

Differential Object Marking in Old Japanese: A corpus based study

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The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

The accusative in Old Japanese

Differential Object Marking in Old Japanese

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Old Japanese; 8th century AD

The Oxford Ocorpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)

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The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Original text

Phonemic transcription

Annotation

XML mark-up following the standards of the
Text **E**ncoding **I**nitiative (TEI)

Manual mark-up

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Annotation

Writing

Part-of-speech

Lemmatization (Lexeme and morpheme UID)

Morphology, inflection

Syntax

Sentence

Clause

Noun phrase

The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

All poetic texts from the period

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

4979 poems, 89,419 words.

The accusative in Old Japanese

The accusative in Old Japanese

Accusative case particle *wo*

Object marking

Marking of other arguments

Adjunct marking

Resultatives

Absolute constructions

Exclamation

The accusative in Old Japanese

Object marking

()	小松	下 乃	草 乎 茹 核
	kwomatu <u>ga</u>	sita <i>no</i>	kaya wo kara-sane
	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

Marking of other arguments

- () 春避而 野邊尾廻者
paru sarite **nwopye wo** megureba
Spring come **field ACC** meander
"as spring comes on, when we meander **around the fields**"
(MYS.16.3791)
- () 妹之田本乎 加流類比來
imo ga tamoto wo *karuru* ko no koro
beloved GEN sleeve ACC go.away theses days
"these days when I am **away from my beloved's sleeve**"
(11.2668)

The accusative in Old Japanese

Adjunct marking

()	宇波弊無	物可聞	人者	然許
	<i>upapye na-ki</i>	<i>mono kamo</i>	<i>pito pa</i>	<i>sika bakari</i>
	surface not.exist	thing SFP	people TOP	this.way RES

遠家路乎	令還	念者
<i>topo-ki ipyedi wo</i>	<i>kapyesaku</i>	<i>omopeba</i>
distant home.road ACC	send.back	think.when

“She) has no pretense (to civility), this person, when I think of (her) sending (me) back **on the long road home** in this way.” (MYS.4.631)

The accusative in Old Japanese

Resultatives

()	久堅乃	天歸	月乎	網尔	刺
	<i>pisakata no</i>	<i>ame yuku</i>	<i>tukwi wo</i>	<i>ami ni</i>	<i>sasi</i>
	我大王者	盖尔	為有		
	<i>wa go opo-kimi pa</i>	<i>kinugasa ni</i>	<i>s-eri</i>		

"Catching it in a net, my lord makes **the moon that travels the distant heaven into his umbrella**" (MYS.3.240)

The accusative in Old Japanese

Absolute constructions: NP wo ADJ-mi

()	情尔者	思渡跡	縁乎無三
	kokoro <i>ni</i> pa	omopi-wataredo	yosi wo <i>na-mi</i>
	heart in TOP	think-persist	chance ACC none

外耳為而
yoso nomwi nisite
aside only COP

嘆曾吾為
nageki *so* wa ga suru
sigh FOC I GEN do

“Although in my heart (I) have thought (of you) constantly, **there being no opportunity**, only as a bystander, all I do is sigh.”
(MYS.4.714)

The accusative in Old Japanese

Exclamation

() (...) 和岐豆紀賀 斯多能
wakidukwi ga *sita no*
armrest GEN under GEN

伊多爾母賀 阿世袁
ita ni moga *ase wo*
plank COP DES **brother ACC**

“(...) would that I were even its bottom
board! -- **O my brother!--**” (KK.104, translation by Phillipi)

Differential Object Marking in Old Japanese

Differential Object Marking in OJ

()	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)

Differential Object Marking in OJ

- () 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)

- () 安可見夜麻 久左衲 可利曾氣
Akami-yama kusane Ø kari-soke
Akami-mountain grass cut-remove

‘At Mount Akami I cut and removed **grasses**’ (MYS 14.3479)

Differential Object Marking in OJ

- ▶ Previous research, basic concepts
- ▶ Supporting data
- ▶ Explanatory force of the hypothesis
 - Interpretation of numeral classifiers
 - Interpretation of WH-words
- ▶ Utility of the results
 - New interpretations/translations of Old Japanese materials
- ▶ Contexts for obligatoriness/optionality of DOM
- ▶ Further research

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

Kinsui 2011

Miyagawa 2012

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Differential Object Marking in OJ

Recent accounts of variable object marking in OJ include:

~~S. Y. Kuroda 2008~~

☞ Yanagida and Whitman 2009 **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)

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

What is expressed by DOM in OJ is the property of **Specificity**.

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): *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.

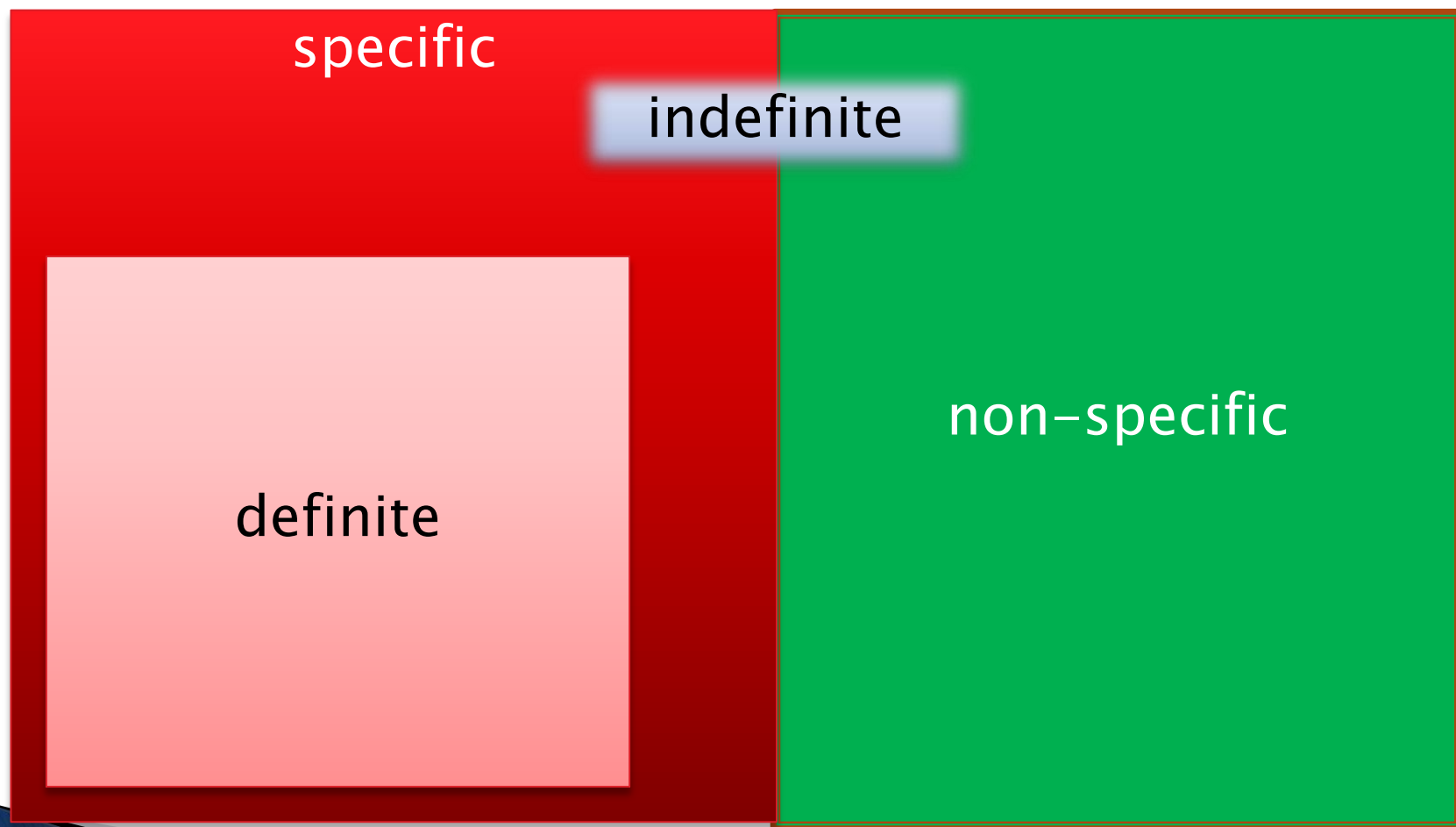
D-linking vs. epistemic specificity

NPs with indefinite reference *for which the speaker has some particular entity in mind* are **epistemically specific**: *I ate a certain kind of mushroom*. Compare:

- () *A boy in my class got sick, but I don't know which one.*

The expression *a boy in my class* is epistemically non-specific, but to the extent that *a boy* is associated through group membership with a definite entity *my class*, the whole NP is D-linked.

Definite, indefinite specific, non-specific



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

Definite reference

() 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**

茅花乎雖喫 弥瘦尔夜須
tubana *wo* pamedo yase *ni* yasu
bloodgrass ACC eat 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)

Non-specific reference

() 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 admired even more.” (MYS.5.802)

Specific object without accusative marking

() 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 they are within your hearing, I want you to ask about **my name!**” (KK.85)

Differential Object Marking in OJ

Interpretation

Non-specific objects are not accusative marked

Specific objects are accusative marked;
however, the accusative particle can be dropped in
some contexts.

Where DOM correlates with interpretations of quantification: Floating Quantifiers

- ▶ The interpretation of floating quantifiers (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 universal interpretation: 例のパンダは二頭メスだ。
- ▶ If the host noun is indefinite the FQ takes a cardinality interpretation: ...とすと、竹林からパンダが二頭出てきて...

Definite NP hosts FQ

Here the FQ is interpreted as universal.

()	...梓弓	弓腹振起	志乃岐羽矣
	...adusayumi	yubara puri-okosi	<i>sinokipa wo</i>
	catalpa.bow	bow.belly swing-raise	arrow ACC
	二手狭	離兼	人斯悔
	puta-tu ta-basami	panati-kye-mu	pito si kuti-wosi
	two-thing hand-pinch	loose-PST-CNJ	person RES mouth-

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

Indefinite NP hosts FQ

Here the FQ is interpreted cardinally.

()	那菟務始能 <i>natumusi no</i> summer.insect GEN	譬務始能虚呂望 <i>pimusi no koromo</i> silkworm GEN robe	赴多幣枳低 <i>puta-pye kite</i> two-layer wear
	介区瀾夜襄利破 <i>kakumi-yadari pa</i> hide-shelter TOP	阿珥予区望阿羅儒 <i>ani yo-ku mo ara-zu</i> at.all good ETOP be-not	

“A summer moth coccooned, wearing **silk-worms’ robes** in two layers is not at all acceptable.” (NSK.49)

Indefinite NP hosts FQ

() 每年尔 鮎之走婆 左伎多河
tosi no pa *ni* ayu *si* pasiraba sakitakapa
every year sweetfish RES run Sakita River

鷗八頭可頭氣氏 河瀬多頭祢牟
u **ya-tu** kadukete kapase tadune-mu
cormorant eight-thing dive river.stream search

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

Definite NP hosts FQ

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

Where DOM correlates with interpretations of quantification: WH-words

- ▶ Some NPs are inherently definite, e.g.:
 - Pronouns
 - Proper nouns
 - Relational nouns
 - Unique entities
- ▶ Most NPs have their status determined by context (aside from the presence or absence of DOM), e.g.:
 - NPs denoting previously mentioned entities
 - NPs denoting entities present in the speech situation
- ▶ **Some NPs are normally indefinite, e.g.:**
 - **NPs headed by or modified by WH-words**

Normally indefinite NPs

- ▶ For normally indefinite NPs, DOM can make a crucial difference in the NP's interpretation.

DOM with WH-NPs

- ▶ When a normally nonspecific 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 ‘whose spouse’ →

tare no tuma wo ‘which person’s spouse

- ▶ 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-words

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

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

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

idure ‘which’ (indefinite, always specific)

DOM with WH-NPs: *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-NPs: *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*.

()	應還	時者成来	京師尔而
	kapyeru be-ku	toki pa nari-kyeri	miyakwo <i>nite</i>
	return ought	time TOP become	capital COP

誰手本乎可	吾将枕
ta ga tamoto <i>wo ka</i>	wa ga makuraka-mu
who GEN sleeve ACC Q	I GEN lie.upon-shall

"The time has come for us to return. In the capital, **which one's sleeve** shall I use as my pillow?" (MYS.3.439)

DOM with WH-NPs: *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*.

- () 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*

“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-NPs: *ta, tare* ‘who’

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

- () 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-NPs: *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-NPs: *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.

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

濱褰乞者	何矣示
pamadutwo kopaba	nani wo simyesa-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-NPs: *nani* ‘what’

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

()	小豆奈九	何狂言	今更
	<i>adukina-ku</i>	nani <u>no</u> tapakoto	<i>imasara-ni</i>
	pointless	what GEN inanity	this.point-COP
	小童言爲流	老人二四手	
	<i>warapagoto suru</i>	<i>oipito nisite</i>	
	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-NPs: *idure* ‘which’

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

DOM with WH-NPs: *idure* ‘which’

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

()	阿米都之乃 <i>ametusi no</i> heaven.earth GEN	以都例乃可美乎 <i>idure no kami wo</i> which GEN god ACC	以乃良波加 <i>inoraba ka</i> pray.if Q
	有都久之波波爾 <i>utukusi papa ni</i> adorable mother DAT	麻多己等刀波牟 <i>mata koto-twopa-mu</i> 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)

WH-word NP complements and 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.

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

誰里之	宿可借益
<i>idure</i> <u>no</u> satwo no	yadwo <i>ka</i> kara- <i>masi</i>
which is village GEN	shelter Q

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

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 lack of accusative marking.

() 緑兒之 為社乳母者 求云
midorikwo no tame koso *omo pa* motomu to ipe
baby GEN sake FOC wet-nurse seek that say

乳飲哉君之 於毛求覽
ti nome ya kimi ga *omo* motomu *ramu*
milk drink Q lord GEN **wet-nurse** seek must.be

“Though (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 () below changes:

()	春之在者	妻乎求等	鶯之
	paru sareba	tuma <i>wo</i> motomu <i>to</i>	ugupisu no
	Spring come	spouse ACC seek to	warbler GEN

木末乎傳	鳴乍本名
konure <i>wo</i> tutapi	nakitutu <i>motona</i>
branch ACC transit	cry 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.

() 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)

DOM as an aid to interpretation

Non-specific object without accusative marking

()	痛醜	賢良乎為跡	酒不飲
	<i>ana miniku</i>	<i>sakasi-ra wo su to</i>	sake noma-nu
	Oh! ugly	clever-ACC do PURP	wine drink-not

人乎熟見者	猿二鴨似
<i>pito wo yo-ku mireba</i>	<i>saru ni ka mo ni-mu</i>
people ACC well look.at	monkey DAT resemble

"How hideous! When you look at people who, in order to appear clever, don't drink **wine** , they will resemble monkeys." (MYS.3.344)

Differential Object Marking in OJ

Conclusion

Non-specific objects are not accusative marked

Specific objects are accusative marked;
however, the accusative particle can be dropped in
some contexts.

Accusative case drop

Factors which (may) contribute to allowing or disallowing drop of the accusative case particle on specific objects:

- ▶ Clause type: certain clause types never allow accusative drop
- ▶ Lexical properties:
 - Animacy
 - Quantification: WH-words, FQ
 - *mat*- 'await' idiosyncratically allows accusative drop, overriding other factors

Clause type

- ▶ In Adnominal clauses (and to a large extent in Conditional and Provisional clauses) in OJ, specific objects are always accusative marked

Clause type

- ▶ In some types of main clauses (Conclusive, Imperative, Optative, Exclamatory, Negative Conjectural) specific objects can be unmarked.

Conclusive

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

()	佐保河之	清河原尔	鳴知鳥
	<i>sapogapa no</i> Sapo River GEN	<i>kiywo-ki kapara ni</i> pure bank DAT	<i>naku tidwori</i> cry plover
	河津跡二	忘金都毛	
	<i>kapadu to puta-tu</i> frog and two-things	<i>wasure-kane-tu mo</i> 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)

Lexical properties

Quantification: WH-words, FQ

Animacy: Where the following 1st and 2nd person pronouns comprise an object NP, that NP is always accusative marked:

- *wa* ‘I’
- *ware* ‘I’
- *na* ‘you’
- *nare* ‘you’

mat- ‘wait’

The verb *mat-* ‘wait’ can take unmarked definite objects:

()	久堅之	天河津尔	舟泛而
	<i>pisakata no</i>	ama <u>no</u> kapatu <i>ni</i>	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 <i>mo</i> ara- <i>nu</i> 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’

() 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** wait 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)

Further research

- ▶ Corpus survey of DOM across all clause types examining in particular which contexts allow drop of accusative case on specific objects.
- ▶ Diachronic study to determine the factors for the loss of DOM after OJ

References

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