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The syntax of mood constructions in Old Japanese:
A corpus based study

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Outline

- Introduction
  - The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)
  - The present study
- An overview of mood constructions in OJ
  - Imperatives
  - Prohibitives
  - Optatives
- Observations from the data
- Conclusions

Introduction: The OCOJ

▸ The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ) is an annotated digital corpus of all extant texts from the Old Japanese (OJ) period (7th and 8th century CE).

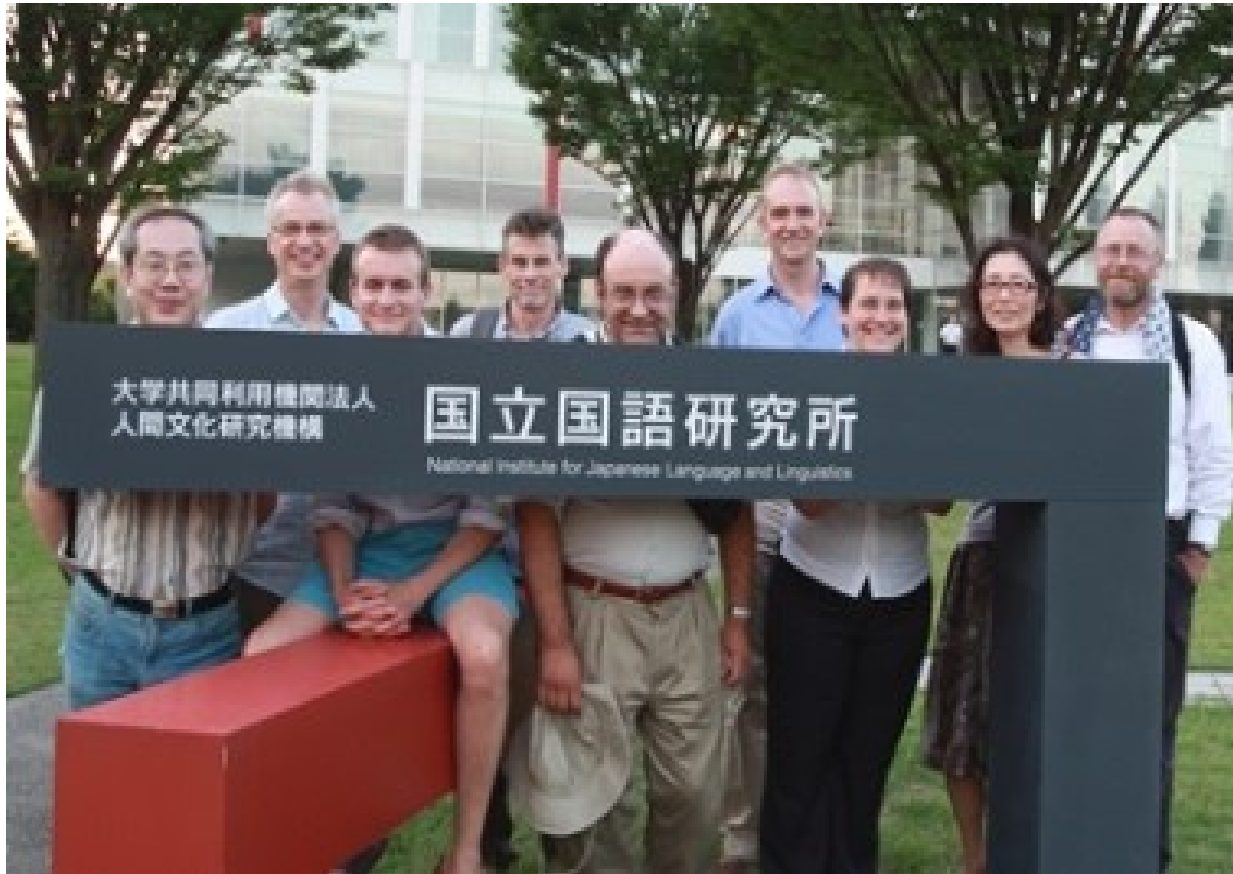▸ It consists of about 90,000 words.

▸ Funding bodies:

Arts & Humanities Research Council

BRITISH ACADEMY

Introduction: The OCOJ

▸ People:

Introduction: The OCOJ

▸ A poem (MYS.8.1606)

君待跡

吾戀居者

我屋戸乃

簾令動

秋之風吹

Introduction: The OCOJ

▸ A romanized version of poem (MYS.8.1606)

君待跡	kimi matu *to*
吾戀居者	wa ga kwopwi-woreba
我屋戸乃	wa ga yadwo *no*
簾令動	sudare ugokasi
秋之風吹	aki no kaze puku

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Introduction: The OCOJ

▸ Plain text view generated from the markup:

MYS.8.1606 gloss tree

|	
君待跡	kimi matu *to*
吾戀居者	wa ga kwopwi-woreba
我屋戸乃	wa ga yadwo *no*
簾令動	sudare ugokasi
秋之風吹	aki no kaze puku

Introduction: The OCOJ

▸ Glossed view showing constituency, generated from the markup:

« { { { [kimi (L004266 lord)] matu (verb adnconc L031644a 35830 wait) *to* (L000531a [concessive conjunctional particle]) }

[wa (L042057 41100 1st person pronoun) ga (L000503 [genitive case particle])] kwopwi (verb stem L030731a 52566 love) -woreba (verb provisional prog

{ [wa (L042057 41100 1st person pronoun) ga (L000503 [genitive case particle]) yadwo *no* (L000520 [genitive case particle])

sudare] ugokasi (verb infinitive L030247a 3094 move t) }

[aki no (L000520 [genitive case particle]) kaze] puku (verb adnconc L031516a 32591 blow) } »

Introduction: The OCOJ

▸ Tree view generated from the markup:
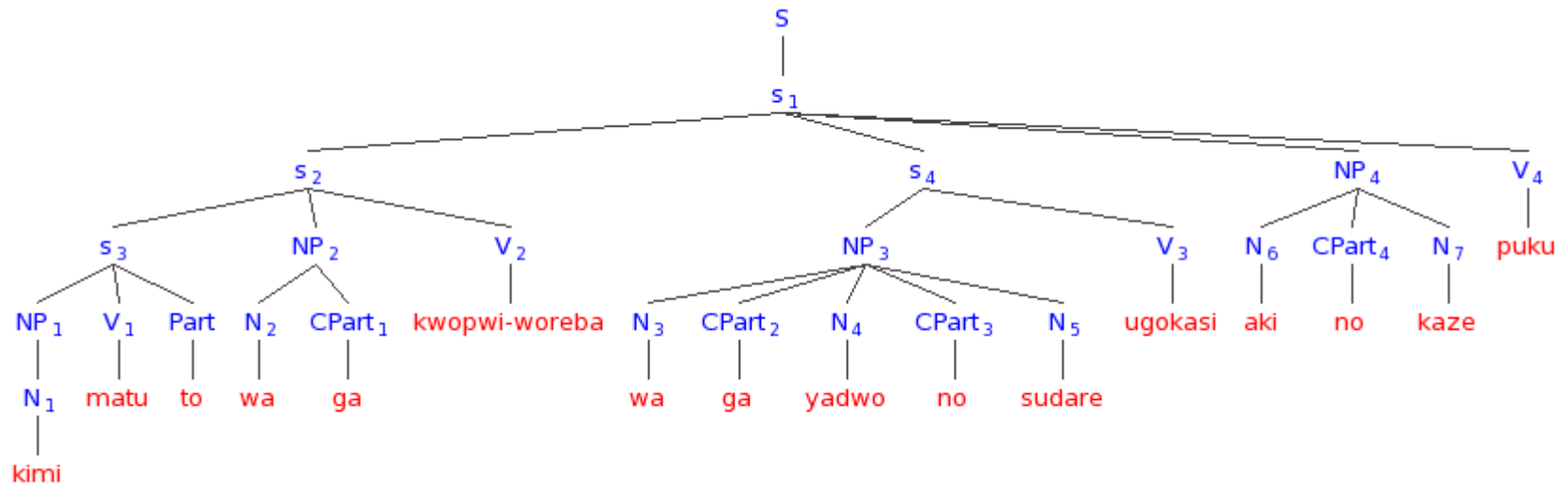
Introduction: The OCOJ

▶ More information can be found on the OCOJ webpage: http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/

  ◦ A fully romanized version of all OJ texts
  ◦ Markup and display conventions

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Introduction: The present study

- This paper investigates logical subjects in several mood-related constructions in central Old Japanese (OJ), the language of 8th century Japan. We focus on **imperative**, **prohibitive** and **optative** constructions, expressing the desire of the speaker for either the speaker or another entity to perform (or not) an event (or situation) (cf. Aikhenvald 2010, Bybee et al. 1994).

- These forms have not been discussed in any detail for OJ. Previous literature (e.g., Frellesvig 2010, Vovin 2009) briefly describes them, but does not investigate the grammatical properties.

Introduction: The present study

▸ OJ has several forms expressing these categories:

▸ *yuk-* 'go':

Imperative:	*yukye*	'Go!'
Prohibitive:	*yuku na*	'Don't go!'
	na-yuki	'Don't go!'
	na-yuki-so	'Don't go!
	na-yuki-sone	'I don't want you to go.'
Optative:	*yukana*	'I want to go./Let's go.'
	yukane	'I want you to go.'
	yukanamu/yukanamo	'I want him/her/it to go.'

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The three mood forms

- Imperative
- Prohibitive
- Optative

Imperatives

▸ Imperatives in OJ can have overt subjects, as well as appearing in a canonical structure without a subject.

▸ OJ is an SOV language, but with somewhat free constituent order.

▸ Imperatives in OJ can also be embedded.

Imperatives

‣ Example of imperative with an overt subject, 'drizzle':

pito-pi ni	pa	ti-pye	*sikusiku-ni*	wa	ga
1-day DAT	TOP	1000-fold	incessantly-COP	I	GEN
kwopuru	imo	ga	atari	ni	[*sigure*$_{LS}$]	**pu***re*
love	beloved	GEN	area	DAT	[drizzle$_{LS}$]	**fall**

'For one day, [drizzle$_{LS}$] **fall** incessantly 1000 times at the house of my beloved whom I love. ' (MYS.10.2234)

‣ We come back to these overt subjects shortly.

Imperatives

▸ Imperatives may be embedded with complementizer *to*, in two different types. One type retains a command interpretation, i.e., "(I said) do X!":

wa	ga	kinu	wo	kimi	ni	kiseyo		to
I	GEN	clothes	ACC	lord	DAT	dress.IMP		COMP
pototogisu		ware	*wo*	unagasu		swode	*ni*	ki-wi*tutu*
cuckoo		I	ACC	urge		sleeve	DAT	wear-sit

'The cuckoo urges me **to "dress my lord in my robes!"** – while sitting on my sleeve.' (MYS.10.1961)

▸ There are 31 tokens of the command type embedded construction. (232 main clause tokens)

Imperatives

▸ The second type is a more infinitive-like interpretation and is used to mean "in order to do":

ywo	narabete	**kimi**	*wo*	**ki-mase**	*to*	tipayaburu
night	line.up	lord	ACC	come-RESP	COMP	brutal

kamwi	<u>no</u>	yasiro	*wo*	noma-nu	pi	pa
gods	GEN	shrine	ACC	pray-NEG	day	TOP

na-si

not.exist-ACOP

'There is not a day where I don't pray at the brutal gods' shrine night after night **in order for my lord to come.**' (MYS.11.2660)

▸ There are 30 examples of this type, 4 with overt subjects, but all marked with accusative *wo*. As this is not strictly a mood construction, we do not discuss it further here.

Imperatives

▸ Imperatives in OJ are also notable in showing a considerable proportion of overtly expressed subjects (and not just 2nd person subjects).

▸ Of 263 imperative clauses (main and subordinate), 104 have an overt subject. This ratio of approximately 40% overt subjects appears to be consistent with other clause-types in OJ. As a comparison, we consider exclamative clauses.

Exclamatives – a comparison

▸ Example of an exclamative:

sasu	take		no	yo		gomorite	are
grow	bamboo		GEN	section		be.secluded	exist.IMP
wa	ga	sekwo	ga	wa-gari		si	ko-zupa
I	GEN	beloved	GEN	I-SFX		RES	come.NegCond
[ware$_{SUB}$]	**kwopwi-me**			ya	mo		
[I $_{SUB}$]	**love-CONJ.EXCL**			FOC	TOP		

'Be secluded like a section of growing bamboo! If my beloved does not come to me, how [I$_{SUB}$] would yearn!' (MYS.11.2773)

▸ The OCOJ shows 611 main (600) and subordinate (11) clause exclamatives, of which 247 have overt subjects. So this is a ratio of just about 40% overt.

Prohibitives

▸ Prohibitives are a type of "negative imperative".
▸ A canonical prohibitive, with null subject:

inoti	*araba*	*apu*	*koto*	*mo*	*ara-mu*	*wa*	*ga*
life	exist	meet	thing	ETOP	exist-CONJ	I	GEN
yuwe	*ni*		*pada*		**na-omopi-so**		*inoti*
reason	COP		frequently		**PROH-think-PROH**		life
dani	*peba*						
RES	elapse						

'If we have life, we will meet. For me, **don't think** (of me) often – even if life passes (by).' (MYS.15.3745)

Prohibitives

▸ Example of prohibitive with overt subject:

asamo	*yo-si*		*kwi*	pye	yuku	kimi	*ga*
morning.cloth	good-ACOP		Ki	ALL	go	lord	GEN
*matuti*yama	kwoyu	ramu	kyepu	*zo*	[ame$_{LS}$]		
Mt. Matuti	cross	CONJ	today	FOC	[rain$_{LS}$]		

na-puri-so*ne*

PROH-rain-PROH

'It is today that my lord, going to Ki, where the morning cloth is good, will probably cross Mt. Matuti. [Rain$_{LS}$] **don't fall**! (MYS.9.1680)

▸ For prohibitives, the ratio of overt subjects is higher, 99/194 (51%).

Optatives

▸ All languages have an imperative and a prohibitive (Sadock and Zwicky 1985), but not many have a dedicated optative; thus OJ is very interesting.

▸ The optative is used to indicate the wish of a speaker for an event to occur, but there is no expectation on the part of the speaker that the logical subject will perform the event or situation; the optative expresses a desire while the imperative expresses a command.

▸ Cross-linguistically, optatives can be expressed by means of an inflectional optative or by non-inflectional means. OJ has inflectional optatives.

Optatives

▸ There are three types of optatives in OJ, depending on whether the logical subject is 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person:

Optative -*ana* 'I want to go./Let's go.'	*yukana*	61
Optative -*ane* 'I want you to go.'	*yukane*	50
Optative -*anamu*/*o* 'I want him/her/it to go.'	*yukanamu/yukanamo*	21
	Total	132

Optatives

▸ An example of an optative:

ware	nomwi	si	kike*ba*	sabusi	*mo*	[pototogisu_LS]	nipu
I	RES	RES	hear	sad	ETOP	[cuckoo_LS]	Nipu
no	yamapye		*ni*	*i*-yuki		**naka*namo***	
COP	mountain.side		DAT	PFX-go		**sing.OPT**	

'When I hear it alone, I am saddened. **I want** [the cuckoo_LS] **to sing** going to Nipu mountain side.' (MYS.19.4178)

Optatives

▸ The ratio of overt subjects in each type:

	overt	% overt
Optative -*ana* 'I want to go./Let's go.'	7	11%
Optative -*ane* 'I want you to go.'	22	44%
Optative -*anamu/o* 'I want him/her/it to go.'	13	62%
Total	**42**	**32%**

Implications of these observations

▸ There are many interesting aspects of OJ mood constructions; we focus on just two here:
  ◦ the marking on overt subjects
  ◦ overt subjects (of imperatives) as vocatives?

Observations from the data

▸ Case marking

◦ A surprising aspect of the syntax of all the mood clauses is that there are no examples of overt subjects which are case marked.

◦ Overt subjects in mood clauses may appear as bare NPs, or be marked by various kinds of discourse or emphasis markers, but none have the grammatical case that one would expect to find on subjects, which is actually Genitive in OJ.

◦ Case marking on subjects in OJ developed from embedded structures, the source of the Genitive case marking.

Observations from the data

- Case marking
  - While OJ has Accusative case, which works somewhat similarly to its modern counterpart in NJ, canonical Nominative marking on subjects only developed comparatively late, in late Middle Japanese.
  - Case marking and oblique marking in OJ mood clauses is as one would expect, except that subjects of these clauses never show Genitive case.

Observations from the data

▸ Case marking: lots of potential hosts for case
  ◦ ratios of null and overt subjects

	null	overt	% overt
Imperative	159	104	40%
Prohibitive *na*-V-*so*	33	42	56%
Prohibitive *na*-V-*sone*	11	17	63%
Prohibitive particle *na*	39	25	39%
Prohibitive prefix *na*-	12	15	56%
Prohibitive Total	**95**	**99**	**51%**
Optative -*ana*	54	7	11%
Optative -*ane*	28	22	44%
Optative -*anamu/o*	8	13	62%
Optative Total	**92**	**42**	**32%**

Observations from the data

▸ Case marking:
  ◦ In our three mood types, the ratios of case marked overt subjects are as follows:
    ‣ Imperative: 0/104
    ‣ Prohibitive: 0/99
    ‣ Optative: 0/42

▸ Again using exclamatives as a comparison, 59 out of 247 overt subjects are case marked (24%) – roughly 1 in 4.

▸ So there is something to explain about why mood clauses do not show case-marked subjects.

Observations from the data

▸ Are overt subjects vocatives?

▸ In a recent study of imperative subjects, Zanuttini (2008) argues that in (say) English, overt subjects in examples like this are not vocatives:

▸ [getting ready for a photo] Tall people stand in the   back, shorter people stand in the front!

▸ Due to many grammatical differences, Zanuttini's arguments do not carry over to OJ. However, we can argue that OJ mood clause subjects are not vocatives.

Observations from the data

▸ The evidence is very direct – there **is** a vocative marker in OJ, and it appears exactly *once* in all the mood constructions:

tukur-eru	ipye	*ni*	*ti-yo*			*madeni*
make-STAT	house	DAT	1000-generations			RES
ki-mase	[opo-kimi	yo_{LS}]	ware	*mo*		kaywopa-*mu*
come-RESP	[PFX-lord	VOC_{LS}]	I	TOP		
return-CONJ						

'**Come** to the home that was built for 1000 generations, my lord! I will also return.' (MYS.1.79)

▸ The logical subject of the imperative form *ki-mase* is *opo-kimi yo* ('my lord VOC'), which is right-dislocated with respect to its clause, and therefore follows the predicate; the English translation shows this structure. This phrase 'my lord' is clearly not grammatically part of the rest of the example.

Observations from the data

▸ What is significant is that this is the only instance of vocative marking on any of the overt subjects in our examples. We would surely expect to find many more examples of overt subjects marked with the overt vocative marker *yo* if they were indeed vocative phrases.

▸ There are also quite a few examples of imperatives with right-dislocated subjects, 46 out of 263 imperatives, but only this one example has the vocative marking.

Conclusions I

▶ Mood constructions in OJ are notable:
- ◦ Imperatives allow overt subjects.
- ◦ Imperatives may be embedded.
- ◦ Prohibitives allow overt subjects.
- ◦ These overt subjects are not vocatives.
- ◦ OJ has a set of dedicated optative forms.
- ◦ All mood forms allow overt subjects, but these subjects are never case-marked as regular clausal subjects (in contrast to subjects of every other form of the predicate).

Conclusions II

▸ What changed from OJ to NJ
  ◦ The optative forms were replaced by other optative forms in EMJ, and then disappeared. NJ has a (grammatically) unrelated 'desiderative' form.
  ◦ The imperative and the prohibitive with post-verbal *na* remain in NJ. The other prohibitive forms are lost.
  ◦ The imperative is not embedded in NJ.

Conclusions II

▸ What changed from OJ to NJ

  ◦ Overt subjects of imperatives and prohibitives in NJ can be case marked:

omae   ga   ike
you   NOM   go.IMP
You go!
(Nitta, 1991: 241, from Narrog, 2009)
Omae ga ike = 93,700 google hits

Taroo-san   ga   iki-nasai
Taroo-SFX   NOM   go-do.HON.IMP
Taroo-san, (you) go.
(Martin, 1975: 959)

Conclusions II

▸ What changed from OJ to NJ
  ◦ Overt subjects of imperatives and prohibitives in NJ can be case marked:

omae	ga	iku	na
you	NOM	go	PROH

You don't go!

Omae ga iku na = 2,230,000 google hits

Conclusions III

▸ Further work
  ◦ A better understanding of the syntax and semantics of OJ mood forms, as to why subjects cannot be case-marked.
  ◦ A better understanding of why imperatives in OJ can be embedded (the OCOJ only shows 2 examples of embedded prohibitives, and 1 optative).
  ◦ Investigation of other grammatical properties of mood clauses: constituent order, cooccurrence with other clausal marking (e.g., perfective, passive).

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Questions and Comments Welcome

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