

Manipulating π -geometry of (Pronominal) *Zibun* in Kansai Japanese and Its Relevance to Imposters

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Abstract

In Kansai Japanese (KJ), pronominal *zibun* ‘self’, which is construed as a first-person pronoun in Standard Japanese (SJ), can become a second-person pronoun. We propose that this shift is rendered by deleting the [author]-feature of *zibun*. This deletion, we argue, results from the presence of the \oplus operator proposed by Podobryaev (2017).

1 Introduction

- Besides being an anaphor, *Zibun* can be a first-person pronoun (*zibun*_{1st}) as in (1) in SJ and KJ. However, KJ enjoys one more option, namely *Zibun* as a second-person pronoun (*zibun*_{2nd}) in (2).

(1) Zibun-ga kyoositu-o soozisita.
self-NOM classroom-ACC cleaned
‘I cleaned the classroom.’ (SJ/KJ) (Hayashi et al. 2016)

(2) Zibun-wa hoorensoo-o kirai-nan?
self-TOP spinach-ACC hate-COP.Q
‘You don’t like spinach?’ (KJ) (McCready 2007).

- McCready (2007) shows that *zibun*_{2nd} is possible in interrogatives. Then, she argues that *zibun*_{2nd} is a case of indexical shifting, and that the monster operator charged to do it is merged in tandem with the question operator.
- However, Hayashi et al. (2016) provide a showcase of other examples where *zibun*_{2nd} is possible. For example:

(3) [Relative Clause Zibun-ga susumeta] mise-wa moo tubureta.
self-NOM recommend shop-TOP already went.out.of.business
‘The store you recommended has already gone out business.’

(4) [Zibun-ga sore-o suru-n]-wa 100-nen hayai.
self-NOM it-ACC do-NMLZ -TOP 100-year early.COP
Lit. ‘It is 100 years early for you to do it.’ (It is too early for you to do it.)

- Hayashi et al. (2016) maintain that the common denominator of the contexts where *zibun*_{2nd} is possible is clausal nominalization via *wh*-movement, which leads to the special verbal inflection called *Rentaikei* (predicate adnominal form).
- Other constructions that involve *Rentaikei* are: comparatives, head-internal relative clauses, the complement of perception verbs.
- However, Hayashi et al. (2016) admit that other settings also sanction *zibun*_{2nd} as in (5): *because*-clause (5a), *if*-clause (5b) and a clause with an instance of Sentence-final Particle (SFP) (5c).

- (5) a. [_{IF} Zibun-ga ano mise-ni iku-nara] Taroo-wa ika-n-de ee.
 you-NOM that store-to go-if Taroo-TOP go-NEG-COP good
 ‘If you go to that store, Taro doesn’t have to go there.’ (KJ)
 b. [_{Because} Zibun-ga kono hon-o kari-ta-kara] Taroo-ga *pro* kari-rare-hen-katta.
 you-NOM that book-ACC borrow-PAST-because Taro-NOM borrow-can-NEG-PAST
 ‘Because you borrowed this book, Taro couldn’t borrow it.’ (KJ)
 c. Minna kawaii-kedo, kyoo-wa zibun-ga ichiban kawaii-na.
 everyone pretty-but today-TOP self-NOM best pretty-PTCL
 ‘Everybody is pretty but today you are the prettiest.’ (KJ)

(Hayashi et al. 2016)

- Obviously, the clauses that have *zibun*_{2nd} in (5) are derived by neither *wh*-movement nor nominalization. Therefore, Hayashi et al. (2016) are empirically inadequate.
- Both Hayashi et al. (2016) and McCready (2007) attribute *zibun*_{2nd} to the monster operator. As we will see, this line of theorizing is empirically challenged.

2 One More Complicating Factor: Where We are Heading for

- Another fact that has hitherto been unnoticed is that when we have two instances of pronominal *zibun*, i.e. *zibun*_{1st} and *zibun*_{2nd}, the latter cannot precede the former.¹

- (6) Zibun-ga zibun-o hometa-n-ya.
 self-NOM self-ACC praised-NMLZ-COP
 Lit. ‘Self praised self.’

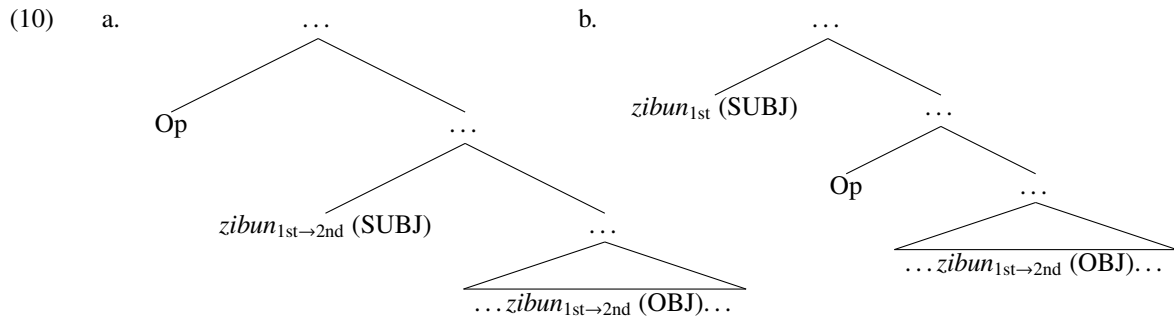
- (7) a. ?I praised myself.
 b. You praised yourself.
 c. ?I praised you.
 d. ?*You praised me.

- This order restriction also holds cross-clausally.

- (8) [Zibun-ga [Hanako-ga zibun-ni horetoru] yuuta-n]-wa hontoo-ya.
 Self-NOM Hanako-NOM self-DAT in.love.with said-NMLZ -TOP truth-COP
 Lit. ‘That self said that Hanako is in love with self is true.’

- (9) a. ?I said that Hanako is love in myself.
 b. You said that Hanako is love in yourself.
 c. I said that Hanako is love in you.
 d. ?*You said that Hanako is love in me.

- This suggests that licensing *zibun*_{2nd} is dependent on the syntactic structure. Suppose that some kind of operator (Op) responsible for changing *zibun*_{1st} to *zibun*_{2nd} is merged to the place where it c-commands *zibun*_{1st}. Then, we have:



¹For many KJ speakers, *zibun*_{1st} is a marked option.

- This derives the ordering restriction in (6)/(7) and (8)/(9). That is, to derive the meaning in (7d) and (9d), we have to place Op where it c-commands SUBJ. However, this also c-commands OBJ as in (10a). Therefore, the *zibun*_{2nd}-*zibun*_{2nd} will ensue.² Or the object *zibun* is just an anaphor.
 - If (10b) is the option, it will drive (7c) and (9c).
 - So the explicanda in this talk are the following:
- (11) a. What is the operator in charged of the shift in question?
 b. How should we explain the fact that *zibun*_{2nd} is licensed in various constructions in KJ?

3 Monster Operator vs. Deleting [Author]

- If Op in (10) is the monster operator, we can explain the interpretations in (7) and (9). But we can neither say that it is merged with the question operator, nor identify it as the *wh*-operator that triggers nominalization, contra McCready (2007) and Hayashi et al. (2016).
- Another way to go is to manipulate the π -geometry of *zibun*_{1st}. Let's assume that the pronominal *zibun* is featurally structured as in (12b) with the entailment relation proposed by Béjar and Rezac (2009).

- (12) a. Entailment: *speaker* \rightarrow *participant* \rightarrow π (cf. Béjar and Rezac 2009)
 b. [PERSON: π]
 |
 [participant]
 |
 [author]

- What we want to do in (12b) is to delete only the [author] node. Then, we can derive *zibun*_{2nd} since it is compatible with a participant reading. How can we achieve this?
- Let's go for Podobryaev's (2017) \oplus operator. Roughly speaking, this semantically cancels the interpretation of the first-person pronouns. The definition of \oplus is given in (13).³

- (13) $\llbracket \oplus \phi \rrbracket^g = \llbracket \phi \rrbracket^{g'}$
 where g' differs from g at most in that for all $i \in N$, $g(\langle i, \odot \rangle)$ is undefined. (Podobryaev 2017, 335)

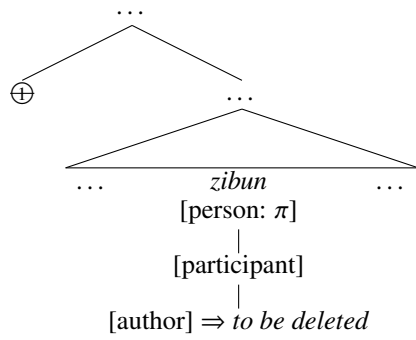
- If we assume that the first-person pronoun is defined by the presence of [author] = \odot , we can have the picture in (14). That is, since [author] is semantically undefined and hence uninterpretable, it must be deleted.
- This may be achieved syntactically. For instance, if \oplus is merged, it triggers Agree (Chomsky 2000), whereby \oplus checks off its uninterpretable [author]-feature, and concomitantly, it undefines the [author]-feature in its c-commanding domain.

²By the way, the Condition B effect is not so robust in Japanese as in (i).

(i) Anata-ga anata-no koto-ni syuutyuu-si-nasai.
 you-NOM you-GEN thing-DAT concentration-do-IMP
 'You must focus on your own stuff.'

³Following Sudo (2012) and Podobryaev (2017), we assume that the assignment function takes a complex index that comprises a natural number and a (circled) person feature.

(14)



- It seems like both approaches will work. But we will advocate the \oplus approach, and explain why next.

4 *Zibun*_{2nd} and Its Relevance to Imposters

- Podobryaev (2017) proposes the \oplus operator to explain the imposter paradigm from English. Witness:

- (15)
- My_i university agrees that [your faithful servant_i's results support his_i conclusion].
 - ?My_i university agrees that [his_i's results support y.f.s._i's conclusion].
 - *Y.f.s._i's university agrees that his_i results support my_i conclusion.
 - *Y.f.s._i's university agrees that my_i results support his_i conclusion.
 - *His_i university agrees that y.f.s._i's results support my_i conclusion.
 - *His_i university agrees that my_i results support y.f.s._i's conclusion.

- Podobryaev (2017) states as the homogeneity condition, “the minimal constituent including an imposter and all coreferent third person pronouns cannot include any coreferent non-third person pronoun” (Podobryaev 2017, 335). This is clearly structure-dependent.
- Also, to license imposters (i.e. a third-person expression referring to the first person pronoun), Podobryaev (2017) argues that when the first-person is unusable due to \oplus , a third-person expression can refer to it. Therefore, the impossibility of (15c) to (15f) are explained as follows:

- (16)
- *[_S \oplus Y.f.s ... [_{S'} ... his ... *my ...]]
 - *[_S \oplus Y.f.s ... [_{S'} ... *my ... his ...]]
 - *[_S \oplus his ... [_{S'} ... Y.f.s ... *my ...]]
 - *[_S \oplus his ... [_{S'} ... *my ... Y.f.s ...]]

- In the c-command domain of \oplus , first-person pronouns cannot be used.
- We're not saying that *Zibun*_{2nd} is an imposter. However, it interacts with imposters in Japanese.
- Japanese has a lot of imposterous expressions like social position names (CEO, teacher etc.), kinship names (father, mother, sister, brother etc.) or proper names (Taro, Hanako etc.). Now, let's consider a case where we use *Zibun*_{2nd} with some imposter expression referring to the first person. This is shown as in (17), where the speaker calls herself by her name, Aoi.

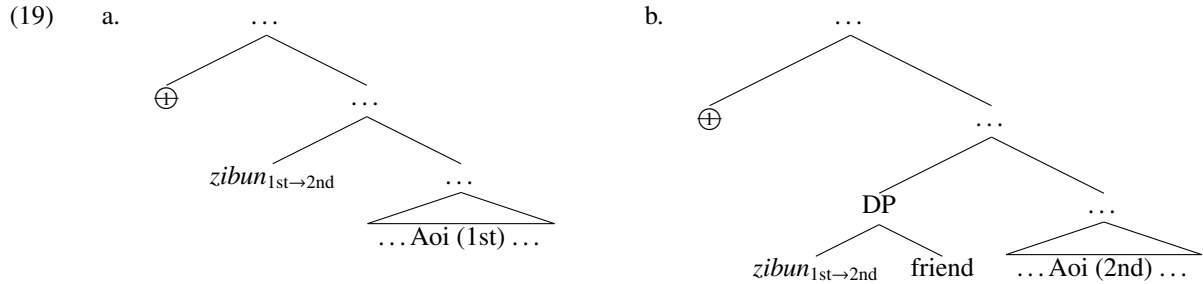
- (17) Zibun-ga Aoi-no oningyoo katteni tukota-n-ya.
 self-NOM Aoi-GEN doll without.permission used-NMLZ-COP
 Lit. Self (you) played with Aoi's (my) doll without asking me.

- What is impossible under the \oplus approach is (18), where the speaker calls the addressee by her name, Aoi.⁴

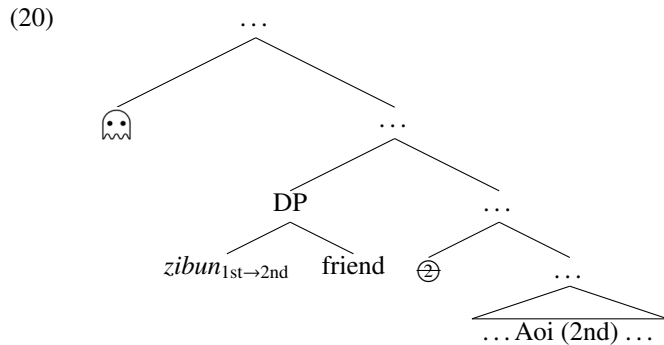
- (18) *Zibun-no tomodati-ga Aoi-no oningyoo katteni tukota-n-ya.
 self-GEN friend-NOM Aoi-GEN doll without.permission used-NMLZ-COP
 Lit. Self's (your) friend used Aoi's (your) doll without asking you.

⁴Note that no C-condition effect will arise because the possessor *zibun* does not c-command the R-expression *Aoi*.

- (17) is possible because \oplus is used to license the imposterous Aoi, a proper name referring to the speaker. That is, the third person expression referring to the speaker is licensed since the first-person pronoun cannot be used due to \oplus , which in turn licenses *zibun*_{1st→2nd}. Schematically, we have (19a). Then, the impossibility of (18) is explained as in (19b).



- Since we only have \oplus , the second-person must be referred to by an intrinsic second-person pronoun. Thus, imposters referring to the second person needs \oplus in lieu of \oplus (Podobryaev 2017).
- Suppose that imposters and *zibun*_{2nd} are licensed by different mechanisms. Namely, the former is licensed by \oplus whereas the latter is due to the monster operator. Then, we incorrectly rule in (18).⁵



- One may say that \oplus should be merged above the subject DP since \oplus must c-command both the imposter and its coreferent pronoun (Podobryaev 2017). However, this leads to the situation where *zibun*_{2nd} is also impossible, contrary to the fact. That is, we may end up with the following:

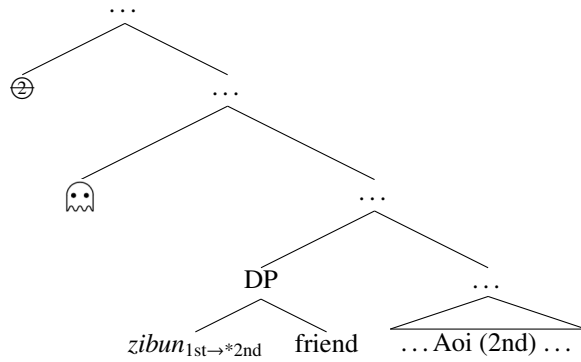
⁵The following is fine:

- (i) Kekkyoku, kare_i-no hahaoya-ga Taroo_i-o sikatta.
Eventually he-GEN mother-NOM Taro-ACC scoled
'Eventually, his_i mother scolded Taro_i.'

Of course, overt pronouns are always a marked option in Japanese, but (i) is much better than (ii).

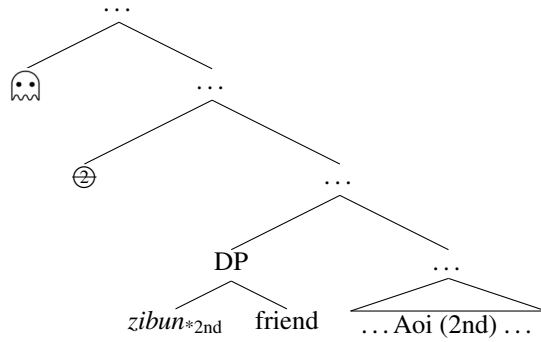
- (i) *Kekkyoku, kare_i-ga Taroo_i-o sikatta.
Eventually he-NOM Taro-ACC scoled
Intended 'Eventually, he_i scolded Taro_i.'

(21)



- In (21), the monster operator kicks into the structure in order to license *zibun*_{2nd}, after which we introduce \oplus to license the imposter. But this is impossible since once \oplus is merged, *zibun*_{2nd} licensed by the monster will also be semantically undefined.
- The opposite order of the operators is also impossible, since \oplus will have no [participant]-feature to be shifted due to \oplus .

(22)



- Given the above, the presence of *zibun*_{2nd} interacts with imposters. Therefore, it shouldn't sound outlandish if we say *zibun*_{2nd} is derived by \oplus .
- Therefore, we contend that the operator in (10) is \oplus .

5 Miscellaneous Issues

- What is special about KJ is that it has an operator that only accesses the [author]-feature of pronominal *zibun*_{1st}. Therefore, there is nothing wrong with (23). Given (23), KJ has \oplus that can only access the [author] node of *zibun*_{1st} and its concomitant (syntactic) [author]-deletion process. We thus argue that it is \oplus_{KJ} (i.e. \oplus available only in KJ, which only targets pronominal *zibun*_{1st}).

(23) Zibun-ga ore-o hometa-n-ya.
self-NOM I-ACC praised-NMLZ-COP
'You praised me.' (KJ)

- Don't confuse *zibun*_{2nd} in KJ with anaphoric *zibun*. The latter may involve binding from a covert pronoun in Spec-POVP as Nishigauchi (2014) proposes. Consider:

(24) ?[Zibun-ga zibun-o gakkyyuiin-ni suisensi-sooni natta-toki] ore-wa mettya huan'ni
self-NOM self-ACC class.representative-DAT recommend-likely became-when I-TOP very worried
natta-wa.
became-SFP

‘When you were likely to recommend me for the class representative, I become very anxious.’ (KJ) (based on Nishigauchi 2014)

- In (24), the *zibun*_{2nd}-*zibun*_{1st} sequence is apparently possible. However, it can be derived as the subject being *zibun*_{2nd} and the object being an anaphor, and the latter is bound by the matrix subject through POVP as Nishigauchi (2014) contends. Maybe, those who like (7d) and (9d) utilize this sort of mechanism, but the fact is that many KJ speakers don’t like them.
- The availability of \oplus is not limited to KJ, though \oplus_{KJ} is unusable in SJ. Consider:

(25) Anata-no dan’nasan-wa {zibun/kare/*watasi}-no zikan-o hosigatteimasu-yo.
 you-GEN husband-TOP self/he/I-GEN time-ACC want.POL-SFP
 ‘Your husband (= I) wants his (= my) free time.’ (SJ/KJ)

6 When *Zibun*_{2nd} is Licensed

- Instead of finding some common trait among the data the literature shows, we simply argue that \oplus_{KJ} can be merged if a given context allows. Therefore, the interrogative in KJ allows *Zibun*_{1st}, not *Zibun*_{2nd}, to the extent that a given context allows it. Observe:
- (26) Aa, zibun-wa nani yatto-n-nan?
 Alas, self-TOP what do-NMLZ-Q
 ‘Alas, what am I doing?’
- (26), as a soliloquy, is totally fine in KJ. Therefore, we contend that \oplus_{KJ} is licensed if there is an appropriate addressee in a given utterance context.

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