The paradigm of \textit{-haru}  
A descriptive overview  

Jacob Eveson  
jacob.eveson@gmail.com
ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is the paradigm of the Kyoto realization of the dialectal honorific suffix -haru found in the dialects spoken in the Kansai area of western Japan. A number of hypothetical forms are examined and tested against the intuitions of a native Japanese speaker familiar with the dialects of the Kansai area, including the Kyoto dialect, and the morphological possibilities and constraints of the suffix are then elaborated upon through further examination of the tested forms deemed to be nonexistent. The aim of the present thesis is two-pronged as the author not only wishes to provide a comprehensive overview of the set of inflectional forms that make up the paradigm of the honorific suffix -haru but also dig deeper into the properties of the suffix and elucidate the causes of the ungrammaticality of some of the tested hypothetical forms.

Keywords: Dialect, grammaticality, -haru, honorifics, Japanese, Kansai, keigo, Kyoto, morphology, paradigm
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CONVENTIONS

Typographical Conventions

Words outside of the English lexicon in the running text as well as titles of books and articles are marked by the use of italics. Single quotes are used to mark translated words and sentences. Quoted bodies of texts originally written in Japanese translated by the author follow the typographical conventions described above. Untranslated English quotes are presented with their typography intact with the exception of double quotation marks inside the quotes which have been replaced with single quotation marks. This is to avoid confusion as double quotation marks are used to mark the beginning and the end of the quotes. Boldface has been used for emphasis when differences between example sentences are highlighted.

Glossing

Glossing in this paper is conducted in accordance with the Leipzig Glossing Rules. A list of abbreviations used throughout this paper can be found below. For the sake of consistency, glossing of example sentences credited to outside sources have been altered at the author's discretion. Where applicable, dialects of example sentences are marked and given in boldface after the translation. Sentences with ambiguous dialect affiliation can be marked with relevant dialects separated by a slash (/) unless the dialects share a common overarching category. E.g. a sentence rendered identically in both standard Japanese and dialects of the Kansai area can be marked as "Standard/Kansai" while a sentence with dialectal properties attributable to both Kyoto or Osaka may be marked with the shared
hypernym "Kansai" instead of "Kyoto/Osaka". Information about dialect affiliation of ungrammatical example sentences should be taken as indications of the intended dialect.

**Romanization**

The method of romanization followed throughout this paper is a modified version of the Hepburn system commonly used for transcription of Japanese. Rather than being marked by macrons, long vowels have been transcribed as double letters, except for long e which is written as ei. Names of places and other words of Japanese origin that have entered the English lexicon follow their respective English spellings unless they are used within Japanese sentences, in which case they are transcribed to reflect their original Japanese spelling. The combination of te or de followed by an i written with a smaller character to represent sound combinations found in some loan words in Japanese, e.g. パーティー (paatii) 'party', is transcribed as ti or di respectively and should not be confused with the voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate followed by i which is written as chi, in accordance with the rules of the Hepburn system.
## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
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<td>AGT</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The topic

The topic of the present thesis is the paradigm and grammatical properties of the regional honorific suffix -haru, prominent in the Kansai area of western Japan. Although -haru has been subject to scrutiny in a number of different fields of linguistics before, such as sociolinguistics (Tsuji 2009) and diachronic linguistics (Tsuji 2009, Takemura 2009), the task of performing a synchronical descriptive analysis of the suffix and its morphological pattern has, to the knowledge of the author, yet to be undertaken. In the present thesis, an overview of the forms that make up the paradigm of -haru is presented and forms deemed to be invalid are further analyzed in order to uncover the underlying properties of the suffix.

The suffix -haru is described in Nihongo hoogen jisho (Fujiwara 1997, "The Japanese language dialect dictionary" [my translation]), as a subject exalting referent honorific modal auxiliary verb occurring in the dialects spoken in the Kansai region of Japan (Fujiwara 1997:512-513). Consider the following two sentences.

(1) Sensei wa hon o yom-u.
    teacher TOP book ACC read-NPAST
    'The teacher will read a book.' Standard/Kansai
The fundamental meaning of (1) and (2) above is the same. However, by affixation of the honorific suffix -haru to the end of the verb, as seen in (2), the speaker conveys a feeling of respect towards the referent of the utterance. As we shall see later in section 2.3 though, the function of -haru is more intricate than this introduction of its basic meaning suggests.

Further conjugation can be carried out on the suffix itself as illustrated in sentence (3) below, bringing us to the topic of the present discussion: the paradigm of -haru and the underlying properties of the suffix.

(3) Sensei wa tegami o kaka-hat-ta.
    teacher TOP letter ACC write-HON-PAST
    'The teacher wrote a letter.'

A number of known conjugations applicable to regular Japanese verbs have been tested together with -haru against the intuitions of a native speaker of the Japanese language familiar with the dialects of the Kansai area and each individual form is discussed in detail in chapter 3. In the case of tested forms that are deemed to be nonexistent, the discussion will be centered around reasons for the ungrammaticality of the forms.

1.2 The Osaka – Kyoto dichotomy

It might be worth noting that there are a few differences between Kyoto and Osaka dialects in the way that -haru is realized (Martin 2004:352). Consider the following two sentences where (4) and (5) illustrate the Osaka variant and the Kyoto variant respectively.
The differences between (4) and (5) above have been highlighted with boldface. In the two sentences above -haru affixes to different forms of the conjugated verb, iku 'go'. The Osaka realization of -haru affixes to the i-base of the verb while the Kyoto realization affixes to the a-base.

Ball (2004:363) notes another difference between the Kyoto variant and the Osaka variant and states that: "There is a distinction between Osaka and Kyoto dialects in the realization of forms with the -haru Honorific [sic] suffix and the progressive form of verbs such that the Gerundive [sic] suffix -te appears as -ta in Kyoto". Examples taken from Ball (2004:363) are presented below.

(6) Mat-te-har-u.
wait-GER-PROG.HON-NPAST
'He is waiting' Osaka

(7) Mat-ta-har-u.
wait-GER-PROG.HON-NPAST
'He is waiting' Kyoto

The present paper is mainly concerned with the realization of -haru found in the dialects of:

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1 The epithet senpai 'senior' is used when referring to a senior member of a group, such as an upperclassman in a school setting or a colleague with more experience in a work setting.
2 Example sentences (4) and (5) are modified versions of sentences found in Local honorifics of western Japan (Eveson 2011).
3 These two verb bases identified as renyookei and mizenkei respectively with Japanese terminology constitute two of the inflectional categories of Japanese verbs discussed in Shibatani (1990).
Japanese spoken in and around Kyoto. As stated by Ball (2004:362): "The honorific suffix -haru [...] is characteristic of Kansai and is especially associated with Kyoto". It is worth noting, however, that my informant tells me that she does not perceive any distinct difference in geographical distribution between the so called Kyoto and Osaka variants but rather view them as interchangeable without any differences in regionality. If this is to be taken as a sign of a blurring of the boundaries between two variants historically associated with different areas, perhaps attributable to the higher social mobility of modern times, remains unclear. As further speculation on this matter is better left for future research, the distinction discussed above has been taken into account when the dialect affiliation of example sentences has been marked.

1.3 Features of the Kansai dialects

Due to the inherent status of -haru as a dialectal suffix, the author has chosen to examine the suffix in the context of the dialects in which it occurs. For the sake of clarity, particularly salient dialectal features appearing in the example sentences employed throughout the present thesis will be explained below.

Negation, normally expressed in standard Japanese with the marker -nai, is shown with the marker -hen, as seen in (8) below, in the dialects of the Kansai area. Sentence (9) illustrates a form of the copula used throughout Kansai, ya, corresponding to da, the form

4 Commonly referred to as the Osaka form and the Kyoto form. However, as the word 'form' is used throughout this paper to denote a unit of the paradigm of the very suffix and not the verb to which it is affixed, the author has chosen to refer to the two realizations of the suffix as the Osaka variant and the Kyoto variant instead.
5 Interestingly, from a diachronical perspective, the distinction between what we call the Kyoto variant and the Osaka variant has not remained completely consistent (Takemura 2009:21).
6 Although the focus of the present thesis is the paradigm of -haru in Kyoto speech, the characteristics emphasized in this section are presented as features of the Kansai dialect as they are relevant not only to Japanese spoken in the Kyoto area but also the Kansai region in its entirety.
used in standard Japanese.

(8) Pan o kawa-hen-katta.
    bread ACC buy-NEG-PAST
    'He didn't buy any bread.' Kansai

(9) Tori ya.
    bird COP
    'It is a bird.' Kansai

Similarly, the conjectural particle *daroo* used in standard Japanese typically takes the form *yaroo* in Kansai dialects.

(10) Tori yaroo.
    bird CONJ
    'I guess it's a bird.' Kansai

The example below illustrates another expression typical of Kansai Japanese.

(11) Sono sushi o tabe-te wa akan.
    that sushi ACC eat-GER TOP bad
    'You must not eat that sushi.' Kansai

*Akan* 'bad/no good', together with its polite counterparts *akimahen/akimasen*, is used to express the notion that something is not allowed, or is frowned upon. The equivalent standard Japanese expression would be as follows:

(12) Sono sushi o tabe-te wa ik-e-na-i.
    that sushi ACC eat-GER TOP go-POT-NEG-NPAST
    'You must not eat that sushi.' Standard

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7 As referred to by Larm (2006).
1.4 Methodology

It is the opinion of the author that a study related to grammar in general and morphology in particular should rest on a basis of empirical data, and this notion has not been overlooked in the choice of method for the present survey. However, Chomsky (1957:16 f.) states that:

[...] one's ability to produce and recognize grammatical utterances is not based on notions of statistical approximations and the like. [...] Despite the undeniable interest and importance of semantic and statistical studies of a language, they appear to have no direct relevance to the problem of determining or characterizing the set of grammatical utterances.

In the light of Chomsky's separation of statistical approximation and grammaticality it is clear that existing data alone, such as data extracted from corpora, is insufficient to create an accurate profile of the forms of -haru, as perfectly grammatical forms of the suffix rarely or never uttered may be part of its paradigm. For this reason the author has chosen to work with a native informant familiar with the dialects of the Kansai region\(^8\) as a means of reaching into the grammar directly. It is against the intuitions of this native speaker that the hypothetical forms of the suffix have been tested. Although this kind of method is not without its limitations it comes with valuable benefits that cannot be overlooked for a study related to grammar. Nonetheless, when interpreting the results of the present study, it is important to bear in mind that the empirical foundation of the study is tied closely to the intuitions of a single native speaker.

The inflectional categories of Japanese verbs have been discussed by a number of scholars in the past.\(^9\) In the present thesis, however, the author seeks to uncover the set of

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8 The informant who has helped me with this study has lived in Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe (three major cities in the Kansai region).
functional forms that make up the paradigm of -haru rather than the shape of the stem of the suffix. As such, the definition of a verb form used throughout this paper is that of a rendition of the verb capable of, without further modification of its shape, fulfilling a function in an utterance.\footnote{Forms of -haru are treated as if they were affixed to the stem of a verb although the verb stem before -haru is not explicitly written in the running text.} E.g. ikitai 'want to go', ikaseru 'cause (someone) to go' and ikimasu 'go (polite)' are regarded as three separate forms of the verb iku 'go'. Iki 'go (conjunctive)' is also treated as a form of the verb iku, as iki can act as a conjunction in a sentence by itself.\footnote{The fact that iki can also be recognised as a variation of the stem of iku does not pose any problems to this definition as we shall see in the case of ika (another variation of the stem of iku) above.} Ika (found in ika-nai 'will not go'), on the other hand, is not considered to be a form of iku, as ika, being a bound morpheme, cannot fulfill a function on its own.

The hypothetical forms that have been examined have been chosen on the basis of correspondence to the conjugations occurring in the inflection pattern of regular Japanese consonant verbs ending in -ru. Although the author aims for a high degree of extensivity, it is imperative to note that the list of forms tested and discussed in the present thesis is not certain to be exhaustive. The possibility of the existence of forms of -haru lacking corresponding forms in regular Japanese consonant verbs has also been considered and discussed with the informant. However, no such forms have been encountered during the course of the present study. Differences between standard Japanese and the dialects spoken in the Kyoto area, such as the negative verb ending, have been taken into account and highlighted where applicable. Unless credited to a different source, example sentences employed throughout the present paper have been created by the author or the informant.

In addition to describing the ways that -haru can be manifested, the author has also tried to give a brief but accurate account of the usage of each form that has been shown to
be a part of the paradigm of the suffix. Translated example sentences will be employed for a basic elucidation of the function and meaning of the forms recognized as grammatical.

1.5 Organization

The present thesis is arranged into four parts, of which this chapter constitutes the first one. After having established the topic of the discussion at hand we move on to the second part, chapter 2, in which previous research on the honorific suffix -haru in the Kyoto dialect is introduced. A variety of facets touched upon by scholars in the past is presented in order to provide a context for our investigation into the shape of -haru.

With the prior research properly laid out, we advance to chapter 3 which constitutes the core of the present study. Therein, the hypothetical forms of -haru chosen for examination are discussed and illustrated through the use of example sentences and the intuitions of my informant. Forms found to be grammatical are commented briefly upon while forms deemed to be nonexistent are discussed in more depth in order to elaborate upon the causes of their ungrammaticality. Finally, the results of the investigation are summarised and presented in the last part of the thesis; the conclusion that makes up chapter 4.

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12 Hypothetical forms deemed to be nonexistent do not receive this treatment.
Chapter 2

Previous research

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of previous research on the suffix -haru in the Kyoto dialect. Firstly, observations on the conjugational pattern of -haru in Kyoto speech made by Tsuji (2009) in her analysis of the usage of the suffix are introduced. Next, an account of previous research pertaining to the emergence and diachrony of -haru will be given. Although the approach of the present thesis is in essence synchronic, findings related to the origin of the form should not be disregarded as they can potentially provide valuable context for analysis of hypothetical forms argued to be nonexistent. The next category of research presented in this chapter constitutes an overview of some of the points lifted forward in an inquiry on the function of -haru in the Kyoto dialect and its usage in different social strata conducted by Tsuji and presented in her book Haru-keigo koo kyootogo no shakai gengoshi (2009). Lastly, the present chapter will be concluded with a summary of the issues addressed in the prior research on -haru in Kyoto speech.

2.2 The shape of -haru

Although the paradigm of -haru in the Kyoto dialect has not been the target of a descriptive analysis before to the knowledge of the author, the subject is touched upon briefly by Tsuji (2009). The observations made on the shape of the suffix in Tsuji's examination of natural conversations are recounted in this section.
Tsuji (2009:74) starts by positing that the fundamental characteristic of -\textit{haru} is that of a consonant verb. From this basis, she infers that the application of school grammar yields forms like those listed below:

\textit{-haru}, \textit{-harahen}, \textit{-harimasu}, \textit{-hatta}, \textit{-hareba}\footnote{All of these forms taken from Tsuji 2009 will be further discussed in chapter 3.}

Furthermore, she notes an absence of the forms \textit{-haran}, \textit{-haroo} and \textit{-hare} in her material based on natural conversations between middle aged female speakers (Tsuji 2009:74). Her notes on the grammar of the suffix in her studies targeting two groups of increasingly older generations of female speakers further emphasize the absence of the forms \textit{-haroo} and \textit{-hare} while \textit{-haran} makes an appearance in the first of the two groups of older speakers (Tsuji 2009:143, 2009:173). Although no instances of \textit{-hare}, the imperative form of \textit{-haru}, were found in the material examined by Tsuji, the occurrence of the imperative form of \textit{-yaharu}, an expression posited to be related to \textit{-haru},\footnote{The suffix \textit{-yaharu} is further mentioned in section 2.3.} in the group with the oldest female speakers was highlighted (Tsuji 2009:173). Lastly, Tsuji remarks that potential or passive suffixes do not appear after \textit{-haru} (Tsuji 2009:74).

\section*{2.3 The emergence of \textit{-haru}}

Martin (2004:351) touches upon a dialectal referent honorific suffix employed in western Japan and states the following:

\begin{quote}
The auxiliary [attached to the verb to exalt the subject] is nas\text{\`a}ru (which, as we have mentioned, comes from an old passivization of n\text{\`a}su = suru 'does') but it often appears in a variant form nah\text{\`a}ru and with various reductions in shape, […]
\end{quote}

He then proceeds to cite Maeda (1961:181) as noting that further reduction has resulted in
the practice of adding just -haru to the verb (Martin 2004:352). Although the dichotomy between the Kyoto realization and the Osaka realization of the suffix is mentioned in Martin's book *A Reference Grammar of Japanese* (2004:352), -haru is primarily described from a holistic perspective.

Tsuji (2009:271-313) approaches the more specific topic of the origin of -haru in Kyoto Japanese by analyzing the occurrence of expressions of social deixis, politeness and exaltation\(^\text{15}\) in dialogues from late Edo literature\(^\text{16}\) set in the Gion district of Kyoto. Among the expressions encountered, we find the above mentioned -nasaru and -naharu as well as the expressions -yaharu and -sharu. Tsuji (2009:278) comments on the comparatively low frequency of -sharu in the examined material and concludes that it is unlikely to be an immediate precursor to -haru. The frequent appearance of -nasaru coupled with the emergence of -naharu in the material suggests a transformation of -nasaru in accordance with the lenition of [s] to [h] common in the region (Tsuji 2009:278). The origin of the expression -yaharu, on the other hand, is less transparent. It appears to display a similar relationship to -naharu as the latter displays to -nasaru in terms of frequency of appearance in the material. However, Tsuji (2009:278) notes that consonant shifts from [n] to [j] have not occurred on a general scale in the region and concludes that while it is not unthinkable that a direct transformation from -naharu to -yaharu has occurred, it cannot be inferred from analysis of the frequency of occurrence of the expressions in the examined material alone.

The occurrence of -haru in written records of *rakugo*\(^\text{17}\) dating from the Meiji period

\(^{15}\) Ad hoc translation of the original Japanese term *taiguunhyoogen*. For the definition used by the author of the original work, see Tsuji (2009:17 f.).

\(^{16}\) The oldest literary work used in the study is presumed to be dated to the year 1778 (Tsuji 2009:273).

\(^{17}\) An old form of entertainment performed by a single comedian depicting the roles of several characters
and the succeeding Taishoo era is the target of another study conducted by Tsuji (2009:315) on the subject of the origin and appearance of -haru. The earliest written record of -haru used in Kyoto speech found in the examined material dates back to 1898 (Tsuji 2009:348). At the time, -haru was mainly used in situations where the referent of the sentence was a third person. However, -haru was found to also occur in situations where the referent and the addressee coincide in later material spanning from 1908 to the following year 1909 (Tsuji 2009:348).

2.4 The function of -haru

The basic function of -haru as a referent honorific suffix is, as mentioned in section 1.1, that of exalting the subject (Martin 2004:351 f.). This prototypical role requires little further introduction here and we shall instead direct our attention to instances of the suffix where its function diverges from this pattern. Indeed, -haru does not seem to conform to the pattern of usage normally associated with referent honorifics. Tsuji (2009:1) states the following (my translation):

> There are some peculiarities in the usage of -haru in cases where the subject of the conversation is a third person [...] and situations where it cannot be explained as sonkeigo [subject exalting referent honorifics] have been pointed out in previous research.

Among the notable examples of usage of -haru that cannot readily be explained as a means of expressing respect towards the referent we find observations such as the following:

"'-haru in the sentence 'Tonari no neko ga sakana o nusundeikahatta' should perhaps be said to be shifting from respect language to polite language" (Shimada 1966) as quoted in front of an audience.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{18} & \quad \text{A version of the sentence with glossing added is presented below.} \\
\text{19} & \quad \text{The distinction being that polite language is used to express deference towards the addressee, whereas}
\end{align*}\]
yet another observation of perplexing applications of -haru is put forward by Ooishi (1974); quoted by Tsuji (2009:12) as saying (my translation):

"For instance, 'ikahatta' [...] is used even towards visitors in situations where a child is talking about a parent or a wife is talking about her husband.22 Most of all, as it seems that 'ikahatta' is used even when talking about your own child, it appears that [...] one could view 'haru' as being a light form of sonkeigo [subject exalting referent honorific] also carrying a meaning of deep affection.”

Examples of usage of -haru diverging from the canonical usage of referent honorifics, such as those above, have been subject to a variety of interpretations. Among the prevailing theories advocated by scholars in the past and presented by Tsuji (2009:11 f.) some approach these special instances of -haru as a form of polite language aimed at the addressee whilst others hold that they express affection, rather than deference, held towards the referent.

Tsuji probes deeper into the matter in her investigation of the function and usage of -haru in various social groupings of speakers of the Kyoto dialect presented in her 2009 book. In her analysis of the suffix, Tsuji examines the result of question based interviews in addition to findings drawn from natural conversations. The informants participating in the respect language is employed to express deference towards the referent of the utterance (Martin 2004:331, Shibatani 1990:375).

20 The choice of the gloss representing -haru above is in line with Shimada's theory of -haru acting as a politeness marker rather than an honorific one in this particular case.
21 Past tense form of ikaharu (found in example (9) in section 1.1).
22 In Japanese, exalting referent honorifics are typically not employed in the presence of an outsider if the referent is a person close to the speaker (Jansson 2011:13 f.).
interviews were divided into the following three categories: middle aged female speakers, older female speakers and male speakers. Among the examples of usage not conforming to the pattern of subject exalting referent honorifics of standard Japanese confirmed from the interviews, a mostly uniform acceptance of application of -haru even in cases where the subject of the utterance is an inanimate object belonging to another person, as seen in (14) below, was found in all of the three categories of speakers\(^\text{23}\)(Tsuji 2009:66, 2009:139, 2009:223)\(^\text{24}\).

(14) Sensei no e ga nyuusen shi-ta.  
    teacher GEN picture NOM be accepted do-PAST  
    'The teachers picture was accepted into an exhibition.' Standard/Kansai\(^\text{25}\)

Moreover, nearly all of the informants who reported that they would use -haru in (11) also responded that they would apply the suffix in a similar sentence, presented below, in which the proprietor of the picture, someone of superior social status in (14)\(^\text{26}\), had been replaced with a character who was explicitly stated to be of lower social status relative to the interviewees, as explained in Tsuji 2009.

(15) Hanako no e ga nyuusen shi-ta.  
    Hanako GEN picture NOM be accepted do-PAST  
    'Hanako's picture was accepted into an exhibition.' Standard/Kansai

\(^{23}\) Inclination for this type of usage was found to be slightly lower in the category male speakers. Five out of seven respondents in that category answered that they would use -haru in sentence (14) (Tsuji 2009:223).

\(^{24}\) The three pages referred to here correspond to the categories middle aged female speakers, older female speakers and male speakers respectively.

\(^{25}\) The title sensei 'teacher' evokes a certain sense of status in Japan and frequently calls for the usage of honorific expressions.

\(^{26}\) This example sentence, together with (15) below, is taken from Haru-keigo koo kyoootogo no shakai gengoshi (2009). Respondents were asked whether they would apply -haru in the situation described in the sentences or not.
Similarly, Tsuji notes in her analysis of natural conversations of younger female speakers, a new category of interlocutors introduced in said analysis, that -haru is applied in situations where the subject of the utterance is a third person regardless of familiarity or the social status or the referent relative to the speaker further supporting the view that -haru fulfills a role that is wider than that of standard referent honorifics (Tsuji 2009:201).

The excerpts of Tsuji's studies on -haru in Kyoto speech presented in this chapter are but a part of the research that has been done on the suffix. Furthermore, -haru in other dialects of the Kansai area, such as the Osaka dialect, has also been examined by various scholars. We shall now review the points addressed in the prior research conducted on -haru in Kyoto speech before moving on to chapter 3.

2.5 Summary of previous research

In chapter 2, a summary of some of the previous research done on the suffix -haru in the Kyoto dialect was presented. The goal of this overview has been to give an illustration of the context of the present survey as well as to provide an overview of what we know about the suffix today based on prior research. Before we take a look at the individual forms, a brief recapitulation of the points addressed in the research described above shall be given.

The observations most relevant from the perspective of the present thesis are found in Tsuji's research on the usage of the form in different generations of speakers of the Kyoto dialect. The conclusions drawn by her provide a foundation for comparison of some of the forms discussed in the present thesis. Although an all-encompassing description of the honorific suffix may be outside of the scope of the present thesis, there is room for
expansion of our knowledge pertaining to the paradigm of -haru. In our effort to do so, we shall compare our findings related to the individual forms of the suffix discussed in chapter 3 to the nonexhaustive list of forms mentioned by Tsuji and the morphological limitations of the suffix proposed in her research.

The diachrony of the suffix has received some attention by scholars in the past. As noted by Martin (2004:351), nasaru, a passivization of nasu, is believed to be the origin of -haru. Tsuji (2009) has traced the transformation of -nasaru into -naharu and narrowed down the time frame of the emergence of -haru. However the full process of how -haru took shape from its predecessors remains unclear.

As for the function and meaning of the suffix, although the basic function is often described as being that of an honorific exalting the referent of an utterance, examples of usage that cannot readily be explained as such have been put forward by scholars in the past. Tsuji (2009) confirms that -haru can be applied even in cases where the referent is an inanimate object and that its usage is not necessarily dictated by relative social status or familiarity with the referent. The scope of this chapter does not allow for a detailed account of her explanations of the various meanings of the suffix, but we shall note here that the function and meaning of -haru is more intricate than that of a device solely employed to exalt the referent of an utterance.

A significant portion of the prior research conducted on -haru has been centered around the diachronic process leading up to the present shape of the suffix as well as its meaning and function from a synchronical perspective. Rarely have its grammatical properties been the target of any attempt at a detailed description. The shape of -haru is sometimes touched upon in discussions pertaining to differences in how the suffix is
realized in the major dialects of the Kansai area, but those descriptions tend to be very brief and focus on the shape of the verb to which -haru is affixed rather than the shape of the suffix itself. Tsuji's observations recounted in section 2.2 touch upon the subject, but a detailed description of the paradigm of the suffix has yet to be made. The author of the present thesis wishes to contribute to the knowledge of -haru by addressing this relatively untouched area. We shall now proceed to chapter 3 and the discussion of the individual forms making up the paradigm of -haru and those deemed to be nonexistent.
Chapter 3

The paradigm of -haru

3.1 Introduction

The hypothetical forms discussed in the present chapter are grouped together into categories of similar forms as seen below:

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Forms that do not fit into any of the categories discussed in the other sections are examined in section 3.8. Derivatives of the forms examined in their respective sections are sometimes also touched upon.

As the purpose of the present thesis is to provide an overview of the set of forms that constitute the paradigm of the honorific -haru as well as the underlying properties of the suffix, our primary concerns are whether the hypothetical forms are grammatical or not and the underlying explanations for the unacceptability of some of the hypothetical forms.

27 As noted by Tsuji (2009:74), -haru conjugates as a consonant verb. Thus, all of these hypothetical forms have been constructed to reflect the conjugational pattern of Japanese consonant verbs.
3.2 Negation

As mentioned in section 1.3, negative grammatical polarity is expressed with the marker -hen in the dialects of the Kansai area. Thus, the negative form of -haru discussed in the present section is manifested as -harahen, as illustrated below in (16).

(16) Ika-hara-hen.
go-HON-NEG
'He will not go.' Kyoto

My informant confirms that the form -harahen as seen above is perfectly natural. Example (17) on the other hand, in which -haru has been combined with the marker -nai\(^{28}\) employed in standard Japanese to express negativity is rejected as unnatural. Seemingly, -haru does not combine well with suffixes unaffiliated with the dialects in which the honorific suffix itself occurs. My informant suggests that substituting the standard Japanese negativity marker with -hen, as shown in (18), would render the sentence perfectly acceptable providing further support for the notion of a necessity for dialectal harmony.

(17) *Senpai wa tegami o kaka-hara-na-katta n ya te.
senior TOP letter ACC write-HON-NEG-PAST NOMI COP QUOT
'I hear that the senior didn't write the letter.' Kyoto

(18) Senpai wa tegami o kaka-hara-hen-katta n ya te.
senior TOP letter ACC write-HON-NEG-PAST NOMI COP QUOT
'I hear that the senior didn't write the letter.' Kyoto

This incongruity of -haru and suffixes from outside dialects is apparent in other forms constructed on -nai as well; e.g. although the affirmative provisional form -hareba is fully

\(^{28}\) Realized as -na in (17) as the -i corresponding to non-past tense has been replaced with the past tense marker -katta.
acceptable (as we shall see in section 3.5) the negative provisional form building on -nai is rejected by my informant.

(19) *Sushi o tabe-hara-nake-reba akan.
sushi ACC eat-HON-NEG-PROV bad
'You have to eat sushi.' Kansai

Finally, we note that -haru can be combined with the polite negative -masen, as acknowledged by the informant and illustrated in (20) below.29

(20) Sensei wa hon o yoma-hari-masen.
teacher TOP book ACC read-HON-POL.NEG
'The teacher will not read the book.' Kyoto

As expected, the negative form of haru discussed in this section, -harahen, is perfectly grammatical. Tsuji (2009:74) mentions the form in her examination of natural conversations of middle aged female speakers. Furthermore, my informant tells me that she considers it to be natural. The combination of -haru and the standard Japanese negative suffix -nai was also touched upon with the conclusion being that -haranai appears to be ungrammatical. This observation suggests that -haru, being a salient dialectal suffix, resists combination with suffixes carrying strong association with other dialects.

3.3 Tense and aspect

In the present section, focus of the description of the paradigm of -haru is shifted towards forms related to tense and aspect. We have already seen an example of -haru used together with the past tense marker -ta in section 2.4. Martin (2004:602) refers to -ta as a

29 The polite form of -haru is tested and discussed separately in section 3.8.
perfective ending and Svahn (2009:5) gives examples of usage corresponding to both the present perfect and the simple past in English. The combination of -haru and -ta resulting in the form -hatta, seen below in (21), appears to be common and my informant tells me that the form is perfectly natural.  

(21) Hon o yoma-hat-ta.  
book ACC read-HON-PAST  
'He read a book.' Kyoto

Negative past tense can be expressed with the form -harakenkatta, as illustrated in (22).

(22) Sensei wa sakana o tabe-hara-hen-katta.  
teacher TOP fish ACC eat-HON-NEG-PAST  
'The teacher didn't eat the fish.' Kansai

Whether a form of -haru that corresponds to the continuative, normally expressed with -te iru in standard Japanese, exists or not is not discussed in the present survey, but Ball (2004:363) gives examples of -haru affixed directly to the gerund instead to express this aspect (see section 1.2). It is also unclear whether -haru and the representative -tari, as referred to by Martin (2004:566), can be combined into the form -hattari. Consider the following three examples in which -haru appears in different positions in the -tari suru32 construction:

---

30 However, it might be worth noting that my informant tells me that sentences like (21) rarely end in -haru or -hatta when used in everyday conversations. Instead, the verb is often followed by the nominalizer n and the quotative te as seen in examples (17) or (18) in section 3.2.

31 Note that the verb oru 'be' is used over iru 'be', seen in -te iru above, in many parts of Kansai.

32 "The representative [...] is most often followed by the dummy verb suru to make a new sentence" (Martin 2004:566).
(23)  ?Hanasa-hat-tari  shi-ta.
      talk-HON-REPR  do-PAST
      'He talked among other things.' Kyoto

      talk-HON-REPR  do-HON-PAST
      'He talked among other things.' Kyoto

      talk-REPR  do-HON-PAST
      'He talked among other things.' Kyoto

My informant says that she cannot tell for certain whether (23) and (24) are grammatical or not, but informs me that she considers (25), in which -haru is affixed to suru 'do' exclusively, to be the most natural of the three sentences. Although the possibility of -hattari cannot be entirely precluded, we draw the conclusion that the form is at the very least unlikely.

In this section, the tense and aspect-related forms -hatta and -hattari were described and examined. The past/perfect -hatta has figured in the material of previous research and is, as my informant tells me, completely natural. Thus, we can safely conclude that it is a part of the set of forms that make up the honorific suffix -haru. The other form examined in the present subchapter, -hattari, while not utterly rejected by the informant appears to be somewhat strange. Seemingly, application of -haru to the verb in the sentence-final position is preferred to -hattari in the context of the construction seen in the examples above.
3.4 Conditional and provisional forms

In this section, two forms of -haru related to conditions are discussed. Martin (2004:552) states that "Japanese provides a number of devices to express CONDITIONS, both situational and temporal [...]" and offers a range of examples of constructions, some of which are periphrastic and some of which operate on a morphological level. Our focus in the present subchapter shall be on whether the morphological suffixes -tara and -eba(reba) can be used together with -haru.

According to my informant, the conditional -tara, as referred to by Martin (2004:564), can be combined with -haru, yielding the form -hattara seen in (26) below.

(26) Sensei wa kaera-hat-tara, itsumo ocha o ire-ha-ru.
   teacher TOP return-HON-COND always tea ACC make tea-HON-NPAST
   'The teacher always makes some tea whenever he returns home.' Kyoto

Furthermore, my informant points out that -hattara is sometimes used as a mild imperative or a suggestion. Horii (2006:224) states in a similar manner that -hattara can be used as an imperative circumlocution and provides the following example (translation and glossing has been added):

(27) Jibun de shi-hat-tara doo ya?
    self INST do-HON-COND how COP
    'How about doing it yourself?' Kansai

The combination of the provisional -eba(reba) and -haru is implicitly mentioned by Tsuji (2009:74) but no examples are given. My informant confirms that the form is

33 The hypothetical imperative and polite imperative forms -hare and -harinasai are discussed later on in section 3.6.
possible and provides the example below.

(28) Kasa mot-te ika-har-eba
umbrella hold-GER go-HON-PROV
'As long as you make sure to bring an umbrella...' Kyoto

In this short section, the conditional -hattara and the provisional -hareba were illustrated with two examples provided by my informant and one taken from Kyoto-fu kotoba jiten (Horii 2006). Based on the intuitions of the informant, we conclude that both of the two forms are grammatical.

3.5 Voice and potential forms

The hypothetical forms examined and discussed in this subchapter are -harareru, -haraseru and -hareru, corresponding to the passive, causative and potential forms of regular Japanese consonant verbs ending in ru. As mentioned in section 2.2, Tsuji states that the passive and the potential\(^{35}\) do not follow -haru (Tsuji 2009:74). Indeed, the notion of -haru undergoing voice conversions can be a perplexing one as an oft-cited function of haru is that of a device used to express deference towards the subject of a sentence, while voice conversions typically entail shifts in roles such as the subject or object of the clause undergoing the conversion. However, as we have seen from previous research on the function and usage of the suffix, -haru is not necessarily always employed to exalt the subject of the verb to which it is affixed. Thus, the possibility of contexts where the suffix may undergo voice conversations can not be categorically precluded. Our primary means

\(^{34}\) The condition expressed alone, with the rest of the sentence implied, is often enough to form an utterance (Martin 2004:561).

\(^{35}\) For the purposes of the present thesis, the potential is treated as a derivative of the passive in accordance with Martins description of passive voice conversions quoted above.
of covering these special cases shall be the intuitions of the informant.

Let us start by considering the two hypothetical forms -harareru and -hareru.

Martin (2004:287) states the following on the subject of Japanese passive voice conversions:

The passive can be considered as at least three separate conversions: PURE […] passive that turns the direct object into the subject in ways familiar to speakers of European languages; the ADVERSATIVE passive, in which a new subject playing the role of the victim is adversely affected by the underlying process; and the POTENTIAL passive, which endows an indirect subject […] with the possession of the ability to carry out the process […]

The following sentence is an example of an attempt to construct a sentence in which -haru has undergone a conversion into the adversative passive.

(29) *Sensei ni ashi o fuma-hara-re-ta.
      teacher AGT foot ACC step-HON-PASS-PAST
      (Intended to mean) 'I was inconvenienced by the teacher stepping on my foot.' Kyoto

My informant found all of the sentences constructed in this manner, with -haru followed by the passive suffix to indicate that the speaker is being adversely affected by the act of an honorable person, strange. Sentence (30) below, an example of a pure passive conversion, was deemed to be equally unnatural.

(30) *Senpai ni paatii ni sasowa-hara-re-ta.
      Senior AGT party DAT invite-HON-PASS-PAST
      (Intended to mean) 'He was invited to the party by a senior.' Kyoto

The sentences (31) and (32), illustrating the hypothetical potential passive form\(^{36}\) of -haru,

---

\(^{36}\) As noted by Martin (2004:300), the potential passive form of consonant verbs is typically shortened such that the verb yobu 'call', for instance, would appear as yoberu 'be able to call' rather than yobareru. Similarly, the hypothetical potential passive form of haru is hareru.
were also judged to be unnatural by my informant.

(31)  *Ika-har-e-ru.
     go-HON-POT-NPAST
     (Intended to mean) 'He can go.' Kyoto

(32)  *Tabe-har-e-ru.
     eat-HON-POT-NPAST
     (Intended to mean) 'He can eat.' Kansai

Examples (33) and (34) on the other hand, in which the verb to which -haru has been affixed to has been conjugated to its potential form rather than -haru itself, were deemed to be slightly off but not necessarily ungrammatical. My informant also tells me that dekiri 'can' followed by -haru, as illustrated in (35), is completely natural.

(33)  ?Yom-e-har-u.38
     read-POT-HON-NPAST
     'He can read.' Kansai

(34)  ?Taroo-san wa ringo o itsutsu tabe-rare-har-u.
     Taroo-HON TOP apple ACC five eat-POT-HON-NPAST
     'Taroo can eat five apples.' Kansai

(35)  Deki-har-u.
     can-HON-NPAST
     'He can do it.' Kansai

Furthermore, -haru seems to be compatible with pure passive constructions, as seen in (36) below, as long as the suffix is applied after the morpheme used to mark the passive voice.

Although -haru and voice suffixes are not necessarily incompatible, there seems to be a

37 Martin (2004:301) cites Mikami (1963) as treating dekiri 'can' as the suppletive potential form of suru 'do'.
38 The affixes -e-, -rare- seen in (33) and (34) respectively are allomorphs of the morpheme expressing potentiality in Japanese verbs.
restriction such that -

(36) Sensei wa paatii ni sasowa-re-hat-ta.
   teacher TOP party DAT invite-PASS-HON-PAST
   'The teacher was invited to the party.' Kansai

Shibatani (1990: 307) presents the following order of verbal affixes in Japanese and states that: "The suffixes most closely related to the verbal stem are the voice suffixes, represented by the causative and the passive suffix".


This tendency of some suffixes to assume a position closer to the verbal stem than others could explain why (36) is well-formed while (30) is ungrammatical. However, it is interesting to note that there is a fundamental difference between (36) and (30) pertaining to the target of -

(37) Senpai ga kare o paatii ni sasowa-hat-ta.
    senior NOM him ACC party DAT invite-HON-PAST
    'A senior invited him to the party.' Kyoto

On the other hand, -

Whether a clause containing a subject honorific expression can undergo conversion that brings about change in roles such as subject and object at all and what the result would be is an interesting issue. However, further probing into this matter is beyond the scope of the present survey.
of -haru to exalt the teacher is not possible.\(^\text{40}\)

\[(38)\] Kare ga sensei o paatii ni sasot-ta.
he NOM teacher ACC party DAT invite-PAST
'He invited the teacher to the party.' \textit{Standard/Kansai}

As we can see, the target of respect in (36) is the subject while the intended target of respect in (30) is the agent of the passive construction. This difference between -harareru and the passive followed by -haru raises the question whether there could exist any possible context in which -harareru can be used to produce a grammatical sentence. However, my informant tells me that she cannot think of any situation in which any of the two forms -harareru or -hareru would be natural. Consequently, we consider any hypothetical special cases to be covered and conclude that -haru cannot undergo passivization and does not have a potential form.

The hypothetical causative form of -haru, -haraseru, is also perceived as ungrammatical by my informant and she can not imagine any context that would call for its usage. Shibatani (1990:311) addresses the structure of Japanese causative constructions and notes that:

\[\ldots\] the derived causative structure is simplex; \[\ldots\] That a verb stem and the causative suffix form a one-word unit is also evidenced by the fact that the honorification process treat it just like a single word by converting the whole complex into an honorific form, e.g.

\[\text{ika-se-ru} \rightarrow \text{o-ika-se ni naru} \text{ (subject honorific)} \] \[\ldots\] 'make X go'.

Although the periphrastic honorific construction used in Shibatani’s example can be said to be somewhat different from -haru which operates on a morphological level, the notion that

\(^{40}\) This is not to say that affixing -haru to sasou 'invite' in (38) would render the sentence ungrammatical in any way but rather that doing so would mean that (38) would no longer be the active voice counterpart of (36) as (36) and (38) would describe two very different situations. One in which the teacher is the target of respect and one in which the person who invites the teacher is the character respected by the speaker.
the causative suffix forms a one-word unit together with the verb stem is sufficient to explain why examples such as (39), in which -haru appears in between the verb stem and the causative suffix, are ungrammatical as confirmed by my informant (who considers the sentence below to be unnatural).

(39) *Ika-hara-se-ru.
    go-HON-CAUS-NPAST
    (Intended to mean) 'Make him go.'  **Kyoto**

As shown in this subchapter, none of the three hypothetical forms -harareru, -hareru or -haraseru are grammatical. Consequently, the possibility of a compounded causative passive form, -haraserareru or -harasareru\(^\text{41}\), can also be precluded. The observation that the forms -harareru and -hareru are nonexistent is in line with Tsuji's proposition introduced in section 2.2.

### 3.6 Imperatives

In the present subchapter, we take a look at two hypothetical forms related to imperative constructions. The examined forms are illustrated in the two example sentences below:

(40) ??Yoma-har-e.
    read-HON-IMP
    'Read!'  **Kyoto**

\(^{41}\) The causative passive form of regular Japanese consonant verbs can be shortened, resulting in two different realizations of the same form.
The -e imperative, along with its allomorph -ro, is described by Svahn (2009:7) as "highly informal and unsuitable for use in many social contexts". The notion of combining such an expression with an honorific may seem to be quite a distant one. In fact, in the entry for -haru in Kyooto fu kotoba jiten (Horii 2006:224) we find the following remark on the imperative form with the implication that honorific expressions do not combine well with imperatives (my translation): "as -haru is an honorific auxiliary, it is not used together with the imperative form". Larm (2006:184 f.) addresses the matter of honorific verb forms and imperatives in his analysis of modality in Japanese and points out that there are in fact examples of honorific verbs taking the form of the imperative. The following two examples are presented in his 2006 dissertation:

(42) Doozo, meshiagar-e.
    please eat (HON)-IMP
    'Please eat.' (super polite) Standard

(43) Irasshai-mas-e!
    welcome (HON)-POL-IMP
    'Welcome!' (super polite) Standard

As we can see from these examples, the possibility of an imperative form of -haru can not be dismissed purely based on a perception of honorific expressions and imperatives as categorically incompatible.
In Tsuji’s 2009 book, we find what is perhaps the most compelling argument for the possibility of an imperative form of -haru. In her examination of rakugo related material primarily dating from the Meiji period, Tsuji encounters written records of usage of the imperative forms -nahare and -hare (Tsuji 2009:331). She also mentions that Murakami (2004) has pointed out the occurrence of -hare in material dating from the 18th century. The example below corresponds to one of the instances of -hare found by Murakami and presented by Tsuji (2009:267) (translation and glossing has been added):

(44) Kika-har-e.
listen-HON-IMP
'Listen!' Kyoto

My informant tells me that she finds (40) to be unnatural and that she does not perceive -hare as possible. Consequently, we conclude that while the imperative form -hare has seen some historical usage and although we cannot dismiss the possibility that the form exists in some of the smaller local speech communities, it does not appear to enjoy widespread acceptance among the current speakers of Kyoto Japanese. For the purposes of the present thesis, -hare will not be regarded as a part of the paradigm of -haru in Kyoto speech.

As for the polite imperative suffix -nasai, Larm (2006:190) and Svahn (2009:8) state that its origin is the imperative form of nasaru, the same honorific verb that is said to be the precursor of -haru. My informant finds the combination of -haru and -nasai,

44 The combination of the negative imperative particle na and -haru was also rejected by the informant.
45 At the time of the discussion of the hypothetical imperative form -hare with my informant, neither of us were aware of the historical usage of the form. However, the morphological structures of (40) and (44) are identical except for the verb stem, effectively rendering (44) just as unnatural as (40) in modern Japanese.
46 Larm cites Yamauchi (2001:558) as giving the alternative explanation that -nasai evolved from nasaimase ‘do!’; the polite imperative form of nasaru (Larm 2006:190-191).
illustrated in (45) below, to be unnatural and strange.

(45)  *Yoma-hari-nasai.
       read-HON-POLIMP
       (Intended to mean) 'Read!' Kyoto

It is unclear if the incompatibility of -haru and -nasai stems from a reluctance of stacking two suffixes strongly related to each other. Another possible interpretation rests on whether the polite imperative suffix -nasai bears a salient connotation of standard Japanese or not. As we have seen in section 3.2, -haru seems to resist combination with suffixes associated with dialects other than those of the Kansai area. However, as the author has been unable to confirm with the informant whether -nasai is disassociated from Kyoto Japanese or not, the reason for the ungrammaticality of the hypothetical form -harinasai is left uncovered.

The focus of this section has been the hypothetical and examined forms -hare and -harinasai. For the purpose of the present thesis, the imperative form -hare is not regarded as a part of the paradigm of -haru in Kyoto Japanese. Although records of historical usage of the form do exist, the approach of the present thesis is primarily synchronic. No evidence of widely accepted contemporary usage of the form exists to the authors knowledge, and the informant views -hare as unnatural. This conclusion seems to fit well with Tsuji's remark on the absence of the form -hare in the material examined in her 2009 book. As the hypothetical polite imperative form -harinasai was also judged to be unnatural, we can conclude that -haru does not seem to have any imperative forms.47

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47 As mentioned in section 3.4 though, -hattara can be used as a circumlocution in some contexts where the imperative would be expected.
3.7 Hortative and literary conjectural -haroo

In the present section, the hypothetical form -haroo is discussed. Larm (2006:123, 2006:193) describes two distinct functions of the -oo (yoo)⁴⁸ inflection of Japanese verbs. One is the hortative which "expresses an invitation or a proposal meaning 'let's do it' or, sometimes, 'let me do it' or 'I think I'll do it'" (Martin 2004:610, quoted in Larm 2006:193). The following example is given in Larm 2006:

(46) Biiru o nom-oo
    beer   ACC   drink-HORT
    'Let's drink beer.' Standard/Kansai

The other function of the -oo(yoo) inflection, dubbed the literary conjectural -oo(yoo), expresses a meaning synonymous to that of the conjectural particle daroo (Larm 2006:123). This similarity is illustrated by Larm with the two sentences presented below.

(47) Ashita wa ame ni nar-oo.
    tomorrow TOP   rain   DAT   become-LITCONJ
    'I guess it will rain tomorrow.'⁴⁹

(48) Ashita wa ame ni nar-u daroo.
    tomorrow TOP   rain   DAT   become-NPAST   CONJ
    'I guess it will rain tomorrow.' Standard


---

⁴⁸ Consonant verbs take the -oo ending while the allomorph -yoo occurs after vowel verbs (Martin 2004:605).
⁴⁹ Dialectal affiliation of this example sentence has been left unmarked as it is unknown to the author whether the literary conjectural -oo(yoo) is highly associated with standard Japanese or not. Examples containing the hypothetical form -haroo are marked in accordance with the conventions of the present thesis.
conversations examined across all three of the groups targeted by her study. When asked to consider the possibility of -haroo used in a hortative sense, my informant told me that the form does not feel natural to her. Sentence (49), in which -mashoo has been affixed to -haru in an attempt to create a polite hortative construction, was regarded as equally unnatural to any sentence containing the hypothetical hortative form -haroo.

(49) *Nani o tabe-hari-mashoo ka.

what ACC eat-HON-POL.HORT QP

(Intended to mean) 'What shall we eat?' Kansai

Larm (2006:195 f.) cites Miyazaki (2000:52) as saying that the hortative is limited to first person subjects. This limitation could be a possible interpretation of the apparent ungrammaticality of -haroo, as -haru, likely due to its prototypical usage as a subject exalting referent honorific, is typically not used when the subject of the utterance coincides with the speaker. Although Larm (2006:196) points out that second or third person subjects are possible in hortative constructions when the hortative is "embedded in a complement clause of the propositional attitude verb omou 'think'", it is unclear whether -haru is possible in that sort of context or not. Consider the following example:

(50) ?Sensei wa jimusho ni ika-har-oo to

teacher TOP office DAT go-HON-HORT COMP

omot-ta-hari-mas-u.50

think-GER-PROG.HON-NPAST

'The teacher intends to go to his office.' Kyoto

As -haru is a deictic expression used to express deference towards another person in its prototypical sense, its usage depends on how the speaker relates to the referent. If -haru

50 See section 1.2 for an explanation of the realization of the gerundive suffix -te as -ta in this sentence.
can be said to be a subjective judgment, tied to the speaker of the utterance, of the relative social status of the referent compared to the speaker, embedding the suffix in a complement clause of a verb used to express the thoughts of a person other than the speaker as shown in (50) above may prove to be difficult. This hypothesis raises some questions about the very nature of the suffix and the issue is complicated somewhat by the examples of usage of -haru where it cannot be explained as a device used to exalt the subject of the utterance presented in section 2. Further analysis of the matter of whether -haru can be embedded in this way, starting with a thorough examination of whether (50) is possible or not, would necessitate another investigation based on in-depth interviews with an informant. As the uncertainty of the possibility of (50) cannot be eliminated in the present study, we cannot say for sure if the hypothetical hortative -haroo really is nonexistent. However, based on the intuitions of the informant in the cases where -haroo has not been embedded in a complement clause we can conclude that the existence of -haroo is at least unlikely.

Constructing a sentence in which the subject and the speaker do not coincide without embedding -haru in a complement clause seems considerably less problematic with the literary conjectural -oo(yoo). As seen in (47), third person subjects are perfectly grammatical in this context. Nonetheless, -haru does not seem to combine well with the literary conjectural -oo(yoo).

(51) *Sensei wa sugu kaera-har-oo.
    teacher TOP soon go home-HON-LITCONJ
   (Intended to mean) 'I guess the teacher will go home soon.' Kyoto
(52) *Kare wa ki-har-oo.
he TOP come-HON-LITCONJ
(Intended to mean) 'I guess he will come.' **Kansai**

My informant tells me that both (51) and (52) are unnatural and a possible reason for this lies in the context of -*haru* itself. According to my informant, -*haru* is a colloquial expression despite of its honorific nature. Consequently, its usage is restricted to spoken language and material written in the style of spoken Japanese.\(^5\) The literary conjectural -*oo(yoo)* on the other hand, as suggested by its label, is primarily found in written or formal language (Larm 2006:123). This explanation of stylistic incompatibility seems sufficient to account for the nonexistence of -*haroo* used as a literary conjectural device.

In this section, the hypothetical form -*haroo* has been approached from two different perspectives. As mentioned in section 2.2, no instances of -*haroo* were found by Tsuji (2009:73, 2009:143, 2009:173). Neither of the two functions ascribed to the -*oo(yoo)* inflectional ending by Larm (2006) were found to be natural in combination with -*haru* by the informant, in accordance with the implications of Tsuji's observation. As doubts still remain over the possibility of -*haroo* in some specific contexts, a decisive judgment of whether the form is grammatical or not cannot be made. However, the intuitions of my informant suggest that the form is at the very least unnatural in most contexts. Thus, -*haroo* will tentatively not be treated as a part of the paradigm of -*haru* in the present survey.

\(^5\) As explained in section 2.3, the documents examined by Tsuji in her analysis of the diachrony of the suffix are records of spoken language.
3.8 Other forms tested

In the final section of chapter 3, a few forms found to be grammatical that do not fit into the categories discussed in the other sections are presented. The first form to receive our attention is the polite \textit{-harimasu}.

Polite language is referred to by Shibatani (1990:375) as a process of honorification, albeit one that operates in a slightly different way than subject honorifics like \textit{-haru} do. While subject and object honorifics are employed to exalt the referent of an utterance, polite language is used to exalt the addressee (Shibatani 1990:375). Thus, when the referent and the addressee coincide, we can observe a combination of the two forms of honorification. The polite form is achieved by attaching the bound auxiliary \textit{-masu} to the verbal infinitive (Martin 2004:1029), resulting in the combination \textit{-harimasu}, as illustrated in (53) below.

\begin{equation}
\text{Nani o tabe-hari-mas-u ka.}
\text{what ACC eat-HON-POL-NPAST QP}
\text{What would you like to eat?} \textbf{Kansai}
\end{equation}

My informant confirms that the auxiliaries \textit{-haru} and \textit{-masu} can be combined in this fashion and provides another example, seen below, in which \textit{-harimasu} has undergone further conjugation to express a completed action. As we have already observed in section 3.2, a negative polite form, \textit{-harimasen}, is also possible.

\begin{equation}
\text{Shachoo-san, ki-hari-mashi-ta.}
\text{company president-HON come-HON-POL-PAST}
\text{Mr President, you have arrived!} \textbf{Kansai}
\end{equation}
Another combination found to be existent is the gerundive form -hatte. The example given by my informant is presented below.

(55)  Ika-hat-te           wa    akimasen.
       go-HON-GER   TOP   bad.POL
'You must not go.'  Kansai

As confirmed by my informant, the gerundive -hatte as seen in (55) is possible in a number of prohibitive, obligatory and permissive constructions.52

Martin (2004:355) states, on the subject of the desiderative, that ”Any verbal sentence will, it seems, form a desiderative. Even Āru 'It exists; We have it' occurs in somewhat abstract situations [...]”. This seems to hold for -haru as well. My informant produces the following sentence in which -haru and the desiderative suffix -tai occur together.

(56)  O-too-san    wa    kyoooto e    ika-hari-tai n    ya te.
       HON-father-HON TOP   Kyoto   ALL   go-HON-DES NOMI COP QUOT
'Your father told me that he wants to go to Kyoto.'  Kyoto

Finally, -haru is also found to be able to co-occur with what Larm (2006:169) refers to as ”the sensory evidential -soo da”. Note that da in ”-soo da” is the copula (Larm 2006:171). Thus, the appropriate rendition when combined with the dialectal -haru would be ”-harisoo ya”. It is questionable whether this combination can really be said to make up an inflectional form of -haru, but the author has chosen to include it in this section in any case as the combination, illustrated in (57) below, is deemed to be valid by my informant.

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52 For a general overview of these and similar modal expressions, see Larm (2006).
In this last section of chapter 3, a number of forms not covered in the other subchapters were commented upon. The polite form -harimasu, mentioned by Tsuji (2009:74), was confirmed to be perfectly natural as expected. The gerundive -hatte and the desiderative -haritai were also found to be included in the set of forms of the suffix -haru. Lastly, the construction ”-hari soo ya” was introduced. However, as it is unclear if -haru can be said to have undergone inflection in ”-hari soo ya” or if the construction should be treated as a separate word derived from the suffix, ”-hari soo ya” will not be treated as a form of -haru in the present thesis.


## 4.1 Summary

The forms described and discussed in the present thesis can be divided into three categories in the following way:53

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attested forms</th>
<th>Dismissed forms</th>
<th>Unlikely forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Represent.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-harahen</td>
<td>-haranai</td>
<td>-hattari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hatta</td>
<td>-harareru</td>
<td>-haroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>-hareru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hattara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provisional</td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>-haraseru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hareba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-harimasu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerundive</td>
<td>Pol. imp.55</td>
<td>-harinasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hatte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desiderative</td>
<td></td>
<td>-haritai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The underlined combinations are those touched upon by Tsuji (2009:74) in her study of the usage of -haru among middle aged female speakers of the Kyoto dialect. The results of the present study are in line with her remarks on the grammatical properties of -haru. A number of other combinations have also been examined in this paper and presented above.

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53 Note that some of the forms listed on this page can undergo further conjugation resulting in a range of intricate combinations. Although some examples of this have been mentioned in chapter 3, the primary interest of the present thesis remains the combinations achieved by directly affixing auxiliaries and markers to -haru and the features of the suffix that allow and disallow these combinations.
54 Representative.
55 Polite imperative.
In the present investigation, we have confirmed that -haru does not seem to have any imperative or hortative forms and that the suffix cannot undergo voice conversions. Tsuji (2009:74) mentions that -haru cannot be followed by the passive suffix. The results of the examination in the present thesis confirms this and adds the causative suffix to the list of suffixes that do not follow -haru. We have also concluded that -haru resists combination with suffixes with a dialectal affiliation that conflicts with the dialectal identity of -haru itself.

4.2 Concluding remarks

The present thesis has been an attempt at an examination of the set of inflectional forms that constitute the paradigm of the dialectal honorific suffix -haru in the Kyoto dialect. Although the subject of the grammatical features of -haru has been touched upon in the past, the forms of -haru and the morphological details of the suffix has, to the knowledge of the author of the present thesis, not been the target of a descriptive study before.

A number of hypothetical forms have been approached with the aim of determining their grammaticality and further our knowledge of the morphological features of the suffix. In order to account for unusual contexts in which seemingly nonexistent forms can be manifested, the examination of the individual forms has been conducted with the help of the intuitions of a native speaker familiar to the dialects of the area around Kyoto. Although the author has strived to cover as many hypothetical forms of the suffix as possible, the present thesis should not be taken to be a decisive all-encompassing account
of the morphological possibilities of the form. No doubt, forms not mentioned in this study exist as well, as the Japanese language allows for a great deal of combination and affixation due to its agglutinative nature.

As for potential topics for future research, some questions pertaining to the nature of the suffix still remain unanswered. Whether -haru can be embedded in a complement clause expressing the thoughts of the referent or another person or not, whether the forms classified as unlikely in the present thesis are truly nonexistent and to which extent the knowledge we have of the shape of -haru in the Kyoto dialect relates to the variants of the suffix occurring in the other parts of Kansai are also issues meriting future research. Further probing into the matter of how -haru interacts with other suffixes of various dialects also constitutes a potential topic for further research.

In the present thesis, an attempt at an overview of the forms of the dialectal honorific -haru has been presented, but there is still much left to learn about the ways in which the suffix can be employed by its speakers to describe the world around them and its happenings.
References


