

The paradigm of *-haru*

A descriptive overview

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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

ACC	accusative	NEG	negative
AGT	agent	NOM	nominative
ALL	allative	NOMI	nominalizer
CAUS	causative	NPAST	nonpast
COMP	complementizer	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PAST	past
CONJ	conjunctural	POL	polite
COP	copula	POLIMP	polite imperative
DAT	dative	POT	potential
DES	desiderative	PROG	progressive
GEN	genitive	PROV	provisional
GER	gerund	REPR	representative
HON	honorific	SENSEV	sensory evidence
HORT	hortative	TOP	topic
IMP	imperative	QP	question particle
INST	instrumental	QUOT	quotative
LITCONJ	literary conjunctural		

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**

- (2) Sensei wa hon o yoma-har-u.
teacher TOP book ACC read-HON-NPAST
'The teacher will read a book.' **Kyoto**

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.' **Kyoto**

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.

- (4) Senpai wa tookyoo e iki-har-u n ya te.¹
 senior TOP Tokyo ALL go-HON-NPAST NOMI COP QUOT
 'A senior said that he was going to Tokyo.' **Osaka**
- (5) Senpai wa tookyoo e ika-har-u n ya te.
 senior TOP Tokyo ALL go-HON-NPAST NOMI COP QUOT
 'A senior said that he was going to Tokyo.' **Kyoto**²

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.³ 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

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 variants⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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 conjunctural particle *daroo*⁷ 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 *akimahan/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**

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 region⁸ 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

⁸ The informant who has helped me with this study has lived in Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe (three major cities in the Kansai region).

⁹ For a discussion on the inflectional categories of Japanese verbs, see Shibatani (1990).

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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ *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

10 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.

11 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.

be a part of the paradigm of the suffix.¹² 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.

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 *-haru* is that of a consonant verb. From this basis, she infers that the application of school grammar yields forms like those listed below:

*-haru, -harahen, -harimasu, -hatta, -hareba*¹³

Furthermore, she notes an absence of the forms *-haran*, *-haroo* and *-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 *-haroo* and *-hare* while *-haran* makes an appearance in the first of the two groups of older speakers (Tsuji 2009:143, 2009:173). Although no instances of *-hare*, the imperative form of *-haru*, were found in the material examined by Tsuji, the occurrence of the imperative form of *-yaharu*, an expression posited to be related to *-haru*,¹⁴ 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 *-haru* (Tsuji 2009:74).

2.3 The emergence of *-haru*

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

The auxiliary [attached to the verb to exalt the subject] is *nasáru* (which, as we have mentioned, comes from an old passivization of *násu* = *suru* 'does') but it often appears in a variant form *naháru* and with various reductions in shape, [...]

He then proceeds to cite Maeda (1961:181) as noting that further reduction has resulted in

13 All of these forms taken from Tsuji 2009 will be further discussed in chapter 3.

14 The suffix *-yaharu* is further mentioned in section 2.3.

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 exaltation¹⁵ in dialogues from late Edo literature¹⁶ 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*¹⁷ dating from the Meiji period

15 Ad hoc translation of the original Japanese term *taiguuhyoogen*. 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*'¹⁸ should perhaps be said to be shifting from respect language to polite language”¹⁹ (Shimada 1966) as quoted

in front of an audience.

18 A version of the sentence with glossing added is presented below.

19 The distinction being that polite language is used to express deference towards the addressee, whereas

by Tsuji (2009:12).

- (13) Tonari no neko ga sakana o nusun-de ika-hat-ta.
neighbour GEN cat NOM fish ACC steal-GER go-POL-PAST²⁰
'The neighbours cat went and stole the fish.' **Kyoto**

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'*²¹ [...] 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 Shimadas 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 speakers²³(Tsuji 2009:66, 2009:139, 2009:223)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**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)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 This example sentence, together with (15) below, is taken from *Haru-keigo koo kyootogo no shakai gengoshi* (2009). Respondents were asked whether they would apply *-haru* in the situation described in the sentences or not.

26 The title *sensei* 'teacher' evokes a certain sense of status in Japan and frequently calls for the the usage of honorific expressions.

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:

Section	Forms
3.2	<i>-harahen</i> <i>-haranai</i>
3.3	<i>-hatta</i> <i>-hattari</i>
3.4	<i>-hattara</i> <i>-hareba</i>
3.5	<i>-harareru</i> <i>-hareru</i> <i>-haraseru</i>
3.6	<i>-hare</i> <i>-harinasai</i>
3.7	<i>-haroo</i>
3.8	<i>-harimasu</i> <i>-hatte</i> <i>-haritai</i> (<i>-harisoo</i>) ²⁷

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.³⁰

- (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 *-harahenkatta*, 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,³¹ 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 suru*³² 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**
- (24) ?Hanasa-**hat-tari** shi-hat-ta.
 talk-HON-REPR do-HON-PAST
 'He talked among other things.' **Kyoto**
- (25) Hanashi-tari shi-hat-ta.
 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.³³ 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-eba³⁴
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 potential³⁵ 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 conversions 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 form³⁶ 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 *dekiru* 'can'³⁷ 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 *dekiru* '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 *-haru* cannot appear between the verb stem and the passive or potential passive suffix.

- (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".

Vstem–causative–passive–aspect–desiderative–NEG–tense

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 *-haru* when the suffix is interpreted as fulfilling the role of a subject exalting referent honorific. Sentence (30) is an intended passivization of (37) below³⁹ in which *-haru* is employed to express deference held towards the subject of the sentence; a senior group member.

- (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, *-haru* is used in (36) to express deference held towards the teacher, who is the object of an active voice counterpart of (36) as seen in (38) in which case application

39 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.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.' **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:

[...] the derived causative structure is simplex; [...] 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. *ika-se-ru* → *o-ika-se ni naru* (subject honorific) [...] '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*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.

- (41) *Tabe-hari-nasai.
eat-HON-POLIMP
(Intended to mean) 'Eat!' **Kansai**

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.⁴² In fact, in the entry for *-haru* in *Kyoto 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".⁴³ 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.

⁴² Svahn informs me in a private conversation that this perception does not hold true in the context of older Japanese.

⁴³ Interestingly, the entry for *-haru* also tells us that the form *-hare* enjoys some local usage in the town of Kizu (now a part of Kizugawa) and the village of Minamiyamashiro in the southern part of Kyoto prefecture (Horii 2006:224). However, it is unclear if this usage is related to the imperative.

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 unnatural⁴⁴ and that she does not perceive *-hare* as possible.⁴⁵ 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*,⁴⁶ 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

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**

Let us start by examining the hypothetical hortative *-haroo*. Tsuji (2009:74, 2009:143, 2009:173) notes a lack of appearance of *-haroo* in the material of natural

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.⁵¹ 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.

51 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 *-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 *-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 *-masu* to the verbal infinitive (Martin 2004:1029), resulting in the combination *-harimasu*, as illustrated in (53) below.

- (53) Nani o tabe-hari-mas-u ka.
what ACC eat-HON-POL-NPAST QP
'What would you like to eat?' **Kansai**

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

- (54) Shachoo-san, ki-hari-mashi-ta.
company president-HON come-HON-POL-PAST
'Mr President, you have arrived!' **Kansai**

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, obligative 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 *Áru* '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 kyoto 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.

52 For a general overview of these and similar modal expressions, see Larm (2006).

- (57) Kanojo wa naka-hari-soo yat-ta.
she TOP cry-HON-SENSEV COP-PAST
'It looked as if she was about to start to crying.' **Kyoto**

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.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

4.1 Summary

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

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

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.

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.

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