



On so-called genitive subjects in Classical Japanese and their treatment in Western grammars

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“*No* wird ausgedrückt durch 之 / *no*, ist ursprünglich die Genitivpartikel, steht aber häufig überflüssig in den Fällen, wo in andern Sprachen der Nominativ gesetzt wird.”
(Pfizmaier 1854: 501)

In the course of its attested history the Japanese language has undergone significant changes in terms of its case marking system. Thus, for instance, there is more or less consensus in Japanese historical linguistics that 1. default marking for the nominative case in early Japanese – referring to Old Japanese (OJ; 7th and 8th centuries) and Classical Japanese (CJ; 9th to 12th centuries) here¹ – was zero marking, but that 2. what is commonly referred to as genitive subject (GS) marking could occur under certain circumstances. In the latter case, the attributive or genitive particles =*no* and =*ga* mark constituents that are equivalent, at least logically, to the subject of a predicate.² The overall situation here is obviously quite different from what applies to modern standard Japanese.

¹ The periodization adopted merely follows common practice for the time being and needs to be taken with a grain of salt. For instance, there is room to question the way the 9th century is lumped together with the following rather than the preceding ones on linguistic grounds.

² The term “constituent” is used here as an equivalent of *bunsetsu* in Japanese school grammar, or more specifically of Rickmeyer’s (e.g. 2012: 176) “Einwortphrase” or one-word-phrase, consisting of a word together with all enclitics (particles) that follow it.

The chief problem here is to pinpoint what exactly these “certain circumstances” were. It goes without saying that the present paper is not the first attempt at doing so, especially in view of the centenary of Yamada Yoshio’s epoch-making historical grammars.³ The hitherto most common approach here has, however, been to make a basic distinction between main vs. subordinate (or, independent vs. dependent) clauses instead of concentrating on the morphological form of the governing verb or adjective for instance, which is as true of Yamada’s approach as it is for the way GS marking is treated in a number of English and German language grammars and textbooks, as will become apparent from a brief survey of these below. Setting aside the fact that the notion of main vs. subordinate clauses is insufficiently clear in more than a few references to GS marking in the literature, the occurrence of GSs is not a matter of clause types in the first place. Not all types of subordinate clauses allow GS marking on a regular basis and even those which do, exhibit considerable variation in the actual frequency of doing so. Likewise, not all types of main clauses disallow GS marking. With a view on the economy of description the phenomenon is better explained by considering, in the first place, the morphological form of the governing verb or adjective. Thus, while e.g. attributive V+URu may be considered to prototypically occur in subordinate clauses, this is not necessarily the case.⁴ Regardless however of what kind of clause is involved, the form V+URu may license GS marking.

In the present paper we will concentrate on the usage of =no as a GS marker in CJ. While considerable portions of what follows likewise applies to OJ, there are some important differences, so that any descriptive account should avoid conflating different stages of the languages at will. Likewise, we will not dwell upon post-CJ developments here, which

³ See for instance Yamada (1913a: 300–303 [1954: 410–413]; 1913b: 314–320 [1952: 290–295]) for =no as a subject marker in OJ and CJ respectively.

⁴ The notation and analysis of Japanese follows Rickmeyer (2012 etc.) throughout. Upper case letters, as in V+URu here, indicate portions of morphemes that are subject to variation among different allomorphs (namely *-uru*, *-ru*, *-u* in this specific case). Enclitics are preceded by equation signs (=), affixes are separated by means of a period (.); hyphens (-) indicate compounding. Verbs, adjectives and nouns are abbreviated as V, A and N respectively. White spaces are only used to separate sentence constituents (or one-word-phrases).

are intimately related to the collapse of the attributive–final-distinction in the inflectional system of both verbs and adjectives.

The decision to concentrate on *=no* at the exclusion of *=ga* – even though, again, considerable portions of what follows likewise apply to *=ga* (especially if following a noun or pronoun) – has various reasons. Probably the most important one is the fact that *=no* is by far the most frequent particle (or rather: set of homonymous particles) in the texts taken into consideration,⁵ while the total number of cases involving *=ga* amounts to only a fraction of this. Disregarding the etymologically probably distinct comparative *=no* does not change this picture, and neither can the exclusion of the purely attributive usage of both *=no* and *=ga* do so. In other words: It is simply considerably easier to gather examples for *=no* as a GS marker in a large variety of different environments than it is for *=ga*, even if these environments coincide for the most part. Apart from the absolute frequency of the two particles there is also the issue of non-overlapping usages, especially as concerns *=ga* following attributive forms of verbs or adjectives. The distribution of this usage is not necessarily identical to that of (*=no* and) *=ga* following nouns or pronouns, as has been pointed out before in the literature, and the function of *=ga* in at least part of these cases possibly may have been that of a nominalizer rather than that of an attributive or GS marker. Thus, *=ga* is better treated as a self-contained case on another occasion.⁶

1. The treatment of GS marking in Western grammars of CJ

In the following we will concentrate on grammars of “Classical Japanese” in English and German that were either published for the first time or saw a new edition in recent years while also including several older works which still appear to have some currency. Note that the exact meaning of the term “Classical Japanese” (or “literary-style Japanese” or *bungo*) varies considerably between the various authors, but at least they

⁵ Chiefly *Tosa nikki*, *Ise monogatari* and *Sarashina nikki* for prose and *Kokin-shū* for poetry. Occasionally we will, however, also quote from other texts.

⁶ The distribution of and functional difference between *=ga* and *=no* will not be discussed in any detail here, but see e.g. Nomura (1993a/b, 1998) for an in-depth treatment of this issue.

all have a relatively strong or in some cases even exclusive focus on the language of the Heian period – for which alone the designation is used in this paper. Also, it is obvious that these works were compiled by authors with quite different backgrounds and somewhat different target groups in mind. Nevertheless, they all share the central aim to provide students of Japanese with the basic knowledge necessary to deal with CJ (and to varying degrees also with other pre-modern Japanese) texts. As such, even a work written by someone not having the slightest aspirations for linguistic research should be expected to treat as basic and central a topic as subject marking at least to an extent sufficient to prepare its readers for the challenges lurking in about any text they might attempt to read.

Lewin (1959, ²1975, ³1990)

Bruno Lewin's *Abriss der japanischen Grammatik auf der Grundlage der klassischen Schriftsprache* is remarkable in that it states – unlike most other works of this kind – several rather detailed conditions under which =*no* is claimed to occur as a subject marker, namely (1990: 78):⁷

- a) when subject and predicate are directly adjacent in a complex sentence as an expression of the close ties between the two and to emphasize the process (optional, common in poetry)
- b) in correlation to an attributive form in a main clause (emphasis, questions)
- c) in correlation to an attributive form in an subordinate clause in adnominal position
- d) when subject and predicate are separated by “many” constituents
- e) in case of inversion of subject and predicate (mostly confined to poetry).

The notion of especially “close ties” between the GS and the predicate, as mentioned in case a), undoubtedly originates in the same view already expressed by Yamada Yoshio (see e.g. 1908: 813; 1913a: 302, 303 [1954: 412, 413]), and in turn also other scholars, such as Mabuchi (1968: 180) or Konoshima (1973: 33). This also connects with Nomura's

⁷ Apart from some errors in the example sentences and their translations, which were corrected later on, the passage is already largely the same in the 1959 edition.

(1993a: 14; 1996: 524) statements to the extent that =*no* and =*ga* are employed to form a solid unity of subject and predicate. What is of interest here is the seeming contradiction of a) and d). How is =*no* supposed to express the close ties between a predicate and its directly adjacent subject in a), while in d) the exact opposite holds, as the two are distantly separated (by no less than nine constituents in the example, taken from the opening lines of *Sarashina nikki*)? We will come back to the issue of distance later on in this paper.

Each case is illustrated by one example, mostly authentic ones (*Kokinshū*, *Sarashina nikki*). While only mentioned in the conditions of b) and c), an attributive form is involved in all five cases, even if its *raison d'être* differs from example to example. In other words: To account for the examples provided it is sufficient to give only one single condition instead of five, i.e. the necessity for the governing predicate to be in an attributive form. In any case we are left to wonder whether a), d) and e) are indeed *sufficient* conditions for GS marking to occur and thus also apply if no attributive form is involved as long as the conditions as stated are still met.

Conditions a) to c), but not d) and e), are said to apply to =*ga* as well, with an addition concerning a) stating that =*ga* is restricted to subordinate clauses, while =*no* on the other hand appears in main clauses. On the basis of the examples given for a) under =*no* and =*ga* alone one may indeed arrive at such a conclusion, but this is merely accidental and not representative of GS marking in its entirety. Furthermore, the possibility for =*ga* to follow nominalizing attributive forms instead of just nouns and pronouns is mentioned and illustrated with examples.

Morris (1966, 1970)

The second out of five functions Ivan Morris gives for =*ga* in his *Dictionary of selected forms in classical Japanese literature* is that of a “nominative case part[icle]” (p. 17), which is illustrated by a single, but indeed well-chosen OJ example involving a sentence-final attributive form (MYS II/109). No further explanation is provided, nor restrictions on the usage of =*ga* mentioned. Now =*no* fares a little better insofar as Morris gives its second function as “nominative case part[icle] (esp. in subordinate clauses)” (p. 82). Two examples from *Makura no sōshi* follow, neither of which is particularly helpful however in the way they are

presented. The second contains an attributive form, but the following particle =*wo* is simply ignored in the quotation, thus leaving the reasons for using an attributive form to the reader’s imagination. The first example – to quote in full: “*yūbi* [sic! S.O.] no *sashite* (Mak.): the evening sun shines” – is part of a lengthy sentence a longer portion of which is quoted in the preceding lines. Here, however, it is stripped down to a sequence of no more than two words, thereby rendering the occurrence of GS marking largely unintelligible. We will come back to this example below in the context of Ikeda’s grammar in which another portion of the same sentence is quoted.

Finally, there are the *Corrigenda, addenda, substituenda* published in 1970 (see pp. 8f., 31 therein). These contain little to improve the situation outlined above, apart from supplying two further examples for =*no* as a “nominative case part.,” the first of which is worth quoting here:

yuki no atama ni furikakarikeri (Kok[inshū]): snow has begun falling on my head

Disregarding the alleged appearance of *atama* ‘head’, which is seriously out of place in the *Kokinshū* and probably stems from the misreading of 頭 in some edition of the text, the most startling thing about this example is the highly unusual occurrence of GS marking in a sentence ending in *-keri* in its final form. Exactly the same example is also found in O’Neill (1968: 182) and one is tempted to assume that Morris took his straight from O’Neill’s. Not merely in view of Morris’s (1970: 1) own words in his corrected introduction (“for [...] further examples, I am indebted to Professors [...] and O’Neill”) but first and foremost because the *Kokinshū* simply does not say as the two univocally claim:

- (1) …、日はてりながら雪のかしらにふりかゝりけるをよませ給ひける

FI=fa teri=nagara YUKI=**no** kasira=ni furi-kakari.ker.u=wo yom.ase-TAMAfi.ker.u: [...] (*Kokin* I/8, *kotoba-gaki* [106])⁸

⁸ Page numbers – followed by line numbers for prose texts – in the editions used (mostly from the *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* series, cf. the list in the references) are indicated in square brackets. Portions of the quotes written logographically (or morphographically) are rendered in small caps in the transcription.

‘One [= a poem] [the Nijō Consort] had [Fun’ya no Yasuhide] compose about the fact that despite the sun’s shining, snow was falling on [their] heads: [...]’

The use of =*no* is licensed by the following attributive form (here in its nominalizing function), so that the entire construction is unproblematic. The only actual problem is the fact that O’Neill or maybe somebody before him decided to change the original wording without proper consideration of the original’s syntactical structure. It is also telling that neither O’Neill nor Morris felt anything strange about the example sentence in the way they present it.

O’Neill (1968)

At the end of the section on particles in Patrick Geoffrey O’Neill’s *A programmed introduction to literary-style Japanese* the “main uses or meanings” for both =*ga* and =*no* are given as “1. possessive, descriptive 2. nominative” (p. 83). Accordingly, the section itself also treats GS marking to some extent (see especially pp. 58–61), noting “the extensive use of no with what is, in effect, the subject of the verb” (p. 61) if followed by an attributive form.⁹ Strangely however =*ga* is treated differently, so that for O’Neill =*ga* does “not affect the form of the following verb or adjective; that is, if it comes at the end of the sentence, it is normally in the FF” (p. 61), i.e. final form. No example is provided here, but note that on the preceding page =*ga* is said to be “never used with the subject of ari” (p. 60) with the superscript plus sign showing “that the item is not restricted to the ‘dictionary’ form cited, but refers generally to any or all of the forms of the word” (p. xiv).

⁹ There are some problems with the examples here, however. Thus, “Nioi no sode ni tomaru” = “The scent clings to my sleeve” (p. 59), with its alleged ambiguity as to whether an attributive or final verb form is involved, should rather read *nifofī=no sode=ni tomar.er.u* (*Kokin* I/47 [113]), clearly ending in an attributive form. Also, the present author was unable to verify another example, namely “Hana no honobono miyuru” = “The blossom is faintly visible” (p. 60), which is said to be taken from the *Kokinshū*. (Is this possibly related to *Shin-Kokin* IV/347, which also appears in the earlier *Kokin waka rokujō*?)

Ikeda (1975, ²1980)

In the section on case particles in Ikeda Tadashi's *Classical Japanese grammar illustrated with texts*, "Showing the subject of a clause" (p. 192)¹⁰ is given as the first function of =*ga*, with an appended footnote reading: "*Ga* showing the subject is usually followed by a *rentaikei* at the end of the clause" (p. 192, n. 2) – which is statistically sound. A similar note is provided for the corresponding usage of =*no*: "When *no* の is used to denote the subject, it usually requires a particular type of construction in which the clause containing the *no* functions as a noun clause" (p. 194, n. 1). Out of the six examples given in total one features causal V+UR*e=ba* and four contain attributive forms – which in the case of #218 is excluded from the quote. Thus we read (pp. 194f.):

からすのねどころへ行くとして、
 “The crows flying on their way to their nests.”

The way this example is presented gives the reader the impression that *karasu=no* ‘crows’ is the subject of *ik.u=to=te* (or *yuk.u=to=te*) ‘intending to go’ and that this kind of interpretation is easily possible in CJ, but this is hardly the case. What licenses GS marking here is not *ik.u=to=te* but rather the next verb in the sentence, which unsurprisingly is in an attributive form, used here to nominalize the entire verb phrase. In full the sentence runs as follows:

- (2) 夕日のさして山のはいとちかうなりたるに、からすのねどころへ行くとして、みつよつ、ふたつみつなどとびいそぐさへあはれなり。

YUFU-FI=**no** *sasi.te* YAMA=**no** *fa ito tika.u nari.tar.u=ni*, *karasu=no* *ne-dokoro=fe* *Ik.u=to=te*, *mitu yotu*, *futatu mitu=nado* *tobi-isog.u=* *safe afare=nari* # (*Makura* 1 [43.7f.])

‘Even the crows’ flying in a hurry in threes and fours or twos and threes, intending to go to a place to sleep (or, to their nests), when the evening sun shines and has become close to the ridge of the mountains, is moving.’

Here we also meet again with Morris’s “*yūbi no sashite*”, which is similarly misleading, as it is not *sasi.te* ‘shines and’ but the following

¹⁰ References are to the 1980 edition throughout.

(*tika.u nari.tar.u(=ni)* ‘has become (close)’ that licenses GS marking here. If it was not for the attributive forms *tobi-isog.u* and *nari.tar.u* neither of the two GSs would have occurred here, yet both Morris and Ikeda chose to clip off exactly those parts of the sentence that are absolutely crucial for a proper understanding of how and why *=no* is used here as it is.

Komai (1979) & Komai / Rohlich (1991)

Having seen the arbitrary alteration of a CJ text above, let us now turn to Komai Akira’s *A grammar of Classical Japanese*, which illustrates that CJ “/ga/ may be used as a subject marker” by two entirely made-up examples (p. 25). The first of these is, again, rather telling:

京へは太郎が_{ga}行きたり
 /miyako he wa tarau ga iki-tari/
 (miyako e wa taroo ga itta)
 “It was Taroo who went to the capital.”

It goes without saying that this all has little to do with actual CJ. In fact there could be no better explanation than sentences like this to demonstrate why “some teachers of Classical Japanese denounce ‘made-up’ sentences”, as Komai notes in his preface in a paragraph in defense of his examples, “the majority [of which] are ‘made-up’ sentences” (pp. ii f.).

Despite being younger by more than a decade, Komai and Rohlich’s *An introduction to Classical Japanese* is hardly more satisfactory as far as GS marking is concerned. The new preface contains the following warning: “Most of the examples in the exercises are made-up sentences, many of which include vocabulary items familiar to modern readers but clearly not present in authentic classical texts” (p. [2]) – and such a warning is indeed required as in fact the note on *=ga* (pp. 40f.) even retains the example quoted above. But then again *=ga* may consider itself lucky, as *=no* as its counterpart is not only absent from the index, but also appears to have not been treated at all as a GS marker in the main text despite several instances of GS marking by means of *=no* in the example sentences.

Rickmeyer (1985,²1991,³2004,⁴2012)

Jens Rickmeyer addresses the phenomenon of GS marking already in the first lesson of his *Einführung in das Klassische Japanisch*. Here it

is stated that the first complement of verbs in nominal forms such as V+URu may be marked by =no (1985: 6; 2012: 21). Further possibilities for governing verbs are noted in the order of appearance in the corpus consisting of the *Ogura hyakunin isshu* (rearranged here however): causal V+URe=ba in poem #60 (1985: 28; 2012: 46; third [originally: fifth] lesson), V+URe in correlation with =koso in poem #72 (1985: 24; 2012: 53; fourth lesson).

The appendix containing an outline grammar of CJ brings up the issue again. While the first two editions do not state any conditions (1985: 77; 1991: 146), the considerably expanded appendix in the newer editions fares much better (2004: 216; 2012: 208). Here it is stated that it is possible for GS marking to occur when governed by verbs in attributive or also conditional forms. A comprehensive list of all instances of GS marking in the *Hyakunin isshu* is provided, amounting to 17 poems with a total of 18 GSs marked by =no. Apart from attributive forms of verbs and adjectives (V+URu, A+ki) in various constructions, the list also comprises various causal and conditional forms (V+URe=ba, A+kere=ba, also A+ku=fa) and the above-mentioned case involving bare V+URe.

McCullough (1988 [1993])

The first reference to the issue at hand in Helen Craig McCullough's *Bungo manual* is found in the following passage: "Since the original and fundamental use of both *ga* and *no* appears to have been to form modifying clauses, the usual rule is that when one of them functions as a nominative particle it marks the subject of a subordinate clause. *Bungo* therefore differs from MJ [= Modern Japanese; S.O.] in that *ga* does not ordinarily appear after the subject of the main predicate" (p. 33). Thus, if the entry on =*ga* simply gives its second function as "Nominative case", followed by the explanation that "*Ga* may indicate the subject of a predicate" (both p. 34), this must obviously be understood with the qualifications stated on the preceding page in mind. For =*no* restrictions are again given explicitly, namely: Either it "may indicate the subject of a subordinate clause", or it "may indicate the subject in a sentence with an implied final substantive or other unusual ending" (p. 54). What exactly counts

as an “unusual ending” is left to the reader’s imagination, however.¹¹ The examples quoted here – and the same is true of those illustrating the nominative use of =*ga* – all involve attributive forms of verbs (see pp. 34, 54). While some of the regular cases, notably ones involving conditionals, are not even mentioned here, the following note found on p. 54 is of interest: “*No* occasionally occurs after the subject of the main predicate in Heian texts. Instances decline later. A few cases are known from the Tokugawa period, all of which resemble *no* plus the *rentaikei* in being emphatic or exclamatory.” The case quoted to illustrate this is indeed problematic and will be taken up again later on in this paper as example 61.

Vovin (2003)

Alexander Vovin’s *A reference grammar of Classical Japanese prose* gives three functions for both =*ga* and =*no*: “(1) possessive marker; (2) subject marker in a dependent clause; (3) subject marker in a main clause” (pp. 48, 53). For =*ga* in its second function the author notes that “This usage does not mean that *ga* is a nominative case marker; rather, it shows that the subject is a modifier of a predicate, which in dependent clauses is always in the attributive form, one of the nominal forms of the verb” (p. 51). The examples that follow are mostly straightforward and indeed involve attributive forms. As the same author states in his OJ grammar (cf. below) that CJ =*ga* “always marks the subject in dependent clauses that have a predicate in the attributive form” (Vovin 2005: 119) the word “always” is apparently meant literally here. However, this is clearly untenable, as CJ =*ga* is not actually limited to subjects governed by verbs in attributive forms, be they part of dependent clauses or not.¹²

¹¹ Note also the “implied final substantive” supplied by McCullough for her example taken from the *Kokinshū* (I/47 [113] – which we already encountered in O’Neill 1968: 59), namely “[koto yo]”. Seeing as to how not even a single poem in the MYS and, likewise, not a single poem in the *Kokinshū*, *Gosenshū* etc. end in *koto=yo* it seems rather unlikely that this is what could possibly have been implied by a poet in OJ or CJ. There is, thus, nothing to indicate that we are dealing with ellipsis and implied final substantives here – even if *koto=yo* (on which also see Quinn 1987: 698–715) is frequently employed in modern translations.

¹² For main clauses ending in attributive forms due to correlation with (here: interrogative) particles (corresponding to type 2.2.3.1 in the typology further below) see for instance *Ise* (23, poem [127.4]; involving =*ya*) or *Kokin* (X/464

The examples illustrating the third function, which “is very infrequent in Classical Japanese prose compared to the modern language” (p. 52), require some comment. The first example is ambiguous, as the word marked with =*ga* may also be interpreted as being adnominal instead of adverbial.¹³ Of greater interest is the second one, as it may serve to illustrate how little the notion of “main clause” versus “dependent clause” actually helps to explain the occurrence of GS marking.

- (3) かぐや姫^(ふ)て^{おほぬす}う^(やつ)大盗人の奴^{ころ}が、人を殺さんとするなりけり。
 (Kaguya-FIME=tef.u ofo-nusubito=no) YATU=**ga** FITO=wo koros.
 am[.u]=to s.uru=nari.keri # (*Taketori* [49.5])
 “It turns out that [this] hag was going to kill people” (Vovin 2003: 52)

As *yatu* is the subject of (*koros.am[.u]=to*) *s.uru* ‘is about to kill’, which is unmistakably an attributive form, and not of =*nari.keri* ‘it was (such that ...)’ (thus already Konoshima 1973: 34), the occurrence of GS marking can easily be explained here – if we abandon the notion of main versus dependent clauses in our explanation and simply state that the GS is governed by a verb in an attributive form.¹⁴ Finally, there is the third and

[198]; involving =*ka*), for GSs governed by V+*URe=ba* (type 3.1) see e.g. *Sarashina* ([495.15]) or *Kokin* (I/51 [113]), for cases involving V+*Aba* (type 4) see e.g. *Kokin* (XV/800 [259], XX/1093 [328]). Note, by the way, that the last example provided by Vovin (taken from *Hamamatsu* [161.7f.]) also involves causal V+*URe=ba* besides attributive V+*URu*. Meaning-wise the two verbs share the same subject which makes this case somewhat ambiguous, but judging from the overall logical relationships involved it seems more likely that the GS is governed by causal V+*URe=ba* here as well.

¹³ I.e. *namdi.ra=ga kimi* ‘your lord’ so that Vovin’s “You are famous as [loyal] servants of [your] lord” (underlining S.O.) would simply become “[You] are famous as [loyal] servants of your lord”.

¹⁴ Compare a) «N=*no* V+*URu=nari*» with b) «N₁=*no* N₂=*nari*». Just as N₁ in b) is clearly governed by the noun N₂ rather than the verbalized N₂=*nari* as a whole (which needless to say can be modified adverbially however), N in a) is likewise governed by the attributive form V+*URu* alone. (Incidentally, this is exactly what Motoori 1785 [1792: III/22b] already stated with reference to an entirely parallel case in *Kin’yō* I/67.) The reason for this behaviour is obviously to be found in the fact that =*nari* resulted from the contraction of =*ni ari*, so that the original structure was «N=*no* V+*URu=ni ari*» with N=*no* being governed by V+*URu=ni*, which only in turn is governed by the final *ari*.

last example (*Hamamatsu* [170.6–8]), which again is unproblematic under closer scrutiny: the verb governing the GS – namely *kafari-yuk.u=wo* ‘as [her appearance] changed more and more’ – is again in an attributive form, it is merely clipped off here again for no apparent reason.

Coming now to the treatment of =*no*, we find a similar comment as above, yet a more detailed one: “[R]ather, it shows that the subject is a modifier of a predicate, which in dependent clauses is predominantly an attributive form (one example of its occurrence in the infinitive form is given below), one of the nominal forms of the verb. Some other cases of *no* as a subject marker include dependent clauses ending in gerunds *-ba*, *-domo*, etc.” (p. 55). Most examples again feature attributive forms (plus one each for causal *V+URe=ba* and adversative *V+URe=do*) and require no comment. The only example of notice here is thus the alleged case of a GS governed by “the infinitive form”:

(4) 中納言のおはしまし所

TIÛNAGON=*no* ofasi-masi-DOKORO (*Hamamatsu* [154.16])

“tiunagon-no ofasimas-i tokoro

chūnagon-GEN be(HON)-INF place

the place where the Chūnagon will be” (Vovin 2003: 56)

As a glimpse at any randomly chosen dictionary of Japanese reveals however, *ofasi(-masi)-dokoro* ‘residence / whereabouts of a nobleman’ is simply a compound noun, parallel in structure to *ne-dokoro* ‘bedroom (place to sleep)’, *sumi-dokoro* ‘dwelling (place to live)’, *yasumi-dokoro* ‘place to rest’ etc.¹⁵ Instead of GS marking we are thus simply dealing with one of the innumerable cases in which a noun marked with =*no* modifies a following noun.

Out of the five examples provided for =*no* marking the subject of a “main clause” (pp. 56f.) some are not acceptable by any measure. The first two do indeed involve GSs, but both are governed by nominalized verbs (namely *if.aku* ‘what someone says’ to introduce a quote) which do not constitute the verbal core of any “main clause” – even if they may be

¹⁵ Needless to say it is difficult to tell whether /t/ had in fact undergone sequential voicing and become /d/ in all of these cases in the period in question, as the distinction was not represented in writing except for a comparatively small number of specialized sources.

translated as if. The third involves a head-internal relative clause with =*no* – which is correctly reflected as such in the English translation – instead of GS marking. This leaves us with two more examples, which beyond doubt both feature GS marking. Number five constitutes a rare case involving a final verb form (= *ni faberi* ‘is’), at least as long as the punctuation as found in modern editions is followed.¹⁶ The fourth example may indeed be taken as a “main clause” (albeit one embedded as a quotation into an elliptic sentence), at the same however the final verb is again in an attributive form here, suggesting that whether GS marking can occur is not at all a matter of main versus dependent clauses, but rather a phenomenon licensed by certain verb and adjective forms at the expense of others.

Shirane (2005)

Shirane Haruo’s *Classical Japanese: A grammar* contains a section on case particles, which begins right away with =*ga* and =*no* in this order. Somewhat surprisingly the first function given to both is that of a “subject marker” (with “attributive marker” being only second in order), which we are told “[m]arks the subject of the sentence and is followed by the predicate” without further qualification (p. 157 with reference to =*ga*, and again with some variation on p. 158 for =*no*).¹⁷ Just a single example of each is provided, with both GSs governed by attributive forms. The nearby boxes for “Advanced Study and Reference” do not venture to elucidate the matter either. If anything the “Historical Note” on p. 158 merely adds to the confusion of the reader by stating that “In the ancient period, the subject case particle *ga* did not exist.”

¹⁶ One should, however, also consider the possibility that the sentence does not end with =*ni faberi*, but that it rather goes on (with =*ni faberi* as “is ... and”), as the following verb phrase still has the same subject and ends in an attributive form: *ko=no TUKI-goro nayami-wadurafi.te, oki-agar.u KOTO=mo FABER.azari.t.uru=wo* (Hamamatsu [172.13f.]) ‘she suffered from illness for the last months and did not even get up’.

¹⁷ Is the indication that it “is followed by the predicate” to be taken as “is followed *directly* by the predicate”? If so, this would be true for the two examples Shirane gives, but would also be insufficient to account for GS marking in its entirety. If not, there is little the entire explanation can tell the reader that is not already contained in the label “subject marker” that is provided first.

We leave it to the reader to decide whether the objective of being “comprehensive enough to address the most complex grammatical issues and yet simple enough for beginners” (p. [xix]) has been achieved here or rather not.

Wixted (2006)

John Timothy Wixted’s *A handbook to Classical Japanese* primarily deals with “‘verb’-endings: specifically, the endings of verbs, verbal adjectives, pseudo-adjectives, and verb-suffixes”, which together are considered “*the central issue of bungo*” (p. 2). As such it is only natural that the *Handbook* does not comprise an extensive treatment of particles and that topics such as GS marking are only mentioned briefly and *en passant*. Apart from references to a handful of examples¹⁸ scattered throughout the *Handbook* we however learn here that “The vast majority of subject-marking *ga*’s ㇰ and *no*’s ㇱ in *bungo* appear in *subordinate clauses* or in (at least implicitly) nominalized clauses—a common function of the two particles in the modern language as well. [...] The subjects of *main-clause* predicates, however, are seldom marked in the classical language” (p. 107, n. 2).

Katsuki-Pestemer (2009)

The function of “subject marker” is one among those named for both =*ga* and =*no* in Noriko Katsuki-Pestemer’s *A grammar of Classical Japanese* (pp. 175f.; also cf. pp. 196, 202). Neither examples nor any further comment is provided – maybe because, as we are told, “CJ and MSJ [= Modern Standard Japanese; S.O.] differ to a relatively small degree” (p. 282)? – but the example sentences scattered throughout the book occasionally contain one or other of the two particles glossed as subject markers.

¹⁸ One out of Wixted’s six examples (namely #10 on p. 203) is out of place here, as it merely involves an attributive verb form followed by =*ga* in an adnominal position to *yuwe* ‘cause, reason’. For two somewhat special cases among these examples see footnotes 47 and 48 further below.

2. Aside: The treatment of GS marking in Western grammars of OJ

The situation in OJ with regard to GS marking is by and large rather similar to that in CJ, even if it is not completely identical. It therefore seems worthwhile to put the English language grammars available specifically for OJ under closer scrutiny as well.

Syromiatnikov (1981)

In Nikolai A. Syromiatnikov's *The Ancient Japanese language* we first learn that “-*Nō* can also be an affix for the subject of a subordinate attributive clause, which, unlike the subject of the principal clause, is usually inflected” (p. 85), which is illustrated by some unproblematic examples involving – as expected – attributive forms in an adnominal position.¹⁹ The examples provided to illustrate that “subjects of subordinate clauses of other types also took the suffix -*nō*” are likewise straightforward: besides another attributive form they also cover hypothetical conditional V+*Aba* as well as nominalizing V+*URaku*. Lastly, there are three more cases in which =*no* is “agglutinated to the subject of the principal clause”, all of which however again involve attributive forms.

The particle =*ga* on the other hand is described as being more restricted (pp. 86f.). Thus while it is correctly stated and illustrated by means of examples that “-*Ga* was also affixed to the subject of an attributive clause” (p. 86), no further possibilities are taken into consideration here. Needless to say such further possibilities do however exist, comprising among others also V+*Aba* and V+*URaku* as governing verb forms, as in the examples quoted for =*no*.²⁰

¹⁹ Note however that Syromiatnikov frequently quotes from the main text (as opposed to the poems) of the *Kojiki*, which is hardly adequate in view of the fact that the exact linguistic form of the text is difficult if not impossible to establish. This applies to one third of the examples for =*no*, which are therefore not taken into consideration here.

²⁰ For V+*Aba* see e.g. MYS V/889 or XV/3583, for V+*URaku* e.g. MYS IV/760 or XV/3683.

Bentley (2001)

Bentley's *A descriptive grammar of Early Old Japanese prose* treats both =*ga* and =*no* in quite some detail (section 4.4.4.2.1, pp. 88–95), noting both the function of the former “to mark the subject in a subordinate clause” (p. 91; also cf. p. 92 on =*no*) and “several examples where a noun is connected to the subjunctive gerund of a verb with *nō*”, which again illustrates its function as “a subject marker in a clause” (p. 93). Among the few examples given, some do not even contain GSs and are thus inappropriate,²¹ while one further case is a somewhat unlucky choice insofar as the two instances of =*no* deemed to mark subjects here are not reflected in writing but remain implicit in the original text (p. 95, from *Senmyō* 5). Otherwise the latter case is straightforward, involving governing verbs in attributive forms and used in adnominal position for each GS. It is somewhat puzzling, however, in how far “subjunctive gerunds” (apparently used here to mean the same as what Bentley elsewhere terms “subordinative gerund”, i.e. *V+te*) are of any relevance in the cases quoted from *Norito* 3 and 6. In both examples the nouns marked with =*no* are governed by verbs in an attributive or hypothetical conditional form, whereas the “subjunctive gerunds” occurring later in these sentences have different subjects, namely implicit “(I)” and “(we)” in Bentley's translation as opposed to “the imperial deity” for both GSs (pp. 93f.).

Vovin (2005)

The situation here is similar to Vovin's CJ grammar. First, =*ga* is said to function as a possessive marker as well as subject marker, both in dependent and main clauses. For =*ga* in dependent clauses the examples (pp. 119f.) illustrate a great variety of possible forms, namely attributives (*V+URu*), nominalizations (*V+URaku*) and conditionals (*V+Aba*, *V+URe=ba*). It is claimed here that this variety is peculiar to OJ, while in CJ =*ga* allegedly “always marks the subject in dependent clauses that have a predicate in the attributive form” (p. 119) – about which claim see

²¹ This applies to the first example for =*ga* as a subject marker (p. 91, from *Norito* 1 and 7; which again merely involves =*ga* in an adnominal position to *yuwe*, cf. footnote 18 above) and the third example for =*no* (p. 94, from *Norito* 10; which involves *itu=no* with *itu* ‘purity, sanctity; dignity; might’, which is clearly in an adnominal position here as it generally is; cf. e.g. JKD 81).

the section on Vovin (2003) above. Coming now to the seven examples for =*ga* in main clauses (pp. 120–122), we again face various problems. One example ends in an attributive form due to a preceding =*ka* (#5). Two more cases (#4, #7) must be interpreted as ending in an attributive form as well, as both sentences contain =*ka=mo(=yo)* in their first half respectively – which, however, are not part of the quotations. The problem of clipped-off portions of the sentences is repeated in two further cases (#1 – which we will meet with again in Bentley, 2012, see below – and #6), which are adnominal phrases, governed by the following noun that is again not part of the quotations. Whether these examples represent dependent or main clauses, they all involve an attributive form. This leaves us with two cases of =*ga* (#2, #3), both of which can easily be explained as being attributes in adnominal position instead of GSs.²²

Next, =*no* as a subject marker is said to occur “in various types of dependent clauses”, illustrated by a couple of examples (pp. 128f.; with one exception, which has V+*URe=ba*, all involving attributive forms in an adnominal position however). The three examples for main clauses (pp. 129f.) are again in need of some comment: The first (KK 101) is usually – and better – explained as containing a comparative =*no*. The second example (MYS V/869) as such is not a sentence at all and in any case is only quoted partially, deleting the following attributive verb form, which ends an adnominal verb phrase here – and is also what governs the GS here. The third one (MYS XX/2094) is again simply an adnominal verb phrase (see e.g. SNKBZ 8: 99). An additional EOJ example is given (MYS XIV/3530), but this is likewise nothing but another adnominal phrase, needless to say ending in an attributive form (with interjectional =*ya* in between the verb and the noun it modifies, on which cf. below).

In effect, hardly any example of GS marking in “main clauses” remains upon closer inspection. Those that do remain, all end in attributive verb forms, just as the majority of cases adduced for “dependent clauses” does. Clause types are therefore of little actual relevance here.

²² For example #2 from KK 10 see e.g. SNKBZ (1: 154, n. 2). There are several cases parallel to example #3 (from KK 88) in the MYS (II/85, II/90 [with reference to the *Kojiki*] etc.), for which see e.g. SNKBZ (6: 79).

Bentley (2012)

GS marking is not treated in detail in Bentley's contribution on "Old Japanese" to the volume *The languages of Japan and Korea*, but its existence is at least implied by some (in part again rather problematic) instances of =*ga* and =*no* in the examples glossed as "NOM".²³ Also, we are told that "There are a few rare instances, mainly in poetry, where the subject of a main clause is marked with *ga*" (p. 202). The only example given here, however, is not exactly convincing:

- (5) 于儻能 多伽機珥 辭藝和奈破蘆 和餓末菟夜 辭藝破佐夜羅孺
 (Uda=no) // taka-kwi=ni // sigi-wana par.u // wa=*ga* mat.u(=*ya* //
 sigi=*pa* sayar.azu) (NSK #7 [128f.]; also cf. KK #9 [44f.])
 "In the high fort setting a trap for snipe I wait ..." (Bentley 2012:
 202, #15)

The portions in brackets are arbitrarily clipped off in Bentley's quotation, so that the impression that is given to his readers is misleading at best. The only cogent interpretation of this sentence is that indicated in the commentary in NKBT (3: 44) and elsewhere in the literature: *mat.u* 'wait' is in its attributive form here – contra Bentley and Vovin, who gloss it as "wait-CONC" and "wait-FIN" respectively – modifying the following noun *sigi* 'snipe', with the interjectional particle =*ya* in between as is frequently the case in OJ poetry.²⁴ In other words: we are not even dealing with a main clause here and, if properly understood, this is by no means a "rare instance" of anything. Incidentally, this interpreta-

²³ For =*ga* see examples 13c, 15 (dealt with immediately below), 21 and 33, for =*no* see example 27. Numbers 33 and 27 do not require any comment (the governing verbs are in hypothetical conditional and attributive forms). It is inconceivable, however, why =*ga* in 13c and 21 is glossed as "NOM" as both instances are clearly examples of its attributive use – which in fact even Bentley's own translation for *sumyera=*ga* mikado* in 21 indicates: "the ruler's court" (also cf. Bentley 2001: 91, where the same =*ga* is glossed as "GEN" and the translation "the emperor's court" is provided).

²⁴ This is incidentally the same structure as in the only example of =*no* as subject marker in a main clause in EOJ provided in Vovin (2005: 131), i.e. MYS XIV/3530, where it is likewise misinterpreted as a final particle following a conclusive verb form.

tion is also already reflected in Chamberlain’s rendering into English of the corresponding poem in *Kojiki* from more than a century ago.²⁵

“The woodcock, for which I laid a woodcock-snare and waited in the high castle of Uda, strikes not against it; [...]” (Chamberlain 1882: 140)

3. Inflectional forms licensing genitive subject marking

Attributive forms indeed account for the majority of cases involving GS marking and accordingly it is exactly such attributive forms that are most commonly noticed in the grammars and reference works surveyed above, sometimes even exclusively. Some other inflectional forms of verbs and adjectives that license such marking have, however, already been mentioned in the preceding, and even if all of these are taken together the list is still not quite comprehensive. As a point of departure for further inquiries into the issues surrounding GS marking, it therefore seems in order here to give an attempt at a fuller – but still not exhaustive – list of the possible conditions under which GS marking *may* occur,²⁶ providing examples from CJ literature especially for the less common cases. It goes without saying that we are much indebted to the invaluable research by scholars such as Yamada (1913a [1954]; 1913b [1952]), Wenck (1974) or Nomura (1993a/b; 1996), without which this list would certainly have been even more incomplete. For obvious reasons hardly any reference at all will be made to “main” or “dependent clauses” in the following.

We have already seen in the above that =*no* as a GS marker is sometimes difficult to tell apart with certainty from =*no* in a comparative function and at times also from head-internal relative clauses, which are rather frequent in poetry and prose respectively. Care has therefore been taken here to avoid ambiguous cases as much as possible.

²⁵ Aston’s (1896: 118) contemporary translation of *Nihon shoki* is not as helpful here as it deviates considerably from the original in structure: “In the high {castle, tree} of Uda ¶ I set a snare for woodcock, ¶ And waited, ¶ But no woodcock came to it; ¶ [...]”

²⁶ In other words: We are dealing here with necessary rather than sufficient conditions for the occurrence of GS marking.

1. nominalized verbs and adjectives

$N=no \{V+URaku / A+sa\}$

2. attributive forms (*rentaikei*) of verbs and adjectives

$N=no \ V/A_{Attr}$ — with V/A_{Attr} as a placeholder for various forms: $V+URu$, $V+si$, $A+ki$, etc.

2.1. $N=no \ V/A_{Attr} \ N$

2.2. $N=no \ V/A_{Attr}(=p)$ — the attributive form may be due to various reasons:

2.2.1. in its nominalizing function, in positions typically occupied by nouns; also comprising sentence-final $V/A_{Attr}=ka=na$, $V/A_{Attr}=nari$, $V/A_{Attr}=zo$, etc.

2.2.2. in emphatic sentences

2.2.2.1. in case of correlation with emphatic particles:
=*namu*, =*zo*

2.2.2.2. without such particles

2.2.3. in interrogative sentences

2.2.3.1. in case of correlation with interrogative particles:
=*ka*, =*ya*

2.2.3.2. without such particles, but involving a wh-word or dubitative =*ram.u*

3. cases involving so-called “realis” forms (*izenkei*) of verbs and adjectives

$N=no \ {V+URe / A+kere}$

3.1. $N=no \ {V+URe / A+kere} =ba$

3.2. $N=no \ {V+URe / A+kere} =do$

3.3. $N=no \ {V+URe / A+kere}$ — chiefly in case of correlation with
=*koso*

4. hypothetical conditional forms of verbs

$N=no \ V+Aba, V+seba$

5. cases involving adverbial forms of adjectives

$N=no \ A+ku(=p)$

5.1. $N=no \ A+ku=fu$

5.2. $N=no \ A+ku=mo=ga=na$

5.3. bare $N=no \ A+ku$

6. imperative forms

N=no {V+e / V=yo}=kasi

Type 1 is hardly in need of comment as both V+URaku and A+sa are common ways to derive nouns, so that we are merely dealing with a subtype of the common attributive structure «N=no N» here. Note however that V+URaku, in particular, may retain its original verbal rection.²⁷ Apart from V+Am.aku followed by adjectives (mostly *fosi-* ‘want, desire’) there are two common cases here: First, V in V+An.aku=ni ‘even though not V; because not V; ah, not V!’ as a retention from OJ in poetry licenses GS marking, but at the same time retains its original verbal rection.

- (6) 櫻花 ちらばちらなむ ちらずとて ふるさと人の きても見なくに

SAKURA-BANA // tir.aba tir.anamu # // tir.azu=to=te // furu-sato-BITO=no // ki.te=mo MI.n.aku=ni # (*Kokin* II/74 [118])

‘Cherry blossoms, should you scatter then do scatter! For even if you won’t scatter, the one from my home village won’t come and see you.’

Second, there are expressions such as *if.aku* or *ifi.ker.aku* ‘what someone says/said’ as a way to introduce quotes. The speaker may be indicated explicitly as an attribute, as for instance in *funa-gimi=no if.aku* ‘what the skipper said’ (*Tosa* 1.II. [48.11]) or *aru fito=no if.aku* ‘what somebody said’ (*Kokin* I/7, comment [106]), but there are also cases such as example 7 in which *if.aku* appears to retain its verbal rection. Elliptical constructions aside, quotes thus introduced are however usually followed by another *verbum dicendi*, as is also the case here. Instead of interpreting *kadi-tori* and *funa-ko.domo* as being governed by *if.aku* they might thus likewise simply constitute complements of the final *if.u*. Such ambiguity is rather common.

²⁷ Compare the situation in OJ where we are dealing with nominalization at the phrasal rather than word level. Thus, both V+URaku and A+sa clearly retain their ability to govern adverbial constituents, despite acquiring nominal rection at the same time. See e.g. MYS VI/982 (following the lead of Konoshima 1973: 37) or also MYS XIV/3462 for cases involving additional adverbial constituents in between the GS and A+sa. For V+URaku see e.g. the beginning of MYS V/894 or XVIII/4106 and many other cases with adverbial constituents governed by V+URaku.

(7) かちとり、ふな(船子)こどもにいはく、「…」といふ。

kadi-tori, funa-ko.domo=ni if.aku, “[...]”=to if.u # (*Tosa* 5.II. [50. 10–12])

‘(As for what) the helmsman said to the sailors(, he said:) “[...]”.’

By far the most common – and most commonly mentioned – type of GS marking is type 2 involving attributive forms. Note that the notion of “attributive forms” here is a rather broad one, comprising attributive forms of both verbs and adjectives, be they simplex lexical ones or complex ones involving suffix and/or particle verbs and adjectives. Even if the verb itself is in a final form, the entire constituent qualifies as an “attributive form” capable of licensing GS marking as long as it is followed by a particle verb or particle adjective in an attributive form (e.g. =*nar.u* [hearsay], =*ram.u* or =*be.ki*, =*mazi.ki* respectively).²⁸

Now the reasons for the appearance of such attributive forms can be manifold, with 2.1 (cf. so-called =*ga*/=*no* conversion in Modern Japanese) and 2.2.1 being prototypical.²⁹ Unsurprisingly, the majority of instances with GS marking belongs to these two types. A number of examples will be found in the following sections, so we refrain from quoting any at this point.

Types 2.2.3 and even more so 2.2.2 on the other hand are somewhat less common and appear to be more typical of poetry, with the exception of =*namu* which is usually confined to prose. The skewed distribution may well, however, simply be the result of the relatively high share of emphatic and interrogative sentences in poetry (whereas prose shows a higher frequency of declarative sentences in comparison).

²⁸ Various examples are provided below. See e.g. example 28 for retrospective V+*si*, examples 8 and 12 for cases involving verbs followed by suffix verbs, example 10 for an adjective followed by suffix verbs, or example 14 for V+*Ru*=*ram.u* – with V+*Ru* in the final, but the particle verb =*ram.u* in the attributive form. However, also cf. footnote 14 and examples 3 and 40 for instance, which involve V+*URu*=*nari*, with an attributive form licensing GS marking first which is then followed by a particle verb that may be in any form, including final ones.

²⁹ These two types are likewise observed in typologically close languages. Thus, both Middle Korean and Written Manchu for instance similarly exhibit GS marking in adnominal and nominalized phrases (the latter in form of V+*Om* and V+*rA*/*hA*=*ngge* respectively).

2.2.2.1.

- (8) 夏はやまとなでしこの濃^こく薄^{うす}く錦^{にしき}をひけるやうになむ咲きたる。

NATU=fa Yamato-nadesiko=**no** ko.ku usu.ku nisiki=wo fik.er.u
yaũ=ni=namu saki.tar.u # (*Sarashina* [485.2f.]

‘In summer, pinks bloom in deep and pale colour, as if one had laid out brocade.’

- (9) 春の野の しげき草葉の つまごひに とび立つきじの ほろゝとぞなく

FARU=no NO=no // sige.ki KUSA-BA=no // tuma-gofi=ni // tobi-TAT.u
kizi=**no** // fororo=to=zo nak.u # (*Kokin* XIX/1033 [317])

‘Fororo, thus cries the pheasant in the thickly grown grass in the fields in spring, rising up in yearning for its mate.’

2.2.3.1.

- (10) いのちだに 心にかなふ 物ならば なにかわかれの かなしからまし

inoti=dani // KOKORO=ni kanaf.u // MONO=nar.aba, // nani=ka
wakare=**no** // kanasi.kar.ama.si # (*Kokin* VIII/387 [179])

‘If, at the very least, life was after one’s heart, why would partings be saddening?’

- (11) 折りつれば 袖こそにはほへ 梅花ありとや こゝにうぐひすのなく

Wori.t.ure=ba // SODE=koso nifof.e # // UME=NO FANA // ari=to=ya
ko.ko=ni // ugufisu=**no** nak.u # (*Kokin* I/32 [110])

‘Is the bush warbler crying here in the conviction that there are plum blossoms? – Even though it is my sleeves that have their fragrance on them, for I have plucked them.’

These examples also illustrate that in general GSs may either a) follow or b) precede the trigger for the attributive form. In other words, GS marking may occur in places within a sentence which, at least up to this point, have not contained anything making one anticipate a form licensing GS marking. The effect of =no here is thus that of announcing to the reader what to expect from the remainder of the sentence, by narrowing down the possibilities in terms of verb or adjective forms and the prag-

matic function they have. In OJ type a) is dominant and b) still rare, but in CJ b) becomes increasingly common (Nomura 1996: 525).

- a) ... X=*ka/=namu/=ya/=zo* ... Y=*ga/=no* ... V+URu #
 b) ... Y=*ga/=no* ... X=*ka/=namu/=ya/=zo* ... V+URu #

The following examples illustrate types 2.2.2.2 and 2.2.3.2 respectively, i.e. emphatic and interrogative sentences not containing any correlational particle. The latter category comprises two distinct cases: questions lacking an interrogative particle but involving at least a wh-word (*nado* ‘why?’ in the example below) – which just like ones containing =*ka* or =*ya* generally end in attributive forms in CJ, unlike it is the case in OJ (see e.g. Oda 2010 on this issue) – and implicit questions containing neither a wh-word nor any interrogative particle. Note however the presence of =*ram.u* here, which commonly co-occurs with interrogatives. Above we have already mentioned the effect of GS marking to narrow down the spectrum of possible governing verb or adjective forms. In cases such as example 14 below, this effect is not redundant anymore, as neither correlational particles nor wh-words are involved. Thus, =*no* turns out to be the sole indicator here to show that =*ram.u* is in its attributive rather than final form, which are (at least segmentally) identical.

2.2.2.2.

- (12) みよしのの 山のしらゆき ふみわけて 入りにし人の ^(お)をと
 づれもせぬ

mi.Yosino=no // YAMA=no sira-yuki // fumi-wake.te // Iri.ni.si
 FITO=**no** // otodure=mo se.n.u # (*Kokin* VI/327 [165])

‘He who entered Mount Yoshino working his way through its white snow does not send word at all!’

2.2.3.2.

- (13) 笛のねの たゞ秋風と 聞ゆるに などおぎの葉の そよと答へぬ
^{ふえ} fuye=no ne=no // tada AKI-KAZE=to // kikoy.uru=ni, // nado wogi=no
 fa=**no** // soyo=to kotafe.n.u # (*Sarashina* [496.15])

‘The sound of the flute sounded exactly like the autumn wind, so why did the reed’s leaves not reply with gentle sound?’

- (14) 久方の ひかりのどけき 春の日に しづ心なく 花のちるらむ
 FISAKATA=no // fikari nodoke.ki // FARU=no FI=ni // siduGOKORO
 na.ku // FANA=**no** tir.u=ram.u # (*Kokin* II/84 [120])
 ‘Why is it that blossoms scatter restlessly on a spring day when sun-
 shine is mild?’

If attributive forms account for the greatest part of GS marking, so-called “realis” forms, i.e. V+UR*e* (as well as the retrospective V+*sika*=*ba*)³⁰ and A+*kere*, come second in terms of frequency. Even if the latter are not exactly nominal or nominalizing in either CJ or OJ, the reason for their capability of licensing GS marking probably lies in the etymological ties between the attributive and “realis” forms.³¹ Now as with attributive forms, “realis” forms can occur under various circumstances, however GS marking is common only in the case of V+UR*e*=*ba*, specifically in its causal (as opposed to temporal-conditional) reading.³² Further examples will be given below, so let us here confine ourselves to two cases that again suggest that the notion of dependent vs. main clauses is of less relevance than the morphological form of the governing V/A. Just as V+UR*u* for instance, which licenses GS marking even if in a main clause, V+UR*e*=*ba* can take GSs even if it is not part of a dependent clause in a strict sense.

3.1.

- (15) … かなしきは かへらぬひとの あればなりけり
 [...] // kanasi.ki=fa // kafer.an.u fito=**no** // ar.e=ba=nari.keri # (*Tosa*
 27.XII. [29.13])

³⁰ For a case with V+*sika*=*ba*, which is generally rarer than V+UR*e*=*ba*, see e.g. *Sarashina* ([498.4f.]).

³¹ In Nomura’s (1998: 46; also cf. 1993a: 10) view there is nothing to explain the spread of GS marking from attributives to conditionals, stating that the only thing the two have in common is that they constitute dependent clauses. There have however been various proposals to relate V+UR*u* and V+UR*e*, suggesting that the two share at least some of their morphological material – which might then explain *historically* why both are capable of licensing GS marking. For proposals see e.g. Unger (1975: 109–111), Martin (1987: 668), Hayata (2000), Russell (2006: 198), Whitman (2013).

³² See Kinoshita (1963: 7) for the relative (and partly also absolute) frequency of GS vs. zero marking with V+UR*e*=*ba* in both functions, bare V+UR*e* in causal function in OJ, V+UR*e*=*do* etc.

‘That [I] am sad [...] is because there is one [among us] who does not return.’

- (16) 吹く風の 色のちぐさに みえつるは 秋のこのはの ちればなりけり

FUk.u KAZE=no // IRO=no ti-gusa=ni // miye.t.uru=fa // AKI=no ko=no fa=**no** // tir.e=ba=nari.keri # (*Kokin* V/290 [158])

‘That the blowing wind appears to be in a thousand colours, oh, is because autumn leaves are scattering!’

Adversative V+URe=*do* and V+URe in correlation with =*koso*, as illustrated below, on the other hand are less commonly observed, which however is hardly unexpected in view of the lower overall frequency of the two in comparison to V+URe=*ba*.³³ Regarding V+URe in correlation with =*koso*, the structure «N=*no* V=*mo=koso s.sure*» is of interest as it is not too uncommon in poetry.³⁴ If seen in isolation it may appear somewhat ambiguous as N=*no* could also be governed by V(=*mo=koso*) as a deverbal noun syntactically, there are however also some straightforward cases that do not leave any room for such ambiguities.³⁵

³³ At least for =*ga* as a GS marker one can also find cases involving V+URe in rhetorical questions, such as in V+Am.e=*ya*(=p). See for instance *Kokin* (XIV/699 [240]): *nami=ni omof.aba // wa=ga kofi.m.e=ya=fa* # ‘Would I long for you [so much], if I loved you just ordinarily? (Certainly not!)’.

³⁴ For examples see e.g. *Shūi* (XI/646), *Kin’yō* (VIII/501), *Shin-Kokin* (XV/1388) etc. Also compare the parallel structure with =*zo*: «N=*no* V=*mo=zo s.suru*».

³⁵ For OJ this is apparently even rarer, as MYS II/118 – which is also already quoted in Yamada (1913a: 302 [1954: 412]) – is considered to be an isolated case by Nomura (1993a: 15, n. 1).

The first half of the same poem incidentally also provides us with an example for GS marking with bare V+URe (i.e. not followed by either =*ba* or =*do*; other particles, such as =*koso* here, may follow however) in causal function. This usage is typical of OJ (even if not all too common), but severely restricted in CJ. In *Kokinshū* for instance =*nar.e=ya* ‘is it because of (A being B) that ...?’ accounts for the majority of cases – which due to the presence of the following =*ya* falls however into one of the categories *Kino-shita* (1963: 8) identified as tending to zero rather than GS marking. Accordingly it is difficult to find parallel cases in CJ here.

3.2.

- (17) 女はこのおとこを(を)と思ひつゝ、親おものあはすれども、聞きかでなんありける。

WOMNA=fa “ko=no wotoko=wo ... #”=to omofi.tutu, oya=**no** af.as. ure=do=mo, kik.ade=nam ari.ker.u # (*Ise* 23 [126.7f.])

‘The woman incessantly thought “This man [I want as my husband]”, and although [her] parents [tried] to make [her] marry [somebody else], [she] was not listening [to them].’

3.3.

- (18) 立田姫 たむくる神の あれはこそ 秋のこののはの ぬさとちる
らめ

TATUTA-FIME // tamuk.uru KAMI=no // ar.e=ba=koso // AKI=no
ko=no fa=**no** // nusa=to tir.u=ram.e (*Kokin* V/298 [160])³⁶

‘It is surely because Tatsutahime, the goddess [we] make offerings for, is there that autumn leaves fall like prayer strips.’

Note that *oya=no* ‘[her] parents’ only relates to the immediately following verb, whereas the surrounding sentence has a different subject. Thus, GS marking here has the (at least side-)effect of indicating the limited scope of the marked subject. In parallel to the relatively rare V+URE=do there are also rare cases involving concessive V+Ru=to=mo, possibly as an extension of the former.³⁷

While GS marking generally occurs less frequently with hypothetical conditional forms of verbs (e.g. V+Aba, V+seba, V+Ama.sika=ba – with V also comprising verbalized adjectives, such as in A+kari.seba) than with V+URE=ba or V+URu, such cases possibly also belong to either one of these two types historically depending on the exact etymology of the conditionals involved.³⁸

³⁶ The author owes this example to Wenck (1974: 794).

³⁷ For cases in prose texts see e.g. *Ochikubo* (I [76.14f.]) or *Genji* (“Kagerō” [V/303.3]); for a poem from post-CJ times see e.g. *Shin-Senzai* (XII/1242).

³⁸ Compare the proposal to derive -Aba from -Am.u=pa, apparently due to Ōno Susumu, or also the view put forth in Curtius / Hoffmann (1857: 146), amounting to a derivation from -Am.u=ni=pa. Seeing as to how *-Am.e=ba is missing from the paradigm of -Am.u and how it is exactly -Aba that fills this gap functionally, it appears appropriate however to follow Rickmeyer (2004: 202, n. 39 [= 2012: 195, n. 39]) in deriving it from *-Am.e=ba.

4.

- (19) 世中に たえてさくらの なかりせば 春の心は のどけからまし
 YO=NO NAKA=ni // tayete sakura=**no** // na.kari.seba // FARU=no
 KOKORO=fa // nodoke.kar.ama.si # (*Kokin* I/53 [114])
 ‘If there were no cherry blossoms at all in this world, our hearts in
 spring might be tranquil.’ (compare the variant of this poem also
 found in *Tosa* 9.II. [54.13f.], which has *sak.azar.aba* ‘if [cherry
 blossoms] did not bloom’ in place of *na.kari.seba*)
- (20) 暁の なからましかは しら露の おきてわひしき 別せましや
 AKATUKI=**no** // na.kar.ama.sika=ba // sira-TUYU=no // oki.te wabisi.ki
 // WAKARE se.ma.si=ya # (*Gosen* XII/863)
 ‘Had there been no daybreak, would {dewdrops have fallen / we have
 woken up} and we have had this wrenching parting? (Of course not!)’

It appears to be little more than an extension of A+kari.seba if the synonymous A+ku=fa is likewise able to license GS marking in some cases (5.1.), but we also observe GS marking with A+ku followed by other particles than =fa (5.2.) and without any additional particle (5.3.), so that this may be coincidence as well.

5.1.

- (21) あふ事の たえてしなくは 中々に 人をも身をも うらみさら
 まし
 af.u KOTO=**no** // tayete=si na.ku=fa // NAKANAKA=ni // FITO=wo=mo
 MI=wo=mo // urami.zar.ama.si # (*Shūi* XI/678)³⁹
 ‘If there was no such thing as meeting [her] at all, I would rather
 feel neither resentment at that person nor at myself.’

5.2.

- (22) 世中に さらぬ別の なくもかな ちよもとなげく 人のこのため
 YO=NO NAKA=ni // sar.an.u WAKARE=**no** // na.ku=mo=ga=na # // §
 ti-yo=mo=to nagek.u // FITO=no ko=no tame § (*Kokin* XVII/901
 [283])⁴⁰
 ‘If only there were no inevitable partings in this world – for the sake
 of the children who wish: “[If only they stayed] for a thousand ages?”!’

³⁹ Also cf. *Gosen* (XV/1083), *Gyokuyō* (II/164), *Shokugo-Shūi* (III/166) etc.

⁴⁰ Phrases that are subject to inversion are indicated by § ... § here.

5.3.

- (23) 花の色は 雪にまじりて みえずとも かをだににほへ 人のし
るべく

FANA=no IRO=fa // YUKI=ni maziri.te // miye.zu=to=mo // ka=wo=
dani nifof.e # // § FITO=**no** sir.u=be.ku § (*Kokin* VI/335 [166])

‘Even if the blossoms cannot be seen as their colour intermingles with
the snow, at least send forth your fragrance – so that others can tell.’

Type 5.3. appears to be largely confined to «N=no V+Ru=be.ku»,
which we are inclined to consider as a retention from OJ as is variously
the case in poetry dating from the Heian period. There are a number of
poems in the MYS comprising the phrase *pito=no sir.u=be.ku* ‘so that
others can tell’ (see XVII/3935 and XVIII/4096 for phonographical at-
testations).

Even if GS marking with imperatives is overall relatively rare, it is
attested both in prose and poetry. It possibly emerged as an extension of
GS marking in exclamatory sentences, but seems to be restricted to im-
peratives followed by =*kasi*.⁴¹

6.

- (24) 何故に 此世をふかく いとふそと 人のとへかし やすくこた
へん

NANI-YUWE=ni // KO=NO YO=wo fuka.ku // itof.u=zo=to // FITO=**no**
tof.e=kasi # // yasu.ku kotafe.m[.u] # (*Shin-Kokin* XVIII/1828 [*Kokka*
taikan: 1826])

‘May {that person / people} ask of me for what reason I strongly
shun this world! I will readily answer.’

- (25) とく^(よ)夜^{あけ}の明よかし

to.ku YO=**no** ake=yo=kasi # (*Uji* 17 [76.15])⁴²

‘May day dawn quickly!’

⁴¹ For a number of similar cases see e.g. *Go-Shūi* (XVII/1013 – which already served as an example in Motoori 1785 [1792: III/22a]), *Senzai* (XVII/1091), *Shin-Kokin* (XII/1139, XVIII/1821), *Shin-Chokusen* (XI/693), etc., as well as the cases quoted by Yamada (1913: 318 [1952: 293]). Motoori (1785 [1792: III/27a]) also draws attention to an interesting case involving inversions in *Shoku-Kokin* (II/111).

⁴² As *Uji shūi monogatari* dates from the Kamakura period, this example is somewhat out of place here. We included it nevertheless as an illustration of

4. Additional constituents preceding and following N=*no*

The most simple structure would be «N=*no* V/A» with N=*no* being adjacent to V/A and without any further constituents governed by either N=*no* or, more importantly, V/A. This fits well with the general tendency of nouns attributive to another noun to be in a directly adjacent position, i.e. «N₁=*no* N₂», without any intervening constituents. Thus, =*no* as a GS marker simply inherits this property of =*no* as an attributive marker on an adnominal constituent.

Now N=*no* can be expanded at will. This starts from single constituents, as will be seen in examples 36 or 37 below for instance, but as the following example demonstrates the expansion (given in curly brackets {...} here) may well grow to a considerable length and may even contain further instances of GS marking:

- (26) えもいはず^{おほ}大^{いし}きなる石^(四方)のよほうなる中に、穴^{あな}のあきたる中よ
り出づる水^いの、清^{きよ}く冷^{つめ}たきことかぎりなし。
{*ye=mo* if.*azu* ofo.*ki=nar.u* isi=*no* yofoũ=*nar.u* NAKA=*ni*, ana=**no**
aki.*tar.u* NAKA=*yori id.uru*} MIDU=**no** kiyo.ku tumeta.ki koto kagiri-
na.si # (*Sarashina* [486.10f.])

‘The water coming out of the hole(s) in the inexpressibly large square rock(s) was extremely clear and cold.’

The situation becomes considerably more complex if additional constituents governed by V/A are considered. Single constituents as well as phrases consisting of two or more constituents can be inserted before or after N=*no*: «(...)A N=*no* (...)B V/A». The possibilities for the two slots range from complements of V/A and adjuncts of various types – such as adverbs proper, adjectives in adverbial forms, bare nouns used as adverbs, etc. – to V/A phrases which may again be of considerable length if the V/A has explicit complements or takes one or several adjuncts itself. There are however restrictions on both (...)A and (...)B, much like in modern standard Japanese in structures such as «(...)A N=*no* (...)B V/A N» (see e.g. Ōshima 1999 and the references cited therein).

V=*yo=kasi* besides the more commonly found V+*e=kasi*. The reference to this example is due to Wenck (1974: 794).

From the following and several hundred further cases of GS marking in CJ that were checked in preparation of this paper, it appears that complements marked with quotative =*to* or dative =*ni* may occur rather freely in both slots (...)A and (...)B. Allative =*fe* is less frequent – which is only natural as =*fe* is generally rare in comparison with the two particles just mentioned⁴³ – and only occurs in slot (...)B, whereas ablative =*yor*i is apparently restricted to slot (...)A.⁴⁴ Accusative complements marked with =*wo* are attested in both slots, but tend to appear in (...)A and are rare in (...)B (see example 46 for a case of the latter). Whether these restrictions generally apply or merely reflect a chance distribution in our data must be left open for the time being. It might also be better to treat prose and poetry separately in future studies.

1. only slot (...)A is filled

a) complement of V/A as (...)A

- (27) これらをひとのわらふをきゝて、うみはあるれども、
こゝろはすこしなぎぬ。

ko.re.ra=wo fito=**no** waraf.u=wo kiki.te, umi=fa ar.ure=do=mo,
kokoro=fa sukosi nagi.n.u # (*Tosa* 9.I. [36.11f.])

‘Hearing how/that others laughed about these [songs], my heart lightened a little, even though the sea grew rough.’

- (28) ^{しらたま}白玉か ^{なにぞと}なにぞと人の ^と問ひし時 ^{つゆ}露と ^{こた}答へて ^き消えなま
しものを

“sira-tama=ka // nani=zo #”=**to** FITO=**no** // tofi.si TOKI //
“tuyu”=**to** kotafe.te // kiye.n.ama.si mono=**wo** # (*Ise* 6 [114.12])

‘If only I had answered “dew” at the time the person asked [me] “What are these white beads?” and had disappeared!’

also cf. examples 22 (dative/locative), 24 (quotative)

⁴³ Example 33 is not an isolated case however. See e.g. also *Kokin* (VIII/379, *kotoba-gaki*) and note the existence of parallel cases involving =*ga* instead of =*no* (e.g. *Kokin* VIII/377, 387, 391, all *kotoba-gaki*).

⁴⁴ Apart from example 29, see also *Kokin* (VI/330, XIX/1021 *kotoba-gaki*) etc. for =*yor*i. In *Ise* (99 [170.2f.]) we find =*yor*i in (...)B, though here it marks an adjunct.

b) complement of V/A plus adjunct to V/A as (...)A

cf. example 19 (dative/locative)

c) complement of V/A plus V/A phrase with identical subject as (...)A

- (29) むかし、おとこ、梅壺より雨にぬれて、人のまかり出づるを見て、…

mukasi, wotoko, UME-TUBO=yori AME=ni nure.te, FITO=no makari-id.uru=wo MI.te, [...] (*Ise* 121 [179.6])

‘Long ago a man saw how a person, soaked with rain, left the Umetsubo and [...]’

d) adjunct(s) to V/A as (...)A

- (30) くちをしく、なほひのあしければ、…

kuti-wosi.ku, nafo fi=no asi.kere=ba, [...] (*Tosa* 15.I. [39.4])⁴⁵

‘As the weather was still bad to [our] regret, [...]’

- (31) 信濃の國、淺間の嶽にけぶりの立つを見て、…

Sinano=no kuni, Asama=no take=ni keburi=no tat.u=wo MI.te, [...] (*Ise* 8 [115.10f.])

‘Seeing that smoke is rising on Mount Asama in the province of Shinano [...]’

also cf. examples 11, 14

2. only slot (...)B is filled**a) complement of V/A as (...)B**

- (32) かちとりらの、「きたかぜあし。」といへば、ふねい
-
- ださず。

kadi-tori.ra=no, “kita-kaze asi #”=to if.e=ba, fune idas.azu #
(*Tosa* 25.I. [45.2])

‘As the steersmen said the north wind is severe, [we] did not bring out the ship(s).’

⁴⁵ Note the following nearby sentence without =no in comparison: *fi asi.kere=ba*, *fune idas.azu* ‘As the weather was bad, [we] did not bring out the ship(s)’ (*Tosa* 19.I. [41.12]).

- (33) とものおづまへまかりける時によめる
 tomo=**no** aduma=fe makari.ker.u TOKI=ni yom.er.u: [...]
 (*Kokin* VIII/379, *kotoba-gaki* [177])
 ‘One [= a poem] [Yoshimine no Hideoka] composed at the
 time when a friend went to the Eastern provinces: [...]

b) adjunct to V/A as (...)B

- (34) …、^(捕取)かちとりのきのふつりたりしたひに、…^(鯛)
 [...], kadi-tori=no kinofu turi.tari.si tafi=ni, [...] (*Tosa* 14.I.
 [38.13–39.1])
 ‘[...] for the sea bream the steersman had caught yesterday [...]
- (35) …、かたちのいとめでたくおはしければ、…
 [...], katati=no ito medeta.ku ofasi.ker.e=ba, [...] (*Ise* 6 [114.
 14])
 ‘[...], as [her] looks were very splendid, [...]
- (36) きくひとの、「あやしく^(歌)うためきてもいひつるかな。」と
 て、かきいだせれば、げに^(三十文字餘)みそもじあまりなりけり。
 {kik.u} fito=**no**, “ayasi.ku uta.meki.te=mo ifi.turu=ka=na
 #”=to=te, kaki-idas.er.e=ba, ge[n]=ni mi.so-mo[n]zi amari=
nari.keri # (*Tosa* 5.II. [50.14f.])
 ‘When a person who heard it wrote it down with the words
 “Oh, it is unusual how you spoke with the air of a poem to it”,
 it indeed turned out to be thirty plus characters (= syllables).’

also cf. examples 2 (*karasu=no*), 21

c) single V/A with identical subject as (...)B

- (37) ^(或)あるを^(女)むなのかきていだせるうた、…
 {aru} womna=**no** kaki.te idas.er.u uta: [...] (*Tosa* 29.I. [46.13])
 ‘A poem some woman wrote and presented: [...]
- (38) …、中將^(を)なりけるおとこのよみてやりける。
 [...], {TIÜZYAU=nari.ker.u} wotoko=**no** yomi.te yari.ker.u:
 (*Ise* 99 [170.3])
 ‘What [= the poem] a man who was Middle General composed
 and sent [to her]: [...]

- (43) …、あるひとのたへずして、ふねのこゝろやりによめる、…
 [...], {aru} fito=**no** tafe.zu si.te, fune=no kokoro-yari=ni yom.er.u: [...] (*Tosa* [49.13])
 ‘What somebody composed as a diversion from the boat [trip], not being able to bear it: [...].’

3. both (...)A and (...)B

a) complements of V/A as both (...)A and (...)B

- (44) このうたどもをひとのなにかといふを、あるひとときふけりてよめり。
ko=no uta.domo=wo fito=**no** nani=ka=to if.u=wo, aru fito kiki-fukeri.te yom.eri # (*Tosa* 18.I. [41.7])
 ‘Somebody listened with great attention to what people had to say concerning these poems and then composed [one himself].’

b) adjuncts to V/A as both (...)A and (...)B

- (45) 夜^(ひ)あごとに かはづのあまた なく^た田には 水こそまされ 雨は降らねど
YOfi=goto=ni // kafadu=**no** amata // nak.u ta=ni=fa // MIDU=koso masar.e # // § ame=fa fur.an.e=do § (*Ise* 108, poem [174.14])
 ‘Water rises in the fields where every evening frogs croak in large numbers – even though rain does not fall.’

also cf. example 8 above

c) adjunct to V/A as (...)A plus complement of V/A as (...)B

- (46) われを思ふ 人をおもはぬ むく^(い)ひにや わがおもふ人の 我をおもはぬ
wa.re=wo OMOf.u // FITo=wo omof.an.u // mukui=ni=ya // {wa=ga omof.u} FITO=**no** // WA.RE=wo omof.an.u # (*Kokin* XIX/1041 [318])
 ‘Is it in atonement of the fact that I do not love the person who loves me that the person I do love does not love me?’

d) V/A phrase with identical subject as (...)A plus complement of V/A as (...)B

- (47) まだいと若^{わか}うて、后^{きさき}のたゞにおはしける時とや。
mada ito waka.u=te, kasaki=**no** tada=ni ofasi.ker.u TOKI=to=ya
 # (*Ise* 6 [115.2])
 ‘[It was at] the time when, still being very young, the empress was a commoner, it is told.’

e) V/A phrase with different subject as (...)A plus complement of V/A as (...)B

cf. example 1 above

f) V/A phrase with identical subject as (...)A plus adjuncts to V/A as (...)B

- (48) …、一寸^すをだにも^{はな}放^ちたず、父母^{ちゝはは}のいみじくかなしくしたまふ人なれば、…
 [...], ITI.su[n]=wo=dani=mo fanat.azu, titi-fafa=**no imizi.ku**
kanasi.ku si-tamaf.u FITO=nar.e=ba, [...] (*Heichū* 1 [51.11f.])
 ‘[...], but] as she was one whom her father and mother doted upon, not letting off even a little bit, [...]

5. Further issues

Double GS marking

Just as double nominative constructions occur in more recent stages of the language post-dating the development of a fully-fledged nominative marker, CJ also features double GS marking.

- (49) 染^{そめ}河^がを わたらむ人の いかでかは 色になるてふ ことのなからん
 some-KAFA=wo // watar.am.u FITO=**no** // ikade=ka=fa // IRO=ni
 nar.u=tef.u // koto=**no na.kar.am[u]** # (*Ise* 61 [144.8])
 ‘How could one who is to cross the “Dyeing River” not happen to fall in love (“to become coloured”)?’

Compare also coordinative structures involving two distinct subjects but only one explicit V/A, which, however, is the same for both subjects (∅ indicates the expected position of the V/A for the first subject):

- (50) このあるじの、またあるじのよきをみるに、うたておもほゆ。
 ko=no aruzi=**no** ∅, mata aruzi=**no** yo.ki=wo mi.ru=ni, utate omofoy.u
 # (*Tosa* 15.II. [56.12–57.1])
 ‘In view of how fine this host and also our treatment was, I felt burdensome.’

Distance between a GS and the V/A it is governed by

Earlier we have seen the conditions Lewin posits for =no as a GS marker with the seeming contradiction of a) and d) in terms of the distance involved in between a GS and the corresponding predicate. How can we reconcile these opposing cases? The answer we would like to propose here is a rather simple one: Under closer inspection of a large number of cases it becomes apparent that the *absolute number* of intervening constituents (or linear distance) is, after all, of little importance – under one condition however, namely as long as the number of additional constituents that are *directly governed* by the predicate (i.e. the structural distance) is limited, typically ranging between 0 and 2. Consider the following example, demonstrating no less than 31 constituents in between the GS *neko=no* ‘the cat’ and the verb that eventually licenses GS marking, namely *nak.u* ‘cries’:

- (51) 夢にこの猫ねこの傍かたはらにき来て、「を(お)のれはじ(侍従)じょうの大納言殿の
(み)御女むすめのかくなりたるなり。さるべき縁えんのいさゝかありて、
 この中の君きみのすゞろにあはれと思いで給へば、たゞしばし
 こゝにあるを、このごろ下衆すの中なかにありて、いみじうわびし
 きこと」といひて、いみじうなく様さまは、あてにおかしげなる
ひと人と見えて、…

YUME=ni ko=no neko=**no** katafara=ni ki.te, “ono.re=fa ziziū=no
 DAINAGON-DONO=no MI.musume=no ka.ku nari.tar.u=nari # sar.u=
 be.ki yen=no isasaka ari.te, ko=no NAKA=no kimi=no suzuro=ni
 afare=to OMOFI-ide-TAMAf.e=ba, tada sibasi ko.ko=ni ar.u=wo, ko=no

goro GESu=no naka=ni ari.te, imizi.u wabisi.ki koto #”=to ifi.te,
 imizi.u nak.u sama=fa, ate=ni wokasi.ge=nar.u fito=to MIye.te, [...]
 (*Sarashina* [495.9–13])

‘In my dreams this cat came to my side, told me “I am the daughter of the chamberlain Chief Councillor of State who has become like this [= turned into a cat]. It was fate to some extent that it turned out like this and so the second daughter took pity on me without knowing the exact reason; therefore I stayed in this place for a little while, but how cheerless it is lately as I find myself among the peasants!” and cried terribly – in the way it did so it appeared to me like a noble and elegant person and [...].’

The long embedded quote accounts for no less than 27 out of these 31 constituents, but it is not governed by *nak.u* but by the preceding *ifi.te* ‘said and’, which together with the adjunct *imizi.u* ‘terribly’ are the only two constituents that can be taken as being governed by *nak.u* directly with certainty.⁴⁶ Here, just as in Lewin’s example, the linear distance may be considerable, but the structural is not – thus fitting well into the overall picture and the tendency for N=*no* to be close to the constituent it modifies. Also, there is no need to assume that the separation of subject and predicate by “many” constituents is sufficient for GS marking to occur.

In closing let us consider the following poem to which Motoori (1785 [1792: III/26b]) already drew attention as an example for =*no* that is relatively far detached from the governing verb. For a *tanka* the linear distance is remarkable indeed: the subject is part of the first line, the corresponding verb however belongs to the last one. The structural distance is again smaller than the linear one, thus fitting into what has been said above. What is noteworthy here is then rather the fact that (...)B does not have the same subject as the surrounding *yo=no* ... *ak.uru*, as is usually the case.

⁴⁶ Judging from the course of events – ‘came, spoke and cried’ –, *katafara=ni ki.te* ‘came to my side’ is likely governed by *ifi.te*. The most simple assumption for *yume=ni* ‘in my dreams’ in the beginning would be that it is an adjunct to the closest verb, i.e. *ki.te* ‘came’.

- (52) 夏のよの ふすかとすれば ほとゝぎす なく一こゑに あくる
しのゝめ

NATU=no yo=**no** // fus.u=ka=to s.ure=ba // fototogisu // nak.u FITO-
kowe=ni // ak.uru sinonome # (*Kokin* III/156 [132])

‘Oh this daybreak, at which this summer night ends at a cuckoo’s
single cry, [just] when I considered lying down!’

Indirect licensing of GS marking

{V(+te) / A+ku} governed by V/A in a form that licenses GS marking

We have already seen several examples having the structure «N=no V₁(+te) V₂» with the two verbs sharing the same subject (see e.g. examples 40, 42 etc.). In such cases it is not *necessary* to take N=no as being directly governed by V₁(+te), as long as V₂ comes in a form licensing GS marking. In other words: N=no can be taken to be governed by V₂, its scope as a subject extending to everything in between itself and V₂, thus including V₁.

However, such an explanation cannot possibly be applied to cases with distinct subjects, for instance having the structure «N₁=no {V₁(+te), A₁+ku}, N₂=no V/A₂» with N₁=no being clearly the subject of V/A₁ only but not of V/A₂, even though only the latter is usually capable of licensing GS marking. Consider the following cases, of which the former is a portion of example 51 quoted immediately above. Number 55 is a case with A+ku in place of V+te as seen in the other examples.

- (53) さるべき縁^{えん}のいさゝかありて、この中の君^{きみ}のすゞろにあはれ
と思いで^(たま)給へば、...

sar.u=be.ki yen=**no** isasaka ari.te, ko=no NAKA=no kimi=**no** suzuro=
ni afare=to OMOFI-ide-TAMAF.e=ba, [...] (*Sarashina* [495.10f.])

‘It was fate to some extent that it turned out like this and so the
second daughter took pity on me without knowing the exact reason;
therefore [...]’

- (54) ... さゞれいしの いはほとなりて こけのむすまで

[...] // sazare-isi=**no** // ifafo=to nari.te // koke=**no** mus.u=made (*Ko-
kin* I/343 [169])

‘[...] until pebbles turn into large rocks and moss grows [on them].’

- (55) …、月のいみじうあかく、御直衣のいと白う見ゆるに、…
 [...], TUKI=**no** imizi.u aka.ku, MI.nafosi=**no** ito siro.u miy.uru=**ni**,
 [...] (*Makura* 313 [319.16])
 ‘[...] , the moon was strikingly bright and so his court dress appeared
 extremely white’

It is also possible for the second subject to be implicit, so that merely one GS is to be observed, as in the following example adduced by Nomura (1996: 526):

- (56) 大將も、いとほしう、^{つひ}「遂に用なき^{よう}振舞^{ふるまひ}の積^{つも}りて、人のもど
 きを^お負はんとする事」と^{おぼ}せど、…
 DAISYAŪ=mo, itofosi.u, “tufi=ni yoŭ na.ki furumafi=**no** tumori.te,
 FITO=**no** modoki=wo of.am[u]=to s.uru KOTO”=to obos.e=do, [...]
 (*Genji*, “Sakaki” [I/411.13–15])
 ‘The general likewise thought with regret “At length, with such un-
 necessary conduct accumulating, [we] are going to be subjected to
 people’s criticism!”, but [...]’

There is little to indicate that V(+te) alone was capable of licensing GS marking in general, but rather only under conditions such as those stated above. Thus, it seems appropriate to treat such cases as involving what may be called indirect licensing.

The appearance of such structures can probably be attributed to a re-analysis along these lines: The original structure a) involved two predicates with identical subjects; the one explicit instance of these two identical subjects received GS marking and was governed by V₂ which had to be in a form licensing such a marking. As meaning-wise the GS was the same for both predicates, N=**no** could however also be taken as being governed by V₁ as in b) as long as V₁ was part of a clause ending in something that licenses GS marking. As soon as this is the case, the structure is still acceptable if N=**no** only applies to V₁ (with V₂ having a distinct subject, be it explicitly mentioned or not) as in c) – as long as the condition concerning the type of clause is still fulfilled.

- a) «N_i=**no** V₁(+te), PRO_i V₂»
 → b) «N_i=**no** V₁(+te), PRO_i V₂»
 → c) «N₁=**no** V₁(+te), (N₂=**no**) V₂»

Also, if this is accepted for cases with distinct subjects, one might be tempted to apply the same kind of indirect licensing also to structures such as «N=*no* V₁(+*te*) V₂» with only a single subject. In such a scenario (*ko=no*) *neko=no* ‘this cat’ in example 51 could be taken as being governed by the immediately adjacent (*katafara=ni*) *ki.te* ‘came (to my side)’ instead of the rather distant *nak.u* in its attributive form, without the presence of which GS marking would not be possible under normal circumstances. The overall ratio of cases with the same subject does not necessarily speak in favour of generalizing this interpretation however.

V+*te* governed by nouns

A similar situation holds for V+*te* governed by a relational noun, the latter of which appears to license GS marking indirectly. *Noti* is one of the few nouns in Japanese that can govern verbs in non-attributive forms without any intervening attributive particle: V+*te noti* ‘after sb. has done V’.⁴⁷ Consider the following poem by Emperor Daigo:

- (57) 彦星の わかれて後の 天河 おしむ涙に 水まさるらし
 FIKO-BOSI=**no** // wakare.te NOTI=**no** // AMA=NO KAFA // wosim.u
 NAMIDA=**ni** // MIDU masar.u=**rasi** # (*Shoku-Gosen* V/261)
 ‘The heavenly stream after Altair has parted [from Vega] – its water seems to increase by their tears of lament.’

For other nouns, i.e. that cannot govern verbs in adverbial forms, a similar construction is only possible if an attributive =*no* is involved: V+*te=no* N.

- (58) むかし、おとこ、思^(を)かけたる女の、え得まじうなりての世
 に、…
 mukasi, wotoko, OMOFI-kake.tar.u WOMNA=**no**, ye u=**mazi.u nari.te=**
no YO=**ni**: [...] (*Ise* 55 [141.12])
 ‘In former times the man [composed the following poem] at the time when [he] turned out to be not able anymore to get the woman whom [he] had fallen in love with: [...]’

⁴⁷ One of the examples adduced by Wixted (2006: 165, #7) for =*ga* as subject marker likewise belongs here, but dates from the OJ period (MYS VIII/1509).

Embedded quotations

Another environment that appears to lend itself to an interpretation similar to the one above is that of embedded quotations. At least as far as older cases are concerned GS marking in quotes usually seems to co-occur with governing verbs of speaking, thinking etc. in forms licensing GS marking. This is true for all OJ cases involving embedded quotations adduced by Nomura (1993a: 9),⁴⁸ and the same situation obtains in the following cases:

- (59) 老ぬれば さらぬ^{わか}別れの ありといへば いよいよ見まく ほし
き^{きみ}君かな

OI.n.ure=ba // sar.an.u wakare=**no** // ari=to if.e=ba // iyoiyo MI.m.aku
// fosi.ki kimi=ka=na # (*Ise* 84, poem [161.15])⁴⁹

‘Oh my lord, whom I long to see all the more as it is said that there are inevitable partings once one grows old!’

- (60) おいらくの こむとしりせば かどさして なしとこたへて あ
はざらましを

oiraku=**no** // ko.m.u=to siri.seba // kado sasi.te // na.si=to kotafe.te //
af.azar.ama.si=wo # (*Kokin* XVII/895 [282])

‘If only I had known that old age is coming, I would have shut the door, answered ‘I’m not here’ and had not received it.’

In many such cases the quotations however end in verbs the attributive and final forms of which are segmentally identical. It can therefore not be ruled out that GS marking is directly licensed by what may potentially be an attributive form.

⁴⁸ All four examples are from the MYS and involve governing verbs in forms that license GS marking: V+URaku (II/166), V+URE=ba (IV/528, XIX/4215) and V+Aba (XIX/4270).

Again, one of the examples adduced by Wixted (2006: 238, #7) for =ga as subject marker belongs here, but comes from the Kamakura-period *Tsurezuregusa*.

⁴⁹ Note however that the manuscripts of *Kokin*, which likewise records this poem (XVII/900 [283]), are divided into those which have *wakare=no* and others which have *wakare=mo* instead. The same is true of the poem immediately following, cf. example 22 above.

Unresolved cases

While exceedingly rare, a small number of cases remains that cannot be accounted for in the same way as those treated so far. Thus for instance there are cases such as the following well-known one from *Ise monogatari* which involves GS marking on the subject of V+te without the latter being governed by a constituent licensing GS marking. As such one might consider this a further step in the process of reanalysis that had already led to the emergence of «N₁=no V₁(+te), (N₂=no) V₂». The difference between the two is the collapse of the formerly necessary condition that V₂ has to be in a form licensing GS marking.⁵⁰

- (61) ^{あて} 貴なる女 ^{あま} の尼になりて、世中を思 ^(きやう) うんじて、京にもあらず、
はるかなる ^{ざと} 山里 ^す に住みけり。

ate=nar.u WOMNA=no ama=ni nari.te, YO=NO NAKA=wo OMOFI-
umzi.te, KYAŪ=ni=mo ar.azu, faruka=nar.u YAMA-zato=ni sumi.keri
(*Ise* 102 [171.13.]

‘A noble woman had become a nun and, thinking bitterly of this world, did not even stay in the capital but lived in a far off mountain village.’

Also consider the following case from *Heichū monogatari*, even if the significance of this example is severely diminished by the fact that the only known older manuscript of the text generally contains numerous problematic passages, more than a few of which probably resulted from scribal errors.

- (62) この、呼 ^よ びにきたりける人の「筆に、墨 ^{すみ} ぬりて來 ^こ 」と言 ^い ひた
れば、さてもて來 ^き たり。

ko=no, yobi=ni ki.tari.ker.u FITO=no “FUDE=ni sumi nuri.te ko #”=to
ifi.tar.e=ba, sate mo[t].te ki.tari # (*Heichū* 17 [72.4f.]

‘The one who had come to call him in did so and brought one, when [the man] said “Dip a brush in ink and come back here!”’

⁵⁰ One might however also consider the possibility that the sentence continues after *sumi.keri* (which would then constitute an “infinitive” form in adverbial position), with GS marking licensed by the following *moto si[n]zoku=nari.ker.e=ba* ‘as [she] was originally a relative [of the man]’. The author would like to thank Tomasz Majtczak for this suggestion. Also cf. footnote 16 above.

It is maybe no coincidence and at least noteworthy that there is a phrase ending in $V+URe=ba$, which could easily take a GS, in between the GS and the governing verb here. The context leaves no doubt however that *ifi.tar.e=ba* ‘when (or, as) [he] said’ has a distinct (and implicit) subject – so that on second consideration we are not after all dealing with any of the familiar structures in this case.

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Editions used in quotations

<i>Genji</i>	= <i>Genji monogatari</i> 源氏物語	NKBT 14–18
<i>Gosen</i>	= <i>Gosen waka-shū</i> 後撰和歌集	Nakamura et al. 1999
<i>Hamamatsu</i>	= <i>Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari</i> 浜松中納言物語	NKBT 77
<i>Heichū</i>	= <i>Heichū monogatari</i> 平中物語	NKBT 77
<i>Ise</i>	= <i>Ise monogatari</i> 伊勢物語	NKBT 9
<i>KK</i>	= <i>Kojiki kayō</i> 古事記歌謠	NKBT 3
<i>Kokin</i>	= <i>Kokin waka-shū</i> 古今和歌集	NKBT 8
<i>Makura</i>	= <i>Makura no sōshi</i> 枕草子	NKBT 19
<i>MYS</i>	= <i>Man'yōshū</i> 万葉集	NKBT 4–7
<i>NSK</i>	= <i>Nihon shoki kayō</i> 日本書紀歌謠	NKBT 3
<i>Sarashina</i>	= <i>Sarashina nikki</i> 更級日記	NKBT 20
<i>Shin-Kokin</i>	= <i>Shin-Kokin waka-shū</i> 新古今和歌集	Nakamura et al. 1999
<i>Shoku-Gosen</i>	= <i>Shoku-Gosen waka-shū</i> 続後撰和歌集	Nakamura et al. 1999
<i>Shūi</i>	= <i>Shūi waka-shū</i> 拾遺和歌集	Nakamura et al. 1999
<i>Taketori</i>	= <i>Taketori monogatari</i> 竹取物語	NKBT 9
<i>Tosa</i>	= <i>Tosa nikki</i> 土佐日記	NKBT 20
<i>Uji</i>	= <i>Uji shūi monogatari</i> 宇治拾遺物語	NKBT 27

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