

Null Pronouns in Old Japanese:

A study of Concessive, Conditional, and Provisional clauses

Stephen Wright Horn and Kerri L Russell

vsarpj@orinst.ox.ac.uk

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Null pronouns in Oj: an example

(1)

婢奈礼婆

[S2 [S1 e_i *tabi nareba*]
journey COP.PROV

e_j 於毛比多要弓毛
omopi-tayete mo
think-stop.GER ETOP

安里都礼杼
ari-turedo] (...)
exist-PERF.CONC

“(...) although she has stopped thinking of me
because (I) am on a journey” (MYS.15.3686)

Outline

- ▶ Introduction and Research Questions
 - The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)
 - The three clause types, and claims made about them for Early Middle Japanese (EMJ)
 - Null pronouns in Modern Japanese (NJ)
- ▶ Our findings
 - Concessive, Conditional, and Provisional clauses in OJ are always subordinate
 - Null pronouns in OJ by clause type
 - Switch reference in OJ

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

- ▶ Developed as a research tool for the Verb semantics and argument realization in pre-modern Japanese (VSARPJ) project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (<http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>)
- ▶ Comprises all poetic texts from the Old Japanese period
 - approximately 90,000 words
 - website: <http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/>

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

- ▶ OCOJ is annotated with XML tags following the standards of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI)
- ▶ Both a phonemic transcription and original script are presented, noting logographic and phonographic writing
- ▶ Lexemes and morphemes have UUIDs, which are linked to The Lexicon, where information about each item is stored

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

- ▶ Morphological information, e.g., part of speech and inflection, is encoded
- ▶ Syntactic constituency is encoded:
 - Noun phrases
 - Clauses
 - Topics
 - Right dislocated elements

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

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The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Poems:	4985
Words:	89212
Sentences:	7085
Clauses:	29925
Phrases:	26763
Argument phrases with no final CP:	7254
Argument phrases with <i>no</i> :	1138
Argument phrases with <i>wo</i> :	1727
Concessives:	573
Conditionals:	674
Provisionals:	1052

Concessive, Conditional, and Provisional clauses in EMJ

- ▶ The three clause types:
 - Concessive
yukedo “Even when (I) go”
realis concessive
 - Conditional
yukaba “If (I) go”
irrealis conditional
 - Provisional
yukeba “When/because (I) go”
realis conditional

Concessive, Conditional, and Provisional clauses in EMJ

- ▶ Some assume that these clauses are coordinating (and not subordinating) for EMJ
 - see, e.g., Akiba, (1977)
- ▶ **Our research question:** Are these clause types coordinating or subordinating in OJ?

Concessive, Conditional, and Provisional clauses in EMJ

- ▶ Some claim that Provisional and Conditional clauses have a switch reference function
 - see, e.g., Akiba (1977), Fujii (1985), Ohori (1992, 1994, 1996) and McAuley (2002)
- ▶ Switch reference is where an argument in one clause corefers with an argument in another
 - a null argument with a subject grammatical role in a subordinate clause can co-refer with an argument in the superordinate clause with the same role (“same subject”, or “SS” function)
 - or it can co-refer to some other antecedent (“different subject”, or “DS” function).

Switch reference in EMJ

(2) かぐや姫に、「はや、かの御使ひに對面したまへ」と言へば、かぐや姫、「よきかたちにもあらず。いかでか見ゆべき」と言へば、「うたてものたまふかな。帝の御使ひをばいかでおろかにせむ」と言へば、かぐや姫答ふるやう、「帝の召してのたまはむこと、かしこしと思はず」と言ひて、さらに見ゆべくもあらず。(Taketori Monogatari , 54)

‘To Kaguyahime, “Quickly, go meet that messenger!” (he) said, and then, “It is not agreeable to me. Why must I make myself available to him?” Kaguyahime said, and then, “What a ridiculous thing you say! How can you treat the Emperor’s messenger with such neglect?” (he) said, and then, Kaguyahime (by way of reply): “I don’t think what the Emperor has said is impressive,” said, and (she) didn’t show herself to anyone again.’ (Adapted from Akiba 1977:611, #2)

- ▶ Our research question: Do these clause types show switch reference in OJ?

Null Pronouns in NJ

- ▶ Kuroda (1965), Kameyama (1985), and others claim that null pronouns in NJ are pronominal.
- ▶ Sugiura (2001) offers many examples of NJ null pronouns functioning as bound variables, noting that quantified antecedent must c-command any null pronoun to which it co-refers.

(3) * $[e_i$ Utainagara] daremo_i dete konakatta
 sing.while nobody go.out.GER come.NEG.PST
 ‘While singing, nobody came out.’ (adapted from Sugiura 2001, 46, #109b))

- ▶ **Our research question:** Is this also true for OJ?

The present study

- ▶ Our data consist of a random sample of 300 phonographically attested tokens, 100 for each clause type.
- ▶ We investigated:
 - The relative height of the clause: subordinate or coordinate?
 - The distribution of null pronouns in OJ: same as NJ?
 - Switch reference: are these clause types switch reference markers?

Analyzing the data

4 types of arguments: subjects, objects, indirect objects, and experiencer/possessors

300 predicates: 1-, 2-, and 3-place predicates

421 argument slots:

Grammatical role: 300 subjects, 90 objects, 22 indirect objects, and 9 exp/poss's

Expression: 260 null pronouns, and 161 overt arguments

62% of arguments were null pronouns

Empty core NP argument slots to total number of slots

	1 – place	2 – place	3 – place	Total no. slots	Null Pronouns	Ratio of null to total
Provisional	67	31	2	135	73	.54
Conditional	64	31	5	141	92	.65
Concessive	60	35	5	145	95	.65

Null subjects

	Null subjects	Overt subjects	Ratio of null to total
Provisional	60	40	.60
Conditional	70	30	.70
Concessive	59	41	.59

Null objects

	Null objects	Overt objects	Ratio of null to total
Provisional	7	21	.25
Conditional	14	17	.45
Concessive	26	5	.83

Extrasentential antecedents to null pronouns (by grammatical role)

	Total null pronouns	Extrasentential antecedents	Ratio to total
Subjects	189	163	.86
Objects	47	20	.42
Indirect Objects	18	18	1.0
Exp/Poss's	6	6	.86

Extrasentential antecedents to null pronouns (by clause-type)

	Total null pronouns	Extrasentential antecedents	Ratio
Provisional	73	63	.86
Conditional	92	74	.80
Concessive	95	71	.75

Null pronouns in OJ can be bound variables

- (4) *mono_i mwina pa* [*e_i aratasi-ki*]
things all TOP new-ACOP.ADN
yo-si
good-ACOP.CONCL
'For all things_i, those_i being new are good.'
(MYS.10.1885)

- (5) *tare_i wo ka* [*e_i kimi to mitutu*]
who ACC Q lord COMP see.CONT
sinwopa-mu
long.for-CONJ.ADN
'Whom_i shall (I), thinking (it) to be my lord, pine
for?' (MYS.20.4440)

Using pronominalization to determine S-structure

Out of 300 samples, there were 27 instances of Pronominalization between S1 and S2 involving an overt NP and a null pronoun.

Pronominalization patterns between S1 and S2

Left pronominalization:

$$[_{S_2} \dots [_{S_1} \dots \mathbf{e}_i \dots V_1] \dots \mathbf{NP}_i \dots V_2]$$

Right pronominalization:

$$[_{S_2} \dots [_{S_1} \dots \mathbf{NP}_i \dots V_1] \dots \mathbf{e}_i \dots V_2]$$

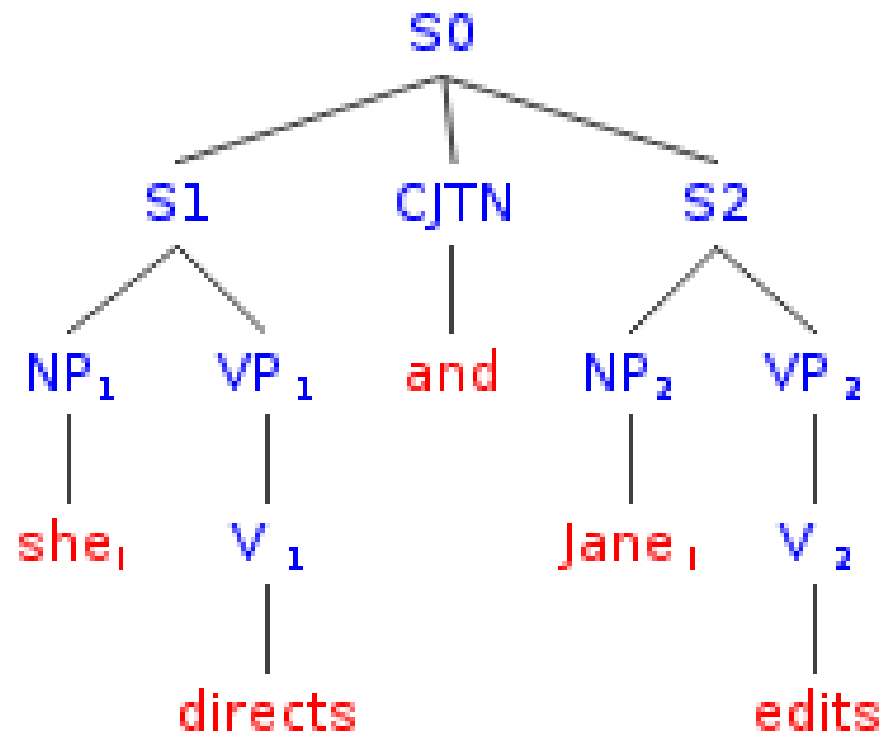
‘Binding’:

$$[_{S_2} \mathbf{NP}_i [_{S_1} \dots \mathbf{e}_i \dots V_1] \dots V_2]$$

No Left pronominalization between coordinated clauses

(Yuasa and Sadock 2002, Culicover and Jackendoff 1997)

(6) *She_i directs and Jane_i edits.



Applications of the restriction between coordinated clauses

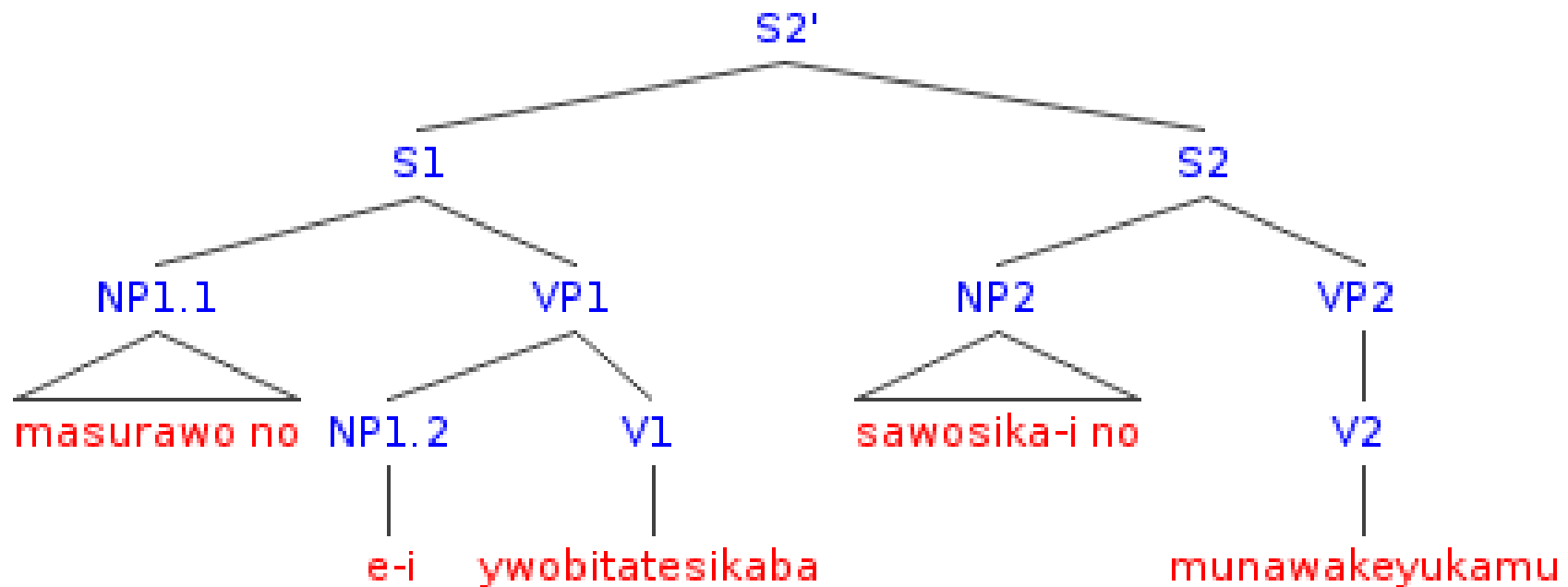
(7)	多都我	奈伎	安之敞乎左之弓
	[S2 <i>tadu ga</i>	[S0 <i>naki</i>]	[S1 <i>asipy e wo sasite</i>]
	等妣和多類		
	<i>tobi-wataru</i>]		
	(MYS.15.3626)		

Both S0 and S1 modify the predicate in S2. What you never see in this situation is an argument of S1 serving as the antecedent of a null pronoun in S0:

(8) *[S0 e_i ta-nigiri] [S1 satuyumi_i wo motite]
hand-grasp.INF bow ACC hold

Left pronominalization between Matrix and Provisional clause

- (9) [masurawo no e_i ywobi-tate-sikaba] sa-wosika_i no
 fine.man GEN call-stand-SPST.PROV PFX-buck GEN
 muna-wake-yuka-mu
 breast-divide-go-CONJ.ADN
 'The buck must be pressing through (the brush) because the fine men
 flushed it out.' (MYS.20.4320)



Provisional clauses in general

Subordinate

Least likely to contain null pronouns

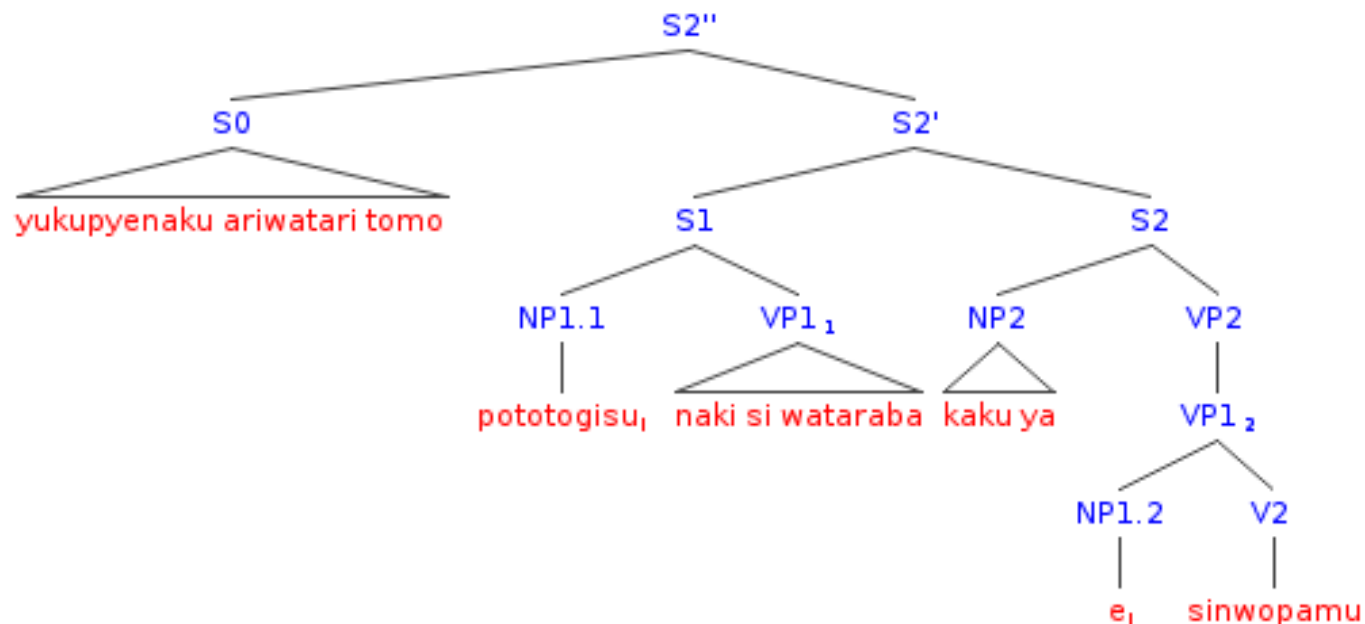
High proportion of null pronouns have
extrasentential antecedents

High proportion of S1 subject null pronouns have
experiencer/possessor antecedents

Grammatical roles of null arguments in S1 are least
likely to match grammatical roles of antecedents
in S2.

Right pronominalization from a Conditional clause

- (10) [S2 [S0 *yuku* *pye* *na-ku* *ari-wataru*
 go.ADN side not.exist-ACOP.INF PFX-cross.ADN
tomo] [S1 *pototogisu*_i *naki si* *wataraba*]
 CNJT cuckoo cry.INF RES cross.COND
kaku *ya* *e_i* *sinwopa-mu*]
 thusly Q admire-CONJ.ADN
 'Even if we were to pass our days without direction, if a cuckoo flew
 past singing, would (we) admire (it) as we do now? (Of course we
 would.)' (MYS.18.4090)



Conditional clauses in general

Subordinate, but never shows Left
Pronominalization

Appear frequently in clause-initial position

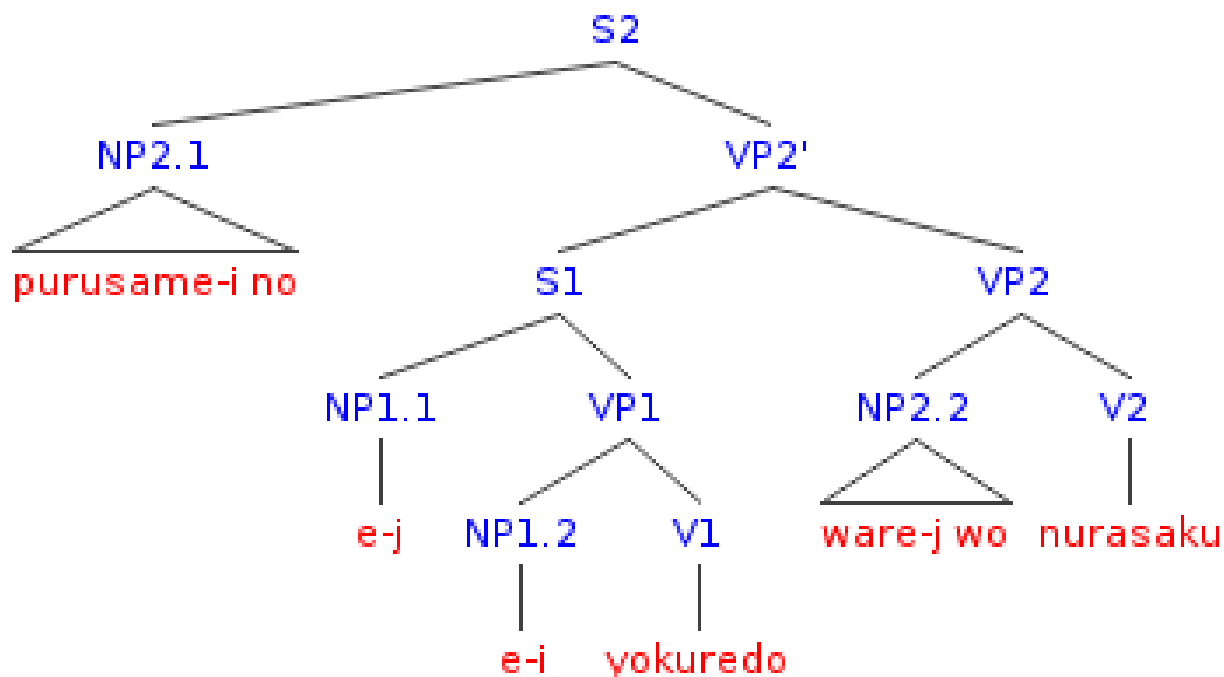
Rarely contain topic NPs

More likely to contain null pronouns than the
Provisional is

High proportion of subject null pronouns

Binding into a Concessive clause

- (11) parusame_i no [e_j e_i yokuredo] ware_j wo nurasaku
 spring.rain GEN avoid.CONC I ACC soak.NMNL
 'The fact that the spring rain, though I avoid it, soaks me.'
 (MYS.9.1697)



Concessive clauses in general

Subordinate

High proportion of topic-marked NPs

More likely to contain null pronouns

High proportion of object null pronouns

Grammatical roles of null arguments in S1 are most likely to match grammatical roles of antecedents in S2

Are any of the three inflections switch reference markers?

Switch reference markers: morphological elements at points of clause juncture indicating that a null argument with a subject grammatical role in a subordinate clause co-refers with an argument in the superordinate clause with the same role (“same subject”, or “SS” function) or to some other antecedent (“different subject”, or “DS” function)

- (12) Mary-wa, John-ga uwagi-wo nuku to, hangaa-ni kaketa.
"Speaking of Mary, upon John's taking off his jacket, (she) hung it on a hanger.
(Kuno 1973, pg.208, #23b)

Roles of S2 antecedents to S1 subject null pronouns

	S2 subject	S2 object	S2 indirect object	S2 experiencer	S2 possessor	No coreference with S2 arguments
Provisional	11	2	1	13	3	31
Conditional	22	3	2	8	3	33
Concessive	26	4	0	3	3	53

Roles of S2 antecedents to S1 object null pronouns

	S2 subject	S2 object	S2 exp/poss	No coreference with S2 arguments
Provisional	3	0	0	4
Conditional	2	4	0	9
Concessive	7	9	2	9

Role-retention for subjects in OJ

	Retained	Total S1 null subjects	Ratio
Provisional	11	60	.18
Conditional	22	70	.31
Concessive	26	59	.44

DS in the OJ Provisional

- (13) 婢奈礼婆 於毛比多要弓毛
[S2 [S1 e_i *tabi nareba*] e_j *omopi-tayete mo*
journey COP.PROV think-stop.GER ETOP
安里都礼杼
ari-turedo] (...)
exist-PERF.CONC

“(...) although she has stopped thinking of me
because (I) am on a journey” (MYS.15.3686)

Comparison with EMJ

	Retention of subject
Provisional and Conditional	25%
Concessive	44%

Subject role retention in OJ

	Retention of subject
Provisional and Conditional	31.3%
Concessive	26.9%

Subject role retention in *Sakaki*, adapted from McCauley (2002:32, fig.5)

Summary

All three clause types are subordinate, rather than coordinate.

Provisional clauses are the least likely to contain null pronouns.

Null subjects in Provisional clauses are least likely to co-refer to superordinate subjects (i.e., they have the strongest DS function).

Nevertheless, the Provisional fails to trigger DS 18% of the time, suggesting a DS function is not grammaticized for the Provisional (Finer 1985, *inter alia*).

Questions

Why does the Provisional contain so few null pronouns? Is it similar to NJ *to* clauses?

Why does the Concessive contain so many object null pronouns?

Why does the Conditional show such “high” behaviour? (viz, clause-initial position, little co-occurrence with topic NPs, no Left pronominalization)

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Questions and Comments Welcome

Stephen Wright Horn and Kerri L Russell
vsarpj@orinst.ox.ac.uk