A-movement. The facts regarding subject honorification also illustrate that when subjects are raised to TP, they need to stop at the edge of light verb projections on their way to TP.

3 Motivation for subject raising

Thus far, we have seen that subject raising is not always instantiated in Japanese. In this section, by looking at a set of stative predicates, we will provide further confirmation for the claim that subject raising is motivated if T bears the Case feature [+nominative] to license a nominative argument. On the basis of stative perception predicates (*mieru* ‘see’ and *kikoeru* ‘hear’), which can take *kara*-marked arguments, it is shown that the presence of a nominative argument is crucial for motivating subject raising in Japanese.—i.e. the T-head is furnished with an EPP feature to induce subject raising when a nominative argument is present in the clause.

In Japanese, ordinary transitive verbs take a nominative-accusative case-marking pattern, but certain stative predicates (in particular, experiencer predicates) show a different case pattern of ‘dative-nominative’, taking dative subjects and nominative objects. The examples in (41) show how transitive stative predicates like *wakaru* ‘understand’ and *mieru* ‘see’ take a dative-nominative case-marking pattern.

- (41) a. John-ni sono-koto-ga wakar-u.
 John-Dat this-fact-Nom understand-Pres
 ‘John understands this matter.’
- b. John-ni sono-kanban-ga mie-ru.
 John-Dat this-billboard-Nom see-Pres
 ‘John can see this billboard.’

In both examples in (41), the dative experiencer serves as an external argument (i.e. the

subject), which we can assume is merged to Spec,vP, whereas the theme argument is a nominative object, which occurs within VP.

The dative subjects pattern with nominative subjects in regard to subject honorification, since they can be targeted by subject honorification at two different levels when the verbs are embedded under the aspectual *iru* ‘be’, as illustrated in (42).

- (42) a. *Ito-sensei-ni* *sono-koto-ga* {**o-wakari-ni-nat-te** *i-ru/wakat-te*
 Ito-teacher-Dat this-fact-Nom Hon-understand-Lv-Te be-Pres/understand-Te
o-ide-ni-nar-u}.
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘Prof. Ito has understood this matter.’
- b. *Ito-sensei-ni* *ano-kodomo-ga* {**o-mie-ni-nat-te** *i-ru/mie-te*
 Ito-teacher-Dat that-child-Nom Hon-see-Lv-Te be-Pres/see-Te
o-ide-ni-nar-u}.
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘Prof. Ito can see that child.’

Given that both higher and lower subject honorification are possible in (42), we can state that the dative subject (i.e. the experiencer argument) merged to Spec,vP is raised to Spec,TP, by way of the aspectual vP due to the EPP requirement of T, as in (43).²³

²³ Verbs with the potential suffixes *-(r)e* and *-(r)are*, which carry ability meanings, can take dative subjects when they are transitive. When these potential predicates are combined with the subject honorific markers, unacceptability results (or the derived forms are highly awkward at best), as shown in *??hasire-te o-ide-ni-naru* (run.can Hon-be-Lv-Pres) **o-hasire-ni-naru* (Hon-run.can-Lv-Pres) etc. (see Kikuchi 1997). Nevertheless, a set of simple predicates like *wakaru* ‘understand’, *mieru* ‘see’, *kikoeru* ‘hear’, etc.—which carry a spontaneous meaning—can naturally be embedded under the subject honorific makers, even though they take stative case-marking patterns. This means that the aspectual

differently from the *kara*-subject construction (44). A key to understanding this issue lies in the constraint that a tensed clause needs at least one nominative argument. The nominative-case constraint applies to both nominative- and dative-subject constructions (see Shibatani 1978, and others). On the other hand, the *kara*-subject construction offers one exceptional syntactic context in which the nominative-case constraint is not imposed. As often discussed in the Japanese literature (Takezawa 1987, Tada 1992, Ura 2000), nominative arguments enter into a Case-checking relation with T. If so, the facts of subject raising can be accounted for on the assumption that the grammatical requirement of the EPP is activated if T bears the Case feature [+nominative].

To be concrete, in the *kara*-subject construction (46), T is not specified for [+nominative], so no subject raising takes place. In (44), by contrast, T bears [+nominative] to license the nominative object, and subject raising is induced. The dative subject merged to Spec,vP is an argument higher than the nominative object, i.e. the dative subject c-commands the nominative object. Accordingly, in (44), the dative subject, and not the nominative object, is raised to Spec,TP to fulfill the specifier requirement of T, even though T holds an Agree relation with the nominative object for Case licensing. This shows that in Japanese, the [+nominative] specification for T governs the possibility of its EPP requirement; namely, the EPP requirement is imposed on the T-head when it bears the Case feature [+nominative] (to value and delete the uninterpretable Case feature on a nominative argument).

Moreover, if the [+nominative] specification on T motivates overt subject raising to TP, we predict that even *kara*-marked subjects will be raised to Spec,TP in cases where some non-subject arguments are marked with nominative case. This prediction is in fact borne out. To make this point, let us now take a look at the syntactic behavior of the *kara*-arguments sanctioned by the perception predicates *mieru* ‘see’ and *kikoeru* ‘hear’.

- (45) a. Mary-ni/-kara sono-kanban-ga mie-ta.
 Mary-Dat/-from that-billboard-Nom see-Past
 ‘Mary saw that billboard.’

- b. Mary-kara sono-unarigoe-ga kikoe-ta.
 Mary-from that-groan-Nom hear-Past
 ‘That groan was heard from Mary.’

The perception predicates *mieru* and *kikoeru* can take *kara*-marked arguments. Note, however, that the *kara*-arguments in (45a) and (45b) have different syntactic status. On the one hand, the *kara*-argument of the verb *mieru* ‘see’ serves as an experiencer, which can also be marked by the dative *ni*, as shown in (45a). This argument is construed as a subject syntactically; Thus, it can be a target for subject honorification, and can also serve as the antecedent of the reflexive *zibun*, as illustrated in (46).

- (46) a. *Ito-sensei-kara* ano-kanban-ga o-mie-ni-nar-u.
 Ito-teacher-from that-billboard-Nom Hon-see-Lv-Pres
 ‘Prof. Ito can see that billboard.’
- b. John_i-kara-mo zibun_i-no uti-ga mie-ru.
 John-from-also self-Gen house-Nom see-Pres
 ‘John as well can see his own house.’

On the other hand, the *kara*-marked argument of *kikoeru* ‘hear’ in (46b) does not count as an experiencer. Thus, in the case of *kikoeru*, an experiencer subject can be expressed independently of the *kara*-marked source, as shown in (47).

- (47) John-ni Mary-kara sakebigoe-ga kikoe-ta.
 John-Dat Mary-from shout-Nom hear-Past
 ‘John heard the shout from Mary.’

With *kikoeru* ‘hear’, the *kara*-argument is not a subject; hence, this argument cannot be the antecedent of *zibun*, nor can it be targeted by subject honorification.

- (48) a. **Ito-sensei-kara sono-sakebigoe-ga o-kikoe-ni-nat-ta.*
 Ito-teacher-from that-shout-Nom Hon-hear-Lv-Past
 ‘That shout was heard from Prof. Ito.’
- b. **John_i-kara-mo zibun_i-no sakebigoe-ga kikoe-ta.*
 John-from-also self-Gen shout-Nom hear-Past
 (Lit.) ‘Self’s shout was heard from John as well.’

In contrast, subject honorification is legitimate when it targets the dative experiencer, as in (49a) and this experiencer argument can also serve as the antecedent of *zibun*, as in (49b).

- (49) a. *Ito-sensei-ni sono-koe-ga o-kikoe-ni-nat-ta.*
 Ito-teacher-Dat that-voice-Nom Hon-hear-Lv-Past
 ‘Prof. Ito heard that voice.’
- b. *John_i-ni-mo zibun_i-no kodomo-no koe-ga kikoe-ta.*
 John-Dat-also self-Gen child-Gen voice-Nom hear-Past
 ‘John as well heard his child’s voice.’

The fact suggests that the *kara*-argument of the perception verb *mieru* ‘see’, but not *kikoeru* ‘hear’, counts as a syntactic subject, or that if a *kara*-marked argument taken by a stative perception predicate is counted as an experiencer, it acts as an external argument selected for v—the argument merged to Spec,vP.

For the present purposes, what is relevant is the behavior of the *kara*-marked experiencer argument selected for the verb *mieru* ‘see’ (45a), since it is the argument that can be targeted by subject honorification. In the present perspective, the *kara*-marked experiencer should be raised to TP, provided T has the Case feature [+nominative]. Thus, if the perception verb *mieru*—which takes a nominative object—is embedded under the aspectual *iru* ‘be’, we would expect both higher and lower subject honorification targeting

nominative argument.²⁴

In the dative-subject, as well as the *kara*-subject construction with the verb *mieru* ‘see’ taking a nominative object, T can value and delete the Case feature on the nominative object, even though the object lies within VP. The PIC does not impose a restriction on T for its Case/agreement checking (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Thus, even though the dative- and *kara*-subject constructions with *mieru* comprise transitive v, which hosts an external argument (i.e. the experiencer), T can have access to an element lower than the edge of vP for the purpose of Case licensing. In English, unaccusative/passive verbs most typically show long distance agreement (e.g. in the expletive constructions), but in Icelandic, a long distance Case/agreement relation is also found in transitive quirky-subject constructions such as the dative-subject constructions (see e.g. Sigurðsson 1996). Likewise, in Japanese, a long distance Case relation between T and a nominative object can be established in the dative- and oblique-subject constructions. In these transitive constructions, T can agree with a nominative argument across transitive vP, which introduces an external argument (i.e. the experiencer). It is apparent then that T may access the nominative object in VP, because its search domain is not restricted by the PIC.

Long distance effects arise when an element merged or moved to Spec,TP cannot delete the features of T (see Chomsky 2001, 2004). In the dative-subject construction, the dative subject is raised to Spec,TP, in conformity with the PIC, possibly by virtue of the fact that T can search only the edge of vP for the purpose of the EPP requirement, which induces A-movement (i.e. displacement). However, the raised dative subject does not bear a Case feature usable for deleting [+nominative] on T. In such a case, T searches an active

²⁴ In Japanese, A-movement to Spec,TP is motivated when T bears [+nominative], and obviously, subject honorification, which would be conceived of as a kind of agreement (see Mikami 1970, Kishimoto 2000, Ura 2000), does not bring out any consequence on the status of the EPP. This corroborates the view taking the EPP to be fixed on the basis of Case.

goal with an unvalued nominative Case feature appearing below VP, without regard to the PIC; in consequence, long distance Agree for Case licensing is possible. We presume that when purely grammatical licensing is involved (with no displacement), a long distance relation is permitted. In contrast, subject honorification is constrained by the PIC; the honorific head H can agree only with an argument at the edge of vP. We surmise that honorific agreement resorts to the PIC, for the purpose of establishing a local construal relevant for the semantic interpretation, and thus, H can only search a goal in the accessible domain; the derivation crashes if H cannot find a matching goal in its accessible domain—i.e. if no local relation is established. (Note, however, that subject honorification is not a phenomenon that makes reference only to an argument that appears as the first Spec,vP (i.e. the subject). We will discuss this point in section 4.)

In the Japanese literature, there has been an issue over where subjects are located in clause structure (see Fukui 1986, Kuroda 1988, Fukui and Takano 1998, Miyagawa 2001, Kishimoto 2001, 2009 and others). This issue arises largely due to the fact that in Japanese (as an SOV language), it is not possible to decide whether subjects are located in vP or raised to Spec,TP by merely looking at word order. On the basis of the *kara*-subject construction, however, we can now confirm that T is furnished with an EPP feature to induce subject raising when a nominative argument is present in the clause: the raising of a subject to TP is motivated (or activated) when T carries the Case feature [+nominative], but when T lacks [+nominative], subject raising is not implemented.

Another theoretical issue in Japanese linguistics concerns whether an object can be scrambled to Spec,TP, to meet the EPP requirement of T. Miyagawa (2001, 2005) argues that in a sentence like (52), the object is raised to Spec,TP via scrambling, while the subject remaining unmoved in vP-internal position.

- (52) Hon-o_i John-ga t_i yon-da.
 book-Acc John-Nom read-Past
 ‘The book, John read.’

On the other hand, Saito (2009) presents a different view to the effect that in (52), the subject is raised to Spec,TP, and the object is scrambled to a higher position (see also Miyagawa (2010), for his more recent claim to the effect that object scrambling could target a position higher than Spec,TP).

The issue that arises here is which analysis is favored. By way of embedding (52) under the aspectual verb *iru*, we can assess whether the object could be scrambled to Spec,TP with no raising of the subject. To make this point, consider the pair of sentences in (53), both of which are categorized as clauses where the EPP requirement is imposed on T, due to the presence of a nominative subject.

- (53) a. *Ito-sensei-ga* hon-o {**o-yomi-ni-nat-te** i-ru/yon-de
 Ito-teacher-Nom book-Acc Hon-read-Lv-Te be-Pres/read-Te
 o-ide-ni-nar-u. }
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘Prof. Ito is reading the book.’
- b. Hon-o_i *Ito-sensei-ga* t_i {**o-yomi-ni-nat-te** i-ru/yon-de
 book-Acc Ito-teacher-Nom Hon-read-Lv-Te be-Pres/read-Te
 o-ide-ni-nar-u. }
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘Prof. Ito is reading the book.’

The data illustrate that scrambling does not affect the possibility of subject honorification, viz. both higher and lower subject honorification targeting the nominative subject are allowed in the scrambled sentence (53b), as well as the non-scrambled sentence (53a). In addition, no subject honorification targeting the object is permitted even when it is scrambled across the subject, as shown in (54).

- (54) a. *Ken-ga Ito-sensei-o {o-home-ni-nat-te i-ru/home-te
 Ken-Nom Ito-teacher-Acc Hon-praise-Lv-Te be-Pres/praise-Te
 o-ide-ni-nar-u}.
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘Ken is praising Prof. Ito.’
- b. *Ito-sensei-o Ken-ga t_i {o-home-ni-nat-te i-ru/home-te
 Ito-teacher-Acc Ken-Nom Hon-praise-Lv-Te be-Pres/praise-Te
 o-ide-ni-nar-u}.
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘Ken is praising Prof. Ito.’

In both scrambled and unscrambled cases, the object can never be the target of subject honorification. This is the same distribution that we observe when an object is moved to a structural position higher than the subject via A'-movement (such as topicalization, pseudo-clefting, and relativization). The examples in (55) represent a case where topicalization is invoked.

- (55) a. Hon-wa_i Ito-sensei-ga t_i {o-yomi-ni-nat-te i-ru/yon-de
 book-Top Ito-teacher-Nom Hon-read-Lv-Te be-Pres/read-Te
 o-ide-ni-nar-u}.
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘As for the book, Prof. Ito is reading it.’
- b. *Ito-sensei-wa_i Ken-ga t_i {o-home-ni-nat-te i-ru/home-te
 Ito-teacher-Top Ken-Nom Hon-praise-Lv-Te be-Pres/praise-Te
 o-ide-ni-nar-u}.
 Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 ‘As for Prof. Ito, Ken is praising him.’

Exactly the same pattern of distribution is observed in the case of relativization as well, as seen in (56).

- (56) a. [*Ito-sensei-ga* t_i {**o-yomi-ni-nat-te** i-ru/yon-de **o-ide-ni-nar-u.**}]
 Ito-teacher-Nom Hon-read-Lv-Te be-Pres/read-Te Hon-be-Lv-Pres
 hon_i
 book
 ‘the book which Prof. Ito is reading.’
- b. *[*Ken-ga* t_i {**o-home-ni-nat-te** i-ru/home-te **o-ide-ni-nar-u.**}]
 Ken-Nom Hon-praise-Lv-Te be-Pres/praise-Te Hon-be-Lv-Pres
*Ito-sensei*_i
 Ito-teacher
 ‘Prof. Ito, who Ken is praising’

As shown in (55) and (56), an object displaced by A'-movement does not serve as a target of subject honorification, with no ϕ -feature relation being established with *v*, even if it has moved through *v*P.

The examples in (53) and (54) display the same honorification pattern as those in (55) and (56), which indicates that the possibility of subject raising is not affected by the scrambling of an object to the front position of the clause. In particular, the examples in (53) show that the nominative subject is raised to TP by way of the aspectual *v*P even when the object appears to the left of the subject via scrambling. The honorification pattern attested in (53) would not be available if the subject remained in the base position without raising to TP. The fact shows that the scrambled object is moved to a higher position than the subject located in Spec,TP, in a way similar to the objects that have undergone A'-movement in (55) and (56) (see also section 4). The conclusion to be drawn here is, then, that the nominative subject of an ordinary transitive clause undergoes subject raising to

Spec,TP regardless of whether or not its object is scrambled across the subject.²⁵

In this section, we have seen that in Japanese, if T bears the Case feature [+nominative] to be used for Case-licensing a nominative argument, the T-head is furnished with an EPP feature to induce subject raising; if not, the EPP feature is not assigned to T, in which case no subject raising is implemented. We have also seen that scrambling does not affect the possibility of subject raising: that is, in a transitive clause where the EPP requirement is imposed on T, the subject is invariably raised to Spec,TP irrespective of whether or not its object is scrambled to the left of the subject.

4 Object shift

Subject honorification can be regarded as vP-level agreement, which is licensed when the target nominal is base-generated in Spec,vP (comprised of the verb with the honorific marker) or moves into it via A-movement. Under the present proposal, the target of subject honorification is defined with no reference to the notion of ‘subject’. As we have discussed earlier, the proposed analysis has a number of advantages over the traditional one taking subject honorification to target subjects. In this section, we will discuss one more advantage of the proposed analysis.

One important prediction the proposed analysis makes is that: a non-subject argument will be able to serve as a target of subject honorification if it is A-moved into vP comprising the honorific verb. Even though subject orientation manifested by subject honorification is

²⁵ In Miyagawa’s (2001) analysis, the subject moves into Spec,TP in its non-scrambling counterpart, so the EPP requirement of T may be met by moving either the subject or the object. If an object can be A-moved in the same way as a subject, we would expect that scrambling can sometimes establish a configuration where the reflexive *zibun* may be bound by an object. But the fact of the matter is that an object can never bind the reflexive. This fact also calls his analysis into question.

fairly pervasive, there is indeed a case where subject honorification targets a non-subject argument, as shown in (57).

- (57) a. *Sato-sensei-ni-wa* *kyoodai-ga* **o-ide-ni-nara-na-i.**
 Sato-teacher-Dat-Top brother-Nom Hon-have.Animate-Lv-Neg-Pres
 ‘Prof. Sato does not have a brother.’
- b. *Kimi-ni-wa* (*rippana*) *ozisan-ga* **o-ide-ni-nar-u.**
 you-Dat-Top excellent uncle-Nom Hon-have.Animate-Lv-Pres
 ‘You have an (excellent) uncle.’

The transitive sentence with the possessive verb *iru* ‘have’ (57) is one type of dative-subject construction, but shows a peculiar behavioral pattern, in that both dative and nominative phrases qualify as targets of subject honorification.

In ordinary dative-subject constructions, only the dative subject can count as a target of subject honorification. Since subject honorification cannot be triggered by the nominative object, a contrast in acceptability is observed between (58a) and (58b).

- (58) a. *Sato-sensei-ni-wa* *kimi-ga* **o-wakari-ni-nar-u.**
 Sato-teacher-Dat-Top you-Nom Hon-recognize-Lv-Pres
 ‘Prof. Sato recognized you.’
- b. **Kimi-ni-wa* *Sato-sensei-ga* **o-wakari-ni-nar-u.**
 you-Dat-Top Sato-teacher-Nom Hon-recognize-Lv-Pres
 ‘You recognize Prof. Sato.’

The dative phrase in (58) serves as a subject, which can readily be confirmed by looking at the behavior of the subject-oriented reflexive *zibun* ‘self’ (see Shibatani 1978, and others). The examples in (59) show that the dative phrase is the only possible antecedent for *zibun*.

- (59) a. Sensei_i-ni-wa zibun_i-no gakusei-ga wakar-u.
 teacher-Dat-Top self-Gen student-Nom recognize-Pres
 ‘The teacher recognizes his own student.’
- b. *Zibun_i-no sensei-ni-wa gakusei_i-ga wakar-u.
 self-Gen teacher-Dat-Top student-Nom recognize-Pres
 ‘Self’s teacher recognizes the student.’

In the transitive possessive sentence with *iru* as well, the dative phrase functions as a subject, and hence, it is the only possible antecedent of the subject-oriented reflexive *zibun*, as we can see from (60).

- (60) a. Kimi_i-ni-mo zibun_i-no ryoosin-ga i-ru.
 you-Dat-also self-Gen parents-Nom have.Animate-Pres
 ‘You also have your own parents.’
- b. *Zibun_i-no tomodati-ni-mo ryoosin_i-ga i-ru.
 self-Gen friend-Dat-also parents-Nom have.Animate-Pres
 (Lit.) ‘Self’s friends also have parents.’

On the basis that the subject-oriented reflexive *zibun* takes only the dative phrase as its antecedent in (60), we can state that subject honorification can exceptionally target the nominative object, alongside the dative subject, in the possessive sentence with the animate possessive verb *iru*.

The inanimate counterpart of the animate verb *iru* is *aru*. Notably, the inanimate possessive verb *aru* ‘have’ does not allow the nominative object to serve as a target for subject honorification, while the dative subject can be its legitimate target.

- (61) a. *Sato-sensei-ni-wa* kyoodai-ga **o-ari-ni-nar-u**.
 Sato-teacher-Dat-Top brother-Nom Hon-have.Inanimate-Lv-Pres

‘Prof. Sato does not have a brother.’

- b. *Kimi-ni-wa (rippana) ozisan-ga o-ari-ni-nar-u.
you-Dat-Top excellent uncle-Nom Hon-have.Inanimate-Lv-Pres
‘You have (excellent) uncles.’

The examples in (61) illustrate that the possessive construction with the inanimate *aru* patterns with the ordinary dative subject construction.

The question that immediately arises is why it is that the two arguments can be targeted by subject honorification in the possessive construction with *iru*, as in (57). We suggest that this peculiar behavior arises from the possessive sentence’s invoking object shift, which is triggered by agreement in animacy between the verb and the nominative object. Note at this point that in the possessive construction, animacy agreement is instantiated when the predicate is the animate *iru*, but not the inanimate *aru*, as seen in (62).

- (62) a. John-ni-wa {kyoodai-ga/*okane-ga} i-ru.
John-Dat-Top brother-Nom/money-Nom have.Animate-Pres
‘John has {a brother/money}.’
- b. John-ni-wa {kyoodai-ga/okane-ga} ar-u.
John-Dat-Top brother-Nom/money-Nom have.Inanimate-Pres
‘John has {a brother/money}.’

The possessive *iru* must take an animate noun as its nominative phrase, but with the possessive *aru*, the nominative object may be either animate or inanimate, which means that animacy agreement is not implemented for the possessive *aru*.²⁶ According to Kishimoto (2000),

²⁶ In the possessive construction with the inanimate verb *aru* ‘have’, the range of animate nouns allowed as nominative objects is subject to idiolectal variation, the most neutral one being a noun like *kyoodai* ‘brother’. Animacy agreement is enforced in the case of

- b. [TP SU-DAT [HP [vP ~~SU-DAT~~ OB-NOM [vP ~~OB-NOM~~] V-v]H] T]
 [+honorific] [+honorific]

In (63), the dative and the nominative phrases both appear in the vP associated with the honorific verb; the honorific head H can therefore agree with the two phrases, since they are located in the domain which H is allowed to access by the PIC. (In fact, as we will see below, when object shift takes place, H must agree with both arguments in its accessible domain.) The uninterpretable feature on H can be eliminated, regardless of whether the dative or the nominative phrase bears the semantic feature [+honorific]. Accordingly, these two phrases both qualify as targets for subject honorification, even though the nominative phrase does not count as a subject.

Arguably, no object shift should be invoked in the dative-subject constructions constructed from ordinary transitive stative verbs, because no agreement is obtained between the verb and the nominative object. Similarly, object shift should not be instantiated in the possessive construction with the inanimate *aru*, either, for the lack of animacy agreement, as shown in (62b). Thus, in these two types of transitive clauses, only the dative subject appears in Spec,vP, as depicted in (64).

- (64) a. [TP SU-DAT [HP [vP ~~SU-DAT~~ [vP OB-NOM] V-v]H] T]
 [+honorific] [+honorific]
- b. *[TP SU-DAT [HP [vP ~~SU-DAT~~ [vP OB-NOM] V-v]H] T]
 [+honorific] [αhonorific]

In (64), no local relation can be established between the nominative object and the honorific head. Since the dative subject, and not the nominative object, appears in the vP which comprises the honorific verb, and since H can access only the edge of the vP, the target of subject honorification is confined to the dative subject.

Note that subject honorification imposes a certain grammatical constraint on the target

out as unacceptable.

The crucial fact here is that the possessive verb *iru* exceptionally allows its nominative phrase to be targeted by subject honorification, despite the fact that it does not count as a subject. The fact regarding the possessive *iru* can be captured if, as argued by Kishimoto (2000), the nominative object of the animate possessive verb *iru*—but not other transitive stative verbs including the inanimate possessive verb *aru*—undergoes object shift to vP. Obviously, any analysis defining the target of subject honorification in terms of the notion of ‘subject’ falls short of accounting for the facts of the possessive construction with the animate verb *iru*.

Before concluding this section, let us consider briefly what subject honorification can tell us about scrambling. In the Japanese literature, it is sometimes claimed (see, e.g. Tada 1993, Nemoto 1992) that clause-internal scrambling displays A-properties, e.g. providing a new binder for reciprocals. The same effect is observed for the *kara*-subject construction, as seen in (71).

- (71) a. Karera_i-ni otagai_i-no hahaoya-kara sono-koto-o tutae-ta.
3pl.Pl-Dat each.other-Gen mother-from that-fact-Acc tell-Past
‘Each other’s mother told them about that fact.’
- b. *Otagai_i-no hahaoya-kara karera_i-ni sono-koto-o tutae-ta.
3pl.Pl-Dat each.other-Gen mother-from that-fact-Acc tell-Past
‘Each other’s mother told them about that fact.’

Since the *kara*-subject appears in vP with no raising to TP, the scrambled phrase in (71a) may be located in vP while serving as a non-operator element. Importantly, however, the scrambled phrase can never trigger subject honorification, even if it resides in vP (or moves through it), as seen in (72).

- (72) *Ito-sensei-ni John-kara sono-koto-o o-tutae-ni-nat-ta.

Ito-teacher-Dat John-from that-fact-Acc Hon-tell-Lv-Past

‘John told Prof. Ito about that fact.’

Example (72) shows that a scrambled phrase that may be located in vP is not capable of inducing subject honorification, i.e. H cannot agree with the scrambled phrase. In this respect, the scrambled phrase does not behave like an argument undergoing A-movement to vP, but rather patterns with a non-subject argument that has undergone operator movement through vP. As shown in (73), an object moved by operator movement does not count as a target for subject honorification.²⁸

- (73) a. **Ito-sensei-o_i* John-ga *t_i* **o-home-ni-nat-ta**.
 Ito-teacher-Acc John-Nom Hon-praise-Lv-Pres
 ‘John praised Prof. Ito.’
- b. *[John-ga *t_i* **o-home-ni-nar-u**] *Ito-sensei_i*
 John-Nom Hon-praise-Lv-Pres Ito-teacher
 ‘Prof. Ito, who John praised’

If, as suggested earlier, only an argument entering into vP to establish a ϕ -feature relation with the v-head can be targeted by subject honorification, the facts of subject honorification

²⁸ Needless to say, this holds true for an nominative object that has undergone operator movement, as shown in (i).

- (i) a. **Ito-sensei-ga_i* John-ni *t_i* **o-mie-ni-nar-u**.
 Ito-teacher-Nom John-Dat Hon-see-Lv-Pres
 ‘John can see Prof. Ito.’
- b. *[John-ni *t_i* **o-mie-ni-nar-u**] *Ito-sensei_i*
 John-Dat Hon-see-Lv-Pres Ito-teacher
 ‘Prof. Ito, who John can see’

follow. First, (74) shows that the dative phrase does not count as the antecedent of subject-oriented *zibun* ‘self’, thereby indicating that it does establish the regular ϕ -feature relation with the v-head to be identified as a subject.

- (74) *John_i-ni Mary-kara sono-koto-o zibun_i-no heya-de tutae-ta.
 John-Dat Mary-from that-fact-Acc self-Gen room-in tell-Past
 ‘Mary told John about that fact in self’s room.’

The dative phrase in (71a) does not participate in animacy agreement with the verb, either. This shows that even if the dative phrase is scrambled to vP, it does not enter any ϕ -feature relation with the v-head. Under the present perspective, this means that the dative phrase is not visible to the honorific head H, so that it cannot serve as a trigger for subject honorification.

It is apparent that object shift is an instance of ϕ -feature-driven movement, since it mediates morphological agreement (ϕ -feature-related agreement) between the verb and the object. As we saw above, an object that has undergone object shift can count as a target for subject honorification, which indicates that a ‘non-subject’ argument can trigger subject honorification when it moves into vP via ϕ -feature-related movement. If the subject-honorific head H can agree with a non-subject argument moved vP to enter into a ϕ -feature relation with v, it follows that that clause-internal scrambling cannot be construed as genuine A-movement whereby a ϕ -feature relation is established in vP. From the difference between object shift and scrambling in regard to susceptibility to subject honorification, we can reasonably state that while object shift counts as ϕ -feature-driven A-movement, scrambling does not. Not surprisingly, a similar situation is found in Germanic languages, which have both scrambling (as non-A-movement) and object shift (as A-movement) (see Vikner 1994).

In the literature, it is sometimes claimed that while long distance scrambling is unambiguously construed as operator movement, clause-internal scrambling displays

certain A-properties. At the same time, however, as suggested by Saito (1992, 2009), clause-internal scrambling also exhibits some non-A-properties, e.g. the availability of reconstruction, which would be possible if an argument is moved by operator movement. Presumably, these mixed properties are observed for clause-internal scrambling, due to the fact that it differs from movement induced by ϕ -features (i.e. genuine A-movement), and also from operator movement. Since subject honorification facts indicate that clause-internal scrambling cannot be construed as A-movement motivated by ϕ -feature agreement on v, it is plausible to state, at the very least, that an object moved by clause-internal scrambling acquires certain non-operator properties, which are identified as A-properties by some researchers, due to the fact that it does not reach an operator position, even though it is not moved by A-movement.²⁹

In this section, we have looked at the behavior of subject honorification in the possessive construction with the verb *iru*, which implements object shift. On the basis of the possessive construction, we have argued that a non-subject argument is capable of serving as the target of subject honorification if it is A-moved into vP comprising the honorific verb. Moreover, we have suggested that an object moved into vP by scrambling should not be construed as ϕ -feature-related movement.

5 Conclusion

In this article, we have argued that subject honorification in Japanese is identified as local agreement formally licensed at the vP-level, i.e. subject honorification is rendered licit when a honorific head successfully agrees with an argument located at the edge of vP,

²⁹ We will not go into a detailed discussion on the peculiar properties of clause-internal scrambling, since this will take us far afield from the main topic of this paper. For discussion on the properties of clause-internal scrambling, see Tada 1993, Saito 1992, 2003, Miyagawa 1997, Kitahara 2002, and many others).

comprising the verb with a subject honorific maker. Furthermore, on the basis of what we call the *kara*-subject construction, it has been shown that in Japanese, the overt constituent position of subjects varies according to whether the clause contains a nominative argument: subjects undergo overt raising to Spec,TP when T carries a [+nominative] feature to license a nominative argument, but when T is not specified for [+nominative], subjects are not raised to Spec,TP.

Under the proposed analysis, the general subject orientation of subject honorification emerges as a natural consequence of vP-level agreement, which is defined with no reference to the notion of ‘subject’. This proposal can appropriately account for the fact that in the aspectual construction where the main verb is embedded under the aspectual verb *iru* ‘be’, the subject honorific marker may be added to either the main or the aspectual verb. The proposed analysis can also naturally capture the fact that in the possessive construction with the animate verb *iru* ‘have’, subject honorification can target not only the dative subject, but also the nominative object. It goes without saying that these facts cannot be dealt with by the traditional analysis, which simply takes subject honorification to target only subjects.

Acknowledgments I am grateful to the three anonymous reviewers for helpful comments and suggestions. I am thankful to Nobuko Hasegawa, Yuji Takano, Satoshi Oku, Ken Fujita, Shigeru Miyagawa, Masaki Sano, Yoko Sugioka, Mamoru Saito, Masashi Nomura, Tomohiro Fujii, Kensuke Takita, Junri Shimada, Hisatsugu Kitahara, Saeko Urushibara, Kunio Nishiyama, Yoshie Yamamori, Miho Mano, Yu Yile, Kazuya Kudo, and Ryosuke Shibagaki for discussions and suggestions. Needless to say, I am solely responsible for all remaining errors and inadequacies.

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