Syntax and semantics of split intransitivity in Japanese:
A comparative study of Old Japanese and Modern Japanese

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Background of the research

- The present research is partially related to my DPhil research ‘Split intransitivity in Old Japanese’, which is situated in a larger collaborative research project 'Verb semantics and argument realization in pre-modern Japanese: A comprehensive study of the basic syntax of pre-modern Japanese' at the Research Centre for Japanese Language and Linguistics, University of Oxford.

- http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/
The **Unaccusative Hypothesis** (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1986)

**Unaccusative:**
- D–structure:  $e [_{vp} \text{arrived John}]$
- S–structure: $\text{John}_i [_{vp} \text{arrived } t_i ]$

**Unergative:**
- D–structure: $\text{John} [_{vp} \text{work}]$
- S–structure: $\text{John} [_{vp} \text{work}]$
An introduction to Split Intransitivity (SI)

Manifestations of SI
An example from English
– resultative construction (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995)

Trans.   John broke the vase into pieces.
Unacc.   The pool froze solid.
Unerg.   *The boy ran tired.
An introduction to Split Intransitivity (SI)

Semantic factors
(Dowty 1991; Tsujimura 1999; Van Valin 1990; among others)

unaccusative verbs
– patient–like (non–volitional, affected...)
– telic

unergative verbs
– agent–like (volitional, unaffected...)
– atelic
An introduction to Split Intransitivity (SI)

Approaches to SI

- Syntactic
- Semantic
- SI is syntactically encoded and semantically predictable. (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995)
Scope of this research

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<td>Early Middle Japanese 800–1200</td>
<td><em>Heian</em> 794–1185</td>
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<td>Late Middle Japanese 1200–1600</td>
<td><em>Kamakura</em> 1185–1333</td>
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<td>Modern Japanese (NJ) 1600–present</td>
<td><em>Muromachi</em> 1333–1573</td>
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<td><em>Edo</em> 1603–1868,</td>
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<td><em>Meiji</em> 1868–1912,</td>
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<td><em>Taishō</em> 1912–1926,</td>
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<td><em>Shōwa</em> 1926–1989,</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Heisei</em> 1989–present</td>
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Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)

- **Old Japanese language** (largely 700–800 AD)
- **Texts**

**Poetry**

Kojiki kayō (古事記歌; 712)  
(112 poems; 2527 words)  
Fudoki kayō (風土記歌謡; 730s)  
(20 poems; 271 words)

Nihon shoki kayō (日本書紀歌謡; 720)  
(133 poems; 2444 words)  
Man'yōshū (万葉集; after 759)  
(4685 poems; 83706 words)

Bussokuseki-ka (仏足石歌; after 753)  
(21 poems; 337 words)

Shoku nihongi kayō (続日本紀歌謡; 797)  
(8 poems; 134 words)

Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu (上宮聖徳法王帝説; unknown (early Heian?))  
(4 poems; 60 words)

*Eastern Old Japanese (240 poems; 3431 words)

**Prose**

Engishiki Norito (延喜式祝詞) (approx. 6,500 words)

Shoku nihongi Senmyō (続日本紀宣命; 797) (approx. 14,000 words)
Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)

- both original script and romanized script, with information including original orthography, part-of-speech, morphology (for inflecting words), syntactic constituency, semantic roles, etc.
- xml tags following TEI conventions
- Syntactic trees

Translation
- Lexicon: lexemes and morphemes are given unique ID numbers
Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)

More information: http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/index.html
Manifestations of SI in OJ and NJ

OJ and NJ (identical):
- resultative construction; se– construction; N+V compounds; VP–preposing

OJ and NJ (with difference):
- V1+V2 compounds

OJ:
- perfective auxiliaries –(i)n– and –(i)te–; verbal prefix i– and sa– (ta–)

NJ:
- kake– construction; rokuna–nai construction; adverb takusan; ?floating numeral quantifiers; case drop (Please refer to Hirakawa 2003 for detailed citations of previous studies of SI in NJ.)
Resultative construction (NJ)

The direct object of a transitive verb:

John–NOM steak–ACC black–into burn–PST
‘John burned the steak black’

The subject of an unergative verb:

*John–ga makkuro–ni asonda.
John–NOM black–into play–PST
‘John played black.’

(Hirakawa 2003, 58)
Resultative construction (NJ)

The subject of an unaccusatives verb:
John–NOM black–into burn–PST
‘John sunburned black.’

The surface subject of a passivized transitive verb:
Niku–ga makkuro–ni yak–are–ta.
steak–NOM black–into burn–PASS–PST
‘The steak was burnt black.’

(Hirakawa 2003, 58)
Resultative construction (OJ)

The direct object of a transitive verb:

天雲
amakumo
cloud.in.the.sky ACC

乎
wo

富呂
poro

専
ni

布美安太之
pumi–adasi

in.pieces COP.INF tread–destroy.INF

‘tread and destroy the clouds in the sky into pieces’

(MYS.19.4235)
The subject of an unaccusative verb:

道 之 志婆 草
miti no siba kusa
road GEN turf grass

長 生尔異煎
naga–ku opwi–ni–kyeri
long–ACOP.INF grow–PERF–MPST.CONCL

‘the grass on the road has grown long’

(MYS.6.1048)
V1 + V2 compounds (NJ)

Transitivity Harmony Principle (Kageyama 1993; 1996)
In Modern Japanese, lexical compounds are built by combining two verbs either both with external arguments or both without.

- transitive + transitive
- unergative + unergative
- unaccusative + unaccusative
- transitive + unergative
- unergative + transitive
- *transitive + unaccusative
- *unaccusative + transitive
- *unergative + unaccusative
- *unaccusative + unergative
V1 + V2 compounds (OJ)

Cline of Transitivity Harmony (Frellesvig et al. 2010, 42)

transitive + transitive
unergative + unergative
unaccusative + unaccusative
?transitive + unergative
?unergative + transitive
?transitive + unaccusative
?unaccusative + transitive
*unergative + unaccusative
*unaccusative + unergative
V1 +V2 compounds (OJ)

Exhaustive investigation of OCOJ:

- with unaccusatives
- with transitives
- with unergatives

Diagram showing the tendency between typical (core) unaccusatives, split intransitivity hierarchy, and typical (core) unergatives.
Kake—construction (NJ)

'Deverbal nominal construction'

The direct object of a transitive verb:

ake-kake-no         doa
open (ir.)-KAKE-GEN   door
‘the door, opened halfway’

The subject of a transitive verb:

*ake-kake-no         Taroo
open (tr.)-KAKE-GEN   Taroo
‘Taroo half opening’

(Kishimoto 1996, 256)
The subject of an unergative verb:

*hasiri–kake–no rannaa
run–KAKE–GEN runner
‘the runner, almost running’
(Kishimoto 1996, 255)

The subject of an unaccusative verb:

aki–kake–no doa
open (intr.)–KAKE–GEN door
‘the door, slightly ajar’
(Kishimoto 1996, 256)
Kake–construction (NJ)

OJ?
Perfective auxiliaries –*(i)n*– and –*(i)te*– (OJ)

In Old Japanese, the *auxiliaries* are inflecting suffixes that express optional categories for which verbs can inflect (whereas obligatory inflectional categories are expressed by *flectives*).

a. root – derivative – auxiliary verb – **auxiliary** – flective
b. *wasura–si–na–mu*
   forget–RESP–PERF–CONJ.CONCL

Previous literature on the distribution of the perfective auxiliaries –*(i)n*– and –*(i)te*–:
– Moto’ori’s *Tama–arare* (1792); Narukawa (1864); Ogamino (1899); Washio (2002; 2004); Frellesvig (2010)
Token/type numbers of verbs selecting only -(i)n-, only -(i)te- and both
Perfective auxiliaries –(i)n– and –(i)te– (OJ)

Transitives:

妹 似 相武 登
imo ni apa-mu to
beloved.girl DAT meet–CONJ.CONCL COMP

言義之 鬼尾
ipi –te–si monowoo

‘although I had said “I shall meet my beloved girl”’ (MYS.4.664)

Passives:

有雙 不得 叙
arinami e–zu zo
pair.INF be.able–NEG.CONCL FOC

所言西 我 身
ipa –ye–ni–si wa ga mwi

say–PASS–PERF–SPST.ADN I GEN body

‘is not able to pair up, my body’ (MYS.13.3300)
Perfective auxiliaries –(i)n– and –(i)te– (OJ)

Unergatives:
打越来而 曽
uti –kwoye –kite so
PRF–pass.over–come.GER FOC
瀧 尔 遊鶴
taki ni aswobi –turu
water.fall DAT play–PERF.ADN
‘coming over here, we have played at the waterfall’ (MYS.7.1104)

Unaccusatives:
岐美 賀 由岐
kimi ga yuki
my.lord GEN go.INF
気 那賀久 那理奴
ke naga–ku nari–nu
day long–ACOP.INF become–PERF.CONCL
‘many days have passed since you, my lord, left’ (KK.88)
Perfective auxiliaries \(-(i)n-\ and \-(i)te-\ (OJ)
Perfective auxiliaries –(i)n– and –(i)te– (OJ)

NJ?
Manifestations of SI in OJ and NJ

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Manifestations of SI in OJ and NJ
Semantic factors of SI in NJ and OJ

**NJ** (Kageyama 1993; Kishimoto 1996)
- volitionality/controlability
- telicity

**OJ**
- intentionality
- affectedness
## Summary and conclusion I

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>NJ</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>overt split intransitivity*</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covert split intransitivity*</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surface unaccusativity**</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deep unaccusativity**</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantic motivations</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Overt/covert SI (cf. Creissels 2008)
** Surface/deep unaccusativity (cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995)
Summary and conclusion II

Morpho-syntactic manifestations of SI
OJ --- NJ

A => A  resultative construction
A => A'  V1+V2
A => Ø  perfective auxiliary selection
Ø => A  kake-construction

Semantic factors delimitating unaccusatives and unergatives
OJ --- NJ
A => A'
Future research

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Late Middle Japanese 1200–1600
Modern Japanese (NJ) 1600–present

Political periods
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References


Thank you very much for your attention.

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