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**FIRST-PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS IN JAPANESE:
HOW DO THEY WORK IN CONVERSATION?**

BY

MAMI O. MCCRAW

B.A., English & American Studies, Kansai Gaidai University, 1989
M.S.Ed., Reading, Southwest Missouri State University, 1999

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
Educational Linguistics**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December, 2010

DEDICATION

For Ikuko and Yukio Osaki

For Romeo McCraw

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Honestly speaking, the process of writing this dissertation was like walking on a long rocky road. I paused for a nap several times and also thought about giving up on the way. However, with support from many people, my steps gradually became light and steady toward the end of a journey. I realized that I was not alone. I will always remember how fortunate I am to have such wonderful people around me.

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ABSTRACT

Subjectivity— expression of our thoughts and emotions— is the essence of everyday conversation (e.g., Benveniste, 1971; Scheibman, 2002). Previous studies have found that subjectivity is expressed in a variety of linguistic items in a wide range of languages. First-person singular (1SG) pronouns may be one of the most fundamental linguistic items for expressing subjectivity because they directly reflect the speaker, who is the owner of subjective point of view. This dissertation explores the use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese utilizing the analysis of naturally occurring conversational data.

In Japanese, personal pronouns including first person are used infrequently, especially in spoken language, and the first-person reference is often unexpressed (what is known as pronoun ellipsis). Although they may look odd or ill-formed from the perspective of languages that have rigid syntactic structures such as English, utterances with unexpressed elements can be considered to be the “default” in Japanese conversation. Because of the variability of expression of 1SG pronouns, it is assumed that they add

some pragmatic functions when they are explicitly expressed. Data analyses of 1SG pronouns taken from naturally occurring conversation revealed that the use is often motivated by various discourse-pragmatic functions such as expressing subjectivity, introducing a topic, and holding the floor rather than referential necessity. The speaker decides to use 1SG pronouns or not to use them in order to achieve his or her particular communicative goals. First-person singular pronouns in Japanese are a versatile linguistic item beyond so-called pronouns that simply replace nouns. This strongly suggests that 1SG pronouns are essentially different from English *I*, and will lead us to reconsider the categorization of 1SG pronouns in Japanese. Furthermore, the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns in Japanese has important educational implications. In order to teach linguistic items that are not syntactically required but are used by pragmatic motivations, I suggest that educators seek more effective teaching methods based on authentic language use.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1. Introduction

When we converse with another person, we constantly express our attitudes, feelings and opinions through various linguistic and extra-linguistic devices rather than simply stating propositional content. Indeed, subjectivity— expression of our thoughts and emotions— is the essence of everyday conversation (e.g., Benveniste, 1971; Scheibman, 2002). Previous studies have found that subjectivity is expressed in a variety of linguistic items in a wide range of languages such as non-anaphoric reflexives in English (Brinton, 1995); epistemic modal expressions (Nyuts, 2001); modals in American Sign Language (Shaffer, 2004); verbs that have become pragmatic-discourse markers through subjectification in Spanish (Company, 2006); tense forms and switch-reference morphemes in Japanese (Iwasaki, 1993); constituent order in Japanese (Ono, 2006); and deictic expressions in Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and English (Uehara, 2006). First-person singular (1SG) pronouns may be considered one of the most fundamental linguistic items for expressing subjectivity because they directly reflect the speaker, who is the owner of subjective point of view as Benveniste (1971) remarks the close relationship between the 1SG pronoun *I* and subjectivity. According to Benveniste, when used with the 1SG pronoun *I*, certain verbs such as *feel*, *believe*, *suppose*, and *presume* add the speaker's attitude to the propositional content following the verb while when used with other persons such as *you* and *he*, the effect of subjectivity on the proposition does not appear (also see Thompson, 2002 for further discussion of complement-taking predicates).

In Japanese, personal pronouns including first person are used infrequently (Hinds, 1978, 1982; Martin, 1975; Ono & Thompson, 2003; Shibatani, 1990), especially in spoken language. Instead, the reference is often realized with zero (unexpressed) (Martin, 1975). In his study of subject pronouns in Spanish, a pro-drop language in which pronoun subjects are frequently omitted, Davidson (1996) suggested that expressed subject pronouns add “pragmatic weight” (p. 543) to utterances. That is, subject pronouns are expressed “to increase the speaker’s stake in what is being said, and as such will be interpreted as either signaling an increased speaker commitment to the information in the utterance, or as adding semantic ‘weight’ to the verb to which they may be associated” (p. 544). Davidson’s claim may be applicable to expression of 1SG pronouns in Japanese. Because of the variability of expression of 1SG pronouns (expressed vs. unexpressed), it is natural to think that 1SG pronouns are expressed due to some pragmatic motivations. The following two utterances are found in the conversational for the present study: one has an overt 1SG pronoun (*atashi*) while the other does not.

- (1) *a demo atashi shira-nai yo,*
 INJ but 1SG know-NEG:NONP SFP
 ‘Ah, but, I don’t know.’ [japn4044]
- (2) *shira-nai.*
 know-NEG:NONP
 ‘(I) don’t know.’ [japn4164]

What is the motivation for expressing a 1SG pronoun in (1) if the utterance with no 1SG pronoun in (2) is also acceptable in conversation? Ono and Thompson (2003) demonstrated that 1SG pronouns in Japanese are used beyond referential needs, having functions such as “emotive” (p. 330) and “frame setting” (p. 332) uses. In order to investigate discourse-pragmatic functions of 1SG pronouns, examination of natural

discourse is essential. Such functions cannot be studied through constructed examples or isolated utterances. Building on previous work, I hypothesize that 1SG pronouns add some discourse-pragmatic functions when they are explicitly expressed. I explore their nature, roles, and functions utilizing the data from naturally occurring conversation in this dissertation.

It appears that ellipsis (i.e., unexpressed grammatical elements in general) and personal pronouns are among the most popular topics in the study of Japanese linguistics (e.g., Fry, 2003; Hinds, 1978, 1980, 1982; Iida, 1996; Kameyama, 1988; Nariyama, 2003; Ono & Thompson, 1997; Shibamoto, 1983, Takahashi, 2008 for ellipsis; Hinds, 1971; Jablonski, 1999; Lee & Yonezawa, 2008, Ono & Thompson, 2003; Yano, 1988 for personal pronouns). Nonetheless, studies that reveal their discourse-pragmatic roles and functions using naturally occurring data are still scarce. In this dissertation, I seek an approach that gives a better picture of 1SG pronouns in Japanese; what roles and functions they have in conversation beyond what the general term “pronoun” implies. In order to discover discourse and pragmatic functions of expressed 1SG pronouns beyond syntactic needs, examining naturally occurring data is essential. How they work in discourse cannot be studied only with constructed sentences or formalist approaches that do not utilize actual language use.

Cumming and Ono (1997, p. 112) note that “discourse-functional approaches to grammar have two goals. The first goal is a descriptive one: given the richness of the grammatical resources languages typically have for expressing the ‘same’ content, how do speakers choose among them? That is, what are the functions of the grammatical and lexical alternations of a language? ... The second goal is explanatory: why do languages

have the resources they have?” They further note that researchers whose interest is in grammar and discourse tend to focus on three kinds of explanations: (1) cognitive, (2) social interactional, and (3) diachronic. Although these explanations are interrelated, I focus on the second explanation in order to pursue the first goal (descriptive) proposed by Cumming and Ono in this dissertation. I ask, in particular, what needs or motivations make speakers choose 1SG pronouns over ellipsis in the given situation? I explore the use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese in relation to interactional needs and the role of subjectivity. Demonstrating 1SG pronouns in Japanese behaving differently from so-called “pronouns” that simply replace nouns utilizing the data based on actual language use will lead us to reconsider the categorization of 1SG pronouns in Japanese. As Cumming and Ono state that the second goal (explanatory) has consequences for language universals and typology, I hope that the exploration of the present study will be a basis for the future research that re-examines the grammatical category of 1SG “pronouns” not only language-specifically but also crosslinguistically.

Furthermore, the use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese, which are not identical to their counterpart in English, has important educational implications. Explanations of personal pronoun use are minimal in current textbooks of Japanese as a second/foreign language (JSL/JFL) possibly due to their infrequent use. As the analyses of the present study reveal in later chapters, native speakers effectively use 1SG pronouns combined with appropriate postpositional particles (or the lack of any such particle). The use is motivated by discourse and pragmatics as well as referential needs. However, many textbooks simply display constructed examples such as “*watashi wa gakusei desu* ‘I am a student’” (e.g., Imaeda, 2004, p. 16; Sato, 2008, p. 23; Storm, 2004, p. 31) without

detailed explanation about the use of pronouns or postpositional particles following them. As we will see in Section 5.5, approximately one half of the 1SG pronouns in the database are actually used with no postpositional particles (zero-marked 1SG pronouns). Nonetheless, no explanation of zero-marking reflecting actual use is found in over a dozen textbooks I examined. In order to teach linguistic items that are used by pragmatic and discourse motivations, I suggest that educators seek more effective teaching methods based on authentic language use in JSL/JFL classrooms.

In summary, this dissertation examines the use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese utilizing the analysis of actual conversational data. The findings are discussed within a usage-based framework: grammar in interaction, with special attention to the role of subjectivity. The first goal of this dissertation is to contribute to our understanding of interactional grammar and pragmatics by analyzing the expression of Japanese 1SG pronouns in conversation. It specifically explores the pragmatic and interactional functions and subjective nature of 1SG pronouns. The second goal of this dissertation is to contribute to our understanding of pronominal expression by showing that Japanese 1SG pronouns behave differently than do personal pronouns as defined by our experience with Indo-European languages, and to suggest reconsideration of 1SG pronouns as a grammatical category. The third goal of this dissertation involves second language teaching. Since the importance of pragmatic functions to the use of 1SG pronoun tend to be ignored in current textbooks of JSL/JFL, I hope that the findings from my dissertation will contribute to the area of teaching JSL/JFL as well.

1.2. Organization of the Study

The organization of chapters is as follows. In Chapter 2, I provide an overview of ellipsis and 1SG pronouns in Japanese along with previous studies in related fields, point out the issues with regard to defining linguistic items in non-Indo-European languages only from the point of view of Indo-European languages, and raise a question about the status of these 1SG pronouns categorized as so-called “pronouns” that replace nouns. I also provide a brief description of linguistic structures in Japanese that are relevant to this dissertation. Namely, I discuss the notion of subject, and provide explanation of the postpositional particles following 1SG pronouns that add semantic and pragmatic meanings to the utterance (*ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero-particle).

In Chapter 3, I discuss the theoretical framework and the approach of the present study, and describe the current educational issues in teaching JSL/JFL. Firstly, I suggest an investigation utilizing a usage-based framework focusing on grammar in interaction and linguistic subjectivity. I give an overview of the notion of linguistic subjectivity as it is described in the literature, and outline its relationship to the 1SG pronoun use in Japanese. I explain how I utilized expressions of subjectivity as a tool for identifying unexpressed 1SG subjects for the part of the data analyses. Since ellipsis in Japanese is ubiquitous, it is often difficult to identify what grammatical elements are unexpressed (Ono & Thompson, 1997). In order to compare the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns, I have chosen a criterion to identify ellipted 1SG subjects based on the speaker’s subjectivity. In the latter half of the chapter, I sketch the problems of current textbooks and self-teaching books of JSL/JFL available in the US based on a survey.

Chapter 4 details the data and methodology used in the data analyses of this dissertation. The present study analyzes a large conversational corpus from which 905 tokens of expressed 1SG pronouns and 865 tokens of cognitive verbs with (expressed and unexpressed) 1SG subjects were extracted for analyses. Over a dozen linguistic factors were coded for the quantitative analyses of two kinds: 1SG pronouns in the subject-predicate relationship, and 1SG subjects (expressed and unexpressed) of three cognitive verbs, *omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’ and *wakaru* ‘understand’. I describe each coding factor and attempt to justify the reasons why they had been selected for the analyses.

Chapter 5 and 6 provide the analyses of expressed 1SG pronouns. Chapter 5 presents a profile of 1SG pronouns based on a quantitative analysis. Firstly, I give an overview of the properties of 1SG pronouns such as frequency, forms, and postpositional particles following the 1SG pronouns. Secondly, I present the statistical results of the analysis of 1SG pronouns in the subject-predicate relation. Although this quantitative analysis showed several new findings that had not been fully explored in previous studies of 1SG pronouns, it appears that the subject-predicate analysis does not show the entire picture of Japanese 1SG pronouns. This may be partially due to the Japanese language structure in which subjects are not syntactically required. That is, 1SG pronoun subjects are used not by syntactic necessity but by some other motivations. In analyzing languages that are organized in constructions other than the subject-predicate relation, different kinds of analyses may bear more fruitful results. For Japanese, which is characterized as both a subject-prominent and topic-prominent language (Li & Thompson, 1976), some additional analyses may be beneficial. I suggest that a qualitative analysis would reveal roles and functions of 1SG pronouns that are not explainable solely with the

statistical analysis of the subject-predicate relation. Therefore, I provide another kind of analysis in Chapter 6. In order to closely examine discourse-pragmatic functions of 1SG pronouns, which were not shown in the quantitative analysis, I chose several examples of the use in some particular situations from the dataset, and discuss their possible pragmatic and interactional motivations beyond the referential necessity.

Chapter 7 presents the analysis of expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns occurring with cognitive verbs. I compare the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns occurring with the three most frequently used cognitive verbs in the database (*omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’, and *wakaru* ‘understand’). The analysis found the differences among the verbs with regard to the 1SG subject expression. I suggest some possible frequent constructions in Japanese conversational interactions based on the results.

In Chapter 8, I summarize findings from the quantitative and qualitative analyses of expressed 1SG pronouns, and findings from analysis of expressed and unexpressed 1SG subjects occurring with the cognitive verbs; further discuss the status and roles of 1SG pronouns, the notion of subject in Japanese; and address research implications.

Chapter 9 discusses an educational perspective on the use of 1SG pronouns. I suggest that educators seek more effective instructions based on authentic language use, and also emphasize the importance of teaching sociocultural aspects of the target language. The analyses in this dissertation are mainly concerned with linguistic structures, and do not investigate sociolinguistic factors. I describe some noteworthy sociocultural aspects that were not included in the analyses in earlier chapters, and relate them to second language teaching.

Chapter 10 provides a summary of this dissertation and suggestions for future research in the areas of personal pronouns, ellipsis, and second/foreign language pedagogy.

Chapter 2 First-person Singular Pronouns: Basic Concepts

2.1. Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1, this dissertation explores the nature and discourse-pragmatic functions of 1SG pronouns in Japanese. First-person singular pronouns, as well as other personal pronouns, are often unexpressed in Japanese, especially in casual conversation (Hinds, 1978, 1982; Martin, 1975; Ono & Thompson, 2003; Shibatani, 1990). Therefore, in this chapter, I firstly describe this linguistic phenomenon known as ‘ellipsis’. I review ellipsis as presented in previous related studies, and emphasize that what is referred to as ellipsis in Japanese does not fit the general definition of the term since sentences with apparent unexpressed arguments do not necessarily lack an argument, as Ono and Thompson (1997) originally suggested. Thus, utterances with ellipsis can be considered the “default” or “unmarked”, and when an element (1SG pronouns in this case) is expressed, it should add some discourse-pragmatic functions (e.g., Ono & Thompson, 2003). Then, I describe 1SG pronouns in Japanese, and also point out the issues with regard to defining this linguistic item from the point of view of Indo-European languages. Finally, I provide a brief description of linguistic structures in Japanese closely related to the present study; I discuss the notion of subject along with previous studies, and explain functions of the four most frequently used postpositional particles in the database (*ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero-particle)¹.

2.2. Ellipsis: A Prevalent Linguistic Phenomenon in Japanese

Japanese is often considered an SOV language, however, the word order is relatively free and not all the syntactic elements are required in a sentence (Hinds, 1978,

¹ Although referring to zero-particle as a postpositional particle may not be considered accurate, I include zero-particle in postpositional particles in the present study for convenience.

1983; Kuno, 1973; Maynard, 1997; Nariyama, 2003; Shibatani, 1990). In Japanese, grammatical elements such as subject, object, and predicates as well as case-marking particles can be left unexpressed, especially in informal speech. This is generally referred to ellipsis.

Examples (3) and (4), drawn from the data used for the present study, illustrate the kind of ellipsis that is widespread in naturally occurring conversation. Parentheses in English translation are used to mark unexpressed elements in the Japanese original.

(3) (Speakers F and M are greeting in the early stage of the phone conversation.)

F: *genki:?*
fine
'(Are you) fine?'

M: *a: genki genki:.*
INJ fine fine
'Yeah, (I'm) fine (I'm) fine.'

sochira wa?
there WA
'(How) about you?'

F: *genki:.*
fine
'(I'm) fine.'

[japn1773]

(4) (Speaker M tells F that he bought a car as a new topic.)

M: *a ore kuruma ka-tta no.*
INJ 1SG car buy-PAST SFP
'I bought a car.'

F: *kiita yo.*
hear:PAST SFP
'(I) heard (it).'

M: *mi-ta yone.*
see-PAST SFP
'(You) saw (it), didn't you?'

[japn6149]

In fact, unexpressed arguments are very frequent, especially when referents are retrievable from the context or some other sources. Furthermore, if the “omitted” words were supplied, it would sound awkward, if not entirely unacceptable, to native speakers in some situations.

Unlike many other so-called pro-drop languages, such as Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, and Italian where verb inflections indicate person and number (Davidson, 1996), and similar to many other Asian languages, such as Korean, Indonesian, and Chinese, there is no subject-predicate agreement in Japanese. Thus, it is not possible to recover the “missing” information including subject from other syntactic components.

The “optionality” of syntactic elements in combination with the flexible word order of Japanese makes it difficult for non-native speakers to know exactly which elements are unexpressed, and Japanese is sometimes misperceived as an ambiguous or illogical language by non-native speakers (Mizutani, 1979; Nariyama, 2003; Shibatani, 1990). As I further discuss in Section 3.3, textbooks and reference books of Japanese as a second/foreign language (JSL/JFL) do not provide adequate information on this linguistic phenomenon. Therefore, JSL/JFL learners at any proficiency level appear to have trouble understanding and producing utterances with ellipsis (see Section 3.3 for further discussion of the educational issues regarding 1SG pronoun use). However, this linguistic phenomenon is not a problem to native speakers, and they communicate with each other in everyday life as shown in examples (3) and (4). How do they know what element is “missing” without syntactic clues? In the rest of this section, I discuss this notion of “missing” or “deleted” elements along with previous studies in which several Japanese linguists have attempted to answer this question.

2.2.1. Definition of Ellipsis

As we have seen in examples (3) and (4), syntactic elements in the argument structure such as subject, object, and predicates are often unexpressed in Japanese. This linguistic phenomenon is generally called argument ellipsis². Another kind of ellipsis common in Japanese is known as ‘particle ellipsis’, in which “normally obligatory NP-final grammatical particles” (Fry, 2003, p. 96) that mark syntactic roles such as subject, object, and so forth are not expressed. Example (5) shows that this utterance lacks the postpositional particles following the subject *atashi* ‘1SG pronoun’ and the object *tegami* ‘letter’. Nevertheless, this kind of utterance is often found in conversation, and is acceptable despite the absence of “normally obligatory” particles.

- (5) *atashi*∅*maaku kara tegami*∅*mora-tta no.*
 1SG ∅ Mark ABL letter ∅ receive-PAST SFP
 ‘I received a letter from Mark.’ [japn6149]

I list some definitions of ellipsis found in the literature below. Ellipsis is defined as:

- “the nonexpression of a word or phrase that is, nonetheless, expected to occupy a place in the syntactic structure of a sentence” (McShane, 2005, p. 3).
- “the phenomenon where by a speaker omits from an utterance normally obligatory elements of syntactic structure” (Fry, 2003, p. 80).
- anaphoric process involving “‘omission’ of syntactic constituent under identity with an antecedent in the preceding discourse” (Lobeck, 1995, p. 20).
- “the omission of an element or of several elements from the surface form of an utterance” (Hinds, 1982, p. 3).

² The first utterance in Example (4) contains particle ellipsis as well. The 1SG pronoun *ore* is zero-marked.

- “the suppression of words or phrases presumably intended by the speaker and understood by the listener” (Martin, 1975, p. 28).
- “something left unsaid ...but understood nevertheless” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 142).

To summarize these definitions in the literature above, ellipsis is used as a general term to cover unexpressed syntactic elements that are understood by speech participants. Some of the above explicitly state that obligatory syntactic elements are “omitted”. In the case of Japanese, in which has relatively loose syntactic structure, I argue that the definition of ellipsis that states “the omission of grammatically required elements” does not completely fit. In the next few sections, I discuss the understanding of ellipsis found in previous studies.

2.2.2. Frequency in Japanese and Other Languages

Ellipsis is not unique to Japanese and is observed in Western languages as well (Clancy, 1980; Ikegami, 2000). It is considered that 75% of world languages are “pro-drop” languages (Siewierska & Bakker, as cited in Yamamoto, 1999, p. 92). In Japanese, ellipsis is very prevalent (Hinds, 1978, 1983; Kuno, 1973; Maynard, 1997; Nariyama, 2003; Shibatani, 1990), especially in informal conversation. In her study of animacy in the use of referential expressions in Japanese and English, Yamamoto (1999) compared the occurrences of expressions of 1SG reference in spoken discourse and written texts. The results are shown in Table 1. While ellipsis never occurs in either text type in English, in Japanese, almost 80% in spoken discourse and one half in written discourse are ellipted.

Table 1. Expression of first-person singular reference in Japanese and English

(summarized based on Yamamoto, 1999, p. 95, 97, & 98)

Language \ Text type ³	Spoken		Written	
	Ellipsis	Pronoun	Ellipsis	Pronoun
Japanese	79.25% (84)	20.75% (22)	50% (36)	50% (36)
English	0% (0)	100% (69)	0% (0)	100% (80)

Clancy (1980) studied referential choice of third-person human referents in narratives in English and Japanese. Table 2 shows the results of the frequency of coreferential forms referring to the story characters already introduced into discourse (noun phrases; pronouns: *he*, *she*, and *they*; subject ellipsis).

Table 2. Expression of third-person human referents in coreferential contexts in Japanese and English

(modified based on Clancy, 1980, p. 133)

Language \ Coreferential form	Noun phrase	Pronoun	Ellipsis
Japanese	26.8% (248)	0% (0)	73.2% (677)
English	15.7% (260)	63.8% (1056)	20.5% (339)

In Japanese, the rate of ellipsis of third-person referents is 73.2%. Furthermore, the third-person pronouns *kare* ‘he’, *kanojo* ‘she’, or *karera* ‘they’ were never used in Japanese

³ Text types in Yamamoto (1999): Japanese spoken discourse data are interviews from a TV talk show, English spoken discourse data are speech samples in a book of learning English as a second language, taken from actual interviews; written texts are novels, news paper/magazine articles and scientific writing in Japanese originals and their English translations and English originals and their Japanese translations.

while this is the most frequently used coreferential form among the three choices in English.

Both studies show that ellipsis in Japanese occurs at much higher rate than in English. No other studies that compare the rate of ellipsis in Japanese and that in other languages are available. In general, studies dealing with frequency of ellipsis in other languages were very limited. Nariyama (2003) briefly mentions that only 2% of subjects in an unspecified genre in English are ellipped (p. 20). According to the study by Haegeman and Ihsane (2001, p. 335), the frequency rate of subject ellipsis, based on the written data taken from six diaries in English, varies from 2.07% to 24.87%.

In summary, previous studies have shown that the rates of ellipsis in Japanese are in the range of between 50 and 80% whereas those in English are in the range of between 0 and 25%. Although the rates largely vary depending on text type and grammatical category, it is clear that Japanese has a much higher frequency rate of ellipsis than English.

2.2.3. Factors Affecting Ellipsis

Although ellipsis is not a linguistic phenomenon limited to Japanese, it is observed in Japanese very frequently. What linguistic and extralinguistic factors affect frequent occurrences of ellipsis in Japanese?

2.2.3.1. Genre

The results of Yamamoto (1999) noted in Section 2.2.2 demonstrate that the rate of ellipsis varies not only by language (Japanese vs. English) but also by text type (spoken vs. written). This study indicates that there are factors affecting the frequency of ellipsis in a same language. According to a study conducted by the National Institute for

Japanese Language (1955, p. 89), 73.7% of sentences in conversational discourse are subjectless in contrast to only 37.1% in news texts are so. Therefore, ellipsis is two times more frequent in conversation than in news texts. The report also notes that the rate of subject ellipsis appears to be influenced by topic and situation in conversation. Nariyama (2003, p. 19) summarizes the rates of subject ellipsis based on previous studies as over 70% for conversation, 42-56% for narratives, 27-37% for expository texts, and 20% for novels. Thus, genre appears to be one of the factors that play a role in the occurrence of ellipsis.

2.2.3.2. Position in the Argument Structure

Nariyama (2003) reports some other factors affecting the frequency of ellipsis; Subject ellipsis is more frequent than object ellipsis in written expository texts and written narrative texts. The rates of ellipsis are: 27% of subject versus 17% of object in written expository texts; 56% of subject versus 11% of object in written narrative texts (p. 26). Although there is a large difference in the rate between two text types, the rate of subject ellipsis is higher than object ellipsis in both text types. Fry (2003, p. 86) found the rate of argument ellipsis in conversational data as follows: 69% of subject, 52% of direct object, and 81% of indirect object. Thus, ellipsis of indirect object was more frequent than subject ellipsis in his study. The findings of the two studies above, although the results are not consistent, suggest that grammatical relations affect the frequency of ellipsis.

2.2.3.3. Animacy, Transitivity, Humanness, Person Hierarchy

Hinds' study (1983) on topic continuity in spoken Japanese shows that several factors are responsible for the choice among noun phrases, pronouns, and ellipsis, such as

text types, animacy, and other discourse factors (distance and decay)⁴. He investigated the three different texts: (a) retelling of the folktale *Momotaro*, (b) semi-structured interview between two females, and (c) conversation between two males. The partial results of his study pertinent to ellipsis are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Rate and number of subject ellipsis by text type and animacy

(modified based on Hinds, 1983, p. 59-62, 66, 67)⁵

Text type	Animate		Inanimate	
	%	Number of ellipsis/ subject	%	Number of ellipsis/ subject
(a) Retelling of a folktale	48%	48/101	50%	2/4
(b) Interview between females	86%	83/97	43%	16/37
(c) Conversation between males	65%	83/127	43%	16/37

According to these results, animate subjects in semi-structured interviews have a higher rate of subject ellipsis than in conversation. Thus, it appears that the rate of ellipsis is also influenced by animacy of noun phrases as well as genre. In Hinds' study that investigated the relationship between the referential choice and topic continuity, it is not clear if the difference in the rate of subject ellipsis between (b) and (c) is due to gender difference, text type, or some other factors. Fry (2003, pp. 89-90) notes that subject ellipsis tends to occur with transitive verbs and with human subjects. In Yamamoto (1999), the rate of ellipsis varies according to the hierarchy of personal pronouns as well as text type.

⁴ The discourse factors affecting the occurrence of ellipsis in Hinds' study are discussed in Section 2.2.4.5.

⁵ The rates were calculated by me based on the numbers shown in the original work.

2.2.3.4. Gender

The influence of gender on ellipsis is also reported. Shibamoto (1983, p. 244) reports that 73.3% of subject noun phrases used by female and 61.3% of those used by male were ellipted during informal interviews. Also, in Hinds (1983), as shown in Table 3 in Section 2.2.3.3, the rate of ellipsis of animate subjects by females (86%) are higher than that by males (65%) although there may be other factors responsible for the difference. The findings from these two studies can be interpreted that female speakers tend express subjects less often than male speakers do. However, Fry's study (2003, p. 91) utilizing a large corpus of telephone conversations did not find a result consistent with these studies. His study actually found that the rate of subject ellipsis by males was higher (70%) than that by females (68%) although the difference was not significant. Due to the inconsistent results from the separate studies, the influence of gender is not certain.

2.2.3.5. Diachronic Change

Fujii (1991) conducted a diachronic study analyzing the changes in the use of grammatical subject in *Genji monogatari* 'The Tale of Genji', an epic Japanese story originally written in the 11th century and translated by different authors in different time periods. In her study, Fujii found that the grammatical subject has become more explicit over time (i.e., the frequency of subject ellipsis has decreased). Table 4 shows the diachronic change of the rate of explicit and implicit subjects in *Genji monogatari* in its original and its seven translations in Modern and Present-day Japanese.

Table 4. Rate of explicit and implicit subject in *Genji monogatari*

(based on Fujii, 1991, pp. 58-59, & 74)

<i>Genji</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(Year)	(11 th century)	(1723)	(1830)	(1914)	(1936)	(1959)	(1972)	(1978)
Explicit subject	30.75%	31.0%	42.0%	57.4%	52.0%	31.5%	35.7%	42.1%
Implicit subject	69.25%	66.0%	57.0%	41.2%	46.75%	68.5%	64.3%	58.0%

As shown in Table 4, the rate of implicit subjects (i.e., subject ellipsis) decreased from *Genji* 1 (69.25%) to 4 (41.2%), dropping most sharply between 3 (57.0%) and 4 (41.2%), increased from 4 (41.2%) to 6 (68.5%), and then gradually decreased again from 6 (68.5%) to 8 (58.0%). Fujii posits that both the external and internal reasons are responsible for the changes. The external reason is the influence of Western languages that express the subject more explicitly. This change is particularly evident on the change between 3 and 4. This time period coincides with the period when the influence from the Western world was considered strong. The internal reasons include the change in the honorific forms, the switch-reference function of conjunctions, and the development of the topic particle *wa* and the nominative particle *ga*, which all may have contributed to the use of more explicit subject.

Historical studies of ellipsis such as Fujii's study appear to be very rare and her contribution to the area is enormous. Language use is deeply related to language change, and more diachronic studies in the area of ellipsis in Japanese are desired for deeper understanding of their development and present status.

2.2.4. Clues for “Missing” Information

In the previous section, I discussed factors that reported in previous studies to play a role in ellipsis. Various linguistic and extralinguistic factors including genre of language, argument role, transitivity, animacy, humanness, the hierarchy of persons, gender of the speaker, the pressure from Western languages, and so forth appear to affect the rate of ellipsis.

Now, let us explore how speakers know what information is “missing”. As noted earlier, Japanese does not have subject-predicate agreement; Word order is relatively free and “scrambling” (Hinds, 1983, p. 53; Shibatani, 1990, p. 259; Tsujimura, 2007, p. 229), in which constituents are not in the canonical SOV order, occurs frequently. How do native speakers of Japanese understand utterances with “missing” information? To make sense of each other’s utterances during conversational interactions, speakers need to be able to recover what element is “omitted” without overt syntactic markers. There are several studies that at least partially answer this question.

2.2.4.1. Martin’s Four Types of Subject Ellipsis

Although ellipsis occurs not only in subject but also in any parts of speech as shown in examples (3), (4), and (5), subject ellipsis (also called null subject) is predominant in Japanese (Nariyama, 2003). According to Martin (1975, pp.183-185), there are four types of subjectless sentences in Japanese as summarized below⁶:

1. Optional ellipsis: Subject ellipsis where what is intended to be the subject by the speaker is so obvious that it should be understood by the hearer without being said explicitly. This is also called “zero pronominalization” (p. 183). examples (3) and (4) are considered to be categorized in this type.

⁶ Some examples are slightly modified from the original in Martin (1975).

2. Deictic reference: Some deictic reference in subjects is easily recoverable. If unmarked, the subject of a statement is usually the first-person speaker and the subject of a question is usually the second-person addressee (e.g., “ \emptyset *kae-ru ne*” ‘[I am] going home’, “ \emptyset *kae-ru no?*” ‘[Are **you**] going home?’).
3. No dummy subject required: Subject ellipsis occurs in sentences that involve time, weather, and other general conditions. For example, the adjective *atsui* ‘hot’ stands by itself as a sentence and does not require a dummy subject ‘it’ unlike English. Thus, the utterance “*atsui ne*” ‘(It’s) hot, isn’t it?’ is considered to be well-formed without a subject in Japanese. Other examples included in this type are: *hachi ji da yo* ‘(It’s) eight o’clock’, *ii tenki da* ‘(It’s) nice weather’, and *dame da* ‘(It’s) no good’.
4. No generic animate subject ‘one’, ‘people’, ‘they’ required: in generic statements in which ‘one’ or ‘they’ would be used as the subject in English, ellipsis occurs in Japanese (e.g., *hoo o junshu shinakereba ikenai* ‘[One] must obey the law’.)

In summary, as to Type 1, clues from the context, discourse, and shared knowledge play an important role in identifying unmentioned element; as to Type 2, deictic nature of first-person and second-person references helps; and as to Type 3 and 4, they are complete without a subject, and thus there is nothing “missing” in these constructions.

2.2.4.2. Shibatani’s “Pro-drop” Categories

Shibatani (1990, p. 361) also classifies the types of nominal ellipses into four categories: zero pronoun (pro), zero-subject of a non-finite clause (PROarb), zero-subject

of a subordinate clause co-referential with the subject in a main clause (PRO), and empty subject category co-referential with a topic ([e]) as shown in examples (6) – (9)⁷.

(6) pro

(pro *ga*) *wara-tta*.
 (∅ GA) laugh-PAST
 ‘∅ laughed.’

(7) PROarb

(PROarb *ga*) *yume o motsu no wa ii koto da*.
 (∅ GA) dream ACC have NML WA good thing COP:NONP
 ‘To have a dream is a good thing.’

(8) PRO

atashi wa [(PRO *ga*) *kekkon-suru*] *tsumori da yo*.
 1SG WA (∅ GA) marry-do intend COP:NONP SFP
 ‘I intend to get married.’

(9) [e]

mafia wa [*minna ga* [e] *osorete-iru*].
 Mafia WA everyone GA scare –PROG:NONP
 ‘Mafia is such that everyone is scared of it.’

Shibatani explains that the referent of pro, also called zero pronoun, varies depending on the antecedent, and the occurrence of pro is not limited to the subject position. PROarb occurs only in the subject position of a non-finite clause, and it can be interpreted something like the English indefinite pronoun *one*. PRO occurs only in the subject position of a subordinate clause, and the referent is bound by the subject or object of a main clause. As for [e], it is always bound by a non-argument topic. It appears that Martin’s Type 1 and 2 correspond to Shibatani’s pro, Type 4 corresponds to PROarb. In addition, Shibatani refers to Martin’s Type 3 as “zero-argument predicate” (p. 361). He explains that on a hot day, if one hears “It’s hot”, one is unlikely to ask a question such as

⁷ Examples are modified by me based on the original in Shibatani (1990, p. 361).

“What is hot?”, because there is no subject (what is expressed with the “dummy” subject *it* in English). In the case of Japanese, these predicates that describe ambient conditions simply do not take an argument instead of having a dummy subject, which does not exist in Japanese. Furthermore, there is no obligatory syntactic “slot” to be filled with an argument in Japanese (Ono & Thompson, 1997). That is, even though subjectless sentences in Japanese may look as if they lack required grammatical components and the sentence is incomplete from the viewpoint of more syntactically rigid languages such as English, they are not missing required components.

While sentences in Martin’s Type 3 and 4/Shibatani’s “zero-argument predicate” and PROarb are complete without a subject, the referent of Martin’s Type 1 and 2 and of Shibatani’s ‘zero pronoun’ is determined based on discourse and context. Shibatani speculates that the high frequency of information exchanged among speech participants contributes to the frequent occurrence of zero pronouns in conversation. He also notes another factor contributing to the frequent occurrence is non-linguistically provided antecedent in Japanese (and maybe in Korean). That is, in Japanese, a zero pronoun can occur even in the situations without a linguistically provided antecedent while it can occur only in the situations with a linguistically provided antecedent in Chinese and Philippines languages. The occurrence of a zero pronoun in the situation with a “non-linguistically provided antecedent” (p. 363) requires the addressee to understand what information is “missing” without it having been explicitly mentioned in the discourse. It is this kind of ellipsis that we are concerned with here.

2.2.4.3. Hinds' Cognitive Model

Hinds (1982) formulated a cognitive model to demonstrate that semantics of some verbs helps identifying elided noun phrases. For example, according to Hinds, the transitive verb *yomu* 'read' requires two arguments: a noun phrase of sentient being marked by *-ga* (nominative) and a noun phrase of readable material marked by *-o* (accusative) (p. 28). Thus, the utterance *yon-da* '(Someone) read (something)' will initiate the memory search for suitable entities to fill in the missing slots as Figure 1 shows. In this model, it is assumed that we look for arguments that semantically match the verb. Hinds explains that thus the noun phrase marked by *ga* (NOM) must be a person who has ability to read, such as *watashi* '1SG pronoun', *sensee* 'teacher', *haha* 'mother', and so forth, but cannot be non-humans, inanimate or abstract entities; The noun phrase marked by *o* (ACC) must be a readable material, such as *hon* 'book', *tegami* 'letter', *zasshi* 'magazine', *shimbun* 'newspaper', and so on, but cannot be persons, other abstract or concrete entities. Therefore, candidates for these slots are narrowed down by semantics and easy to identify.

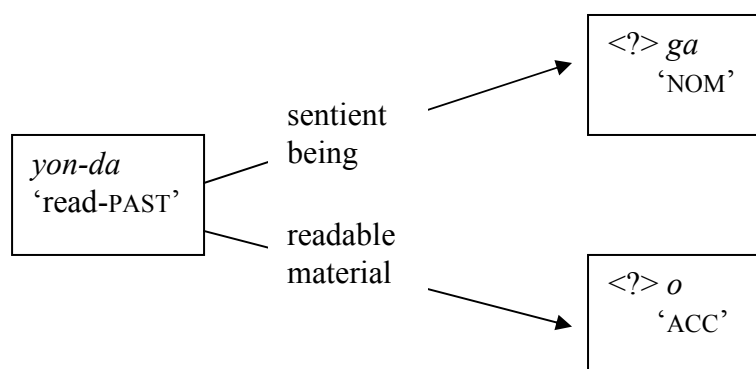


Figure 1. Cognitive model for ellipsed element search by Hinds

(1982, p. 31, slightly modified based on the original work)

This memory search is done according to the appropriateness and number of the missing slots. For example, as to the ditransitive verb *okuru* 'send', the search for suitable entities for the indirect object slot marked by *-ni* 'to' would be made in addition to the subject and object slots.

However, this idea about memory search for proper entities for the missing slots is not very satisfactory. For instance, let us consider a situation in which one says "I love you" to another person in Japanese. With this kind of utterance, subject and object are usually ellipsed, and there is only the predicate with some interactional particles possibly added. When one hears an utterance such as *suki da yo* or *ai-shiteru no* '(I) love (you)', according to Hinds, memory search for some human being with abilities to love for the missing subject slot and some lovable entity for the missing object slot should be activated. It is, however, unlikely that our communicative interactions work in such a way. In the situation above, interaction, discourse and extra-linguistic devices should play more important roles in understanding the speaker's utterance. Without any support

from empirical data, the process of memory search Hinds proposed in spontaneous conversation does not sound plausible. Furthermore, the idea about “missing” slots itself appears to be problematic. Using examples taken from actual conversation, Ono and Thompson (1997) demonstrated that it is often the case that there are no identifiable arguments for the most predicates and suggested that there are no such obligatory slots to be filled with arguments. I further discuss this issue in Section 2.2.5.

2.2.4.4. Identifying Ellipsis Based on Language-specific Properties

Some language specific properties in Japanese automatically limit possible ellipted referents, and they may help the hearer identify referents that are not explicitly expressed. Semantic information embedded in honorifics, deictic verbs/auxiliaries, and expressions of cognition and internal feelings in Japanese indicates who the subject (or object) is.

- Honorifics

The use of honorifics in Japanese can semantically limit first person and other persons to be subject or object depending on the form (honorific or humble) used. Therefore, it may help recover ellipted elements, and abundant honorifics in Japanese may be a one of the motivations for ellipsis (Shibatani, 1990).

In order to make most verbs honorific forms, *o-ni naru* or *-(r)areru* is added; and in order to make them humble forms, *-(s)asete itadaku* is added. For example, the honorific form of the verb *yameru* ‘quit’ is *o-yame ni naru* or *yame-rareru* and the humble form is *yame-sasete itadaku*; the honorific form of the verb *kaku* ‘write’ is *o-kaki ni naru* or *kak-areru* and the humble form is *kak-asete itadaku*, and so forth. A subject of the honorific form must be someone other than first person and a subject of the humble

form must be first person or third person of an in-group such as a family member. For some verbs, a distinct lexical form is used. Table 5 shows some examples of honorifics in Japanese. For example, the verb *iku* ‘go’ can be expressed in the following different forms according to different levels of honorifics: the plain form *iku*, the honorific form *irassharu*, and the humble form *mairu* or *ukagau*. The honorific form *irassharu* does not take first-person subjects, and the humble form *mairu* does not take second-person subjects because certain subjects and the honorifics contradict.

Table 5. Examples of honorifics in Japanese

Form Gloss	Plain	Honorific	Humble
‘go’	<i>iku</i>	<i>irassharu</i>	<i>mairu, ukagau</i>
‘eat’	<i>taberu</i>	<i>meshiagaru</i>	<i>itadaku</i>
‘say’	<i>iu</i>	<i>ossharu</i>	<i>moosu</i>
Possible subject	General	2 nd & 3 rd person of higher status, out-group	1 st & 3 rd person of in-group

Thus, this semantic constraint rooted in sociocultural norms may help identify appropriate subjects and objects. However, although the semantic information on honorifics can be used as a clue for an unexpressed subject, these words cannot always explain all of ellipsed arguments. Besides, during informal conversations among friends, speakers tend not to use honorifics, and very few tokens of honorifics are observed in the database. Conversation is considered the genre where ellipsis most frequently occurs. Therefore, although the honorific system has a property to limit ellipsed referents,

speakers probably do not heavily rely on the use of honorifics as a clue for the “missing” information during spontaneous conversations.

- Deictic verbs and auxiliary verbs

Some deictic expressions in Japanese can limit a possible subject (and indirect object) as well. Table 6 summarizes the deictic verb pairs in which the use is determined by where the speaker’s viewpoint is anchored.

Table 6. Pairs of deictic verbs in Japanese

(based on Iwasaki, 2002, pp. 291-292; Shibatani, 1990, pp. 380-382)

Direction of action/object	From the Speaker ←	Toward the Speaker →
Possible subject	First person, second person, third person	Second-person, third-person
Paired deictic verbs	<i>iku</i> ‘go’ <i>ageru, yaru</i> ‘give’ (Speaker ≠ Indirect object)	<i>kuru</i> ‘come’ (Speaker = Goal of a movement, Speaker ≠ Subject) ⁸ <i>kureru</i> ‘give’ (Speaker = Recipient, Speaker ≠ Subject)

As to the paired verbs *iku-kuru* ‘go-come’, the goal of the action of *kuru* must match the speaker’s viewpoint while the origin of the action of *iku* is not constrained. That is, *kuru* can be used only when the movement is toward the speaker, and cannot take 1SG pronouns as subject. In other words, it is not possible to say *watashi ga kuru* ‘I am coming’, which is possible in English. Instead, *iku* must be used as shown in Example

⁸ In situations in which the goal matches the speaker’s viewpoint, this construction is acceptable. For example, *ki-te* (*kuru* ‘come’ + conjunctive *-te*) in *iya atashi:, waiomingu ni ki-te:*, ‘Well, I came to Wyoming (where I live now), and ...’ [japn1605] is correct when the speaker is still in Wyoming.

(10), taken from the dataset of the present study. The paired unacceptable form (marked with *) was added by me.

(10) <Q *atashi ga iku (*kuru) wa.*, Q>
 1SG GA go:NONP (come) SFP

toka i-tte,
 QT say-TE

‘(She) said, “I am coming (to you)” or something, and ...’ [japn1722]

Likewise, as for the paired verbs *ageru/yaru-kureru* ‘give’, the speaker’s viewpoint of *kureru* must match the recipient’s viewpoint whereas *ageru/yaru* can be the speaker as the giver or neutral viewpoint. Example (11) presents the use of both *ageru* and *kureru* with no explicit subject or indirect object. The possible referents are limited with the constraint where the speaker’s point of view is positioned. Therefore they are easy to be identified by native speakers. In (11), the subject of the predicate *ageru* ‘give’ must be first person and the indirect object of the predicate *kureru* ‘give’ must be first person although neither is explicitly expressed. The verbs cannot be replaced by their counterpart; doing so would contradict the position of the speaker’s point of view.

(11) (Speaker M says that he did not have enough money or a pre-paid card.)

F: *nande:?*
 why
 ‘Why?’

dareka karire-ba yoka-tta noni,
 someone borrow-COND good-PAST though
 ‘(You) should have borrowed (money) (from) someone, though.’

→ *e watashi no kaado agere-ba (*kurere-ba) yoka-tta ne ippai amatte-ta kara.*
 INJ 1SG GEN card give-COND good-PAST SFP much excess-PROG:PAST because
 ‘(I) should have given (you) my card because there were a lot (of credits) left.’

M: *omae tsuka-e-nai na.*
 2SG use-POT-NEG:NONP SFP
 ‘You are useless.’

atarimae daro,
of course MOD
‘(It is) as a matter of course, isn’t it?’

→ *futsuu kureru (*ageru) mon da ze.*
normal give thing COP:NONP SFP
‘Normally, (a friend, you) should give (it to me).’ [japn4044]

Furthermore, these paired verbs in Table 6 can be used as postpositional auxiliary verbs that indicate the direction from or toward the speaker (Iwasaki, 2002; Shibatani, 1990). For example, the direction of *motte-iku* ‘go to bring (something)’ is away from the speaker and the direction of *osotte-kuru* ‘come to attack’ is toward the speaker; The direction of the action *tsukutte-ageru* ‘make (something for someone)’ is from the speaker (i.e., the speaker is the benefactor) and *katte-kureru* ‘buy (something for the speaker)’ is toward the speaker (i.e., the speaker is the beneficiary). That is, the limitation of possible subjects is applicable to sentences containing deictic auxiliary verbs as well as verbs.

- Verbs and adjectives expressing cognition, feelings, and sensation

Another language-specific category of expressions that limit the possible subject of a sentence also is closely related to subjectivity. Certain adjectives and verbs take only a first-person subject in Japanese because the nature and properties expressed in them are only accessible to the speaker (Hasegawa & Hirose, 2005; Ikegami, 2000; Iwasaki, 1993a; 2002; Scheibman, 2002; Shibatani, 1990; Yano, 1988). These words and morphemes express internal feelings (e.g., *ureshii* ‘glad’, *kanashii* ‘sad’), sensations (e.g., *samui* ‘cold’, *itai* ‘hurt’), perception (e.g., *kiko-eru* ‘hear’), cognition (e.g., *wakaru* ‘understand’, *omoo* ‘think’), desire *-tai* ‘want to’, and intention *-(y)oo* ‘will’. When the referent is third person, these predicates are expressed with indirect forms such as *ureshi soo da* ‘he looks glad’ and *samu-gatte iru* ‘he is being cold (objectively)’. Therefore, the

use of the direct form of these expressions signals first person as the subject. This too is a semantic constraint; in this case based on cognition and subjectivity. I elaborate the relationship between these expressions and subjectivity in Section 3.2.

Notice these semantic-based explanations (honorifics; deictic verbs/auxiliary verbs; and the expression of cognition, feelings, and sensation) are all related to the speaker's subjective point of view. These expressions can help to narrow down candidates for a possible subject of a sentence, in which no syntactic clues such as subject-predicate agreement exist. This may contribute to the high degree of ellipsis in Japanese. Nevertheless, subjects are in fact expressed in constructions containing these expressions although not very frequently. Why are they expressed if they are not needed syntactically or semantically? Now, let us explore along with previous studies if discourse can offer further explanation for ellipsis.

2.2.4.5. Discourse Level Explanations

The referential choice between ellipsis, pronouns, and full noun phrases is closely related to discourse organization. Fox (1996, p. vii) summarizes the correlations between the type of reference-tracking device (use of full noun phrases vs. pronouns or zero) and discourse-pragmatic factors found in previous studies such as topicality, discourse structure, focus of attention, and speaker attitudes as Table 7 shows.

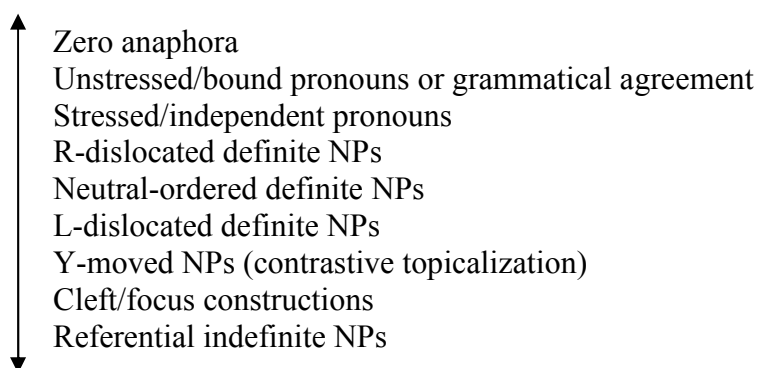
Table 7. Four discourse-pragmatic factors for the use of full noun phrases versus anaphors

(summary of Fox, 1996, p. vii)

Reference-tracking device Discourse-pragmatic factor	Noun phrases	Anaphors (ProNs/ellipsis)
Topicality	Low	High
Discourse structure	Not within the same sequence	Within the same sequence
Focus of attention (Speaker's assumption)	Hearer not attending	Hearer attending
Speaker attitude	highly negative/ positive attitude	---

Givón (1983) presents the most common grammatical devices crosslinguistically in the coding of topic accessibility in a scalar manner shown in Figure 2.

Most continuous/accessible topic



Most discontinuous/inaccessible topic

Figure 2. The topic accessibility scale (Givón, 1983, p. 17)

According to this scale, zero anaphora (i.e., noun phrase/pronoun ellipsis) occurs with most continuous topics while indefinite noun phrases appear with most discontinuous topics.

In short, these two studies suggest that the occurrence of ellipsis is deeply related to the amount of information recoverable from discourse.

Clancy (1980) compared the referential choice of the third-person in English and Japanese narratives using the distance (the number of clause and sentence boundaries between the referential form and the referent) and the interference (the number of intervening referents between the referential form and the referent)⁹ as the measurements. She found that several cognitive factors are closely related to the choice between anaphors (ellipsis and the use of pronouns in English, ellipsis only in Japanese) and full noun phrases. In both languages, speakers tend to use nominal referents as the distance increases and as the number of intervening referents increases. She also notes that Japanese ellipsis and English pronouns appear to function similarly. Switch-reference also affects the referential choice. Seventy-one percent (71%) in Japanese and 92% in English of nominal references occurred in the subject position following a clause with a different subject referent (i.e., the switch-reference point). Furthermore, she observed some other factors such as episode boundaries and the speaker's empathy to some specific characters in the narrative are also responsible for the referential choice.

Hinds (1983) investigated the relationship between the referential choice and topic continuity in the three types of spoken discourse, which I described in Section 2.2.3.3. The referential items included full noun phrases for the subject/topic and the

⁹ See Givón (1983) for further discussion of these notions. He discusses the major factors affecting topic availability as length of absence from the register, potential interference from other topics, availability of semantic information, and availability of thematic information (pp. 10-11).

direct object (marked by postpositional particles and unmarked), pronouns (marked by postpositional particles and unmarked) and ellipsis. Distance and decay were used as the measurements of topic continuity. It was concluded that ellipsis among the referential items shows highest continuity with both measurements.

Nariyama (2003) extensively studied argument ellipsis and reference-tracking devices in written narrative monologue and expository texts in Japanese. She identified three tiers of linguistic devices for referent identification: predicate devices, sentence devices, and discourse devices. Predicate devices include verbal semantics, switch-reference, epistemic morphemes, and honorifics. At the sentence level, Nariyama suggested that “the higher an argument is in terms of the person/animacy hierarchy and discourse salience, the more prone it is to be ellipted” (pp. 262-263). According to her, discourse devices are considered to be mechanisms that help identify ellipted referents based on the discourse structure cohesively sequenced around a topic. She further proposed an algorithm for reference-tracking with the three large stages with more than a handful of meticulously subdivided steps in each stage based on these linguistic devices (see Nariyama, 2003, pp. 357-358 for her complete algorithm)¹⁰. Some of the linguistic devices identified in her study overlap with the clues I described above. Native Japanese speakers may use these devices on the word, sentence, and discourse levels during spontaneous interactions in order to identify unexpressed arguments. Re-examination of her algorithm using spoken data may provide more insights on the nature of ellipsis in general.

¹⁰ As Nariyama notes that the algorithm was developed as a model for computers and was not to represent a model of the process of natural language, it is questionable whether the stages of her algorithm can be realized during spontaneous interactions.

These previous studies provide some important explanations with regard to the occurrence of ellipsis on the discourse level. As noted earlier, non-discourse explanations provide only limited answers to the occurrence of ellipsis and 1SG pronouns in conversation. This is obvious because (1) honorifics are rarely used in informal conversation; (2) first-person singular pronouns are used even when they are considered to be unnecessary with deictics and expressions of cognition/feeling/sensation; and (3) referents may be elided even when they are not directly recoverable from the preceding discourse. Thus, I emphasize that it is important to examine linguistic phenomena at the larger units beyond the word and sentence level with actual data. Also, note that these studies focus on ellipsis as an anaphor in general and not ellipsis of 1SG pronouns particular. Because 1SG pronouns that index the speaker are different from other pronouns, as described in later sections, the explanation above may not be always applicable to ellipsis of 1SG pronouns.

2.2.5. The Issue of Definition and an Alternative View of Ellipsis

In the previous sections, I described several definitions of ellipsis, its frequency, and the factors affecting its occurrences. In addition to the linguistic factors described earlier, extra-linguistic factors may contribute to the high degree of ellipsis. In Japanese culture, indirectness and politeness is valued. As “the concept *chinmoku wa bitoku* ‘silence is a virtue’ is still alive in Japanese society” (Mizutani, 1979, p. 204, translation by me), something unsaid could be favorable in some situations. Hinds (1987) states that “in Japan, it is the responsibility of the listener (or reader) to understand what it is that the speaker or author had intended to say” (p. 144). Figuring out what information is “missing” depends on the listener’s abilities to intuitively understand the speaker’s

intentions. In Japanese, the expectation for recovering the “missing” information by the listener may be high. This may contribute to the frequent occurrence of ellipsis in Japanese, and may cause confusion for the non-native speakers who are not familiar with such cultural values. Native speakers can figure out the “missing” information from various linguistic and extra-linguistic clues as previous studies suggest.

However, the real issue of ellipsis in Japanese may not be what information is recoverable and what is not. It appears a larger issue lies in its definition. The definitions of ellipsis shown in Section 2.2.1 imply that there are some “missing” or “omitted” elements. Perspectives based on Indo-European languages, which generally have more rigid grammatical relationships between arguments and the predicate, may assume that something is “missing”. These definitions implying the deletion of required syntactic elements do not precisely fit for Japanese because not all syntactic elements are strictly required. Hence, Hinds’ (1982) cognitive model based on arguments required by the predicate to fill in the slots, described in Section 2.2.4.3, does not always work as he proposed. Even though there is no subject, object, or predicate as in examples (3) and (4) and might look strange to those who are used to syntactically strict languages, native Japanese speakers would consider that no components are missing in these constructions.

Ono and Thompson (1997) provide an alternative view for unexpressed arguments in Japanese. They raised a question about the concept of “missing” elements in argument structure, and suggested that it is misleading to think that there is an obligatory slot to be filled with arguments. Utilizing the data taken from actual conversation, the researchers demonstrated that it is often not clear what referents are intended for ellipted arguments and further suggested that the referents are intended to be

left open. The following example given in (12) is taken from my data and is very similar to the example used in Ono and Thompson (1997, p. 487). In this section of the episode, the speakers are talking about Speaker F's boyfriend who wants to hide his relationship with her to other girls.

(12) M: *a-tte-nai no?*
 see-PROG-NEG:NONP SFP
 'Aren't (you) seeing (him)?'

yoru toka mo a-e-nai no?
 night SOF even see-POT-NEG:NONP SFP
 'Can't (you) see (him) even at night?'

F: *a-tte-nai yo.*
 see-PROG-NEG:NONP SFP
 '(I) am not seeing him.'

→ M: *heya ni tsure-te kure-ba ii jan.*
 room DAT bring-TE come-COND good TAG
 'If (you) bring (him) to (your) room, (it) is good, isn't it?'

F: .. *datte.*,
 because

chikaku ni sun-de-nai mon.
 near LOC live-PROG-NEG:NONP SE

'Because (we) don't live close (to each other).' [japn1773]

What is the referent for the argument corresponding to the adjectival predicate *ii* 'good' in Speaker M's utterance? In Japanese, it is not straightforward to identify "missing" arguments in the conversational structure like this example. Ono and Thompson suggest that it appears that expressions such as *ii* 'good' and *warui* 'bad' are "grammaticized without 'any argument structure'" (p. 487). They further claim that pragmatics and semantics play an important role in argument structure in Japanese conversation (also see Thompson & Hopper, 2001 for further discussion of the notion of argument structure), and thus the concept of ellipsis as deletion of arguments would not provide insight to the

analysis of Japanese conversational structure. This alternative view that rejects missing arguments in Japanese structure may explain why “ellipsis” is so prevalent even when there are no apparent referents in the previous discourse. We have already seen that Martin’s Type 3 and 4 subject ellipsis/Shibatani’s “zero-argument predicate” type and PROarb are structurally complete without a subject. The non-requirement of subject in Japanese can be extended to other constructions beyond these. In other words, nothing is omitted from the beginning, and constructions that would look ill-formed if they were in other structurally rigid languages such as English are grammatically complete in Japanese. I take this view (i.e., no obligatory arguments in Japanese structure) as a starting point in this dissertation, and assume that when an item is expressed, it will add some pragmatic function(s).

As noted earlier, ellipsis is prevalent in Japanese and not limited to certain categories or items. However, in this dissertation, I chose one linguistic item, 1SG pronouns to focus on, and explore their use and nonuse in conversation.

In the next section, I describe the definition and the nature of 1SG pronouns in Japanese and suggest that they have some functions beyond syntactic necessity, and argue 1SG pronouns do not fit the traditional definition of “pronoun”.

2.3. Personal Pronouns as a Grammatical Category

2.3.1. Definition

The English word *pronoun* is derived from Latin *prōnōmen*, a Greek-origin word *antōnumiā* ‘instead of a noun’ (*anti* ‘anti-’ + *ónoma* ‘name’) (Onions, 1966, p. 715). The etymological meaning of this word itself strongly suggests that it substitutes for a noun. In general, the grammatical class “pronoun” includes personal pronouns (e.g., *I, you, he,*

she, they), demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *this, that, these*), relative pronouns (e.g., *which, who*), interrogative pronouns (e.g., *what, who*), and indefinite pronouns (e.g., *some, none*).

The traditional definition assumes that this class simply stands for a noun or a noun phrase. However, this assumption is problematic. Bhat (2004) points out that personal pronouns are quite different from other pronouns in the category, and they do not simply stand for nouns. He draws a distinction between the primary function of personal pronouns and other proforms, and notes:

Personal pronouns are used primarily for denoting speech roles like ‘being the speaker’ and ‘being the addressee’ of the sentence in which they occur. Proforms, on the other hand, are used for employing a set of general concepts in different functions like locating an entity, denoting one’s lack of knowledge about it, obtaining information about it from the addressee, or relating it with some other entity. (p. 272)

This is particularly true for first and second persons. Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 44) present a taxonomy for personal pronouns in English named “personals” as shown in Figure 3. Distinctions among forms in this category are made according to their roles in the communication process. While the third-person forms are anaphors that refer back to nouns introduced in the text, the first and second person forms are defined by their speech roles (the speaker and the addressee). That is, the first and second persons are primarily used as the indicators of their speech roles and not as “pro” forms that replace nouns.

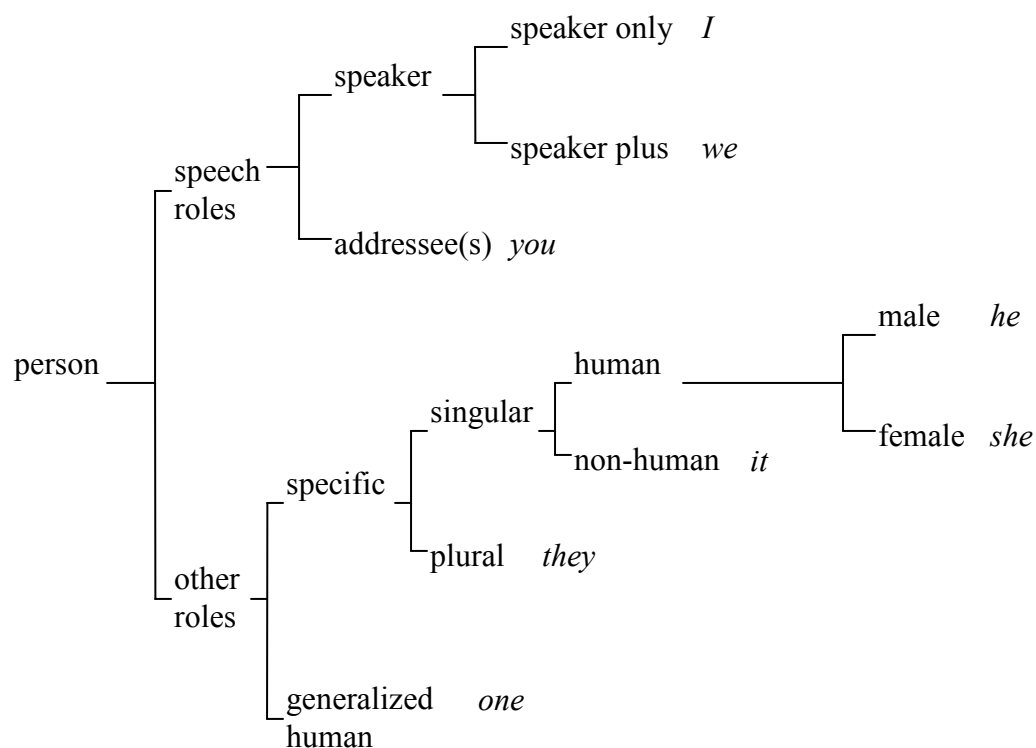


Figure 3. “Personals” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 44)

Therefore, the term “pronoun” does not fully describe what first and second person really are. This problem in the definition may be even larger in languages of different linguistic structures from that of the English system. As noted earlier, in Japanese, ellipsis frequently occurs without violating syntactic requirements. Thus, these pronouns in Figure 3 are often realized as zero whether their primary function is to indicate speech roles or to replace already introduced nouns. However, pronouns of course exist in the Japanese language, and are used in certain situations. In the next section, I describe 1SG “pronouns” in Japanese.

2.3.2. First-Person Singular “Pronouns” in Japanese

One issue for personal pronouns in Japanese is that there are several distinct forms, the use of which is determined according to the social situation. Below is a list of typical *ninsho daimeishi* ‘personal pronouns’ for first person in Japanese found in the

literature. This list is not exhaustive but contains the most frequent and common forms. There are many more forms depending on dialect, formality, gender, and social class. For example, *uchi*, which literally means ‘home’, is sometimes used as a 1SG pronoun by females in Kansai region (Martin, 1975). The status, roles, and functions of personal pronouns in Japanese have been widely discussed from various perspectives in previous studies (e.g., Hinds, 1971; Jablonski, 1999; Kondo, 1990; Lee & Yonezawa, 2008, Miyazaki, 2004; Ono & Thompson, 2003; Shibatani, 1990; Yano, 1988).

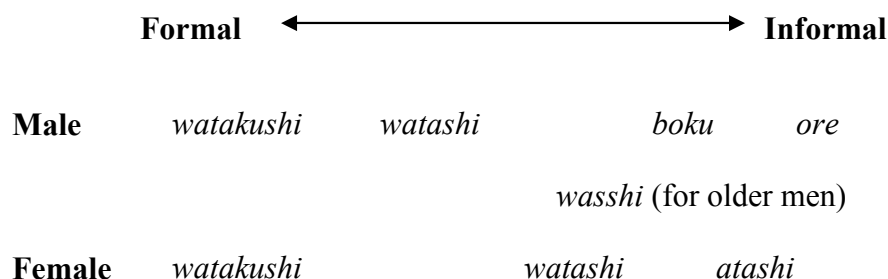


Figure 4. First-person singular pronoun forms in Japanese

(adapted from Iwasaki, 2002, p. 293; Kaiser et al., 2001, p. 371; Kondo 1990, p. 27; Shibatani, 1990, p. 371)

As can be seen, most of the forms listed in Figure 4 are phonologically variant forms of *watashi*, thus, there are just three different forms, the latter two of these used only by men at least according to the standard: *watashi*, *boku*, and *ore*.

It is noteworthy that these three personal pronouns are etymologically derived from nouns: *watashi* from ‘private (thing)’ (Shibatani, 1990, p. 372), *boku* from a Chinese loan word ‘slave’, *ore* from a contracted form of *onore* ‘oneself’ (Martin, 1975, p. 1076). Iwasaki (2002) notes that Japanese personal pronouns are not distinguishable from nouns morphosyntactically (also see Kaiser et al., 2001; Yamamoto, 1999). For example,

personal pronouns can be modified by adjectives just like nouns (Yano, 1988). Thus, it is possible to say *tsumetai watashi* ‘cold me’ [japn1722] although not as common as noun modification.

While these forms above are usually identified as personal pronouns in the literature, they are not identical to those in Indo-European languages (such as *I* in English). They appear to have more functions than dictionary definitions suggest as I discuss in later chapters.

Although there is a relatively large repertoire of personal pronouns in Japanese, their use is very limited (Iwasaki, 2002; Ono & Thompson, 2003; Shibatani, 1990). The results of Yamamoto’s (1999) study shown in Table 1 revealed that 79.25% of 1SG references in spoken Japanese were ellipted while none were ellipted in spoken English. That is, only 20.75% are expressed with explicit 1SG pronouns in Japanese. Similarly, Lee and Yonezawa (2008, pp. 737-738) found that only 15.5% of 1SG subjects are overtly expressed. That is, instead of using explicit 1SG pronouns, speakers leave them unmentioned in many situations.

Alternatively, speakers also can use nouns for self-reference according to the appropriateness of social context. For example, when a mother refers to herself to her child, she often says *okaa-san* ‘Mom’. The same person, who happens to be an elementary school teacher, would refer to herself as *sensee* ‘Teacher’ to her students. She may use other self-reference terms (e.g., *oba-chan* ‘Auntie’ to a child), different forms of 1SG pronouns (e.g., *watashi*, *watakushi*, *atashi*) or ellipsis depending on social situations.

The choice among ellipsis, 1SG pronouns, and self-referential nouns is closely related to Japanese culture, which is group-oriented and prefers indirectness (Jablonski,

1999; Kondo, 1990; Lebra, 2004). Lebra (2004) notes that 1SG indicators in Japanese vary according to “(a) gender; (b) self’s relation to the listener by age, seniority, status, familiarity; and (c) the given interactive situation, such as formal or informal” (p. 20).

Likewise, Kondo (1990) notes,

You are not an “I” unattached by context, rather you are defined by the context...

Identity in Japan is not linked to the use of pronouns as anaphora, where the “I”

stands for a proper noun that has been registered in discourse. ... So-called

Japanese pronouns are indexical and deictic, shifting with social positioning and

the relations between “self” and “other”. The “I” is shaped by formality, kinship,

occupation, other people’s desires and usages, and myriad of other “contextual”

factors. (p. 29)

Japanese 1SG pronouns, then, are not identical to English *I*, a fixed form that is not influenced by social context. On the contrary, the use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese, as a form of indicators of self, is constantly being shaped according to social context.

From a perspective of functional linguistics, Ono and Thompson (2003) point out that Japanese 1SG pronouns are not mere pronouns that refer to first person but have pragmatic functions such as “emotive” (p. 330) and “frame setting” (p. 332) uses, which involve subjectivity.

In summary, the use/nonuse and forms of 1SG pronouns in Japanese varies depending on social context, and the use can be motivated by pragmatics. It appears that they do not fit the definition of pronouns we are familiar with from work on Indo-European languages. As I note the problem in the definition of ellipsis earlier, we have an issue with the definition of pronouns based on Indo-European languages as well.

Although I refer to them as “first-person singular (1SG) pronouns” for convenience in this dissertation, it is important to bear in mind that they comprise a different sort of category than do pronouns in English.

2.3.3. Possible Functions of First-person Singular Pronouns

In Section 2.1, I described the pervasiveness of ellipsis in Japanese and conditions of occurrences and remarked that ellipsis does not mean “omission” or “deletion” of syntactically required elements in Japanese as has been noted by Ono and Thompson (1997). For example, according to Martin’s Type 2 ellipsis, deictic reference indicates unexpressed subjects in dyad conversations, and thus it is assumed that speech participants will not need first- and second-person subjects at all in such situations as shown in Example (3). It is assumed that ellipsis often occurs when the unexpressed information is recoverable from other sources in the discourse. Hence, personal pronouns to indicate referents should not be necessary in the environment where unexpressed referents are recoverable from deictic expressions. Nonetheless, 1SG pronouns do show up in the data for the present study based on dyad conversations. How do speech participants choose to use or not to use 1SG pronouns in informal conversation? It was noted earlier that the use of 1SG pronouns is determined by social context, and various usages can be found according to different situations (e.g., formal vs. informal). All the data for the present study are informal phone conversations between friends or family members thus it is supposed that such situational variables are minimized. Therefore, I assume that differences (where evident) in the use of 1SG pronouns are primarily influenced by discourse and pragmatic needs instead of situations.

Yano (1988, p. 35) states that Japanese pronouns have three purposes: emphasis, contrast, and disambiguation of the referential relation. Examples of the purposes in his study, all taken from novels, are shown below.

(13) Emphatic use

dakedo atashi nodo ga kawaite-iru noyo.
 but 1SG throat GA dry-PROG:NONP SFP
 ‘But I’m thirsty.’ (slightly modified based on Yano, 1988, p. 35)

(14) Contrastive use

boku ni mo chikara ga waite-kita yoo da.
 1SG DAT also energy GA spring out-come MOD COP
 ‘I even feel stronger.’ (slightly modified based on Yano, 1988, p. 36)

(15) Disambiguative use

boku ga dare da ka go-zonji-nai desu ka.
 1SG GA who COP Q POL-know-NEG POL Q
 ‘Don’t you know who I am?’ (slightly modified based on Yano, 1988, p. 36)

Although Yano does not provide detailed explanation of each example and it is not very clear how each use works, he claims that pronouns in Japanese are marked expressions as opposed to zero-pronominals (i.e., pronoun ellipsis). He also proposes that the degree of “markedness need” controls the use of ellipsis and pronouns (p. 38). Jablonski (1999) similarly notes that Japanese personal pronouns have emphatic and theme-making functions, and the use of marked utterances (i.e., pronouns) are more restricted than that of unmarked utterances (i.e., pronoun ellipsis). In his influential work of typological markedness found in various linguistic categories, Greenberg (2005) states that pronominal forms are considered unmarked while nouns are considered marked. He further claims that unmarked forms show higher frequency than marked forms. In the case of Japanese, ellipsis can be considered the unmarked form as opposed to 1SG pronouns, and the frequent occurrence of ellipsis shows one of the characteristics of

unmarkedness. Therefore, this consideration of markedness on 1SG pronouns versus ellipsis is plausible. Unfortunately, these studies by Yano and Jablonski above provide only examples from written texts or from constructed discourse. Research utilizing naturally occurring spoken data is essential to confirm the functions discussed in previous studies.

From the perspective of languages that are syntactically rigid such as English, it may look as if there are slots that are not filled in sentences with ellipsis in Japanese. However, in languages with freer syntactic structures, it is natural to think that there are no such syntactic slots to be filled, and thus nothing is missing. Extending previous studies such as Ono and Thompson (1997), Yano (1988), and Jablonski (1999), I take the assumption that so-called ellipsis is the “default” or “unmarked” form in conversational Japanese as a starting point. Hence 1SG pronouns are considered to be the “marked” form, and I assume that some function(s) should be added to the utterance when 1SG pronouns are expressed. The terms “ellipsis” and “1SG pronouns” are used for convenience in this dissertation; however, as argued earlier, it is important to keep in mind that these terms do not fully describe the nature and roles of these linguistic items in Japanese.

2.4. The Notion of “Subject”

In this section, I provide a brief and partial description of Japanese language structure that is relevant to the data analysis of 1SG pronouns; namely, subject and postpositional particles. Although this dissertation primarily investigates the use of 1SG pronouns, and it is not my intention to deviate from the main scope, the notion of subject

and the related postpositional particles in the study of 1SG pronouns are inevitably intertwined.

2.4.1. Problems in the Definition of Subject in Japanese

First of all, “subject” defined in the present study needs to be clarified. As Fujii (1991) points out, the notion of subject is often taken for granted, and its definition is not specifically given in many studies. It is true that the notion of subject in any language (families) may not be straightforward; as Halliday (2002, p. 298) states, the category of subject is obscure and controversial even in western grammatical theory. However, probably defining subject in languages with subject-predicate constructions such as English is easier than in languages with topic-comment constructions, in which Japanese is included.¹¹ This is because subject is almost always overtly expressed and can be identified from the relation to the predicate in subject-predicate construction while subject does not have to be expressed in topic-comment languages. Halliday (p. 194) identifies the three different functions of the subject in the clause structure¹²:

1. Actor (“logical subject”)
2. Modal Subject (“grammatical subject”)
3. Theme (“psychological subject”)

These three functions of the subject coincide with one another unless there is a good reason not to (Halliday, 2002).

Li and Thompson (1976, p. 463) note that the subject is determined by the predicate in subject-predicate constructions: If a verb occurs with an agent along with

¹¹ Li and Thompson (1976, p. 459) include Japanese in the languages that have both subject-predicate and topic-comment constructions.

¹² According to Halliday (2002, p. 194), there is the fourth function: Given (‘psychological subject₂’), which is in the structure of the ‘information unit’. This function is closely related to the organization of given and new information.

other noun phrases, it will be the subject; If the verb is intransitive, the patient or the actor (depending on the verb type), it will be the subject; If the verb is causative, the causer will be the subject, and so forth. “The subject can be characterized as providing the orientation or the point of view of the action, experience, state, etc., denoted by the verb” (Noonan, as cited in Li & Thompson, 1976, p. 464). Thus, this notion of subject can satisfy the first and the second functions of the subject in Halliday: “logical subject” and “grammatical subject”. In other words, in the subject-predicate construction, the grammatical subject is usually identifiable from their roles to the predicate. Besides, subject-verb agreement in many Indo-European languages helps identify the subject syntactically.

In the case of Japanese, the status of subject is controversial (Shibatani, 1990), and it appears that there is no single definition that is unanimously agreed on among Japanese linguists. Tateishi (1994) lists various interpretations of the notion of subject given by Japanese linguists. For example, Mikami claims that “so-called subject except for the topic *-wa* phrase, namely the nominative argument, is a complement of the verb”, (as cited in Tateishi, 1994, p. 2), some linguists such as Inoue, Hale, Farmer and Miyagawa (as cited in Tateishi, 1994, p. 2) understand subject in terms of a flat structure in which “all arguments of the verbs, including nominative, are immediate daughters of the projection of the verb”, and Tonoike (as cited in Tateishi, 1994, p. 3) views that all subjects and topics are adjuncts, thus “Japanese has no subject”.

The reason why a consensus in the definition of subject has not been reached may partially be because in Japanese, characterized by the both properties of a topic-comment prominent language and a subject-prominent language (Li & Thompson, 1976), the three

functions of the subject in Halliday (2002) do not have to coincide with one another. That is, Theme, “psychological subject”, or “what is being talked about” (Shibatani, 1990, p. 282) may or may not be Actor, “logical subject” in a given sentence, and may not be modal Subject, “grammatical subject” or general “subject” as a syntactic category in the subject-predicate relation. Although subject is an extensively studied area, the fact that there is no unanimously agreed on definition of the term, as the literature above indicates, may be one of the sources of confusion in understanding Japanese language constructions.

2.4.2. Postpositional Particles Following Subjects

In addition to disagreement in the definition, immature explanation of the postpositional particles that are considered to mark subjects creates more confusion over the notion of subject in Japanese. Since Japanese has so-called “case particles” (Tsujimura, 2007, p. 122), we might expect them to readily identify the grammatical subject. However, in fact, these particles are used in complex ways. In this section, I describe the postpositional particles following the possible subject that are relevant to the data analyses of the present study (*ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero-marking) and demonstrate that subject in Japanese cannot be determined solely by case-marking particles.

2.4.2.1. *Ga* and *Wa*: Subject Versus Topic?

The postpositional particles *ga* and *wa* are considered the most salient particles in Japanese, and discussions of the difference between *ga* and *wa* are found in a number of studies (e.g., Iwasaki, 2002; Kuno, 1973; Kuroda, 1976; Nariyama, 2003; Shibatani, 1990; Tateishi, 1994; Tsujimura, 2007; Watanabe, 1990).

Both particles are usually introduced in sample dialogues in early sections in textbooks of JSL/JFL along with other particles such as *o* ‘accusative, object marker’ and

no ‘genitive, *of*’. However, as is often the case, only unsatisfactory or even incorrect explanations are provided. For example, one self-teaching book states that *wa* and *ga* are “often interchangeable, but there are some instances where one is preferred over the other” (Hakes, 2004, p. 102). Another book notes that “much has been said about the difficulty in understanding the difference between *wa* and *ga*, but it should not be hard” (Seward, 1992, p. 22) and then goes on to provide some superficial usages with no further explanation. These statements in JSL/JFL books are misleading. As Nariyama (2003) notes, the difference between the two particles is probably one of the most complicated and problematic concepts in Japanese for non-native speakers. Unfortunately, my brief survey of JSL/JFL books found that some (more often in self-teaching books than classroom textbooks) contain misleading or incorrect explanations.

According to scholarly literature of Japanese grammar, *ga* is generally considered a marker for nominative case or subject (Iwasaki, 2002; Martin, 1975; Shibatani, 1990) although the status of *ga* is arguable (e.g., Ono et al., 2000). As shown below, *ga* marks the subject *ore* ‘I’ in Example (16) while *ga* in Example (17) marks the object *kuro to shiro* ‘black and white (shoes)’ with the verb *hoshii* ‘want’. This shows *ga* can mark not only subject but also what would be considered object based on its semantic role in some constructions such as occurring with the predicate expressing desire *hoshii* in (17)¹³, and it makes the status of *ga* defined as a mere nominative or subject marker questionable.

- (16) *ore ga hirune shite-ru aida ni ikkai denwa kaka-tte ki-te sa,*
 1SG GA nap do-PROG:NONP during at one-time phone call-TE come-TE IP
 ‘While I was taking a nap, a phone call came in once and, ...’ [japn6166]

¹³ Kuno (1973, Chapter 4) calls it “object-marking *ga*”; Iwasaki (2002) also shows several structures called “double nominative”, “dative subject”, “existential” and “possessive” constructions (pp. 85-88) in which noun phrases marked by *ga* are not subjects but objects.

- (17) *de ore*,
and 1SG

kuro to shiro ga hoshi-katta no,
black and white GA want-PAST SFP

‘And, I wanted (a pair of) black and white (shoes).’ [japn4044]

The historical change in the functions of *ga* also leads to a question about the status of *ga* as a subject marker. According to Shibatani (1990), in Old Japanese, *ga*, as well as *no*, marked the subject of a nominalized clause and also functioned as the attributive marker; however there were no particles to mark the subject of an independent clause. These two particles were gradually used for separate functions, and they eventually acquired different statuses: *ga* as a nominative particle and *no* as an attributive case particle in the Edo period (1603-1686 A.D.: the Early Modern Japanese period). Fujii’s (1991) diachronic study of grammatical subject shows the change in the distribution of the two particles marking subject in *Genji monogatari* ‘The Tale of Genji’ and its translations from different time periods. *Ga* as a nominative marker only appeared in relative and other subordinate clauses in the original written in the 11th century, but 25.6 % of the nominative *ga* was used in independent clauses in the translation written in 1830. The researcher also examined the three elementary school textbooks written in 1875, 1900, and 1936. The use of *ga* after subjects was not observed in the textbook written in 1875. Although it is considered that the nominative *ga* was established around the 15th and 16th centuries (Iwanami kogo jiten, Konojima, as cited in Fujii, 1991, p. 178), Fujii suggests that the use of *ga* after subjects was not stabilized until the end of the 19th century or the early 20th century. That is, *ga* as a nominative, which is considered to be the subject marker in Present-Day Japanese, appears to have a very short history as a nominative marker dating back at the earliest to the 15th Century, but

not in wide use until much later. This appears to be further related to the issue of the notion of subject discussed in the previous section.

Wa is generally considered to mark the topic (Iwasaki, 2002; Martin, 1975; Shibatani, 1990). Shibatani (1990) notes that *wa* can be historically classified in *kakari joshi* ‘modal particles’ that affect the mood of a sentence. The *kakari joshi* ‘modal particles’ participate in a construction made up with the combination of modal particles and the agreeing inflectional forms of the verb: the *kakari* (‘relation opener’)-*musubi* (‘tying, conclusion’) construction. *Wa* and *mo* with the conclusive form of predicates express judgment or exclamation. The *kakari musubi* construction began to form in the Nara period (710-794 A.D.), reached a complete shape during the Heian period (794-1185 A.D.), but began to decline in the Kamakura-Muromachi period (1185-1603 A.D.), and then disappeared completely in the Edo period (1603-1868 A.D.) except *wa* and *mo* with the conclusive form (the topic construction), which have survived in Present-Day Japanese. Therefore, although *wa* often appears in the post subject position, it did not develop as a nominative or subject marker in history, hence its function is not to mark a subject.

Kuroda (1976) explains the difference made by the two particles in terms of different forms of judgments based on Western metaphysics and logic. A sentence with a sentence-initial phrase marked by *wa* expresses a categorical judgment and one without a sentence-initial *wa* phrase expresses athetic judgment (phrase marked by *ga*). Kuroda’s examples are shown in examples (18) - (22).

- (18) *inu ga hashitte iru.*
 ‘A/the dog(s) is/are running.’

- (19) *inu wa hashitte iru.*
‘The dog(s) is/are running.’
- (20) *inu ga neko o oikakete iru.*
‘A/the dog(s) is/are chasing a/the cat(s).’
- (21) *inu wa neko o oikakte iru.*
‘The dog(s) is/are chasing (a/the) cat(s).’
- (22) *neko wa inu ga oikakete iru.*
‘Cats/the cat(s) are/is being chased by (a/the) dog(s).’
(slightly modified based on Kuroda, 1976, p. 6)

According to Kuroda, while (18) and (20) expressthetic judgments, (19), (21), and (22) express categorical judgments although the paired sentences (18) and (19), (20) and (21) look identical except the particles. The sentence-initial noun phrases marked by *wa*, *inu* in (19), (21) and *neko* in (22), represent the subjects of judgments. What Kuroda calls the subject of a judgment appears to equal to what is generally called theme or the topic.

Kuno (1973) differentiates the functions of these two particles as follows:

- *Wa*

a. The theme of a sentence: “Speaking of ...,”

- (23) *ore wa kanpeki da ze.*
1SG WA perfect COP:NONP SFP
‘Speaking of me, it is perfect.’ [japn6166]

b. Contrasts: “X..., but ..., as for X ...”

- (24) *watashi wa yoku kikoeru n-da-kedo,*
1SG WA well hear:NONP NML-COP-but
‘I can hear (you) well, but (you seem not to hear me well on the phone).’
[japn6739]

- *Ga*¹⁴

a. Neutral descriptions of actions or temporary states

¹⁴ Kuno (1973) also lists “*ga* for object marking” (pp. 38-39), but I do not discuss it here. One example of the object-marking *ga* is shown earlier in Example (17).

(25) *atashi ga ne kita toki ni ne.*,
 1SG GA IP come:PAST time LOC IP

ano: yuki ga tsumo-tte sugoku samuku-te ne.,
 INJ snow GA accumulate-TE very cold-TE IP

‘When I came (here), snow lasted and (it was) very cold, and ...’ [japn1605]

b. Exhaustive listing “X (and only X) ...” “It is X that ...”

(26) <L2 no: no: L2> *watashi ga itte-ru no*,
 no no 1SG GA say-PROG:NONP SFP
 ‘No no, I am saying (it). (It is me who is saying [it].)’ [japn6707]
 (modified based on Kuno, 1973, p. 38, with examples from the data for this study)

As Shibatani (1990) argues, Kuno’s labeling appears to have some flaws.

Shibatani proposes one and the same *wa* instead of two kinds of *wa*: thematic and contrastive in Kuno. According to Shibatani, contrastiveness is due to the inherent nature of *wa* as a topic-marking particle, and thus it is just emphasized in the context of contrast. He also rejects the interpretation of exhaustive listing *ga* as ‘only X’ (see Shibatani, 1990 for further discussion). Nevertheless, Kuno’s claim should provide a great deal of support in understanding these two particles.

Shibatani (1990) further states that when “the center of thought” or “the focus of new information” (p. 269) is on the subject, it is marked by *ga*; and when the center of thought or the focus is in the predicate, the subject is marked by *wa*. He explains the difference between *wa* and *ga* in terms of the “experiential judgment” (p. 267) and the “perceptual judgment” respectively, which appear to correspond to categorical judgment andthetic judgment of Kuroda’s (1976) terms. The experiential judgment involves “the analysis of a state of affairs into two units corresponding to the traditional notions of subject and predicate and the affirmation of the connection between them in the light of the speaker’s experience” (p. 268) while the perceptual judgment does not. Further, this

concept can be extended to old-new information. Entities marked by *wa* reflect an experiential judgment and are presupposed, which makes them old information, while *ga* marks new information. Iwasaki (2002, p. 217) notes that the difference between *wa* and *ga* is “a reflection of different modes of judgment or cognitive processes of the speaker”.

The distinction between subject and topic is often not clear-cut, and cannot be identified by only the presence/absence of these particles. As a matter of fact, as Fujii (1991, p. 41) notes, many topics happen to be subjects, it is often the case that a noun phrase marked by the “topic marker” *wa* is also the subject of a sentence. When a subject is topicalized with *wa*-marking, it is no longer marked by *ga* (see Iwasaki, 2002, pp. 234-238 for further discussion). I illustrate the case in which topic is also a subject using Example (27)¹⁵.

- (27) (There was a presentation for a new product. The speaker says that he could not go but implies that someone else went.)

ore wa chotto ike- --
1SG WA SOF FRG

ik-e-nak-atta kedo:.
go-POT-NEG-PAST but

‘(As for me,) I couldn’t go (to the presentation), though. (But someone else went.)’ [japn4222]

In Example (27), the 1SG pronoun *ore*, followed by the topic marker *wa*, is generally considered a topic. Since it is also the agent of the predicate *ik-e-nak-atta* ‘could not go’, it should be considered a “logical subject” in a typical subject-predicate relation. This example shows that a 1SG pronoun marked by the topic marker *wa* coincides with the subject of the predicate. This is referred to “subject-topic” (Iwasaki,

¹⁵ Also, examine examples (19) and (21) in which the arguments marked by *wa* are “logical subject”–Actor of the sentence as opposed to (22) in which the argument marked by *wa* is the patient of the action.

2002, p. 235), and it is the most frequent among all types of topicalized constituents accounting for 61.1% of all uses (National Language Research Institute as cited in Iwasaki, 2002, p. 235). The higher degree of the subject-topic probably reflects a close interrelation between topicality, agentivity, and subjecthood.

In Japanese, characterized as both a subject-prominent and a topic-prominent language (Li & Thompson, 1976), a topic does not have to be a grammatical subject in the subject-predicate construction. The two most popular examples of the topic construction or the so-called “‘double subject’ construction” (Li & Thompson, 1976, p. 468) in the literature are shown below.

(28) *sakana wa tai ga oishii*
 fish WA red snapper GA delicious:NONP
 ‘Speaking of fish, red snapper is delicious.’
 (slightly modified from Kuno, 1973, p. 62; Li & Thompson, 1976, p. 468)

(29) *zoo wa hana ga nagai*
 elephant WA nose GA long:NONP
 ‘As for the elephant, its trunk is long.’
 (slightly modified from Shibatani, 1990, p. 274)

In examples (28) and (29), the noun phrases marked by *wa* do not have a direct grammatical relationship with the predicates but they are topics of the sentences.

However, there are cases of topicalized subject (subject-topic) in which a topic coincides with a logical subject as Example (27) illustrates. The notions of subject and of topic are deeply interrelated, and thus their grammatical relation cannot be simply determined by these particles.

In summary, although *ga* and *wa* are considered the most prominent and the most often discussed particles in the literature, the explanation of the difference in their functions and historical developments are often neglected. *Ga* and *wa* tend to be simply labeled as subject and topic marker respectively. These particles are usually introduced

early in JSL/JFL textbooks; however, the difference between them appears to be one of the most difficult concepts for JSL/JFL learners of Japanese to grasp partially because of insufficient explanation in textbooks.

2.4.2.2. *Mo*

The particle *mo* is commonly glossed as a highlighting particle ‘also’ or ‘too’ in positive sentences and ‘either’ in negative sentences (Martin, 1975; Shudo, 2002).

Examples of *mo* marking 1SG pronoun subject in positive and negative constructions are shown below.

(30) Positive construction

ore mo soo omoo.

1SG also so think:NONP

‘I think so, too.’

[japn6149]

(31) Negative construction

ore mo shira-nai.

1SG also know-NEG:NONP

‘I don’t know, either.’

[japn4167]

Unlike English *too*, *mo* can be used even when the element in an utterance is not identical to the element previously mentioned (Shudo, 2002). Shudo calls it as “bridge-building” (p. 5) and claims that this is the canonical use of this particle. Like *wa*, *mo* in Present-Day Japanese was developed from the *kakari-musubi* construction that affects the mood of a sentence (Shibatani, 1990, see Section 2.4.2.1). Both express emphatic judgment (e.g., *mizu wa nagaru* ‘As for the water, it flows’ vs. *mizu mo nagaru* ‘As for the water, it too flows’, Shibatani, 1990, p. 336). In this sense, they are the two sides of the same coin that express topics. Martin (1975) notes their functions as:

The particles *wa* and *mo* signal opposite focus: *mo* highlights, *wa* subdues.

Attention is concentrated by *mo*, it is shifted elsewhere by *wa*. ... We can speak

of the function of *wa* as backgrounding or “out-focusing” and that of *mo* as foregrounding or “in-focusing”. (p. 52)

Therefore, by virtue of its focusing function, which is considered a discourse phenomenon, it may be natural to think that *mo*-marking expresses larger contents beyond an identical entity mentioned in the previous utterance. I will elaborate on discourse-pragmatic functions of *mo* occurring with 1SG pronouns in Section 6.2.

2.4.2.3. Zero-marked (Bare) First-person Singular Pronouns

Fry (2003, p.96) notes that “particle ellipsis in Japanese is the phenomenon whereby speakers omit normally obligatory NP-final grammatical particles such as *ga*, *ni*, and *o*”. Shibatani (1990) states that case particles and topic particles are often missing in colloquial speech, and the most often missed ones are the topic *wa*, the accusative *o*, and the nominative *ga*.

The term “particle ellipsis” may not be suitable since zero-marked noun phrases may not take any particles at all in some situations; thus, the particles in those instances are not actually ellipted. Shibatani (1990, p. 368) shows the tokens of 1SG subjects without postpositional particles that in fact could not take any particles in the given context. Such instances are direct expressions of the speaker’s internal feeling. He notes that supplying a particle and retaining the same pragmatic meaning is impossible. If we the topic marker *wa* is supplied, the utterances would be judgment making; the nominative *ga* for neutral description shown in Example (25) in Section 2.4.2.1 cannot be supplied, either because internal feelings of the speaker cannot be described as an objective observer. An example is shown in (32).

- (32) *atashi* \emptyset (**wa*, **ga*) *moo bikkuri-shita wayo*,
 1SG EMPH surprise-do:PAST SFP
 ‘I was really surprised, I’m telling you.’ [japn6805]

Neither *wa* nor *ga* can be supplied after the 1SG pronoun *atashi* in (32) because these particles would add extra pragmatic information that the speaker does not intend to have (see Ono et al., 2000 for further discussion of the pragmatic nature of *ga*). If we think that this utterance with no particles is appropriate, then, zero-marking may not mean particle ellipsis.

Fujii’s (1991) diachronic study of grammatical subject in *Genji monogatari* ‘The Tale of *Genji*’ (see Section 2.2.3.5 and 2.4.1 for discussions of her study) shows the change in the occurrence of unmarked subjects. In the original written in the 11th century, 43.9% of the subjects were zero-marked. However, the number of zero-marked subjects decreased in the translations written in 1723 and 1830 as subjects marked other particles such as *wa*, *mo*, and *ga* increased, and zero-marked subjects disappeared in the translation written in 1914. Fujii’s analysis of the three elementary school textbooks also show that the use of unmarked subjects dropped from 20.3% in the textbook written in 1875 to 3.2% in the textbook written in 1900. Thus, it appears that zero-marked subjects in written Japanese were frequent until the beginning of the 20th century.

2.4.2.4. Summary

In this section, I provided a brief description of postpositional particles. Postpositional particles alone cannot identify subject because (1) subjects do not only occur with so-called subject marker *ga* but also with the topic marker *wa*, *mo* ‘also’, and zero; and (2) the use of *ga* is not limited to what would traditionally be considered subject (see Ono et al., 2000 for further discussion of *ga*). Given this lack of any formal marking of the subject, the idea of identifying grammatical subject in Japanese is problematic.

2.4.3. “Subject” in the Present Study

Problems concerning with the definition of subject in Japanese can be discussed at length. However, in order to analyze the relation between 1SG pronouns and the predicate for this dissertation, we need to operationally define subject. As noted in Section 2.4.1, there are three functions of subject defined by Halliday (2002, p. 194): logical subject, grammatical subject, and psychological subject. Among these, a grammatical subject is not required in Japanese and the so-called subject case marker *ga* is not always present, thus, it is not possible to define subject by grammar alone.

Psychological subject, also often considered theme or topic, does not have to coincide with the other functions of subject in Japanese, and thus it is allowed to have no relation to the predicate. Logical subject could serve well as the definition of subject in this dissertation. That is, the argument that has particular semantic relation to the predicate in a clause is considered a subject.

One way of considering this is in relation to argument structure, as shown in Iwasaki (2002, p. 84). Iwasaki presents a list of possible argument structure types in Japanese shown in Table 8. He explains that argument structure types are classified by three criteria: dynamicity of the verb (stative or eventive), the valency of the verb (one-, two-, or three-argument type) and the arrangement of the particles associated with each noun phrase. He also notes the different semantic roles between two argument types: the semantic role of the first constituent of a stative sentence is Experiencer or Proprietor of an identity or characteristic, and the major semantic role of the first constituent of an eventive sentence is Agent or Undergoer.

Table 8. Argument structure types in Japanese

(modified based on Iwasaki, 2002, p. 84)

# of Arg.	Stative	Eventive
1	NP₁ ga e.g., <i>atashi ga saki</i> 'I'm the first' [japn6171]	Pred. NP₁ ga e.g., <i>watashi Ø mokuyoo no yoru ni tsuku</i> 'I will arrive on Thu. night' [japn4044]
2	NP₁ ga NP₂ o e.g., <i>mayumi ga boku o aishiteru</i> 'Mayumi loves me' [japn1684] NP₁ ga NP₂ ga ("Double nominative") e.g., <i>atashi wa atama ga itai</i> 'I have a headache' NP₁ ni NP₂ ga ("Dative subject"; existential; possessive.) e.g., <i>boku ni wa kodomo ga iru</i> 'I have a child' NP₁ ga NP₂ ni e.g., <i>boku ga sono shigoto ni fusawashii</i> 'I am suitable for that job'	Pred. NP₁ ga NP₂ o e.g., <i>ore Ø kuruma o katta</i> 'I bought a car' [japn6149] Pred. NP₁ ga NP₂ ni e.g., <i>watashi ga sono mae ni okaasan ni o-ai-shita no wa</i> 'When I met (your) mother last time' [japn6805] Pred. NP₁ ga NP₂ e/ni e.g., <i>atashi ga iku wa</i> 'I will go' [japn1722] Pred. NP₁ ga NP₂ to e.g., <i>boku ga mary to kekkon shita</i> 'I got married with Mary'
3	NP₁ ga NP₂ to e.g., <i>aitsu wa boku nanka to chigatte</i> 'He is different from me' [japn4573]	Pred. NP₁ ga NP₂ o NP₃ ni e.g., <i>atashi sa ima made kagi sa saifu ni irete-ta no ne</i> 'I used to put the key in the wallet' [japn0921] Pred. NP₁ ga NP₂ ni NP₃ o e.g., <i>atashi ga kodomo ni miruku o ageru</i> 'I give (my) child some milk' Pred. NP₁ ga NP₂ to NP₃ o e.g., <i>atashi ga imooto to okashi o waketa</i> 'I shared candy with my sister'

It should be borne in mind that this list is problematic in several ways. It only shows the canonical order and is simplified without other possible particles that can replace *ga* (i.e., *wa*, *mo*, zero, etc.)¹⁶. Also, note that most utterances in conversation would not cleanly fit these basic structures as scrambling and ellipsis often occur. That is, the first constituent NP₁ can occur after the second constituent NP₂ or even after the predicate; any argument (NP₁, NP₂, or NP₃) and most postpositional particles can be unexpressed particularly in conversation. Nevertheless, this summary gives some ideas of the kinds of structures in which subject-like elements occur in Japanese.

In addition to the argument structure types in Table 8, the following two structures (presented in Iwasaki, 2002, p. 96 & p. 200) are also considered in the present study. Again, these structures are presented to help readers understand basic Japanese language structure, and I do not mean that native speakers use such constructions with immobile word order and fixed particles in everyday conversation.

The structures below occur with verbs of saying such as *iu* ‘say’, *kiku* ‘ask’, *hanasu* ‘speak’ and thinking such as *kangaeru* ‘think’, *omoo* ‘think’, *omoidasu* ‘remember’, *wakaru* ‘understand’. Examples of the use drawn from the dataset for the present study are shown in (33) - (36).

- “Reportative type” (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 96)

[[NP₁ *ga*] [COMPLEMENT *to/tte*] Predicate]
 GA QT (modified based on Iwasaki, 2002, p. 96)

(33) *soide atashi okane ga na:i* *toka tte.*,
 and 1SG money GA non-exist:NONP SOF QT

¹⁶ Iwasaki (2002) displays only arguments marked by *ga* although he acknowledges the discourse and pragmatic saliency in which *ga* is actualized as other particles such *wa*, *mo*, and zero. Following Iwasaki, I show the structures marked by only *ga* in Table 8 in order to simplify the table. However, I included some examples marked by different particles (and zero) that are more commonly found in conversation than *ga* found in the dataset.

yu-tte,
say-PAST

‘And I said, “(I) don’t have money” or something, and...’ [japn6698]

(34) *atashi kuruma:*,
1SG car

ga a-tta hoo ga benri da to omoo shi:,
GA exist-PAST side GA convenient COP:NONP QT think:NONP and

‘I think that (it) is convenient to have a car, and...’ [japn4044]

- Object complementation

[[NP₁ *ga*] [COMPLEMENT *koto/no o*] Predicate]
GA NML ACC

(modified based on Iwasaki, 2002, p. 200)

(35) (Talking about the titles for a writing assignment that were selected by the speakers’ company)

boku wa: onaji dai no hito ga i-nai tte yuu koto wa- waka-tte,
1SG WA same title GEN person GA non-exist:NONP QT say NML FRG know-TE

‘I noticed that there was no one who had the same title (as mine), and ...’

[japn4164]

(36) *ore*,
1SG

mae moo i-tta ka doo ka wasure-ta kedo,
before already say-PAST Q or not forget-PAST but

‘I forgot if (I) already said (it to you) or not, but ...’ [japn4608]

Since word order or postpositional particles alone cannot identify subjects in Japanese, semantic roles of 1SG pronouns were examined for the analyses of this study. That is, the semantic roles of 1SG pronouns in the data are Experiencer or Proprietor for a stative predicate; Agent, Undergoer or Causer for an eventive predicate unless a clause/sentence is a passive or benefactive construction.¹⁷ Thus, subjects analyzed in the

¹⁷ According to Halliday (2002), subject in passive construction is modal subject and not logical subject. For the analysis of the present study, I use logical subject as the definition of subject, determined by

present study are limited to 1SG pronouns that have the semantic role of Agent, Undergoer, Causer, Experiencer, or Proprietor of an identity or characteristic (based on Iwasaki, 2002, p. 84) and marked by *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, or zero.

As I noted earlier, Table 8 and the two additional structures are presented mainly for non-native readers who are not familiar with the Japanese language structure, and my intention here is not to show another analysis contradicting with my support for the claim by Ono and Thompson (1997, viz., no obligatory slots to be filled with arguments in Japanese argument structure).

2.5. Summary

This chapter described the definitions and the related issues of the two main linguistic items of the present study, ellipsis and 1SG pronouns. The discussion along with previous studies suggests that ellipsis and 1SG pronouns in Japanese are not identical to those in Indo-European languages. General definitions of both linguistic items found in the literature do not describe what they actually are in Japanese: “Ellipsis” in Japanese is not the “omission” of syntactically required items in Japanese; and 1SG “pronouns” in Japanese are not fixed terms for indexing the speaker but one of the forms of index for self that shift according to social context. Therefore, the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns is complicated and has many variables. I hypothesize that the use of 1SG pronouns in informal conversation, the genre where ellipsis occurs most often, is motivated by discourse-pragmatic functions. Since only one genre (informal phone conversations between friends and family members) is examined in this dissertation, influences from the social situation should be minimized.

semantic role in the argument structure. However, I included 1SG pronouns marked by *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero in passive constructions, in which they are modal subject. There are 12 tokens of such cases in total.

I further provided a concise description of the linguistic items in the Japanese language structure pertinent to the analyses of this study, subject and postpositional particles. One issue with regard to the notion of subject in Japanese lies in its definition. The status of subject is controversial, and it appears that there is no single definition that is unanimously agreed on among Japanese linguists. Then, I described the roles of the postpositional particles *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero. Understanding in these particles in Japanese are closely related to, and needed for the data analyses of this study, as I will present in later chapters. The postpositional particles solely cannot serve as indicators of grammatical subject. The operational definition of subject in the present study is based on the semantic role (Agent, Undergoer, Experiencer, and Proprietor of an identity or characteristic) of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero as the first constituent (NP₁) in the argument structure shown in Table 8.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework and Educational Issues

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical framework of this dissertation and the current educational issues in teaching JSL/JFL. I suggest an investigation utilizing a usage-based framework focusing on grammar in interaction and linguistic subjectivity. I further consider unexpressed subjects with some particular subjective predicates as I propose that this is one environment where it is possible to definitively determine what the unexpressed subject is. I also describe the problems of current textbooks and self-teaching books of JSL/JFL available in the US based on my survey.

3.1. Grammar in Interaction

Previous studies that have dealt with ellipsis or pronouns in Japanese tend to rely on the researcher's intuition and provide only constructed sentences to illustrate the researcher's points (e.g., Jablonski, 1999; Takahashi, 2008). Other scholars focus on written texts (e.g., Fujii, 1991; Nariyama, 2003; Yano, 1988). Studies focusing on spoken language data (e.g., Fry, 2003; Hinds, 1982; Lee & Yonezawa, 2008; Ono & Thompson, 1997, 2003; Shibamoto, 1983) are still scarce. Since the use/nonuse of 1SG pronouns is considered to be a discourse phenomenon, formal approaches that do not take language use into account and constructed examples that are not actually used are of little use. Thus, it is crucial to examine the data from naturally occurring conversation in order to investigate variable 1SG expression, the nature and discourse-pragmatic functions of 1SG pronouns. In this dissertation, I use naturally occurring conversational data, and discuss the use 1SG pronouns in Japanese from a framework that focuses on grammar and interaction.

Fox (1996, p. vii) remarks that research on reference-tracking devices is one of the early successes in the study of discourse and grammar. I discussed several studies in the area of anaphora and reference-tracking systems in Section 2.1. These previous studies have made an important contribution to our understanding of the relationship between ellipsis and reference-tracking devices. Particularly, topic continuity, which allows the hearer to retrieve the unmentioned information, has a great effect on the use of anaphoric devices.

However, as discussed in the previous sections, 1SG pronouns in Japanese are not mere anaphors. As Ono and Thompson (2003) state, Japanese 1SG pronouns have more functions than reference-tracking devices. It is appropriate to focus on these barely explored functions and to discuss them from a perspective that reveals these functions. As Fox (1996) questions, “what are the possible relationship between forms and functions in natural language?” (p. viii), I am also interested in answering this question with regard to Japanese 1SG pronouns and their ellipsis.

Ikegami (2000) discusses two different approaches often used to study ellipsis in the current literature. One is the more structural approach that compares sentences with unexpressed arguments to those with all arguments expressed. However, this approach cannot give a full explanation for why a speaker chooses to use an utterance with or without an overt pronoun in all discourse contexts and for a variety of speakers. The other approach is what Ikegami (2000) calls the “*komunikeeshon kinooteiki* ‘communication-functional’” (p. 250, translation by me) approach. He notes that this approach goes beyond a structural understanding and attempts to investigate what motivation of the speaker makes him or her use unexpressed arguments, and what effect

this has on the listener. The same thing can be said as to pronoun use or any other linguistic items. It is important to view language use from the framework that takes functions into account. Why does the speaker choose this particular form in the given situation? We need to look at the forms where they are actually at work. That is, we need an approach to investigate grammar in interaction, which can tie forms and functions.

Schegloff, Ochs, and Thompson (1996, p. 33) state that the relationship between grammar and interaction can be argued from three different positions: (1) “grammar organizes social interaction”, (2) “social interaction organizes grammar”, and (3) “grammar is a mode of interaction”. Within the first approach, grammar is treated as a resource for interaction. Schegloff (1996) argues that grammar can be considered “an organizing device” (p. 55) for “turn constructional units” (TCUs). Ford & Thompson (1996) demonstrate that syntactic completion is used to project the end of turns in addition to intonational and pragmatic completions.

According to the second approach, grammar can be interpreted as “an outcome of lived sociality” (Schegloff, Ochs & Thompson, 1996, p. 36). Probably the best known example of this view is Emergent Grammar (EG), as proposed by Hopper (1987, 1996, 1998). Hopper argues that linguistic structure emerges out of interaction, and is always “open and in flux” (1998, p. 157). EG views grammar as a collection of different kinds of repetitions, and these repetitions become grammatical when they are repeated enough and identified as forms. In turn these grammaticized forms may organize interaction as the first argument states. Ford, Fox, and Thompson (2003) also remark, “grammar ... is emergent, constantly undergoing revision as it is deployed and redesigned in everyday

talk” (p. 119). The concept of emergent grammar has a tremendous impact on many areas of linguistics.

Within the third approach, grammar is seen as a product of interaction. In this view, grammar itself is a living structure of interaction “imbued with subjectivity and sociability” (Schegloff, Ochs & Thompson, 1996, p. 38). Grammar that unfolds during conversational interaction is considered a collaborative accomplishment by participants. The research presented in this dissertation supports an understanding that forms do not exist without reasons or are not stabilized; and language use during interaction shapes the forms, which can explain diachronic language change.

In recent years, more linguists have conducted research from the perspective of interactional linguistics, “a perspective on language structure and use informed by language’s natural habitat in the interaction order” (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001, p. 1). In this framework, researchers are interested in the relationship between grammar and interaction: how grammar is shaped by interaction and in turn how interaction is shaped by grammar. Based on the analysis of conversation in English, Ono and Thompson (1995) also suggest that the realization of syntax is influenced by both cognitive and interactional factors, and it is a locally managed and dynamic process in which speech participants collaboratively construct the schema. The study of 1SG pronouns and ellipsis in Japanese, which appears to involve the interactive nature, needs this kind of framework.

Although Japanese pronouns have been studied extensively by many researchers, studies that discuss pronouns from the perspective of interaction are still limited. In this

dissertation, I discuss 1SG pronouns in Japanese from a functional perspective, focusing on grammar in interaction and subjectivity.

3.2. Linguistic Subjectivity and Subjective Expression in Japanese

3.2.1. Introduction

Language is inherently subjective; as Benveniste (1971, p. 225) notes, “language is marked so deeply by the expression of subjectivity that one might ask if it could still function and be called language if it were constructed otherwise.” We use language not only to report propositional information to others but also to express our feelings and thoughts. This is especially true for informal everyday conversation. Scheibman (2002, p. 2) also notes that “language –in particular casual conversation– is subjective to varying degrees.” As we engage in everyday communicative interaction, we constantly express our attitudes, feelings, emotions, and opinions (i.e., subjectivity) with various linguistic forms and extra-linguistic forms such as posture and eye gaze. If subjectivity is the central part of conversational discourse, we can assume that it will be found in all languages, expressed by a variety of different linguistic forms. Studying such forms in relation to subjectivity may uncover hidden functions beyond structural requirements, and provide ways to better understand true nature of language.

The study of subjectivity, once considered “eccentric” (Lyons, 1994, p.10), had become of interest to many researchers in the late 1980s, and has grown to one of the major areas of the linguistics today. In this section, I review previous studies of subjectivity, and discuss the significance of subjectivity for the analysis of this dissertation.

3.2.2. What is Linguistic Subjectivity?

3.2.2.1. Definition

First of all, the definition of the term ‘subjectivity’ should be clarified. Although this term may be interpreted in some different ways, subjectivity as understood in this dissertation refers to the expression of a speaker’s point of view: opinions, feelings, attitudes, and thoughts. Lyons (1982, p.102) notes, “the term subjectivity refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent’s expression of himself and his own attitudes and beliefs”. Finegan (1995, p.1) similarly defines subjectivity as “expression of self and the representation of a speaker’s ... perspectives or point of view in discourse”. Benveniste (1971, p. 224) describes subjectivity as “the capacity of the speaker to posit himself as ‘subject’”. According to him, the use of first-person pronouns is fundamental to subjectivity. It “refers to the act of individual discourse in which it is pronounced, and by this it designates the speaker” (p.226). Besides, he notes that deictic indicators, adverbs and adjectives and the tense system, which occur in spatial and temporal relationships with the speaker as referent, are also subjective.

3.2.2.2. Two Major Approaches to Subjectivity

The two major perspectives of subjectivity, one proposed by Traugott and the other by Langacker, have influenced a number of related studies since the 1980s. While Traugott is interested in a unidirectional diachronic process in which meanings gradually become more subjective, Langacker’s view involves a conceptualization in which subjectively construed entities remain offstage and thus it is considered primarily synchronic.

Traugott (1986, 1989, 1995) discusses subjectivity in terms of a diachronic pragmatic-semantic process, subjectification. In this process over time, meanings tend to move from less to more speaker-based and less to more discourse-based. Traugott summarizes this process over time as below:

Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation.

Tendency II: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual metalinguistic situation.

Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective state/attitude toward the proposition.

(Traugott, 1989, pp. 34-35)

Through repetition over time, meanings gradually shift from concrete to abstract or from physical to mental (Tendency I), to textual and metalinguistic (Tendency II), and to speaker-based, subjective (Tendency III).

In contrast with Traugott's notion of subjectivity, Langacker (1985, 1990, 2006) takes a cognitive approach to subjectivity, which is primarily synchronic. Langacker differentiates his definition of subjectivity and subjectification from Traugott's as his is concerned with "**vantage point** (a matter of **construal**)" (2006, p. 18, emphasis in original source) whereas Traugott is more interested in "the **domain** in which a situation resides (a matter of conceptual **content**)" (p. 17, emphasis in original source).

According to Langacker, the objectively construed entity is placed onstage with focus of attention and expressed explicitly whereas the subjectively construed entity remains offstage and thus expressed implicitly.

His claim which looks rather counterintuitive at first can be explained well in the following example. The spatial preposition *across* below shows this notion of construal. Langacker explains the case that overt (*from me*) and covert (zero) reference point to the ground indicates a degree of objectivity/subjectivity. When the speaker is expressed as zero (the speaker off stage), the sentence is more subjective than that with self-reference (the speaker on stage as an objectively construed participant).

(37) Vanessa is sitting across the table **from me**.

(38) Vanessa is sitting across the table (**zero**).

(slightly modified from Langacker, 1990, p. 20)

Thus, Example (38) that has no self-reference is more subjective than (37) that has an explicit reference point “*me*” (the speaker). I will discuss whether this notion applies in a language such as Japanese, which freely allows unexpressed arguments, in a later section.

Although both Traugott and Langacker use the same term, their approaches to subjectivity are substantially different. Both have had significant influence on the related research of subjectivity over the recent two decades. Today, subjectivity has been studied from different dimensions in a wide range of languages, proving that it is essential part of language.

3.2.2.3. The Range of Subjectivity Studies in the Literature

Subjectivity in various linguistic areas and a wide range of languages has been studied for a few decades. For example, in the 1970s, Kuno (1976) discusses the

speaker's "empathy" (p. 431) interacting with structures in English. He identifies three kinds of hierarchies of empathy as shown below.

1. The Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy: It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the subject; it is next easiest for him to empathize with the referent of the object... It is most difficult for him to empathize with the referent of the by-passive agentive.

Subject ≥ Object ≥ ... ≥ By-Agentive (p. 432)

2. The Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy: It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with himself (i.e., to express his own point of view); it is next easiest for him express his empathy with the hearer; it is most difficult for him to empathize with the third party, at the exclusion of the hearer or himself.

Speaker ≥ Hearer ≥ Third Person¹⁸ (p. 433)

3. The Topic Empathy Hierarchy: It is easier for the speaker to empathize with an object (e.g., person) that he has been talking about than with an object that he has just introduced into discourse for the first time:

Discourse-anaphoric > Discourse-nonanaphoric (p. 434)

Although Kuno only provides constructed examples, it appears that his claim is on the right track as the later empirical research finds evidence of similar tendencies (e.g., Scheibman, 2002).

Other examples of studies in the area of linguistic subjectivity include: non-anaphoric reflexives in English (Brinton, 1995); subjectivity in epistemic modal expressions (Nyuts, 2001); subjectivity expressed in subject-predicate combinations in

¹⁸ Langacker (1991) has similar but more elaborate ranks as follows:
speaker > hearer > human > animal > physical object > abstract entity (p. 307)

English conversation (Scheibman, 2002); modals in American Sign Language (Shaffer, 2004); subjectification of verbs into pragmatic-discourse markers in Spanish (Company, 2006); deictic expressions of cross-linguistic study including Japanese, Korean, Chinese, English, and so forth (Uehara, 2006).

In Japanese, subjectivity has been studied from various dimensions as well. Maynard (1993) explores the use of what she calls “Discourse Modality indicators” (p. 38) such as connectives, adverbs, verb forms, clause-noun combination, and interactional particles that express speaker’s subjective view. Her analysis based on data from dialogues and narratives and from fiction shows that some linguistic devices are used primarily express subjectivity. Another study done by Maynard (2002) further analyzes emotive expressions in Japanese discourse, and discusses them in terms of logos (‘rational argument’, p. 4) and pathos (‘feeling selves’, p. 4).

Iwasaki’s (1993a) study sheds new light on the relationship between subjectivity and information accessibility shown in different linguistic items in Japanese. He identifies three types of perspectives: S-perspective (perspective on self), O-perspective (perspective on others), and Zero-perspective. S-perspective describes the speaker’s own experience, therefore, the speaker has dual two roles: the experiencer and the reporter of the event; O-perspective simply describes the other person’s experience as a reporter; Zero-perspective occurs in situations that do not include autonomous entity. Information accessibility is “the metaphorical distance between the speaker and the information being reported” (p. 19). S-perspective has higher information accessibility than O- and Zero-perspectives because of the speaker’s involvement in the act or event. Furthermore, the degree of information accessibility is associated with the degree of transitivity. Iwasaki

examined how a principle based on the relationship between these perspectives, information accessibility, and transitivity operates on the choice of tense forms and switch-reference morphemes using actual narrative data. The relationship among information accessibility, transitivity and speaker's perspective according to Iwasaki is shown in Figure 5.

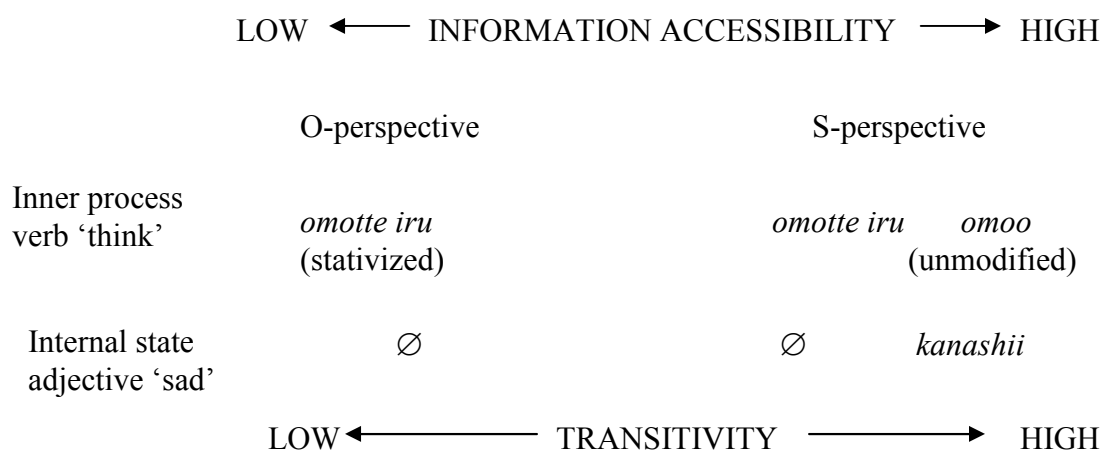


Figure 5. S- and O- perspectives on the information accessibility and transitivity scales (modified based on Iwasaki, 1993a, p. 25, p. 54)

In recent studies by a number of linguists, subjectivity is proven to be expressed in a various linguistic items and structure (e.g., minetics by Baba, 2003; connectives, adverbs by Maynard, 1993; noncanonical order of constituents by Ono, 2006). First-person singular pronouns, which have a primary relationship to the speaker himself or herself, also express a high degree of subjectivity rather than simply functioning as anaphoric devices. Since 1SG pronouns are not syntactically required and ellipsis can be considered the “default” in Japanese, the choice between 1SG pronouns and ellipsis must be governed by pragmatic or discourse factors beyond syntax.

Ikegami (2000) remarks that subjectivity and subject ellipsis in Japanese are closely related from the point of view of functionalism. According to him, items that are “recoverable” (p. 251) for the listener can be omitted in many languages. This is related to new-old information, and pronominal forms are used in any languages. In Japanese, furthermore, information that is recoverable for only the speaker can be omitted even when it seems to be difficult for the listener to recover such information. Japanese relies on the listener’s positive cooperation in interaction in this respect. The success of conversation depends on how much omitted information the listener can get out of the speaker’s utterance. This is influenced by Japanese culture and way of interaction shaped by *amae* and *omoiyari*, which do not have single equivalents in English but roughly mean ‘psychological and emotional dependence’ (Maynard, 1993, p.262) and ‘consideration for others’ (p.264) respectively (see Doi, 1986; Travis, 1998; Wierzbicka, 1997 for further discussion of *amae* and *omoiyari* and their linguistic manifestation).

Ikegami suggests that the prototype of information that is recoverable for the speaker, and thus that which is most often omitted, is that which is most easily recoverable for speaker himself or herself. This allows for reference to the speaker in the sentence to be often omitted (i.e., ellipsis of 1SG subject). Ikegami further relates his argument of subject ellipsis to Langacker’s (1990, p. 20) discussion of subjectification shown in examples (37) and (38). The subjective construal means that the speaker does not have to refer to himself or herself explicitly as a reference point. Therefore, the frequent occurrence of 1SG subject ellipsis appears to be explainable. For example, the notion of Langacker’s subjectification might be applicable to the expressions of cognition, perception, and internal feelings in Japanese briefly described in Section 2.2.4.4 and will

be further discussed in Section 3.2.3. The expression of subjective feelings and mental states that are not accessible to anyone but the speaker allows him or her to remain offstage and does not have to be expressed.

However, one question remains: Which is the more subjective, an utterance with 1SG pronouns or one with ellipsis in Japanese? As will be seen for cognition words in Section 3.2.3.1, such expressions cannot occur with anything other than first-person subject, and thus are always construed as first person even when a subject is not expressed. However, explicit use of a 1SG subject does not make the utterance unacceptable. Besides, ellipsis in Japanese is a prevalent linguistic phenomenon and is not limited to 1SG subject but occurs with all persons and in any parts of speech as noted in Section 2.1. Therefore, it is not clear that the notion of subjectification by Langacker (zero = more subjective than the expressed form) is applicable to ellipsis of 1SG subject in Japanese. Langacker discusses this notion in relation to English, which does not freely allow arguments to be unexpressed. In Japanese, in which syntactic elements are not strictly required, a different interpretation may be needed.

In their study of 1SG pronouns in Japanese utilizing conversational data, Ono and Thompson (2003) suggested that the use of 1SG pronouns is often motivated by subjective purposes. They identified some 1SG pronouns used for an “emotive” function (p. 330). An example in their study is shown in (39).

(39) *sugoi warukute watashi*
 terrible bad 1SG
 ‘I (feel) terrible.’ (Ono & Thompson, 2003, p. 330)

In this function, 1SG pronouns are not marked by any particles, and the predicate expresses the emotion and feelings of the speaker. Another characteristic of this function is that 1SG tend to occur in the post-predicate position. The researchers suggest that 1SG

pronouns in this use are becoming a linguistic device that functions similar to sentence-final particles. Furthermore, they found that 1SG pronouns are used for “frame-setting” (p. 332) purposes. With this use of 1SG pronouns, the speaker can set a frame, which can be equivalent to a topic or theme, for the rest of the utterance from his or her point of view. Therefore, it appears that 1SG pronouns are used as expressions of subjectivity rather than placing the speaker on stage objectively. Hence, we cannot simply say that utterances with 1SG pronoun ellipsis are more subjective than those with expressed 1SG pronouns just because the subjective construed entities are implicit and non-salient. Instead of analyzing 1SG pronouns syntactically as an entity onstage versus offstage, if we focus on their functional roles such as the topic, expressed 1SG pronouns = more subjective may not contradict with Langacker’s notion of subjectification. Langacker (1991) explains the topic as a kind of subjective reference point: It is a reference point because it is used to “establish mental contact with another entity” (p. 314); It is subjective because once it is established, it remains offstage and often unexpressed, and the organization of the speaker’s knowledge itself allows it to serve as a reference point, unlike some objective relationship such as between possessor-possessed. Using the same example as (28) in Section 2.4.1, Langacker shows that the topic can specify “a realm of knowledge into which the clausal process is somehow supposed to fit” (p. 315). Thus, the topic *sakana* ‘fish’ sets a realm for establishing mental contact with the subject *tai* ‘red snapper’. This function as a topic, on the process of being established, appears to coincide with the “frame-setting” function by Ono and Thompson (2003, p. 332). Hence, it appears that the use of expressed 1SG pronouns to establish topics is considered to be a subjective use, even in Langacker’s notion.

Therefore, it may not necessarily mean that unexpressed 1SG pronouns in Japanese are more subjective than expressed 1SG pronouns simply because it is a zero form. It should be investigated whether there is a relationship between subjective expression and the use or nonuse of the 1SG subject. To do so, it is necessary to compare the use of the two groups: expressed 1SG pronouns versus unexpressed 1SG pronouns.

The methodological challenge of this is that it is not easy to identify unexpressed 1SG subjects in Japanese. As mentioned earlier in Section 2.2, in Japanese, there are no syntactic markers such as subject-predicate agreement to identify subject; ellipsis occurs ubiquitously; and syntactic elements are not strictly required for utterances to be considered well-formed. How can we confirm the status of an entity when it is not expressed? Since syntax in this regard cannot work, we need to find some other concrete ways to precisely identify and confirm that the unexpressed subject of the predicate is first person.

3.2.3. Subjective Expression in Japanese and First-person Singular Pronouns

3.2.3.1. Special Verbs and Adjectives with the Speaker's View Point

What can serve as a criterion for identifying 1SG subject? In previous studies that deal with ellipsis, it is not clearly stated how the researchers determine what exactly the ellipted entities are (e.g., Nariyama, 2003; Yamamoto, 1999).

One way of identifying ellipted subjects is to have the data examined by native speakers of Japanese. This is, however, highly problematic. As Ono and Thompson (1997) pointed out and I discussed in Section 2.2.5, it is difficult to identify ellipted referents in the argument structure since there is no obligatory argument to begin with.

The intended referents that are not expressed do not have to be definitively identifiable in Japanese. Therefore, this method simply does not work for Japanese.

Nonetheless, in order to compare expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns and investigate their functions, identifying unexpressed 1SG pronouns is essential. This must be done independently of syntactic clues (because there are none). In Section 2.2.4.4, I described several semantic clues for identifying ellipsis. Although one semantic constraints can limit the possible ellipsed items, this does not necessarily mean that we seek “omitted” information during conversation, and the concept of obligatory slots to be filled with “missing” arguments is unsatisfactory. Speech participants must be sensitive to not only semantic but also discourse and interactional (and probably extra-linguistic) factors that determine the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns.

For the data analyses of this dissertation, although this cannot be the way speech participants identify ellipsed subject referents in actual interactions, some semantic constraint can serve as a criterion for identifying ellipsed 1SG subjects, namely expressions of cognition and internal feelings.

As early as the 1970s, Kuroda (1973) had already discussed some sensation words in Japanese that express the speaker’s point of view. Certain adjectives expressing sensations cannot take a grammatical subject other than first person. These sensation adjectives must be altered to the verb form with the present progressive *-gatte iru* that makes the state described by the speaker as an “objective observer” (p. 378). Let us consider the constructions in examples (40) - (43).

- (40) *watashi wa samui*
 1SG WA cold:NONP
 ‘I am cold.’

- (41) **Taro wa samui*
 Taro WA cold:NONP
 * ‘Taro is cold.’
- (42) *Taro wa samuga-tte iru*
 Taro WA cold-PROG:NONP
 ‘Taro is cold.’
- (43) ?*watashi wa samuga-tte iru*
 1SG WA cold-PROG:NONP
 ? ‘I am cold.’ (modified based on Kuroda, 1973, p. 378)

When the subject is first person, the adjective form is used as shown in (40).

When the subject is someone other than first person, it needs to take the verb form as shown in (42) instead of using the adjective form in (41). Kuroda notes that using this verb form for the 1SG subject shown in (43) sounds odd because it implies a split ego, one of the experiencer of a sensation and the other of the observer of the subject.

Traugott and Dasher (2002) further note the morpheme *-tai* ‘want to’, which expresses the desire of the speaker, is not acceptable with a second or third person as the subject. When used with a subject other than the speaker, epistemic forms that express the speaker’s point of view, such as *deshoo* expressing strong epistemic probability, need to be added. The reason for this constraint is explained that the speaker has access to only his or her own mind but not to the other’s mind. Unlike Example (44) that is well formed with a 1SG subject, Example (45) is not a possible form in Japanese because the speaker has no way to access the third-person subject’s mind and know his desire, and thus, it requires an epistemic form to add the point of view of the speaker such as *deshoo/daroo* ‘probably (formal/informal)’ shown in Example (46). Other epistemic forms include auxiliaries of judgment such as *kamo(shirenai)* ‘might (low certainty)’, *ni*

chigainai ‘should (high certainty)’ or of evidential *yoo da/mitai da/rashii* ‘seem’ (Iwasaki, 2002, pp. 279-281).

- (44) *watashi wa ie ni kaeri-tai.*
 I SG WA home DAT return-DES
 ‘I want to go home.’
- (45) **Taro wa ie ni kaeri-tai.*
 Taro WA home DAT return-DES
 * ‘Taro wants to go home.’
- (46) *Taro wa ie ni kaeri-tai deshoo/daroo.*
 Taro WA home DAT return-DES MOD
 ‘Taro probably wants to go home.’
 (examples made based on Traugott & Dasher, 2002, p. 90)

Unacceptable and questionable forms such as (41), (43) and (45) were never observed in the dataset for the present study. That is, native speakers are sensitive to the constraint of the possible subject based on subjective point of view, and do not violate the restriction.

This restricted use has been pointed out by other Japanese linguists as well (e.g., Ikegami, 2000; Iwasaki, 1993a; Shibatani, 1990; Uehara, 2006). These forms are categorized in one of the following classes of expressions: the speaker’s internal feelings (e.g., *kanashii* ‘sad’, *ureshii* ‘glad’), perception (e.g., *kikoeru* ‘hear’, *mieru* ‘can see’), sensation (e.g., *atsui* ‘hot’, *samui* ‘cold’), or cognition (e.g., *omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’, *wakaru* ‘understand’).

Some of the verbs above overlap with a set of verbs of cognition, emotion, and perception, generally known as cognitive verbs in English. They are also called “mental verbs” and “psych verbs” (Croft, 1993, p. 55). Although cognitive verbs in English do not have restrictions of use as strict as Japanese, there are some semantic differences in the structure; some of them assign the experiencer in the subject position (e.g., *like*, *fear*,

enjoy) and some others assign the experiencer in the object position (e.g., *please*, *frighten*, *amuse*) (Croft, 1993, p. 56). Interestingly, these subjective verbs overwhelmingly occur with 1SG subjects even in English although there are no restrictions (Scheibman, 2002).

We can say that these expressions representing the speaker's inner state are more subjective than some other eventive verbs that describe actions such as *taberu* 'eat', *naguru* 'hit', and *akeru* 'open' and adjectives that describe certain nature, quality and state such as *wakai* 'young', *otonashii* 'meek', *kusai* 'stinky', and *urusai* 'noisy' which allow subjects other than the speaker. The speaker has access to his or her own mental state but not that of others. Thus, when the subject of a subjective predicate is a person other than the speaker, the utterance requires an epistemic marker. When no epistemic markers are present, it automatically signals that the subject is the speaker himself or herself. The subject is so obvious that it does not have to be expressed in this kind of sentences. Yet, there are cases when the speaker uses 1SG pronouns in this type of utterance. When we analyze such cases, some other functions of 1SG pronouns can be revealed.

3.2.3.2. Using Cognition Words as the Criterion for Subjectivity

One of the goals of this dissertation is to investigate when and for what reason native speakers use 1SG pronouns that are not syntactically required. Since ellipsis can occur with all persons and in any parts of speech as described in Chapter 2, it is not easy to verify that an unexpressed subject is certainly first person.

For example, the subject of (47) can be a 1SG pronoun or other persons, and it is not possible to identify subject without context. In this particular episode, the subject is

the third person, who is the speaker's boyfriend. However, this construction can take 1SG pronouns as well.

- Non-cognitive verb with unexpressed third-person subject

- (47) *kaze hii-te sa,*
cold catch-TE IP
'(∅) caught a cold and ...' [japn1722]

Similarly, the subject of (48) could be anyone (including first, second, or third person, singular or plural). In this episode, the subject is the speaker, who says that he took time and had his hair cut for a job interview. Yet, any other person could be the subject of this utterance without any syntactic contradiction.

- Non-cognitive verb with unexpressed first-person subject

- (48) *sekkaku kami-no-ke ki-tta noni ne.*
despite all trouble hair cut-PAST though IP
'(∅) have/has (one's) hair cut despite all trouble, though.' [japn6221]

Native Japanese speakers usually figure out what an unexpressed subject refers to using semantic and contextual cues from the discourse as well as intuition, world knowledge, and cultural expectations. However, relying on the researcher's intuition in order to determine "missing" subjects appears to be highly problematic and not very reliable in scientific research. What is considered to be ellipsis and how the researcher identifies unexpressed items are often not specified in the methodology in the literature. An objective and replicable way to determine subject expression thus must be utilized.

Now examine Example (49). As opposed to (47) and (48), the subject of (49) can not be anything but first person. This is because the predicate in (49) is a cognitive verb *kangae-rare-ru* 'can think' that limits the accessibility to the speaker's mind. In order to take a third-person subject, the sentence needs an epistemic marker such as *deshoo* 'probably' and *yoo da/mitai/rashii* 'seem' as shown in (50).

- Cognitive verb with unexpressed 1SG subject

(49) *u.:*,
INJ

kangae-ran-nai *yo*,
think-POT-NEG:NONP SFP

‘Ugh, (I) can’t think!’

[japn6149]

(50) *demo kyu-u-chan wa soo*,
but Kyu-chan WA so

sore omotte-ta mitai de sa,
it think-PROG:PAST seem COP IP

‘But Kyu-chan seemed to be thinking it and ...’

[japn6717]

Similarly, (51) only takes a 1SG subject because of the adjective *ureshii* ‘glad’ in

a declarative sentence.

- Adjective of internal feelings with unexpressed 1SG subject

(51) *zenzen ureshika-nee yo.:*
at all happy-NEG:NONP SFP
‘(I am) not happy at all!’

[japn1773]

These special verbs and adjectives are considered to be more subjective than the other semantic categories, and this subjective property the words possess limits the subject of the predicate only to first person. Utilizing this restriction of possible subject occurring with subjective predicates, I identified unexpressed subjects as first person. In other words, I extracted all tokens of these subjective expressions from the data, both with and without explicit subjects, to compare the patterning of these two forms.

The clear disadvantage of this approach is that only a limited class of predicates can be studied. Furthermore, these cognitive constraints are just part of a set of clues used to identify unexpressed subjects, and that speech participants probably would not rely on these expressions as clues for identifying ellipted referents in the real world.

However, in this way, we are able to clearly determine the subject of these predicates even when it is not expressed.

Table 9 lists some of the subjective expressions, which take only first-person subjects unless accompanied by epistemic markers, drawn from the database for this study (not exhaustive).

Table 9. Subjective expressions that can take only 1SG subjects in the database

Subjective expression	Examples
Cognitive verbs	<i>kangaeru</i> ‘think’, <i>rikai suru</i> ‘understand’, <i>oboeru</i> ‘remember’, <i>omoidassu</i> ‘recall’, <i>omoo</i> ‘think’, <i>shinjiru</i> ‘believe’, <i>shiru</i> ‘know’, <i>wakaru</i> ‘understand’, <i>wasureru</i> ‘forget’
Perception verbs	<i>kikoeru</i> ‘hear’, <i>mieru</i> ‘can see’
Verb and auxiliary expressing desire	<i>hoshii</i> ‘want’
Morphemes expressing desire and intention	- <i>tai</i> ‘want to’, -(y) <i>oo</i> ‘will’
Subjective adjectives expressing internal feelings and emotions	<i>hazukashii</i> ‘ashamed’, <i>kanashii</i> ‘sad’, <i>samishii/sabishii</i> ‘lonely’, <i>tsumaranai</i> ‘bored’, <i>ureshii</i> ‘glad’, <i>kowai</i> ‘scared’, <i>shokku (da)</i> ‘shocked’, <i>suki (da)</i> ‘like/love’, <i>kirai (da)</i> ‘hate’, <i>iya (da)</i> ‘don’t like’,
Sensation adjectives	<i>atsui</i> ‘hot’, <i>darui</i> ‘heavy’, <i>itai</i> ‘feel pain’, <i>nemui</i> ‘sleepy’, <i>tsumetai</i> ‘cold’

As shown above, there are many subjective expressions that can take only the speaker as subject. In the database, some occurred frequently and others did not; some occurred with expressed 1SG pronouns and others did not. For the analysis of variable 1SG subject expression, I chose the three most frequent expressions: *omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’, and *wakaru* ‘understand’. I explain the method of the data analysis using these three cognitive verbs in Section 4.4.2.

3.2.4. Summary

In this section, I have discussed the inherent nature of subjectivity as outlined in previous studies. Then, I suggested utilizing the subjective predicates to identify ellipted 1SG subjects in order to compare the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns in Japanese conversation. This method has been chosen for the analysis of this study since there is no absolute syntactic clue for identifying ellipted subjects in Japanese and relying on the researcher's intuition is considered problematic in scientific research.

When we use language, especially in casual conversation, we constantly express our feelings, thoughts and attitudes with various linguistic devices. In the case of Japanese, some function words: connectives (e.g., *dakara*, *datte*), adverbs (e.g., *yahari/yappari*, *doose*) as well as interactional particles express subjectivity (Maynard, 1993). I assume that 1SG pronouns, which are not syntactically required but inevitably index the speaker himself or herself, express subjectivity as well. It needs to be examined with the data based on actual conversation whether 1SG pronouns in Japanese actually work beyond the function-word level and express subjectivity.

3.3. Educational Issues: Difficulties for Second Language Learners of Japanese

I described the characteristics of ellipsis and 1SG pronouns in Japanese, which do not fit the definition of those in Indo-European languages, in Chapter 2. In this section, I discuss the issues of teaching such linguistic items to non-native speakers of Japanese.

3.3.1. Ellipsis

As noted earlier, ellipsis is not limited to Japanese and is found in many other languages as well. Yet the frequent occurrence of ellipsis in Japanese may be foreign to speakers of languages with infrequent ellipsis such as English. It appears that

understanding unexpressed elements in Japanese is one of the more difficult tasks for the learners of Japanese as a second/foreign language (JSL/JFL) of any proficiency levels.

Mizutani (1979, pp. 33-37) introduces an interesting anecdote with subject ellipsis that non-native speakers often have trouble with as follows.

In the sentence below, an actual example of Japanese speech presented in an intermediate textbook, there is no subject in the second clause.

- (52) *densha ga okure-ta ni shite-mo, moo kuru koro da.*
 train GA delay-PAST at do-COND already come time COP
 ‘Even if a train were delayed, (∅) should have come already.’
 (Mizutani, 1979, p. 33, translation by me)

According to Mizutani, JSL/JFL learners tend to think that the ellipsed subject (∅) is the train, which is the subject of the first clause marked by *ga*. However, most native Japanese speakers would think that it is not the train but probably something else such as a friend or someone the speaker is waiting for. Without further contextual information, it is impossible to exactly know the ellipsed subject in the second clause. In this isolated sentence, since the semantic information of the predicate *kuru* ‘come’ would not eliminate *densha* ‘train’ as the subject of the second clause, it is understandable that non-native speakers would choose *densha* for the ellipsed subject. This example demonstrates that using isolated sentences without contextual information is problematic. Mizutani notes that subjectless sentences are often challenging for JSL/JFL learners and that some learners accuse of Japanese of being an illogical language. He further remarks that ellipsis is the appropriate construction although it is hard to completely understand the utterance without context, and it is not possible to insert a subject in order to avoid ambiguity. If a subject is supplied, it will add some particular meaning to the sentence.

He also emphasizes the importance of pedagogy that teaches such characteristics of spoken Japanese.

Ikegami (2000, pp. 239-241) also provides a similar anecdote in which even an advanced JSL learner had trouble understanding the meaning of a sentence with subject ellipsis that is obvious to native speakers of Japanese. He first cites a story in *Nihongo no saho* ‘Manners of Japanese’ by a scholar of French literature, Michitatro Tada, in which a student from Argentina had trouble with the very first sentence of a novel *Nagareru* ‘Flowing’ by Aya Koda. The sentence is as follows.

(53) *kono uchi ni sooi-nai ga,*
this house DAT difference-NEG but

doko kara hai-tte ii ka,
where ABL enter-TE good Q

katte-guchi ga naka-tta.
back-door GA nonexist-PAST

‘(It) is certainly this house, however, (as I wonder) from where (I am) supposed to enter, there is no back door.’

(Koda, as cited in Ikegami, 2000, p. 239, translation by me)

After a struggle, the student interpreted this sentence as follows, which makes no sense: “There is a house (or several houses). That house is not different from something, probably other houses. (Or it did not change from what it used to be). Someone asks someone, ‘From where can someone (or who?) or something (or what?) enter?’ Gap. There was no back door in the past.” (p. 239, translation by me). As shown above, this interpretation does not make sense at all and is far from what the original means.

Ikegami notes that he was shocked when his Ph.D. student with near-native proficiency in Japanese, who is from Germany, confessed that she did not understand the original sentence in Koda, either. He concluded that this difficulty is due to an assumption based

on use in Indo-European languages that there must be a syntactic subject in a sentence whereas there may not be any in the Japanese language.

Furthermore, the difficulty JSL/JFL learners encounter is found not only in comprehension but also in production. Nariyama (2003, p. 4) introduces a production error due to insufficient knowledge of ellipsis. She presents an example that a learner of Japanese, who is conscious about ellipsis, drops all pronouns regardless of the recoverability of missing information. This results in the sentences unacceptable to native Japanese speakers as shown below.

(54) (On a postcard to a friend)

\emptyset *shidonii ni i-tta.*
 Sydney DAT go-PAST
 ‘(I) went to Sydney.’

? \emptyset *totemo yoi tokoro da,*
 very good place COP:NONP
 (It) is a very nice place.’

* \emptyset *ika-nakereba nara-nai.*
 go-must
 ‘(You) must go (there).’ (slightly modified from Nariyama, 2003, p. 4)

According to Nariyama, without a subject, the second sentence is somewhat confusing, and the third one is incomprehensible. I partially agree with Nariyama on her analysis. It appears to me that the subject ellipsis in the second sentence is acceptable and sounds more natural than adding the pronoun + particle *soko wa* ‘there, it’. In my data, there are numerous occasions of ellipsis that rely on the listener’s ability to figure out the missing information. Something more than ellipsis (such as use of the strong, near-imperative form *ika-nakereba naranai* ‘must go’) is probably responsible for the awkwardness of this example. She further notes that an argument is ellipited based on the speaker’s subjective assumption that the addressee has enough cues for identifying the

referent from the sentence or context. Non-native speakers who are not as sensitive to such cues as native speakers may just randomly delete subjects with insufficient knowledge about ellipsis. Native speakers spontaneously choose expressed or unexpressed linguistic elements during conversation, however it is not a random act. Ellipsis, both in comprehension and production, appears very challenging to non-native speakers.

3.3.2. Personal Pronouns in Textbooks of Japanese as a Second/foreign Language

I examined 15 JSL/JFL textbooks, reference books, and self-teaching books for adults in order to find out how 1SG pronouns are being taught to second language (L2) learners. The majority of the books I surveyed, often used in JSL/JFL classrooms today, have a similar organization. Lessons are organized in some hypothetical situations with constructed examples along with cultural etiquette and customs, in which learners may possibly encounter in everyday routines in Japan, such as “Winter vacation plans” (Banno, Ohno, Sakane, & Shinagawa, 1999), “Shopping” (Makino, Hatasa, & Hatasa, 1998), and “Renting an apartment” (Storm, 2004).

Dialogues including 1SG pronouns tend to show up in earlier lessons in most of the books although some books do not have any specific sections dedicated for explanation of pronouns prior to dialogues. For example, the first time 1SG pronouns appear in Makino et al. (1998) is in the dialogues between two foreign students introducing themselves. However, there is no explanation of personal pronouns not only prior to the dialogues but also throughout this textbook. Therefore, instructors would need to prepare supplemental teaching materials in order to provide enough knowledge.

How 1SG pronouns are explained and the amount of information about them varies from one book to another; Some textbooks provide no explanation of personal pronouns at all (e.g., Banno et al., 1999; Makino et al., 1998), and some list several different forms of 1SG along with other personal pronouns (e.g., Akiyama & Akiyama, 1990, 2002; Imaeda, 2004; Tanimori, 1994). Even in the books that do contain some information about pronouns, the descriptions of personal pronouns including 1SG pronouns are minimal. Most books that illustrate 1SG pronouns often list only two forms of 1SG pronouns: *wata(ku)shi* and *boku*. Some books include *boku* as a form of 1SG pronouns used by only men (e.g., Imaeda, 2004; Sandness, 1997; Sato, 2008), but some others do not list it at all (e.g., Akiyama & Akiyama, 1990, 2002; Association for Japanese-Language Teaching, 2006). Only one book (Tanimori, 1994) includes *ore* but provides no explanation of the use at all. This form is probably excluded as an inappropriate form for JSL/JFL learners to use since it is considered “vulgar” (Kondo, 1990, p. 27). However, it should be included in the list of 1SG pronouns since it is the predominantly used form by men in conversation as we will see in Section 5.4. Many books state that pronouns are omitted very often (e.g., Association for Japanese-Language Teaching, 2006; Gilhooley, 2003; Sato, 2008; Tanimori, 1994) although they do not provide sufficient explanation about ellipsis. Even though the use of personal pronouns is not frequent, it does not mean that teaching of them can be neglected.

Overall, even the most detailed description has only a few paragraphs in one page along with other personal pronouns. None of the JSL/JFL books offers explanation based on actual use. It is obvious that many JSL/JFL books do not reflect the real-world language use, and their use of constructed examples devoid of context is misleading to

the L2 learner. Because of the insufficient amount of information in textbooks, how 1SG pronouns are acquired by JSL/JFL learners may be more dependent on how instructors teach them rather than on the descriptions in the textbooks.

3.3.3. Summary

In this section, with the anecdotes found in the literature, I have illustrated the difficulties of ellipsis in both comprehension and production non-native speakers encounter. Then I have criticized current JSL/JFL textbooks that do not offer detailed explanation of 1SG pronouns.

For non-native speakers at any proficiency level, ellipsis in Japanese appears to be a difficult concept to grasp. Because of frequent ellipsis, which results in infrequent pronoun use, teaching 1SG pronouns is also often neglected. Many textbooks I examined provide only superficial information about 1SG pronouns that do not reflect actual use. As I discuss in later chapters, native speakers use 1SG pronouns not only for referential needs but also for expressing subjectivity, topic introduction, and so on. Current textbooks do not discuss such discourse-pragmatic functions of 1SG pronouns. Mastering the use of linguistic items as the way native speakers actually use is the goal of second language acquisition. Instructions and teaching material should facilitate the student's communicative competence. I question what kind of instructions would be more effective for linguistic items that are not grammatically required but are used by discourse-pragmatic motivations such as 1SG pronouns in Japanese. I further explore this issue in Section 9.2.

Chapter 4 Data and Methodology

4.1. Introduction

From the review of previous studies in Chapter 2, 1SG pronouns in Japanese appear to have more roles and functions beyond simple pronouns that make reference to the speaker. In order to investigate the use and nonuse of these “pronouns”, an analysis based on actual conversational data is crucial. I believe that this is the only research method to show a clear picture of how we use language beyond traditional grammar that discusses the issue based on only constructed examples.

As Scheibman (2002) remarks, dealing with naturally occurring data can be extremely challenging. She notes that the partial reason of difficulties is because “units of ‘grammar’ are not necessarily units in conversation” (p. 18). Raw data taken from natural conversation may not match tokens presented as examples in grammar books. In fact, quite a few of the utterances in my data do not appear in the ways that would appear in grammar books or textbooks for second language learners. Naturally occurring speech often does not present arguments in the “canonical order” as defined in formal approaches (SOV word order for Japanese); may lack so-called required grammatical elements such as arguments and case particles; and may have extra elements such as discourse markers and interactional particles. Each utterance is unique even though we do use fixed forms emerged from repetition. In terms of the transcription itself, interaction between speech participants make this very difficult. There are all sorts of subtle elements with a great deal of information exchanged between the speech participants (e.g., overlapping, backchannel, pause, breathtaking), which researchers do

not want to miss out on. Identifying and categorizing grammatical elements from such data is a time-consuming, demanding task.

Analyses utilizing natural conversational data may discover some functions and roles with valid evidence (i.e., used in the real world) that cannot be explained in formal approaches. This is the reason why we need this kind of analysis in spite of challenges of data collection and analysis. In this chapter, I describe the data and methodology used for the dissertation.

4.2. Data

I used the audio-recorded data in Japanese available from the web-based corpora, TalkBank (MacWhinney, 1999, 2007) for this dissertation. In addition to audio-recorded data, TalkBank provides transcripts of the episodes. The advantage of using a published corpus is that a large amount of data can be obtained instantly. Since 1SG pronouns are used infrequently in Japanese, in order to collect enough instances for coding, I used the entire data of dyad conversations on the website at the time: twenty-seven episodes in about 11 hours 22 minutes (approximately 122,550 words). All episodes are telephone conversations between two friends or family members (e.g., sisters, cousins) consisting of 10 male-male, 12 female-female and 5 male-female pairs. That is, there are 54 participants, 25 males and 29 females, in total. Sixteen out of 27 episodes last 30 minutes. The rest 11 episodes are shorter: one episode lasts only three minutes, six episodes last about 12-19 minutes, and four episodes last 23-29 minutes.

With the exception of gender, demographic information regarding the participants, such as their age, education, occupation, and dialect, was not available on the website. Thus, it was not possible to include such sociocultural factors in my quantitative analyses.

As I listened to the data in corpus for the first time, I paid attention to the content of the conversations in order to determine if they would be qualified for the data for my research (i.e., if data provide enough tokens of the target linguistic item used by native speakers), and took notes of any personal information available from their conversations to help learn their social backgrounds better. I concluded, from the conversational content, that all participants were native Japanese speakers who resided in the US. I also noticed several characteristics of speech and social status.

1. Dialect: Some of the participants speak dialects other than standard Japanese¹⁹. It appears that their dialects differ from standard Japanese largely at phonological level, rather than at morphological, lexical, and structural levels. Thus, I decided to include the conversational data spoken across dialects of Japanese in this study.
2. Code-switching: Several speakers displayed code-switching with English. I included the episodes that contain code-switching because I do not think that the use of 1SG pronouns was influenced by occurrences of code-switching (see Torres Cacoullos & Travis, 2010 on the lack of an effect of code-switching itself on subject expression in Spanish).
3. Age: The ages of the participants appear to vary from approximately 19 to 55 years old. In some episodes, the participants talk about their age. Even the episodes in which age is not specifically mentioned, I was able to “guess” their approximate age from the content (e.g., guessing the speaker’s age from her 84-year-old mother, or her school-aged child, etc.). Most participants

¹⁹ I use Iwasaki’s (2002) definition, “a variety of Japanese referred to as the ‘common’ language (*kyootsuu-go*) or ‘standard’ language (*hyoojun-go*), which took shape in the early part of the 20th century, based on the dialect spoken in part of Tokyo” (p. 1) to refer to Standard Japanese in the present study.

appear to be in their 20s and 30s, but some appeared to be over 40, possibly over 50.

4. Occupations: The participants' occupations also seem to vary. Most of the participants are college students, and some others vary from housewives, office workers, to entrepreneurs. From the fact that the participants are Japanese adults who work or study with legal status in another country, I assumed that they belong to middle class.
5. Topics: All topics are everyday conversations such as family problems, boyfriend issues, college life, holiday events, sports, music, their jobs, and gossip about colleagues and friends.

4.3. Transcription

After the audio-recorded data were downloaded from the website of TalkBank to the local disk on my computer, I listened to the audio data, revised and corrected (where necessary) all transcriptions using a method based on the one developed by Du Bois et al. (1992) at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Central to this method is the marking out of intonation units (IUs), or “a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour” (Du Bois, 1993, p. 47). The Du Bois et al. system captures this unit of the same contour as a unit of speech, divided by separate lines in the transcript. As Iwasaki (2008) remarks, intonation contours are a universal property of language, and it appears that this transcription system works on data in Japanese as well although some characteristics of speech in Japanese are different, and it may need some modifications. The following five points are considered major prosodic cues for identifying IU boundaries in English:

1. coherent contour: a unified intonation contour, i.e. one displaying overall gestalt unity
2. reset: resetting of the baseline pitch level at the beginning of the unit
3. pause: a pause at the beginning of the unit (in effect, between two units)
4. anacrusis: a sequence of accelerated syllables at the beginning of the unit
5. lengthening: a prosodic lengthening of syllable(s) at the end of the unit (e.g. of the last syllable in the unit) (Du Bois, Cumming, Schuetze-Coburn, & Paolino, 1992, p. 100)

Iwasaki (2008) notes that all features except anacrusis are observed in Japanese. He adds the following features as characteristics of Japanese IUs that are not observed in English: (1) Japanese has additional terminal pitch direction called “tail pitch movement”, in which the pitch rapidly rises and then rapidly falls; (2) Interactional particles are often observed intonation finally. I paid attention to such features in IUs in Japanese when I transcribed the data.

4.4. Extraction

The modified transcripts of the 27 episodes bear approximately 45,110 IUs. I made two spreadsheets for the two kinds of analyses using Microsoft Excel: (1) one for the analysis used for the description of 1SG pronouns and the analysis of them in the subject-predicate relationship (Analysis I), and (2) another for a comparison of 1SG pronouns and ellipsis with cognitive verbs discussed in Section 3.2.3.2 (Analysis II).

4.4.1. Analysis I: First-person Singular Pronouns

I extracted the utterances containing 1SG pronouns (*w*)*atashi*, *boku*, *ore*, and so on, and put them into Microsoft Excel for coding. There were 905 token of 1SG

pronouns. From the analyses of the subject-predicate relationship, several more exclusions were made depending on the needs of the data, and I will explain them in each section that follows as relevant.

4.4.2. Analysis II: First-person Singular Pronouns Versus Ellipsis

For the analysis of the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns, instances with both parameters are necessary. Instead of using all instances that may have 1SG pronouns as the possible subject in the entire data, I analyzed a small set of data in which the possible subject is limited to only the speaker (i.e., first person) by the cognitive constraint. As I explained in Section 3.2.3, I chose the three cognitive verbs *omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’, and *wakaru* ‘understand’ in order to determine that an unexpressed subject of the utterance is no one but the speaker.²⁰

I extracted all tokens of these three verbs, including those that occurred with and without expressed 1SG subjects. Then I entered them into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet separate from Analysis I. There were 865 instances in total (117 expressed 1SG pronoun subjects and 748 unexpressed 1SG subjects; i.e., a rate of expression = 14%).

4.5. Exclusions

Prior to the analysis of this study, I excluded several items that look relevant to the use of 1SG pronouns from the database for the reasons explained below. I solely considered 1SG pronouns that indicate the speaker himself or herself as my target items for this study.

1. First-person singular pronouns embedded in possessional or adjectival phrases

(n = 125): First-person singular pronouns marked by genitive *no* modifying

²⁰ There were a number of cognitive verbs and adjectives of internal feelings used in the dataset, however, due to infrequent occurrences, only these three most frequent cognitive verbs were used for the data analysis.

noun phrases to indicate the possessor (e.g., *atashi no tomodachi* ‘my friend’) and 1SG pronouns in adjectival phrases modifying a noun (e.g., *ore mitaina wagamamana yatsu* ‘a selfish person like me’) were excluded.

2. Reflexive pronoun: The reflexive pronoun *jibun* ‘self’ is not included in the analysis. The use of *jibun* is not limited to first person; and in most cases, it is used with the genitive *no* to modify noun such as *jibun no uchi* ‘one’s house’ or used as reflexive with the instrumental *de* such as *jibun de yaru* ‘I/you/he/she do(es) it myself/yourself/himself/herself’.
3. First-person plural pronouns: First-person pronouns followed by plural particles (*tachi, ra*) such as *atashi tachi* and *ore ra* are excluded as well because they are not the target of this dissertation. We would expect different patterning for first-person plural, and thus these pronouns should be analyzed independently.
4. Self-addressed names: In addition, self-addressed names to indicate the speaker herself (not observed in males’ speech) are excluded for the analysis because they clearly have a different role in discourse than the pronouns. I will briefly discuss the use of self-addressed names in Section 9.3.

For some of the subanalyses of subject-predicate construction in Analysis I, some particular exclusions were made depending on the coding factors. I note these exclusions in Chapter 5 as I present the results.

4.6. Coding

For both Analysis I and II, I entered the transcript number, line, and utterances that contain the target items in the first three columns respectively and added the coding factors in the adjacent columns.

In this dissertation, I am interested in the use of 1SG pronouns, particularly, their relationship with subjectivity and discourse-pragmatic functions. The coding factors were chosen because they were considered to affect the use of 1SG pronouns after reviewing past research studies of the patterning of 1SG subjects (e.g., Iwasaki, 1993a; Scheibman, 2002; Travis, 2007). In addition, in order to capture features and characteristics of 1SG pronouns thoroughly, I selected a number of coding factors although some of them were not previously examined and do not have strong hypotheses. I hope that outcomes of the analyses with these coding factors selected will serve for future hypothesis building.

The length of the utterances varies from single IU to several IUs in order to keep both a 1SG pronoun as a possible grammatical subject and the corresponding predicate in a same row for the analysis.

Each utterance was coded for the following three main sets of linguistic factors with several sub-categories. Each is discussed in more detail below.

1. First-person singular pronoun
 - a. Form
 - b. Postpositional particles
 - c. Semantic role
 - d. Interactional particles and discourse markers

2. Predicate
 - a. Transitivity
 - b. Grammatical predicate type
 - c. Semantic class of verbal predicate
 - d. Tense and aspect
 - e. Polarity
 - f. Clause type
3. Position of 1SG pronouns
 - a. In the same or separate IU with the predicate
 - b. Position with respect to the predicate
 - c. Position in the IU
 - d. Position in the discourse

4.6.1. First-person Singular Pronoun Form

For Analysis I, the data were coded for the mainly four types of 1SG pronouns and their phonological variations: *(w)atashi*, *washi*, *boku*, and *ore*. For Analysis II, the data were coded for ellipsis (unexpressed 1SG pronoun) and expressed 1SG pronouns, subdivided into each 1SG pronoun type: *(w)atashi*, *washi*, *boku*, and *ore*.

4.6.2. Postpositional Particles

As noted earlier, many elements in a sentence in Japanese can be unexpressed. This includes postpositional particles. I coded for the presence or absence of a postpositional particle following 1SG pronouns: *ga* ‘nominative/subject’, *wa* ‘topic marker’, *mo* ‘also’, *o* ‘accusative/object’, *ni* ‘dative’, *to* ‘comitative’, *kara* ‘ablative’, and zero particle (\emptyset). Also, other topic-marking and highlighting particles (Iwasaki, 2002, p.

44) such as *shika* ‘only’, *sae* ‘even’, *datte* ‘even’, *dattara* ‘as for’, and *nanka* ‘exemplary’ are included. As will be shown in Section 5.5, there is a strong tendency that 1SG pronouns occur with zero, and with three other particles that can mark possible subject (*ga*, *wa*, and *mo*). Therefore, I analyze only these four most frequent particles for the analyses in Section 5.6, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7.

4.6.3. Semantic Role

For the subject-predicate analysis in Analysis I, I only considered the occurrences of 1SG pronouns with the postpositional particles *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero (N = 541). I justify this decision to focus on this limited category of 1SG pronouns as follows:

1. Although ellipsis of any grammatical components occurs, subject ellipsis is predominant (accounting for 93.5% of ellipted arguments in data studied by Nariyama, 2003, p. 245).
2. 1SG pronouns occur most frequently with zero particle, followed by *mo*, *wa*, and then *ga*. All of these particles can occur with subjects.
3. Lastly, it appears reasonable to analyze only the indicators of the speaker in order to investigate the relationship with 1SG pronouns and subjectivity (i.e., examining 1SG pronouns as a grammatical subject and subject ellipsis rather than other grammatical roles such as direct object and indirect object).

To my knowledge, there is no previous research that compares semantic roles of 1SG pronouns categorized by postpositional particles in Japanese, and this finding provides a new angle to analyses in this area. In order to examine the use of 1SG pronouns with verbal predicates, semantic roles were coded based on the corresponding predicate: agent of an act (A), experiencer of an act (E), and patient (P) in passive

construction, recipient of an act (R) in benefactive construction. These labels for semantic roles above are typical ones adapted from several previous studies such as in Comrie (1989), Croft (1991), and Fillmore (1971). The use of semantic roles is prone to criticism because finding reliable tools to set clear boundaries among semantic roles (including agent and experiencer) is not easy (Levin & Horav, 2005). In this section, I simply label the subject of eventive verbs (e.g., *hanasu* ‘speak’, *iku* ‘go’, *nomu* ‘drink’) as Agent and the subject of cognitive verbs (e.g., *omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’, *wasureru* ‘forget’), perception verbs (*kikoeru* ‘hear’, *mieru* ‘can see’), stative verbs (e.g., *iru* ‘exist’, *sumu* ‘live’) as Experiencer following Iwasaki (2002, p. 84) as noted in Section 2.4.3. Examples of each role with postpositional particles are shown below.

- Agent of an act

This group includes various types of verbs as the corresponding predicate: intransitive verbs such as *hashiru* ‘run, drive’ and *chikazuku* ‘approach’; transitive verbs such as *sagasu* ‘search’ and *kaku* ‘write’.

(A) *ga* + *denwa kakeru* ‘call’

(55) *iya atashi ga okyaku-san ni denwa kakeru wake.*
 no 1SG GA customer DAT phone call:NONP SE
 ‘No, I call customers.’

[japn6739]

(A) *wa* + *kizamu* ‘chop’

(56) *atashi wa moo tonikaku,*
 1SG WA EMPH anyway

fu-futsu:-ni kyabetsu kizan-de,
 FRG normal-ly cabbage chop-TE

‘I just chop a cabbage as normal, and...’

[japn6666]

(A) *mo* + *renshuu suru* ‘practice’

(57) *ore mo chanto renshuu suru yo.*
 1SG also right practice do:NONP SFP
 ‘I, too, will practice (it) well.’ [japn6166]

(A) \emptyset + *nomu* ‘drink’

(58) *ore nanka mizu nomi-sugi-chau n-da yona.;*
 1SG SOF water drink-exceed-CMPL NML-COP SFP
 ‘I somehow drink too much water.’ [japn6166]

- Experiencer of an act

This group corresponds to the predicate of mainly cognitive verbs such as *wakaru* ‘understand’ and *omoo* ‘think’; and some other stative verbs such as *sumu* ‘live’, *gaman suru* ‘endure’, and *iru* ‘exist’.

(E) *ga* + *iru* ‘exist’

(59) *ore ga i-nak-atta kara,*
 1SG GA exist-NEG-PAST because

rusu-den dake da-tta n-da-kedo,
 answering-phone only COP-PAST NML-COP-but

 ‘Because I was not at home, there was only an answering machine (message left).’ [japn4573]

(E) *wa* + *shiru* ‘know’

(60) *a: ore wa zenzen shira-nai yo,*
 INJ 1SG WA at all know-NEG:NONP SFP
 ‘Ah, I don’t know at all.’ [japn6228]

(E) *mo* + *omoo* ‘think’

(61) *u:n atashi mo mae soo omotte-ta.;*
 yes 1SG also before so think-PROG:PAST
 ‘Yes, I, too, was thinking so before.’ [japn1684]

(E) \emptyset + *wakaru* ‘know, understand’

(62) *a: ore wakan-nai.*
 INJ 1SG know-NEG:NONP

nedan wa.:
price WA

‘Ah, I don’t know the price.’ [japn4222]

- Patient of an act (in passive construction)

This group corresponds to the predicate of eventive verbs expressed in passive construction. In Japanese, to make a passive sentence, the suffix *-(r)are-* is attached to the verb (Iwasaki, 2002; Shibatani, 1990). Only seven tokens of passive voice occurring with 1SG pronouns were found in the database.

(63) *ore saisho ore,*
1SG first 1SG

furu peepaa kake tte iw-are-te-ta n-da kedo,
full-paper write QT say-PASS-PROG-PAST NML-COP but

‘At first, I was told to write a full paper, but...’ [japn4608]

- Recipient of an act (in “passive-benefactive construction” [Iwasaki, 2002, p. 158])

This group represents the beneficiary as subject corresponds to the benefactive verb and auxiliary verb *morau* ‘receive, get’. There are only five tokens of the benefactive *morau* occurring with 1SG pronouns as subjects in the database.

(64) *sono.;*
INJ

ore mo tegami mora-tta dake da kara.;
1SG also letter receive-PAST only COP because

‘Well, I just received the letter, so...’ [japn4164]

The relationship between 1SG pronouns as possible subjects, following postpositional particles, and semantic roles is analyzed.

4.6.4. Interactional Particles and Discourse Markers

To examine the cases that 1SG pronouns occurring with interactional particles and discourse markers, I coded for this factor only when the pronoun is directly followed

by interactional particles or discourse markers within the same IU in order to investigate the relationship between the use of 1SG pronouns and interactional particles (*na, ne, sa*), discourse markers (*dakara* ‘so’ *yappari* ‘as expected’ *chotto* ‘a little’, *moo* ‘already’, *honto(o)* ‘really’), or absence (\emptyset).

4.6.5. Transitivity

In order to examine the status of the 1SG pronouns as to transitivity, the data were coded for the role of the subject (A role vs. S role) as determined by the corresponding predicate: the subject of intransitive verbs, copula or verbal adjectives (S role); or the subject of transitive verbs (A role). That is, when a 1SG pronoun is the subject of a nominal, adjective predicate, or one-argument predicate such as *naku* ‘cry’, *okiru* ‘wake up’, and *sumu* ‘live’, it is labeled S; when it is the subject of a two-argument predicate such as *kaku* ‘write’, *okuru* ‘send’, and *sagasu* ‘look for’, it is labeled A. There are some predicates that are not easily categorized into either group by transitivity. The boundaries between transitive and intransitive verbs in Japanese are fuzzy and not so straightforward unless they are in the intransitive-transitive paired groups that look similar to the English pairs such as *rise* (intransitive)-*raise* (transitive) and *lie* (intransitive)-*lay* (transitive). Examples in this group include *aku* (intransitive)-*akeru* (transitive) ‘open’ and *kawaru* (intransitive)-*kaeru* (transitive) ‘change’²¹.

Furthermore, even in English, boundaries between one-argument and two-argument predicates may not be always clear-cut. Thompson and Hopper (2001) argue that there are problems in approaches based on argument structure. Problems the researchers illustrate include imagined scenes to determine semantic valence, predicate

²¹ Verbs in this group in database are very limited.

with no argument structure (lexicalized expressions), and indeterminate boundaries between ‘one-participant’ and ‘two-participant’ predicates (object-deletion, words analyzable as either prepositions or particles, and V-O compounds) (see Thompson & Hopper, 2001 for further discussion). Thompson and Hopper state that the boundary between transitive and intransitive predicates in English conversation “is extremely and perhaps surprisingly fluid” (p. 43). As noted earlier, ellipsis including object ellipsis frequently occurs in Japanese, and the boundaries between transitive and intransitive predicates appear to be even more fluid than in English. For example, the verb *shiru* ‘know’ can be used with a direct object, without an object complement clause, or without an expressed object, as follows.

(65) With a direct object

atashi hitotsu dake korian no ne,
1SG one only Korean COP:ATT IP

*kotoba **shitte-ru** no.*
word know-PROG:NONP SFP

‘I know only one Korean word.’

[japn6739]

(66) With an object complement clause

*nani yatte-ru n-da ka **shira-nai** kedo sa:.*
what do-PROG:NONP NML-COP Q know-NEG:NONP but IP
‘(I) don’t know what (he) is doing, though.’

[japn0921]

(67) Without an expressed object

***shira-na:i** atashi.*
know-NEG:NONP 1SG

‘I don’t know.’

[japn6739]

The verb *shiru* ‘know’ in Example (65) can be considered to be a transitive verb with the direct object *kotoba* ‘word’. However, it is not very easy to determine if (67) should be

considered a transitive with object ellipsis, an intransitive or a fixed expression. It is also questionable whether we should consider *shiru* in (66) as a transitive. As Thompson (2002) argues, considering complement clauses as objects appears to be problematic.

One more thing to be noted is that complement-taking predicates (CTPs), such as *omoo* ‘think’, *wasureru* ‘forget’, *oboeru* ‘remember’, *kiku* ‘hear’, *iu* ‘say’, and so on, were categorized into the S role group in this study. This decision was made based on previous work by Thompson and Hopper (2000) and Thompson (2002). In their study of transitivity in English conversation, Thompson and Hopper coded predicates such as *know*, *think*, *see*, *figure*, and *remember* as one-participant epistemic/evidential verbs. Thompson (2002) raised a question about the grammatical status of complement clauses. She notes that complement clauses are not objects of complement-taking predicates. This claim appears to be applicable to Japanese, and I think that the verbs that take complement clauses should be treated with caution. Table 10 presents a list of complement-taking verbs in the database that were coded as occurring with S role.

Table 10. Complement-taking verbs in Japanese taken from the database

Semantic class of verbs	Verbs
Cognitive	<i>omoo</i> ‘think’, <i>kangaeru</i> ‘think’, <i>kansha suru</i> ‘thank’, <i>oboeru</i> ‘remember’, <i>wakaru</i> ‘understand’, <i>shiru</i> ‘know’, <i>nayamu</i> ‘worry’, <i>rikai suru</i> ‘understand’, <i>inoru</i> ‘wish’, <i>omoidasu</i> ‘recall’, <i>shinjiru</i> ‘believe’, <i>wasureru</i> ‘forget’
Verbal	<i>iu</i> ‘say’, <i>tanomu</i> ‘ask’, <i>tsutaeru</i> ‘tell’, <i>hanasu</i> ‘talk’, <i>oshieru</i> ‘tell’, <i>setsumee suru</i> ‘explain’
Perception	<i>kiku</i> ‘hear’

Table 11 shows the definition used to divide 1SG pronouns into two categories and examples of each.

Table 11. A role versus S role

Role	Definition	Examples
A role	Subject of transitive verbs	<i>sagasu</i> ‘look for’, <i>mushi suru</i> ‘ignore’, <i>kuu</i> ‘eat’
S role	Subject of intransitive verbs, copula and verbal adjectives + Complement-taking verbs	<i>naku</i> ‘cry’, <i>kuru</i> ‘come’, <i>sumu</i> ‘live’, <i>iru</i> ‘exist’, <i>dame-da</i> , ‘bad-copula’ <i>wakai</i> ‘young’ + verbs in Table 10

Previous studies have shown that transitivity is low in conversation (e.g., Hopper & Thompson, 1980; Thompson & Hopper, 2001; Scheibman, 2002). Would this tendency also be found in Japanese conversation with the 1SG pronouns? The relationship between 1SG pronouns and their roles based on transitivity of the corresponding predicates is analyzed.

4.6.6. Grammatical Predicate Type

To investigate the occurrences of first-person pronouns with particular predicate types, the data were coded for the following predicate types: adjectival (AP), nominal (NP), and verbal (VP). Also, truncated sentence (T), predicate ellipsis (\emptyset), and phrasal or idiomatic expressions (phrl) (e.g., *hara ga tatsu* ‘get angry; lit. my stomach stands’ [japn6149]) are marked. Examples (68) - (70) show each type.

(68) Adjectival predicate

ore mo tabun isogashii kara,
1SG also maybe busy:NONP because

sonna-ni ichi- --
such FRG

i-sshuu-kan ni yo-jikan toka sono teedo shika yan-nai kara,
one-week LOC four-hour SOF such amount only do-NEG:NONP because

‘Because I may be busy, I will not do only four hours or so a week, so...’
[japn6149]

(69) Nominal predicate

atashi ne kodomo ja-nai n-da-kara;
1SG IP child COP-NEG NML-COP-because

tte kanji.:
QT SOF

‘I was like, I am not a child, so...’ [japn1684]

(70) Verbal predicate

atashi mo,
1SG also

tama: ni kau noyo,
sometimes buy:NONP SFP

‘I, too, occasionally buy (it).’ [japn6422]

4.6.7. Semantic Class of Verbal Predicate

The verbal predicates are further categorized according to their semantic classes. Labeling of the categories based on semantic class was based on studies by Scheibman (2002) and Travis (2007), and was modified to assure semantically coherent categories that had a sufficient number of tokens in each for analysis. The ‘Other’ semantic class represents a residue of verb types that did not occur sufficiently to be put in a class of their own. Semantic classes of verbal predicates are shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Semantic classes of verbal predicates

Semantic Class	Description	Examples
Action	Doing an act (physical)	<i>harau</i> ‘pay’, <i>nomu</i> ‘drink’, <i>kizamu</i> ‘chop’
Cognition/feeling/ mental act	Cognitive and mental act	<i>omoo</i> ‘think’, <i>shiru</i> ‘know’, <i>wasureru</i> ‘forget’, <i>wakaru</i> ‘understand’, <i>hoshii</i> ‘want’
Motion	Act involves motion	<i>deru</i> ‘exit’, <i>iku</i> ‘go’, <i>kaeru</i> ‘go home’
Perception	Perceiving of a stimulus	<i>kikoeru</i> ‘hear’, <i>mieru</i> ‘can see’
Verbal/emotional outburst	Verbal activity and expression through them	<i>iu</i> ‘say’, <i>hanasu</i> ‘speak’, <i>kiku</i> ‘ask’, <i>naku</i> ‘cry’, <i>warau</i> ‘laugh’
Other eventive verbs	All other eventive verbs	<i>au</i> ‘meet’, <i>tetsudau</i> ‘help’
Other stative verbs	All other stative verbs	<i>sumu</i> ‘live’, <i>naru</i> ‘become’

4.6.8. Tense and Aspect

Examining with what tense and aspect with these 1SG pronouns occur may reveal some important functions. Iwasaki (1993a, p. 23) presents that the slight difference in the use of tense and aspect of the verb reflects the degree of the speaker’s certainty or confidence in his or her belief. For example, the non-past of the verb *omoo* ‘think’ has higher certainty than the progressive form *omotte iru*. Iwasaki also reports that the completive aspect form *shimau/chau* (a contracted form of *shimau*), originally meaning ‘put away’ or ‘finish’ (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 117 & 336), can express regret (1993a, p. 10).

The difference in tense and aspect may show a relationship to information accessibility, subjectivity, and the choice between expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns.

The data were coded for the following tense and aspect: non-past (*-[r]u*), past (*-ta*), and continuous forms with no tense (*-te* form, infinitive *renyoo* form), hortative (*-[y]oo*) for tense; and progressive (*-te iru*), completive (*-te shimau*), resultative (*-te aru*), inchoative (*naru*, *-te kuru*, *-te iku*) for aspect.

4.6.9. Polarity

Positive/negative polarity can be often correlated with subjectivity (Iwasaki, 1993a). Iwasaki further notes that negative indicates a non-existent situation, therefore, it is linked to lower information accessibility (p. 39). I included this value to investigate if polarity is correlated with the use of 1SG pronouns in conversation. The data are coded for the following two polarity types: positive (pos) and negative (neg). As we will see in Section 7.2.4, this coding factor is particularly important with Analysis II.

4.6.10. Clause Type

Examining where and how frequently pronouns and ellipsis occur with respect to different clause types may also reveal some other functions of 1SG pronoun. Thompson (2002) notes that some complement-taking predicates in the main clause in English such as *think* are used to express epistemic, evidential, and evaluative stance. Also, as Bybee (2001) has shown, for example, main clauses tend to be a locus for grammatical innovation, while subordinate clauses are more resistant to such change. We might expect, then, that there will be more ellipsis in main clauses than in subordinate ones. The data were coded for the following factors: main clause (including instances followed

by some conjunctions such as *-kedo* ‘but’ and *-shi* ‘and’ but the function of the clause is main), subordinate clause (including relative clauses), and coordinate clause.

4.6.11. In the Same or Separate Intonation Unit with the Predicate

Whether some elements occur in a same IU with the other elements or not may reveal some discourse and pragmatic functions. Ono and Thompson (2003, p. 325) found that 58% of the 1SG pronouns in Japanese conversation occurred in a separate IU from the predicate. First-person singular pronouns occurring in separate IUs can be considered less attached to the predicate than those that occur in the same IU. Thus, examining whether 1SG pronouns occur in a separate IU from the predicate may find some functions due to the lower cognitive connection with the predicate. In Ono’s (2006) study of non-predicate-final constituent order in Japanese conversation, whether some particular elements occur in the same prosodic contour with the predicate appears crucial. Ono found that the constituent order in which some elements such as demonstratives, pronouns, proper nouns, and adverbs occur after a predicate expressing the speaker’s emotion and feeling is motivated by pragmatics. It appears that the predicate and the element occurring in the same prosodic contour is important for this use. The element in the post-predicate position is not for repair or clarification but for being produced together with the predicate as a planned unit. Therefore, I consider that this factor may reveal some pragmatic functions 1SG pronouns have. I coded the data whether 1SG pronouns occur with the predicate in the same IU or in the separate IU.

4.6.12. Position with Respect to the Predicate

Japanese is often considered an SOV language. However, its word order is not as strict as that in English (Hinds, 1978, 1983; Kuno, 1973; Maynard, 1997; Nariyama,

2003; Shibatani, 1990). Thus, “postposing” (Hinds, 1986, p. 146) occurs very frequently. As noted earlier in 4.6.11, Ono (2006) demonstrated that non-predicate-final constituent order in Japanese conversation is motivated by the speaker’s subjectivity. He focuses on instances in which some elements are occurring in the post-predicate position and in a same prosodic unit from the predicate. The predicate (the host) are adjectives, nouns, and verbs that express the speaker’s emotion and feelings. Elements added after the predicate (the tail) are demonstratives, pronouns, proper nouns, and adverbs. This constituent order is considered one planned unit to express the speaker’s subjectivity. Ono proposed a principle based on the findings as follows:

Pragmatically-based Principle

Host: The element in the host expresses some emotion or feeling of the speaker or it is expressed with some emotion.

Tail: The element in the tail:

a) relates the attribute expressed in the host to certain referent (demonstrative, pronouns, proper nouns)

or

b) presents the speaker’s re-framing of the attribute (adverbs).

(Ono, 2006, pp. 145-146, bold in original source)

Since pronouns are included in the elements in the tail in Ono’s study, I hypothesize that this may be observed in the present study. In order to examine if 1SG pronouns have some pragmatic functions depending on their position in a sentence, the data were coded for the following values: pre-predicate position (pre) and post-predicate position (post).

4.6.13. Position in the Intonation Unit

Chafe (1994) hypothesized that “an intonation unit verbalizes the speaker’s focus of consciousness at the moment” (p. 63). Thus, analyzing 1SG pronouns with respect to where in IU they occur may provide information about the speaker’s cognition in the use of 1SG pronouns. In order to further investigate the differences 1SG pronouns may make according to where in IUs they occur, the data were coded for the following:

1. IU initial (i): When a 1SG pronoun occurs in the initial position of the IU.
2. IU final (f): When a 1SG pronoun occurs in the final position of the IU.
3. Entire IU (e): When a 1SG pronoun is the only item in the IU. If a 1SG pronoun is followed by postpositional particles (*ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and interactional particles), and if it is the only element in the IU, such tokens also fall into this category.
4. In the middle of IU (mid): When a 1SG pronoun occurs somewhere else than the above.

The categories IU Final (3) and entire IU (4) were further divided into the three subcategories according to transitional continuity (Du Bois et al., 1993, pp. 52-55):

1. Final (.): a fall to a low pitch at the end of an IU.
2. Continuing (,): a leveled pitch at the end of an IU.
3. Appeal (?): a rise to a high pitch at the end of an IU.

Iwasaki (2008) notes that an acute rise and immediate acute fall of a pitch as a feature of IUs in Japanese, however, 1SG pronouns at the end of IUs, this feature was not noticed in my data.

4.6.14. Position in the Discourse

As the literature in interactional linguistics has shown, interactions such as turn-taking and repair between speakers can reveal functions of numerous linguistic forms beyond syntax. For example, Fox, Hayashi, and Jaspersen (1996) show that final particles in Japanese are used to signal a turn completion. Examining where 1SG pronouns occur in conversational interactions appears to be important because I hypothesized that the use of 1SG pronouns are determined by discourse-pragmatic motivations. Thus, I included this value in order to examine if 1SG pronouns can function as turn- and topic-management devices depending on the position of 1SG pronouns in discourse. The data were coded for the following factors: turn-initial (i), turn-final (f), and everywhere else (mid) than initial or final of turns.

4.7. Summary

In this chapter, I described the data and methodology used for the analyses of this dissertation providing examples from the data. I am interested in semantic and discourse-pragmatic functions with regard to the use of 1SG pronouns than syntactic classification of each grammatical element, and I hope that my analysis can reveal some of such functions. I present the results of the analysis in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 Analysis I-1: Subject-Predicate Construction

5.1. Introduction

Even though, as has been noted, ellipsis is prevalent in Japanese (e.g., Hinds, 1982; Ono & Thompson, 2003), speakers do choose 1SG pronouns over ellipsis in some situations. Since they are not syntactically required, there must be some discourse-pragmatic motivations on the selection. From a functional perspective, I question when and why speakers use syntactically “optional” 1SG pronouns. In an attempt to better understand their use, I present a profile of 1SG pronouns (their frequency, different forms used by speakers and postpositional particles used immediately after them), and the results of a quantitative analysis of 1SG pronouns in the subject-predicate construction in this chapter.

As mentioned earlier, pronouns are one of the “popular” linguistic items studied by linguists, but analyses of large conversational corpora are relatively rare (though see Lee & Yonezawa, 2008; Ono & Thompson, 2003 for notable exceptions), and this dissertation seeks to reveal some features that are not fully described in previous studies.

5.2. Frequency of Use of First-person Singular Pronouns

Let us take a look at the frequency of 1SG pronouns before exclusions are made in order to compare with the data in other languages. Although many previous studies have noted that ellipsis is prevalent in Japanese, to my knowledge, there is no study that has particularly compared frequencies of 1SG pronouns in large conversational corpora. Thus, this finding can shed light on pronoun use in the area of crosslinguistic studies. Based on the data in the present study, the occurrence (905 1SG pronouns/122,550 words) is equivalent to a standardized frequency of 74 first-person singular pronouns per

10,000 words. A comparison of the frequency with spoken English and spoken Spanish is shown in Figure 6. Frequencies were calculated based on the numbers of 1SG pronouns (*I* and *me* for English; *Yo*, *me* and *mí* for Spanish) summed up from the following sources: conversational speech in the British National Corpus (Leech, Rayson, & Wilson, 2001), Santa Barbara Corpus Parts I-IV (Du Bois, 2000; Du Bois, Chafe, Meyer, Thompson, & Martev, 2003; Du Bois & Englebretson, 2004; Du Bois & Englebretson, 2005), Colombian Spanish (Travis, 2005)²². As shown in Figure 6, *I* and *me* occur approximately five times as often in British English conversation and four times in American English conversation than 1SG pronouns in Japanese conversation, with standardized frequencies of 319 and 342/10,000 respectively. This may be expected given that English does not allow unexpressed arguments, but even when we compare with Spanish, which freely allows unexpressed subjects (Cameron, 1993; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Travis, 2007), we find Japanese still showing a significantly lower rate of use, with 1SG pronouns occurring over three times more often in Spanish than in Japanese. *Me* in Spanish includes both object and reflexive pronoun, a use that does not occur in Japanese, and thus the figures for Spanish are inflated. Even if we take this into account, however, the difference in frequency between Japanese and Spanish is still large. Although it may be assumed that this is because Japanese allows non-expression of all arguments, while Spanish just allows non-expression of subjects, in fact, analysis of the data reveals that the vast majority of these 1SG pronouns in Japanese occur in a subject-like role, and thus it does seem to be the case that non-expression is more common in Japanese than in Spanish.

²² The data British English data include both conversational and task-oriented speech; The American English data include various kinds of speech (conversation, task-related talk, lectures, discussions, and so on); The Colombian Spanish data are spontaneous conversations.

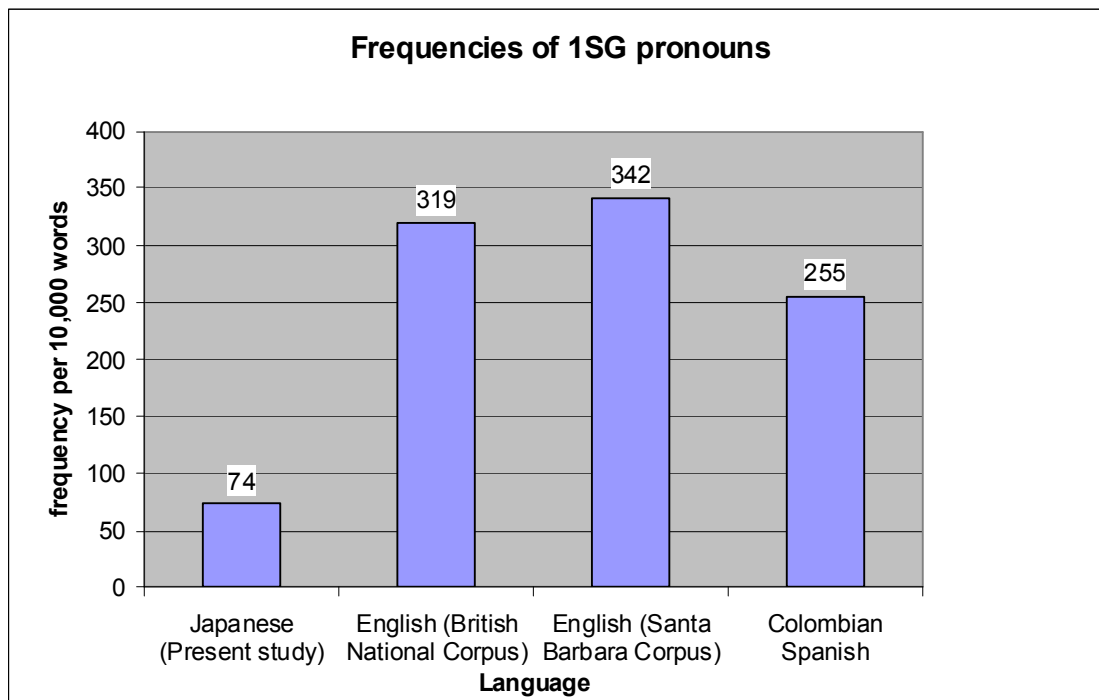


Figure 6. Frequencies of 1SG pronouns in Japanese, English, and Spanish

Ono and Thompson (2003) report that 1SG pronouns occur approximately one in every 22 clauses or every 56 IUs²³ (p. 325). The present study found the same trend; First-person singular pronouns occur approximately one in every 49 IUs. Thus, the infrequent use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese spoken discourse is confirmed.

5.3. Exclusion from Analyses

Of these 905 tokens, 49 tokens are excluded from further analyses due to the reasons explained below. The reason why these exclusions were not made earlier is that I consider that all occurrences of 1SG pronouns should be included for the crosslinguistic comparison of the frequency in Section 5.2.

²³ Tokens included in Ono & Thompson (2003) and those included in the present study are not identical; The researchers included 1SG pronouns marked by *no* 'of' but I excluded them. With the excluded 125 tokens added, one 1SG pronoun occurs in every 43 IUs.

1. Repeated utterances (n = 4): When the 1SG pronouns are duplicated due to stuttering (e.g., *atashi- atashi*), the first one was excluded but the second one was included.
2. Direct quotes (n = 45): The reason why directly quoted utterances are excluded is that, in many cases, the speaker translates and recites the third person's speech originally uttered in English wording. Some of these utterances are influenced by the original English, and sound awkward and unnatural as Japanese. For example, a speaker translated and quoted an English speaker's speech *boku wa nyuuyooku ni *kuru* 'I will come to New York' [japn1684]. In Japanese, *iku* 'go' should be used instead of *kuru* 'come' in this context.

After 49 tokens in total were excluded, 856 tokens of 1SG pronouns remained for the analysis.

5.4. Various Forms of First-person Singular Pronouns

Table 13 shows the number and the kinds of 1SG pronouns categorized by gender of the speaker.

Table 13. Distribution of 1SG pronoun forms by gender (N = 856)

Form Gender	<i>atashi</i>	<i>watashi</i>	<i>ore</i>	<i>boku</i>	<i>washi</i>	Total
Female	86% (441)	12% (59)	0% (0)	1% (7)	1% (5)	100% (512)
Male	0% (1)	1% (4)	90% (311)	8% (28)	0% (0)	100% (344)
Total	52% (442)	7% (63)	36% (311)	4% (35)	1% (5)	100% (856)

Although it is typically proposed that *boku* and *ore* are strictly male terms, as shown in Table 13, there are a few instances of *ore* and *washi* used by a female speaker. The gendered forms found in the present study concord with ones in previous studies (Kondo, 1990; Shibatani, 1990; see Section 2.3.2 for details). *Atashi*, the more casual form of *watashi*, is the most frequent form used by females (86%, 441/512), and *ore*, the most casual form usually solely used by males, is the most frequently used form by males (90%, 311/344). There were, however, some uses beyond the gendered 1SG pronouns. For instance, one female speaker used the form *boku*, which is considered to be used solely by males, and the form *washi*, which is considered to be used by older males in some circumstances. Although the effect of sociocultural factors on the use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese should not be ignored, it is not the scope of this dissertation. Hence, I will not discuss 1SG pronouns with regard to gendered speech in depth in this chapter. I treat all different forms in one cluster as “1SG pronouns in Japanese” rather than analyzing each form for the rest of this chapter. An initial analysis between the most frequently used forms by gender (*atashi* vs. *ore*) did not show any significant differences in patterning of the various forms, and thus I conclude that differences shown by gender on the choice of forms are not semantic but stylistic as they shift according to situation (e.g., Kondo, 1990). That is, the choice among different forms is made on some sociocultural bases, but it does not affect the meaning of the linguistic item indicating first person. I will briefly discuss the sociocultural aspect of 1SG pronouns in Section 9.3.

5.5. Postpositional Particles

In Japanese, various kinds of postpositional particles are attached to noun phrases in order to indicate grammatical relationships and give semantic and pragmatic

information. Figure 7 presents the distribution of the postpositional particles occurring with 1SG pronouns in the data.²⁴

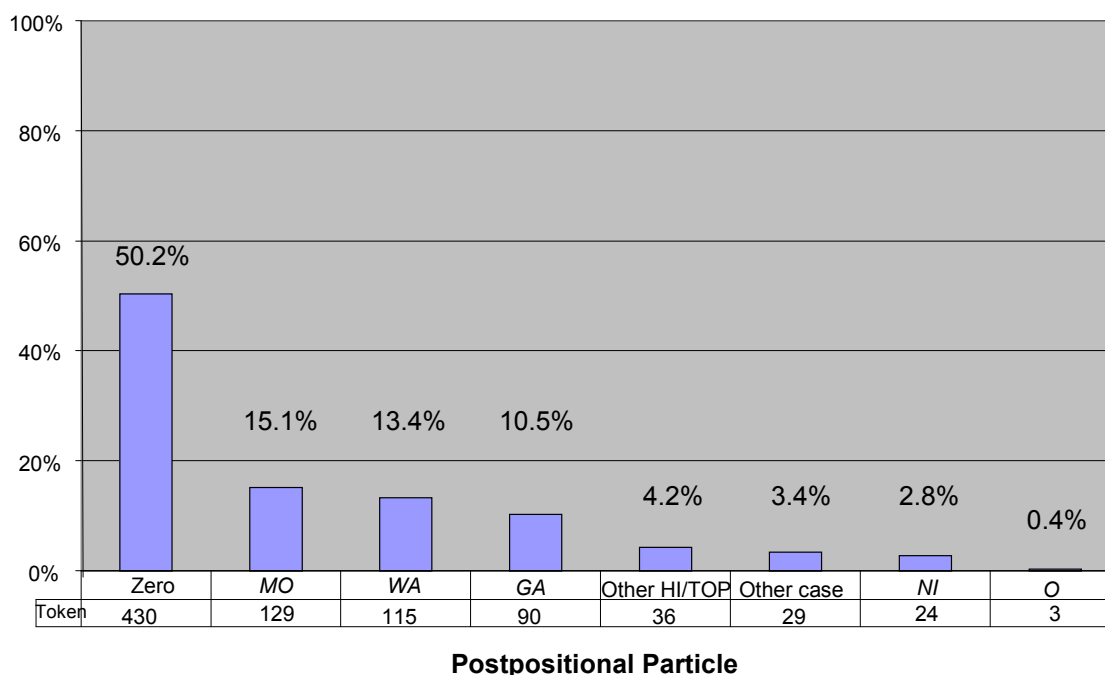


Figure 7. Distribution of 1SG pronouns categorized by postpositional particles (N=856)

Note. Other Hi/Top: *fuku joshi* ‘adverbial particles’ such as *sae*, *datte* ‘even’; *shika*, *dake* ‘only’; *nanka*, *nante* ‘exemplary’; and the topic marking *dattara* (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 44). Other case: ablative *kara* and *yor*i, nominative-genitive conversion *no*, comitative *to*.

Approximately one half of the 1SG pronouns are followed by no particle at all despite the traditional understanding that case marking is obligatory. Furthermore, the most frequent particle to occur, *mo* ‘also’, accounting for 15.1% of the data, is not a case particle as it can mark noun phrases of several different syntactic roles. *Wa* and *ga*,

²⁴ Thirteen tokens are followed by more than one particle such as *atashi ni wa* ‘for me’ (dative + topic). This figure is categorized by the particle directly following the pronoun for the organization purpose (e.g., *atashi ni wa* is coded as dative *ni* instead of topic *wa*).

which are widely discussed in the literature and receive an enormous amount of attention in Japanese language instruction as discussed earlier, only account for 13.4% and 10.5% of the data respectively, that is, together, less than one quarter of the data. Though it may not concord with what Japanese text books lead us to believe, this result is in fact consistent with prior corpus studies. It is somewhat similar to Ono and Thompson's (2003) study of 1SG pronouns although the size of the corpus and what included in the data and grouping of the particles are different. In their study, zero-marked 1SG pronouns are used most often (35%) followed by *wa* (16%), by *mo* (14%), and then *ga* (11%).

Now, I present the results of each postpositional particle following the 1SG pronouns.

5.5.1. *Ga*

The occurrences of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* are quite low, accounting for just 10.5% of all 1SG pronouns in the database (90/856). Ono and Thompson's (2003) study of Japanese 1SG pronouns found that 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* are used very infrequently as well (accounting for 11% of the data in their study). Therefore, the present study confirms the tendency of infrequent use of *ga* with 1SG pronouns. It should be noted that this tendency is observed with general noun phrases as well. Ono et al. (2000) investigated the status of *ga* using natural occurring conversational data, and found a lower rate of noun phrases marked by *ga* (28%) compared to ones marked by zero (40%) and other particles (*wa*, *mo*, *tte*; 32%). Thus, the rarity of *ga* marking does not appear to be limited to 1SG pronouns; It appears that the use of *ga* is not extensive over all and may be even less so with 1SG pronouns.

The low frequency of *ga* has some educational implications in that this is one of the first particles along with *o* that JSL/JFL learners learn in classrooms and in introductory books. That is, learners may start learning the particles with lower frequencies prior to more frequent and pragmatically significant ones. The possible reason why *ga* is treated as the primary and important particle in textbooks is simply because it is considered a marker to indicate nominative case or subject due to a simplistic translation from English. In languages with subject-predicate constructions, the status of subject as the primary core argument may give special attention to *ga* as the marker of subject. However, the findings show that the occurrence of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* is infrequent, and this makes us wonder the functions of *ga* as well as the grammatical status of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga*.

5.5.2. *Wa*

There are 115 occurrences of *wa* directly following a 1SG pronoun in the data, and a further 10 tokens following another particle (three times with the combination with dative *ni wa*, six times with the combination with the dative and phrase *ni totte wa*, and one time with highlighting *dake wa*). Yet, the occurrence is still rare, and this, as well as *ga*, raises a question about typical analyses that simply contrast functions of *ga* and *wa* without taking other particles, such as zero-marking and *mo*, into account.

5.5.3. *Mo*

Mo solely following a 1SG pronoun is the second most frequent (n = 129) in the database; interestingly, more frequently used than *ga* (n = 90) or *wa* (n = 115), which are extensively discussed in literature. There are two tokens of *mo* following other particles. If we add these, there will be 131 tokens in total. *Mo* replaces *ga* or *o* when focus is

applied as well as *wa* while it is added after other case particles such as *to*, *ni*, and *kara* (Martin, 1975, p. 53). An examination of semantic roles revealed that none of the 1SG pronouns in the database can be considered object, in that none has the semantic role typically ascribed to object of patient or theme. The 1SG pronouns marked by *mo* in the data rather take on more of a subject-like role as well as 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* and *wa*. The subject role of 1SG pronouns marked by these particles will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

5.5.4. Zero-marked (Bare) First-person Singular Pronouns

Approximately one half (50.2%, 430/856) of the 1SG pronouns in the database were marked by no postpositional particle. Previous studies based on analyses of postpositional particles in spoken discourse (Endo et al., 2006; Fujii & Ono, 2000; Ono et al., 2000) found zero-marked (bare) noun phrases to be very frequent. For instance, Endo et al. report that 53.5% of noun phrases were zero marked while 46.5% were particle marked (*ga*, *wa*, or *o*) in naturally occurring conversation (p. 315). Therefore, frequent occurrence of zero-marking is not limited to 1SG pronouns. Such frequent ellipsis makes us wonder whether case particles are in fact “obligatory” at least in conversation. Even though particles such as *ga* and *o* are automatically assumed to indicate case in traditional grammar, it appears that noun phrases do not have to be marked and are still understood by speech participants.

An examination of semantic roles found that the zero-marked 1SG pronouns as the patient occurred only in the passive construction, and thus there were no zero-marked object 1SG pronouns in active voice in the database. It is noteworthy that no zero-marked object 1SG pronouns and only three *o*-marked object 1SG pronouns were found

in this study. Although further investigation with sufficient number of tokens is definitely needed, this finding suggests that there is a relationship between 1SG pronouns and particular semantic roles. Example (71) shows the zero-marked 1SG pronoun *ore* appearing after the verb *okosu* ‘wake (transitive)’+ the sentence-final particle *yo* is the agent of the verb *okosu*. In Japanese, there are sets of verbs paired by transitive-intransitive (Shibatani, 1990), and the *okosu* ‘wake (transitive)’ and *okiru* ‘wake (intransitive)’ is one such pair of the verbs. We can tell that the zero-marked 1SG pronoun *ore* is not the grammatical object (patient of an action) from the context and the sentence-final particle *yo* ‘I’m telling you’ that adds the speaker’s emotions, feelings, and attitude.

(71) *shinkai okosu yo ore.*
 Shinkai wake (tr.) SFP 1SG
 ‘I will wake (you) up, Shinkai.’ [japn6166]

As noted above, analysis based on the semantic role found no zero-marked patient of 1SG pronouns in the data. Does this mean that all zero-marked 1SG pronouns in the data should be considered to represent logical subjects? In Example (32) in Section 2.4.2.3, we have already seen the case that 1SG pronouns can be marked by neither the particle *wa* nor *ga*. First-person singular pronouns can also occur without any particle, as in example (71). As Shibatani (1990) notes, supplying a particle and retaining the same pragmatic meaning as zero-marked is impossible. Thus, the term “zero-marked” may be misleading just like other definition problems I discussed. This result makes analyzing linguistic items depending on particles of case marking call into question because the grammatical status of the majority of 1SG pronouns is not easily identified with “case” markers; and such analyses may not reveal discourse-pragmatic functions.

5.5.5. Some Notes about Particles with Infrequent Occurrences

It should be also noted that 1SG pronouns marked by postpositional particles other than *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, or zero were infrequent (11% in total, 92/856). It is not very meaningful to further discuss these infrequent occurrences individually because tokens are too few. I make a comment on only a few things that appear noteworthy.

First-person singular pronouns followed by *o*, which marks the object or accusative case, in the data is remarkably infrequent ($n = 3$). This is the lowest among all other postpositional particles. Zero-marked objects are possible, and indeed, quite a few occurrences have been found in previous studies. Fujii and Ono (2000) found that 70% of direct objects are zero-marked in conversation, and Endo et al. (2006) similarly reported that 63% of direct objects are zero-marked in conversation. As I noted in Section 5.5.4, a close examination of the semantic relationship between 1SG pronouns and the predicates confirmed that there were no instances of zero-marked patients of 1SG pronouns in the database. That is, 1SG pronouns as objects, whether marked ($n = 3$) or unmarked ($n = 0$), rarely occurred in the database. This result accords with the study by Ono and Thompson (2003) that reports no occurrence of 1SG pronouns marked by *o*. Infrequent first-person object pronouns is probably not surprising as the nature of conversation in which the speaker is often the subject of utterances and the characteristic of spoken Japanese, in which the object as well as other elements does not have to be expressed. Furthermore, this may be related to low transitivity in conversation. Previous studies (e.g., Hopper & Thompson, 1980; Thompson & Hopper, 2001; Thompson, 2002) report low transitivity in conversation. There may be a correlation between the low transitivity and the low occurrence of 1SG objects.

Pronouns (or any phrase) can be followed by interactional particles such as *ne* and *sa*. They are considered to function like discourse markers such as ‘you know’ (Iwasaki, 2002). It turned out that the occurrences were low. There are only 43 instances in total; occurred with only limited postpositional particles (*ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and the highlighting particle *nanka* ‘exemplary’), and most occurred with zero-marked 1SG pronouns (32/43).

5.5.6. Summary

The analysis of the distribution of postpositional particles found that about half of the 1SG pronouns are marked by zero (50.2%), followed by ones marked by the particle *mo* (15.1%), by *wa* (13.4%), and by *ga* (10.5%). Although termed as “zero”, it does not necessarily mean ellipsis of particles as the example shows that no particles can be added to maintain the same pragmatic meaning of zero. The findings above raise some further questions about the status and role of 1SG pronouns. In the next section, I further examine the 1SG pronouns marked by the frequent particles.

5.6. First-person Singular Pronouns as Subject

For further analyses of the grammatical status of 1SG pronouns, I limited the data to 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* (n = 90), *wa* (n = 115), *mo* (n = 129), and zero (n = 430). The rationale for this limitation of the data is:

1. First-person singular pronouns marked by these particles can be the “subject” of the predicate, which is considered a core argument;
2. The particles above are the four most frequent ones marking 1SG pronouns, and also have sufficient numbers of occurrences to be investigated in the database;

3. Two of these particles, *ga* and *wa*, receive extensive treatment in Japanese language instruction, and thus it is important that their use be better understood.
4. In spite of the highest number in the data, studies of zero-marked 1SG pronouns have not been extensively conducted to my knowledge.

As for 4 above, although there are several previous studies that investigated zero-marked noun phrases (along with *ga*, *wa*, and *o*, Endo et al., 2006; compared with *o*, Fujii & Ono, 2000), studies focusing on zero-marked 1SG pronouns were not found, and thus, it is considered as a relatively unexplored area.

Investigating the status and functions of these 1SG pronouns marked by zero, *ga*, *wa*, and *mo* may help reveal some roles or the nature of 1SG pronouns that have not been explored in previous studies.

5.6.1. Exclusions from Analyses of the Subject-predicate Construction

In order to analyze the subject on the basis of its semantic role within the clause, several exclusions needed to be made ($n = 223$). Although they were taken out from the analysis of the subject-predicate relation, it does not mean that they are meaningless utterances. However, I consider that they should be excluded from the subject-predicate analysis.

- Truncated utterances ($n = 82$)

There are cases that the speaker used a 1SG pronoun but the corresponding predicate never followed due to interruptions or some other reason. These tokens were excluded because it is not possible to identify the predicate, and thus the semantic role of the subject. An example is shown below in Example (72).

(72) *a ore hon- --*
 INJ 1SG FRG

datte ame ichido mo futte-nai mon.
 because rain once even fall-NEG:NONP SE

‘Oh, I, because it has never rained.’

[japn6149]

- Ellipted predicates (n = 11)

Ellipted predicates look similar to truncated utterances, however, these utterances are pragmatically complete with no verb. In some fixed expressions, the speaker probably assumed that his/her utterance would be easily understood by the hearer without verbs. Example (73) shows an instance of the ellipted predicate. *Tsukau* ‘use, spend’ is unsaid in this utterance, however, the hearer usually understands the ellipted word of a phrasal expression *yumizu no yooni tsukau* ‘spend (something, usually money) like water’. These tokens were excluded because even though their subjects’ semantic roles can be identified, without the predicate it is not possible to fully analyze the factors affecting the use of 1SG pronouns.

(73) *ore wa yumizu no yoo-ni Ø.*
 1SG WA water COP: ATT like

‘(As for me,) I (spend money) like running water.’

[japn4044]

- First-person singular pronouns with more than one possible predicate (n = 30)

As Ono and Thompson (2003) note, it is not easy to identify the predicate for the 1SG pronouns. There were more than one possible predicate in some cases as shown in Example (74).

(74) *so atashi eego no hoosoo dame,*
 yes 1SG English GEN broadcast no-good

yoku wakan-nai.
 well understand-NEG:NONP

‘Yes, I am not good at TV programs in English. (I) don’t understand (them) well.’ [japn6739]

In this utterance, it is difficult to know which predicate (*dame* ‘no good’ or *wakan-nai* ‘don’t understand’) the 1SG pronoun *atashi* corresponds, whether it corresponds to neither, or whether it in fact corresponds to both. I will discuss such functions in Chapter 6. In any case, I consider these instances should be excluded from the analyses in this section.

- Topic-comment construction (n = 100)

As Japanese is characterized as both a topic-comment prominent and a subject-predicate prominent language (Li & Thompson, 1976), it is possible to have a construction known as the “double subject construction” (Kuno, 1973, p. 34). In such cases, 1SG pronouns are not the subject as defined above, and they do not hold a relationship with the predicate. As shown in Example (75), the subject that has the grammatical relation with the predicate *kuru* ‘come’ is not the 1SG pronoun *atashi* but the third person *buruusu* ‘Bruce’. Therefore, analyzing the grammatical relation of these tokens to the predicate using the coding factors described in Chapter 4 will not be appropriate. Some of these tokens look like truncated utterances, and it was not always easy to distinguish between these.

(75) *atashi ne:*,
1SG IP

buruusu ga kuru none,
Bruce GA come:NONP SFP

‘As for me, Bruce is coming.’ [japn6149]

Although tokens in the topic-comment construction are excluded, it does not mean that they are unimportant. There are some noteworthy distributional differences

among the 1SG pronouns marked by the particles. As can be seen in Table 14, overall, subject-predicate construction is more frequent (84%), however the data are not distributed evenly: While 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* occur almost categorically in the subject-predicate as opposed to the topic-comment construction, those marked by *wa* occur close to one quarter of the time in the topic-comment construction. The difference between 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* and those marked by other particles (*wa*, *mo*, and zero) is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 8.330$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0039$); and the difference between 1SG pronouns marked by *wa* and those marked by other particles (*ga*, *mo*, and zero) is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 3.842$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.05$). I include 1SG pronouns in the topic-comment construction for the qualitative analysis in Chapter 6.

Table 14. Subject-predicate construction versus topic-comment construction (N = 641)

Postpositional particle	subject-predicate		topic-comment		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	96%	75	4%	3	100%	78
<i>wa</i>	77%	79	23%	23	100%	102
<i>mo</i>	86%	93	14%	15	100%	108
Zero	83%	294	17%	59	100%	353
Total	84%	541	16%	100	100%	641

In the following subsections, I present the results of the analyses of the 541 1SG pronouns marked by *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero with several different dimensions in order to give a detailed description of the 1SG pronouns. The data were coded by the linguistic factors explained in Chapter 4.

5.6.2. Predicate Type

The data in the subject-predicate constructions were grouped into three types according to the predicate: adjectival, nominal and verbal. Table 15 presents the distribution categorized by the predicate type.

Table 15. Predicate type of 1SG pronouns grouped by postpositional particles (N = 541)

Postpositional particle	Adjectival predicate		Nominal predicate		Verbal predicate		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	7%	5	1%	1	92%	69	100%	75
<i>wa</i>	16%	13	3%	2	81%	64	100%	79
<i>mo</i>	12%	11	2%	2	86%	80	100%	93
Zero	9%	25	2%	6	89%	263	100%	294
Total	10%	54	2%	11	88%	476	100%	541

Overall, 88% of the tokens occur with verbal predicates, with figures ranging 81% for *wa* to 92% for *ga*. This difference is made up by their occurrence with adjectival predicates: while adjectival predicates make up 10% of the data overall, they make up 16% of the 1SG pronouns occurring with *wa*, and just 7% with *ga*. This is markedly different from the results of Ono et al. (2000), who found that 22% of noun phrases (including all persons) marked by *ga* have nominal, adjectival or adverbial predicates. The rate of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* occurring with the adjectival or nominal predicates in the present study is far lower (7% for adjectival and 1% for nominal predicate; 8% in total) than the noun phrases marked by *ga* in the study by Ono et al. If we can confirm the difference between the two studies is solely caused by any noun phrases marked by *ga* and 1SG pronouns marked by *ga*, 1SG pronouns may behave

differently from other second and third person noun phrases. Since the present study does not code for other persons or noun phrases, a further investigation in the future is desired. There are no other studies found for a comparison of other particles.

The lower occurrences of adjectival and nominal predicates can be explained by semantic roles of 1SG pronouns and semantic class of corresponding predicates. Very few occurrences of nominal predicates (n = 11) may reflect what 1SG subjects semantically can take. That is, they are limited to something describing the speaker himself/herself as shown in Example (76) whereas other noun phrases overall (including second and third persons) may take a wide range of nouns as predicates.

- (76) *atashi [kotsukotsu] suru taipu ja-nai n-da kedo:.*
 1SG ONM do type COP-NEG NML-COP but
 ‘I am not the type of person who works diligently, though.’ [japn6698]

Similarly, the semantic classes of adjectival predicates are limited to nature (e.g., *wagamama da* ‘selfish’), state (e.g., *daijoobu da* ‘fine’, *shiwase da* ‘fortunate’), and feelings (e.g., *ureshii* ‘glad’). An example of the 1SG pronoun occurring with an adjectival predicate describing the state *rakkii da* ‘lucky’ is shown in (77).

- (77) *demo ne:.*
 but IP

ore kekkoo rakkii nan-da yo.
 1SG pretty lucky NML-COP SFP
 ‘But, I am pretty lucky.’ [japn6149]

Thus, the semantic role of the 1SG subjects is limited to a proprietor of nature, state, identity described by adjectives and nouns of predicates. As discussed in Section 3.2, subjects of predicates describing subjective feelings and emotions are limited to first person, and thus they do not have to be expressed. Situations in which the speaker needs to describe his or her own nature or identity may be rare in informal conversation, and

this may contribute to the fewer occurrences of adjectival and nominal predicates. A further analysis of semantic categories of adjectival and nominal predicates is needed in the future to confirm this claim.

5.6.3. Transitivity

Table 16 compares two roles of subject (A role: transitive, S role: intransitive + complement-taking predicate), as determined by the corresponding predicate.

Table 16. Two roles of subject grouped by postpositional particle (N = 541)

Postpositional particle	A role		S role		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	25%	19	75%	56	100%	75
<i>wa</i>	19%	15	81%	64	100%	79
<i>mo</i>	18%	17	82%	76	100%	93
Zero	24%	72	76%	222	100%	294
Total	23%	123	77%	418	100%	541

Seventy-seven percent (77%) of 1SG pronouns in the database are categorized in the S role group, which include complement-taking predicates as noted Section 4.6.5. Ono et al. (2000, p. 63) show that all noun phrases marked by *ga* are predominantly S roles (the single argument of one-argument predicates: 94%) and rarely A roles (the agent-like argument of two-argument predicates: 6%). Although the present study does not show such a high rate of the S role group, it does show a similar tendency that the majority occur in the S role. This difference in percentage may reflect the difference in linguistic items: 1SG subjects in the present study and all noun phrase subjects that include inanimate entities in Ono et al.

The data were further analyzed to examine what verbs in each category occur most frequently. Table 17 shows the top five frequently transitive, intransitive, and complement-taking predicates occurring with 1SG pronouns.

Table 17. Top five predicates categorized by transitivity

Rank	Transitive		Intransitive		Complement-taking predicate	
	Predicate	n	Predicate	n	Predicate	n
1	<i>suru</i> ‘do (something)’ and compound verb N + <i>suru</i> ‘do an act N describes’	41	<i>da</i> copula and verbal adjective predicates	65	<i>omoo</i> ‘think’	63
2	<i>yaru</i> ‘do (something)’	14	<i>iku</i> ‘go’	21	<i>iu</i> ‘say’	36
3	<i>miru</i> ‘watch’	10	<i>iru</i> ‘exist’, <i>kaeru</i> ‘go home’	8	<i>wakaru</i> ‘understand’	29
4	<i>tsukuru</i> ‘make’	7	<i>kuru</i> ‘come’, <i>naru</i> ‘become’	6	<i>shiru</i> ‘know’	24
5	<i>kaku</i> ‘write’, <i>motsu</i> ‘have’, <i>okuru</i> ‘send’, <i>tsukau</i> ‘use’	5	<i>au</i> ‘meet’, <i>deru</i> ‘exit’	5	<i>kiku</i> ‘hear’	16

As to transitive predicates, *suru* ‘do (something)’, including compound verbs such as *mushi-suru* ‘ignore’, *mane-suru* ‘mimic’, *keesan-suru* ‘calculate’, and *sonkee-suru* ‘respect’, is ranked first. Seventeen tokens out of 41 are *suru* ‘do (something)’, however, they often occur with no expressed object/patient. When expressed, they tend to be

abstract (e.g., *soo yuu koto* ‘such a thing’, *nani* ‘what’). The remaining 24 out of 41 are various compound verbs, in which each verb has just one token except *denwa suru* ‘call’ with four tokens. *Yaru*, also meaning ‘do (something)’, is ranked second (though note that it occurs roughly one third as often as *suru*). Object/patients of *Yaru* are often ellipted; when expressed, they are often abstract or ambiguous (e.g., *nanka* ‘something’, *are* ‘that’, *sore* ‘it’). *Miru* ‘watch’ third; *tsukuru* ‘make’ fourth; and *kaku* ‘write’, *motsu* ‘have’, *okuru* ‘send’, and *tsukau* ‘use’ fifth. The fourth and fifth are occurring with less than ten tokens.

In intransitive predicates, the group of copula *da* and verbal adjectives that do not require copulas is ranked first, *iku* ‘go’ second (occurring almost one third as often), *iru* ‘exist’ and *kaeru* ‘go home’ third with much lower tokens, and fourth and fifth are with just handful tokens. In complement-taking predicates, *omoo* ‘think’ ranked first with 63 tokens, indicating that this is the most frequent predicate in the database. *Iu* ‘say’ is ranked second, *wakaru* ‘understand’ third, *shiru* ‘know’ fourth, and *kiku* ‘hear’ fifth. Compared to the other two categories, all frequent predicates in this category occur with a larger number. That is, the most frequent predicates in all databases belong to this category.

This finding shows that 1SG pronouns are used less with transitive verbs, and the kind of transitive verbs are not prototypical transitive verbs. Thus, it appears that the result of this study concord with previous studies (e.g., Hopper & Thompson, 1980; Scheibman, 2002). The result also shows skewing, with the most frequent verb being three times more frequent than the second most frequent verb in two of the three categories.

5.6.4. Semantic Role of Subject

Considering now just those 1SG pronouns that occur with verbal predicates (n = 476), Table 18 presents the semantic roles of such 1SG pronouns.

Table 18. Semantic roles of 1SG pronouns with verbal predicates grouped by postpositional particles (N = 476)

Postpositional particle	Agent		Experiencer		Other*		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	71%	49	28%	19	1%	1	100%	69
<i>wa</i>	34%	22	63%	40	3%	2	100%	64
<i>mo</i>	33%	26	64%	51	4%	3	100%	80
Zero	47%	123	51%	134	2%	6	100%	263
Total	46%	220	51%	244	3%	12	100%	476

Note. *Other: patient (in passive construction) and recipient.

Firstly, it is worth noting that the vast majority of tokens are divided between two semantic roles: agent and experiencer, together accounting for 97% of the data overall. The semantic role of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* is predominantly the agent (71%), significantly higher than for the other particles or zero. A comparison of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* and 1SG pronouns marked by other particles and zero between agent and the combination of experiencer and other showed a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2 = 18.811$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.0001$). Based on this finding, considering *ga* an agent marker rather than the traditional understanding of subject marker might be more appropriate. The percentages of semantic roles of 1SG pronouns marked by *wa* and *mo* show relatively similar distributions, with roughly one third being agents (34% and 33%

respectively) and the remaining two thirds experiencers (63% and 64% respectively). The difference between agent and experiencer for *wa* and *mo* was found statistically not significant. The semantic roles of zero-marked 1SG pronouns are split half by agent (47%) and experiencer (51%). Although this looks like it is very different from the next closest category *wa* in percentage, the difference is not statistically significant.

5.6.5. Semantic Classes of Verbal Predicate

As shown in Section 5.6.2, all pronoun groups occurred most frequently with verbal predicates. Now I further analyze which semantic class they fall into. Table 19 shows the distribution of 1SG pronouns categorized by semantic class of the verbal predicate.

Table 19. Semantic class of verbal predicates occurring with 1SG pronouns grouped by postpositional particles (N = 464)

Semantic role	Semantic class	<i>ga</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>mo</i>	Zero	Total
Agent	Action (e.g., <i>harau</i> 'pay', <i>nomu</i> 'drink', <i>kizamu</i> 'chop')	21% (14)	15% (9)	17% (13)	20% (52)	19% (88)
	Verbal/emotional outburst (e.g., <i>iu</i> 'say', <i>hanasu</i> 'speak', <i>kiku</i> 'ask', <i>naku</i> 'cry', <i>warau</i> 'laugh')	24% (16)	10% (6)	6% (5)	12% (31)	12% (58)
	Motion (e.g., <i>deru</i> 'exit', <i>iku</i> 'go', <i>kaeru</i> 'go home')	22% (15)	6% (4)	9% (7)	12% (30)	12% (56)
	Other eventive verbs (e.g., <i>au</i> 'meet', <i>tetsudau</i> 'help')	6% (4)	5% (3)	1% (1)	4% (10)	4% (18)
Experiencer	Cognition/feeling/mental act (e.g., <i>omoo</i> 'think', <i>shiru</i> 'know', <i>wakaru</i> 'understand', <i>hoshii</i> 'want')	10% (7)	40% (25)	53% (41)	37% (95)	36% (168)
	Perception (e.g., <i>kikoeru</i> 'hear', <i>miru</i> 'see')	0% (0)	8% (5)	3% (2)	3% (8)	3% (15)
	Other stative verbs (<i>sumu</i> 'live', <i>okureru</i> 'be late')	18% (12)	16% (10)	10% (8)	12% (31)	13% (61)
Total		100% (68)	100% (62)	100% (77)	100% (257)	100% (464*)

Note. *Other semantic roles: patient (in passive constructions) and recipient (n = 12) excluded.

Overall, 1SG pronouns occur most frequently with the predicates in the cognition/feeling/mental act category, accounting for over one third of the data (36%), the next most frequent being the action category, which occurs just half as often (19%).

This result is not surprising. Scheibman (2002, p. 63) reports that 32% of first-person singular subject in English occur with cognition verbs (e.g., *know*, *think*, *remember*, *figure out*), followed by material (e.g., *do*, *go*, *take*; 23%), and verbal (e.g., *say*, *talk*, *mean*, *ask*; 20%). She also remarks that first-person singular subjects account for 57% of all verbs of cognition in her database. The study of subject expression in Spanish conducted by Travis (2007) also supports this result. Among all semantic verb categories (psychological, speech act, copula, motion, and other), psychological verbs (e.g., *saber* ‘know’, *creer* ‘believe’, *pensar* ‘think’) make up 18% of all 1SG subjects in the New Mexican Spanish data and 20% of all 1SG subjects in the Colombian Spanish data; and speech act verbs (e.g., *decir* ‘say’, *llamar* ‘call’) account for 20% of all 1SG subjects in the New Mexican Spanish data and 16% of all 1SG subjects in the Colombian Spanish data respectively. Psychological verbs were found to have the highest rate of subject expression in both varieties, and Travis notes that psychological verbs “are used to express speaker opinion, the speaker asserts their role in the utterance with an expressed subject” (p. 117). Thus, the findings along with previous studies can be interpreted as the strong relationship between expressed 1SG subjects and cognitive verbs is found in different languages.

As discussed in Section 3.2, certain words of cognition and internal feelings (e.g., *omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’, *ureshii* ‘glad’) do not require subjects because only the speaker (i.e., first person) can be subjects. Nonetheless, this category is that which most occurs with 1SG pronouns.

It also should be noted that while 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* occur with the predicate of eventive verb classes (action, verbal/emotional, motion, other; 21-24%), all

other 1SG pronoun groups with the other postpositional particles occur with the predicates with the cognition verb category most often (representing 53% of the *mo*-marked, 40% of the *wa*-marked, and 37% of the zero marked 1SG pronouns). A chi-square test with Yates correction found that: the difference between 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* and those marked by other particles (*wa*, *mo*, and zero) in the verbal/emotional outburst category is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 7.720$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0055$); in the motion verb category is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 6.430$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0112$); in cognition verb category is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 21.867$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0001$); however, the difference between 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* and those marked by other particles (*wa*, *mo*, and zero) in the action verb category is not statistically significant. What is the reason that 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* have such higher rate with eventive verb classes while other pronoun groups have higher rate with cognition verb groups? If 1SG pronouns are used to simply indicate the referent of actions, it does not have to show that various results based on different particles. It appears that 1SG pronouns have different semantic and pragmatic roles and the different meanings of the particles are closely related to such differences 1SG pronouns express. The different functions of 1SG pronouns marked by different particles are further explored in Chapter 6.

5.6.6. Tense and Aspect

As noted in Section 4.6.8, examining the relationship between 1SG pronouns and tense and aspect may show their relationship to information accessibility, subjectivity, and may further reveal why 1SG pronouns are used. Table 20 shows the distribution of

1SG pronouns grouped by postpositional particles and by tense and aspect, now including the adjectival and nominal predicates.

Table 20. Tense and aspect of predicates occurring with 1SG pronouns grouped by postpositional particles (N = 541)

Particle	nonpast			past			continuous			HOR	Total
	smpl	prog	other	smpl	prog	other	smpl	prog	other		
<i>ga</i>	35% (26)	13% (10)	3% (2)	27% (20)	1% (1)	4% (3)	17% (13)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	100% (75)
<i>wa</i>	52% (41)	16% (13)	1% (1)	16% (13)	3% (2)	4% (3)	5% (4)	1% (1)	1% (1)	0% (0)	100% (79)
<i>mo</i>	34% (32)	11% (10)	2% (2)	20% (19)	5% (5)	3% (3)	19% (18)	0% (0)	0% (0)	4% (4)	100% (93)
Zero	34% (100)	13% (37)	3% (8)	33% (96)	4% (11)	3% (9)	10% (30)	0% (0)	0% (1)	1% (2)	100% (294)
Total	37% (199)	13% (70)	2% (13)	27% (148)	4% (19)	3% (18)	12% (65)	0% (1)	0% (2)	1% (6)	100% (541)

Note. Other: completive (*-te-shimau*), inchoative (*-naru*, *-te-kuru*, *-te-iku*), resultative (*-te-aru*)

Overall, simple nonpast occurred most frequently in all groups by postpositional particles. However, the rate of 1SG pronouns marked by *wa* in simple nonpast is significantly higher (52%, $\chi^2 = 8.344$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0039$) than those marked by the other particles (*ga*, *mo*, and zero), which behave similarly (35%, 34% AND 34% respectively). Besides, the rate of 1SG pronouns marked by *wa* in simple past is significantly lower (16%, $\chi^2 = 4.908$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0267$) than those marked by the other particles (*ga*, *mo*, and zero). First-person singular pronouns marked by *wa* in simple continuous form have the lowest rate (5%) among the 1SG pronouns grouped by particle, however this is not statistically significant. In the future research, it should be considered how the results may be related to topicality and agentivity.

5.6.7. Clause Type

Table 21 presents the possible subject 1SG pronouns categorized by clause type.

Table 21. Clause type of 1SG pronouns grouped by postpositional particles (N = 541)

Postpositional particle	Main*		Coordinate		Subordinate**		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	27%	20	11%	8	63%	47	100%	75
<i>wa</i>	70%	55	18%	14	13%	10	100%	79
<i>mo</i>	66%	61	25%	23	10%	9	100%	93
Zero	67%	198	14%	42	18%	54	100%	294
Total	62%	334	16%	87	22%	120	100%	541

Note. * Main clause includes the main clauses and the clauses with linking words and morphemes such as *-shi* ‘and’ and *-kedo* ‘but’ but intended not to be continued.

** Subordinate clause includes adverbial, relative, and complement clauses.

First-person singular pronouns marked by *ga* occur most frequently in subordinate clauses (63%) while all other pronoun groups occur predominantly in main clauses and rarely occur in subordinate and embedded clauses. First-person singular pronouns marked by *ga* occur in main clauses at a much lower rate (27%) than the 1SG pronouns marked by other postpositional particles and zero (ranging from 66-70%), and at a much higher rate (63%) in the subordinate clause than the other particles (ranging from 10-18%) as well. A comparison of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* and 1SG pronouns marked by other particles and zero between the main clause and the subordinate clause showed a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2 = 74.64$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.0001$). First-person singular pronouns marked by *wa* in the main clause occur at higher rate than ones marked by other

postpositional particles and zero (70%). Many instances of the 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* in the subordinate clause are relative clauses and some others are in the adverbial clause as shown in examples below.

- Relative clause

(78) [*atashi ga*] *shitte-ru hito wa kanji made kak-e-te ne.*,
 1SG GA know-PROG: NONP person WA kanji even write-POT-TE IP
 ‘The person I know can even write Kanji (Chinese characters), and...’ [japn6739]

(79) *b- boku ga sain shita keeyakusho o: nyo- --*
 FRG 1SG GA signature do:PAST contract ACC FRG

niichan no tokoro ni oku-tte.,
 older brother GEN place DAT send-TE

‘(I) will send the contract I signed to you, and...’ [japn4573]

- Adverbial clause

(80) *mo- atashi ga dakara miruku ageru made yuu no.*
 FRG 1SG GA because milk give until say:NONP SFP
 ‘So, until I give (him) milk, (he) says (it).’ [japn1367]

5.6.8. Position of First-person Singular Pronouns

I investigated the positions of 1SG pronouns in the utterance with the coding factors described in Chapter 4. The results for position did not show noticeable differences between postpositional particles. However, some results may be related to discourse functions although they show subtle differences statistically. In this section, I only display the results that are of relevance to the discussion in Chapter 6.

5.6.8.1. In the Same IU or Separate IU with the Predicate

Table 22 shows the distribution of 1SG pronouns in the same IU or in the different IU with the corresponding predicate grouped by postpositional particles.

Table 22. Occurrence in the same or separate IU with the predicate grouped by postpositional particles (N = 541)

Postpositional particle	Same IU		Different IU		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	59%	44	41%	31	100%	75
<i>wa</i>	42%	33	58%	46	100%	79
<i>mo</i>	54%	50	46%	43	100%	93
Zero	44%	128	56%	166	100%	294
Total	47%	255	53%	286	100%	541

Overall, 47% of 1SG pronoun subjects occurred in the same IUs with the corresponding predicate. First-person singular pronouns marked by *ga* has the highest rate of occurrence in the same IU as the predicate (59%) followed by ones marked by *mo* (54%), and ones marked by *wa* have the lowest rate (42%) although the difference is not statistically significant. The study conducted by Ono and Thompson (2003) found that 58% of the 1SG pronouns occurred in a separate IU from the predicate. The present study finds a similar trend that 1SG pronouns occur in a different IU from the predicate. Chafe (1994, p. 63) categorizes IUs in English into three types as summarized below:

1. Fragmentary: truncated IUs.
2. Substantive: IUs that convey substantive ideas of event, states, or referents.
3. Regulatory: IUs regulates interaction or information flow.

He notes that about 60% of substantive IUs are clauses. In the case of 1SG pronouns in Japanese, the rate of an IU representing a clause seems lower except 1SG pronouns marked by *ga*. Iwasaki (1993b, p. 41) reports that 57.8% of IUs in Japanese are units

smaller than a clause such as phrase and words. Therefore, the result of this study in which a 1SG pronoun subject occurs in a separate IU from the corresponding predicate appears to be typical.

5.6.8.2. Position with Respect to the Predicate

As described earlier in Section 4.6.12, the position of 1SG pronouns with regard to the corresponding predicate was coded in order to examine in the relationship between 1SG pronouns and the alternation of “canonical” order. The results are shown in Table 23.

Table 23. Position of 1SG pronouns with respect to the predicate grouped by postpositional particles (N = 541)

Postpositional particle	Pre-predicate		Post-predicate		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	97%	73	3%	2	100%	75
<i>wa</i>	91%	72	9%	7	100%	79
<i>mo</i>	98%	91	2%	2	100%	93
Zero	90%	266	10%	28	100%	294
Total	93%	502	7%	39	100%	541

The overall result indicates that 93% of 1SG pronouns occur in pre-predicate position. Therefore, the rate of “postposing” (Hinds, 1986, p. 146) is extremely low with 1SG pronoun subjects. First-person singular pronouns marked by *mo* have the highest rate of 98% followed by ones marked by *ga* (97%) while 1SG pronouns marked by zero and by *wa* have somewhat lower rate of occurrence (90% and 91% respectively) than those marked by *ga* and *mo*. The slight difference in the occurrence among the

postpositional particles may reflect their referential functions although the difference is not statistically significant. There are very few tokens in the post-predicate position for 1SG pronouns marked by *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and thus, it makes the analysis not reliable.

5.6.8.3. Position in the Intonation Unit

As described in 4.6.13, 1SG pronouns are coded with the position where they occurred and also with transitional continuity when they occur in the end of IU boundaries (i.e., 1SG pronouns at the IU final or for the entire IU). Table 24 shows the results.

Table 24. Position of 1SG pronouns in IU grouped by postpositional particles (N = 541)

Postpositional Particle	IU Initial	Entire IU,	Entire IU.	IU Final,	IU Final.	IU Mid	Total
<i>ga</i>	49% (37)	17% (13)	0% (0)	11% (8)	1% (1)	21% (16)	100% (75)
<i>wa</i>	53% (42)	20% (16)	3% (2)	9% (7)	4% (3)	11% (9)	100% (79)
<i>mo</i>	57% (53)	9% (8)	1% (1)	6% (6)	1% (1)	26% (24)	100% (93)
Zero	39% (116)	16% (47)	0% (1)	16% (48)	7% (20)	21% (62)	100% (294)
Total	46% (248)	16% (84)	1% (4)	13% (69)	5% (25)	21% (111)	100% (541)

Overall, 46% of 1SG pronouns occur at the initial position of the IU followed by in the middle of the IU (21%). Both the entire IU and IU final with any particles have less than 20% of occurrences. However, the rate varies by particles ranging from 39% of zero to 57% of *mo*. For the 1SG pronouns occurring as an entire IU with the continuing contour, ones marked by *mo* has the lowest rate (9%) the others (16-20%) although the difference is not statistically significant. For the 1SG pronouns occurring at the IU final

positions with the continuing contour, zero shows somewhat higher rate (16%) than the others (6-11%) although the difference is not statistically significant.

5.6.8.4. Position in the Discourse

I analyzed 1SG pronouns as to where in the discourse they occur in order to investigate if the difference in the position suggests any interactional motivation such as signaling to take or give a turn. The results are presented in Table 25.

Table 25. Position of 1SG pronouns in the discourse grouped by postpositional particles (N = 541)

Postpositional particle	Turn-initial		Turn-final		Middle of turn		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	16%	12	0%	0	84%	63	100%	75
<i>wa</i>	13%	10	1%	1	86%	68	100%	79
<i>mo</i>	24%	22	1%	1	75%	70	100%	93
Zero	11%	32	4%	13	85%	249	100%	294
Total	14%	76	3%	15	83%	450	100%	541

Overall, 83% of 1SG pronouns occur in the middle of discourse. Thus, the results did not show any evidence that 1SG pronouns are particularly used to signal to take a turn or give a turn. Davidson (1996) suggests that utterance-initial subject pronouns are used to signal the speaker's intention to take a turn. However, in his study, subject pronouns are not necessarily used at the very beginning of a turn. They show up in the pre-predicate position and close to the beginning of a turn; however, there may be some other items before a subject pronoun. In the present study, I coded the data only when 1SG pronouns are used at the very beginning of the turn as turn-initial and when they are used

at the very end of the turn as turn-final. Therefore, the methodology may have affected the results.

Mo-marked 1SG pronouns occur at the turn-initial position at a significantly higher rate (24%, $\chi^2 = 7.652$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0057$) than 1SG pronouns marked by the other particles and zero (11-16%). This may suggest that there is some discourse function when 1SG pronouns are used with *mo*. I will further discuss it in Section 6.2.

5.7. Summary of the Analysis of the Subject-predicate Construction

In this section, I presented the results of the data analysis and described the trends found in the use of 1SG pronouns grouped by main postpositional particles in the argument structure.

Overall, 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* tend to show somewhat different behavior than the 1SG pronouns groups marked by *wa*, *mo*, and zero summarized as below.

1SG pronouns marked by *ga*:

- have the agent role rather than the experiencer role, and occur more frequently with verbs in the semantic class of verbal, motion and action than with verbs in the semantic class of cognition and perception. (Section 5.6.4, 5.6.5)
- tend to occur proportionately more in subordinate and embedded clauses than they do in other clauses. (Section 5.6.7)
- have much fewer topic-comment constructions than subject-predicate constructions. (Section 5.6.1)

Therefore, 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* may work differently from the other 1SG pronoun groups (1SG pronoun + postpositional particle combination)²⁵ in conversation. I

²⁵ 1SG pronoun + postpositional particle combination = 1SG pronouns marked by *ga*, *wa*, *mo* or zero.

further suggest that it may be better considering *ga* as an agent marker rather than a subject marker (although we have to consider different kinds of *ga* such as “object-marking *ga*” [Kuno, 1973, Chap. 4]).

Other groups relatively show the similar tendency in the analyses. First-person singular pronouns marked by *wa*, *mo*, and zero occur most frequently with the cognition verb category, occur most frequently in main clause. However, some differences such as following are found:

- Higher rate of 1SG pronouns marked by *wa* in simple nonpast and lower rate of 1SG pronouns marked by *wa* in simple past. (Section 5.6.6)
- Higher rate of 1SG pronouns marked by *mo* in the turn-initial position. (Section 5.6.8.4)
- Higher rate of 1SG pronouns marked by *wa* in the topic-comment construction. (Section 5.6.1)

These subtle differences may indicate different roles and functions of 1SG pronouns, therefore, they should not be overlooked.

The data analysis in this section was done with 1SG pronouns mainly grouped by postpositional particles, and I discussed the differences shown among these groups. Are these differences shown due to different functions postpositional particles have? In my opinion, it is not the particles that cause differences but the speaker who chooses 1SG pronouns and appropriate postpositional particles attached to them in order to achieve some pragmatic goals. The particular goal the speaker intended to achieve in the given situation probably would not be realized by nonexpression of 1SG pronouns or 1SG pronouns with other particles. That is, the speaker chooses certain 1SG pronouns

including postpositional particles (or zero-particle) in combination. This claim should be further examined in the future research, and could be further investigated by studying the use of the particles with other types of noun phrases. Unfortunately, such functions may not be shown in number in the analysis of the argument structure.²⁶ Therefore, I examined particular utterances to find such goals achieved by 1SG pronouns + postpositional particles, and discuss the findings in the next chapter.

²⁶ This issue is further discussed in Section 8.4.

Chapter 6 Analysis I-2: Discourse-pragmatic Functions

The quantitative analysis in Chapter 5 revealed some differences of 1SG pronouns marked by different particles. There are, however some functions that are not revealed in a quantitative analysis. In this chapter, I explore discourse-pragmatic functions of 1SG pronouns examining particular utterances qualitatively. In the preceding analysis, 223 tokens (predicate ellipsis, truncated utterances, and the topic-comment constructions) of 1SG pronouns were excluded because they do not have a grammatical relation with the predicate, which would have made such an analysis meaningless (see Section 5.6.1). However, this does not mean that these tokens of 1SG pronouns have no significance. In fact, understanding the use of 1SG pronouns in non subject-predicate constructions may help us understand what 1SG pronouns mean and how they are used in Japanese conversation. In this chapter, I discuss possible discourse-pragmatic functions of 1SG pronouns, including 223 tokens excluded from the subject-predicate analysis.

In the preceding chapter, I explored grammatical factors affecting the use of 1SG pronoun subject in the subject-predicate construction. However, the quantitative analysis, although some differences by postpositional particles were found, cannot explain the details of the use such as what motivation made the speaker use such forms. Now, I present several different functions using examples.

6.1. Referential

Ono and Thompson (2003) found that about one half of 1SG pronouns in their database were referentially motivated while the other half were motivated by discourse-pragmatic factors. Similarly, there are tokens that are used for referential meaning in the

present study. I define as referential cases where, if there were no 1SG pronouns in the given context, the hearer would not understand who the speaker is referring to.

6.1.1. Referential Needs Marked by *Ga*

Example (81) demonstrates the case in which the 1SG pronoun *watashi* marked by *ga* cannot be omitted. In the previous discourse of this segment, Speaker M2 was whining that he needed one more letter of recommendation from his professors, but he was not sure to whom he could ask for. Here, Speaker M1 asks if Speaker M2 is being treated badly by his professors, and M2 denies that he is being “bullied” and said it is his fault.

(81) M1: *ijiwaru sarete-ru n-desu ka?*
 mean do:PASS-PROG:NONP NML-COP:POL:NONP Q
 ‘Are (you) being bullied?’

→ M2: *iya watashi ga warui n-desu kedo ne.*
 no 1SG GA bad NML-COP:POL:NONP but SFP
 ‘No, it is my fault, though. (lit. No, I am bad, but.)’ [japn6221]

This need of the expressed 1SG pronoun is obvious because what or who is bad must be clearly stated in this utterance. If Speaker M2 ellipted the 1SG pronoun and said “*iya ∅ warui n desu kedo ne*”, the utterance would not qualify as an appropriate response to the question in Speaker M1’s preceding utterance. In addition to the choice of expressed or unexpressed 1SG pronoun, the speaker has another task to do: selecting the appropriate postpositional particle. The 1SG pronoun subject must be followed by a certain postpositional particle in order to be appropriate in the given context. As described in Section 2.4.2.1, when “the center of thought” or “the focus of new information” (Shibatani, 1990, p. 269) is on the subject, it is marked by *ga*. Therefore, in this situation, *ga* must be used since the focus is on the 1SG subject *watashi* (i.e., the new information in this utterance) and any other particles (*wa*, *mo*, or zero) do not work. This suggests

that the use of particles is motivated by pragmatic force and not by grammatical necessity. In this instance, motivation for using the particle *ga* is to provide the focus on subject and not to simply mark nominative case or subject, which is the traditional understanding of *ga*-marking.

Similarly, in Example (82), the 1SG pronoun *atashi* + the particle *ga* cannot be ellipted. In this segment, the speakers are talking about the recording of their conversation for the linguistic research, which may be used for analyses of dialects. Here, Speaker M says that he will talk in his dialect after he learned that his speech may contribute to the study of dialects, and Speaker F, who does not speak the same dialect, says that she would not understand his speech if he spoke in his dialect.

(82) M: *nan-da tochigi-ben toka shaben-nakya-ikenee yo XXX-ben toka,*
 SOF Tochigi-dialect SOF speak-OBL SFP xxx-dialect SOF
omoikkiri.
 EMPH

‘(I) Then, I have to speak in Tochigi-dialect or something, xxx-dialect or something, strongly.’

→ F: *demo atashi ga wakan-naku naru yan.*
 but 1SG GA understand-NEG become:NONP TAG

‘But I become not to understand (your speech), don’t I?’ [japn1773]

Speaker F uses the 1SG pronoun *atashi* + the particle *ga* to clearly indicate who would not understand Speaker M’ speech. If she, instead, ellipted the 1SG pronouns and said *demo Ø wakan-naku naru yan*, there might be several candidates for the referent. What (Speaker M’s speech?)²⁷ or who (Speaker F or the researchers who use the conversational data?) the referent would become ambiguous. Thus, in this utterance, the intended

²⁷ Some predicates expressing ability (e.g., *wakaru* ‘understand’, *dekiru* ‘capable’), needs (e.g., *iru* ‘need’) and emotion (e.g., *kowai* ‘fearful’) take “dative subject” construction (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 86). In this construction, the subject is marked by *ni* ‘dative’ and the object is marked by *ga*. In (82), an object such as *hanashi* ‘story’ marked by *ga* can be a possible referent of *wakan-naku naru* ‘become not to understand’.

referent who will not understand M's speech if he starts speaking in his dialect cannot be deleted. The choice of the particle should be *ga* because, just like Example (81), the focus of new information is on the 1SG pronoun subject. Therefore, the 1SG pronoun *atashi* marked by *ga* must be expressed in this particular context.

6.1.2. Referential Needs Marked by *Wa*

First-person singular pronouns for referential purposes are marked by other postpositional particles as well. An example is shown in (83) below. In this episode, Speaker M2 appears to be an entrepreneur who makes (military?) training video series. In the previous discourse of this segment, M2 said that he had just made a new video. Here, Speaker M1 asks if the second video in the series has been released, and M2 says that it is not on sale but his company had a screening of the new video last week. Speaker M2 says that he could not go (to the screening), but his utterance implies that someone else went because of the use of the particle *wa*.

(83) M1: *nanbaa tsuu ga deki-ta no?*
 number two GA POT-PAST SFP
 'Has No. 2 been released?'

M2: *aa,*
 INJ

mada,
 yet

hatsubai-sarete-nee kedo,
 sale-PASS-NEG:NONP but

shi-choo-kai ga,
 sample-listen-meeting GA

kono mae a-tta n-ja-nee kana senshuu.
 this before exist-PAST NML-COP-NEG:NONP SFP last week

'Well, (it) is not on sale yet, but I guess there was a screening last week.'

M1: *hu:n.*

BCH

‘I see.’

→ M2: *ore wa chotto ike- --*

1SG WA SOF FRG

ik-e-nak-atta kedo:.

go-POT-NEG-PAST but

‘(As for me,) I couldn’t go (to the presentation), but (someone else went).’

[japn4222]

The 1SG pronoun *ore* marked by *wa* needs to be explicitly mentioned in order to convey the information that M2 could not go, but someone else went. This is considered to be the function “contrast” in Kuno’s (1973) term discussed in 2.4.2.1. As Shibatani (1990) argues, contrastiveness can be merely due to the inherent nature of *wa* as a topic marker and highlighted in certain context. In anyway, ellipsis (*∅ chotto ike- ik-e-nak-atta kedo.* ‘∅ couldn’t go.’) is not an option. From the discourse, M1 might be able to guess who the ellipited referent is. However, the 1SG pronoun + the particle *wa* for contrastiveness would be the only appropriate choice to imply someone else went to the screening. Lee and Yonezawa (2008) also show the case that 1SG pronoun marked by *wa* for contrastiveness, and state that such use of 1SG pronouns cannot be ellipited.

The speaker needs to express 1SG pronouns in their utterances in order for the addressee to understand whom he or she is referring to. Besides, the speaker chooses appropriate postpositional particles according to the given situation.

6.1.3. Referential Needs Marked by *Mo*

First-person singular pronouns appear to be expressed due to semantic necessity realized by particular particles in some cases. Now I consider such situations in which the semantic information carried by the postpositional particle *mo* ‘also’ needs expression

of 1SG pronouns. If 1SG pronouns are ellipted, the meaning of *mo* will be also lost. Since particles cannot stand by themselves, noun phrases preceding the particles (1SG pronouns in this case) must be present. *Watashi mo* in (84) must be included in Speaker F1's utterance in order to express her agreement to Speaker F2's previous utterance.

(84) (Speakers F1 and F2 talk about *okonomiyaki*, a casual Japanese dish.)

F1: *un*,
yea

kekko: oishii yone okonomiyaki.
EMPH delicious SFP okonomiyaki (name of a Japanese dish)

'Yeah, *okonomiyaki* is pretty good, isn't it?'

F2: *un*,
yea

atashi wa suki da yo.
1SG WA like COP:NONP SFP

'Yeah, (as for me,) I like it.'

→ F1: *watashi mo suki.*
1SG also like
'I like (it), too.'

[japn6666]

For this utterance, $\emptyset mo suki$ is not grammatically acceptable; and due to the semantic force of *mo* indicating 'also', ellipsis of the 1SG pronoun with *mo* creates a pragmatically anomalous utterance. That is, $\emptyset suki$ is not semantically and pragmatically acceptable.

In this context in which the proposition of F1's utterance is identical to the proposition of F2's preceding utterance, the 1SG pronoun marked by *mo* (*watashi mo*) is necessary.

This demonstrates that speakers choose the use/nonuse of 1SG pronouns and appropriate particles as a whole unit according to semantics and pragmatics rather than supplying segments at the sentence level during communicative interactions.

6.2. Topic Introduction and Floor Holding

Some 1SG pronouns appear to work for the “frame setting” purpose as Ono and Thompson (2003, p. 332) suggest. This “frame” can be considered equivalent to what is generally called a topic or theme. Thus, what 1SG pronouns are doing here is establishing a topic. They occur in the pre-predicate position, and also tend to occur at the initial position of IUs. Even if 1SG pronouns are ellipted, the semantic meaning of the utterance will not change. However, if ellipted, the utterance will sound abrupt and the hearer may have trouble following the story. The speaker starts off his or her turn with a 1SG pronoun signaling to the addressee what the topic (i.e., something relevant to the speaker) will be, and also marks to get (or hold) the floor with them at the same time. Therefore, it can be said that these 1SG pronouns are needed for discourse and interactional functions.

Examples in this use are shown below. In Example (85), Speaker M2 indicates the topic with the 1SG pronouns *ore*, and also he succeeds to get the floor. He uses the pronoun *ore* one more time like an interactional particle (see Section 6.5) and this helps him to keep the floor.

- (85) (Speaker M1 talks about the casino in Reno he went to, and Speaker M2 also talks about his experience related to casinos.)

M1: *non sumookingu no dai*,
 non-smoking GEN machine
 ‘Non-smoking machines ...’

M2: *un*.
 BCH
 ‘Uh-huh.’

→ *ore dakara kotchi ni kuru toki ni sa:*,
 1SG because here DAT come:NONP time LOC IP
 ‘So when I came here,’

anoo;
INJ
'well...'

nan da-kke,
what COP-Q
'what was it?'

yappari sannoze;
EMPH San Jose
'you know,'

keeyu de: kita jan?
via by come:PAST TAG
'(I) came here via San Jose, didn't I?'

M1: *un.*
BCH
'Uh-huh.'

M2: *de sono ato;*
and that after
'And, after that,'

dakara;
therefore
'so,'

→ *ore begasu: i- --*
1SG (Las) Vegas FRAG

chotto yotte kita no kana?
a little drop come:PAST LK SFP

'I dropped by (Las) Vegas a little quick, I guess.'

M1: *a: rasubegasu?*
INJ Las Vegas
'Ah Las Vegas?'

[japn6228]

In Example (86), the speaker starts the utterance with the 1SG pronoun *watashi*, but it is immediately followed by another possible subject *maaku* 'Mark', then she hesitates and adds a dative particle *ni*, changes the grammatical status of *maaku* to indirect object, and

ends the utterance with the predicate *i-tta* ‘said’ that corresponds to the 1SG pronoun as the subject.

- (86) (Speakers F1 and F2 are talking about some supplement they bought from a suspicious person. F1 tells F2 that she asked her boyfriend to find out if it is safe.)

→ F1: *watashi* [*maaku ga*,]
1SG Mark GA
‘I ..., Mark...’

F2: [a:: a::.]
BCH
‘Uh-huh.’

F1: *anoo:*,
INJ

...*ni: anoo:*,
DAT INJ

<Q *da-tta-ra: anoo:*,
COP:PAST-COND INJ

gakkoo no ne [herusu] sentaa ni i-tte kiite kite yo Q>,
school GEN IP health center DAT go-TE ask-TE come:IMP SFP

F2: [u:n.]
BCH
‘Uh-huh.’

F1: *toka i-tta n-da kedo*,
QT say-PAST NML-COP but

‘I asked (Mark), “Then, well..., go to the school health center and ask (it)” or something, though ...’ [japn6698]

This example shows that the turn was initiated by the use of the 1SG pronoun to set a frame or establish a topic and to get the floor. However, her utterance was probably not completely planned when she got the floor. Thus, it appears that 1SG pronouns in this use allow the speaker to get the floor effectively as he or she introduces a topic. That

is, 1SG pronouns can function as a turn-management device and a topic-management device concurrently.

Another issue this example brings up is about what role 1SG pronouns have in the grammatical relation. The 1SG pronoun *watashi* immediately followed by another possible subject marked by *ga* calls into question if the speaker even conceptualize it as a subject although the utterance formed a subject-predicate construction at the end. As noted several times, subjects are not syntactically required in Japanese sentences. Therefore, it makes me wonder if 1SG pronouns are actually the subject (intended by the speaker) even it is the logical subject of the predicate defined in Section 2.4.3.

6.3. Marked by *Mo* without Semantic Necessity

In the previous section, instances where ellipsis of 1SG pronouns would not change the semantics of the utterance but would affect some specific pragmatic or discourse function that the speaker intended to have. If ellipsed, such pragmatic or discourse effects would be lost. This can be extended to some utterances with the 1SG pronouns marked by *mo* as well.

As shown in Section 6.1.3, ellipsis of 1SG pronouns marked by *mo* would result in a loss of the meaning of *mo* ‘also’. Hence, the expressed 1SG pronoun with the postpositional particle *mo* in this particular situation is necessary. However, in some situations, no entity is found in the preceding discourse to agree with using particle *mo*.

The speaker uses the 1SG pronoun marked by *mo*, nonetheless, there is nothing to express his or her agreement in the preceding utterances unlike the instance in Example (84). Let us examine Example (87).

- (87) M1: *kekko dakara aru teedo;*
 EMPH SO some degree

M2: [un.]
 BCH
 ‘Uh-huh.’

M1: [waka-tte] kara ika-nai to,
 understand-TE ABL go-NEG LK

zen[zen] wakatte-nai to omo-tta-ra
 at all understand-NEG QT think-PAST-COND

moo mattaku aite ni shite-kure-nai kara:
 EMPH at all partner DAT do-give-NEG because

‘So, if (one) didn’t go (to ask) after (he) had understood somewhat, if (American colleagues) consider that (he) doesn’t understand at all, (they) will not pay attention (at him).’

M2: [u:n.]
 BCH
 ‘Uh-huh.’

M2: a: [a: a:.]
 BCH
 ‘Uh-huh.’

M1: [sukoshi] wakatte-ru zo: tsu-tta-ra,
 a little understand-PROG:NONP SFP QT-say-COND
 ‘If (one) says “I understand a little.”,

... wakatte-ru tte kanji da-tta-ra,
 understand-PROG:NONP QT feel COP-PAST-COND
 ‘(if he) looks like (he) understands,’

maa,
 INJ
 ‘well,’

M2: [un un un.]
 BCH
 ‘Uh-huh, uh-huh.’

M1: [mukoo mo] oshiete-kureru tte yuu kanji.
 the other also teach-give QT say feel
 ‘it’s like, the other party will teach (it to him).’

M2: maa maa,
 INJ INJ

wakaru: yoona ki wa suru kedo ne:.
 understand like mind WA do:NONP but SFP

‘Well, (I) feel like (I) understand (it).’

yoosuru ni konpuutaa de,
 so to speak computer by

puroguramu kaku toki ni mo subete,
 program write time DAT also all

oshiete oshiete de wa y- dame da tte yuu no:.
 teach teach LK WA FRG bad COP QT say NML

to onnaji yoona kanji ne.
 COMMIT same like feel SFP

‘So to speak, (it) is just the same as asking “Teach (me) all, teach (me) all” is not good when writing a program on the computer.’

M1: [soo:.]
 so
 ‘Yes.’

→ M2: (Hx) [*ore*] *mo kekkoo:*,
 1SG also EMPH

ji- nanka jibun no senpai okor-are-tcha-tte sa:.
 FRG SOF self GEN senior angry-PASS-CMPL-TE IP

‘I too was reprimanded by my senior colleague, and ...’

M1: *un.*
 BCH
 ‘Uh-huh.’

[japn4608]

In the previous discourse, the speakers were talking about the research environment at graduate colleges in the US, in which they cannot expect special attention from American colleagues, unlike in Japan. Speaker M1 says that American colleagues would not teach everything to new comers unless they display at least some knowledge in their research field. Speaker M2 uses an analogy between the environment M1 is describing and the situation in which one asks questions about computer program writing. Then, M2 starts

off his next utterance with the 1SG pronoun subject *ore* followed by *mo*. Literally, this means ‘I, too’, indicating that there is a same proposition in the previous utterance by another speech participant, M1. That is, if prior to this utterance M1 said that he was reprimanded by his colleague, the use of *mo* would not be uncommon. However, there was no such utterance in the preceding discourse. Earlier in this segment, M1 said that American colleagues do not “babysit” new comers. Therefore, there is a similarity between M1’s and M2’s experiences with their colleagues. In Japanese, *mo* ‘also’ can be used without identical propositions in the previous discourse. M2’s utterance *ore mo* ‘I, too’ means something like ‘I had a similar experience’ or ‘I am in a similar situation’. Thus, it appears that 1SG pronouns (+ *mo*) in this use are used to develop a topic and keep the conversation flow.

Similarly, in (88), even though the speaker uses the 1SG pronoun *atashi* followed by *mo*, there is no particular entity in the preceding discourse to be agreed on.

- (88) (The speakers talk about their older sons who are both gentle and sensitive. Speaker F2’s son has been having trouble going to school because of bullies at school.)

F1: *soo so soo,*
so so so

dakara sono un,
 so INJ INJ

atashi no shoon mo hora,
 1SG GEN Sean also EMPH

soo yuu imi de: iki-tagan-nai: tte yuu koto wa mazu nai none;
 so say meaning by go-want-NEG QT say NML WA first NEG:NONP SFP

[*yorokonde,*]
 happily

‘Yea, so, well, my (son) Sean, too, well, in that sense, y’know, (it) is not that (he) doesn’t want to go (to school) at all. (Because he goes to school) happily.’

F2: [u:n]
BCH
‘Uh-huh’

F1: *dakara: anoo: are nan da-kedo;*
so INJ that NML COP-but
‘So, well, (it) is that (= no problem) but,’

F2: *u:n.*
BCH
‘Uh-huh.’

F1: *ano;*
INJ

→ *soo yuu imi de atashi mo hora ano;*
so say meaning by 1SG also EMPH INJ

karate kangae-ta-ri shita [janai noyo:;]
karate think-PAST-LK do:PAST TAG SFP

‘So, in that sense, y’know, I, too, thought about having (my son) learn karate, didn’t I?’

F2: [u:n u:n u:n] u:n.
BCH
‘Uh-huh, uh-huh.’ [japn1367]

In the preceding discourse, the speech participants were talking about their older sons who were both gentle and sensitive (i.e., something in common), but never mentioned about having them learn karate. Therefore, if there is some abstract entity in the discourse that is relevant, the use marked by *mo* is possible, without identical proposition.

In the utterances in these examples above, the speaker appears to use 1SG pronouns with *mo* for some function other than the semantic information to mean ‘also’.

Shudo (2002) points out that the proposition marked by *mo* does not have to share the same property with the antecedent proposition. She provides the following example.

- (89) A: *amerika ni iku no*
 America to go:NONP SFP
 ‘I’m going to America,’
- B: *watashi mo igirisu ni iku no.*
 1SG also England DAT go:NONP SFP
 ‘I’m going to England, too.’ (slightly modified based on Shudo, 2002, p. 5)

Notice that B uses *mo* even though her utterance is not identical to the property of the proposition uttered by A. This usage is acceptable because there is some similarity between the two propositions (= going abroad). Shudo calls this function “bridge-building” (p. 5). It appears that 1SG pronouns with *mo* can be used more extensively than Shudo claims. Examples (87) and (88) show that speakers use 1SG pronouns marked by *mo* when their utterance is relevant to a discourse topic in the previous context even if there is no particular element identical or similar in the sentence immediately prior to the utterance. It appears that this use has some effect on interaction such as floor taking. In this sense, 1SG pronouns marked by *mo* without any identical entities in the previous discourse are a turn-management device. It enables the speaker to take the floor as he or she connects his or her utterance with the preceding discourse with taking advantage of meaning ‘also’. Recall the rate of *mo*-marked 1SG pronouns at the turn-initial position is higher (24%) than the other groups (11-16%). This can be explained by the use of 1SG pronouns with *mo* for turn-management.

Furthermore, interestingly, it appears that this function exploiting the meaning ‘also’ to take the floor while keeping the same discourse topic is possible only with 1SG subject. That is, other noun phrases or persons cannot have this function. If the original

passive voice in Example (87) were uttered in an active voice, it would not have the same effect as 1SG pronouns as shown in (90).²⁸

- (90) *senpai mo kekkoo.*,
 senior colleague also EMPH

oko-tcha-tte sa,
 angry-CMPL-TE IP
 ‘My senior colleague, too, reprimanded (me), and ...’

This example in which only the voice was altered from the original does not have the effect of making connection with the preceding discourse unlike Example (87), and it sounds abrupt that the new information *senpai* ‘senior’ as a subject pops up with the particle *mo*. This may be because 1SG pronouns can make his/her utterance relevant to the preceding discourse as a speech participant who has been in the speech event and salient while a newly introduced third person cannot. It should be noted that there are more things going on in this example such as passive voice that expresses adversity (Iwasaki, 1993, pp. 9-10, 2002, p. 133; Kuno, 1973, p. 22; Shibatani, 1990, pp. 317-333) and thus the choice of the 1SG pronoun as a subject is not solely responsible for the order of the utterance.

As shown in Chapter 5, 1SG pronouns marked by *mo* are frequent following ones marked by zero in the database. I suspect that this relatively high frequency is because of this discourse function of *mo* as well as semantic necessity. Future research could consider this both with other persons and in other genres to determine how widespread this is.

²⁸ I acknowledge that treating constructed examples like this one needs caution even though they are made from actual utterances with a few modifications.

6.4. Subjectivity Enhancer

In some cases, the hearer will automatically know the subject is first person even if a subject is not expressed, by the nature of some particular predicates expressing subjectivity. In Section 3.2.3, I noted that some subjective expressions, such as verbs of cognition (e.g., *omoo* ‘think’) and perception (e.g., *kikoeru* ‘hear’), adjectives expressing internal feelings (e.g., *kanashii* ‘sad’) and sensation (e.g., *samui* ‘cold’), and morphemes expressing desire (*-tai* ‘want to’) and intention (*-[y]oo* ‘will’), do not need expressed subjects because these predicates take only first person as subjects. In this sense, expressed 1SG subjects occurring with these predicates are redundant. Nonetheless, I found instances in which 1SG subjects are expressed with these predicates in some situations. Therefore, I suspect some hidden pragmatic functions in the use.

Ono and Thompson (2003) call the use described here as an “emotive” function (p. 330). The 1SG pronouns marked by zero occur with predicates of the subjective point of view. Examine the examples (91) - (93).

- (91) *kirai nan-da yo ore.*
 hate NML-COP SFP 1SG
 ‘I hate (it).’ [japn6166]
- (92) *datte nihonjin kara de-tee yo ore,*
 because Japanese from exit-DES SFP 1SG
 ‘Because I want to get out of the Japanese (circle).’ [japn1773]
- (93) *kekko sore kii-te shokku da-tta: atashi.*
 EMPH it hear-TE shock COP-PAST 1SG
 ‘I was pretty shocked to hear it.’ [japn1684]

All predicates in these examples cannot take a subject other than first person unless there were some epistemic expressions such *rashii* ‘I heard’ or *mitai* ‘seem’ as discussed earlier in Section 3.2.3. Nonetheless, these predicates in the examples are followed by (zero-marked) 1SG pronouns. It appears that 1SG pronouns are adding even

more subjective stance to the already subjective predicates. Shibatani (1990) notes that 1SG subject in this use cannot be marked by any postpositional particles because the particles would add extra pragmatic meanings. He further notes that this usage does not occur in formal spoken language or written language. Thus, this is considered one of the special features of 1SG pronouns in informal conversation.

As for the position with respect to the predicate, Ono and Thompson (2003) note that 1SG pronouns with the emotive function tend to be used at the post-predicate position. As shown in Table 23, 1SG pronouns occurring in the pre-predicate position are predominant in the present study (93%). However, the rate of zero-marked 1SG pronouns occurring in the post-predicate position is slightly higher (10%) than those marked by the other particles (3-9%) although the difference is not statistically significant. I suspect that the majority of zero-marked 1SG pronouns occurring in the post-predicate position have this function to add the speaker's subjective point of view. Ono and Thompson (2003) further report that 90% of 1SG pronouns with this function in their study occurred in the same IU with the predicate. In the present study, the rate of zero-marked 1SG pronouns occurring in the same IU with the predicate not particularly higher than the other groups as shown in Table 22, however, the rate of zero-marked 1SG pronouns at the IU final (both continuing and final contours) are slightly higher than the other groups although the difference is not statistically significant as shown in Table 24. As noted earlier, Ono (2006) also suggests that non-predicate final constituent order in Japanese conversation is motivated by pragmatics, and not for clarification or repair. Because the predicate and the element occurring after the predicate appear in the same prosodic contour, this order appears to be planned as a unit to be produced together.

The relationship between the functions and the position of the occurrence should be carefully investigated in the future. No difference was however shown in the quantitative analysis of this study. First of all, 1SG pronouns in the post-predicate position were rare as shown in Table 23, thus, it was not possible to identify different functions from patterns of frequency. Some functions may not always appear in number if the use is limited regardless of their importance in conversation. Therefore, without a larger corpus, we can only rely on the observation of this phenomenon, which calls for further analysis with a larger number of tokens.

The non-referential motivation, zero-marking, and position also make us question the grammatical status of 1SG pronouns. Do these 1SG pronouns really need to be subjects? As to the ones in the subject-predicate constructions, we can probably say that they are at least “logical subjects” of the predicate from their semantic relationship. As noted several times, subject does not have to be expressed in Japanese as well as other components. Indeed, subject ellipsis can be considered the “norm” in Japanese, particularly with predicates of subjective expressions. Therefore, their presence in such instances makes us wonder if 1SG pronouns in this use should be considered subject.

Ono and Thompson (2003) suggest that 1SG pronouns of the emotive function might be used like sentence-final particles, which express the speaker’s subjectivity (Maynard, 1997), for the reason that they occur in the post-predicate position. Fujiwara (1965, 1973) lists sentence-final particles in various dialects of Japanese that have been derived from first-person and second-person pronouns. He states that these sentence-final particles have the function of “accosting” (1965, p. 107). That is, the speaker can call attention by pointing to the speaker himself/herself or to the addressee. For example,

the sentence-final particle *wai*, prevalent in various areas in Japan, is considered to have been derived from the 1SG pronoun; It is considered to have taken either the path of *ware*→*wae*→*wai* or *watashi*→*washi*→*wai* (1965, p. 109). *Wai* “carries the impetus of the expression and forces it upon the person addressed; it carries the appeal of the statement” (Fujiwara, p. 1965, p. 113). The following examples are taken from Fujiwara (1965, 1973).

(94) Used in the northeastern area of the Shikoku region

osoroshi-nai wai
 scary-NEG:NONP SFP
 ‘(I’m) not afraid!’ (slightly modified based on Fujiwara, 1965, p. 110)

(95) Used in the Chugoku region

soo ja to moo wai
 so COP QT think SFP
 ‘(I) think so!’ (slightly modified based on Fujiwara, 1973, p. 69)

Wai in examples (94) and (95) is grammaticized into a sentence-final particle that adds some subjective stance to the utterance. Fujiwara (1965) further states that some sentence-final particles derived from 1SG pronouns can be combined with a wide range of other sentence-final particles, and they can form new sentence-final particles. It appears that quite a few sentence-final particles derived from 1SG pronouns have already been grammaticized and commonly used in many dialects of Japanese.

Furthermore, Ono (2006) discusses the non-predicate final order motivated by the speaker’s subjectivity in Japanese conversation. Although Japanese is often considered a SOV language, Ono suggests that predicates expressing the speaker’s emotion (the host) prefer the constituent order with some elements, such as demonstratives, pronouns, proper nouns, and adverbs, appearing in the post-predicate position (the tail). He further suggests this constituent order seems to be the basic order for this kind of utterances, and

that it is used as part of Japanese syntax. Examples (91) - (93) fit the construction Ono describes, and 1SG pronouns in this use can be included in what Ono calls the tail.

If we consider that 1SG pronouns have acquired some different status similar to sentence-final particles, it is possible to say that they have become a marker of subjectivity shifted from personal pronouns that index the speaker himself/herself. Therefore, I suspect that not all 1SG pronouns are expressed as subjects corresponding to the predicate even when they semantically match subjects of the predicate.

6.5. Interactional Needs

There are some instances in which expression of 1SG pronouns do not make any semantic or pragmatic difference on utterances. The use is probably motivated by mainly interactional needs. One example was the 1SG pronoun *ore* showing up the second time in Example (85) above. Here are some more examples of this usage. Even if the 1SG pronoun *atashi* marked by interactional particle *ne* in (96) and zero-marked *ore* in (97) were ellipited, the addressee would probably understand the utterances well. Thus, the use seems not motivated by referential necessity.

(96)→ *nanka ne atashi ne;*
 SOF IP 1SG IP

asoko ni ne;
 there LOC IP

nanka kotatsu demo are-ba nanka,
 SOF *kotatsu* even exist-COND SOF

mada ii na;
 yet good SFP

toka omoo n-ya kedo;
 QT think NML-COP but

‘If there is a *kotatsu* (heating table) or something, I think it is a little better, but ...’
 [japn6698]

(97)→ *moo: ore,*
already 1SG

nan-do ga,
what-degree GA

dono gurai samui no ka,
how about cold NML Q

yoku oboe-te-nai wa.
well remember-TE-NEG:NONP SFP

‘I don’t remember well what degree (in Celsius) means how cold (actually).’
[japn6166]

In these examples, it appears that the 1SG pronouns are used as interactional markers. In this use, 1SG pronouns appear to be zero-marked or followed by interactional particles. If other particles are supplied, some different semantic and pragmatic information will be added, and thus their primary function should not be considered as interactional.

As I noted earlier several times, 1SG pronouns do not have to be grammatical subjects of the predicate although 1SG pronouns happen to be logical subjects in many instances. Therefore, the grammatical status of 1SG pronouns in this use as well as ones with the function of subjectivity enhancer must be reconsidered. First-person singular pronouns in this use appear to behave similar to interactional markers.

6.6. Summary

In summary, it appears that 1SG pronouns combined with the appropriate particle are chosen and used according to the discourse context. In each situation, if other choices (expressed or unexpressed; *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, or zero) are made, it will affect the meaning the speaker intended to convey. The choices are pragmatic and discourse motivated based on the situational needs. Importantly, the choices are not syntactically motivated even with

ga, which is often considered a subject marker. Ono et al. (2000) note as *ga* is used by pragmatic motivation. Extending their claim, I suggest that the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns, particles following the 1SG pronouns are primary pragmatic-based and not syntactic-based at all. Native speakers use 1SG pronouns and particles appropriately and effectively in conversational interactions in order to achieve their communicative goals. Such goals may not be realized with any other choices of the 1SG pronoun + particle combination.

Ono and Thompson (2003) demonstrated the case that 1SG pronouns are used from the referential motivation and at the same time they are doing something more. Similarly, in his study of first- and second-person subject expression in Spanish, Davidson (1996) stated that it is difficult to separate the different functions of subject pronouns. For instance, the same subject pronouns are used to perform two tasks such as contrasting and taking the floor at the same time. There may be more hidden functions that should be thoroughly explored. For example, Lee and Yonezawa (2008) suggest that the first- and second-person pronouns have a function of indexing social relationship in addition to contrast, emphasis, giving or taking the floor, personalizing a discourse topic, intensifying the speaker's feelings and emotions. It appears that Japanese 1SG pronouns are a versatile linguistic item that works beyond what personal pronouns usually do. It strongly suggests that 1SG pronouns are essentially different from English *I*.

From the analysis in this chapter, it appears that 1SG pronouns in Japanese do express subjectivity in many instances. I questioned in Section 3.2.2.3: Which is more subjective, expressed or unexpressed 1SG pronouns? In the next chapter, I compare the expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns in attempt to answer the question.

Chapter 7 Analysis II: First-person Singular Subject Expression

7.1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I presented the results of expressed 1SG pronouns. The analyses suggested that they are not used to simply indicate the speaker as a referent, but rather that they are used according to semantic, pragmatic, discourse and interactional needs in the given context. Now, we will take a look at the variable expression of 1SG pronouns: expressed and unexpressed 1SG subject. As I described in Section 3.2.3, unexpressed 1SG subjects in the present study were identified based on subjective predicates that limit the subject to first-person. Although there was a number of such expressions, I limited this analysis to the three most frequently used cognitive verbs in the database (*omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’, and *wakaru* ‘understand’; N = 865) as these provide a sufficient number of tokens to allow for a full analysis. In her study of complement-taking predicates (CTPs) in English conversation, Thompson (2002) found the strong tendency of the semantic properties of epistemic, evidential and evaluative in CTP phrases. Among the three semantic groups, the majority of CTPs fall into the category of epistemic, in which *know* (with first person), *think*, and *understand* are categorized. Thompson further notes that the majority of epistemic CTPs occur with first-person subjects. Interestingly, *think/thought* is the most frequent CTP (139 tokens out of 254 CTPs), and *know/knew* is the second most frequent CTP (51 token) in her data. Although the three cognitive verbs in the database for the present study are not limited to instances occurring with complement clauses, the similarity in occurrence shown in two totally different language structures may indicate some universal property of cognition.

7.2. Findings from the Quantitative Analysis

7.2.1. Frequency

The analysis comparing 1SG pronouns with those in other languages in Section 5.2 has found that 1SG pronouns are infrequent, which has been documented in many previous studies. In previous studies, comparisons with other languages or with environments in which occur 1SG pronouns tend to be neglected, and it is often noted that 1SG pronouns are infrequent with no empirical support. With these cognitive verbs that take only 1SG subjects, frequencies of the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns were clearly compared. The results are shown in Table 26.

Table 26. Frequency of expressed and unexpressed 1SG subject occurring with the three most frequent cognitive verbs (N = 865)

1SG pronouns	<i>omoo</i> 'think'		<i>shiru</i> 'know'		<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Expressed	13%	63	23%	24	11%	30	14%	117
Unexpressed	87%	434	77%	79	89%	235	86%	748
Total	100%	497	100%	103	100%	265	100%	865

Overall, a full 86% of these cognitive verbs occurred with unexpressed 1SG subjects, and only 14% occurred with expressed 1SG pronouns. Compared to the study of subject expression in Spanish by Travis (2007) in which the rates of expressed 1SG subjects with psychological verbs are 55% in New Mexican Spanish and 67% in Colombian Spanish, the result of the present study shows a much lower rate of expressed 1SG subjects. Among these three verbs, *shiru* 'know' has the highest occurrence rate with expressed 1SG pronouns at 23%. The difference between *shiru* and the other two

verbs is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 8.626$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0033$). As discussed in Section 5.6.5, the cognition/feeling/mental act verb category is the most frequent category occurring with expressed 1SG pronouns (accounting for 36% of the all verbal categories), yet, most of the time (86%), the speaker does not use explicit 1SG pronouns with the most frequently used verbs in this class in Japanese conversation. The results that demonstrate that these cognitive verbs are those which most occur with expressed 1SG subjects in Japanese themselves show a very low rate of subject expression gives rise to wonder just what the rate may be with other verb types. This is a key question to be answered in future research.

As shown in Table 27 and Table 28, the overall distribution of postpositional particles occurring with expressed 1SG pronouns shows a similar tendency found with all 1SG pronouns: zero-marked 1SG pronouns followed by ones marked by *mo*. This may be simply reflecting that cognitive verbs (especially *omoo* ‘think’) are the most frequent verb category in all databases.

Table 27. Frequency of expressed 1SG subject occurring with the three most frequent cognitive verbs grouped by postpositional particle (N = 117)

Postpositional particle	<i>omoo</i> 'think'		<i>shiru</i> 'know'		<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>ga</i>	3%	2	8%	2	3%	1	4%	5
<i>wa</i>	14%	9	13%	3	13%	4	14%	16
<i>mo</i>	25%	16	8%	2	33%	10	24%	28
Zero	57%	36	71%	17	50%	15	58%	68
Total	100%	63	100%	24	100%	30	100%	117

However, the occurrence of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* occurring with cognitive verbs is much lower than those in the database overall, as shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Frequency of expressed 1SG subject occurring with all types of predicates in the database (N = 541)

Postpositional particle	%	n
<i>ga</i>	14%	75
<i>wa</i>	15%	79
<i>mo</i>	17%	93
Zero	54%	294
Total	100%	541

The difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 7.410$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0065$). From the rates between these two tables, it does look the decreasing percentage of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* with the cognitive verbs reflects the increasing percentages of

those marked by *mo*, and zero, however, neither was found statistically significant. The lower occurrence of 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* with cognition/feeling/mental act verbs has been already shown in the analysis of semantic classes in Section 5.6.5. This tendency is more strongly observed with the three most frequent cognitive verbs.

7.2.2. Tense

Table 29 shows the distributions of the three cognitive verbs grouped by expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns for tense. Aspect was also examined, however, the simple forms occur most frequently for all tense forms; therefore, the distributions of the tables were collapsed to tense with all aspect forms.

Table 29. Tense form distribution grouped by expression of 1SG pronouns (N = 865)

1SG ProN	Nonpast		Past		Continuous		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Expressed	56%	66	31%	36	13%	15	100%	117
Unexpressed	61%	457	18%	132	21%	159	100%	748
Total	60%	523	19%	168	20%	174	100%	865

Both expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns occur with nonpast forms of the cognitive verbs most frequently (56% for expressed, 61% for unexpressed). The association between tense (nonpast vs. past) and expression of 1SG pronoun is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 7.158$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0075$); Also, past versus continuous is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 10.064$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0015$); However, nonpast versus continuous is not.

This result is somewhat comparable with the result of Scheibman's (2002) study in English conversation. Scheibman reports that 67% of the three most frequent

cognition verbs (*know*, *think*, and *guess*) occurring with 1SG subjects were in present tense. That is, the majority of the frequent cognitive verbs occurring with expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns in Japanese and 1SG pronouns in English are in the tense forms that indicate present time.

Now let us take a closer look at tense of each cognitive verb, breaking down the table above. The following three tables show tense forms of each cognitive verb with expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns.

Table 30. Tense forms of the verb *omoo* grouped by expression of 1SG pronouns (N = 497)

1SG ProN	Nonpast		Past		Continuous		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Expressed	37%	23	43%	27	21%	13	100%	63
Unexpressed	45%	194	20%	87	35%	153	100%	434
Total	44%	217	23%	114	33%	166	100%	497

For *omoo* ‘think’, unexpressed 1SG pronouns favor nonpast while expressed 1SG pronouns favor past tense. The association between tense (nonpast vs. past) and expression of 1SG pronoun is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 8.984$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0027$); Also, past versus continuous is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 12.607$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0004$); However, nonpast versus continuous is not.

Table 31. Tense forms of the verb *shiru* grouped by expression of 1SG pronouns

(N = 103)

1SG ProN	Nonpast		Past		Continuous		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Expressed	71%	17	25%	6	4%	1	100%	24
Unexpressed	91%	72	6%	5	3%	2	100%	79
Total	86%	89	11%	11	3%	3	100%	103

For *shiru*, nonpast is favored for both expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns.

The association between tense (nonpast vs. past) and expression of 1SG pronoun is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 5.088$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0241$); However, neither nonpast versus continuous nor past versus continuous is statistically significant.

Table 32. Tense forms of the verb *wakaru* grouped by expression of 1SG pronouns

(N = 265)

1SG ProN	Nonpast		Past		Continuous		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Expressed	87%	26	10%	3	3%	1	100%	30
Unexpressed	81%	191	17%	40	2%	4	100%	235
Total	82%	217	16%	43	2%	5	100%	265

Just like for *shiru*, nonpast is favored for both expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns in the rate. However, no difference was found statistically significant with any association between tense and expression of 1SG pronoun is statistically significant.

In summary, while there was a difference in tense forms of *omoo* between expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns, the results of *shiru* and *wakaru* show a similar

trend. Nonpast tense is favored regardless of the use of 1SG pronouns although the rate changes for *shiru* and *wakaru* and the difference shown in tense and expression of 1SG pronouns for *wakaru* was not statistically significant.

7.2.3. Clause types

Table 33 presents the clause types for the three cognitive verbs.

Table 33. Clause type of cognitive verbs grouped by expression of 1SG pronouns

(N = 865)

1SG ProN	<i>omoo</i> 'think'			<i>shiru</i> 'know'			<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'			Total		
	M	C	S	M	C	S	M	C	S	M	C	S
Expressed	71% (45)	14% (9)	14% (9)	63% (15)	25% (6)	13% (3)	80% (24)	20% (6)	0% (0)	72% (84)	18% (21)	10% (12)
Un- expressed	71% (310)	20% (87)	9% (37)	70% (55)	27% (21)	4% (3)	74% (175)	18% (42)	8% (18)	72% (540)	20% (150)	8% (58)
Total	71% (355)	19% (96)	9% (46)	68% (70)	26% (27)	6% (6)	75% (199)	18% (48)	7% (18)	72% (624)	20% (171)	8% (70)

Note. M: main clause, C: coordinate clause, S: subordinate clause.

All cognitive verbs occur in the main clause most frequently regardless of expressed or unexpressed 1SG pronouns. The association of clause type (main clause vs. the combination of coordinate and subordinate clauses) and expression of 1SG pronouns was not statistically significant for any verb and total. Thompson (2002) investigated the complement-taking predicates such as *think*, *realize*, and *decide* in English conversation and suggested that these predicates in the main clause are used to provide epistemic, evidential, and evaluative perspectives. These three cognitive verbs in the main clause may work in a similar way. That is, they add subjective stance to the oncoming

proposition. In order to examine whether the three cognitive verbs may add epistemic stance to what follows, I coded for expression of objects or complement clauses as shown in Table 34.

Table 34. Frequency of objects and complement clauses occurring with the three cognitive verbs (N = 865)

1SG ProN	object/ complement	<i>omoo</i> 'think'		<i>shiru</i> 'know'		<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'		Total	
		%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
expressed	Yes	100%	63	38%	9	43%	13	73%	85
	No	0%	0	54%	13	57%	17	26%	30
	n/a	0%	0	8%	2	0%	0	2%	2
	Total	100%	63	100%	24	100%	30	100%	117
unexpressed	Yes	99%	429	25%	20	35%	82	71%	531
	No	1%	3	75%	59	64%	151	28%	213
	n/a	0%	2	0%	0	1%	2	1%	4
	Total	100%	434	100%	79	100%	235	100%	748

Note. n/a: relative clauses such as *atashi ga shitteru hito* 'the person whom I know' [jpn6739].

The results show that *omoo* always occurs with a complement clause²⁹ for expressed 1SG pronouns and almost always for unexpressed 1SG pronouns whereas the majority of *shiru* and *wakaru* occur without an object or complement clause for both expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns. The difference between expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns with the presence of objects or clauses was not statistically

²⁹ I did not code objects and complement clauses separately, however, a quick glance at the data shows that almost all are complement clauses in the "reportative" type.

significant for any verb and total. The difference between the verbs *omoo* and *shiru* is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 39.506$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0001$ for expressed 1SG pronouns; $\chi^2 = 336.044$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0001$ for unexpressed 1SG pronouns respectively); The difference between *omoo* and *wakaru* is also statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 39.974$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0001$; $\chi^2 = 346.033$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0001$ for unexpressed 1SG pronouns respectively); However, the difference between *shiru* and *wakaru* is not. That is, regardless of expression of 1SG pronouns, *omoo* occurs with a complement clause and *shiru* and *wakaru* tend to occur without it. The further investigation regarding constructions in which these verbs are occurring should be pursued in the future as a separate study.

7.2.4. Polarity

Polarity for all predicates was not discussed in Section 5.6 because it was found that 1SG pronouns marked by any particle predominantly occur with positive polarity. However, it appears that polarity with regard to the cognitive verbs display variations in distribution. Table 35 presents the polarity of each cognition verb grouped by expression of 1SG pronouns.

Table 35. Polarity of the three cognitive verbs (N = 865)

1SG ProN	<i>omoo</i> 'think'		<i>shiru</i> 'know'		<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'		Total	
	pos	neg	pos	neg	pos	neg	pos	neg
Expressed	95% (60)	5% (3)	17% (4)	83% (20)	23% (7)	77% (23)	61% (71)	39% (46)
Unexpressed	97% (423)	3% (11)	16% (13)	84% (66)	38% (90)	62% (145)	70% (526)	30% (222)
Total	97% (483)	3% (14)	17% (17)	83% (86)	37% (97)	63% (168)	69% (597)	31% (268)

Note. pos: positive, neg: negative.

For overall distribution, the association of polarity and expression of 1SG pronouns is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 3.955$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0467$); However, the combination of polarity and expression of 1SG pronouns in any cognitive verbs (i.e., polarity \times expression for each cognitive verb) did not show statistically significant difference.

Let us examine this table from a different angle. The majority of *shiru* and *wakaru* are used in negative construction regardless of expressed or unexpressed 1SG pronouns while the majority of *omoo* occur in positive constructions. The difference in polarity between *omoo* and the *shiru* (i.e., polarity \times cognitive verb item) is statistically significant for both expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns ($\chi^2 = 51.203$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.0001$ for expressed 1SG pronouns; $\chi^2 = 337.449$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.0001$ for unexpressed 1SG pronouns respectively); between *omoo* and *wakaru* is also statistically significant for both expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns ($\chi^2 = 48.660$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.0001$ for expressed 1SG pronouns; $\chi^2 = 285.176$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.0001$ for unexpressed 1SG pronouns respectively). While the difference between *shiru* and *wakaru* for expressed 1SG

pronouns is not statistically significant, that for unexpressed 1SG pronouns is statistically different ($\chi^2 = 11.825$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0006$).

This may suggest that *shira-nai* and *wakan-nai* (the phonological reduction for *wakara-nai*; 106 out of 169 tokens) ‘(I) don’t know’ are used as fixed expressions considering the fact that these two tend to occur without objects/complement clauses. Scheibman (2000) investigated the phonological reduction of *don’t* in American English, and found the reduced *don’t* frequently occurred with the fixed form *I don’t know*. She notes the relation between frequency and phonological reduction as part of grammaticization process, and that while both full and phonologically reduced forms may convey the original lexical meaning, only reduced forms occur for subjective and pragmatic functions. The finding from another study of hers is also interesting. In Scheibman (2002, p. 65), it is reported that the most frequently occurring cognition verbs in present tense is *know*, and 77% occur in the construction *I don’t know*. She further suggests that this fixed expression may be used to avoid expressing opinions too strongly rather than expressing lack of knowledge. Although further investigation is necessary, it is possible to think that a similar phenomenon is occurring in Japanese, and used for such an expression of mitigation. The following example might be considered such a case.

- (98) M1: *e anoo*;
 INJ INJ
 ... *nanka*,
 SOF
 ... *konaida*,
 the other day
paatii ya-tta toka tte.
 party do-PAST SOF QT

‘By the way, um, well, (I heard that you) had a party.’

M2: *aa aa;*
yea yea

boku no sensee ga nihon kara ki-ha-tte.
1SG GEN teacher GA Japan ABL come-HOR-TE

‘Oh, yes, my teacher came from Japan and...’

M1: *ee.*
BCH
‘Uh-huh.’

M2: ... *u:n.*
yes

tai-ryoori tsuku-tte,
Thai-food make-TE

→ *kara-katta desu yo nanka shira-n kedo.*
spicy-PAST POL:NONP SFP SOF know-NEG but

‘Yea, (I/we) made Thai food, and (it) was spicy, (I) don’t know, though.’

M1: @@@@

M2: *zenzen.*
EMPH
‘Not at all.’

M1: @@@

→ M2: *wakara-n kedo.*
know-NEG but

‘(I) don’t know, though.

M1: @@@@

M2: *hijoo-ni karak-at-te taber-are-hen-katta.*
extremely spicy-PAST-TE eat-POT-NEG-PAST
‘(It) was extremely spicy and (we) couldn’t eat (it).’

M1: @@@

M2: *toku-ni;*
especially

shu-hin no: sensee ga: taber-are-hen-kat-te,
main-guest COP:ATT teacher GA eat-POT-NEG-PAST-TE

hokashi-te-ha-tta.
throw away-TE-POL-PAST

‘Especially, the teacher who is the main guest couldn’t eat and was throwing it away.’

M1: *aa:.*
oh
‘Oh, (I see).’

M2: *kawaisoo-ni.*
pitifully
‘(I was) sorry (for him).’

M1: *kawaisoo-ni.*
pitifully
‘(I feel) sorry (for him).’

[japn6221]

Prior to this segment, the speakers were talking about a different topic. Speaker M1 opens up a new topic about a party Speaker M2 just had. M2 uses *shira-n* (another phonologically reduced form of *shira-nai*) followed by *kedo* ‘but’ right after he says that the Thai food he made was spicy. Then, while M1 is laughing, M2 adds *wakara-n* (another phonologically reduced form of *wakara-nai*) followed by *kedo* ‘but’. Both *shira-n kedo* and *waka-ran kedo* can be translated something like ‘don’t know, but/though’. Neither has an object or a complement clause. From these utterances, it does not look M2 is trying to express lack of his knowledge about something. Thus, the lexical meaning of *don’t know* is bleached. It appears that these forms are expressions of subjectivity that soften his preceding utterance or mitigate his responsibility in the event expressed in the utterance (i.e., having made too spicy food that was not almost edible).

Although these possible grammaticized expressions found in the analysis are fascinating, further discussion would be beyond the scope of the present study. More detailed analyses and discussion should be pursued as a separate study in the future.

7.3. Summary

From the data analysis of expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns occurring with the three most frequent cognitive verbs, it was found that:

- Although cognitive verbs are in the most frequently used semantic verb category occurring with 1SG pronouns, only 14% of the three most frequent cognitive verbs are used with expressed 1SG pronouns. In other words, 86% of 1SG pronouns are not expressed even with the most frequent verbs occurring with expressed 1SG pronouns. This raises the question of precisely what proportion of 1SG subjects are expressed overall; a question which is difficult to answer due to methodological issues outlined above.
- Both *shiru* ‘know’ and *wakaru* ‘understand’ frequently occur in negative constructions; they tend to occur without objects or complement clauses; and they occur in nonpast tense more frequently regardless of existence of 1SG pronouns.
- *Omoo* ‘think’ behaves a little different from the other two verbs: *Omoo* occurs frequently in positive construction with both expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns; they almost always occur with complement clauses; and when 1SG pronouns are expressed, it occurs more often in the past tense.

Therefore, the following four constructions may be frequently observed in Japanese conversation.

1. “ \emptyset COMPLEMENT *to/tte omoo.*”
 \emptyset COMPLEMENT QT think
 ‘(I) think that xxx.’
2. “*atashi/ore* COMPLEMENT *to omo-tta.*”
 1SG COMPLEMENT QT think-PAST
 ‘I thought that xxx.’

3. “*Ø/atashi/ore shira-nai.*”
 \emptyset /1SG know-NEG:NONP
 ‘(I)/ I don’t know.’
4. “*Ø/atashi/ore wakan-nai.*”
 \emptyset /1SG understand- NEG:NONP
 ‘(I)/ I don’t understand/know.’

As to the constructions illustrated in 3 and 4, since there was no difference between expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns, it is not certain what 1SG pronouns add to these cognitive verbs. However, it appears that these constructions are fixed forms (grammaticized) without 1SG pronouns. Further investigations of these constructions should be pursued as a separate study in the future.

As mentioned earlier, grammatical structure in Japanese is not syntactically rigid. Thus, this list above does not mean to suggest that utterances occur only with the linguistic elements shown or only in the word order shown. Ford, Fox, and Thompson (2003) note that grammar is:

a minimally sorted and organized set of memories of what people have heard and repeated over a lifetime of language use, a set of forms, patterns, and practices that have arisen to serve the most recurrent functions that speakers find need to fulfill. (p. 122)

This research supports this notion, which is based on an understanding of grammar as a locally organized pattern that speech participants may reuse depending on their communicative needs. What this list tries to show is that, as evidenced by the frequency in use in the analysis, constructions similar to these, loosely organized in order with ellipsis and/or additional pragmatic markers, may recurrently occur in everyday interactions. Thompson (2002), in her study of complement-taking predicates (CTPs) in

English conversational, found that four of the five most frequent CTPs (*think*, *guess*, *know* and *remember*) are used in fixed formulas with 1SG subjects more than 75% of the time. She further addresses that “grammar may be best understood as combinations of reusable fragments” (p. 141), and CTP phrases are fragments that add an epistemic, evidential or evaluative frame to the utterance. Although structure in Japanese differs from that in English, there may be some similarities in patterns of use with cognitive verbs.

The quantitative analysis of the subject-predicate relation between expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns using the three cognitive verbs did not show differences except some on tense of *omoo*. Since the nature of these cognitive verbs does not require explicit subjects as described in 3.2.3, expression of 1SG pronouns should have some other motivations to be used, and such uses are suggested in Ono and Thompson (2003) and Section 6.4 in the present study. Unfortunately, pragmatic and interactional functions 1SG pronouns add to utterances may not show up in such a quantitative analysis when the numbers are as low as those considered here.

Chapter 8 Discussion

8.1. Introduction

In this dissertation, I have analyzed expression of 1SG pronouns in the data taken from naturally occurring Japanese conversation. Firstly, I gave an overview of 1SG pronouns, and then I quantitatively analyzed those occurring in the subject-predicate construction. From the review of previous studies, I hypothesized that the use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese spontaneous conversation, with nonsyntactically required status, is motivated by pragmatic and discourse functions. Nevertheless, this analysis did not fully explain the frequency and discourse-pragmatic functions of 1SG pronouns. In this quantitative analysis, it was found that 1SG pronouns marked by *ga* behave differently than the other particles and zero, however, it is not possible to instantly tell the cause of such differences shown in the frequency distribution. Therefore, I closely examined the 1SG pronouns in particular utterances in order to determine their functions. I discussed pragmatic and interactional functions using several examples. The qualitative analysis suggested that 1SG pronouns are motivated some pragmatic and discourse needs beyond the referential necessity, in accordance with Ono and Thompson (2003). It was also found that 1SG pronouns are expressed with appropriate particles that are not replaceable by other particles in the given context. First-person singular pronouns appear to have multiple functions that work concurrently as Davidson (1996) noted for Spanish subject pronouns. The speaker uses 1SG pronouns effectively combining them with appropriate particles to achieve his or her communicative goals. That is, even though the use of 1SG pronouns is not frequent, they have important pragmatic and discourse functions attainable with particular sets of 1SG + appropriate particles (or zero marking).

Furthermore, 1SG pronouns are not necessarily subjects. First-person singular pronouns in Japanese are not like pronouns in many of the Indo-European languages that simply indicate the speaker. It is not easy to know their syntactic status with case marking solely contrary to what it is assumed. For example, *ga* commonly known as ‘subject marker’ can be used to mark objects (Kuno, 1973; Ono et al., 2000). It is also difficult to identify a one-to-one relation with predicates (if they do); and to find linguistic factors that affect the use (the combination of 1SG pronouns and postpositional particle). Then, I analyzed the expression and nonexpression of 1SG pronouns occurring with the certain cognitive verbs (*omoo* ‘think’, *shiru* ‘know’, and *wakaru* ‘understand’).

In this chapter, I summarize functions of 1SG pronouns, further discuss the significance of 1SG pronouns in conversation in Japanese, and extend it to its relation to issues in research of non-European languages.

8.2. Findings from the Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses

In this dissertation, 1SG pronouns, with a particular focus on those marked by the particles *ga*, *wa*, *mo*, and zero, are examined both quantitatively and qualitatively in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Then, in Chapter 7, expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns occurring with the most frequent cognitive verbs were compared. In this section, I summarize the findings and explore what 1SG pronouns in Japanese really are.

8.2.1. First-person Singular Pronouns Marked by Postpositional Particles

The quantitative and qualitative data analyses in the present study found the following characteristics of 1SG pronoun use according to the use of postpositional particles.

- Marked by *ga*:

- They occur infrequently (accounting for 10.5% of all tokens) in spite of the attention to this particle in the literature. (Section 5.5.1)
- They have the agent role rather than the experiencer role, and occur more frequently with verbs in the semantic class of verbal, motion and action than with verbs in the semantic class of cognition and perception. (Section 5.6.4, 5.6.5)
- They tend to occur proportionately more in subordinate and embedded clauses than they do in other clauses. (Section 5.6.7)
- They occur almost categorically in the subject-predicate. (Section 5.6.1)
- They appear to be used when the focus of new information is on the subject (= referential needs). (Section 6.1.1)

- Marked by *wa*:

- They are rather infrequent (accounting for only 13.4% of all tokens), despite the extensive attention they have received in the literature. (Section 5.5.2)
- They occur at higher rate in simple nonpast compared to 1SG pronouns marked by other particles (*ga*, *mo*, and zero). (Section 5.6.6)
- They occur at lower rate in simple past compared to 1SG pronouns marked by other particles (*ga*, *mo*, and zero). (Section 5.6.6)
- They have more topic-comment constructions than those marked by other particles (*ga*, *mo*, and zero). (Section 5.6.1)

- Marked by *mo*:

- They occur at higher rate (accounting for 15.1% of all tokens) than 1SG pronouns marked by any other postpositional particles. (Section 5.5.3)

- They occur in turn-initial position at a significantly higher rate than ones marked by the other particles. (Section 5.6.8.4)
- They can be used when their utterance is relevant to a discourse topic in the previous context even if there is no particular element identical or similar in the sentence immediately prior to the utterance. (Section 6.3)

- Marked by no particle (zero):

- They occur most frequently among all particles, with a little more than half of all 1SG pronouns (accounting for 50.2% of all tokens). (Section 5.5.4)
- They appear to add more subjective stances to the predicates of subjective expression. (Section 6.4)
- They also appear to be used for interactional purposes. (Section 6.5)

8.2.2. Expressed and Unexpressed First-person Singular Subjects

The quantitative data analysis that compared expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns occurring with the cognitive verbs found the following:

- Only 14% of the three most frequent cognitive verbs are used with expressed 1SG pronouns even though cognitive verbs are in the most frequently used semantic verb category occurring with 1SG pronouns. (Section 7.2.1)
- *Omo* occurs frequently in positive construction with both expressed and unexpressed 1SG pronouns, and when 1SG pronouns are expressed, it occurs more often in the past tense. (Section 7.2.2, 7.2.4)
- Both *shiru* ‘know’ and *wakaru* ‘understand’ frequently occur in negative construction; they occur in nonpast tense more frequently regardless of existence of 1SG pronouns. (Section 7.2.2, 7.2.4)

- Considering that *shiru* and *wakaru* tend to occur without objects or complement clauses when they are used in negative and in nonpast (e.g., *shira-nai*, *wakan-nai* ‘don’t know’), they may be considered as grammaticized expressions. (Section 7.2.2, 7.2.3, 7.2.4)

8.2.3. Summary: First-person Singular Pronouns in Japanese

The findings of the present study suggest that 1SG pronouns in Japanese conversation are characterized as:

- Used very infrequently (74 1SG pronouns/10,000 words) compared to Indo-European languages (English and Spanish).
- Used in the most informal forms for both genders: females (*atashi*) and males (*ore*).
- Occur with appropriate postpositional particles as a combination which is chosen and used according to the discourse context.
- Appear to concurrently perform more than one task; not only indicating a referent but also adding pragmatic meaning such as adding subjective stance, introducing topic, and holding the floor.

The characteristics of 1SG pronouns summarized above suggest that 1SG pronouns are a versatile linguistic item beyond so-called personal pronouns; and essentially different from English *I* that simply indicates first-person singular subject. As Ono and Thompson (2003) claim, 1SG pronouns do not appear to be a unitary category. Thus, the current term ‘first-person singular pronoun’ that does not describe their pragmatic and subjective nature might need to be reconsidered. Such discourse and pragmatic functions, which are originally suggested by Ono and Thompson (2003) and

further investigated in the present study, cannot be explained by formalist approaches. These functions can be revealed only through an analysis of actual conversational data. This is why we need to examine the data based on naturally occurring conversation and focus on actual usage.

Even though 1SG pronouns are considered to have various discourse and pragmatic functions based on the findings in the qualitative analysis, such functions may not automatically show differences in quantitative analysis. Another possible reason why the quantitative analysis in the present study did not show differences by function may be due to a methodological flaw using a subject-predicate analysis. As noted several times, expressed subjects are not syntactically required in Japanese; and postpositional particles that indicate case solely cannot identify subject. Zero-marked 1SG pronouns are used most frequently. Thus, there is no evidence that 1SG pronouns are expressed as subjects even when they semantically match logical subjects of predicates. With such an ambiguous status in argument structure, 1SG pronouns may not show results in the analysis based on the relation between the subject and the predicate. Now, with this in mind, I am returning to the notion of subject in Japanese.

8.3. Revisiting the Notion of Subject

As shown in Section 5.6.1, 16% of the constructions with 1SG pronouns were topic-comment constructions. That is, 1SG pronouns do not have a direct relation to the predicate based on semantic roles (e.g., agent of an action, proprietor of nature, identity, experiencer of an event or state). When topic and grammatical subjects coincide, the constructions should look identical to subject-predicate constructions. However, it is questionable whether these should be treated as two discrete constructions. Do Japanese

speakers construct their utterances to fit either construction? Are the differences between the particles (e.g., *wa* and *ga*) solely responsible for the difference between topic and non-topic constructions? As demonstrated in Chapter 6, a number of factors affect meaning, both semantically and pragmatically. Speakers shape forms according to the context. That is, constructions are organized primarily by saliency in the context.

Although Japanese is characterized as both a topic-prominent and subject-prominent language (Li & Thompson, 1976), it appears that Japanese discourse is organized in the topic-centered construction regardless of the presence of subject. Topic-centered does not mean that there are two distinguishable constructions represented in the speaker's mind and he or she picks either one as if he or she turns on and off a switch. Instead, the speaker highlights a salient item with a range of linguistic devices in the stream of topic-centered utterances. For example, if the focus of new information is on a 1SG pronoun, it is marked by *ga*, and as the result of this marking, it often looks to have acquired the status as a subject of the predicate. However, indicating nominative case or marking subject is not the primary purpose of *ga* the speaker intended. As Ono et al. (2000) note, the use of *ga* appears to be motivated by pragmatics. That is, grammatical function of *ga* as subject marking can be considered a by-product, in which the previous literature of emergent grammar (Hopper, 1987, 1996, 1998) describes. Furthermore, as Fujii (1991) reports, *ga* as a nominative had not shown up in textbooks until 1900, the time period Japanese drastically changed by the external force of Western languages. The use of *ga* as a subject marker a little over 100 years appears to be very short in the history of the Japanese language. Thus, as described earlier, the concept of subject is relatively new, and raises the question of whether subject is or is not at the core of Japanese construction.

Recall the three kinds of the function of subject by Halliday (2002) discussed in Section 2.4.1: Actor (“logical subject”), modal Subject (“grammatical subject”), and Theme (“psychological subject”). In Japanese, topic, also often called as Theme, “psychological subject” and “what is being talked about” (Shibatani, 1990, p. 282) is probably the center of discourse regardless of the two discrete constructions (subject-predicate vs. topic-comment). In subject-predicate languages, topic and grammatical subject usually coincide. In Japanese, a topic-prominent language, topic does not have to be a grammatical subject, and probably sentence/clause structures in the speaker’s mind are organized around the topic even when a topic and a subject coincide, and it does look like a plain subject-predicate construction. It is questionable if there are two whole different sentence structures in the mind of Japanese speakers.

Explanations shown in textbooks for JSL/JFL learners are often misleading. They often differentiate subject from topic simply with the marking of the particles *ga* and *wa*. Let us see how JSL/JFL textbooks and self-teaching books describe these particles. For example, Akiyama and Akiyama (1994) note, “Japanese sentences may have a subject or a topic, but they must have a predicate. (The subject is followed by the particle *ga*, and the topic by the particle *wa*.)” (p. 15). Makino et al. (1998, p. 116) state that *ga* marks “the grammatical subject of a sentence” while *wa* marks “the topic of a sentence”. Storm (2004) states, “*Wa* shows that the noun it follows is the topic of the sentence. In many cases, *wa* is used after the subject. Literally, *wa* means ‘as for.’” (p. 13) and “*Ga* both marks the subject and emphasizes it. If the subject is followed by *wa*, on the other hand, it is not emphasized” (p. 44). In Sato (2008),

Regardless of whether it is English or Japanese, every verb can take a subject noun in a sentence. ... The subject is marked by the particle *ga* in Japanese. ... If the subject is also the topic of the sentence at the same time, it is marked by the topic particle *wa* and the particle *ga* is deleted. (p. 116)

A shortcoming in the descriptions above is that they give an impression that marking of the particles are solely responsible for the two different constructions; and this should be a difficult concept to grasp, especially for the learner whose native languages are subject-prominent, such as English. Nonetheless, these books are all written English intended for English-speaking readers.

Ono and Thompson (1997) note that argument structure in Japanese is more a matter of pragmatics than structure. I would add that argument structure is organized around topics that are pragmatically salient, and the grammatical relationship between arguments and the predicate is not something native speakers are particularly conscious of. As Hopper (1987, 1996, 1998) notes that grammar is a by-product of the use of speech, thus argument structure itself can be considered to have emerged from the repetition of the use organized around topics often coinciding subjects, and therefore, a by-product of that use. Furthermore, it may explain frequent occurrences of ellipsis in Japanese. That is, structures with ellipsis also can be considered by-products emerged from the repetitions of the utterances.

Certainly, it is not possible to discuss and conclude what subject in Japanese is with only the use of 1SG pronouns in this study. Therefore, I will leave this question unanswered at this point. Englebretson's (2003) study of complementation in Indonesian conversation concluded that there is no complementation as a linguistic category in this

language. The researcher notes that linguistic categories that exist in a language cannot be assumed to exist in another language and that having semantic resources for expressing concepts in a language does not warrant that there is a grammatical category of those concepts. He emphasizes that linguistic categories are best understood as language specific and diverse rather than universal. This can be true for 1SG pronouns in Japanese. Thus, although it remains inconclusive until a future investigation of subject, there may not be “subject” in Japanese as a grammatical category describable in the perspective of Indo-European languages.

The argument I made above has two implications. One is concerned with the current research. I will discuss the research implications in Section 8.4. Another implication is concerned with second language teaching. As shown in Section 3.3.2, my short survey found that JSL/JFL textbooks do not teach such discourse-pragmatic functions at a macro level. Many textbooks only teach linguistic items at a micro level. That is, they depict the differences in meaning made by lexicon such as postpositional particles, and then emphasize the influence of culture on the use. In addition, as discussed in this section, many textbooks often neglect to provide enough information about the basic concept of subject and topic. They simply describe the difference between the particles *wa* and *ga* as if they solely create two discrete constructions. They do not offer detailed explanation of the use at the discourse level. I will further discuss the educational implications with the use of 1SG pronouns in Section 9.2.

8.4. Implications for Research Based on Non-Indo-European Languages

As linguists, we are always fully aware of a number of differences among world languages, and have discussed structures in different perspectives. Nonetheless, it

appears that the current analyses are still Indo-European language based or subject-predicate language centered.

I have attempted here to analyze 1SG pronouns in Japanese in the analysis of argument structure. The analysis suggested that the variable use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese is not governed by many of the linguistic factors I coded for, although it found some trends of the use of 1SG pronouns such as used most often with the predicates of cognition/feeling/mental act. However, the quantitative analysis alone did not provide the information about the cause of such trends with a number of linguistic factors, and grammatical analyses based on argument structure may not provide the whole picture of languages that are not subject prominent such as Japanese.

Analyzing other constructions such as topic-comment in depth may require an entirely different type of analysis. As I showed specific pragmatic and discourse motivation of the use in Chapter 6 (e.g., expressing subjectivity, introducing a topic, holding the floor), ethnographic analyses that closely examine each occurrence may be suitable, and such methods may discover something not shown in the quantitative analyses of the subject-predicate construction. The quest for a suitable analysis method will be one of my next objects in the research.

8.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I summarized the nature and functions of 1SG pronouns, and further discussed related issues: the notion of subject and the current research based on Indo-European languages. As noted in Chapter 6, the use of 1SG pronouns is often motivated by pragmatics and discourse. Since they are not referentially required for many cases, it appears that they acquired the status of some kind of discourse markers or

items emphasizing subjectivity. It was also found that they are used for turn-management. Therefore, as Ono and Thompson (2003) raised a question about the status of 1SG pronouns in Japanese as part of the linguistic category “pronouns”, their functions indicate they are quite different from English 1SG pronouns. As I discussed the issue of research methods based on Indo-European languages in Section 8.4, terms and grammatical categorization based on the perspective of Indo-European languages do not always work for items in non-Indo-European languages. What linguistic category do 1SG pronouns in Japanese belong to? What would be a term to cover their properties, roles, and functions? This is the time to start to view linguistic items from a wider scope than perspectives based on one language family we automatically assumed.

Chapter 9 An Educational Perspective on the Use of First-person Singular Pronouns

9.1. Introduction

In this dissertation, I explored the use of 1SG pronouns in Japanese, and the use motivated by pragmatics and discourse has led us to question about the status of 1SG pronouns. Finding a suitable linguistic category for 1SG pronouns in Japanese is not easy due to their non-syntactically required status and functions based on pragmatics and discourse. This has even further led us to question the grammatical status of subject in Japanese. It has two important implications: one is concerned with current research methodology and the other with second language teaching. I discussed the research implications in the previous chapter. Now, in this chapter, I further discuss educational and cultural implications of 1SG pronouns in Japanese. Specifically, I explore what kind of instructions would be more effective when we teach linguistic items that are not syntactically required but carry pragmatic and discourse information. Also, the importance of learning sociocultural aspects should be always taken into account in second language teaching. Although the scope of the present study was not sociolinguistics, I am fully aware of cultural influences on the language use. I excluded sociolinguistic factors from the data coding because demographic information of the participants was not available from the original data source. In Section 9.3, I describe some noteworthy features related to the 1SG pronoun use that are excluded from the analyses. In order to facilitate learners' communicative competence, educators should make learners aware of such sociocultural aspects shown in the use.

9.2. First-person Singular Pronouns in Second/foreign Language Teaching

As I pointed out in Section 3.3, there are issues regarding teaching the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns in JSL/JFL classrooms. Due to infrequent use of personal pronouns reflected by frequent ellipsis, teaching of 1SG pronouns tends to be neglected. I question, “What would be effective instructions of 1SG pronouns that are not required by syntax?”

The notion of communicative competence has become more influential in language teaching (e.g., Canale, 1983; Gumperz, 1982; Kasper, 2008; Ohta, 1995) since it was introduced almost 40 years ago (Hymes, 1972). Speakers of a language need not only linguistic competence but also pragmatic competence in order to communicate well with others. How can educators facilitate communicative competence in second/foreign language classrooms? Since opportunities of adult learners to be exposed to the target language is often limited (e.g., JFL learners in the US), meaningful interactions based on authentic use of the target language in classrooms are essential. “Language socialization”, defined as “socialization through language and socialization to use language” (Ochs, 1986, p. 2) in classrooms should be emphasized for language learners whose exposure to the target language is limited.

As Jones and Ono (2005) and Mori (2005) remark, JSL/JFL textbooks have improved in recent decades. The trend of the focus in JSL/JFL instructions shifted from “correct” grammar to communicative competence. I also acknowledge that it is not easy to teach all aspects of foreign languages to learners of the beginning level all at once, and imagine that writers of second language learning books all face a dilemma between simplifying the explanation of target items in the lesson and the realistic use of the

language. Nonetheless, some current textbooks still contain some unnatural examples such as *Anata wa Kelly Tom-san desu* ‘You are Mr. Tom Kelly’ (Imaeda, 2004, p. 17). It is obvious that this sentence is pragmatically odd except some very limited situations such as a doctor is talking to his/her amnesia patient. I also noted the insufficient or inaccurate information about 1SG pronouns in current textbooks in Section 3.3.2. Cook (2008) similarly points out the problems in current textbooks that do not reflect actual use or provide sufficient explanations of linguistic items. In her study, she surveyed seven JSL/JFL textbooks, and found that the polite verb-ending form *masu* was overemphasized. She observes a possible reason for the overemphasis on the *masu* form in the textbooks is that it is probably considered the safe speech style for non-native speakers. In the case of 1SG pronouns, as described in 3.3.2, the most frequently used forms in the present study (*atashi* for females and *ore* for males) are not discussed in the textbooks because both forms are most informal, and they are probably considered to be unsafe for non-native speakers to use. However, as Cook points out, we cannot determine what form is appropriate without considering speech participants and settings. Since textbooks fall short of providing adequate information of actual use, educators’ efforts to provide environments where students can learn linguistic items in the ways native speakers use are crucial. As Ohta (2001) states, second/foreign language classrooms should be a key daily life setting where meaningful social interactions occur. If educators did not strive to provide instructions based on authentic language use, students would miss opportunities to become communicative competent second-language learners.

Jones and Ono (2005) propose approaches that utilize discourse analysis in JSL/JFL pedagogy. They suggest that the knowledge and skills of discourse analysis

would benefit materials designers, teachers, language pedagogy students, and JSL/JFL students. Jones and Ono presented the gap between the textbook dialogues and naturally occurring speech. Compared to the dialogues, which were short and primarily used for exchanging information, naturally occurring speech was lively with features such as backchannels, overlaps, postposing, repetitions, and so on. They further suggest that incorporating such features of conversation with the dialogues in textbooks and activities utilizing audio and videotapes of naturally occurring speech would facilitate the students' communicative competence.

The occurrence of personal pronouns is infrequent, and it has been shown here that their use is pragmatic and discourse motivated. Therefore, this kind of discourse-centered instruction is particularly effective for teaching personal pronouns use. Such a context-sensitive linguistic item cannot be learned only through grammar-centered lectures and drills in workbooks. As I noted earlier, the descriptions of 1SG pronouns in the JSL/JFL learning books (including class room textbooks, reference books, self-teaching books) do not discuss the true roles and functions of 1SG pronouns. Many books simply note that pronouns are often omitted (Association for Japanese-Language Teaching, 2006; Sato, 2008; Tanimori, 1994). Such avoidance will not help L2 learners in the long run. Sooner or later, L2 learners will encounter situations in which they need to use 1SG pronouns appropriately. To be a communicative competent JSL/JFL speaker, the student needs to acquire the appropriate use of 1SG pronouns that index the speaker himself/herself.

In order for educators to facilitate students' communicative competence, drastic changes in teaching material development and classroom instructions are needed. Just as

transcribing conversation is not easy due to interactional nature of this genre, teaching languages utilizing naturally occurring speech may also not be easy. However, such difficulties are due to the nature of spontaneous spoken language, and it is what students should be exposed to.

9.3. Sociocultural Aspect of First-person Singular Pronouns

As I noted earlier, I did not include sociolinguistic factors in my data analysis due to lack of information of the speakers except their gender. In this section, I make some points that appear to be noteworthy. Learning sociocultural aspects of the target language is also an important part of second language acquisition.

Lee and Yonezawa (2008) conducted a study of the use of first- and second-person singular pronouns in spoken data (casual conversation, formal conversation, and TV interview shows) in Japanese. They demonstrated that the different forms of 1SG pronouns were used by a same speaker in the same discourse but for different topics. In a formal interview, a male speaker used the formal form *watakushi* to introduce himself, but a more casual form *boku* when he expressed his personal opinions about movies. Lee and Yonezawa remark that the style shift of the forms was made according to the formality of topics even in a same formal situation.

In my data from casual conversations between friends and family members, most speakers used casual forms throughout the discourse, and the most formal form *watakushi* was not used at all. However, there were some different forms used by same individuals. The form mainly used, other form(s) used, and number speakers are summarized in Table 36 and Table 37.

Table 36. Number of female speakers grouped by 1SG pronoun forms (N = 29)

Form mainly used	Other forms used by the same speaker	# of speakers
<i>atashi</i>	No other form used	11
<i>atashi</i>	<i>watashi</i>	11
<i>watashi</i>	No other form used	3
<i>atashi</i>	first name	2
first name	<i>watashi</i>	1
<i>atashi</i>	<i>boku, washi</i>	1
Total		29

Table 37. Number of male speakers grouped by 1SG pronoun forms (N = 25)

Form mainly used	Other forms used by the same speaker	# of speakers
<i>ore</i>	No other form used	19
<i>ore</i>	<i>boku</i>	2
<i>ore</i>	<i>watashi, atashi</i>	1
<i>boku</i>	No other form used	1
<i>boku</i>	<i>ore</i>	1
<i>watashi</i>	<i>ore</i>	1
Total		25

The number of female speakers who used only the casual form *atashi*, who used the less casual form *watashi*, and who used the combination of *atashi* and *watashi* sums up to 25 out of 29 (86%). The other four speakers used some “deviant” forms. The number of male speakers who used only the most casual form *ore*, who used *ore* mainly and the other forms (*boku*, *watashi*, or *atashi*) for very few occasions sums up to 22 out

of 25 (88%). Two speakers used the less casual form *boku* mainly with some *ore*, and one speaker used *watashi* mainly with some *ore*.

9.3.1. First-person Singular Pronoun Use in Female Speech

Switching between *atashi* and *watashi* forms (number of speakers = 11) occurred in the discourse of a same topic, thus the shift between the two forms appears not to be made due to the formality of topics in my dataset. There may be factors responsible such as the surrounding phonological environment. Alternatively, age may be a factor: all speakers who used *watashi* forms only appear to be at least over middle age. As noted earlier, demographic information of the speakers such as age, occupation, and education was not available from the data source, and thus, this is based on my observation of the contents of conversations.

Three presumably young female speakers used their first name as self-address terms forms although these instances were excluded from the analysis. An example is shown below.

(99) (The speaker is talking about a new quick meal product she likes.)

de,
and

→ *sore no reri,*
it GEN Reri (first name)

shiroy yatsu ga suki.
white thing GA like

‘And, Reri likes [= I like] the white one of that (product)’ [japn6666]

This phenomenon did not occur with the speech of the males in the dataset. The use of their first names as self-reference gives an expression of *amae* (indulgence), and sounds childish. Kondo (1990, p. 28) observed the situations that a young child referred

herself as her first name + the diminutive *chan* to individuals who she can express intimacy and affection. Thus, the use in Example (99) resembles the self-reference term used by children. The association with childishness probably prohibits men to use this form. However, it is allowed for young women even though they are not children anymore. In Japanese culture in which childishness and littleness are acceptable, such a use by young women is excusable.

The other function of this use may be an attempt of “detaching” the speaker’s own feeling as shown in Example (100).

(100) (Speaker F1 is asking Speaker F2 how she has been with her boyfriend recently. F2 has some issues with her boyfriend, but F1 does not know the details.)

F1: *nande:?*,
why

kyooko *wa:?*
Kyoko (first name) WA

‘Why? How about (you), Kyoko?’³⁰

→ F2: ***kyooko*** *wa*,
Kyoko (first name) WA

maa:,
INJ

‘Kyoko [= I], well...,’

[japn1684]

While the speaker in (99) used her first name throughout the episode except a few instances of *watashi*, Speaker F2 in (100) used *atashi* throughout the episode except this instance in the example. In this situation in which F2 is answering F1’s question about her relationship with her boyfriend, F2’s answer is ambiguous which implicitly tells that

³⁰ As Iwasaki (2002, p. 35) notes “names and titles may be employed to avoid second or third person pronouns”, using the second person’s first name instead of second-person singular pronoun *anata* or *kimi* is common and appropriate among friends in causal conversations. And third person pronouns have other meanings – *kare* ‘boyfriend’, *kanojo* ‘girlfriend’ (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 267)

she has some issues. The use of her first name instead of the 1SG pronoun *atashi* gives an impression that she is talking about someone else and is emotionally detached whereas the use in (99) expresses intimacy and affection. Thus, this could be considered the case of the use of different topics Lee and Yonezawa suggest (2008).

One young female speaker used *boku* and *washi*, which are usually considered to be the forms used by males. This use of gendered forms by young women is observed in previous studies (e.g., Miyazaki, 2004), and it is not surprising. This use was observed in only one speaker's speech in the dataset of this study.

Although the observation found some interesting points of gendered speech, the motivation of use should remain inconclusive without further investigations.

9.3.2. First-person Singular Pronoun Use in Male Speech

While there are many studies describing the characteristics of female speech in Japanese (e.g., Inoue, 1994; Okamoto, 1994, 1995; Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Shibamoto, 1985; Sunaoshi, 1994), research solely focusing on male speech is very rare (e.g., Sreetharan, 2004). Therefore, it is desired that sociolinguistic studies of male speech is conducted with the data that have the background information of the speakers in the future. I hope to provide a preliminary report of some characteristics of 1SG pronoun use in male speech observed in the present study.

As shown earlier in Table 13 in Section 5.4, the majority of males used the most informal form of *ore*. While 22 male speakers favored *ore*, two speakers favored *boku* mainly and one speaker favored *watashi* mainly. One speaker used only *boku* throughout the episode and another speaker also used *boku* except using *ore* once in a separate episode. In both episodes, the interlocutor is his friend and they did not use polite verb

obvious from the fact that he did not use the polite form *-masu* throughout the conversation. This use adds some playful or joking nuance to the utterances.

9.3.3. Summary

Although sociocultural aspects of 1SG pronouns are not the scope of this dissertation, the examples above demonstrate that the use reflects the speaker's motivations beyond linguistic functions. Thus, we, researchers and educators, should be mindful about the sociocultural influences on any linguistic items. Kondo (1990, p. 27) notes that “choice of one pronoun over another is situationally negotiated and varies according to gender, class, region, and so on”. Okamoto and Smith (2004, p. 101) further note that “self-reference terms in Japanese not only directly index the person who currently speaks but also simultaneously constitute elements of the social”. The speaker chooses the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns, and with the appropriate forms according to their pragmatic and discourse needs, and social and cultural expectation.

There are no personal pronouns in English that work equivalently. As I noted earlier in Section 2.3.2, this use as an index of self clearly indicates that Japanese 1SG pronouns are very different from English term *I*. Learners of Japanese as a second/foreign language should be aware that 1SG pronouns in Japanese are used differently from English in order to become communicative competent speakers. However, as described earlier in Section 3.3.2, textbooks list only formal forms (*wata[ku]shi* and *boku*) but omit informal and most frequently used forms (*atashi* and *ore*). This is probably because the former was considered to be “safe” and the latter was considered to be inappropriate for non-native speakers. Textbooks do not discuss the “deviant” uses shown in this section, either. It is obvious that textbooks do not reflect

actual use and do not provide enough knowledge for JSL/JFL learners' needs. Therefore, how much authentic use students can be exposed to depends on how much a teacher can provide in the second/foreign language classroom. Teachers should be creative and incorporate the actual usage found in current research into classroom instructions in order to provide opportunities for students to familiarize real-life usage rather than “safe” or “correct” use in textbooks.

9.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed an educational perspective on the use of 1SG pronouns. Linguistic items that are not syntactically required but are pragmatically significant cannot be learned through only lectures and drills. Current textbooks fail to provide enough information of such pragmatic functions discussed in the present study. As noted earlier, 1SG pronouns in Japanese are not a unitary category (Ono & Thompson, 2003), and it is questionable if they really fit the term “pronouns”. Nonetheless, textbooks often list the most formal and infrequent form (*wata[ku]shi* and *boku*), and treat 1SG pronouns as if they are “pronouns” almost perfectly match the concept of English first-person singular pronoun *I* except gendered use. Current textbooks are probably written from a perspective based on English, and many terms and concepts are probably described poorly based on simplistic translation from English. In addition, sociocultural influences on the use of 1SG pronouns are not often described in textbooks, either. To be a successful JSL/JFL speaker, the student needs to acquire pragmatically, culturally and situationally appropriate use of 1SG pronouns. Since current textbooks do not reflect the actual usage, teachers' efforts in bringing authentic social interactions into second/foreign language classrooms are essential. Classrooms should be an environment where learners

can engage in meaningful interactions. Teachers also should incorporate the actual usage found in current research into classroom instructions in order to provide opportunities for students to familiarize real life usage, which is not explained in textbooks.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

10.1. Introduction

In this dissertation, I investigated the use and nonuse of 1SG pronouns in naturally occurring conversational Japanese with a particular interest in the subjectivity they express.

As I started analyzing the data, I faced some obstacles due to the nature of naturally occurring spoken data and also the features of 1SG pronouns that are not required syntactically. Ironically, this is the reason why we researchers should strive to analyze naturally occurring data. Linguistic forms emerge out of interaction and are always open and in flux as Hopper (1987, 1996, 1998) remarks. We can only study such linguistic items with the data taken from actual use.

I also pointed out that my study of 1SG pronouns cannot be discussed from only one dimension. There are a number of factors that should be considered such as the selection of appropriate particles, the construction of Japanese including the notion of subject versus topic, sociocultural influences, and so on. I further discussed research and educational implications.

10.2. Recommendations for Future Research

As noted earlier, all data for the present study were taken from a web-based corpus. Thus, social variables such as age, social class, and dialects of the speech participants were not controllable. All participants reside in the US, and several speakers displayed code switching with English. Therefore, although all participants are native Japanese speakers, the findings of the present study should be treated with caution that the data were not taken from native speakers in Japan and may not be generalizable as a

behavior of standard Japanese. However, I hope that the present study provides a basis for the future research in this area.

The roles and functions of 1SG pronouns in Japanese are not easily revealed in the quantitative analyses of the argument structure due to their non-required grammatical status. Therefore, qualitative studies that carefully examine each situation may be more fruitful to reveal true roles and functions of 1SG pronouns.

The following is recommended for future research:

1. A comparison of the roles and functions between first-person and other personal pronouns.
2. A comparison of the role and functions of 1SG pronouns between Japanese and other languages.
3. An investigation of sociocultural aspects of 1SG pronouns from the data with controlled variables.
4. Exploration of various expressions of subjectivity in Japanese in a wider context.
5. Qualitative research of second language teaching methods utilizing authentic language use in discourse.
6. An investigation of discourse and interactional functions postpositional particles, which are traditionally considered as case markers, may add to utterances.

As is widely known, spontaneous speech is different from written language or scripted speech (Biber, 1986; Tomasello, 2003). Although more researchers recognize the importance of analyzing data based on spontaneous speech, studies in this area are

still limited. Some researchers use written texts only, some mix spoken language with written language, and some others mix spontaneous conversation with scripted speech such as drama and TV shows. It is important to solely focus on one genre of the data to minimize variables by genre or text type in my opinion. Hence, I hope that my study that solely used actual conversational data contributes to the area of linguistics, and wish there would be more studies that focus on spontaneous speech.

10.3. Concluding Remarks

As I raised the question about the research methods and terminology that are based on Indo-European languages, it is the time to re-think different perspectives to study world languages. I also suggest that we look linguistic items in the environment they are actually used rather than using unrealistic constructed examples. This is the only way that reveals their true roles and functions as previous research studies conducted by functional linguists have shown. The present study followed such a path and revealed the roles and functions of 1SG pronouns beyond referential needs in conversation. It has also been proposed that usage-based approaches have great advantage in second language teaching because the L2 learners need to acquire language skills beyond syntax in order to be communicative competent and the studies of usage-based approaches can provide examples of actual use in real life of the native speakers and the analyses that can deepen the learners' understanding. Therefore, I hope that there will be more usage-based studies in second language acquisition.

APPENDIX A

Abbreviations (adapted from Iwasaki, 2002, p. xix)

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ATT	attributive
BCH	backchannel
CMPL	completive
COMIT	comitative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DAT	dative
FRG	fragment
EMPH	emphatic
GA	marker commonly considered as nominative
GEN	genitive
HOR	hortative
IMP	imperative
INJ	interjection and hesitation
IP	interactional particle
LK	linker
LOC	locative
MOD	modal expression
NEG	negative
NML	nominalizer
NONP	nonpast
OBL	obligation
ONM	onomatopoeia
PASS	passive
PAST	past
POL	polite form
POT	potential
PROG	progressive
QT	quote
SE	sentence extension
SFP	sentence-final particle
SOF	softener
TAG	tag
TE	continuous form <i>-te/de</i>
WA	marker commonly considered as topic
1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular

APPENDIX B

Transcription Conventions (adapted from Du Bois et al., 1993)

LETTER (F or M) Number	speaker
.	final intonation contour
,	continuing intonation contour
?	appeal intonation contour
--	truncated intonation contour
[]	speech overlap
...	long pause
..	short pause
@	laughter
(H)	inhalation
(Hx)	exhalation
X	indecipherable syllable
<L2 L2>	code switching

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