

# Differential Object Marking in Pre-modern Japanese: A diachronic perspective

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# Differential Object Marking in Pre-modern Japanese

- ▶ The data set, basic concepts, the hypothesis
- ▶ Testing the hypothesis in OJ
  - Interpretation of Floating Quantifiers
  - Interpretation of WH-words
- ▶ Utility of the results
  - New interpretations/translations of Old Japanese materials
- ▶ Testing the hypothesis in EMJ
  - Interpretation of Floating Quantifiers
  - Interpretation of WH-words
- ▶ Conclusion

# The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

**All poetic texts from 712 CE to 797 CE.**

Texts: *Kojiki kayō*, *Nihon shoki kayō*, *Fudoki kayō*,  
*Bussokuseki-ka*, *Shoku nihongi kayō*, *Manyōshū*

Volume: 4979 poems, 89,419 words.

# The accusative in Old Japanese

## Accusative case particle *wo*

- ▶ Object marking
  - NPs paired with resultative clauses
- ▶ Marking of other arguments
  - e.g., marking the causee in some causative constructions
- ▶ Adjunct marking
- ▶ Absolute constructions
- ▶ Exclamation

# The accusative in Old Japanese

(1)	小松	下乃	草乎	刈核
	<i>kwomatu ga</i>	<i>sita no</i>	<i>kaya wo</i>	<i>kara-sane</i>
	small.pine GEN	under GEN	grass ACC	cut-please

“Please cut **the grass under the small pine.**” (MYS 1.11)

# The accusative in Old Japanese

- (1) 小松                      下乃                      草乎                      刈核  
*kwomatu ga              sita no                      kaya wo                      kara-sane*  
small.pine GEN under GEN              grass ACC                      cut-please

“Please cut **the grass under the small pine**” (MYS 1.11)

- (2) 安可見夜麻              久左祢                      可利曾気  
*Akami-yama              kusane Ø                      kari-soke*  
Akami-mountain **grass**                      cut-remove

“At Mount Akami, cutting and removing **grasses**” (MYS 14.3479)

# Differential Object Marking in OJ

Recent accounts of variable object marking in OJ include:

S.-Y. Kuroda 2008

Yanagida and Whitman 2009

Wrona and Frellesvig 2010

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# Differential Object Marking in OJ

Recent accounts of variable object marking in OJ include:

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Specificity

~~Wrona and Frellesvig 2010~~

~~Kinsui 2011~~

~~Miyagawa 2012~~

# Differential Object Marking in OJ

- Variable object marking in Old Japanese is an instance of **Differential Object Marking (DOM)**
- What is expressed by DOM in OJ is the property of **Specificity**.

# Specificity as D-Linking

We define specificity here in terms of ‘D-linking’:

***D-linking:** a relationship between an NP and a definite discourse referent, whereby the possible reference of that NP is restricted.*

D-linked NPs are specific in reference.

# Differential Object Marking in OJ

## Observations

1. Accusative marked objects are specific
2. Non-specific objects are not accusative marked
3. Some specific objects are not accusative marked

# Marked, specific object

The reference of the object is definite (a special case of specificity).

(3) 吾君尔                      戲奴者戀良思                      給有  
*wa ga kimi ni        wake pa kwopu rasi                      tabari-taru*  
I GEN lord DAT I TOP yearn seem                      **bestow-STAT.ADN**

茅花乎雖喫  
*tubana wo pamedo*

**bloodgrass ACC eat,though**

弥瘦尔夜須  
*yase ni yasu*

waste.away

“It seems I am in love with my lord. Though I eat **the bloodgrass flowers you sent me**, I only grow thinner.” (MYS.8.1462)

# Bare, non-specific object

(4) 宇利波米婆      胡藤母意母保由  
*uri pameba*      *kwo-domo omopoyu*  
**melon** eat      children come.to.mind

久利波米婆      麻斯提斯能波由  
*kuri pameba*      *masite sinwopa-yu*  
**chestnuts** eat      surpass admire-PASS.

“When I eat **melon**, my children come to mind. When I eat **chestnuts**, they are even more dear.” (MYS.5.802)

# Exception: bare, specific object

(5) 阿麻登夫                      登理母都加比曾                      多豆賀泥能  
*ama-tobu*                      *tori mo tukapi so*                      *tadu ga ne no*  
heaven-fly                      bird even messenger FOC                      goose GEN cry GEN

岐許延牟登岐波                      和賀那斗波佐泥  
*kikoye-mu toki pa*                      *wa ga na twopa-sane*  
be.heard-shall time TOP                      **I GEN name** say-please

“Even the cranes that fly in heaven are my messengers. When the cranes are within your hearing, I want you to ask about **my name!**”  
(KK.85)

# Differential Object Marking in OJ

## Strong hypothesis

Non-specific objects are not accusative marked

Specific objects are accusative marked;

however, in some contexts the accusative particle can be dropped, and in some contexts it must be dropped.



# Methodological problem

There are no unambiguous ways of marking non-specificity on NPs in Old Japanese.

Accordingly we can't demonstrate complementary distribution between accusative case marking and markers of non-specificity.

# Strategy

- 1) Identify a subset of the corpus where
  - a) other things being equal, an object NP is likely to have a non-specific interpretation, and
  - b) DOM is attested.
- 2) Investigate the semantic contribution of accusative case marking.
- 3) We predict a semantic contrast corresponding with case marking for these NPs: Accusative case marked object NPs will be specific, and unmarked object NPs will be non-specific.

# The semantic contribution of DOM

- ▶ Using the OCOJ we examined:

- NPs associated with FQs
- NPs headed by or modified by WH-words

1. In some instances we find textual matter (or contextual clues, etc.) that indicates a specific interpretation for NPs of these two types.

2. We find a correspondence between accusative marking and specific interpretation for such NPs.

3. We find NPs with unambiguously non-specific interpretations to be bare.

# NP + FQ and specificity in OJ

Out of 100 FQs in the OCOJ,

- ▶ we found 15 FQs associated with object NPs.
- ▶ 10 of these are associated with accusative case marked object NPs which have specific reference, and the interpretations of the FQs are either partitive or universal.
- ▶ 4 are associated with bare object NPs which have non-specific reference and the interpretations of the FQs are cardinal.
- ▶ 1 is associated with a host NP where that NP has definite reference but is not accusative case marked.

# Specific NP hosts FQ

Here the FQ is interpreted as cardinal-universal. The host NP is specific (definite) and marked.

- (6)
- |                             |                          |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| ...梓弓                       | 弓腹振起                     | 志乃岐羽矣                    |
| ... <i>adusayumi</i>        | <i>yubara puri-okosi</i> | <i>sinokipa wo</i>       |
| catalpa.bow                 | bow.belly swing-raise    | arrow ACC                |
| <b>二</b> 手狭                 | 離兼                       | 人斯悔                      |
| <i>puta-tu ta-basami</i>    | <i>panati-kye-mu</i>     | <i>pito si kuti-wosi</i> |
| <b>two-thing</b> hand-pinch | loose-PST-CNJ            | person RES mouth-        |

“Deplorable, the person who (...) raised a bow, pinched **both those arrows**, and shot them away!” (MYS.13.3302)

# Non-specific NP hosts FQ

Here the FQ is interpreted as cardinal. The host NP is non-specific and bare.

(7) 那菟務始能                      譬務始能虚呂望                      赴多幣枳低  
*natumusi no*                      *pimusi no koromo*                      *puta-pye kite*  
summer.insect GEN                      silkworm GEN robe                      two-layer wear

介区瀾夜襄利破  
*kakumi-yadari pa*  
hide-shelter TOP

阿珥予区望阿羅儒  
*ani yo-ku mo ara-zu*  
at.all good ETOP be-not

“A summer moth’s coccooning wearing **two silk-worms’ robes** is not at all acceptable.” (NSK.49)

# Specific NP hosts FQ

(8) 上瀬尔                      鵜矣八頭漬  
*kami tu se ni*                      *u wo ya-tu kaduke*  
upper GEN stream DAT      **cormorant ACC eight-thing** make.dive

下瀬尔                      鵜矣八 頭漬  
*simo tu se ni*                      *u wo ya-tu kaduke*  
lower GEN stream DAT      **cormorant ACC eight-thing** make.dive

“...making **all eight of my cormorants** dive in the upper reaches,  
making **all eight of my cormorants** dive in the lower reaches...”  
(MYS.13.3330)

# Non-specific NP hosts FQ

(9)	每年尔 <i>tosi no pa ni</i> every year	鮎之走婆 <i>ayu si pasiraba</i> sweetfish RES run	左伎多河 <i>sakitakapa</i> Sakita River
	鷓八 <i>u ya-tu</i> cormorant <b>eight-thing</b>	頭可頭氣氏 <i>kadukete</i> make.dive	河瀨多頭祢牟 <i>kapase tadune-mu</i> river.stream search

“Each year when the sweetfish run, making **many**  
**cormorants** dive, we shall scour rivers and streams.”  
(MYS.19.4158)



# Exception: bare, specific object

The particle *to* and the FQ *puta-tu* indicate that the reference is definite, but the object NP is unmarked.

- (10) 佐保河之                      清河原尔                      鳴知鳥  
*sapogapa no*                      *kiywo-ki kapara ni*                      *naku tidwori*  
Sapo River GEN                      pure bank DAT                      cry plover

河津跡二  
*kapadu to puta-tu*  
frog and two-things

忘金都毛  
*wasure-kane-tu mo*  
forget-fail-PERF SFP

“How I can’t forget **the plover and the frog that cry on the pristine banks of the Sapo River, either of them!**” (MYS.7.1123)

# DOM and WH-NPs

- ▶ When a normally non-specific WH-word appears as a NP head or a NP modifier, the resulting NP is interpreted as non-specific unless it accusative marked:

*tare no tuma*

who GEN spouse

“whose spouse?”

→

*tare no tuma wo*

who GEN spouse ACC

“the spouse of which person?”

- ▶ When a normally specific WH-word (*idure* ‘which’) appears as a NP head or a NP modifier, that NP must be interpreted as specific.

# DOM and WH-objects

- ▶ We looked exhaustively at NPs involving the three following **WH- words**:

*ta, tare* ‘who’ (indefinite, normally non-specific)

*nani* ‘what’ (indefinite, normally non-specific)

*idure* ‘which’ (indefinite, always specific)

# DOM with WH-objects: *ta*, *tare* ‘who’

- ▶ 95 examples with *ta* or *tare* as either an NP head or an NP complement.
- ▶ 10 as objects
  - 6 are specific and have accusative marking
  - 4 are non-specific and have no accusative marking

# DOM with WH-objects: *ta, tare* ‘who’

Here *ta* ‘who’ appears as an NP complement, but the reference is specific (‘who among those in the capital’) and the object NP is marked with *wo*.

- (11) 應還                      時者成來                      京師尔而  
*kapyeru be-ku*          *toki pa nari-kyeri*                  *miyakwo nite*  
return ought          time TOP become                  capital COP

誰手本乎可  
*ta ga tamoto wo ka*  
who GEN sleeve ACC Q

吾將枕  
*wa ga makuraka-mu*  
I GEN lie.upon-shall

“The time has come for us to return. In the capital, **the sleeve of which person** shall I use as my pillow?” (MYS.3.439)

# DOM with WH-objects: *ta, tare* ‘who’

Here *ta* ‘who’ appears as an NP head, but again the reference is specific (‘who out of those who love me’) so the object NP is *ACC-marked*.

- (12) 眉根搔                      誰乎香將見跡                      思乍  
*maywone kaki      tare wo ka mi-mu to      omopitutu*  
eyebrow scratch   **who ACC Q** see-shall that      think

氣長戀之                      妹尔相鴨  
*ke-naga-ku kwopwi-si      imo ni ap-yeru kamo*  
days-long yearn-SPAST,AND      beloved DAT meet-STAT SFP

“Scratching my eyebrow, thinking, ‘**Which person** am I about to see?,’ here I am meeting my beloved whom I have longed for day in and day out!” (MYS.11.2614b)

# DOM with WH-objects: *ta, tare* ‘who’

Here *ta* ‘who’ appears as an NP complement, the reference is non-specific (‘who in the world’), and the object NP is bare.

- (13) 都久波尼爾      阿波牟等      伊比志古波  
*tukupane ni*      *apa-mu to*      *ipi-si kwo pa*  
Tsukuba Peak at meet-would that said girl TOP
- 多賀己等      岐氣波加      弥尼 阿波巢氣牟也  
*ta ga koto*      *kikeba ka*      *mi-ne apa-zu-kye-mu*  
**who GEN word** heard Q      sleep meet-not-must.have

“The girl who said we would meet on Tsukuba Peak, because she heard **whose words** must it have been that she won’t come to sleep with me?” (FK.2)

# DOM with WH-objects: *nani* ‘what’

- ▶ 99 examples with *nani* as either an NP head or an NP complement.
- ▶ 11 appear in object NPs
  - 8 are specific and have accusative marking
  - 3 are non-specific and have no accusative marking



# DOM with WH-objects: *nani* ‘what’

Here *nani* ‘what’ appears as an NP head, but the reference is specific (‘which of the usual beach souvenirs’) so the object NP is accusative marked.

(14) 塩干去者                      玉藻苳蔵                      家妹之  
*sipo pwi-naba*                      *tamamo kari-tumye*                      *ipyē no imo ga*  
tide ebb-if                      jewelweed cut-pile                      home’s beloved

濱褻乞者                      何矣                      示  
*pamadutwo kopaba*                      *nani wo*                      *simyēsa-mu*  
beach.souvenir beg.if                      **what ACC**                      proffer-shall

“When the tide goes out, cut and pile up some jewel-seaweed. If my darling at home asks for a beach souvenir, **which** (of those) shall we proffer?” (MYS.3.360)

# DOM with WH-objects: *nani* ‘what’

Here *nani* ‘what’ appears as an NP complement, and the reference is non-specific (‘what kind of inanity’), so the object NP is bare.

(15) 小豆奈九                      何狂言                      今更  
*adukina-ku*                      *nani no tapakoto*                      *imasara-ni*  
pointless                      **what GEN inanity**                      belated-COP

小童言爲流                      老人二四手  
*warapagoto suru*                      *oipito nisite*  
babbling do                      old.person being

“Pointlessly, **what sort of inanity**, at this late date, are (you) babbling, in spite of (your) being old?” (MYS.11.2582)

# DOM with WH-objects: *idure* ‘which’

- ▶ 14 examples in the OCOJ
- ▶ 5 are used in object NPs:
  - 4 are specific (‘which’) and has accusative marking
  - 1 is non-specific and has no accusative marking.

# DOM with WH-objects: *idure* ‘which’

Here *idure* ‘which’ modifies an NP head, and the resulting NP is specific and accusative marked.

(16) 阿米都之乃                      以都例乃可美乎                      以乃良波加  
*ametusi no*                              *idure no kami wo*                              *inoraba ka*  
heaven.earth GEN                      which GEN god ACC                      pray.if Q

有都久之波波爾                      麻多己等刀波牟  
*utukusi papa ni*                              *mata koto-twopa-mu*  
adorable mother DAT                      again word-exchange-shall

“If (I) beseech **which god of heaven and earth** is it that (I) may speak to my dear mother again?” (MYS.20.4392)

# *idure* ‘which’ modifies NP complement: non-specific reference

Here *idure* ‘which’ appears modifying an NP complement, so the reference is non-specific (‘a shelter in which village’) and the object NP is bare.

(17) 十月                      雨間毛不置                      零尔西者  
*kamunadukwi*              *amama mo oka-zu*                      *puri-ni-seba*  
tenth.month              rain.gap put-not                      fall-PERF-PAST.if

誰里之                      宿可                      借益  
*idure no satwo no*                      *yadwo ka*                      *kara-masi*  
which is village GEN                      shelter Q                      borrow-SUBJNC

“In the tenth month if it had rained without a break, (I) would have borrowed a **shelter in which village?**” (MYS.12.3214)

# DOM and normally indefinite NPs in OJ

- ▶ For normally indefinite NPs in OJ, DOM can make a crucial difference in the interpretation of the NP.
- ▶ For the two types of NPs we examined, the correspondence between accusative marking and specificity was (almost) complete.
- ▶ Accusative case is sometimes dropped from specific objects.

# Applying the hypothesis to underdetermined cases

- ▶ We have shown that the hypothesis that accusative marked NPs are specific accounts for a variety of data.
- ▶ Now we will show how adding this to our knowledge of the grammar of OJ can enrich our interpretation of texts.

# DOM as an aid to interpretation

The verb *motome-* (seek) frequently takes NPs with non-specific reference, but there is nothing else in the context to suggest the object isn't specific except the absence of accusative marking.

- (18)
- |                           |                         |                      |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 綠兒之                       | 為社乳母者                   | 求云                   |
| <i>midorikwo no</i>       | <i>tame koso omo pa</i> | <i>motomu to ipe</i> |
| baby GEN                  | sake FOC wet-nurse      | seek that say        |
| 乳飲哉君之                     | 於毛                      | 求覽                   |
| <i>ti nome ya kimi ga</i> | <i>omo</i>              | <i>motomu ramu</i>   |
| milk drink Q lord GEN     | <b>wet-nurse</b>        | seek must.be         |

“Whereas (we) say it’s for a child that one seeks a wet-nurse, could it be that my lord seeks **a wet-nurse** because he drinks milk?” (MYS.12.2925)



# DOM as an aid to interpretation

Assuming specific reference for accusative marked NPs, the interpretation for (19) below changes:

(19)	春之在者 <i>paru sareba</i> Spring come	妻乎 <i>tuma wo</i> spouse ACC	求等 <i>motomu to</i> seek to	鶯之 <i>ugupisu no</i> warbler GEN
	木末乎傳 <i>konure wo tutapi</i> branch ACC transit	鳴乍 <i>nakitutu</i> cry	本名 <i>motona</i> in.vain	

“When Spring comes, the warbler hops between the branches to find **its mate**, but alas, in vain.”

(MYS.10.1826)

# DOM as an aid to interpretation

Accusative marked objects are specific, so this poem is not generalizing.

(20) 驗無                      物乎不念者                      一坏乃  
*sirusi na-ki*                      *mono wo omopa-zu pa*                      *pito-tuki no*  
impact none                      **thing ACC think-not TOP one-cup GEN**

濁酒乎                      可飲有良師  
*nigor-eru sake wo*                      *nomu be-ku aru rasi*  
**cloudy wine ACC**                      drink should seem

“Rather than worrying about **this thing which has no impact**, it seems better to drink **this cup of cloudy wine**.”

(MYS.3.338)

# Differential Object Marking in OJ

## Conclusion

Non-specific objects are not accusative marked

Specific objects are accusative marked;

however, in some contexts the accusative particle can be dropped, and in some contexts it must be dropped.

# Diachronic perspective

At some point post-OJ, this DOM system is discontinued, and specificity is no longer a necessary condition on accusative case marking for objects.

At what point in time does this new situation obtain?

# Follow-up study in EMJ

We examined object NPs + FQs and object WH-NPs in Early Middle Japanese (900 CE to 1110 CE) using 国立国語研究所「日本語歴史コーパス」 and the 中納言 search application. Primarily prose, with some poetry.

Texts: 古今和歌集, 土佐日記, 竹取物語, 伊勢物語, 落窪物語, 大和物語, 枕草子, 源氏物語, 紫式部日記, 和泉式部日記  
(from the 小学館「新編日本古典文学全集」)

Total words: 738,153

# Object NPs + FQs in EMJ

Results from texts produced between 900 CE (竹取物語) and 1010 CE (源氏物語)

- ▶ We found 512 numeral+classifier expressions.
- ▶ Among these we found 80 object NPs associated with adverbial FQs in the Heian corpus.
- ▶ Of the 80 object NPs, 8 are accusative case marked.
- ▶ Of the 8 marked objects, 3 are non-specific.

# Marked, non-specific object + FQ

- (21) . . . からうじて起きあがりたまへるを見れば、風いと重き人にて、  
腹いとふくれ、こなたかなたの目には、**李を二つ**つけたる  
やうなり. . .

現代訳: . . . やつとのことので起き上がりなされたのを見ると、風病に  
ひどくかかった人のようになり、腹はたいそうふくれ、こちらとあちら  
の目は、**李を二つ**つけたように真っ赤になっている。

Looking at him as he barely managed to raise himself, he was like  
someone with a terrible cold, his belly swelled up and his eyes one  
the one side and the other were as if **two plums** had been stuck onto  
them.

(竹取物語, 新編全集 vol. 12, pg. 48)

# Marked, non-specific object + FQ

- (22) 三河の国八橋といふ所にいたりぬ。そこを八橋といひけるは、水ゆく河のくもでなれば、**橋を八つ**わたせるによりてなむ、八橋といひける。

現代訳:三河の国の八橋という所に行き着いた。そこを八橋と名づけたわけは、水が八方に流れわかれているので、**橋を八つ**渡してあるゆえに、八橋といったのであった。

They came to a place called Yatsuhashi. As for it's being called Yatsuhashi, it was due to the fact that they spanned **eight bridges** over it , because the river of water divided into spider legs, that they called it 'Yatuhashi'.

(伊勢物語, 新編全集 vol.12, pg.120)



# Marked, non-specific object + FQ

(23) . . . 寄りたまひて、御几帳の帷子を一重うちかけたまふにあはせて、さと光るもの、. . . .

現代訳:大臣は近くにお寄りになって、御几帳の帷子を一枚横木にお掛けになると同時に、ぱっと光るものが. . .

...and just as Otodo, drawing near, draped **a panel from a standing blind** (over the crossbeam), something glowing ...

(源氏物語, 蛩, 新編全集 vol. 22, pg. 200)

# Exception: bare, specific object + FQ

- (24) 「... え聞かで、耳をふたぎてぞありつる。**その衣**  
**一つ**取らせて、とくやりてよ」と仰せらるれば、...

現代訳: 「... とても聞いていられなくて、耳をふさいでいたのです。  
**その着物一つを**与えて、早く向こうへ行かせてしまいなさい」と仰せ  
言があるので...

When she said, ‘... It is so unbearable to hear that I have stopped my  
ears. Have her take **one of these robes** and quickly send her away!’,

...

(枕草子, 83, 職の御曹司におはしますころ、西の  
廂に, 新編全集 vol. 18, pg. 153)

# WH-NPs in Heian Japanese: *tare*

Results from texts produced between 900 CE (竹取物語) and 1110 CE (讃岐典侍日記).

- ▶ We found 553 NPs containing the WH-word ‘tare, ta’
- ▶ Of those, 21 are grammatical objects.
- ▶ Of the 21 grammatical objects, 18 are accusative marked.
- ▶ Of the 21 grammatical objects, 10 are non-specific, and 8 of these are marked.

# Marked non-specific WH-object

(25) 「... **誰が教へを**聞きて、人のなべて知るべうもあらぬ事をば言ふぞ」

現代訳: 「... あなたは**いったいだれの教えを**聞いて、普通、人が知りそうもないことを言うのか」

‘**Whose teachings have you heard**, that you should say these things which people normally don’t know?’

(枕草子, 131, 五月ばかり、月もなういと暗きに、  
新編全集, vol. 18, pg. 248)

# Marked non-specific WH-object

(26) 今は、かたじけなくとも、**誰をか**は寄るべに思ひきこえたまはん。

現代訳: これからは、畏れ多いことですが、**どなたを**お頼り申されるおつもりなのでしょう。

From here on ---and I am terribly sorry to be saying this, but ---**whom** are you thinking to rely upon?

(源氏物語, 夕霧, 新編全集 vol. 23, pg. 451)

# Marked non-specific WH-object

(27) 秋風にはつかりがねぞ聞ゆなる**誰が玉梓を**かけて来つらむ

現代訳: 秋風に送られて、初雁の声が聞こえてくる。  
**誰からの手紙を**携えてきたのだろうか。

The voices of the first geese can be heard on the autumn wind.  
**Whose missives** do they come bearing?

(古今和歌集, 新編全集 vol. 11, pg. 101)

# Marked non-specific WH-object

(28) もみぢ葉の散りてつもれるわがやどに**たれを**まつ虫こころら鳴くらむ

現代訳: 紅葉の葉に埋って、誰も訪ね手のないわが家の庭であるが、降るように鳴く松虫は、**いったい誰を**待つとて鳴くのだろうか。

In my dwelling on which autumn leaves, falling, have piled up, **whom** must the *matsumushi* awaiting as it cries around here?

(古今和歌集, 新編全集 vol. 11, pg.100)

# Marked non-specific WH-object

- (29) 船子どもの荒々しき声にて、「うら悲しくも遠く来にけるかな」とうたふを聞くままに二人さし向かひて泣きけり。

舟人もたれを恋ふとか大島のうらかなしげに声の聞こゆる

現代訳: 船子たちが荒々しい声で「うら悲しくも遠く来にけるかな」と歌うのを聞くと、娘二人は顔を見合わせて泣くのであった。

舟人も(舟人も誰を恋しがっているというのか、大島の浦を過ぎつつ悲しそうに歌う声が聞こえます)

Hearing the boatmen in their rough voices singing, ‘Heartlorn, we’ve come so far!’ the two faced each other and cried.

So **whom** do the boatmen long for? Voices from Ooshima sound so heartsick.

(源氏物語, 玉鬘, 新編全集 vol. 22, pg.90)



# Summary of the follow-up study

With regard to object NPs + FQ in EMJ, we found 3 accusative marked objects with non-specific reference. Such NPs aren't found in OJ.

We also found a bare specific object NP + FQ.

With regard to the 21 object NPs containing *tare*, 8 out of 10 non-specific NPs were accusative marked. Such NPs aren't found in OJ.

# Interpretation

We interpret this to mean that

- 1) specificity is not a necessary condition on accusative marking of objects in EMJ (unlike in OJ);
- 2) accusative case can be dropped for objects in EMJ in some contexts (as in OJ).

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Thank you for your attention.

Questions and comments welcome.

# Differential Object Marking in OJ

- ▶ DOM is mostly described in terms of either
  - *semantic features*
  - *information structure*(see Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011 for overview)
- ◆ DOM is found for example in Hungarian; Turkish; Hindi...

# Differential Object Marking in OJ

## Specificity

**Definite noun phrases** are specific:

- *the boy in my class is tall*: **specific**

**Indefinite noun phrases** can be specific or non-specific

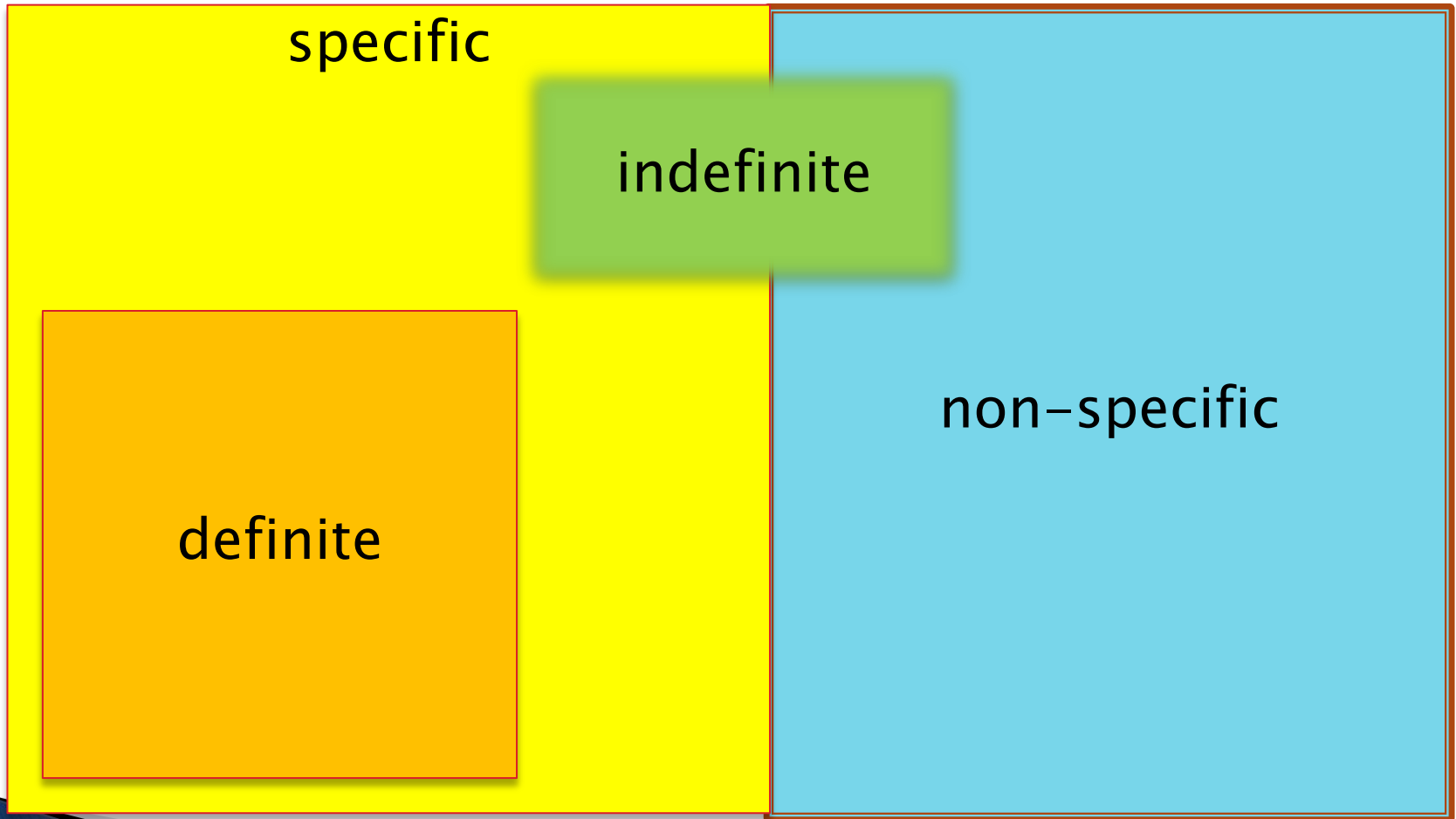
- *a boy in my class is tall*: **specific**
- *a boy got sick*: **specific** or **non-specific**
- *there might be monsters in the closet*: **non-specific**

# Definite, indefinite specific, non-specific

- ▶ Specificity is the association of an NP with some retrievable (either definite or presupposed) entity in the domain of discourse. Another word for this type of specificity is “discourse-linking” (D-linking) or “anchoring”: *a man on the bus*.
- ▶ Accordingly, definiteness is just a special case of specificity: all definite NPs are specific: *the man on the bus*
- ▶ Indefinite NPs can be either specific or non-specific. *He has developed a habit*.
- ▶ Non-specific NPs can be associated with indefinite sets: *I ate some kind of mushroom; She found a child’s lunchbox, etc.*



# Definite, indefinite specific, non-specific



# The semantic contribution of DOM

- ▶ Some NPs are inherently definite, e.g.:
  - Pronouns
  - Proper nouns
  - Relational nouns
  - Unique entities
- ▶ Most definite NPs have that status determined by context (independent of DOM), e.g.:
  - NPs denoting previously mentioned entities
  - NPs denoting entities present in the speech situation
- ▶ **Some NPs are normally non-specific, e.g.:**
  - **NPs associated with Floating Quantifiers (Kim 1995)**
  - **NPs headed by or modified by WH-words (excluding ‘which’)**

# Floating Quantifiers

- ▶ The interpretation of FQs depends on the reference of the host noun from which they are floated.
- ▶ If the host noun is specific, the FQ takes either a partitive or a cardinal-universal interpretation:

*rei.no panda ga ni-too mesu da.*  
the panda NOM **2-animal** female COP  
“**Two of** the aforementioned pandas are female.”

- ▶ If the host noun is non-specific the FQ takes a cardinality interpretation:

*tikurin kara panda ga ni-too detekita*  
bamboo.grove from panda NOM **2-animal** came.out  
“**Two** pandas came out of the bamboo grove.”

# Accusative case drop

We found 46 object NPs containing demonstrative *ko* at some structural level. All are specific, and many of them are definite, but some of them are bare.

- ▶ Case marked: 23
- ▶ Case dropped: 13
  - 10 adjacent to the verb
  - 10 in main clauses
  - 0 denoting sentient entities
  - 0 preceding the subject NP

# Accusative case drop

Proximal demonstrative *ko* ‘this’ in object NPs:

- ( )      此山乎                      牛掃神之                      從夾  
            **ko no yama wo**    usipaku kamwi no                      mukasi ywori  
            不禁行事叙  
            isame-nu waza zo  
            “This is a dance that from old times the god who owns **this mountain**  
            doesn’t forbid.” (MYS.9.1759)
- ( )      大殿之 此廻之 雪                      莫踏祢  
            **opo-tono no ko no motopori no yuki**                      na-pumi-sone  
            “Don’t step on **the snow in this area around the great lord**”  
            (MYS.19.4227)

# Accusative case drop

Some factors which contribute to allowing or disallowing drop of the accusative case particle on specific objects:

- ▶ Clause type: main clause types tend to allow accusative drop, while others do not.
- ▶ Lexical properties:
  - NPs with WH-words, NPs associated with FQs
  - Sentience
  - *mat-* 'await' idiosyncratically allows accusative drop, overriding other factors

# Accusative case drop: Clause type

- ▶ In clauses where the predicate is in the Adnominal form (and to a large extent in Conditional, Provisional, and Nominal clauses) in OJ, specific objects are frequently accusative case marked.
- ▶ In some types of main clause (Conclusive, Imperative, Optative, Exclamatory, Negative Conjectural) accusative case on specific objects are frequently dropped.

# Accusative case drop: Lexical properties

For WH-words and NPs associated with FQs with specific reference, case drop does not occur.

Sentence: When a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun comprises an object NP, that NP is regularly accusative marked:

- *wa, ware* ‘I’
- *na, nare* ‘you’



# *mat-* ‘wait’

Idiosyncratically, and overriding other rules, the verb *mat-* ‘await’ can take unmarked definite objects:

- (19) 久堅之                      天河津尔                      舟泛而  
*pisakata no*                      *ama no kapatu ni*                      *pune ukete*  
distant COP                      heaven GEN ford DAT                      boat float
- 君                      待夜等者                      不明毛有寐鹿  
*kimi*                      *matu ywo-ra pa*                      *ake-zu mo ara-nu ka*  
lord                      await night TOP                      dawn ETOP be-not Q

“This night when I await **my lord** floating a boat in the shallow of the river of far-off heaven, will it never dawn?” (MYS.10.2070)

# *mat-* ‘wait’

- (20) 奴婆多麻能            欲和多流都奇乎            伊久欲布等  
*nubatama no*            *ywo wataru tukwi wo*            *ikuywo pu to*  
jewel COP            night traverse moon ACC    how.many transpire that
- 余美都追伊毛波            和礼            麻都良牟曾  
*yomitutu imo pa*            *ware*            *matu ramu so*  
counting beloved TOP            **me**            await must.be FOC

“Measuring the moon that crosses the jewel-black night by how many nights pass, my beloved, no doubt (she) awaits **me**.” (MYS.18.4072)

# EMJ: Marked, specific object + FQ

- (21) ...むすめの弁といふを呼び出でて、「これ忍びて参らせたまへ」とて、  
香壺の箱を一つさし入れたり。

現代訳: 少納言の娘の弁というのを呼び出して、「これを内々でさしあげてくだされ」と言っ、香壺(こうご)の箱を一つ差し入れた。

Koremitsu, calling Ben, the daughter of Shonagon, and saying, ‘Take this in secret into the Chambers,’ presented a box of scent.

(源氏物語, 葵, 新編全集 vol.21, pg.74)

# EMJ: Marked, specific object + FQ

- (22) 人の破り捨てたる文を継ぎて見るに、同じつづきをあまたくだり見つづけたる。

現代訳:人の破り捨てた手紙を継いで見る時、その続きを何行も続けて読めた。

On finding and looking at a letter that someone has torn up and thrown away, one can read the continuation of that same letter for a few more lines.

(枕草子, うれしきもの, 新編全集, vol. 18, pg. 387)

# EMJ: Marked, specific WH-object

- (27) 慰む世なういみじうのみ思ほゆるを、その御形見にも誰をかは  
見たてまつらむ。

現代訳:心の晴れる折もなく、ただもう悲しくばかり思われますのに、  
そのお形見として、あなた様を置いて、ほかのどなたにお会い  
申したらよろしいでしょう。

Given that there is no comfort in this world that only comes to mind  
as insupportable, whom **besides you** would I be able to consider a  
keepsake? (Tamakadura to Kaoru).

(源氏物語, 竹河, 新編全集 vol. 24, pg. 64)

# EMJ: Bare, non-specific WH-object

(28) 色よりも香こそあはれとおもほゆれ **誰が袖**ふれし屋戸の梅ぞも

現代訳: わが家の庭前の梅は、色よりも香りこそ素晴らしく  
思われる。いったいどなたが袖を触れて、その移り香を残した  
花なのだろうか。

Whose sleeve must it have brushed against, that its scent, even more  
than its colour, should be so moving? Oh, the plum blossoms outside  
my dwelling!

(古今和歌集, 新編全集, vol. 11, pg. 42)

# EMJ: Marked non-specific WH-object

- (29) . . . 文取り入れし人に見すれば、「それにこそはべるめれ」と言ふ。  
「**誰が文を**誰か取らせし」と言へど、ともかくも言はで、. . .

現代訳: . . . 立て文を受け取った女房に見せると、「確かにその童  
でございますようです」と言う。「だれの手紙をだれがおまえに  
渡したのか」と言うけれど、童はどうのこうの言わないで. . .

When they showed (the servant) to the woman who had received the  
letter, she said, ‘He is the very one.’ When they asked him, ‘Whose  
letter did who pass on to you?’ the boy, saying not a word...

(枕草子, 132, 円融院の御果ての年,  
新編全集, vol. 18, pg. 253)

# Marked non-specific WH-object

- (34) 「めでたきや。**誰をか**取りたまふ」とのたまへば、「左大将殿の左近の少将とか。．．．」

現代訳: 「それはおめでたいことね。どなたをお迎えなさるのですか」とおっしゃると、「左大将様の若様の左近の少将とか承っております。．．．」

As he said, ‘That’s fortunate. **Whom** is she receiving (as a groom)?’ (she) replied, ‘I am given to understand that it is the son of the Major Captain of the Left, the Minor Captain. . . .’

(落窪物語, 新編全集 vol. 17, pg. 89)



# Marked non-specific WH-object

- (35) 御婿の少将、「**誰**を取りたまふぞ」と問ひければ、  
「左大将殿の左近の少将殿と．．．」

現代訳: 婿君の蔵人の少将が「四の君はどなたをお迎えなさるのですか」と訪ねたので、「母上は左大将様のご息の左近の少将とおっしゃっていますから．．．」

As the husband, Minor Captain Kurauto, asked, ‘**Whom** will she take (as a groom)?’ (she) replied, ‘Mother says it is the son of the Major Captain of the Left, the Minor Captain of the Left....’

(落窪物語, 新編全集 vol. 17, pg. 147)