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PANEL

Corpus based studies of Japanese grammar



Introduction

Bjarke Frellesvig

Null arguments in Old Japanese

Stephen Wright Horn

Semantic roles and case marking in Old Japanese

Kerri L Russell

Split intransitivity in Old Japanese

Zixi You

INTRODUCTION

Bjarke Frellesvig

Verb semantics and argument realization in pre-modern Japanese

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Verb semantics and argument realization in pre-modern Japanese:

A comprehensive study of the basic syntax of pre-modern Japanese

Funding: The Arts and Humanities Research Council , UK, approximately £1 million

Period: 1 January 2009 – 30 September 2013

Website: <http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk>

VSARPJ: People

- ▶ Bjarke Frellesvig (Principal Investigator)
- ▶ Peter Sells (Co-Investigator; York)
- ▶ Postdoctoral Researchers
 - Stephen Wright Horn
 - Kerri L Russell
- ▶ Doctoral students
 - Zixi You (Split intransitivity in Old Japanese)
 - Daniel Trott (Aspect in Old Japanese)

Collaboration with the
National Institute for Japanese
Language and Linguistics
NINJAL

国立国語研究所

VSARPJ

The research project investigates argument realization in detail for pre-modern Japanese.

Argument realization is a fundamentally important aspect of the syntax of a language which concerns the way in which verb meaning determines the number of arguments and their morpho-syntactic and semantic properties.

Argument realization

‘Argument realization: the study of the possible syntactic expressions of the arguments of a verb’

(Beth Levin and Malka Rappaport Hovav, 2005, Argument realization, p. 1)

- (1) The boy broke the window with a ball
- (2) The boy hit the window with a ball
- (3) The window broke
- (4) *The window hit
- (5) I broke his leg / *I broke him on the leg
- (6) I hit his leg / I hit him on the leg

Argument realization

(7) kabe-ni penki-o nuru
wall-DAT paint-ACC smear
'smear paint on the wall'

(8) kabe-ni posutaa-o haru
wall-DAT poster-ACC put up
'put posters up on the wall'

Argument realization

- (9) penki-de kabe-o nuru
paint-with wall-ACC smear
'smear the wall with paint'
- (10) *posutaa-de kabe-o haru
poster-with wall-ACC put up
- (11) kabe-ni posutaa-o hari-tsukusu
wall-on poster-ACC hang-exhaust
'hang all the posters on the wall'
- (12) kabe-o posutaa-de hari-tsukusu
wall-ACC poster-with hang-exhaust
'hang the wall all over with posters'

VSARPJ

Synchronic part

A comprehensive account of the basic grammar of the Old Japanese language (approximately the 8th century).

- The range of argument realization for individual verbs and for (semantically based) verb classes.
- Lexical semantic features relevant in the classification of verbs (for example, semantic roles, lexical aspect, telicity, type of motion, causation, unaccusativity/unergativity)?
- Patterns of argument realization.
- Other grammatical phenomena than argument realization which may be explained by verb semantics (for example, aspect, auxiliary selection, ellipsis, or specification of adjuncts or non-subcategorized arguments).

VSARPJ

Diachronic part

- ▶ An account of the development through time of verb semantics and argument realization, based on the results of the synchronic investigation.
- ▶ Inventory of changes through the history of Japanese in argument realization for individual verbs and for verb classes.
- ▶ General patterns of change, including possible development pathways for verb meanings and argument realization.

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Historical linguistics is corpus linguistics

No recourse to native speaker intuition or directed testing with informants.

The only data are closed sets of texts in dead languages.

Electronic texts and corpora

- ▶ Access and searchability
- ▶ Encoding of linguistic information

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/>

Old Japanese texts

IN the Oxford Corpus of OJ

- ▶ Kojiki kayō 古事記歌謡 712
- ▶ Nihon shoki kayō 日本書紀歌謡 720
- ▶ Fudoki kayō 風土記歌謡 730s
- ▶ Bussokuseki-ka 仏足石歌 after 753
- ▶ Man'yōshū 万葉集 after 759
- ▶ Shoku nihongi kayō 続日本紀歌謡 797

NOT in the Oxford Corpus of OJ

- ▶ Shoku nihongi Senmyō 宣命 697-791
- ▶ Engishiki Norito 祝詞 (compiled 927)

Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

XML mark-up following the standards of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI)

Phonemic transcription and original script, noting logographic and phonographic writing

Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Annotation

Part of speech

Morphology

Syntactic constituency: noun phrases and clauses

Lexeme and morpheme ID; Lexicon

Text example

Man'yōshū 8.1606

君待跡

吾戀居者

我屋戸乃

簾令動

秋之風吹

Text example

Man'yōshū 8.1606

君待跡 きみまつと

吾戀居者 わがこひをれば

我屋戸乃 わがやどの

簾令動 すだれうごかし

秋之風吹 あきのかぜふく

君待跡 kimi matu to
my.lord wait as

吾戀居者 wa ga kwopwi woreba
I GEN love PROG.as

我屋戸乃 wa ga yadwo no
I GEN hut GEN

簾令動 sudare ugwokasi
curtain move

秋之風吹 aki no kaze puku
autumn GEN wind blow

Writing

- ▶ Phonographic writing

- 我屋戸乃 wa ga yadwo no

- ▶ Logographic writing

- 我屋戸乃 wa ga yadwo no

- No writing

- 我屋戸乃 wa ga yadwo no

The problem with logographic writing: Identification

為者

The problem with logographic writing: Identification

為者

sure-ba
provisional
'as, when'

se-ba
conditional
'if'

suru pa
adnominal + TOP

Morphology

kimi_(noun) **matu**_(verb, adnconc) *to*_(particle, conj)

wa_(pronoun) **ga**_(particle, case, gen) **kwopwi**_(verb, infinitive) **woreba**_(verb, provisional)

wa_(pronoun) **ga**_(particle, case, gen) **yadwo**_(noun) *no*_(particle, case, gen)

sudare_(noun) **ugwokasi**_(verb, infinitive)

aki_(noun) **no**_(particle, case, gen) **kaze**_(noun) **puku**_(verb, adnconc)

Syntax

{Clauses} and <Phrases>

{ { { < kimi_(noun) > matu_(verb, adnconc) to_(particle, conj) }
< wa_(pronoun) ga_(particle, case, gen) > kwopwi_(verb, infinitive) woreba_(verb, provisional) }
{ < wa_(pronoun) ga_(particle, case, gen) yadwo_(noun) no_(particle, case, gen)
sudare_(noun) > ugwokasi_(verb, infinitive) }
< aki_(noun) no_(particle, case, gen) kaze_(noun) > puku_(verb, adnconc) }

The Oxford Corpus of OJ provides

- ▶ Very easy access to the texts
- ▶ Searchability of individual words, especially verbs, regardless of their inflected form; or of sets of words
- ▶ Searchability of syntactic frames for individual verbs
- ▶ Searchability of structural patterns, e.g. case marking and word order, very generally, or limited to sets of specific verbs

Further perspectives for the OCOJ

- ▶ Flexibility
- ▶ Expandability
- ▶ Other applications
 - Linguistics
 - Literature
 - History

XML mark-up

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NULL ARGUMENTS IN OLD JAPANESE

Stephen Wright Horn

Null pronouns in Central Old Japanese

Assume that every predicate requires at least a subject argument. If we find a clause that contains no overt arguments (i.e. a clause with an empty frame), we know that there is at least one empty argument slot in the clause that that predicate heads.

This is one way we can use the OJ corpus to begin identifying the positions of null pronouns, and investigate the conditions under which they appear.

Three inflection types

7 of the inflection types in OJ regularly head subordinate clauses. We noticed that 3 similar types seem to differ with respect to how often they have empty frames.

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

Conditional: yukaba “If (I) go”

Concessive: yukedo “Even when (I) go”

Population of 3 clause types

(OJ corpus, overall)

	No.	Ratio of total (2108)
Provisional:	909	.43
Conditional:	651	.31
Concessive:	548	.26

The Provisional has fewest empty frames

Clauses with empty frames (OJ corpus, overall):

	No.	Ratio within each clause type
Provisional:	417	.458
Conditional:	361	.554
Concessive:	463	.845

Empty frame: Concessive

年月波 / 安良多安良多爾 /
安比美礼騰 / 安我毛布伎美波 /
安伎太良奴可母

tositukwi pa / arata-arata-ni /
ZERO **api-miredo** / a ga mopu kimi pa /
aki-dara-nu kamo

"Though **we see each other** renewedly with the months and years,
how I never tire of you upon whom my thoughts dwell. " (MYS
20.4299)

Partially saturated: Conditional

遊内乃 / 多努之吉庭爾 / 梅柳 /
乎理加謝思底婆 /
意毛比奈美可毛

ZERO aswobu uti no / tanwosi-ki nipa ni /
ume yanagwi / **wori-kazasi-teba** /
omopi na-mi kamo

“If **I break off and wear a plum or willow** in this delightful garden we
play in, I would have no complaint” (MYS.17.3905)

Saturated frame: Provisional

安伎也麻能 / 毛美知乎可射之 /
和我乎礼婆 / 宇良之保美知久 /
伊麻太安可奈久爾

akiyama no / momidi wo kazasi /
wa ga woreba / urasipo mitiku /
imada aka-naku ni

“When **I sit** wearing the colored leaves of the autumn mountain, the
shore tide flows full, as I haven’t yet had my fill.” (MYS.15.3707)

Phonographically written COJ

We narrowed the data down to COJ tokens where the inflecting part of the predicate is written in Man'yogana, yielding 651 tokens.

Population of 3 clause types

	No.	Ratio of total (651)
Provisional:	281	.43
Conditional:	229	.35
Concessive:	141	.22

Sampling the phon. data

100 tokens from each clause type, at random

This sample, compared to the aggregate of numbers for all three clause types, represents:

14.2% of OJ corpus, overall

46% of the COJ phonographically written data

Assumptions

All empty argument slots are counted as null pronouns.

Topicalized NPs are assumed to be adjoined to the clause and (normally) associated with a null pronoun inside the clause.

NPs with topic markers (pa, mo) are assumed to be topics.

Argument slots

NP arguments corresponding to four core grammatical roles:

Subject (typically an Agent)

Object (typically a Theme)

Indirect object (typically a Goal)

Affected (typically an Experiencer/Possessor)

Analyzing argument slots

Example: Subject slot

ZERO aswobu uti no / tanwosi-ki nipa ni /
ume yanagwi / wori-kazasi-teba / omopi na-mi kamo

Argument: null

Antecedent location: exophoric 1st person

C1 grammatical role: affected

Null arguments with exophoric reference:

	subj	obj	ind	afctd	exo	null	ratio
Prov:	52	3	4	1	60	74	.810
Cond:	53	7	6	3	69	95	.766
Conc:	45	10	2	2	59	125	.472

Analysis by arg-slot

Subject:

	Overt	Null
Provisional:	40	60
Conditional:	30	70
Concessive:	10	90

Analysis by arg-slot

Object:

	Overt	Null
Provisional:	23	8
Conditional:	16	15
Concessive:	2	26

Analysis by arg-slot

Indirect object:

	Overt	Null
Provisional:	1	5
Conditional:	1	7
Concessive:	0	5

Analysis by arg-slot

Affected:

	Overt	Null
Provisional:	0	1
Conditional:	0	3
Concessive:	0	4

Empty frames

(out of 100 tokens)

	1-place	2-place	3-place	total
Provisional:	32	10	0	42
Conditional:	41	26	1	68
Concessive:	58	28	0	86

Empty frames

(out of 100 tokens)

	1-place	2-place	3-place	total
Provisional:	32	10	0	42
Conditional:	41	26	1	68
Concessive:	58	28	0	86

Saturated frames

(out of 100 tokens) :

	1-place	2-place	3-place	total
Provisional:	33	4	0	37
Conditional:	22	2	0	24
Concessive:	5	0	0	5

Counting empty and filled argument slots

	Null	No. of slots	Ratio
Provisional:	74	137	.540
Conditional:	95	142	.669
Concessive:	125	137	.912

This suggests that the pattern we initially saw for empty frames is a reflection of a tendency in null arguments in general.

Switch reference

If a conjunctional element indicates that a null subject in a subordinate clause co-refers with a subject in the superordinate clause, it has a “Same Subject” (or “SS”) function.

If a conjunctional element indicates that a null subject in a subordinate clause doesn't co-refer with a subject in the superordinate clause, it has a “Different Subject” (or “DS”) function.

DS function in EMJ

Inflected forms ending in-ba (Provisional and Conditional) have as DS function (Akiba 1977; Fujii 1985) :

...(Kaguyahime ga) orosoka naru yau ni ihikereba, (Womina ha)
kokoro no mama ni mo e-semezu

“...because (Kaguyahime) spoke so curtly, (the old woman) couldn’t
make her do as she wished” (TM)

Switch of subject in Sakaki:

-ba	68.7%
-do	73.1%

(McAuley 2002: pg. 32, table.5)

DS function in COJ

	switch	null	ratio
Provisional:	38	50	.760
Conditional:	50	70	.714
Concessive:	66	90	.733

Role discontinuity in COJ

All 4 grammatical roles

	overt	swch	none	d.cns	s claus	ratio
Prov:	40	18	30	88	99	.89
Cond:	30	18	27	75	96	.78
Conc:	10	16	47	73	97	.75

Shift in switch reference:

The Provisional seems to have a strong DS function in COJ.

The Concessive comes to have a stronger DS function than the Provisional and Conditional in EMJ

The Provisional and Conditional become SS by LMJ (Ohori 1994)

Shift in semantics

The Provisional takes on the irrealis conditional meaning by NJ

The Conditional form almost disappears in colloquial speech by NJ

Some of the realis conditional functions of the Provisional are taken over by new patterns with conjunctive to and inflection –tara

Is NJ to like OJ Provisional?

Yamaguchi-Fujii (1993, pg.16) says yes. There are semantic restrictions on to that might explain a high rate of overt arguments.

to embedded in non-past tense c1: a habitual, or logical condition-consequent relation

to embedded in past tense c1: "After/while S_1 happened, what do you think happened? I observed/discovered that S_2 happened".

(Kuno 1973: pp. 184-199)

Uncontrollability a factor?

In NJ to the action denoted by the c1 predicate cannot be controllable by the c0 subject.

* 太郎が運転すると、あの帽子をかぶる。

“When Taro drives he wears that hat.”

Furthermore, with NJ to condition, the consequent cannot represent a command, a request, or a determination by the speaker.

(Kuno 1973)

COJ Provisional not like NJ to

A high number of predicates taking Concessive clauses are uncontrollable (e.g., adjectives and unaccusative verbs), just the same as predicates taking Provisional clauses: Uncontrollability is not a crucial factor.

Furthermore, it is possible to find Provisional conditions to optative consequents in COJ:

Provisional c0, Optative c1

阿我農斯能 / 美多麻多麻比弓 / 波流佐良婆 /
奈良能美夜故爾 / 咩佐宜多麻波祢

a ga nusi no / mi-tama tamapite / **paru sareba**/
nara no miyakwo ni / **myesage-tamapane**

"My Lord, by your leave, when Spring comes, I want you to summon
me to Nara, the capitol" (MYS.5.882)

Conclusions

The Provisional's DS function is stronger than that of the Conditional.

The Provisional's tendency to take overt arguments is not simply attributable to “uncontrollability” of the c1 predicate.

The behavior of null pronouns in OJ needs to be investigated systematically.

References

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SEMANTIC ROLES AND CASE MARKING IN OLD JAPANESE

Kerri L Russell

Semantic roles for kog-

- We investigated *kog-* 'row' in isolation and in then compounds, since compounding may affect semantic role assignment and/or case marking.
- Roles found with the verb *kog-* 'row' are:
 - Agent: a volitional participant
 - Theme: a non-volitional participant
 - Source: a starting point of motion
 - Path: a space along which motion occurs
 - Goal: an end point of motion (a destination)
 - Location: a spatial or temporal reference point
 - Instrument: a means for carrying out an action

Semantic roles for kog-: Agent

- Marked with case particle *no*

牽牛之 秋 滂 船 之 浪 足參 香

pikwoposi no aki kogu pune no nami no sawaki ka

[name] GEN fall row boat GEN wave GEN noise FOC

[Is that] the noise of the waves from the boat, which

Pikoposi rows in the autumn?

(MYS.10.2047)

Semantic roles for kog-: Agent

- Unmarked for case

人 不 榜 有 雲 知 之

pito koga-zu araku mo sirusi

people row-NEG exist TOP evident

Even people not rowing is evident...

(MYS.3.258)

Semantic roles for kog-: Agent

In isolation the role agent occurs 4 times

- the agent is case marked with *genitive no* twice, both times in a relative clause
- the agent is *unmarked* for case twice.

Semantic roles for kog-: Agent

- In compounds the role agent occurs 13 times
 - the agent is case marked with **genitive ga** 7 times (*kogi-ko-* 'row-come', *kogi-yuk-* 'row-go')
 - the agent is case marked with **genitive no** 3 times (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out' and *kogi-ko-* 'row-come')
 - it is **unmarked** for case 3 times (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out' and *kogi-ko-* 'row-come').

Semantic roles for kog-: Theme

- Marked with case particle *wo*

於保夫祢	乎	許芸	和	我	由氣婆
<i>opopune</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>kogi</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>yukeba</i>
HON.boat	ACC	row	I	NOM	go.PROV

Although I go, rowing *the boat*...
(MYS.15.3627)

Semantic roles for kog-: Theme

- Unmarked for case
- Grammatical subject of *kog-*

山下 赤 乃 曾保船 奥 榜 所見
yamasita no ake *no* sopopune oki pye kogu miyu
[place] GEN red GEN boat ocean ALL row EVID
It seems the red boat of Yamashita rows to the ocean.
(MYS.3.270)

Semantic roles for kog-: Theme

- In isolation the role theme occurs 10 times
 - the theme is **unmarked** for case 8 times
 - the theme is marked with **accusative wo** twice.

Semantic roles for kog-: Theme

- In compounds the role theme occurs 11 times
 - the theme is **unmarked** for case 8 times (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out', *kogi-kakur-* 'row-hide', *kogi-ko-* 'row-come', *kogi-watar-* 'row-cross')
 - the theme is marked with **genitive no** twice (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out')
 - the theme is marked with **accusative wo** once (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out').

Semantic roles for kog-: Source

- Marked with ablative *ywo/ywori/yu/yuri*

從 浦 榜 將會

ura yu kogi apa-mu

bay ABL row meet-CONJ

[The pilot boat] will probably meet [my boat],
rowing from the bay.

(MYS.7.1200)

Semantic roles for kog-: Source

- In isolation the role source occurs once
 - the source is marked with the **ablative particle** once.
- In compounds the role source occurs 6 times
 - the source is marked with the **ablative particle** 4 times (*kogi-de-ko-* 'row-go.out-come', *kogi-ko-* 'row-come', and *kogi-yuk-* 'row-go')
 - The source is marked with **particle wo** once (*kogi-de-* 'row-go.out')
 - the source is **unmarked** for case once (*kogi-de-* 'row-go.out').

Semantic roles for kog-: Path

- Marked with accusative particle *wo*

多流比女 能 宇良 乎 許具 不祢

Tarupimye no ura wo kogu pune

[place] GEN bay ACC row.ADN boat

The boat, rowing **along Taruhime Bay**...

(MYS.18.4048)

Semantic roles for kog-: Path

- Marked with ablative *ywo/ywori/yu/yuri*

毛美知婆 能 知良布 山辺 由 許具 布祢

momidiba no tirapu yamabye yu kogu pune

Maple leaf GEN fall mountains ABL row boat

The boat, which rows *along the mountains* where the maple leaves are falling...

(MYS.15.3704)

Semantic roles for kog-: Path

- Unmarked for case

射水 河 朝 己藝 思都追

imidu kapa asa *kogi* *situtu*

[place name] morning row do

[The boat] is rowing along Imizu River in the morning...

(MYS.19.4150)

Semantic roles for kog-: Path

- In isolation the role path occurs 27 times
 - the path is **unmarked** for case 17 times
 - the path is marked with **accusative particle wo** 9 times
 - the path is marked with the **ablative particle** once.

Semantic roles for kog-: Path

- In compounds the role path occurs 18 times
 - the path is **unmarked** for case 10 times (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out', *kogi-ko-* 'row-come', *kogi-megur-* 'row-go.around', *kogi-mwi-* 'row-turn', *kogi-tamotopor-* 'row-go.back.and.forth', *kogi-tamwi-yuk-* 'row-turn-go', *kogi-watar-* 'row-cross')
 - the path is marked with **accusative particle wo** 7 times (*kogi-ko-* 'row-come', *kogi-mwi-* 'row-turn', *kogi-sugwi-* 'row-pass', and *kogi-watar-* 'row-cross')
 - the path is marked with the **ablative particle** once (*kogi-tamwi-yuk-* 'row-turn-go').

Semantic roles for kog-: Goal

- Marked with allative particle *pye*

山下 赤 乃 曾保船 奥 榜 所見
yamasita no ake *no* sopopune oki pye kogu miyu
[place] GEN red GEN boat ocean ALL row EVID
It seems the red boat of Yamashita rows to the
ocean.
(MYS.3.270)

Semantic roles for kog-: Goal

- Marked with dative particle *ni*

於伎 敞 許芸 辺 爾 己伎 見礼婆

oki pye kogi pye ni kogi mireba

ocean ALL row area DAT row see

As I look, rowing to the ocean, rowing to the shore...

(MYS.17.3991)

Semantic roles for kog-: Goal

In isolation the role goal occurs 6 times

- the goal is marked with **dative particle** *ni* 3 times
- the goal is marked with **allative particle** *pye* 3 times.

Semantic roles for kog-: Goal

- In compounds the role goal occurs 10 times
 - the goal is marked with **dative particle** *ni* 7 times (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out', *kogi-kakur-* 'row-hide', *kogi-ko-* 'row-come', *kogi-pate-* 'row-anchor', and *kogi-watar-* 'row-cross')
 - *kogi-mukap-* the goal marked with *ni* is a person
 - the goal is **unmarked** for case twice (*kogi-kakur-* 'row-hide' and *kogi-ko-* 'row-come')
 - the goal is marked with **allative particle** *pye* once (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out').

Semantic roles for kog-: Location

- Marked with dative particle *ni*

安佐奈芸 爾 倍 牟氣 許我牟 等

asanagi ni pe muke koga-mu to

morning calm DAT bow turn row-CONJ CNJ

In the morning calm turning the bow intending to row...

(MYS.20.4398)

Semantic roles for kog-: Location

- Unmarked for case

牽牛之 秋 滂 船 之 浪 足參 香

pikwoposi no *aki* kogu pune no nami no sawaki *ka*

[name] GEN *fall* row boat GEN wave GEN noise FOC

[Is that] the noise of the waves from the boat, which

Pikoposi rows *in the autumn*?

(MYS.10.2047)

Semantic roles for kog-: Location

- In isolation the role location occurs 7 times
 - the location is **unmarked** for case 5 times
 - the location is marked with **dative particle *ni*** twice.

Semantic roles for kog-: Location

- In compounds the role location occurs 9 times
 - the location is **unmarked** for case 5 times (*kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out', *kogi-in-* 'row-depart', *kogi-ko-* 'row-come')
 - the location is marked with **dative particle *ni*** 4 times (*kogi-ko-* 'row-come' and *kogi-watar-* 'row-cross').

Semantic roles for kog-: Instrument

- Only found once: in a compound with *kogi-(i)de-* 'row-go.out'
- Unmarked for case

真槳 榜出而

ma-kadi kogi-dete

PFX-oar row-go.out

[They] start rowing at full oar, and...

(MYS.7.1185)

Case particles for kog-

- Case particle usage for *kog-* in isolation

Genitive *no*

agent

Accusative *wo*

theme, path

Ablative *ywo, ywori, yu, yuri*

source, path

Dative *ni*

goal, location

Allative *pye*

goal

Case particles for kog-

- Case particle usage for *kog-* in compounds

Genitive *ga*

agent

Genitive *no*

agent, theme

Accusative *wo*

theme, path, source

Ablative *ywo, ywori, yu, yuri*

source, path

Dative *ni*

goal, location

Allative *pye*

goal

Summary of data

- 58 of the 124 (47%) NPs occurring with *kog-* either in isolation or in compounds are not case marked.
- All semantic roles may appear without case marking.

Conclusions

- There is no one-to-one correspondence between semantic roles and case particle:
 - a given role can be case marked by different particles
 - a given particle can mark different roles.

Conclusions

- Because both themes and agents can be marked with genitive *no*, which marks grammatical subjects, the verb OJ *kog-* 'row' appears to be more similar to English *sail*

- He sails the boat. The boat sails.

than to modern Japanese *kog-* 'row'

- Tarō ga fune o kogu. ?Fune ga kogu.

SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY IN OLD JAPANESE

Zixi You

Presentation outline

- ▶ An introduction to split intransitivity
- ▶ Manifestation samples
- ▶ Morphological manifestations of split intransitivity in OJ
- ▶ Summary and Features
- ▶ Future research

An introduction to split intransitivity

- ▶ transitive verb

$x < y >$

John kicked the ball.



- ▶ unaccusative intransitive verb

$< y >$

John arrived.



- ▶ unergative intransitive verb

$x < >$

John works.



An introduction to split intransitivity

- ▶ The Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1986) splits intransitive verbs into two distinct classes: unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs.

Unaccusative:

D-structure: e [_{vp} arrived John]

S-structure: John_i [_{vp} arrived t_i]

Unergative:

D-structure: John [_{vp} work]

S-structure: John [_{vp} work]

An introduction to split intransitivity

- ▶ Working definition (a very broad one):

Split intransitivity refers to the heterogeneity of intransitive verbs, differentiated by various clear-cut or gradient syntactic characteristics.

An introduction to split intransitivity

Semantic features

- ▶ unaccusative verbs
 - telic
 - patient-like
 - non-volitional
 - affected
- ▶ unergative verbs
 - atelic
 - agent-like
 - volitional
 - unaffected

Manifestation samples

- ▶ Italian

perfective operators, experiencer predicates, si-constructions and unexpressed arguments, agreement, Ne-cliticization, past participles, word order, etc.

(Bentley 2006)

- ▶ English

resultative construction, causative alternation, X's-way construction, prepositional passives construction, there-construction, etc.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995)

Possible manifestations of split intransitivity in OJ

- ▶ **NV-compounds**
- ▶ **VV-compounds**
- ▶ wo (...) se- construction
- ▶ resultative construction
- ▶ VP-preposing
- ▶ perfective auxiliaries –(i)n- and –(i)te-
- ▶ verbal prefix i- and sa- (ta-)

NV-compounds

NV-compounds

- ▶ In OJ, there are many NV-compounds, among which subject+unaccusatives are frequently observed.

雪消

yuki-ge

snow-vanish

為

suru

do

山道

yama-miti

mountain-path

‘the snow-melting mountain paths’ (MYS.3.382)

NV-compounds

- ▶ subject+unaccusative

橘	乃	播奈	治流	等吉	爾
tatibana	no	pana-diru		toki	ni
orange	GEN	flower-scatter(vi.)		time	COP

‘when the orange flowers fall’ (MYS.18.4092)

- ▶ On the other hand, no typical unergative verb is found to be incorporated with its subject noun.

NV-compounds

- Furthermore, most NV-compounds that involve transitivity are object+transitive.

忘	哉	語	
wasuru	ya	<u>to</u>	mono-gatari site
forget	FOC	COMP	thing-tell do

‘saying, “Could I forget?”, as I talk over things’
(MYS.12.2845)

NV-compounds

- ▶ object+transitives

雨間

ama-ma

rain-gap

開而

akete

open

國見

kuni-mi

country-view

毛

mo

TOP

將為

se-mu

do-CONJ

乎

wo

CNJ

‘although I will also look out over the country when there is a break in the rain’ (MYS.10.1971)

- ▶ However, no subject+transitive compounds are attested.

NV-compounds

- ▶ Such evidence shows that only **internal arguments** can be incorporated with the verbs (i.e. the subject of an unaccusative verb, and the object of a transitive verb, in contrast to the subject of an unergative verb or that of a transitive verb).
- ▶ The **possibility of NV-compounding** is a manifestation of split intransitivity in OJ.

VV-compounds

Transitivity Harmony Principle

- ▶ In Modern Japanese, lexical compounds are built by combining two verbs either both with external arguments or both without. (Kageyama 1999)

transitive+transitive

unergative+unergative

unaccusative+unaccusative

transitive+unergative

unergative+transitive

*transitive+unaccusative

*unaccusative+transitive

*unergative+unaccusative

*unaccusative+unergative

Cline of Transitivity Harmony

- ▶ transitive+transitive
- ▶ unergative+unergative
- ▶ unaccusative+unaccusative
- ▶ ?transitive+unergative
- ▶ ?unergative+transitive
- ▶ ?transitive+unaccusative
- ▶ ?unaccusative+transitive
- ▶ *unergative+unaccusative
- ▶ *unaccusative+unergative

(Frellesvig et al. 2010:42)

Frequently observed

- ▶ transitive+transitive

piraki ‘open’+ake ‘open’

玉匣

tamakusige

combbox

開 阿氣津

piraki-ake-tu

open-open-PERF

跡

to

COMP

夢

西

所見

ime

ni

si

mi-yuru

dream DAT RES see-PASS

‘I dreamt that I opened a comb box’ (MYS.4.591)

Frequently observed

- ▶ unergative+unergative
aswobi 'play' + arukedo 'walk'

山	尔	毛	野	尔	母
yama	ni	mo	nwo	ni	mo
mountain	DAT	TOP	field	DAT	TOP

打 行而	遊	往	杼
uti-yukite	aswobi-arukedo		
prefix-go	play-walk		

'although I go and play in the mountains and fields'
(MYS.8.1629)

Frequently observed

- ▶ unaccusative+unaccusative
ke ‘vanish’ + use ‘get lost’

頓	情	消失奴
tatimatini	kokoro	ke-use-nu
suddenly	heart	vanish-get.lost-PERF
‘suddenly, (his) heart faltered’ (MYS.9.1740)		

Rarely observed:

[note that most of the following verbs are attested to select both perfective auxiliaries]

- transitive+unaccusative
mi 'see' + matwopu 'get lost'

颼	可	毛	伊卷渡	等
tumuzi	ka	mo	i-maki-wataru	to
whirlwind	FOC	TOP	prefix-bundle-go.accross	COMP
諸人		見	或	麻イ弓
moropito	<u>no</u>	mi-matwopu	madeni	
everyone	GEN	see-get.lost	ALL	

'until everyone saw and mistook it to be a whirlwind rolling across' (MYS.2.199b)

Rarely observed

- ▶ transitive+unergative
piki 'pull' + noboru 'climb'

難波 乃 埼 尔

nanipa no saki ni

Nanipa GEN cape DAT

赤 曾朋舟

aka no sopobune

read COP red.boat

'the red boat that (people) pull upstream at the Nanipa
Cape' (MYS.13.3300)

引 登

piki-noboru

pull-climb

Rarely observed

- ▶ unaccusative+transitive

puki 'blow' + midaru 'make confused'

柳 絲 乎 吹 乱 風
yanagwi no ito wo puki-midaru kaze
willow GEN thread ACC blow-make.confused wind
'the wind that blows into confusion the threads of the
willows' (MYS.10.1856)

Rarely observed

- ▶ unergative+transitive (very rare)
(?)yuki 'go' + pure 'touch'

御袖	往 觸 之	松
opo-mi-swode	yuki-pure-si	matu
HON-HON-sleeve	go-touch-SPST	pine

'the pine tree that (the prince's) sleeves brushed past'
(MYS.13.3324a)

Interesting data

- ▶ Rarely observed:
- ▶ unergative+unaccusative
yuki 'go'+tukare 'get tired'

道 行 疲

miti yuki-tukare

road go-get.tired

'I go on the road, tired' (MYS.11.2643)

Interesting data

- ▶ Rarely observed:
- ▶ unaccusative+unergative
tiri ‘scatter (intr.)’+tobu ‘fly’

黄葉	乃	散 飛	見乍
momitiba	no	tiri-tobu	mitutu
yellow.leaf	GEN	scatter(vi.)-fly	see

‘while I see the yellow leaves scattering and flying’
(MYS.4.543)

VV-compounds

- ▶ The data in OJ support the Transitivity Harmony Principle and its cline in terms of co-occurrence frequency.
- ▶ The data also reveal infrequent combinations of unaccusative+unergative and unergative+unaccusative verbs.
- ▶ Patterns of combination are evidence of the split in intransitive verbs.

Summary

- ▶ NV-compounds
- ▶ VV-compounds
- ▶ wo (...) se- construction
- ▶ resultative construction
- ▶ VP-preposing
- ▶ perfective auxiliaries –(i)n- and –(i)te-
- ▶ verbal prefix i- and sa- (ta-)

Features

- ▶ covert split intransitivity
(cf. Creissels 2008)
- ▶ deep unaccusativity
(cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995)

Future research

In my ongoing DPhil research, I am also going to

- ▶ compare the sets of verbs that participate in each type of manifestation, and
- ▶ look at the interrelationships between various semantic factors (agentivity, volitionality, affectedness, telicity, etc.),

in order to

- ▶ investigate the lexical-semantic aspects of split intransitivity in relation to its morpho-syntactic expression, and
- ▶ explore to what extent intransitive verbs can be classified as unaccusative and unergative in Old Japanese.

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