

# Differential Object Marking in Old Japanese: A corpus based study

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NINJAL, 18 May, 2014

# 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

## Accusative case particle *wo*

Object marking

Marking of other arguments

Marking the causee in causative constructions

Adjunct marking

NPs paired with resultative clauses

Absolute constructions

Exclamation

# The accusative in Old Japanese

(1)	小松	下 乃	草 乎	刈 核
	kwomatu <u>ga</u>	sita <i>no</i>	kaya <i>wo</i>	kara- <i>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                      可利曾氣  
         *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

- ▶ Previous research, basic concepts
- ▶ Supporting data
- ▶ Explanatory force of the hypothesis
  - Interpretation of Floating Quantifiers
  - Interpretation of WH-words
- ▶ Utility of the results
  - New interpretations/translations of Old Japanese materials
- ▶ Accusative case drop

# 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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Recent accounts of variable object marking in OJ include:

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☞ 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**

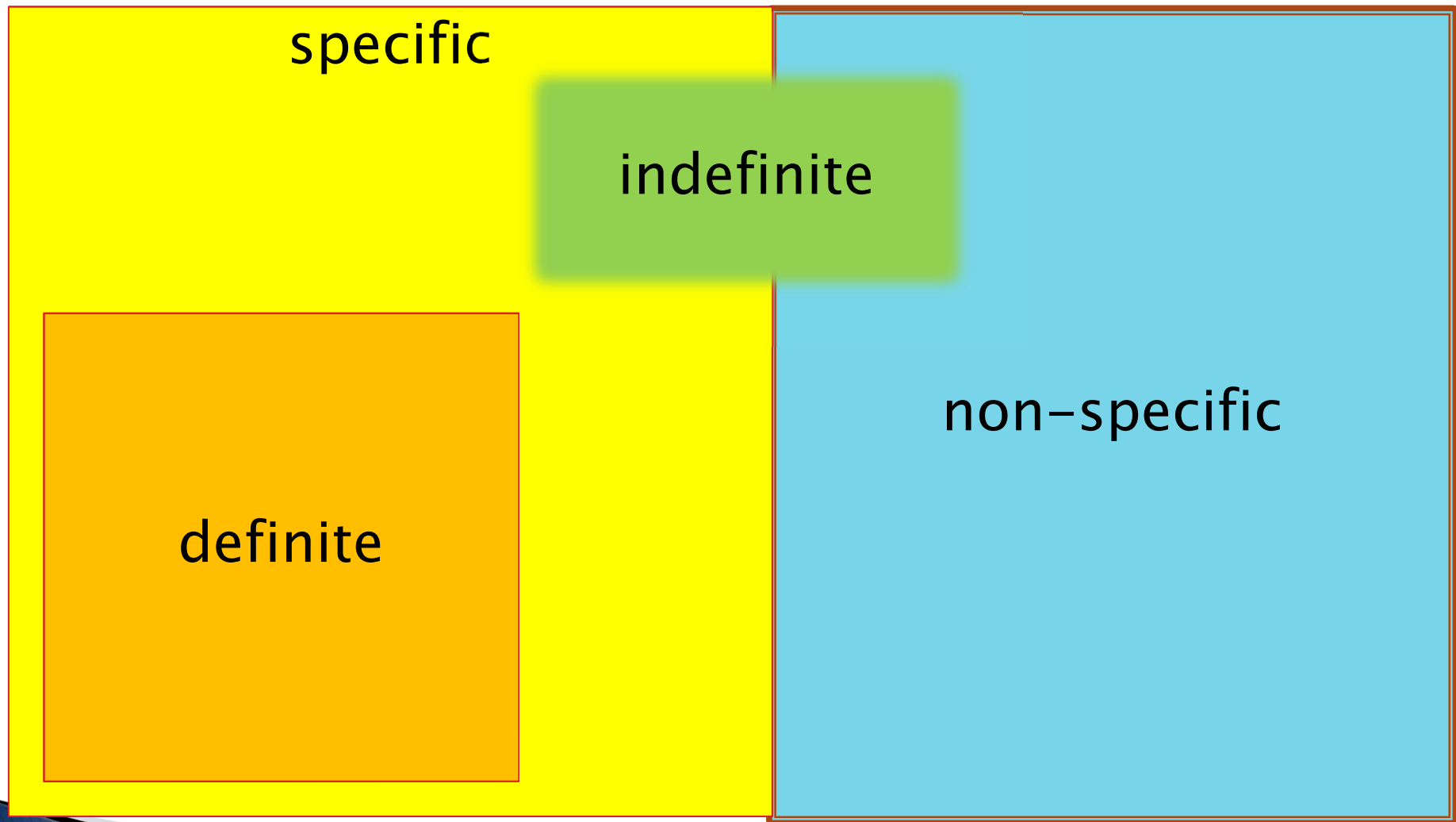
**Indefinite noun phrases** can be specific or non-specific

- *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) 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



# 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

(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                      弥瘦尔夜須  
*tubana wo pamedo        yase ni yasu*  
bloodgrass ACC eat,though                      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

(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)

# Differential Object Marking in OJ

## Interpretation

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 problems

- ▶ 1) 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.
- ▶ 2) Unmarked object NPs in the OCOJ are not marked for grammatical role.
  - Accordingly a comprehensive survey of object marking in OJ is presently out of reach.

# 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

- ▶ Some NPs are inherently definite, e.g.:
  - Pronouns
  - Proper nouns
  - Relational nouns
  - Unique entities
- ▶ Most NPs have definiteness 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**
  - **NPs headed by or modified by WH-words (excluding ‘which’)**

# 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 such NPs.

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.

# 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.”



# Specific NP hosts FQ

Here the FQ is interpreted as cardinal-universal.

- (5)
- |                     |                          |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| ...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    | <b>arrow ACC</b>   |
- 
- |                                 |                      |                          |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 二手狭                             | 離兼                   | 人斯悔                      |
| <i><b>puta-tu</b> 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 just cardinal.

- (6)
- |                         |                            |                       |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 那菟務始能                   | 譬務始能虛呂望                    | 赴多幣枳低                 |
| <i>natumusi no</i>      | <i>pimusi no koromo</i>    | <i>puta-pye kite</i>  |
| summer.insect GEN       | <b>silkworm</b> GEN robe   | <b>two-layer</b> wear |
|                         |                            |                       |
| 介区瀾夜襄利破                 | 阿珥予区望阿羅儒                   |                       |
| <i>kakumi-yadari pa</i> | <i>ani yo-ku mo ara-zu</i> |                       |
| hide-shelter TOP        | 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

(7)

上瀬尔

*kami tu se ni*

upper GEN stream DAT

鵜矣八頭漬

*u wo **ya-tu** kaduke*

cormorant ACC **eight-thing** make.dive

下瀬尔

*simo tu se ni*

lower GEN stream DAT

鵜矣八 頭漬

*u wo **ya-tu** kaduke*

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

(8)	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	河瀬多頭祢牟 <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)

# DOM with 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-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*.

- (9)      應還                      時者成来                      京師尔而  
         *kapyeru be-ku*        *toki pa nari-kyeri*            *miyakwo nite*  
         return ought        time TOP becomecapital    COP

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

吾将枕  
*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-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*.

- (10)      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-NPs: *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.

- (11) 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.

- (12)
- |                         |                          |                       |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 塩干去者                    | 玉藻苳蔵                     | 家妹之                   |
| <i>sipo pwi-naba</i>    | <i>tamamo kari-tumye</i> | <i>ipye no imo ga</i> |
| tide ebb-if             | jewelweed cut-pile       | home’s beloved        |
| 濱褰乞者                    | 何矣                       | 示                     |
| <i>pamadutwo kopaba</i> | <i>nani wo</i>           | <i>simyesa-mu</i>     |
| beach.souvenir beg.if   | <b>what ACC</b>          | 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, and the reference is non-specific (‘what kind of inanity’), so the object NP is bare.

- (13)
- |                        |                         |                   |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 小豆奈九                   | 何狂言                     | 今更                |
| <i>adukina-ku</i>      | <i>nani no tapakoto</i> | <i>imasara-ni</i> |
| pointless              | what GEN inanity        | belated-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:
  - 4 are specific (‘which’) and has accusative marking
  - 1 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.

- (14)
- |                        |                           |                   |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 阿米都之乃                  | 以都例乃可美乎                   | 以乃良波加             |
| <i>ametusi no</i>      | <i>idure no kami wo</i>   | <i>inoraba ka</i> |
| heaven.earth GEN       | which GEN god ACC         | pray.if Q         |
| 有都久之波波爾                | 麻多己等刀波牟                   |                   |
| <i>utukusi papa ni</i> | <i>mata koto-twopa-mu</i> |                   |
| 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)

# WH-word NP complements and non-specific reference: *idure* ‘which’

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.

- (15)
- |                          |                        |                     |
|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 十月                       | 雨間毛不置                  | 零尔西者                |
| <i>kamunadukwi</i>       | <i>amama mo oka-zu</i> | <i>puri-ni-seba</i> |
| tenth.month              | rain.gap put-not       | fall-PERF-PAST.if   |
| 誰里之                      | 宿可                     | 借益                  |
| <i>idure no satwo no</i> | <i>yadwo ka</i>        | <i>kara-masi</i>    |
| 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

- ▶ For normally indefinite NPs, 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 complete.

# 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.

- (16)
- |                           |                         |                      |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 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     | 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 (17) below changes:

(17)	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.

- (18) 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.

# Accusative case drop

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

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)

# Diachronic perspective

- ▶ At some point post-OJ, DOM is discontinued, and specificity is no longer a factor on whether objects get accusative case marked.

# Follow-up in EMJ

- ▶ We examined object NPs associated with FQs in Early Middle Japanese using 国立国語研究所「日本語歴史コーパス」 and the 中納言 search application.

We found 80 object NPs associated with adverbial FQs in the Heian corpus.

Of these, 81 object NPs, 8 were accusative case marked.

# Accusative case marked object with a discourse link to a definite NP

...と思ひやり深く心しらひて、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。「たしかに御枕上に参らすべき祝ひの物にはべる。あなかしこ、あだにな」と言へば、あやしと ...

(源氏物語, 葵)



# Accusative case marked object with a discourse link to a definite NP

...、のこり見出でたる。さて、心おとりするやうもありかし。  
人の破り捨てたる文を継ぎて見るに、同じつづきをあ  
またくんだり見つづけたる。いかならむと思ふ夢を見  
て、おそろしと胸つぶるるに、ことにもあらず合はせな  
したる、...

(枕草子, うれしきもの)

# Accusative case marked object with apparently non-specific reference

...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。これを見たてまつりてぞ、国の司も、ほほゑみたる。

(竹取物語)

# Non-specific?

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。

(伊勢物語)

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