

Discourse Basis of Ergativity in Kansai Japanese

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OVERVIEW

DSM & DOM in terms of **markedness** (zero-coding)
(Comrie, 1979, 1983; Haspelmath, 2006)

- (1) a. **topical** (thematic) \longleftrightarrow **focal** (rhematic)
- b. **definite** \longleftrightarrow **indefinite**
- c. **animate** \longleftrightarrow **inanimate**
- d. **agent** (subject) \longleftrightarrow **patient** (object)

Zero-coded (unmarked) cases

- ▶ Elements with correlating (**frequently co-occurring**) features are more likely to be zero-coded.
- ▶ e.g.,
- ▶ **topic** & **definite**
- ▶ **focus** & **indefinite**

OVERVIEW

DSM & DOM in terms of **markedness** (zero-coding)
(Comrie, 1979, 1983; Haspelmath, 2006)

- (2)
- a. topical (thematic) \longleftrightarrow focal (rhematic)
 - b. **definite** \longleftrightarrow indefinite
 - c. **animate** \longleftrightarrow inanimate
 - d. agent (subject) \longleftrightarrow **patient** (object)

overtly coded (marked) cases

- ▶ Elements with non-correlating features (that do not co-occur frequently) are more likely to be overtly coded.
- ▶ e.g.,
- ▶ **animate & patient**
- ▶ **definite & patient**

OVERVIEW

DSM & DOM in terms of **markedness** (zero-coding)
(Comrie, 1979, 1983; Haspelmath, 2006)

- (3) a. **topical** (thematic) \longleftrightarrow **focal** (rhematic)
b. definite \longleftrightarrow indefinite
c. animate \longleftrightarrow inanimate
d. **agent** (subject) \longleftrightarrow **patient** (object)

Kansai Japanese

- ▶ **Topic A & agent S** are more likely to be **zero-coded**
- ▶ **Topic patient S & P** are more likely to be **overtly coded**
- ▶ **Focus S & P** are more likely to be **zero-coded**
- ▶ Kansai J has **Erg/abs** distribution although Japanese is known as nom/acc Lg.
- ▶ **Focus A** is more likely to be **overtly coded**

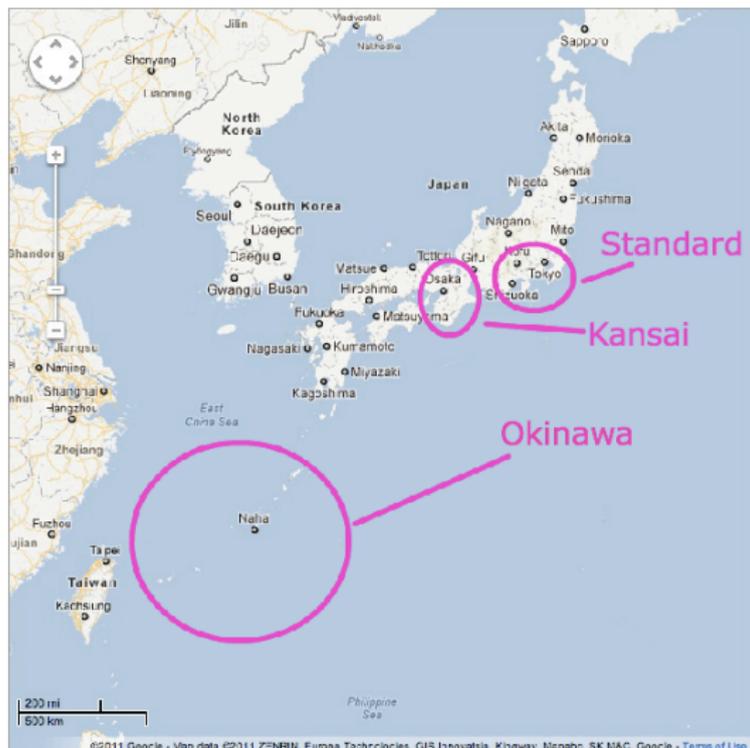
OVERVIEW

- ▶ Through corpus study, I also show
- ▶ complex interaction of these features such as:
 - ▶ Information structure vs. animacy vs. agentivity
 - ▶ Information structure vs. definiteness vs. agentivity
 - ▶ I point out the possibility of DSM in these interactions

How should DSM & DOM be modelled theoretically?

- ▶ DSM & DOM in terms of markedness (zero-coding)

OVERVIEW OF KANSAI JAPANESE



OVERVIEW OF KANSAI JAPANESE

- (4) Hanako-{\Ø/ga} Midori-{\Ø/o} sibai-teru-wa
Hanako-{\Ø/ga} Midori-{\Ø/o} hit-PROG-PAR
'Hanako is beating Midori.' (A & P)
- (5) sensee-{\Ø/ga} ki-hat-ta-de
teacher-{\Ø/ga} come-HON-PAST-PAR
'The teacher came.' (S)
- ▶ **Nom/acc distribution** (if you force speakers to produce particles)
 - ▶ **Zero-coding** is observed extensively.

LITERATURE ON ZERO-CODING IN JAPANESE

Characteristics of \emptyset (Kuno, 1972; Tsutsui, 1984; Kageyama, 1993; Suzuki, 1995; Ono et al., 2000; Lee, 2002; Fry, 2003; Shimojo, 2006)

- (6)
 - a. Verb-adjacent O
 - b. Non-definite O
 - c. Defocused NP (Non-Contrastive Focus?)
 - d. Unaccusative S
 - e. Minor discourse boundary
 - f. No newsworthiness
 - g. Wh-word O
 - h. Animate S
 - i. Definite S
 - j. Non-Contrastive NP
 - k. Absolute specification?
 - l. Non-complex NP
 - m. Multisyllabic S
 - n. Casual style

OUTLINE

Introduction

Overview

Information structure vs. agentivity

Non-contrastive Focus

Contrastive Topic

Discussion

Summary

Implications

Corpus study

IS vs. agentivity

IS vs. Animacy

IS vs. Definiteness

Conclusion

Summary

Remaining issue

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ZERO VS. OVERT FOCUS PARTICLES

	A	S		P
		agent	patient	
Non-Contr	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga/∅</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>∅</i>
Contr	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>o/∅</i>

NON-CONTRASTIVE FOCUS A

- (7) Q: What happened?
 A: **neko**-{??Ø/ga} nezumi
 cat-{Ø/ga} mouse
 oikake-teru
 chase-PROG
 'A cat is chasing a mouse.'

A without P

- (8) Q: Do you know where my vase is?
 A: **neko**-{??Ø/ga}
 cat-{Ø/ga}
 kowasi-ta-yo
 break-PAST-PAR
 '(A/the) cat broke (it).'

NON-CONTRASTIVE FOCUS AGENT S

- (9) a. a **neko**-{ga/∅} arui-teru
oh cat-{ga/∅} walk-PROG
'Look! A cat is walking!'
- b. a **kodomo**-{ga/∅} ason-deru
oh child-{ga/∅} play-PROG
'Look! A child is playing.'

NON-CONTRASTIVE FOCUS PATIENT S

- (10) a. a **saihu**-{?ga/∅} oti-teru
 oh purse-{ga/∅}
 'Look! A purse is on the road! (Lit: A purse has fallen (and it's there).)'
- b. a **kanban**-{?ga/∅} taore-teru
 oh sign-{ga/∅} fall-PROG
 'Look! A sign has fallen (and it is lying).'

NON-CONTRASTIVE FOCUS P

(11)Q: What do you do?

A: tetugaku- $\{o/\emptyset\}$ benkyoo si-ten-nen
philosophy- $\{o/\emptyset\}$ study do-PROG-DECL
'I study PHILOSOPHY.'

ZERO VS. OVERT TOPIC PARTICLES

	A	S	P
	agent		patient
Non-Contr		∅	
Contr	∅/wa		wa

CONTRASTIVE TOPIC A

- (12) **neko**-{ \emptyset /**wa**} moo gohan tabe-ta-kedo **inu**-{ \emptyset /**wa**}
cat-{ \emptyset /TOP} already food eat-PAST-though dog-{ \emptyset /TOP}
mada tabe-te-hen
yet eat-PAST-NEG
'The CAT has already eaten, but the DOG has not.'

CONTRASTIVE TOPIC **AGENT S**

- (13) **neko**-{ \emptyset /**wa**} ki-ta-kedo **inu**-{ \emptyset /**wa**} koo-henkat-ta
cat-{ \emptyset /TOP} come-PAST-though dog-{ \emptyset /TOP} come-NEG-PAST

‘The CAT came, but the DOG didn’t.’

CONTRASTIVE TOPIC PATIENT S

- (14) **neko**-{??Ø/wa} ne-teru-kedo **inu**-{??Ø/wa}
cat-{Ø/TOP} sleep-PROG-though dog-{Ø/TOP}
ne-te-hen
sleep-PROG-NEG
'The CAT is sleeping, but the DOG isn't.'

CONTRASTIVE TOPIC P

(15)Q: Where are the cake and the ice cream?

A: keeki- $\{??\emptyset/wa\}$ tabe-ta-kedo aisu- $\{??\emptyset/wa\}$
cake-TOP eat-PAST-though ice.cream-TOP
tabe-te-hen-yo
eat-PAST-NEG-PAR
'(I) ate CAKE but didn't eat ICE CREAM.'

ZERO VS. OVERT FOCUS PARTICLES

	A	S		P
		agent	patient	
Non-Contr	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga/∅</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>∅</i>
Contr	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>o/∅</i>

- ▶ Ergative/absolutive

ZERO VS. OVERT TOPIC PARTICLES

	A	S	P
	agent		patient
Non-Contr		∅	
Contr	∅/ <i>wa</i>		<i>wa</i>

- ▶ Split-intransitive

MARKEDNESS (ZERO-CODING)

Givón (1976); Keenan (1976); Comrie (1979, 1983)

- ▶ The case-coding systems vary depending on the **information structure** of a sentence following the hierarchy (16)
- ▶ **Focus** is more frequently patient
- ▶ **Topic** is more frequently agent

- (16)
- topical** (thematic) \longleftrightarrow **focal** (rhematic)
 - definite \longleftrightarrow indefinite
 - animate \longleftrightarrow inanimate
 - agent** (subject) \longleftrightarrow **patient** (object)

MARKEDNESS AND ERGATIVITY

Du Bois (1985); DuBois (1987)

- ▶ **Ergative/absolute** Lgs: categorize arguments in terms of focus
- ▶ **Nominative/accusative** Lgs: categorize arguments in terms of topic

(17) **Topic** ←←← **A** > **agent S** > **patient S** > **P** →→→ **Focus**

MARKEDNESS AND ERGATIVITY

DuBois (1987)

- ▶ “the solidly ergative Sacapultec language displays a submerged pressure toward nominative/accusative patterning” (p. 843)
- ▶ “**there must exist a latent pressure to ergativity in accusative languages**, to the extent that accusative languages also exhibit PAS [(preferred argument structure)]” (ibid.)

- ▶ Kansai Japanese show this pressure towards ergativity in nominative/accusative languages

PREDICTIONS FROM DISCUSSION

- ▶ In natural spoken data,
- ▶ **Agent Topics** are more frequently **zero-coded** rather than overtly coded
- ▶ **Patient Foci** are more frequently **zero-coded** rather than overtly coded

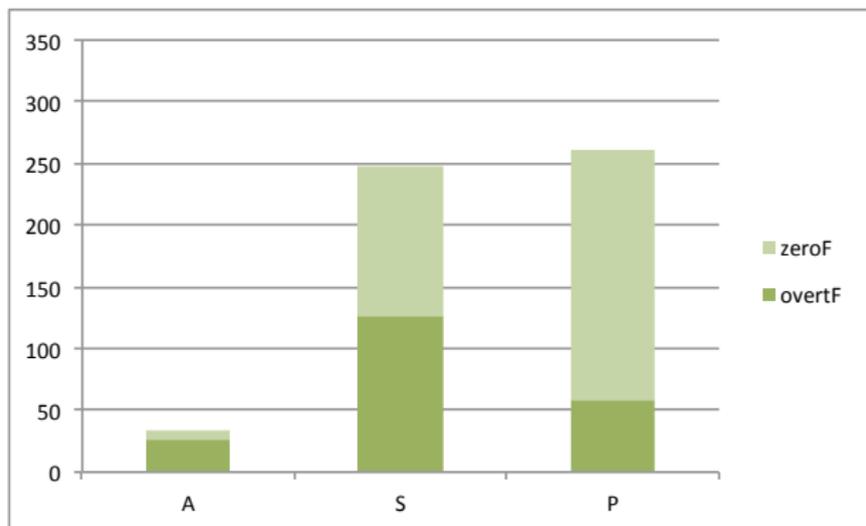
CORPUS

- ▶ *Manzai corpus*
- ▶ a popular style of stand-up comedy typically performed by two people
- ▶ 15 sessions of **manzai**
- ▶ Each session consists of 2-30 minutes

Coding

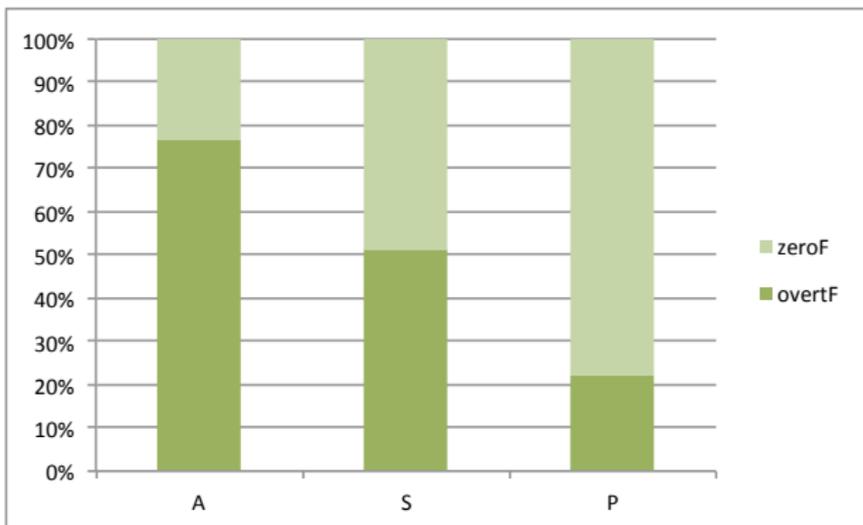
- ▶ Determined the information structure of the NP simply based on whether it can be potentially coded by the case markers (*ga* or *o*) or the topic marker *wa* in written Japanese
 - ▶ Can be coded by *ga* or *o*: **Focus**
 - ▶ Can be coded by *wa*: **Topic**

FOCUS ELEMENTS: RAW FREQUENCY



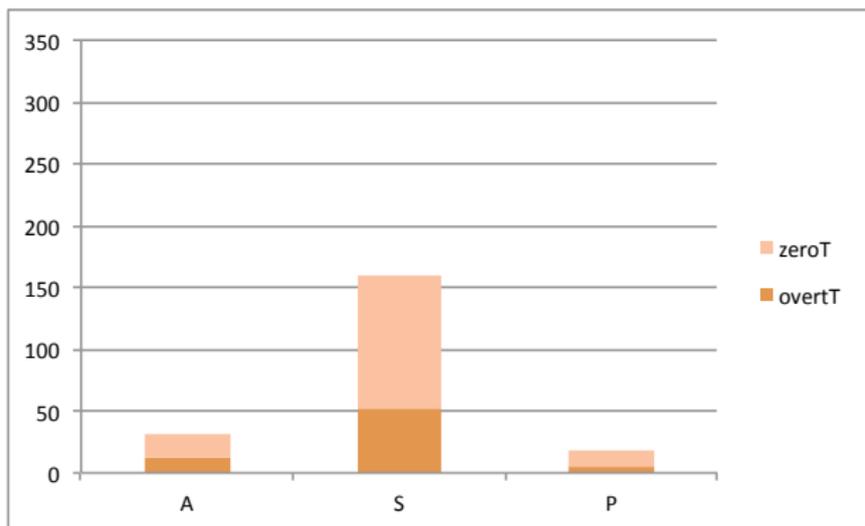
► $P > S > A$

OVERT VS. ZERO FOCUS CODING RATIO



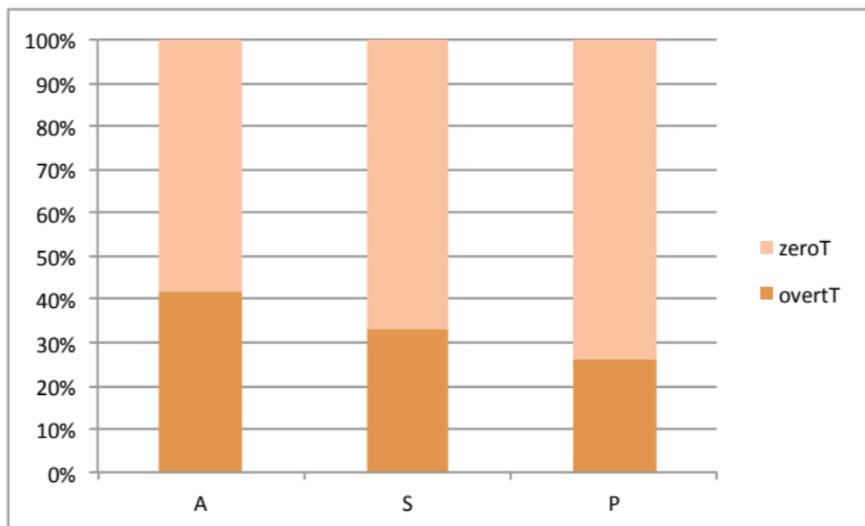
► A > S > P

TOPIC ELEMENTS: FREQUENCY



- ▶ $S > A > P$
- ▶ Most As are zero pronouns (DuBois, 1987)

OVERT VS. ZERO TOPIC CODING RATIO



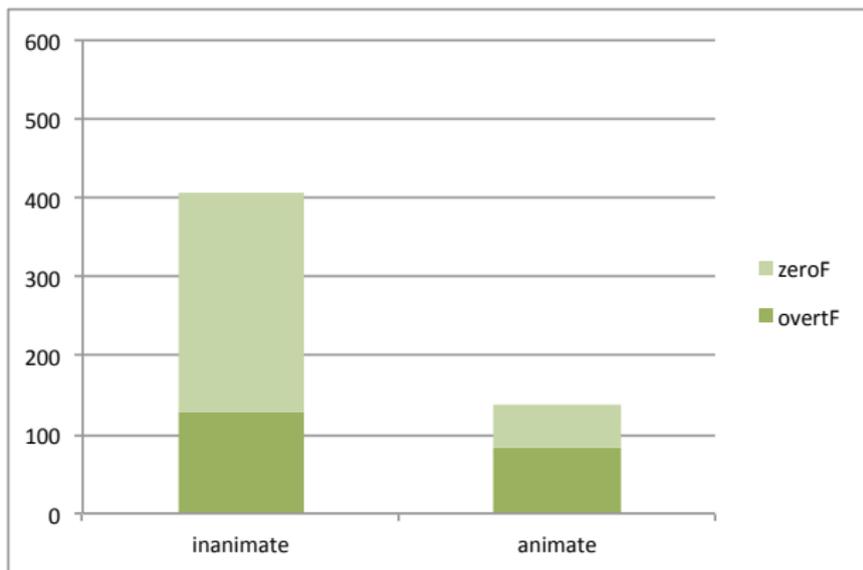
- ▶ $A > S > P$ (against our prediction)
- ▶ 11/13 overt-coding examples are first person pronoun
- ▶ Due to many contrastive examples?

ANIMACY

Prediction

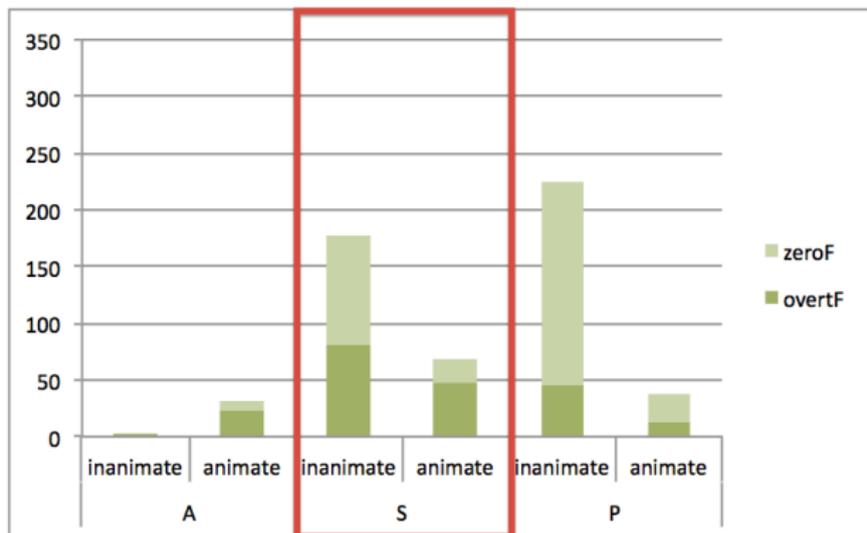
- (18)
- topical** (thematic) \longleftrightarrow **focal** (rhematic)
 - definite \longleftrightarrow indefinite
 - animate** \longleftrightarrow **inanimate**
 - agent (subject) \longleftrightarrow patient (object)
- ▶ Focal & animate: more likely to be **overtly coded**
 - ▶ Topical & inanimate: more likely to be **overtly coded**

ANIMACY & FOCUS



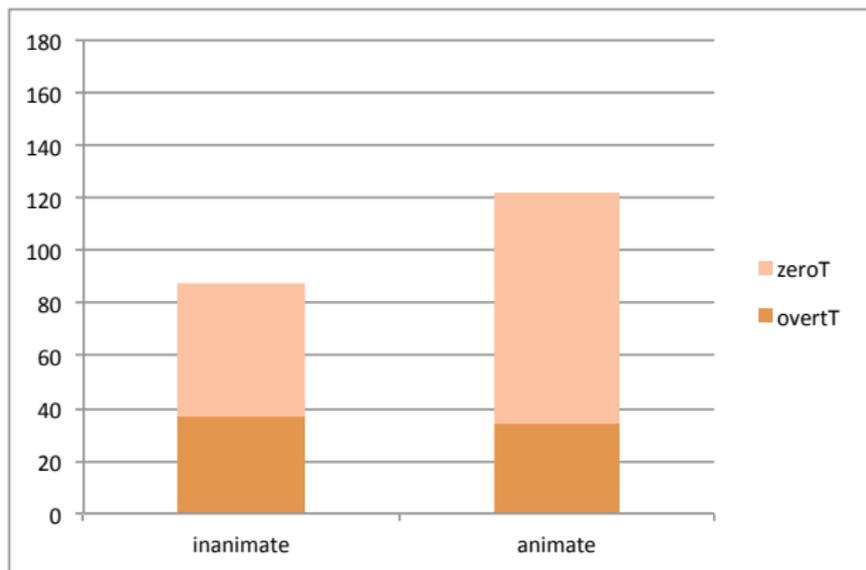
- ▶ **Animate & focus** elements are less frequent
- ▶ **Animate & focus** elements more likely to be **overtly coded**

ANIMACY & FOCUS



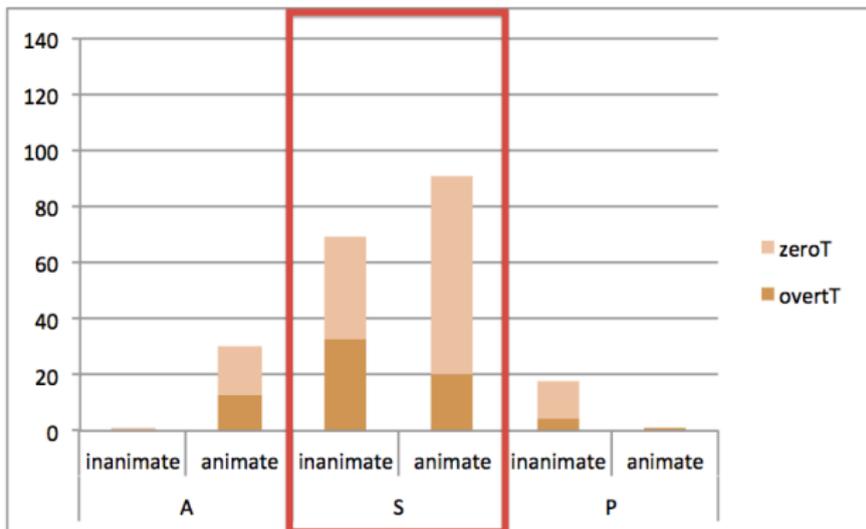
- ▶ **Animate & focus S** elements are more likely to be **overtly coded**
- ▶ Differential subject marking?

ANIMACY & TOPIC



- ▶ **Inanimate & topic** elements are less frequent
- ▶ **Inanimate & topic** elements are more likely to be **overtly coded**

ANIMACY & TOPIC



- ▶ **Inanimate & topic S** elements are more likely to be **overtly coded**
- ▶ Differential subject marking?

DEFINITENESS

Prediction

(19)

- a. **topical** (thematic) \longleftrightarrow **focal** (rhematic)
- b. **definite** \longleftrightarrow **indefinite**
- c. **animate** \longleftrightarrow **inanimate**
- d. **agent (subject)** \longleftrightarrow **patient (object)**

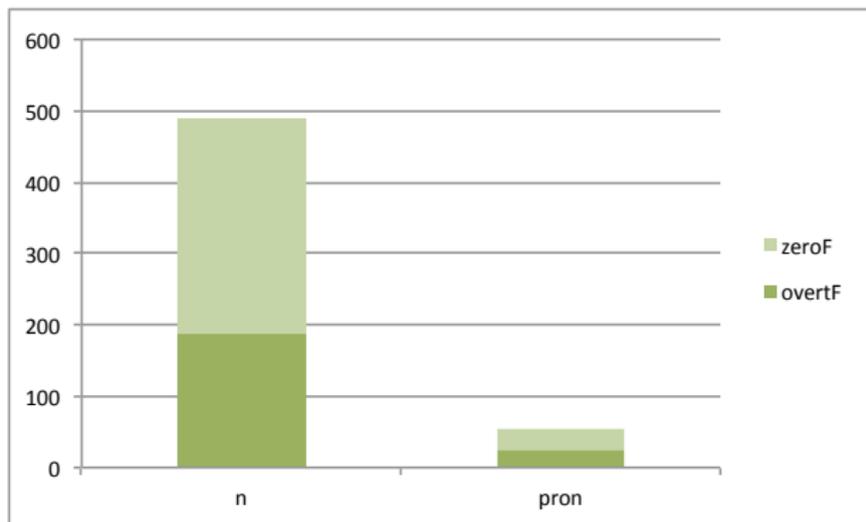
- ▶ Focal & definite: more likely to be **overtly coded**
- ▶ Topical & indefinite: more likely to be **overtly coded**

DEFINITENESS

Note:

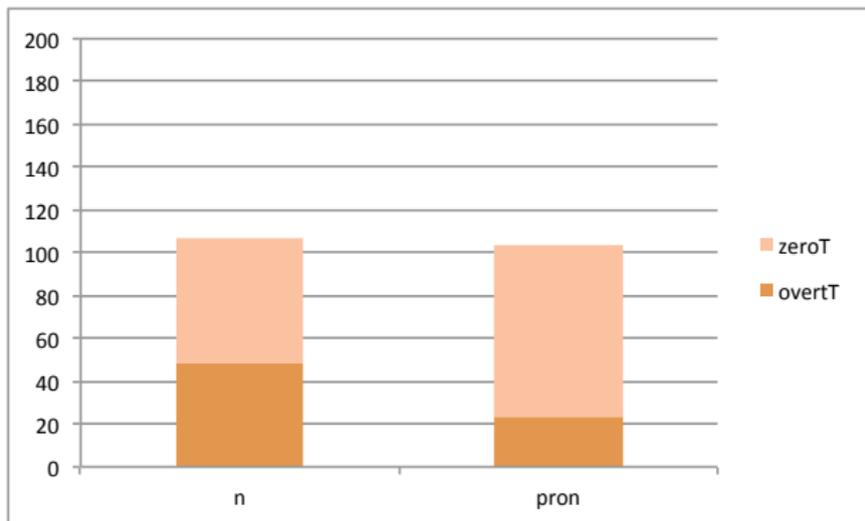
- ▶ There is no definite markers in (Kansai) Japanese
- ▶ Full N vs. pronoun

DEFINITE & FOCUS



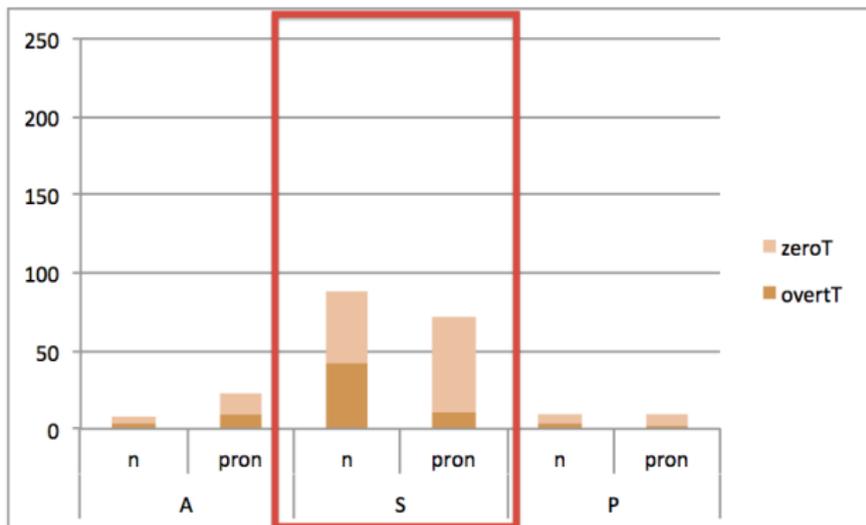
- ▶ **Definite & Focus** elements are equally likely to be overtly coded
- ▶ Cf. Standard J: **Definite & focus** elements are more likely to be overtly coded

DEFINITE & TOPIC



- **Definite & topic** elements are more to be zero-coded

DEFINITE & TOPIC



- **Definite & topic S** elements are more to be zero-coded

SUMMARY

- ▶ Markedness (zero-coding) in Kansai Japanese
- ▶ Frequent types are zero-coded
- ▶ Rare types are overtly coded
- ▶ DSM & DOM in terms of markedness

REMAINING ISSUE

- ▶ Subtle acceptability judgement
- ▶ Subtle information structural differences
- ▶ Multi-dimensional scaling analysis
- ▶ Crosslinguistic definition of topic and focus

LITERATURE ON CASE-CODING IN OTHER LGS

Japonic

- ▶ Mitsukaido (Sasaki, 2006): Clear case of DOM
- ▶ Kikai (Matsumoto, 2004): split-intransitive?
- ▶ Standard J (Nakagawa, 2013): split-intransitive in non-contrastive focus context

Other Lgs.

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