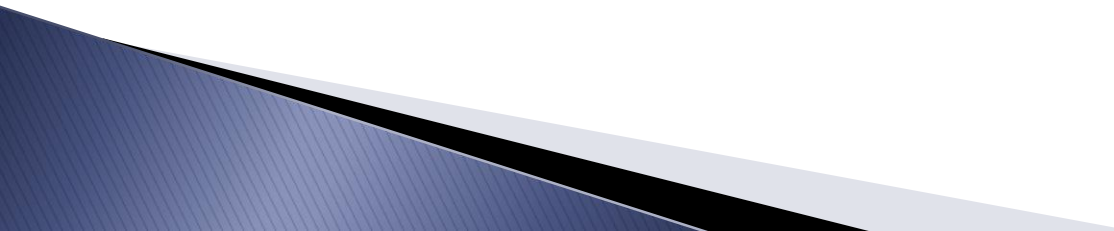


Provisional and Conditional clauses in Old Japanese

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Aims of this presentation

- ▶ Introduce the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese
 - ▶ Demonstrate some basic properties of Provisional and Conditional clauses in OJ, inferred through anaphoric relations
 - ▶ Examine the location of genitive-marked NPs in sentences embedding Provisional and Conditional clauses
 - ▶ Demonstrate an asymmetry in the distribution of genitive-marked NPs in those contexts
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Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Comprises all poetic texts from the Old Japanese period (approximately 90,000 words)

website: <http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/>

- ▶ Provisional clauses: 1053 instances
- ▶ Conditional clauses: 674 instances

Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese: Annotation

- ▶ Orthography
- ▶ Lexeme and morpheme ID (link to Lexicon)
- ▶ Part of speech, Morphology
- ▶ Syntactic constituency: noun phrases, clauses, topics, right dislocated elements
- ▶ Argumenthood

XML Markup, Text Encoding Initiative

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Two clause types

In the linear order

... $V_1 S_1$] ... $V_2 S_2$]

where V_1 is Provisional, Conditional, etc. we refer to the clause headed by V_1 as S_1 and the clause headed by V_2 as S_2 .

- ▶ Provisional (ending in $-(e)ba$), sometimes called ‘realis conditional’: ‘when S_1, S_2 ’ or ‘since S_1, S_2 ’ or ‘given that S_1, S_2 ’
- ▶ Conditional (ending in $-(a)ba$), sometimes called ‘irrealis conditional’: ‘if S_1, S_2 ’

Provisional: *yukeba* “When/because (I) go”

Conditional: *yukaba* “If (I) go”

Subjects of S_1 and S_2 can co-refer

- (1) [_{S2} [_{S1} [apumidi *no* *apusakayama ni*
Ōmi Road GEN Ōsaka Mountain DAT

tamuke site] **wa_i ga** **kwoye-yukeba**](...) **e_i**
make.offering do.GER I GEN cross-go.PROV (...)

mata **kapyeri-mi-mu**
again return-look-CONJ

‘When **I** cross, making an offering at Ōsaka Mountain of Ōmi Road, (...) **I will look back** on (all this) again.’ (MYS.13.3240)

Pronominalization types

- (2) a. Right pronominalization:
 $[_{S2} \dots [_{S1} \dots NP_i \dots V_1] \dots e_i \dots V_2]$
- b. Left pronominalization:
 $[_{S2} \dots [_{S1} \dots e_i \dots V_1] \dots NP_i \dots V_2]$
- c. Binding:
 $[_{S2} \dots NP_i \dots [_{S1} \dots e_i \dots V_1] \dots V_2]$

No Left Pronominalization between coordinated clauses in NJ

- (3) a. *Nakoodo ga eki made **e_i** mukae.ni **itte.kurete,**
 matchmaker NOM station ABL to.meet go.give.GER
- [watashi ga]_i** hitori.de kaijō ni ikō to sita.
 I NOM alone meeting.hall DAT go.VOL COMP do.PAST

(intended) ‘The matchmaker went to meet **(me)** at the station, and **I** headed off for the meeting hall on my own.’

- b. Nakoodo ga eki made **e_i** mukae.ni itte.kureta **no.ni**
 matchmaker NOM station ABL to.meet go.give.PAST although
- [watashi ga]_i** hitori.de kaijō ni ikō to sita.
 I NOM alone meeting.hall DAT go.TENT COMP do.PAST

‘Although the matchmaker went to meet **(me)** at the station, **I** headed off for the meeting hall on my own.’

There is Left Pronominalization into Provisional clauses

(4) [S₂ [S₁ *masurawo no* **e_i** *ywobi-tate-sikaba*]
fine.man GEN call-stand-SPAST.PROV

[**NP** *sawosika no_i*] *munawake-yuka-mu*
buck GEN press.through-go-CONJ

‘Because the fine men flushed **(it)** out, **the buck** must be pressing through (the brush),.’ (MYS 20.4320)

- ▶ We conclude Provisional S₁ is subordinate to S₂. In this case we refer to S₂ as the ‘matrix’ clause.

No negative markers in V_2 may scope over S_1

- (5) [_{S2} [_{S1} *topo-kuareba*] *pito-pi.pito-ywo mo*
[far-ACOP.PROV] one-day.one-night even

<i>omopa-zute.aru</i>	<i>ramu]</i>	<i>mono to</i>
think-NEG.PROG	PCONJ	person COP.INF

omoposi-myesu na
think-RESP PRB

‘Don't think (of me) as someone who, just because (he) is far away, doesn't think of you day and night!’
(MYS.15.3736)

No aspect markers in V_2 may scope over S_1

- (6) [_{S2} [_{S1} kasumi tatu nwo no pe *no*
 mist rise field GEN above GEN

kata *ni* yuki-*sikaba*] ugupisu
 slope DAT go-SPAST.PROV warbler

naki-*tu*]
cry-**PERF**

‘When I was going to (once I arrived at) the slope over the field where mist rises, a warbler began to sing.’
(MYS.8.1443)

No illocutionary markers in S_2 may scope over S_1

- (7) [s₂ [s₁ okure wite wa ga kwopwi woreba]
be.left.behind PROG.GER I GEN yearn PROG.PROV
- sirakumo no tanabiku yama wo kyepu ka
white.clouds GEN stretch mountain ACC today Q
- kwoyu **ramu**
cross PCONJ

‘As I am yearning, being left behind, would it be today that you cross the mountain over which the white clouds stretch?’
(MYS.9.1681)

- ▶ We conclude Provisional clauses are ‘high’ within the matrix clause.

There is Right Pronominalization from an NP in a S_1 to a null argument in S_2

(8) [S₂ (*e_i) [S₁ [NP *oposaka-ni* *apu ya* *wotomye-wo*]_i;
big.hill-DAT meet FOC girl-ACC

miti *twopeba*] *tadani pa* *e_i* *nora-zu*]
road ask.PROV straight TOP tell-NEG

‘When I asked the way from **the young woman I met on the big hill**, **(she)** didn't tell me the direct way.’ (NSK 64)

- ▶ Principle C of the Binding Theory requires that S_1 be higher than the null subject argument.

There is also Binding from a matrix subject NP into S₁

(9) [S₂ [NP **nubatama no ywogwiri no** **tatite**
black.jewel COP night.mist GEN stand.GER

opoposi-ku ter-eru tukuywo no]_i
vague-ACOP shine-STAT moon.night GEN

[S₁ **e_i** mireba] kanasi-sa]
see.PROV be.touching-ACOP.EXCL

‘How touching, when you look at **(it)**, is **the moon that
shines dimly when the jewel-black night mist rises.**’
(MYS.6.982)

More Binding from a matrix subject NP into S₁

- (10) [S₂ [NP (...)] *inoti mo* *sutete* *araswopi.ni*
 life even discard.GER competing
- tumadopi* *si-kyeru* *wotomye-ra ga*]_i
 engagement do-MPAST young.woman-SFX GEN
- [S₁ *e_i kikeba*] *kanasi-sa*
 hear.PROV touching-ACOP.EXCL

‘How touching, when you hear about (**her**), is **the young girl whom the two men wooed, in competition, even throwing their lives away (...)**’ (MYS.19.4211)

Interim summary of the properties of Provisional clauses

- ▶ They are subordinate.
- ▶ They are generally high enough to be outside the scope of negation, aspect, modals, and question markers (unless the PROV clause itself is Q-marked: see (15) below), etc.
- ▶ They are high enough to c-command matrix subject argument positions.

However,

- ▶ There are (rare) instances where matrix NP-GENs can c-command Provisional clauses.

Question:

In the linear order

(11) NP-GEN ... V_1 ... V_2

where there is both an overt NP-GEN on the left and another subject argument which is null, is there a way to distinguish between Binding and Right Pronominalization?

We looked at all examples satisfying the description in (11). **There are no examples in the corpus where a NP-GEN is unambiguously a constituent of the matrix clause and also co-refers to a null subject argument in a Provisional clause to its right.** In all of subject argument sharing cases there is some grammatical element indicating that the NP-GEN is a constituent of the Provisional S_1 (e.g., in example (1) above).

NP-GEN ... V₁ ... V₂ (subject argument sharing)

(12) [s₂ [s₁ [**NP (...)** **wa go opokimi no**]_i ame.no.sita
I GEN lord GEN realm.under.heaven

osame-**tamapeba**] **e_i** inisipye yu na-kari-si
quell-bestow.PROV early.times ABL not.exist-SPAST

sirusi *tabi maneku mawosi-tamapi-nu*
omens instance frequently do-bestow-PERF.CONCL

‘(...) when **my lord** pacified the realm under heaven (**he**) made manifest again and again signs that had not existed since early times.’ (MYS.19.4254)

While [_{NP} (...) *wa go opokimi no*] in (12) is the subject of both S₁ and S₂, we concluded that this is an instance of Right Pronominalization because the inflection of V₂ is Conclusive, and genitive subjects are only found with Conclusive predicates under a limited set of conditions, none of which apply here.

NP-GEN ... V₁ ... V₂ (disjoint reference for subjects)

(13) [s₂ [s₁ okure wite **[_{NP} wa ga]_i** **kwopwi**
left.behind PROG.GER I GEN yearn

woreba] **e_j** sirakumo no *tanabiku*
PROG.PROV white.clouds GEN stretch

yama *wo* kyepu ka **kwoyu ramu]**
mountain ACC today Q cross PCONJ

‘As **I** am yearning, being left behind, would it be today
that **you** cross the mountain over which the white
clouds stretch?’ (MYS.9.1681)

We determined that there is no Pronominalization between [_{NP} **wa ga**] in (13 (repeated from (7)) and the null subject of S₂, because the predicate heading S₂ includes *ramu*, an extension which is used to mark tentative assertions based upon indirect evidence (i.e., evidence outside the direct experience of the speaker), and, crucially, excluding first person reference for subjects of active verbs. In (13), the subject of S₁ is 1st person, and the predicate in S₂ is active, so the referents of the subjects of S₁ and S₂ must be disjoint.

Hypothesis

- (14) A genitive-marked NP that precedes and is the subject of a Provisional S_1 is never also the subject of S_2 .

When we do see subject argument sharing of this sort, an overt NP is always topic-marked, but these instances are extremely rare. Subject argument sharing between S_1 and S_2 is quite common when both subject positions have null arguments.

[NP-TOP [... V₁] ... V₂...] with subject argument sharing

(15) [_{NP}*tukupane ni* *apa-mu to* *ipi-si*
tsukuba.peak DAT meet-CONJ that say-SPAST

kwo pa] *ta ga* *koto* *kikeba ka*
child TOP who GEN words hear.PROV Q

mi-ne *apa-zu-kye-mu*
HON-sleep meet-NEG-SPAST-CONJ

‘The girl who said she would meet me at Tsukuba Peak
– because she heard *whose* rumors, must it be that she
won't sleep with me?’ (FK.2)

Conditional clauses

- ▶ They are subordinate.
- ▶ They are generally high enough to be outside the scope of negation, aspect, modals, question markers, etc.
- ▶ They are high enough to c-command matrix subject argument positions.

Furthermore,

- ▶ There are no instances where matrix subject NPs c-command Conditional clauses.

Can we extend the hypothesis to Conditional clauses?

The short answer is, 'Yes.'

When a NP-GEN precedes a Conditional clause and is the subject of both S_1 and S_2 , in almost every case, there are overt grammatical elements clearly indicating the NP-GEN is internal to the Conditional clause.

NP-GEN ... V₁ ... V₂
(subject argument sharing)

- (16) [s₂ [s₁ **[_{NP} u.no.pana no]_i** sugwiba] **e_i**
deutzia GEN pass.by.COND]

wosi-mi ka] (...)

regrettable-ACOP.INF Q (...)

‘Is it because it would be regrettable if the deutzia
flowers passed by, (...)?’ (MYS.8.1491)

In (16), the semantics of the matrix adjective *wosi-* "be regrettable" allow it to take the NP-GEN as its subject, but the infinitive form *wosi-mi* requires an accusative-marked subject, so the NP-GEN is clearly internal to the Conditional clause.

(17) below the linear order [NP-GEN ... V_1 ... V_2] but the most natural reading does not allow subject argument sharing.

NP-GEN ... V₁ ... V₂ (disjoint reference for subjects)

- (17) [s₂ [s₁ [**NP midu.no.ye no** **urasima no** **kwo ga**]_i
Mizunoe GEN Urashima GEN child GEN

tamakusige **ake-zuari-seba]** **e_j** mata mo
jewel.box open-NEG-SPAST.COND again even

apa-masi wo]
meet-SUBJ CNJ

‘If only **the child from Urashima in Mizunoe** hadn't opened the box, **(I, we, she)** could have met (him) even again.’ (FK.15)

However in (18) below, unlike Provisional clauses, there does seem to be at least one case where the structural position of a NP-GEN is genuinely ambiguous. Specifically, the subject of *wosi-kye-mu* "would be regrettable" could either be 'the snow', or 'the event of the snow melting'. This does not constitute compelling counterevidence against extending the hypothesis in (14) to Conditional clauses.

Position of NP-GEN is ambiguous

(18) **[_{NP} okuyama no suga no pa**
 deep.mountain GEN sedge GEN leaf

sinwogi puru yuki no]
 press.down.INF fall snow GEN

ke-naba wosi-kye-mu
 melt-PERF.COND regrettable.ACOP-CONJ

‘How regrettable would be **the snow that falls pressing down the leaves of the sedge of the deep mountains** if (it) melted away.’ (MYS.3.299)

We conclude that the hypothesis in (14) (that genitive-marked NPs that precede and are subjects of Provisional clauses are never also subjects of predicates heading matrix clauses) can be extended to cover Conditional clauses as well. In fact, given that there are no examples of Binding from a matrix NP-GEN to a null argument in Conditional clauses, we can make an even stronger claim for the Conditional:

- (19) Genitive-marked NPs appearing in the linear order [NP-GEN ... Conditional S_1 ... S_2 ...] can have only a subject role with respect to a Conditional predicate, they are always internal to the clause which that predicate heads, and they never co-refer to a matrix subject argument.

Possibly related phenomena

It is a general fact of OJ that when a matrix genitive NP-*ga* occurs, accusative-marked NPs (Yanagida 2006) and focus NPs (Nomura 1993) only appear to its left.

We can state that when a matrix NP-GEN (including NP-*ga* and NP-*no*) occurs, a Conditional clause only appears to the left of that NP-GEN.

For Provisional clauses the situation is more complicated because of the rare Binding examples we found (9, 10). But we can say that when a matrix NP-GEN occurs and there is subject argument sharing between a Provisional S_1 and the matrix clause, the Provisional clause only appears to the left of that NP-GEN.

How these phenomena are related is a question we leave for further research.



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