Historical Development of the Accusative Case Marking in Japanese as Seen in Classical Literary Texts*

Shigeru Miyagawa
MIT

Fusae Ekida
University of Washington

The principles-and-parameters theory accounts for variations among contemporary languages by parametrizing the principles of universal grammar. Through a study of how Case was assigned to the direct object in Old Japanese, we demonstrate that the principles-and-parameters theory also accounts for certain historical changes in the grammar of a language. In modern Japanese the morphological accusative case marker *o* invariably marks the direct object. This case marker was also used in Old Japanese. But unlike modern Japanese, the direct object frequently occurred without any case marking. Old Japanese chose both options of the parameter for Case depending on verbal inflection: abstract or morphological. In modern Japanese the parameter has been "reset" so that only the morphological-case option is chosen. We give extensive data from classical literary texts of the Heian Period to demonstrate the distribution of abstract case and morphological case, and the constraints imposed on word order when abstract case was chosen. Our analysis also straightforwardly accounts for the linguistic change that transformed the Old Japanese case system to the system we see in modern Japanese.

Areas of interest: Case theory, principles-and-parameters theory, language change, historical linguistics

1 Introduction

Historical linguistics teaches us that while it is uncertain how a language changes through time, what is certain is that every language undergoes change. A language does not sit still, in other words. A question we might ask is, are the changes that a language undergoes completely random, or are there pre-determined pathways that these changes can take? A number of linguists have argued that historical change in the grammar of a language can be described by the rules and principles of synchronic grammar. Joseph (1980:346), in addressing the loss of the infinitive form in Greek, notes that "[u]niversal constraints which hold in synchronic grammars are used to explain the direction taken by certain changes in syntax." In a similar vein, Lightfoot (1979:viii) states that the formulation of "a possible grammar will provide the upper limits to the way in which a given grammar may change historically, insofar as it cannot change into something which is not a possible grammar." He further notes that this approach to diachronic change has not met with much success in the past because we had a poor understanding of what constitutes a possible synchronic grammar. The "principles-and-parameters" approach (e.g., Chomsky 1981, 1986a, 1986b) provides a highly-articulated theory of synchronic grammar. As we will demonstrate, the principles-and-parameters approach provides a concrete framework within which to study certain diachronic changes.

A theory of synchronic grammars must allow for parametric variations among the contemporary languages, such as word order differences and morphological and abstract methods of Case assignment. In the principles-and-parameters approach, these synchronic variations are captured by parametrizing the principles of Universal Grammar. A particular language "sets" the parameter of a universal principle. For example, the universal principle for word order within a phrase allows for the parametric options of head-initial and head-final. Languages such as Indonesian set this principle for the head-initial option while languages such as Japanese set this parameter for the head-final option. We can view certain types of diachronic change as a result of a language "resetting" the parameter of a universal principle. This approach to diachronic change allows the theory of synchronic grammars to provide direct and concrete "upper limits" to the way in which a language may change historically. Under this view diachronic variation within a language and synchronic variation among contemporary languages are *nondistinct*.

We will demonstrate the usefulness of the principles-and-parameters approach to historical change by presenting a detailed study of the historical change that occurred in Japanese case marking, in particular, the accusative case marking. In modern Japanese the accusative case marking invariably marks the direct object, as shown in (1).[1]

(1)   Taroo-ga   sakana-*o*   tabeta.[2]
        Taro-Nom   fish-Acc   ate
        'Taro ate fish.'

However, it is well-known that in the Japanese of the eighth through the thirteenth centuries, which we will refer to as Old Japanese, the direct object commonly appears without any case marking (see, for example, Koreshima 1966, Matsuo 1938, Matsuo 1969, Shibatani 1990). The following is taken from *Man'yooshuu*, an anthology of poems compiled in the eight century, A.D.

(2)   Ware-ha   imo ___   omofu.
        I-Top   wife   think
        'I think of my wife.'

As we will argue, the direct object in (2) is licensed by abstract case. The case marker *o* does appear in Old Japanese (OJ) as the accusative marking, but its apparent optionality has led some traditional grammarians to state that the OJ *o* was unstable as a case marker (Kobayashi 1970:226). However, as we will show, the distribution of OJ *o* is highly predictable, and it clearly functions as a case marker. What we will demonstrate is that the distribution correlates with verbal conjugation. Certain verbal forms require the accusative case marker to appear on the direct object while one form does not require it because it assigns abstract case. Another verbal form allows either *o* or abstract case to mark the direct object.

Cross-linguistically there is a parametric variation as to whether a language chooses morphological case marking or abstract case. English and the Romance languages, for example, use primarily abstract case, while German, modern Japanese, Latin, and a host of other languages use morphological case marking. The change we see from OJ to modern Japanese is the

following. In OJ, certain verbal conjugation(s) chose the option abstract while other verbal conjugations chose the option of morphological case. This changed to a language -- modern Japanese -- that chooses solely the option of morphological case marking for all object DPs. As we will show, this change is triggered by an independent linguistic change in the OJ verbal system that is well attested. Our theory of abstract/morphological case marking in OJ not only provides a clear explanation of the distribution of *o* in OJ, but also the concrete and specific factor responsible for the transformation of case marking from OJ to modern Japanese.

The present work is based on the work contained in Miyagawa (1989:Ch. 6). In section 2, we will summarize that work. In section 3, we will take up the issue of the nature of the morphological case marker *o*. We will in particular discuss works by Kinsui (1993) and Motohashi (1989, 1996), who have made important observations about OJ *o*, in Kinsui's case, as a direct challenge to Miyagawa (1989). In section 4, we will note some issues related to the use of poetry. In section 5, we will introduce new data from classical literary texts to further confirm Miyagawa's hypothesis. The two primary texts we have drawn from are *Izumi Shikibu Diary* (tenth century, A.D.) and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary* (tenth century, A.D.).[3] To confirm certain points observed in these two texts, we have also drawn data from the *Tale of Genji* (tenth century; written by Murasaki Shikibu), the most important literary work of the Heian Period, as well as *Sarashina Diary*, another diary of the tenth century. In looking at these works we will present not only data that further substantiates the analysis in Miyagawa (1989), but also, we will look in detail at the exceptions and show that these exceptions are systematic for the most part, hence accountable within the proposed theory. In section 6, we will confirm the prediction regarding word order: that an object NP with abstract case must occur adjacent to the verb while an object NP with morphological case marker *o* may occur away from the verb. We will draw data from *Sarashina Diary* and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary* to demonstrate the word order phenomenon in Old Japanese.

2 Miyagawa (1989)

The direct object in OJ is sometimes marked with the morphological case marker *o* and at other times licensed by abstract case. This is seen in a study by Matsuo (1938), who investigated the number of occurrences of the object NP with and without *o* for *Man'yooshuu*, an anthology of poems compiled in the eighth century, and several texts written in the tenth century. The relevant portions of his findings are summarized below.

(3) Frequency of the case marker *o* in some OJ texts

	Object NP with *o*	Without *o*
Man'yooshuu (Book 17)	51	96
Tales of Ise	294	204
Tosa Diary	254	231

As we can see, in these literary texts there is a large number of direct objects that are not accompanied by the morphological case marker.[4]

In Miyagawa (1989), it is argued that the distribution of the accusative case marker *o* is predictable from the type of verb conjugation. The four conjugations dealt with are the

"conclusive" (*shuushi-kei*), "attributive" (*rentai-kei*), "perfect" (*izen-kei*), and "conjunctive" (*renyoo-kei*). Of the four conjugations, the first two, conclusive and attributive, play the most prominent role in the analysis.[5] As we will see the conclusive form selects the abstract case option while the attributive form selects the morphological case option.

In modern Japanese there is no distinction in verbal conjugation between matrix and subordinate clauses, as shown below.

(4)   a. sakana-o   *taberu*
           fish-Acc   eat
           '(I) eat fish.'

         b. *taberu*   sakana
            eat   fish
            'the fish (that I) eat'

But in OJ, verbs take distinct forms in matrix and subordinate clauses (there are some exceptions, discussed later). As shown below, the matrix verb takes the conclusive form while the subordinate verb must be in the attributive form.

(5)   a. sakana-(o)   *tabu*   (Conclusive)
            fish-(Acc)   eat

         b. *taburu*   sakana
            eat   fish

Based on the data from *Man'yooshuu* (Collection of Myriad Leaves), the oldest of the Japanese anthologies compiled during the latter half of the eighth century, as well as other OJ works, it is possible to capture the distribution of abstract case and morphological accusative case marker *o* as follows. This is a central finding of Miyagawa (1989).[6]

(6)   Distribution of Abstract and Morphological Case
        The *conclusive* form assigns abstract case while the *attributive* form requires the morphological case marker *o*.

Below, we give an example of a conclusive form without morphological case marking on its object and two examples of an attributive form with the morphological case marker *o* on its object, all taken from *Man'yooshuu* as cited in Miyagawa (1989).[7]

(7)   ware-ha   imo ___   omofu
        I-Top   wife   think
        'I think of my wife.

(8)   [sima-*o*   miru]   toki
         island-Acc   look   when

'when I look upon the island'

(9) yo-no   naka-ni   omohiyaredo [ko-*o*   kofuru]   omohi-ni
     world's   inside at   ponder   child-Acc miss   feeling
     masaru   omohi   naki   kana
     surpass   feeling   not   exist
     'Ponder as we may the sorrows of this bleak world, we find none more sharp than the
     grief a parent feels mourning the loss of a child.'

In those instances in which the object NP lacks morphological case marking, the NP must nevertheless have Case in order to avoid being flagged by the Case Filter (cf. Chomsky 1981). The idea here is that every NP must have some sort of Case/case, in order to make the NP "visible" to the grammar. That the Case being assigned is abstract case is seen by the fact that the "bare object NP" observes adjacency with the verb. This adjacency is imposed as a condition on abstract case assignment (Stowell 1981).[8]

It is not just in the case-assigning property that the conclusive and the attributive inflections differ. The conclusive is the "true verb form" used in principal sentences to predicate an action, property, or state (Sansom 1928:130). As a "pure" verb, we can surmise that it has all of the properties of a verb, including the capability to assign abstract case. In contrast, the attributive inflection shifts the lexical property of the "pure" verb (conclusive) into one with "substantive" properties. The following example from Sansom (1928:136) illustrates three substantive qualities of the attributive form.[9]

(10) hito-no   *mitogamuru*-o   sirazu
      people   blame-Acc   not.know
      'not knowing that others blamed them'

First, the attributive form *mitogamuru* 'blaming' has a substantive interpretation, similar to the English gerundive form. Second, the particle *o* attaches to it to make the phrase an argument of the verb *sirazu* 'not know'. Third, the subject of *mitogamuru* has the genitive case marker, which is a hallmark of NPs in nominal clauses. These three qualities make the attributive form appear nominal in nature. It would be incorrect, however, to identify it as a pure nominal because it has verbal and adjectival properties. For example it is able to modify a noun without the prenominal genitive particle *no*. In (8) above, for example, if the attributive form *miru* 'look' were a pure nominal, we would expect the prenominal modification particle *no* between it and the relative head. The genitive particle *no* does appear in the relative clause but only on the subject, as exemplified in (10), in which *no* attaches to the subordinate subject *hito* 'people'. The same particle never arises on the object, indicating that the attributive verb is not a nominal. The attributive form appears to belong to the same category as the gerundive form in English – it is both verblike and nounlike. It may be that this ambiguous identity contributes to the requirement that the case-assigning feature be manifested as the morphological case marker *o*, just as in some cases in English *of* must be inserted in the absence of abstract case.

It is worth noting that, after the publication of Miyagawa (1989), Satoshi Kinsui, a distinguished scholar of OJ who is also conversant in modern linguistic theory, published his article (Kinsui 1993) in response to Miyagawa's analysis. To check Miyagawa's findings, he

himself looked at *Man'yooshuu* and *Tosa Diary,* the latter a work of prose from the tenth century. He accepts the distinction Miyagawa draws between abstract case and morphological case marking for OJ (p. 202). He concludes by saying that he "believes that we can accept, as a tendency, the absence of *o* on the main clause object and its presence in the subordinate clause object, as Miyagawa asserts" (p. 209). He is, however, reluctant to accept it at face value because there are "numerous counterexamples" (p. 208). He criticizes Miyagawa's theory as "too rigid and unable to account for the counterexamples" (Ibid.). He goes on to propose a theory of Case that is much more flexible to allow for the counterexamples.

We will deal with some of Kinsui's counterexamples. Here, let us make clear our position on theory and also on counterexamples. First, for theory, it is imperative that it be as simple and explicit as possible. Given that one is dealing with an enormous amount and array of data, which often contains complications that obfuscate the true generalizations, it is important that the theory being tested be as explicit and simple as possible. If the theory is too complex and flexible, one faces the danger that the theory won't shed any clear light on the data, and vice versa, leading to missed opportunities to capture true generalizations. In this regard, we take issue with Kinsui's criticism that the theory adopted in Miyagawa (1989) is too rigid and simple. We believe that is the correct type of theory and we should not abandon it unless absolutely necessary. Second, we agree with Kinsui that the theory invariably faces counterexamples. Thus, as he notes, there are cases in which the matrix object unexpectedly surfaces with the morphological case marker *o*, and there are also instances, equally unexpected under Miyagawa's (1989) proposal, that the object of subordinate clauses with the attributive verb appears without any morphological particle, *o* or otherwise. What Miyagawa (1989) failed to note is that his theory only characterizes the grammar of OJ relative to Case. There may be other factors that, in some instances, mask the prediction and result in an apparent counterexample. From our perspective, so long as there is a clear pattern that reflects the theory, a pattern which Kinsui himself recognizes, the theory finds support. What will further reinforce it is if we can explain the nature of the counterexamples to show that they are only apparent counterexamples. To his credit, Kinsui himself engages in such analysis of some of the counterexamples he discovered; some of his analyses are extremely informative, and we will take them up later. As we will demonstrate, most of the examples have a perfectly good reason for not behaving according to the theory, so that we can in fact set them aside. The effort to look at every counterexample is, at times, tedious, but it is absolutely necessary to uphold otherwise a clear pattern that emerges in accordance with the theory being tested (Miyagawa 1989).

2.1 Further evidence for the conclusive/attributive distinction for case marking

As noted, the abstract case is associated with the conclusive form while the morphological case marker *o* is associated with the attributive form. However, given the distribution of these two types of verbal conjugations, an alternative way to state this distribution is to say that the abstract case appears in the matrix clause while the morphological case marker *o* appears in the subordinate clause. This is because the conclusive form of the verb appears most commonly in the matrix clause while the attributive form appears most commonly in the subordinate clause.

As noted in Miyagawa (1989), there is data to confirm the observation that the conclusive form selects the abstract case option while the attributive form selects the morphological case marker option. First, there are instances in which the conclusive form occurs in the subordinate

clause. One such instance is in subordinate clauses with the complementizer *to*. Even when it appears in the subordinate clause, the conclusive form may assign abstract case, as shown by the following example from *Tosa Diary*, written in the tenth century.[10]

(11) kono hito [uta ___ *yoman*   to] omofu kokoro arite   narikeri
      this person poem   compose-intend Comp think mind   exist   Cop
      'This person had the intention to compose poems.'

Although *yoman* 'compose-intend' is in the subordinate clause, it is a conclusive form, hence it is able to license the occurrence of the object NP *uta* 'poems' by abstract case.

The second point regards the distribution of the attributive form. In the same way that the conclusive form is not limited to matrix clauses, the attributive form is not limited to subordinate clauses. The attributive form appears in a matrix clause which has undergone a rule called *kakarimusubi*. This rule, which is triggered by a *kakari*-particle occurring sentence internally, requires the verb to be in the attributive form instead of the expected conclusive form. The example below, taken from Sansom (1928), illustrates this rule for the *kakari* particles *zo* and *ya* (*zo* is used for emphasis, something akin to 'indeed', while *ya* is commonly used for rhetorical questions).[11]

(12) a. isi-wa   kawa-ni   otu   (Conclusive)
         rock-Top   river-in   fall
         'Rocks fall into the river.'

      b. isi   *zo* kawa-ni   *oturu*   (Attributive)
      c. isi   *ya* kawa-ni   *oturu*   (Attributive)

Among a set of 208 examples in *Man'yooshuu* (Takagi, *et al*, 1962:55-109), thirty-four are *kakarimusubi* constructions with a transitive verb and an object NP. All thirty-four are matrix clauses, and, significantly, the particle *o* marks the object NP without exception (cf. Matsunaga 1983). The following exemplifies this.

(13) kimi-ga   mi-fune-*o*   itu   to ka   matamu
      you-Nom   fine-boat-Acc   when   Kakari wait(attrib.)
      'when may we await your fine boat back?'

The following *Shoku Nihongi* example, taken from Sansom (1928:281), illustrates the same point.

(14) ware   hitori   ya   wa tootoki   sirusi-*o*   uketamawamu?
      I   alone   Kakari   precious   token-Acc   receive(attrib.)
      'Shall I alone receive the precious token?'

This example is especially significant in that the object NP taking the particle is adjacent to the matrix verb, a condition that would allow abstract case assignment if the verb were not in the

attributive but in the conclusive form. What we saw above about *kakarimusubi* based on the data from the eighth century can also be seen in the texts of the early tenth century. As pointed out by Zenno (1987), the texts *Kokinshuu Kanazyo* and *Tosa Diary* both contain a number of transitive *kakarimusubi* constructions that support the hypothesis that the case marker *o* must occur when the verb is in the attributive form. The following are from his work ((15) and (16) are from *Kokinshuu*; (17) and (18) are from *Tosa Diary*).

(15)　aru-ha,　　haru　natu　　aki　　fuyu-ni-mo　　　iranu,
　　　some-Top spring summer　fall　　winter-in-even　　not.included
　　　sagusa-no-uta-*o*　　　　　nan　　　erabasetamahikeru
　　　various-Gen-poems-Acc　Kakari　choose.cause.Honor.Past(attrib.)
　　　'(The emperor) had ordered to choose some miscellaneous compositions unsuited to seasonal categories.'

(16)　iki to si ikeru　mono, izure　ka　　　　uta-*o*　　yomazarikeru
　　　all the living　　things which Kakari　　poem-Acc compose.Neg.E(attrib.)
　　　'Every living creature sings.'

(17)　te　　kirukiru　　tundaru　　　　na-*o*　　oya　ya　　　maboruran,
　　　hand　cut.cutting　picked　　　　herb-Acc　parent Kakari　eat.must
　　　siutome　　　　ya　　　　kufuran
　　　mother-in-law　　Kakari　　must.eat
　　　'Is an old man wolfing them now? Is an old mother-in-law eating them now? Those tender greens I picked (while the young miscanthus), cut my hands.'

(18)　hitobito　umi-*o*　　nagametutu　　zo　　　　aru
　　　people　　sea-Acc　looking　　　　Kakari　　exist(attrib.)
　　　'People stared absently at the sea.'

　　　The *kakarimusubi* fact shows that the distribution of the case maker *o* cannot be predicted from just the type of clause, matrix or subordinate. The pertinent distinction is between the conclusive and attributive forms.

2.2 Other verbal forms: perfect and conjunctive
Along with the conclusive and the attributive forms of the verb, Miyagawa (1989) deals with the perfect and the conjunctive conjugations. The perfect form (*izen-kei*), which exists in OJ but not in modern Japanese, "conveys the idea of the definite completion of the act or state described by the verb" (Sansom 1928:143). The perfect form has three common uses: (i) it occurs with the conditional *ba*; (ii) it occurs with *do* or *domo* to mean 'although such and such'; and (iii) it participates in *kakarimusubi* construction when the *kakari* particle is the emphatic *koso*. All three are illustrated in the following *Tosa Diary* examples from Zenno (1987).

(19)　umi-*o*　　miyareba
　　　sea-Acc　look.across(perfect.)

'gazing out across the sea'

(20) kyoo-ha   aomuma-*o*   omohedo,   kahi   nasi
      today-Top   festival.of.blue.horse-Acc   think(perf.)   effect not.exist
      'People thought in vain about the White Horse Banquet being held that day.'

(21) kagami-ni   kami-no-kokoro-*o*   koso   ha   mitura
      mirror-in   god's mind-Acc   Kakari   seen(perf.)
      'I saw the god's heart clearly in the mirror.'

Zenno (1987) observes that the perfect form requires the morphological case marker *o* on its object. We see this in the examples above. Why does the morphological case marker *o* occur with the perfect form? While Zenno simply makes this observation, in Miyagawa (1989), it is suggested that one possible reason is the compound nature of the perfect form. As argued by Aston (cited in Sansom 1928:142), the perfect form is a contraction of a verb in the conjunctive form and the verb *aru* 'exist'. For example, the perfect form *yuke* 'go' is a contracted compound form of the two verbs *yuki* (conjunctive form of the verb) and *aru*. We will see later that compounding in general appears to take away the ability of verbs in the conclusive form to assign abstract case, so, if the perfect form is a form of a compound, it would simply be another instance of this phenomenon.

The conjunctive form is used to conjoin sentences, and it occurs most commonly with the ending *–te*. The interesting point about the conjunctive form is that it is free to select either abstract case or morphological case, as we see from the following *Tosa Diary* examples, again from Zenno (1987).

(22) te ___ arahi,   rei-no   kotodomo ___ site,   hiru   ni narinu
      hand wash(conj.)   usual-Gen   things   do(conj.) noon   became
      'It was around noon by the time people had washed their hands and performed the usual offices.'

(23) kore-*o*   nomi itagari,   mono-*o*   nomi kuhite, yo   fukenu
      this-Acc   only appreciate(conj.)   things-Acc   only eat(conj.) night fell
      'They uttered words of praise and kept on eating, (and it became late).'

In (22) the direct object NPs of the conjunctive forms appear without *o*, whereas those in (23) appear with *o*, indicating that the conjunctive verb optionally assigns abstract case. Another point noted by Zenno is that when there are two coordinate sentences, each with a direct object, as we see above, either *both* of the direct objects have the morphological case marker or *neither* of them has the case marking. That is, with a conjunctive form, a parallelism must obtain in the two clauses with regard to case: if one object NP lacks *o*, then the other(s) must not have it either, as we see in (22). But if one has the case marker, then they all must have it, as we see in (23). The former type observes adjacency because the direct object NP receives abstract case from the verb, just as in the case of the conclusive form. But in the latter type – the morphologically cased type – the object NP with *o* is free to occur away from the verb.

2.3 Language change[12]

What we have seen is that in OJ, the direct object is as likely to be assigned abstract case as the morphological case marker *o*. Starting in the tenth century, this begins to change until virtually every object NP is marked by the morphological case maker. This change occurred over a period of some five hundred years, during which a number of other major changes took place as well that, together, transformed the language to one that closely resembles modern Japanese.

Traditional grammarians also recognize this increasing occurrence of *o* through time from Heian on. What is their explanation? The hypothesis they have put forth is based on a literary tradition called *kanbun kundoku*, literally translated as 'Japanese way of reading Chinese text' or 'reading Chinese text for meaning'. (We refer to this tradition as *kanbun* for short.) Around the sixth century, the Japanese seriously began to absorb elements of Chinese culture. The primary force behind this importation of the Chinese culture was the desire to learn Buddhism, and Japanese scholars avidly studied Buddhist texts in Chinese. The *kanbun* tradition finds its origin in the endeavor to grapple with Chinese, a language remote in structure from Japanese. Several subtraditions of *kanbun* arose to meet the diverse needs of the reading audience, but all share the feature of adding special reading markings to the original Chinese text. Two *kanbun* markings are demonstrated below for the "Chinese" sentence represented as SUBJECT VERB OBJECT.

(24)   SUBJECT VERB$^{(>)}$ VERB$_{(o)}$

The arrow superscripted to the VERB directs the reader to read the verb after the OBJECT, thereby transforming the SVO word order of Chinese into the SOV word order of Japanese. The particle *o* subscripted to the OBJECT indicates that this is the object. The Japanese scholar thus read this as: SUBJECT OBJECT-*o* VERB. Because the Chinese sentence is written in Chinese characters that represent meaning, it is possible to read the sentence completely in Japanese by using Japanese words with the same meaning. This is a rough and simplified description of *kanbun*, but it suffices for our purpose.

In *kanbun* the particle *o* appears without exception on the object NP (Matsuo, 1938). This is expected because the function of the particle in *kanbun* is to designate the object NP in the Chinese language; it is the only way in which the object can be identified. Traditional grammarians theorize that *kanbun*, with its ever present *o* on the object NP, influenced the entire language toward an increased use of *o* (Hirohama 1966, Matsuo 1938). This is not a far-fetched hypothesis especially in view of the fact that the Chinese language (and culture) was highly esteemed, so much so that Japanese officials were required to use it in writing.[13]

Although *kanbun* surely had an impact on the Japanese language, it is inconceivable that this literary tradition alone transformed OJ into the fully morphologically-cased Japanese of later years. Miyagawa (1989), following Matsunaga (1983), provides a straightforward *linguistic* account of the language change that transformed the "semi-caseless" OJ into the morphologically-cased Japanese of modern day. The crucial assumption is the distinction between the conclusive form, which assigns abstract case, and the attributive form, which requires the morphological case marker on its object NP. There is an independent and well-attested language change that, in the light of the conclusive/attributive distinction, caused the

dramatic increase in the occurrence of the morphological case marker *o*.

Beginning in the early post-OJ period, verb inflection began to change, a change which, by the fifteenth century, transformed the language to one similar to modern Japanese. The major force behind this change is the assimilation of the conclusive form by the attributive form, so that by the time that the change was completed, only the original attributive form remained in the language, having taken over those positions originally occupied by the conclusive form. This change affected all verbs except one category of irregular verbs of which there are only two (*sinu* 'die' and *inu* 'leave'). Before the change, attributive and conclusive forms were clearly distinguished; even for those types of verbs that had the same shape for the two forms (quadrigrade, upper monograde, and lower monograde), the two forms apparently differed in accentuation (Miyagawa 1989). After the change, with the exception of the two verbs noted, all verbs took on the original attributive form of the verb for both conclusive and attributive inflections. The diagram below shows the inflected portions before and after the change (the diagram is based on a similar diagram given in Matsunaga 1983).

(25)   Changes in the verbal inflection
        Before the change

Inflection type	I	II	III	IV	V
Conclusive	-u	-i	-iru	-eru	-u
Attributive	-u	-u	-iru	-eru	-uru

        After the change

Conclusive	-u	-u	-iru	-eru	-uru
Attributive	-u	-u	-iru	-eru	-uru

The traditional Japanese labels for these types are as follows. I is *yodan*; II is *ra-gyoo henkaku*, III is *kami-ichidan*; IV is *shimo-ichidan*; and V includes the four classes *kami-nidan*, *shimo-nidan*, *ka-gyoo henkaku*, and *sa-gyoo henkaku*.

The cause of this change is generally attributed to the *kakarimusubi* construction. As discussed earlier, the *kakarimusubi* rule, which is triggered by a *kakari* particle, converts the matrix conclusive form into the attributive form. The *kakarimusubi* construction is common in literary texts of both OJ and post-OJ periods. This construction effected the change in the verbal system as illustrated in the diagram above in the following way. In OJ, the *kakarimusubi* rule is always triggered by a *kakari* particle, but in post-OJ, there appear *kakarimusubi* constructions without any *kakari* particle (*rentai-dome*) (e.g., Sato 1977:300). In other words, the occurrence of the matrix attributive form became independent of the *kakari* particle, leading to the attributive form taking over the conclusive form until the latter ultimately disappeared from the language.

The change in the verbal system naturally leads to the spread of the accusative case marker *o*. In OJ, whenever a transitive attributive form occurs with its object NP, the NP is accompanied by the particle *o*. Because the attributive form occurs in subordinate clauses and in *kakarimusubi* constructions, the occurrence of *o* is in effect limited to these types of clauses as far as the attributive verb is concerned (except for those clauses with a conjunctive form, cf. below). But once the attributive form is established as the matrix clause verb independent of the

kakari particle, the case marker *o* becomes obligatory in matrix as well as subordinate clauses, thereby naturally increasing the occurrence of *o* (cf. Matsunaga 1983; Miyagawa and Matsunaga 1986). This hypothesis straightforwardly accounts for the increased frequency of *o* in post-OJ. One form that stays intact through this transformation of the verbal system is the conjunctive form. This form still occurs in modern Japanese. Recall that in OJ, the conjunctive form freely selects between abstract case and the morphological case marker. However, with the increase of *o*, what we see is that the conjunctive form, too, begins to more frequently select the morphological case marker. This also caused more occurrences of the morphological case marker *o* since the conjunctive form is the most common form found in the classical literary texts.[14] A likely reason for this increased usage of *o* with the conjunctive form lies in a phenomenon noted by Zenno (1987). In OJ, there is a "parallelism" phenomenon with the conjunctive form, in that when there is a series of transitive conjunctive verbs, there is a strong tendency for their object NPs to be *either* all assigned abstract case (cf. (22)) or all assigned the morphological case marker *o* (cf. (23)). Because a conjunctive form does not carry tense, it must occur in a sentence with a verb that carries tense. In OJ, such a finite verb may be the conclusive or the attributive. However, after the transformation in the verbal system noted above, only the attributive form survives, so that the finite verb in all clauses, matrix or subordinate, becomes the attributive form. Because the attributive form requires the morphological *o*, all transitive conjunctive forms in the sentence would naturally require the morphological case marker by the "parallelism" requirement.

Miyagawa's (1989) hypothesis for the language change, based on Matsunaga's study (1983), receives support from the fact that the gradual increase in the frequency of *o* corresponds in time to the gradual transition of the verbal system from the OJ system that clearly distinguishes conclusive and attributive forms to the later system in which the original attributive shape is used for both forms. This change took place over a period of some three hundred years, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries (although the change may have started even earlier).

The language change that transformed the "semi-caseless" OJ into the consistently-cased modern Japanese is demonstrated dramatically by the two texts of the *Tale of Heike*. The *Tale of Heike* is a war epic set in the declining years of the Heian period (A.D. 795-A.D. 1185). The work is attributed to Yukinaga, a courtier who lived in the thirteenth century, but the original text no longer exists. The oldest and the most authoritative text is the Kakuichi text produced in 1371.[15] The second text of the *Heike* is commonly referred to as the *Amakusa* text, which was published in 1592 in Amakusa (*Heike Monogatari: Habiyan-shoo, Kirishitan-ban* 1966). This text, which contains many of the stories of the *Heike*, was intended as a textbook for teaching Japanese to foreign missionaries, most of them from Portugal. In accordance with its purpose, the text is written in Portuguese-style romanization, and the language is believed to reflect the spoken Japanese of the late sixteenth century (Suzuki 1973). The original *Amakusa Heike* text is thought to have been written by Fabian Fukan, a native Japanese language instructor at a mission school in Amakusa where the text was published. By comparing the older, Kakuichi *Heike* text with the *Amakusa Heike*, it is possible to witness the change from the latter part of the fourteenth century, when Kakuichi dictated his *Heike* stories, to the end of the sixteenth century, when Fukan transformed them into the spoken style of his time. This period roughly corresponds to the time during which the "modern" verbal system became established. In the following example, "H" stands for Kakuichi's 1371 *Heike* text, and "AH" stands for the 1592 *Amakusa*

Heike.

(26)	H:	Sono	yo	ha	yomosugara,		Yasuyori	nyuudoo	to	futari,
	AH:	Sono	yo	wa	yomosugara,		Yasuyori	yuudoo	to	futari
		that	night		all.night				both	
	H:	haka	no	mawari-o		gyoodoosite		nenbutu ___		moosi
	AH:	haka	no	mawari-o		gyoodoosite		nenbutu-*o*		moosi,
		grave		around		around.and.around		prayer-Acc		chanting
	H:	akenureba,	atarasyuu	dan ___		tuki,		kuginuki ___		sesase,
	AH:	akureba	atarasyuu	dan-*o*		tuite,		kuginuki	nodo-*o* mo	sesase
		day	new	tomb-Acc		made		fence of	stakes-Acc	made
	H:	mae	ni	kariya ___	tukuri, sitiniti		sitiya		nenbutu ___		moosi,
	AH:	mae	ni	kariya-*o*	tukuri, sitiniti		sitiya		nenbutu-*o*		moosi,
		front	in	hut-Acc	made	7.days	7.nights		prayer-Acc		chant
	H:	kyoo ___		kaite, … (Book 3, *Shooshoo miyakogaeri.* Vol. 1, p. 222)
	AH:	kyoo-*o*		kaite, … (p. 67)
		sutra-Acc	transcribe

'All that night Naritsune and Yasuyori walked round and round the grave, continually chanting Buddhist prayers. When day came, they made a tomb and enclosed it with a fence of stakes. In front of the tomb they built a temporary hut, where they continued to chant prayers and to transcribe sutras for seven days and seven nights.'

In just this fragment of a sentence, we find six direct objects that are without *o* in the *Heike* but are accompanied by the case marker in *Amakusa Heike*. Note that in the *Heike* example, every one of the six "bare" object NPs is adjacent to the verb, which confirms again that the object NP in OJ is commonly licensed by abstract case under adjacency. It is also important to point out that every one of the six verbs is in the conjunctive form. As noted above, the conjunctive form *optionally* assigns abstract case, in that it is common to find in OJ examples of an object NP without *o* with a conjunctive verb as well as with *o*. Recall, too, that in relation to the optionality of abstract case assignment, we observed a "parallelism" requirement in which the direct objects of conjunctive forms in a sentence either all have the case particle or all lack the particle. We can see this parallelism in the *Heike* example above: the object NPs all lack the case marker *o*.[16]

3 The Morphological Case Marker *o*

What we have seen is that the conclusive form of the verb, which most commonly appears in the matrix clause, assigns abstract case, while the attributive form of the verb does not, necessitating the occurrence of the morphological case marker *o* on the object NP. What exactly is the nature of this morphological case marker? Clearly it is not an overt manifestation of Abstract case, because it occurs precisely where abstract case is unable to occur. If the morphological case marker is not a manifestation of abstract case, is it nevertheless a structural case? That is, is it assigned according to a specific structural configuration? The analysis in Miyagawa (1989) assumes that the morphological case marker is structural case just like abstract case. The assumption is in fact quite specific: the morphological case marker is assigned to exactly the same structural position -- complement of verb -- as abstract case. A question we might ask is, if the abstract case and the morphological case marker *o* are both structural case, are the two in

complementary distribution? In Miyagawa (1989), the answer is essentially "yes" because the analysis predicts that if the verbal form is conclusive, abstract case is assigned to the object NP, while the morphological case marker is assigned if the verbal form is in the attributive form. However, there is one construction in OJ (and in modern Japanese) that shows that these two types of Case are not necessarily in complementary distribution as just described according to the verbal form. This construction also provides further evidence that the morphological case marker *o* is structural case.

3.1 Exceptional case marking (ECM)
The construction in question is what is commonly referred to as the Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) construction. Note the example below from English.

(27)   Mary expects him to dance with everyone.

Here, *him* is the subject of the subordinate clause; it receives its thematic role of agent in the subordinate clause. However, as indicated by the inflection, the subject phrase is accusative as a result of being assigned this Case from the matrix verb. This Case is strictly structural, since there is no thematic role involved. How does the subordinate subject receive this Case from the matrix verb? It is often assumed that the subordinate object actually moves into the matrix object position. This position is thematically empty, and it is only assigned abstract case. This is a clear case of structural case – the Case is assigned to a position without a thematic role also being assigned by the same verb.
      Kuno (1976) proposed that Japanese also has an ECM construction. The following are modern Japanese examples.

(28)   a. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ga   tensai-da   to   omotteiru.
          Taro-Nom   Hanako-Nom genius-Cop   clever   Comp think
          'Taro thinks Hanako is a genius.'

       b. Taroo-ga   Hanako-*o*   tensai-da to   omotteiru.   (ECM)
          Taro-Nom   Hanako-Acc genius   Comp think

In the first example, which is not an ECM construction, the subordinate subject *Hanako* receives the nominative case marking within the subordinate clause. However, in (b), this subordinate subject receives the accusative case marker *o*. Kuno (1976) argues that the subordinate subject in (b) has actually moved to the matrix object position in order to acquire the accusative case marking.

(29)   Taroo-ga   Hanako-o$_i$ [t$_i$ tensai-da   to]   omotteiru.
        Taro-Nom   Hanako-Acc$_i$ [t$_i$ genius-Cop   Comp]   think

One piece of evidence has to do with the distribution of adverbs. The adverb *orokani* 'stupidly' in the following non-ECM construction modifies the matrix verb "think."

(30) Taroo-ga   orokanimo   Hanako-ga   tensai-da   to   omotteiru.
      Taro-Nom   stupidly   Hanako-Nom   genius-Cop   Comp   think
      'Taro stupidly thinks that Hanako is a genius.'

If we now place this adverb after the subordinate subject, we get very different results depending on whether it is an ECM construction or not (cf. Kuno 1976, Tanaka 2002).

(31) a. *Taroo-ga   Hanako-ga   orokanimo   tensai-da   to   omotteiru.
          Taro-Nom   Hanako-Nom   stupidly   genius-Cop   Comp   think
          'Taro stupidly thinks Hanako is a genius.'

      b. Taroo-ga   Hanako-*o*   orokanimo   tensai-da   to   omotteiru.
          Taro-Nom   Hanako-Acc   stupidly   genius-Cop   Comp   think

The example in (a) shows that the subordinate subject *Hanako* stays in the subordinate clause – there is no reason for it to move since it has the nominative case marking – so that putting the matrix verb modifier *orokanimo* 'stupidly' after it leads to ungrammaticality. In (b), on the other hand, it is fine to put *orokanimo* after the subordinate subject. This is indication that the subordinate subject has moved to the matrix clause, so that *orokanimo* here is still in the matrix clause, which makes the intended interpretation acceptable.
        Further evidence that the subordinate subject moves to the matrix clause in ECM has to do with Proper Binding.

(32) *Proper Binding Condition*
      Traces must be bound.

The following ungrammatical sentence suggests the existence of a trace which is not properly bound (Kuno 1976; cf. also Bruening 2001, Tanaka 2002).

(33) *[t$_i$ tensai-da   to]$_j$ Taroo-ga   Hanako-o$_i$ omotteiru.
      [t$_i$ genius-Cop   Comp]$_j$ Taroo-Nom   Hanako-Acc$_i$ think

If the "ECM" construction did not involve movement, as has been suggested (e.g., Saito (1983)), we would not expect there to be a Proper Binding Condition violation (cf. Tanaka 2002).
        Returning to OJ, Kinsui (1993) observes that the ECM construction also occurs in OJ. The following is from *Man'yooshuu* as quoted in his article.

(34) yononaka *o*   ushi   to   yasashi   to   omohe   domo
      world-Acc   unpleasant   Comp shame   Comp think   although
      tobitachi   kane   tsu tori   ni shi ara ne ba
      fly away   cannot   bird   E be Neg
      'Although I feel the world as being unpleasant and unbearable, I cannot fly
      away as I am not a bird'

In this example, *yononaka* 'world' is the subordinate subject of *ushi* 'unpleasant', but it appears with the accusative case marker *o*. If this is, indeed, parallel to the modern Japanese ECM, as Kinsui suggests, we can surmise that the subordinate subject has moved to the matrix clause to receive the accusative case marker *o*. This means that the matrix verb licenses the accusative case marker without also assigning a thematic role to the object position. This is a pure form of structural case, thus, the ECM construction verifies Miyagawa's (1989) assumption that the accusative case marker *o* is structural case.

Kinsui (1993) points to the ECM construction as an apparent counterexample to Miyagawa's (1989) analysis. Kinsui has found a number of these ECM examples with the morphological case marker *o* on the subordinate subject and the verb in the conclusive form. From the perspective of the theory of abstract case we are pursuing, this is not at all surprising. In the ECM construction, the word order is such that the subordinate subject can never occur adjacent to the matrix verb (Kinsui 1993). This is illustrated below for modern Japanese.

(35)   *Taroo-wa   tensai-da   to   Hanako-o   omotta.
        Taro-Top genius-Cop   Comp   Hanako-Acc   thought
        'Taro thought that Hanako is a genius.'

In other words, in the ECM construction, the structural environment of adjacency for abstract case does not obtain regardless of the verbal conjugation; abstract case requires adjacency, but this is impossible given the constraint on word order, as we have seen. As a result, the accusative case marker appears in place of abstract case. What we have, then, is the following.

(36)   Attach morphological case marker *o* to the object if abstract case cannot be assigned.

This description would characterize the morphological and the abstract case as being in complementary distribution – though not strictly in terms of verbal conjugation -- and that appears to correctly describe the data for the most part. A question we might ask, though, is, what if the morphological case marker is assigned even though abstract case is possible? The environment would be that the object NP occurs adjacent to the conclusive verbal form. Although it is not clear to us that this is impossible, the distribution of morphological case/abstract case suggests that they are in complementary distribution, and if there are cases where the "superfluous" morphological case appears, it is possible that it has some added function, such as designating exclamation, which, after all, is the historical source of accusative case marker *o*.

A point worth emphasizing is that what we are calling abstract case is not some "unpronounced" version of the morphological case marker, but it is fundamentally different. Abstract case is not a zero morpheme that alternates morphologically with the morphological case marker. There are true cases of zero morpheme. For example, in English the past tense of some verbs are expressed by zero suffix – e.g., *put*, *burst*. We can tell that there is a real morpheme at work here, for example, in *do*-support: *John did not put the vase on the table.* Despite the fact that *put* does not inflect overtly for the past tense, when put in a *do*-support environment, *do* is invoked to support the zero morpheme past tense. If the abstract case were simply a (zero) morpheme, we would not expect it to require adjacency with the verb, something

we see as a basic requirement of abstract case.

3.2 An alternative view: morphological case marker *o* as inherent case marker

The ECM construction from *Man'yooshuu* is indicative of the structural-case nature of the OJ morphological case marker *o*. However, Motohashi (1989, 1996) proposes an alternative analysis in which the OJ *o* is analyzed as an inherent case marking. According to Motohashi, the OJ "inherent case *o*" underwent change through history to become structural case marking in modern Japanese. Motohashi notes that the difference between structural case and inherent case is that while structural case is assigned at S-structure, inherent case is assigned at D-structure in conjunction with thematic marking of the object NP. It is only when the object NP receives the "theme" role that the inherent case is assigned, presumably because the inherent case comes bundled with the "theme" role. Below I summarize Motohashi's main arguments.

The first piece of evidence for the view that OJ *o* is inherent case comes from examples in which the object of the verb receives *o* in OJ, but the particle changed over time into something else. A good example is the following *Man'yooshuu* example with the verb *ahu* 'meet'. (Motohashi uses *wo* instead of *o* to more closely approximate the OJ pronunciation.)

(37)   waga   se-no-kimi-*wo* … ahi-te
        my   spouse-Acc   meet-Conjunctive
        'meeting with you'   (*Man'yooshuu* 4006)

The object NP of this verb takes the morphological case marker *o* (written as *wo* in Motohashi's work). In modern Japanese, the verb "meet" (*au*) does not take the accusative case marker, but the dative *ni*.

(38)   Hanako-ga   Taroo-*ni*   atta.
        Hanako-Nom Taro-Dat   met
        'Hanako met Taro.'

Other verbs that have undergone this shift in the use of the case particle include *somuku* 'turn against', *wakaru* 'part', *inoru/noru* 'pray', *hanaru* 'leave', *tukahu* 'serve', *mukuyu* 'repay', and *saduku* 'award'. Motohashi explains this change as follows. The verb, for example, *ahu* 'meet', is marked for inherent case. In OJ, its object received the inherent case *wo* because it was available to be assigned with the thematic role of "theme," which most commonly appears on the object NP. In later stages, *wo* became structural case, so it no longer could go with *ahu* 'meet'. At this point the dative marking *ni*, which is inherent case through and through, is assigned to save the construction. According to Motohashi, this change took place around 9th/10th century.

Second, the topic marker –*ba* in OJ is able to attach to the sequence NP-*o*.

(39)   kimi-wo-ba   mata-mu
        you   Top   wait will
        '(I) will wait for you' (*Ma'yooshuu* 7)

But in modern Japanese, structural cases *ga* 'nominative' and *o* 'accusative' cannot co-occur

with the topic marker. The following illustrates this for the accusative case marker.

(40)   *kimi-o-wa…
          you-Acc-Top

According to Motohashi, the fact that in OJ the NP with *wo* can appear with the topic marking is an indication that the case marker is not structural case.

       Third, according to Motohashi, the causative construction in OJ differs in one fundamental way from modern Japanese. As indicated below, the causee of an intransitive causative, which in modern Japanese can receive the accusative marking, occurs without any morphological case marking.

(41)   hito ___   hasira-se-tu
        person   run-Cause-Past
        '(Kaoru) sent a man.' (Genji Monogatari, Hashihime, 111-5)

Motohashi points out that the lack of *wo* marking on the causee can be explained if we adopt an ECM approach to case marking of the causee.[17]   The causee is the subordinate subject, and, under an ECM approach, this subject moves up to the matrix clause to receive Case from the matrix verb. However, if *wo* is inherent case, we would not expect it to be assigned in this environment because inherent case, by definition, is bundled with a specific thematic role such as "theme" at D-structure. The Case assigned in ECM, on the other hand, is purely case marking without any thematic role involved. It is assigned at S-structure. In modern Japanese, *o* occurs on the causee without a problem.

(42)   Taroo-ga   kodomo-*o*   nak-ase-ta.
        Taro-Nom   child-Acc   cry-Cause-Past
        'Taro made the child cry.'

       Fourth, the ordering of *wo* and the conjunctive particle *to* 'and' differ between OJ and modern Japanese. In modern Japanese, the accusative case marker must always mark the entire conjoined phrase, including *to*.

(43)   ko-to   tuma(-to)-o   oi-te   (modern Japanese)
        child-and   wife-and-Acc   leave-Conj
        leaving the wife and the child (behind)'

But in OJ, *wo* and *to* can alternate in order.

(44)   a. ko-*wo-to*   tuma-*wo-to*   oki-te
            child-Acc-and   wife-Acc-and   leave-Conj
            'leaving the wife and the child (behind)' (*Man'yooshuu* 4385)

b. haru-no   yanagi-to …   ume-no-hana-*to-wo*…
   spring-Genwillow-and   plum-Gen-flower-and-Acc
   '(how can I) tell which is better, the spring willow or the plum flower'
                                                                (*Man'yooshuu* 826)

According to Motohashi, these two orderings are possible because both *wo* and *to* are inserted at D-structure, and *o* is free to be the first or the second element.

Fifth, unlike modern Japanese, which has the double-*o* constraint, OJ appears not to have it and allows two or more instances of the accusative Case to be realized within a clause.

(45) *Taroo-wa   Hanako-*o*   hon-*o*   yom-ase-ta.
     Taro-Top   Hanako-Acc   book-Acc   read-Cause-Past
     'Taro made Hanako read a book.'

Poser (1981) points out that this constraint is not limited to the morphological *o*, but also to abstract case as well. Thus, even if one topicalizes the object in the above example, which has the effect of getting rid of *o* on the object, the sentence is just as bad.

(46) *Hon$_i$-wa   Taroo-wa   Hanako-*o* e_i yom-ase-ta.
     Book$_i$-Top Taro-Top   Hanako-Acc e_i read-Cause-Past
     'As for books, Taro made Hanako read.'

According to Poser, the empty category *e* in the object position receives abstract case, and this, along with the morphological *o* on the causee, leads to the violation of the constraint. Motohashi notes that in OJ, one finds examples such as the following.

(47)   Saho-no   kahato-no   kiyoki se-*wo*   uma ___   utiwatasi
            -Gen rivergate-Gen clear.rapids   horse   cross
       'cross the clear rapids at the ferry of River Saho on horseback.' (*Man'yooshuu* 715)

In (47) the direct object receives abstract case, and "clear rapids" has *wo*. The idea is that in OJ, because *wo* is inherent case, it would not be flagged by the double-*o* constraint.

Finally, the sixth piece of evidence has to do with the fact that the "theme" NP with unaccusative verbs may appear with the accusative *wo*. Because these unaccusatives have the theme role, *wo* as inherent case is assigned to it. In modern Japanese the nominative *ga* is the only option.

(48)   inoti-*wo*-si   mataku   ari-koso   to   ihahi-te
       life -Acc Emph complete Cop-Comp Comp pray-Conj
       'praying (he) be safe and sound' (*Man'yooshuu* 3741)

3.3 Arguments against viewing OJ *o* as inherent case marker
In this subsection we will argue against Motohashi's proposal that the OJ *o* is an inherent case marker. We have already seen from Kinsui's (1993) data that OJ has the ECM construction,

which is strong evidence of *o* as structural case. Motohashi's proposal would predict, incorrectly, that the ECM construction should not exist in OJ.

       Motohashi's proposal also makes another prediction, which is also questionable. If it is true that *o* is inherent case marking that is assigned to the theme NP of a given verb, we would expect that *o* is always assigned to the object of this verb. However, we have seen ample evidence that this is not true. Depending on the inflection on the verb, the object NP may be assigned abstract case (if the verb is conclusive), or the morphological case marker *o* (in the attributive). The following examples, repeated from earlier, illustrate this.

(49)   a. kono   hito   [uta ___   *yoman*   to]   omofu kokoro arite   narikeri
            this   person poem   compose-intend Comp think mind exist   Cop
            'This person had the intention to compose poems.'

       b. iki to si ikeru   mono, izure ka   uta-*o*   yomazarikeru
            all the living   things which Kakari   poem-Acc compose.Neg.E(Attribu.)
            'Every living creature sings.'

In (a) the verb "compose" is in the conclusive form because it occurs in a clause with the subordinator *to*, and, as expected, the object, *uta* 'poem', does not have any morphological case marking. In (b) the verb is in the attributive form because this is a *kakarimusubi* construction with the *kakari* particle *ka*. As we can see the object *uta* "poem" here has the accusative case marker *o*. Under Motohashi's view, we would be forced to say that the verb "compose" in the conclusive form does not assign inherent case, instead depending on abstract (structural) case. But the same verb in the attributive form does assign inherent case. It isn't clear how one could encode such a difference. If it were possible, clearly it has to be lexical information: the conclusive form is not associated with inherent case while the attributive form is. But verbal inflection is most commonly thought to take place in syntax, hence it isn't possible to see what type of inflection a verb takes until it is lexically inserted. This means that the difference cannot be encoded as a lexical difference, leaving no logical component of the grammar that could allow for encoding of this information.

       The approach we take does not suffer from this problem. We assume, along the lines of Miyagawa (1989), that it is the inflection of the verb that dictates what type of Case the object NP ends up with. If it is conclusive, we find abstract case on the object, while attributive inflection does not allow abstract case to be assigned, requiring the morphological case marker to be inserted onto the object NP.

       The existence of ECM together with the point just raised about the different case marking properties depending on verbal form are sufficient to seriously question Motohashi's proposal. Below we will go further and consider his evidence, which is quite interesting independent of whether the proposal turns out to be correct or not. For most of it, we will show that there is an alternative explanation.

       Motohashi notes the well-known fact that that *wo* can co-occur with –*ba*. The example is repeated below.

(50) kimi-wo-ba   mata-mu
      you   Top   wait will
      '(I) will wait for you' (*Man'yooshuu* 7)

Motohashi characterizes this *–ba* as topic marking, and points out that in modern Japanese, we do not find the sequence **NP-o-wa* 'NP-Acc-Top'. We are puzzled by the use of "topic marking" with this usage of *–ba*. Topic marking in modern Japanese usually occurs on an NP that is on the left edge, or close to the left edge. If *wa* occurs sentence internally, it is not the topic marker, but what Kuno called "contrastive" marker *wa*. In fact Sansom (1928:238) uses the more accepted characterization of "emphatic particle" for *–ba*, which would more accurately relate it to the modern contrastive *wa*, not topic. In fact, Sansom (Ibid.) simply takes the *–woba* as a unit, and states that it has the function to place "emphasis on the object." This characterization leads us to a different analysis of *wo* in *–woba*. As is well-known, the particle *wo* was originally an interjectional particle, and in OJ, it still has this function in some cases. The example that Motohashi gives clearly has a sense of focus, reflecting Sansom's characterization of *–woba*. Thus we can quite plausibly interpret this *wo* as interjectional, not case marking.

We believe that the "emphatic/interjectional" analysis of *wo* also applies to another phenomenon that Motohashi notes: the co-occurrence of *wo* with the conjunctive particle *–to* in the order *–wo-to*, which is not possible in modern Japanese. Here, too, there is a clear sense of emphasis, very much like *–woba*.

As another piece of evidence in favor of analysing OJ *o* as inherent case, Motohashi observes that the so-called "*o*" causative does not occur with *o* on the causee, which is ostensibly predicted if one accepts an ECM approach to the "*o*" causative and *o* is inherent case as Motohashi suggests. Under the ECM approach, this *o* would have to be assigned as structural case by the "upstairs" causative verb *–saseru* 'cause' to the causee, which is the subordinate subject. If the data holds up, it is an interesting discovery regardless of what analysis one might impose. We do have some doubts, however. The causative verb is related to *suru* 'do' (Sansom 1928:164), and we will show later that the object NP of *suru* tends not to carry the morphological case marking regardless of the verbal inflection, and we surmise that the object NP is incorporated, making the case marker unnecessary (in fact impossible) in situations where it would otherwise appear. If it is a matter of incorporation, then the absence of *o* in "*o*" causatives has nothing to do with the ECM.

As another argument that OJ *o* is inherent case, Motohashi provides examples in which two occurrences of *wo* are tolerated, something that would violate the double-*o* constraint (Harada 1973) in modern Japanese, presumably because modern Japanese *o* is structural case. The double-*o* sentences which Motohashi gives from OJ, all of which are grammatical, involve one of the accusative NPs as being locative or traversal. In the example cited earlier the *wo* phrase is *kiyokise-wo* 'clear rapids', which the subject crosses. It is, therefore, not a "theme" by any stretch of the imagination. It is in fact well-known that location or traversal *o* need not to be flagged by the double-*o* constraint even in modern Japanese (cf. Kuroda 1978).

(51) Taroo-ga   Hanako-*o*   sanpo-saseta no-wa   hamabe-*o*   da.
      Taro-Nom   Hanako-Acc   walk-Cause   beach-Acc   Cop

'The place where Taro made Hanako take a walk is the beach.'

In this pseudo-cleft construction, there is the "true" object "Hanako-*o*", and the traversal "*hamabe-o*," the latter in the focalized position. In contrast, if both are true accusative NPs, as in the case of a causative construction, a double occurrence of *o* is not tolerated.

(52)   *Taroo-ga   Hanako-o   yom-ase-ta   no-wa   atarasii ronbun-o   da.
         Taro-Nom   Hanako-Acc read-Cause-Past   new article-Acc   Cop
         'What I made Hanako read is a new article.'

To make his argument convincing, Motohashi needs to find examples that involve two clearly "true accusative" NPs.

        Another argument Motohashi gives for the ostensible inherent case property of OJ *o* has to do with the fact that the nominal phrase of unaccusatives in OJ may be marked by the accusative *o*. This is a striking property, and, above and beyond the issue of the nature of *o*, this observation forces us to re-think how *o* is assigned even if we consider it as structural case as in Miyagawa (1989). But it is premature to say that this phenomenon gives evidence for the inherent nature of the case marking *o*. As it turns out, this kind of construction is found in other languages. In Russian, for example, we find the following examples (Markman 2003).

(53)   a. bumag-usozhgl-o
        paper-Acc   burned-neut
        'The paper got burned.'

        b. dim-u   udaril-o
         Dima-Acc hit-neut
         'Dima got hit.'

        c. berez-u   svalil-o
         Birch-Acc make-fall-neut
         'The birch was caused to fall.'

These are called "accidental" constructions because of the meaning that they represent. As we can see, the verb is unaccusative, and the sole NP has the accusative case marking, very much like the OJ examples Motohashi notes. Markman analyzes these sentences as representing the caused event of a causative. For example, in the (a) example above, the sentence "the paper got burned" is the caused portion of "Someone caused the paper to get burned." Markman follows Pylkkänen (2002) in assuming that a causative can be expressed without the causing agent, which is what we have in these examples. Importantly, Russian accusative case is not inherent, thus, we can divorce this accusative subject construction from inherent case.[18] Although the construction Motohashi notes in OJ is different in meaning from the Russian case, in terms of case marking they seem identical in the relevant sense.

        As an additional note to Motohashi's observation about the case marking of the subject of unaccusative verbs, there is a construction that is well-known in traditional grammar study of OJ

called *mi*-usage (Kinsui 1993; Motohashi 1992, Sansom 1928:294-295). In *mi*-usage, the suffix *mi* attaches to an adjective and turns it into a verb. The subject of this newly created verb commonly receives the case marker *wo*.

(54)   neshiku-*wo*   uruwashi*mi*   (from *Kokinshuu* as quoted in Sansom)
        sleep-Acc   admire
        'admiring his sleep'

(55)   kokoro   itami aga   omou imo   (from *Man'yooshuu* as quoted in Sansom)
        heart   grieving heart think   sweetheart
        'my sweetheart of whom I think with grieving heart'

(54) shows the marking of the adjectival subject with *wo* under the *mi*-usage. Motohashi (1992, 1996) in fact refers to this construction as well, and argues that this, too, confirms his theory that *wo* is an inherent case marker. But we have already pointed out that the accusative marking on the unaccusative subject has nothing to do with the inherent nature of the case marker. Moreover, as shown in (55), the same problem arises as earlier – the *wo* sometimes does not arise. If *wo* is indeed inherent case, we would not expect it to drop as we see here.

    This leaves only one piece of evidence Motohashi provides that is unaccounted for: the change in the way a verb such as "meet" marks its object, from the accusative *o* in OJ to the dative *ni* in modern Japanese. This is an extremely interesting discovery. We do not have any argument that might counter the evidence. It is true, though, the number of verbs involved is quite small – only a handful. In contrast, a vast number of verbs assign *o* to the object NP in OJ and in modern Japanese

    We believe that there is ample evidence against Motohashi's proposal that OJ *o* is inherent case. Below, we return to the analysis in Miyagawa (1989).[19]

4 Issues of Poetry and Versification

An issue which Kinsui (1993) brings up is the nature of the data in Miyagawa's (1989) study. The study is based in part on data from poetry, primarily that of *Man'yooshuu*, which was compiled in the latter part of the eighth century. The *Man'yooshuu* versification consists mainly of the *tanka*, a verse form that has five lines of 5-7-5-7-7 moras. The *tanka* constitutes over ninety percent of the poems in *Man'yooshuu*, with the rest consisting of *chooka*, which alternates lines of five and seven moras (Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai 1965). As Kinsui notes (1993), in poetry it is possible that the occurrence of the case marker *o* is governed in part by the rigid versification.   That this may be so is suggested by the following *waka* poetry example taken from *Izumi Shikibu Diary*, a literary work of the tenth century. The *waka* versification is the 5-7-5-7-7 pattern commonly found also in *Man'yooshuu*. The translation is from Cranston (*Izumi Shikibu Diary* 1969).

(56)   Ookata ni   "Nothing remarkable –
        Samidaruru to ya   The same old rain that pelts us
        Omouran   Every dear, you think?
        Kimi ___ koiwataru   These are my tears of love

      Kyoo no nagame o   Falling in a deluge all day long!"

Here the particle fails to occur although the following verb is in the attributive form (*koiwataru*). The unexpected absence of *o* in (56) makes it possible for the poet to maintain the versification of five or seven moras – in this case seven.

    A question that arises is, does the poet ever sacrifice grammar for the sake of versification? There are actual examples in history where the poet is claimed to sacrifice grammar for the sake of poetic form. We see this in the analysis of the texts of Medieval Greek by Joseph (1978/1991). Joseph provides an extensive analysis of a language change in which the infinitival form in older Greek has been lost. In Medieval Greek, both the infinitival form and the finite verb existed, and either could occur, for example, in the future formation with *thelo:*.

(57)   a. thelo: grapsein
           will/1sg write(inf.)
           'I will write.'

          b. thelo: grapso:
           will/1sg write(fin./1sg)
           'I will write.'

Despite the resemblance, Joseph argues that these two constructions differ fundamentally in that the future formation with the infinitive may optionally undergo clause union, while the future formation with the finite verb may not. This is borne out by clitic climbing, which is allowed in *thelo:*+infinitive verb but not in *thelo:*+finite verb. The two possible positions for the clitic with *thelo:*+infinitive verb are illustrated below.

(58)   a. philin   *se*   thelo: do:sei   (*Erotop*, 248 (15 c.))
           kiss(acc)   you   1sg   give(inf.)
           'I will give you a kiss.'

          b. kai   theleis *to* kerdaisein   (*Call.* 987 (14 c.))
           and 2sg   it gain(inf.)
           'And you will gain it.'

    In contrast, Joseph analyzes *thelo:*+finite verb as a construction that does not undergo clause union. In his corpus of Medieval Greek, there are a total of forty-nine relevant examples of *thelo:*+finite verb with a clitic, and in thirty-seven of these the clitic occurs on the finite verb as predicted.

    Of the twelve counterexamples, one is textually corrupt, and six others, i.e., fully half, can be explained as instances in which the syntax is sacrificed in order to sustain the poetic form. As Joseph notes, in these six apparent counterexamples, all with the finite verb in the line-final position, the use of the finite verb "saves the rhyme" of the poem, which would not be the case if the syntactically-correct infinitive form is used. One example is given below.

(59)　de thelei　akousei　to thumo　　　　tse:　egdike:sis　ton　toso
　　　　not 3sg　hear(inf.)　the-anger(acc.)　the　revenge(Gen) the-so-much
　　　　he: kamera　　　he:basilike:?　ma　eda　*sas*　　　thelo: do:so:
　　　　the-room(Nom)　the-royal(Nom)　but　here　you(gen.pl.)　(1sg)　give(1sg)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zenon* I.21-22 (17 c.))
　　　　'Will not the royal room hear such great anger of revenge? But here, I will give you…'

In this example the clitic *sas* occurs to the left of *thelo:* despite the fact that the verb, *do:so:*, is in the finite form. By using the finite form, the second line rhymes with the first line, i.e., *…toso/…do:so:*. The length indicated for the two vowels in the finite verb *do:so:* is merely orthographic, so that the two line-final words do truly rhyme.[20]

　　　Although the analysis by Joseph appears to be convincing, we are reluctant to believe that a true poet would ever compose a poem containing an ungrammatical line. No scholar of OJ poetry has ever suggested that there are grammatically problematic lines in *Man'yooshuu*, for example. We therefore wish to maintain what seems to us to be common sense, that the poems of great poets fully exploit the expressive power of a language without ever crossing the grammatical/ungrammatical line.

　　　Kinsui (1993) offers four ostensible counterexamples from *Man'yooshuu* for Miyagawa's (1989) study. They are given below.

(60) Katashiho-o tori-tuzusirohi　　　kasuyusake ___　utisusurohi te
　　　salt-Acc　take-put into a mouth　sake　　　　　sip little by little
　　　'(one) put salt into a mouth little by little and sip sake little by little'

(61) Titihaha-o　　　　　mire ba tafutosi,　meko ___　　　mire ba
　　　 father and mother-Acc　see　honorable　wife and children see
　　　megusi utukusi
　　　dear precious
　　　'If one sees his parents, he finds them honorable. If one sees his wife and children, he finds them dear and precious.'

(62) Shimoto ___ toru satoosa-ga koe ha　　　neyado made ki-tati　　yobahi-nu
　　　sticks　take village head-Gen voice bedroom until come-rise call-perfective
　　　'The voice of a village head, who picked up sticks, reached as far as to the bedroom, calling out..'

(63) hitomoto-no nadesiko ___ ue-si　　　sono kokoro
　　　one-Gen　　pink　　　　　plant-past　that heart
　　　'the heart that (one) planted a pick flower'

In (60) there are two conjunctive verbs (*torituzusiroi* and *utisusurohite*). As we can see, the object of the first of these has *o*, while the object of the second does not, instead showing up without any marking. The conjunctive form of the verb may or may not assign abstract case. The problem here is that, as we have seen, when there is more than one instance of a conjunctive

verb, there is a "parallelism" requirement imposed, in which if the first conjunctive verb assigns *o* to its object, the other conjunctive verbs must as well (Zenno 1987). (60) is a counterexample to this parallelism requirement since the first object has *o* but the second does not. In (61), there are two perfective verbs (two instances of *mireba*). We suggested that the perfective verb cannot assign abstract case, yet in (61) the second occurrence of the perfective verb occurs with an object without *o*. In (62), the object of the verb in the relative clause occurs without *o* despite the fact that the embedded verb, *toru*, is in the attributive form of the verb. The presence/absence of *o* in these examples makes it possible to sustain the versification.

We will account for two of the four counterexamples – (60) and (61). In (60), the *o* that occurs in this example can naturally be interpreted as emphatic – drawing attention to the salt that one puts into one's mouth. On this account this example is not a counterexample to the parallelism because parallelism only holds of case marking.

Turning to the counterexample in (62), the object in this example appears without any marking despite the fact that the verb is in the attributive form (*toru)*. To explain this, we need to first briefly describe the orthographic method of *Man'yooshuu*. The poetry in *Man'yooshuu* was written in what are called *Man'yoo-gana*. Unlike modern Japanese, which uses Chinese characters and syllabaries in combination to represent, for example, the verbal core meaning (Chinese character) and the inflection (syllabary), *Man'yoo-gana* was composed solely of Chinese characters. Syllabaries, or *kana*, had not been developed yet. Each Chinese character was often assigned a phonetic value that resembled the original Chinese pronunciation of the particular Chinese character. For example,   is read as *ka*, presumably reflecting the original Chinese reading of this character. Kinsui (1993), who noted the counterexample in (62), was quoting the transliterated version of the poetry. We went back to the original form written in *Man'yoo-gana*, and found that the object (without *o*) and the attributive verb are written as follows: . The first character stands for the object, and the second for the verb. Anyone who is familiar with even modern Japanese can tell right away that for the verbal part represented by   , there is no inflection indicated on the verb. Only the verbal root is suggested without an actual indication of what the inflection is. The scholars who transliterated this interpreted it to be in the attributive form, hence *added* the inflection *–ru*. However, another possibility is to interpret it as the conjunctive form *tori*. The orthography does not allow us to distinguish between these. If the verb is in the conjunctive, it is not a counterexample at all, of course. The only way that we can tell is by context and meaning, and as far as we can tell, either interpretation – attributive or conjunctive – is perfectly plausible.[21] So, at worst, this example is inconclusive as to whether it challenges or confirms our theory of case. If it is attributive, it is a counterexample, as Kinsui originally noted, but if we interpret it as conjunctive, it is not a counterexample at all.

This leaves (61) and (63), which, like (62), have an object without *o* despite the fact that the verb is in the perfect or the attributive form. Unlike (62), we have not been able to find an orthographic (or other) explanation, so we will leave them as a counterexamples to be dealt with in the future.

Finally, let us return to the first apparent counterexample in (56), repeated below.

(56) Ookata ni   "Nothing remarkable –
      Samidaruru to ya   The same old rain that pelts us
      Omouran   Every dear, you think?
      Kimi ___ koiwataru These are my tears of love
      Kyoo no nagame o   Falling in a deluge all day long!"

This *tanka* is from *Izumi Shikibu Diary*, a work of the Heian period, which is over two hundred years after *Man'yooshuu*. The problem is that *koiwataru* 'thinking of my love' is an attributive form, yet the object *kimi* 'you' does not have *o*. A point here is that, as far as we know, the verb form *koiwataru* is limited in use to poetry, and it occurs usually with *kimi* 'you' or *imo* 'wife'. Both of these "objects" have two moras, and with the five moras in *koiwataru*, either of the objects forms a line of 7 moras of a poem, if *o* does not occur. We suspect that because of the special status of *koiwataru* as a poetic form, this verb and its object simply formed a "poetic" expression of seven moras and hence was not subject to the requirement of the attributive form to assign morphological case marking.

As the final point in this section on poetry, we went through the two Heian-era diaries, *Izumi Shikibu Diary* and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*, which we will take up in detail in the next section. They contain some poetry, and as far as we can tell, there are no serious counterexamples to our claims of morphological and abstract case marking according to verbal inflection.

To conclude this section, we showed that at least two of the four counterexamples Kinsui offered from poetry have an explanation. Although that still leaves two unaccounted for, we believe that there is good evidence to show that the poets confined their expressions to the domain of grammatical structures and did not cross into ungrammatical territory for the sake of maintaining the correct versification. In section 6, we will take up other counterexamples Kinsui has noted.

5 Classical Literary Texts in the Heian Period

In order to confirm the distribution of the accusative case marker *o* and abstract case in OJ, we looked at several major works of literature in the Heian Period (794-1184 A.D.). Our purpose in looking at these texts is to confirm that the distribution of the accusative case marker and abstract case correlate with the various verbal conjugations as observed in Miyagawa (1989). The two primary texts we studied are *Izumi Shikibu Diary* and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*, both written by Heian court ladies in the tenth century. We have also drawn data from the *Tale of Genji* by Murasaki Shikibu, the most important literary work in the Heian Period, as well as the *Sarashina Diary* (tenth century) to further confirm certain points observed in the other two texts.

The *Izumi Shikibu Diary* is in the "diary" genre common to Heian literary works, and it describes the relationship of Izumi, a court lady, with Prince Atsumichi. In terms of length, it is one of the shorter diaries, occupying forty-seven pages in the Iwanami *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (Vo. 20, 1965). The work contains some 144 *waka* poems, which we have decided to excluded from our data in order to keep the data consistent – limited to prose. The original Heian text no longer exists, and the most authoritative text is the one copied by Sanjoonishi Sanetaka (1455-1537). This text is widely used because Sanjoonishi has a reputation for having reproduced other texts of high quality. It is believed that the language in the Sanjoonishi text of *Izumi Shikibu Diary* is closer than any other to the original.[22]

The *Murasaki Shikibu Diary* is substantially longer than the *Izumi Shikibu Diary*, occupying eighty-three pages in the *Iwanami Bunko, Murasaki Shikibu Nikki* (1984). The diary is by Murasaki Shikibu, the well-known Heian writer and court lady who also authored the *Tale of Genji*. This diary, which, unlike *Izumi Shikibu Diary*, does not contain very many *waka* poems (which we exclude for consistency), "has to do chiefly with the birth of two sons to the empress, events of political importance, since she was the daughter of Michinaga and through his royal grandchildren Michinaga got an unshakable grip on the imperial house" (Introduction to the *Tale of Genji*, tr. by E. Seidensticker, 1981:viii). The text used is *Iwanami Bunko, Murasaki Shikibu Nikki* (1984), whose editors have drawn from several texts, all of which are incomplete or partially damaged. Of the texts used, the Nagoya City Library text, whose date is believed to be 1691, is deemed one of the best, and is used most extensively by the editors.

The *Tale of Genji*, which we have used to confirm some points observed in the two diaries, was written by Murasaki Shikibu in the tenth century. It is a novel of epic proportion, running to fifty-four chapters, and it describes the life in the Heian court.

The *Sarashina Diary*, written by a daughter of Sugawara no Takasue, is used primarily in Section 6 on word order. In length, it is between *Izumi Shikibu Diary* and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*, occupying fifty-six pages in the *Iwanami Koten Bungaku Taikei* (Vo. 20, 1965).

In this section we will focus on the distribution of abstract case and the accusative case marker *o* for the verbal conjugations conclusive, attributive, perfect, and conjunctive. The predictions are the following:

(64)   Predictions for the distribution of *o* and abstract case
Conjugation	Object NP
Conclusive	Abstract case
Attributive	Morphological case *o*
Perfect	Morphological case *o*
Conjunctive	Either Abstract case or Morphological case *o*

We will see that at first blush, there are a number of counterexamples to these predictions save one. For the conjunctive form, the abstract/morphological split is virtually even in both *Izumi Shikibu Diary* and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*.[23]

The prediction that the attributive form selects the morphological case marker *o* finds several different types of apparent counterexamples. Most of these fall into one of the following categories. We will examine the apparent counterexamples in detail to show that most can be accounted for. We will deal with all possible counterexamples, including some that can obviously be put aside, in order to attempt to exhaustively document all relevant data. As we will see, contrary to our prediction, there are a number of object NPs with *o* that occur with the conclusive form. Most of these counterexamples are systematic, and fall into one of the following categories.

Compounds. There are several instances of an object NP with *o* that occur with a conclusive form in which the conclusive form is a compound verb. As we will demonstrate, compound verbs tend to select the morphological case marker regardless of the type of conjugation.

-*Nameri* 'probably' and –*tari* 'Perfect'. The tentative verbal suffix –*nameri* 'probably' conjugates for the entire array of inflections. Even when in the conclusive form, the verb with

this suffix tends to choose the morphological case marker *o*. A similar phenomenon is seen with the perfect verbal inflection *–tari*.

Emphasis. There are instances of *o* with a conclusive form that are clearly emphatic. In OJ, along with the case marker *o*, there exists the exclamatory *o*, which in fact is believed to be the historical source of the accusative case marker.

Idiom. There are certain idiomatic expressions that require the case marker *o* as an essential part of the idiom regardless of the verbal conjugation.

Idiom. There are idiomatic expressions that do not allow the case marker for the idiomatic meaning to be expressed regardless of the conjugation of the verb.

Other particles. There a number of apparent counterexamples to the prediction that an attributive form selects the morphological case marker in which the object NP has a particle other than the accusative case marker, for example, the adverbial particle *–nado* 'such as'. Such a particle makes it possible for the object NP to occur without the accusative case marker even in modern Japanese.

Suru 'do'. One category of apparent counterexamples involves the verb *suru* 'do', which, as we will see, almost always incorporates its object NP so that we do not expect to find *o* on the object NP with this verb regardless of the conjugation. The same point is also made for causative verbs; the causative verb is related to *suru*.

Object-verb compound. Another type involves object-verb compounds, which also do not require (in fact do not allow) the case marker on the object.

Lexical idiosyncrasy. There is a small set of lexical items that, when occurring in the object position, idiosyncratically do not take the morphological case marker in most instances. It is a bit mysterious as to why particular lexical items do not get marked with the morphological case marker. This is something that has in fact been observed already. Matsuo (1944:629) observes that such inanimate nouns as "poems" and "dresses" typically do not occur with the case marker. In our data, we have found several lexical items with this idiosyncrasy. As far as we can tell, there is no linguistic analysis to explain the absence of morphological case marking on these noun phrases. In order to demonstrate that the reality of this lexical idiosyncrasy, we used the long work, the *Tale of Genji*, to confirm it, since this text contains many more occurrences of such lexical items than in either of the diaries. Examples of these include *fumi* 'poem/song/letter' and *on-tukahi* 'messenger'. These special words denote common and frequently occurring entities in Heian literature.

Formal nominalizer *koto*. A subordinate clause with the formal nominalizer *koto* 'fact/matter' does not require the case marker *o* regardless of the conjugation of the verb that takes the clause as its object.

As with the attributive form, we predict that the perfect form of the verb selects the morphological case marker *o*. The exceptions to this fall into the categories listed above for the attributive form.

In the remainder of this section we will present a detailed analysis of the two texts, *Izumi Shikibu Diary* and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*. In most cases, we will not list all of the apparent counterexamples in our discussion, but only representative example. The entire list of relevant data is given in the appendices at the end of this work for those readers interested in studying the data in their entirety. We begin our discussion with the analysis of *Izumi Shikibu Diary*.

5.1 *Izumi Shikibu Diary*

Our study of the text of *Izumi Shikibu Diary* (*ISD*) netted 107 sentences that contain a direct object and a transitive verb. The breakdown of the raw data is given below. Our data do not include poetry.

(65)   *Izumi Shikibu Diary*: Preliminary

Conjugation	Object NP with *o*	Object NP without *o*
Conclusive	7	17
Attributive	17	17
Perfect	5	5
Conjunctive	25	24

At first blush, the data ostensibly contradict the predictions. Contrary to our prediction, there are seven instances of a conclusive form with the case marker *o* on its object. Likewise, there are seventeen instances of an attributive form without *o* on the object NP. Also, half of the perfect forms (five out of ten) do not have *o* on the object NP, contrary to the prediction that the perfect form selects the morphological case marker. See Appendix 1 for these apparent counterexamples. The only verbal form that reflects our prediction is the conjunctive form, which freely selects between the morphological case marker and abstract case. As we see, the split between these two options is virtually 50%-50%.

However, as we will show, virtually all of the apparent counterexamples can be accounted for on independent grounds. We will discuss each of the verbal forms in the order given in (65) in detail, but here, we give the final result after all of the counterexamples are dealt with.

(66)   *Izumi Shikibu Diary*: Final

Conjugation	Object NP with *o*		Object NP without *o*	
Conclusive	0	(0%)	17	(100%)
Attributive	17	(85%)	3	(15%)
Perfect	5	(100%)	0	(0%)
Conjunctive	25	(51%)	24	(49%)

As we can see, once the apparent counterexamples that can be accounted for on independent grounds are excluded, the distribution of *o* and abstract case reflects our predictions. As predicted the conclusive form selects abstract case, and there are no instances in which this verbal form selects the morphological case marker. The attributive form selects the morphological case marker, and, as shown, there are only three counterexamples we are unable to account for (see below for a comment on the possible ways in which these three may be excluded). The perfect form selects the morphological case marker without exception, as we predict. Finally, the conjunctive form has the "chance" percentage of 50/50, reflecting the fact that this verbal form has either option – abstract case or morphological case marking.

In the remainder of this section, we will discuss each of the verbal forms in detail to account for the apparent counterexamples.

5.1.1 Conclusive form
In the preliminary list in (65) there are seven (out of twenty-four) instances of a conclusive form with *o* on the object NP. We will account for all seven examples.

5.1.1.1 Compounds
Three of these seven exceptions are given below (the numbers in the parentheses indicate the page number and the line number in the text).[24]

(67)　mon-*o*　　uti-tataku (427, 15)
　　　gate-Acc　hit-knock
　　　'knock on the gate'

(68)　yorozu-no　　　　　　kuruma-*o*　notamahase-tigiru (432, 6)
　　　tens of thousands-Gen　carts-Acc　call-honor-do vigorously
　　　'vigorously call tens of thousands of carts'

(69)　awarenaru koto-*o*　　　notamawase-tigiru　　(439, 1)
　　　pathetic　thing-Acc　　speak-Complete
　　　'spoke about pathetic things'

The verbs in these examples share one important property: they are all compound verbs. There is evidence that compounding forces the verb to select the morphological case option instead of the abstract case option regardless of verbal conjugation. When we observe the distribution of abstract case and *o* in *ISD* with compound verbs, the data is clearly skewed to those containing *o*. We have identified twenty-five occurrences of a transitive compound with a direct object (cf. Appendix 2). Note the proportion of *o* to abstract case.

(70)　Compounds in *ISD*
　　　Object NP with *o*　　　　Object NP without *o*
　　　　22　(88%)　　　　　　　　3　(12%)

As shown, an overwhelming number of transitive compounds select *o* over abstract case. The twenty-five examples of compounds in (70) include all verbal conjugations. To further confirm our point, let us extract from the twenty-five compounds in (70) only those in the conjunctive form. As we saw in (65), overall, the conjunctive form is evenly split between those that select abstract case and those that select *o*. However, if we look only at the compounds in the conjunctive form, we again observe a very skewed distribution.

(71)　Conjunctive Compounds in *ISD*
　　　Object NP with *o*　　　　Object NP without *o*
　　　　10　(91%)　　　　　　　　1　(9%)

The proportion of those compound conjunctive forms that select *o* to these that select abstract case is roughly the same as the overall proportion of the compound forms given in (71) above.

In both, the proportion of the verbs selecting the morphological case marker is significantly higher than those selecting abstract case. This suggests that compounding causes a verb to strongly tend towards selecting the morphological case option.

5.1.1.2 –nameri
There are three examples of object NP + *o* with a conclusive form that has the "tentative" suffix *–nameri* 'probably'. One example is given below.

(72) arituru koto-*o*   hazukasi-to   omohituru-nameri-to obosi-te (433, 15)
      such a thing-Acc embarrassing-Comp   think complete-probably think
      'thinking about such a thing (rumor) is probably embarrassing'

This tentative suffix *–nameri* conjugates just as with other verbal suffixes, and *–nameri* is the conclusive form. In traditional grammar, this suffix is analyzed as being composed of two morphemes, the emphatic *–naru*, which is in the attributive form, and the "tentative" *–meri*.[25] The second mora of the emphatic morpheme *–naru* is nasalized to /N/, so that the entire suffix is pronounced as *–naNmeri*, and in orthography, this nasal /N/ is not represented, giving *–nameri* (cf. *Kogo Daijiten* 1983). According to this analysis, the verbal suffix closer to the verb stem is *naru*, which is in the attributive form. Hence, the three examples reflect the selection of morphological case marker *o* we see with the attributive form of the verb. Additional evidence that a verb with *–nameri* selects the overt case marker is found in the following example from *ISD*.

(73) tahabure-*o*   sesase-tamafu-nameri (434, 8)
      playfulness-Acc   do-cause-honor-probably
      'probably allow playfulness'

This example contains the causative verb *–sesase* 'let do'. As we will argue later, the causative form and the related "light verb" *suru* 'do' almost always incorporate the object NP, so that the object NP does not have the overt case marker *o*. As we see in the example above, despite the occurrence of the causative verb, *o* appears on the object NP. We can account for this by the presence of the verbal suffix *–nameri* on the causative verb.

5.1.1.3 Emphasis
Finally, we have one remaining exception to account for under the conclusive form. This final exception can be viewed as the use of *o* for emphasis. The example is given below.

(74) "kono hito-*o*   mi-n"   (444, 5)
       this   person-ACC   look-intend
       'will look at this person'

In its context, this sentence clearly places an emphasis on the NP *kono hito* 'this person', which refers to Izumi Shikibu herself. In this scene, someone poked a hole in the *shoji* door and had singled out Izumi Shikibu to look at instead of others in the room. This emphatic use of *o* is not

only common, but is in fact thought to be the source of the accusative case marker. This emphatic use of *o* occurs on virtually any segment of a sentence, including the whole sentence. The following OJ examples with *o* as emphasis are from Kobayashi (1970:247).

(75) kaganabete   yo   ni ha   kokonoyo   hi   ni ha tooka   *o*
      total.days.nights   nine.nights   days   ten.days   Emph.
      'The number of days is, of nights, nine, and of days, ten.'

(76) yaegaki   tukuru   sono yaegaki   *o*
      many fences   build   thatmany.fences   Emph.
      'I build a multiple fenced palance; Ah, that multiple fenced palace!'

Since the exclamatory *o* does not indicate Case, when it is used on an object NP, as in the case of the object NP with the conclusive form, it need not necessarily be the accusative case marker, but rather the exclamatory marker.

We have thus accounted for all seven exceptions to the prediction that the conclusive form selects abstract case.

5.1.2 Attributive Form
As shown in (65), of the thirty-four occurrences of an object NP with an attributive form of the verb, fully seventeen do not have the accusative case marker (cf. Appendix 1). We now take up the task of accounting for these seventeen exceptions to our prediction that the attributive form selects the option of morphological case marker.

5.1.2.1 Object NP with another particle
Among the seventeen exceptions, four are those in which the object NP has another particle. One has the particle *mo* 'too', another has *sae* 'even', and the remaining two have the particle *–nado* 'such'. The occurrence of these particles takes place of the accusative marker, which is a phenomenon we find also in modern Japanese. The four examples are given below.

(77) hakanaki   tahabure   goto-*mo*   ifu hito (425, 1)
      transient   not serious things-too say people
      'people who say things which are transient and not serious'

(78) omohitatu koto-*sae*   hono   kiki-turu   hito (433, 12)
      decide   things-even   barely hear-complete people
      'people who barely heard about (Izumi Shikibu's) decision'

(79) takimono-*nado*   sesase-tamafu   hodo-ni (407, 10)
      incense-such   do cause-honor   while
      'while … make (someone) burn incense'

(80) okonai-*nado*   suru-ni dani (432, 12)
      suggestion-such   do although

'although we give (Izumi Shikibu) suggestions'

5.1.2.2 *suru* 'do'
Of the remaining thirteen exceptions, two have the verb *suru* 'do' in the attributive form.

(81)   susabi   goto ___   suru-ni   koso   (408, 4)
       ephemeral things   do   Kakari
       'do ephemeral things'

(82)   suki goto _   se-si   hitobito-no   fumi (434, 8)
       affairs   do-past people-Gen   letter
       "letters of people who took part in affairs'

In modern Japanese, this verb *suru*, which has come to be called the "light verb" (cf. Grimshaw and Mester 1988 among others), attaches to a nominal to convert the nominal into a verb. There are two ways in which the nominal may appear with the light verb. First is the construction in which the nominal acts as the direct object of the verb, and the nominal thus has the accusative case marker *o*. The second is that the nominal is incorporated into the verb. The two are exemplified below.

(83)   a. benkyoo-*o* suru
          study-Acc   do
          'study'

       b. benkyoo-suru
          study-do

A look through the *ISD* text shows that there is an overwhelming tendency for the object NP selected by *suru* to be incorporated. This is what we are seeing with the two exceptions above for the attributive form. There are fifteen occurrences of *suru* in *ISD*. Two of these occurrences have *o* and the emphatic *kakari* particles *zo* and *mo*, hence they are emphatic. A third example has *o* on the verb and the verb has the tentative verbal suffix –*nameri*, which we have shown to select morphological case. Leaving these examples aside, we have the following distribution (see Appendix 3).

(84)   *suru* in *ISD*
       Object NP with *o*   Object NP without *o*
              0   12

As shown, none of the object NPs with *suru* occur with *o*. Consequently the absence of *o* on the object NP with *suru* in the attributive form is not a counterexample, but simply a pattern we see throughout *ISD* (and, as we will see, also in the *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*).

5.1.2.3 Object-Verb Compounds
Of the remaining eleven exceptions, three are the following.

(85) tokoro ___ kahe-taru (435, 9)
      places   changed-perfective
      'have changed places'

(86) mono ___ omoha-nu sama   nare (419, 6)
      thing   think-Neg state   cop
      'be in a state of not pondering over (something)'

(87) higoro   mono ___ ihi-turu   hito (421, 14)
      daily   thing   said-perfective   person
      'a person whom (one) talks at daily basis'

Each of these object-verb forms is independently attested as an object-verb compound form (*Shoogakkan Kogo Daijiten*). Thus, for (85), there is an independent verb, *tokoro-kafu* 'change place'' (which has religious implication). For (86), there is the independent object-verb form *mono-omofu* 'worry'. For (87) the independent object-verb form *mono-ifu* 'converse' exists. Thus, all of these can be accounted for as object-verb compounds, and we do not expect the accusative marker *o* to occur in such a compound regardless of the conjugation of the verb.

5.1.2.4 Lexical idiosyncrasy
One of the remaining eight apparent counterexamples contains a word in the object position that idiosyncratically tend not to take the case marker regardless of the verbal inflection. The word is *on-tukahi* 'messenger'.

(88) *on-tukahi* ___ matidoo-ni   ya   omofu-ran to te (428, 4)
      messenger   long for   Kakari   feel-speculative
      'think that a messenger seems long incoming'

This word has the idiosyncratic property of tending not to take *o* regardless of the verbal conjugation. In the *Tale of Genji*, there are nineteen occurrences of this word in the object position, only in three of these does the case marker *o* occur. Of these three, two have the deictic *kono* 'this' modifying *on-tukahi*, which most likely indicates emphasis on the direct object (none of the occurrences of *on-tukahi* occurs alone in the object position). On this account, *o*, too, is emphatic, not a case marker, so that out of the nineteen occurrences, fully eighteen do not have the case marker *o*. We will see other examples of such lexical idiosyncrasy.

There is another similar word, *on-kahesi* 'response', also has the idiosyncratic property of not taking *o* regardless of the verbal form. In the *Tale of Genji*, there are thirty-five occurrences of *on-kahesi* in the object position with a variety of verbal conjugations. Of these, there are three examples that have *o* plus an emphatic particle (*o-dani, o-ba*). In addition, there is an example in which the object NP with *o* is followed by the quotative particle, hence the NP is not strictly

functioning as an object NP of the verb.

(89) *on-kahesi-o-to*   semete   kaka-se-tatematuru   (Tamakazura, 746, 5)
     response-Acc-Quote   force   write-cause-honor
     'make…write a response forcibly'

Out of the remaining thirty-one, fully twenty-nine occur without *o* (94%). We suspect that the two occurrences of this word with *o* are emphatic. The two examples are given below.

(90) *on-kakehi-o*   mi-tamafu-ni-mo   (Aoi, 320, 1)
     response-Acc   read-honor
     'read the response'

(91) *on-kahesi-o*   mezurasi-to   mikeru mama-ni   (Hatsune, 768, 2)
     response-Acc   unusual   read
     'read the response gladly'

    Given the idiosyncratic nature of *on-tukahi* 'messenger' and *on-kahesi* 'response' to tend to occur without *o* regardless of the verbal form, we can exclude these from the list of apparent counterexamples to the prediction that the attributive form of a verb in OJ selects the morphological case marker *o*.

5.1.2.5 Formal nominal *koto* 'fact/matter'
There are four examples of an object without *o* occurring with an attributive form in which the object NP has the formal nominal *koto* 'fact/matter' (cf. Appendix 1). One example is given below.

(92) kono   *koto* ___   hitobito   mousunaru-ha   (407, 12)
     these   things   people   say
     'that people say these things'

We will give two pieces of evidence that when the object NP has this formal nominal, the morphological case marker is optional regardless of the verb form.
    First, in *ISD*, there are sixteen occurrences of an object NP with *koto* in the object position (cf. Appendix 4). Of these two have an adverbial particle (-*mo* 'too', -*sae* 'even'), and one example has the light verb *suru* 'do'. We have already shown that the morphological case marker is unnecessary for these two types of constructions. Of the remaining thirteen, five have the morphological case marker *o*. However, at least three of these can be excluded on independent grounds. One is in a quotative form with the actual verb omitted, another has a compound verb, and the third has the tentative verbal suffix –*nameri*. This leaves only two instances of an object NP with the formal nominalizer occurring with *o*.
    Second we looked at the occurrence of object NPs containing the formal nominal in a portion of the *Tale of Genji* (pp. 1-621). There are a total of 232 occurrences. Many of these examples must be excluded from consideration: those that have an adverbial particle (e.g., -*nado*

'such as') (70 examples); those that are clearly emphatic (e.g., *o* occurring with an emphatic particle such as *zo*, *beki* 'should') (nine examples); and those which occur with a verb with the perfect suffix *–tari* (see analysis of *–tari* in the subsection on *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*) or the tentative suffix *–nameri* (five examples). The remaining examples pattern as shown below.

(93)   Formal Nominal in a Portion of the *Tale of Genji*
         With *o*   Without *o*
         61 (48%)   65 (52%)

As shown those with and without *o* are virtually the same in number. This is further indication that the morphological case marker is optional with the formal nominal *koto*.

The reason for the clauses with this formal nominalizer *koto* to frequently occur without the case marker probably stems from the fact that such a clause readily undergoes topicalization, and those instances in which the *koto* clause occurs without any case marking is an instance of zero topicalization. The content of the clause tends to refer to information already mentioned in the conversation; the meaning of 'fact/matter' of *koto* would refer to an event or a state commonly already a topic in the conversation (cf. "Are you sure of *the fact* that John failed the course?" in which John having failed the course is a topic of the conversation). While a topic is commonly marked with the topic marker *–ha* (*-wa* in modern Japanese), zero topicalization – topicalization without the topic marker – is also a common phenomenon in OJ and in modern Japanese. Indeed, when we consider (93) given above, we can see the relevant properties that would qualify the *koto* clause as a topic. The content of the clause refers to something already in the discourse (*kono* 'these'). Also, the clause occurs in front of the subject NP (*hitobito* 'people'), hence in a position corresponding to the topic. As we will see in section 5, an overwhelming proportion of abstractly-cased object NPs occur adjacent to the verb, and we suspect that the handful of exceptions are instances of topicalization including (92).

5.1.2.6 Exceptions that Remain Unaccounted for
The discussion above have accounted for all but three exceptions to the prediction that the attributive form of the verb selects the morphological case marker. See Appendix 1 for these exceptions.

5.1.3 Perfect form
As indicated in (65), of the ten occurrences of the perfect form with an object NP, five occur without *o*. Three of these contain a verb in the causative form. The causative form is closely associated with the verb *suru* (Sansom 1928:164) which has been shown to incorporate the preceding object NP. Hence we can account for these causative examples also as instances of incorporation. The three are given below.

(94)   on-kaheri ____   kikoe-sase-ture ba (401, 9)
        response   send-cause-perfective
        'made (someone) send a response'

(95)   o-kyau ___   naraha-se-tamahi-kereba (440,10)
       sutra   learn-cause-honor-past
       'made (someone) learn sutra'

(96)   amari mono ___ kikoe-sase-tamaha-ne-ba (445,12)
       very   thing   speak-honor-Neg
       'did not correspond very often'

Note that in the first example above, the object NP is *on-kaheri* 'response', which we identified as having the lexical idiosyncrasy of tending not to require the case marker even if the verbal inflection would otherwise require it. So this example has two overlapping reasons for not requiring the morphological case marker.
        The remaining two are the following.

(97)   on-fumi _ mire ba (413, 3)
       letter   saw
       'saw a letter'

(98)   hitobito   fumi _tukuru-mere ba (438,1)
       people   letter   write-seem
       'seems that people write letters'

Both have the phrase *fumi* 'song/poem' (or the polite counterpart *on-fumi*) in the object position. For reasons unknown to us, there is a strong tendency for this phrase to appear without *o* in the object position. This is the same idiosyncrasy we observed with the words *on-tukahi* 'messenger' and *on-kahesi* 'response' earlier.
        To confirm this idiosyncratic nature of *fumi* 'letter', we turned to the *Tale of Genji*. In the *Tale of Genji*, there are 137 occurrences of *fumi* in the object position. Of these, seventeen are clearly emphatic (e.g., occurring with the emphatic particle *zo*), and seventeen have an adverbial particle such as –*nado* 'such as' which makes the case marker *o* unnecessary. The remaining 103 occurrences break down into the following.

(99)   *Tale of Genji*: occurrence of *fumi* 'song/poem'
           With *o*   Without *o*
           22 (21%)   81 (79%)

As shown only twenty-one percent of the occurrences of *fumi* have *o*, while 79% occur without *o*. We suspect that many of the occurrences of *fumi* with *o* are emphatic, so that the particle *o* is used as an exclamation marker instead of the case marker. A piece of evidence to suggest this is that of the twenty-two occurrences of this word with *o*, six have the deictic word *kono* 'this' or *kano* 'that' accompanying *fumi*. Only two occurrences of *fumi* without *o* have *kono* 'this'.
In addition, in examples of *fumi* with *o*, in examples other than those that have the deictic word *kono/kano*' this/that', we find eight occurrences of a compound, which we have seen independently to strongly favor the morphological case marker. If we exclude these as well as

the deictic examples, the data becomes even more skewed than in (99).

(100)   *Tale of Genji*: occurrence of *fumi* (excluding those with a deictic word and those that
are compounds)

With *o*	Without *o*
14 (15%)	85 (85%)

What we have observed about *fumi* is simply an idiosyncratic tendency of a particular lexical item to occur without *o*. Although the reason for this idiosyncrasy is unclear, it helps us to put aside lexical items of this type as exceptions to the prediction that the perfect form selects the morphological case marker.

With these out of the way, all five exceptions for the perfect form have been accounted for.

5.2. *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*

We now turn to the other Heian text, *Murasaki Shikibu Diary* (Diary of Murasaki Shikibu) (*MSD*). Murasaki Shikibu is also the author of the *Tale of Genji*. Murasaki is well known for her complex and highly-stylized prose, often pushing syntax to its limits, and incorporating numerous references to earlier and contemporary works. Despite the complexity inherent in the work, the results of our study point clearly toward the types of predictions we have made regarding the distribution of morphological case marker *o* and abstract case for the various verbal conjugations.

5.2.1 The text of *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*

Our study of *MSD* netted 382 pertinent sentences containing a direct object NP and a transitive verb. The breakdown in terms of the verbal conjugation and the accusative case marking for the raw data is given below.

(101)   *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*: Preliminary

Conjugation	Object NP with *o*	Object NP without *o*
Conclusive	30	56
Attributive	53	46
Perfect	12	3
Conjunctive	90	92

As we can see, just as we observed in the *Izumi Shikibu Diary*, the raw data in *MSD* contain many apparent counterexamples. First, contrary to expectation, there are thirty object NPs with *o* occurring with the conclusive form. Second, there are forty-six instances of an object NP without *o* occurring with an attributive form. Finally, there are three instances of an object NP without *o* for the perfect form (cf. Appendix 5 for a complete list of the apparent counterexamples in *MSD*).

On the other hand the conjunctive form confirms our view that this form freely selects between the morphological case marker and abstract case. Just as we saw in *Izumi Shikibu Diary*, the object NPs occurring with the conjunctive form in *MSD* divide evenly between those

with *o* (90 occurrences; 49%) and those without *o* (92 occurrences; 51%). We will take up the apparent counterexamples to the other forms below.

Once the raw data in (101) is analyzed, the results are much more encouraging, as shown below.

(102) *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*: Final

Conjugation	Object NP with *o*	Object NP without *o*
Conclusive	5 (9%)	56 (91%)
Attributive	53 (85%)	9 (15%)
Perfect	12 (92%)	1 (8%)
Conjunctive	90 (49%)	92 (51%)

As shown, there is an overwhelming number of conclusive forms that select abstract case, as we predict. Likewise, there is a strong tendency for the attributive and the perfect forms to select the morphological case marker *o*. Finally, as we have already seen, the conjunctive form splits virtually evenly between the morphological case marker and abstract case. We will discuss each of the verbal conjugations and the apparent counterexamples that, once accounted for, result in the distribution of morphological case marker and abstract case we see above.

5.2.2 Conclusive form
Contrary to expectation, there are thirty instances of an object NP with *o* that occur with a conclusive form. We will account for all but five of these.

5.2.2.1 Compound
We saw in *Izumi Shikibu Diary* that a compound verb has a strong tendency to select the morphological case marker regardless of the verbal form. Among the thirty exceptions, there are five examples of compound verbs in the conclusive form (cf. Appendix 5). The following is one such example from *MSD*; the numbers in parentheses indicate the page number and the line in the text in which the example appears.

(103) sirokane-no su-*o*   hitobito <u>tuki-sirofu</u> (25,1)
        silver-Gen cover-Acc people   poke-each other
        'people laugh at the silver cover each other'

5.2.2.2 *-nameri*
As we saw in *ISD*, the occurrence of the tentative verbal suffix *–nameri* causes the transitive verb to tend to select the morphological case marker. One of the exceptions for the conclusive form contains this sentence particle.

(104) kosi-bakari-o   rei-ni   tagahe-ru-<u>nameri</u> (19,14)
        waist-only-Acc   regular   violate-perfective-probably
        'seem to violate the regular custom of putting clothing on around the waist'

As we noted in our discussion of this verbal suffix earlier, this suffix is analyzed as the emphatic

suffix *naru*, which is in the attributive form, and *–meri*, which is in the conclusive form. Since the suffix closer to the verb stem is in the attributive form, we can consider (107) as following the predicted pattern of an attributive form which selects the morphological case marker *o*.

Moreover, in this example, the object has the focus particle *–bakari*, which may also indicate that this object is focused, in turn giving us an analysis of *o* here as emphatic. Whichever analysis we adopt, we can exclude this example as a counterexample.

5.2.2.3 -tari

The verbal suffix *–tari* corresponds to the perfect tense (Sansom 1928:177). This form conjugates like a verb, and when it occurs in the conclusive form, *-tari*, there is a tendency for the verb to select the morphological case marker. Nine out of the thirty examples we are dealing with have this suffix (cf. Appendix 5). One example is given below.

(105) kesiki-*o*   si-*tari*   (57, 2)
         looks-Acc   do-perfective
         'had the looks'

This particular example is especially telling because the verb to which *–tari* attaches is the "light verb" *suru*. We saw earlier that the object NP of this verb almost always gets incorporated, so that it does not take the case marker *o*. The fact that the *o* appears in this example suggests that *–tari* forces the selection of the case marker *o* over incorporation.

There are two additional points that demonstrate that a verb with *–tari* tends to select the morphological case marker despite the fact that *–tari* is in the conclusive form. In *MSN*, there are ten instances of a verb with *–tari* whose object is not marked with *o* (cf. Appendix 6, (19, 3), (24, 3), (28, 6), (35, 1), (36, 1), (44, 7), (49, 11), (62, 9), (64, 6), (89, 4)). Of these ten, four are the light verb *suru* (which we have not included in the appendix; they are (19, 3), (28, 6), (62, 9), (64, 6), which we have already shown has a strong tendency to incorporate its object NP. Another example has the adverbial particle *–nado* on the object NP (44, 7), so that the object NP does not require Case. This leaves only five instances of *–tari* with an object NP that lacks the overt case marker. This contrasts with nine instances which do have the case marker, as mentioned above.

Second, we looked at the occurrence of *–tari* in another Heian work, the *Sarashina Diary*. There are six occurrences of a verb with *–tari*, and four have an object with *o*. The remaining two do not have the case marker, but both have an adverbial particle, *-nado* 'such as' or *–bakari* 'only', as shown below.

(106) maku-*nado*   hiki-*tari*   (480, 15)
         curtain-such   drew
         'drew a curtain'

(107) kao-*bakari*   miyarare-*tari*   (490, 11)
         face-only   turned eyes
         'turned my eyes only toward the face…'

5.2.2.4 *o* as locative
One apparent counterexample out of thirty is the following.

(108)   tenzyoobito-no   za-ha   nishi-*o*   kami nari   (22, 4)
        court members-Gen seat-Top west-Acc head   is
        'the highest court members sat down from the west end'

This *o* designates the location of the seat of the emperor as being "west." It is not clear that this is a counterexample since the status of *ue-nari* 'is above' as a predicate is not clearly transitive, but is itself a locative predicate.

5.2.2.5 Exceptional case making (ECM)
The following example can be accounted for as a case of ECM, hence, it is accounted for.

(109)   sakizaki-no   miyuki-*o* nadote   meiboku-arite-to
        past-Gen   visits-Acc why   honor-cop Comp
        omohi-tamahi-kemu (36,11)
        think-honor-past speculative
        'why did I feel my previous visits as such an honor'

5.2.2.6 Idioms
There are two apparent counterexamples that we can set aside as idioms.

(110)   nuka-*o*   tuku   (16, 2)
        forehead-Acc hit
        'hit the forehead'

(111)   asi-*o*   sora   nari   (48, 5)
        feet-Acc   skyare
        'the feet are towards the sky'

The expression in (110), *nuka-o tuku*, is an idiom that refers to a worship custom of hitting one's forehead against the floor. In the Heian period, the word *hitai* was used to refer to the forehead, and the word in this idiom, *nuka*, to refer to the forehead was used only in this idiom (*Iwanami Kogo Jiten* 1974:991).

The expression in (111), *asi-o sora nari*, is an idiom with the meaning to feel anxious (*Iwanami Kogo Jiten* 1974:24), and *o* always accompanies *asi* in this expression. In addition, although the predicate, *-nari*, is in the conclusive form, this predicate is the copula, not a verb, hence the NP with *o* cannot be construed as an object NP.

5.2.2.7 Emphatic usage
Of the remaining eleven apparent counterexamples, four clearly involve an emphatic object NP, hence the particle *o* can be interpreted as the exclamatory *o* instead of the case marker. Three of the four are as follows (we will discuss the fourth below).

(112) ware-*o*   nikumu tomo (78,2)
        self-Acc   hate   although
        'although I hate myself'

(113) sore-*o* ware masarite   iha-mu to (78,6)
        it-Acc I   more than   speak-intend Comp
        'I speak about it more than (others do)'

(114) mi-tyau-nouti-*o*   tohora-se-tamafu (43,11)
        screen-Gen   inside-Acc pass-cause-honor
        'let … pass inside the screen'

        In (113) the fact that it is "myself" that is hated is being emphasized, and in (116) the object has the deictic word *sore* 'that' that is being contrasted. In (114) the verb is causative, which we have already shown to tend not to select the morphological case marker regardless of the verbal conjugation. Consequently, *o* here can reasonably be interpreted as the exclamatory usage.
        The fourth example that we believe involves the emphatic usage of *o* is the following.

(115) kyau-*o*   narai-habera-mu (80,8)
        sutra-Acc learn-humble-intend
        'will learn sutra'

As we will show in 4.2.3.5, the word *kyau* 'prayer' idiosyncratically tends not to take *o*, hence when *o* does occur, it is mostly likely for emphasis.

5.2.2.8 Emphatic *e … zu*
There are two examples of *o* with a conclusive form that are also clearly emphatic in nature. This reflects the usage of *o* as an exclamatory particle. The two examples contain the discontinuous morpheme *e..zu*, where *zu* is negation, and this morpheme focuses an element in the sentence.

(116) hitobito   namida-*o* e hosiae-<u>zu</u> (14, 6)
        people   tears-Acc can dry-Neg
        'people could not stop crying'

(117) mi-tyau futatu-ga usiro-no hosomiti-*o*   e hito-mo tohora-<u>zu</u> (15, 5)
        screen two-Gen back-Gen narrow passage-Acc   people-too pass-Neg
        'people also do not pass through the narrow passage behind the two screens'

5.2.2.9 Exceptions unaccounted for
This leaves only five apparent counterexamples to the prediction that the conclusive form selects abstract case unaccounted for. See Appendix 5 for these exceptions. We suspect that many of these five reflect the exclamatory usage of *o*, but we have no way to substantiate this, so we will

leave them as counterexamples.

5.2.3 Attributive form in *MSD*

As shown in (101), of the ninety-nine occurrences of object NP with an attributive form, forty-six contain an object NP without *o* (cf. Appendix 5). This is a much larger number of apparent counterexamples to the prediction that the attributive form selects the morphological case marker than what we observed for *Izumi Shikibu Diary*. In *ISD*, there are nineteen object NPs without *o* with an attributive form out of thirty-six (cf. (65)). Most of the counterexamples in *MSD* can be dealt with in a similar manner as those in *ISD*.

5.2.3.1 Object NPs with other particles

Out of the forty-six apparent counterexamples, three contain an object NP with the adverbial particle *–nado* 'such as' and one contains an object NP with *–bakari* 'only'. As already noted, occurrence of such an adverbial makes the case marker unnecessary. One example with *–nado* and one with *–bakari* are given below.

(118) yomi-si   fumi-<u>nado</u> __ ihi-kemu (79,9)
         read-past   letter-such   speak-past speculative
         'probably spoke about the letter that (one) read'

(119) hito-<u>bakari</u> __ sukosi natukasiku omofu zo (46,10)
         people-only   little   dearly   feel   Kakari
         'only feel a little dearly about people'

5.2.3.2. *Suru* 'do' verb

There are six examples of an object NP without *o* that occurs with the *suru* 'do' verb in the attributive form. As we saw in *ISN*, there is a strong tendency for the object NP of this verb to be incorporated into the verb, so that the case marker is unnecessary regardless of the verbal form. One example is given below.

(120) hakanaki monogatari __ <u>suru</u>-o   kikosimesi-tutu (7,6)
         transient stories   do-Acc listen honor-while
         'while listening to transient stories'

In *MSD*, there are thirty-eight occurrences of the *suru* verb in various conjugations (cf. Appendix 7). Of these, one occurs with the emphatic *kakari* particle *zo*, hence it is a part of an emphatic phrase. Excluding this, the proportion of the object NPs with and without *o* is as follows.

(121) *Suru* verb in *MSD*
         Object NP with *o*   Object NP without *o*
            6 (16%)   32 (84%)

Again, we see an overwhelming tendency for the object NP of *suru* to be incorporated into the

verb instead of occurring with the case marker. The six examples divide evenly between conjunctive and attributive forms of *suru*. We speculate that the six occurrences of object NP with *o* with *suru* reflect the usage of *o* as an exclamatory marker.

As further confirmation that the object NP of *suru* tends to be incorporated, if we take the occurrences of *suru* in the conjunctive form in the entire list of occurrences of *suru* in *MSD* (cf. Appendix 7), we have the following skewed distribution.

(122)   *Suru* verb in the conjunctive form in *MSD*
            Object NP with *o*   Object NP without *o*
               3 (17%)   15 (83%)

This contrasts sharply with the distribution of *o* with the conjunctive form for the entire *MSD* text, which, as we saw in (101), is evenly divided between those with *o* and those without the case marker.

5.2.3.3 Causative verb
As noted in the section on *ISD*, the causative morpheme is related to the *suru* 'do' verb. There are four instances of an object NP without *o* occurring with an attributive causative form. One example is given below.

(123)   tukahi-no   kimi-no bin   kaka-se-tamafu   beki   kesiki-o (57,2)
         messenger-Nom   you-Gen hair   fix-cause-honor   should   sign
         'a sign to make the messenger fix your hair'

5.2.3.4 Compounds
There are eight instances of an object NP without *o* and an attributive form of the verb that can be considered as a compound form. The eight are given below.

(124)   sauzo ___ ki-taru (26,3)
         clothing   wear-perfective
         'wore clothing'

(125)   sauzo ___ ki-tamaheru mo (40,20)
         clothing   wear-honor
         'wearing clothing'

(126)   kokoro ___ yosu-beki (52,11)
         heart   close-should
         'should have a feeling for (someone)'

(127)   fumi ___ yomi-haberi-si toki (79,3)
         letter   read-be-past   when
         'when (there is someone) who reads a letter'

(128) kami __ age-taru (23, 7)
       hair   fix-perfective
       'fixed (her) hair'

(129) kami __ aguru koto (23,11)
       hair   fix   thing
       'fixing (her) hair'

(130) kami __ age-taru   katati-nado (84, 10)
       hair   fix-perfective shape-such
       'a hairstyle which fixed up'

(131) te __   fururu hito-mo   koto-ni   nasi (75,3)
       hands touch person-Kakari particularly not exist
       'there is nobody who touches (one)'

In (124) and (125) the object NP *sauzo* 'clothing' without *o* and the attributive *kitaru* 'wore' occur. There is an independent compound verb *sauzoki* 'put on clothing', hence the object in these examples is a part of the verb *ki*. Likewise, in (126) the object-attributive verb sequence *kokoro yosu* has an independent compound verb *kokoro-yosu* 'fall in love', and the sequence *fumi yomi* in (127) corresponds to the common nominal compound *fumi-yomi* 'scholar'.[26] In (128) – (130), the object *kami* 'hair' without *o* occurs with the verb *agu* 'lift up' in the attributive form. There is an independent compound verb *kami-agu* 'fix hair'.

The last example in (131) is the sequence *te fururu* 'hand touch'. We are led to believe that this, too, is a compound with the meaning 'touch'. In the *Tale of Genji*, there are forty-one occurrences of the "object" *te* 'hand'. Out of these, eight contain *te* and the verb *furu* in various conjugations (cf. Appendix 8), and in all eight the case marker does not appear on *te*.

5.2.3.5 Idioms
In the list of apparent counterexamples for the attributive form, there are two instances of the expression *iro yurusaretaru* 'permit color'.

(132) iro __ yurusa-re-taru-ha (20,14)
       color   permit-passive-perfective-Top
       '(those) who permitted a special color'

(133) iro __ yurusa-re-taru   hitobito-ha (33,5)
       color   permit-passive-perfective   people-Top
       'people who permitted a special color'

This expression is an idiom, with the meaning of allowing someone at one rank to wear the color of a higher rank. The idiomatic meaning is associated with the phrase only if the *o* is missing. Placing *o* on *iro* forces the literal meaning of 'color'. Hence these two apparent counterexamples can be accounted for as a "frozen" form without *o* associated with an idiosyncratic meaning.

There are two additional examples that can be considered as idiomatic. The first one is the following.

(134) Fujiwara-nagara   mon __ wakare-taru (37,4)
        Fujiwara-despite gate   part-perfective
        'parting from the family despite being a Fujiwara'

The word *mon* literally means 'gate', but here it is being used to refer to the entire Fujiwara family, so that the expression *mon wakaretaru* means to take leave of the family.
        The second is the following.

(135) ima-ha   kotozi-ni   nikaha __ sasu   you ni te (65,6)
        now-Top koto bridge-on glue   apply   appear to be
        'appear to be applying glue on a koto bridge now (being inflexible)'

The phrase *kotozi-ni nikaha sasu* is an idiom with the meaning 'be inflexible' (*Iwanami Kogo Jiten* 1974:516). This idiom derives from the literal meaning of applying glue to the bridge of the musical instrument *koto*, which makes the strings inflexible (and hence unplayable).

5.2.3.6 Lexical idiosyncrasy

There are four instances of lexical items that idiosyncratically tend not to take *o*. In *ISD*, we observed that the word *fumi* 'poem/song' tends not to appear with *o* regardless of the conjugation of the verb. As noted, in the *Tale of Genji*, when this word occurs in the object position, 79% do not have *o*. Some of those instances with *o* can be accounted for as emphasis, so that the proportion of those object NPs containing *fumi* without *o* is even more skewed than 79%. This is simply a lexical idiosyncrasy of this word.[27]
        In *MSD*, there are two instances of *fumi* without *o* that occur with an attributive form of the verb. In both cases *fumi* is used to mean 'letter', which often took the form of a poem in Heian literature.

(136) fumi __ okose-tamahe-ru   kaheri goto (30,12)
        letter   sent-honor-perfective   response
        'respose to a letter which was sent out'

(137) fumi ___ hasirigaki-taru-ni   (72, 8)
        letter   scribble-perfective
        'scribble a letter'

        Along with *fumi*, in *MSD* there is an example that contains the word *sisoku* 'lamp' in the object position with an attributive form. This word also idiosyncratically tends not to take *o*.

(138) sisoku __ sasa-nu-bakari (50,8)
        lamp   light-Neg-only
        'not lighting a lamp'

In the *Tale of Genji*, there are seven occurrences of *sisoku* in the object position (cf. Appendix 9). Of these seven, only one has *o*, and this example contains a compound verb.

(139) sisoku-*o*   sasi-idetaru   ka to   (Aoi, 808, 7)
       lamp-Acc   light-brought Kakari
       'wondering who lit and brought the lamp'

The third lexical item that idiosyncratically tends not to take *o* is *kyau* 'prayer'.

(140) kyau ___   yomu-o   dani   (75, 6)
       prayer   read-Acc although
       'although…chanting sutra'

In the *Tale of Genji*, there are a total of sixteen occurrences of *kyau* in which the object position. Of these sixteen, three have the adverbial particle –*nado* 'such', and one has the emphatic *kakari* particle *zo*. Of the remaining twelve, only three have *o*, the others occurring without any particle. What is more striking is that when *kyau* occurs with the verb *yomu* 'read', as in (140), *o* does not occur at all. Among the twelve relevant examples in the *Tale of Genji*, six have the combination of *kyau* and the verb *yomu* in various conjugations, and in none of these does *o* occur on *kyau*.
        The fourth and final lexical item is *misu* 'screen'.

(141) misu ___   aguru kiha-ni   (88, 11)
       screen   raise moment-at
       'at the moment of raising the screen'

(142) misu ___   kake-taru-ni   (89, 1)
       screen   hanper-fective
       'hang the screen'

In the *Tale of Genji*, there are twenty-one relevant examples with *misu*, and only in three does *o* occur.

5.2.3.7 Formal nominal *koto*
There are two examples of an object NP with the formal nominal *koto* that occur without *o*. One example is given below.

(143) sarusama-no   koto ___ sirosimesa   mahosi ge-ni (79,13)
       certain situation-Gen fact know honor   want   appear
       'showing a desire to know a certain situation'

As noted in our analysis of *ISD*, this formal nominal frequently occurs without *o* regardless of the verbal conjugation.

5.2.3.8 Adverbial

There are two apparent counterexamples in the set that are best analyzed as the object being an adverbial rather than a true object NP.

(144) ito tosi ___ he-taru   hitobito (14,14)
       long time   pass-perfective   people
       'people who passed for a long time'

(145) mono-no   kazukazu ___ kaki-taru   fumi (27,3)
       thing-Gen   many   write-perfective   document
       'document in which (one) wrote many things'

In (144) *itotosi* 'long time' modifies the verb *hetaru* 'passed'. In (145) the "object NP" *mono-no kazukazu* is a numeral quantifier, which does not require a case marker, as shown by the following modern Japanese example.

(146) (hon-o)   kazukazu   yonda.
       (book-Acc)   many   read
       '(I) read many (books)'

5.2.3.9 Verbal form

There is an apparent counterexample that takes the following form.

(147) hitorigo ___ tare-si (58,8)
       monologue   utter-past
       'uttered a monologue'

At first it was not clear to us exactly how this sentence should be analyzed. Because it appears to reflect an *object NP – Verb* structure, we included it in the set of possible counterexamples. However, checking reference on Classical Japanese has shown that this is not a counterexample. There is a verb form that has been created from *hitorigoto* 'speaking alone' with the form *hitorigoti* for the conjunctive from (*Iwanami Kogo Jiten*, p. 116). Hence the "object-verb sequence in (147) is in fact a verb form.

5.2.3.10 Conjunctive instead of attributive

The final counterexample we can account for is the following.

(148) mozi ___ otosi   zo   habera-mu (81, 13)
       character   leave out   Kakari be honor-intend
     'leave out a character'

This is a *kakarimusubi* construction, in which the occurrence of the *kakari* particle *zo* requires the final verb to be in the attributive form. Note that the *kakari* particle *zo* occurs internal to the verbal morphology: it separates the verb stem *otosi*, which is in the conjunctive form, and the

rest of the verb. This is not an uncommon position for a *kakari* particle to occur in OJ. Because of this "splitting" of the verbal form between the verb stem and the honorific suffix *haberamu* by the syntactic *kakari* particle, it would be best to analyze (148) as the conjunctive form, *otosi*, taking the object NP, instead of the attributive honorific suffix. Since a conjunctive form freely selects between morphological case marking and abstract case, (148) is not a counterexample to the prediction that the attributive form selects the overt case marker.

5.2.3.11 Exceptions unaccounted for
This leaves only nine exceptions which we are unable to account for. See Appendix 5 for these exceptions.

5.2.4 Perfect Form in *MSD*
There are three possible counterexamples to the prediction that the perfect form selects the overt case marker (cf. Appendix 5). Two of these are accounted for easily by the fact that the object NP has the adverbial particle *–nado*. One example is given below.

(149)   noti-ni zo   goban-no   sama-nado ___ mi-tamahe ba (9, 14)
         later   Kakari   table-Gen view-such look-honor
         'later (one) looked at the table'

This leaves one apparent counterexample for which we do not have an account.

(150)   tohori ___ ariki-tamahe ba (56, 7)
         hallway   walk -honor
         'walk around a hallway'

6. Additional Counterexamples
In this section we will attempt to account for the counterexamples Kinsui (1993) furnishes to Miyagawa (1989). Earlier in the article, we have already addressed the four counterexamples he lists from *Man'yooshuu*. There are twenty additional examples that he provides in an attempt to question the claims in Miyagawa (1989). We will take up each of these below.

Five examples violate the adjacency requirement on abstract case marking. In two of them, given below, the adjacency is blocked only by an adverb.

(151)   mi-fune ___   sumiyakani   koga-shi-tamahe (Tosa, 45, 7)
         honor-boat   speedily   paddle-cause-honor
         'Please let the boat paddle speedily'

(152)   fune ___ toku koge (Tosa, 50, 10)
         boat   quickly row
         'Row the boat quickly!'

There is a question as to whether an adverb, being an adjunct, blocks adjacency. We saw that from Dutch is a language in which an adverb does not get in the way of the object attaining

adjacency. In another example the word *mina* 'everything' intervenes between the object NP without case marking and the verb.

(153)   rei-no   kotodomo ___ mina shi-ohe te (Tosa, 27, 5)
        custom-Gen   things   all   do-finish
        'we finished all the customary things'

The word *mina* 'everything' is a quantifier quantifying over "things". *Mina* normally does not take a case marker. In this example, it is likely that *kotodomo* and *mina* form a constituent, making the occurrence of *o* unnecessary on *kotodomo* as well as *mina*. In the remaining two examples, it is questionable to interpret the NPs in question as an object NP. Instead the bare object NP is naturally interpreted as the topic because it occurs at the head of the sentence.

(154)   sono   yoshi   isasaka   mono-ni   kakitsuku (Tosa, 27, 4)
        thatcircumstance little   thing-upon   write down
      '(I) write down few things about that circumstance (that trip) on paper.'

(155)   kefu   kuruma   Kyau he tori ni yaru (Tosa, 56, 10)
        today   vehicle   capital   take   send
        'Today (I) sent (someone) to pick up a vehicle'

As Kinsui notes, there are a number of cases in which the abstractly cased object NPs are positioned at the head of the sentence, and these are best dealt with as the topic of the sentence.
        There are eight counterexamples in which the morphological case *o* occurs on the object NP in conclusive forms. Kinsui quotes two examples from *Shokunihongi*. He points out that there is a considerable influence on the prose from *Kanbunkundoku*, leading to a relatively high occurrence of the morphologically cased object NP in contrast to other classical Japanese texts. This alone should question the quality of the data he presents from this work. In order to be thorough we will nevertheless take up each of his examples.
        In three examples, the use of *o* has an emphatic function; hence, the *o* in these examples is probably not the case marker.

(156)   sono hito-no   umugashiki   koto   isoshiki koto-o   tsuhini   wasure-ji
        that person-Nom grateful   thing diligent thing-Acc forever forget-neg
        '(One) will never forget how grateful and diligent that person was.'

(157)   wa-ga Ookimi Sumeramikoto-no oomae ni tate-matsuru   koto-o   moosu.
        I-Gen Emperor-Nom   in front of offer-humble thing-Acc state-humble
        '(one) reports that (someone) will offer (something) to our honorable Emperor.'

(158)   wakaregataki   koto-o   ifu (Tosa, 30, 2)
        separate.difficult   thing-acc   say
        '(they) express the fact that it is difficult to depart'

Some of the cases in which *o* appears in Kinsui's data with a conclusive form do not involve a true thematic object

(159) Awa-no-mito-o   waharu (Tosa, 47, 12)
       Awa-Gen-water gate-Acc cross
       'We crossed a water gate in Awa'

(160) Tanakawa-to   ifu   tokoro-o   wataru (Tosa, 47, 14)
       Tanakawa-comp   say   place-Acc cross
       'We crossed the place called Tanakawa'

Awa-no-mito 'a water gate in Awa' is a place the subject crosses. In short, the accusative NP is locative or traversal. In the same vein, the accusative NP, *Tanakawa to ifu tokoro* 'a place called Tanakakawa', is not a true object NP. This is similar to an accusative NP in modern Japanese:

(161) Kinmonkyoo-o   wataru
       Golden Gate Bridge-Acc cross
       '(I) cross the Golden Gate Bridge.'

A similar example involves the verb *ofu* 'head for'.

(162) Ohominato-o   ofu (Tosa, 31, 1)
       Ohominato-Acc   head to
       'We headed to Ohominato'

The verb *ofu* 'head for' can be interpreted in the way as *wataru* 'cross' which requires a locative or traversal NP.

There are two examples which share the same object NP and the verb: *kami-hotoke* 'God-Buddha' and *inoru* 'pray'.

(163) kami-hotoke-o   inoru (Tosa, 44, 13)
       God-Buddha-Acc pray
       'call upon (or recite) the name of God and Buddha'

(164) kami-hotoke-o   inoru (Tosa, 49, 2)
       God-Buddha-Acc pray
       'call upon (or recite) the name of God and Buddha'

The verb *inoru* 'pray' is similar to the verb *miru* 'meet' addressed by Motohashi (1989). In OJ the object NP of the verb *inoru* 'pray' is marked morphologically with *o*. Over time the particle changed into the dative *ni*. The complements that underwent this change are those that represent the goal of the event, such as one who you pray to. In this way the use of this *o* isn't to mark the

thematic object. An interesting question here is, did *o* sometimes function as a dative marker in OJ? We will leave this question open.

We have taken up each counterexample that Kinsui (1993) has noted and have given an account for all of them in a way that is consistent with our theory of OJ case marking.

In the following section, which is the last section, we will look at the relation of morphological and abstract case marking on word order.

7 Word Order

Our prediction that in OJ, both abstract case and morphological case are used to mark the object NP makes a prediction about word order. Abstract case is assigned under adjacency, so that the object NP with abstract case is expected to occur next to the verb (Stowell 1981). Thus, in English, which marks the object NP with abstract case, non-adjacency leads to a marginal sentence.

(165)   a.   John ate pizza yesterday.
       b. *John ate yesterday pizza.

To confirm this prediction, we looked at the two diaries presented, *Izumi Shikibu Diary* and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*. In addition, we drew data from *Sarashina Diary* (*SD*), a diary written in the tenth century by a daughter of Sugarawa no Takasuye. In length, it is shorter than *Murasaki Shikibu Diary* but longer than *Izumi Shikibu Diary*, occupying fifty-six pages in the *Iwanami Koten Bungaku Taikei* (Vo. 20, 1965).

The data on word order is as follows. "Adjacent" refers to those examples in which the object NP and the verb are adjacent while "non-adjacent" refers to examples in which the object NP and the verb are not adjacent).

(166)   Word Order of Object NP: Preliminary

	Total	Adjacent	Non-adjacent
ISD			
overt *o*	71	57 (80%)	14 (20%)
abs. case	70	58 (83%)	12 (17%)
MSD			
overt *o*	217	157 (72%)	60 (28%)
abs. case	190	164 (86%)	26 (14%)
SD			
overt *o*	199	158 (79%)	41 (21%)
abs. case	142	132 (93%)	10 (7%)

Appendix 10 gives the list of non-adjacent, abstract-cased object NP examples from the three works.

As we can see in (166), the proportion of object NPs that occur adjacent to the verb is significantly greater than those that occur away from the verb regardless of whether the object

NP has morphological case or abstract case. The data also indicates that the proportion of non-adjacent abstractly-cased object NPs is smaller than the non-adjacent morphologically-cased object NPs. In *ISD* the proportion is 17% vs. 20%; in *MSD* the proportion is 14% to 28%; and in *SD* it is most pronounced at 7% vs. 21 %. In fact, this proportion between non-adjacent abstractly cased object NPs and morphologically cased object NPs is even more skewed if we take into consideration other factors.

First, as noted by Stowell (1981) there appears to be a parametric variation in how strictly a language requires the abstractly cased object NP to occur adjacent to the verb. While English is quite strict, Stowell points out that in a language such as Dutch, an adverb may intervene between the verb and the object NP with abstract case.

(167) a. Ik   ontmoet   *de expert* morgen   overt die   zaak
          I   meet   the expert tomorrow   about this matter

       b. Ik   ontmoet   morgen   *de expert* overt die   zaak.
          I   meet   tomorrow   the expert about this matter

A number of non-adjacent abstractly cased object NPs in (166) have only an adverb between it and the verb, just as in the Dutch example.

Second, we saw in section 4 that there are NPs that do not require the morphological overt case marking. These include those NPs with an adverbial particle such as *–nado* 'such as' and *–bakari* 'only'. Also, the words such as *fumi* song/poem' and *on-tukahi* 'messenger' idiosyncratically tend not to take *o* regardless of the conjugation of the verb. A number of non-adjacent abstractly cased object NPs in (166) fall into this category.

Thirdly, there are a number of examples in which a numeral quantifier intervenes between the abstractly cased object NP and the verb, as illustrated below from *SD*.

(168)   otoko kuruma ___ futatu-bakari hiki-tate te   (505, 14)
        man   cart   two-about   pull-line
        'a man pulls and lines two carts'

As argued in Miyagawa (1989:Ch. 2), an object-oriented numeral quantifier such as the above need not obstruct the structural adjacency between the object NP and the verb.

Excluding these three types of examples from (166) results in the following patterns of word order.

(169)   Word Order of Object NP: Final

	Total	Adjacent	Non-adjacent
ISD			
overt *o*	71	57 (80%)	14 (20%)
abs. case	70	58 (97%)	2 (3%)
MSD			
overt *o*	217	157 (72%)	60 (28%)

| abs. case | 190 | 164 (86%) | 6 (4%) |

SD

| overt *o* | 199 | 158 (79%) | 41 (21%) |
| abs. case | 142 | 132 (92%) | 3 (2%) |

As shown the number of non-adjacent abstractly cased object NPs is extremely small (see Appendix 10 for these examples), which confirms our prediction that the abstractly cased object NP must occur adjacent to the verb. We suspect that at least some of the non-adjacent abstractly cased object NPs in above are instances of zero-topicalization, although there is, at the moment, way to substantiate this.

8 Conclusion

In this work we have demonstrated that the principles-and-parameters approach to synchronic grammars provides a theoretical framework within which to account for diachronic change. The "parameter-setting" feature of this theory imposes a highly constrained approach to diachronic change: diachronic change, at least of the type we dealt with, results from "resetting" of a parameter. The "resetting" we observed occurred in the case marking system of Japanese. In Old Japanese, the conclusive form selected the "abstract case" option, the attributive form and the perfect form selected the "morphological case" option, and the conjunctive form freely selected between these two options. The diachronic change that transformed Old Japanese to modern Japanese is one in which all verbs have come to select the "morphological case" option of the parameter. This resetting took place via an independent language change that in effect did away with the conclusive form which selected abstract case. The attributive form, which selected the morphological case marking option, supplanted the conclusive form. This naturally led to a spread of the morphological case marker *o*. In addition, the conjunctive form of the verb, which in OJ selected freely between abstract case and the morphological case marking, began to select for the morphological case marker after the transformation of the verbal system, thereby causing further increase in the frequency of *o*. This change in the conjunctive form can be traced to the "parallelism" phenomenon, in which the conjunctive form selected the morphological case marker if the other verb(s) in the same clause had the morphological case marker, and it selected the abstract case if the other verb(s) also selected abstract case. After the transformation of the verbal system in post-OJ, the finite verb in any clause tended to be the attributive form, which selected for the morphological case marker, and the parallelism phenomenon naturally led the conjunctive form in the same clause to also select the morphological case marker over abstract case.

APPENDIX 1

Exceptions From *Izumi Shikibu Diary*

Conclusive: Object NPs with o

A. Compound

(1.1)   mon-<u>o</u>   uti-tataku (427, 15)
         gate-Acc   hit-knock
         'knock on the gate'

(1.2)   yorozu-no   kuruma-<u>o</u> notamahase-tigiru (432, 6)
         tens of thousands-Gen carts-Acc call-honor-do vigorously
         'vigorously call tens of thousands of carts'

(1.3)   kono yo   nara-zu   aharenaru koto-*o*
         this world exist-Neg pathetic   things-Acc
         notamawase-tigiru (439, 1)
         speak-honor-do ardently
         'ardently speak about pathetic things that rarely exist in this world'

B. –Nameri

(1.4)   arituru koto-*o*   hazukasi-to   omohituru-nameri-to obosi-te (433, 15)
         such a thing-Acc embarrassing-Comp   think complete-probably think
         'thinking about such a thing (rumor) is probably embarrassing'

(1.5)   tahabure-*o*   se-sase-tamafu-nameri (434, 8)
         playfulness-Acc   do-cause-honor-probably
         'probably allow playfulness'

(1.6)   kaze-no   oto-*o*   obosi-yaranu-nameri kasi (435, 2)
         winds-Gensounds-Acc   think-over-probably   Emph.
         'probably think over the sounds of winds'

C. Emphasis

(1.7)   "kono hito-*o*   mi-n" (444, 5)
         this person-Acc   look at-intend
         'will look at this person (Izumi Shikibu)'

Attributive: Object NP Without o

A. Object NP with Another Particle

(1.8) hakanaki   tahabure   goto-<u>mo</u>   ifu hito (425, 1)
       transient   not serious things-too say people
       'people who say things which are transient and not serious'

(1.9) omohitatu koto-<u>sae</u>   hono   kiki-turu   hito (433, 12)
       decide   things-even   barely hear-complete people
       'people who barely heard about (Izumi Shikibu's) decision'

(1.10) takimono-<u>nado</u> ___   se-sase-tamafu   hodo-ni (407, 10)
       incense-such   do-cause-honor   while
       'while … make (someone) burn incense'

(1.11) okonai-<u>nado</u> ___   suru-ni dani (432, 12)
       suggestion-such   do although
       'although (we) give (Izumi Shikibu) suggestions'

B. Suru Verb

(1.12) susabi   goto ___   suru-ni koso   are (408, 4)
       ephemeral things   do Kakari   cop
       'do ephemeral things'

(1.13) suki goto ___   se-si   hitobito-nofumi (434, 8)
       affairs   do-past people-Gen   letter
       'letters of people who took part in affairs'

C. Object-Verb Compounds

(1.14) tokoro ___ kahe-taru (435, 9)
       places   changed-perfective
       'have changed places'

(1.15) mono ___ omoha-nu sama   nare (419, 6)
       thing   think-Neg state   cop
       'be in a state of not pondering over (something)'

(1.16) higoro   mono ___ ihi-turu   hito (421, 14)
       daily   thing   said-perfective   person
       'a person whom (one) talks at daily basis'

D. Lexical Idiosyncracy

(1.17) on-tukahi ___ matidoo-ni ya   omofu-ran to te (426, 4)
        messenger long for   Kakari   feel-speculative
        '(one) probably yearn for the arrival of a messenger'

E. Formal Nominal Koto 'fact/matter'

(1.18) kono   koto ___   hitobito mousu-naru-ha (407, 12)
        these   things   people   say-cop-Top
        'that people say these things'

(1.19) kaku   mairi-kuru   koto ___ binasi-to
        like this   come and visit things   outrageous-Comp
        omofu hitobiro (408, 10)
        think   people
        'people who think it is outrageous to some and visit like this'

(1.20) ikanaru koto ___   kikosimesi-taru ni ka-to (433, 15)
        what kinds of thing   hear-perfective   Kakari-Comp
        'wondering what kinds of things (someone) heard'

(1.21) mutukasiki koto ___   ifu-o   kikosimesi te (444, 9)
        disturbing things   say-Acc hear-honor
        'hear that (someone) says disturbing things'

F. Exceptions Without an Account

(1.22) yononaka ___ goranzi-haturu   made (408, 3)
        world   see and ascertain   until
        'until (Prince) ascertains about the world'

(1.23) hito ___ tukaha-n   kara-ni (443, 8)
        person send-intend   because
        'because I will send a person to you'

(1.24) sode ___   wasure-haberu ori (423, 8)
        sleeves   forget-humble when
        'When (someone) forget sleeves'

Perfective: Object NP Without o

(1.25) on-kaheri ___ kikoe-sase-ture ba (401, 9)
        response   send-cause-perfective

'made (someone) send a response'

(1.26) on-fumi ___   mire ba (413, 3)
        letter   saw
        'saw a letter'

(1.27) hitobito   fumi ___   tukuru-mere ba (438,1)
        people   letter   write-seem
        'seems that people write letters'

(1.28) o-kyau ___ naraha-se-tamahi-kereba (440,10)
        sutra   learn-cause-honor-past
        'made (someone) learn sutra'

(1.29) amari mono ___ kikoe-sase-tamaha-ne-ba (445,12)
        very   thing   speak-honor-Neg
        'did not correspond very often'

APPENDIX 2

Compound Verbs in *Izumi Shikibu Diary*

(2.1)   tatibana-no hana-<u>o</u>   <u>tori-ide</u>-tare ba (399, 14)
        orange colored flower-Acc   take-put out-perfective
        'when I take out the orange colored flower'

(2.2)   on-fumi-*o* <u>sasi-ide</u>-tare ba (400, 5)
        letter-Acc bring-hand out-perfective
        'when (someone) brought and handed out a letter'

(2.3)   yononaka ___ <u>goranzi-haturu</u>-made ha (408, 3)
        society   see-ascertain-until
        'until (Miya Emperor) ascertains the society'

(2.4)   kono akatuki-no hodo-no kotodomo-*o*   mono-ni   <u>kaki-tukuru</u>
        this dawn-Gen   when-Gen   things-Accthing-on   write-compose
        hodo-ni zo (429, 12)
        when   Kakari
        'while (Izumi Shikibu) writes down her feelings of this dawn on paper'

(2.5)   tumado-*o* <u>osi-ake</u>-tare ba (420, 12)
        door-Acc   push-open-perfective
        'pushed and opened the door'

(2.6)   kono kado-*o* <u>uti-tataka</u>-suru   hito   ara-n (421, 1)
        this gate-Acc   hit-knock-cause   person exist-speculative
        'It seems that there is a person who makes (someone) knock this gate'

(2.7)   aharenaru koto-no   kagiri-*o*   <u>tukuri-ide</u>-taru
        pathetic   things-Gen all-Acc   create-come out-perfective
        you   naru ni (422, 14)
        look   cop
        'it appears to create everything related to pathos'

(2.8)   on-fumi-*o* <u>tori-ide</u>-taru (426, 10)
        letter-Acc take-come out-perfective
        'took out a letter'

(2.9)   kado-*o*   <u>uti-tataku</u> (427, 15)
        gate-Acc   hit-knock
        'knock on the gate'

(2.10) yorozu-no   kuruma-*o* notamahase-tigiru (423, 6)
         tens of thousands-gen carts-Acc   call-complete
         'called tens of thousands of carts'

(2.11) hito-no   ue-*o*-mo   mi-sadame-n (433, 4)
         person-Gen   future-Acc-too   look after-decide
         'will look after a person's future'

(2.12) kaze-no   oto-*o*   obosi-yara-nu (435, 2)
         wind-Gen sounds-Acc   think-over-Neg
         'do not think over the sounds of winds'

(2.13) konoyo   nara-zu   ahare-naru-koto-*o*
         this world exist-Neg pathetic   things-Acc
         notamahase-tigiru (439, 1)
         speak about-complete
         'spoke about pathetic things which seem not to exist in this world'

(2.14) ana-*o*   ake-sahagu zo   ito sama   asiki ya (444, 5)
         hole-Acc   peek-noisy Kakari   very appearance   disgraceful Kakari
         'Isn't it very disgraceful to peek into the holes and be noisy'

(2.15) furusato ___   mazu   omohi-ide raru (444, 6)
         hometown first   think-come to mind naturally
         'first, her hometown naturally comes to mind'

Conjunctive

(2.16) yononaka-*o*   nageki-wabi-tutu (399, 1)
         world-Acc sigh-lament
         'while she sighs and laments over the world'

(2.17) kehai-*o*   goranzi-tuke te (400, 5)
         sign-Acc   see-recognize
         'recognize a sign'

(2.18) ito warinaki   kotodomo-*o*   notamahi-tigiri te (402, 8)
         very inevitable   things-Acc   speak-do ardently
         'ardently speak of things which are very inevitable'

(2.19) kami-no   hitohe-*o*   hiki-kaesi te (406, 8)
         paper-Gen a piece of-Acc   pull-turn over
         'turn over a piece of paper'

(2.20) mono omohi-taru   sama   nari-si-*o*   ahare-to
        thing think-perfective attitude cop-past-Acc   pathos-Comp
        <u>obosi-ide</u> te (406, 14)
        feel-come out
        'feel pathos for (someone's) attitude of meditation'

(2.21) kuruma-*o* <u>sasi-yose</u> <u>te</u> (399, 1)
        carts-Acc   place-bring
        'place the cart down and at rest'

(2.22) afugi-*o*   <u>sasi-ide</u> te (412, 10)
        fan-Acc   hold out-put out
        'hold out a fan'

(2.23) on-kuruma-*o*   <u>hiki-ire</u> te (415, 9)
        cart-Acc   pull-bring in
        'pull the cart in'

(2.24) soramimi-*o*   koso   <u>kiki-ohasouzi</u> te (419, 8)
        mishearing-Acc   Kakari hear
        'only mishear'

(2.25) tumado <u>   </u>   <u>osi-ake</u> te   mire ba (428, 2)
        door   push-open see
        'when I pushed and opened the door and looked'

APPENDIX 3

Suru 'do' in *Izumi Shikibu Diary*

(3.1) on-kokoromuke ___ si_te (401, 6)
       intention   do
       '(Prince) has an intend (to visit Izumi Shikibu)'

(3.2) sugusu-*o*-mo   wasure ya suru-to (405, 1)
       spend-Acc-too   forget   kakari do
       '(Prince) wondered if he forget about the time he spent with
       (Izumi Shikibu)'

(3.3) takimono-nado ___   se-sase-tamau   hodo-ni (407,10)
       incense-such   do cause-honor   while
       'while (Izumi Shikibu) burned incense'

(3.4) hakanaki susabi   goto ___   suru-ni koso   are (408, 4)
       transient ephemeral   things   do Kakari cop
       'do ephemeral and transient things'

(3.5) on-monogatari___ si-tamahi te (408, 11)
       stories   do-honor
       '(Prince) tells stories'

(3.6) monogatari ___ ahare-ni   si-tamahi te (409, 4)
       a story   pathetically   do-honor
       '(Prince) tells a stories pathetically'

(3.7) monogatari ___   si-tamafu (409, 14)
       a story   do-honor
       '(Prince) tells a story'

(3.8) hisumasiharawa ___   si te (412, 3)
       young servants   do
       '(Izumi Shikibu) sends a low-status young (boy) servant'

(3.9) on-mae-ni hitobito ___   si te (412, 5)
       front   people   do
       '(Prince) has people attending him'

(3.10) on-monogatari___ si te (412, 8)
       a story   do
       '(Prince) tells a story'

(3.11) rei-no kuruma-ni sauzoku ___ se-sase yo (424, 12)
       that cart clothes do-cause
       'make (someone) decorate that cart'

(3.12) okonahi-nado ___ suru dani (432, 12)
       suggestions-such do although
       'although (we) give (Izumi Shikibu) suggestions'

(3.13) tabine-*o* zo suru (433, 6)
       sleep during travel-Acc Kakari do
       'sleep during travel'

(3.14) suki goto ___ se-si hitobito-no fumi-o-mo (434, 8)
       affairs do-past people-Gen letter-Acc-too
       'letters from people who did affairs too'

(3.15) tahabure-*o* se-sase-tamafu-nameri (434, 10)
       playfulness-Acc do-cause-honor-probably
       'probably allow playfulness'

APPENDIX 4

Formal Nominal <u>Koto</u> in *Izumi Shikibu Diary*

(4.1)   hakanaki   koto-*o*-mo-to   omohi te (400, 2)
        transient   thing-Acc-too think
        'think it is a transient thing'

(4.2)   kakaru koto ___   yume hito-ni   ifu-na (400, 8)
        these things   ever   people   tell-Neg
        'never tell anyone these things'

(4.3)   kono koto ___ hitobito   mousu-naru-ha (407, 12)
        these things   people   say-cop-Top
        'that people say these things'

(4.4)   kaku   mairi-kuru   koto ___ binasi-to
        like this   come and visit thing   outrageous-Comp
        omofu hitobito (488, 10)
        think   people
        'people who think it is outrageous to come and visit like this'

(4.5)   hitoyo-no   koto-*o*   namauku   obosa-re te (411, 9)
        a certain night things-Accunpleased feel-of its own accord
        'naturally feel unpleased about a certain night'

(4.6)   kono akatuki-no   koto-domo-*o*   mono ni
        this dawn-Gen   things-such-Acc   thing on
        kaki-tukuru hodo-ni (419, 11)
        write-make while
        'while (she) wrote down her feelings of this dawn on paper'

(4.7)   binnakikoto ___ ikade   kikosimesa-re-zi (433, 5)
        improper   things   how   hear-of its own accord-not
        'how can (Prince) prevent letting (Izumi Shikibu) hear about improper
        things'

(4.8)   ikanaru   koto ___   kikosimesi-taru ni ka to (433, 15)
        what kinds of things   tell-perfective   Kakari Comp
        'wondering what kinds of things (he) told'

(4.9)   arituru koto-*o*   hazukasi-to   omohi-turu   nameri to (433, 15)
        such a thing-Acc   embarrassing-Comp   think-perfective probably Comp
        'thinking about such a thing (rumor) is probably embarrassing'

(4.10) rei-no   aharenaru koto-domo __ kaka-se-tamahi te (435, 9)
        those-Gen pathetic   thing-such   write-cause-honor
        'make (someone) write those pathetic things'

(4.11) on-kesiki-no   rei yori-mo   ukabi-taru   koto-domo-*o*
        manner-Gen   usual than   unstable-perfective   things-such-Acc
        notamaha-se te (439, 8)
        say-honor
        'saying that (Prince's) manner is more unstable than usual'

(4.12) koyohi-no   koto-*o*   yume-ni   nasa baya (444, 9)
        this evening-Gen things-Acc dream   make wish
        'wish to made the event of this evening into a dream'

(4.13) mutukasiki koto __   ifu-*o*   kikosimesi te (444, 9)
        disturbing things   say-Acc   hear-honor
        'hear that (one) says disturbing things'

(4.14) hakanaki susabi   goto __   suru-ni koso   are (408, 4)
        transient ephemeral   things   do Kakari cop
        'do transient and ephemeral things'

(4.15) hakanaki   tahabure   goto-mo   ifu hito
        transient   not serious things-too   say people
        amata ari sika ba (425, 1)
        many exist   past
        'because there were many people who say things which are not serious'

(4.16) omohitatu koto-sae   hono   kiki-turu   hito-mo (433, 12)
        decide   thing-even barely hear-perfective   people-too
        'people who barely heard about (Izumi Shikibu's) decision'

APPENDIX 5

Exceptions from *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*

A. <u>Compound</u>

(5.1)   sirokane-no su-*o*   hitobito <u>tuki-sirofu</u> (25,1)
         silver-Gen cover-Acc   people   poke-each other
         'people laugh at the silver cover each other'

(5.2)   tono-no   uti-*o*   iyoiyo <u>tukurohi-migakase</u>-tamafu (29,13)
         emperor-Gen   residence-Acc finally repair-decorate-honor
         'finally fix and decorate the emperor's residence'

(5.3)   misu-domo-*o*   sono aida-ni   atari te i-tamahe-ru   hitobito,
         screens-such-Acc   its   between face   stay-honor-perfective people
         yori-tutu maki-age-tamafu (40,14)
         tie   roll-lift-honor
         'people who were sitting between the screens approached, rolled and tied the screens up'

(5.4)   imiziku tumazuma-*o* <u>yui-soe</u>-tari (55,2)
         awfully edges-Acc   sewed-set-perfective
         'sewed and set (its) edges awfully'

(5.5)   hito-no   aunaki na-*o*   <u>ihi-ohosu</u> beki   nara-zu (67,4)
         person-Nom   shallow name-Accsay-blame must   cop-Neg
         'one must not talk about me being frivolous'

B. <u>–Nameri</u>

(5.6)   kosi-bakari-*o*   rei-ni   tagahe-ru-<u>nameri</u> (19,14)
         waist-only-Acc   regular   violate-perfective-probably
         'seem to violate the regular custom of putting clothing on around the waist'

C. <u>-Tari</u>

(5.7)   tada   ebizome-*o*   ki-se-<u>tari</u> (53,10)
         simply vine coloring-Acc wear-honor-perfective
         'simply wore vine-coloring clothing'

(5.8)   kosi-*o*   kagame-<u>tari</u> (8,8)
         lower back-Acc   bend-perfective
         'bended (one's) lower back'

(5.9)　karakusa-*o*　　　　　　nuhi-<u>tari</u> (19,12)
　　　arabesque pattern-Acc　　sew-perfective
　　　'sewed an arabesque pattern'

(5.10)　koki utimono-*o*　　　ue-ni　ki-<u>tari</u> (28,12)
　　　deep colored clothing-Acc　　top-on　wear-perfective
　　　'wore a deep colored clothing on top'

(5.11)　fusenryo-*o* hazidan-ni　　　some-<u>tari</u> (32,9)
　　　figure-Acc reddish yellow　　dye-perfective
　　　'dyed a figure into reddish yellow'

(5.12)　kokonoe-no　　　karagoromo-*o*　　　　　kokorogokoro-ni
　　　nine layered-Gen　Chinese style clothing-Acc　　as they wish
　　　si-<u>tari</u> (33,13)
　　　do-perfective
　　　'wore nine layered Chinese style clothing as they wish'

(5.13)　sirokane-no　　sausibako-*o*　　sue-<u>tari</u> (57,1)
　　　silver-Gen　　notes box-Acc　put-perfective
　　　'put silver notes box'

(5.14)　kesiki-*o*　　si-<u>tari</u> (57,2)
　　　looks-Acc　do-perfective
　　　'had the looks'

(5.15)　koki usuki itutu-*o*　　kasane-<u>tari</u> (88,6)
　　　deep light　five-Acc　　layer-perfective
　　　'layered five different deep and light colored clothing'

E. <u>o as Locative</u>

(5.16)　tenzyobito-no　　　　za-ha　　nishi-*o*　kami nari (22,4)
　　　court member-Gen　　seat-Top　west-Acc　head cop
　　　'the highest court members sat down from the west end'

F. <u>Exceptional case marking (ECM)</u>

(5.17)　sakizaki-no　　miyuki-*o*　nadote meiboku-ari te to
　　　past-Gen　　　visits-Acc　why　honor-cop Comp
　　　omohi-tamahi-kemu (36,11)
　　　think-honor-past speculative
　　　'why did I feel my previous visits as such an honor'

G. Idioms

(5.18) nuka-*o*   tuku (16,2)
        forehead-Acc   hit
        'hit the forehead (religious worship custom)'

(5.19) asi-*o*   sora nari (48,5)
        feet-Acc   sky cop
        'the feet are in the air' (

H. Emphatic Usage

(5.20) ware-*o*   nikumu tomo (78,2)
        self-Acc   hate   although
        'although I hate myself'

(5.21) sore-*o* ware masarite   iha-mu to (78,6)
        it-Acc I   more than   speak-intend Comp
        'I speak about it more than (others do)'

(5.22) mi-tyau-no   uti-*o*   tohora-se-tamafu (43,11)
        screen-Gen   inside-Acc pass-cause-honor
        'let … pass inside the screen'

(5.23) kyau-*o*   narai-habera-mu (80,8)
        sutra-Acc   learn-humble-intend
        'will learn sutra'

I. Empahtic 'e … zu'

(5.24) hitobito-*o*   <u>e</u>   hosiae-<u>zu</u> (14,6)
        people-Acc   Emph. dry-Neg
        'people could not stop crying'

(5.25) m-tyau futatu-ga usiro-no   hosomiti-*o* <u>e</u>   hito-mo
        screen two-Gen back-Gen   narrow passage-Acc Emph.   people-too
        tohora-<u>zu</u> (15,5)
        pass-Neg
        'people also do not pass through the narrow passage behind the two screens'

J. Exceptions Unaccounted For

(5.26) siki-no   iti-no   maki-*o*   yomu (20,5)
        Shiki-Gen first-Gen   volume-Acc   read

'read the first volume of *Shiji*'

(5.27) taifu-*o*   kokoro koto-ni motenasi-kikoyu (38,9)
        court member-Acc   particular   take care-honor
        'take a particular care of the court member'

(5.28) tada goseti-dokoro-*no*   okasiki koto-*o*   kataru (52,6)
        only dressing room-Gen   interesting things-Acc   speak
        'speak about the interesting things of the dressing room'

(5.29) yobe-*no*   on-kuti-zusami-*o* mede-kikoyu (86,8)
        last night-Gen recitation-Acc   appreciate-honor
        'appreciate the poems recited last night'

(5.30) tori-no hakyu-*o*   asobu (89,13)
        a part of Gagaku-Acc play
        'play a part of Gagaku (music)'

Attributive: Object NPs Without o

A. Object NPs With Other Particles

(5.31) yomi-si   fumi-<u>nado</u>   ihi-kemu (79,9)
        read-past   letter-such speak-past speculative
        'probably spoke about the letter that (one) read'

(5.32) hito-<u>bakari</u>   sukosi natukasiku omofu zo (46,10)
        people-only   little   dearly   feel   Kakari
        'only feel a little dearly about people'

(5.33) fue-<u>nado</u>   fuki-ahase-taru (83,5)
        flute-such   play-join together-perfective
        'played flutes together'

B. Suru

(5.34) hakanaki monogatari <u>   </u> <u>suru</u>-*o* kikosimesi-tutu (7,6)
        transient stories   do-Acc listen honor-while
        'while listening to transient stories'

(5.35) hirune <u>   </u> si-tamahe-ru   hodo nari-keri (11,1)
        nap   do-honor-perfective   when cop-past
        'it was when (one) was taking a nap'

(5.36) kakai ___ si-taru (37,5)
        promote   do-perfective
        '… was promoted'

(5.37) monogatari ___ si-tamahi-si   kehai (46,12)
        stories   do-honor-past   sign
        'the sign … (someone) converse'

(5.38) kokoro-zukai ___ se-raruru   kokoti-su (61,11)
        care   do-honor   feel
        'having a feeling to care for….'

(5.39) monozutumi ___ se-sase-tamaheru on-kokoti-ni (68,11)
        shyness   do-honor-honor   feeling
        'having a feeling of being shy'

C. Causative Verb

(5.40) tukahi-no   kimi-no bin   kaka-se-tamafu beki
        messenger-Nom   you-Gen hair   fix-cause-honor should
        kesiki-o (57,2)
        sign
        'a sign to make the messenger fix your hair'

(5.41) ue ___   idaki-utusi-tatematura-se-tamafu hodo (35,3)
        prince hold-move-honor-cause-honor   when
        'when (someone) make (one) hold a prince'

(5.42) moti ___   maira-se-tamafu   kotodomo (88,11)
        rice cake   bring-cause-honor things
        'making (someone) bring rice cakes'

D. Compound

(5.43) sauzo ___ ki-taru (26,3)
        clothing   wear-perfective
        'wore clothing'

(5.44) sauzo ___ ki-tamaheru mo (40,20)
        clothing   wear-honor
        'wearing clothing'

(5.45) kokoro ___ yosu-beki (52,11)
        heart   close-should

'should have a feeling for (someone)'

(5.46) fumi ___ yomi-haberi-si toki (79,3)
      letter   read-be-past   when
      'when (there is someone) who reads a letter'

(5.47) kami ___ age-taru (23, 7)
      hair   fix-perfective
      'fixed (her) hair'

(5.48) kami ___ aguru koto (23,11)
      hair   fix   thing
      'fixing (her) hair'

(5.49) kami ___ age-taru   katati-nado (84, 10)
      hair   fix-perfective   shape-such
      'a hairstyle which fixed up'

(5.50) te ___ fururu hito-mo   koto-ni   nasi (75,3)
      hands touch person-Kakari particularly   not exist
      'there is nobody who touches (one)'

E. Idioms

(5.51) iro ___ yurusa-re-taru-ha (20,14)
      color   permit-passive-perfective-Top
      '(those) who permitted a special color'

(5.52) iro ___ yurusa-re-taru   hitobito-ha (33,5)
      color   permit-passive-perfective   people-Top
      'people who permitted a special color'

(5.53) Fujiwara-nagara   mon ___ wakare-taru (37,4)
      Fujiwara-despite   gate   part-perfective
      'parting from the family despite being a Fujiwara'

(5.54) ima-ha   kotozi-ni   nikaha ___ sasu   you ni te (65,6)
      now-Top   koto bridge-on   glue   apply   appear to be
      'appear to be applying glue on a koto bridge now (being inflexible)'

F. Lexical Idiosyncracy

(5.55) fumi ___ okose-tamahe-ru   kaheri goto (30,12)
      letter   sent-honor-perfective   response

'respose to a letter which was sent out'

(5.56) fumi ___ hasiri gaki-taru-ni (72,8)
        letter   scribble-perfective
        'scribble a letter'

(5.57) kyau ___ yomu-o   dani (75,6)
        sutra   read-Acc although
        'although (one) chanting sutra'

(5.58) sisoku ___ sasa-nu-bakari (50,8)
        lamp   light-Neg-only
        'not lighting a lamp'

(5.59) misu ___ aguru kiha-ni (88,11)
        screen   raise when
        'when (one) raises the screen'

(5.60) misu ___ aguru kiha ni (88,11)
        screen   raise moment-at
        'at the moment of raising the screen'

(5.61) misu ___ kake-taru-ni (89,1)
        screen   hang-perfective
        'hanging a screen'

G. Formal Nominal koto (goto)

(5.62) kaheri   goto ___ kaku-ni (30,12)
        response thing   write
        'writing a response'

(5.63) sarusama-no   koto ___ sirosimesa   mahosi ge-ni (79,13)
        certain situation-Gen fact know honor   want   appear
        'showing a desire to know certain situation'

(5.64) ito tosi ___ he-taru   hitobito (14,14)
        long time   pass-perfective   people
        'people who passed for a long time'

(5.65) mono-no   kazukazu ___ kaki-taru   fumi (27,3)
        thing-Gen many   write-perfective   document
        'document in which (one) wrote many things'

H. Verbal Form

(5.66) hitorigo ___ tare-si (58,8)
monologue utter-past
'uttered a monologue'

(5.67) mozi ___   otosi   zo   habera-mu (81, 13)
character   leave out   Kakari be honor-intend
'leave out a character'

I. Exceptions Unaccounted For

(5.68) on-tituke ___ tukau-maturi-si (28,3)
milk   give-honor-past
'breastfed'

(5.69) hito-no   hazi ___   mi-haberi-si   yo (29,1)
person-Gen   disgrace   see-humble-past   night
'the night that (someone) saw a person's disgrace'

(5.70) haha ___ urami-tamafu mono zo (43, 11)
mother   blame-honor things Kakari
'things to blame one's mother'

(5.71) kazami ___ okasi-to omohi-taru-ni (53,5)
clothing   elegant think-perfective
'thinking that the clothing was elegant'

(5.72) on-okurimono ___ kesa   zo komayaka-ni   goranzuru (49,6)
present   this morning   Kakari carefully   see honor
'this morning (one) looks at the presents carefully'

(5.73) keuke ___   okonafu tokoro (82,3)
preaching practice place
'place where (one) practices preaching'

(5.74) sodeguti-no ahahi ___   warou kasane-taru   hito (88,1)
sleeve-Gen coloration   bad   lay-perfective person
'a person who layered (her) sleeves in an unpleasant manner'

(5.75) tauyaku ___ kubareru rei-no   kotodomo nari (84,12)
medicine   distribute regular things   cop
'it is a regular thing that (one) distributes medicine'

(5.76) koe ___ utisoe-mu mo (83,1)
　　　　voice　add-speculative
　　　　'adding the voice (start singing along)'

Perfective: Object NPs Without o

A. NPs With Other Particles

(5.77) noti-ni zo goban-no sama-nado ___ mi-tamahe ba (9,14)
　　　　later Kakari table-Gen view-such look-honor
　　　　'later (one) looked at the table'

(5.78) inu no toki-nado ___　　　　　　　kiki-ture　　　do (47,9)
　　　　the bell of around seven-nine p.m. hear-perfective　although
　　　　'although (one) heard the bell of around seven-nine p.m.'

B. Exception Unaccounted For

(5.79) tohori ___ ariki-tamahe ba (56,7)
　　　　hallway　walk -honor
　　　　'walk around a hallway'

APPENDIX 6

Examples with –tari in *Murasaki Shikibu Dairy*

(6.1)   kosi-*o*   kagame-tari (8,9)
        lower back-Acc   bend-perfective
        'bended (one's) lower back'

(6.2)   karakusa-*o*   nuhi-tari (19,12)
        arabesque pattern-Acc   sew-perfective
        'sewed an arabesque patterns'

(6.3)   koki utimono-*o*   ue-ni   ki-tari (28,12)
        deep clothes-Acc   top-on wear-perfective
        'wore a deep color of clothes on top'

(6.4)   fusenryo-*o* hazidan-ni   some-tari (32,9)
        figure-Acc reddish yellow   dye-perfective
        'dyed a figure into reddish yellow'

(6.5)   kokonoe-no   karagoromo-*o*   kokorogokoro-ni
        nine layered-Gen   Chinese style clothes-Accas they wish
        si-tari (33,13)
        do-perfective
        'wore nine layered Chinese style clothes as they wish'

(6.6)   tada   ebizome-*o*   ki-se-tari (53,10)
        simply   vine coloring-Acc wear-cause-perfective
        'simply wore vine coloring clothes'

(6.7)   sirokane-no sousibako-*o*   sue-tari (57,1)
        silver-Gen   notes-box-Acc   put-perfective
        'put silver notes-box'

(6.8)   koki   usuki itutu-*o*   kasane-tari
        deep   light five-Acc   layer-perfective
        'had five layers of deep and light colored clothes'

(6.9)   imiziku   tumasuma-*o*   yui-sohe-tari (55,2)
        exaggerate edges-Acc   dress-set-perfective
        '(one) dressed and set its edges exaggeratedly'

(6.10) siroki zusi ___ hito-yori-ni mairi-sue-tari (24,3)
        white closet   one-lay   bring-set-perfective

'brought and set a white closet'

(6.11) hitomoto ___ age-tari (35,1)
        strand of hair   lift up-perfective
        'lifted up strand of (her) hair'

(6.12) on-akome ___   tada   futatu tatematuri-tari (36,1)
        clothes   only   two   present honor-perfective
        'presented only two of the clothes'

(6.13) sumifude-nado ___   tamaha-se-tari (44,7)
        ink brush-such   ask for-cause-perfective
        'asked (someone) for an ink brush and so forth'

(6.14) ieie-no shu ___   kaki-tari (49,11)
        families-Gen collections   write-perfective
        'wrote down poetry collections from different families'

(6.15) on-mono ___   mairi-suhe-tari (89,4)
        things   bring-set-perfective
        'brought and set the things (dishes)'

APPENDIX 7

Suru 'do' Examples from *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*

(7.1) hakanaki monogatari ___ suru (7,6)
       transient stories   do
       'reading transient stories'

(7.2) hirune ___ si-tamahe-ru (11,1)
       nap   do-honor-perfective
       'took a nap'

(7.3) mina siroki ohohi ___ si-tari (19,3)
       every white cover   do-perfective
       'everything was covered with white covers'

(7.4) usumono-*o*   si-taru   hito-mo   ari (21,3)
       light clothing-Acc do-perfective people-too cop
       'there are also people who wear light clothing'

(7.5) kami aguru   koto-*o*-zo   suru (32,11)
       hair lift up thing-Acc-Kakari do
       'fixing her hair up'

(7.6) kakai ___ si-taru (37,5)
       promote   do-perfective
       'promoted (someone)'

(7.7) tugitugi-no   hito   butahu ___ su (37,5)
       one after another-Gen people   dance   do
       'one after another people dance'

(7.8) hakanaki   irahe-nado ___ su (38,8)
       transient   replay-such   do
       'give a transient reply'

(7.9) wakamiya-ha   on-monogatari-nado ___ se-sase-tamafu (44,12)
       young prince-Top stories-such   do-cause-honor
       'a young prince makes (someone) tell stories'

(7.10) monogatari ___ si-tamahi-si   kehahi-no (46,12)
       stories   do-honor-past   view
       'the view that (one) told stories'

(7.11) tukurohi-domo___ su to te (58,10)
        sewings   do
        'do sewing'

(7.12) osihe-nado ___tukuzuku to si-i-taru-ni (58,12)
        teaching-such vacantly   do-be-perfective
        '(one) is teaching (something) vacantly'

(7.13) atenaru sama ___ si-tamahe-ri (61,10)
        noble   looks   do-honor-perfective
        'have a noble looks'

(7.14) kokoro-zukai ___ se-raruru   kokoti-su (61,11)
        care   do-honor   feel-do
        'having a feeling to care for….'

(7.15) sidari yanagi-no sama ___ si-tari (62,9)
        weeping willow view   do-perfective
        'had the view of a weeping willow'

(7.16) monozutumi ___ se-sase-tamahe-ru   on-kokoti-ni (68, 11)
        shyness   do-cause-honor-perfective   feeling
        'make (one) has a feeling of being shy'

(7.17) hito-no musume-to   oboyu-ru sama ___   si-tari (64,6)
        person-Gen daughter-Comp   recognize-perfective looks   do-perfective
        '(one) has looks recognized as a person's daughter'

(7.18) hakanaki irahe-*o*   se-mu (70,6)
        transient replay-Acc do-intend
        'give a transient reply'

(7.19) yoma-nu   kao-*o*   si-haberi-si (79,12)
        read-Neg face-Acc   do-humble-past
        'having a look of not reading (something)'

(7.20) nani ___ se-mu-to (82,1)
        what   do-intend-Comp
        'what I am going to do'

Conjunctive

(7.21) monogatari ___ si te i-taru-ni (9,5)
        stories   do   be-perfective

'while (someone) is reading stories'

(7.22) utatane ___ si-tutu (10,6)
       doze   do-while
       'while (one) is dozing'

(7.23) Narimasa-nado ___ si te (10,9)
       Narimasa-such   do
       'make Narimasa do (something)'

(7.24) makura ___ si te fusi-tamahe-ru (11,3)
       pillow   do   lay down-honor-perfective
       'set the pillow and lay down'

(7.25) sirokane ___ si te (21,9)
       silver   do
       'have silver color'

(7.26) sodegutu-ni okiguti-*o*   si (21,9)
       cuff-on   decoration-Acc   do
       'put decorations on the cuff'

(7.27) siroki motoyuhi ___ si te (23,3)
       white hair bow   do
       'having a white bow for hair'

(7.28) ito tukizukisiki sugata ___ si te (33,3)
       very suitable   dress   do
       'being in a very suitable dress'

(7.29) ume-no   e ___   si te (50,3)
       plum-Gen branch   do
       'having a branch of plum tree'

(7.30) taifu-no-omoto ___ si te (55,6)
       taifu-no-omoto   do
       'make taifu-no-omoto do (something)'

(7.31) monogtari ___ si te (58, 10)
       stories   do
       'tell stories'

(7.32) monozutumi-*o* si (62, 10)
       shy-Acc   do

'being shy'

(7.33) naka   takaki   kao ___ si te (63,4)
       center high   face   do
       'having a face with high center'

(7.34) tukurohi-taru   waza ___ si te (63,11)
       fix-perfective looks   do
       'having a fixed look (of hair)'

(7.35) e-ni   kaki-taru   kao ___ si te (65,1)
       picture-on   draw-perfective   face   do
       'having a face drew on the picture'

(7.36) satoi ___   si te (65,7)
       stay at previous home do
       'staying at the previous home'

(7.37) yoma-se-tamahi-nado ___ si te (79,13)
       read-cause-honor-such   do
       'making (someone) read'

(7.38) monogtari ___ si te (82, 10)
       stories   do
       'telling stories'

APPENDIX 8

Te 'hand' and Furu 'touch' Examples from the *Tale of Genji*

(8.1)   te ___   fure-sase-zu (Aoi 286,12)
hands   touch-cause-Neg
'do not let (someone) touch by (his) hands'

(8.2)   te ___   fure-tamaha-nu (Akashi 453,5)
hands   touch-honor-Neg
'do not touch by one's hands'

(8.3)   te ___   fure-tamaha-zu (Tokonatsu 835,12)
hands   touch-honor-Neg
'do not touch by (one's) hands'

(8.4)   te ___   fure-tamaha-nu   takimono (Umegae 981,8)
hands   touch-honor-Neg   incense
'incense which nobody touch by (one's) hands'

(8.5)   te ___   fure   nikuki   mono-ha   ari-keru (Wakana ge 1157, 12)
hands   touch   difficult   thing-Top   exist-past
'there were things which are difficult to touch'

(8.6)   te ___   fure-nu ni (Takekawa 1471,14)
hands   touch not
'not touching with (one's) hands'

(8.7)   te ___   fure-zari-tu tasi (Azumaya 1928,14)
hands   touch-Neg-perfective Emph.
'did not touch with (one's) hands'

(8.8)   hito-nite   te ___   fure-sase-n-mo   utate
people-by   hands   touch-cause-intend-too   unpleased
oboyuru (Tenarai 2026,10)
think
'think that it is unpleased to let people touch with their hands'

APPENDIX 9

Examples of <u>Sisoku</u> 'lamp' in the *Tale of Genji*

(9.1) Koremitu-ni <u>sisoku</u> ___ mesi te (Yuugao 104,5)
       Koremitu   lamp   ask for
       'ask Koremitsu for a lamp'

(9.2) <u>sisoku</u> ___ sasi te maire (Yuugao 122,13)
       lamp   light   bring
       'light and bring a lamp'

(9.3) <u>sisoku</u> ___ sasi te maire (Yuugao 123,10)
       lamp   light   bring
       'light and bring a lamp'

(9.4) <u>sisoku</u> ___ mote-maireri (Yuugao 124,10)
       lamp   hold-bring
       'hold and bring a lamp'

(9.5) <u>sisoku</u>-*o*   sasi-ide-taru   ka to (Aoi 808,7)
       lamp-Acc   light-hold out-perfective   Kakari Comp
       '(wonder) someone lit and brought a lamp'

(9.6) <u>sisoku</u> ___ mesi te on-kaheri mi-tamae ba (Kashiwagi 1232,2)
       lamp   ask for reply   look-honor
       'ask for a lamp and look at a reply'

(9.7) <u>sisoku</u> ___ sasi te (Yadorigi 1779,7)
       lamp   light
       'light a lamp'

APPENDIX 10

Non-adjacent Abstractly-Cased Object NPs

Izumi Shikibu Diary

(10.1) kakaru on-ariki ___ sarani   se-sase-tamaha-zu (403,2)
      such   walks   further   do-cause-honor-Neg
      'do not make (someone) do such walks any further'

(10.2) kono koto ___ hitobito mousu-naru-ha (407, 12)
      this   fact   people   say-cop-Top
      'that people say this fact'

(10.3) kaku   mairi-kuru koto ___ binashi-to
      like this   come-visit thing   outrageous-Comp
      omofu hitobito (488,10)
      think   people
      'people who think it is outrageous to come and visit like this'

(10.4) on-kahesi ___ tada kaku namu (418,4)
      response   utterly write Kakari
      'utterly write a response'

(10.5) mono ___ ahareni oboyu (420,1)
      things   pathetic feel
      'feel pathetic about things'

(10.6) on-tukahi ___ matidoo-ni-ya   omofu-ran (428, 4)
      messenger long for   Kakari   think-speculative
      '(one) may think that a messenger seems long in coming'

(10.7) sama ___ nasakenakara-zu   okasi-to   obosu (429,7)
      looks   unthoughtful-Neg   tasteful-Comp think
      'think that the looks is thoughtful and tasteful'

(10.8) kuruma ___ yado-ni hiki-tate te (432,4)
      cart   inn-to   pull-take
      'pull and take a cart to the inn'

(10.9) binnaki koto ___ ikade kikosimesa-re-zi (433,5)
      improper things   how know honor-honor-Neg
      'how can (Prince) avoid letting (Izumi Shikibu) know of improper
      things'

(10.10) hito __ hitori i-te yuku (422,5)
     person one take go
     'take a person along and go'

(10.11) wagami __   hazukashuu oboyu (444,4)
     my existence humble   feel
     'feel humble about my existence'

(10.12) furusato __ mazu omohi-ide-raru (444,8)
     hometown first think-come to mind-naturally
     'first, hometown naturally comes to mind'

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(10.13) mizu-no   otonahi __ yomosugara   kiki-magahasa-ru (7,5)
     water-Gen sounds   throughout night hear-mix into-naturally
     'hear the sounds of water naturally mixed (with the voice of chanting) throughout the
     night'

(10.14) kenza __ azukari azukari nonosiri-i-tari (13,6)
     monk   take charge   roar-stay-perfective
     'the monks in charge were (there) and roaring'

(10.15) hakukin-no on-sara-nado __ kuhasiku-ha   mi-zu (21,14)
     silver-Gen   dishes-such closely-Kakari   look-Neg
     'do not look at the silver dishes closely'

(10.16) siroki zusi __ hito yorohi-ni mairi-sue-tari (24,3)
     white closet   at once   bring-set-perfective
     'bring and set a white closet at once'

(10.17) okurimono-domo __ sinazina-ni   tamafu (26,14)
     presents   appropriately   give honor
     'give presents to (people) appropriately according to the status'

(10.18) fumi __ mata keisu (27,4)
     letter   again send
     'send a letter again'

(10.19) uhe-no   on-akome __ tada futatu tate-maturi-tari (36,1)
     lord-Gen   clothing   only two   present-humble-perfective
     'presented only two clothing for the lord'

(10.20) koe ___ okasiu   utafu (38,11)
        voice   elegant   sing
        'sing with an elegant voice'

(10.21) misu ___ sukosi   age te (39,10)
        screen   a little   raise
        'raise a screen a little'

(10.22) komono-nado ___ tono-no   kata yori   mautigimi-tati (40,7)
        baskets-such   lord-Gen   area from   attendants
        tori-tugi te (40,7)
        take-relay
        'the attendants from the lord take and relay baskets and so forth'

(10.23) kandatime ___   on-mae-ni mase-mu-to   keisi-tamafu (40,11)
        court members   front-in   call-intend-Comp send a notice-honor
        'send a notice to court members to come in front of (him)'

(10.24) waka ___ hitotu tukau-mature (42,7)
        poem   one   serve-present
        'present a poem'

(10.26) arisama ___ ikani okasikara-mu-to   omofu-ni (45,1)
        looks   how interesting-speculative-Comp   think
        'think how interesting the looks is'

(10.27) kesiki ___ asiu   mamori-kahasu-to (78,7)
        looks   unpleasantly   regard-each other
        'regard the looks as being unpleasant'

(10.28) Genji-no monogatari ___ hito-ni yoma-se-tamahi-tutu (78,11)
        Tale of Genji   people read-cause-honor-while
        'while making people read the Tale of Genji'

(10.29) siroi   tou-nado ___ oou   e-ni   kai te (82, 3)
        white pagoda-such many picture   draw
        'draw many pictures of white pagoda'

(10.30) hito-no on-arisama ___ medatakuoboe-sase-tamafu (86, 5)
        person-Gen looks   graceful think-cause-honor
        'think that a person's looks is graceful'

(10.31) fue (-ha futatu) ___ hako-ni ire te (90, 3)
        flute (-Top two)   box-in   put

'put the flutes in the box'

(10.32) katatu kata ni fumi-domo ___ wazato   oki-kasane-si
        one   side on letters   on purposeput-pile-past
        'put and piled letters on one side'

(10.33) yo-ni   aru koto ___ mi-no   ue-no
        evening-in happen thing   self-Gen   circumstance-Nom
        urehe-nite-mo   nokora-zu kikoe-sase (81,3)
        distressful-as-evenremain-Neg   know-cause
        'Even if it is distressful for one, he discloses all that happened in the evening'

(10.34) osihe-nado ___ tukuzuku to si-taru ni (58, 12)
        teaching-such   thoroughly do-perfective
        'there was (someone) carrying out teachings thoroughly'

(10.35) hito bakari ___ sukosi natukasiku omofu zo (46, 10)
        people only   little   dearly   feel   Kakari
        'only feel a little dearly about people'

(10.36) mono-no kazukazu kaki-taru   fumi ___ yanagibako-ni
        thing-Gen many   write-perfective letter   box-in
        ire te (27, 3)
        'put letters written many things into a box'

(10.37) kazami ___ okasi-to omohi-taru ni (53, 5)
        clothing   elegant think-perfective
        'thinking that the clothing was elegant'

(10.38) sodeguti-no ahahi ___ warou kasane-taru hito (88, 1)
        sleeve-Gen coloration bad   layer-perfective people
        'a person who layered her sleeves in an unpleasant manner'

(10.39) okurimono ___ kesa   zo   komayakani goranzu-ru (49, 6)
        present   this morning Kakari carefully   see honor-perfective
        'looked at the present carefully this morning'

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(10.40) Hikaru Genji-no   aru   you-nado ___ tokorodokoro kataru o (479,5)
        Price Genji-Gen   exist   looks-such   partially   tell
        'tell partially about how Price Genji was and so forth'

(10.41) sousi-domo ___ suzuri-no   hako-no futa-ni   ire te (490, 11)
        books   ink stone-Gen   box-Gen cover-in put
        'put books in the cover of an ink stone box'

(10.42) Genji-no monogatari ___ iti-no   maki-yori si te   mina
        Genji-Gen story   first-Gen   scroll-from do   all
        mi-se-tamahe (492, 9)
        show-cause-honor
        'please show (me) all the stories of Tale of Genji from the first scroll'

(10.43) monogatari-domo ___ hito fukuro-ni tori-ire te (492, 16)
        stories   one bag-into   take-put in
        'put stories into a bag'

(10.44) otoko kuruma ___ futatu-bakari hiki-tate te (505, 14)
        man   cart   two-about   pull-line
        'a man pulls and lines two carts'

(10.45) aharenaru koto-domo-nado ___ komayakani ihi-ide te (517, 3)
        pathetic   things-such   carefully   say-put out
        'carefully speak up pathetic things'

(10.46) kado ___ hirou   osi-ake te (522, 9)
        gate   widely   push-open
        'push and open the gate widely'

(10.47) kyau ___ sukosi yomi-tatematuri te (525, 11)
        sutra   little   read-honor
        'read sutra a little'

(10.48) kiri ___ hitohe   hedata-reru   you ni te (533, 8)
        mist   one layer part-passive   looks
        'it seems being parted by one layer of mist'

(10.49) oi-domo-nado ___ hito tokoro-ni te asayuu   miru ni (533, 16)
        nephews-such   one place-at   morning and evening see
        'seeing nephews at certain place morning and evening'

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[1] There are four situations where the direct object position is not marked with the accusative particle *o*. The first case is when the direct object has a particle such as the topic marker *wa* or *mo* 'also'.

  (i)   Kabu-*wa*   katta.
        stocks-Top   bought
        'As for stocks, (I) bought (them).'

The second case involves sentences that have an empty category in the object position (cf. Kuroda 1965, Huang 1984), which makes it impossible for the particle *o* to appear because no particle in Japanese can appear with an empty element.

  (ii)   Watasi-ga   *e*   katta.
         I-Nom   bought
         'I bought (it).'

Third, the direct object may be marked by the nominative *ga* if the predicate is stative (cf. Kuno 1973, Kuroda 1973).

  (iii)   Watasi-ga   kuruma-ga   kai-tai.
          I-Nom   car-Nom   buy-want
          'I want to buy a car.'

Fourth, the accusative *o* may optionally drop in colloquial speech if the direct object is adjacent to the transitive verb (Saito 1983, Masunaga 1987).

  (iv)   Kimi-wa   nani ___   katta   no?
         you-Top   what   bought Q
         'What did you buy?'

The last point suggests that even in modern Japanese, Abstract case may be assigned in highly limited, colloquial expressions (cf. Saito 1983). We will not deal with the issue of Abstract case in modern Japanese because it is only a marginal phenomenon compared to the frequent occurrence of Abstract case in Old Japanese.

[2] The English glosses for the case markers and other particles and grammatical elements are as follows: Nom—nominative; Acc--accusative; Dat--dative; Gen—genitive; Top—topic; E—emphatic; Cop—copula; Neg—negation; Honor—honorific.

[3] Throughout this work, we follow the Japanese custom of listing the family name first, so that, for example, "Izumi" in *Izumi Shikibu* is the family name. The reason for this is that we will use

two dairies written by Heian court ladies, Izumi Shikibu and Murasaki Shikibu, and the diaries are titled with their names in the Japanese order, i.e., *Izumi Shikibu Diary* and *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*.

[4] There are two problems with Matsuo's data. First, as far as we can see, he does not distinguish between the accusative case marker *o* and the exclamatory *o*. In OJ, the exclamatory *o* emphasizes a phrase -- in some cases, the direct object. This *o*, which is thought to be the origin of the case marker, should not be counted as the case marker, although there is no way to tell how many exclamatory particles there are in Matsuo's data since he does not give the actual examples. Second, Matsuo counted object NPs that occur with other particles such as *mo* 'too' as in the same category as NPs without *o*. Even in modern Japanese, if a particle such as *mo* 'too' occurs, the NP does not require *o* in addition.

(i)   Hanako-wa   hon-*mo*   katta.
        Hanako-Top   book-too   bought
        'Hanako bought a book, too.'

Again, in the absence of the actual examples, it is impossible to know how many of these irrelevant instances of "object NPs without *o*" are in Matsuo's data. Given these two problems, Matsuo's findings simply suggest the frequent occurrence of Abstract case in OJ literary texts.

[5] There are four major types of verbs in OJ according to their inflection. The following is taken from Sansom (1928:91).

	Quadrigrade	Lower Bigrade	Middle Bigrade	Unigrade
Conclusive	*yuku* 'go'	*tabu* 'eat'	*otu* 'fall'	*miru* 'see'
Attributive	*yuku*	*taburu*	*oturu*	*miru*

Note that the conclusive and attributive forms clearly differ in shape for Lower Bigrade and Middle Bigrade but not for Quadrigrade and Unigrade. For the latter two, the two forms are distinguished by accentuation.

[6] Some of the *Man'yooshuu* examples are based on the work of Matsunaga (1983).

[7] The *Man'yooshuu* examples are taken from Takagi, I., *et al* (1957, 1962). Most of the translations are from Pierson (1933). We represent the OJ case marker as *o*, although the actual pronunciation is most likely *wo*. This distinction between *o* and *wo* began to erode in the early eleventh century (Mabuchi 1971). In other ways, the romanization in this work reflects the original orthography, except that for *wi* and *we*, we have simply used *i* and *e*.

[8] There are cases in which an adverb may intervene between the object NP with abstract case and the verb. This is also observed in Dutch, which assigns abstract case to the object NP but allows certain adverbs to intervene between the verb and the object NP (Stowell 1981).

[9] This example, quoted in Sansom (128:xi), is from *Shoku Nihongi*, which contains "certain Imperial edicts in pure Japanese" and was completed in 797 A.D.

[10] The text for *Tosa Diary* is *Tosa Nikki* (1930). This particular example is noted in Zenno (1987).

[11] There is one *kakari* particle, the emphatic *koso*, that turns the conclusive into not the attributive but the perfect form.

[12] The first three paragraphs below are taken directly from Miyagawa (1989:214-215).

[13] Because all officials were male, they, but not the women, were in effect required to use Chinese in writing. As a result, virtually all literary masterpieces from the ninth to the twelfth centuries were authored by women because they were free to use their native tongue in writing while the men were forced to use a foreign language that was rarely completely mastered (Morris 1964). There is one well-known diary, *Tosa Diary*, which has, as a author, a female name, but was in fact authored by a well-known male writer.

[14] See Introduction to *Iwanami Kogo Jiten* (1974).

[15] See Kitagawa and Tsuchida (1975) among others for information on the *Tale of Heike*. The translation of (26) is taken from Kitagawa and Tsuchida's work.

[16] Yamada (2000) uses the same methodology of comparing the older and the newer *Heike* texts as developed in Miyagawa (1989) to show a similar distribution of the nominative case marker *ga*. Where the *ga* is absent in the older text, it is present in every case in the newer text.

[17] There are, in general, two approaches to the "*o*" causative. One is the ECM approach, which Motohashi assumes, and the other is control (or what in modern times we might call control), in which the *o*-marked causee is the object of the causative verb –*sase*. The ECM analysis is found in, among others, Harley 1995, Terada 1990, and Miyagawa 1999; the other approach is the classic analysis in Kuroda 1965, which was adopted by Harada 1973 and Kuno 1973.

[18] Marking of the unaccusative subject by the accusative case marking is also found in Sinhala (personal communication, Hideki Kishimoto) and Turkish (Balkız Ozturk, personal communication).

[19] Andew Nevins points out that if Motohashi is correct about the inherent nature of *o* in OJ, we would expect this *o* to stay on the object under passivization, something we see in Greek and

Icelandic. However, in OJ, the *o* never emerges in this way under passivization, again questioning the idea that *o* was inherent.

[20] See Joseph (1978/1991) for an account of most of the remaining counterexamples to the notion that *thelo:*+finite verb dos not undergo clause union.

[21] The two possible interpretations in their full context for poem 892 is given below. The first is the interpretation given in the text, in which the verb represented by 'pick up' is interpreted as an attributive. The second is our suggestion that this verb can just as well be interpreted as conjunctive.

a.   As attributive

    mijikaki mono-o   hasi kiru to   iheru-ga gotoku   <u>shimoto toru</u>
    short   thing-Acc   edge cut   say-Gen like   stick   pick up

    sato'osa-ga koe-ha   neyado made   kitati-yobahi-nu
    village head-Gen voice-Top   bedroom till   approach-call out-perfective

    'like an old saying, "cutting the edge of an object which is already short," a village head, who picked up a stick, approached to the bedroom and called out.'

b.   As conjunctive

    mijikaki mono-o   hasi kiru to   iheru-ga gotoku   <u>shimoto tori</u>
    short   thing-Acc   edge cut   say-Gen like   stick   pick up

    sato'osa-ga koe-ha   neyado made   kitati-yobahi-nu
    village head-Gen voice-Top   bedroom till   approach-call out-perfective

    'like an old saying, "cutting the edge of an object which is already short," a village head picked up a stick. He approached to the bedroom and called out.'

[22] The information on the *Izumi Shikibu Diary* is taken from Cranston's translation (1969). See this work for more detail, as well as for an informative discussion on the controversy surrounding the authorship of *Izumi Shikibu Diary*.

[23] There is one construction in which the overt case marker *o* is obligatory regardless of the verbal form. The *o* must occur if the object argument is composed of an attributive verb clause

(Sansom 1928:321). In the following example from Sansom the particle *o* is used despite the fact that the main verb is in the conclusive form.

(i)   yo-no   fukuru-*o*   matu
       night   fall-Acc   wait
       'to wait until the night falls'

We have excluded all instances of *o* that attaches directly to an attributive form of the verb, as in (i), focusing only on those instances of *o* and abstract case on normal NPs in the object position. See discussion of this construction in Miyagawa (1989:Ch. 6).

[24] We have provided the translations of the examples from the Heian literary texts (unless otherwise noted). The translations are intended to closely reflect the pertinent grammatical structure, and are not intended as literary translations.

[25] One dictionary, *Iwanami Kogo Jiten*, states that the first portion of the compound is not *–naru* but the conclusive *–nari*. If that is the case our analysis would not go through. We will assume the widely held view that it is the attributive *–naru*.

[26] In fact, the last example is best interpreted with the "missing" genitive marker *no*, as in *fumi-yomi-**no** haberisi toki*, so that the sequence *fumi-yomi* is itself the nominal compound *fumi-yomi*.

[27] Matsuo (1944) in fact points out that some words such as "poems" typically show up without morphological case marking.

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