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The Particle *wo* in Japanese

From Exclamative Particle to Case marker

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the different usages of the *wo* particle in the Japanese language, from the time of the earliest sources of the 8th century up until today, by presenting examples from different genres and time periods. It shows that the accusative function of the particle has remained in the language at least from the earliest sources while the exclamatory and interjectional usages started to decline by the 12th century. It also shows that the particle was widely used for marking adverbials in the pre-modern language while such a function is limited in the modern language. The development of the particle is discussed and a possible path of diachronic change is proposed. The development is compared to general patterns for case development. It is observed that case particles generally do not develop from exclamations and that no such pattern has been found in other languages, possibly making Japanese unique in this regard.

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Conventions and abbreviations

The Hepburn romanization system is used for the Modern Japanese examples. Long vowels will be marked with a double vowel in the example sentences, e.g. *bunshoo* (‘article’) and proper names in the running text will have long vowels marked with a circumflex e.g. *Manyôshû*. The borrowed sentences have been modified according to this principle, without changing the contents.

The example sentences from the pre-modern language are phonologically different from the modern language, and there are differences in the way they are realized in Roman letters. I have followed Frellesvig’s (2010:176, 414-5) principle for consonants in the sentences I have transliterated myself; the sentences from Itoi, 2001. For example the Modern Japanese *h* (as in け/ha) is in word initial position pronounced as *p* in Old Japanese, changing to *f* by the time of Late Middle Japanese and in modern times becoming *h*: *para* > *fara* > *hara* ‘field’. Regardless of this there are still many who transliterate the old *p/f* as *h* in accordance with the modern language (e.g. Shibatani, 1990), but these few sentences have been altered for consistency.

When it comes to the vowel system, which is still not widely agreed on, Frellesvig (2010:32) differentiates between 8 vowels or “sequential diphthongs” in OJ (*i/wi*, *ye/e*, *wo/o*, *u* and *a*) while Vovin uses the Yale system (1997:287, note ²), this in contrast to the 5 vowels in Modern Japanese (*a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*). However these are not easy to distinguish and are left out from the ones I have transliterated myself. On the other hand I find no need to erase the vowel distinction in the sentences from Frellesvig (2010) and Vovin (1997) etc. Thus there may be slight orthographic differences between some words such as *kimi* and *kyimyi*, *otome* and *otomye*, which I believe will cause no problem for the reader. The *wo* particle is, for consistency, spelled *wo* in throughout the whole essay, even though it is pronounced *o* in Modern Japanese.

ABS	absolute	ADV	adverb
ACC	accusative	AGT	agent
ACOP	adjectival copula	ADN	adnominal

ATTR	attributive	MPST	modal past
AUX	auxiliary verb	NEG	negation
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
COM	comitative	NONPST	nonpast
COMP	comparative	PASS	passive
CONCESS	concessive	PAST	past aspect
CONCL	conclusive	PERF	perfect
CONDIT	conditional	PLURAL	plural
CONJ	conjunction	POL	polite
COP	copula	POT	potential
DAT	dative	PROHIB	prohibitive
DES	desiderative	Q	question particle
FOCUS	focus particle	QUOT	quotative
FORM	formal noun	REQ	requestive
GEN	genitive	RESP	respect
GER	gerund	SEP	separative
HON	honorific	SF-part	sentence final particle
HUMBLE	humble	TEMP	temporal particle
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic particle
INF	infinitive		
INST	instrumental	EMJ	Early Middle Japanese
INTERJ	interjectional particle	LMJ	Late Middle Japanese
KAKARI	<i>kakari-musubi</i>	MYS	Manyôshû
LOC	locative	OJ	Old Japanese
MODAL	modal auxiliary		

1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to survey the *wo* particle in the Japanese language from the earliest sources from the 8th century up until today. This particular particle is widely known to originate in an exclamation that later became an interjectional particle (a kind of discourse marker for emphasis) and through the ages turned into an accusative case particle, which is its main usage in the modern language today.

The peculiar thing about this particle is the fact that there is no agreement about its actual semantic status in the earliest sources, and one can not say for sure where the particle works as an interjectional particle and where it works as an accusative particle. The particle is in addition used to mark other kind of sentence constituents such as temporal adjuncts and locations. Firstly I intend to look at example sentences from different literary genres and different time periods to see how other authors interpret the particles and also if it is possible to interpret them differently.

Secondly, there are several opinions regarding the way the particle has developed from a discourse marker to a case marker. I intend to discuss some of the investigations done on this subject and find a route of development that I find most likely.

Thirdly my overall purpose with this essay is to gather different usages of this particle, and to look into not only the interjectional and accusative usages but also the peripheral usages, that in so many languages accompany the accusative case, for example uses as temporal markers and locative markers. I will also take a look at some constructions such as ECM (exceptional case marking). In doing this it is possible to compare the early particle and the modern particle in more than one aspect. Moreover I also hope this essay will be helpful as an outline of the *wo* particle in the Japanese language.

1.2 Method and material

I will divide the time periods into three parts; First OJ (Old Japanese 700-800) and EMJ (Early Middle Japanese 800 -1200), which will be discussed together as there seems to be little difference between the two periods when it comes to the *wo* particle. I will then move on to LMJ (Late Middle Japanese 1200-1600) and lastly Modern Japanese. LMJ will only be discussed briefly because of lack of available material from that time.

For the early period (OJ, EMJ and LMJ) I will provide example sentences from literary sources from both prose and poetry and categorize them according to their function, and occasionally question the way the sources have interpreted them or if the particles could be placed under another category. The basic way of seeing if a particle is a case particle or an interjectional particle is to see whether the object phrase is the object of the verb phrase. In other occasions one has to look at the context and decide if it is likely an interjectional particle or a case marker. In some cases the particle is possibly both an interjectional particle and a case particle.

These earlier sentences and the interpretation of the function of the particle are provided by different linguistic sources, dealing with the *wo* particle in particular. Many of the sentences from OJ and EMJ are taken from Itoi (2001) and these are romanized and translated by me aided by a rendering of the text in Modern Japanese provided by the source. Because of the many interpretations I can not account for varieties found in other literature. Other sources I have found helpful in finding pre-modern sentences are Frellesvig (2010), Miyagawa (1989), Miyagawa & Ekida (2003), Vovin (1997) and Shibatani (1990). Sansom (1928) an earlier source, have also been helpful.

Based on material from OJ, EMJ and LMJ I will then discuss the diversity of the modern *wo* particle, which has long lost its interjectional usage, and find parallels and differences between the early and the modern particle. Because the modern accusative *wo* is already introduced in the background chapter, I find it more important to look at the more peripheral usages and therefore i will especially look at the temporal, locative and subject marking *wo*. Katô (2006), in which the locative *wo* is discussed thoroughly, has been a helpful source in order to find subtle differences in the choice of locative particle. The Modern Japanese sentences provided by myself have been checked by a native speaker.

1.3 Organization

In chapter 2 the Modern Japanese particle system is briefly introduced, moving on to a more detailed description of the *wo* particle and how it is used in modern Japanese in 2.2. In subsection 2.3 the previous research is accounted for, and in order to place the Japanese language in a broader context some general viewpoints on case and case development is presented. In the same subsection are suggestions regarding the function and alignment of the *wo* particle presented, followed by a presentation of opinions regarding the development of the particle. In order to provide the reader with an idea of how this thesis uses the term *interjectional particle*, a brief explanation is offered in 2.3.5. The OJ and EMJ material is presented in chapter 3 which is divided in six subsections each treating a particular usage of the time period. Chapter 4 offers a brief overview of the particle in LMJ, and is followed by chapter 5 which consists of a deeper look into some of the functions in Modern Japanese; temporal, locative and subject marking *wo*. The thesis is concluded with a discussion in chapter 6 and the conclusion and suggestions for further research in chapter 7.

2 Background

The purpose of this chapter is to give background information on the material presented in the following chapters. The Japanese language is presented in 2.1 and its particle system in 2.2. I will then move on to the matter of case and case development in section 2.3.1 and 2.3.2. Some opinions regarding the function and alignment of the particle are discussed in section 2.3.3 followed by some of the most common ideas about the development of the particle.

2.1 The language

The Japanese language is agglutinating with SOV word order. The verbs are not inflected for person or for number, but are inflected for tense in either past or non-past. Adjectives in Japanese resemble verbs, and are thus inflected for tense but do not have comparative inflection. Nouns do not inflect for number or case, and have no grammatical gender distinction. Case is instead marked with so called particles that are placed directly after the noun as unbound morphemes. But many particles are not considered case particles as they do not mark case, but mark for example adjuncts, adverbs or conjunctions.

Notice in the sentence below (1) the topic particle *wa* (orthographically: は) which is not considered a case particle because it does not designate a particular grammatical relation. It usually marks the subject of the sentence but it can also replace a case particle, for example the object *shoosetsu* in (2a) marked *wa* in (2b), in order to topicalize it. But in contrast to the sole nominative particle *ga* which is either descriptive or marks new information, the topic particle marks the theme of the utterance and has contrastive properties. It is easily translated with ‘as for...’ thus creating a slight difference between the translations of (2a) and (2b).

- (1) *yamada-san wa atarashii kaban wo te ni motte-ita.*
Yamada-miss TOP new bag ACC hand DAT carrying-be.PAST
‘Miss Yamada was carrying a new bag in her hand.’

(2a) *shoosetsu* *wo* *kinoo* *yom-i* *owa-tta.*
 novel ACC yesterday read-INF finish-PAST
 ‘I finished reading the/a novel yesterday.’

(2b) *shoosetsu* *wa* *kinoo* *yom-i* *owa-tta.*
 novel TOP yesterday read-INF finish-PAST
 ‘As for the novel, I finished reading it yesterday.’

Many particles have multiple functions. The instrumental *de* is used to mark means of doing something in sentence (3), while it works as a locative in sentence (4). However the locative *de* cannot be employed in all instances of marking location. Depending on the verb the use of particles will differ slightly. For example is it the location marked *ni* when using the existential verbs *aru* and *iru*. In this case the location is marked with *ni* (5). And occasionally the location will be marked using the accusative particle *wo* (6).

(3) *eigo* *de* *kotae-mashi-ta.*
 English INST answer-POL-PAST
 ‘(He) answered in English.’ (‘...using English.’)

(4) *pari* *de* *ooki-na* *bakuhatsu* *ga* *oko-tta.*
 Paris LOC big-ADN explosion NOM occur-PAST
 ‘A great explosion occurred in Paris’

(5) *kanojo* *wa* *anzen-na* *basho* *ni* *iru.*
 she TOP safe-ADN place LOC be
 ‘She is in a safe place.’

(6) *oji* *wa* *kinoo* *umi* *wo* *oyoi-da.*
 uncle TOP yesterday ocean LOC/ACC swim-PAST
 ‘My uncle swam in the ocean yesterday.’

The Japanese language has many particles that do not fit in the category of case particles, and it is convenient to make a distinction between case particles on the one hand and postpositions on the other. Generally speaking the case particles are used to mark arguments while postpositions mark adjuncts, but there is no total agreement on which particles should go into which category partly because one particle usually has more than one application. The core arguments (accusative *wo* and nominative *ga* according to Blake’s (1994) classification) can

be placed in the case marking category. The dative *ni* can also be placed in the case particle category as there are verbs, usually of the directional giving type, that requires the goal object to be marked by the dative. This means that we can draw a tentative line in the list of particles (7) below beneath the *ni* particle and call the upper ones at least ‘case’ particles. Another way of looking at it is to regard the particles with more than one function as different particles but with the same shape.

(7) Case particles in Modern Japanese

Ga	Nominative
Wo	Accusative
Ni	Dative/ Locative/ Allative/ Agentive
No	Genitive/ Noun modifier (and nominalizer)
De	Locative/ Instrumental
E	Allative
Kara	Ablative/ Conjunctive (‘because’)
Yori	Ablative/ Comparative
To	Comitative/quotative)

The nominative and accusative are obligatorily marked in formal speech and formal written language but occasionally dropped in colloquial language especially when the grammatical relations are contextually apparent. The rule that all arguments in the normative Modern Japanese language have to be marked, contrary to the pre-modern varieties, was according to Frellesvig (2010:410-411) introduced into the written language through the *genbun 'itchi* reform (Meiji 1868-1912) and is not even today a feature of modern spoken Japanese. As for now I will leave aside the overall classification and denomination of the particles and move on to a description of the *wo* particle.

2.2 The *wo* particle in Modern Japanese

I have so far discussed the case particles in general. Next to be described is the case particle *wo* and its distribution in the Modern Japanese language. The main function of *wo* is to mark the direct object (8).

(8) *kanojo wa tomodachi wo uragi-tta.*
She TOP friend ACC betray-PAST
'She betrayed (her) friend/s.'

The dropping of *wo* presents no problem in the interpretation of the sentence if the grammatical relations are evident. For example in the above sentence the object *tomodachi* can be left unmarked because the verb *uragiru* 'to betray' is a two place verb that takes a subject (*kanojo*) and an object (*tomodachi*). The subject is overtly marked by the topic particle *wa* leaving *tomodachi* to be interpreted as the direct object (9). On top of this, it is not impossible for both the topic particle *wa* and the nominative *ga* to drop. These three particles are the only ones that can be optionally dropped, most likely because they have the property of marking core case. Or more accurately; they can be dropped *when* they mark core case, covering the fact that they have more than one function.

(9) *kanojo (wa) tomodachi uragi-tta.*
she TOP friend betray-PAST
'She betrayed (her) friend/s.'

When it comes to compounding of different particles there are restrictions on which particles the topic particle *wa* and the adverbial particle *mo* ('too', 'also') can follow. These two particles are not allowed to follow the nominative *ga* but on the other hand are regularly found following dative *ni* (10) and the ablative *kara* (11).

(10) *seiji ni wa kyoomi ga nai.*
politics DAT TOP interest NOM not
'I have no interest in politics'

- (11) *mizuumi ga kono koya kara mo mieru.*
 lake NOM this cabin ABL too visible
 ‘The lake is visible from this cabin too.’

When it comes to accusative *wo* the matter gets a little more complicated because it is common to see the topic particle *wa* and the adverbial *mo* replace the accusative *wo* altogether (12) (13) instead of being attached to it.

- (12) *kanojo wa tomodachi mo uragi-tta.*
 she TOP friend too (OBJ) betray-PAST
 ‘She betrayed (her) friend/s too.’

- (13) *shoosetsu wa kinoo yom-i owa-tta.*
 novel TOP (OBJ) yesterday read- INF finish-PAST
 ‘As for the novel, I finished reading it yesterday.’

The compound of *wo* together with topic *wa* existed in the early language at least since OJ where it is found in the shape *wo-ba*. This compound is not a particle frequently found in the modern everyday language because it is limited to the phrase in (14) a rarely heard idiomatic expression. The compound is not used in everyday modern contexts like example (15).

- (14) *shitsurei wo-ba itashi-mashi-ta.*
 excuse ACC-TOP do-HUMBLE-PAST
 ‘I am so very sorry!’

- (15) **shoosetsu wo-ba kinoo yom-i owa-tta.*
 novel ACC-TOP yesterday read- INF finish-PAST
 ‘As for the novel, I finished reading it yesterday.’

Furthermore it is possible to posit the adverbial *mo* after *wo* even though this kind of construction is a bit unusual to find in the everyday language (16). There do exist proverbs and idiomatic expressions where *wo mo* is used, which can be seen in example (17) and (18) with the translation from *Kôjien* (2008).

- (16) ?*kanojo wa tomodachi wo-mo uragi-tta.*
 she TOP friend ACC-too betray-PAST
 ‘She betrayed (her) friend/s too.’

(17) *nito* wo *ou* *mono* *wa* *itto*
 two hares ACC hunt person TOP one hare
wo-mo *e-zu.*
 ACC-too get-NEG
 ‘He that hunts two hares at once will catch neither’

(18) *omou* *nenriki* *iwa* wo-mo *toosu.*
 think will power rocks ACC-too pass
 ‘Having the power of will one will (be able to) climb over the rocks ’

The object particle *wo* have other characteristic restrictions. One is the so called Double-O constraint (Shibatani, 1990:310-311) which prevents two NPs in the same clause from being marked with the accusative *wo*. As we can see in (19) (20) below the English counterpart naturally takes two direct objects, while Japanese has to mark the receiver of the action with dative *ni* according to this rule. This constraint only applies to NPs in the same clause making it possible to have two accusative *wo* in the same sentence if they appear in different clauses (21).

(19) **sensei wa* *kodomo-tachi* wo *tadashii* *kaki-kata* wo
 teacher TOP children ACC correct write-manner ACC
oshie-ta.
 teach-PAST
 ‘The teacher taught the children how to write correctly.’

(20) *sensei wa* *kodomotachi ni* *tadashii* *kaki-kata* wo
 teacher TOP children DAT correct write-manner ACC
oshie-ta.
 teach-PAST
 ‘The teacher taught the children how to write correctly.’

(21) [*kare ga* *sara* wo *kowashita* *no*] wo *mi-ta.*
 he NOM plate ACC break-PAST FORM ACC see-PAST
 ‘I saw him break the plate (I saw that he broke the plate).’

This rule also causes a problem for the causative construction (22) which places the causer in the subject position and has the ‘causee’ marked either with *wo* or *ni* (It is not agreed upon whether it is the dative or agentive *ni*). The choice of particles depends on the degree of volition there is in the action on the part of the causee. *Wo* is used to imply that the causee is

forced to do something, while *ni* is used when “[...] the causer typically appeals to the causee’s intention to carry out the caused event (Shibatani, 1990:309).” If a direct object NP is added the causee has to be marked with *ni*, irrespective of the volition in the caused event (23). The causative is also used when permission to do something is given the causee, and some sentences are ambiguous between the two interpretations as also seen in (23).

(22) *ani ga haha wo shinpai sase-ta.*
 big-brother NOM mother ACC worry do.CAUS-PAST
 ‘My big brother made mommy worried’

(23) *heya wo haha ni sooji sase-ta.*
 room ACC mother DAT/AGT clean do.CAUS-PAST
 ‘(He) made/let mommy clean (his) room’

This rule seems to be valid even if the *wo* particle is used to mark the location of the action, as it does with the intransitive verb *aruku* ‘to walk’ in (24). On the contrary, different functions of *wo* have been noted to be able to appear in the same sentence. In the following sentence (25) the first *wo* is considered to mark an adverbial phrase and the second to mark location (Katô, 2006:141). This may be an indication that even sentence (24) may have both *kodomo* and *hodoo* marked with *wo*, but no such investigation will be conducted in this essay due to shortage of time.

(24) *haha ga kodomo ni hodoo wo*
 mother NOM child DAT/AGT sidewalk ACC/LOC
aruk-aseru.
 walk-CAUS
 ‘The mother made/let her child walk on the sidewalk.’

(25) *yuuyami ga semaru naka wo taroo wa*
 dusk NOM approach middle LOC Tarô TOP
hitori hitoke no nai ippon michi wo kae-tta.
 alone empty (of people) straight road LOC return-PAST
 ‘At the approach of the evening, Tarô returned home alone on a straight road left empty.’

Another peculiarity of the *wo* particle is that it sometimes appears to mark subjects of passive verbs and adjectives. This kind of usage may have triggered the notion that Old Japanese had

ergative alignment, (marking the subject of intransitive verbs and object of transitive verbs the same way, and the agent of transitive verbs in another way) because this kind of marking were more common in the old language. First of all, the passive verb marking the subject with *wo* instead of the *ga* have been observed to typically involve a body part, as for example ‘head’ in the following sentence (26) from Shibatani (1990:327). Example (27) demonstrates that it does not necessarily involve body parts but rather properties, for example one’s wallet. Thus it would be incorrect to create a sentence as example (28), which should have *ga* instead of *wo*.

(26) *taroo wa jiroo ni atama wo nagur-are-ta.*
 TOP AGT head ACC hit-PASS-PAST
 As for Tarô, (his) head was hit by Jirô. (‘Tarô was hit by Jirô on the head’)

(27) (*boku wa saifu wo nusum-are-ta.*)
 (I TOP) wallet ACC steal-PASS-PAST
 ‘My wallet was stolen’ (I had my wallet stolen)

(28) **kooen ni sekihi wo tate-rare-ta.*
 park LOC stone monument ACC build-PASS-PAST
 ‘There was a stone monument built in the park’

Furthermore the practice of marking the subject of an adjective with the accusative *wo* is probably limited to certain adjectives that contractually resembles two-place verbs; *suki* ‘liking, fondness, *kirai* ‘hate, dislike’, *hoshii* ‘wanted, desired’. The common way of using these adjectives is demonstrated below, with the topic for which the adjective is valid marked with *wa* and the subject of hate marked with *ga* (29). It is also possible to mark both “subjects” similarly with *ga* (notice the slight change in meaning (29b))

(29a) *watashi wa sakana ga kirai-da.*
 I TOP fish NOM hate-COP
 ‘I hate fish (As for me, I hate fish.)’

(29b) *watashi ga sakana ga kirai-da.*
 I NOM fish NOM hate-COP
 ‘I hate fish (I am the one hating fish).’

These adjectives have counterparts shaped as a transitive verb (*kirai=kirau*; *suki=suku*, *hoshii=hossuru*) demonstrated in (30). In analogy with the verbs, the adjectives are

sometimes used the same way, and have the direct object marked with *wo*, illustrated in (31) and (32). According to Shibatani (1990:301) this has been observed in the language for more than two hundred years. We will see in chapter 3 that similar constructions are found further back in time.

(30) *kodomo wa tamanegi wo kiratte-iru.*
 child TOP onion ACC hate-be
 ‘Children hate onions’

(31) *boku ga sashimi wo hoshii.*
 I NOM sashimi ACC want
 ‘I want sashimi.’ (‘Sashimi is desired’)

(32) *yamada-senpai wo suki-desu.*
 Yamada-senior ACC like-COP.POL
 ‘I like Yamada.’ (‘Yamada is dear’)

Another construction found in Modern Japanese that has attracted some attention recently, is the ECM construction familiar in Indo-European languages like English, Latin and Swedish (In Latin grammar called ‘accusativus cum infinitivo’ because the subordinate clause consists of a subject in accusative and a predicate that is in the infinitive). In the following sentences the subject of the subordinate clause receives accusative case from the main verb while remaining the subject of the subordinate clause.

(33) I saw them [dance together in the club].
 ACC INF

(34) I find him [obnoxious].
 ACC

The example (35a) below (Discussed in Miyagawa & Ekida, 2003:14) is the more common way of constructing a subordinate clause with the subject of the clause marked with nominative *ga*, because it receives nominative case from its position inside the clause and not from the main verb. This can be turned into an ECM construction (35b) where the subject of the subordinate clause, *Hanako*, receives accusative case from the main verb instead. The clause marked in this sentence will be incorrect if we extract it, but not if we replace the *wo* particle with the nominative *ga* (36).

(35) *taroo ga [hanako ga tensai da to] omotte-iru.*
 NOM NOM genius COP QUOT think-be
 ‘Tarô thinks that Hanako is a genius.’

(36) *taroo ga hanako wo [tensai da to] omotte-iru.*
 NOM ACC genius COP QUOT think-be
 ‘Tarô thinks Hanako is a genius’ (Tarô regards Hanako as a genius)

(37) **hanako wo tensai da.* (correct: *hanako ga tensai da*)
 ACC genius COP
 ‘Hanako is a genius.’

2.3 Previous research

2.3.1 Case

In this section some definitions regarding case are discussed in order to place the Japanese case system in a general context. Blake (1994:1) defines case as follows: “case refers to marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads”. Note that the ‘head’ is defined by Blake as the phrase determining what kind of ‘dependents’ may be present in the sentence, thus very often applying to the predicate of a clause. A ‘dependent’ is in Blake’s words both arguments and modifiers of the verb.

The case of the dependent is in some languages also governed by post- or prepositions, as in Latin and Turkish, and visible on pronouns when it comes to English, e.g. ‘for him/*he’. But the postpositional system in Japanese does not govern case and the particle system is the only system used to overtly mark it (abstract case marking is word order or contextual relations), in contrast to many of the Indo-European languages which have both case declensions and prepositions.

The accusative case is used to express the direct object, which is the main function of the *wo* particle in Modern Japanese. The direct object is also one of the cases that Blake calls core cases, namely accusative, nominative and ergative. He (1994:134) summarizes the properties

of the direct object with the following points:

- (a) Its core function is to express the role of patient in a two-place construction.
- (b) Where a non-patient is expressed as direct object the activity is presented from the point of view of its effect on the direct object.
- (c) The direct object holds a position in the givenness hierarchy intermediate between the subject and the peripheral relations.

Blake (1994:134-5) is using the term ‘affectedness’ to identify the direct object as the patient that is most affected by a two-place predicate, a predicate of “maximum semantic transitivity” in contrast to weaker predicates which have their patients less affected by the action (‘help’, ‘trust’ etc.). This is because not all two-place verbs (verbs taking two arguments) have their patient marked with accusative. He is inclined to identify the direct object on the basis of the traditional view based on Ancient Greek and Latin, and therefore gives examples from these languages of two-place verbs with lower transitivity that take the dative case instead of the accusative, i.e. equivalents of ‘trust’ and ‘help’.

In the following examples (38a) has a prepositional phrase and (38b) has a direct object that is not the patient of the predicate (Blake, 1994:135).

(38)

(a) The old man walked in the streets of the village

(b) The old man walked the streets of the village

(c) *roojin wa mura no michi wo arui-ta.*
old man TOP village street ACC walk-PAST

The sense of the sentence changes when the object does no longer hold the role of the patient, according to Blake an “added sense of affectedness, or a holistic interpretation”. In Japanese (38c) the verb meaning ‘to walk’ (*aruku*) is an intransitive verb that usually has the accusative *wo* particle marking the location of the walking. This kind of construction is sometimes treated as designating the circumstances for the movement. It is noticeable that there is a possible correspondence between languages when it comes to this usage of accusative.

As remarked by Haspelmath (2009:505) there is little agreement concerning the terminology of case both when it comes to the basic terms as well as the terminology for individual cases. Very often are traditional labels such as *nominative*, *dative* and *accusative*

are appropriate to use in order to grasp the basic functions. Even though such labels are convenient to use when describing one language, they seldom correspond to the exact same label in another language. His suggestion is to use a language specific label such as *the Japanese accusative case* when talking about a case in comparison with other languages, because even though the Japanese accusative marker *wo* corresponds nicely to the direct object in IE languages, some predicates in Japanese tend to favor accusative when similar predicates in other languages choose another case and vice versa.

When it comes to the marking of case, the Japanese system differs for example from Latin and English. Latin case and number are morphologically inseparable, and in English case is more or less assigned by word order (except for pronouns) and prepositions. Because Japanese nouns are indeclinable, case must be marked with postpositions (particles). Thus Japanese does not have any case ‘forms’, instead uses case ‘markers’ to make the grammatical relations clear. This kind of marking is described as *analytic case markers* in Blake (1994:9-10).

Many scholars are attempting to find evidence, on the basis of the syntax and case distribution, for ergative, partly ergative alignment or active alignment in pre-Modern Japanese. The type we are familiar with in our Indo-European languages is the accusative alignment (English, Swedish, Latin, Russian etc.). Most of the languages in the world have their core cases marked according to this system including Modern Japanese. The cases considered core cases are subject and object, here specified for clarity as; Subject (S) of an intransitive verb; Agent (A) of a transitive verb; Patient (P) of a transitive verb (Blake, 1994:120). The accusative languages mark S and A similarly, while the direct object of a transitive verb, P, is marked differently (see figure 1 below). In order to explain the ergative system we use the same terms for the core cases (S, A and P), but instead of marking the S and A similarly the A (ergative) is marked individually while the S and P (absolutive) share the same marking: A / SP. Generally the A (erg.) gets an overt case marking while the SP (abs.) is unmarked or zero marked. In accusative alignment the nominative is often the unmarked case.



Figure 1: Accusative and ergative alignment

In addition to these systems there are other systems for core-case marking, for example the active system (Split-intransitive or Split-S). This system has been suggested to be the one used or partly used in Old Japanese by Vovin (1997) and Yanagida & Whitman (2009). The difference in marking is made on the argument of one-place verbs; according to Blake (1994:125-6) it is sometimes marked as an A and sometimes as a P. The different marking is depending on the semantic character of the verb, but the distribution of agent-verbs and patient-verbs differ from language to language. It is usually verbs where the subject is the active doer of something that have the argument A-marked, for example ‘go’, ‘swim’, ‘dance’, and verbs of less volitional character like ‘die’ and ‘fall’ that takes a P-marked argument. In some languages the difference is drawn between activities and accomplishments over time on one hand, and predicates that indicate a state on the other. It is noteworthy that there are few languages that have fully an ergative or accusative system. As for information concerning partial ergative and accusative marking I refer to Blake (1994:138-9).

2.3.2 The development of case

There are common tendencies in the development of case markers in various languages, and that is for verbs, nouns and sometimes adverbials to turn into a pre- or postposition, and postpositions to merge with nouns and create bound case forms. A common example of verb > case marker are verbs meaning ‘come’ and ‘leave’ to develop into case markers meaning ‘to’

and 'from' respectively. Noun > case marker are more common in the development of locative case markers ('top' > 'on') ('innards', 'guts' > 'into') etc. (Blake, 1994: 163-8). Preposition developments are not uncommon in English where verbs in present participle have been grammaticalized, such as 'regarding' and 'concerning'.

It is interesting that the Japanese case marker *wo* is assumed to derive from an exclamatory and interjectional particle and therefore do not follow these general patterns of development. There have been, however, attempts to place the origin of the *wo* case in the verb *woru/wiru* ('to sit', 'be located') but this has been refuted by Kinsui (2006). Furthermore the case markers have never been incorporated in the nouns or developed into bound forms as the case system in Latin.

Findings have also shown adpositions to expand, normally from being locative markers, to being markers of syntactic relations such as direct object (syntactic case: subject, object, indirect object, ergative and absolutive). One example is the preposition 'a' in Spanish meaning 'to', which have developed into an indirect object marker and a direct object marker of animate and specific nouns (Blake, 1994:173).

Lexical redundancy mentioned in Blake (1994:175) plays a part when it comes to case merging, which is the phenomenon of two case markers merging into one, also called syncretism. As an example; in some languages with allative-locative case the allative have merged with the dative-locative, which in practice cause no problem because the allative function will only appear with verbs of motion. In most languages the locative is also used to mark a place in time. Similarly the English locative preposition 'by' has developed into a preposition that indicates means or instrument: 'sitting by the fire' or 'traveling by horse'. Consequently a case system will naturally be reduced when the individual cases merge. However as a language will be in need of case, new case markers will be "invented" to make up for the lost ones. The case forms of Old English, for example, are almost entirely lost but instead prepositions and a fixed word order have been employed.

There is more written on the development of case systems with morphological case forms like Latin and its relatives, and not much about systems with analytic case markers like Japanese, maybe because they are less changeable. I believe that the Japanese case system as a whole has not changed much from the 8th century up until today. Not many particles have dropped and not many have been added, but some have partly or slightly changed their scope.

I would like to quote Blake (1994:171) who says that "The whole point of having a case system [...] is to provide brief signals for broad categories that will be sufficient for

communication most of the time”. It is essential to understand that the predicates to a high degree prescribe what kind of arguments they require, in addition to that; the lexical choice provide a clue to what the sentence is supposed to convey. Blake (1994:172) presents us with the example “man dog hit stick”, from which most would assume *man* to be agent and *stick* to be instrumental etc. This kind of lexical redundancy plays a part when the case markers are expanding their range. If we have a verb of separation there is no problem in having the starting point or destination marked as a direct object, because it would not be interpreted as a patient anyway. Therefore it is unnecessary for a language to develop a case system that marks all the possible relations individually.

2.3.3 The function and alignment of the *wo* particle in pre-Modern Japanese

Amongst the researches that have been conducted on the accusative *wo* in pre-Modern Japanese, none have really gained the reputation of being able to explain its distribution, function and meaning without exceptions or critique. A tendency that have been observed is that the object tend to be unmarked when it is adjacent to the verb, but when the object is moved away from the verb, separated by a word or phrase, the *wo* particle usually appears (e.g. Yanagida, 2006 and Yanagida & Whitman, 2009). However there are so many counter examples to this claim that it is regarded as a tendency and not a rule. The particle also tends to appear in subordinate clauses more frequently than in main clauses.

Generally the particle is considered to be mainly an accusative particle, and this is what Frellesvig (2010:126) has to say about its appearance in OJ:

“Accusative *wo* is mainly used to mark direct and traversal objects, as in NJ [Modern Japanese], but was in OJ used more widely also to mark durational adverbials. It is also used as a conjunctive particle and as an interjectional particle.”

Miyagawa (1989) and Miyagawa & Ekida (2002) however believes the accusative particle *wo* to appear only when the verb takes the attributive and perfective form while the common way of accusative marking in OJ was by word order (SOV). This idea is first presented in Miyagawa (1989) and later developed in Miyagawa & Ekida (2002) in which some counter

examples that had emerged since the idea was first published are dealt with. When the verb system started to change during EMJ, and the attributive verb form started to be used to conclude main clauses, the accusative *wo* also had to change its distribution and is according to their arguments the reason why the particle gradually appeared more frequently.

Others believe that pre-Modern Japanese was not a language with nominative-accusative alignment as it is today. Vovin (1997:273) for example believes OJ to have “certain characteristics of a language with active typology”. Vovin argues that the *wo* was used both as an accusative and an absolutive case marker, thus both marking the objects of transitive verbs and marking the subjects of non-active intransitive verbs. The absolutive *wo*, he says (1997:276), is mostly found when the predicate takes the suffix *-myi* (-mi) making the verb a “quality stative verb” illustrated below in (39), but also found together with other verbs without the suffix as in (40).

(39) *miyako wo topo-myi.*
 capital ABS far-GER
 'because the capital is far . . .' (MYS I-51)

(40) *pur-u yuki wo kosi-ni nadum-yite.*
 fall-PT snow ABS waist-LOC cling-GER
 'The falling snow clung to [my] waist [and]' (MYS XIX-4230)

Similar to Vovin (1997) Yanagida & Whitman (2009) also find OJ to have partly active alignment with nominative alignment in main clauses and active alignment in so called nominalized clauses (adnominal, realis, irrealis, conditional and *-aku* clauses). However their study differs from Vovin's, and they concentrate on the particles *no* and *ga*. While they dismiss Vovin's ideas of *wo* being an absolutive particle, they base their judgments of *wo* on Miyagawa's (1989) ideas that adnominal verbs cannot assign abstract case and therefore have to mark the direct object overtly with *wo*, furthermore they assume that unmarked direct objects are incorporated in the verb (2009:125-131).

While these studies on alignment are carefully made and counter examples are accounted for many maintain the notion that OJ had accusative alignment and that *wo* was an accusative marker already in OJ. In Wrona (2012) the ideas of OJ being ergative or accusative are being criticized, and he compares them with the general behavior of ergative and active languages.

In this essay I will stick to the general perspective that Japanese is a language with accusative alignment, and that *wo* is an accusative marker. Still, the fact that *wo* clearly had an

interjectional function cannot be ignored, and some of the instances of case marking *wo* may be interpreted as interjectional *wo*.

2.3.4 The development of the *wo* particle

The process in which the particle *wo* evolved from being an exclamatory marker and an interjectional particle into an obligatory accusative marker have been investigated several times without uniform conclusions. The opinions range from influences from the reading of Chinese texts in Japanese (*kanbun-kundoku*) to changes in the verbal system that changed the distribution of the particle. It can also be argued that the wider distribution of the accusative particle may be due to the need of a language standard.

In order to get a better view of the development it is first of all possible to divide the stages into two; first the development from an exclamatory and interjectional to an occasional accusative marker, secondly the development from an occasional accusative (with an interjectional function alongside) to a sole accusative marker. The scenario in which the interjectional particle started to get an accusative meaning, can be understood when imagining that the interjectional *wo* marked a lot of different sentence constituents, but later got reanalyzed as an object marker because it was frequently applied to direct objects. And when the interjectional *wo* gradually disappeared, the accusative *wo* got more consolidated.

Itoi suggests (2001:865) that subjects and objects are necessary components for the predicate and therefore did not necessarily have to be specified using particles, This suggestion is similar to Miyagawa's (1989:238-9) claim that OJ commonly marked case with word order, and not as in Standard Modern Japanese. The development according to Itoi (2001:865) was as, in my translation, as follows;

[...] the interjectional particle attached to both subjects and adverbial components and indicated the object of deep emotion, however it was not unusual that the grammatical object also was made the object of emotions; it was rather the usual case. This is thought to have strengthened the properties of the case particle that specified the object.

This is not something that happened overnight. Through several hundred years since the Nara period during which our earliest material was compiled and probably before that, both the interjectional and the accusative *wo* were in use. During these periods the *wo* particle had many different functions, and has shown in many cases to be difficult to interpret both grammatically and semantically. It is easy to assume, as is proposed in Itoi (2001:865), that there was no clear distinction between the different *wo* particles in the beginning.

Considering that the *wo* particle was not limited to interjectionals and direct objects, but also marked subjects and adverbials I think it is possible to argue that the first occasions of case marking *wo* was not a matter of accusative marking but rather a particle of wider range that marked some kind of relation between the marked nominal and the predicate, be it accusative, nominative, spatial or temporal.

Nevertheless the opinions on this matter are many. Shibatani (1990:344) mentions a research conducted on material from the early Heian period by Matsuo (1938, 1944), who does not think that *wo* was an indicator of accusative, instead think that it was a marker of subjective feelings or emotions from the speakers own point of view. The reason for this opinion is based on Matsuo's (1938, 1944) observations of zero-marked object being more frequent in some material while *wo*-marked objects are more frequent in others; *wo*-marked objects are more frequent in poetry than in prose, which he find suspicious because if the accusative *wo* was considered a newer part of the language, then it would be less frequent in poetry which is generally conservative. Matsuo (1938, 1944) also finds *wo* to appear less in "complex" sentence structures than in simple ones when one would predict the opposite if the accusative *wo* was employed because of the need of clarity in a language growing more complex. Finally he finds the type of object nominals that gets marked by *wo* to get narrower in the Heian period, to: 1. Words relating to peoples. 2. Pronouns. 3. Nominal clauses (V+*koto/yosi*). 4. Headless nominalized clauses (Shibatani, 1990:344). Such a limited distribution can in turn be understood if looking at other languages like Turkish where the accusative case marking is limited to definite objects.

The first stage of development was according to Matsuo (1938, 1944), Hiroi (1957) and Oyama (1958) (paraphrased in Shibatani, 1990:345) influenced by the reading of Chinese texts in Japanese (*kanbun-kundoku*) in which *wo* is said to be used to make the text easier to comprehend. Oyama (1958) (also paraphrased in Shibatani, 1990:345) believes that the *wo* particle expressed emphasis during the Heian period, and that its employment in *kanbun-kundoku* eventually influenced the whole language. I agree with Shibatani (1990:347) that the

fact that the *no* and *ga* particles was established as nominative case markers in LMJ may have contributed to the establishment of *wo* as an accusative marker.

Although Miyagawa (1989:215) admits that *kanbun-kundoku* influenced the language to some extent, his account of why the accusative *wo* only under some circumstances turned into a particle that marked all direct objects is based on the changes in the verbal system. First of all he found the accusative *wo* to only occur when the verb was in attributive form. The attributive form was generally used as attributes to nominals, but also occurred in special constructions where special particles called *kakari-joshi* triggered the final conclusive verb into attributive form instead, thus making the direct object to take the particle *wo*. Occasionally there started to appear main clauses in attributive form that lacked *kakari-musubi* and accordingly also had the direct object marked with *wo*. The attributive form later got reanalyzed as the conclusive verb form, and thus made the *wo* marked direct object a language norm.

These are some of the hypotheses on the development of the particle. Many seem to accept that there was more than one factor in the development from interjectional particle to accusative marker. It is noticeable that the case marker has no known path of development similar to other languages, and that it has its origin in an exclamation.

2.3.5 Defining the interjectional particle

Before moving on to the Japanese material I want to explain the difference between exclamatory and interjectional particle. The terms may appear synonymous, but we will see when looking at the Japanese sentences that the exclamatory particle is an exclamation while the interjectional particle behaves more like a discourse particle.

Using the definitions found in Goddard (2011) we can place the particles in a bigger context. What Goddard calls ‘interjectional particle’ is defined as follows: “Interjectional are words or phrases which can constitute an utterance in their own right, such as *Gosh*, *Yuck*, *Uh-oh!*, *Shit!*, and *Goodness gracious!* (2011:162)” which fits the behavior of the exclamatory particle (*kandôshi*), whereas the so called ‘discourse marker’ is assumed to be integrated in the grammar and cannot stand independently, and “usually express[es] speaker attitudes

towards a proposition (the content of the sentence of which they are a part)” (2011:165). This on the other hand fits the behavior of what is denominated interjectional particle (*kantô-shi*) in this essay. As a matter of consistency I will keep using the terms used up until now.

The interjectional particle *wo* is not found as an independent constituent but seems to be dependent on the words or phrases it is attached to. Consequently the fact that it is moved into the sentence and placed deliberately after certain phrases indicate that it does not emphasize the whole statement but rather the constituents it is placed behind. To compare it with Modern Japanese in which sentence final particles generally are placed at the end of sentences as to convey the speaker’s attitude towards the whole statement (i.e. not necessarily emphasis, as emphasis inside sentences can be conveyed using other particles (*koso*, *ga*) or word order).

It is not easy to determine what meaning or what attitude the user of the interjectional particle wanted to convey by placing it inside the sentence, especially when working with texts that are several hundred years old. The fact that we have a lot of data drawn from poetry can make our judgments one-sided. One can claim that the particle was used as a lamentation when found in a sad context dealing with parting with loved ones etc. or as a particle of admiration or amazement in other poems with a happier tone.

3 The *wo* particle in OJ and EMJ

The Japanese traditional view on the *wo* particle is thoroughly illustrated by Itoi (2001:864-9) which also has provided this thesis with many example sentences. The interpretations that the traditional view provides is often made the basis for the renderings of OJ texts, even if many modern scholars have eagerly proposed different views together with more or less convincing evidence (see 2.3.3). Similar to the modern *wo* particle, the OJ/EMJ particle has many functions. When examining these different functions I think it is fairly important to take into consideration the time period in which they were used. Some of them have remained in the language and some have developed further while others are obsolete.

Below is a list, adapted from Frellesvig (2010), of the different periods of the language. The political periods they approximately correspond to are given in the parenthesis. I have also added some of the written texts of that particular time. I will exemplify the early usage of *wo* with sentences from both OJ and EMJ as it seems that there is no need to separate the two based on the usage. As reported in Frellesvig (2010:243) the whole particle register did not change drastically from OJ to EMJ except a sound change where *wo* changed into *o* (for consistency spelled *wo* in this thesis).

Old Japanese, OJ – 700-800 (Nara period)

Manyôshû, Kojiki, Nihon Shoki, Fudoki, Shoku Nihongi etc.

Early Middle Japanese, EMJ – 800 -1200 (Heian period)

Genji Monogatari, Ise monogatari, Kokinshû, Taketori Monogatari

Late Middle Japanese, LMJ – 1200-1600 (Kamakura/Muromachi period)

Hôjôki, Shingoshui wakashû, Esopo (Aesop's fables),

Modern Japanese, Mod. J - 1600 - present (Edo, Meiji etc. - present)

I will begin with looking at the exclamatory and the interjectional usage of the particle *wo* and take the opportunity to distinguish between the two. The examples will be presented in order to demonstrate in what kind of position the particle can appear in the sentence. I will thereafter move on to the accusative function which is known to have developed from the interjectional particle. Finally I will deal with other kind of functions that do not fit in either of the above categories; locative, temporal and subject marking *wo* and their minor usages.

3.1 The exclamatory and interjectional *wo* in OJ and EMJ

According to Itoi (2001:864-5) it is believed that the exclamatory particle *wo*, mainly expressing consent and response, later gave rise to the interjectional *wo*. The distinction between an exclamatory (*kandôshi*) particle and an interjectional (*kantô-joshi*) particle is described in *Kôjien*, where the exclamatory particle is defined as a word that does not inflect, that cannot have the role of subject, object or any other constituent of a sentence and cannot modify other words. It can in itself form a sentence, and is used to express excitement, response and to call out to someone, for example in Modern Japanese: *aa! hai!, iie! or oi!* This corresponds well with Goddard's (2011) definitions discussed above in 2.3.5.

According to Itoi (2001:864) we find an exclamatory *wo* in the following sentences (41) (42). The first is a poem from *Manyôshû* (3796). The second sentence is from *Genji monogatari*. These two examples only provide us with a particle for positive answer corresponding to 'yes'.

(41) *ina mo wo mo hosiki manimani yurusubeki katati pa*
 no too yes too wish as allow face TOP
miyuya ware mo yorinamu
 visible I too yield
 'Even if it is yes or no, you look like you are will agree; I will yield too.' (*Manyôshû*, 3796)

(42) [*idura kono aumi no kimi, konatani*]to meseba, [*wo*]
 where that [name] this way QUOT call INTERJ
to itokezayaka-ni kikoete
 QUOT very clear-ADV be audible
 'When he (The inner minister) called out: "Where is that Omi no Kimi? come here!" she answered "Yes" with an exaggerated clarity.' (*Genji, Gyôkô*)

The interjectional particle (*kantôjoshi*) is defined by *Kôjien* as a particle used at the end of a phrase or a word in a sentence in order to add emphasis, to adjust one's tone of voice or to adorn the sentence with suggestiveness. *Kôjien* mentions *yo, ya, wo, ro, we, na* and *ne* as examples of interjectional particles. Finding that the pre-modern *wo* attached to a variety of words as well as occurring at the end of sentences, as we will see, it is probable that it emphasized particular words or phrases and not so much the whole statement.

Depending on what kind of word class and inflection it was attached to the emphatic particle *wo* is believed to express different semantic functions, but does not change the grammatical composition of the sentence and can be attached freely to any clause, adverbial or noun. Attached to the end of a sentence it is used to express admiration, according to Itoi (2001:865), as in the sentences (43) and (44). Sentence (43) seems to lack a predicate that is probably omitted.

(43) *anani yasiee wotome wo*
 such good maiden INTERJ
 ‘Such a nice girl!’ (*Kojiki*, Ue)

(44) *kusamakura-tabu iku kimi to siramas-eba kisi no panipu*
 journey go.ATTR you QUOT know-COND coast GEN red clay
ni nipopasamasi wo
 DAT dye.ATTR INTERJ
 ‘If I knew you were on a journey, I would have dyed your garment
 with the red clay of the coast.’ (*Manyôshû*, 69)

The interjectional *wo* is also said to confirm or strengthen the whole statement as in (45) and (46) from Itoi (2001:865) and Shibatani (1990:341) respectively, where *wo* follows an imperative phrase. In these cases the particle closely resembles the sentence final particle *yo* in Modern Japanese, which is sometimes used after imperatives to soften a harsh command.

(45) [*watarimori pune watase wo*] *to yobu kowe no*
 Ferryman boat transfer.IMP INTERJ QUOT call voice GEN
itara-neba kamo kadi no oto no se-nu
 reach-NEGPROV maybe rudder GEN sound NOM do-NEG
 ‘Maybe it is because my voice saying “ferryman, cross the river” doesn’t reach him,
 that there is no sound of the rudder.’ (*Manyôshû*, 2072)

(46) *ipe woramase wo.*
 house stay.HON INTERJ
 ‘Stay in the house.’

The following sentences (47, 48, and 49) are all concluded with a verb in the attributive form followed by the particle. This seems to be a common pattern for *wo* in sentence final position. The particle has the properties of a sentence final particle but the question is how extensive its

scope is. Sentence (49) is most likely only putting emphasis on the last phrase ‘but I never thought ...’ as a contrast to the first phrase ‘I heard that...’. The same can be said about (49) where *wo* seems to emphasize the second part of the conditional construction. Sentences (47-49) are from Itoi (2001:864-5).

(47) *tuwini yuku miti to pa kanete kikisika-do kinopu*
 ADV go.ATTR way QUOT TOP previously hear-CONCESS yesterday
kepu to pa omopa-zarisi wo
 today QUOT TOP think-NEG.ATTR INTERJ
 ‘I’ve heard before that it is a road we necessarily have to walk down sooner or later, but I never thought that I would follow it yesterday or today. (Ise, 125)

(48) *pototogisu kapi-toporaseba kotosi tate ki-mukapu*
 cuckoo keep-across.COND this year pass come-turn-ATTR
natu pa madu nakina-mu wo
 summer TOP first sing-ATTR INTERJ
 ‘If I had kept the cuckoo for a year, and this year has passed, it would have sung at the very beginning of next year’s summer.’ (Manyōshū, 4207)

(49) *yo ni kakaru pikari no ide-owasitaru koto to*
 world LOC like this light NOM appear-be.ATTR to QUOT
odorokare-paberisi wo
 be surprised-be.ATTR INTERJ
 ‘I was so surprised that such a dazzling person was born into this world.’ (Genji, Asagao)

The sentence final *wo* can be considered to be a sentence final particle similar to the ones found in the Modern Japanese language, exemplified by *zo* and *yo* in the two sentences below (50) (51). These are used for emphasis, *yo* is a little lighter than *zo* which is considered to be a particle used mostly by men.¹

(50) *anta wo uttaeru zo.*
 you ACC sue SF-part.
 ‘I will sue you!’

(51) *sukkari wasure-ta yo.*
 completely forget-PAST SF-part.
 ‘I totally forgot (it)!’

¹ However the stereotypical gender language is not always reflected in the actual spoken language.

As we have seen the particle is often preceded by a predicate in attributive form. Still, example (52) (Itoi, 2001:865) below has the predicate in gerund form (a neutral conjunctive form used in subordinate clauses) followed by the *wo* particle. The *wo* particle did also develop a conjunctive function, but it is not observed to appear connected to the gerund, (52) is therefore most likely to be an interjectional particle.

(52) *madu go-seusoku pa tamawase-te wo*
 first HON-correspondence TOP receive-GER INTERJ
 'First of all, after you receive the news (...)' (*Ochikubo*, 1)

The conjunctive use of *wo* is illustrated below (53) with an example from Shibatani (1990:342), in which the particle follows the attributive form *tikaki*. It is supported in Itoi (2001:867) that the conjunctive *wo* is found connected to the attributive form which is common for the interjectional *wo* too. So the difference appears to lie in the meaning and interpretation of the sentences, not the form.

(53) *asahiki no yama nimo tikaki wo pototogisu tuki-tatu*
 (epithet) mountain to close CONJ [cuckoo] moon-rise
madeni nanika kinakan
 before why come.sing.NEG
 'When the mountain is so close, why don't you, hototogisu [cuckoo], come and sing before the moon rises?'

When the interjectional *wo* is attached to components inside a sentence it emphasizes that particular word. The following sentence from Itoi (2001:865) emphasizes the adverb 'near/close' in the adverbial form (54). The reason the *wo* particle is not a locative particle is because *koko-ni* assigns the location while *tikaku* is further specifying the proximity. The interjectional *wo* is also found marking the adverbial form of adjectives; *tanosiku* in (55) and *kokoro-nodokani* in (56). It is obvious that these words are not direct objects; the particle is clearly an interjectional particle.

(54) *pototogisu koko-ni tika-ku wo ki-naki-te yo suginamu*
 cuckoo hither close-ADV INTERJ come-cry-GER KAKARI pass
noti ni sirusi arameyamo
 after effect be
 ‘Cuckoo, come and sing close to here, when I have left this present time, it will be in vain.’ (*Manyôshû*, 1783)

(55) *ikeru pito ni mo sinuru mono ni are-ba kono*
 live-ATTR person DAT also die.ATTR thing DAT be-CONJ this
yo ni aru aida pa tanosi-ku wo arana
 world LOC be.ATTR while TOP pleasant-ADV INTERJ be.DES
 ‘Every living person is destined to die, therefore let’s live pleasantly while residing in this world.’ (*Manyôshû*, 349)

(56) *nanigoto mo kokoro-nodoka-ni wo obosinase*
 whatever heart-calmly-ADV INTERJEC think
 ‘Whatever it is, think about it in a relaxed and composed manner.’ (*Genji, Yadorigi*)

Words and morphemes that inflect in the same manner as adjectives and are used adverbially can also be emphasized with *wo*, like the particle *besi* in the sentence below (57) (Itoi, 2001:865) here seen in the adverbial form *beku*. Looking at these past four sentences of *wo* following adverbials (54-57), they all share the character of expressing some kind of request. It is easy to understand in which kind of context an interjectional particle is more likely to appear; the speaker are urging someone to do something in a particular manner thus emphasizing the adverb.

(57) *urami-nakaru beku wo motenasi-tamawe*
 resent-NEG.ATTR in order to INTERJEC behave-please.IMP
 ‘Please behave so you won’t regret it.’ (*Genji, Makibashira*)

The interjectional particle can in turn be placed behind another particle e.g. the conjunctive particle *-tutu* in (58). I would rather call *-tutu* an auxiliary suffix because it attaches to the infinitive of the verb *mi-*, but Itoi (2001:865) calls it a particle. The *wo* particle also occurs after other postpositions, as discussed in section 2.2, for example the quotative particle *to* in which case it is probably emphasizing the subordinate phrase (59). This example is from *Kokin-Wakashû* (*Kokinshû*, 630), an anthology of poetry dating from the Heian period (EMJ). In the *Manyôshû* poem (60) we find *wo* placed yet again after *to*. (Itoi, 2001:865)

(58) *kimi ga atari mi-tutu wo wiran ikomayama kumo*
 you GEN vicinity look-CONJ INTERJ be Mt Ikoma cloud
nakakusiso ame pa puru-tomo
 conceal.PROHIB rain TOP fall-CONCESSIVE
 I will always keep looking towards your place. Clouds, do not conceal mount Ikoma,
 even though the rain is falling. (*Ise*, 23)

(59) *pito pa isa wa pa naki na no wosikereba*
 person TOP how I TOP not name NOM regrettable
[mukasi mo ima mo sira-du] to wo ipamu
 past too now too know-NEG QUOT INTERJ say
 'Well I don't know about that person, but because I hate bad rumors I will say that I
 neither knew her before nor know her now! (*Kokinshû*, 630)

(60) *asarisuru pito to wo mimase kusa-makura*
 fish.ATTR person INTERJ regard.IMP [epithet]
tabi iku hito ni waga-na pa nora-di
 journey go.ATTR peron DAT my-name TOP tell-NEG
 'Regard me as a fisher, I won't tell my name to a traveler.' (*Manyôshû*, 1731)

The few examples of *wo* following other particles is not enough to claim that *wo* attaches to case particles because the examples we have looked at (58-60) are not necessarily 'case' particles. No other examples of *wo* following case particles are found, for example the accusative *wo* followed by the emphatic *wo* (**wo-wo*) or following the nominative/genitive *ga* (**ga-wo*) and *no* (**no-wo*). Maybe the particle's main status as an accusative particle prevented it from being conjoined with other case particles. However we do find the topic marker *ha* (during OJ: *pa*) attached to the case particle *wo* creating the combined particle *woba*, which is uncommon in Modern Japanese but regularly found in OJ. An example from *Manyôshû* is shown in (61) (Miyagawa & Ekida 2002:17). I do not think that it is a matter of emphasis in the *woba* case, but rather that the direct object is getting topicalized. In Modern Japanese the topic particle *wa* would not attach to the accusative particle but instead replace it altogether (see 2.2 example 12-13). Since this is a matter of accusative *wo* I will not continue this discussion here.

(61) *kimi-wo-ba mata-mu*
 you-TOP wait will
 '(I) will wait for you' (*Manyôshû*, 7)

We have now looked at the distribution of the interjectional *wo* used within sentences from both prose and poetry in which it followed different constituents, such as adverbials, auxiliaries/ suffixes and particles. I would like to mention that when *wo* follows the formal noun *mono*, either inside a sentence or at the end, the preceding phrase will express a contradictory condition or admiration. This kind of usage overlaps with the so called conjunctive particle *wo* found in the exact same position also expressing contradictory conditions (e.g. ‘even though, in spite of’, usually expressed with *-noni* in the modern language). The following sentence illustrates this (62) (Itoi, 2001:865).

(62) *suzume-no-ko* *wo* *inuki* *ga* *nigasituru.* *pusego no*
 baby-sparrow ACC Inuki NOM let escape cage GEN
uti ni kometarituru *mono* *wo*
 inside put FORM INTERJEC
 ‘Inuki let the baby sparrow escape, even though she put it in a cage!’ (*Genji, Waka-murasaki*)

In conclusion we have seen the interjectional particle *wo* to be in use through both OJ and EMJ. Itoi (2001:864) confirms this by claiming that the interjectional particle is attested from the Nara period, and found in conversations and written texts throughout the Heian period, but since the Kamakura period the interjectional *wo* seems to decline as it became limited to *waka* poetry and strong expressions of literary style. Many changes occurred in the language during this period, e.g. in the verbal system and consequently in the syntax, that may have been, according to Miyagawa (1989) at least, a trigger that changed the distribution of the *wo* particle.

3.2 Accusative particle *wo* in OJ and EMJ

I will now demonstrate the accusative role of the *wo* particle and the width of its application in OJ and EMJ. We have already looked at examples in the previous section of interjectional *wo* marking sentence constituents that can not be interpreted as accusatives, for example adverbs and particles. Still, many of the accusative *wo* can be interpreted as interjectional *wo* or even as emphatic-accusative.

First and foremost examples of the accusative *wo* marking nouns will be illustrated. These examples are interpreted as such by the author of the particular source the sentence is borrowed from, apart from some examples where the particle is instead regarded as an absolutive particle i.e. by Vovin (1997). When it comes to the matter of time period there is still no or little difference between OJ and EMJ.

The following three sentences (63-65) were found in Itoi (2001:865-6) while (66) is from Frellesvig (2010:78) all examples of OJ. Looking at example (64) *kaya* ('thatch') has a grammatical connection to the verb *kara-sane* ('cut'), but at the same time *wo* may convey emphasis in relation to preceding phrase ('if you have no thatch, then...'). Sentence (64) has both an accusative *wo* and two instances of *woba*, which is being used here as the topic marking in moderns Japanese in order to contrast two different things ('autumn leaves' and 'green leaves'). It also appears that the tendency briefly mentioned above (2.3.3) for accusative *wo* to appear in subordinate clauses does not hold true for sentence (63), and the tendency of *wo* appearing when the direct object is separated from the verb does not hold true for any of the sentences (63-66).

- (63) *wagaseko pa karipo tukurasu kaya naku pa komatu*
 beloved TOP hermitage create thatch not TOP young pine
ga sita no kaya wo karasane
 GEN below GEN thatch ACC cut.REQ
 '(When) My beloved, when you are going to build a temporary hermitage, if you have no thatch then cut the thatch beneath the young pines.' (*Manyôshû*, 11)

(64) *akiyama* *no* *ki-no-pa* *wo* *mite pa*
autumn-mountain GEN leaves ACC see TOP
momiti *wo-ba* *torite* *zo* *sinopu* *awoki*
autumn-leaves ACC-TOP pluck KAKARI admire blue/green
wo-ba okite *zo* *nageku*
ACC-TOP leave KAKARI lament
‘When I look at the leaves on the autumn-mountain I pluck the autumn leaves and admire them, but I leave the green ones as they are and sigh/grieve.’ (*Manyôshû*, 16)

(65) *a* *wo* *matu* *to* *kimi ga* *nurekemu* *asihiki no yama*
me ACC wait CONJ you NOM soak.ATTR ashihiki mountain
no *siduku* *ni* *narasi* *monowo*
GEN drop DAT become if only
‘You said that you got soaked when you waited for me, O if only I could have become the rain on Ashihiki mountain. (*Manyôshû*, 108)

(66) *sikaredomo* *sumyera to* *imasi-te* *ame* *no*
however emperor COP.INF exist.HON-GER heaven GEN
sita *no* *maturigoto* *wo* *kikosi-myesu* *koto pa*
bottom GEN ruling ACC perform-HON.ADN thing TOP
itapasiki *ikasiki* *koto* *ni* *ari-kyeri*
laborious.ADN hard.ADN thing COP.INF exist-MPST.CONCL
‘However, ruling the land as emperor was laborious and hard!’ (*Senmyô*, 23) (Frellesvig, 2010:78)

The last sentence above (66) is from another genre, namely *Senmyô*, imperial edicts found in the *Shoku Nihongi* written during the Nara period. Bentley (2001:106) who has studied old liturgies and imperial edicts claims that the *wo* particles found in the *Senmyô*s are solely used to mark the direct object, but he says nothing about the interjectional *wo*. Below we have another example (67) of *Shoku Nihongi* in Miyagawa & Ekida (2002:7). Whether this is a *Senmyô* in particular is not made clear, but it is a sentence from the same piece of literature and the particle is accusative.

(67) *ware* *pitori ya* *wa taputoki* *sirusi* *wo* *uketamawamu?*
I alone KAKARI precious token ACC receive.ATTR
‘Shall I alone receive the precious token?’ (*Shoku Nihongi*)

I will continue with examples from EMJ. The following examples belong to a genre called *nikki* ‘diary’ or ‘journal’. The *nikki* is a literary genre that appears in the Heian period and is

written for others to read and not for private use.

Examples (68-70) are provided by Miyagawa & Ekida (2002:40, 42). Sentence (68) has the direct object moved away from the verb, intervened by the subject ‘people’. Since the subject is unmarked the object is probably marked for clarity. In sentence (69) the *wo* particle follows the adverbial particle *bakari*, which is still a common construction in the modern language but in Modern Japanese when *bakari* is used the accusative *wo* is commonly omitted. Example (70) is an example of ECM according to Miyagawa & Ekida (2002:42).

- (68) *sirokane-no* *su-wo* *pitobito* *tuki-sirou*
 silver-GEN cover-ACC people poke-each other
 ‘People laugh at the silver cover [sic] each other’ (MSD, 25,1)
- (69) *kosi-bakari-wo* *rei-ni* *tagawe-ru-nameri*
 waist-only-ACC regular violate-PERF-evidential
 ‘seem to violate the regular custom of putting clothing on around the waist’ (MSD, 19,14)
- (70) *sakizaki-no* *miyuki-wo* *nadote* *meiboku-arite-to*
 past-GEN visits-ACC why honor-COP-COMP
omowi-tamawi-kemu (MSD, 36,11)
 think-honor-past.SPECULATIVE
 ‘why did I feel my previous visits as such an honor’

I want to pay some attention to example (71). ECM is very briefly illustrated in section 2.2 (ex. 31-34) with the sentence (71) repeated below for convenience. This would mean that the subject of the subordinate clause *miyuki* is grammatically the direct object of the main verb *omowi-tamawi-kemu* and therefore marked for accusative instead of nominative. We have another example of ECM in a poem from *Manyôshû* (72) provided by Miyagawa & Ekida (2002:15) originally discussed in Kinsui (1993). The main verb is the same verb as in the example above *omopu/omou* and the object of the main verb and the subject of the subordinate clause is *yononaka*. The EMC construction with the verb *omou* (‘think’) may have been a common construction in pre-Modern Japanese. Another example (73) was found in Frellesvig (2010:86).

- (71) *taroo ga hanako* *wo* [*tensai* *da* *to*] *omotte-iru*
 NOM ACC genius COP QUOT think-be
 ‘Tarô thinks Hanako is a genius (Tarô regards Hanako as a genius)

(72) *yononaka wo* *usi to* *yasasi to* *omope domo*
world-ACC unpleasant COMP shame COMP think although
tobitachi *kane* *tu tori* *ni* *si* *ara ne ba*
fly away cannot bird be neg
‘Although I feel the world as being unpleasant and unbearable, I cannot fly
away as I am not a bird’

(73) *yama-kapa* *wo* *naka* *ni* *penari-te*
mountain -river ACC middle DAT obstruct-GER
topo-ku *tomo* *kokoro* *wo* *tika-ku*
distant-ACOP.INF although heart ACC close-ACOP.INF
omopose *wagimo*
think.RESP.IMP my.beloved
‘even if we are far apart, with the mountains and rivers between us, think our hearts close
to one another, my love’ (*Manyôshû*, 15.3764)

Moving on to some examples from another *nikki* (74-76) (for details: Miyagawa & Ekida, 2002:8-9, originally from Zenno, 1987) from the time of EMJ, the *Tosa Nikki*. As we can see in the first example (74) we once again have the verb *omou* as in the previous examples. But this is not an ECM; *aomuma* is the object of the main verb but does not occur as the subject inside a subordinate clause.

(74) *keu-pa* *awomuma-wo* *omowedo,* *kawi* *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.’

Example (75) has the *wo* particle followed by the *kakari* particle *koso* and the topic particle *pa*. These kinds of particle succession makes it hard to argue that the accusative particle has interjectional characteristics when it is overshadowed by the strong particle *koso*, thus making way for the notion that the *wo* particle was in fact two separate particles; interjectional *wo* and accusative *wo*. I will leave the matter open for different interpretations. Example (76) as well has a *kakari* particle (*zo*), although placed after another word.

(75) *kagami-ni* *kami-no-kokoro wo* *koso* *pa* *mitura*
mirror-in god’s mind ACC KAKARI TOP seen.PERF
‘I saw the god’s heart clearly in the mirror.’

(76) *pitobito umi wo nagametutu zo aru*
 people sea ACC looking KAKARI exist
 'People stared absently at the sea.'

The following sentences (77-78) (Miyagawa & Ekida, 2002:8) are examples from *Kokin wakashû* (*Kokinshû*), from the preface *kanajo* which is written in hiragana, which presumably makes the rendering of the text more exact. Likewise these sentences have *kakari* particles in them for emphasis, which makes it possible to interpret the *wo* solely as an accusative particle.

(77) *aru-pa, paru natu aki puyu-ni-mo iranu,*
 some-TOP spring summer fall winter-in-even not.included
sagusa-no-uta-wo nan erabasetamapikeru
 various-GEN-poems-ACC KAKARI choose.CAUS.HON.PAST (attributive)
 '(The emperor) had ordered to choose some miscellaneous compositions unsuited to seasonal categories.'

(78) *iki to si ikeru mono, idure ka uta-wo*
 all the living things which KAKARI poem-Acc
yomazarikeru
 compose.NEG.E (attributive)
 'Every living creature sings.'

In addition to the *wo* marked objects it is necessary to exemplify the zero marked objects that are the more common way of marking objects in OJ and EMJ. In Frellesvig (2010: 130) we have two different sentences from the *Manyôshû* (OJ) having the same verb and object NP but in the first example (79) the object is unmarked while it is marked in (81). Example (81) has the direct object in a subordinate clause unmarked, while (82) has the direct object in the main clause unmarked.

(79) *ume no pana Ø wori*
 plum GEN blossom Ø break.off.INF
 'breaking off the plum blossoms' (*Manyôshû*, 5.843)

(80) *awo-yanagi ume to no pana wo wori*
 green-willow plum COM GEN blossom ACC break.off.INF
 'breaking off the blossoms of the green willow and the plum' (*Manyôshû*, 5.821)

(81) *tama mo* \emptyset *kar-u* *ama-wotomye-domo*
 pearl seaweed ACC cut-Pt [ATTR] diver-girl-PLURAL
 'diver-girls, who cut pearl[-like] seaweeds' (MYS, VI-936) Vovin (1997: 274)

(82) *suga-para* *no* *kusa* \emptyset
 Suga (name of a plant)-field (a place name) GEN grass ACC
na-kar-i *so* *ne*
 not-cut-INF Part Part
 'Do not cut grass on the field Suga!' (MYS, VII-1277) Vovin (1997: 274)

Contrary to *wo* in Modern Japanese, in OJ and EMJ the accusative *wo* attached directly to the attributive form of verbs which had nominal properties and were generally treated as nouns. The attributive form also works as a headless nominalizer, for details see Frellesvig (2010:55). These properties of the attributive form are not maintained in Modern Japanese, which use formal nouns (*no*, *koto*) in order to nominalize verbs. Example (83) is from Itoi (2001:866) and (84) from Miyagawa & Ekida (2002:5).

(83) *yuki no* *purikeru* *wo* *mi-te* *yomeru*.
 snow GEN fall.ATTR ACC see-GER compose.ATTR
 'The song I composed watching the snow fall.' ('...the falling of the snow.') (*Kokinshû*, 337 *kotoba-gaki*)

(84) *pito no* *mitogamuru* *wo* *sirazu*
 people NOM blame ACC know.NEG
 'not knowing that others blamed them' (*Shoku Nihongi*, *Senmyô*)

We have up until now looked at various samples of both the accusative marker *wo*, which show no or little difference between OJ and EMJ. The particle is present in both poetry and prose, but is often omitted entirely creating many disagreements as to (i) in what grammatical conditions the accusative *wo* appears and (ii) whether it should be interpreted as a particle of case or of emphasis (or both simultaneously). In the next section I will move on to discuss some additional usages of the *wo* particle of which some are more or less still in use in the modern language, while some have been replaced by other particles, for example by dative/allative *ni*.

3.3 Temporal marker

The temporal and durational usage is more common in the pre-Modern Japanese language. In the following sentence (85) from Itoi (2001:866) is the durational adverb ‘night’ *wo*-marked, and ‘several years’ in (86). The adverbs do not necessarily have to be marked with any particle. For example, the following EMJ example (87) has the adverbial ‘long time’ unmarked (Miyagawa & Ekida, 2002:49).

(85) *nagaki yoru wo pitori ya nemu to kimi ga ipeba suginisi*
 long night TEMP alone FOCUS sleep QUOT you NOM say passed away
pito no obopoyu-rakuni
 person NOM remember-NOMINAL
 ‘Because you ask “Am I going to sleep alone through the long night?” I will remember that person who passed away.’ (*Manyôshû*, 466)

(86) *tosi-goro wo sumisi tokoro no na nisi*
 several years TEMP live place GEN name ADV
oweba kiyoru nami wo mo aware to zo
 similar approach wave ACC too deeply QUOT FOCUS
miru
 see
 ‘This place has got the same name as that place I lived in for several years, therefore I watch the approaching waves with a deep feeling’ (*Tosa*)

(87) *ito tosi pe-taru pitobito*
 long time pass-PERF people
 ‘people who passed for a long time ago’ (14,14)

3.4 Locative marker

To mark the location with *wo* is also a feature more common to the pre-modern language and is generally replaced by the locative/instrumental *de* but in the modern language has remained in some particular circumstances which will be discussed in 5.2.

The OJ example (88) from Itoi (2001:866), have the place adverbial marked with *wo* but it would be marked with *de* in Modern Japanese. Example (89) can keep the *wo* in the modern translation probably because the action does not take place in a particular spot, but rather through a particular area. This kind of marking is sometimes called ‘circumstantial complement’ (Katô, 2006:140) and is used in Modern Japanese to express in which circumstances something is taking place (e.g. sky, park etc.) or along which path the action is conducted (e.g. bridge, field, shore etc.).

(88) *koromode no nagi no kapape wo parusame ni*
 sleeve GEN Nagi GEN riverside LOC spring rain LOC
ware tati-nuru to ipe wo omopu-ramu ka
 I stand-soak CONJ home ACC think-CONJECTURAL Q
 ‘When I stand soaked in the spring rain on the riverside of (Koromode) Nagi, do the ones at home remember me?’ (*Manyôshû*, 1700)

(89) *sumiyosi no pama wo yuku ni*
 Sumiyoshi GEN shore LOC walk when
 When I walk along the shore of Sumiyoshi... (Ise, 68)
 Modern Japanese: *Sumiyoshi no hama wo iku ori ni*

Another locative function is the separative one, which is common for all the time periods but was more common in the pre-modern language. Ablative *kara* is more commonly used in Modern Japanese. The verb *wakareru* which has the point of separation marked with *wo* in (90) usually marks it with *to* in Modern Japanese. The following example (91) with the verb *toozakaru* ‘leave, distance’, have its modern counterpart taking either the particle *wo*, *kara* or *to* depending on the motion or condition of the action. It is unclear if the same difference is made in OJ/EMJ, but such an investigation is not to be conducted in this essay.

(90) *taratine no papa wo wakarete makoto waga-tabi no*
 epithet GEN mother SEP separate really my-journey GEN
karipo ni yasuku nemu kamo
 shelter LOC safely sleep Q
 'Separated from my mother, will I really sleep safely in the shelter on my journey?'
 (*Manyôshû*, 4372)

(91) *sari tote miyako wo toozakakaran mo purusato*
 nevertheless capital SEP distance even though hometown
obotukanakaru beki wo
 worry probably INTERJ
 'Nevertheless, I will probably worry about my hometown even though I distance myself
 from the capital.' (*Genji, Suma*)

3.5 Marking subject

Wo also “indicates the object or subject of an action or emotion” according to Itoi (2001:866). Example sentence (92) has the head of the NP marked with the accusative *wo*. If we assume in accordance to Itoi (2001) that this is a case marker and not an interjectional particle, it is possible to argue that the adjective *nikuku-* has verbal properties and thus naturally requires an argument in accusative case (see section 2.2 ex 27-30). In some cases the predicate is an intransitive verb as in example (93). Recall that some believe OJ/EMJ to have properties of ergative or active alignment (section 2.3.3).

(92) *murasaki no nipoperu imo wo nikuku-araba*
 purple flower NOM be beautiful you ACC detestable-CONDIT
pito-duma yuweni are kopi-meyamo
 person-wife even though I love-AUX
 'If I found you detestable, who are beautiful as a (purple) flower, would I have
 loved you knowing that you were someone else's wife?' (*Manyôshû*, 21)

(93) *wabinureba mi wo ukikusa no ne wo*
 reduce body ACC floating weed GEN root ACC
taete sasopu midu ara-ba inamu to omopu
 cease invite cold water be-CONDIT QUOT think
 ‘I hate that my body has crumbled, and if the flowing water would invite me like it does
 the floating weed (with cut off roots), I would flow with it.’ (*Kokin*, 938)

The [noun + *wo* + adjective + *-mi*] construction is often brought up as an example of subject marking *wo*. This construction consists of a noun marked with the *wo* particle and an adjective as we can see in the formula inflected with *-mi*, which is by Frellesvig (2010:86-88) called an infinitive. It had developed into a derivative suffix for concrete and abstract nouns by the time of EMJ, just like it is still used in Modern Japanese. The predicate-*mi* is often translated as ‘because’ or ‘as’, but the whole construction was mostly in use throughout the OJ period. According to Itoi (2001:866): “Diachronically this particular construction was in use heavily during the Nara period, but after the Heian period it was limited to *waka* poetry and Chinese texts made for Japanese reading (*kanbun-kundoku*).”

In example (94) (Itoi, 2001:866) there are both a *-mi* construction with an *wo* particle (*yama wo sigemi*) and one without (*kusa fukami*) strengthening the fact that this is not a fixed construction and that the particle is possibly just an interjectional particle. The following example (95) is provided by Miyagawa & Ekida (2002: 23) but found originally in Sansom (1928: 294) who also claims that the predicate in these constructions are verbs in conjunctive form and thus naturally assigns case. He also says that in the later periods “these words [...] are treated grammatically as verbs and yet have the meaning of nouns”.

(94) *sakazu-arisi pana mo sakeredo yama wo*
 bloom.NEG-be flower too bloom mountain ACC
sigemi irite torazu kusa Ø pukami toritemo mizu
 grow thickly enter pick.NEG grass deep pick see.NEG
 ‘Even though the flowers that had not yet bloomed is blooming, I can enter the
 mountain but I cannot pick them because the (mountain) trees are growing thickly, and I
 can’t pick them because the grass is deep.’ (*Manyôshû*, 16)

(95) *nesiku-wo urupasimi*
 sleep-ACC admire
 ‘admiring his sleep’ (*Kokinshû*)

The *V-mi* (or *Adj-mi*) is according to Vovin (1997: 276-8) a “quality stative verb” and he assumes the *wo* particle to be an absolutive particle. Nonetheless, he provides the following examples (96-98) and many more of this construction, proving that it was quite a common sight in both *Kokinshû* and *Manyôshû*.

(96) *opo-kyimiyi* *no* *kokoro* *wo* *yura-miyi*
 big-lord GEN heart ABS gentle-GER
 ‘great lord’s heart is gentle and . . .’ (*Kokinshû*, 107)

(97) *miyako* *wo* *topo-miyi*
 capital ABS far-GER
 ‘because the capital is far . . .’ (MYS I-51)

(98) *awo-kwoma-no* *agakiy* *wo* *paya-miyi*
 dark-stallion-GEN running ABS fast-GER
 ‘because speed of the dark stallion is fast’ (MYS II-136)

However as Itoi (2001:866) expresses it: “the kind of *wo* found in these examples are also theorized to be interjectional particles”. As proof of this they present examples of the [noun + *wo* + adjective + -mi] construction without any particle at all, i.e.: [noun + Ø+ adjective + -mi].

(99) *pudi-nami* *no* *pana* *natukasimi*
 wisteria-wave GEN flower dear/nostalgic
 (because) the swaying wisteria blossoms are dear (to me) (*Manyôshû*, 4216)

3.6 Minor usage

A minor usage listed in Itoi (2001:866) is the use of *wo* attached to a noun with the same meaning as the following predicate; ‘sleep’ and ‘sleep’ in (100) and ‘sound’ and ‘cry’ in (101) which is translated with aid from Rodd & Henkenius (1984:208). This is either an interjectional particle or an accusative. But since there is already a *kakari* particle in (102) the *wo* is likely an accusative.

- (100) *ipe omopu to i _____ wo _____ ne-zu wire-ba tadu ga*
 home think QUOT a sleep ACC sleep-NEG be-as crane NOM
na-ku asipe mo miezu paru no kasumi ni
 cry-ADN reedy shore even see.NEG spring GEN mist
 ‘When I recall home and can’t sleep (litt: sleep a sleep), I can’t even see the reedy shore where the crane cries, because of the spring mist.’ (*Manyôshû*, 4424)

- (101) *ama no ka-ru mo ni sumu musu no warekara*
 fisher NOM cut-ADN seaweed LOC live.ADN insect GEN warekara
to ne _____ wo koso nakame yo wo-ba uramiji
 QUOT sound ACC KAKARI cry.REALIS world ACC-TOP hate/blame
 ‘The insects (shrimps) living in the seaweed the fishers are cutting cry out *warekara* (‘from myself’, i.e. ‘my own fault’), likewise let me cry out *warekara* and don’t blame the world.’ (*Manyôshû*, 807)

There is no agreed on point of view when it comes to the *wo* particle, and as we have seen in this chapter there are many instances in which the particle is possible to interpret either as an emphatic particle, accusative particle, or even as some other case marking particle, for example nominative or locative. What we have mainly looked at in this chapter is the standard approach supported by many Japanese sources, but such opinions as Vovin’s (1997) absolutive particle should not be ignored.

The next chapter will deal with the accusative *wo* in LMJ, the period between 1200-1600 when the interjectional particle generally disappeared and the accusative slowly started to increase.

4 The *wo* particle in Late Middle Japanese

This chapter demonstrates briefly the use of *wo* in LMJ, a language variety in which the interjectional side of the particle had practically disappeared and the accusative *wo* started to increase. In order to demonstrate this in this chapter a comparison of an older and an earlier version of *Heike monogatari* is presented, originally from Miyagawa (1989:214-8).

4.1 The *wo* particle in Late Middle Japanese

More attention is paid to the grammar of the earlier periods of the language (Vovin, 1997, 2005), (Yanagida & Whitman 2009), (Wrona 2012), making LMJ a language somewhat hard to find information about. It is also possible to argue that the LMJ language already had started to resemble the modern language when it comes to the particles and that there is not much left to analyze. It is stated in Itoi (2001:864) that the interjectional particle used for emphasis is in the Kamakura period - which is the period of the early LMJ - found only in *waka* poetry and literary works. Thus we can assume that the interjectional *wo* was no longer used during these periods. (See the list of language periods in chapter 3.)

Frellesvig (2010) contribute no extensive information about the *wo* particle in LMJ, but nonetheless has some examples with the particle present. Example (102) creates no particular difficulties; the accusative *wo* marks a noun in a subordinate clause governed by a transitive verb (*omoi-sadame*) as expected of an accusative particle. The second example (103) has the particle following a verb directly without the intervention of a nominalizing particle (*kuru [no] wo tanomu*) similar to OJ/EMJ. Both examples are from Frellesvig (2010:356-7).

- (102) [*tokoro wo* *omoi-sadame-zaru*] *ga* *yue* *ni*
place ACC think-decide-NEG.ADN GA reason COP.INF
'Because I hadn't settled on a (permanent) place' (*Hôjôki*)

(103) [*kuru wo tanomu no kari-no-tamadusa*
 come ACC ask NO goose-GEN-letter
 ‘The letter asking me to come’ (*Shingoshûi wakashû*, 1384)

We also have examples of the conjoined particle *wo-ba* (104), which subsequently declined and is no longer used in Modern Japanese. The second sentence (105) seems to be another example of ECM, where the subject of the subordinate clause is the direct object of the main verb *omoo* (*ware wo-ba [...] omoo*). Both are from Frellesvig (2010:360)

(104) *nandi wa naze ni sita bakari wo-ba kotte*
 you TOP why COP.INF tounge only ACC-TOP buy.GER
kuru zo
 come.NONPST ZO
 ‘Why did you only buy tounge?’ (*Esopo*)

(105) [*nandi ware wo-ba tare to omoo zo*
 you I ACC-TOP who COMP think.NONPST ZO
 ‘Who do you think I am?’ (*Esopo*)

Miyagawa (1989:214-8) observed an increase in the amount of *wo*-marked objects in the language compared to OJ and EMJ, from an investigation originally performed by Matsuo (1938). But the increase of *wo* in the written language unfortunately does not reveal much about the spoken language, just as the formal written language of the modern times reveals little about how people actually speak nowadays. He furthermore compares two different versions of *Heike monogatari*, both dating within the time of LMJ, one written 1371 (H) and another published 1592 (AH), showing an increase in the amount of *wo* marked objects.

Miyagawa’s (1989) investigation deals mainly with the matter of ‘abstract’ or ‘overt’ case marking which I do not intend to go further into here. Nonetheless, it is of interest to look at his examples (106) of the difference between the early and the later *Heike monogatari* and get an idea how much it could differ (1989:218-9). Looking at the seven objects marked with bold type we see that six of them are marked with accusative *wo* in the later version but only one in the earlier version. Translation by Miyagawa (1989:219).

(106)

H:	<i>sono yo wa</i>	<i>yomosugara, yasuyori nyuudoo</i>	<i>to futari,</i>		
AH:	<i>sono yo wa</i> that night	<i>yomosugara, yasuyori nyuudoo</i> all night	<i>to futari</i> both		
H:	<i>haka no mawari-wo</i>	<i>gyoodoosite</i>	<i>nenbutu ___ moosi</i>		
AH:	<i>haka no mawari-wo</i> grave around	<i>gyoodoosite</i> around.and.around	<i>nenbutu-wo moosi,</i> prayer-ACC chanting		
H:	<i>akenureba, atarasyuu dan ___</i>	<i>tuki,</i>	<i>kuginuki ___</i>	<i>sesase,</i>	
AH:	<i>akureba atarasyuu dan-wo</i> day new	<i>dan-wo</i> tomb-ACC	<i>tuite,</i> made	<i>kuginuki nado-o mo</i> fence of stakes-ACC	<i>sesase</i> made
H:	<i>mae ni kariya ___</i>	<i>tukuri,</i>	<i>sitiniti sitiya</i>	<i>nenbutu ___ moosi,</i>	
AH:	<i>mae ni kariya-wo</i> front in hut-ACC	<i>tukuri,</i> made	<i>sitiniti sitiya</i> 7.days 7.nights	<i>nenbutu-wo moosi,</i> prayer-ACC	<i>chant</i>

H: *kyoo ___ kaite, ...* (Book 3, *Shooshoo miyakogaeri*. Vol. 1, p. 222)

AH: *kyoo-wo 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.’

During the change from EMJ to LMJ *wo* is said to have been stabilized as a case marker although not yet obligatory. It is discussed in this chapter that an increase of *wo* marked objects is measureable throughout the times, but considering writing conventions we cannot rule out that there existed a standard for written language already in LMJ that favored *wo* for marking direct objects. It is already understood that *wo* (*ga* and *wa*) are commonly omitted in spoken and informal language, so generalizing from written material should not be hasted. Furthermore, as in many other languages, literature is mainly contributed by a certain class of people and rather often individuals from the elite, giving us scarce information from which to draw conclusions regarding the language spoken by the general population.

It may be pointless to speak of language change when it comes to the *wo* particle in the modern language because of the *genbun 'itchi* reform that took place during the Meiji period that standardized the written language and decided that arguments were to be obligatorily marked with case particles (briefly mentioned in section 2.1). We can at least confirm that this

reform was preceded by language change that already had increased the marking of direct objects to a large extent.

In the next chapter on Modern Japanese I will refrain from illustrating the common usage of the accusative *wo* particle, as it has already been thoroughly discussed in chapter 2. Instead I will demonstrate how the particle is used as a temporal, locative and subject marking particle.

5 The diversity of *wo* in Modern Japanese

Although *wo* no longer has the emphatic property, it still has multiple functions (polysemy) which is common for all languages maybe for reason of economy. Latin for example has ablative being separative, instrumental and temporal (etc.). We have already discussed the basic usage of the *wo* particle of Modern Japanese in the introduction, so in this chapter I intend to demonstrate in particular the temporal, locative and subject marking *wo*.

I will first of all show how the temporal marking *wo* can be realized in Modern Japanese in 5.1. Thereafter the different ways of marking spatial expressions are demonstrated in 5.2, and finally in 5.3 some instances of subject marking *wo* are presented.

5.1 Temporal marker

To mark temporal adjuncts with *wo* was more common during the pre-modern eras. It is hard to find examples of this in Modern Japanese and it should probably be regarded as an archaic usage. Kim (1997:140), in which the Korean *lul/-ul* (accusative) particle is compared to the Japanese *wo* particle, presents an example (107) of a time adjunct marked *-ul* in Korean that cannot be translated into Japanese without the sentence being ungrammatical. Here reproduced slightly altered for our purpose and an English translation provided by the author. Thus we have an example of Modern Japanese in where the durational time adjunct cannot be marked with *wo*.

(Korean: *Taroo-nun yelsikan (-ul) kyaysok se iss-ess-ta.*)

(107)* <i>Taroo wa</i>	<i>juu-jikan</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>zutto</i>	<i>tatte-ita</i>
Taro TOP	ten-hour	ACC	forever	stand-be.PAST

'Taro was standing up through 10 hours straight'

Often stated as an example of temporal marking in Japanese is when a period of time is expressed together with verbs like *sugosu* 'to spend' and *kosu* 'to pass, exceed'. But in these

cases it is difficult to regard the expressions of time as adjuncts, or adverbials, because the time period has the grammatical status of direct object to the predicate, illustrated in (108).

- (108) *nihon de* *tanoshii* *jikan wo* *sugoshi-ta.*
 Japan LOC fun time ACC spend-PAST
 ‘I had a good time in Japan’

The intransitive verb *sugiru* ‘to exceed, pass, elapse’ also have the time period marked with *wo* (109). Similarly I do not regard this as an adjunct, but rather as the subject of the predicate *sugite-iru*. Sometimes the temporal expression is marked with the nominative *ga*, like the following sentence illustrates (110). The verb is not limited to expressions of time but also locative expressions like ‘passing through the tunnel’, and is therefore a matter of locative markers.

- (109) *moo gogo* *wo* *sugite-iru* *node...*
 already P.M. ACC pass-be because
 ‘because it’s already past noon...’

- (110) *ichinen* *ga* *sugite-mo...*
 one year NOM pass-even
 ‘even if one year passes... (even after one year...)’

The temporal phrase is in many instances the direct object to the verb (108), while in the case of (109) it does not have the status of temporal adjunct but appears to be the subject of the verb *sugiru*. The *wo* particle may indicate the time period during which an action takes place, but I have not found any examples of *wo* marking temporal adjuncts. I believe the so called temporal usage of *wo* is closer to the locative marking *wo* presented in section 5.2 below.

5.2 Locative marker

Locative (spatial) expressions are many times marked by other particles than *wo* (*de, ni, kara, yori*) but looking at the cases where *wo* is employed one find that there is quite a diversity in the meanings that can be expressed. In brief one can discern a circumstantial, a separative, a function expressing direction towards and one expressing the course or route. One peculiarity is that some intransitive verbs take a locative adjunct that is marked with *wo*, while some verb do not, even if they share semantic similarities, thus making case assignment something that has to be learned verb by verb. It should be noted that these terms are by no means part of a rule or even a general classification, because these minor functions are rarely taken into consideration. It is not my intention to go excessively deep into the subject. Katô (2006) has investigated the different locative properties of the *wo* particle, and I would like to refer to him for a more detailed study.

Circumstantial *wo* marking is used when *wo* marks the circumstances in which an action takes place (111). However this sentence could also be an expression of course/route. The second example (112) has the action limited to ‘the woods’ and the verb itself indicate that the manner of the action is performed across a limited area.

(111) *mai-asa* *kooen wo hashiru.*
every-morning park ACC run
‘(I) run in the park every morning.’

(112) *mori wo* *aruki-mawa-tta*
woods ACC wander-turn-PAST
‘(they) wandered around in the woods.’

The following two examples (113) (114) are clearly examples of course/route. The verb *wataru* in the first sentence (113) is one of many verbs that have a transitive counterpart *watasu*, ‘to hand over, carry across’. Both verbs take arguments marked with *wo* but in the latter case it is a direct object and in the former it is a locative or traversal argument. Furthermore, the *wo* particles in these examples are not possible to interchange with any other locative particle (**hashi de/ni watatta*). In example (114) a particle change will change the meaning of the sentence; a constituent marked *de* would be used for instrumentals (‘using

a.../ with...'), and *ni* will mark direction towards or into.

(113) *hashi wo wata-tta*
bridge ACC CROSS-PAST
'I crossed the bridge. ('Walked over the bridge')

(114) *hikooki wa yama no ue wo ton-da*
airplane TOP mountain GEN above ACC fly-PAST
'The airplane flew over the mountain.'

Example (115), which exemplifies yet another locative usage, is found in Sansom (1928:237) who suggests that the *wo* particle indicates the indirect object of verbs that are intransitive in English, and also confirms that it is the character of the verb that causes this distinct particle usage. To mark the route with *wo* in (115) is unavoidable because any other particle with a locative function (*ni/de*) would together with the verb *iku* indicate other necessary semantics.

(115) *michi wo yuku*
road ACC go
'To go along a road.'

The verb 'live' in sentence (116) may very well be interpreted as a transitive verb as indicated by the translation 'inhabit' in the brackets, however it is more common today to have the inhabited place marked with *ni* instead of *wo* and considering the early date of the source (i.e. 1928) it was maybe more common to use *wo* in earlier Modern Japanese. (As a parenthesis it is possible that the use of *ni* in modern times is in analogy with English and other IE languages that influenced Japanese during the Meiji era).

(116) *ie wo sumu*
house ACC live
'to live in a house' (to inhabit a house)

The particle is used to mean 'direction towards' when used together with verbs meaning 'to face' or 'turn toward'. Below we have three examples of this that are quite self-explanatory, but for the record; the first example (117) can be interpreted as the direct object of the verb *miru*. *Furikaeru* in (118) usually takes *wo* but is sometimes found marking direction with *ni* or *he*, while *muku* in (119) appears to be able to take either allative particle.

(117) *shita* *wo* *miro*
 down ACC look.IMP
 'Look down!'

(118) *ushiro* *wo* (*ni/he*) *furikaeru* *koto*
 behind ACC turn around FORMAL NOUN
 'to look back. (to turn around and look back)'

(119) *watashi* *no* *hoo* *wo* (*ni/he*) *mui-ta*
 I GEN direction ACC face-PAST
 '(He) turned towards me'

With some verbs carrying a meaning of separation or movement away the *wo* particle is marking the starting point of departure in the modern language as well as in the pre-modern language (*hanareru*, *deru*, *saru*, *shirizoku*). Both of the verbs in the examples below (120) (121) are intransitive. In Modern Japanese *wo* can sometimes be interchanged with the ablative case particle *kara*, but as Katô (2006:157-8) explains it cannot be exchanged in all instances, and *kara* cannot always be exchanged with *wo*, which basically demonstrates that *wo* and *kara* do not represent the same kind of movement.

(120) *heya* *wo* *deru*
 room SEP to exit
 '(I) leave the room'

(121) *densha* *wa* *eki* *wo* *hanareru*
 train TOP station SEP leave/separate
 'The train leaves the station'

Katô (2006) investigates 6 different rules for this particle exchange. One of the points that he discusses is whether it is a matter of focus that determines if *wo* or *kara* is used, but instead he insists that it is a matter of optionality, and that if there are no other assumed starting points to choose from *wo* is used instead of *kara* while *kara* is used when more than one options are present in that particular context. Concisely, one may say that *kara* has a more focused sense than *wo*. Below are two examples (122) (123) from Katô (2006:15) where *wo* cannot be interchanged with *kara*.

(122) *shikashi, ippun mo shinai uchi ni, oomiya-eki wo (*kara)*
 however in less than a minute Omiya-station SEP
hassha-shita
 depart-do.PAST
 'However, it departed from Omiya station in less than a minute.'

(123) *sono tonneru wo (*kara) deru to, moo nihon-kaigawa da*
 that tunnel SEP exit when already Japan-seaside COP
to iu kanji ga shimasu
 so called feeling NOM do.POL
 'When you exit that tunnel, it already feels like the Japan sea side.'

5.3 Marking subject

In chapter 3 I explained that *wo* was sometimes used to mark the subjects of intransitive verbs and of adjectival predicates with verbal properties. In section 2.2 I introduced examples from Modern Japanese of *wo* marked subjects. In conclusion the *wo* particle had similar properties when it comes to the subject marking aspect in both pre-Modern Japanese and Modern Japanese.

Below are two of the examples (124) (125) mentioned above in chapter 2, the first with a passive verb and the second with an adjective. As this has already been discussed in section 2.2 above I do not intend to repeat myself. Instead I would like to add a few verbal inflections that normally takes nominative *ga*, but from time to time is seen with *wo*.

(124) *taroo wa Jirou ni atama wo nagur-are-ta.*
 TOP AGT head ACC hit-PASS-PAST
 'Tarô was hit by Jirô on the head'

(125) *yamada-senpai wo suki-desu*
 Yamada-senior ACC like-COP.POL
 'I like Yamada'

Sentence (126) shows an example of the desiderative suffix *-tai* which attached to the infinitive form of a verb expresses a personal wish to do something. This suffix morphologically behaves like an adjective and usually wants the subject marked with the nominative, but because it attaches to a transitive verb it is not unusual that the object of desire gets an accusative particle. Previously we looked at the desiderative adjective *hoshii* which works similarly, one example is (127)

(126) *terebi wo (ga) mi-tai*
 TV ACC/NOM watch-DES
 ‘I wanna watch TV.’

(127) *boku ga sashimi wo (ga) hoshii*
 I NOM sashimi ACC want
 ‘I want sashimi (It is I who want sashimi).’

The potential inflection (*-rareru/-eru*) meaning ‘to be able to’ or ‘can’ has the object marked either with *ga* or with *wo*, here illustrated in (128). Even though this is how the particle is used in reality, it is not always prescriptively correct, and when taught Japanese one is often told that the correct usage is nominative *ga*. Martin (1975:301-2) mentions nothing about which particle is preferred, but have cited an example (129) from the weekly magazine *Shûkan-asahi* which has the potential subject marked by *wo*.

(128) *taroo wa furansu-go wo (ga) hanas-eru yoo da*
 Tarô TOPFrench-language ACC speak-POT seems COP
 ‘Tarô appears to be able to speak french’

(129) *chiisa na mono wo ais-enai you de, ooki na*
 small thing ACC love-POT.NEG appear CONJ big
mono wo hontoo ni ais-eru daroo ka
 thing ACC really love-POT MODAL Q
 ‘Would one really be able to love a big thing while apparently unable to love a little thing?’

Marking grammatical subjects with *wo* very much depends on the semantic nature of the expression. If the subject is semantically the object, marking it with *wo* does not appear strange, and it doesn’t seem to have been the case in pre-Modern Japanese either.

6 Discussion and results

In the beginning of my research I got the impression that there was no actual difference between the interjectional and the accusative *wo* in pre-Modern Japanese. But after I had looked at several sentences (chapter 3) I found that it was often the case that the interjectional *wo* lacked the grammatical connection to the predicate that the accusative had. While some accusatives can be interpreted as partly interjectional, I have found several sentences with an accusative particle that had other emphatic particles in them, which makes it hard to argue for an emphatic accusative. The accusative *wo* was optional, and even though I do not believe it to share the interjectional properties, I think it may have been used for focus.

There are not many differences found when comparing the usages between the earlier and the modern language. The accusative is of course common for all periods, but the interjectional is limited to OJ and EMJ. Some of the peripheral usages are to some extent still present in the modern language, for example the locative and subject marking *wo* and even the ECM construction. But I have argued that usage of *wo* for marking durational adverbs in pre-Modern Japanese is not present in Modern Japanese (5.1). The temporal expressions marked with *wo* in Modern Japanese are not adverbs but rather objects and sometimes locational time expressions, thus closer to the locative marking *wo*.

When discussing case in section 2.3.1 I mentioned an example (38) where the English verb ‘to go’ took either a prepositional phrase or a direct object for designating location. I think that even though many of the Japanese verbs that normally have the locative expressions in accusative are considered intransitive, the locative expressions can be considered direct objects although not patients, similar to the English counterpart (38b). Unfortunately I have not been able to conduct a survey for this thesis of what particles intransitive movement verbs like *aruku*, *iku*, *tooru* (‘walk, go, cross’) can possibly take, whether there is a semantic difference between marking the location with *wo* or with *de* and if it is possible at all to interchange particles.

We have seen the subject taking accusative marking several times during this essay, and some have argued for ergative alignment in OJ partly because of this (section 2.3.3). However taking into consideration that the particle had two main functions in the early language, I think it is easier to assume the non-accusative *wo* to be either interjectional or, as we have

seen in Modern Japanese, marking the semantic object. We know for sure that no system is without exceptions. For further arguments against ergative alignment in OJ I refer to Wrona (2012). Modern Japanese is however nothing else but accusative.

The development of the particle is not clear-cut because as we have seen the different stages were in use simultaneously during a long time. I have illustrated my view on the matter in figure 2 below. The exclamatory developed into a discourse particle, our so called interjectional particle. The interjectional particle in turn developed an accusative function which was also used for temporal adverbs and locative expressions, and all these functions were in use during both OJ and EMJ. The interjectional slowly disappeared and the accusative remained and flourished during LMJ and later became an obligatory particle in Modern Japanese, while the locative and durational remained but were modified throughout the times, maybe because other particles came and took their places. It is remarkable however that I have not been able to find, in any other language, a case particle that has developed from an exclamatory particle.

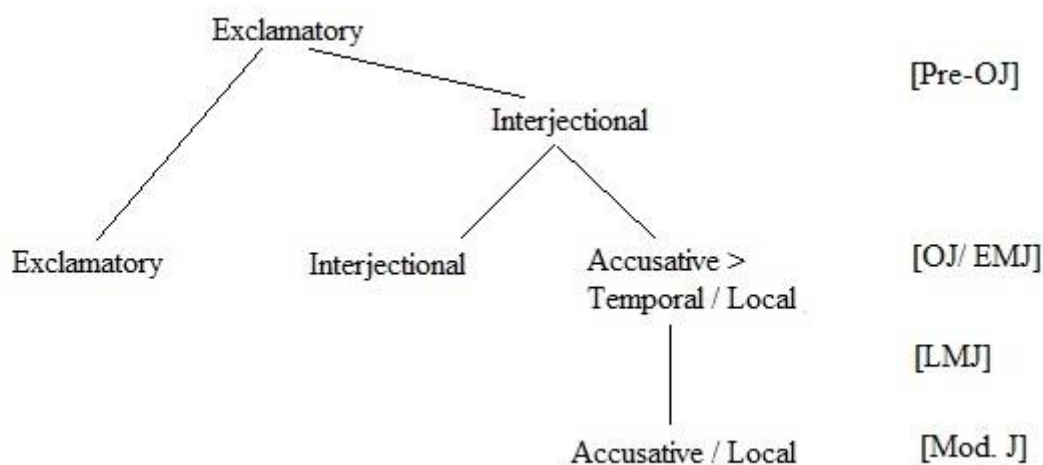


Figure 2: Development of the *wo* particle.

Unfortunately writing arrived quite late in Japan and there are no written records of Japanese before OJ. Thus we cannot say for sure if the exclamatory was in the beginning just an exclamation (which is likely, considering similar exclamations in other languages: ‘oh!’) or derived from a noun or verb. But before the arrival of writing, the exclamatory had probably already evolved into an interjectional marker.

However the sources we have are not one hundred percent reliable. There are difficulties

when it comes to the rendering of the early Japanese texts. Chinese characters were sometimes used either phonetically or semantically or even as rebuses, while other means of writing involved having the Chinese text annotated so that the reader could recite the text comprehensibly in Japanese words and syntax. Thus there will always be counter examples based on different readings despite how thoroughly the research is done. This problem with translations was already pointed out by Sansom (1928:16-29).

There is also the problem of different genres, because it is difficult to say whether the written language reflected an archaic language or the contemporary spoken language, especially when it comes to poetry which we have quite a lot material from. I mentioned in section 3.2 that Bentley (2001:106) believes the *wo* found in liturgies to be solely accusative. Likewise there may appear to be a difference in the distribution and amount of *wo* particles when comparing different text genres, but for such an investigation this essay would have needed much more material.

7 Conclusions

In conclusion it is fair to say that the accusative particle have been quite stable from the time of OJ up until today. Although the interjectional particle existed alongside the accusative I believe they were semantically two different particles. As far as the accusative goes it cannot be said for sure what the difference was between the marked and the unmarked direct object in pre-Modern Japanese, but the marked direct object may have been focused.

The peripheral usages were several in the pre-modern language but I believe that it is basically just the locative function that remains in Modern Japanese. There are also instances of subject marking *wo* throughout the language stages, which I believe is not a matter of ergative or active alignment, but just few instances of the subject being interpreted as the semantic object.

I have discussed that case markers usually develop from verbs, nouns and adverbials, but the Japanese *wo* developed from an exclamative. I have not been able to find any records of a language with a similar pattern, either because Japanese is unique or because no one has bothered to record such a development because of its deviation from the general pattern. This kind of observation will open up for new possibilities in case development. Future researches should be done on languages with similar structure and case system as Japanese to establish how rare this kind of development is.

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