SUBJECT ELLIPSIS IN JAPANESE

NAGIKO LEE

A thesis submitted as partial requirement for admission to the degree of Master of Arts at the Australian National University.

July 1980
This thesis is the original work of the author and all sources used have been acknowledged.

Naoko Lee
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Timothy Shopen for his constant guidance and valuable comments for which he was always willing to spare his time. I am also grateful to Dr. Anna Wierzbicka for her inspiring comments and concern while Dr. Shopen was away.

I am thankful to Professor Anthony Alfonso, Head of the Department of Japanese, who gave me the valuable opportunity of teaching Japanese, and to Dr. Yutaka Kusanagi, a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Japanese, who read the drafts and gave me helpful comments and encouraging suggestions.
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

One of the characteristics of Japanese is that subjects are very frequently omitted from the surface form of sentences. A survey conducted by the Japanese National Language Research Institute showed that 74% of the sentences in a discourse did not have overt subjects.¹

This phenomenon, together with the fact that verbs, adjectives and copulas do not indicate person, number or gender, seems to create ambiguous sentences to non-native speakers. But such usage is usually understood unambiguously by native speakers as can be seen from the English glosses for the following dialogues:

(1) Speaker A: kinoo Ø eiga ni ikimashita
    yesterday movie to went
    "(I) went to a movie yesterday."

Speaker B: Soo Ø yoku ikundesuka
    Is that so often go ?
    "Is that so? Do (you) often go?"

(2) Speaker A: Ø Yamada to resutoran ni ittayo.
    with restaurant to went.
    "(I) went to a restaurant with Yamada."

Speaker B: Ø Ogotte- kureta ka?
    treat give a favour ?
    "Did (he) treat you?"

These holes (marked by Ø), where an NP is understood and would have to be present in the fully realized version of the grammatical form of utterances, are instances of 'definite ellipsis'.

¹From Martin (1975)
Shopen defines 'definite ellipsis' as 'the ellipsis whose referent is uniquely identifiable to speaker and hearer'. (Shopen 1973)

In this thesis I will examine phenomena of definite ellipsis in the subject position with human reference.

NPs in subject position in Japanese are marked by post-positional particles, either wa or ga, depending on the pragmatic functions of the NPs in communication. Wa marks the NP to be old information (theme) while ga marks new information. Naturally if ellipsed subjects are to be overtly expressed, they are usually NP-wa and seldom NP-ga since NP-wa, typically carrying old information, is often omissible while NP-ga, which typically carries new information, would usually be unrecoverable if omitted.¹

The phenomenon of subject ellipsis is so pervasive that it may be regarded as normal unmarked cases in Japanese. Actually overtly expressed subjects can result in unnatural utterances. There are however occasions that require the overt expression of subjects, that is, the occurrence of subject ellipsis is unacceptable or tends to be avoided. Chapter II briefly presents these occasions.

Chapter III examines the tendency of subject ellipsis to occur and why this is so in terms of language functions.

Chapter IV examines how the referent for ellipsed subjects is uniquely identifiable with the help of subject co-occurrence restrictions found in exaltation expressions, expressions of inner state, and deictic verbs.

The conclusion and final remarks appear in Chapter V.

The data and some examples presented in this thesis are taken from two sources: (1) recorded conversations between my friend and me; (2) interview articles appearing in the Japanese weekly magazine, 'Shuukan Asahi'.

¹For more detailed discussion of wa and ga see Kuno (1973), Mikami (1960, 1963, 1970) etc.
CHAPTER II ABSENCE OF SUBJECT ELLIPSIS

Before examining the cases when subject ellipsis is absent (that is, subjects are overtly expressed) I should mention that overt reference, especially to 2nd and 3rd person, is made far less by the use of personal pronouns than by other methods, such as names, titles, epithets, etc. According to the results of a study reported by Martin, only 28% of the overt references to the 2nd person were made by personal pronouns such as anata, omae, kimi, otaku, etc., and a mere 1.52% of the overt references to the 3rd person were made by pronouns such as kare (he) and kanojo (she) etc., whilst 90% of the overt references to the 1st person were made by pronouns such as watashi, boku, ore, etc.

Thus in the examples I will present in this chapter, overt references are seldom made by personal pronouns except for the 1st person.

Going back to the problem of when overt references occur, we have to distinguish two possible cases.

[1] Cases when overt reference is optional;

[2] Cases when overt reference is obligatory or nearly obligatory; that is, the utterance becomes unacceptable or awkward without overt references.

The first case is a subjective choice made by individual speakers. Hinds (1978), in examining Japanese narrative discourse, presents two major conditions which the narrator follows in making

---

1 From Martin (1975) which quoted from "kōgo-bumpō no mondaiten" 202-3
such a choice. They are:

(1) to reinforce information to the audience about the participant under discussion.

(2) to indicate a peak or important part in the narrative, to underline that section of the narrative by calling special attention to it.

Though these observations are made on narrative discourse, it would be reasonable to expect the similar conditions for conversational discourse.

In this chapter I would like to examine the 2nd case, that is, where overt reference is (nearly) obligatory, more closely.

The 2nd case can be further classified into 4 cases:

1] When a topic of a conversation changes

2] When somebody whom the addressee does not know is introduced in a conversation

3] When a subject NP carries special information

4] When ambiguity arises without overt reference

These four cases are presented below.

1] Overt reference has to be made when a topic of a conversation changes.

(1) Miyata: konogoro dokuzetsu de yuumei-na n datte lately outspoken for well known I hear

"I hear you are known for being outspoken lately"

Goto: Ee omotta koto o sugu kuchi ni dasuno Yes thought what OBJ_straight mouth to take out say

ki o tsukenakya. *(miyata sau) wa careful have to TOP

oosutorana gurashi ga nagaideshoo Australia life SUB_long I understand

1 OBJ, TOP, SUB are abbreviations for object, topic, subject markers respectively.
okiki shitai koto ga arundesu
ask want something SUB there are.

"Yes, I say what I think straight away. I have to be
careful. I understand that you (Mr Miyata) are staying
in Australia for a long time. There's something I
want to ask you."

'Miyata-san', the addressee's name, is overtly expressed here
to mark the change of discourse topic. If another word which indicates
a change of topic, e.g. tokorode (by the way) is inserted, 'Miyata-san'
may be ellipsed. Incidentally, this 'Miyata-san' is not a vocative
expression but an overt subject topic as is marked by '-wa'.

2] When an NP referring to somebody whom, in the speaker's
judgement, the addressee does not know is introduced, it is
hard, if not impossible, for it to be ellipsed in the
succeeding utterance.

(2) Speaker A: Noda-san tte Nihon-go no sensei shitteru?
called Japanese of teacher know

"Do you know a Japanese teacher called Noda?"

Speaker B: Iya shiranai
no know-neg

"No, I don't."

Speaker A: Tonikatu *(sono hito)¹ ne sakamichi de shika
anyway this person hill on only
tomaranai kuruma ni nottetene..
stop not car on ride

"Anyway he was driving a car which stops only on a hill.."

Contrast (2) to (3) in which Mr Noda is known to the addressee,

hence it is ellipsed after the 1st mention.

¹ *(NP) indicates the NP cannot be ellipsed
(3) Speaker A: \text{kinoo Noda-san ni atta wa} \\
\text{"I met Mr Noda yesterday."}

Speaker B: a soo \\
\text{"Did you?"}

Speaker A: \text{Ø aikawarazu sakamichi de shika} \\
\text{as usual hill on only} \\
\text{tomaranai kuruma ni notte te ne.} \\
\text{stop not car on ride} \\
\text{"(He) was as usual driving a car which stops only on a hill."}

This phenomenon is also observed in a different kind of discourse, narratives, as examined by Clancy [to appear]. She puts it as "a general tendency to use more than a single NP reference when introducing a new character."

3) Overt reference has to be made when a subject carries special information such as follows:

Contrast:

(4) \text{...After the referent of 'kanojo' (the speaker's wife here) is introduced,}

*(Boku) wa gaarufurendo hoshiinaa to omou no \\
I TOP girl friend want think \\
*(Kanojo) wa booifurendo ippai iru wake \\
she TOP boy fried many have \\
\text{"I think I want girlfriends, she has many boyfriends."}

(5) \text{...Speaker A talking to a Sumo wrestler.}

Speaker A: Konogoro no osumoosan yoku shaberunone \\
nowadays 's sumo wrestler a lot speak \\
\text{"Nowadays Sumo wrestlers talk a lot."}

Sumo wrestler: *(Boku) wa shizuka na hoode \\
I TOP quiet on the side \\
\text{"I am on the side of quiet."}
Thus both in (4) and (5) the normally ellipsed subject with the 1st person reference is overtly expressed because it stands in contrast to somebody else; to his wife in (4) and to other talkative Sumo wrestlers in (5). Also note the overt appearance of "kanojo" in (4). It was introduced in the previous discourse, and so could be ellipsed, but it can not be ellipsed here because it is contrasted to 'boku'.

The 1st person pronoun frequently appears when the speaker is offering his opinion. This may be regarded as a kind of contrast. The speaker states his opinion, thinking of it as a contrast to other people's opinions.

(6) ?(Boku)\(^1\) wa motomoto ipputasaisei ga
I TOP basically polygamy SUB
ii to omotteru
good that think have been
"I've been thinking that polygamy is basically good."

**Subject Clitics**

Anaphoric NP is obligatorily repeated when a particle carrying some meaning is attached to it.

(7) I
Ikeda san ni atta no
met
*(Ano hito) mo kuru tte itte ta wa
that person also come that said
"I met Mr Ikeda. He said he was also coming."

The particle -mo which means 'also' causes the appearance of 'ano hito', which normally undergoes ellipsis. '-datte' in (8) and '-nanka' in (9) have the same function.

---

\(^1\) ?(NP) indicates that the ellipsis results in an awkward utterance.
(8) *(Ore) datte otoko daze
I even man BE
"Lit. Even I am a man." (I'm also a man.)

(9) *(Watashi) nanka moo dame dawa
I such already hopeless BE
"(Such a person as) me is already hopeless."

4] Overt reference is made to avoid ambiguity.

(10) Yamada to Nihon-ryōriya ni itta yo
" with Japanese restaurant to went
Ø hisashiburini sushi o tabeta
after long break OBJ ate
"I went to a Japanese restaurant with Yamada.

{ I
We}
{?He
ate sushi for the first time in ages."

(11) Speaker A: Yamada ga kita yo
" SUB came
"Yamada came around."

Speaker B: Ø mata nonda deshoo
again drank I guess
"I guess{ he
you (inclusive) }
drank again"
{ you (exclusive) }

In both (10) and (11) the structure itself does not indicate
the unique referent for the ellipsed subject. In (10) the person who
ate sushi could be only the speaker 'I' or both the speaker and Yamada.
In (11) the person(s) who drank again (so the speaker guessed) may be
only the addressee, Yamada, or both of them. The reason why the
interpretation of 'he' in (10) is awkward seems to lie in the fact that
the referent of 'he' was not introduced as a subject in the 1st sentence.
Contrast this to the case of (11).

Anyway in such ambiguous situations, if the speaker wants to
make a statement or ask a question about a specific person, he has to
make an overt reference to avoid ambiguity. Thus, the ambiguity in
(10) can be removed as in (10)'and in (11) as in (11)'.

(10)' Yamada to Nihon ryōriya ni itta yo
with Japanese restaurant to went
Ore hisashiburini Sushi o tabeta
I after long break " OBJ ate
"(I) went to a Japanese restaurant with Yamada. I ate sushi for the first time in ages."

(11)' Speaker A: Yamada ga kita yo
" SUB came
"Yamada come around."
Speaker B: Ano hito mata nonda deshoo
that person again drank I guess
"I guess he drank again."

Pragmatic knowledge, of course, contributes to the identification of the referent for ellipsis. For instance in (11)', if Speaker B knows that Speaker A does not drink and that Yamada drinks a lot, the overt reference, 'ano hito' may be ellipsed. Thus ellipsis occurs more frequently if the speaker and the addressee are intimate.
CHAPTER III PHENOMENA OF SUBJECT ELLIPSIS

III - 1] Subject ellipsis with 1st and 2nd person reference

As one of the features of Japanese, Kuno says:

"The 1st and 2nd person pronouns are rather freely deleted because they are readily recoverable from discourse context." (Kuno 1978)

However, Kuno does not mention how pragmatic and grammatical contexts contribute to recoverability of deleted 1st and 2nd person pronouns; that is, how one can distinguish between them.

Martin describes the same phenomena in slightly more detail:

"Other things being equal, a personal question with the subject omitted probably refers to 'you', a subject omitted from a statement is often 'I'." (Martin 1975)

As the words 'probably' and 'often' indicate, this is a generalisation, but Martin does not present any empirical data to support his statement. I examined 500 sentences with 1st and 2nd person subject, both elliptical and non-elliptical, from tape recordings of my own conversations with a close friend. The following is the distribution I found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Declaratives</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overt subject</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ellipsed subject</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overt subject</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ellipsed subject</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that there are more sentences with ellipsed subject than with overt subject in all four categories (Declarative with 1st person subject, and with 2nd person subject, and questions with 1st person subject and 2nd person subject). Also note that regardless of whether subjects are overt or ellipsed, in declaratives, 2nd person subjects (48 sentences) are far less frequent than 1st person subjects (385 sentences). In questions, on the other hand, the contrast is even more dramatic. Questions with 1st person subjects of any kind, overt or ellipsed, are so rare (only 5 sentences), as to be special. Indeed special circumstances have to be present for such a question to be possible. I will present examples later. (§ 15, (14) and (15))

The above data yielded the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occurrence of</th>
<th>declarative</th>
<th>questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject ellipsis</td>
<td>80.8%</td>
<td>85.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overt subject</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among sentences with ellipsis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person reference</th>
<th>declarative</th>
<th>questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89.7%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person reference</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>94.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Martin noted, there is indeed a strong tendency for ellipsis in declaratives to have the 1st person reference (89.7%) and ellipsis in questions to have the 2nd person reference (94.7%).

Why do we find such a tendency? And how can we account for the exceptional cases? An examination of these questions will clarify the nature of ellipsis with 1st and 2nd person reference.

I claim that the tendency arises from the following two hypotheses:

[1] A person normally has more information than others have about himself.

[2] The main function of declaratives is information giving whilst that of questions is information seeking.
These hypotheses would explain why we find that declaratives usually have 1st person subjects and questions mostly have 2nd person subjects. It follows too that whenever subject ellipsis occurs, the same interpretation usually applies.

For instance, one does not usually seek information about oneself, and hence the following question sentences with the interpretation of 1st person subject would normally sound awkward.

(1) \( \emptyset \text{kinoo daigaku ni ikimashita ka?} \)
    "? Did (I) go to university yesterday?"

(2) \( \emptyset \text{nihon-jin desu ka?} \)
    "? Am (I) Japanese?"

On the other hand, one does not usually have information about the addressee which the addressee would normally already know. Thus the following declarative sentences usually sound inappropriate with the interpretation of the 2nd person subject.

(3) \( \emptyset \text{kinoo daigaku ni ikimashita} \)
    "? (You) went to university yesterday."

(4) \( \emptyset \text{nihon-jin desu} \)
    "?(You) are Japanese."

(1), (2) and (3), (4) are more naturally interpreted with the 2nd person and the 1st person subjects respectively.

There are certain sorts of information to which only one participant in the conversation has access. A person's individual feelings fall into this category, and thus, in expressions of physiological, emotional or mental state, the only possible subject in information giving sentences is the 1st person and in information seeking sentences the 2nd person. This is seen in the following examples:
Expressions of physiological state

(5) { Watashi} wa tsukaremashita
    *Anata } TOP tired
    *Kare }

" { I
    *you
    *he }
am tired."

(6) { Watashi} wa moo nemui desu
    *Anata } TOP already sleepy be
    *Kare }

" { I
    *you
    *he }
am already sleepy."

(7) { Anata } wa nemui desu ka
    *Watashi } TOP sleepy be
    *Kare }

"Are { you
    *I
    *he } sleepy?"

Expressions of emotional state

(8) { Watashi} wa Nihon ni kaeritai desu
    *Anata } TOP Japan to return want
    *Kare }

" { I
    *you
    *he }
want to return to Japan."

(9) { Watashi } wa ureshii desu
    *Anata } TOP happy be
    *Kare }

" { I
    *you
    *he }
am happy."

(10) { Anata } wa ureshii desu ka?
    *Watashi } TOP happy be
    *Kare }

"Are { you
    *I
    *he } happy?"

However, in a novel, for instance, it is possible to have the 3rd person subject even in expressions of inner state because the author can always empathize with a character.
Expressions of mental state

(11) \{ \begin{align*} & \text{Watashi, wa oosutoraria-jin wa shinjetsu da to omou} \\ & \text{Anata} \text{ TOP Australian} \quad \text{Kare} \text{ TOP kind} \quad \text{be that think} \\ & \text{I \quad \text{think that Australian are kind.}} \\ & \text{you \quad \text{I}} \\ & \text{he} \end{align*} \}

(12) \{ \begin{align*} & \text{Anata} \text{ wa Nihon-go wa muzukashii to omoimasu ka?} \\ & \text{Watashi} \text{ TOP Japanese TOP difficult that think} \\ & \text{Kare} \text{ } \quad \end{align*} \}

"Do \{ \begin{align*} & \text{you \quad \text{think Japanese is difficult?}} \\ & \text{I \quad \text{I}} \\ & \text{he} \end{align*} \}

Thus verbs or adjectives which express a person's inner state hold co-occurrence restrictions to the subject. In other words, overtly expressed subjects in these expressions are redundant information (since verbs and adjectives can indicate them) and they are actually ellipsed frequently. Especially emotive utterances such as the following (13) are more natural with ellipsis than with overt subjects.

(13) Aa \quad \emptyset \text{ tsukareta} \\ Oh. \text{ tired} 

"Oh. (I) am tired."

The fact that these verbs and adjectives of inner state can have only the 1st person subject in information giving sentences and the 2nd person subject in information seeking sentences and that these subjects are frequently ellipsed, undoubtedly contributes to the strong tendency observed earlier; ellipsis in declaratives has the 1st person reference and that in questions has the 2nd person reference.

Later in Chapter IV-2 I will show how these expressions of inner state contribute to the identification of the referent for ellipsed subject as well.

I have examined cases which contribute to the strong tendency of ellipsed subjects in declaratives to refer to the 1st person and
those in questions to refer to the 2nd person. I will now examine the cases which run counter to this tendency. These are the cases (1) which are exceptions to hypothesis [1] (P11); A person normally has more information than others about himself. (2) which are exceptions to hypothesis [II]; The main function of declaratives is information giving and that of questions is information seeking.

(1) Exceptions to hypothesis [1]

The following (14) and (15) are cases in which the speaker does not possess the information about himself and considers that the addressee does know it, so that the ellipsed subjects are the 1st person even in question sentences.

(14) ...A student is asking his teacher about the result of an examination he took.

Ø ukarimashita ka
passed ?

"Did (I) pass?"

(15) ...A forgetful husband is asking his wife

kyonen no tanjoobi wa Ø nani o agetakke?
last year's birthday TOP what OBJ gave

"What did (I) give you for your birthday last year?"

On the other hand, the following (16) is a case where the speaker possesses information about the addressee and considers that the addressee does not know it.

(16) ...A doctor has diagnosed his patient and says

Ø moochoo o kojirasemashita
appendicitis OBJ aggravated

"(You) have aggravated appendicitis."

Here the ellipsed subject is the 2nd person even in a declarative sentence.
Exceptions to hypothesis [II]

Declaratives and questions are not always used for information giving and information seeking functions. They may be used for other functions such as sarcasm, reprimands, showing sympathy, etc.

For instance, the following English declaratives and questions are not used for information giving or seeking but for showing sympathy in (19), for reprimanding in (20), as sarcasm in (21), and as a reproach in (22).

(19) Talking to a friend who has been working too hard and looks depressed.

"You are tired."

(20) An angry wife saying to her husband who has come home inebriated.

"You drank again."

(21) Saying to somebody who has been talking big all the time.

"I thought you knew everything."

(22) In an angry tone of voice ...

"Why did you deceive me!"

As might be expected, these sentences occur in Japanese as follows:

(19)' ō tsukareta no ne
tired

"(You) are tired."

(20)' ō mata nonda wa ne
again drank

"(You) drank again!"
(21)' Ø anata wa nandemo shitteru to omottetawa
you TOP anything know that thought
"(I) thought you knew anything."

(22)' Ø dooshite watashi o damashita no!
why I OBJ deceived
"Why did (you) deceive me!"

The declarative (21)' and the question (22)' are not used for information giving and information seeking respectively but they still conform to the general tendency; a declarative and a question with subject ellipsis has the 1st person and the 2nd person reference respectively.

However, sentences (19)' and (20)' present interesting phenomena. They look like declaratives but both show a sentence-ending particle, ne. In examining the conversations I collected, I noticed that many of the sentences with 2nd person subjects (both elliptical and non-elliptical) which are used for neither information giving nor information seeking, have endings with ne, deshoo (could be daroo by male speakers), or janai (janaika by male speakers).

For example.

To initiate a conversation

(23) Ø konogora ironna koto yatte-irasshaimasu ne
nowadays various thing doing
"(You) are doing various things nowadays."

To seek confirmation

(24) Ø mukashi wa engeki yatterashita deshoo
before TOP acting doing PST
"(You) were previously an actor."

1 31 (25 elliptical and 6 non-elliptical) out of 48 sentences.
2 PST is an abbreviation for past tense.
(25) To voice an objection

\[
\text{"(} \text{TOP already have kimonow} \text{ a m oo motteru}\text{ janai)"
\]
(Japanese costume)

"(You) have a kimono already."

Ne is explained by Ueno as follows:

"Ne is a particle of rapport. Its semantic value with a declarative sentence is somewhat like that of the tag of English tag questions. Using the particle, ne, the speaker expects to get the addressee's response agreeing with the speaker's supposition as to the given statement. It implies that the option of judgement on the given information is left to the addressee. As a result, it gives the effect of softening." (Ueno 1972)

For instance (26a) is a more softened expression than (26b) though both may be used by an angry wife reprimanding her husband.

(26a) \[
\text{"(} \text{TOP again drank ne)"
\]
"(You) drank again."

(26b) \[
\text{"(} \text{TOP again drank ne)"
\]
"(You) drank again!!"

'Deshoo' or 'daroo' for male speakers are explained by Soga and Matsumoto as follows:

"Sharply rising intonation at the end indicates a tag question, used when the speaker wishes to confirm what he has just stated and which he believes to be true ... If falling intonation is used, it simply means 'probably'" (Soga and Matsumoto 1978)

However, we can find an example which does not mean 'probably' even with falling intonation.

(27) A mother talking to her daughter who is teasing her for a new kimono (Japanese costume)

\[
\text{"(I know you) have a kimono already."}
\]
'Janai' or 'janaika' for male speakers, are short forms of 'ja nai desuka' (Lit. isn't it the case...). As the question marker, ka and a negative morpheme, nai indicate, it is a form of negative question though it is frequently used for functions other than information seeking. For instance:

(28) A mother saying to her son who is going out

Ø konogoro benkyoo shiteinai janai
nowadays studying not

"(You) are not studying nowadays."

In general we can say that the morphemes, 'ne' 'deshoo' or 'janai' are used to make sentences less assertive, either because the speaker is not certain about the truth of the proposition or because the speaker wants to avoid a too aggressive statement about the addressee, even though he is certain of the truth of the proposition.

Also, it seems that the degree to which the speaker expects a response from the addressee is related to the intonation placed upon utterances. Contrast the following:

(29) a. nonda deshoo ↑

"I guess you drank, right?"

b. nonda deshoo ↓

"I guess/you drank."

Having a rising intonation, the utterance (a) has more of an information seeking function. In other words, the speaker wants the addressee to give a reply whatever it is. This may be called confirmation seeking. The utterance (b), with a falling intonation, on the other hand, is more in the nature of information giving. That is, the speaker is providing information that "I know (can guess) you drank."
As I mentioned earlier, these utterances may function as reprimands depending on the context and tone of the voice, but one with falling intonation is definitely a stronger expression than one with rising intonation because the former does not invite the addressee to reply. Needless to say, the sentence without deshoo as (29c) is even stronger than (29b) with falling intonation.

(29) a. nonda deshoo
    b. nonda deshoo more strong as a reprimand
    c. nonda
        "(you) drank."

Since non-informative declarative sentences with the 2nd person subject, which lack in morphemes such as ne, deshoo, janai, such as (29c) are very strong expressions, they seem to be used only for reprimands, sarcasm and the sort. Normally Japanese tend to avoid too assertive statements about the addressee unless for purely information providing functions.

Having examined non informative uses of declaratives and questions, I would like to summarize my findings to this point.

We have seen that there is a strong tendency for ellipsed subjects in declaratives to refer to the first person and those in questions to refer to the second person, and this is due to communicative functions of the respective sentence types. (Declaratives are mainly used for information giving and questions for information seeking.) However, we saw cases in which declaratives and questions are used for other functions. Thus the determining factor is not so much sentence types as functions of sentences. Hence I will restate the phenomena of subject ellipsis as follows:

In information giving sentences the ellipsed subject has a strong tendency to refer to the first person. In information seeking sentences the ellipsed subject is likely to refer to the
second person.

III-2] Subject ellipsis with third person reference

Unlike the subject ellipsis with the first and second person reference, subject ellipsis with third person reference can occur with equal facility in either information giving or information seeking sentences. The primary conditions for it to occur are:

[1] that the referent is a discourse topic usually introduced in the previous part of the discourse; and

[2] that its status as the topic is unambiguous; that is that there is no other referent which could also be taken to be the discourse topic.

Look at the following dialogue in which the topic "Mr Yamada" is introduced in the first utterance of A and serves as the referent for ellipsis occurring in the succeeding utterances of both A and B, regardless of whether the sentence is information giving, as in A's utterance, or information seeking, as in B's utterance.

(1) Speaker A: Kinoo hisashiburini Yamada ga kita yo. "Yesterday Yamada came"

Speaker B: Ø genki datta kai? "Was (he) well?"

Speaker A: Iya Ø ikkagetsu hodo byooki datta rashi. "No. I hear (he) had been sick for about a month."

Sentences with third person reference are free from the asymmetry involving information giving and information seeking sentences for the following reasons.

Information giving sentences freely and more naturally occur with third person reference than with second person reference, because the cases where the speaker considers that the addressee
does not know about some third person are more common than those cases where the speaker considers that the addressee does not possess information about himself (the addressee).

The same applies to information seeking sentences. They occur freely and more naturally with the third person reference than with second person reference because the cases where the speaker does not know about some third person and seeks information about him are more common than the cases where the speaker does not have and seeks information about himself.

The phenomenon where an NP introduced in the previous discourse undergoes ellipsis is found in other languages in a similar way. For instance Dixon points out a discourse cohesion which he calls 'topic chaining' in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972).

If a number of consecutive sentences in such a sequence have a common NP with common referent, they will form a topic chain.... The common NP may only be stated once at the beginning of the topic chain.

In the case of Dyirbal, however, there is a restriction that the topic NP has to be in a particular case, absolutive case, to refer to the same central entity through topic chains. There is no such restriction for Japanese discourse topic NPs. The following dialogue (2) shows a case where the discourse topic is introduced in the accusative case and ellipsed in the nominative case in the succeeding utterance.

(2) Speaker A: Yamada o mikaketa yo
  OBJ saw
  " I saw Yamada".

Speaker B: Ø Tanaka to issho datta ka?
  with together be
  "Was (he) with Tanaka?"

The following is a case where the topic is introduced in the oblique case and ellipsed in the dative case.
(3) Speaker A: Kyoo Tomoko-san to dekakaru no
today "         with go out
"I am going out with Tomoko today."

Speaker B: A soo. jaa kore Ø watashite
really then this obj hand over
"Really? Then hand this over (to her)"

Thus at this stage, it seems possible to say that any NP
which has been introduced in the previous discourse, that is any NP
which has become old information, can be a discourse topic and can
be ellipsed from the second utterance as long as topic change does not
occur.
CHAPTER IV

Subject cooccurrence restrictions as clues to the interpretation of ellipsis

In the previous chapter, we saw that ellipsis in information giving sentences is likely to have 1st person reference and that in information seeking sentences is likely to have 2nd person reference. We saw also that ellipsis with 3rd person reference occurs frequently in both information giving and information seeking sentences.

These facts consequently lead to situations where there are two likely candidates for the referent for subject ellipsis, both in information giving and information seeking sentences. They are 1st person and 3rd person in information giving sentences and 2nd person and 3rd person in information seeking sentences.

Pragmatic knowledge, of course contributes to the identification of the correct referent. Observe the following dialogue.

(1) Speaker A: Sasaki ni atta yo " to met
"(I) met Sasaki."

Speaker B: Mata issho ni nomi ni ittano ka? Again together drink to went ?
"Did(you) go drinking together again?"
"No I didn't."

Speaker B: Dooshite? Г Okusan to issho datta no ka? Why Wife with be Pst ?

"Why? 
(Were you)  with  (your wife)
(Was he)  with  (his wife)?"

If we hear this dialogue without any knowledge of Speaker or of Sasaki's marital status. We find it hard to identify the referent for ellipsis in B's 2nd question. However the dialogue will be carried on without ambiguity when Speaker B knows that Speaker A is single and Sasaki is married, because 'okusan' then cannot be A's wife. Consequently the referent for the ellipsed subject, who was with his wife, has to be Sasaki.

However, there are cases in which pragmatic knowledge alone does not indicate the correct referent. Look at the following example.

(2) Speaker A: Yamada to resutoran ni itta yo " with restaurant to went

"(I) went to a restaurant with Yamada."

Speaker B: Г ogotte-kureta ka? treat give a favour

"Did (?) give a treat?"

The candidates for the referent for ellipsis in B's question are the 2nd person, Speaker A and the 3rd person, Yamada. When pragmatic knowledge does not indicate naturally which one should treat the other and the subject is ellipsed, there should be another clue. In (2) the clue is an auxiliary verb, '-kureta' found in B's question. '-kureta' literally means 'gave a favour of doing.....' but the subject cooccurrence restriction involved
in the semantics of this auxiliary verb contributes to the interpretation of the ellipsed subject as 'Yamada' and not 'you'. Hence B's question is to be interpreted as "Did he treat you?" I will present a detailed examination of this auxiliary verb in IV-3."

The rest of this chapter examines some pragmatic and semantic properties which hold subject cooccurrence restrictions and hence contribute to the interpretation of ellipsed subjects.

IV-1] Exaltation Expressions¹

Japanese is well known for the existence of its elaborate system of exaltation expressions. Kusanagi explains the use of exaltation expressions as follows.

"The speaker determines the 'psychological distance' among the listener, the topic and himself and chooses honorific expressions appropriate to that psychological distance in accordance with the 'tacit rules' constrained by Japanese social structure" [1976].

There are various factors which create psychological distance, and consequently lead to the use of exaltation expressions.

[¹] Relative social status. This is determined by superiority (occupational rank as well as kinship relationship), seniority (age as well as years of service), financial status, type of profession and sex.

A speaker is expected to use exaltation expressions in talking to or about the people of higher social status than himself.

---

¹ In this section, I will focus only on 'Subject Exaltation' in Martin's term. (1975)
[2] **Intimacy of the relationship.**

A speaker will use exaltation expressions when talking to or about a stranger or someone he does not know very well. However, in disputes a speaker may use exaltation expressions even to those he knows very well in order to create 'psychological distance' temporarily from somebody with whom he is quarrelling.

[3] **Conversational situations.**

Exaltation expressions are used in formal situations.

Being determined by the above factors, exaltation expressions are typically constructed as the underlined part of the following sentence shows.

(3) Sensei wa moo okaeri ni natta

"The teacher has already returned."

Contrast (3) with its neutral counterpart (3)'.

(3)' Yamada wa moo kaetta

"Yamada has already returned."

In adjectival expressions, only an honorific prefix is attached, as follows:

(4) Sensei wa mada owakai

"The teacher is still young."

(4)' Yamada wa mada wakai

"Yamada is still young."
These exaltation expressions such as (3) and (4) hold a subject cooccurrence restriction in which the subject cannot be the 1st person because a person is not supposed to exalt himself. Exaltation constructions a), of the following sentences are unacceptable for this reason.

Neutral expressions, b), have to be used instead.

(5) Watashi wa moo \( \langle a \rangle^* \text{okaeri ni natta} \)
    I top already \( \langle b \rangle \text{kaetta} \)
    returned

"I have already returned."

(6) Watashi wa mada \( \langle a \rangle^* \text{wakai} \)
    top still \( \langle b \rangle \text{wakai} \)
    young

"I am still young."

This subject cooccurrence restriction involved in exaltation expressions provides clues to the interpretation of ellipsed subjects. Observe the following dialogue in which both the 1st and 3rd person (Yamada) are the possible referent for the ellipsed subject.

(7) Sensei to party ni itta
    teacher with " to went

"(I) went to a party with the teacher."

Demo \( \emptyset \) sugu okaeri ni natta
but soon returned

"But \( \langle *I \rangle \) went home soon."

As I indicated in (5), the subject of the exaltation expression, 'o...ni natta' cannot be the 1st person, so the referent for the ellipsed subject in (7) is
restricted to the other candidate, 'the teacher.'

Also in adjectival sentences, as (8), it is easy to identify the correct referent for the ellipsed subject in the same way.

(8) Sensei to disco ni itta yo
    teacher with " to went

    "I went to a disco with the teacher."

    ø mada owakai n desu yo
        still young be

    "(He ) is still young."

We have seen that exaltation expressions cannot have the 1st person subject and this restriction becomes a clue to the interpretation of ellipsed subjects. However, a problem arises when we note that exaltation expressions may be used not only for the 3rd person as in (9) but for the 2nd person as in (10).

(9) Sensei wa itsu okaeri ni nari-masu ka?
    teacher top when return -POL 1 ?

    "When will the teacher return?"

(10) Anata wa itsu okaeri ni nari-masu ka?
    You top when return -POL ?

    "When will you return?"

This leads to situations where it is hard to interpret the ellipsed subject from the form alone when the two candidates for the referent are 2nd and 3rd persons, as in the following example.

\footnote{-masu indicates polite style, which is to be distinguished from exaltation forms. The former is used when the speaker is expected to show politeness to the addressee.}
(11) Speaker A: Morita-san to Garden Party ni ikimashita. " with " to went

"(I) went to a Garden Party with Mr. Morita."

Speaker B: Donna kakkoo de irasshaimashita? In what style in went [EXALT]?

"In what style did (?) go?"

In such a case as (11), the speaker makes a judgment as to which one (2nd or 3rd person) to exalt depending on the relative status between the speaker and the 2nd person or the speaker and the 3rd person.

When the speaker judges that the relative status between him and the 3rd person is not much different from that between him and the 2nd person, as the following diagram shows.

```
    3rd  2nd
     ^     \
    Speaker
```

exaltation expressions are used for the 2nd person rather than the 3rd person, priority being given to the one who is present in the conversational situation, that is to the addressee.

Supposing (11) is a dialogue in such a situation, the ellipsed subject in B's question is interpreted as 'you' rather than 'Mr. Morita' who is not present in the conversational situation.

On the other hand, when the speaker judges that the status difference between him and 3rd person is much greater than that between him and 2nd person, as the following diagram shows,

```
  2nd  3rd
     ^     \
    Speaker
```

exaltation expressions are used for the 2nd person rather than the 3rd person, priority being given to the one who is present in the conversational situation, that is to the addressee.

2 'irasshaimashita' is an euphemistic form (Martin's term) of subject exaltation, meaning went/came.
exaltation expressions are used for the 3rd person even if the 3rd person is not present in the conversational situation. Thus in the following dialogue in which two students are conversing and the 3rd person is the teacher, Morita, the ellipsed subject in B's question is understood to be the teacher Morita.

(12) Speaker A: Morita-Sensei to Garden Party ni ikimashita
   teacher with " to went
   "I went to a Garden Party with the teacher, Morita."

Speaker B: Donna kakkoo de irasshaimashita ka? What style in went [EXALT]
   "In what style did (he) go."

IV-2] Expressions of inner state : Subjective vs objective expressions

I have already showed in pp. 13 - 14 that expressions of inner state, such as physiological, emotional and mental states, can only be described by the experiencer in information giving sentences. In other words, verbs or adjectives which describe these states hold the subject cooccurrence restrictions that they take only the 1st person subject in information giving sentences and only the 2nd person subject in information seeking sentences.

Consequently this cooccurrence restriction to the subject contributes to the identification of the referent for ellipsed subjects. Look at the following example.
The morpheme '-ir-' attached to the verb 'omou' in (14) is an aspectual marker. It describes aspects of verbs depending on the semantic properties of verbs as follows.

- durative verb
  
  yom-u → yonde-ir-u  
  read NON-PST  reading  [progressive]

- momentary verb
  
  ker-u → kette-ir-u  
  kick  kicking  [iteration]
-terminative verb

kir-u → kite-ir-u
put on (clothings) wearing [termination]

-inceptive verb

hajimar-u → hajimatte-ir-u
start has started [inception]

Then why does this morpheme, '-ir-' enable the subject of 'omou' to be the 3rd person?

The aspectual functions which I presented above have in common that they are all descriptions of some state which is objectively observable.

In the same way, the morpheme, '-ir-' is functioning to convert a state, 'omou' to an objectively observable one, when it is otherwise not observable by non-experiencers. Therefore "Kanojo wa omotte-iru" for instance, actually means not simply "She thinks......" but "I got information that she thinks.... (because she said.....or she behaved that way etc.)"

Another possible reason is that '-ir-', being attached to 'omou' indicates lapse of time between the point at which the speaker acquired information about what she thinks (by actually hearing her saying so, etc.) and the point of time of the speaker's utterance. Thus 'omotte-iru' could be more accurately translated as "(She) has been thinking........".

Other expressions of inner state also become possible even with 3rd person subjects if the morpheme '-ir-' is attached as follows:
There are some other ways of converting expressions of inner state, in other words, subjective expressions to objectively observable ones.

'-gar-' makes the sentence acceptable, which it would not be otherwise, because of the adjective of inner state 'kowai' (be frightened.) Literally translating,

'-gar-' means 'to show a sign of....' hence the literal translation of (16) is "If you say such a thing, she will show a sign of being frightened."

This morpheme can be attached to other adjectival expressions of inner state as follows.

This is a statement with future reference. The morpheme we examined earlier, '-ir-' is further attached to describe the present state as follows.
(18) Kanojo wa sabishi-gatte-iru
She top lonely show a sign of......

"Lit. She is showing a sign of being lonely."
(She is lonely.)

Returning to elliptical sentences, the absence or presence of this morpheme '-gar-' provides clues to the identification of the referent for subject ellipsis as follows.

(19) Emiko to Hitchcock no eiga ni ikimashita
" with 's movie to went

"I went to a Hitchcock movie with Emiko."

Demo { a) Ø Kowakute }nakidashite shimaimashita
but { b) Ø Kowa-gatte) cry started
frightened and

"But { a) (I) was frightened} and
{ b) (She) " } started to cry."

ureshii vz yorokobu The adjective, 'ureshii' (happy) is an interesting example because it has a verbal counterpart, 'yorokobu' for its objectively observable expression. Contrast the following:

(20) { Watashi\} wa ureshikatta
 *Kare Top happy PST.

"{ I } was happy."

(21) { Watashi\} wa yorokon-da
 *Kare top happy

{ ? I } was happy.

1 "Watashi wa yorokon-da" may be acceptable as the speaker expresses his feeling objectively rather than subjectively, which can occur in recollecting a past incident.
The referent of subject ellipsis with these words is thereafter uniquely identifiable.

(22) Haha to nyuushi no kekka o mini itta
Mother with entrance exam. of result obj see went

"I went to see the result of the entrance exam."

Gookaku to wakatte { a) ☯ totemo ureshikatta }
pass that found { b) ☯ totemo yorokonda yo }
very happy PST.

"We found it to be pass and
{ a) (I) was very happy.)"
{ b) (She) was very happy.)

Hara ga tatsu vz Hara o tateru.

"Hara ga tatsu (lit. stomach stands up) is a compound meaning "to be angry". This is an interesting example in the sense that a part of the compound, 'tatsu' is an intransitive verb meaning 'stand up' and the whole compound becomes a subjective expression, 'to be angry'. If the verb 'tatsu' is changed to its transitive counterpart, 'tateru' (make something stand up) the whole compound, 'Hara o tateru' now becomes an objectively observable expression. Thus the following subject cooccurrence restrictions apply.

(23) {Watashi} wa hara ga tatta
*Kare Top angry [Vj] PST

" { I } was angry."
{He}

(24) {Watashi} wa hara o tateta
*Kare Top angry [Vt] PST

" { I } was angry."
{He}

1 'Watashi wa hara o tateta' is an objective expression of the speaker's own feeling.
Consequently this subject cooccurrence restriction as seen in (23) provides a clue to the interpretation of ellipsed subject.

(25) Yamada to machiawaseta ga 0 1 jikan mo okurete
with had an appointment but 0 1 hour late
 to meet

0 hara ga tatta
angry [Vi] PST

"I had an appointment to meet Yamada but (he) was an
hour late and
{ I } was angry."
{he.}

The person who was angry has to be the speaker because of the use of subjective expression, 'hara ga tatta'. Hence pragmatic knowledge tells us that the person who was late for the appointment was Yamada.

I will now summarize the contrast between subjective expressions (describable only by the experiencer) and objective expressions (describable by non-experiencers) using not only those I introduced earlier but also some others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives of inner state</th>
<th>Subjective expressions</th>
<th>Objective expressions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>[Watashi]</em> wa sabishii</td>
<td>Kare wa he Top sabishigaru*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>[Kare]</em> Top lonely</td>
<td>&quot;He shows a sign of being lonely.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I * am lonely.&quot;</td>
<td>sabishii-soo-da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{<em>He</em>}</td>
<td>&quot;He looks lonely.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sabishii-soo-da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I hear he is lonely.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sabishii-rashii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;He seems lonely.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sabishii-no-da*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It is the case that he is lonely.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sabishii deshoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I guess he is lonely.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sabishii yooda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;He looks lonely.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Subjective expressions & Objective expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs of inner state</th>
<th>Subjective expressions</th>
<th>Objective expressions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watashi wa emou</td>
<td>Kare wa omo-te-ru *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I think.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;He think. has been thinking.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Kare Top think</td>
<td>*He, Top omo-te-ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*He,</td>
<td>&quot;I hear he thinks.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*-soo-da omo-te-ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I seem to have been thinking.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*-rashii omo-te-ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It is the case that he has been thinking.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*-no-da omo-te-ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I guess he has been thinking.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*yo-oo-da omo-te-ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;He looks to have been thinking.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Verbs of inner state can be used in subjective expressions, while objective expressions can take both 3rd person and 1st person subjects. Some objective expressions are marked with * (-gar-, -ir-, no da), indicating the speaker's own state. The subjective expressions can take only the 1st person subject in information giving sentences and the 2nd person subject in information seeking sentences.

Some of the objective expressions can take not only the 3rd person subject but the 1st person subject as well, and these are marked with *(-gar-, -ir-, no da). They are used when the speaker wants to describe his own state objectively. For instance, Ooe (1975) says the following sentence (26) is possible when
The speaker divides himself into two persons, the self in the present and the self in past, and the present self looks at the past self objectively.

(26) Tooji boku wa hidoku sabishi-gatte ita

"At that time I used to be very lonely."

As we saw earlier, these subject cooccurrence restrictions found in subjective or objective expressions contribute to the interpretation of ellipsed subjects.

IV-3] Verbs, 'yaru' and 'kureru'.

The verbs, 'yaru' and 'kureru', which are equivalent of one English verb, 'to give', hold the restrictions that 'yaru' take the 1st person subject and 'kureru' take the 1st person dative object.

(27) Watashi wa Mary ni hana o *yat-ta kure-ta*

"I gave flowers to Mary"

(28) Mary wa watashi ni hana o *yat-ta kure-ta*

"Mary gave me flowers."

Thus the semantics of these verbs may be best expressed as follows:

yaru ' (I) give.........'

kureru ' ....give (me)'

These deictic properties involved in the semantics of the verbs therefore contribute to the identification of the correct referent for subject ellipsis, as in the following example.
"I got to know a student who is doing Linguistics."

"I gave him an old textbook."

In a) the use of 'yatta', which implies its subject to be the 1st person, automatically determines the referent of subject ellipsis to be the speaker. In b), 'kureta', which implies its dative object to be the 1st person, indicates that the ellipsed subject does not refer to the speaker, and so has to refer to the other candidate, the student the speaker got to know.

What happens, then, when the 1st person is not involved and cannot be a candidate for ellipsed subject, as in the next example?

"I spent Christmas with John."

"For a present what did (you) give him?"

Native speakers unanimously identify the referent of subject ellipsis in a) to be the 2nd person, 'you' and that of b) to be the 3rd person, John.

This can be explained by the phenomenon of the speaker identifying himself with the addressee. This phenomenon is pointed
out by several scholars. For instance, Kuno terms this as 'empathy.'\(^1\)

Soga employs a term 'shift of viewpoint'.\(^2\)

Thus when the speaker himself is not involved in the situation as in (30), the shift of viewpoint from the speaker to the addressee occurs and the verb 'yatta' is used to refer to the 2nd person's action. As for 'kureta', it is used to indicate that the dative object is the 2nd person.

Consequently, a) yatta no? in B's question of (30) indicates its ellipsed subject to be the 2nd person. b) kureta no?, on the other hand, indicates its dative object to be the 2nd person, hence the ellipsed subject has to refer to the other person involved, that is John.

It is well known that the shift of viewpoint from the speaker to a 3rd person who is very closely related to the speaker (for instance, a member of his family), easily occurs. 'Watashi' in (27) (28) we saw earlier (P. 39) can be replaced by 'imooto' (younger sister), as follows.

(27)' Imooto wa Mary ni hana o yatta
My younger sister " to flowers gave
Top OBJ

"My younger sister gave flowers to Mary."

(28)' Mary wa imooto ni hana o kureta
" Top my younger to OBJ gave
sister flowers

"Mary gave flowers to my younger sister."

---

2 Soga 1976-77.
However the following example would show that the shift of the speaker's viewpoint to the 2nd person is more powerful than the shift to a 3rd person who is closely related to the speaker.

(31) Speaker A: Imooto-san ni atta wa your sister with met
"I met your sister."

Speaker B: Ø ano rekoodo o {a) yatta? } that record OBJ {b) kureta?} gave

"Did {a) (you) give (her) that record?} "
{b) (she) give (you) " ?"

To sum up, the verbs, 'yaru' and 'kureru' contribute to the identification of the referent of subject ellipsis as the following formula shows.

-When the 1st and 3rd person are possible candidates for the ellipsed subject, 'yaru' indicates it to be the 1st person 'kureru " " " " " " the 3rd person

-When the 2nd and 3rd person are possible candidates for the ellipsed subject, the shift of viewpoint from the speaker to the addressee occurs hence, 'yaru' indicates the ellipsed subject to be the 2nd person 'kureru" " " " " " the 3rd person

These verbs of giving 'yaru' and 'kureru' are used not only as independent verbs but as auxiliary verbs which mean "to give a favour of doing...."
For instance,

(32) Watashi wa Mary ni ogotte-yatta
I Top " to treat gave

"Lit. I gave Mary a favour of treating (her)."
(I gave Mary a treat.)

(33) Mary wa watashi ni ogotte-kureta

"Lit. Mary gave me a favour of treating (me)."
(Mary gave me a treat.)

These auxiliary verbs, '-yaru' and '-kureru' contribute to the identification of the referent of subject ellipsis in the same way as the main verbs.

(34) Kinoo John to nomi ni itta yo
yesterday " with drink to went

"I went to drink with John yesterday."

Hisashiburi ni Ø { a) ogotte-yatta-yo }
after a long time { b) ogotte-kureta-yo }
treat gave a favour

For the first { a) (I) gave a treat. }
time in ages, { b) (he) gave a treat. }

a) '-yatta' indicates its ellipsed subject to be the 1st person and b) '-kureta' indicates its ellipsed subject to be the 3rd person, John.

(35) Speaker A: Kinoo Helen ga kite ne
Yesterday " SUB came

"Yesterday Helen came around."

Speaker B: Mata Ø shukudai { a) tetsudatte-yatta }
again homework { b) tetsudatte-kureta }
\{ kai? kai? \}
help gave favour of

a) Lit. Did (you) give a favour of helping with homework?
(Did (you) help with the homework for her.)
b) Lit. Did (she) give (you) a favour of helping with homework?  
            (Did (she) help with the homework for you?)

         a) '-yatta' indicates its ellipsed subject to be the 2nd person (to whom the speaker shifted his viewpoint) and b) '-kureta' indicates its ellipsed subject to be the 3rd person, Helen.

Incidentally the ellipsed subject in (2) I presented at P. 25 was interpreted as 'Yamada' for the same reason as that in b) tetsudatte-kureta ka of B's question above is interpreted as 'Helen'.

IV-4) Verbs, 'kuru' and 'iku'

The use of verbs, 'kuru' and 'iku', which are near equivalents of English verbs, 'come' and 'go' respectively, is determined by the position of the speaker.

'kuru' is used when the speaker is at the goal at the time of utterance OR when the speaker was or will be at the goal at the time of the subject's arrival. Otherwise 'iku' is used.

Look at the following examples (36) and (37) in which the speaker's position and the goal point of the subject person's movement are indicated by deictic words, 'koko' (here) and 'soko' (there near to you).

'koko ni' indicates that the speaker's position at the time of utterance is also the goal point of John's motion.

'soko ni' indicates that the speaker is not situated at the goal point at the time of the utterance
The uses of 'kuru' and 'iku' can also be classified in terms of who is the subject of the motion. In one case the subject is the speaker himself, and in the other case the subject is not the speaker.

Case 1].....the speaker is the subject of motion
'kuru' is used only when the speaker is situated at the goal at the time of utterance. For instance :

(38) Ashita mata koko ni kimasu
tomorrow again here to come POL.
"I will come here tomorrow again."

(39) Sakki kimashita
just now come Non-PST.
"I have just come."

Otherwise 'iku' is used.

(40) Ashita anata no uchi ni ikimasu
tomorrow your house to go POL.
"I will go to your house tomorrow."

Case 2].....the speaker is not the subject of motion.
'Kuru' is used when the speaker is at the goal at the time of utterance as in (41) OR when the speaker was or will be at the goal at the time of the person's arrival, as in (42).
Because of these subject cooccurrence restrictions involved in the semantics of 'kuru' and 'iku', it becomes possible to identify the referent when subjects are ellipsed.

Look at the following sentence uttered outside the University, say, at the speaker's house.

(43) Kinoo daigaku de Mary to machiawaseta ga
Yesterday Uni. at " with had an appointment to see
Ø taxi de { a) kita yo }
" by { b) itta yo }
"Yesterday I had an appointment to see Mary at
the Uni. { a) (she) came by taxi. } "
{ b) (I) went by taxi. }

The ellipsed subject of a) 'kita' cannot refer to the 1st person because the speaker is not situated at the goal, the uni., at the time of the utterance. Whilst it can refer to 'Mary' because the speaker was at the goal, university, at the time of Mary's arrival.

The ellipsed subject of b) 'itta', on the other hand, refers to the 1st person for the same reasons as that of 'kita' refers to the 3rd person and not the 1st person.

In situations where the 1st person is not a possible referent for subject ellipsis the shift of the speaker's view-
point to the addressee occurs just as in the case of verbs, 'yaru' and 'kureru' discussed earlier.

This dialogue is taking place outside the university.

(44) Speaker A: Daigaku de John to machiawaseto yo University at " with had an appointment to see

"I had an appointment to meet John at University."

Speaker B: ₀ kuruma de { a) kita kai?} car by { b) itta kai?} "{ a) Did (he) come by car?} "{ b) Did (you) go by car?}"

The use of 'kita' and 'itta' are now determined by the position of the addressee to whom the speaker has shifted his viewpoint.

The ellipsed subject of a), 'kita', cannot refer to the 2nd person because the addressee is not situated at the goal point, the university, at the time of communication. It can refer to the 3rd person, John, since the addressee was at the goal point at the time of John's arrival.

The ellipsed subject of b), 'itta', refers to the addressee for the same reason.

Thus the verbs 'kuru' and 'iku' contribute to the identification of the referent of subject ellipsis in situations where there are two possible candidates for movement (as in (43) and (44)) and some resulting ambiguity.

In such situations, we can say:
-When the 1st and 3rd person are possible candidates for the ellipsed subject.

'kuru' indicates it to be the 3rd person
'iku' " " " " the 1st person

-When the 2nd and 3rd person are possible candidates, the shift of viewpoint from the speaker to the addressee occurs, hence

'kuru' indicates the ellipsed subject to be the 3rd person
'iku' indicates the ellipsed subject to be the 2nd person

The motion verbs 'kuru' and 'iku' are used not only as independent verbs but are frequently attached to other verbs indicating the direction of the verbs toward the speaker (-kuru) or away from the speaker (-iku)¹

(45) John wa watashi o uchi made okutte-kita
Top I OBJ house as far as send came
as
"John sent me home."

(46) Boku wa Emiko o uchi made okutte-itta
I(male)Top OBJ home as far as send went
"I sent Emiko (Emiko's) home."

The verbs, 'kuru' and 'iku' attached to another verb also contribute to the identification of the referent for subject ellipsis in the same way as when used independently.

¹ See Morita (1968) for detailed semantic classification of those compounds.
(47) Party de Tom ni atta yo

“I met Tom at the Party.”

Me ga atta kara  ø { a) hanashikakete- kita
eyes SUB met because { b) hanashikakete- itta} 
talk start

“Our eyes met so { a) (he) started to talk (to me).}”

b) (I) started to talk (to him)

a) '-kita' indicates its ellipsed subject to be the 3rd
person, Tom while b) '-itta' indicates its ellipsed subject to be
the 1st person.

(48) Speaker A: Party de koigataki datta Saitoo ni

“I met Saitoo who was my love rival at the party. It was awkward.”

at love rival was with
met
Kimazukatta yo
awkward

Speaker B: ø Hanako o { a) tsurete-kita no kai? 

" OBJ{ b) tsurete-itta no kai? }
take PST it’s because

" { a) Did (he) bring Hanako along?}”

b) Did (you) take “ “ ?

In a) kita indicates its ellipsed subject to be the
3rd person, Saitoo, whilst in b) itta indicates its ellipsed
subject to be the 2nd person to whom the speaker has shifted his
viewpoint.

IV–5] Other speaker-centered expressions.

There are so-called speaker-centered expressions. They
are called 'speaker centered' because it is preferable for them
to take the 1st person as a subject, rather than 2nd or 3rd per-
sons, whenever it is possible to do so without changing the mean-
ing. Observe the following:

(49)? Helen wa watashi ni okane o karita
"Top I from money OBJ borrowed
"Helen borrowed money from me."

(49) is awkward, if not ungrammatical, because the 1st person is not placed in the subject position. To express the idea which (49) intended, another subject centered verb, 'kasu' (to lend, 'kashita' in past tense) has to be used as (50).

(50) Watashi wa Helen ni okane o kashita
"I lent Helen money."

'Atu' (to meet, 'atta' in past tense) is another of the speaker centered verbs. To express the idea that 'the speaker met John', (51) is preferable to (52).

(51) Watashi wa John ni atta
"I met John."

(52)? John wa watashi ni atta
"Top I to met
"John met me."

Because of this subject cooccurrence restrictions, (the subject has to be the 1st person), these speaker centered verbs provide clues to the identification of the referent when subjects are ellipsed.

(53) Kinoo Helen ga kita yo
Yesterday "SUB came
"Yesterday Helen came around."
あらためてお金を借りたよ
again money OBJ borrowed

"私(彼女)はお金を借りて
*(She) borrowed money again."
CHAPTER V  CONCLUSION

I examined pragmatic and semantic factors which contribute to the identification of the referent for ellipsed subjects. The common factor which emerged is that they are all in a way speaker-centered expressions. Exaltation expressions indicate the speaker's attitude to the referent, whether or not this attitude is socially determined. Expressions of inner state are describable only by the speaker (the experiencer) and I have therefore termed them 'subjective expressions' as opposed to 'objective expressions', those which express inner state as the one observed objectively. 'Yaru', 'kureru' and 'kuru', 'iku' are deictic words whose use is determined by the speaker's position in time and space.

All these speaker-centered expressions hold subject co-occurrence restrictions, as we have seen. Because of these restrictions, subjects are recoverable even if ellipsed and in practice they frequently are ellipsed. Subjects in these expressions are in a way redundant information since predicates indicate the unique referent anyway. As a principle of economy in a language, redundant information tends to be ellipsed.

In the absence of clues from these speaker-centered expressions, pragmatic knowledge aids in the identification of the referent for ellipsis. It seems that the more intimate the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, the more ellipsis tends to occur since more pragmatic knowledge is shared between them.

However when the speaker judges that the addressee cannot identify the referent, he makes overt references. An interesting phenomenon often found in spontaneous conversations is that a subject is uttered after the sentence is completed. For instance,
(1) Kinoo Ø kita? Ano Yamada-san
   yesterday came well
   "Yesterday came? Well, Miss Yamada".

The subject, 'Yamada-san' is uttered as an afterthought because the speaker judged that the addressee would not have been able to identify the referent without it after he completed the elliptical sentence.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


______ 1972 "How to know whether you're coming or going", Studies in Descriptive and Applied Linguistics, V : 3-17.


Hinds, John, 197 , "Ellipsis in Japanese discourse" M.S. Toward a unified theory of anaphora in Japanese discourse, Proposal submitted to NSF.


Kuno, Susumu, 1978 *Danwa no Bumpoo*, Tokyo, Taishuukan.


Mikami, Akira, 1960 *Zoo wa Hana ga Nagai*, Tokyo, Kuroshio Shuppan.

_____, 1963 *Nihongo no Koobun*, Tokyo, Kuroshio Shuppan.


