NO AND *GA* IN OLD JAPANESE:

A SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC STUDY



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ABSTRACT

The core problem this thesis intends to disentangle is the distribution of Old Japanese (700—800AD) *no* and *ga* in contexts that appear similar from a structural point of view. In "standard" modern Japanese (1600 onwards), *no* is the only productive genitive particle. However, in Old Japanese, the oldest attested stage of the language, *no* and *ga* were both productive genitives and shared similar functions: they were both used in adnominalization (NP-*no/ga* NP) and in subject marking (NP-*no/ga* VP). Less frequently, they were used to mark a clause preceding a noun or predicate (S *no/ga* VP/NP). Despite their functional similarities, the two particles were distributed differently. In general, the use of *ga* was far more restricted than that of *no*.

This thesis is the first corpus-based investigation of all functions of the genitive *no* and *ga* in Old Japanese using modern linguistic frameworks. Some traditional Japanese grammarians argue that the distribution of genitives is determined by animacy and/or socio-linguistic or pragmatic factors. On the other hand, some Western scholars, particularly those focusing on genitive subject marking, argue that the factors governing the choice between *no* and *ga* in subject marking differ from those that govern their choice in adnominalization.

The descriptive and analytic work of this research is based on *The Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese*, and includes all examples where the particles, *no* and *ga*, are phonographically written. Building on insights from previous studies, this thesis sheds new light on the understudied aspects of *no* and *ga*, while challenging earlier conclusions. In particular, I thoroughly examine each example where *no*/*ga* appears to mark the same noun or nouns from the same category (e.g., human common nouns marked by *no*/*ga*, inanimate nouns marked by *no*/*ga*, etc). I also investigate clauses marked by *no/ga*—an aspect not addressed in most studies. My empirical analysis shows that *no* and *ga* are in complementary distribution across all functions. In both subject marking and adnominalization, *no* and *ga* are governed by

a productive system based on lexical properties of the genitive-marked nominals. On the other hand, when *no* and *ga* mark a clause, their distribution is based on syntactic criteria. Diachronic hypotheses are presented in the last chapter of this thesis and are indispensable for gaining a better understanding of how the distribution of *no* and *ga* potentially developed into the ways they are in Old Japanese, particularly regarding aspects that may seem 'odd' from a solely synchronic perspective.

It is hoped that the results of this study will be valuable for future investigations into genitive variation in pre-modern Japanese, modern Japanese dialects, Japonic languages, as well as other languages.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES viii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xiii

ABBREVIATIONS xv

1. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 The language of Old Japanese 1

1.1.1 Pronouns 6

1.1.1.1 Personal pronouns 8

1.1.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns 9

1.2 Sources and materials 11

1.3.1 Poetry 12

1.3.2 Prose 14

1.3 An overview of *no* and *ga* in Old Japanese 17

1.3.1 Genitive *no* and *ga* 17

1.3.1.1 Adnominalization 18

1.3.1.2 Genitive subject marking 19

1.3.1.3 Constructions where *no/ga* adjoins a clause to a noun or a predicate 23

1.3.2 Copula *no* 25

1.3.3.1 Copula *no* or genitive *no*? 26

1.4 Research questions 29

1.5 Theories 30

1.6 Methodology 31

1.7 Conventions 32

2. PAST STUDIES 34

2.1 Semantic distinctions between *no* and *ga*: Yamada (1954) 35

2.2 Honorific/social differentiation of *no* and *ga*: Aoki (1952), Ohno (1974, 1977a), Takeuchi (1999) 37

2.3 Phonological conditioning of *no* and *ga*: Yamada (1954), Miller (1971, 1975) 39

2.4 Semantics of the nouns marked by *no* and *ga*: Nomura (1993b, 1993a, 1993c, 2024) 40

2.5 Dialectical and age variation: Ohno (1978), Nomura (1993b) 43

2.6 *Ga* as an active subject marker: Yanagida (2005, 2007b, 2007a, 2018, 2024); Yanagida and Whitman (2009) 45

2.7 Differences between clause-marking *no* and *ga* in OJ: Wrona (2010, 2012) 55

2.8 Conclusion 59

3. CONCEPTS AND PARAMETERS....61

3.1 Animacy 61

3.1.1 Nominal hierarchies....64

3.2 Individuation 68

3.3 Specificity 70

3.4 Relationality 73

3.5 Possessive relations....77

3.6 Operational definitions 80

3.6.1 Animacy....80

3.6.2 Specificity....81

3.6.3 Relationality 84

3.6.4 Possessive relations 85

4. *NO* AND *GA* IN NOUN-MODIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS 88

4.1 An overview of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions 88

4.2 Pronouns 94

4.2.1 Personal pronouns 95
4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns 100
4.2.2.1 Demonstratives marked by *no* 101
4.2.2.2 Demonstratives marked by *ga* 106
4.2.3 Summary 109
4.3 Animacy 109
4.3.1 Overlaps 111
4.3.1.1 Animate nouns marked by *no* 111
4.3.1.2 Inanimate nouns marked by *ga* 113
4.3.2 Summary 115
4.4 Dialectal, age, and genre variation 116
4.4.1 Dialectal variation 118
4.4.2 Age variation 122
4.4.3 Genre variation 125
4.4.4 Summary 127
4.5 Human common nouns 128
4.5.1 Human common nouns exclusively marked by *ga* 128
4.5.2 Human common nouns exclusively marked by *no* 131
4.5.2.1 *Pito/-pito/-bito* 131
4.5.2.2 *Ama* 134
4.5.2.3 *Oya* 135
4.5.2.4 *Wotomye/-wotomye/-mye* 137
4.5.2.5 *Wotokwo-/-wotokwo/-wo* 138
4.5.2.6 Other nouns 139
4.5.3 Hypothesis and conclusion 141
4.6 Place names 142
4.7 Nouns marked by both *no* and *ga* 145
4.7.1 *kimi* ‘you (my lord), respectful; great lord’ 147
4.7.2 *kwo* ‘my beloved; diminutive’ 148

4.7.3 *wotomye* '(young) woman' 149
4.7.4 *imasi/mimasi/imasi-* 'you, respectful' 149
4.7.5 *ipa* 'rock' 150
4.7.6 *ume* 'plum' 151
4.7.7 *kamwi* 'spirit, deity' 152
4.7.8 *matu* 'pine' 153
4.7.9 *konure* 'treetop' 153
4.7.10 *mimoro* 'Mimoro; place to worship deity' 153
4.7.11 *nwosima* 'Noshima' 154
4.7.12 *kamo* 'wild duck', *tadu* 'egret', *kari* 'wild goose', *tori* 'bird' 154
4.7.13 *kipe* 'Kie' 156
4.7.14 *nadesikwo* 'pink' 157
4.7.15 *pari* 'Japanese alder' 159
4.7.16 *sibi* 'tuna' 159
4.7.17 *asi* 'reed' 159
4.7.18 *pudiwi* 'Fujii' 159
4.7.19 Conclusion 160
4.8 Suffix *-ra* 161
4.9 Honorific/socio-linguistic differentiation 165
4.10 Relationality 167
4.11 Possessive relations 170
4.12 Conclusion 172
5. GENITIVE-MARKED SUBJECT NOUNS 175
5.1 Properties of the predicates and the choice of *no vs. ga* 176
5.2 An overview of *no* and *ga* in genitive subject marking 182
5.3 Pronouns 188
5.3.1 Personal Pronouns 188

5.3.2 Demonstrative Pronouns 191

5.4 Animacy 192

5.4.1 Overlaps 193

5.4.1.1 Animate nouns marked by *no* 193

5.4.1.2 Inanimate nouns marked by *ga* 195

5.4.2 Summary 197

5.5 Dialectal, age and genre variation 198

5.5.1 Dialectal variation 200

5.5.2 Age variation 202

5.5.3 Genre variation 204

5.5.4 Summary 205

5.6 Human common nouns 206

5.6.1 Human common nouns exclusively marked by *ga* 206

5.6.2 Human common nouns marked by *no* 210

5.6.2.1 Pito/-pito/-bito ‘person; people’ 211

5.6.2.2 Ama 213

5.6.2.3 Oya/oya-domo 213

5.6.2.4 -wotomye/mye/-mye 214

5.6.2.5 -wotokwo/wo/-wo 216

5.6.2.6 Other nouns 218

5.6.3 Summary 222

5.7 Nouns marked by both *no* and *ga* 223

5.7.1 *Kwo* 224

5.7.2 *Wakugwo* 227

5.7.3 *Wotomye* 228

5.7.4 *Akagwoma* 229

5.7.5 *Pi* 230

5.7.6 *Tosi* 231

5.7.7 *Papa* 232

5.7.8 *Kimi* 233
5.7.9 Conclusions and hypotheses....235
5.8 Honorification/socio-linguistic differentiation 235
5.9 Suffix *-ra*....238
5.10 Conclusion 240
6. SYNTACTIC CRITERIA 247
6.1 Marking of subject clauses 247
6.2 Linking a clause to a head noun....250
6.3 Linking an internally headed relative clause to a noun 254
6.4 Linking a headless relative clause to a noun....256
6.5 Conclusion 257
7. FROM PRE-OLD JAPANESE TO OLD JAPANESE 259
8. CONCLUSION 271
9. REFERENCES....276
10. APPENDIXES 280
APPENDIX A. ALL EXAMPLES OF *NO/GA* IN NOUN-MODIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS 280
Appendix A.1. All examples of *no* in noun-modifying constructions....280
Appendix A.2. All examples of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions....353
APPENDIX B. ALL EXAMPLES OF *NO/GA-MARKED SUBJECT NOUNS* 368
Appendix B.1. All examples of *no*-marked subject nouns 368
Appendix B.2. All examples of *ga*-marked subject nouns 393
APPENDIX C. LEXICAL ITEMS EXCLUSIVELY MARKED BY *GA* 405
Appendix C.1. Lexical items exclusively marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions 405

Appendix C.2. Lexical items exclusively marked by *ga* in subject marking.....407

APPENDIX D. ALL EXAMPLES OF *GA/NO* MARKING A CLAUSE 409

Appendix D.1. All examples of *no* marking a clause ending in the nominal form 409

Appendix D.2. All examples of *no* marking a clause ending in the adnominal form 409

Appendix D.3. All examples of *ga* marking a clause ending in the adnominal form 409

Appendix D.4. All examples of *ga* marking a headless or internally headed relative clause.....410

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

Table 1-1 Periodization of the Japanese language 1

Table 1-2 Basic inflected forms for the eight Old Japanese verb classes 2

Table 1-3 Core forms of the adjectival copula in OJ 4

Table 1-4 Combination of infinitive, conclusive and adnominal forms of the adjectival copula with ‘ku adjectives’ and ‘shiku adjectives’ 5

Table 1-5 Main pronominal forms of OJ 6

Table 1-6 Other OJ pronominal forms 10

Table 1-7 Proportions of the number of words in the texts in ONCOJ.....12

Table 1-8 Subject marking and object marking in OJ.....23

Table 1-9 The OJ n- copula forms 25

Table 1-10 Transcription systems for Old Japanese.....32

Table 3-1 Types of possessive relation: operational definition.....86

Table 4-1 Distribution of no and ga in noun-modifying constructions.....88

Table 4-2 Nominal classes/referent types marked by no in noun-modifying constructions 89

Table 4-3 Nominal classes/referent types marked by ga in noun-modifying constructions 90

Table 4-4 Nominal classes/referent types marked by both no and ga in noun-modifying constructions 93

Table 4-5 Personal pronouns marked by ga in noun-modifying constructions.....95

Table 4-6 Distribution of demonstratives marked by no in noun-modifying constructions 101

Table 4-7 Distribution of demonstratives marked by ga in noun-modifying constructions 106

Table 4-8 Distribution of ga-marked nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±humanness] in noun-modifying constructions 110

Table 4-9 Distribution of no-marked nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±humanness] in noun-modifying constructions 111

Table 4-10 Distribution of 'non-human animates' marked by ga in noun-modifying constructions 113

Table 4-11 Distribution of ga in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ texts.....117

Table 4-12 Distribution of no in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ texts 117

Table 4-13 Distribution of ga in noun-modifying constructions in EOJ.....118

Table 4-14 Proportions of logographic attestations of wa ga, a ga, na ga, ta ga, ono ga, imo ga, kimi ga in the Man'yōshū in adnominalization and subject marking 120

Table 4-15 Distribution of nouns marked by ga in noun-modifying constructions in the Kiki kayō.....123

Table 4-16 Distribution of ga in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ prose texts....126

Table 4-17 Distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by ga in noun-modifying constructions.....128

Table 4-18 Distribution of no marking pito/-pito/-bito in noun-modifying constructions 131

Table 4-19 Distribution of no marking wotomye/-mye in noun-modifying constructions 137

Table 4-20 Distribution of no marking wotokwo-/-wotokwo/-wo in noun-modifying constructions 138

Table 4-21 Distribution of ga in place names 143

Table 4-22 Nouns marked by both no and ga in noun-modifying constructions.....146

Table 4-23 : Distribution of ga with -ra in noun-modifying constructions.....161

Table 4-24 Distribution of no marking ‘exalted entities, artefacts and notions’ in noun-modifying constructions.....166

Table 4-25 Distribution of no and ga with respect to the relationality of head nouns.....168

Table 4-26 Distribution of ga with respect to the animacy of dependent nouns ([±animate]; excl. pronouns) and the relationality of head nouns 168

Table 4-27 Distribution of no and ga with respect to the prototypicality of possessive relations.....171

Table 4-28 Distribution of ga with respect to the animacy of dependent nouns ([±animate]; excl. pronouns) and the prototypicality of possessive relations 171

Table 5-1 Distribution of no and ga in genitive subject marking.....176

Table 5-2 Distribution of ga-marked subjects with respect to inflected verb forms.....177

Table 5-3 Distribution of no-marked subjects with respect to inflected verb forms.....177

Table 5-4 Distribution of genitive-marked subjects of transitive/intransitive verbs used as simple predicates.....178

Table 5-5 Distribution of transitive subject nouns marked by only ga or only no or both no and ga.....179

Table 5-6 Distribution of intransitive subject nouns marked by only ga or only no or both no and ga.....179

Table 5-7 ga-only subject nouns of transitive/intransitive verbs used as simple predicates 179

Table 5-8 Distribution of genitive-marked subject nouns with intransitive verbs used as simple predicates.....180

Table 5-9 Nominal classes/referent types marked by no in genitive subject marking.....182

Table 5-10 Comparison of the proportions of nominal classes/referent types marked by no in both functions in terms of token frequency 183

Table 5-11 Nominal classes/referent types marked by ga in genitive subject marking ...184

Table 5-12 Comparison of the proportions of nominal classes/referent types marked by ga in both functions in terms of token frequency 186

Table 5-13 Personal pronouns marked by ga in genitive subject marking 189

Table 5-14 Distribution of ga-marked subject nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±humanness] 192

Table 5-15 Distribution of no-marked subject nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±humanness] 193

Table 5-16 Distribution of 'non-human animates' marked by ga in genitive subject marking 194

Table 5-17 Distribution of ga in genitive subject marking in the OJ texts 199

Table 5-18 Distribution of no in genitive subject marking in the OJ texts 200

Table 5-19 Distribution of ga in genitive subject marking in EOJ 201

Table 5-20 Distribution of nouns marked by ga in genitive subject marking in the Kiki kayō 203

Table 5-21 Distribution of ga in subject marking in the OJ prose texts.....205

Table 5-22 Distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by ga in genitive subject marking 206

Table 5-23 Distribution of no marking pito/-pito/-bito in genitive subject marking 211

Table 5-24 Distribution of no marking -wotomye/mye/-mye in genitive subject marking 214

Table 5-25 Distribution of no marking -wotokwo/wo/-wo in genitive subject marking .216

Table 5-26 Other human common nouns exclusively marked by no in genitive subject marking 218

Table 5-27 Nouns marked by both no and ga in genitive subject marking.....223

Table 5-28 Distribution of no marking ‘exalted entities, artefacts and notions’ in genitive subject marking.....235

Table 5-29 Distribution of ga with N-ra in genitive subject marking.....238

FIGURES

Figure 2-1 Syntax tree for the vP structure (Woolford, 2008, p. 20) 50

Figure 2-2 Diachronic development of the subject complement usage of the adnominal form (Wrona, 2010, p. 277) 58

Figure 3-1 Sasse (1993)'s individuation hierarchy.....68

Figure 3-2 Löbner's (1985) classification of lexical nouns.....74

Figure 5-1 Distribution of no and ga in adnominalization and subject marking 242

Figure 7-1 Distribution of no and ga in adnominalization and subject marking ……261

Figure 8-1 Distribution of no and ga in all functions ..…… ……...273

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ABBREVIATIONS

GRAMMATICAL TERMS

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACOP	adjectival copula
ADJ	adjective
ADN	adnominal
ALL	allative
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
CONC	concessive
CONJ	conjunctional
COND	conditional
CONCL	conclusive
CJR	conjectural
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
DAT	dative
EMPH	emphatic
ETOP	emphatic topic
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclamatory
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
HON	honorific
HUM	humble
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INT	intentional
MPST	modal past
NCJR	negative conjectural
NPT	negative potential
NEC	necessitive
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NMNL	nominal
NOM	nominative
OPT	optative
PASS	passive
PCJR	present conjectural
PERF	perfective
PRES	presumptive

PROV	provisional
PURP	purposive
PHB	prohibitve
Q	interrogative
RESP	respect
SPST	simple past
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subjunctive

Periods

NJ	Modern Japanese
EMJ	Early Middle Japanese
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
LMJ	Late Middle Japanese
OJ	Old Japanese

Texts

BS	*Bussokuseki-ka*
EN	*Engishiki norito*
FK	*Fudoki kayō*
JDB	*Jidaibetsu daijiten*
JSHT	*Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu*
KK	*Kojiki kayō*
MYS	*Man'yōshū*
NKBT	*Nihon koten bungaku taikei*
SNKBT	*Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei*
NKBZ	*Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*
NSK	*Nihon shoki kayō*
SM	*Senmyō*
SNK	*Shoku nihongi kayō*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The language of Old Japanese

Old Japanese (approximately the eighth century AD; OJ) is the oldest attested stage of the Japanese language. The periodization of the language adopted in the present study is shown below (following Frellesvig (2010)).

Table 1-1 Periodization of the Japanese language

Linguistic periods		Political periods
Old Japanese (OJ)	700—800	Nara, 712—794
Early Middle Japanese (EMJ)	800—1200	Heian, 794—1185
Late Middle Japanese (LMJ)	1200—1600	Kamakura, 1185—1333 Muromachi, 1333—1573
Modern Japanese (NJ)	1600—	Edo, 1603—1868 Meiji, 1868—1912 Taishō, 1912—1926 Shōwa, 1926—1989 Heisei, 1989—2019 Reiwa, 2019—

Like NJ, OJ is an agglutinative language with a SOV basic word order, though arguments may be omitted when they are pragmatically or grammatically inferable. OJ does not have subject case marking in declarative main clauses; subjects in subordinate clauses and non-declarative main clauses are marked by genitive particles *no* or *ga*, or bare. Objects may be marked by the accusative case particle *wo*, or bare.

There are two major verb classes in OJ, consonant base verbs and vowel base verbs, which can be subdivided into eight verbal conjugation classes: quadrigrade verbs (QD, *yodan*),

lower bigrade verbs (LB, *shimo nidan*), upper bigrade verbs (UB, *kami nidan*), upper monograde verbs (UM, *kami ichidan*), *r*-irregular (*r*-irr*, ra-hen*), *n*-irregular (*n*-irr, *na-hen*), *s*-irregular (*s*-irr, *sa-hen*), and *k*-irregular (*k*-irr, *ka-hen*). OJ did not have lower monograde verbs (LM, *shimo ichidan*), which appeared in the first half of EMJ. The inflection forms for the eight verbal conjugation classes are as follows (following Frellesvig (2010)).

Table 1-2 Basic inflected forms for the eight Old Japanese verb classes

	Quadrigrade	***r*-irregular**	***n*-irregular**
Consonant base	*kak-* 'paint, write'	*ar-* 'exist, be'	*sin-* 'die'
Finite			
Conclusive	*kaku*	*ari*	*sinu*
Adnominal	*kaku*	*aru*	*sinuru*
Exclamatory	*kake*	*are*	*sinure*
Imperative	*kakye*	*are*	*sine*
Negative conjectural	*kakazi*	*arazi*	*sinazi*
Optative	*kakana*	*arana*	*sinana*
Prohibitive	*na kaki so*	*na ari so*	*na sini so*
Non-finite			
Infinitive	*kaki*	*ari*	*sini*
Gerund	*kakite*	*arite*	*sinite*
Continuative	*kakitutu*	*aritutu*	*sinitutu*
Conditional	*kakaba*	*araba*	*sinaba*
Provisional	*kakeba*	*areba*	*sinureba*
Concessive	*kakedo*	*aredo*	*sinuredo*
Nominal	*kakaku*	*araku*	*sinuraku*
	Lower bigrade	**Upper bigrade**	**Upper monograde**
Vowel base	*ake-* 'open'	*okwi-* 'rise'	*mi-* 'see'
Finite			
Conclusive	*aku*	*oku*	*mi*
Adnominal	*akuru*	*okuru*	*miru*

Exclamatory	*akure*	*okure*	*mire*
Imperative	*ake(yo)*	*okwi(yo)*	*mi(yo)*
Negative conjectural	*akezi*	*okwizi*	*mizi*
Optative	*akena*	*okwina*	*mina*
Prohibitive	*na ake so*	*na okwi so*	*na mi so*
Non-finite			
Infinitive	*ake*	*okwi*	*mi*
Gerund	*akete*	*okwite*	*mite*
Continuative	*aketutu*	*okwitutu*	*mitutu*
Conditional	*akeba*	*okwiba*	*miba*
Provisional	*akureba*	*okureba*	*mireba*
Concessive	*akuredo*	*okuredo*	*miredo*
Nominal	*akuraku*	*okuraku*	*miraku*

	***s*-irregular**	***k*-irregular**
Vowel base	*se-* 'do'	*ko-* 'come'
Finite		
Conclusive	*su*	*ku*
Adnominal	*suru*	*kuru*
Exclamatory	*sure*	*kure*
Imperative	*se(yo)*	*ko*
Negative conjectural	*sezi*	*kozi*
Optative	*sena*	*kona*
Prohibitive	*na se so*	-
Non-finite		
Infinitive	*si*	*ki*
Gerund	*site*	*kite*
Continuative	*situtu*	*kitutu*
Conditional	*seba*	*koba*
Provisional	*sureba*	*kureba*
Concessive	*suredo*	*kuredo*
Nominal	*suraku*	*kuraku*

Verbs in OJ have five main morphemic layers:

1	2	3	4	5
root –	derivative –	auxiliary verb –	auxiliary –	flective

For example (taken from Frellesvig (2010, p. 51)):

(1)

maywopikinikyeri 'had become frayed!'

1	3	4	4	5
maywopi-	*ki-*	*ni-*	*kyer-*	*-i*
fray	come	PERF	MPST	CONCL

The expression of the categories of the flectives is obligatory, whereas for auxiliaries, it is optional, and as seen in (1), more than one auxiliary can be attached to a verb. Finite verb forms include conclusive, adnominal, exclamatory, imperative, negative conjectural, optative, and prohibitive. Non-finite verb forms are infinitive, gerund, continuative, conditional, provisional, and concessive. In OJ, there is also a nominal verb form expressing nominalization, which disappears as a productive form in the transition to EMJ.

Adjectives in OJ are often predicated, adnominalized, or adverbialized by formants interpreted as forms of an "adjectival copula" attaching to the adjective stem (Frellesvig, 2010, p. 80). The core forms of the adjectival copula are:

Table 1-3 Core forms of the adjectival copula in OJ

Conclusive	*si*
Adnominal	*ki*
Exclamatory	*sa*
Infinitive-1	*ku*
Infinitive-2	*mi*

Nominal	*kyeku*

Adjectives in OJ are traditionally divided into '*ku* adjectives' and '*shiku* adjectives'. Table 1.4 shows the combination of infinitive, conclusive and adnominal forms of the adjectival copula with the two classes of adjective.

*Table 1-4 Combination of infinitive, conclusive and adnominal forms of the adjectival copula with '*ku *adjectives' and '*shiku *adjectives'*

	***ku*-adjective**	***shiku*-adjective**
Base	*taka-* 'tall'	*utukusi-* 'beautiful'
Infinitive -1	*taka-ku*	*utukusi-ku*
Conclusive	*taka-si*	*utukusi*
Adnominal	*taka-ki*	*utukusi-ki*

Throughout the OJ period, Japanese was written entirely in *kanji* ('Chinese characters') used logographically and phonographically. For example, in (2), 家 illustrates logographic writing, with 家 standing for the word which has the sound shape /ipye/ and the meaning 'home'. In the same sentence, 吉, 閑 and 名 show phonographic writing where each *kanji* is used purely for its sound value. The same *kanji* can be used both logographically and phonographically; for example, 家, among other characters, is also used to represent the syllable /kye/. *Kanji* used phonographically are termed '*man'yōgana*', in reference to their extensive use in the main source of the OJ language, the *Man'yōshū*. Two types of *man'yōgana* are distinguished based on the origin of their sound values: *ongana* (highlighted in ***bold italics*** in (2)), which were used as phonograms on the basis of their adapted forms of Chinese pronunciation used in Japan; and *kungana*, which were used on the basis of their Japanese readings.

(2)

家　　吉閑名

ipye　***kika****na*

home　ask.OPT

‘[I] want to ask your home.’ (MYS 1.1)

1.1.1 Pronouns

Pronouns (personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns) are an important part of the investigation of the distribution of *no* and *ga* in OJ. The main pronominal forms are shown in Table 1.5. In OJ, some members of the pronominal system have short and long forms. The short forms are pronominal roots, while the long forms are pronominal roots followed by the suffix *-re*.

Table 1-5 Main pronominal forms of OJ

	Short	**Long**
Personal		
1st	*wa, a*	*ware* (:: EOJ *wanu*)*, are*
2nd	*na*	*nare*[1]
3rd	*si*	-
interrogative	*ta*	*tare*
relfexive	*ono*	-[2]
Demonstrative		
proximal	*ko*	*kore*
non-proximal	*so*	-[3]

[1] There are 12 attestations of *nare* in ONCOJ, of which only 4 are phonographically written.

[2] The reflexive *onore*, which is only attested twice (MYS 12.3098 and MYS 16.3883), is not considered to be a member of the main pronominals forms of OJ in this study.

[3] The non-proximal *sore*, which became more frequent in EMJ, is only attested once as *sore-ra* in the *Senmyō*. Thus, it is not considered to be a member of the main pronominals forms of OJ in this study.

interrogative	*idu-*[4]	*idure*

These two sets of forms are in complementary distribution with respect to the following criteria. Firstly, the short forms are not found in isolation—they must be followed by a particle. Most attestations of the short forms are followed by one of the genitive particles (*no* or *ga*), which may be used as noun-modifiers or as subjects in non-declarative main clauses (e.g., *wa ga ipye* 'my house'; *wa ga yukeba* 'when I go').[5] On the other hand, the long forms may be found in isolation. They can be used without a particle; with a pragmatic particle (*pa, mo*); or with some case particles (*ni, wo, ywori*); but not with genitive particles (except for 4 instances of *kore-no* and one instance of *sore-ra ga*). For both personal pronouns and demonstratives, the long forms are used either as a subject/topic (3) or as a right-dislocated emphatic form (4).

(3)

ware *wepi-ni-kyeri*

I get-drunk-PERF-MPST.CONCL

'I have become drunk' (KK 49)

(4)

idure	*no*	*sima*	*ni*	*ipori*	*se-mu*	***ware***
which	COP.ADN	island	DAT	hut	do-CJR.ADN	I

'I! on which island will I make my hut (to stay for the night)' (MYS 15.3593)

[4] The interrogative *idu-* is found only as a constituent of derived forms or compounds (e.g., *idu-ku* 'where', *idu-pye* 'which direction').

[5] We also find nouns such as *wagipye* 'my house' and *wagimokwo* 'my beloved one', which seem to be contracted from the underlying forms *waga ipye* and *waga imokwo* (see §4.2.1).

Secondly, only the short forms (except for the 3rd person pronoun *si* and the personal interrogative pronoun *ta*) are used in nominal compounds: for example, in *wa-dori* 'my bird', *na-dori* 'your bird', *ko-yopi* 'tonight', etc.

1.1.1.1 Personal pronouns

When followed by a genitive particle, personal pronouns use the short form, and may only take *ga*, never *no*. Additionally, OJ personal pronouns are not used with plural markers, unlike some other terms of address, which can be combined with plural markers (e.g., *imasi-tati* 'you, plural').

Among the 1st person pronouns, the *a-* forms are only used for exclusive, singular reference ('I, me (alone)'), while the *wa-* forms are also used for inclusive and plural reference ('me/us (including you)') and for reflexive reference ('myself, oneself') (Frellesvig, 2010). The EOJ 1st person *wanu*, corresponding to the cOJ *ware*, is attested 4 times in ONCOJ. The 1st person *maro*, which was very marginal in OJ but became more frequent in EMJ, is attested twice; both in the phrase *maro ga ti* 'my father' (KK. 48 and NSK. 39). In this study, *maro* is not considered as a member of the productive OJ pronominal system.

The reflexive pronouns *ono/onore* can involve any person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) or it can be used with indefinite reference meaning 'oneself'. The 3rd person *si* is used with personal and impersonal references. It is not frequently used in OJ (around 20 attestations in total) and 3rd person reference is usually expressed by anaphoric uses of the non-proximal demonstrative *so*, which some believe to be the form from which *si* is diachronically derived (c.f. Frellesvig (2010, pp. 138-143)). *Si* disappeared from the language from the EMJ period onwards. The personal interrogative pronoun *ta* is mostly used with indefinite reference meaning 'whom', however, depending on the context, it can also be interpreted to mean 'whom else; whom (other than you)'.

1.1.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

When followed by a genitive case particle, demonstratives use the short form and take *no*, not *ga*.[6] The main OJ demonstrative forms are built on the proximal—non-proximal—interrogative/indefinite bases *ko—so—i* presented in Table 1.5. Many descriptions of OJ demonstratives propose that the system is built on the proximal—mesial—distal bases *ko—so—ka*. However, *ka/kare* 'that' are very rare in OJ (attested twice) in comparison to later periods of the language and are therefore not considered as a central part of the OJ pronominal system in this study.

It has also been proposed that the OJ *ko-* versus *so-* system is largely based on the speaker's sensory perception or experience, with little evidence of having primary reference to the hearer (c.f. Vovin (2004); Frellesvig (2010)). The proximal *ko-* forms refer to something that is close to the speaker. Their uses are mostly deictic (5), and among the *ko-* forms, only *koko* 'here' is used anaphorically, referring to something that is mentioned previously in the discourse (6). The non-proximal *so-* forms refer to something that is relatively remote to the speaker. Their uses are mostly anaphoric, with some examples of temporal deictic reference to past events, and a few examples where *soko* 'there' is used with spatial deictic reference to the hearer.

(5)

ko	*no*	*kapa*	*ni*	
this	GEN	river	DAT	
asana			*arapu*	kwo
morning.vegetable			wash.ADN	child

[6] Except for 4 instances (see §4.2.2.2).

‘Child who washes morning vegetables in this river’ (MYS.14.3440a, EOJ)

(6)

koko	*wo*	*si*	*mo*
here	ACC	EMPH	ETOP
*ma*gupusi-*mi*			*kamo*
eye.beautiful-ACOP.INF			Q

‘Here (=the land of Ise)! Is it not eye-pleasing? (Yes, it is)’ (MYS.13.3234)

In the previous paragraph, I mentioned *koko* and *soko*, which are not included in Table 1.5. In addition to the main demonstrative forms included in Table 1.5, there are a number of other forms. All of them are built on the *ko — so — i* bases, which combine the pronominal roots with obsolete nouns or derivational elements.

Table 1-6 Other OJ pronominal forms

	Proximal *ko-*	**Non-proximal *so-***	**Interrogative *i-/idu***
Locational, *-ko/-ku*	*koko*	*soko*	*iduku*
Directional, *-ti*	*koti* [7]	-	*iduti*
Degree, quality, *-kV /-ku*[8]	*kokV-*	*sokV-*	*iku-*
Manner	*ka*[9]	*sate*	-
Manner, (*-ku/*)*-ka*	*kaku*	*sika*	*ika*
Time, *-tu*	-	-	*itu*

[7] Also, there is the duplicated form *kotigoti* ‘here and there (lit. here and here)’, which is attested 6 times.

[8] OJ forms built on *ko-kV-* ‘this much’, *so-kV-* ‘that much’ and *i-ku-* ‘how much’ are combined with the derivational elements *-ra, -da, -ba*. For example, *kokoda, sokoba, ikuda*, etc.

[9] The adverb *ka* ‘this way’, which is built on the proximal *ko(-)*, needs to be kept distinct from the distal *ka* ‘that’.

The designations for the derived categories are based on Frellesvig (2010), who notes that designations such as 'locational' and 'directional' are used for later periods of the language and may not be entirely appropriate for OJ. This is because some derivational morphemes, which later function to express fairly concrete semantic categories, were semantically vaguer in OJ. For example, OJ *koti*, which may be a combination of the proximal *ko* with *-ti* 'way', means 'here', instead of having a particularly directional meaning. Additionally, the locational *-ko/-ku* in *koko* and *soko* is thought to go back to an obsolete noun *-ka/-ko/-ku* 'place' (c.f. Vovin (2004), Frellesvig (2010)). However, as I have mentioned previously, *koko* and *soko* can be used without locational meaning in OJ.

The use of the terms 'personal pronouns' and 'demonstrative pronouns' can be problematic in the case of OJ. There is an overlap in usage between anaphoric uses of the non-proximal *so* and the 3rd person *si*, as both can be used for 3rd person personal and impersonal reference. Thus, in a sense, anaphoric uses of the non-proximal *so* can also be referred to as a 'personal pronoun'. However, in this study, I still follow the convention by referring to *si* and *so* as a 'personal pronoun' and a 'demonstrative pronoun', respectively, as the two do exhibit complementary distribution, where *si* is always marked by *ga* and *so* is always marked by *no* (except for 4 instances).

1.2 Sources and materials

This study is based on a near-exhaustive investigation of texts from OJ. The following works are included. Unless otherwise noted, all examples cited in the present study follow the Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese (ONCOJ), which mostly adopts the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (NKBT) versions of the texts published by *Iwanami Shoten* in 1959. Table 1.7 shows the proportions of the number of words in the texts in the corpus.

Table 1-7 Proportions of the number of words in the texts in ONCOJ

Ranking	Texts	Word count	Proportion (%)
1	*Man'yōshū*	83706	*76.1%*
2	*Senmyō*	14000	*12.7%*
3	*Engishiki norito*	6500	*5.9%*
4	*Kojiki kayō*	2527	*2.3%*
5	*Nihon shoki kayō*	2444	*2.2%*
6	*Bussokuseki-ka*	337	*0.3%*
7	*Fudoki kayō*	271	*0.2%*
8	*Shoku nihongi kayō*	134	*0.1%*
9	*Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu*	60	*0.1%*
	Total	109979	*100%*

1.3.1 Poetry

***Man'yōshū* (万葉集, 'Collection of myriad leaves', compiled after 759 CE)**

The major source of the OJ language is the poetry anthology *Man'yōshū*. It is a compilation of over 4,500 poems in 20 volumes composed between the middle of the fifth and the middle of the eighth century. As the *Man'yōshū* is a collection of texts from different times, there is no overall consistency in writing: most of the poems are in mixed phonographic and logographic script, but there are some poems which are purely phonographic and some which are purely logographic.

Most poems reflect the Central Old Japanese (cOJ) dialect from the capital Nara or the area around it; but a number of them represent the Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ) dialect from eastern Japan. Rather than a single dialect, EOJ materials reflect a group of dialects spoken in the northern, central, and southern regions of eastern Japan during the Nara period. EOJ poems are collected in volumes 14 (*azuma uta* 'eastern songs') and 20 (*sakimori uta* 'border-guard songs'). Among the poems in volumes 14 and 20 that are geographically attributed to the eastern regions, some poems exhibit conspicuous linguistic features that are different from cOJ, while others do not. Scholars such as Vovin (2012) classify poems that contain conspicuous

EOJ linguistic features as poems in EOJ, while categorizing the rest as poems in Western Old Japanese (WOJ). In this thesis, however, I include all poems geographically ascribed to eastern Japan as EOJ poems. To date, there has been no corpus-based investigations examining the distribution of genitives in EOJ. If the distribution of genitives proves to be an identifiable EOJ feature, relying solely on data that contains already-recognized EOJ traits would certainly limit the scope of such analysis. The inclusion of all geographically ascribed eastern poems provides a broader basis for identifying previously unrecognized EOJ features.

Following the conventions in ONCOJ, when citing examples from *Man'yōshū*, I shall abbreviate it as MYS followed by the volume number and poem number (e.g., MYS.1.1 refers to *Man'yōshū*, volume 1, poem 1). When citing EOJ materials, I specify this after the poem number. Some poems have different versions in the ONCOJ, and in that case, they are marked as 'a' or 'b' at the end of the poem number and are counted as two attestations.

***Kojiki kayō* (古事記歌謡, 'Songs in the Record of ancient matters', compiled 712 CE)**

The *Kojiki* is a history of Japan, which contains 112 phonologically written songs. References to *Kojiki kayō* are abbreviated as KK followed by the poem number.

***Nihon shoki kayō* (日本書紀歌謡, 'Songs in Chronicles of Japan', compiled 720 CE)**

The *Nihon shoki* is a history written in Chinese, but it contains 133 songs written phonographically. References to *Nihon shoki kayō* are abbreviated as NSK followed by the poem number.

***Fudoki kayō* (風土記歌謡, 'Songs in Records of wind and earth', compiled 730s CE)**

The *Fudoki* is a collection of topographies from various provinces in Japan compiled on the order of empress Genmei (660–721) given in 713. 20 phonographically written poems are

contained in the *fudoki* survived today. The *Hitachi fudoki* contains 9 songs in EOJ. References to *Fudoki kayō* are abbreviated as FK followed by the poem number. EOJ songs in the *fudoki* are specified after the poem number.

***Bussokuseki-ka* (仏足石歌, ' Footprints of the Buddha poems', inscribed after 753 CE)**

The *Bussokuseki-ka* are 21 phonographically written songs inscribed on a stone at the Yakushi Temple in Nara. It is a valuable piece of material as a primary source from the OJ period survives to this day. References to *Bussokuseki-ka* are abbreviated as BS followed by the poem number.

***Shoku nihongi kayō* (続日本紀歌謡, 'Songs in Sequence to the Chronicles of Japan', 797CE)**

The *Shoku nihongi* is a history compiled by Sugano no Mamichi (741—814) and others; it contains 8 phonographically written songs. References to *Shoku nihongi kayō* are abbreviated as SNK followed by the poem number.

***Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu* (上宮聖徳法王帝説, 'The imperial record of Prince *Shōtoku*, King of the Law', date unknown)**

The *Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu* is a biography of the prince *Shōtoku Taishi* (574–622). The text itself is written in Chinese but contains 4 phonologically written poems. References to poems in *Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu* are abbreviated as JSHT followed by the poem number.

1.3.2 Prose

***Senmyō* (宣命, 'Imperial Edicts', compiled 797 CE)**

The *Senmyō* is a set of 62 imperial edicts recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi*. The edicts date from 697—791, and they are thought in several respects to preserve older language usage. The *Senmyō* is one of the prose(-like) texts from the OJ period, the other being *Norito*. The *Senmyō* is written in a distinctive script known as *senmyō-gaki*, which is a mixture of logographic and phonographic writing with most grammatical elements written phonographically in a smaller size than the rest of the text. References to *Senmyō* are abbreviated as SM followed by the edict number. Examples from the *Senmyō* are based on the Kitagawa (1982) version of the text.

(*Engishiki*) *Norito* (祝詞, 'Liturgies', compiled 927 CE)

27 *Norito*, which comprise ritual prayers and blessings, are recorded in volume 8 of the *Engishiki* ('Procedures of the Engi Era', completed 927). It is assumed that the first 15 liturgies are of an earlier date (pre-750) and others were written after this date, possibly early Heian (Bentley, 2001, pp. 25-26). The *Norito* uses the same writing, the *senmyō-gaki*, as is found in the *Senmyō*. References to *Norito* are abbreviated as EN followed by the liturgy number.

Here, I highlight and discuss the complexity of the eighth century texts and particular challenges they present in relation to this study. Apart from the *Bussokuseki-ka* inscription, we do not have access to the primary sources of the eighth century texts mentioned above; what we have today are manuscript variants dating from later periods handed down in copied form. A long and rigorous tradition of textual scholarship made it possible to arrive at critical texts which are generally accepted to closely represent the eighth century texts; however, through manuscripts and reading traditions, it is likely that the shape of modern editions may still be affected by some "noise" from later stages of the language. Although some portions of the texts are written entirely in phonographic writing, a majority of them are written in a mixture of phonographic and logographic writing. Unlike phonographic writing, which directly represents

the pronunciation, readings of logographically written portions of the ancient texts are founded on traditional readings. Although they may in many cases be correct, in linguistic studies of OJ, they are usually not considered as reliable data, as strictly speaking, "the readings constitute hypotheses about the texts", and thus "it is important to keep in mind that no argument about the phonology or morphology of OJ can be based on the traditional readings of logographic passages" (Frellesvig, 2010, p. 18). In ONCOJ, there are 2342 attestations of genitive *ga*, of which 1547 are logographic, with 961 examples having no written expression (marked as NLOG in the corpus), and only 795 are phonographic. The logogram representing *ga* is 之 and frequent phonograms representing *ga* include 我, 何, 河, 賀, etc. With genitive *no*, there are 6973 attestations, of which 3549 are logographic, with 1302 examples having no written expression, and 3424 are phonographic. The logogram representing *no* is also 之 and frequent phonograms representing *no* include 乃, 能, etc. For both genitives, logographic attestations constitute a significant portion of the total, further limiting the usable data from an already small corpus.

Furthermore, the language of the eighth century texts listed above ranges from folk songs, elaborate high poetry, to formal and ritualistic prose or performed texts. It may thus, in some respects, be difficult for us to build a picture of how OJ is used in an informal style or register.[10] Poetry is sometimes not regarded as useful or is excluded from syntactic investigations of OJ. For example, Bentley (2001, p. 2) chooses to only investigate the *Norito* as he regards poetry as a "special brand" of language. It is also suggested that, in some cases, the absence of subject case marking in poetry can simply be explained as case drop in response

[10] *Mokkan* 'wooden strip records' dating from mid seventh to mid eighth century, which have been dug out from archaeological sites in different parts of Japan, offer some insights into spontaneous and informal use of the language. The writing ranges from documents, letters to scribbles and writing practices; however, while they are extremely valuable for our understanding of the development of literacy in ancient Japan, they are short and often fragmentary, thus contributing relatively little to syntactic investigations of OJ in comparison to the texts included in the present study.

to the metrical constraint of 5-7-5 syllables, thus lacking linguistic significance. However, I believe that the inclusion of the poetic texts is justified and indispensable. Firstly, although I have grouped the texts into 'prose' and 'poetry' for a quick overview of the general nature of the sources, it is important to recognize that a strict 'poetry-prose' binary is subject to problematization. For example, in the *Norito*, we find many aspects of rhetoric that share common features with the poetic corpus (Mann, 2017). It would thus be very challenging for us to gain any detailed picture of the OJ syntax if we were to pick out and exclude the 'poetic' portion of the texts, not to mention the problem of how to adequately define 'poetry' and 'prose' in relation to ancient texts alien from modern Western academia. Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that poets would compose something ungrammatical just to fit the metre—we find case drop because it is licensed by the grammar of OJ. In this case, the poetic language should not be too far removed from contemporary spoken language or informal style/register, as we are, after all, dealing with one language.

1.3 An overview of *no* and *ga* in Old Japanese

In OJ, genitive *no* and *ga* are used in adnominalization (NP-*ga/no* N/NP), subject marking (NP-*ga/no* V), and connecting clauses to a following noun or predicate (S *ga/no* N, or S *ga/no* V).[11] In addition to being a genitive, the form *no* was an adnominal form of the copula.

1.3.1 Genitive *no* and *ga*

The focus of this thesis is on describing and discussing the distribution of *no* and *ga* as genitives. Utilizing the data in ONCOJ, it will be shown throughout the thesis that, within the functions and constructions they share, *no* and *ga* mostly exhibit differences but sometimes

[11] NP-*no/ga* N refers to cases where a noun directly follows a genitive-marked dependent, such as *wa ga ipye* 'my house'. In contrast, NP-*no/ga* NP refers to cases where the head noun is modified by an adjective, as in *a ga wakaki kwo* 'my young child'.

also overlap in their distribution. It is precisely these intriguing differences and overlaps that need to be empirically disentangled in order to gain a more comprehensive synchronic understanding of these two genitives, upon which diachronic analyses can be built. In this introductory section, I aim to give an overview for the kinds of functions and constructions in which the genitives *no* and *ga* are used. I do not show the ways in which *no* and *ga* are distributed within these functions and constructions, but I highlight the key issues at stake in §1.4, where I list the main research questions. Thorough descriptions and discussions of the distribution of *no* and *ga* are presented in §4, §5, and §6.

1.3.1.1 Adnominalization

Genitive *no/ga* are used in noun-modifying constructions, marking the dependent noun proceeding the head noun (NP-*no*/-*ga* N/NP). The distribution of *no/ga* in noun-modifying constructions, where the genitive marks a pronoun or a noun, is explored in §4.

(7)

twomibito	***no***	*ipye*
wealthy	GEN	house

'a wealthy person's house' (MYS.5.900)

(8)

tuma	***ga***	*ipye*
spouse	GEN	house

'my spouse's house' (KK.76)

1.3.1.2 Genitive subject marking

NJ has nominative—accusative alignment, where *ga* is the nominative case particle, *wo* is the accusative case particle, and transitivity does not affect the case marking on the subject.[12] OJ alignment is also nominative—accusative, yet, unlike NJ, OJ does not have a nominative case particle, and subjects of both transitive and intransitive predicates in declarative main clauses are bare.[13]

(9)

pana	Ø	saki-*ni*-*kyeri*
flower	Ø	bloom-PERF-MPST.CONCL

'the flowers were in bloom' (MYS.8.1423)

In subordinate and non-declarative main clauses, subjects can be bare, or marked by one of the two genitive case particles, *no* or *ga*.[14] Each subject marking strategy can occur on both subjects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs (unergative and unaccusative verbs).

Subjects of transitive verbs

(10)

nanipa	pito	Ø	asipwi	taku	ya

[12] Due to regular sound change, the phonemic shape of the accusative case particle *wo* in OJ has changed to /*o*/, losing the syllable initial /w/ around 1000 AD (EMJ) (Frellesvig, 2010, p. 206). This thesis will consistently refer to the accusative particle as *wo*, except when citing examples from other scholars.

[13] Some of the competing hypotheses regarding OJ alignment will be discussed in §2.

[14] It is only by the end of LMJ (15th century onwards) that *ga* began to productively mark subjects in declarative main clauses, among other clauses.

Naniwa people Ø reed.fire kindle.ADN house

'the house where people in Naniwa burn reeds' (MYS.11.2651)

(11)

opomi-kamwi-tati Ø puna no pe *ni*

RESP-god-PLU Ø boat GEN bow DAT

mi-te uti-kake*te* sumi-napa *wo*

RESP-hand PFX-hang.GER ink-rope OBJ

pape-taru *goto-ku*

stretch-STAT.ADN like-ACOP.INF

'like the honourable deities are stretching out an ink line, hanging their honourable hands on the bow of [your] boat' (MYS.5.894)

(12)

susukori ***ga*** *kami-si* *mi-ki*

Susukori GEN brew-SPST.ADN RESP-alcohol

ni *ware* *wepi-ni-kyeri*

DAT we drunk-PERF-MPST.CONCL

'We got drunk from the honourable alcohol that Susukori brewed.' (KK.49)

(13)

opomononusi ***no*** *kami-si* *mi-ki*

Opomononusi GEN brew-SPST.ADN RESP-alcohol

iku-pisa *iku-pisa*

how.many-long how.many-long

‘The honourable alcohol that Opomononusi brewed! How eternal! How everlasting!’ (NSK.15)

Subjects of intransitive verbs

Unergative verbs

(14)

pitogoto	Ø	sigeku	kikoye-kuru	kamo
rumour	Ø	increasingly	be.heard-come.ADN	Q

‘The rumours that people tell can be heard more and more!’ (MYS.12.2872)

(15)

wa	***ga***	*noboreba*
I	GEN	ascend.PROV

‘As I ascend…’(NSK.53)

(16)

moropito	***no***	*aswobu*	*wo*	*mireba*
everyone	GEN	play.ADN	ACC	see.PROV

‘As I see everyone enjoying themselves…’ (MYS.5.843)

Unaccusative verbs

(17)

sipo	Ø	pwi-naba
tide	Ø	dry-PERF.COND

‘if the tide dries…' (MYS.15.3710)

(18)

pi	***ga***	*tworeba*
sun	GEN	shine.PROV

‘when the sun shines…’ (MYS 14.3561; EOJ)

(19)

imo	ga	ume	***no***	tiru	ramu
my.beloved	GEN	plum	GEN	scatter.CONCL	PCJR.ADN

‘Are the plum blossoms of my beloved one scattering?’ (MYS.10.1856)

Objects of transitive verbs in OJ can either be bare or marked by *wo*, and unlike subject marking, we do not find a split in morphological object marking with regard to main *vs.* subordinate clauses. Examples (20) and (21) illustrate *wo*-marked and bare objects of transitive verbs in subordinate clauses, respectively:

(20)

saku	pana	***wo***	wori
bloom.ADN	blossom	ACC	break.off.INF

‘breaking off the blossoms in full bloom’ (MYS.19.4167)

(21)

ume	*no*	*pana*	*Ø*	*wori*
plum	GEN	blossom	Ø	break.off.INF

‘breaking off plum blossoms in full bloom’ (MYS.5.843)

Subject marking and object marking in OJ can be summarized as follows. The distribution of *no/ga* in subject marking, where the genitive-marked subject is a pronoun or a noun, is explored in §5.

Table 1-8 Subject marking and object marking in OJ

	Subject			**Object**
	Transitive	**Unergative**	**Unaccusative**	**Transitive**
Declarative main clauses	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø, *-wo*
Subordinate/non-declarative main clauses	Ø, *-no*, *-ga*	Ø, *-no*, *-ga*	Ø, *-no*, *-ga*	Ø, *-wo*

1.3.1.3 Constructions where *no/ga* adjoins a clause to a noun or a predicate

NP-*no/-ga* NP, where the genitive-marked noun is a pronoun or a noun, is the most frequently attested pattern of noun-modifying constructions involving genitive *no*/*ga*.[15] With *no*, we also find instances where it adjoins a clause nominalized by the nominal form or the adnominal form to a noun (22)—(23). With *ga*, there are instances where it adjoins a clause nominalized by the adnominal form to a noun (24) or an adjective to a noun (25). Although *ga/no* is normally identified as a genitive, in such constructions such as (23)—(25), they can be said to function like a complementizer, i.e., a functional element that is used to link an embedded clause to a head noun (Frellesvig & Whitman, 2011).

(22)

tat-e*raku* ***no*** *taduki*

[15] Unless otherwise specified, I use the term 'noun-modifying construction' to refer to constructions where the noun-modifying constituent is a genitive-marked noun or pronoun.

stand-STAT.NMNL GEN means

mo sira-zu

ETOP know-NEG.INF

'Not knowing how to stand up' (MYS.13.3272)

(23)

taye-*mu* ***no*** kokoro

cease-CJR.ADN GEN will

'The intention to end it' (MYS.12.3071)

(24)

wagimokwo *ni* *mise-mu* ***ga***

my.beloved DAT show-CJR.ADN GEN

tame *ni*

sake COP.INF

'In order to show (the autumn leaves) to my beloved…' (MYS.19.4222)

(25)

ayakaki *no* *pupa-ya* ***ga*** *sita* *ni*

fabric.fence GEN fluffy-SFX GEN below DAT

'Underneath the fluffy fabric fence' (KK.5)

There are also constructions where *no*/*ga* adjoins a clause to a predicate. We find *no* adjoining a clause nominalized by the nominal form to a predicate (26), and examples where *ga* adjoins a clause nominalized by the adnominal form to a predicate (27). In Wrona (2010), *no* and *ga* in these constructions are analysed as subject markers of "subject nominal

complements" and "subject adnominal complements", respectively. The distribution of *no/ga* marking a clause is explored in §6.

(26)

mi-maku		***no***	*posi-ki*	
see-CJR.NMNL		GEN	desirable-ACOP.ADN	
kimi	*ni*	*mo*	*aru*	*kamo*
lord	COP.INF	TOP	exist.ADN	EMPH

'It is indeed my lord, whom I want to see!' (MYS.20.4449)

(27)

apu	*be-ki*		*yosi*	*no*
meet.CONCL	NEC-ACOP.ADN		means	GEN
na-ki		***ga***	*sabusi-sa*	
not.exist-ACOP.ADN		GEN	lonely-ACOP.EXCL	

'How lonely it is that there are no ways to meet her!' (MYS.15.3734)

1.3.2 Copula *no*

In OJ, in addition to being a genitive, the form *no* is also an adnominal form of the copula that forms part of a highly defective paradigm (Table 1.9). The basic function of the copula *no* is to predicate, adnominalize or adverbialize nouns.

Table 1-9 The OJ n- *copula forms*

Adnominal	*no*
Infinitive	*ni ~ no*
Gerund	*nite*

The adnominal copula *no* means ‘which is…’ (28). Infrequently, it is also used with adjective stems (36 examples) (29).

(28)

purupye	*no*	satwo	***no***	asuka
old.house	GEN	village	COP.ADN	Asuka

‘Asuka, which is the village of my old house’ (MYS.3.268)

(29)

topo	***no***	*kuni*
far	COP.ADN	country

‘distant country’ (MYS.15.3688)

The infinitive copula *no* means ‘being, as, in the manner of’.

(30)

asa-pi	***no***	*wemi-sakaye-kite*
morning-sun	COP.INF	smile-prosper-come.GER

‘come smiling in splendour like the morning sun’ (KK.3)

1.3.3.1 Copula *no* or genitive *no*?

In most cases, based on the meaning of the noun-modifying construction, it is quite easy to determine whether the adnominalizing *no* is a copula or a genitive.

(31)

kuni ***no*** miyakwo

country GEN capital

'the capital of the country' (MYS.4.768)

(32)

nara ***no*** miyakwo

Nara COP.ADN capital

'the capital, which is Nara' (MYS.6.1047)

However, both belonging to the functional domain of adnominalization, there are some cases which may be subject to debate, especially instances where the dependent NP marked by *no* serves to describe, qualify, or classify the entity denoted by the head.

(33)

ame ***no*** mi-kage

heaven NO HON-shadow

'the shadow of heaven' or 'the heavenly shadow' (EN.2)

(34)

kwo-suge ***no*** kasa

small-sedge NO straw.hat

'a small sedge straw hat' (MYS.11.2771)

(35)

osape ***no*** kwi

defence NO fortress

‘a defence fortress’ (MYS.20.4331)

Some would interpret the above examples as instances of the genitive *no*. We do find constructions such as *twomibito no ipye* ‘a wealthy person’s house’, where the dependent NP serves to describe the entity denoted by the head, and the adnominalizing *no* is surely the genitive *no*. In many languages, the adnominal possessive construction is used to express a wide array of semantic relations that may not be defined as strictly possessive. For example, in Georgian, the dependent NP in adnominal possessive constructions may have a descriptive role (36)—(37) (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2006b, p. 765). These Georgian examples convey the same semantic relation of *purpose* as the OJ example in (35). All these constructions can be translated into English using a noun + noun sequence, where the first noun functions as a modifier.

(36)

okro-s bečed-i

gold-GEN ring-NOM

‘a/the golden ring’

(37)

pur-is dana

bread-GEN knife-NOM

‘a/the bread knife’

In traditional Japanese school grammar of Classical Japanese, the adnominal copula *no* is not recognized as a copula. It is treated as the *dōkaku* ‘appositive’ usage of the *kakujoshi* ‘case particle’ *no*, expressing an equative relation between two nouns. In other words, all functions involving the form *no* are traditionally recognized as the genitive, and in cases such as (34)—

(35), they are simply described as a pattern where the genitive *no* is used to mark NPs that express purpose, reason, material, and so on (Ohno, 1977a).

In this study, I recognize the adnominal copula *no* as a distinct item from the genitive case particle *no*. Typological literature suggests that adnominal possessive constructions across languages may express a wide range of semantic relations, however, caution must be exercised when applying that to OJ, as unlike OJ, most languages do not have an adnominal copula that has the same shape as the genitive. In this study, I employ the following criteria in my data selection. Regarding examples such as (35), where it is possible to translate it into English as a genitive construction, I include the example as an attestation of the genitive *no*. Regarding examples such as (36)—(37), where it is not possible to translate it as a genitive construction, I do not include the example as an attestation of the genitive *no*. The adnominal copula *no*, however, may be of diachronic interest, which is discussed in §7.

1.4 Research questions

The core problem this thesis intends to disentangle is the distribution of OJ *no* and *ga* in contexts that otherwise seem similar from a structural point of view. My main research questions are:

(1) What possible factor(s) determine the choice of *no vs. ga* in noun-modifying constructions?

(2) What possible factor(s) determine the choice of *no vs. ga* in subject marking?

(3) What are the similarities or differences between the distribution of *no/ga* in noun-modifying constructions *vs.* subject marking?

(4) When a noun can take either *no* or *ga*, what factor(s)/condition(s), if any, influence its use with *no* vs. *ga*?

(5) What, if any, are the syntactic criteria that determine the choice of *no vs. ga*?

(6) Should we consider the complementizing uses of *ga* as one of the functions of the genitive, or is it valid to recognize the complementizing *ga* as a distinct item from the genitive *ga*?

(7) In what ways does the distribution of *no* and *ga* in OJ inform our understanding of *no* and *ga* in the pre-OJ period?

1.5 Theories

Following Dryer (2006), the present thesis distinguishes descriptive theories (or theoretical frameworks; what languages are like) from explanatory theories (why languages are the way they are).

This thesis employs what Dixon (1997) calls 'basic linguistic theory' (BLT) as the descriptive theory. The goal of BLT is to "describe each language in its own terms" (Dryer, 2006, p. 211). BLT, much influenced by work in typology, provides analytical concepts and descriptive tools (presented in works such as Comrie (1989), Payne (1997), Shopen (2007)) from which grammar authors may choose, provided that they give appropriate argumentation in support of their choices. Linguists who employ BLT commonly describe their work as atheoretical; however, it is important to recognize that although BLT does not have intended theoretical significance, "the analytical concepts one assumes necessarily constitute a set of theoretical assumptions… so that it is theoretical only in the sense that it employs a theoretical framework" (Dryer, 2006, pp. 212-228). BLT is the sort of theory we need for an adequate description of OJ *no* and *ga*. There are no exhaustive accounts of OJ *no* and *ga* based on corpus data. Thus, the primary task is to provide a thorough description of the data in a widely accessible metalanguage, upon which further theorizing can be done. While it is certainly possible that formal frameworks can offer insightful descriptions of the language, they are *not*

the sort of frameworks we need at this stage, as a central tenet of formalism has always been the idea that a single theory can simultaneously serve to *describe* and to *explain*, thus making theory-internal conclusions inevitable.

The explanatory theories explored and employed as part of the synchronic analyses are presented in §3, where I review various theories that are related to concepts and parameters such as animacy, individuation, specificity, relationality, and so on. For diachronic analyses, I adopt Andersen (1973, 2001)'s theory of language change, employing concepts such as evolutive change, reanalysis, adoption, actualization, which are discussed in §7.

1.6 Methodology

The empirical data presented in this thesis is based on The Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese (abbreviated ONCOJ, with around 90,000 words of poetic text), a long term collaborative research project between the University of Oxford and the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, which is "developing a lemmatized, parsed and comprehensively annotated digital corpus of all texts in Japanese from the Old Japanese period" (https://oncoj.ninjal.ac.jp/, accessed on 1st April, 2021).[16] The criterion for inclusion in my database is that the syllable identifying the particles, *no* and *ga*, is phonographically written, as when finding out the exact uses and distribution of *no* and *ga*, it is obviously crucial to know which one we are actually dealing with.

[16] The two prose texts, *Engishiki Norito* (approx. 6,500 words, not fully annotated yet) and *Shoku Nihongi Senmyō* (approx. 14,000 words) are yet to be made available on the online corpus. My data is extracted from a preliminary marked-up version of these texts.

1.7 Conventions

This thesis uses the phonemic transcription of Old Japanese proposed by Frellesvig and Whitman (2008). The following table exemplifies the notation of the distinction between *kō-rui* (type A) and *otsu-rui* (type B) syllables in the Frellesvig & Whitman system in comparison with other systems of transcription.

Table 1-10 Transcription systems for Old Japanese

Syllable type	Index notation	Ohno	Modified Mathias-Miller	Yale	Frellesvig & Whitman
kō-rui	i_1	i	î	yi	i
otsu-rui	i_2	ï	ï	iy	wi
neutral	i	i	i	i	i
kō-rui	e_1	e	ê	ye	ye
otsu-rui	e_2	ë	ë	ey	e
neutral	e	e	e	e	e
kō-rui	o_1	o	ô	wo	wo
otsu-rui	o_2	ö	ö	o̲	o
neutral	o	o	o	o	o
	u	u	u	u	u
	a	a	a	a	a

Each morphological gloss of the examples contains a romanization, a gloss, a translation, and a reference to the example number. I use *italics* for phonographically written syllables and plain writing for logographically written syllables. A hyphen '-' is used to indicate morpheme boundaries between verb stems and auxiliaries, but not between flectives and the immediately preceding verb or auxiliary stem. A dot '.' is used to separate multiple English words

corresponding to one OJ word and to separate inflecting forms. Text that is not reflected in writing is underlined. Place names and personal names are given modern sound shape in glosses and in translation.

2. PAST STUDIES

This chapter reviews highlights of past studies of *no* and *ga* in OJ. Overall, it is difficult to present past accounts of OJ *no* and *ga* strictly by function, as most studies propose factors which may govern their distribution without distinguishing their functions so finely. It is commonly claimed that genitive subject marking originated in reanalysis of constructions like (1) as (2), where in (1), *yuku miti* is interpreted as a NP and *kimi-ga* as a modifier of that (e.g., Hashimoto (1969); Ohno (1978)). While some scholars explicitly argue that whether or not that is the case, genitive subject marking was established as a function distinct from adnominal marking by the time of OJ, some remain ambiguous as to whether genitive marking of subjects was firmly established, giving the impression that the process of such a reanalysis was still ongoing during the OJ period (e.g., Asami (1956)).

(1)

kimi	ga	[yuku	miti]
lord	GEN	go.ADN	road

‘our lord’s road to go, that our lord is going’

(2)

[kimi	ga	yuku]	miti
lord	GEN	go.ADN	road

‘the road our lord goes’

Also, it is usually implied that the proposed factors governing the distribution of *no* and *ga* apply to all their functions. For example, in Ohno (1977a), it is proposed that the honorific/social differentiation of *no* and *ga* governs their distribution in adnominal marking, subject marking, and when they mark clauses. On the other hand, some studies adopt a function-specific approach in examining OJ *no* and *ga*, focusing on genitive subject marking. Since the late 1990s, genitive subject marking in OJ has garnered considerable attention from scholars working within various modern linguistic frameworks, centering their debate on OJ alignment and whether it was straightforwardly accusative like NJ.

The purpose of this chapter is not to provide an exhaustive review of all past studies; rather, I aim to offer an overview of the main strands of thought among scholars regarding OJ *no* and *ga*. The hypotheses presented below, which I deem relevant to the choice between *no* and *ga*, will be tested in later chapters. Some of the hypotheses from past studies, which I have selected for further testing, could be further substantiated and operationalized by associating them with modern linguistic frameworks. This will be done in §3.

2.1 Semantic distinctions between *no* and *ga*: Yamada (1954)

Represented by Yamada (1954), it has been thought that in both adnominalization and subject marking, the use of *ga* positions the centre of "semantic focus" on the genitive-marked constituents, whereas the use of *no* focuses it on the following constituents. Throughout his study, Yamada offers numerous examples regarding the distributional differences of the genitives in both functions, which ought to be viewed as a result of their inherent semantic distinctions. He argues that such a distinction is the most illustrative when we look at the systematic specialization between *no* and *ga* in marking demonstratives and personal pronouns, respectively. He notes that demonstratives marked by *no* are always "semantically subordinate", pointing to the entity denoted by the head, and personal pronouns marked by *ga* "encompass"

the entities denoted by the head (e.g., *wa ga imokwo* 'my beloved'), where the semantic focus is on the personal pronouns. Through the proposed distinction in semantic focus, Yamada also interprets the difference between expressions such as *ume no pana* 'plum blossom' and *ume ga pana* 'plum blossom', where *no* and *ga* mark the same dependent noun and are followed by the same head noun.[17] He argues that the placement of semantic focus in expressions involving *no* is on the head noun, as the entity is denoted by the head. However, in the ones involving *ga*, the focusing effect of *ga* overrides the semantic focus that would have been there, resulting in expressions that are "tightly fixed together" (Yamada, p. 406) with no centre of semantic focus.

While it is undeniable that there are noticeable differences between the distribution of *no* and *ga*, the criteria Yamada uses to define the placement of semantic focus in different contexts are confusing and self-contradictory. For example, Yamada argues that the placement of semantic importance in expressions such as *ume no pana* 'plum blossom' is on *pana* 'blossom', as this is where the entity of the expression is denoted. However, in expressions such as *wa ga imokwo* 'my beloved', in which he notes the semantic focus to be on the *ga*-marked pronoun, the entity of the expression is equally denoted by the head. Furthermore, in *ume no pana*, which expresses a part-whole relation, the head *pana* also "belongs to" or is "encompassed" by *ume*, a criterion Yamada uses to define the placement of semantic focus on genitive-marked nouns when analysing *ga*-marked pronouns. Thus, although some distinction in semantic focus may be seen from demonstrative marking *no* versus personal pronoun marking *ga*, it is questionable whether it can be adequately applied to all uses of the two genitives.

[17] As I will show later, there is a great numerical difference between *ume no pana*, which has 41 attestations, and *ume ga pana*, which has only two attestations.

2.2 Honorific/social differentiation of *no* and *ga*: Aoki (1952), Ohno (1974, 1977a), Takeuchi (1999)

Ever since the EMJ period, it has been said that the choice of genitive *no* and *ga* is subject to honorific or social differentiation, in that the use of *no* is said to have been exalting, distancing or neutral, whereas the use of *ga* is understood to have been humbling, intimate or pejorative.[18] Represented by Aoki (1952), Ohno (1974, 1977b, 1977a) and Takeuchi (1999), it is proposed that the above differentiation of *no* and *ga* is also borne out in their distribution in OJ. Aoki (1952) offers a number of observations to support her argument: 1) personal pronouns and nouns such as *tuma* 'spouse', *titipapa* 'father and mother', *wagimokwo* 'my beloved' that always take *ga* are nominals whose referent is psychologically close to the speaker; 2) *ga* is invariably used after nouns ending with *-ra/-ro*, which Aoki identifies as a diminutive suffix; 3) there are many instances where traitors or subjects of ridicule are marked by *ga*; 4) nouns whose referents are divine entities, such as *opokimi* 'honourable great lord', *kamwi* 'deity', *mikwo* 'imperial child', *sumyeroki* 'imperial ancestors' always take *no*, not *ga*. Ohno (1974, 1977b, 1977a), expanding on Aoki (1952), captures the distribution of *no* and *ga* through the notions "inside (or internal)" (*uchi*) and "outside (or external)" (*soto*). Ohno proposes that this set of notions are deeply ingrained in the everyday lives and culture of people in the OJ period, and it is manifested linguistically through the distribution of the two genitives, whereby entities that are perceived to be "internal" by the speaker are marked by *ga*, and entities that are perceived to be "external" by the speaker are marked by *no*. According to Ohno, "internal" entities include the speaker themselves, as well as agentive and individuated entities, which the

[18] Premodern materials which discuss honorific/social differentiation of *no* and *ga* include: *Kokinshūchū* (1185), *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* (1608), *Ayuishō* (1778). Note, however, that their analyses are all based on post-OJ texts.

speaker interacts with intimately in their daily lives (e.g., lovers, parents).[19] Ohno also adds that plants, animals, or objects, which are perceived by the speaker as familiar or dear may also be marked as "internal" entities using *ga*. "External" entities are the ones which the speaker perceives to be awe-inspiring, otherworldly, or frightening (e.g., imperial figures, deities, demons). Moreover, *no* is used when the speaker objectively speaks of things that are non-specific people, places, objects, plants, natural phenomena, and so on (e.g., *nagatukwi no sigure* 'the September rain'). Furthermore, Takeuchi (1999), arguing that the distribution of OJ *no* and *ga* is conditioned by the semantic-pragmatic properties of the referent of the noun it marks, presents the following example from the *Bussokuseki-ka*, where in parallel clauses, *titipapa* 'father and mother' constructs with *ga*, while the indefinite noun *moropito* 'all people' constructs with *no*.

(3)

titi-papa	***ga***	*tame*	*ni*
father-mother	GEN	sake	COP.INF
moropito	***no***	*tame*	*ni*
all.people	GEN	sake	COP.INF

'for the sake of father and mother, for the sake of all people' (BS.1)

Nevertheless, although in some cases it seems that the variation of *no* and *ga* in OJ can be conceived as some kind of social or honorific differentiation, there is no clear-cut examples indicating that it is the *only* main condition. The evidence provided by scholars such as Aoki (1952) to support such a differentiation is rather selective, as there are a significant number of counterexamples. For example, *kimi* 'you, my lord', a respectful second person term of address,

[19] Ohno (1977) argues that the agentive and individuated characteristics of the nouns marked by *ga* are closely related to the generalization of *ga* in subject marking function.

is almost always marked by *ga*; *sumye-ra* 'emperor/empress', a noun whose referent is obviously highly exalted, takes only *ga*; and in the *Senmyō*, respected and loyal officials, such as Oshikatsu (SM. 26), are also marked by *ga*. Furthermore, as it is seen predominately in the *Senmyō*, imperial rulers also use *wa-ga* 'I', thus, as Frellesvig (2010, p. 368) has argued, "as long as there were actual personal pronouns in the language, for example, *ga* was used with 1st, 2nd and interrogative personal pronouns, it is difficult to recognize this often claimed difference in EMJ or in OJ." The factor of honorific/social differentiation will be empirically tested in §4 and 5.

2.3 Phonological conditioning of *no* and *ga*: Yamada (1954), Miller (1971, 1975)

Yamada (1954) and Miller (1971, 1975) suggest that the distribution of OJ *no* and *ga* in expressions such as *wa-ga* 'I' and *ko-no* 'this' reflects an earlier productive system where choice between *no* and *ga* was phonologically conditioned, involving vowel harmony on a segmental level: —*aga*— and —*ono*—. In other words, *no vs. ga* were once chosen based on the final vowel of the preceding word: if it is *a*, use *ga*; if it is *o* use *no*. Based on the hypothesis that *no* and *ga* were originally vowel harmony variants of each other, Yamada suggests that *no* and *ga* may have the same etymological origin, which he presumes to be the genitive particle *na*, a particle already obsolete in the OJ period. Yamada adds that the semantic distinction between *no* and *ga* (§2.1) is a by-product of this vowel harmony variation. For example, the patterning of *no* with demonstratives due to vowel harmony may have, over time, influenced the development of its semantic function, placing the centre of semantic focus on the following constituents. Supporting Yamada's hypothesis, Miller (1971, 1975) makes references to the first inscription in *Bussokuseki-ka*, repeated below, where "following *-FaFa* 'mother' in *titiFaFa* 'father and mother, parents' the form is *ga*, but following *-Fitö* 'man' in *moröFitö* 'everyman', it is *nö* " (Miller, 1971, p. 28). In short, Yamada (1954) and Miller (1971, 1975)

believe that *no* and *ga* were conditioned by vowel harmony at some point before OJ and that while this is no longer a synchronic regularity in OJ, there are a few cases that might still reflect this pre-OJ distribution.

2.4 Semantics of the nouns marked by *no* and *ga*: Nomura (1993b, 1993a, 1993c, 2024)

Nomura (1993b, 1993a, 1993c, 2024) discusses a variety of topics concerning genitive *no* and *ga* in OJ. In this section, I focus on describing his proposals on the semantic properties of *no* and *ga* as this is where he explicates the differences between the two genitives. It is stated very clearly in all of the above works by Nomura that the distribution of *no* and *ga* in both subject marking and noun modification is determined by the host noun. He observes that the type of nouns that *ga* primarily marks in OJ are personal pronouns and proper nouns (e.g., *wa-ga* 'I', *Tekwona-ga* 'proper noun'), and on the other hand, *no* can mark all types of nouns that *ga* marks (except from personal pronouns) as well as common nouns (e.g., *ume-no* 'plum'). Nomura observes that in OJ, NP-*no* can be a subject, a possessor, or a noun modifier that serve to describe the following noun in some sense (e.g., describing the material of the following noun, such as *sugwi no ita* 'the board of Japanese cedar'), whereas NP-*ga* can only be a subject or a possessor. Furthermore, Nomura notes that although *ga* most typically marks personal pronouns, proper nouns and nouns whose referent is human, we should not neglect the less frequent cases where *ga* marks non-human or inanimate nouns such as animals, plants, and objects. He observes that when *ga* marks non-human or inanimate nouns in noun-modifying constructions, the constructions often express some sort of part-whole relation, such as *ume ga ye* 'the branch of plum' and *kuma ga tume* 'the bear's nail'.[20]

[20] *Kuma ga tume* is not attested in ONCOJ.

Based on the above observations, Nomura formulates the semantic difference between NP-*no* and NP-*ga* in terms of the notions 'individual' (*jittai*) and 'attribute' (*zokusei*). According to Nomura, when a noun performs the function of a subject or a possessor, semantically, it directly refers to an individuated entity. On the other hand, when a noun serves to describe the entities denoted by the following noun, it does not have a referring role, and instead, it relates to the following noun as an attribute. In Nomura, the notions of 'individual' and 'attribute' are also formulated in terms of the logical notation '*f*(x)', where the "*f*" expresses the 'attribute' of the individual, and the '*x*' is a variable where individuals of some kind can be inserted (e.g., the notation 'dog(*x*)' means '*x* such that *x* is a dog').[21] Thus, Nomura proposes that while nouns marked by *ga* can only function to refer directly to an individual, nouns marked by *no* can either refer to an individual or function to express the attribute of the individual.

Furthermore, Nomura (1993b) explains that the reason demonstratives take only *no* is because they are attributive. For example, in an expression like *ko-no hon* 'this book', the demonstrative points to this specific book rather than any other, implicitly "describing" the characteristics of the object denoted by the head noun. On the other hand, personal pronouns have highly definite and individuated referents, and so they require *ga*, rather than *no*, which, according to Nomura (1993b, p. 42), is a genitive that "originally and essentially attaches to nouns that are highly individuated, specifically serving to express the host noun as an individual". Nomura (1993b, p. 45) also proposes an individuality hierarchy whereby nominals higher on the hierarchy are more individuated and are more likely to be marked by *ga*, and nominals lower on the hierarchy are on the side of being attributes and are more likely to be marked by *no*:

[21] Nomura (1993b, p. 40) states that the "attribute" here corresponds to the predicate in propositional logic.

(4) The individuality hierarchy: Nomura (1993b)[22]

personal pronouns > proper nouns > common nouns > abstract nouns

Nomura (1993a) argues against Ohno (1977a)'s characterization of *ga* marking nouns that are "internal" and *no* marking nouns that are "external" (§2.2), claiming that Ohno's proposal is contradictory if we consider the fact that the proximal demonstrative *ko-* 'this', which Nomura characterizes as 'internal', takes only *no*, and the fact that the interrogative pronoun *ta* 'who', which Nomura characterizes as 'external', takes only *ga*. Nomura also argues that the so-called honorific/social differentiation of *no* and *ga* is, in fact, epiphenomenal rather than basic to these particles; that is to say, it is an epiphenomenon resulting from the kind of host nouns that *no* and *ga* tend to mark. For example, Nomura claims that the use of *ga* is said to have been intimate or pejorative because *ga* is not only used with personal pronouns but also with personal names. He assumes that in the OJ socio-linguistic culture, "referring someone directly by their name is often avoided unless they are very close to the speaker, as doing so may be at risk of being disrespectful. And so, in this way, in the *Senmyō*, traitors are often mentioned directly by their names" (Nomura, 1993a, p. 4).

There are many ideas presented in Nomura (1993b, 1993a) that are highly insightful and they serve as invaluable points of departure for my own analysis. In order to further substantiate his ideas and operationalize them in my empirical investigation, I will align the frameworks and observations presented by Nomura with modern linguistic parameters. His idea that *ga* always marks nouns that are highly individuated and definite can be framed in terms of definiteness, specificity, or referentiality (§3). His individuality hierarchy can be

[22] Note that Nomura's individuality hierarchy shares great similarities with Silverstein (1976)'s nominal hierarchy (explored further in §3.1), Silverstein (1976) is not, however, referenced in Nomura's works.

related to the animacy hierarchy and/or individuation. Additionally, his observation that a noun-modifying construction where *ga* marks a non-human or inanimate noun often expresses a part-whole relation can be associated with the concept of relationality.

2.5 Dialectical and age variation: Ohno (1978), Nomura (1993b)

It has been proposed that the distribution of *no* and *ga* across the OJ texts may be related to the dialect and age of the texts. Ohno (1978) observes that in EOJ, that is, in *azuma uta* (volume 14 of the *Man'yōshū*) and in *sakimori uta* (volume 20 of the *Man'yōshū*), we find *ga* marking a relatively diverse range of plant names and inanimate objects, which is a distribution somewhat distinct from the cOJ, where most nouns marked by *ga* are proper nouns and human common nouns. He notes that, in "the usual examples" (*ippan no rei*), inanimate objects such as *suzu* 'jingle' and *pimo/pwimo* 'cord' are marked by *no* (by "the usual examples", I presume he means that as they are mostly or only attested with *no* in cOJ) (Ohno, 1978, p. 155). However, in EOJ, we find expressions such as *pwimo ga wo* 'the strap of cord' and *suzu ga oto* 'the sound of jingle'.

Furthermore, Ohno mentions that among the *sakimori uta*, we also find songs composed by the Nara-born poet Ōtomo no Yakamochi (widely believed to be the compiler of the *Man'yōshū*) and states that one thing that is worth noting about Yakamochi's songs in volume 20 is the fact that

> we find expressions such as *tori ga naku aduma no kuni* 'the eastern land where birds sing', *pamamatu ga ne* 'the root of pine at the shore' and *asi ga tiru nanipa* 'Naniwa where reed scatters', where the author intentionally used *ga* to make the songs sound more eastern-like. This is perhaps because, Yakamochi, when encountering these eastern songs, noticed this abundant use of *ga* and felt intrigued by this use of the language. (Ohno, 1978, p. 155)

Ohno associates the distribution of *ga* in EOJ with the notions "inside (or internal)" (*uchi*) and "outside (or external)" (*soto*) mentioned above in §2.2. He proposes that *ga*, a particle that marks entities that are recognized to be "external" in some sense, is frequently used in EOJ songs because, during the OJ period, when the capital area (Nara, western Japan) was the centre of politics, culture and economy, the east and its people were considered inferior and distant. Ohno speculates that people from the capital, traveling to the east for various official duties, recorded or wrote songs using *ga* because they perceived the easterners as inferior; meanwhile, the eastern composers used *ga* because they felt inferior to people from the capital.

Nomura (1993b) notices that there are differences between the distribution of *no* and *ga* in the songs in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* (commonly collectively referred to as the *Kiki kayō* 'Songs from the Record and the Chronicles'; this term is used in Nomura (1993b) and in this study when referring to both texts) and the songs in the *Man'yōshū*. He suggests that these differences may be due to the former texts being older and reflecting earlier language usage. He notes that in the *Kikikayō*, there are in total 59 attestations of clauses with the verb in the conditional form and the provisional form. Within these examples, 21 contain *ga*-marked subjects, 6 contain unmarked subjects; however, strangely, there is no example containing *no*-marked subjects. Moreover, in these songs, *no*-marked subjects are not found in clauses with the verb in the infinitive form and the adnominal form either — we only find very few examples of *no*-marked subjects in exclamative or interrogative main clauses with the verb ending in the adnominal form. Nomura considers the absence of *no*-marked subjects in conditional and provisional clauses in the *Kikikayō* as a distribution distinct from the *Man'yōshū*. He observes that "even in the conditional and provisional clauses in the eastern songs, where the use of *ga* is conspicuous, we still find many instances of *no*-marked subjects" (Nomura, 1993b, p. 47). Furthermore, he observes that *ga* is not only the sole genitive used to mark subjects in

conditional and provisional clauses in the *Kikikayō* but also that, in these clauses, *ga* marks nouns that are only found with *no* in the *Man'yōshū*, such as *tosi* 'time, year(s)' and *pi* 'sun, daytime'. Nomura suggests that this is because the *Kikikayō* reflects a slightly earlier stage of the language, where the use of genitive *no* in subject marking was not yet fully developed. Consequently, *ga*, which he assumes to be older than *no*, was originally used to mark nouns that later came to be more commonly associated with *no*. Regarding the few examples of *no*-marked subjects in exclamative or interrogative main clauses with verbs ending in the adnominal form, he proposes that these types of clauses could be among the first environments where *no* began to be used as a subject marker.

2.6 *Ga* as an active subject marker: Yanagida (2005, 2007b, 2007a, 2018, 2024); Yanagida and Whitman (2009)

The hypothesis that OJ is a partially active language is predominantly led by Yanagida (2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2018, 2024) and Yanagida and Whitman (2009).[23] They proposed two main claims: first, OJ has split alignment with respect to main *vs.* subordinate, with a nominative pattern in main clauses and an active pattern in subordinate clauses; second, genitive *ga* is a morphological realization of active case, marking animate or personified subject NPs of transitive and unergative verbs. In general, the above studies all put forward the idea that, when used as subject markers, the factors governing *no* and *ga* override possible factors which govern their distribution as adnominal markers. In this section, I mainly discuss

[23] That OJ has a split-alignment system is also hypothesized by scholars such as Vovin (1997) and Kuroda (2007). Vovin (1997) proposes that OJ is a language with split-alignment that is predominantly accusative and partially active. He suggests that the case particle *i*, which is already vestigial in OJ, is in fact an *active* subject marker, based on the observation that it is only used to mark subjects of transitive and active intransitive verbs. According to Kuroda (2007), in adnominal clauses, we find both an accusative alignment, where external subjects are marked by *no* or *ga*, and an ergative alignment, where intransitive subjects licensed internally are bare. These studies are not included in the present study as they do not directly concern the choice between *no* and *ga* in genitive subject marking.

Yanagida (2018, 2024), where her ideas are the most developed. Yanagida attempts to formally explain not only the distribution of *ga*- and *no*-marked subjects, but also the distribution of bare subjects in subordinate clauses. She attributes the alternation between marked and bare subjects to the cross-linguistically observed phenomenon of differential subject marking (DSM), which, broadly speaking, is a phenomenon where in a language, "some subjects have a different Case, agree differently, or occur in a different position than others"(Woolford, 2008, p. 17). Yanagida proposes that while the scope of DSM is restricted to subordinate clauses, the distinction between subordinate *vs.* main clause is *not* the trigger for DSM. She identifies two types of DSM in OJ with different triggers: the first type concerns *ga* vs. bare subject NPs that are either always marked by *ga*, or are bare, but are never marked by *no*— triggered by referential properties of NPs mainly in correspondence with Silverstein (1976)'s nominal hierarchy. The second type is associated with *no* vs. bare subject NPs that are either always marked by *no*, or are bare, but are never marked by *ga*—triggered by a discourse-based argument property associated with [± specific].

Let us first examine DSM involving *ga vs.* bare subject NPs. Yanagida identifies the alternation between *ga*-marked subject NPs and bare subject NPs as an instantiation of active alignment in OJ, where active subjects are marked by *ga.* Yanagida observes that in subordinate clauses, *ga* only marks subjects of transitive and unergative verbs, but not subjects of unaccusative verbs. Furthermore, patient subjects of unaccusative verbs appear bare, just like transitive objects, as objects are always bare when they occur after *ga*-marked subjects. She proposes that unlike languages with a so-called "split-S" active alignment (e.g., Hindi), where active–inactive marking on subjects is determined by the prototypical meaning of the verb, in the OJ active system, the case of subjects is primarily guided by the semantic features of the subject nouns, as captured by Silverstein (1976)'s nominal hierarchy (5). In this system, NPs

that are higher on the hierarchy receive active marking, a system that Yanagida identifies as displaying a "nominal-based split".

(5)

The nominal hierarchy (Silverstein (1976), taken from Yanagida (2018))

pronouns (1st >2nd >3rd person) > proper nouns > human > animate > inanimate

The relationship between active marking in OJ and the nominal hierarchy is stated in (6).

(6)

The active marking hierarchy (AMH, Yanagida (2018); Yanagida and Whitman (2009))

In active languages, if active marking applies to an NP type α, it applies to every NP type to the left of α on the nominal hierarchy.

Here, I quote examples presented in Yanagida (2018, p. 407) to illustrate active–inactive marking in OJ (7)—(12).[24] As seen in (7) and (10), and (8) and (11), the subjects of the same verbs, *yuk-* 'go' and *nak-* 'cry'—both classified by Yanagida as unergatives—are marked differently because "the active marking appears when the S argument has control over the activity and the inactive pattern appears when control is lacking" (Yanagida, 2018, p. 406). According to Yanagida, entities that exercise volition and control over their activities are human NPs higher on the hierarchy (prototypical agents), while non-human or inanimate NPs lower on the hierarchy do not, which explains why *pototogisu* 'cuckoo' (a noun that is always

[24] Examples (7)—(16) are quoted directly from Yanagida (2018), I reproduce her transcription, segmentation, glossing and translation without making changes or correcting mistakes.

attested bare when used as a subject) shows an inactive pattern. The use of *ga* is obligatory for personal pronouns because they are placed at the top of the hierarchy.

(7)

[*kimi* ***ga*** *yuk-u*] *miti* *no* *nagate*

lord AGT go-ADN road GEN length

'the length of the road my lord goes' (MYS.15.3724)

(8)

[*wa* ***ga*** *naku*] *namita*

1P AGT cry.ADN tear

'the tears that I cry' (MYS.2.177)

(9)

[*papa* ***ga*** *kap-u*] *kwo*

mother AGT breed-ADN silkworm

'the silkworms bred by my mother' (MYS.12.2991)

(10)

[***asuka-gapa*** *Ø* *yuku*] *se* *wo* *paya-mi*

Asuka-river go.ADN shallow OBJ fast-CONJ

'since the shallows where the Asuka River flows are fast' (MYS.11.2713)

(11)

[***pototogisu*** *Ø* *naku*] *kope*

cuckoo cry.ADN call

'the call of the cuckoo crying' (MYS 14.3352)

(12)

[*aki*	*no*	*nwo*	*ni*	*tuyu*	*Ø*	*opye-ru*
fall	GEN	field	LOC	dew		cover-ADN
pagwi]			*wo*	*ta-wora-zu*		
bush.clover			OBJ	hand-break-not		

'without breaking off the dew-laden bush clover in the fall meadow' (MYS 20.4318)

Furthermore, Yanagida claims that in OJ transitive clauses, *wo*-marked objects necessarily move to the left of the *ga*-marked subject, resulting in OSV word order, whereas when objects are bare, transitive clauses have canonical SOV word order, for example (13) and (14), as presented in Yanagida (2018, p. 408): [25]

(13)

kimi	*wo*	*aga*	*mat-an-akuni*
lord	OBJ	I.AGT	wait-not-NMLZ

'without me waiting for you' (MYS 17.3960)

(14)

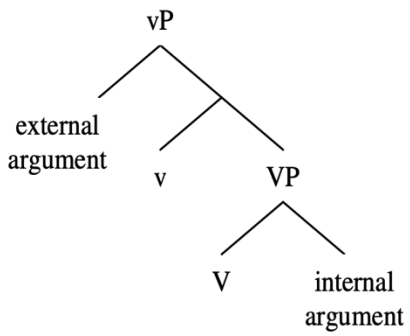
saywopimye	*no*	*kwo*	*ga*	*pire*	*Ø*	*puri-si*
Sayohime	GEN	child	AGT	scarf		wave-PST.ADN
yama						
mount						

[25] In both the active system and the accusative system in OJ, Yanagida (2018); Yanagida and Whitman (2009) propose that *wo* occurs on objects that are *specific*, while zero-marked objects are *non-specific*; however, in the active system, movement of *wo*-marked objects is *not* triggered by specificity. See Frellesvig et al. (2018) for differential object marking (DOM) in OJ.

'the mountain where the child Sayohime waved a scarf/ did scarf-waving' (MYS 5.868)

In Yanagida's analysis, the fact that *wo*-marked subjects necessarily move to the left of the *ga*-marked subject is taken as crucial evidence that *ga* is an active case marker. Before describing her analysis, it is necessary to first explain the theoretical assumptions. Yanagida assumes with Woolford (2008) that the ergative/active case is an *inherent* case, as opposed to a structural case (case assigned to a particular structural configuration), since it is inherently licensed to arguments associated with a particular theta-position (in this case, to the external argument). Following Chomsky (1995), the external argument is assumed to be theta-marked by the 'little-*v*' headin the *v*P phase, and following Woolford (2008), it is assumed that this *v* head can also license inherent case to the external argument:[26]

Figure 2-1 Syntax tree for the vP structure (Woolford, 2008, p. 20)



Yanagida proposes that *wo*-marked objects do not occur after *ga*-marked subjects because "given our assumption that ergative/active is assigned by *v* in a *v*P projection, the accusative is not licensed inside *v*P" (Yanagida, 2018, p. 408). Thus, bare objects following *ga*-marked

[26] The *v* head is a functional head responsible for assigning theta-roles. The *v*P phase (or argument structure) corresponds to the level of D-structure in earlier versions of the minimalist programme, where arguments are mapped onto internal and external argument positions and are theta-marked accordingly.

subjects are not assigned structural accusative case. Instead, based on Yanagida's observation that these bare object NPs are invariably non-branching, she proposes that they are incorporated into the transitive verb, a process that results in the verb being detransitivized.[27]

On the other hand, based on Yanagida's observation that *no* marks subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs, she identifies *no* as a subject marker in an accusative pattern, and proposes that the alternation between *no* vs. bare subject NPs (more specifically, bare intransitive subjects in subordinate clauses and bare transitive subjects in non-declarative main clauses) involves a type of DSM, which occurs when the subject NP is located lower on the nominal hierarchy. She proposes that this is an argument-triggered DSM associated with the parameter of specificity. Following Enç (1991), Yanagida assumes that "specific entities presuppose the existence of a set of individuals; the set of individuals is discourse-linked and refers to a previously mentioned set" (Yanagida, 2018, p. 413 (footnote 11)). For example, in (15), the *no*-marked subject *pito* 'people' is specific, as "it picks out someone in the family member"; whereas in (16), the bare subject *pito* is non-specific, as "the existence of the set of individuals is completely undefined in previous discourse"(Yanagida, 2018, p. 413).

(15)

ipe	***pito***	***no***	*idura-to*	*ware*	***wo***	*topa-ba*
home	someone	GEN	where-that	I	OBJ	ask-if
ikani	*ipa-mu*					
how	say-AUX					

'How should (I) say if someone in your family asks me where (you) are?' (MYS 15.3689)

[27] Crystal (2008, p. 240) defines noun incorporation as a phenomenon where 'a noun stem is used within a verb to form a complex verb'.

(16)

waga	*kosi*	*wo*	*pito*	*Ø*
1P.AGT	coming	OBJ	someone	
mike-mu	*kamo*			
see-FUT.ADN	Q			

'Would someone see me coming?' (MYS.11.2665)

The formal explanation behind this type of DSM is that, triggered by [+specific], subjects are moved to a higher position in the syntax (outside of the *v*P projection, to the specifier of TP) to be assigned morphological case in the form of *no*; in turn, *wo*-marked objects are allowed to occur after *no*-marked subjects because the *v* head is then available for accusative case-licensing.

The most apparent issue with Yanagida (2018) is that some of her generalizations simply are incorrect. It is clear that *ga* does also mark inanimate subject NPs of unaccusative verbs, which are low-ranking on the nominal hierarchy. For example, (17)—(18) serve as a counterargument to her hypothesis that *ga* is a marker of active case.[28]

(17)

pi	*ga*	*twore-ba*
sun	GEN	shine-PROV

'when the sun shines' (MYS 14.3561; EOJ)

(18)

[28] *Asi ga tiru* can be identified as a *makura kotoba* 'fixed epithet', suggesting that the expression may date back to an earlier period. However, this does not negate the fact that *ga* can be used to mark inanimate subject NPs of unaccusative verbs.

asi	*ga*	*tiru*	*nanipa*	*ni*
reed	GEN	scatter.ADN	Naniwa	DAT

'in Naniwa where reed scatters' (MYS.20.4362)

Furthermore, the generalization that in transitive clauses, *wo*-marked objects must move to the left of *ga*-marked subjects—which she uses to support her active hypothesis and her argument that the genitive markers *no* and *ga* are associated with entirely different syntactic properties—is flawed. In the entire poetic corpus, there are 6 phonographic attestations of NP-*ga*…NP-*wo* (FK.8; 9, MYS.5.872; 14.3534; 16.3791; 18.4036) and merely 7 phonographic attestations of NP-*no*…NP-*wo* (MYS.2.196a; 2.196b; 7.1376; 8.1446; 9.1697; 15.3689; 18.4094b). Therefore, it is not plausible for Yanagida to argue that it is *no*, rather than *ga*, that can appear before *wo*-marked objects, especially given the scarcity of both. Furthermore, Yanagida claims that transitive subjects are never unmarked. However, this is untrue given the counterexample in (19). In this example, the bare subject *pito* 'people', which when genitive-marked, is always marked by *no*, has a weakly specific reading, with its possible referents restricted by the place name *nanipa* 'Naniwa', contradicting Yanagida's prediction:

(19)

nanipa	pito	*Ø*	asi-pwi	taku	ya
Naniwa	people		reed-fire	kindle.ADN	house

'the house where people in Naniwa burn reeds' (MYS.11.2651)

Furthermore, another major limitation of Yanagida (2018) is that it poses the distribution of *ga vs.* bare subject NPs and *no vs.* bare subject NPs as *mutually exclusive*. This approach fails to account for cases where the same noun, or nouns belonging to the same category on the nominal hierarchy, are marked differently. For example, we find variation in genitive subject marking

even on the same inanimate subjects such as *pi-no/-ga* ‘sun’; *nadesikwo-no/-ga* ‘pink’. In addition, examples (20) and (21) show variation in the marking of personal names, which are animate, specific, and have the same degree of control over the same activity:

(20)

susukori	***ga***	*kami-si*	*mi-ki*
Susukori	GEN	brew-SPST.ADN	RESP-alcohol
ni	*ware*	*wepi-ni-kyeri*	
DAT	we	drunk-PERF-MPST	

‘We got drunk from the honourable alcohol that Susukori brewed.’ (KK.49)

(21)

opomononusi	***no***	*kami-si*	*mi-ki*
Opomononusi	GEN	brew-SPST.ADN	RESP-alcohol
iku-pisa		*iku-pisa*	
how.many-long		how.many-long	

‘O, the honourable alcohol that Opomononusi brewed! How eternal! How everlasting!’ (NSK.15)

Regarding examples (20) and (21), it is entirely unclear under what conditions the choice is made between the active pattern (*ga*-marking) and the accusative pattern (*no*-marking) for nouns that are both specific and within the range of AHM where the active pattern might occur. Furthermore, if non-human subject NPs such as *pototogisu* in (11), repeated below in (22), do not receive active marking due to their low position on the nominal hierarchy, one might wonder how Yanagida would interpret (23), where the *ga*-marked subject NP is also a type of bird and is the subject of *nak-* ‘cry’

(22)

[*pototogisu*	Ø	*naku*]	*kowe*
cuckoo		cry.ADN	call

'the call of the cuckoo crying' (MYS.14.3352)

(23)

tadu	***ga***	*naku*	*nagwo-ye*
egret	GEN	cry.ADN	Nago-bay

'Nago bay where the egrets cry' (MYS.18.4116)[29]

2.7 Differences between clause-marking *no* and *ga* in OJ: Wrona (2010, 2012)

Wrona (2010), focusing on the complement system in OJ, argues that there are significant differences between adnominal clause-marking *no* and *ga* in terms of the historical processes giving rise to their distribution in OJ.[30] In Wrona (2010), all instances of clause-marking *ga* in OJ is said to be involved in the so-called "formal noun constructions", with *ga* intercalated between an adnominal clause and a formal noun (*keishiki meishi*). There is little consensus among scholars as to what items are to be included in the group of formal nouns. Most scholars use the term to refer to a group of lexical items that are assumed to be nouns originally but have, to differing extents, undergone semantic changes so that they have gained some (semi-)grammatical uses (24)—(25).

[29] In some examples, *tadu ga naku* can be identified as a *makura kotoba*, meaning 'egrets', rather than 'egrets cry'. However, this is not the case in MYS.18.4116.

[30] Wrona does not regard OJ *ga* in this function as a complementizer; it is recognized as a usage of the genitive *ga* in marking subject adnominal complements.

(24)

wagimokwo	*ni*	*mise-mu*	***ga***	*tame*	*ni*
my.beloved	DAT	show-CJR.ADN	GEN	sake	COP.INF

'In order to show (them) to my beloved one' (MYS.19.4222)

(25)

pimo	*toki-sake-te*	*nuru*	***ga***	*pe*	*ni*
cord	untie-take.off-GER	sleep.ADN	GEN	top	COP.INF

ado	*sero*	*to*	*kamo*
how	do.IMP	COMP	EMPH

'In addition to untying (her) cord and sleep (with her), what can I do?' (MYS.14.3465; EOJ)

Some scholars, including Wrona, use a syntactic criterion for the inclusion of particular items, based on the observation that formal nouns can be modified by relative clauses through the mediation of *ga*. Based on Wrona's criterion, the following items are identified as formal nouns: *tame* 'sake', *yuwe* 'reason', *(u)pe* '(when used metaphorically) in addition to', *nape ni* 'while', *kara (ni)* 'because', *goto-* 'is like', and adjective stems combined with the exclamatory formative *-sa* (e.g., *tomosi-sa* 'enviable-ACOP.EXCL', which Wrona refers to as *sa*-derivatives).

Wrona suggests that the presence of clause-marking *ga* exclusively in formal noun constructions is due to the "category indeterminacy" of both the formal noun head and the preceding adnominal clause. He argues that some speakers insert *ga* as they interpret the adnominal clause "as a nominalized clause referring to state of affairs" and the formal noun as a noun (Wrona, 2010, p. 470). Furthermore, from a diachronic perspective, Wrona questions whether clause-marking *ga* should be considered an innovation or a relic from an earlier stage

of the Japanese language, where all relative clauses had to modify a noun through the mediation of *ga*. He argues that the latter situation is not plausible since firstly, if that was the case, one would expect *ga* to be found in relative clause constructions where the head noun is fully nominal. Secondly, the nominal form would have been the primary choice for constructing relative clauses, if the preferred pattern for relative clauses had been a nominalized clause with a genitive marker, and instead, there are only two examples of the nominal form constructing with a noun through the mediation of a genitive (always *no*, never *ga*) in the entire poetic corpus (26)—(27).

(26)

tat-e*raku* ***no*** *taduki* *mo* sira-zu

stand-STAT.NMNL GEN means FOC know-NEG.CONCL

'standing up I have no way out' (MYS.13.3272)

(27)

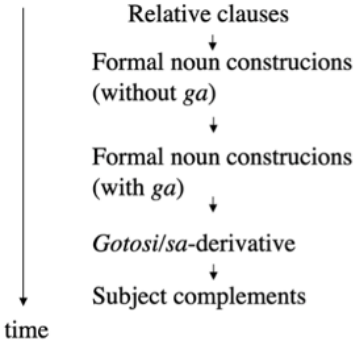
wora*ku* ***no*** *okuka* *mo* sira-zu

sit.NMNL GEN deep.distance FOC know-NEG.CONCL

'sitting down I have no way out' (MYS.13.3272)

Viewing clause-marking *ga* as an innovation resulted from category indeterminacy of the formal noun head and the preceding clause, Wrona proposes that the formal noun constructions involving *ga* are vital in the diachronic development of the subject complement function of the adnominal form, bridging the semantic and syntactic gap between relative clauses and subject complements:

Figure 2-2 Diachronic development of the subject complement usage of the adnominal form (Wrona, 2010, p. 277)



Wrona observes that clause-marking *no* is intercalated in relative clause constructions where the head nouns are fully nominal and the prenominal clauses always end with the conjectural auxiliary *-(a)m-* in the adnominal form.

(28)

taye-*mu* ***no*** kokoro

cease-CJR.ADN GEN will

'The intention to end it' (MYS.12.3071)

(29)

kakara-mu ***no*** kokoro siri-*seba*

be.this.way-CJR.ADN GEN heart know-SPST.PRV

opomipune pate-*si* *tomari* *ni*

HON.boat anchor-SPST.ADN stopping.place DAT

sime yupa-*masi* *wo*

sign bind-SJV.ADN CONN

'If I had known their intention would be like this, I would have tied a sign at the dock where that honourable boat anchored (to ward off evil spirits)!' (MYS.2.151)

Invoking concepts from Government-Binding theory and the theoretical assumptions proposed by Kaplan and Whitman (1995), Wrona assumes that the adnominal morpheme resides in C^0 (i.e., the clausal projection in Japanese relative clauses is a complementizer phrase, CP) whereas the conclusive only projects to a category smaller than CP, specifically at the level of the tense phrase (TP). Wrona suggests that *no* is inserted in the relative clause constructions as a C-element (a functional element of the complementizer category heading CP) due to the lack of an overt C-element where some speakers think there is need for one. In this case, speakers who look for an overt C-element like the adnominal morpheme may find it lacking with regard to verbs and auxiliaries belonging to the QD conjugation (e.g., the conjectural *-(a)m-*) whose adnominal and conclusive are segmentally indistinct. He adds that in OJ, clause-marking *no* was mostly likely used as a genitive rather than as a C-element, but it may be reinterpreted as a C-element by subsequent generations. This proposal is further expanded in Wrona (2012), who argues that the clause-marking uses of *no*, which come to be frequently used instead of *ga* from the second half of the LMJ, are uses from which the nominalizer *no* is generalized in early NJ.

2.8 Conclusion

There has been a variety of approaches to the puzzle of the distribution of genitive *no* and *ga* in OJ, ranging from semantic formulations to socio-linguistic parameters, dialectical and age variations to formal syntax, and even phonological criteria. Despite the diversity of approaches and differing opinions presented in previous accounts, most of these works share several common aspects and weaknesses.

Firstly, they mostly focus on only *one* potential influence of the distribution of *no* and *ga*, without considering the possibility that their distribution may be conditioned by a combination of factors. For example, it is clear from Ohno (1974, 1977a, 1978) that he believes

that *all* patterns of *no* and *ga* could be explained by honorific or social differentiation Secondly, because most past studies did not use, or did not have access to, a corpus of OJ texts, their analyses are limited to qualitative assessments with little or no frequency distribution to support their hypotheses. These studies predominantly focus on examples that support their hypotheses while ignoring a significant number of counterexamples. Thirdly, all of the above studies do not distinguish between logographically written data and phonographically written data, and many aspects of their proposals are based on examples where the genitive in question is logographically written, which is an ambiguous recording of linguistic forms. Lastly, regarding the use of linguistic theories in past studies, those on OJ genitive subject marking, such as Yanagida (2018), are often so theory-oriented that their theoretical generalizations overshadow the actual data. In contrast, the hypotheses made by the traditional Japanese grammarians are often based on loose and vague ideas, lacking a theoretical backbone (e.g., Yamada (1954); Ohno (1974, 1977a, 1978)).

In this thesis, I consider a number of factors that may influence the choice of genitive *no* and *ga*, drawn from past literature on the subject as well as cross-linguistic studies on synchronic variation. I include all examples where the particles *no* and *ga* are recorded phonographically. My main aim is to provide a comprehensive description of the synchronic state of affairs, employing theories or concepts only when they prove beneficial.

3. CONCEPTS AND PARAMETERS

In this chapter, I introduce the concepts and parameters involved in the synchronic analysis of OJ data, making use of insights drawn from past studies on the distribution of *no* and *ga* in OJ as well as cross-linguistic studies on noun semantics and grammatical variation. The concepts under discussion pertain to 1) genitive-marked dependent nouns/subject nouns, focusing on animacy, individuation, and specificity; 2) head nouns in noun-modifying constructions, focusing on relationality; and 3) the semantics of noun-modifying constructions, focusing on possessive relations. The concepts mentioned above do *not* cover all the factors that are considered in this study; rather, they are the ones that require more extensive explication before analysing the synchronic data. Some of the parameters need to be operationalized to be employed empirically, in which case, their operational definitions will be supplied in §3.6. This overview is not intended to provide an exhaustive account of the notions mentioned above but rather serves as a starting point for discussing these concepts as applied in previous studies and the present study.

3.1 Animacy

'Animacy', when used to refer to an extra-linguistic conceptual property, concerns the dichotomy between living and non-living entities. When used to describe and explain phenomena in human languages, it can refer to animacy in the sense of [±animate] and/or [±human], or as a cover term for the so-called "animacy hierarchy" commonly discussed in typological literature. In this study, I distinguish animacy (in the sense of [±animate]/[±human]) from the animacy hierarchy (§3.1.1). For clarity, the term 'animacy' is used exclusively to refer to the former parameter(s) and the animacy dimension within the animacy hierarchy.

There is a variety of ways in which animacy is referred to across languages. Ortmann (1998) investigates the role of animacy in gender systems, providing an overview of cases where the linguistic reflexes of animacy are grammaticalized (e.g., in case marking, subject agreement, word order, nominal inflection, nominal classifier systems, etc). Ortmann (1998, pp. 64-67) classifies languages whose gender system is based on an [±animate] split as "vitalist" languages (e.g., Lak, a Northeast Caucasian language), and those with a gender system based on a [±human] split as "hominist (or 'rationalist')" languages (e.g., Bantu and some Dravidian languages). The existence of the "hominist" classification reflects the anthropocentric character of human languages, where concepts such as sentiency are often prioritized within the cognitive domain of animacy (Yamamoto, 1999, pp. 9-14).

In addition to its systematic role in the areas of grammar described above, animacy may also influence grammatical variation. One of the most studied phenomena relevant to animacy and grammatical variation is the so-called genitive alternation in English. English has two constructions expressing genitive relations. For example, one may say *the woman's eyes* or *the eyes of the woman*, and both are acceptable. The former construction involves the clitic/inflection *'s*, where the possessor (*the woman*) is positioned before the possessed entity ((*the*) *eyes*).[31] The latter construction involves the preposition *of*, where the possessor follows the possessed entity. These two constructions are commonly referred to as the "*s*-genitive" and the "*of*-genitive". Corpus studies on the factors that may influence the choice between the *s*-genitive and the *of*-genitive include Leech et al. (1994), Anschutz (1997), and Hundt (1997, 1998). Experimental surveys include various works by Rosenbach (2002, 2014). Corpus studies show that numerous factors—such as semantic, phonological, morphological, and pragmatic considerations—affect English genitive variation. Specifically, the *s*-genitive

[31] The category of the possessive *'s* in present-day English is much debated, it is difficult to identify the possessive *'s* as a genuine clitic or as a genuine inflection. See Rosenbach (2002) for a summary of the discussion.

predominantly occurs with animate possessors, while the *of*-genitive is typically used with inanimate possessors. Nonetheless, there are instances where the s-genitive appears with inanimate possessors, particularly in contexts where the possessor is a temporal noun (e.g., yesterday's temperature) or a locational/geographical noun (e.g., London's suburbs). Rosenbach (2002)'s experimental survey and quantitative analysis reveal that, among the factors considered in her study (animacy, topicality, possessive relation), animacy is the most influential in determining the speaker's choice of genitive construction. Topicality follows in importance, while the possessive relation is the least significant factor. Furthermore, Rosenbach and Vezzosi (2000) and Rosenbach (2002) show that diachronically, the constraint exerted by an [+animate] possessor on the choice of genitive construction changes throughout the history of the English language. In the early Modern English period (1400—1630), an [–animate] possessor had been the knock-out criterion for the occurrence of the *s*-genitive (except for a very few cases of idiomatic uses and personifications). In present-day English (more so in American English than in British English), we find an (ongoing) extension of the *s*-genitive used with an [–animate] possessor.

It is not always the case that the linguistic manifestations of animacy are strictly based on the parameters of [±animacy]/[±human]. We find cases where some nouns represent an intermediate category between [±animacy]/[±human]. For example, in Manam, the dual and paucal noun forms are used for higher animals. And while human beings and domesticated animals are always treated as higher animals grammatically, for wild animals either option is acceptable (cf.Croft, 2003). Dahl and Fraurud (1996) suggest several ways in which animacy or personhood can extend beyond prototypical cases, including metaphorical extension, mythological beings, and animals. As Croft (2003, p. 130) argues, animacy is often "not an ordering of discrete categories, but rather a more or less continuous category ranging from most animate to least animate", with its manifestations varying across languages and often being

anthropocentric. In this study, animacy is one of the factors used to examine the data. Its operational definition is provided in §3.6.1.

3.1.1 Nominal hierarchies

There is a widespread agreement in linguistic literature that nominals can be classified or ranked with regard to certain concepts and parameters. I refer to the different proposals of how we may order nominals as "nominal hierarchies". The basic idea is that the various versions of the hierarchy "reflect speakers' different degrees of empathy with different types of entities and their different needs and/or abilities to perceive those as individuals" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2006a, p. 720). It is important to note that there is no such thing as *the* nominal hierarchy—the ways in which we may classify or rank nominals vary from language to language. Past proposals include, for example, Silverstein (1976)'s hierarchy of features and ergativity (1) and Allan (1987)'s personal hierarchy (2), etc. Common to all these proposals is the implication that nominal subcategories to the left are more likely to express various grammatical phenomena than those to the right.

(1)

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > proper name > human >animate > inanimate

(2)

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person human > higher animals > other organisms > inorganic matter > abstract nouns

Nominal hierarchies such as the above are also referred to by the term "animacy hierarchy", highlighting the role that animacy plays in nominal subcategorization. The term "animacy hierarchy" is potentially misleading and inaccurate, as it presupposes the predominant status

of animacy. However, animacy, understood as [±animacy]/[±human], is just one of many parameters involved in nominal hierarchies. Other parameters include person, lexical categories of nouns, referentiality, and specificity/definiteness, among others. Socially based distinctions are also mentioned in the literature regarding nominal hierarchies. For example, in earlier Slavic languages, masculine animate nouns and gendered pronouns that are definite and refer to healthy, freeborn, adult males receive special object marking. Specifically, they appear in the genitive form (known as the genitive accusative) rather than the expected accusative form (3) (Weiss, 2015, p. 119).

(3)

Cysta,	*Krysta*	*jeś*	*poczęła*
Pure.NOM.SG.F	Christ.GEN-ACC	AUX.2S	conceived.NOM.SG.F

'Pure, you conceived Christ.' (Old Polish; 14th century)

The parameters involved in nominal hierarchies are highly interactive, yet they remain logically independent and exhibit irreducible differences. We often find cases of cross-cutting of different features involved in the hierarchy. For example, the [±pronoun] distinction cross-cuts the [±animacy]/[±human] opposition. A pronoun with a human referent is placed higher on the hierarchy, even though it is no more animate than a common noun with a human referent. Thus, as Comrie (1981, p. 195) argues, "the hierarchy, even as established in purely linguistic terms, is not a single linear parameter on which all individual noun phrases can be arranged".

One of the most frequently discussed case studies in which a nominal hierarchy is used to describe and explain linguistic phenomena is split-ergative case marking. A language has a split-ergative marking when its case marking pattern splits between ergative and accusative. In a nominative-accusative case marking pattern, the subjects of both transitive and intransitive

verbs are marked in the same way (nominative marking), while the objects of transitive verbs are marked differently (accusative marking). In an ergative-absolutive case marking pattern, the subjects of intransitive verbs and the objects of transitive verbs are marked one way (absolutive marking), while the subjects of transitive verbs are marked in another way (ergative marking). It has been proposed that in some languages, such a split can be captured by the aforementioned Silverstein (1976)'s hierarchy of features and ergativity, which is repeated below as (4). In this hierarchy, the nominative-accusative pattern is more likely to appear with nominals towards the left-hand side, while the ergative-absolutive pattern is more common with nominals towards the right-hand side.

(4)

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > proper name > human >animate > inanimate

One functional explanation for this pattern is that nominals on the left-hand side of the hierarchy are more likely to serve as the subject of a transitive verb (i.e., as an agent), while nominals on the right-hand side are more likely to fulfil the role of object. Overt case marking functions to 'highlight' the nonstandard role of a nominal, while a nominal in its 'default' role is likely to remain unmarked. Thus, it is functional to overtly mark nominals at the right end of the hierarchy with an ergative case when they serve as the subject of a transitive verb, and to mark those at the left end with an accusative case when they serve as objects. For example, in Dyirbal, only first- and second-person pronouns have nominative-accusative marking; all other nominals have ergative-absolutive marking (Dixon, 1994).

(5)

ŋana	*banaga-ŋu*
we.NOM	return-NONFUT

‘we returned.’

(6)

ŋurra *banaga-ŋu*

you.PL.NOM return-NONFUT

‘you all returned.’

(7)

ŋurra *ŋana-**na*** *bura-n*

you.PL.NOM we-**ACC** see-NONFUT

‘you all saw us.’

(8)

ŋuma *yabu-**ŋgu*** *bura-n*

father.ABS mother-**ERG** see-NONFUT

‘Mother saw father.’

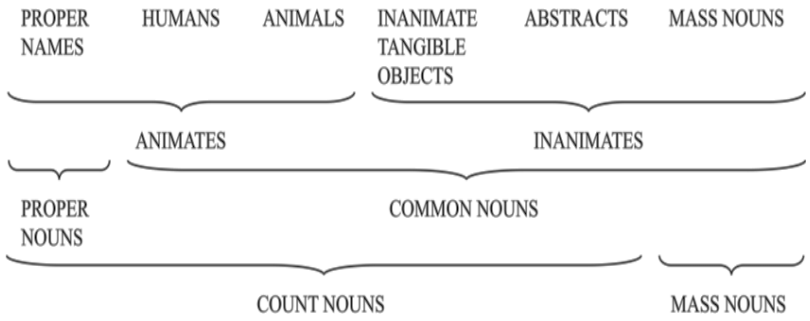
Silverstein’s hierarchy is also used by scholars such as Yanagida (2018) to explain the distribution of OJ *no* and *ga* as subject markers, involving the proposal that active marking (with *ga*) in OJ is primarily guided by the hierarchy (§2.6).

While nominal hierarchies provide a useful starting point for making cross-linguistic generalizations and explaining language-specific phenomena, their complexity makes them challenging to apply effectively in empirical studies. Therefore, in this study, I do not use the nominal hierarchies as a single factor. Instead, I examine the distributional facts related to each individual factor within the hierarchies. I then refer back to the hierarchies to assess how the OJ data fits within the broader context of cross-linguistic studies on nominal subcategorization.

3.2 Individuation

It is debated whether the notion of the nominal hierarchies could be subsumed into other parameters. One suggestion is that all the factors involved in the nominal hierarchies could be subordinated to the concept of "individuation". Individuation relates to "the way in which certain actants present in a situation are seized on by humans as foci of attention, only subsequently attention being paid to less salient, less individuated objects" (Comrie, 1981, p. 199). Proposals of individuation hierarchies include Sasse (1993) (Figure.3-1), Timberlake (1977) (9), as well as Nomura (1993b) (§2.4), repeated below as (10). Sasse (1993) and Timberlake (1977) both propose that animacy, along with other factors such as topicality, definiteness, mass-count distinction, and number, are key components within individuation.

Figure 3-1 Sasse (1993)'s individuation hierarchy



(9)

individuated		**non-individuated**
proper		common
human	animate	inanimate
concrete		abstract
singular		plural
definite		indefinite

(10)

personal pronouns > proper nouns > common nouns > abstract nouns

Rosenbach (2002) relates the distribution of *s*-genitive and *of*-genitive in English to the concept of individuation, noting that the *s*-genitive typically occurs with possessors exhibiting the properties of individuated entities described by Timberlake (1977). According to Rosenbach (2002, p. 70), the optimal or prototypical possessor for the *s*-genitive is "a uniquely identifiable individual human being". Furthermore, as I previously discussed, Nomura (1993b) argues that in OJ, *ga* tends to attach to nouns that are highly individuated.

As it is shown above, the individuation hierarchies share many similarities with the nominal hierarchies. One issue with their similarities is that it may cause confusion about whether nominal hierarchies and individuation hierarchies should be considered distinct concepts or if they are, in fact, just two ways of referring to the same thing. On one hand, using Timberlake's (1977) individuation hierarchy as an example, there are irreducible discrepancies between his proposal and nominal hierarchies. Timberlake's hierarchy suggests that singular nouns are more individuated than plural nouns. However, as Comrie (1981) notes, this opposition is not consistently reflected in linguistic reference to animacy. For instance, in some Slavic languages like Russian, plurality *increases* the likelihood of a noun taking the animate accusative ending, whereas in Polish, plurality *decreases* this likelihood. On the other hand, Nomura (1993b)'s individuation hierarchy is nearly identical to those of Silverstein (1976) and Allan (1987), raising the question of whether the difference is merely terminological.

The individuation hierarchies, like the nominal hierarchies, are not employed as a factor in the empirical part of this study.

3.3 Specificity

The term "specificity" is widely used to describe various pragmatic and semantic properties of indefinite NPs. Scholars characterize specificity in a variety of ways. Broadly speaking, an indefinite NP is often labelled specific if the speaker can identify the referent, but the hearer cannot. In this section, I outline two characterizations of specificity that I find applicable to the OJ data.[32] However, before doing so, I would like to clarify why I have chosen to focus on "specificity" rather than "definiteness". Unlike English, where the definite and indefinite articles serve as unambiguous markers of definiteness, in Japanese (and in OJ), there is no linguistic pattern that functions as such. Apart from those nominals that can be regarded as inherently definite and specific (i.e., personal pronouns, demonstratives, proper nouns), we cannot identify, solely from the shape of words, whether the NP in question is definite or indefinite. Thus, although the terms "specific" and "non-specific" are typically used in reference to indefinites, in the present study, since definiteness is a parameter that cannot be straightforwardly applied to OJ, the investigation of the specificity of NPs marked by *no/ga* will apply to all common noun NPs (i.e., a class of nouns that is not inherently definite or specific).

In the beginning of this section, I mentioned that an indefinite NP is considered specific if the speaker can identify the referent, but the hearer cannot. Such a characterization of specificity is usually termed "referential specificity" and refers to the referential intentions of the speaker. An NP is "referential" if it denotes a particular entity, and "non-referential" if it is attributive and only functions to indicate class membership. In (11), the specific reading of the indefinite NP involves direct reference, meaning the speaker has in mind a particular Swedish person whom Mary wishes to marry (though the hearer cannot identify this person). On the

[32] For a comprehensive account of indefiniteness and specificity see: von Heusinger (2019).

other hand, the non-specific reading does not involve direct reference, as it simply means that Mary wishes to marry anyone who is Swedish.

(11)

Mary wants to marry **a Swede**.

Specificity is also characterized through the concept of partitivity (Enç, 1991). An indefinite NP which is ambiguous with respect to specificity is specific if it has a partitive reading based on the context. For example, suppose that utterance (12a) is followed by utterance (12b), and the domain of discourse is empty before the utterance of (12a).

(12)

a. Several children entered my room.

b. I knew **two girls**.

In (12b), *two girls* is specific if the referent of *two girls* is included in the referent of *several children* mentioned in (12a), where the indefinite NP introduces a discourse referent that is previously unmentioned but is related to, or part of, a previously established discourse referent. On the other hand, *two girls* is non-specific if the referent of *two girls* is *not* included in the referent of *several children*, because *two girls* cannot be a subgroup of any other groups mentioned prior to the utterance of (12a) as the domain of discourse is empty before it. It has been proposed that partitive specificity plays an important role in the morpho-syntactic phenomenon of differential argument marking (DAM). In English, indefinite NPs in positions like (12) are always ambiguous with respect to specificity without further context. However, in some languages, the specificity status of indefinite NPs is indicated explicitly through case marking. In Turkish, it is always unambiguous whether an indefinite NP in the direct objects

position is specific or non-specific: specific direct objects are marked by the accusative case morpheme *i*, whereas non-specific direct objects are not marked. Enç (1991, p. 6) proposes that *i*-marked objects have a "covert partitive meaning", as in (13b), the direct object marked by *i* indicates that the two girls are included in the group of children established by the utterance of (13a).

(13)

a. Odam-a birkaç çocuk girdi.
my-room-DAT several child entered
'Several children entered my room.'

b. Ikı kız-**i** tanıyordum.
two girl-ACC I-knew
'I knew two girls.'

c. Ikı kız tanıyordum.
two girl I-knew
'I knew two girls.'

Similarly, Frellesvig et al. (2018) investigate the distribution of the accusative case marker *wo* in OJ in relation to specificity and find that all *wo*-marked object NPs are specific.[33] Based on (14), as presented in Frellesvig et al. (2018, p. 184), *kaya* 'grass' introduces a discourse referent

[33] However, specificity does not seem to be a sufficient condition for object NPs to be marked in OJ, as not all specific objects are accusative case marked.

that is previously unmentioned but is part of the grass under *kwomatu* ‘the small pine’, which is a definite discourse entity given by the context of the poem.

(14)

[*NP*	*kwomatu*	*ga*	*sita*	*no*	*kaya*	***wo***]
	small.pine	GEN	under	GEN	grass	**ACC**
	kara-sane					
	cut-RESP.OPT					

‘(I) want (you) to cut some of the grass under the small pine.’ (MYS 1.11)

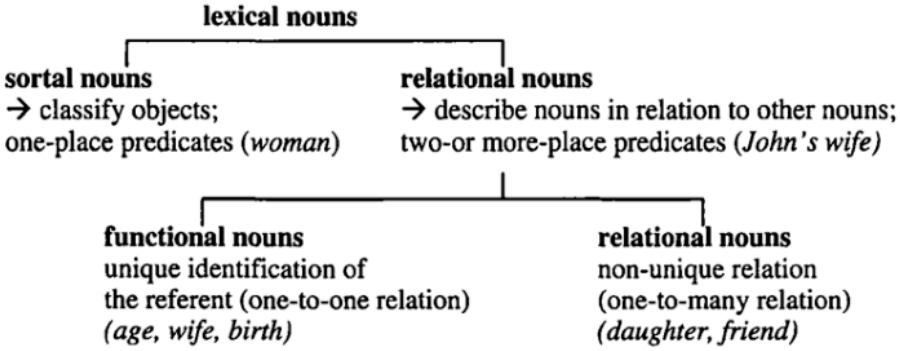
Specificity is a factor considered in this thesis and its operational definition will be provided in §3.6.2.

3.4 Relationality

There are two basic lexical interpretations associated with nouns. Nouns that are non-relational denote individual objects and are not (typically) related to other entities (e.g., *table, woman, bag*). On the other hand, nouns that are relational are defined by their relation to another entity (e.g., *husband, neighbour, consequence*) and cannot be understood without the other entity. Such a subdivision of the noun category can be traced back to works by traditional grammarians such as Behaghel (1923-1932), who distinguishes between “absolute Begriffe” (absolute concepts) and “relative Begriffe” (relative concepts). In modern linguistics, theories on the relationality of nouns mainly stem from works on definiteness (e.g., Löbner (1985) and Fraurud (1996)), possession, alienability, and the Generative Lexicon Theory (Pustejovsky, 1996).

Löbner (1985) classifies lexical nouns as follows (as summarized in Rosenbach (2002, p. 63)):

Figure 3-2 Löbner's (1985) classification of lexical nouns



In Löbner's categorization, "sortal nouns" correspond to non-relational nouns. Löbner (1985) compares sortal nouns to one-place predicates, as *woman* is like a one-place predicate, requiring reference to only one entity to understand its meaning or referent.[34] He then compares relational nouns to two-or-more-place predicates, noting that understanding the referent of a word like *wife* requires reference to two entities, namely the husband and the wife.[35] Relational nouns are further subcategorized into those with a unique referent (i.e., "functional nouns"; for example, the phrase *my birth* allows only one referent) and those with a non-unique, one-to-many relationship with their referents (i.e., "relational nouns"; for example, social relations such as *my friend*). Löbner (1985)'s theorization of relational nouns shares similarities with Fraurud (1996)'s classification of "functionals" in his theory of referent ontology:

[34] "Sortal noun" is a term originally coined by the philosopher Peter Strawson. Sortal nouns classify entities into *sorts* and "provide a principle for distinguishing and counting individual particulars"(Strawson, 1959).

[35] Nevertheless, Löbner (1985, pp. 292-293) notes that, if we solely focus on the "sortal content" of a noun, a sortal noun such as *woman* and a relational noun such as *daughter* can become "coextensional", as every female human is a daughter. He also argues that nouns such as *time* (in uses such as *what time is it*) and *situation*, which do not invoke a relation with another tangible entity, should still be considered relational because they involve a "situational argument".

> Functionals are conceived of only in relation to other entities or elements, i.e., their anchors. They are identifiable only indirectly, via these anchors, by means of relational definite descriptions such as *his nose* or *the nose.* The relevant question when interpreting NPs referring to Functionals is *Whose?* or *Of whom/what?*. Typical examples of Functionals are parts of wholes such as the nose [of a person] and the windscreen [of a car]. Other examples are more or less abstract entities like the gross national product [of a country] [during a certain period] and role fillers like the postman [of a certain district] [at a particular day]. (Fraurud, 1996, p. 71)

However, a closer examination reveals that that relationality is not a categorical lexical feature for most nouns. Words such as *book* and *table*, which at the first glance appear to be non-relational, are in fact, lexically supplied with both relational and non-relational interpretations in their semantic structure, as a book is related to its author(s) and a table is related to its maker(s) (cf. Pustejovsky (1996)'s "qualia structure").[36] On the other hand, a door is usually interpreted relationally (e.g., the door of a house). However, as Fraurud (1996, p. 69) suggests, it is equally possible to conceive of a door non-relationally, as an independent entity—for instance, when discussing a door in a carpentry shop. Thus, "the distinctions [between relational nouns and non-relational nouns] apply to uses or occurrences of nouns rather than to nouns as such" (Löbner, 1985, p. 292).

Relationality is also discussed in the literature on the alienable vs. inalienable possession split, where the semantics of the possessee and its relationship to the possessor

[36] Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006a, p. 722) refers to them as "relational in a weak sense".

determine the construction chosen for encoding adnominal possession. For example, in Maltese (Semitic) (15) (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2006b, p. 767):

(15)

a. *Inalienable possession*:

bin is-sultān

son DEF-king

'the king's son'

id ir-raġel

hand DEF-man

'the man's hand'

b. Alienable possession:

is-siġġu ta' Pietru

DEF-chair of peter

'Peter's chair'

It is often stated that the inalienable (closed) class of nouns are relational (kinship, body parts, etc). However, the phenomenon of possession split cannot be adequately captured using only semantic characterizations. Cross-linguistically, we find non-relational nouns such as culturally basic possessions (e.g., arrows, beds, spears, domestic animals) being classified as a member of the inalienable class. Likewise, it is common for some, but not all kin terms to be considered within the inalienable class (cf. Nichols (1988); Heine (1997)). Thus, it has been argued by scholars that the alienability split should be primarily considered as a lexical classification,

rather than a semantic one (cf. Nichols (1988); Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006b); Stolz (2008)). In §3.6.3, I supply the operational definition for relationality.

3.5 Possessive relations

The array of semantic relations between the possessor and the possessed in adnominal possession is challenging to classify and define. When discussing "possession", notions such as "belonging", "ownership", and "control" may come to mind. However, in linguistics, the situation is complicated by the fact that the same linguistic device used to encode possession (in the strict sense) can also encode a variety of other semantic relations, such as kinship, whole-part relationships, location, social relations, and temporal relations. As Rosenbach (2002, p. 58) highlights, even a seemingly simple expression like *John's book* can have various meanings depending on the context: it could refer to the book John bought, the book John wrote or is about to write, the book John is currently reading, and so on. Frustration has been expressed by scholars such as Kempson (1977, p. 125), who argues that we cannot adequately capture possessive meanings and that "we can say little about the meaning of possessive constructions other than that there must be some relation of association between the 'possessor' and the 'possessed'. The meaning is otherwise quite indeterminate". However, many scholars object to the view that it is impossible to formulate taxonomies or characterizations for the uses and meanings of adnominal possession. In this section, I outline the two approaches most relevant to the present study: the prototype approach and the typologically oriented possession approach.

The concept of a "prototype" is often a method of organizing a wide range of items. Items that closely conform to the prototype are considered the most common and productive, while those that diverge from it are less productive and their acceptability becomes increasingly

subject to individual usage. Considering possession in its strict sense as the prototype, Taylor (1999) construes prototypical possession as the following (16):

(16)

Prototype approach (Taylor, 1999, p. 301):

(a) The possessor is human

(b) The possessee is a thing

(c) The possessor has privileged rights of access to the possessee

(d) For any possessee, there is typically only one possessor

(e) The possessee is usually in spatial proximity to the possessor

(f) The possession relation is long-term

(g) The relation was sanctioned by a legal transaction

(h) The relation can only be terminated by a transfer-of-ownership transaction.

It is clear from the above defining criteria that Taylor considers long-term legal ownership as the ideal context. However, as Taylor (1999, p. 301) himself admits, the criteria "fail to capture the intuition that kinship relations and part-whole relations are probably no less basic, linguistically and conceptually, than possession narrowly construed". Taylor also acknowledges that within his model, it is difficult to conceptualize how an event in event possessives (e.g., *my travel*) can be "possessed" by a participant. Additionally, locative relations (e.g., *London's banks*) would also be rendered non-prototypical in his model, despite the fact that these meanings are very widespread in adnominal possession in many languages around the world.

To some extent, the typologically oriented approach addresses the semantic relations that are inadequately captured by the prototype approach. Typological research on possession, largely derived from studies on alienability (e.g., Nichols (1988); Heine (1997)), provides lists

or scales of semantic relations that are most likely to be treated as inalienable possession across languages. Below, I cite lists and scales from various scholars (17). Common to all of them is the proposal that kinship, body parts/part-whole relationships, and spatial relations are the three core domains for the semantic membership of inalienable classes.

(17)

a. *Nichols (1988, p. 572)*

Kin terms and/or body parts > part-whole and/or spatial relations > culturally basic possessed items (e.g., domestic animals)

b. *Chappell and McGregor (1996)*

1. A close biological or social bond between two people (e.g., kin)
2. Integral relationship (e.g., body parts and other parts of a whole)
3. Inherent relationship (e.g., spatial relations)
4. Essential for one's livelihood or survival

c. *Heine (1997, p. 10)*

1. Kinship roles
2. Body parts
3. Relational spatial concepts like 'top', 'bottom', 'interior', etc
4. Parts of other items, like 'branch', 'handle', etc
5. Physical and mental states, like 'strength', 'fear', etc
6. Nominalizations, where the 'possessee' is a verbal noun, for example 'his singing', 'the planting of bananas'

7. Individual concepts in a given language that may also be treated inalienably, such as ‘name’, ‘voice’, ‘smell’, ‘shadow’, ‘footprint’, ‘property’, ‘home’, etc.

The distinction between inalienable and alienable possession, as described above, cannot be directly applied to scenarios of genitive variation where the choice between genitive particles is not grammaticalized (e.g., OJ). However, it provides a useful point of departure for understanding which semantic relations between the possessor and the possessed are likely to be treated in a special way across languages. By this point, it should be clear that the concepts and parameters outlined in this chapter are highly interrelated; a “prototypical” possessive relation is likely to involve an animate possessor and a strongly relational possessee.

3.6 Operational definitions

This section presents operational definitions for some of the factors used in the present study. Following the problem-solving “principle of parsimony” (also known as “Occam’s razor”), which states that “entities should not be multiplied beyond necessity,” I adopt binary levels for the independent variables I examine. For instance, in the case of animacy, I use two-level distinctions such as *animate vs. inanimate* and *human vs. non-human*, rather than a three-level distinction of *human vs. animate vs. inanimate*.

3.6.1 Animacy

Animacy refers to the animacy status of the nominals marked by *no/ga* in noun-modifying constructions and in subject marking. I distinguish between animacy in its strict sense—i.e., between inanimate and animate entities—as well as between human and non-human entities. In other words, I will present the distribution of *no*/*ga* both in terms of

[±animate] and [±human]. Most of the nouns marked by *no/ga* can be straightforwardly categorized based on our "common-sense" knowledge of the world. However, one type of nouns that is difficult to categorize is that of mythological entities (e.g., *watatumi* 'sea god, sea spirit'; *sumyegamwi* 'regional deity, imperial ancestral deity'). I will *not* take mythological entities into consideration when presenting the distribution of *no/ga* based on [±human] because we simply do not know which of the categories they would have been associated with. However, I do consider them as [+animate] as we find descriptions of mythological entities doing a variety of actions.

3.6.2 Specificity

Specificity, a discourse-based property, refers to the [±specific] status of nouns marked by *no/ga* in noun-modifying constructions and subject marking. The various linguistic and non-linguistic indicators to consider when determining the specificity of a common noun NP include, but are not limited to:

(18)

a. Co-indexing through previous mention in
    i. the same poem;
    ii. the preface to the poem;
    iii. reference to an earlier poem.
b. Being modified by modifying material that contains reference to a definite discourse entity.
c. Being part of or related to a previously established discourse referent.
d. Contextual information provided by
    i. the interpretation(s) of poem;

ii. modern editors' notes in the critical editions of the texts.

Below, I present OJ examples to illustrate some of my criteria for determining the specificity status of common nouns. In (19), *ama* 'fishermen' has a non-specific reading, as there is no evidence indicating that the author has any particular fishermen in mind.

(19)

iswo	*gotoni*			
rock	each			
ama	***no***	turipune	*pate-ni-kyeri*	
fishermen	GEN	fishing.boat	dock-PERF-MPST.CONCL	
wa	ga	pune	*pate-mu*	
I	GEN	boat	dock-CJR.ADN	
iswo	*no*	*sira-naku*		
rock	GEN	know-exist.not.NMNL		

'Fishing boats of fishermen dock at every rocky shore. I do not know of which rock I shall dock my boat.' (MYS.17.3892)

In (20), *oya* 'ancestors' has a specific reading, as the phrase *opotomo to sapa no udi* 'the Ōtomo and Sapa clans' indicates that *oya* 'ancestors' in *oya no kwodomo* 'ancestors' descendants' specifically refers to ancestors of people from the Ōtomo and Sapa clans, rather than anyone's ancestors.

(20)

masurawo	no	*kiywo-ki*	so	no	na	*wo*
fine.men	GEN	clear-ACOP.ADN	that	GEN	name	ACC

inisipye	*ywo*	*ima*	*no*	*wotutu*	*ni*	
past	ABL	present	GEN	reality	DAT	
nagasap-yeru		***oya***	***no***	kwo*domo*	*so*	
make.flow-STAT.ADN		ancestors	GEN	children	FOC	
opotomo	*to*	*sapa*	*no*	udi	pa	
Ōtomo	COM	Sapa	COP.ADN	clan.name	TOP	

'We are the children of our ancestors, who have passed on continuously their clear names as noble men from the past to the present day's reality—the [descendants of the] Ōtomo and Sapa clans!' (MYS.18.4094)

In (21), it is clear from the context that *katwori wotomye* 'woman from Katori' is specific, as it refers to the author's lover back home, whom he is disloyal to after meeting the girl from Tsukushi.

(21)

tukusi	*ni*	*aru*	*nipopu*	kwo	*yuweni*
Tsukushi	DAT	exist.ADN	radiant.ADN	beloved	because
mitinoku	*no*	***katwori-woto*mye**	***no***		
Michinoku	GEN	Katori-young.woman	GEN		
yupi-si		*pimo*	*toku*		
bind-SPST.ADN		cord	untie.CONCL		

'Because of that beautiful girl in Tsukushi, I untie the cord tied by the young woman in Katori.' (MYS.14.3427)

Non-specific NPs are always non-referential. In (19), *ama* 'fishermen' denotes class membership rather than particular individuals. Specific NPs may be referential or non-referential. For example, in English, *the lion* in *the lion is a dangerous animal*, is non-referential.[37] In (20), *oya* 'ancestors', is specific but non-referential, as it refers to a particular group of ancestors, though not to individuals identifiable to the speaker. On the other hand, in (21), *katwori wotomye* 'woman from Katori' is specific and referential, as it denotes a particular individual whom the speaker can identify.[38]

3.6.3 Relationality

It is challenging to define relationality for empirical investigation, as for many nouns, relationality is not a categorical feature. Even if some nouns (e.g., *book*, *table*) can be understood without references to another entity, they are not strictly non-relational. As discussed in §3.4, they do invoke some kind of relation with other entities in their semantic structure. One way to operationally define relationality while keeping a two-level independent variable is to define it based on whether the noun in question can be understood with or without reference to another entity. In this way, I narrowly define relational, or rather, 'strongly' relational nouns as those whose semantic structure invokes a relation to another entity and whose referents cannot be identified without this other entity (e.g., *tuma* 'my spouse', *sita* 'below', *te* 'hand'). This category of nouns stands in opposition to non-relational or 'weakly' relational nouns, which may involve other entities in their semantic structure but which can also be understood without them (e.g., *mo* 'skirt', *tori* 'bird'). The rationale for this distinction

[37] I assume that definite NPs are specific.

[38] In this thesis, specificity is defined solely as a discourse-based property, while referentiality can also be a lexical-based property. For example, the noun *tuma* 'my spouse', which, based on its default dictionary meaning, identifies a particular individual, is defined as a noun that is lexically referential. However, when such a noun is part of a compound, such as *pitoduma* 'someone else's spouse', its lexical referentiality can be overridden, as *pitoduma* is non-lexically referential.

is that cross-linguistically, strongly relational nouns tend to belong to the inalienable noun class (e.g., kin terms, spatial nouns, body parts). The operational definition provided does not account for the potential cultural variation where a weakly relational or non-relational noun might be perceived as strongly relational in some languages (e.g., in some languages, the term for 'home' is classified as inalienable).

3.6.4 Possessive relations

As I have shown in §3.5, it is challenging to reach an operational definition for possessive relations that can satisfactorily account for the disparate array of semantic relations expressed by adnominal possession across different languages. It is beyond the aim and scope of the present project to propose a new taxonomy. Instead, I draw insights from Rosenbach (2002)'s working definition, which combines aspects of both prototype theory and typologically oriented accounts of possession that she finds most useful. I distinguish between the most prototypical instances of possession ([+prototypical]) and less prototypical cases of possession ([-prototypical]):

Table 3-1 Types of possessive relation: operational definition

Type of possessive relation: operational definition			
[+animate] and/or [+human]		**[-animate]**	
[+prototypical]	**[-prototypical]**	**[+prototypical]**	**[-prototypical]**
Body parts (incl. life, heart, spirit, soul) e.g., *imo ga te* 'my beloved one's hands'	**Abstract possession** *wotomyera ga oku* 'the future of the young women'	**Part/whole** e.g., *matu no ye* 'the leaves of the pine trees'	**Non-part/whole** e.g., *idemasi no yama* 'the mountain where the imperial outing took place'
Kinship e.g., *na ga papa* 'your mother'	**Ruler-subject** e.g., *a ga kimi* 'my/our lord' *piziri no miyo* 'the sage emperor's reign/court'	**Spatial relations** e.g., *opopune no upe* 'on top of the big boat'	**Locative relations** e.g., *kapoya ga numa* 'the swamp in Kaoya'
Permanent ownership e.g., *a ga koromode* 'my sleeves'	**Subjective genitives** e.g., *nakamaro ga itupari* 'Nakamaro's deceit'		**Temporal relations** e.g., *kyepu no asapi* 'today's morning sun'
Spatial relations e.g., *sumyegamwi-tati no mapye* 'in front of the deities'	**Objective genitives** e.g., *idemasi no kui* 'regret of going out'		**Demonstrative relations** e.g., *ko no kani* 'this crab'
	Event possessives e.g., *wa ga tabi* 'my travel'		

I first categorize possessive relations based on whether the possessor is animate or human versus inanimate. Then, I examine the most prototypical and least prototypical possessive relations within each possessor category. Based on the typologically oriented approach, I consider kin terms, body parts, part/whole, and spatial relations as prototypical instances of possession, as they tend to place near the top of most inalienable possession lists or scales (§3.5). Following Taylor (1989)'s prototype approach, I also take ownership as a prototypical instance of human possession. The [-prototypical] relations form an 'open' category and are defined in negation of [+prototypical]; for example, abstract possession for animate possessors

and non-part/whole relations for inanimate possessors, among others. It is worth noting that locative relations (e.g., *kapoya ga numa* 'the swamp in Kaoya') are particularly difficult to categorize. While they can be expressed through adnominal possession across languages and in OJ, they are not recognized as one of the prototypical possessives by the approaches mentioned above. It has been suggested that locative relations can be viewed as a variety or extension of part-whole relations, where entities such as buildings, geographic sites, people, and events are considered part of the location in question (Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2002); Fraurud (1996)). In this project, I do not consider locative relations to be [+prototypical], as it varies considerably across languages as to whether locative relations can be expressed by adnominal possession, and if so, to what extent (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2002, 2006b)).[39]

[39] The same argument could be made for temporal relations.

4. *NO* AND *GA* IN NOUN-MODIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter presents and discusses the distribution of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions, such as *tuma ga ipye* 'my spouse's house' and *twomibito no ipye* 'a wealthy person's house', where the genitives mark a pronoun or a noun. I first give a general picture of the distribution of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions with a focus on the referent/nominal categories of dependent nouns. I then present a thorough investigation of their distribution with respect to the various parameters/factors that may influence the choice between *no* and *ga* in adnominalization, drawing on past literature on the subject as well as cross-linguistic studies on genitive variation. All examples of *no*/*ga* in noun-modifying constructions, where the genitives are phonographically written, are included in Appendix A.

4.1 An overview of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions

In this section, I give a general impression of the distribution of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions by describing which categories of nominals/referents they tend to mark (or tend not to mark). Many of the observations highlighted here will be picked up and discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, where I focus more on the distribution of specific nominals.

Overall, *ga* is far less frequent than *no*, as we find 2404 (83%) attestations of *no* and only 490 (17%) attestations of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions:

Table 4-1 Distribution of no *and* ga *in noun-modifying constructions*

Ga		***No***		**Total**
	%		*%*	

490	*17%*	2404	*83%*	**2894**

Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 present nominal classes and referent types marked by *no* and *ga*, respectively. Each table is ranked according to the individual instances ("Token frequency") of nominals marked by *no* or *ga*, however I also present the number of unique nominals in each category marked by *no* or *ga* ("Type frequency"). Token frequency may include multiple instances of the same nominal, while type frequency only measures the number of unique nominals, hence why the token frequency tends to be greater.

Table 4-2 Nominal classes/referent types marked by no *in noun-modifying constructions*

Ranking	**Nominal classes/referent types**	**Token frequency**	*%*	**Type frequency**	*%*
1	Place names (incl. road names)	858	*36%*	434	*47%*
2	Locations and geographic features	339	*14%*	105	*11%*
3	Exalted entities, artefacts and notions[40]	257	*11%*	52	*6%*
4	Plants	147	*6%*	57	*6%*
5	Demonstratives	138	*6%*	6	*<1%*
6	Man-made objects and artefacts	104	*4%*	59	*6%*
7	Man-made structures and buildings	96	*4%*	23	*3%*
8	Human common nouns	85	*4%*	34	*4%*
9	Time and seasons	85	*4%*	24	*3%*
10	Directions and spatial relations[41]	79	*3%*	25	*3%*

[40] These may include imperial persons; religious and mythological entities such as Buddha and deities; sacred artefacts such as sutras, and mythological notions such as dharma and heaven.

[41] For example, in NPs such as *wakidukwi ga sita no ita* 'the plank below the armrest', where *no* marks a noun that is the head noun of a spatial relation construction.

11	Abstract concepts	55	*2%*	18	*2%*
12	Natural phenomema	42	*2%*	17	*2%*
13	Non-human animates[42]	39	*2%*	30	*4%*
14	Inanimate things in nature (excl. plants)	31	*1%*	15	*2%*
15	Body parts (incl. *kokoro* 'heart, will', hairstyles)	15	*<1%*	10	*1%*
16	Terms of address	11	*<1%*	3	*<1%*
17	Human activities and actions[43]	9	*<1%*	8	*<1%*
18	Clan names	9	*<1%*	4	*<1%*
19	Rituals, Festivals and offerings	5	*<1%*	3	*<1%*
	Total	**2404**	*100%*	**927**	*100%*

Table 4-3 Nominal classes/referent types marked by ga *in noun-modifying constructions*

Ranking	Nominal classes/referent types	Token frequency	%	Type frequency	%
1	Personal pronouns	227	*47%*	7	*7%*
2	Human common nouns	88	*18%*	24	*22%*
3	Terms of address	39	*8%*	3[44]	*3%*
4	Plants	38	*8%*	24	*22%*
5	Exalted entities, artefacts and notions	34	*7%*	3[45]	*3%*
6	Place names (incl. road names)	26	*5%*	21	*20%*
7	Non-human animates	11	*2%*	6	*6%*

[42] Fish, animals and insects.

[43] These may include nouns such as *tabi* 'travel' and deverbalized nouns such as *tumadopi* 'spouse-requesting' and *wemapi* 'smiling'.

[44] *Imasi-ra* 'you (plural)', *mimasi* 'you, respectful', *kimi* 'you (my lord), respectful'.

[45] *Daipopusi* 'great priests of the law', *kamwi* 'deity', *sumyera* 'emperor; imperial highness'.

8	Personal names	9	*2%*	6	*6%*
9	Man-made objects and artefacts	5	*1%*	3[46]	*4%*
10	Inanimate things in nature (excl. plants)	3	*<1%*	1[47]	*1%*
11	Locations and geographic features	3	*<1%*	3[48]	*3%*
12	Textures	3	*<1%*	3[49]	*3%*
13	Demonstratives	3	*<1%*	4[50]	*4%*
14	Man-made structures and buildings	1	*<1%*	1[51]	*<1%*
	Total	**490**	*100%*	**109**	*100%*

Qualitative and quantitative comparisons of the two tables above reveal several interesting aspects of the distribution of *no* and *ga*. In particular, *ga* is far more specialized and restricted in its use than *no*, and the nominal classes or referent categories marked by *no* and *ga* are in near-complementary distribution with respect to parameters such as animacy and humanness. In the following, I highlight some findings from the comparison to illustrate these two points.

By comparing the categories that are most frequently marked by *no/ga* in noun-modifying constructions, we can see that the nominal classes/referent categories are in near-

[46] *Wakidukwi* 'armrest', *suzu* 'jingle', *pwimo* 'strap; cord'.

[47] *Ipa* 'rock'.

[48] *Ituki* 'place of worship', *miguma* 'water bend', *waguki* 'little ravine'.

[49] *Nikwoya* 'softness', *pupaya* 'fluffiness', *nagwoya* 'softness'.

[50] *Sore-ra* 'their', *so* 'it', *so-no* 'it', *so-ne* 'it'.

[51] *Kapwiya* 'hut to have a fire to ward off beasts'.

complementary distribution in relation to animacy/humanness. In terms of token frequency, the top two most frequent nominal classes/referent types marked by *no* are 'place names' and 'locations and geographical features', which have inanimate referents. The top two most frequent nominal classes/referent types marked by *ga* are 'personal pronouns' and 'human common nouns', which have human referents (except from impersonal uses of the third person *si*). According to my categorization, *no* also marks a wider variety of nominal classes/referent types than *ga*: 19 categories for *no vs.* 14 categories for *ga*. (1) and (2) show categories that are exclusively marked by either *ga* or *no*. It can be noticed that the referent categories marked by *no* but never by *ga* are nouns that have a non-human/inanimate referent.

(1)

Nominal classes/referent types only marked by ga *in noun-modifying constructions*

- Personal pronouns (token frequency: 227; type frequency: 7)
- Personal names (token frequency: 9; type frequency: 6)
- Texture (token frequency: 3; type frequency: 3)

(2)

Nominal classes/referent types only marked by no *in noun-modifying constructions*

- Time and seasons (token frequency: 85; type frequency: 24)
- Directions and spatial relations (token frequency: 79; type frequency: 25)
- Abstract concepts (token frequency: 55; type frequency: 18)
- Natural phenomena (token frequency: 42; type frequency: 17)
- Human activities and actions (token frequency: 9; type frequency: 8)
- Clan names (token frequency: 9; type frequency: 4)
- Rituals, festivals and offerings (token frequency: 5; type frequency: 3)

- Body parts (token frequency: 15; type frequency: 10)

Regarding nominal classes or referent types that can be marked by either *no* or *ga* in noun-modifying constructions, it is apparent that for most categories, *ga* has far fewer attestations, both in terms of token frequency and type frequency, than *no*. I have extracted and re-arranged the data from Tables 4.2 and 4.3 into Table 4.4 for a clearer illustration. Table 4.4 presents the nominal classes or referent types marked by both genitive particles, comparing their token frequency and the proportion of nominals from each category marked by *no* or *ga*, respectively. From Table 4.4, we can observe that, in general, *ga* tends to have fewer attestations than *no* across each category, with the exception of the first two categories—'human common nouns' (85 *no* vs. 88 *ga*) and 'terms of address' (11 *no* vs. 39 *ga*)—which have human referents.

Table 4-4 Nominal classes/referent types marked by both no *and* ga *in noun-modifying constructions*

Nominal classes/referent types	***no***		***ga***	
	Token frequency	**Proportion (%)**	**Token frequency**	**Proportion (%)**
Human common nouns	85	*49%*	88	*51%*
Terms of address	11	*22%*	39	*78%*
Plants	147	*79%*	38	*21%*
Exalted entities, artefacts and notions	257	*88%*	34	*12%*
Place names	858	*97%*	26	*3%*
Non-human animates	39	*78%*	11	*22%*
Man-made objects and artefacts	104	*95%*	5	*5%*
Inanimate things in	31	*91%*	3	*9%*

nature (excl. plants)				
Locations, geographic features	339	*99%*	3	*1%*
Demonstratives	137	*99%*	3	*1%*

Lastly, the use of *ga* is far more specialized and restricted than *no* in that the majority of *ga*'s attestations are concentrated in only a few specific nominals, whereas with *no*, the number of attestations across distinct nouns is comparatively more evenly distributed. This becomes clear if we compare the relationship between token frequency and type frequency within each nominal class/referent type marked by *no/ga*.[52] In Table 4.2, for *no*, we find a correlation between token frequency and type frequency in most cases, meaning that categories with high token frequency also tend to rank highly in type frequency. This generalization is evident from the categories near the top of Table 4.2 (consider the top 6 entries, for example). On the other hand, in Table 4.3, for *ga*, the relationship between token and type frequency is much weaker for the categories near the top of the table. For instance, 'terms of address' and 'exalted entities, artifacts, and notions,' which rank low in type frequency, rank highly in token frequency, at 3rd and 5th, respectively.

4.2 Pronouns

It is widely observed that in OJ, the distribution of pronouns marked by *no/ga* is systematic: personal pronouns are marked by *ga*, whereas demonstrative pronouns are marked by *no*.

[52] The following analysis excludes personal pronouns and demonstratives, which rank highly in terms of token frequency but are low-ranking in terms of type frequency, as this is unsurprising given that they are closed grammatical categories.

4.2.1 Personal pronouns

In noun-modifying constructions, personal pronouns are always marked by *ga*, never *no*. In total, there are 227 instances where *ga* follows a personal pronoun. Including the personal interrogative pronoun *ta* and the marginal 1st person *maro*, there are, in total, 7 distinct personal pronouns found to be marked by *ga*. These are *wa, a, na, ono, si, maro* and *ta,* and their frequencies are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4-5 Personal pronouns marked by ga *in noun-modifying constructions*

Ranking	Personal pronoun	Frequency	Meaning
1	*wa*	139	1st person pronoun
2	*a*	40	1st person pronoun
3	*ono*	18	reflexive pronoun
4	*si*	10	3rd person pronoun
5	*ta*	9	personal interrogative pronoun
6	*na*	8	2nd person pronoun
7	*maro*	2	1st person pronoun
		Total	**227**

The 1st person *wa* is the most frequent personal pronoun marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions (139 attestations). *Wa ga* is usually involved in constructions expressing relations such as ruler-subject, kinship, body parts and permanent ownership.

(3)

wa ***ga*** *opokimi*

I GEN great.lord

'Our great lord' (KK.104)

(4)

wa ***ga*** *tuma*

I GEN spouse

'My spouse' (NSK.70)

(5)

wa ***ga*** *te*

I GEN hand

'My hand' (NSK.96)

(6)

wa ***ga*** *yadwo*

I GEN house

'My house' (MYS.5.851)

(7)

wa ***ga*** [ame no saki no mikadwo]

I GEN heaven GEN previous COP.ADN emperor

'Our former emperor from heaven' (SM.29)

It has been proposed that *wa ga* is also involved in nouns such as *wagipye* 'my house' (<*waga ipye*, 7 attestations), *wagimokwo* 'my beloved one' (<*waga imokwo*, 24 attestations), and *wagim(w)o* 'my beloved one' (<*waga im(w)o*, 4 attestations). These forms could have arisen from *wa ga* through the univerbation of the short form personal pronouns and the genitive particle, and the elision of the vowel /a/ in *ga* through the application of OJ rules of vowel deletion. Interestingly, we do not find a single attestation of *wa ga ipye* nor *wa ga imo*, and

there is only one instance of *wa ga imokwo* (MYS.20.4405; EOJ). This is likely to suggest that such a coalescence is mostly formed in the pre-OJ period, and that by the OJ period, the non-coalesced forms had mostly gone out of use.

The 1st person *a* is marked by *ga* 40 times in noun-modifying constructions. Like *wa ga*, *a ga* is also usually involved in constructions expressing relations such as permanent ownership and kinship. However, *a ga* is also involved in constructions expressing the feeling of love and yearning (8), a relation that we do not find with *wa ga*.[53] This may be because in OJ the *a-* forms are only used for exclusive, singular reference, as opposed to the *wa-* forms, which are also used for inclusive and plural reference.

(8)

a	***ga***	*kwopi*
I	GEN	yearning

'My yearning' (MYS.14.3422; EOJ)

(9)

a	***ga***	[*waka-ki*	*kwo*]
I	GEN	young-ACOP.ADN	child

'My young child' (NSK.121)

The reflexive *ono* is marked by *ga* 18 times in noun-modifying constructions, of which 44% (8/18) of the attestations are from the *Senmyō*.

[53] There are no examples of *wa ga kwop-* where *ga* is phonographically written.

(10)

ono	***ga***	oya	no	mitama
oneself	GEN	ancestor	GEN	spirit

'The spirits of his own ancestors' (SM.34)

(11)

ono	***ga***	mwi
oneself	GEN	body

'My own life' (MYS.5.886a)

The 3rd person *si* is rare. It is marked by *ga* 10 times in noun-modifying constructions, of which only two examples are from the *Man'yōshū* (MYS.19.4191; MYS.19.4254). The rest of the examples are from the *Kojiki kayō* (4 instances), the *Nihon shoki kayō* (1 instance) and the *Senmyō* (3 instances).

(12)

si	***ga***	*pana*
it	GEN	blossom

'Its blossoms' (KK.58)

(13)

si	***ga***	*na*
he	GEN	name

'His name' (SM.44)

The personal interrogative pronoun *ta* is marked by *ga* 9 times in noun-modifying constructions.

(14)

ta ***ga*** *koto*

who GEN word

'Whose words' (FK.2)

(15)

ta ***ga*** *tuma*

who GEN spouse

'Whose spouse' (KK.56)

The 2nd person pronoun *na* is marked by *ga* 8 times in noun-modifying constructions.

(16)

na ***ga*** *na*

you GEN name

'Your name' (MYS.5.800)

(17)

na ***ga*** opo-mikoto

you GEN HON-word

'Your great words' (SM.14)

The 1st person *maro* is only attested twice in the entire corpus: once in the *Kojiki kayō* and once in the *Nihon shoki kayō* in the same context.

(18)

kikosi-moti-wose

eat.RESP-hold-eat.RESP.IMP

maro ***ga*** *ti*

I GEN father

'Partake [of this drink]! My old man!' (KK.48; NSK.39)

In JDB, it is proposed that the 1st person *maro* is etymologically related to the male name *maro*, which appears both as a standalone personal name and as a suffix in names such as *nakamaro* 'Nakamaro'. During the EMJ period, *maro* came to be used as a 1st person pronoun by both males and females. JDB does not recognize *maro* as part of the OJ pronominal system, as it is only found in the fixed expression *maro ga ti*, which is considered a *hayashi kotoba*—a '(meaningless) expression added to modulate the cadence of a song' used in folksongs of the time.

4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

In total, there are 138 attestations of demonstratives marked by *no/ga* in noun-modifying constructions. The short forms are almost always followed by *no,* with just two exceptions, which are (directly and indirectly) followed by *ga*. The short forms found in noun-modifying constructions are: *ko, so* and *ka*. The long forms with *-re* are usually not used in noun-modifying constructions except for 5 instances, where they are directly followed by *no* and indirectly followed by *ga*. The long forms with *-re* found in noun-modifying constructions are: *kore* and *sore*. Other attested long forms are *koti*, its reduplicated form *kotigoti* and *kokodaku* 'this much'.

4.2.2.1 Demonstratives marked by *no*

Table 4.6 shows the distribution of demonstratives marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 4-6 Distribution of demonstratives marked by no *in noun-modifying constructions*

Ranking	Demonstrative	Meaning	Frequency
1	*ko*	this	89
2	*so*	that	36
3	*kotigoti*	here and there (lit. here and here)	5
4	*kore*	this	4
5	*kokodaku*	this much	2
6	*ka*	that	1
7	*koti*	here	1
		Total	**138**

The proximal *ko* is the most frequent demonstrative marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions (89 attestations). It is only used deictically to refer to something close to the speaker.

(19)

ko ***no*** *miato*

this GEN HON-footprint

'This honourable footprint' (BS.16)

(20)

ko ***no*** [wa ga yadwo]

this GEN I GEN house

‘My house, which is this’ (MYS.11.2527)

The non-proximal *so* is the second most frequent demonstrative marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions (36 attestations). *So no* is mostly used anaphorically, referring to an entity previously mentioned in the discourse (21) and it is sometimes used with 3rd person (personal or impersonal) reference (22). It is also used with temporal deictic reference, referring to something in the past (23).

(21)

ya-kumwo	*tatu*	*idumwo*	*ya-pye-gaki*
eight-cloud	rise.ADN	Izumo	eight-fold-fence
tuma-gomwi	*ni*	*ya-pye-gaki*	*tukuru*
wife-enclosing	DAT	eight-fold-fence	make.CONCL
so	***no***	*ya-pye-gaki*	*wo*
that	GEN	eight-fold-fence	EXCL

‘The many-fold fence of Izumo where many clouds rise. To dwell there with my spouse, I make a many-fold fence. Ah, that many-fold fence!’ (NSK.1)

(22)

kapa-swopi-yanagwi	*midu*	*yukeba*
river-beside-willow	water	go.PROV
nabiki	*okwi-tati*	
bow.INF	rise-stand.INF	
so	***no***	*ne*	*pa*	*use-zu*
they	GEN	root	TOP	get.lost-NEG.CONCL

‘The riverside willows—they bend down and rise up as the water flows. [However,] as for their roots, they are never washed away.’ (NSK.83)

(23)

pina	*wosame*	*ni*	*to*
countryside	rule.INF	CONJ	CONJ
wakare-ko-*si*		***so*** ***no***	pi
part-come-SPST.ADN		that GEN	day

‘That day when I left in order to rule the countryside’ (MYS.17.3978)

Koti ‘here’ and its reduplicated form *kotigoti* ‘here and there’ are marked by *no* 6 times in noun-modifying constructions, among which *koti no* is only attested once and *kotigoti no* is attested 5 times. The single instance of *koti no* is attested in parallel with its reduplicated form in the same poem.

(24)

kusakabye	*no*	*yama*	*no*	***koti***	***no***	*yama*
Kusakabe	GEN	mountain	GEN	here	GEN	mountain
to	*tamamikomo*	*pyeguri*	*no*	*yama*		*no*
CONJ	MK	Heguri	GEN	mountain		GEN
kotigoti		***no***	*yama*	*no*	*kapi*	*ni*
here.and.here		GEN	mountain	GEN	valley	DAT
tatizakayuru		*pabiro-kumakasi*				
grow.lush.ADN		leaf.wide-large.evergreen.oak				

‘The luxuriantly-grown large evergreen oaks in the valley in between the mountains here at Mt. Kusakabe and mountains here and there at Mt. Heguri’ (KK.91)

Kokodaku is attested with *no* twice, both in the *Norito* and within the same expression.

(25)

kokodaku ***no*** tumi

this.much GEN sin

'This much sin' (EN.10)

The long form *kore* 'this' is marked by *no* 4 times in noun-modifying constructions. As previously mentioned, it is very rare for the long forms with *-re* to be involved in noun-modifying constructions. Two of the examples are from the *Bussokuseki-ka* and another two are from the *Man'yōshū,* among which one example is from EOJ.

(26)

kore ***no*** *yo*

this GEN world

'This world' (BS.10)

(27)

kore ***no*** mwi

this GEN body

'This body' (BS.20)

(28)

kore ***no*** *midusima*

this GEN Mizushima

'This Mizushima' (MYS.3.245)

(29)

kore ***no*** *paru*

this GEN needle

'This needle' (MYS.20.4420; EOJ)

Kore is not frequent in OJ (with around 30 attestations in total) but becomes much more common in EMJ. The distribution of *kore* should be considered within the context that other long pronominal forms ending in *-re* (e.g., *onore*, *nare*, *sore*) are also rare in OJ before becoming more frequent in EMJ. Considering this, along with the fact that the use of short pronominal forms becomes more restricted in EMJ, we can speculate that these long forms, which are used alongside the short forms, are "budding" in OJ before becoming more established in EMJ. Thus, seemingly "odd" constructions like *[kore no N]* in OJ may reflect early stages where the grammatical distinction between long and short forms is not yet fully developed.[54] This idea is also proposed by Frellesvig (2010, pp. 137-138):

> Rather than presenting a system with a stable grammatical distinction, such as combining (=short) versus free (=long) forms, the OJ pronominal system was in a state of morphological transition with long forms replacing older short forms whose use was gradually being circumscribed, regardless of what the original grammatical distinction between them may have been.

[54] In EMJ, we do not find [*kore no* N] nor [*sore no* N], but we do find [*kore ga* N]. See Vovin (2003, p. 115) for some examples of this.

There is only one example of the distal *ka* being marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions. This single example is from EOJ:

(30)

ka ***no*** *kwo-ro*

that GEN maiden-DIM

'That lovely maiden' (MYS.14.3565; EOJ)

The *ka-* forms are very rare in OJ, where the short form *ka* is attested twice and the long form *kare* is attested once. Later in EMJ, the *ka-* forms become more frequent, suggesting that the OJ examples may represent instances where they first started to appear in the language.

4.2.2.2 Demonstratives marked by *ga*

Table 4.7 shows the distribution of demonstratives marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions. The *so-* forms are the only demonstrative marked by *ga* and they are used with 3rd person reference in all of the examples.

Table 4-7 Distribution of demonstratives marked by ga *in noun-modifying constructions*

Demonstrative	Meaning	Frequency
sore-ra	their	1
so	it	1
so-no	it	1
so-ne	it	1
	Total	**4**

Sore-ra ga is attested in the *Senmyō* with 3rd person personal reference. One explanation for why it is *ga*, rather than *no*, which follows *sore-ra* could be that the suffix *-ra* exclusively takes *ga* in OJ.

(31)

sore-ra	***ga***	*ne-kabane*	kape*te*
they-PLU	GEN	root-Kabane	return.GER

'returning their original Kabane…' (SM.43)

So is attested with *ga* once, where it is used with 3rd person impersonal reference. Interestingly, in (32), in the next line following the line containing *so ga pa* 'its leaves', we find *so no pana* 'its blossoms'.

(32)

pabiro-yutumatubaki	***so***	***ga***	*pa*	*no*
leaf.wide-sacred.camellia	it	GEN	leaf	GEN
pirori-imasi				
spread.wide-exist.RESP.INF				

so	***no***	*pana*	*no*	*teri-imasu*
it	GEN	blossom	GEN	shine-exist.RESP.CONCL

'The sacred wide-leaf camellia—its leaves spreading wide, its blossoms shining bright.' (KK.101)

Moreover, we find the following example in KK.57, containing *si ga pa* 'its leaves' and *si ga pana* 'its blossoms' in the same context as KK.101.

(33)

pabiro-yutumatubaki	***si***	***ga***	*pa*	*no*
leaf.wide-sacred.camellia	it	GEN	leaf	GEN
pirori-imasi				
spread.wide-exist.RESP.INF				
si	***ga***	*pana*	*no*	*teri-imasu*
it	GEN	blossom	GEN	shine-exist.RESP.CONCL

'The sacred wide-leaf camellia—its leaves spreading wide, its blossoms shining bright.' (KK.57)

Vovin (2004, p. 265), examining these two songs, proposes that "*si-Nka* appears to be a textual variant of *sø-Nka*…which is derived from the demonstrative *sø-* 'that'". Indeed, cross-linguistically, anaphoric demonstratives are frequently re-analysed as 3rd person pronouns.[55] *Si* does not survive beyond OJ, and in EMJ, among the demonstratives, it is mainly *kore*, *so/sore*, and *ka/kare* that take on the function of expressing 3rd person reference.

Lastly, in the *Nihon shoki kayō* and the *Kojiki kayō,* we find two instances of *ga* marking *so* mediated by *no* and *ne* in identical contexts. The critical editions recognize *no* and *ne* as diminutive suffixes that have *na* as their textual variants.

(34)

kume	*no*	*kwo-ra*	*ga*		
Kume	COP.ADN	child-PLU	GEN		
…					
kamira		*pito-moto*	***so-no***	***ga***	*moto*

[55] See also Frellesvig (2010, pp. 138-143).

fragrant.leek			NUM-stem	it-DIM	GEN	stem
so	*ne*	*me*	*tunagite*	*utite*	*si*	*yama-mu*
it	root	sprout	bind.GER	hit.GER	RES	stop-CJR.ADN

'The Kume clan shall eradicate [the enemies] [like uprooting] one fragrant leek, [like uprooting] its stem: with its root and sprout altogether!' (NSK.13)

4.2.3 Summary

In noun-modifying constructions, the distribution of pronouns marked by *no*/*ga* is systematic: personal pronouns are marked by *ga* and demonstrative pronouns are marked by *no*. The few examples of *ga* marking a demonstrative all involve the non-proximal *so*- form used with 3rd person reference. It is very likely that the 3rd person pronoun *si* is diachronically derived from the non-proximal demonstrative *so*. Instances where *so* is marked by *ga* may represent cases of old uses of *so* as a pronoun before it became *si*.

4.3 Animacy

This section examines the distribution of *no*/*ga* in noun-modifying constructions with respect to the animacy (i.e., [±animate] and [±human]) of dependent nouns.[56] I discuss whether previous hypotheses are borne out in the data, and I aim to address to what extent we can argue that animacy is a factor in determining the choice between *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions.

In Nomura (1993b, 1993a, 1993c), it is proposed that *ga* most typically marks nouns whose referent is human. Table 4.8 presents the distribution of *ga*-marked nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±human]. In terms of token frequency, 70% of all nouns marked by *ga* in

[56] I do not analyse personal pronouns and demonstratives with respect to animacy, as it is clear that regardless of the animacy status of their referents, the lexical regularity is such that personal pronouns are marked by *ga* and demonstratives are marked by *no*.

noun-modifying constructions are animate and only 30% are inanimate. Among the animate nouns, 93% are nouns with a human referent and only 7% are nouns with a non-human referent. We may thus conclude that in noun-modifying constructions, Nomura's hypothesis is borne out in the data.

Table 4-8 Distribution of ga*-marked nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±humanness] in noun-modifying constructions*

[±animate]/[±humanness]	**Frequency**	**Proportion (%)**	**Proportion within animate nouns (%)**
Animate	185	*70%*	
Human	169	*65%*	*93%*
Non-human	16	*5%*	*7%*
Inanimate	79	*30%*	
	Total	264	

Nomura (1993a) also suggests that *no* is the more "basic" genitive, marking all types of nouns (except for personal pronouns). Nomura's proposal is not related to any particular factor. However, if Nomura's proposal stands in relation to animacy, then animacy would not be considered a relevant factor in determining whether to use one genitive marker over another in noun-modifying constructions. Table 4.9 presents the distribution of *no*-marked nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±human]. 85% of all nouns marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions are inanimate and merely 15% are animate. Among the animate nouns, 66% are nouns with a human referent and 34% are nouns with a non-human referent. As a majority of nouns marked by *no* are inanimate/non-human and a majority of nouns marked by *ga* are animate/human, it seems better to argue that *no* and *ga* are in near-complementary distribution with respect to animacy, rather than in a distribution where *no* is "basic", as claimed by Nomura. According to Tables 4.8 and 4.9, the animacy status of dependent nouns largely determines the

choice between *no* and *ga*, with *ga* being used for nouns with a human referent and *no* being used for inanimate nouns.

Table 4-9 Distribution of no-*marked nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±humanness] in noun-modifying constructions*

[±animate]/[±humanness]	**Frequency**	**Proportion (%)**	**Proportion within animate nouns (%)**
Animate	322	*15%*	
Human	213	*10%*	*66%*
Non-human	109	*5%*	*34%*
Inanimate	1937	*85%*	
	Total	2259	

4.3.1 Overlaps

The fact that in noun-modifying constructions, 15% of nouns marked by *no* are animate and 30% of nouns marked by *ga* are inanimate suggests that these may be cases where it is not animacy that determines the choice of genitives. This subsection takes an initial look at animate nouns marked by *no* and inanimate nouns marked by *ga*. While the analysis here is introductory, the points raised will be explored more comprehensively in later sections.

4.3.1.1 Animate nouns marked by *no*

Animate nouns marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions include the following referent types: 'exalted entities' (190 attestations), 'human common nouns' (82 attestations), 'non-human animates' (39 attestations), and 'terms of address' (11 attestations). This section shows that in cases where the distribution of *no* is not determined by animacy, it may instead be determined by factors such as honorific/socio-linguistic differentiation and lexical referentiality.

59% of animate nouns marked by *no* are 'exalted entities'. For example, lords and sovereigns such as *opokimi* 'great lord', *mikadwo* 'emperor; palace', *opomikoto* 'Highness, Honourable (in names, titles or appellations)'; mythological beings such as *kamwi* 'deity', *sumyegamwi* '(regional) deity', *watatumi* 'sea deity', *bosati* 'Bodhisattva'; imperial servants such as *omi* 'palace servants', etc. As mentioned in §4.1, this referent category is typically not marked by *ga*, with the exceptions of the nouns *sumye-ra* 'emperor, imperial highness' and *daipopusi* 'great priests of the Law'. The distribution of *no* with exalted entities may be related to the factor of honorific/socio-linguistic differentiation, which is the focus of §4.9.

25% of animate nouns marked by *no* are 'human common nouns'. This may seem like a category where the use of *no* and *ga* overlaps to a great extent, as 65% of all nouns marked by *ga* are human. However, an investigation of the individual nouns marked by *no* and *ga* in this category shows that they are in complementary distribution with respect to lexical referentiality, which I discuss in the next section.

'Non-human animates', such as animal, fish, and insect names, make up 12% of all animate nouns marked by *no*. While it is true that *ga* also marks nouns in this category, they only make up 7% of all animate nouns marked by *ga*. Furthermore, almost all 'non-human animates' marked by *ga* are attested in *makura kotoba* 'poetic epithets', fixed expressions, EOJ, and in the *Kiki kayō* (Table 4.10). This suggests that dialectal and age variation may account for such an overlap, and that in the productive system of cOJ, 'non-human animates' are marked by *no*, rather than *ga,* in noun-modifying constructions. This also reinforces Nomura (1993b, 1993a, 1993c)'s claim that *ga* typically marks nouns whose referent is human, as the above distribution shows that it is more precise to say that it is [+human], rather than [+animacy], that determines the use of *ga*.

Table 4-10 Distribution of 'non-human animates' marked by ga *in noun-modifying constructions*

Noun	Frequency	Meaning	Notes
akagwoma	1	red colt	Attested in EOJ
kamo	1	wild duck	Attested in EOJ
kari	4	wild goose	Attested only in *kari ga ne* 'the sound of wild goose', a fixed expression
opowikwo	1	big boar	Attested in the *Kojiki kayō* as a pun
sibi	3	tuna	Attested in the *Nihon shoki kayō* and the *Kojiki kayō*
tori	2	bird	Attested once in EOJ
tadu	4	egret	Attested only in *tadu ga ne* 'egret's call', a fixed expression
Total	**16**		

'Terms of address' makes up 3% of all animate nouns marked by *no*. They are *kimi* 'you, my lord' (9 attestations), *imasi* 'you, respectful' (1 attestation) and *imasi-tati* 'you all, respectful' (1 attestation). As they are found with both genitives, they will be dealt with later in §4.7, where I focus on examining nouns that can take either genitive.

4.3.1.2 Inanimate nouns marked by *ga*

Inanimate nouns marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions are nouns that are the following referent types: 'plants' (38 attestations), 'place names' (26 attestations), 'man-made objects and artefacts' (6 attestations), 'locations and geographic features (non-proper nouns)' (3 attestations), 'textures' (3 attestations) and 'natural objects (e.g., rock)' (3 attestations). My investigation of these *ga*-marked nouns shows that they are mostly attested in EOJ and the *Kiki*

kayō. In §4.4, I examine the distribution of *ga* with respect to the dialect and age of the texts in detail.

Almost half of the inanimate nouns marked by *ga* are plant names. Among them, 53% are attested in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō* (§4.4); 30% are plant names that can take either *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions (§4.7). Excluding the two groups of attestations mentioned above, there are only 5 distinct plant names (7 instances) that are only ever marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions. These are: *asadi ga uraba* 'the end leaf of low cogongrass' (1 attestation), *itipi ga moto* 'the stem of red-bark oak' (1 attestation), *sikimi ga pana* 'the blossom of Japanese star anise' (1 attestation), *sitapi ga sita* 'beneath maples (1 attestation)'and *wobana ga ure* 'the tip of pampas grass', *wobana ga sita* 'beneath Japanese pampas grass (3 attestations)'. All of the above expressions are followed by head nouns that express a spatial or part-whole relation; the relationship between *ga*-marked plant names and relational head nouns are examined in §4.10. As the first 4 nouns are only attested with *ga* once, it is difficult to make well-informed proposals to account for such distribution. *Wobana* 'Japanese pampas grass (lit. tail blossom)' is the only plant name that is attested exclusively with *ga* more than once. It could have been used with *ga* as a fixed expression. It is also a noun whose word formation involves animification, as the tips of pampas grass are likened to animal tails. Since *ga* predominantly marks animate nouns, its consistent use with *wobana* may be influenced by the element of animification in its word formation. However, since this claim would be ad hoc without additional examples linking animification to the choice of *ga*, I will revisit this point in later sections.

Place names occupy 33% of the inanimate nouns marked by *ga*, in which a significant portion of the attestations are from EOJ and the *Kiki kayō* (36%). Three place names that are marked by *ga* are also found with *no*: *kipe* 'Kie', *mimoro* 'Mt. Mimoro' and *nwosima*

'Noshima'. I will discuss place names marked exclusively by *ga* in §4.6 and place names marked by both *no* and *ga* in §4.7.

As for the remaining referent types with *ga*, 60% of the examples are attested in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō*. The nouns that are attested outside these texts are: *kapwiya* 'hut to have a fire to ward off beasts or insects' (1 attestation), *ipa* 'rock' (3 attestations), *miguma* 'water bend' (1 attestations) and *nagwoya* 'softness' (1 attestation). Among them, *ipa* 'rock' is also marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions (§4.7.5). *Nagwoya ga,* attested in the *Man'yōshū* (35), is used in a similar context as two other nouns for textures attested in the *Kojiki kayō* (36). The use of *ga* in (35) and (36) could be related to syntactic criteria, which is the focus of §6.

(35)

*musi*busuma	***nagwoya***	***ga***	sita	ni
false.nettle.bedding	softness	GEN	below	DAT

'under the softness of the false nettle bedding' (MYS.4.524)

(36)

ayakaki	*no*	***pupaya***	***ga***	*sita*	*ni*
fabric.fence	GEN	fluffiness	GEN	below	DAT
nimusibusuma		***nikwoya***	***ga***	*sita*	*ni*
false.nettle.bedding		softness	GEN	below	DAT

'under the fluffiness of the fabric fence; under the softness of the false nettle bedding' (KK.5)

4.3.2 Summary

In noun-modifying constructions, the productive system is such that the animacy status of non-pronominal dependent nouns determines the choice between *no* and *ga* to a large extent,

where 65% of *ga* attestations mark a noun with a human referent while 85% of *no* attestations mark an inanimate noun. My analysis shows that in cOJ, 'non-human animates' are marked by *no* rather than *ga*. Therefore, more precisely, it is [+human], rather than [+animate], that determines the choice of *ga*. On the other hand, the fact that 15% of *no* attestations mark animate nouns and 25% of *ga* attestations mark inanimate nouns suggests that in these cases, it is not animacy that determines the choice between *no* and *ga*. These examples will be the focus of the rest of this chapter.

4.4 Dialectal, age, and genre variation

In the last section, I noted that a significant number of inanimate nouns marked by *ga* are attested in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō.* It has been proposed that the distribution of *ga/no* may be influenced by the dialect and the age of the texts (§2.5). In this section, I focus on the distribution of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ texts and compare it to that of *no*. I evaluate whether previous hypotheses are supported by the data, while addressing the following research questions:

- Is *ga* distributed differently in the EOJ texts as opposed to the cOJ texts in the *Man'yōshū*?
- Is *ga* distributed differently in the *Kojiki kayō* and the *Nihon shoki kayō* compared to the *Man'yōshū*?
- Is *ga* distributed differently in prose compared to poetry?
- Are there differences between *no* and *ga* in terms of their distribution across the OJ texts?

Table 4.11 shows the distribution of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ texts. The texts with a high proportion of *ga* are the *Man'yōshū* (70%), the *Senmyō* (11%), the *Kojiki kayō* (9%), and the *Nihon Shoki kayō* (8%).

Table 4-11 Distribution of ga *in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ texts*

Ranking	Texts	Attestations	Proportion of *ga* in all texts (%)	Proportion of *ga* in the *Man'yōshū* (%)
1	***Man'yōshū***	340	*70%*	
	In EOJ poems in book 20	26		*7%*
	In EOJ poems in book 14	67		*20%*
	Total in EOJ poems	93	*19%*	*27%*
2	***Senmyō***	52	*11%*	
3	***Kojiki kayō***	44	*9%*	
4	***Nihon shoki kayō***	39	*8%*	
5	***Engishiki norito***	8	*2%*	
6	***Fudoki kayō***	3	*<1.0%*	
7	***Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu***	2	*<1.0%*	
8	***Bussokuseki-ka***	1	*<1.0%*	
	Total	**491**	*100%*	

Table 4.12 shows the distribution of *no* in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ texts. The texts with a high proportion of *no* are the *Man'yōshū* (74%) and the *Engishiki norito* (9%).

Table 4-12 Distribution of no *in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ texts*

Ranking	Texts	Attestations	Proportion of *no* in all texts (%)	Proportion of *no* in the *Man'yōshū* (%)
1	***Man'yōshū***	1789	*74%*	

	In EOJ poems in book 20	*45*		*2%*
	In EOJ poems in book 14	*212*		*12%*
	Total in EOJ poems	*257*	*11%*	*14%*
2	***Engishiki norito***	208	*9%*	
3	***Senmyō***	128	*5%*	
4	***Nihon shoki kayō***	123	*5%*	
5	***Kojiki kayō***	106	*4%*	
6	***Bussokuseki-ka***	20	*<1.0%*	
7	***Fudoki kayō***	12	*<1.0%*	
8	***Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu***	12	*<1.0%*	
9	***Shoku nihongi kayō***	6	*<1.0%*	
	Total	**2404**	*100%*	

4.4.1 Dialectal variation

In Ohno (1978, p. 9), it is proposed that the use of *ga* in the EOJ poems in the *Man'yōshū* is "frequent and distinctive" in comparison to the rest of the *Man'yōshū*. In order to address this hypothesis, this section only presents data from the *Man'yōshū*. Therefore, the term cOJ in this section only refers to the cOJ material in the *Man'yōshū*, and the term EOJ refers to the EOJ material in the *Man'yōshū* and not that in the *Fudoki kayō*.

Table 4.13 shows the distribution of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in EOJ.

Table 4-13 Distribution of ga *in noun-modifying constructions in EOJ*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
wa	1st person pronoun	25
imo	little sister, beloved	11

a	1st person pronoun	11
kimi	you, my lord	7
kwo-ro	child; my beloved	4
ukyera	Atractylodes japonica	4
na	2nd person pronoun	3
suzu	jingle	3
ta	personal interrogative pronoun	2
tadori	Tadori	2
ono	reflexive pronoun	1
akagwoma	red colt	1
amo	mother (::cOJ *omo*)	1
asi	reed	1
kamo	wild duck	1
kapo	face, looks	1
kapoya	Kaoya	1
kaye	reed (::cOJ *kaya*)	1
kwonagwi	water leek	1
makwo	excellent child	1
matu	pine	1
murazi	Muraji	1
omotiti	mother and father	1
opoya	Ōya	1
pwimo	cord (:: cOJ *pimo*)	1
sasa	broad-leaf bamboo	1
sena	man	1
senano	man	1
tegwo	young girl	1
tori	bird	1
waguki	little ravine	1
	Total	**93**

The EOJ poems account for about 27% of all instances of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in the *Man'yōshū*, which is high compared to *no* (14%) and notable considering that EOJ poems make up only 8% (341/4516) of all poems in the *Man'yōshū* and that most of them are *tanka* 'short poems'.[57] However, this alone is not sufficient to argue that the use of

[57] There is only one EOJ *chōka* 'long poem' (MYS 20.4372).

ga is particularly frequent in EOJ. The majority of the EOJ material is written phonographically, so it is possible that the high proportion of *ga* within the *Man'yōshū* is due to a large number of *ga*-marked nominals that are otherwise mostly written logographically in the rest of the text and are thus not included in this study. As shown in Table 4.14, around 60% (58/93) of all nominals marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in EOJ consist of *wa-ga*, *a-ga*, *na-ga*, *ta-ga*, *ono-ga*, *imo-ga*, *kimi-ga*, which are always marked by *ga*, not *no*. According to Table 4.14 below, in both adnominalization and subject marking, *wa-ga*, *a-ga*, *na-ga*, *ta-ga*, *ono-ga*, *imo-ga*, *kimi-ga* are indeed mostly written logographically in the *Man'yōshū*, except for *a-ga* (13% written logographically).[58]

Table 4-14 Proportions of logographic attestations of wa ga, a ga, na ga, ta ga, ono ga, imo ga, kimi ga *in the* Man'yōshū *in adnominalization and subject marking*

***Ga*-marked nominals**	**All attestations**	**Logographic attestations**	**Proportion (%)**
wa ga	993	848	*85.4%*
a ga	91	12	*13.2%*
na ga	39	30	*76.9%*
ta ga	30	26	*86.7%*
ono ga	24	16	*66.7%*
imo ga	210	162	*77.1%*
kimi ga	260	217	*83.5%*

Nonetheless, it is also important to bear in mind that the nominals *wa*, *a*, *na*, *ta*, *ono*, *imo*, and *kimi* also make up 65% (221/340) of all nominals marked by *ga* in noun-modifying

[58] 24% of all attestations of *a ga* in the *Man'yōshū* are found in EOJ. However, part of the difference between *wa ga vs. a ga* could be that, when written logographically, much of what is usually read *wa ga* in fact stands for *a ga*.

constructions in the *Man'yōshū*, and 60% (307/491) in all texts. If we were to exclude these nominals from all texts, then EOJ would constitute approximately 30% (35/114) of all attestations in the *Man'yōshū* and 16% (35/196) in all texts. These are still relatively high proportions, considering that the EOJ corpus is small and the poems are short.

Ohno (1978) claims that the distribution of *ga* is distinctive in EOJ as it tends to mark nouns that are otherwise always found with *no* in cOJ. He notes that inanimate objects such as *suzu* 'jingle' and *pimo* (:: EOJ *pwimo*) 'cord', which are marked by *no* in cOJ, are instead found with *ga* in EOJ. However, a search of the corpus shows that in all functions, *kamo* 'wild duck', *kaye* (:: cOJ *kaya*) 'reed' and *pwimo* (:: cOJ *pimo*) 'cord' are the only nouns that are marked by *ga* in EOJ while only being marked by *no* in cOJ. In addition, contrary to Ohno (1978)'s claim, *suzu* 'jingle' is not found with *no* in cOJ—neither in adnominalization nor in subject marking. Therefore, at least in the case of noun-modifying constructions, the scarcity of examples makes it difficult to argue that the distribution of *ga* is distinctive in such a way that it tends to mark nouns otherwise found with *no* in cOJ. It is interesting, however, that *kaya* 'reed' and *pimo* 'cord', which are nouns that are only ever marked by *no* in both functions, are found only with *ga* when they appear in their EOJ forms: *kaye* (37) and *pwimo* (38).[59] According to the postscripts, both songs containing these forms were composed by soldiers from the east who were sent from the eastern regions to Kyushu.

(37)

asu	*yuri*	*ya*	
tomorrow	ABL	FOC	
kaye	***ga***	*muta*	*ne-mu*

[59] These shapes are attested once each in the entire corpus and are only attested in noun-modifying constructions.

reed GEN together sleep-CJR.ADN

imu *nasi* *ni-site*

beloved NEG.CONCL COP-GER

'From tomorrow, would I sleep together with reeds? Since my beloved one is not here.' (MYS.20.4321; EOJ)

(38)

wagimokwo *ga* *tuke-si*

beloved GEN tie-SPST.ADN

pwimo ***ga*** *wo*

cord GEN cord

'the cord that my beloved one tied (to her garment)' (MYS.20.4404; EOJ)

Furthermore, Ohno (1978) notes that the distribution of *ga* in EOJ is distinctive as it marks plant names. Although he does not specify how this feature makes EOJ distinct from cOJ, the corpus data shows that a significant number of plant names marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in the *Man'yōshū* come from EOJ, accounting for 32% (9/19) of all attestations.

4.4.2 Age variation

Previous proposals, such as those by Nomura (1993b), concerning the distribution of *no/ga* with respect to age variation mainly focus on their distribution in subject marking in the *Kojiki kayō* (compiled in 712) and the *Nihon shoki kayō* (compiled in 720) (abbrev. *Kiki kayō*). These texts are considered older compared to the *Man'yōshū* (compiled in the late Nara or early Heian periods). In this section, I investigate the distribution of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions with respect to the age of the texts and its differences from *no*. There are several

reasons why the dichotomy between the *Kiki kayō* and the *Man'yōshū* proposed by previous studies is rather arbitrary. Firstly, the *Man'yōshū* is not a single text but a collection of texts from different sources and times, both old and contemporary, with the oldest poem dating back to the fifth century and the latest to 759. Secondly, there is no compelling reason to exclude the prose corpora, *Senmyō* and *Engishiki norito*, from the analysis of age, as they are thought to reflect early features of the language in several aspects. Nonetheless, in this thesis, for both noun-modifying constructions and subject marking, I follow previous proposals by analysing the data in the *Kiki kayō* in contrast to the data in the *Man'yōshū* so that I can compare my corpus-based findings with their hypotheses. I also exclude the prose corpora, *Senmyō* and *Engishiki norito*, to eliminate the factor of genre from the investigation into age.

Table 4.15 shows the distribution of nouns marked by *ga* in the *Kiki kayō* in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 4-15 Distribution of nouns marked by ga *in noun-modifying constructions in the* Kiki kayō

Noun	**Meaning**	**Frequency**
wa	1st person pronoun	28
a	1st person pronoun	5
si	3rd person pronoun	5
kimi	my lord	4
ono	reflexive pronoun	3
ta	personal interrogative pronoun	3
sibi	tuna (Thunnus)	3
na	2nd person pronoun	2
maro	1st person pronoun	2
sukune	Sukune (personal name)	2
ukapi	cormorant fisher	2
imo	beloved	1
aso	term of endearment	1
itukasi	sacred oak	1
ituki	place of worship	1
kasi	oak	1

mimoro	Mimoro	1
nikwoya	softness	1
pupaya	fluffiness	1
sayagu	rustling	1
opowikwo	big boar	1
opowikwo	Ōiko	1
pari	Japanese alder (Alnus japonica)	1
sasa	sasa (broad-leaf bamboo)	1
so	that	1
sirakasi	white oak	1
so-ne	that-SFX	1
so-no	that-SFX	1
somekwi	dye tree	1
sukara	trunk of a bare tree	1
tukwi	zelkova tree	1
tuma	spouse	1
wakidukwi	armrest	1
womure	Omure	1
womurwo	temple junipers	1
	Total	**83**

Ga (17%) is significantly more frequent than *no* (9.5%) in noun-modifying constructions in the *Kiki kayō*. 17% is a high proportion considering that the two texts together merely occupy 4.5% of the whole corpus (Table 1.7). Moreover, the *Kiki kayō* are written entirely phonographically. Similar to the distribution of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in EOJ, around 60% (50/83) of the nouns marked by *ga* in the *Kiki kayō* consist of *wa*, *a*, *na*, *ta*, *ono*, *imo*, *kimi*, which are mostly written logographically. Nonetheless, even if we were to exclude these nominals from all texts, the proportion of *ga* in the *Kiki kayō* would make up around 19% (38/196), suggesting that the frequency of *ga* in these texts is indeed noteworthy.

The distribution of *ga* in the *Kiki kayō* is also distinct in relation to inanimate nouns, as 26% of all *ga*-marked inanimates are from these texts. Furthermore, *so-ga*, *so-no ga* and *so-ne ga* are only ever found in the *Kiki kayō*. Additionally, there are only 2 instances of *si-ga* (and only 5 in total including subjects) in the entire *Man'yōshū*, while there are 5 instances in the

Kiki kayō (*si-ga* is only attested in noun-modifying constructions in these texts). The frequencies of *si-ga* in the *Kiki kayō* versus the *Man'yōshū* do not seem dramatically different; however, *si-ga* is relatively more frequent in the *Kiki kayō* when considering that the *Kiki kayō* accounts for only around 5% of the entire corpus, while the *Man'yōshū* makes up 76%. In §4.2, it is mentioned that in OJ, 3rd person reference is usually expressed by anaphoric uses of the non-proximal demonstrative *so* as opposed to the 3rd person pronoun *si*. It is also speculated that *si*, which went out of use after OJ, is diachronically related to *so,* and that *so-ga* and *si-ga* could be textual variants of each other. We may be able to relate their distribution in the *Kiki kayō* to the assumption that these texts were compiled earlier than the *Man'yōshū*. Firstly, it is possible that the distribution of *si-ga* in the *Kiki kayō* represents an earlier stage of the OJ period when it was used relatively more frequently as a pronoun for 3rd person reference than in later stages of the OJ period. Secondly, attestations of *ga* marking *so* may represent cases where a grammatical distinction between the two possibly diachronically related pronouns, *si* and *so*, was not yet fully established in earlier stages of the OJ period.

4.4.3 Genre variation

This section compares the distribution between *no* and *ga* in the prose texts, as well as the distribution of *ga* between poetry and prose.

Table 4.11 shows that the *Senmyō* (11%) and the *Engishiki norito* (2%) account for 13% of the total attestations of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions. Table 4.12 shows that the *Senmyō* (5%) and the *Engishiki norito* (9%) account for 14% of the total attestations of *no* in noun-modifying constructions. When comparing the distribution of each genitive in the *Engishiki norito vs.* the *Senmyō*, the *Engishiki norito* contains a significantly smaller proportion of the total attestations of *ga* compared to the *Senmyō*, with all attestations in the *Engishiki norito* being of the noun *sumye-ra* ('emperor, imperial highness'). On the other hand, the *Engishiki*

norito contains a larger proportion of the total attestations of *no* compared to the *Senmyō*. When comparing the distribution of *no* and *ga* in the *Engishiki norito* and the *Senmyō*, the *Engishiki norito* contains a significantly higher proportion of the total attestations of *no* compared to *ga*. Conversely, the *Senmyō* contains a significantly higher proportion of the total attestations of *ga* compared to *no*. The contrasts in the distribution of *ga* between the *Senmyō* and the *Engishiki norito*, as well as between the distribution of *no* and *ga* in these prose texts, may be largely related to the content of the texts. The *Senmyō* are imperial edicts proclaimed by emperors or empresses and addressed to their subjects, while the *Engishiki norito* are ritual prayers and blessings addressed to deities and spirits. As a result, the *Senmyō* contains more instances of the noun *sumye-ra* ('imperial highness'), a noun that is exclusively marked by *ga*, than the *Engishiki norito*.The *Senmyō* also contains more personal pronouns and personal names, which are always marked by *ga*. On the other hand, the *Engishiki norito* contains more place names and nouns referring to mythological beings and sacred offerings, which are mostly marked by *no*.

No differences are found between prose and poetry in the use of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions. Table 4.16 presents the distribution of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ prose texts.

Table 4-16 Distribution of ga *in noun-modifying constructions in the OJ prose texts*

Noun	**Meaning**	**Frequency**
sumye-ra	imperial highness	32
ono	reflexive pronoun	6
naramaro	Naramaro (personal name)	4
wa	1st person pronoun	3
si	3rd person pronoun	3
popukun	Hōkun (personal name)	2
punado	Funado (personal name)	2
sipoyaki	Shioyaki (personal name)	1
sore-ra	they	1

papa	mother	1
naramaro-ra	Naramaro (personal name, plural)	1
daipopusi	great priests of the Law	1
imasi-ra	you, respectful (plural)	1
mimasi	you, respectful	1
na	2nd person pronoun	1
	Total	**60**

Over half of the attestations in the prose texts are of the noun *sumye-ra* 'imperial highness', which is a noun that is not attested phonographically in the poetic corpus. In noun-modifying constructions, 78% (7/9) of all *ga*-marked personal names are found in the *Senmyō*. However, these observations do not indicate differences in the use of *ga* but rather reflect variations in the distribution of certain types of nouns between prose and poetry. Regardless of genre, personal names and *sumye-ra* are consistently marked by *ga*. *Sore-ra ga* is the only instance in OJ where a long-form demonstrative is followed by *ga*. Nevertheless, this does not signify a distinct use of *ga* in prose texts either, as, regardless of genre, nominals ending with the suffix *-ra* are uniformly marked by *ga* in OJ.

4.4.4 Summary

In noun-modifying constructions, dialect and age, but not genre, are factors that may influence the use of *ga* in OJ.

The distribution of *ga* is distinctive in the EOJ texts compared to the cOJ texts in the *Man'yōshū.* Specifically: 1) the proportion of *ga* in EOJ is significantly higher than *no* (27% *vs.* 14%); 2) *ga* marks nouns that are in their EOJ shapes while their cOJ shapes are only ever attested with *no*; 3) a significant number of plant names marked by *ga* in the *Man'yōshū* come from EOJ (32%).

The distribution of *ga* is also distinct in the *Kiki kayō* compared to the *Man'yōshū*, as follows: 1) the proportion of *ga* is considerably higher than that of *no* (17% *vs.*10%) in the *Kiki*

kayō; 2) 26% of all *ga*-marked inanimate nouns are from these texts; 3) instances where *ga* marks the non-proximal demonstrative *so* (*so ga*, *so-ne ga*, *so-no ga*) are only attested in the *Kiki kayō*.

4.5 Human common nouns

This section examines the distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by *no* or *ga* in noun-modifying constructions, addressing the following research question:

- What possible factor(s) determine the choice of *no* vs. *ga* when marking human common nouns in noun-modifying constructions?

This section does not include human nouns followed by the suffix *-ra* and human nouns from the 'exalted entities' category, which are discussed in §4.8 and §4.9.

4.5.1 Human common nouns exclusively marked by *ga*

Table 4.17 presents the distribution of *ga* marking human common nouns in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 4-17 Distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by ga *in noun-modifying constructions.*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
kwo, kwo-ro	my beloved	5
amo	my mother	1
aso	my dear man	5
imo	my beloved	32
makwo	my lovely wife	1
omotiti	my mother and father	1
wagimokwo	my beloved	7
papa	my mother	1

satwowosa	village chief	1
sekwo	my dear man	6
sena, senano	my dear man	2
titipapa	my father and mother	2
tuma	my spouse	1
wakugwo	infant; youth; young man	1
warapa	child; youth	1
ukapi	cormorant fishermen	3
	Total	80

In Table 4.17, most of the human common nouns are *lexically* specified as being referential, whose usages are always narrow and clearly defined (e.g., *titipapa* 'my father and mother', *tuma* 'my spouse', *imo* 'my beloved'). The nouns that need further examinations are *satwowosa* 'village chief', *wakugwo* 'infant; youth', *warapa* 'child; youth' and *ukapi* 'cormorant fishermen'. *Satwowosa* is attested only twice in the corpus, both followed by *ga*, once in adnominalization and once in subject marking. In (39), *satwowosa* has a specific and referential reading, referring to the head of the unit consisting of fifty houses. Despite the fact that the reading of *satwowosa* in subject marking is also specific and referential, the scarcity of examples makes it difficult to ascertain whether *satwowosa* is lexically referential.

(39)

satwowosa	***ga***	*kowe*	*pa*
village chief	GEN	voice	TOP
neya*dwo*	*made*	ki-tati-ywoba*pi-nu*	
bedroom	ALL	hear-stand-call.often-PERF.CONCL	

'As for the calling of the village chief, I have been hearing it repeatedly all the way in my bedroom.' (MYS.5.892)

Wakugwo and *warapa* both have specific and referential readings (40), as they refer to the author himself. However, as in other functions, *wakugwo* is found with specific but non-referential readings and *warapa* with non-specific readings, they are not considered as nouns that are lexically specified as being referential.

(40)

wakugwo	***ga***	*mwi*	*ni*	*pa*
infant	GEN	body	DAT	TOP
taratisi	papa		ni	udaka-ye
MK	mother		DAT	hug-PASS.INF

…

warapa	***ga***	*mwi*	*ni*	*pa*	
young.child	GEN	body	DAT	TOP	
yupi-pata	no	swodetukegoromo		ki-si	ware
bind-loom	GEN	sleeved.garment		wear-SPST.ADN	I

'When I was an infant, I was embraced by my dear mother…when I was a boy, I, who wore tie-dyed sleeved garment…' (MYS.16.3791)

Ukapi is the only human common noun marked by *ga* that has a non-specific reading, for example (41). *Ukapi* is attested three times with *ga*, all of which are in noun-modifying constructions and are part of the expression *ukapi ga tomo* 'cormorant fishermen's fellows'. Two of the attestations are from the *Kiki kayō*; it is therefore possible that the use of *ga* in these texts is influenced by age variation. The other attestation is from a poem composed by Ōtomo no Yakamochi in 747 collected in the *Man'yōshū* (MYS.17.4011), which is later than the *Kiki kayō*. Based on this information, we may speculate that Yakamochi used it as a fixed expression influenced by the earlier texts.

(41)

tatakapeba *ware* *pa* *ya* *we-nu*

fight.PROV I TOP INTJ starve-PERF.CONCL

simatutori ***ukapi*** ***ga*** *tomo*

MK fishermen GEN fellow

ima *suke* *ni* *kone*

now help.INF CONJ come.OPT

'Since I was fighting, I am starving. Fishermen fellows, I wish you'd come to help me now!' (KK.5)

4.5.2 Human common nouns exclusively marked by *no*

28 distinct human common nouns (77 examples) are exclusively found with *no* in noun-modifying constructions.

4.5.2.1 *Pito/-pito/-bito*

Pito/-pito/-bito 'person; people' are attested 23 times in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 4-18 Distribution of no *marking* pito/-pito/-bito *in noun-modifying constructions*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
pito	person; people	12
miyapito	palace retainer	3
monosiribito-domo	knowledgeable people	2
moropito	everyone	2
kipepito	people in Kie	1
mwinapito	everyone	1
twomibito	wealthy person	1
yamabito	hermit (lit. mountain person)	1
	Total	**23**

Pito ‘person; people’, which may have singular or plural reference depending on the context, is found to be used primarily non-specifically (42)—(43) and less frequently specifically and referentially, referring to a particular person who is identifiable to the speaker (44)—(45).

(42)

yo	no	naka	*no*	***pito***	***no***	*nageki*
world	GEN	middle	GEN	people	GEN	sigh

‘The lamenting of people in this world’ (MYS.15.3691)

(43)

onoduma	*wo*					
own.spouse	ACC					
pito	***no***	*satwo*	*ni*	*oki*		
people	GEN	village	DAT	put.INF		
opoposi-ku		*mitutu*		*so*	*ki-nuru*	
gloomy-ACOP.INF		see.CONT		FOC	come-PERF.ADN	

‘Leaving my spouse in other people’s village, I came back looking gloomy.’ (MYS.14. 3571; EOJ)

(44)

purisakete	mikadukwi	mireba		
revere.GER	crescent.moon	see.PROV		
pitome	mi-si	**pito**	***no***	maywo*biki*
glimpse	see-SPST.ADN	person	GEN	eyebrow
omopoyuru	*kamo*			

think.ADN EMPH

'As I look up to the crescent moon, I came to think about the eyebrows of that person whom I met once.' (MYS.6.994)

(45)

pito	***no***	so	no	na	*wo*
beloved	GEN	that	GEN	name	ACC
nakanaka	ni				
contrariwise	COP.INF				
koto	wo	sitapape			
word	ACC	think.to.oneself			

'Calling in my heart, the name of my beloved one' (MYS.9.1792)

As for the rest of the nouns in Table 4.18, where *pito* is part of a compound noun, all of the examples have plural reference and non-specific readings.

(46)

twomibito	***no***	ipye	*no*	kwodomo	*no*
wealthy.people	GEN	house	GEN	children	GEN
kiru	mwi	*na-mi*			
wear.ADN	body	exist.not-ACOP.INF			
kutasi-sutu		*ramu*			
let.rot-discard.CONCL		EMPH			
kinu-wata-*ra*	*pa*	*mo*			
silk-cotton-PLU	TOP	ETOP			

‘As the children of wealthy people’s households do not have space on their body [to wear all their clothes], they leave them to rot and discard them. Alas, those silk and cotton!’ (MYS.5.900)

4.5.2.2 *Ama*

Ama ‘sea divers; fishermen’ is attested 11 times in noun-modifying constructions. All of the examples of *ama* in noun-modifying constructions as well as in other functions have non-specific readings and plural references, where many of them are found in scenes where the poet is describing a scenery where fishermen are seen from afar.

(47)

yama	*no*	*pa*	*ni*		
mountain	GEN	edge	DAT		
tukwi	katabukeba	*izari*	*suru*		
moon	lean.PROV	fish	do.ADN		
ama	***no***	*tomosibwi*	*oki*	*ni*	*nadusapu*
fishermen	GEN	lamplight	offing	DAT	drift.CONCL

‘As the moon descends towards the mountain edge, the lamplights of fishermen are drifting in the offing.’ (MYS.15.3623)

(48)

iswo	*gotoni*			
rock	each.time			
ama	***no***	turipune	*pate-ni-kyeri*	
fishermen	GEN	fishing.boat	dock-PERF-MPST.CONCL	
wa	ga	pune	*pate-mu*	

I GEN boat dock-CJR.ADN

iswo no sira-naku

rock GEN know-exist.not.NMNL

'Fishing boats of fishermen dock at every rocky shore. I do not know of which rock I shall dock my boat.' (MYS.17.3892)

4.5.2.3 *Oya*

Oya 'ancestors' is attested 8 times in noun-modifying constructions, most of which are from the *Senmyō*. *Oya* may have a non-specific reading, referring to ancestors of all people (49). It may also have a specific but non-referential reading, denoting ancestors of a particular clan as a category of people as opposed to as identifiable individuals (50). Only a single example shows *oya* being used referentially, where it refers to the speaker's parents (51). Furthermore, *oya* often refers to distant (imperial) ancestors who are deified (as seen in the compound noun *kamuoya* 'divine ancestors'), suggesting that *oya* may be semantically related to nouns in the 'exalted entities' referent category, which takes *no* rather than *ga*.

(49)

ono *ga* topo tu **oya** ***no*** na *wo*

oneself GEN distant GEN ancestors GEN name ACC

okosi-tugi *pirome-mu* *to*

stir-continue.INF spread-CNJ.CONCL COMP

omopa-zu-*aru* *pa* ara-zu

think-NEG-exist.ADN TOP exist-NEG.CONCL

'There is no one who does not think of raising, inheriting and spreading the names of their own distant ancestors.' (SM.28)

(50)

masurawo	no	*kiywo-ki*		so	no	na	*wo*
fine.men	GEN	clear-ACOP.ADN		that	GEN	name	ACC
inisipye	*ywo*	*ima*	*no*	*watutu*		*ni*	
past	ABL	present	GEN	reality		DAT	
nagasap-yeru		***oya***		***no***	kwo*domo*		*so*
make.flow-STAT.ADN		ancestors		GEN	children		FOC
opotomo	*to*	*sapa*	*no*		udi		pa
Ōtomo	COM	Sapa	COP.ADN		clan.name		TOP

‘We are the children of our ancestors, who have passed on continuously their clear names as noble men from the past to the present day’s reality—the [descendants of the] Ōtomo and Sapa clans!’ (MYS.18.4094)

(51)

asa-tuyu	*no*	*ke-yasu-ki*			
morning-dew	COP.ADN	vanish-easy.ACOP.ADN			
wa	ga	mwi	*pito*-kuni	ni	
I	GEN	life	people-land	DAT	
sugwi-kate-nu				*kamo*	
pass-possible-NEG.ADN				EMPH	
oya	***no***	me	*wo*	*pori*	
parents	GEN	eye	ACC	desire.INF	

‘Alas, like morning dew, my ephemeral life cannot continue in other people’s land! I wish for sight of my parents.’ (MYS.5.885)

4.5.2.4 *Wotomye/-wotomye/-mye*

Wotomye/-wotomye/-mye '(young) woman' are attested 8 times in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 4-19 Distribution of no *marking* wotomye/-mye *in noun-modifying constructions*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
wotomye	young woman	1
unemye	ladies-in-waiting	1
tawayamye	weak woman	2
omi no mye	ladies-in-waiting	1
unapiwotomye	woman in Unai	2
yamatomye	woman in Yamato	1
	Total	**8**

Wotomye/-wotomye/-mye mostly have non-specific readings (52). Less often, they refer to a particular woman who the speaker can identify. For example, in (53), *wotomye* refers to the author's beloved, who, based on the context, is princess Miyozu.

(52)

unemye	***no***	swode
lady-in-waiting	GEN	sleeve
puki-kapyesu	asuka-kaze	
blow-turn.ADN	Asuka-wind	

'The Asuka wind that blows and folds the sleeves of ladies-in-waiting.' (MYS.1.51)

(53)

wotomye		***no***	*toko*	*no*	*bye*	*ni*		
young.woman		GEN	bed	GEN	side	DAT		
wa	*ga*	*oki-si*		*turuki*		*no*		*tati*

I GEN put-SPST.ADN double-edged COP.ADN sword

'The double-edged sword, which I put beside the bed of that maiden' (KK.33)

4.5.2.5 *Wotokwo-/-wotokwo/-wo*

Wotokwo-/-wotokwo/-wo '(young) man' are attested 10 times in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 4-20 Distribution of no *marking* wotokwo-/-wotokwo/-wo *in noun-modifying constructions*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
masurawo	fine man	6
adumawotokwo	eastern man	1
nanipawotokwo	Naniwa man	1
satuwo	hunter	1
wotokwowomina	man and woman	1
	Total	**10**

Wotokwo-/-wotokwo/-wo mostly have non-specific readings (54). Only once are they attested with a specific and referential reading (55), where *masurawo* refers to the husband of the author's daughter.

(54)

satuwo ***no*** *nerapi*

hunter GEN aim

kasikwo-kyedo wosika naku nari

fearsome-ACOP.CONC male.deer cry.CONCL EVID.CONCL

'Although hunter's aim is fearsome, male deer still cry.' (MYS.10.2149)

(55)

masurawo ***no*** *piki* *no* *manima* *ni*

fine.man GEN pull GEN accordance COP.INF

sinazakaru *kwosidi* *wo* *sasite*

MK Kosi.road ACC point.GER

'In accordance with the posting of that fine man, you, setting out on the road to Kosi…' (MYS.19.4220)

4.5.2.6 Other nouns

Apart from the nouns mentioned above, there are four more human common nouns that are attested once each with *no* in noun-modifying constructions. They are *atonusi* 'the owner of the footprint', *potute* 'skilful person', *tawarapa* 'infant' and *pasiduma* 'my dear wife'.

Atonusi, which is attested in the *Bussokuseki-ka*, refers to the Buddha. Therefore, it is possible to categorize this noun in the 'exalted entities' referent category, which always takes *no*.

(56)

ko *no* *miato* *wo*

this GEN HON.footprint ACC

mapari-matureba

eyes.wide-serve.PROV

atonusi ***no*** *tama* *no* *yosopopi*

footprint.owner GEN jewel COP.ADN attire

omopoyuru *kamo*

be.thought.ADN EMPH

‘As I am stunned by these footprints, the jewel-like attire of the owner of the footprint appears before me’ (BS.16)

Potute has a specific but non-referential reading.

(57)

yuki	*no*	*ama*	*no*	
Yuki	GEN	fishermen	COP.ADN	
***potu*te**	***no***	*urapue*	*wo*	*katayakite*
skilful.hand	GEN	divination	ACC	shoulder.burn.GER

‘Using the divination of skilful persons among the fishermen in Yuki to scotch a shoulder blade…’ (MYS.15.3694)

Tawarapa ‘infant’ has a non-specific reading.

(58)

puri-ni-si		omina	*ni*site	ya
get.old-PERF-SPST.ADN		old.woman	COP.GER	FOC
kwopi	*wo*	*dani*		
longing	ACC	RES		
sinobwi-*kane-te-mu*		***tawarapa***	***no***	*goto*
endure-fail-PERF-CJR.ADN		infant	GEN	like

‘Being an old woman who has aged, how can I not bear even my longing—just like a toddler?’ (MYS.2.129b)

The distribution of *pasiduma* with *no* is rather odd, as the noun *tuma* ‘spouse’ is only attested with *ga* in all functions. A closer examination shows that *pasiduma no* is attested in a

variant poem to the main poem. In the main poem, we instead find the expression *topoduma no* ‘distant spouse’, where the genitive particle is logographically written. I regard *pasiduma no* as noise and do not include it in my analysis.

(59)

kaze	kumo	pa		
wind	cloud	TOP		
patatu	no	kwisi	ni	*kaywopedomo*
two	COP.ADN	shore	DAT	move.across.CONC
wa	ga	***pasi*duma**	***no***	koto
I	GEN	dear.spouse	GEN	word
so	kaywopa-nu			
FOC	move.across-NEG.ADN			

‘Wind and clouds move across two shores, but my dear spouse’s words are not coming across to me!’ (MYS.8.1521b)

4.5.3 Hypothesis and conclusion

In this section, I explored the semantics of human common nouns exclusively marked by *no* or *ga* in noun-modifying constructions, considering both their discourse-based and lexical properties. Discourse-based properties do not determine the choice between *no* and *ga* when marking human common nouns, as some nouns consistently take *no*, never *ga*, regardless of their discourse-based properties such as specificity or referentiality. This indicates that their distribution with human common nouns is lexical-based. I propose that in noun-modifying constructions, lexical referentiality determines the choice between *no* and *ga* when marking human common nouns (60).

(60)

Ga marks human common nouns that are lexically specified as being referential. On the other hand, *no* marks human nouns that are *not* lexically specified as being referential, even though some of them can be referential based on discourse.

For example, *ga*-marked nouns such as *tuma* 'my spouse', *imo* 'my beloved', *papa* 'my mother', are lexically specified to refer to clearly delimited and identifiable individual(s), where contextual information is not needed to determine their referentiality. In contrast, none of the *no*-marked nouns possess this property. Most of these examples are not referential, and even when they are referential (e.g., when *pito* can mean 'my beloved' or when *oya* can mean 'my parents'), such referentiality is not part of their lexical specification but is instead inferred from context. In other words, contextual information is required to determine the referentiality of *no*-marked human common nouns.

4.6 Place names

This section investigates the distribution of genitives in place names with a focus on *ga*. Place names attested in the corpus may be categorized into the following three types based on the nominal class of the dependent noun and the head noun:

- Proper noun + *no*/*ga* + common noun (e.g., *wazami ga para* 'Wazami Plain', *yutukwi ga take* 'Yutsuki Summit', *toya no nwo* 'Toya Field').
- Common noun + *no*/*ga* + common noun (e.g., *matu ga ura* 'Pine Inlet', *tegwo no ywobisaka* 'Maiden Calling Slope').
- Proper noun + *no* + proper noun (only found with *no*, e.g., *miyosinwo no mimiga* 'Mimiga in Miyoshino').

In this study, I consider constructions that, as a whole, can be taken as a single place name (e.g., *wazami ga para* 'Wazami plain', *tegwo no ywobisaka* 'Maiden Calling Slope') as being lexicalized. I consider constructions that express spatial relations (e.g., *pudipara ga upe* 'on top of Fujiwara', *kopata no upe* 'on top of Kohata') and locative relations (e.g., *nagwo no ama* 'fishermen in Nago', *simatu ga apabitama* 'abalone jewel in Shimatsu') as being non-lexicalized. In the OJ corpus, there are 862 instances of place name constructions involving *no* and merely 25 instances involving *ga.* Table 4.21 presents all the examples of *ga* and their speculated location in present-day Japan.

Table 4-21 Distribution of ga *in place names*

Dependent	**Meaning**	**Genitive**	**Head**	**Meaning**	**Source**	**Possible location**
awone	Aone	*ga*	*mine*	summit	MYS.7.1120	Nara Prefecture
kapoya	Kaoya	*ga*	*numa*	swamp	MYS.14.3416	Gunma Prefecture
kipe	Kie	*ga*	*takagaki*	bamboo fence	MYS.11.2530	unknown
kisima	Kishima	*ga*	*take*	summit	FK.19	Saga Prefecture
kwisimi	Kishimi	*ga*	*take*	summit	MYS.3.385	unknown
mimoro	Mimoro	*ga*	*upe*	top	NSK.97	Nara Prefecture
murazi	Muraji	*ga*	*iswo*	rock	MYS.20.4338	Shizuoka Prefecture
nwosima	Noshima	*ga*	*saki*	cape	MYS.15.3606a	Awaji Island
nwosima	Noshima	*ga*	*saki*	cape	MYS.15.3606b	Awaji Island
nwosima	Noshima	*ga*	*saki*	cape	MYS.3.250b	Awaji Island
opoya	Ōya	*ga*	*para*	plain	MYS.14.3378	Saitama Prefecture
pudipara	Fujiwara	*ga*	*upe*	top	MYS.1.50	Nara Prefecture
pudiwi	Fujii	*ga*	*para*	plain	MYS.1.52	Nara Prefecture

pusimi	Fushimi	*ga*	*tawi*	paddy	MYS.9.1699	Kyoto Prefecture
simatu	Shimatsu	*ga*	*apabitama*	abalone jewel	MYS.7.1322	unknown
tadori	Tadori	*ga*	*kapadi*	road to river	MYS.14.3405a	Gunma Prefecture
tadori	Tadori	*ga*	*kapadi*	road to river	MYS.14.3405b	Gunma Prefecture
tobupwi	Tobuhi	*ga*	*take*	summit	MYS.6.1047	unknown
wazami	Wazami	*ga*	*para*	plain	MYS.2.199a	Gifu Prefecture
wazami	Wazami	*ga*	*para*	plain	MYS.2.199b	Gifu Prefecture
womure	Omure	*ga*	*upe*	top	NSK.116	unknown
yutukwi	Yutsuki	*ga*	*take*	summit	MYS.10.1816	Nara Prefecture
yutukwi	Yutsuki	*ga*	*take*	summit	MYS.7.1087	Nara Prefecture
opowikwo	Ōiko	*ga*	*para*	plain	KK.60	Nara Prefecture
matu	pine	*ga*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.14.3552	Fukushima Prefecture or Miyagi Prefecture
					Total	**25**

Within the 25 examples in Table 4.21, 5 distinct nouns (*mimoro*, *kipe*, *nwosima*, *pudiwi*, *matu*), which make up 7 instances in total, are also found with *no*; these will be examined in more detail in the next section. Overall, 68% (17/25) of the examples are lexicalized and 32% (8/25) of them are non-lexicalized, suggesting that most of the place name expressions involving *ga* are old. 72% (18/25) of the constructions have head nouns that have /a/ in their first syllable. For example, *kisima ga take* 'Kishima Summit', *wazami ga para* 'Wazami Plain', *kipe ga takagaki* 'bamboo fence in Kie', *simatu ga apabitama* 'abalone jewel in Shinatsu', and so on. Additionally, interestingly, despite the fact that the number of place names involving *no* significantly outnumbers those involving *ga*, we find only three examples of *N no take* (*vs.* six examples of *N ga take*). In §2.3, I presented Yamada (1954) and Miller (1971, 1975)'s proposal that the distribution of *no* and *ga* in pre-OJ was phonologically conditioned, where *ga* was used

after words that have /a/ in their last syllable (—*aga*—) and *no* was used after words that have /o/ in their last syllable (—*ono*—). In noun-modifying constructions, there is no good evidence to support that the choice of genitive is based on the *last* syllable of the genitive-marked nouns. Nonetheless, we may generalize that in place names (but not in other environments in noun-modifying constructions), when *ga* is used, it tends to precede nouns that have /a/ in their *first* syllable (—*gaCa*— or —*gaa*—). 36% (9/25) of the attestations are from EOJ and the *Kiki kayō*, which is a noteworthy figure as these texts only occupy a very small portion of the OJ corpus. Moreover, among the 8 non-lexicalized examples, 63% (5/8) of them are attested in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō*. This may suggest that synchronically, the use of *ga* in place names is more productive in the eastern dialects than in cOJ; diachronically, *ga* had been more productive in marking place names in earlier stages of the OJ language (represented by the *Kiki kayō*) than later stages the language (represented by the *Man'yōshū*).

In sum, examples of place names involving *ga* are scarce, however, based on the analysis above, we may note the following generalizations.

- *Ga* is mainly found in lexicalized place name constructions.
- *Ga* is mainly used in place name constructions where the head noun has /a/ in its first syllable.
- A notable portion of place name constructions involving *ga* is attested in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō*.
- Non-lexicalized use of *ga* in place name constructions is mainly found in texts that are in the eastern dialect or in texts that are considered to be older in comparison to the *Man'yōshū*.

4.7 Nouns marked by both *no* and *ga*

In noun-modifying constructions, although the distribution of *no* and *ga* is, in most cases, complementary with respect to the dependent nouns they mark, there are 21 distinct

nouns (169 examples) that can take either *no* or *ga*. This section investigates each noun marked by both *no* and *ga*, aiming to address the following research question:

- In noun-modifying constructions, when a dependent noun can take either *no* or *ga*, what factor(s)/condition(s), if any, influence its use with *no* vs. *ga*?

Table 4-22 Nouns marked by both no *and* ga *in noun-modifying constructions*

Nouns	**Meaning**	***Ga***	***No***
ipa	rock	3	4
ume	plum	4	41
kamwi	spirit, god	1	20
kimi	you (my lord), respectful; great lord	36	9
kwo	my beloved; diminutive	1	4
matu	pine	2	3
konure	treetop	1	2
mimoro	Mimoro; place to worship god	1	2
nwosima	Noshima	3	2
kamo	wild duck	1	1
kari	wild goose	4	1
kipe	Kie	1	1
nadesikwo	pink	4	1
pari	Japanese alder	1	1
sibi	tuna	3	1
tori	bird	1	1
wotomye	young woman	1	1
asi	reed	1	1
pudiwi	Fujii	1	1
imasi/mi-masi/imasi-tati	you, respectful	1	2
	Total	**73**	**96**
		169	

4.7.1 *kimi* 'you (my lord), respectful; great lord'

Kimi ga is attested 36 times in expressions such as *kimi ga na* 'the name of you, my lord', *kimi ga manima* 'in accordance with you, my lord' and *kimi ga me* 'the eyes of you, my lord'. On the other hand, *kimi no* is attested 9 times, most of which are in the expression *kimi no miyo* 'the age of (our lord)'. *Kimi-no* is peculiar, as apart from these few cases, *kimi* is marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions. In OJ, *kimi* has two usages. It can be a term of address meaning 'you, my lord,' mostly used by women when addressing their lovers, in which case it is otherwise always followed by *ga*. It can also be used to simply mean 'lord; chieftain; sovereign', much like the noun *opokimi* 'great lord'. All instances of *kimi-no* in noun-modifying constructions involve *kimi* used to mean 'lord; chieftain; sovereign', rather than *kimi* used as a term of address. We may thus categorise *kimi* meaning 'lord; chieftain; sovereign' as 'exalted entities' and examine its distribution with *no* with respect to the factor of honorific/socio-linguistic differentiation (§4.9).

(61)

takamatwo *no* *nwo* *no* *upe*
Takamato GEN field GEN top
no *miya* *pa* *are-ni-kyeri*
GEN palace TOP barren-PERF-MPST.CONCL
tata-si-si ***kimi*** ***no*** *miyo* *toposokeba*
build-RESP-SPST.ADN lord GEN age apart.PROV
'The palace above the Takamato field has been in ruins. This is because the age of our lord, when the palace was built, is far away.' (MYS.20.4506)

(62)

ame	no	sita	no	pito
heaven	GEN	below	GEN	people
tare so	**kimi**	***no***	yatukwo	
who FOC	lord	GEN	servant	
ni	ara-zu		*ara-mu*	
COP.INF	exist-NEG.CONCL		exist-CJR.ADN	

'There shall be no one who is not subject to the sovereign.' (SM.28)

4.7.2 *kwo* 'my beloved; diminutive'

Kwo is attested once with *ga* in *kwo ga tame* 'for the sake of my beloved' (MYS.5.845) and three times with *no* in the same expression shown in (63) (NSK.88;91b; KK.107). *Kwo ga vs. kwo no* involve two different uses of *kwo*. When *kwo* is used to mean 'my beloved,' mostly by male speakers to address their lovers, it is marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions. *Kwo* can be also used as a diminutive term of self-reference, in which case it is only followed by *no* in noun-modifying constructions.[60] All of the examples of *kwo no* are attested in poems by the same author (referred to as *sibi no omi* 'the retainer Sibi' in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*), suggesting that this could be an idiosyncratic usage by this particular speaker.

(63)

omi	*no*	***kwo***	***no***
retainer	COP.ADN	DIM	GEN
ya-pye	*no*	*sibakaki*	
eight-fold	COP.ADN	brushwood.fence	

[60] We do not find examples of *kwo* meaning 'child' in noun-modifying constructions where the genitive is written phonographically.

‘the many-fold brushwood fence of mine’ (KK.107)

4.7.3 *wotomye* '(young) woman'

The single attestation of *wotomye ga mo* ‘young woman’s skirt’ (MYS.15.3661b) is from a poem that is considered to be a ‘variant’ poem of the ‘main’ text. In the main text, instead of *wotomye ga mo*, we find *wotomye-ra ga mo*. Thus, this single example of *wotomye ga* could be noise and will not be regarded as an attestation.

4.7.4 *imasi/mimasi/imasi-* ‘you, respectful’

Mimasi ga is attested in *mimasi ga kokoro* ‘your heart’ (SM.45) and *imasi*/*imasi-tati no* are attested in *imasi no tame* ‘for your sake’ (SM.29) and *imasi-tati no oya-domo* ‘your parents’ (SM.13). As I have noted in the previous sections, it is odd for *no* to mark terms of address, which are usually marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions. A closer examination of the context of the *no*-marked instances suggests that *imasi-tati no* is from an edict proclaimed by Emperor Shōmu and *imasi no* is from a sentence quoting Emperor Shōmu’s words in an edict proclaimed by Shōmu’s successor, Empress Kōken (64). Therefore, it might be the case that, for some reason, the *naiki* ‘recorders of internal affairs’ in Shōmu’s court, who were responsible for drafting of imperial edicts, used *no* to mark *imasi*. Thus, the distribution of *no* with *imasi* may exemplify an instance where the choice of *no vs*. *ga* is conditioned by individual speaker variation.

(64)

koto	*wo*	*si*	ipa*ba*
word	ACC	RES	say.PROV

...

imasi ***no*** *tame* *ni* iya

you GEN sake DAT increasingly

na-ku si*te* sitagapa-zu *namye-ku*

not.exist-ACOP.INF do.GER obey-NEG.INF rude-ACOP.INF

ara-*mu* pito *wo-ba* mikadwo *no* kurawi

exist-CJR.ADN person ACC-TOP sovereign COP.ADN rank

ni *koto* *pa* e-zu are

DAT thing TOP obtain-NEG.INF exist.EXCL

'Since he (Emperor Shōmu) spoke these words: "…a person who becomes disrespectful, disobedient and rude to you shall not obtain the position of an emperor."' (SM.29)

4.7.5 *ipa* 'rock'

Ipa ga is attested 3 times in total, all of which are in the expression *ipa ga ne* 'root of rock' (MYS.15.3688;3.301;7.1332). *Ipa no* is attested twice in *ipa no pe* (MYS.14.3518; NSK.107) and twice in *ipa no upe* 'on top of rock' (BS.5;7). One notable difference between the expressions involving *no vs. ga* is that it makes more sense to interpret the examples of *ipa ga ne* as lexicalized expressions (65) whereas neither *ipa no pe* nor *ipa no upe* can be interpreted as so (66). It can be argued that *ipa ga ne*, where the semantics of the head noun is weakened, refers to large rocks that root deeply in the ground, rather than specifically to the root of a rock. JDB also glosses *ipa ga ne* as 'rock; large rock', sharing the same meaning as the noun *ipane*.

(65)

ipa ***ga*** *ne* no

rock GEN root GEN

kogo-siki yama *wo*

steep-ACOP.ADN mountain ACC

kwoye-kanete

pass.over-fail.GER

'failing to pass over mountains, which are full of giant rocks that are rugged and steep' (MYS.3.301)

(66)

ika-naru *ya* *pito* *ni* *imase* *ka*

what.kind-COP.ADN INTJ person COP.INF exist.EXCL Q

ipa ***no*** *upe* *wo* *tuti* *to*

rock GEN top ACC earth COP.INF

pumi-nasi *ato* *no-kyeru* *ramu*

step-do.INF footprint leave.behind-STAT.ADN PCJR.ADN

'What kind of man could he have been? For him to leave behind his footprints on rocks as if stepping on earth!' (BS.5)

4.7.6 *ume* 'plum'

Ume ga is attested 4 times in total, involving in the expressions *ume ga siduye* 'lower branch of plum' (MYS.5.827), *ume ga pana* 'blossom of plum' (MYS.5.837;5.845), and *ume ga ye* 'branch of plum'(MYS.8.1436). *Ume no* is attested 40 times in the expression *ume no pana* 'blossom of plum' and once in *ume no siduye* 'lower branch of plum' (MYS.5.842). It is challenging to identify differences between the expressions involving *no vs. ga*. Firstly, all *ume no* and most of *ume ga* are contained in songs composed in a gathering in the house of the Governor of Dazaifu on the thirteenth day of the first lunar month of the second year of Tenpyō,

whose guests were senior and junior officials in Daizaifu in Kyushu. Thus, it is difficult to consider dialectal and age variation as factors here. Secondly, *ume no/ga* may be non-specific, or specific/referential, referring to the plum trees in the governor's garden. Therefore, discourse-based properties such as specificity/referentiality cannot be considered as factors either. However, it is notable that 2 out of 4 attestations of *ume ga* are followed by a word for branch, whereas there is only a single attestation of *ume no siduye*. We may speculate that for some reasons, words for branches tend to be used with *ga* preceding them as fixed expressions, and/or that the choice between *ume no* and *ume ga* is subject to individual speaker variation.[61]

4.7.7 *kamwi* 'spirit, deity'

Kamwi no is attested 20 times in various expressions such as *kamwi no mikokoro* 'the divine will of the deity', *kamwi no mite* 'the divine hand of the deity', *kamwi no miyo* 'the divine age of the deity' and so on. On the other hand, *kamwi ga* is only attested in the expression *kamwi ga two* 'dreadful strait (lit. the gate of the; the strait of the deity)' (67).[62] Comparing the expressions involving *no* vs. *ga*, we may notice that *kamwi ga two* can be interpreted as a figurative lexicalized expression whereas the ones involving *no* cannot be interpreted as so. Additionally, it is proposed by the editors of SNBTK that the use of *ga* in *kamwi ga two* reflects the speaker's feeling of fear and loathing, however, there are many cases where gods that are fearsome and nefarious are marked by *no* (e.g., the wind deities of Tatsuta in EN.4 are always marked by *no*).

[61] Interestingly, in NJ and cNJ, *ume ga ye* is found as a lexicalized expression. In NJ, it was the place name of the present-day Nishitenma in Osaka (the name changed took place in 1978). In contemporary NJ, it is the name of a famous specialty cake of Dazaifu, the *umegae mochi*, which is filled with sweet red bean paste and imprinted with plum blossom.

[62] In various manuscripts, this expression is encoded as 神我手 and is glossed as *kamwi ga te* 'deity's hand'. In SNBTK, modern editors note that classical commentaries suggest that 手 *te* 'hand' could be a scribal error (*goji* 'miswritten character') for the character 戸 *two* 'gate'.

(67)

kamwi	***ga***	*two*	wataru	ama-wotomye-domo
god	GEN	gate	across.ADN	fishermen-young.woman-PLU

'Young fishermen girls who pass through a dangerous strait' (MYS.7.1216)

4.7.8 *matu* 'pine'

Matu ga is attested in *matu ga ura* 'Pine inlet' (MYS.14.3552) and *matu ga ye* 'branch of pine' (MYS.20.4439). *Matu no* is attested in *matu no pa* 'leaf of pine' (MYS.15.3747), *matu no pana* 'pinecone' (MYS.17.3942) and *matu no sayeda* 'small branch of pine' (MYS.20.4501). Unlike the other expressions above, *matu ga ura* is a lexicalized expression—a place name—where different from most place names, the genitive-marked noun is a common noun, rather than a proper noun.[63]

4.7.9 *konure* 'treetop'

Konure ga is attested in *konure ga sita* 'beneath treetop' (MYS.13.3221) and *konure no* is attested in *konure no poyo* 'mistletoe on treetop' (MYS.18.4136) and *konure no sige* 'overgrowth on treetop' (MYS.8.1494). Based on the available information, it is challenging to make proposals regarding the distribution of *konure no vs*. *konure ga*.

4.7.10 *mimoro* 'Mimoro; place to worship deity'

Mimoro ga is attested in *mimoro ga upe* 'on top of Mimoro/altar' (NSK.97) and *mimoro no* is attested twice in *mimoro no kamwi* 'deities (residing) in Mimoro/altar' (MYS.13.3227;9.1770). According to JDB, *mimoro* means an altar; a mountain, tree, or shrine

[63] Additionally, the place name *matuura* 'Matsuura' is attested in MYS.15.3685.

where deities descend. However, *mimoro* is also the name of a mountain—*mimoro no yama* 'Mt. Mimoro' located in Nara, where deities are said to be residing. As the two meanings of *mimoro* are very much related, in some cases, it is hard to distinguish if it is only used for one meaning as opposed to the other. As *mimoro ga upe* is attested in the *Nihon shoki kayō*, the use of *ga* marking *mimoro* may be influenced by age variation. Furthermore, based on the distribution that exalted artefacts are always marked by *no*, we may hypothesize that *ga* does *not* mark *mimoro* that refers to an altar, which may be categorized as a sacred structure.

4.7.11 *nwosima* 'Noshima'

Nwosima ga is attested three times in the place name *nwosima ga saki* 'Noshima Cape' (MYS.15.3606a/b;3.250b) and *nwosima no* is attested twice in the locative expression *nwosima no ama* 'fishermen in Noshima' (MYS.6.933;6.934). Again, the expression involving *ga* is lexicalized, whereas the ones involving *no* are not.

4.7.12 *kamo* 'wild duck', *tadu* 'egret', *kari* 'wild goose', *tori* 'bird'

This section discusses words for birds that can take either genitive. *Kamo ga* is attested in *kamo ga ne* 'wild duck's cry' (MYS.14.3570) and *kamo no* is attested in *kamo no pa* 'wild duck's feather' (MYS.8.1451). *Tadu ga* is attested four times in *tadu ga ne* 'egret's cry; egret' (KK.85; MYS.1.67; 10.2138; 10.2249; 20.4398) and *tadu no* is attested only in *tadu no akatoki no kowe* 'egret's voice at dawn' (MYS.6.1000). *Kari ga* is attested four times in *kari ga ne* 'wild goose's cry; wild goose' (MYS.15.3665;15.3687;15.3691;17.3953) and *kari no* is attested in *kari no kwo* 'gosling' (MYS.2.182). *Tori ga* is attested in *tori ga ne* 'bird's cry' (MYS.6.1050) and in EOJ in *tori ga su* 'bird nest' (MYS.14.3526) and *tori no* is attested in *tori no kowe* 'voice of bird' (MYS.17.3987). It is striking that although in noun-modifying constructions, both *no* and *ga* are found before nouns for sounds/noises such as *kowe* 'voice',

oto ‘noise’, only *ga* is found before *ne* ‘cry’. The above distribution may suggest that bird nouns followed by *ga ne* are fixed/lexicalized expressions. Indeed, like *ipa ga ne*, we find cases where the head noun in *tadu ga ne* and *kari ga ne* is semantically weakened. For example, in (68) and (69), it makes more sense to translate *kari ga ne* as ‘wild geese’ rather than ‘wild geese’s cries’.[64]

(68)

yama		*tobi.kwoyuru*		
mountain		fly-cross.ADN		
kari	***ga***	*ne*	*pa*	
goose	GEN	cry	TOP	
miyakwo		*ni*	*yukaba*	
capital		DAT	go.COND	
imo		*ni*	*apite*	*kone*
beloved		DAT	meet.GER	come.OPT

‘If the wild geese that fly over mountains go to the capital, I’d like them to meet my beloved one and come back.’(MYS.15.3687)

(69)

tadu	***ga***	ne	no	kyesa	naku	*napeni*
egret	GEN	cry	GEN	this.morning	cry.ADN	together.with
kari	ga	ne	pa	iduku	sasite	ka
goose	GEN	cry	TOP	where	point.GER	Q

[64] In fact, *kari ga ne* is also attested as a *makura kotoba*, however, none of the examples have *ga* that is phonographically written (e.g., MYS.8.1562).

kumogaur-era-mu

be.hidden.by.clouds-STAT-CJR.ADN

'Together with the egrets crying this morning, where are the wild geese flying to? Perhaps to a place hidden by the clouds…' (MYS.10.2138)

Relating the distribution of *ga* in *kari/tadu/tori ga ne* to *ipa ga ne* and *ume*/*matu ga ye*, we may also note that for some reason, *ga* tends to be used before monosyllabic nouns that have /e/ after the consonant and are inalienably associated with the preceding noun. In this sense, the use of *ga* before *ne* 'root', *ne* 'cry' and *ye* 'branch', which has, in some cases, become part of lexicalized/fixed expressions perhaps due to their shortness, may have been phonologically conditioned. Additionally, *tori ga su* is the only example where a *ga*-marked bird name is used before a head noun other than *ne*. As it is attested in Book 14, I hypothesize that in this case, dialectal variation may have influenced the choice of *ga*.

4.7.13 *kipe* 'Kie'

Kipe ga is attested in *kipe ga takagaki* 'Kie's bamboo fence' (MYS.11.2530) and *kipe no* is attested in *kipe no payasi* 'forest in Kipe' (MYS.14.3353). JDB marks the meaning of *kipe* as unknown, noting that it may refer to either a place named *kipe* or a clan of people who functioned as garrison troops, protecting castles. JDB also comments that although the place name interpretation fits well with (70), it does not make much sense with respect to (71), therefore, it is possible that *no* and *ga* are marking two distinct nouns that are homophonous.

(70)

kipe	***no***	*payasi*	*ni*	*na*	*wo*	*tatete*
Kie	GEN	forest	DAT	you	ACC	stand.GER

yuki-katu-masizi *i* *wo* *sakidatane*

go-able-NPT.CONCL sleep ACC go.ahead.OPT

'I cannot make you stand and wait in the forest in Kie. Let us make plans to sleep together!' (MYS.14.3353)

(71)

kipe ***ga*** takagaki amime yu *mo*

Kie GEN bamboo.fence stitch ABL ETOP

imo *si* mi-ye-naba

beloved RES see-PASS-PERF.COND

ware kwopwi-*me* *ya* *mo*

I yearn-CJR.EXCL FOC ETOP

'If my beloved hadn't been seen through the stitches of Kie's bamboo fence, would I have yearned so much for her? (No, I would not).' (MYS.11.2530)

4.7.14 *nadesikwo* 'pink'

Nadesikwo ga is attested 4 times in *nadesikwo ga pana* 'pink blossom' (MYS.18.4113;18.4114;20.4447;20.4449) whereas *nadesikwo no* is only attested once in *nadesikwo no pana* (MYS.8.1496). In noun-modifying constructions, *nadesikwo* is the only plant name that is more frequently marked by *ga* rather than *no*. In JDB, the NP *nadesikwo ga* is glossed as a separate entry from the noun *nadesikwo* and is defined as a *makura kotoba* that figuratively compares *panaduma* 'my flower spouse; my beautiful spouse' to pink blossoms (72).

(72)

saku	pana	*wo*	*ide*	*miru*	*gotoni*
bloom.ADN	blossom	ACC	go.out.INF	see.ADN	each.time
nadesikwo	***ga*** *so*	*no*	*panaduma*	*ni*	
pink	GEN that	GEN	flower.wife	DAT	
*sayuri*bana	*yuri*	*mo*	*apa-mu*	*to*	
lily.flower	hereafter	ETOP	meet-CJR.CONCL	COMP	
nagusamuru	*kokoro si*	*na-kupa*		*amazakaru*	
be.at.ease.ADN	heart REST	exist.not-ACOP.COND		MK	
pina	*ni* pito-pi	*mo*	*aru-beku*	*mo*	
countryside	DAT one-day	ETOP	exist-NEC.INF	ETOP	
are	*ya*				
exist.EXCL	FOC				

‘Every time I go out and look at the blooming flowers, if I do not have this reassuring thought that (like a lily flower) I would later meet my flower spouse (as beautiful as a pink), could I live even one day in the countryside? (No, I could not).’ (MYS.18.4113)

Additionally, with the exception of one example, every other attestation involves some form of simile or metaphor that compares the beauty of the author’s lover to pink blossoms or equates the author’s love and longing for their lover to their affection for pink blossoms. On the other hand, the single attestation of *nadesikwo no* is not used for such rhetorical effects. Vovin (2016) proposes that in some poems, *nadesikwo* is marked by *ga* rather than *no* because the word is analysed as *nade-si kwo* ‘caress-SPST.ADN beloved (a girl that one caressed)’, and that, in noun-modifying constructions, *kwo*, when meaning ‘my beloved’, always takes *ga*. However, claims like the above risk being ad hoc, as we do not have sufficient evidence to determine that

nadesikwo ga involves wordplay while *nadesikwo no* does not, especially given that there is only one attestation of *nadesikwo no*.

4.7.15 *pari* 'Japanese alder'

Pari ga is attested in *pari ga yeda* 'branch of Japanese alder' (NSK.76) and *pari no* is attested in *pari no sayeda* 'small leaf of Japanese alder' (MYS.19.4207). As *pari ga yeda* is attested in the *Nihon shoki kayō*, such a variation may be influenced by the age of the text.

4.7.16 *sibi* 'tuna'

Sibi ga is attested three times in *sibi ga patade* 'tuna's fins' (NSK.87a/b) and *sibi no* is attested in *sibi no wakugwo* 'baby tuna' (NSK.95). Since all instances of *sibi ga* occur in the same expression in the *Nihon shoki kayō*, they may represent a fixed expression.

4.7.17 *asi* 'reed'

Asi ga is attested in *asi ga naka* 'in the middle of reed' (MYS.14.3445) and *asi no* is attested in *asi no pa* 'leaf of reed' (MYS.14.3570). As *asi ga naka* is attested in Book 14 in a poem that contains EOJ linguistic features, the use of *ga* may be influenced by dialectal variation.

4.7.18 *pudiwi* 'Fujii'

Pudiwi ga is attested in *pudiwi ga para* 'Fujii field' (MYS.1.52) and *pudiwi no* is attested in *pudiwi no ura* 'Fujii inlet' (MYS.6.938). A closer examination reveals that *pudiwi* in the above expressions refers to two different places: *pudiwi ga para* refers to the area where the Fujiwara palace was built in Nara, while *pudiwi no ura* refers to Fujie in modern-day Akashi

city. Therefore, the variation between *no* and *ga* may be due to the fact that these nouns are homophonous but have distinct referents.

4.7.19 Conclusion

In noun-modifying constructions, when a dependent noun seems be able to take either *no* or *ga*, the following generalizations and hypotheses can be made:

- *Ga* marks distinct uses of a noun compared to *no* (e.g., *kimi ga* vs. *kimi no*; *kwo ga* vs. *kwo no*).
- Lexicalized or fixed expressions are more likely to involve *ga* (e.g., *ipa ga ne*; *kari ga ne; matu ga ura*).
- *Ga* tends to be used before monosyllabic head nouns that has /e/ after the consonant (e.g., *kari ga ne*; *tori ga ne*; *matu ga ye*).
- *Ga* tends to be found in EOJ materials or texts that are considered to be older.
- When marking plant names, *ga* tends to precede head nouns that are words for branches (e.g., *ume ga siduye*; *ume ga ye*; *matu ga ye*).
- The noun that is marked by both *no* and *ga*, in fact, represents two homophonous but distinct nouns (e.g., *pudiwi no vs. pudiwi ga* and possibly *kipe no vs. kipe ga*).
- The use of *ga vs. no* may be subject to individual speaker variation (e.g., *imasi/imasi-tati no vs. mimasi ga*).

However, as in quite a few cases, the examples are extremely limited in number, making it easy for attempts to propose their distribution to appear groundless. In this section, when a noun is only attested with each genitive once (e.g., *pari no/ga*; *asi no/ga*; *kipe no/ga*; *pudiwi no/ga*), I have analyzed these examples in relation to generalized patterns, where possible. For instance,

I proposed that the use of *pari* and *asi* with *ga* may be influenced by dialectal and age variation in the texts, based on the information that these examples are attested in *Kiki kayō* and EOJ, and that the use of *ga* with inanimate nouns is more frequent in these texts.

4.8 Suffix *-ra*

This section focuses on the distribution of *ga* marking nominals that are followed by the suffix *-ra*. It has been noted throughout this chapter that in noun-modifying constructions, nominals followed by *-ra* obligatorily take *ga*, even when they are otherwise only marked by *no*. Table 4.23 presents all N-*ra ga* in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 4-23 : Distribution of ga *with* -ra *in noun-modifying constructions*

Noun	**Meaning**[65]	**Frequency**
sumye-ra	emperor; imperial highness	32
kwo-ra	my beloved	6
wotomye-ra	young woman	4
amawotomye-ra	diver girl	1
naramaro-ra	Naramaro (personal name)	1
imasi-ra	you	1
sore-ra	that	1
	Total	**46**

In noun-modifying constructions, *-ra* only attaches to nominals with a human referent, which are referents *ga* tends to mark. Based on Table 4.23, the following show that in noun-modifying constructions, *-ra* is a 'knockout factor' for choosing *ga*: *Wotomye-ra* 'young woman/ women' is only attested with *no* when it is not followed by *-ra*. It is also plausible to assume that *amawotomye* would have been marked by *no*, if it was not followed by-*ra*, as compounds involving *wotomye* are exclusively marked by *no*. Exalted entities are always marked by *no*, however, as *-ra* is involved in the word formation of *sumye-ra* 'emperor;

[65] I only provide the meaning of the noun in question and not its meaning in combination with *-ra*.

imperial highness', it is exclusively found with *ga*.[66] Lastly, as demonstratives are systematically marked by *no*, it can be speculated that *sore-ra* is marked by *ga* due to the presence of *-ra*.

As for the functions of *-ra* when it attaches to nouns, JDB notes that *-ra* is used either as a plural marker or as a suffix that "modulates intonation or functions to express things in a more indirect way" (Omodaka, 1967, p. 808). In Vovin (2004), *-ra* is considered as two homophonous suffixes with distinct functions, one of which is a plural marker and another of which is a diminutive suffix. He notes that *-ra* as a plural marker mainly attaches to animate nouns but also sometimes to inanimate nouns, whereas *-ra* as a diminutive suffix only attaches to human nouns designating love or family relationships to express endearment. In noun-modifying constructions, *-ra* is both used to mark plurality (73)—(75) and to express the author's feeling endearment towards the nominal referent (76).[67] It is hard to determine whether *-ra* should be considered as two distinct suffixes or a single multi-functional suffix. In this thesis, I refer to *-ra* as a single suffix though I acknowledge the possibility that it may represent two homophonous but distinct suffixes, as in any case, *-ra* obligatorily takes *ga*, as opposed to *no*.

(73)

kaze	*no*	*muta*	*yose-kuru*	*nami*	*ni*
wind	GEN	alongside	approach-come.ADN	wave	DAT
izari	*suru*	***amawotomye-ra***	***ga***		

[66] As the noun *sumye-ra* 'emperor; imperial highness' is very much lexicalized, the use of *-ra* here is not transparent. Since the lexical meaning of *sumye-ra* is singular, it is more likely that *-ra* was used to express feelings such as admiration rather than to mark plurality.

[67] Other plural suffixes in OJ include *-tati* and *-domo*. In both adnominalization and subject marking, these plurality markers do not seem to influence the choice of *no* vs. *ga*, as N-*tati* and N-*domo* can be marked by either genitive.

fish do.ADN diver.girl-PLU GEN

mo no suswo nure-nu

skirt GEN hem get.soaked-PERF.CONCL

'The hems of the skirts of the diver girls fishing in the waves that draw close with the wind have become wet.' (MYS.15.3661a)

(74)

agwo no ura ni

Ago GEN inlet DAT

punanori su ramu

ride.boat.INF do.CONCL PCONJ

woto*mye-*ra ***ga*** *akamo no suswo ni*

young.woman-PLU GEN red.skirt GEN hem DAT

sipo mitu ramu ka

tide be.full.CONCL PCONJ FOC

'Has the tide risen to the hems of the red skirts of the young women who must be riding boats in Ago Inlet?' (MYS.15.3610a)

(75)

yasu no kapa komukapi-datite

Yasu GEN river face.each.other-stand.GER

tosi no kwopi kenaga-ki

year GEN yearn.INF long.time-ACOP.ADN

kwo-ra ***ga***

young.person-PLU GEN

tumadwopi *no* *ywo* *so*

spouse.proposing GEN night FOC

'Standing there facing each other on either side of Yasu River, it is finally the night of spousal proposal for these young people who had been longing for each other throughout the year!'[68] (MYS.18.4127)

(76)

nadesikwo *ga* pana mi*ru* *gotoni*

pink GEN blossom see.ADN each.time

woto*mye-*ra ***ga*** *wemapi* *no* *nipopi*

young.woman-DIM GEN smiling GEN beautiful

omopoyuru *kamo*

be.thought.ADN EMPH

'Every time I look at pink blossoms, I come to think of my beloved maiden's beautiful smile!'(MYS.18.4114)

The examples of N-*ra ga* in noun-modifying constructions clearly suggest that the distribution of *ga* with *-ra* is determined by certain lexical properties associated with *-ra*, rather than by context. Furthermore, these examples reveal an interesting semantic feature of *-ra*. In both of its functions, *-ra* attaches to human nouns that are used referentially/specifically. This is also the case with *wotomye* 'young woman' and *amawotomye* 'diver girls', which are mostly used non-specifically in noun-modifying constructions when not followed by *-ra*. This suggests that,

[68] *Kwo-ra* here refers to *tanabata* 'Weaver Star' and *pikwoposi* 'Cow-Herder Star'.

in both of its functions, *-ra* may have an effect of making a noun referential/specific, which could be one way of understanding why it takes *ga*, as *ga* marks referential/specific human nouns. The distribution of *-ra* with *ga* in subject marking will be further examined in §5.9.

4.9 Honorific/socio-linguistic differentiation

This section empirically examines the hypothesis proposed by past studies that the distribution of *no*/*ga* is conditioned by the socio-linguistic status of referents denoted by the genitive-marked noun (§2.2). I first present the corpus data that can be taken to support the above claim. I then argue that such an honorific/socio-linguistic differentiation is lexical-based rather than pragmatic-based, and that it cannot be considered as the *only* or the *main* factor of OJ genitive variation.

Past studies proposed that the use of *no* is exalting based on that *no* marks referents that are revered: entities/notions that are imperial-related, religious/mythological, and so on. Such a distribution of *no* is borne out in the data, as in noun-modifying constructions, most nouns from the 'exalted entities, artefacts and notions' referent category are marked by *no*.[69] Nouns from this category make up around 10% of all nominals marked by *no* and animate nouns from this category make up 59% of all animate nouns marked by *no*. The table below presents the top 10 *no*-marked nouns from this category. Previous studies mostly construe the use of *no* with exalted entities to be based on factors that are semantic-pragmatic in nature, in the sense that *no* is chosen based on the speakers' perception of the entity (§2.2). For example, in §4.7.7, where I explored *kamwi no vs. kamwi ga* 'spirit; god', I noted that the SNKBT editors suggested that the use of *ga* to mark *kamwi* in the expression *kamwi ga two* ('dreadful strait') reflects the speaker's fear of the entity. However, I argued that this cannot be an adequate hypothesis, as

[69] The only exceptions are *sumye-ra* 'emperor; imperial highness' (39 attestations), *daipopusi* 'great priests of the Law' (1 attestation), and *kamwi* 'spirit; god' (1 attestation).

apart from this particular example, *no* marks *kamwi* regardless of whether they are good or evil. Based on the data, it is more adequate to propose that *no* is used with nouns that are *lexically* exalted. Lexically exalted nouns include simple nouns, such as *kamwi* 'spirit; god', as well as complex nouns that involve the honorific prefixes *opo-* 'great' and/or *mi-*, such as *mi-koto* 'Highness; Honourable', *opomi-koto* 'imperial order', and *opo-kimi* 'great lord'.[70] In this study, I refer to this type of lexical-based honorific/socio-linguistic differentiation as 'lexical honorification'.

Table 4-24 Distribution of no *marking 'exalted entities, artefacts and notions' in noun-modifying constructions*

Dependent noun	Meaning	Frequency
mikoto[71]	Highness; Honourable (in names, titles or appellations)	47
opokimi	great lord	25
ame/ama	heaven	22
ametuti	heaven and earth	19
kamwi	spirit; god	18
sumyegamwi-tati	regional deity (plural)	12
sumyegamwi	regional deity	10
mikadwo	palace; court; emperor	8
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	8
takamikura	high throne	7
…	…	…
	Total	**257**

On the other hand, there are many aspects of the data presented throughout this chapter suggesting that lexical honorification cannot be regarded as the main factor. First and foremost,

[70] Nouns that involve these exalting prefixes are marked by *no*, except for one instance of *mi-masi* 'you' (§4.7.4).

[71] The exalting *mikoto* is only used in constructions where *mikoto* is preceded by the copula *no*, such as *kamwi no mikoto* 'the honourable deity', *sumyemima no mikoto* 'the honourable imperial scion' and *kamurwomi no mikoto* 'the honourable female deity'. It should be kept distinct from *mikoto* meaning 'great words; command; instruction'.

it accounts for only around 10% of all nominals marked by *no*, making it a minor factor. More counterevidence includes but is not limited to the following:

- Regardless of the social status of referents, personal pronouns are exclusively marked by *ga*, and demonstratives are exclusively marked *no*.
- Human common nouns that refer to someone who is non-exalted and close to the author are attested with *no* (e.g., when *wotomye* 'young woman' refers to the author's spouse/lover) (§4.5).
- All nouns, including exalted persons, obligatorily take *ga* when it is followed by the suffix *-ra* (§4.8).
- Contextual information available to us is far from sufficient to support Ohno (1974, 1977a)'s claim that it is the *ga*-marked plants, animals and objects that are "perceived by the speaker as familiar or dear" as opposed to the *no*-marked ones.

In sum, in noun-modifying constructions, *no* marks lexically exalted entities. However, the above rule may be overridden when the noun is followed by the suffix *–ra*, which forces the choice of *ga*.

4.10 Relationality

This section examines the distribution of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions with respect to the relationality of head nouns. I aim to address the extent to which relationality determines the choice of *no vs. ga* by investigating the following research questions:

- What is the distribution of *no* and *ga* with respect to the relationality of head nouns?
- Does the relationality of head nouns condition the choice of *ga* as opposed to *no*?

Table 4.25 presents the distribution of *no* and *ga* with respect to the relationality of head nouns. Table 4.26 presents the distribution of *ga* with respect to the animacy of dependent nouns [±animate]; excluding pronouns) and the relationality of head nouns.

Table 4-25 Distribution of no *and* ga *with respect to the relationality of head nouns*

Genitive	**Relational head nouns**	*%*	**Non-relational head nouns**	*%*
No	619	*26%*	1785	*74%*
Ga	326	*68%*	155	*32%*

Table 4-26 Distribution of ga *with respect to the animacy of dependent nouns ([±animate]; excl. pronouns) and the relationality of head nouns*

Construction	**Frequency**	*%*
Animate + relational	106	*59%*
Animate + non-relational	75	*41%*
Inanimate + relational	58	*74%*
Inanimate + non-relational	21	*27%*

Based on Table 4.25, it appears that the relationality of head nouns is a strongly relevant factor in determining the choice of *no vs. ga* — 68% of the *ga* expressions have a relational head noun, whereas 74% of the *no* expressions have a non-relational head noun. Moreover, Table 4.26 suggests that regardless of the animacy status of dependent nouns, *ga* is mostly used before head nouns that are relational. If the relationality of head nouns is truly a relevant factor, we would expect a distribution in which the same noun is marked by either *no* or *ga* depending on the relationality of the head noun, but this is not the case. When the same noun can take either *no* or *ga*, we find numerous instances like *ume no siduye*/*ume ga ye* 'branch of plum' and *matu no pa*/*matu ga ye* 'leaf/branch of pine,' where the head nouns are relational. On the other hand, we also find instances like *nwosima no ama* 'fishermen in Noshima' and *nwosima ga saki* 'Noshima Cape,' where the head nouns are non-relational. Relationality does not appear

to be a relevant factor for most non-pronominal nouns marked by *ga*. As I have shown in this chapter, the vast majority of non-pronominal nouns marked by *ga* are human nouns, which are in complementary distribution with those marked by *no*, determined by the properties of the dependent nouns. Lexically referential human common nouns, such as *imo* 'my beloved', always take *ga*, while non-lexically referential human common nouns, such as *wotomye* 'young woman', always take *no*. 'Exalted entities' are always marked by *no*, human nouns followed by the suffix *-ra*, and personal names are always marked by *ga*, and so on.

The rest of the non-pronominal nouns attested with *ga* are mostly comprised of non-human animates, plant names, natural objects, and place names. In Nomura (1993b), he proposes that when *ga* marks inanimate nouns, in particular plant names or natural objects, the constructions often involve relational head nouns. His hypothesis is borne out in the data: all of the 'inanimate + *ga* + non-relational' examples involve place names or geographical features/locations as the dependent noun (e.g., *pusimi ga tawi* 'Fushimi paddy', *miguma ga suge* 'sedge at water bend') and almost all of the 'inanimate + *ga* + relational' examples involve plant names/natural objects as the dependent noun (e.g., *tukwi ga ye* 'zelkova tree's branch', *wobana ga sita* 'beneath pampas grass', *ipa ga ne* 'giant rock'). However, relational head nouns do not condition the choice of *ga* over *no* when marking plant names or natural objects, as up to 90% of plant names and 65% of natural objects marked by *no* are also followed by relational head nouns. Furthermore, as I have shown previously, almost all non-human animates appear in fixed expressions and/or are attested in older or dialectal texts, where the relationality of head nouns does not seem to condition the choice of *ga*. With place names constructions, nearly 70% of those are lexicalized, and among the non-lexicalized ones, only 3 out of 8 have a relational head noun (*mimoro ga upe* 'on top of Mimoro', *pudipara ga upe* 'on top of Fujiwara', *omure ga upe* 'on top of Omure').

In conclusion, in noun-modifying constructions, the relationality of head nouns is not a relevant factor in determining the choice of genitives in the productive system of OJ.

4.11 Possessive relations

Various approaches classifying and defining the array of semantics expressed by adnominal possession generally characterize human possessors as the most prototypical. Rosenbach (2002)'s experimental study on genitive variation in present-day (British and American) English has shown that the *s*-genitive is more frequent than the *of*-genitive with dependents that are animate or human, and with possessive relations that can be defined as "prototypical" (§3.5). However, the study suggests that while the influence of animacy on the choice of the *s*-genitive is statistically significant, the influence of the prototypicality of possessive relations on the choice of the *s*-genitive is not. In OJ genitive variation, *ga* is the genitive more frequently used with human dependents. In this section, I aim to explore to what extent we can place the distribution of OJ *ga* within the wider perspective of cross-linguistic studies on genitive variation by examining the following:

- Is *ga* used more frequently than *no* in constructions that express a [+prototypical] possessive relation? If so, does the prototypicality of possessive relations serve as a relevant factor in determining the choice of *ga*?

Table 4.27 presents the distribution of *no* and *ga* with respect to the prototypicality of possessive relations. It shows that 69% of *ga vs.* 25% of *no* are involved in constructions that express a prototypical possessive relation, while 31% of *ga vs.* 75% of *no* are involved in constructions that express a non-prototypical possessive relation. Table 4.28 presents the distribution of *ga* with respect to the animacy of dependent nouns ([±animate]) and the

prototypicality of possessive relations, showing that regardless of the animacy status of dependent nouns, *ga* is mostly used in expressions that express a prototypical relation.

Table 4-27 Distribution of no *and* ga *with respect to the prototypicality of possessive relations.*

Genitive	**[+prototypical]**	***%***	**[-prototypical]**	***%***
No	589	*25%*	1814	*75%*
Ga	340	*69%*	151	*31%*

Table 4-28 Distribution of ga *with respect to the animacy of dependent nouns ([±animate]; excl. pronouns) and the prototypicality of possessive relations*

Construction	**Frequency**	***%***
Animate + prototypical	105	*60%*
Animate + non-prototypical	70	*40%*
Inanimate + prototypical	82	*65%*
Inanimate + non-prototypical	29	*35%*

As I have suggested in the previous section concerning relationality, if the prototypicality of semantic relations is a relevant factor, we would expect a distribution in which the same noun is marked by either *no* or *ga* depending on the meaning of the expression. Instead, we find many instances where *no*/*ga* mark the same noun that are involved in expressions that have a prototypical possessive meaning (e.g., *ume ga pana* 'plum blossoms' vs. *ume no siduye* 'lower branch of plum'). With respect to human nouns marked by *ga*, regardless of the meaning of the expression, nouns that are exclusively marked by one genitive as opposed to the other are always marked by that genitive, as conditioned by the properties of dependent nouns explored throughout this chapter. Prototypicality also does not seem to determine the choice of *ga* when the dependent noun is inanimate. Among the non-lexicalized place names, only 3 out of 8 express a prototypical relation (*mimoro ga upe* 'on top of Mimoro', *pudipara ga upe* 'on top of Fujiwara', *omure ga upe* 'on top of Omure'). While all plant names and natural objects marked by *ga* are involved in prototypical expressions, 90% of plant names

and 57% of natural objects marked by *no* are also involved in prototypical possessive expressions.

I therefore conclude that similar to Rosenbach (2002)'s experimental study on English, in OJ noun-modifying constructions, the semantics of possessive relations defined in terms of [±prototypical] is not a relevant factor in determining the choice of genitives in the productive system of OJ.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter has clearly demonstrated that, in the core productive system of OJ, the distribution of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions is complementary and determined by lexical properties of the nominals they mark.

For pronouns, personal pronouns are marked by *ga*, while demonstrative pronouns are marked by *no*. For non-pronominal nouns, there is an overriding lexical system where the choice between *no* and *ga* is determined by the semantics of the dependent nouns in relation to [±humanness] and [±lexical referentiality]. The use of *ga* is narrowly restricted to marking lexically referential human nouns, whereas *no* marks non-lexically referential human nouns as well as all other types of nouns (i.e., non-human nouns). In §2.4, I described Nomura (1993b, 1993a, 1993c, 2024)'s proposal that while nouns marked by *ga* can only function to refer directly to an individual, nouns marked by *no* can either refer to an individual or function to express the attribute of the individual. Nomura's claim that N-*ga* can only function to refer directly to an individual can be seen as an epiphenomenon of the fact that the use of *ga* is specialized for marking lexically referential humans, which are the types of dependent nouns that serve a referential role. Furthermore, within this lexical-based system for non-pronominal nouns, there is a small subset of nouns whose distribution with *no* and *ga* does not conform with the semantic classification of [±humanness] and [±lexical referentiality] but is nonetheless

lexical-based. Determined by the factor of lexical honorification, exalted entities are marked by *no*, even when they are lexically referential human nouns. Nouns followed by the suffix *-ra* unconditionally requires the use of *ga* in all environments.

On the other hand, there is a small number of nouns whose distribution with *no/ga* in noun-modifying constructions is not determined by the lexical-based productive system described above, specifically in relation to non-human nouns marked by *ga* and/or nouns that are found with both genitives. Dialectal and age variation of the texts may influence the use of *ga*. The distribution of *ga* is distinctive in the EOJ texts and the *Kiki kayō* in terms of frequency, as the proportion of *ga* in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō* among all texts is significantly greater than that of *no* in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō* among all texts. In these texts, the distribution of *ga* is also distinctive in terms of the types of nouns it marks, as the majority of non-human nouns marked by *ga* are found in these texts. The age of the expressions can also be identified as a factor, as a notable portion of *ga*-marked non-human nouns is attested in fixed or lexicalized expressions. Furthermore, although rare, certain plant names, such as *wobana* 'Japanese pampas grass (lit. tail blossom)' and *nadesikwo* 'pink', are lexically specified to take *ga*, perhaps due to poetic conventions. In addition, with certain instances such as *ume ga pana vs. ume no pana* 'blossom of plum', it is difficult, based on the available material, to propose a hypothesis beyond the possibility that the choice of genitives may be influenced by individual speaker variation. The factors outlined in this paragraph, which lie outside the core lexical-based productive system, may not be as synchronically relevant. However, they are crucial for offering diachronic insights, which are the focus of §7.

Lastly, factors examined in this chapter that are not considered relevant to the choice between *no* and *ga* include the relationality of head nouns, the prototypicality of possessive relations, and genre variation in the texts. Additionally, for *ga*-marked non-human nouns, scholars such as Ohno (1974, 1977a, 1977b) have proposed that their use with *ga* is

pragmatically conditioned by factors such as context or the speaker's attitude toward the referent. However, my analysis shows no evidence to suggest that the use of these nouns with *ga* is contextually determined. The only part of the data that appears to be pragmatically influenced involves *kwo no vs. kwo ga* and *kimi no vs. kimi ga*, where the choice of genitives seems to depend on how the word is used in different contexts. Nonetheless, a thorough examination of these words in subject marking is required to form any solid hypotheses.

5. GENITIVE-MARKED SUBJECT NOUNS

In OJ subordinate clauses and non-declarative main clauses, subject nouns could be unmarked or marked by *no* or *ga.* This chapter examines the distribution of subject nouns marked by *no* and *ga* and compares the data with adnominal marking, when applicable. Examples included in this chapter are cases where the genitive-marked subject is a noun (or a pronoun) (1) or a deverbal noun (2).

(1)

wagimokwo	***ga***	*musubi-si*	*pimo*	*pa*
beloved	GEN	tie-SPST.ADN	cord	TOP
nare-ni-kyeru		*kamo*		
worn.out-PERF-MPST.ADN		EMPH		

'The strings that my beloved tied for me, how worn out they have become!' (MYS.15.3717)

(2)

koyopi	yu	**kwopwi**	***no***
tonight	ABL	longing	GEN
iya	masari-*na-mu*		
increasingly	excel-PERF-CJR.ADN		

'Starting tonight, my longing will surely grow more and more!' (MYS.12.3135)

Overall, we find fewer examples of *no/ga* in genitive subject marking than in noun-modifying constructions. This is particularly the case with *no*, where we find 2404 examples in noun-modifying constructions and only 739 in subject marking. Similar to adnominal marking, in subject marking, *ga* is far less frequent than *no*, with 739 (70%) attestations of *no* and only 317 (30%) attestations of *ga*.

Table 5-1 Distribution of no *and* ga *in genitive subject marking*

Ga	*%*	***No***	*%*	**Total**
317	*30%*	739	*70%*	**1056**

In this chapter, I first show that the distribution of *no* and *ga* in genitive subject marking is *not* determined by properties of the predicates (§5.1). I then examine the distribution of genitive-marked subject nouns with respect to the various parameters/factors drawn from past literature and cross-linguistic studies (§5.3—§5.9). All examples of *no*/*ga* in subject marking, where the genitives are phonographically written and the subject is a noun or a pronoun, are included in Appendix B.

5.1 Properties of the predicates and the choice of *no vs. ga*

This section addresses whether the distribution of *no* and *ga* as subject markers is governed by properties of predicates. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 present the distribution of genitive-marked subjects with respect to inflected verb forms. Based on the two tables, it is clear that

verb endings do not determine the choice of *no vs. ga* as subject markers; for both genitives, more than half of the cases mark subjects of clauses with a predicate in the adnominal form.[72]

Table 5-2 Distribution of ga*-marked subjects with respect to inflected verb forms*

Inflected form	**Frequency**	***%***
Adnominal[73]	186	*59%*
Infinitive	29	*9%*
Provisional	26	*8%*
Conditional	22	*7%*
Nominal	20	*6%*
Gerund	14	*4%*
Exclamatory	6	*2%*
Continuative	4	*1%*
Exclamatory-*sa*	4	*1%*
Conclusive[74]	2	*1%*
Adjective stem[75]	3	*1%*
Imperative	1	*<1%*
Total	**317**	*100%*

Table 5-3 Distribution of no*-marked subjects with respect to inflected verb forms*

Inflected form	**Frequency**	***%***
Adnominal	446	*59%*
Infinitive	100	*13%*
Nominal	44	*6%*

[72] It is also not the case that the distribution of *no* and *ga* is related to the function of clauses with a predicate in the adnominal form.

[73] This includes verb classes (quadrigrade) which have no distinction between the adnominal and conclusive forms.

[74] Kuroda (2007, p. 274) notes that *ga*-marked subjects generally "do not occur in clauses with predicates in the *syuusi* [conclusive] form". The two examples where *ga*-marked subjects occur in conclusive clauses are all subordinate clauses (MYS.4.528 and MYS.5.883) followed by the complementizer *to*.

[75] For example:

wa ***ga*** *migaposi* *kuni*
I GEN desirous.of.seeing country
'the country that I am desirous of seeing'

pata ***no*** *piro* *mono*
fin GEN wide thing
'things with wide fin'

Provisional	42	*6%*
Gerund	40	*5%*
Adjective stem	40	*5%*
Conditional	22	*3%*
Exclamatory-*sa*	14	*2%*
Continuative	8	*1%*
Exclamatory	2	*<1%*
Concessive	2	*<1%*
Total	**760**	*100%*

Next, I investigate whether the distribution of *no/ga* as subject markers could be determined by the transitivity of predicates. For the purpose of this study, when examining the distribution of *no/ga* as subject markers with respect to the transitivity of predicates, I only include verbs used as simple predicates and not verbs used as complex predicates. However, in the rest of this thesis, genitive-marked subject nouns of all verbs are included. Table 5.4 presents the distribution of genitive-marked subjects of transitive/intransitive verbs used as simple predicates.

Table 5-4 Distribution of genitive-marked subjects of transitive/intransitive verbs used as simple predicates

Genitive	**Transitive predicates**	*%*	**Intransitive predicates**	*%*
no	180	*38%*	300	*62%*
ga	203	*71%*	82	*29%*

Based on the table above, it could appear that the transitivity of predicates largely correlates with the choice between *no* and *ga*, as 71% of *ga*-marked subjects have transitive predicates, whereas 63% of *no*-marked subjects have intransitive predicates. If this is indeed the case, we would expect to find significant overlaps, namely examples where the same subject noun takes either *no* or *ga* depending on the transitivity of the predicate. However, a closer look at the data suggests that the above is not the case. Below I present the distribution of distinct nouns

(including pronouns) that are attested more than once as the genitive-marked subject of transitive or intransitive verbs used as simple predicates.

Table 5-5 Distribution of transitive subject nouns marked by only ga *or only* no *or both* no *and* ga

***Ga*-only nouns**	15	*36%*
***No*-only nouns**	26	*62%*
Nouns marked by both *no* and *ga*	1 (*kwo* 'child; my beloved')	*2%*
Total	**42**	

Table 5-6 Distribution of intransitive subject nouns marked by only ga *or only* no *or both* no *and* ga

***Ga*-only nouns**	12	*18%*
***No*-only nouns**	53	*79%*
Nouns marked by both *no* and *ga*	2 (*pi* 'sun'; *wakugwo* 'youth')	*3%*
Total	**67**	

The above tables clearly illustrate that there are so few overlaps where the same subject noun is found with both genitives that they are reasonably dismissed as noise, strongly suggesting that it is the properties of subject nouns, not predicates, that determine the choice of *no vs. ga* as subject markers. Furthermore, Tables 5.7 presents *ga*-only subject nouns (that are attested more than once) of transitive and intransitive verbs used as simple predicates. The fact that the *ga*-only subject nouns of transitive *vs.* intransitive verbs are mostly the same nouns reinforces that the transitivity of predicates has no bearing on the choice of genitives as subject markers.

Table 5-7 ga*-only subject nouns of transitive/intransitive verbs used as simple predicates*

Subjects of intransitive verbs		**Subjects of transitive verbs**	
wa	1st person	*wa*	1st person
a	1st person	*a*	1st person
imo	my beloved	*imo*	my beloved
kimi	you, my lord	*kimi*	you, my lord

sekwo	my dear man	*sekwo*	my dear man
si	3rd person pronoun	*si*	3rd person pronoun
na	2nd person pronoun	*na*	2nd person pronoun
kwo/kwo-ro	child; my beloved	*kwo-ra*	child; my beloved
tadu	crane	*kwonami*	first wife
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ono*	onself
sero	my dear man	*papa*	mother
		saywopimye	Sayohime
		upanari	second wife
Total	**11**	**Total**	**13**

Additionally, in Yanagida (2018), it is claimed that in subordinate clauses, *ga* only marks subjects of transitive and unergative verbs, but not subjects of unaccusative verbs, while *no* marks subjects of all verbs. OJ has a variety of morpho-syntactic manifestations of 'split intransitivity', which include, but are not limited to the distribution of the two perfective auxiliaries: *–(i)n-* and *–(i)te.* Transitive verbs that are attested with perfective auxiliaries mostly only occur with *–(i)te*. As for intransitive verbs, most unergative verbs (which, semantically, typically have agency, volition and control over the event denoted by the verb) are only attested with *–(i)te* whereas most unaccusative verbs (which, semantically, typically do not have agency, volition and control over the event denoted by the verb) are only attested with *–(i)n-*. Using the semantico-syntactic parameters described above as the main guideline for defining OJ unergative *vs.* unaccusative verbs, my investigation of genitive-marked subject nouns with simple intransitive verbs suggests that it is certainly not the case that *ga* never marks subjects of unaccusative verbs. Table 5.8 presents the distribution of genitive-marked subject nouns with intransitive verbs used as simple predicates.

Table 5-8 Distribution of genitive-marked subject nouns with intransitive verbs used as simple predicates

Genitive	***no***	***%***	***ga***	***%***

Unergative	17	*5%*	17	*21%*
Unaccusative	284	*95%*	65	*79%*
Total	**300**	*100%*	**82**	*100%*

Below I list examples of simple unergative/unaccusative verbs that are predicates of genitive-marked subject nouns; in some cases, the same predicate is found with both *no*-marked subjects and *ga*-marked subjects. Unergative verbs that are predicates of *no*-marked subjects include: *watar-* 'go across', *nak-* 'cry' (with a human subject) [76], *kaduk-* 'dive', *pus-* 'lie prone', *kikoye-* 'tell about', *aswob-* 'play', etc. Unaccusative verbs that are predicates of *no*-marked subjects include: *sak-* 'bloom', *mi-ye-* 'be seen'[77], *nar-* 'become', *tanabik-* 'flow', *tir-* 'scatter', *yuk-* 'go'[78], *pur-* 'fall', *ko-* 'come', *taye-* 'cease', etc. Unergative verbs that are predicates of *ga*-marked subjects include: *nobor-* 'climb', *nige-* 'flee', *nagek-* 'sigh', *ar-* 'exist' (with an animate subject), [79] *ipap-* 'worship', etc. Finally, there are many instances of unaccusative verbs that are predicates of *ga*-marked subjects, which include: *imas-* 'be; come; go [hon.]', *ko-* 'come', *kakur-* 'hide', *sak-* 'bloom', *nak-* 'cry'(animal subject), *nar-* 'become', *yuk-* 'go', *ne* 'sleep' (with a subject who sleeps alone), [80] *wor-* 'be sitting', *wep-* 'be drunk', *tat-* 'stand; depart', etc.

[76] *Nak-* 'cry' is attested with both perfectives. When the subject is human, it chooses *–(i)te* and when the subject is an animal, it varies (You, 2014). I consider instances where *nak-* has a human subject to be unergative and instances where *nak-* has a non-human subject to be unaccusative.

[77] In OJ, verbs with a passive auxiliary choose only *–(i)n-*, except for *mi-ye-* 'see-PASS', which is found with both perfectives. We may notice a difference in meaning between the *mi-ye-* 'see-PASS' that is found with *–(i)n-* and the one that is found with *–(i)te*, where the former can be taken to mean 'be seen' while the latter can be taken to mean 'to appear'.

[78] *Yuk-* 'go', which is considered as an unergative verb by Yanagida and Whitman (2009), is attested 4 times with *–(i)n-* and only once with *–(i)te* in the poetic corpus (You, 2014). I consider *yuk-* to be unaccusative as it mostly selects *–(i)n-*.

[79] In the poetic corpus, *ar-* 'exist' is attested 4 times with *–(i)te* and 2 times with *–(i)n-*. It prefers *–(i)te* when the subject is animate (You, 2014). I consider *ar-* with an animate subject to be unergative, and *ar-* with an inanimate subject to be unaccusative.

[80] According to (You, 2014), *ne* 'sleep' selects *–(i)te* when the subject is sleeping with someone, whereas it selects *–(i)n-* when the subject is sleeping alone. I consider the former to be unergative, and the latter to be unaccusative.

In sum, it is clear that the distribution of *no* and *ga* as subject markers is not governed by the properties of predicates.

5.2 An overview of *no* and *ga* in genitive subject marking

In this section, I give an overview of the distribution of *no* and *ga* in subject marking with a focus on the categories of nominals/referents they mark. I first examine the distribution of *no* in subject marking and compare the data with adnominal marking. I then separately examine the distribution of *ga* in subject marking and compare the data with adnominal marking. Finally, I analyse the distribution of *no* vs. *ga* in subject marking and compare it with adnominal marking.

Table 5.9 shows nominal classes and referent types marked by *no*, ranked according to individual instances ('Token frequency') and unique nominals in each category ('Type frequency'). The top two most frequent nominal classes/referent types marked by *no* are 'human common nouns' (17%) and 'exalted entities, artefacts and notions' (17%), which mostly have human or animate referents.[81] This is a distribution that is distinct from *no* in noun-modifying constructions, where 'human common nouns' is fairly low ranking, and the top two categories only have inanimate referents ('place names' and 'locations and geographical features').

Table 5-9 Nominal classes/referent types marked by no *in genitive subject marking*

Ranking	Nominal classes/referent types	Token frequency	%	Type frequency	%
1	Human common nouns	125	*17%*	48	*15%*
2	Exalted entities, artefacts and notions	123	*17%*	34	*10%*
3	Natural phenomena	122	*17%*	46	*14%*

[81] 94% (118/125) of the nouns in 'exalted entities, artefacts and notions' have an animate referent.

4	Plants	86	*12%*	39	*12%*
5	Non-human animates	61	*8%*	32	*10%*
6	Locations and geographic features	40	*5%*	23	*7%*
7	Man-made objects and artefacts	32	*4%*	23	*7%*
8	Human activities and actions	31	*4%*	16	*5%*
9	Body parts (incl. *kokoro* 'heart, will', hairstyles)	33	*4%*	10	*3%*
10	Abstract concepts	31	*4%*	19	*6%*
11	Time and seasons	25	*3%*	13	*4%*
12	Sensory nouns[82]	9	*1%*	4	*1%*
13	Inanimate things in nature (excl. plants)	7	*1%*	5	*2%*
14	Place names	7	*1%*	7	*2%*
15	Man-made structures and buildings	3	*0%*	4	*1%*
16	Clan names	2	*<1%*	2	*1%*
17	Directions and spatial relations	2	*<1%*	2	*1%*
	Total	**739**	*100 %*	**329**	*100%*

According to my categorization, in subject marking, *no* marks 17 nominal classes/referent types, which is a similar range to adnominal marking (19 nominal classes/referent types). *No* marks 'sensory nouns' in subject marking but not in adnominal marking, and 'terms of address', 'demonstratives' and 'rituals, festivals and offerings' in adnominal marking but not in subject marking. Table 5.10 shows a comparison of the proportions of nominal classes/referent types marked by *no* in both functions in terms of token frequency. The top three categories where we find the most difference are: 'place names' (1% in SUBJ *vs.* 36% in ADN), 'natural phenomena' (17% in SUBJ *vs*. 2% in ADN) and 'human common nouns' (17% in SUBJ *vs*. 4% in ADN).

Table 5-10 Comparison of the proportions of nominal classes/referent types marked by no *in both functions in terms of token frequency*

Subject marking	**%**	**Adnominal marking**	**%**	**Difference**

[82] These include *ka* 'fragrance', *kowe* 'voice', *oto* (or *to*) 'sound'.

Place names	*1%*	**Place names**	*36%*	35%
Natural phenomena	*17%*	**Natural phenomena**	*2%*	15%
Human common nouns	*17%*	**Human common nouns**	*4%*	13%
Locations and geographic features	*5%*	Locations and geographic features	*14%*	9%
Non-human animates	*8%*	Non-human animates	*2%*	6%
Exalted entities, artefacts and notions	*17%*	Exalted entities, artefacts and notions	*11%*	6%
Plants	*11%*	Plants	*6%*	5%
Human activities and actions	*5%*	Human activities and actions	*<1%*	5%
Body parts (incl. kokoro 'heart, will', hairstyles)	*4%*	Body parts (incl. kokoro 'heart, will', hairstyles)	*<1%*	4%
Man-made structures and buildings	*1%*	Man-made structures and buildings	*4%*	3%
Directions and spatial relations	*<1%*	Directions and spatial relations	*3%*	3%
Abstract concepts	*4%*	Abstract concepts	*2%*	2%
Man-made objects and artefacts	*4%*	Man-made objects and artefacts	*4%*	0%
Time and seasons	*4%*	Time and seasons	*4%*	0%
Inanimate things in nature (excl. plants)	*1%*	Inanimate things in nature (excl. plants)	*1%*	0%
Clan names	*<1%*	Clan names	*<1%*	0%

Table 5.11 shows nominal classes and referent types marked by *ga*. The top two most frequent nominal classes/referent types marked by *ga* are 'personal pronouns' (49%) and 'human common nouns' (34%), which have human referents (except from impersonal uses of the third person *si*) and are identical to the top two categories marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 5-11 Nominal classes/referent types marked by ga *in genitive subject marking*

Ranking	**Nominal classes/referent types**	**Token frequency**	***%***	**Type frequency**	***%***
1	Personal Pronouns	154	*49%*	5	*7%*
2	Human common nouns	107	*34%*	36	*54%*
3	Terms of address	23	*7%*	1[83]	*1%*
4	Personal names	8	*3%*	7	*10%*

[83] *Kimi* 'you (my lord), respectful'.

5	Non-human animates	6	*2%*	4	*6%*
6	Exalted entities, artefacts and notions	6	*2%*	5	*7%*
7	Natural phenomena	4	*1%*	2[84]	*3%*
8	Plants	3	*1%*	2[85]	*1%*
9	Man-made objects and artefacts	2	*1%*	1[86]	*1%*
10	Body parts (incl. *kokoro* 'heart, will', hairstyles)	2	*1%*	3[87]	*4%*
11	Demonstratives	1	*<1%*	1[88]	*1%*
12	Time and seasons	1	*<1%*	1[89]	*1%*
	Total	**317**	*100%*	**68**	*100%*

According to my categorization, in subject marking, *ga* marks 12 nominal classes/referent types, which is slightly fewer than in adnominal marking (14 nominal classes/referent types). *Ga* marks 'natural phenomena', 'body-parts' and 'time and seasons' in subject marking but not in adnominal marking, and 'place names', 'inanimate things in nature', 'locations and geographic features', 'textures' and 'man-made structures and buildings' in adnominal marking but not in subject marking. Table 5.12 shows a comparison of the proportions of nominal classes/referent types marked by *ga* in both functions in terms of token frequency. The top three categories where we find the most difference are: 'human common nouns' (34% in SUBJ *vs.* 18% in ADN), 'plants' (1% in SUBJ *vs*. 8% in ADN) and 'exalted entities, artefacts and notions' (2% in SUBJ *vs*. 7% in ADN).

[84] *Nawi* 'earthquake', *pi* 'sun'.

[85] *Asi* 'reed', *nanoriso* 'gulfweed'.

[86] *Wigupiuti* 'stake; post; stump'.

[87] *Panari* 'hairdo of young girls', *siwa* 'wrinkle', *pa* 'feather'.

[88] *Sore-ra* 'they'.

[89] *Tosi* 'year(s); time'.

Table 5-12 Comparison of the proportions of nominal classes/referent types marked by ga *in both functions in terms of token frequency*

Subject marking	*%*	**Adnominal marking**	*%*	**Difference**
Human common nouns	*34%*	**Human common nouns**	*18%*	16%
Plants	*1%*	**Plants**	*8%*	7%
Exalted entities, artefacts and notions	*2%*	**Exalted entities, artefacts and notions**	*7%*	5%
Personal Pronouns	*49%*	Personal pronouns	*46%*	2%
Man-made objects and artefacts	*1%*	Man-made objects and artefacts	*<1%*	1%
Personal names	*3%*	Personal names	*2%*	1%
Terms of address	*7%*	Terms of address	*8%*	1%
Demonstratives	*<1%*	Demonstratives	*<1%*	0%
Non-human animates	*2%*	Non-human animates	*2%*	0%

Comparing the distribution of *no vs. ga* in subject marking, in terms of token frequency, the top two most frequent nominal classes/referent types marked by the two genitives are both categories that mostly include nouns with an animate referent. In contrast, in noun-modifying constructions, the most frequent categories marked by *no* only include inanimate nouns, while the most frequent categories marked by *ga* only include animate nouns (except for impersonal uses of the third person *si*). Thus, solely based on the nominal classes/referent types most frequently marked by *no*/*ga*, we do not find a complementary distribution between *no* and *ga* with regard to the animacy status of subject nouns to the same extent as adnominal marking. Similar to adnominal marking, in subject marking, *no* also marks a wider variety of nominal classes/referent types than *ga*: 17 categories for *no* vs. 12 categories for *ga*. The lists below show categories that are exclusively marked by either *ga* or *no* in subject marking. All *ga*-only categories feature human referents (the single example of demonstrative has a human referent, §5.3.2) while all *no*-only categories feature inanimate nouns. As it is with adnominal marking, in subject marking, in the productive system of OJ, only *no* is found to mark deverbal nouns, which are words I include in the 'human activities and actions' category. That being said, we

do find the *shiku* adjective *mi**ga**posi* ‘desirable to see’, which is lexicalized from the expression *mi ga posi* ‘see.INF GEN desire’.

List 5.1: nominal classes/referent types only marked by ga *in genitive subject marking*

- Personal pronouns (token frequency: 154; type frequency: 5)
- Personal names (token frequency: 8; type frequency: 7)
- Terms of address (token frequency: 23; type frequency: 1)
- Demonstratives (token frequency: 1; type frequency: 1)

List 5.2: nominal classes/referent types only marked by no *in genitive subject marking*

- Man-made structures and buildings (token frequency: 32; type frequency: 23)
- Locations and geographic features (token frequency: 40; type frequency: 23)
- Directions and spatial relations (token frequency: 2; type frequency: 2)
- Abstract concepts (token frequency: 31; type frequency: 19)
- Sensory nouns (token frequency: 9; type frequency: 4)
- Human activities and actions (token frequency: 31; type frequency: 16)
- Clan names (token frequency: 2; type frequency: 2)
- Place names (token frequency: 7; type frequency: 7)
- Inanimate things in nature (token frequency: 7; type frequency: 5)

Table 5.13 presents nominal classes/referent types marked by both genitive particles in subject marking, showing the proportion of nominals from each category marked by *no* or *ga*. In Table 5.13, all categories are more frequently marked by *no* than *ga*. In contrast to categories marked by both genitives in noun-modifying constructions (Table 4.4), where categories with only

human referents are more frequently marked by *ga*, in subject marking, even 'human common nouns' are more frequently marked by *no*.

Table 5.12: Nominal classes/referent types marked by both no *and* ga *in genitive subject marking*

Nominal classes/referent types	***no***		***ga***	
	Token frequency	**Proportion (%)**	**Token frequency**	**Proportion (%)**
Human common nouns	126	*60%*	84	*40%*
Man-made objects and artefacts	32	*94%*	2	*6%*
Plants	87	*97%*	3	*3%*
Exalted entities, artefacts and notions	125	*95%*	6	*5%*
Non-human animates	61	*91%*	6	*9%*
Demonstratives	3	*75%*	1	*25%*
Natural phenomena	123	*97%*	4	*3%*
Body parts (incl. *kokoro* 'heart, will', hairstyles)	31	*94%*	2	*6%*
Time and seasons	27	*96%*	1	*4%*

5.3 Pronouns

5.3.1 Personal Pronouns

Similar to noun-modifying constructions, in genitive subject marking, personal pronouns are always marked by *ga*, never *no*. In total, there are 154 instances where *ga* follows a personal pronoun, accounting for nearly half of the total number of *ga*-marked subject nouns.

There are, in total, 5 distinct personal pronouns found to be marked by *ga*. These are *wa, a, na, ono* and *si*, and their frequencies are presented in Table 5.13. The personal interrogative *ta* and the marginal 1st person *maro*, which are attested with *ga* in noun-modifying constructions, are not attested as genitive-marked subjects.

Table 5-13 Personal pronouns marked by ga *in genitive subject marking*

Ranking	**Personal Pronoun**	**Meaning**	**Frequency**
1	*wa*	1st person pronoun	75
2	*a*	1st person pronoun	55
3	*si*	3rd person pronoun	10
4	*na*	2nd person pronoun	9
5	*ono*	reflexive pronoun	5
		Total	154

The 1st person *wa* is the most frequent personal pronoun marked by *ga* in genitive subject marking (75 attestations).

(3)

pototogisu	***wa***	***ga***	*sumu*	*satwo*	*ni*
cuckoo	I	GEN	live.ADN	village	DAT

ki-naki-toyomosu

come-cry-make.sound.CONCL

'Cuckoo comes and makes its cries resound in the village where I live.' (MYS.15.3782)

The 1st person *a* is marked by *ga* 55 times in genitive subject marking. Similar to noun-modifying constructions involving *a ga*, which commonly express semantic relations such as personal feelings, *a ga* as subjects mostly have thinking verbs as predicates (e.g., *mop-* 'think; long for', *por-* 'desire').

(4)

a	***ga***	*mopu*	*imo*	*ni*
I	GEN	think.ADN	beloved	DAT
apa-nu		*koro*	*kamo*	
meet-NEG.ADN		time	EMPH	

'Alas, it is the time when I do not meet my beloved one, whom I long for!'(MYS.15.3650)

The 3rd person *si* is marked by *ga* 10 times in genitive subject marking. Like in noun-modifying constructions, most examples of *si ga* in subject marking are from the *Kojiki kayō* (1 instance), the *Nihon shoki kayō* (2 instances) and the *Senmyō* (4 instances).

(5)

atarasi-ki		*wina-bye*	*no*	*takumi*
precious-ACOP.ADN		Ina-clan	GEN	craftsperson
kake-si		*suminapa*		
hang-SPST.ADN		carpenter's inkline		
si	***ga***	*na-kyeba*		
he	GEN	exist.not-ACOP.PRV		
tare	*ka*	*kake-mu*	*yo*	
who	FOC	hang-CJR.ADN	INTJ	

'The precious carpenter's inkline that the craftsperson hangs—without him, who is going to hang it?' (NSK.80)

The 2nd person pronoun *na* is marked by *ga* 9 times in subject marking.

(6)

matu	*to*	***na***	***ga***	*ipaba*
wait.CONCL	COMP	you	GEN	say.CND
kwopitutu	*ya*	*ara-mu*		
love.CTT	FOC	exist-CJR.ADN		

'If you say you will wait for me, will you keep yearning for me?' (MYS.14.3433; EOJ)

Finally, the reflexive *ono* is marked by *ga* 5 times in genitive subject marking, where 4 out of 5 attestations are from the *Senmyō*.

(7)

ono	***ga***	posi-ki	*manina*	*ni*
oneself	GEN	desirable-ACOP.ADN	accordance	COP.INF

'In accordance with what he himself desires…'(SM.28)

5.3.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

The only attestation of a demonstrative subject is *sore-ra ga* (1 instance), which is marked by *ga* due to *-ra.* We do not attest other demonstratives being used as a subject.

(8)

sore-ra	***ga***	kitana-*ku*
they-PLU	GEN	dirty-ACOP.INF
pakari*te*	se*ru*	maziwaza
conspire.GER	do.ADN	curse

'The curse, which they filthily conspired' (SM.43)

5.4 Animacy

This section examines the distribution of *no*/*ga* with respect to the animacy status (i.e., [±animate] and [±human]) of subject nouns and makes comparisons with adnominal marking.[90]

Table 5.14 presents the distribution of *ga*-marked subject nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±human]. In noun-modifying constructions, in terms of token frequency, 70% of all *ga*-marked nouns are animate. In subject marking, in terms of token frequency, an even larger proportion of *ga*-marked subject nouns are animate (92%). Among them, 96% are nouns with a human referent and only 4% are nouns with a non-human referent. Thus, like adnominalization, Nomura (1993b, 1993a, 1993c)'s hypothesis is also borne out in subject marking, as *ga* most typically marks subject nouns whose referent is human.

Table 5-14 Distribution of ga*-marked subject nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±humanness]*

[±animate]/[±humanness]	**Frequency**	**Proportion (%)**	**Proportion within animate nouns (%)**
Animate	148	*92%*	
Human	142	*88%*	*96%*
Non-human	7	*4%*	*4%*
Inanimate	13	*8%*	
	Total	**162**	

Table 5.15 presents the distribution of *no*-marked subject nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±human]. In noun-modifying constructions, a great majority of *no*-marked nouns are inanimate (85%). However, in subject marking, although there are still more inanimate subject

[90] Pronouns are excluded from the analysis.

nouns than animate subject nouns, the difference between the two is significantly smaller than adnominal marking (42% animate *vs.* 57% inanimate).

Table 5-15 Distribution of no*-marked subject nouns with respect to [±animate] and [±humanness]*

[±animate]/[±humanness]	**Frequency**	**Proportion (%)**	**Proportion within animate nouns (%)**
Animate	311	*43%*	
Human	155	*23%*	*50%*
Non-human	156	*21%*	*50%*
Inanimate	409	*57%*	
	Total	**720**	

5.4.1 Overlaps

As shown above, 8% of *ga*-marked subject nouns and 43% of *no*-marked subject nouns cannot be accounted for by the factor of animacy.

5.4.1.1 Animate nouns marked by *no*

43% of subject nouns marked by *no* are animate. They are of the following referent types, which are very similar to animate nouns marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions: 'exalted entities' (118 attestations), 'human common nouns' (126 attestations) and 'non-human animates' (61 attestations). I will show that, like adnominal marking, in genitive subject marking, *no*-marked animates are mostly in complementary distribution with *ga*-marked animates.

Subject nouns from the 'exalted entities' category (118 attestations) mostly include lords and sovereigns, court officials, mythological beings and so on. In the previous chapter, I proposed that the referent type 'exalted entities' conditions the choice of *no* in noun-modifying

constructions, as apart from one instance of *daipopusi* 'great priest' and 32 instances of *sumye-ra* 'emperor; imperial highness', all other nouns from this category are marked by *no*. I propose that the same applies to subject marking. The distribution of *no*/*ga* in genitive subject marking with respect to honorific/socio-linguistic differentiation will be examined in greater detail in §5.8.

'Human common nouns' marked by *no* in subject marking (126 attestations) also share many similarities with those that are marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions in terms of the lexical items attested in this category and in terms of them being lexically non-referential. §5.6 is dedicated to examining the distribution of *no*/*ga* with human common nouns, showing that they are in complementary distribution with respect to lexical referentiality. My investigation of human common nouns marked by both genitives is in §5.7.

In §4.3, I suggested that in the productive system in cOJ, in noun-modifying constructions, 'non-human animates' are marked by *no* rather than *ga*. Although *ga*-marked nouns from this category are found, they are mostly attested in dialectal or older texts or as part of fixed expressions. Based on Table 5.16, we can make the same argument with subject marking, as they are either attested in EOJ or used as part of a fixed expression.

Table 5-16 Distribution of 'non-human animates' marked by ga *in genitive subject marking*

Noun	**Frequency**	**Meaning**	**Notes**
akagwoma	1	red colt	Attested in EOJ
tadu	2	egret	Attested in *tadu ga naku* 'egret cries', a *makura kotoba*
kari	1	wild goose	Used immediately after *topotupito* 'distant person', which is a *makura kotoba* used before *matu* and *kari*
tori	1	bird	Attested in *tori ga naku* 'bird cries', a *makura kotoba*

	Total	**5**

5.4.1.2 Inanimate nouns marked by *ga*

Only 8% of subject nouns marked by *ga* are inanimate. They are of the following referent types: 'plants' (3 attestations), 'natural phenomena' (4 attestations), 'objects' (2 attestations), 'body-parts/hairstyle' (3 attestations) and 'time and seasons' (1 attestation). There are far fewer instances of *ga* marking an inanimate noun in subject marking (13 attestations) than in adnominal marking (79 attestations). Similar to adnominal marking, my preliminary investigation of these *ga*-marked subject nouns shows that they are also mostly attested in fixed expressions, EOJ, and the *Kiki kayō*. In §5.5, I examine the distribution of subject marking *ga* with respect to the dialect and age of the texts.

Asi 'reed' and *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' are the only plant names marked by *ga* in subject marking. Both attestations of *asi ga* 'reed' are part *asi ga tiru* 'reed falls' as a *makura kotoba* (MYS.20.4331; 20.4362). Most examples of *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' are used as a *makura kotoba* for *nanor-* 'to give one's name'. There is only a single attestation of *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' followed by a genitive that is written phonographically, and it is *ga* (MYS.4.509).[91] As it is the case with (9), the use of *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' often involves wordplay, as it is homophonous with the prohibitive clause *nanori-so* 'don't give your name!'. We may relate the distribution of *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' with *ga* to some other non-human nouns, such as *wobana* 'Japanese pampas grass (lit. tail blossom)' (§4.3.1.2) and *nadesikwo* 'pink' (§4.7.14), which, in both functions, are either only attested with *ga* or mostly attested with *ga*. Including *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' , one common feature shared by the aforementioned plant names is that they are

[91] The only other instance where *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' is followed by a genitive has the genitive written logographically (MYS.7.1396). While most of the *Man'yōshū* manuscripts gloss the genitive as *no*, the *Jingūbunko-hon* manuscript glosses it as *ga*. The ONCOJ glosses the genitive as *ga* based on the fact that *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' is otherwise only found with *ga*.

often associated with some sort of rhetorical device, such as animification, wordplay, simile or metaphor, and so on, either in their usage or in word formation. With regard to these nouns, they could be lexically or conventionally used with *ga* based on poetic conventions.

(9)

ariswo	no	*upe*	*ni*	
rocky.shore	GEN	top	DAT	
uti-nabiki		*sizini*		opwi-taru
PFX-sway.INF		abundantly		grow-STAT.ADN
nanoriso	***ga***	*nado*	*ka*	*mo*
gulfweed	GEN	why	FOC	ETOP
imo	*ni*	nora-zu		ki-*ni*-*kye*-*mu*
beloved	DAT	say-NEG.INF		come-PERF-SPST-CJR.ADN

'Like the 'Don't announce yourself!' *nanoriso* gulfweed, which lies and grows abundantly on top of the rocky shore, why is that, that I have not been speaking to my beloved one?' (MYS.4.509)

Nouns from the 'natural phenomena' category are *nawi* 'earthquake' and *pi* 'sun; daytime'. *Nawi* is attested twice in the *Nishon shoki kayō* and *pi* is attested twice in the *Kojiki kayō*. *Tosi* 'year' from the 'time and seasons' category is also attested in the *Kojiki kayō*. 'Body-parts/hairstyle' nouns *pa* 'feather', *panari* 'hairdo of young girls' and *siwa* 'wrinkle' are attested once each. *Pa* 'feather' is attested in the *Hitachi fudoki* (714—718), which are gazetteers of the north-eastern part of present-day Ibaraki prefecture in eastern Japan. *Panari* 'divided hairdo of young girls' is also attested in EOJ. Additionally, *panari* more specifically refers to a girl with that hairstyle (who is the subject of *omopu* 'think'), which, with a human referent, is typically marked by *ga* (10).

(10)

tatibana *no* *kwoba* *no* ***panari*** ***ga***

Tachibana GEN Koba GEN divided.hairdo GEN

omopu *namu* *kokoro* *utukusi*

yearn.CONCL PCJR.ADN heart adorable-ACOP.CONCL

ide *are* *pa* *ikana*

INTJ I TOP go.OPT

'The heart of the maiden (with a divided hairdo) from Koba in Tachibana, who seems to be yearning for me, is adorable. Oh, I wish to go to her!' (MYS.14.3496)

Lastly, *siwa* 'wrinkle' is the only noun whose distribution with *ga* does not seem be influenced by dialectal and age variation (11). However, as there is only one attestation, I consider it as noise in this study (its variant poem, MYS.5.804b, has a completely different line in the same position).

(11)

iduku *yu* *ka*

where ABL FOC

siwa ***ga*** *ki-tari-si*

wrinkle GEN come-STAT-SPST.ADN

'Where did the wrinkles come from?' (MYS.5.804a)

5.4.2 Summary

In subject marking, the animacy status of subject nouns determines the majority of the distribution of *no vs. ga*, where human subject nouns are marked by *ga* and non-human

animates and inanimate subject nouns are marked by *no*. In adnominal marking, 65% of *ga* attestations mark a noun with a human referent while 90% of *no* attestations mark a non-human/inanimate noun. In comparison to adnominal marking, in subject marking, human nouns occupy a greater proportion among all *ga*-marked nouns (88%), whereas non-human/inanimate nouns occupy a smaller proportion among all *no*-marked nouns (79%). The above distribution suggests that animacy determines the choice of *ga* to a greater extent in subject marking than in adnominal marking, whereas animacy determines the choice of *no* to a lesser extent in subject marking than in adnominal marking. I propose that the distribution of *ga* marking inanimate subject nouns is mainly influenced by dialectal and age variation. As for animate subject nouns marked by *no*, I show that they are mostly in complementary distribution with *ga*-marked animates with respect to various parameters. *No*-marked animate subject nouns will be examined more thoroughly in subsequent sections.

5.5 Dialectal, age and genre variation

In §4.4, I showed that the distribution of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions is influenced by the dialect and the age of the texts, but not the genre. This section examines whether this is also the case with *ga* in subject marking by focusing on the same list of research question as §4.4, which I repeat below:

- Is *ga* distributed differently in the EOJ texts as opposed to the cOJ texts in the *Man'yōshū*?
- Is *ga* distributed differently in the *Kojiki kayō* and the *Nihon shoki kayō* compared to the *Man'yōshū*?
- Is *ga* distributed differently in prose compared to poetry?

Table 5.17 shows the distribution of *ga* in subject marking in the OJ texts. The texts that have a high proportion of *ga* are the *Man'yōshū* (68%), the *Kojiki kayō* (12%), the *Nihon Shoki kayō* (10%) and the *Senmyō* (7%). In noun-modifying constructions, the same texts also have the highest proportions of *ga*. In contrast to noun-modifying constructions, we do not find *ga*-marked subject nouns in the *Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu* and the *Bussokuseki-ka*.

Table 5-17 Distribution of ga *in genitive subject marking in the OJ texts*

Ranking	**Texts**	**Attestations**	**Proportion in all texts (%)**	**Proportion in the *Man'yōshū* (%)**
1	***Man'yōshū***	215	*68%*	
	In EOJ poems in book 20	20		
	In book 14	33		
	Total in EOJ poems	53	*17%*	*25%*
2	***Kojiki kayō***	38	*12%*	
3	***Nihon shoki kayō***	32	*10%*	
4	***Senmyō***	22	*7%*	
5	***Fudoki kayō***	6	*2%*	
6	***Engishiki norito***	4	*1%*	
	Total	**317**		

Table 5.18 shows the distribution of *no* in subject marking in the OJ texts. The texts that have a high proportion of *no* are the *Man'yōshū* (72%) and the *Engishiki norito* (14%), which are the same two texts that have high proportions of *no* among all texts in noun-modifying constructions.

Table 5-18 Distribution of no *in genitive subject marking in the OJ texts*

Ranking	Texts	Attestations	Proportion in all texts (%)	Proportion in the *Man'yōshū* (%)
1	***Man'yōshū***	530	*72%*	
	In EOJ poems in book 20	*9*		
	In EOJ poems in book 14	*42*		
	Total in EOJ poems	*51*	*7%*	*10%*
2	***Engishiki norito***	110	*14%*	
3	***Nihon shoki kayō***	31	*4%*	
4	***Senmyō***	30	*4%*	
5	***Kojiki kayō***	23	*3%*	
6	***Bussokuseki-ka***	10	*1%*	
7	***Fudoki kayō***	2	*<1%*	
8	***Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu***	2	*<1%*	
9	***Shoku nihongi kayō***	1	*<1%*	
	Total	**739**		

5.5.1 Dialectal variation

In §4.4.1, I compared the distribution of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions in the EOJ *vs.* cOJ material in the *Man'yōshū* and argued that its distribution in EOJ is "frequent and distinctive" (Ohno, 1978, p. 9) in the following ways: 1) a significant portion of *ga* in the *Man'yōshū* are attested in the EOJ material; 2) *ga* marks nouns that are in their EOJ shapes while their cOJ shapes are only attested with *no*; 3) a significant number of plant names marked

by *ga* are attested in EOJ. This section examines whether the above is the case with regard to subject marking. Table 5.16 shows the distribution of *ga* in subject marking in EOJ.

Table 5-19 Distribution of ga *in genitive subject marking in EOJ*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
wa	1st person	11
a	1st person	10
imo	my beloved	5
kimi	you, my lord	3
kwo-ro	child; my beloved	3
na	2nd person	2
se-ro	my dear man	2
wagimokwo	my beloved	2
tegwo-na	young girl	1
imo-na-ro	my beloved	1
wagimo	my beloved	1
wakugwo	young man	1
kwo	child; my beloved	1
panari	divided hairdo of young girls	1
akagwoma	red colt	1
pi	sun	1
nipisakimori	new guard	1
titipapa	father and mother	1
imu	my beloved (:: cOJ *imo*)	1
omo	mother	1
mo	my beloved	1
imokwo	my beloved	1
se-na	my dear man	1
	Total	**53**

The EOJ poems make up around 17% of all attestations of *ga* in subject marking in the *Man'yōshū.* This is a high proportion in comparison with *no* (7%) and is especially high considering that the EOJ poems, which are short, only make up around 8% of all poems in the *Man'yōshū*. However, 62% (33/53) of all *ga*-marked subject nouns in EOJ are *wa-ga, a-ga, si-ga, na-ga, ta-ga, ono-ga, imo-ga*, or *kimi-ga*. Thus, the proportion of *ga* in EOJ may seem large because these *ga*-marked subject nouns are mostly written phonographically in EOJ, whereas

they are written logographically in the rest of the *Man'yōshū* (Table 4.14). *Wa-ga, a-ga, si-ga, na-ga, ta-ga, ono-ga, imo-ga* and *kimi-ga* also make up 61% (132/215) of all subject nouns (written phonographically) in the *Man'yōshū*. If we were to exclude the above list of nouns altogether and divide the number of remaining *ga*-marked subjects in EOJ by the total number of *ga*-marked subjects in the *Man'yōshū*, EOJ would still make up 24% (20/83) of all subject nouns in the *Man'yōshū*, which is still a high proportion.

In §4.4.1, I investigated Ohno (1978)'s claim that *ga* tends to mark nouns that are only found with *no* in cOJ and showed that in noun-modifying constructions, this is the case with respect to four nouns: *kamo* 'wild duck', *akagwoma* 'red colt', *kaye* (:: cOJ *kaya*) 'reed' and *pwimo* (:: cOJ *pimo*) 'cord'. In subject marking, *akagwoma* 'red colt' is the only *ga*-marked subject noun that is otherwise only found with *no* in cOJ. *Asi* 'reed' and *nanoriso* 'gulfweed' are the only plant names marked by *ga* in subject marking, but they are attested in non-EOJ materials. Therefore, unlike adnominal marking, where 32% of all *ga*-marked plant names are from EOJ, we do not find any *ga*-marked plant subject nouns in these materials. Nonetheless, 17% of non-human subject nouns marked by *ga* are attested in EOJ, which I consider to be a significant portion given the small size of the EOJ corpus.

5.5.2 Age variation

The *Kojiki kayō* (712) and the *Nihon shoki kayō* (720) (collectively abbreviated as *Kiki kayō*), which are considered older texts, have been compared to the *Man'yōshū* (late Nara or early Heian period) in some previous studies. In §4.4.2, I showed that in noun-modifying constructions, the distribution of *ga* is influenced by the factor of age, as a high proportion of *ga* and a high proportion of *ga*-marked inanimates are attested in the *Kiki kayō*. In this section, I examine whether the distribution of *ga* in subject marking is also influenced by the age of the texts. Table 5.20 shows the distribution of *ga* in subject marking in the *Kiki kayō*.

Table 5-20 Distribution of nouns marked by ga *in genitive subject marking in the* Kiki kayō

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
wa	1st person	33
a	1st person	8
kwo	child; my beloved; young fellow	4
na	2nd person	4
si	3rd person	3
idumo takyeru	Takeru of Izumo (personal name)	2
kwonami	first wife	2
upanari	second wife	2
nawi	earthquake	2
kwo-ra	child; my beloved; young fellow	2
imo	my beloved	1
pimye	girl	1
myedori	Medori (personal name)	1
sekwo	my dear man	1
tosi	year(s); time	1
pi	sun; daytime	1
wigupi uti	dam-pile hitting	1
susukori	Susukori (personal name)	1
	Total	**70**

In subject marking, the proportion of *ga* (22%) in the *Kiki kayō* among all texts is significantly greater than *no* (8%). However, the entire *Kiki kayō* is encoded phonographically and 76% (53/70) of all *ga*-marked subject nouns in the *Kiki kayō* are *wa, a, na, imo*, and *kimi*, which are usually written logographically. If we exclude those nominals, then the proportion of *ga* in the *Kiki kayō* would make up 14% (17/119), which is still significantly larger than the proportion of *no*, especially considering the fact that these texts that only make up 4.5% of the whole corpus. Furthermore, since 38% of all *ga*-marked inanimate subject nouns and 28% of non-human subject nouns are attested in the *Kiki kayō*, it can be argued that, like adnominal marking, the age of the texts also influences the distribution of *ga* marking inanimate/non-human nouns

in subject marking. In §2.5, I outlined Nomura (1993b)'s hypothesis that, in contrast to the *Man'yōshū*, the use of *no* in subject marking is not fully developed in the *Kiki kayō*. This is based on his observation that, in these texts, *ga* is the only genitive used to mark subjects in conditional and provisional clauses. A corpus search confirms his observation. In the *Kiki kayō*, we find 9 instances of *ga* marking subjects in conditional clauses and 15 instances of *ga* marking subjects in provisional clauses, but there is not a single attestation of *no* marking subjects in these clauses. I will refer to Nomura's hypothesis further in §7, which focuses on diachronic aspects of the distribution of *no* and *ga*.

5.5.3 Genre variation

In §4.4.3, I argued that genre variation cannot be considered as a relevant factor in influencing the use of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions. In this section, I examine whether the above is also the case with subject marking.

The *Senmyō* (7%) and the *Engishiki norito* (1%) account for 8% of the total number of *ga* in subject marking. As for *no*, the *Senmyō* (4%) and the *Engishiki norito* (14%) account for 18% of the total number of its attestations in subject marking. This is a distribution closely resembles that of adnominal marking: in both subjecting marking and adnominal marking, 1) *ga* is more frequent in the *Senmyō* than in the *Engishiki norito*; 2) *no* is more frequent in the *Engishiki norito* than in the *Senmyō*; 3) the *Senmyō* contains a far higher proportion of the total attestations of *ga* than of the total attestations of *no* and finally 4) the *Engishiki norito* contains a far higher proportion of the total attestations of *no* than of the total attestations of *ga*. Like with adnominal marking, I propose that the above differences are closely related to the content of the texts, in the sense that the *Senmyō* contains more *ga*-only nouns such as personal pronouns and personal names, and that the *Engishiki norito* contains more *no*-marking nouns such as exalted or mythological entities. Table 5.21 presents the distribution of *ga* in subject

marking in the prose texts. We do not find any instances where *ga* marks a noun in prose that is otherwise only marked by *no* in poetry. Regardless of genre, personal pronouns, personal names, nouns followed by the suffix *-ra* and lexically referential human nouns (e.g., *titi* 'my father') take *ga* rather than *no*.

Table 5-21 Distribution of ga *in subject marking in the OJ prose texts*

Noun	**Meaning**	**Frequency**
wa	1st person	7
ono	reflexive pronoun	4
si	3rd person	4
daipopusi-tati	great priest of law	1
(nori no) tukasa-domo	Bureau of Ceremonial	1
pito-ra	people	1
imitama tukuri-ra	people who make sacred jewel	1
masupito-ra	outstanding people	1
naramaro	Naramaro (personal name)	1
naramaro-ra	Naramaro (personal name)	1
omi-ra	courtier	1
sore-ra	they	1
sumye-ra	imperial highness	1
titi	father	1
	Total	**26**

5.5.4 Summary

In subject marking, dialect and age, but not genre, are factors that may influence the use of *ga*. The distribution of *ga* is distinctive in the EOJ texts in comparison to the cOJ texts in the *Man'yōshū,* as the proportion of *ga* in EOJ is significantly higher than *no* (17% *vs.* 7%), and 17% of non-human subject nouns marked by *ga* in the *Man'yōshū* come from EOJ. The distribution of *ga* is distinctive in the *Kiki kayō* in comparison to the *Man'yōshū* as the

proportion of *ga* is significantly higher than *no* (22% *vs.* 8%) and 38% of inanimate subject nouns and 28% of non-human subject nouns marked by *ga* come from these texts.

5.6 Human common nouns

This section examines the distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by *no* or *ga* in subject marking, addressing the following research question. [92]

- Is the distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by *no* or *ga* in subject marking also determined by the lexical referentiality of the genitive-marked noun, as with adnominal marking?

5.6.1 Human common nouns exclusively marked by *ga*

Table 5.22 presents the distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by *ga* in subject marking.

Table 5-22 Distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by ga *in genitive subject marking*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
imo	my beloved	21
sekwo	my dear man	12
wagimokwo	my beloved	8
kwo-ro	my beloved	3
kwonami	first wife	2
se-ro	my dear man	2
tegwo-na	young girl	2
upanari	second wife	2
terusadu	[unknown; person working in the field?]	1
asukawotokwo	Asuka man	1

[92] I do not include human common nouns that are marked by both genitives (§5.7), nouns from the 'exalted entities' category (§5.8), and N-*ra* (§5.9).

imokwo	my beloved	1
imu	my beloved	1
inakiwomina	young woman from Inaki	1
mo	my beloved	1
nipisakimori	new guard	1
omo	my mother	1
saburukwo	my beloved Saburu girl	1
satwowosa	village chief	1
se-na	my dear man	1
titi	my father	1
titipapa	my father and mother	1
wagimo	my beloved	1
	Total	**66**

Like with human common nouns exclusively marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions, based on Table 5.22, the majority of human common nouns exclusively marked by *ga* in genitive subject marking are clearly *lexically* specified as being referential. For example, words like *imo* 'my beloved', *titi* 'my father' and *sekwo* 'my dear man' have a meaning that picks out a particular individual. Nonetheless, there are 4 words from Table 5.22 that require further investigation. It is rather odd that *asukawotokwo* 'man from Asuka' and *inakiwomina* 'young woman from Inaki' are found with *ga* (12). In noun-modifying constructions, compound nouns involving *wotokwo* 'man' and the noun *womina* 'young woman', which are *not* lexically referential, are exclusively attested with *no*. *Asukawotokwo-ga* and *inakiwomina-ga* are attested in MYS 16.3791 and both subjects have a specific and referential reading inferable from the context, referring to people whom the author knows. According to the editors of NKBZ/SNKBT and Vovin (2021, p. 41), MYS 16.3791 is a *chōka* with a "clumsy style" and is difficult to read, with many peculiarities with regard to writing, metre, vocabulary and morphosyntax. It is therefore conceivable that the use of *ga* with non-lexically referential nouns that are otherwise attested only with *no* represents another aspect of syntactic peculiarity that

can be identified in this poem. Thus, I consider the use of *ga* marking *asukawotokwo* and *inakiwomina* to be influenced by individual speaker variation.

(12)

***inaki*-womina**	***ga***	tumadopu		*to*	ware
Inaki-maiden	GEN	spouse.request.CONCL		CONJ	I
ni	okose-si	wotikata	no	puta-aya-sitakutu	
DAT	offer-SPST.ADN	distant	GEN	two-colourful-sock	
tobutori	no				
MK	COP.ADN				
asukawotokwo	***ga***	nagame	imi		
Asuka.man	GEN	long.rain	abstain.INF		
nupi-*si*	kurwo-kutu	sasi-pakite			
sew-SPST.ADN	black-shoe	PFX-wear.GER			

‘Wearing a pair of colourful socks offered to me from afar by a woman from Inaki for the purpose of requesting me to be her spouse, and a pair of black shoes a man from Asuka sewed for me to avoid the long rain…’ (MYS.16.3791)

Nipisakimori ‘new border guard’ is found with *ga* once in subject marking and has a non-specific reading (13). The only other instance where *sakimori* ‘border guard’ is attested with a genitive is also in subject marking; it is instead marked by *no* and has a non-specific reading (14). Being non-lexically referential, we would expect that *(nipi-)sakimori* is a human common noun that usually occurs with *no*, instead of *ga*. Interestingly, according to the postscript, both (13) and (14) were composed by Ōtomo no Yakamochi and are composed on the same day. It is therefore intriguing as to why *nipisakimori* is marked by *ga* and *sakimori* by *no*, despite both being non-specific based on discourse. As I have mentioned in §2.5, Ohno (1978, p. 155)

notices that in songs composed by the Nara-born poet Yakamochi in Book 20, we sometimes find *ga* marking nouns that we would expect to be marked with *no* (e.g., *pamamatu ga ne* 'the root of pine at the shore'; *asi ga tiru nanipa* 'Naniwa where reed scatters'). Perhaps this is an attempt to make the songs sound more 'eastern', where the use of *ga* is more frequent than in cOJ. Thus, it is conceivable that the use of *ga* marking *nipisakimori* is a stylistic choice made by the poet.

(13)

ima	kaparu	***nipisakimori***	***ga***		
now	change.ADN	new.border.guard	GEN		
punade	*suru*	*unipara*	*no*	*upe*	*ni*
embark.INF	do.ADN	sea.plain	GEN	top	DAT
nami	*na*	*saki*	*sone*		
wave	PHB	break	PHB		

'Waves, do not break on top of the sea, where new border guards, who now replace the old ones, embark.' (MYS.20.4335)

(14)

sakimori	***no***	*poriye*	*kogiduru*
border.guard	GEN	canal	row.out.ADN
idu-te*bune*	*kadi*	*toru*	ma
Izu-handmade.boat	rudder	take.ADN	interval
na-ku	kwopwi	*pa*	*sike-kye-mu*
not.exist-ACOP.INF	yearning	TOP	abundant-ACOP-CJR.ADN

‘The Izu handmade boat that is rowing out, on which border guards have no time to hold the rudder still—their yearning will probably grow more and more.’ (MYS.20.4336)

Satwowosa ‘village chief’ is marked by *ga* once in noun-modifying constructions and once in subject marking. Like with the example in noun-modifying construction, *satwowosa* in (15) also has a specific and referential reading, referring to a particular individual whom the hearer can identify. In §4.5.1, I suggested that as there are only two examples, it is difficult to determine whether *satwowosa* is lexically referential.

(15)

daniwoti	ya	sika	mo	na	ipi	so
temple.patron	FOC	that.way	ETOP	PHB	say.INF	PHB
***satwo*wosa**	***ga***	etukwi	pataraba			
village.chief	GEN	tax	levy.CND			
imasi mo	naka-mu					
you ETOP	cry-CJR.ADN					

‘O, patron, do not say that! When your village chief levy the tax, you will cry, too!’ (MYS.16.3847)[93]

5.6.2 Human common nouns marked by *no*

47 distinct human common nouns (121 examples) are exclusively found with *no* in subject marking, which, like with noun-modifying constructions, can be broadly categorized into nouns or compound nouns involving *pito/-pito/-bito* ‘person; people’, *ama* ‘sea divers;

[93] This is a poem in response to MYS.16.3846, which makes fun of monks.

fishermen', *oya* 'ancestors', *wotomye/-wotomye/-mye* '(young) woman' , *wotokwo-/-wotokwo/-wo* '(young) man', and a few other nouns.

5.6.2.1 Pito/-pito/-bito 'person; people'

Pito/-pito/-bito 'person; people' are attested 59 times in subject marking.

Table 5-23 Distribution of no *marking* pito/-pito/-bito *in genitive subject marking*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
pito	person; people	34
ipyebito	family member	4
pito-domo	people	3
satwobito	village person	2
yamabito	mountain person	1
adapito	person from Ada	1
ipabito	family member	1
moropito	everyone	1
mwinapito	everyone	1
orokapito	ignorant people	1
pidapito	person from Hida	1
purupito	people of ancient times	1
sumapito	people in Suma	1
suwepito	pottery-maker	1
tunepito	ordinary person	1
umapito	noble person	1
yaswoudipito	clan's person	1
pitomone	people (*mone* unknown)	1
pitotuma	another's spouse	1
momopunapito	boatman	1
	Total	**59**

Pito/-pito/-bito can be used non-specifically (16), specifically but non-referentially (17), or specifically and referentially (18).

(16)

yo no **pito** ***no***

world GEN people GEN

taturu *kotodate*

stand.ADN vow

'the vows that people in the world make' (MYS.18.4106)

(17)

maturagapa *tamasima* *no* *ura* *ni*

Matsura.River Tamashima GEN inlet DAT

wakayu *turu* *imo-ra* *wo* *mi*

young.sweetfish fish.ADN maiden-PLU ACC see.CONCL

ramu ***pito*** ***no*** *tomosi-sa*

PCJR.ADN people GEN enviable-ACOP.EXCL

'How enviable are the people who will see the maidens fishing young sweetfish at the inlet in Tamashima in Matsura River!' (MYS.5.863)

(18)

asipikwi *no* *yama* *yuki-sikaba*

MK COP.ADN mountain go-SPST.PRV

yamabito ***no*** *ware* *ni* *e-sime-si*

mountain.person GEN I DAT obtain-CTV-SPST.ADN

yamatutwo *so* *kore*

mountain.gift FOC this

'When I went to the mountains, the gift that a mountain hermit made me obtain is this.' (MYS.20.4293)

5.6.2.2 Ama

Ama 'sea divers; fishermen' is attested 9 times in subject marking. Like with adnominalization, all examples of *ama* have non-specific readings and plural references.

(19)

ayu	no	kaze			
east.wind	GEN	wind			
ita-ku		*puku*	*rasi*	*nagwo*	*no*
painful-ACOP.INF		blow.ADN	PRES	Nago	GEN
ama	***no***	*turi*	*suru*		
fishermen	GEN	fish.INF	do.ADN		
wobune	*kogi-kakuru*		*miyu*		
small.boat	row-hide.CONCL		EVID		

'It seems that the eastern wind is blowing strongly. Small boats in which fishermen from Nago fish appear to be rowing and disappearing.' (MYS.17.4017)

5.6.2.3 Oya/oya-domo

Oya/oya-domo 'ancestors; parents' are attested 4 times in subject marking. Unlike noun-modifying constructions, where there is one instance where *oya* is used referentially (in reference to the author's parents), all examples of *oya/oya-domo* in subject marking are non-referential. They are used non-specifically (20) or specifically but non-referentially (21).

(20)

pito	no	**oya**	***no***	*ono*	*ga*
people	GEN	parent	GEN	onself	GEN
wakugwo	*wo*	pidasu			

child ACC raise.ADN

koto *no* goto-*ku*

thing GEN like-ACOP.INF

'Just like how parents raise their own children…' (SM.3)

(21)

imasi-*tati* *no* **oya-*domo*** ***no***

you-PLU GEN ancestor-PLU GEN

ipi-kuraku

say-always.NMNL

'As your ancestors have always said…' (SM.13)

5.6.2.4 -wotomye/mye/-mye

-*Wotomye/mye/-mye* '(young) woman' are attested 7 times in subject marking.

Table 5-24 Distribution of no *marking* -wotomye/mye/-mye *in genitive subject marking*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
mye	young woman	1
tawayamye	weak woman	1
yamasiromye	young woman in Yamasiro	4
katworiwotomye	woman in Katori	1
	Total	**7**

-*Wotomye/mye/-mye* '(young) woman' are mostly used non-specifically (22)—(23). It can also be used specifically and referentially, as in (24), *tawayamye* refers to the author herself and in (25), *katworiwotomye* refers to the author's lover back home.

(22)

amasakaru *pina* *tu* ***mye*** ***no***

MK countryside GEN woman GEN

i-watara-su *setwo*

PFX-go.across-RSP.ADN strait

'The strait where countryside maidens go across.' (NSK.3)

(23)

tuginepu ***yamasiromye*** ***no*** *kokupa* *moti*

MK woman.from.Yamashiro GEN wooden.hoe hold.INF

uti-si *opone*

hit-SPST.ADN radish

'The radish dug up with the wooden hoes women from Yamashiro held.' (NSK.57)

(24)

apa-mu pi *no*

meet-CJR.ADN day GEN

katami *ni* *seyo* *to*

keepsake COP.INF do.IMP CONJ

tawaya*mye** ***no *omopi-midarete*

weak.woman GEN yearn-be.confused.GER

nup-yeru *koromo* *zo*

sew.STAT.ADN garment FOC

'As a keepsake for you to remember me on the day we meet again, here is a garment t hat I, a weak woman, sewed while yearning and worrying for you.' (MYS.15.3753)

(25)

tukusi	*ni*	*aru*	*nipopu*	kwo	*yuweni*
Tsukushi	DAT	exist.ADN	fragrant.ADN	beloved	because
mitinoku	*no*	***katwori-woto*mye**	***no***		
Michinoku	GEN	Katori-young.woman	GEN		
yupi-si		*pimo*	*toku*		
bind-SPST.ADN		cord	untie.CONCL		

'Because of that beautiful girl in Tsukushi, I untie the cord tied by the young woman in Katori.' (MYS.14.3427; EOJ)

5.6.2.5 -wotokwo/wo/-wo

-*Wotokwo/wo/-wo* '(young) man' are attested 13 times in subject marking.

Table 5-25 Distribution of no *marking* -wotokwo/wo/-wo *in genitive subject marking*

Noun	**Meaning**	**Frequency**
masurawo	fine man	7
unapiwotokwo	man from Unai	2
yaswotomonowo	many male companions	2
sinwodawotokwo	Shinoda man	1
wo	man	1
	Total	**13**

They are used non-specifically (26); specifically but non-referentially (27); or specifically and referentially (28); where *unapiwotokwo* 'man from Unai' refers to a particular man in a folklore.

(26)

kakitupata	kinu	*ni*	*surituke*
iris	garment	DAT	rub.together.INF
***masura*wo**	***no***	ki*sopi*	kari *suru*

fine.man GEN wear.layers hunt.INF do.ADN

tukwi pa *ki-ni-kyeri*

month TOP come-PERF-MPST.CONCL

'The month has arrived when noblemen dress in layers and go on the hunt, rubbing irises onto their garments.' (MYS.17.3921)

(27)

yaswotomonowo **no**

many.male.companions GEN

simayama ni *akaru* tatibana

artificial.mountain DAT redden.ADN mandarin.orange

uzu *ni* sasi pimo

hair.decoration COP.INF pierce.INF cord

toki-sakete ti-tose poki

untie-separate.GER thousand-year pray.INF

poki-toyomosi *werawera-ni* tukapematuru

pray-make.sound.INF smiling-COP.INF wait.upon.ADN

wo miru ga taputwo-sa

ACC see.ADN GEN venerable-EXC

'It is venerable to behold the numerous male companion officials serving our lord, smiling and chanting prayers aloud for our lord's thousand-year reign. Their garments' cords are loosened, and they adorn their hair with mandarin oranges reddened atop artificial mountains.' (MYS.19.4266)

(28)

tinuwotokwo ***unapiwotokwo*** ***no*** *utusemi* *no*

Chinu.man Unai.man GEN MK COP.ADN

na *wo* arawopu *to*

name ACC fight.ADN CONJ

tamakiparu inoti *mo* *sutete*

MK life ETOP discard.GER

'A man from Chinu and a man from Unai, throwing their lives in order to fight for their names…'(MYS.19.4211)

5.6.2.6 Other nouns

The rest of the human common nouns exclusively marked by *no* are presented in the table below.

Table 5-26 Other human common nouns exclusively marked by no *in genitive subject marking*

Noun	**Meaning**	**Frequency**
tukapi	messenger	5
mwina	everyone	4
(opo-)mi-kamunagi	female diviners	4
midorikwo	infant	4
okina	old man	1
pirakutuma	hunchback	1
sakimori [94]	border guard	1

Some instances of *tukapi no* 'messenger' have non-specific readings (e.g., MYS.17.3957), while others have specific and referential readings, referring to a particular messenger whom the author had in mind and had been waiting for, for example (29).

[94] See §5.6.1 for *sakimori-no*, which has a non-specific reading.

(29)

kimi	ga	**tukapi**	***no***			
lord	GEN	messenger	GEN			
tawori-kyeru			ko	no	akipagwi	pa
break-come.STAT.ADN			this	GEN	bush.clover	TOP
miredo		aka-nu		*kamo*		
see.CSS		fed.up-NEG.ADN		EMPH		

'This bush clover, which the messenger of yours, my lord, has plucked for me on his way here—I would never get tired of looking at it!' (MYS.10.2111)

All instances of *mwina* 'everyone' are non-specific (30).

(30)

pito	***mwina***	***no***	*mi*	*ramu*	
people	all	GEN	see.CONCL	PCJR.ADN	
matura	*no*	*tamasima*	*wo*		
Matsura	GEN	Tamashima	ACC		
mi-zute		*ya*	*ware*	*pa*	
see-NEG.GER		FOC	I	TOP	
kwopwitutu	*wora-mu*				
yearn.CTT	PGS-CJR.ADN				

'Not seeing Tamashima in Matsura, which everyone else seems to have seen—will I continue longing for it?' (MYS.5.862)

(Opo-)mi-kamunagi 'female diviners' are attested in the *Engishiki norito*, where all the examples are specific but non-referential, referring to a particular set of female diviners among

all female diviners (31). Furthermore, since all nouns with the honorific prefix *opo-* and most nouns with the honorific prefix *mi-* (we find *mi-masi ga* in noun-modifying constructions) take *no*, rather than *ga*, the fact that *(opo-)mi-kamunagi* is only used with *no* in subject marking may be related to the factor of honorification (§5.8).

(31)

mikadwo	*no*	**mi-kamunagi**		***no***
palace	GEN	HON-female.diviners		GEN
kotowope		maturu	sumyegami-tati	
words.of.praise		serve.ADN	imperial.ancestral.deity-PLU	
no	mapye *ni*	mawosa*ku*		
GEN	front DAT	speak[hum].NMNL		

‘The female diviners of the palace humbly speak in front of the ancestral deities whom we offer words of praise: “…”’ (EN.1)

Midorikwo ‘infant’ is attested with a specific and referential reading (32), referring to the author’s own child. It is also attested with a non-specific reading (33).

(32)

wagimokwo	ga	katami	*ni*	okyeru
beloved	GEN	keepsake	COP.INF	leave-STAT.ADN
midorikwo	***no***	kopi-naku	gotoni	
infant	GEN	seek-cry.ADN	every.time	

‘Every time that my baby, left behind by my beloved wife as a keepsake, begs and cries…’ (MYS.2.210a)

(33)

so	*wo*	mi*reba*	*kokoro*	*wo*	*ita-mi*	
that	ACC	see.PRV	heart	ACC	painful-ACOP.INF	
***midori*kwo**		***no***	*ti*	*kopu*	*ga*	*goto-ku*
infant		GEN	breast	beg.ADN	GEN	like-ACOP.INF
ama	*tu*	*midu*	*apugite*	*zo*	*matu*	
sky	GEN	water	revere.GER	FOC	wait.CONCL	

'When seeing that, my heart feels painful, and like a baby seeking for a breast, I look up and wait for the rain.' (MYS.18.4122)

Okina 'old man' has a specific and referential reading, referring to the falconer who let the author's falcon escape (34). However, as the word *okina* is also found to be used non-referentially in other functions (MYS.18.4128), it cannot be considered as a lexically referential noun.

(34)

tabure-taru			*siko*	*tu*	***okina***		***no***
go.mad-STAT.ADN			stupid	COP.ADN	old.man		GEN
koto	*dani*	*mo*	*ware*	*ni*	*pa*	*tuge-zu*	
word	RES	ETOP	I	DAT	TOP	tell-NEG.INF	
tonogumori			*ame*	*no*	*puru*	*pi*	*wo*
partically.cloudy			rain	GEN	fall.ADN	day	ACC
togari		*su*		*to*	*na*	*nomwi* *wo*	*norite*
bird.hunt		do.CONCL		COMP	name	RES ACC	say.GER

'A mad and stupid old man, without even saying a word to me, only told me nominally that he would do falcon-hunting on a day that was rainy and partially cloudy…' (MYS.17.4011)

Pirakutuma ‘hunchback’ is only attested once in the entire corpus. It appears in a satirical poem mocking a failed mission to assist Paekche in fighting Silla. *Pirakutuma* has a referential reading, disparagingly referring to an official—identified by the editors of SNKBT as *tsu no omi kutsuma* ‘the hunchback official Tsu no Omi’—who was presumably sent on this mission. It is difficult to determine whether *pirakutuma* is lexically referential as it is a hapax legomenon.

(35)

pirakutuma	***no***	*tukur-eru*	*wonopyeda*	*wo*
hunchback	GEN	make-STAT.ADN	small.rice.field	ACC
karigari	*no*	*kurapu*		
wild.geese	GEN	eat.CONCL		

‘The little rice field the hunchback has cultivated, the wild geese devour.’(NSK.122)

5.6.3 Summary

Like with adnominalization, the distribution of human common nouns exclusively marked by *no*/*ga* in subject marking is also governed by lexical referentiality. All human common nouns exclusively marked by *ga* are lexically referential, except from a very few instances where a non-lexically referential noun is marked by *ga*, which are presumably influenced by individual speaker variation. All human common nouns exclusively marked by *no* can have a non-specific, specific but non-referential, or referential reading based on the *context*, but they are never referential based on their *lexical specification*. Additionally, I discuss my findings from noun-modifying constructions and subject marking in relation to past proposals regarding the pragmatic differences between *no* and *ga* in marking animate nouns—specifically, the idea that *ga* marks “sentient nouns whose referent is someone close to the

speaker or the person who dominates the narrative viewpoint", while *no* marks "exalted or indefinite animate nouns" (Takeuchi, 1999, pp. 159-160). The above hypothesis is not supported by the data on human common nouns, as *no* can mark those that are definite, referring to someone close to the speaker or even to the speaker themselves. §4.5 and §5.6 clearly show that, with human common nouns, the distribution of *no* and *ga* is not related to the social relation between the referent of the noun and the speaker.

5.7 Nouns marked by both *no* and *ga*

In the majority of cases of subject marking, the distribution of *no* and *ga* is complementary, where a subject noun either only takes *no* or only takes *ga*. However, we do find 8 distinct nouns (68 examples) that can take either *no* or *ga*. Like with noun-modifying constructions, this section investigates each subject noun marked by both *no* and *ga*, aiming to address the following research question:

- When a subject noun can take either *no* or *ga*, what factor(s)/condition(s), if any, influence its use with *no* vs. *ga*?

Table 5-27 Nouns marked by both no *and* ga *in genitive subject marking*

Nouns	**Meaning**	***Ga***	***No***
kwo	child; my beloved	8	8
wakugwo	young man	4	1
wotomye	young woman	1	2
akagwoma	red colt	1	1
pi	sun, daytime	2	6
tosi	year(s); time	1	3
papa	my mother	5	1
kimi	you (my lord), respectful; great lord	23	1
	Total	**45**	**23**
		68	

5.7.1 *Kwo*

In noun-modifying constructions, *kwo* is attested with both genitives, once with *ga* and three times with *no*. I tentatively proposed that in noun-modifying constructions, *kwo ga vs. kwo no* involve two different uses of *kwo*, where *ga* attaches to *kwo* used to mean 'my beloved' while *no* attaches to *kwo* when it is used as a diminutive term of personal reference. Data on subject marking provides new insight into the distribution of genitives with *kwo*. It seems more plausible to argue that, rather than attaching to different uses of the same word, they attach to *kwo* as two distinct, homophonous lexical items.

The data on subject marking is relatively more substantial than noun-modifying constructions, where we find 8 instances of *kwo ga* and 8 instances of *kwo no*. With *kwo ga*, 7 out of 8 of the cases (MYS.10.2089; 5.868; 14.3462; 2.138; FK.15; 8; KK.100) involve *kwo* meaning 'beloved' (36) and only one of the cases involves *kwo* as a part of the phrase *kume no kwo* 'warriors of the Kume clan', where *kwo* may be considered as an endearing way to refer to these warriors (Tsuchihashi et al., 1957) (37).

(36)

yamasapabito	*no*	*pito*	*sapani*	
mountain.stream	GEN	people	many	
mana	*to*	*ipu*	**kwo**	***ga***
Mana	COMP	say.ADN	beloved	GEN
ayani	*kanasi-sa*			
incredibly	adorable-ACOP.EXCL			

'The beloved girl, whom many people living among the mountain stream call Mana, is incredibly adorable.' (MYS.14.3462; EOJ)

(37)

kume *no* ***kwo*** ***ga*** *kubututui*

Kume GEN warrior GEN mallet-headed.sword

isitutui *moti* *utite* *si* *yama-mu*

stone.mallet hold.INF hit.GER RES stop-CJR.ADN

'The warriors of the Kume clan, holding mallet-headed swords and stone mallets, shall hit and stop the enemies!' (KK.10)

With *kwo no*, 6 out of 8 of the examples (MYS.14.3500; 14.3533; 3.481; 20.4465; SM.25; 61) involve *kwo* meaning 'child(ren)' or 'descendants' (38), a meaning that is never found to be marked by *ga*. One of the examples involves *kwo* used in the phrase *omi no kwo* as a diminutive term of personal reference (39). In noun-modifying constructions, the phrase *omi no kwo* is also exclusively marked by *no*. Oddly, we also find a single attestation where *no* marks *kwo* meaning 'my beloved' (40). As this example is from EOJ, it could be the case that the compilers from western Japan hypercorrected what was originally *kwo ga* into *kwo no* as they were aware that the easterners tend to use *ga* more frequently. I consider this example as noise.

(38)

pito no **kwo** ***no*** wazapapi

people GEN child GEN misfortune

wo sari sakipapi wo kagapura-*maku*

ACC avoid.INF fortune ACC receive-CJR.NMNL

pori-su*ru* koto *pa* oya no tameni

desire-do.ADN thing TOP parents GEN sake

to *nari*

COP.INF become.INF

'That people want their children to avoid misfortune and receive fortune is for the parents' sake.' (SM.25)

(39)

omi	*no*	***kwo***	***no***		
courtier	COP.ADN	DIM	GEN		
yapye	*no*	*pimo*	*toku*	*pitopye*	*dani*
many.layers	COP.ADN	cord	untie.CONCL	one.layer	RES
imada	*toka-neba*				
not.yet	untie-NEG.PRV				
mi-kwo	*no*	*pimo*	*toku*		
HON-child	GEN	cord	untie.CONCL		

'While not even one layer of the many-layer cords has been loosened by the courtiers, the prince's cord is already loosened.'(NSK.127)[95]

(40)

tamagapa	*ni*	*sarasu*	*tedukuri*			
Tama.River	DAT	bleach.ADN	hand-woven.cloth			
sarasarani	*nani*	*so*	*ko*	*no*	**kwo**	***no***
more.and.more	why	FOC	this	GEN	beloved	GEN
kokoda	*kanasi-ki*					
this.much	adorable-ACOP.ADN					

[95] A satirical poem criticising the inability of courtiers in the Ōmi Ōtsu Palace during the Jinshin War (672).

‘Like hand-made cloth that is bleached at the Tama River, why is this beloved girl becoming more and more adorable to me?’ (MYS.14.3373; EOJ)

Considering the data from both adnominalization and subject marking, I propose that the *kwo* marked by *ga* is a different lexical item from the *kwo* marked by *no*. The *ga*-marked *kwo* means ‘my beloved’ and presumably based on that meaning, it is also used as a term of endearment. The *no*-marked *kwo* means ‘child(ren); descendants’ and perhaps based on these meanings, it is also used as a diminutive. Additionally, the compound noun *midorikwo* ‘infant’, which involves *kwo* meaning ‘child’, is only found with *no* in all functions (§5.6.2.6). In subject marking, all examples of *kwo* meaning ‘my beloved’ are referential, while examples of *kwo* meaning ‘child(ren); descendants’ can be referential or non-referential, depending on the context. This supports my claim in §5.6 that *ga* marks human common nouns that are lexically referential, while *no* marks human common nouns that are non-lexically referential. Thus, *kwo ga* and *kwo no* are not considered as instances of an overlap, where the same noun can take either genitive, but as two different lexemes.

5.7.2 *Wakugwo*

In noun-modifying constructions, *wakugwo* ‘young man’ is attested once with *ga* and is not found with *no*. In subject marking, it is marked once by *no* (41) and 4 times by *ga* (MYS.3.307a/b; 3.435; 14.3459) (42). From the available examples, it is difficult to speculate the exact difference between *wakugwo no* and *wakugwo ga* that determines the choice of genitives. As *wakugwo* is almost always marked by *ga* in both functions, the single instance of *wakugwo no* could be noise.

(41)

unebwiyama *kotati* *usu-kyedo*

Unebi.mountain tree.standing thin-ACOP.CSS

tanomi *mo* *kyetu* *no* ***wakugwo*** ***no***

rely.on ETOP Ketsu COP.ADN youth GEN

komora-s-eri-kye-mu

be.secluded-RESP-STV-SPST-CJR.CONCL

'On Mt. Unebi, although the trees are thin, can one rely one that? The young man Ketsu seemed to have hidden there.' (NSK.105)

(42)

ine *tukeba* *kakaru* *a* *ga*

rice pound.PRV become.chapped.ADN I GEN

te *wo* *koyopi* *mo* *ka*

hand ACC tonight ETOP FOC

tono *no* ***wakugwo*** ***ga***

noble COP.ADN youth GEN

torite *nageka-mu*

take.GER sigh-CJR.CONCL

'I wonder if tonight I will lament as the young nobleman takes my chapped hands, worn from pounding rice.' (MYS.14.3459; EOJ)

5.7.3 *Wotomye*

In noun-modifying constructions, *wotomye* 'young woman' is always marked by *no*, never *ga* (except from one instance in a variant poem, which I regard as noise). In subject marking, it is found with *ga* once (43). It is attested in MYS.16.3791, which, as I mentioned in

§5.6.1, is a poem that contains various idiosyncrasies with respect to syntax and so on. In particular, we find *no*-only nouns such as -*wotokwo* 'man' and -*womina* 'woman' being marked by *ga*. Therefore, I interpret *wotomye ga* here as another instance of syntactic peculiarity found in this poem.

(43)

makari	na	tati	to			
leave.INF	PHB	stand.INF	COMP			
sapuru	***wotomye***	***ga***	pono*kikite*			
Sapuru	young.woman	GEN	faint.hear.GER			
ware *ni*	okose-si		mipanada	no		
I DAT	hand.over-SPST.ADN		blue	COP.ADN		
kinu	no	obi	*wo*	pikiobi	nasu	
silk	COP.ADN	belt	ACC	short.sash	COP-SEM	
karaobi	*ni*	tora-*se*				
Korean.belt	COP.INF	take-CSV.INF				

'Faintly hearing her say, "Do not leave!", the Sapuru girl made me wear a blue silk belt she sent me, in the style of a Korean belt that resembles a pulling belt.' (MYS.16.3791)

5.7.4 *Akagwoma*

In noun-modifying constructions, *akagwoma* 'red colt' is attested with *ga* once, never *no*. In subject marking, it is attested with each genitive once. In §4.3 and §5.4, I argued that it is *no*, rather than *ga*, that marks non-human animates. As *akagwoma ga* is attested in EOJ in both functions, I regard its distribution with *ga* in subject marking to also be influenced by dialectal variation.

(44)

akagwoma ***ga*** *kadwode* *wo* *situtu*

red.colt GEN leaving.house ACC do.CTT

ide-kate-ni *se-si*

go.out-be.able.to.do-NEG.INF do-SPST.ADN

wo mi-*tate-si* *ipye*

ACC see-stand-SPST.ADN house

no kwo-*ra* *pa* *mo*

GEN beloved-SFX TOP ETOP

'Oh, my beloved from home, who saw me off as I reluctantly departed, riding my red colt.' (MYS.14.3534; EOJ)

(45)

akagwoma ***no*** *i-yuki-pabakaru*

red.colt GEN PFX-go-be.hampered.ADN

ma-kuzu-para *nani* *no* *tutekoto*

PFX-kudzu-plain why COP.ADN conveyed.words

tadani *si* *ye-kye-mu*

simply RES good-ACOP-CJR.ADN

'As the red colt plods over the plain overgrown with kudzu vines, why send me messages? It is simply better to act.' (NSK.128)

5.7.5 *Pi*

In noun-modifying constructions, *pi* 'sun; daytime' is only found with *no*, never *ga*. In subject marking, it is attested twice with *ga* and 6 times with *no* (MYS.2.207a/b; 4.485;

17.3895; 18.4122; 4.570). As the *ga*-marked examples are attested in the *Kojiki kayō* and in EOJ, I regard the use of *ga* with *pi* to be influenced by dialectal and age variation of the texts (46)—(47).

(46)

awoyama	*ni*	***pi***	***ga***	*kakuraba*
green.mountain	DAT	sun	GEN	be.hidden.CND
nubatama	*no*	*ywo*	*pa*	*ide-na-mu*
MK	COP.ADN	night	TOP	come.out-PERF-CJR.CONCL

'If the sun is hidden behind the green mountains, night shall come.' (KK.3)

(47)

kanatwo-da	*wo*	*aragaki-ma*	*yu*	*mi*
metal.door-field	ACC	rough.fence-interval	ABL	see.INF

pi	***ga***	*tworeba*	*ame*	*wo*		
sun	GEN	shine.PRV	rain	ACC		
matwo		*nosu*	*kimi*	*wo*	*to*	*matwo*	*mo*
wait.ADN		COP-SEM	lord	ACC	COMP	wait.ADN	ETOP

'While looking at the field in front of the metal door through the spaces in the rough fence, I am waiting for my lord, like waiting for the rain when the sun is shining.' (MYS.14.3561;EOJ)

5.7.6 *Tosi*

In noun-modifying constructions, *tosi* 'year' is only found with *no*, never *ga*. In subject marking, it is attested once with *ga* and 3 times with *no* (MYS.1.34; 15.3719; 19.4189). As the

single attestation of *tosi ga* is found in the *Kojiki kayō*, I regard its distribution with *ga* to be possibly influenced by the age of the text.

(48)

tosi	***ga***	*ki-pureba*			
year	GEN	come-elapse.PRV			
aratama		*no*	*tukwi*	*pa*	*ki-pe-yuku*
MK		COP.ADN	month	TOP	come-elapse-go.CONCL

'As years go by, months also pass.' (KK.28)

5.7.7 *Papa*

In both adnominalization and genitive subject marking, *papa* 'my mother' is a word that is usually only found with *ga*. The single instance of *papa no* in subject marking is attested in MYS.20.4356, a *sakimori uta*. The editors of NKBZ commented that it might be because the author wanted to avoid using *ga* twice in a row (i.e., *wa ga papa ga*). As I have shown in §4.4.1 and §5.5.1, in EOJ, we find instances of *no*-only nouns being marked instead by *ga*, rather than the opposite, therefore it is odd to find *no* marking a *ga*-only noun here.

(49)

wa	*ga*	***papa***	***no***		
I	GEN	mother	GEN		
swode	*moti-nadete*		*wa*	*ga*	*karani*
sleeve	hold-caress.GER		I	GEN	CONJ
naki-si		*kokoro*	*wo*		
cry-SPST.ADN		heart	ACC		
wasura-ye-nu			*kamo*		

forget-PASS-NEG.ADN EMPH

'I can never forget my mother's feelings when she wept because of me, while holding her sleeve and caressing me!' (MYS.20.4356; EOJ)

5.7.8 *Kimi*

In both adnominalization and subject marking, *kimi* is marked by both genitives. In §4.7.1, I proposed that the choice between *no* and *ga* is based on different uses of *kimi*: *no* attaches to *kimi* when it means 'lord; chieftain; sovereign', while *ga* attaches to *kimi* used as a term of address, meaning 'you (my lord), respectful'. In subject marking, we find 23 instances of *kimi ga* and only one instance of *kimi no*. In all instances of *kimi ga*, it is appropriate to interpret *kimi* as a term of address. The single attestation of *kimi no* is found in a lament mourning over Ōtomo Tabito's death written by one of his servants (50). Given the context of this example, *kimi* may be interpreted as being used like *opokimi*, meaning 'the lord'. However, it is also not impossible to interpret it as a term of address, unlike, for example, (51) in noun-modifying constructions, where it is clear that *kimi* could only mean 'the sovereign' and not 'you'. Moreover, in MYS.3.459 (52), which is a poem included in the same sequence of poems mourning Tabito's death written by another servant, we find *kimi ga* used in a very similar context as *kimi no* found in (50). Based on the investigation above, I do not regard this single example of *kimi no* as sufficient evidence to argue that in subject marking, the distribution of *ga* vs. *no* with *kimi* is also based on different uses of *kimi*.

(50)

pasikiyasi	saka*ye-si*	**kimi**	***no***
MK	prosper-SPST.ADN	lord	GEN
*i*masi-*seba*	kinopu	*mo*	kyepu *mo*

exist-SPST.CND yesterday ETOP today ETOP

wa *wo* myesa-*masi* *wo*

I ACC rule-SUBJ.ADN CONJ

'If the lord/you, my lord, who prospered, is still here, he/you could have summoned me any day (lit. yesterday and today).' (MYS.3.454)

(51)

ame no sita no pito

heaven GEN below GEN people

tare so **kimi** ***no*** yatukwo

who FOC lord GEN servant

ni ara-zu *ara-mu*

COP.INF exist-NEG.CONCL exist-CJR.ADN

'There shall be no one who is not subject to the sovereign.' (SM.28)

(52)

mi*redo* aka-zu *i*masi-*si* **kimi** ***ga***

see.CSS fed.up-NEG.INF exist-SPST.ADN lord GEN

momitiba *no* uturi-*i*-yukeba

coloured.leaf COP.INF change-PFX-go.PRV

kanasi-ku *mo* aru *ka*

pitiful-ACOP.INF ETOP exist.ADN FOC

'As you, my lord, whom I never grew tired of seeing, changed and went away like leaves changing colour in autumn, is it not very pitiful?' (MYS.3.459)

5.7.9 Conclusions and hypotheses

Excluding instances of *kwo ga* and *kwo no*, which I do not consider as examples where *no* and *ga* mark the same subject noun, the proportion of subject nouns that could take either genitive merely occupies 5% (57/1056) of all examples of genitive-marked subject nouns. Such a small overlap reinforces my argument in §5.1 that in subject marking, it is clearly the subject noun, rather than the predicate, that governs the distribution of *no* and *ga*. I propose that the marking of *pi* 'sun; daytime', *tosi* 'year' and *akagwoma* 'red colt' with *ga* is possibly influenced by the factors of dialectal and age variation of the texts. As for the singular attestations of *wakugwo no* 'youth', *wotomye ga* 'young woman', *papa no* 'mother' and *kimi no* 'you, my lord; lord', I consider them as noise, where in some cases, their use may be conditioned by individual speaker variation.

5.8 Honorification/socio-linguistic differentiation

In §4.9, I proposed that in noun-modifying constructions, *no* marks lexically exalted entities. However, as this factor accounts for merely 10% of all nominals marked by *no* in noun-modifying constructions, it can only be considered as a minor factor, despite what has been argued in some past studies. Based on Table 5.28, I propose that in subject marking as well, lexical honorification conditions the choice of *no* in subject marking. The exceptions are: *sumye-ra ga* 'emperor, imperial highness' (1 attestation); *daipopusi-tati ga* 'great priest' (1 attestation), which is also found with *ga* in adnominalization; and *nori no tukasa-domo ga* 'Bureau of Ceremonial' (1 attestation).

Table 5-28 Distribution of no *marking 'exalted entities, artefacts and notions' in genitive subject marking*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
(NP *no*) *mikoto*	Highness, Honorable (in names, titles or appelations)	32

opokimi	great lord	24
sumyegamwi-tati	ancestral deities; regional deities	9
kamwi	god	6
opomitakara	citizens	6
opomiyapito	palace person	5
sumyegamwi	regional deities ancestral deities	5
mikamwi	god	3
opomapyetukimi	Great Minister	3
pinomikwo	[address form for the emperor]	3
yamabikwo	mountain god	3
kamuoya	ancestral god	2
kamwi-tati	gods	2
sidaizinzenzi	Great Minister and Meditation Monk	2
sumyekamwi	imperial ancestral deity; (regional) deity	2
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	2
yamatumi	mountain god, mountain spirit	2
ototanabata	the young Weaver	2
amepito	heavenly person	1
baramon	Brahman	1
kamunabwi	Kamunabi	1
mapyetukimi-tati	Great Ministers	1
miyapito	palace retainer	1
mikwo	imperial scion	1
opogamwi-tati	great gods	1
opokamwi	great god	1
zenzi	prist	1
opomononusi	Opomononusi (god name)	1
sukunamikamwi	Sukunamikami (god name)	1
sukunapikwona	Sukunahikona (god name)	1
	Total	**125**

In my discussion of Yanagida (2018)'s hypothesis on genitive subject marking (§2.6), I provided examples, which are repeated below, to demonstrate that her hypothesis is inadequate in explaining cases where *no* and *ga* mark nouns that have the same features with respect to the active marking hierarchy. For example, in (53), *no* and *ga* both mark personal names that have the same degree of control over the same activity. Based on the findings of this study, I propose that *opomononusi* is marked by *no* as it is the name of a god.

(53)

a. *susukori* ***ga*** *kami-si* *mi-ki*
Susukori **GEN** brew-SPST.ADN RESP-alcohol
ni *ware* *wepi-ni-kyeri*
DAT we drunk-PERF-MPST
'We got drunk from the honourable alcohol that Susukori brewed.' (KK.49)

b. *opomononusi* ***no*** *kami-si* *mi-ki*
Opomononusi **GEN** brew-SPST.ADN RESP-alcohol
iku-pisa *iku-pisa*
how.many-long how.many-long
'O, the honourable alcohol that Opomononusi brewed! How eternal! How everlasting!' (NSK.15)

On the other hand, as with noun-modifying constructions, lexical honorification accounts for only a small portion of *no*-marked subject nouns—these nouns represent around 17% of all subject nouns marked by *no*. The single example of *sumye-ra ga* demonstrates that, in subject marking as well, the suffix *-ra* forces the choice of *ga*, even when the noun is exalted. The fact that lexically exalted entities take *no* may be related to the observation that *no* typically marks inanimate nouns. One feature of honorification in Japanese is that revered entities are often depicted as lacking agency (e.g., through passivization). Thus, the use of *no* in marking revered entities may serve to defocus the agent, creating a social or psychological distance between the speaker and the referent.

5.9 Suffix *-ra*

This section focuses on the distribution of *ga* marking subject nouns that are followed by the suffix *-ra* and compares the data with noun-modifying constructions. As with adnominalization, in subject marking, nouns followed by the suffix *-ra* obligatorily take *ga*.

Table 5-29 Distribution of ga *with* N-ra *in genitive subject marking*

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
wotomye-ra	young woman	8
kwo-ra	my beloved	5
amawotomye-ra	diver girl	1
arawo-ra	rough man	1
imitama tukuri-ra	people who make the pure sacred jewel	1
masupito-ra	citizen	1
naramaro-ra	Naramaro	1
omi-ra	palace servant	1
patakwo-ra	[unknown; person working in the field?]	1
sore-ra	they	1
sumye-ra	emperor, imperial highness	1
	Total	**22**

A comparison of the table above with Table 4.23 in §4.8, which shows the distribution of *ga* marking N-*ra ga* in noun-modifying constructions, shows that over half of the nouns in Table 5.29 are the same as the nouns in Table 4.23. As with noun-modifying constructions, *-ra* only attaches to subject nouns that have a human referent. It is clear that in subject marking too, *-ra* is a 'knock-out' factor for the choice of *ga*, as nouns involving *-wotomye* 'young woman' and *-pito* 'people; person' always take *no* when they are not followed by *-ra*. *Kwo-ra ga* is never attested with the meaning 'child(ren)'. When the *kwo* meaning 'child(ren)' is followed by a pluralizing marker, *-domo* is used instead, and *kwo-domo*, which is attested once in subject marking, is found with *no*. This reinforces my argument in §5.7.1 that the *kwo* in *kwo ga vs. kwo no* represents two different lexical items.

Like with noun-modifying constructions, the suffix *-ra* attached to subject nouns functions to mark plurality (54) or functions as a diminutive marker (55).

(54)

ami	*no*	ura	no	**amawotomye-ra**		***ga***	
Ami	GEN	inlet	GEN	diver.girl-PLU		GEN	
yaku		sipo	*no*	omopi		*so*	yakuru
roast.ADN		salt	COP.INF	yearning		FOC	be.roasted.ADN
wa	ga	sitagokoro					
I	GEN	deep.heart					

'Like the salt diver girls at the Ami inlet burn, the innermost of my heart is burning with yearning!' (MYS.1.5)

(55)

unipara	*wo*	*topo-ku*		*watarite*
sea.plain	ACC	distant-ACOP.INF		go.across.GER
tosi	*pu*		*tomo*	
year	elapse.CONCL		CONJ	
kwo-*ra*	***ga***	*musub-yeru*		
beloved-DIM	GEN	tie-STAT.ADN		
pimo	*toku*	*na*	*yume*	
cord	untie.ADN	PHB	never	

'Even if years pass after you venture afar across the sea plain, do not untie the cords that your beloved has tied!' (MYS.20.4334)

As with noun-modifying constructions, the data in subject marking shows that regardless of function, N-*ra* is lexically specified to take *ga*, rather than *no*. Furthermore, it is also the case with subject marking that all examples of the diminutive N-*ra* and the pluralizing N-*ra* have specific/referential readings. This may suggest that *-ra* imposes (morphological) specificity/ referentiality on the nouns it attaches to. This could explain why it necessitates the use of *ga*, which is the genitive used with lexically referential human nouns.

5.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I established that it is the properties of subject nouns, not the properties of predicates, that govern the distribution of *no* and *ga* in subject marking. Overall, an overwhelming majority of the distribution of *no* and *ga* in subject marking is complementary and is governed by a productive lexical-based system. With pronominal subject nouns, only *ga* is used to mark personal pronouns, and apart from the single instance of *sore-ra*, there is no other demonstratives being used as a subject. For non-pronominal subject nouns, the predominant factor governing the distribution of *no* and *ga* is the animacy status ([±animate] and [±human]) of the subject noun. The use of *ga* is severely restricted; it is specialized for marking human nouns, whereas *no* marks non-human nouns. The fact that most attestations of *ga*-marked subject nouns are subjects of transitive verbs can be thought of as an epiphenomenon of the fact that *ga* marks human subject nouns, which are more likely to occur as subjects of transitive verbs. The other factors include lexical referentiality and lexical honorification. Lexical referentiality governs the choice of *no vs. ga* marking human common nouns, where *no* is used with humans that are non-lexically referential while *ga* is used with humans that are lexically referential. Lexical honorification governs the choice of *no vs. ga* in marking lexically exalted nouns, which are always marked by *no*, even when they are lexically

referential human nouns. Finally, another lexical-based parameter is the suffixation of *-ra*, which forces the choice of *ga* in all environments.

On the other hand, there is a small group of nouns whose distribution with *no/ga* may be accounted for by factors that fall outside of the above lexical-based system. These mainly include non-human nouns marked by *ga* and nouns that appear with both genitives. Age and dialectal variation of the texts may influence the use of *ga*. Firstly, the proportion of *ga* in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō* among all texts is significantly greater than that of *no* in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō* among all texts. Secondly, most non-human nouns marked by *ga* are found in these texts, some of which are nouns that are also marked by *no* (e.g., *pi* 'sun', *tosi* 'year(s); time'). Beyond age and variation of the texts, certain plants (e.g., *nanoriso* 'gulfweed') appear to be conventionally specified to take *ga*.

By combining my investigation of the distribution of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions and subject marking, it becomes clear that, unlike what scholars such as Yanagida (2018) has proposed, when used as subject markers, the factors governing *no*/*ga* do *not* override the factors that govern their distribution as adnominal markers; rather, they are governed by the same system. The distribution of *no/ga* in both functions can be illustrated in Figure 5 in the next page.

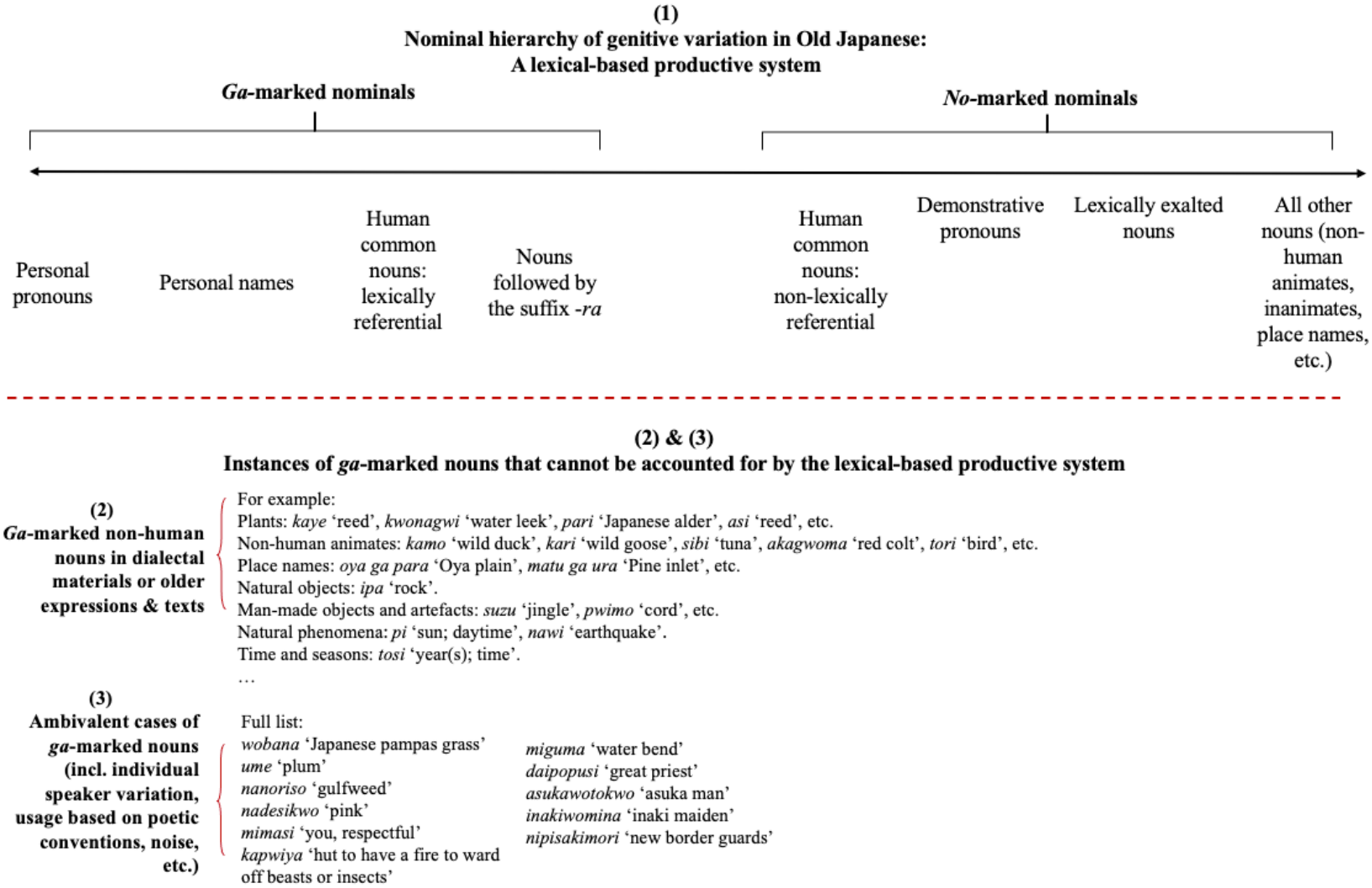


Figure 5-1 Distribution of no *and* ga *in adnominalization and subject marking*

The distribution of *no/ga* is not a matter of free variation. Rather, a lexical-based productive core governs the types of nominals they mark, with the use of *ga* being far more specialized than that of *no*. (1) in Figure 5 illustrates a nominal hierarchy representing the lexical-based productive system governing genitive variation in OJ. The primary parameters within this system are animacy/humanness and lexical referentiality, followed by lexical honorification and the suffixation of *-ra*. In this nominal hierarchy, *ga*-marked nominals are positioned toward the left and include personal pronouns, personal names, and human common nouns that are lexically referential. Furthermore, *-ra*, a pluralizing/diminutive suffix that attaches exclusively to nominals with a human referent, necessitates the use of *ga*, even in cases where the nominal would otherwise be marked by *no* (e.g., non-lexically referential human common nouns, demonstrative pronouns, and lexically exalted nouns). On the other hand, *no*-marked nominals are positioned toward the right and include human common nouns that are non-lexically referential, demonstrative pronouns, lexically exalted nouns, and all other nouns (non-human animates, inanimates, place names, etc.). [96]

While the productive system may account for the vast majority of nominals marked by *no*/*ga*, there is a small group of nouns whose distribution with *ga* falls outside of it, as shown in (2) and (3) in Figure 5. (2) shows examples of *ga*-marked non-human nouns, whose distribution with *ga* may be influenced by dialectal and age variation of the texts or the age of the expression. (3) is a full list of nouns whose use with *ga* is ambivalent based on the available material but may be attributed to individual speaker variation, poetic conventions, or noise. Nouns included in (2) and (3) are mostly found with both genitives. They are not as

[96] The lexical referentiality of human common nouns also accounts for *kwo no* 'child' *vs. kwo ga* 'my beloved', where the *no*-marked *kwo* 'child' is non-lexically referential, while the *ga*-marked *kwo* 'my beloved' is lexically referential. Lexical honorification also accounts for *kimi no* 'great lord' *vs. kimi ga* 'you (my lord), respectful', where the *kimi* meaning 'great lord' is marked by *no* as it is lexically exalted.

synchronically relevant as (1), but nonetheless provide important diachronic insights (§7). The nominal hierarchy of genitive variation in OJ accounts for all cases of *ga* apart from the instances belonging to (2) and (3) and for all cases of *no* apart from instances that I consider as noise, which are *papa no* 'mother', *kwo no* 'my beloved', *pasiduma no* 'my dear wife', *wakugwo no* 'youth', and *kimi no* 'you, my lord'.

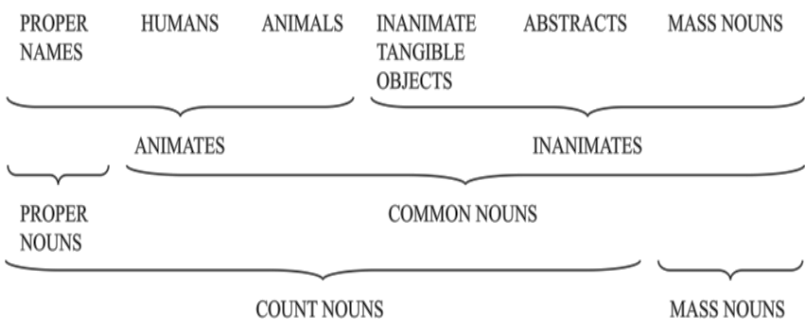
In §3, I discussed various proposals concerning the so-called "nominal hierarchies" and "individuation hierarchies". I explained that these hierarchies would not be used as factors in the empirical part of this study. However, they will be revisited to assess how the OJ data fits within the broader context of cross-linguistic investigations on nominal subcategorization. In (56), I repeat the hierarchies mentioned in §3.

(56)

a. *Silverstein (1976)'s hierarchy of features and ergativity*
1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > proper name > human >animate > inanimate

b. *Allan (1987)'s personal hierarchy*
1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person human > higher animals > other organisms > inorganic matter > abstract nouns

c. *Sasse (1993)'s individuation hierarchy*



d. *Timberlake (1977)'s individuation hierarchy*

individuated		**non-individuated**
proper		common
human	animate	inanimate
concrete		abstract
singular		plural
definite		indefinite

e. *Nomura (1993b)'s individuation hierarchy*
personal pronouns > proper nouns > common nouns > abstract nouns

Comparing these hierarchies with the "nominal hierarchy of genitive variation in Old Japanese" presented in (1) in Figure 5, we may note the following similarities and key differences. The distribution of *no* and *ga* marking pronouns or nouns largely aligns with the various hierarchies mentioned earlier. Generally, *ga* marks nominals located toward the left of these hierarchies, while *no* marks those positioned more toward the right. Also, similar to the hierarchies, which reference multiple parameters, the distribution of *no* and *ga* in OJ is also governed by a multitude of factors. However, there are two key differences between the OJ data and these hierarchies. First, the hierarchies place proper nouns on the left, but in OJ, while personal names are exclusively marked by *ga*, place names are predominantly marked by *no*. Second, the hierarchies treat human nouns as a single category. In contrast, OJ shows a split: human common nouns that are lexically referential are marked by *ga*, whereas non-lexically referential human common nouns are marked by *no*. Third, lexically exalted nouns, which is a category not seen in previous nominal hierarchies, necessitate the use of *no*. Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that there is no single nominal hierarchy that languages must conform to. The

usefulness of modeling such nominal subcategorization lies in its function as an explanatory tool or generalization, which can be adapted to account for language-specific phenomenon.

6. SYNTACTIC CRITERIA

In §4 and §5, I have shown that in cases when *no* and *ga* mark a noun/pronoun, their distribution is largely determined by (lexical) properties of the noun/pronoun they mark. In this section, I examine examples where *no* and *ga* are used to mark a clause. I aim to show that in these cases, the distribution of *no* and *ga* are purely determined by syntactic criteria. I address the following research questions:

- What are the syntactic criteria that determine the choice of *no vs. ga*?
- Should we consider the complementizing uses of *ga* as one of the functions of the genitive, or is it valid to recognize the complementizing *ga* as a distinct item from the genitive *ga*?

6.1 Marking of subject clauses

Subject clauses with a predicate in the adnominal form are marked by *ga* while subject clauses with a predicate in the nominal form are marked by *no*.

There are 13 attestations where *ga* is used to mark an adnominal clause that can be considered a subject clause. Adnominal subject clauses marked by *ga* have, as predicates, either adjectives in the exclamatory -*sa* form (1)—(2) or *gotoku* 'like' (3)—(4).[97] All examples of adnominal clauses that are subjects of ADJ-*sa* are always marked by *ga* and are never unmarked.[98] However, adnominal clauses that are subjects of *gotoku* may or may not be

[97] When the genitive-marked subject of ADJ-*sa* or *gotoku* is a noun, the choice of *no vs. ga* is determined by the parameters discussed in §5.

[98] The OJ predicative, exclamatory -*sa* came to function as a nominalizer in later stages of the language.

marked by *ga*, for example, in (4), the clause attaching to the first *gotoku* is marked by *ga* whereas the clause attaching to the second *gotoku* is not.

(1)

kogu	*punapito*	*wo*	**mi*ru***	***ga***
row.ADN	boatsman	ACC	see.ADN	GEN
tomosi-sa				
enviable-ACOP.EXCL				

'How enviable it is to see the boatsman who are rowing!'(MYS.15.3658)

(2)

apu	*be-ki*	*yosi*	*no*
meet.CONCL	NEC-ACOP.ADN	means	GEN
na-ki		***ga***	*sabusi-sa*
not.exist-ACOP.ADN		GEN	lonely-ACOP.EXCL

'How lonely it is that there are no ways to meet her!' (MYS.15.3734)

(3)

*midori*kwo	*no*	*ti*	***kopu***	***ga***
infant	GEN	breast	beg.ADN	GEN
goto-ku	*amatumidu*		*apugite*	
like-ACOP.INF	rain		revere.GER	
zo *matu*				
FOC wait.ADN				

'Like a baby begging for a breast, I look up and wait for the rain.' (MYS.18.4122)

(4)

puku	kaze	*no*	**mi-*ye-nu***	***ga***
blow.ADN	wind	GEN	see-PASS.NEG.ADN	GEN
goto-ku				
like-ACOP.INF				
yuku	midu	*no*	*tomara-nu*	*goto-ku*
go.ADN	water	GEN	cease-NEG.ADN	like-ACOP.INF

'Like the blowing wind that cannot be seen, like flowing water does not cease…' (MYS.19.4160)

There are 8 attestations where *no* is used to mark a nominal clause that can be considered a subject clause (5)—(6). In 5 out of 8 examples, the nominal clause is the subject of the adjective *posi-* 'desirable'. Additionally, as shown in (7), nominal subject clauses can also be unmarked.

(5)

mi-maku		***no***	*posi-ki*	
see-CJR.NMNL		GEN	desirable-ACOP.ADN	
kimi	*ni*	*mo*	*aru*	*kamo*
lord	COP.INF	TOP	exist.ADN	EMPH

'It is indeed my lord, whom I want to see!' (MYS.20.4449)

(6)

ita-kyeku	***no***	pinikyeni	*maseba*
painful-ACOP.NMNL	GEN	day.after.day	excel.PRV

'as my pain grows day by day…' (MYS.17.3969)

(7)

kake-maku	posi-*ki*	imo	ga	na
call-CJR.NMNL	desirable-ACOP.ADN	beloved	GEN	name

'the name of my beloved one, whom I wish to call' (MYS.3.285b)

6.2 Linking a clause to a head noun

When a genitive is used to link a clause to a noun, clauses with a predicate in the adnominal form are marked by *ga* while clauses with a predicate in the nominal form are marked by *no*.

Like NJ, in OJ relative clause constructions, the adnominal clause directly modifies the head noun without a particle in between the clause and the head noun. However, in OJ, we also find a small set of examples where *ga/no* is intercalated in the position between the modifying clause and the head noun, functioning as a complementizer. In these cases, the head nouns are mostly the so-called 'formal nouns' (*keisiki meisi*), which are (semi-)grammaticalized items that presumably have nominal origins (§2.7).[99] In this context, the use of *ga* (15 instances) is significantly more frequent than *no* (3 instances). Formal nouns following *ga*-marked adnominal clauses express reason (*yuwe* (*ni*) 'because', *tame/ta* (*ni*) 'sake', *kara* (*ni*) 'because'), logic (*pe* (*ni*) 'in addition to'), and manner (*goto* 'like') (8)—(10).

[99]Adnominal clauses can also directly modify a formal noun, without being linked by *no* or *ga*. Several studies made proposals as to why, in OJ, in some cases, *no/ga* are permitted in between a modifying clause and a noun. Wrona (2010) proposed that a genitive particle is inserted in some formal noun constructions as a result of some speakers' analyses of the prenominal clause (§2.7). Frellesvig and Whitman (2011) proposed that a complementizer-like element is only permitted in RC constructions where the prenominal clause does not contain a trace of the head. As this study focuses on the choice between *no* and *ga*, the investigation of *no vs. Ø* and *ga vs. Ø* is outside the scope.

(8)

wagimokwo *ni* ***mise-mu*** ***ga***

my.beloved DAT show-CJR.ADN GEN

tame ***ni***

sake COP.INF

'In order to show (the autumn leaves) to my beloved…' (MYS.19.4222)

(9)

yomo no kuni *wo* yasukuni *to*

four.direction COP.ADN land ACC peaceful.land COP.INF

tapirakye-ku **sirosi-myesu** ***ga***

peaceful-ACOP.INF rule-RESP.ADN GEN

yuwe **ni**

because COP.INF

'Because he peacefully rules the four directions of the land as a peaceful land…' (EN.1)

(10)

pimo *toki-sakete* ***nuru*** ***ga*** ***pe*** ***ni***

cord untie-take.off.GER sleep.ADN GEN top COP.INF

ado *sero* *to* *kamo*

how do.ADN COMP Q

'In addition to untying her cord and sleep with her, what can I do?'(MYS.14.3465; EOJ)

Below I present all three examples of *no* linking an adnominal clause to a noun based on ONCOJ. (11) and (12) involve the conjectural as an auxiliary of the modifying clause and *kokoro* 'heart; will' as the head noun. However, for MYS.2.515 (12), instead of the reading

kakaramu no kokoro siriseba in ONCOJ, both SNKBT and NKBZ have the reading *kakaramu to kanete siriseba* in the same position (13).[100](14) is attested in a variant poem in EOJ, MYS.14.3482b, and in the main poem, MYS.14.3482a, we find a different line in the same position. Based on the scarcity of examples involving *no*, I consider them as noise.

(11)

taye-*mu*	***no***	**kokoro**
cease-CJR.ADN	GEN	will

'The intention to end it' (MYS.12.3071)

(12)

kakara-mu		***no***	**kokoro**	siri-*seba*
be.this.way-CJR.ADN		GEN	heart	know-SPST.PRV
opomipune	pate-*si*		*tomari*	*ni*
HON.boat	anchor-SPST.ADN		stopping.place	DAT
sime	yupa-*masi*	*wo*		
sign	bind-SJV.ADN	CONN		

'If I had known their intention would be like this, I would have tied a sign at the dock where that honourable boat anchored (to ward off evil spirits)!' (MYS.2.151)

[100] The manuscript gloss of this poem is confusing. Based on the *Man'yōshū manuscript data base* (https://manyou.gr.jp/SMAN_1/pass/all_1_2.html [accessed 29/05/2024]), in the manuscripts, the first five syllables are all encoded as 如是有乃. They are all glossed as *kakaramu to*, where the phonogram 乃 /no/ is glossed as /to/. This is strange as 乃 does not have such a reading. Then, the next seven syllables are encoded either as 懐知勢婆 or 豫知勢婆, which are glossed either as *omopi siriseba* or *kanete siriseba*. Based on the *man'yōgana*, editors of critical edition surmised that the first 5/7 syllables can also be read as *kakaramu no kokoro siriseba* or *kakaramu no omopi siriseba*. As for the reason why 乃 is glossed as /to/, the editors speculated that the scribes simply glossed the poem based on MYS.17.3959, which has *kakaramu to kanete siraseba* as the first 5/7 syllables.

(13)

kakara-mu		*to*	kanete	siri-*seba*
be.this.way-CJR.ADN		COMP	in.advance	know-SPST.PRV
opomipune	pate-*si*		*tomari*	*ni*
HON.boat	anchor-SPST.ADN		stopping.place	DAT
sime	yupa-*masi*	*wo*		
sign	bind-SJV.ADN	CONN		

'If I had known it would be like this in advance, I would have tied a sign at the dock where that honourable boat anchored (to ward off evil spirits)!' (MYS.2.151)

(14)

karakoromo	*suswo*	*no*	*uti-kapi*		
Korean.garment	hem	COP.INF	PFX-overlap.INF		
apa-napyeba	***ne-napye***[101]		***no***	***kara***	***ni***
meet-NEG.PRV	sleep-NEG.ADN		GEN	because	COP.INF
kotota-kari-tu			*mo*		
rumours.are.vexing-ACOP-PERF.CONCL			ETOP		

'Like the hems of a Korean garment that cross over, because we do not sleep together as we do not meet, the rumours have been vexing!' (MYS.14.3482b; EOJ)

On the other hand, as with the distribution of genitives in marking subject clauses, only *no* is used to link clauses with a predicate in the nominal form to a noun. There are only two examples in the entire corpus, both from the same poem.

[101] *-(a)nap-* is an EOJ negative auxiliary that is not found in cOJ.

(15)

tat-e*raku* ***no*** *taduki*

stand-STAT.NMNL GEN means

mo sira-zu

ETOP know-NEG.INF

'Not knowing how to stand up' (MYS.13.3272)

(16)

wor-a*ku* ***no*** *okuka* *mo* sira-zu

sit.NMNL GEN future ETOP know-NEG.INF

'Not knowing where to sit down' (MYS.13.3272)

6.3 Linking an internally headed relative clause to a noun

Only *ga*, never *no*, is found to link an internally headed (or circum-nominal) relative clause (IHRC) to a noun. IHRCs are constructions where the noun head of the relative clause occurs *inside*, rather than *after* the modifying clause. For example, in (17), *siranami* 'white waves' would be interpreted as a head noun modified by *yapyeworu* 'roll in many layers', and in (18), *takubusuma* 'bark-fabric bedding' would be interpreted as a head noun modified by *sayagu* 'rustle'. The use of *ga* in this context is very scarce, as we only find five examples in total, where three of them are attested in the same poem (KK.5). Unlike (17)—(19), where the modifying clauses are verbs, in (20) and (21), the modifying clauses are adjectives followed by the suffix *-ya*, which, according to JDB and *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, can be interpreted as some sort of nominalizing suffix that expresses manner. Regarding the internal head nouns of the IHRCs, they may or may not be marked as subjects within the modifying clause, and in cases where they are marked, only *no* is attested—never *ga*. Additionally, we also find instances where an IHRC directly modifies a noun without the mediation of *ga* (22).

(17)

siranami	***no***	***yapye-woru***	***ga***	*upe*	*ni*
white.waves	GEN	roll.in.many.layers.ADN	GEN	top	DAT

'on top of the white waves breaking in many layers' (MYS.20.4360)

(18)

takubusuma	***sayagu***	***ga***	*sita*	*ni*
bark-fabric.bedding	rustle.ADN	GEN	below	DAT

'beneath the rustling bark-fabric bedding' (KK.5)

(19)

yuki	*mo*	pura-*nu*	*ka*		
snow	TOP	fall-NEG.ADN	Q		
ume	**no**	**pana**	**saka-nu**	***ga***	
plum	GEN	blossom	boom-NEG.ADN	GEN	
siro		*ni*	*sopete*	*dani*	mi-mu
instead.of		COP.INF	accompany.GER	at.least	see-CJR.ADN

'Is the snow not going to fall? In exchange for the plum blossoms that are not blooming, I wish to at least see the snow.' (MYS.8.1642)

(20)

musibusuma	***nikwo-ya***	***ga***	*sita*	*ni*
mushi.bedding	soft-SFX	GEN	below	DAT

'beneath the soft *mushi* bedding' (KK.5)

(21)

ayakaki	***no***	***pupa-ya***	***ga***	*sita*	*ni*
fabric.fence	GEN	fluffy-SFX	GEN	below	DAT

'underneath the fluffy fabric fence' (KK.5)

(22)

akipagwi	akikaze	*ni*	nabik-ye*ru*	
autumn.bush-clover	autumn.wind	DAT	sway-STAT.ADN	
upe	*ni*			
TOP	DAT			

'on top of the autumn bush-clover that is bent by the autumn wind'(MYS.8.1597)

6.4 Linking a headless relative clause to a noun

There are two examples where *ga* is used to link a headless relative clause (HRC) to a noun, while *no* is never attested for this usage. In an HRC, the head noun is represented *neither* inside *nor* after the adnominal clause. In both examples, the head nouns '…*kanasiki*' would modify are omitted, leaving the modifying clauses without an explicit head. The meaning of the omitted head, which is likely to be 'my beloved', can be understood from the context. [102]

(23)

sanatura	*no*	*woka*	*ni*	*apa*	*maki*
Sanatsura	GEN	hill	DAT	millet	sow.INF
kanasi-ki			***ga***	***kwoma***	*pa*
adorable-ACOP.ADN			GEN	horse	TOP

[102] These 'headless relative clauses' can also be thought of as nominalized clauses.

tagu	*tomo*	*wa*	*pa*	*swo*	*to*	*mo*	*pa-zi*
eat.CONCL	CONJ	I	TOP	shoo	COMP	ETOP	chase-NCJR

'I have sown millet at the hill in Sanatsura, and even if my adorable beloved's horse eats it, I would not shoo it away.' (MYS.14.3451;EOJ)

(24)

*sapeki*yama	*u*nopana		mot-eru		
Mt.Saeki	deutzia.crenata		hold-STAT.ADN		
kanasi-ki		***ga***	***te***	*wo*	*si*
adorable-ACOP.ADN		GEN	hand	ACC	RES
tori-teba	pana	pa	tiru	tomo	
take-PERF.CND	blossom	TOP	scatter.ADN	CONJ	

'If I have taken the hands of my adorable beloved, who had been holding deutzia crenata from Mt. Saeki, it would be fine even if the blossoms scatter.'(MYS.7.1259)

6.5 Conclusion

Based on the small (but neat) sets of examples of *no*/*ga* used to mark a clause, we may generalize that the two genitives are in complementary distribution based on the following syntactic criteria.

- *Ga* is used to mark subject clauses in the adnominal form while *no* is used to mark subject clauses in the nominal form.
- *No*, not *ga*, is used to adjoin a clause with a predicate in the nominal form to a noun.

- *Ga*, not *no*, is used to adjoin a modifying clause (clauses with a predicate in the adnominal form, IHRCs, and HRCs) to a noun.[103]

We may observe that in all contexts, it is *ga*, not *no*, that is used to mark a clause with the predicate in the adnominal form. The use of *ga* in these contexts functions like a complementizer, adjoining a clause to a noun or a predicate. In ONCOJ, some examples of *ga* used in this way are tagged as a complementizer (lemma: L090436) rather than as a genitive (lemma: L000503). The question of whether the complementizing use of *ga* should be considered a separate item or a sub-function of the genitive is a diachronic issue. Based on the data, there is little doubt that the complementizing function of *ga* stems from its grammatical use as a genitive marker, rather than the other way around. Therefore, the real question is whether, in the OJ stage of the language, the complementizer *ga* had become distinct from the genitive. Given that, in OJ, the complementizing use of *ga*, though regular, is very limited in frequency, and that in later stages of the language *ga* never fully developed into a complementizer, I treat it as one of the functions of the genitive *ga* rather than as a separate item.

[103] This is regardless of whether the internal head noun is a *ga*-marked noun or a *no*-marked noun. For example, although the internal head, *siranami* 'white wave', in (17) is a *no*-marked noun, the IHRC is still marked by *ga*.

7. FROM PRE-OLD JAPANESE TO OLD JAPANESE

In the previous chapters, I gave a synchronic analysis of the distribution of OJ *no* and *ga*. In this chapter, I discuss the synchronic data through a diachronic perspective, addressing the following research question:

- In what ways does the distribution of *no* and *ga* in OJ inform our understanding of *no* and *ga* in the pre-OJ period?

Most past studies on the distribution of OJ *no* and *ga* solely employ a synchronic approach. While a thorough, descriptive account of their synchronic distribution is essential, there are questions for which we cannot provide an adequate hypothesis through a synchronic perspective. A diachronic approach is vitally important for providing us with insights into *no* and *ga* in OJ, potentially untangling aspects of the data that synchrony cannot. On the other hand, studies that do adopt a diachronic perspective mostly focus on the development of the distribution of *no* and *ga after* OJ, often without a proper understanding of the system that governs the distribution of genitives in OJ. OJ is the oldest *attested* stage of Japanese, however it is not the starting point but one linguistic period within the development of the language. The state of the language we find in OJ is a result of the development and changes of the language in pre-OJ, that is, the period preceding OJ but following proto-Japanese. “Changes are always manifested in synchronic variation” (Andersen, 2001, p. 228); the synchronic variation of OJ *no* and *ga* reflects some sort of on-going language change, making a diachronic approach that takes into consideration the pre-OJ period indispensable.

In Figure 5 in §5.10, repeated below as Figure 7.1, I proposed that the distribution of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions and subject marking can be accounted for by a lexical-based productive system, represented as a nominal hierarchy, where the use of *ga* is restricted to marking lexically referential human nominals. However, there is a small number of cases where the distribution of *ga* cannot be accounted for by the overarching productive system. These 'odd' data are instances belonging to (2) and (3) in Figure 7.1, which are mostly cases where *ga* marks a non-human noun and where *ga* marks nouns that are also found with *no*.

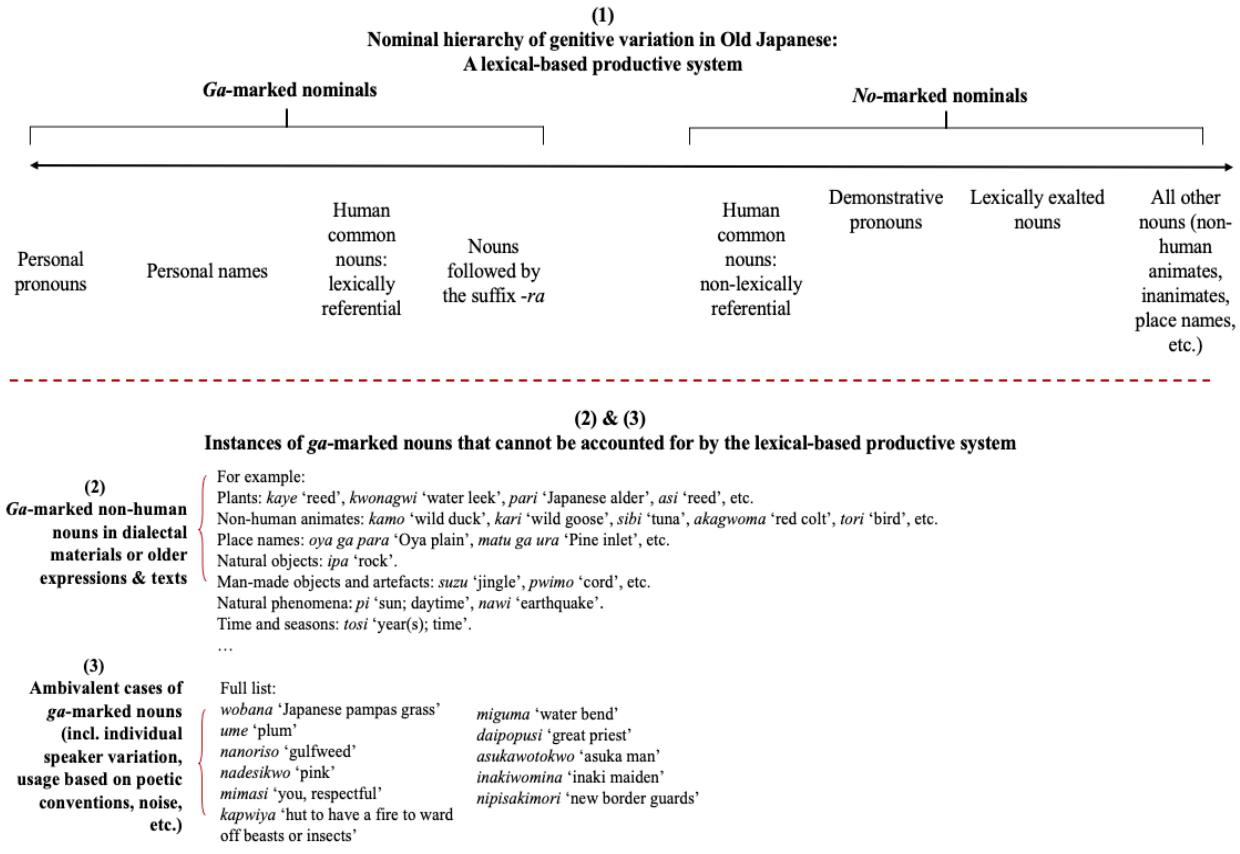


Figure 7-1 Distribution of genitive no *and* ga *in adnominalization and subject marking*

Based on the OJ data, we can make certain careful inferences about how the distribution of *no* and *ga* in OJ came to be the way it is and what it looked like in the pre-OJ period. In this

chapter, I aim to propose a diachronic scenario for the development of *no* and *ga* in pre-OJ, which may in turn explain the 'odd' instances of *ga* that fall outside of the productive system.

Aspects of the data that cannot be accounted for by the productive system include examples of non-human nouns marked by *ga* and examples of nouns that can take either *no* or *ga*. I observed that the main conditions influencing the usage of *ga* are largely shared between the two contexts mentioned above.

(1) Based on §4.3, §4.4, §5.4, and §5.5, non-human nouns marked by *ga* are mostly found in examples that are:

i. From EOJ materials;
ii. Lexicalized/fixed expressions;
iii. From texts that are considered to be older (the *Kojiki kayō* and the *Nihonshoki kayō*)

(2) Based on §4.7 and §5.7, nouns that can take either *no* or *ga* are mostly found in examples that are:

i. From EOJ materials;
ii. Lexicalized/fixed expressions;
iii. From texts that are considered to be older (the *Kojiki kayō* and the *Nihonshoki kayō*)

Here, I briefly highlight key aspects of the findings concerning (1) and (2). Refer to §4 and §5 for the statistics and examples. The *Kiki kayō*, and the EOJ poems, which are texts that only occupy a small proportion of all OJ texts, make up a considerably high proportion of all attestations of *ga* in both adnominalization and subject marking. In both functions, dialect and

age variation may account for the majority of examples where a non-human noun is marked by *ga*. In particular, in adnominalization, we find cases where *ga* marks inanimate nouns in their EOJ shapes while their cOJ shapes are only attested with *no* (e.g., EOJ *kaye ga* :: cOJ *kaya no*). In the aforementioned texts, we also find a number of non-human nouns that can take either *no* or *ga*. Furthermore, in a considerable number of cases in noun-modifying constructions, where a non-human noun is attested with both genitives, *ga* is found in lexicalized expressions while *no* is found in non-lexicalized expressions (e.g., *kari ga ne* 'wild goose' *vs. kari no kwo* 'gosling'). Regarding place name constructions involving *ga*, they are mostly expressions that can be considered as being lexicalized (constructions that, as a whole, can be taken as a single place name, e.g., *wazami ga para* 'Wazami plain'). Moreover, a notable portion of place name constructions involving *ga* are attested in EOJ and the *Kiki kayō*, particularly the non-lexicalized expressions (those that express spatial relations, e.g., *pudipara ga upe* 'on top of Fujiwara', and those that express locative relations, e.g., *simatu ga apabitama* 'abalone jewel in Shimatsu').

Solely from a synchronic perspective, it is difficult to draw further insights beyond the observations made above. Through a diachronic perspective, however, we may be able to provide hypotheses as to why we find 'odd' uses of *ga* under these conditions. I propose that most uses of *ga* in the contexts of overlap can be considered as relics from the past. Accordingly, we may infer that in pre-OJ, the use of *ga* was more frequent and less restricted than in OJ (i.e., used more frequently in contexts that are infrequently attested in OJ). It is self-explanatory that the use of *ga* attested in lexicalized/fixed expressed and in older texts is likely to represent how *ga* could be used in earlier stages of the language. The EOJ materials may also reflect earlier uses of *ga*. The eastern regions are, in socio-spatial terms, at the peripheral area of the centre of linguistic innovation (Nara and the area around it). Utilizing the classic 'wave model' of linguistic diffusion, a language change originates from a focal site and diffuses outwards. The

focal site represents the latest stage of a change, the peripheral area represents earlier stages of that change. Thus, we may hypothesize that the less restricted use of *ga* in the eastern regions reflects an earlier stage of the genitive variation where *ga* was more widely used than what we find in the cOJ texts.

Examining the distribution of *ga* in EOJ, the *Kiki kayō*, and lexicalized/fixed expressions through a diachronic perspective, I hypothesize that *ga* gradually became specialized from pre-OJ to OJ. In pre-OJ, *ga* was likely to be used in wider contexts—in contexts where we find *no* in OJ. In this way, we may propose that genitive *ga* (the older, out-going variant) had been gradually taken over by genitive *no* (the newer, in-coming variant). This hypothesis may be further supported by a board overview of the development of genitive *no* and *ga* throughout pre-modern Japanese. In OJ, *ga* mostly marks personal pronouns, personal names, and lexically referential human common nouns. Through EMJ and early LMJ, the use of *ga* specialized further, being mainly restricted to personal pronouns, 1st person and 2nd person terms of reference, personal names, and titles. In late-LMJ, *ga* lost its productive adnominal uses and became a nominative case particle. *No*, on the other hand, remained a genitive particle, used in adnominalization and in marking subjects in subordinate and nominalized clauses.

Expanding the proposal that within the OJ genitive variation, *ga* is the out-going variant and *no* is the in-coming variant, we may further hypothesize that at some point in pre-OJ, *ga* had once been the sole genitive. As far as we know, in OJ, *ga* is a genitive, and *no* is both a genitive and a copula. In Frellesvig (2001), it is proposed that genitive *no* is reanalysed from *no* as an adnominal form of the copula. I take as my point of departure Frellesvig (2001)'s hypothesis to go on suggesting that *ga* could have once been the *only* genitive until the copula *no* was reanalysed, actualised and generalized as a genitive over time. The concepts *reanalysis*, *adoption*, and *actualization*, which I employ here, are based on Andersen (1973, 2001)'s

language change theory. Andersen recognizes that every type of language change scenario is composed of smaller subchanges, which are made in speech acts by speakers and hearers repeatedly. Reanalysis, adoption, and actualization are the most common subchanges making up a change scenario. Reanalysis refers to the process by which a speaker, without any conscious deliberation, reinterprets surface realizations, transforming existing grammar into new grammar. Adoption refers to the act of innovation where a speaker purposively adopts elements from their tradition of speaking to align their linguistic competence with the rest of the speech community. Actualization refers to the speaker's enactment of the innovation in usage, whereby the innovation spreads throughout the speech community.[104] Amongst reanalysis, adoption, and actualization, reanalysis and adoption are *covert* subchanges (i.e., subchanges that are not observable), while actualization is an *overt* subchange (i.e., the observable part of language change). Much of Andersen's discussion of change scenarios focuses on a type of language change that originates from reanalysis, which he refers to as "evolutive change". He sketches the skeleton scenario of evolutive change as follows (Andersen, 2001, p. 234):

> One or more individual speakers (i) construe a certain type of surface strings different from previous cohorts of speakers (*reanalysis*) and (ii) *actualize* their reanalysis in usage that varies from received usage in some particular(s). The innovative usage may be (iii) *adopted* by other speakers and (iv) *actualized* by them and may be generalized in the community through repeated cycles of subchanges (i)—(ii) and (iii)—(iv).

[104] Andersen's terminology has evolved since his seminal article "Abductive and deductive change" (1973). Reanalysis corresponds to what he originally termed as "abductive change" and actualization corresponds to what he referred to as "deductive change".

The hypothesis that the genitive *no* was reanalyzed from the adnominal copula *no* exemplifies such a scenario of evolutive change. In the introductory chapter, I presented examples, where it is hard to determine whether the adnominalizing element in question, being homophonous, is a copula or a genitive particle. In particular, cases where the dependent NP marked by *no* has an ascriptive or descriptive or classificatory role.

(3)

kwo-suge	*no*	kasa
small-sedge	NO	straw.hat

'a small sedge straw hat' (MYS.11.2771)

(4)

ame	*no*	mi-kage
heaven	NO	HON-shadow

'the shadow of heaven'/ 'the heavenly shadow' (EN.2)

I propose the following hypothetical scenario for the generalization of genitive *no* into the system. I argue that, with such ambiguity, grammatical innovation could arise when some speakers reanalyze the surface string as expressing a genitive relation, interpreting the adnominalizing element as a genitive, whereas earlier cohorts of speakers construed the adnominalizing element as a copula. Speakers who construe *no* as a genitive then *actualize* this by using *no* in contexts where a genitive can be used. This innovative usage would then be *adopted* and *actualized* by more and more speakers over time, resulting in *no* gaining root as the newer genitive, co-existing with the older genitive *ga*. Based on the fact that in OJ, *no* is the genitive marker for inanimate nouns, and the fact that instances where it is ambiguous whether the adnominalizing element is a genitive or a copula often involve an inanimate *no*-

marked noun, we can hypothesize that when genitive *no* gains currency and is generalized in the language, it is initially favoured for marking inanimate nominals. Over time, its use spreads from inanimate nouns to categories such as non-humans, non-lexically referential human common nouns, and lexically exalted nouns. It is conceivable that, at some point during the period of genitive variation, the distribution of *no* and *ga* shifted from being determined by usage to being specified by the lexical features of the nominals. In other words, in the early stages when genitive *no* is introduced into the language, speakers needed to have heard a noun being used with a genitive marker to learn which of the two genitives that noun took. However, as the system of genitive variation became more established, a grammatical distinction emerged between *no* and *ga*, where one type of noun consistently took *no* and another type consistently took *ga*. In this way, the distribution of *no* and *ga* became lexically fixed, meaning that speakers no longer had to hear a noun used with a genitive marker to determine its correct usage. Instead, the choice of *no* or *ga* could be inferred from the semantics or lexical features of the noun. For example, a [+lexically referential] and [+human] noun takes *ga*, while a [-animate] noun takes *no*. In OJ, *kwo* that means 'my beloved' takes *ga*, while *kwo* that means 'child' takes *no* (§4.7.2 and §5.7.1). "Today's homonymy is yesterday's polysemy" (Frellesvig, 2001, p. 1); it is highly likely that the two *kwo*, which are two lexemes in OJ, originally came from the same word. It is conceivable that the split of *kwo* from a single lexeme into two may have been motivated by the grammatical distinction between *no* and *ga* perceived by speakers at the time. They would have regarded it as grammatical to use *no* with *kwo* 'child', a non-lexically referential noun, and *ga* with *kwo* 'my beloved', a lexically referential noun. Furthermore, as I have mentioned in the introduction, a significant portion of all attestations of genitive *no* and *ga* is encoded logographically with the character 之. The very fact that they can be logographically written shows that each nominal has a lexical specification for speakers to know which genitive is represented by the logogram. I propose that the distribution of *no* and *ga* in OJ represents the

final stages of the generalization of the lexical-based system presented in (1) in Figure 7.1. In OJ, the use of *no* and *ga* can be predicted based on the lexical or semantic features of a nominal, except for a small number of cases (i.e., (2) and (3) in Figure 7.1), which reflect lexicalization or different stages in the development of the generalization of this lexical-based system.

Within the instances of *ga*-marked nouns that cannot be accounted for by the lexical-based system, there is a number of cases where, based on the available information, it is difficult to provide explanations beyond the possibility of some sort of individual speaker variation. I argue that a diachronic perspective may also provide us with further insights into these instances. In particular, in §4.7.6, I mentioned a case where, in a gathering at the house of the Governor of Dazaifu, we find some speakers composing songs using the expression *ume ga pana* 'plum blossom', while most of the others used *ume no pana* 'plum blossom'. Similarly, some speakers used *ume ga siduye* 'lower branch of plum', while others used *ume no siduye* 'lower branch of plum'. At any given time in any given language, speakers have, in their mental grammars, a productive system along with some relic usages that reflect how the language used to be (e.g., using *ga* to mark a non-human noun). This applies to both intra-speaker and inter-speaker variation. When an innovation occurs in a speech community, individual speakers will go through a period of fluctuation between the old and the new variants. Within the community, there will be variation among speakers regarding the use of the old and the new variants. One reason why, for a period of time, we still find speakers using the old variant in environments that are otherwise mostly used with the new variant may be explained through the concept of "appropriateness norms" proposed by Andersen (1989, 2001). Speakers assign social values to novel and traditional expressions, using one or another in accordance with the speakers' understanding of the wider speech community's current appropriateness norms. For example, some speakers may regard *ga* as the more 'correct' form or as more stylistically befitting for the poem they compose. These norms, which are relative to "the genres of discourse, styles of

diction, categories of role and status and social class recognized in the culture…protect against the undesirable consequences a diversity of interpretations would have for communication," securing continuity of usage in a speech community (Andersen, 1989, pp. 20-25). In this way, some OJ speakers may choose to use *ga* in environments that normally involve *no* based on their understanding of the social value of this genitive in different contexts. I argue that individual speaker variation also belongs to the very last stage of the generalization of the lexical-based system. It is important to note that the type of individual speaker variation discussed here is not grammatical-based speaker variation. Rather, it involves speakers who have not fully realized or manifested the change, retaining a few forms as relics from an earlier stage when *ga* was used more widely.

Additionally, the origin of genitive subject marking has attracted attention among scholars. In the beginning of §2, I mentioned the speculation that genitive subject marking may have originated in reanalysis of constructions like (5) as (6). (5) is a genitive construction, where *yuku miti* is interpreted as a NP and *kimi-ga* as a modifier of that. (6) is a relative clause construction, where *kimi ga yuku*, as an adnominal clause, modifies the noun *miti*. In other words, between the two functions of genitive *no* and *ga*, subject marking is thought to have originated from and appeared later than adnominal marking.

(5)

kimi	ga	[yuku	miti]
lord	GEN	go.ADN	road

'our lord's road to go'

(6)

[kimi	ga	yuku]	miti
lord	GEN	go.ADN	road

'the road our lord goes'

In Tables 5.2 and 5.3 in §5.1, I presented the distribution of subjects marked by *no*/*ga* with respect to verb endings. Based on the tables, it is evident that in OJ, genitive marking of subjects is firmly established as a function distinct from adnominal marking, as it is attested in adnominal clauses as well as in other types of subordinate or non-declarative main clauses. However, it is also noteworthy that with subjects marked by *no*/*ga*, in both cases, nearly 60% of the subjects are subjects of verbs that end in the adnominal form, while subjects of verbs that end in other forms each occupy only around 1-10% of the total. The overwhelming frequency of subjects in adnominal clauses supports the hypothesis that, in pre-OJ, genitive subject marking originated from the reinterpretation of certain genitive constructions involving a verb modifying the head noun; this innovation could then spread to other types of subordinate or non-declarative main clauses. Such a reanalysis proposed above may also exemplify an instance of evolutive change, where some speakers assign a different underlying structure to expressions like (5) compared to others, thereby giving rise to a grammatical innovation whose very origin is in reanalysis.

In sum, my diachronic hypotheses are the following. In pre-OJ, *ga* had once been the sole genitive until *no* was reinterpreted and generalized as a genitive from the adnominal form of the copula *no*. *Ga*, as the older (out-going) variant co-existed with *no*, the newer (in-coming) variant; in both adnominalization and subject marking, they competed for their function as genitive case particles. In OJ, the distribution of *no* and *ga* has stabilized into a lexical based productive system, with *no* being used in all the environments where *ga* was once used, except for personal pronouns, personal names, lexically referential human nouns, and nouns attached with the suffix *-ra*. However, there remains a small proportion of cases that fall outside the lexically based productive system, mainly involving examples where *ga* is used to mark non-

human nouns. These cases may reflect lexicalization or the final stages of the generalization of *no* before the emergence of the simple synchronic system in EMJ, where the use of *ga* is further specialized, marking personal pronouns, 1st person and 2nd person terms of reference, personal names, and titles. Throughout OJ until LMJ, *no* gradually took over *ga*, and in late-LMJ, *no* completely took over *ga* and became the only productive genitive.

8. CONCLUSION

This study has presented a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the distribution of the genitive case particles *no* and *ga* in OJ. All empirical investigations are based on data collected from the ONCOJ and include all examples where *no*/*ga* is encoded phonographically. My study contributes to a better understanding of the OJ language in the following ways:

This is the first study to offer a thorough, corpus-based description of *all* functions of *no* and *ga* in OJ using modern linguistic frameworks. It has demonstrated the distribution of *no* and *ga* in noun-modifying constructions, subject marking, and instances where they mark a clause. Particular attention is given to cases where the use of *no* and *ga* seems to overlap—specifically, instances where *no* marks a human common noun, *ga* marks a non-human noun, and where the same noun can take either *no* or *ga*. The main aim of the synchronic investigation is to disentangle the distribution of OJ *no* and *ga* in contexts that otherwise appear similar from a structural point of view, addressing the research questions outlined in §1.4. All findings of this study are systematized in Figure 8.1, which is presented on the following page.

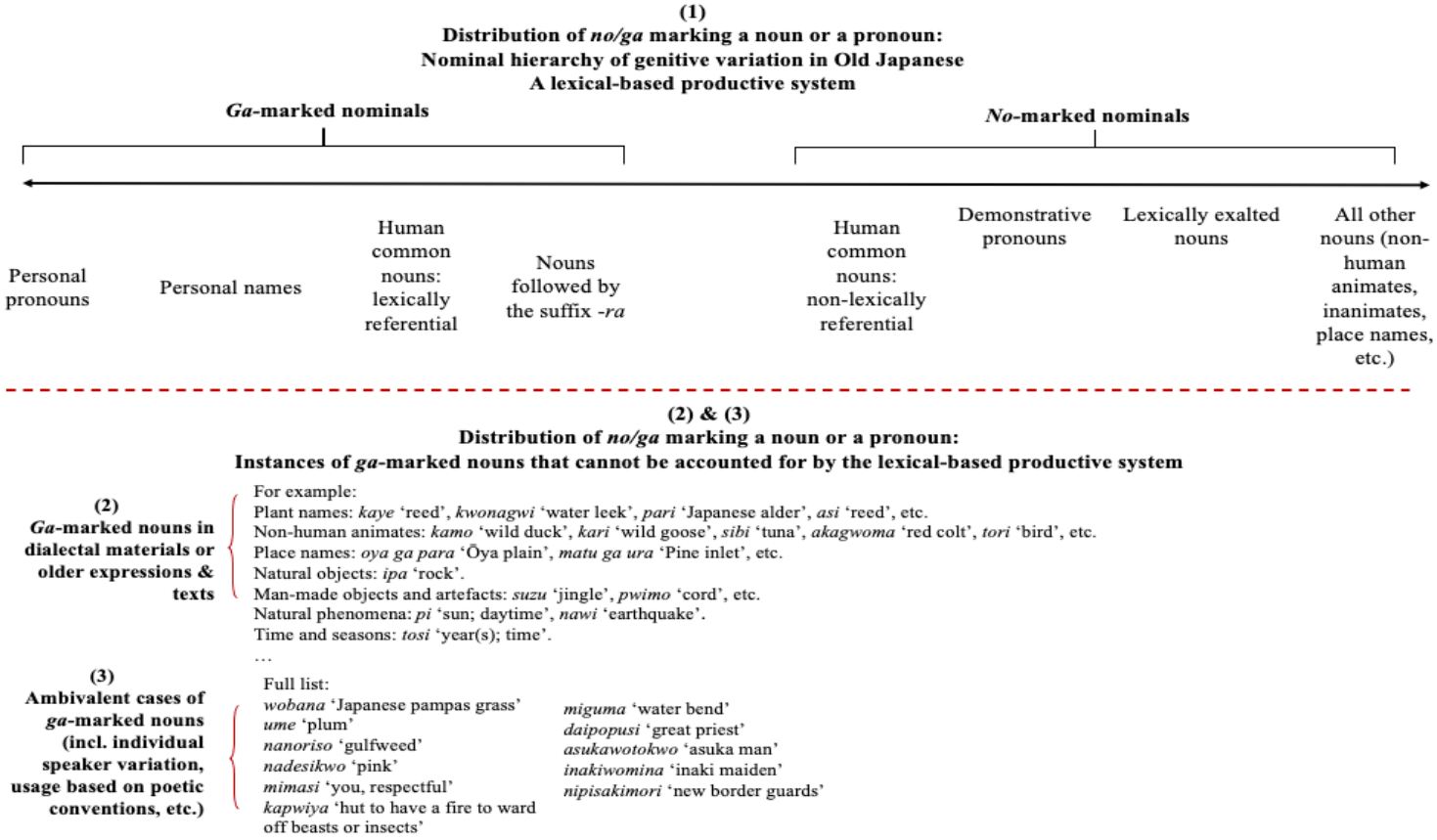


Figure 8-1 Distribution of no *and* ga *in all functions in OJ*

In both noun-modifying constructions and subject marking, the distribution of *no* and *ga* is determined by the nouns or pronouns they mark. In both functions, they are governed by the same lexical-based productive system shown in (1) in Figure 8.1. This system of genitive variation can be represented as a nominal hierarchy, with *ga* marking nominals located on the left side of the hierarchy and *no* marking those on the right. Nominals marked by *ga* include personal pronouns, personal names, lexically referential human common nouns, and nouns suffixed with *-ra*. Conversely, *no* marks non-lexically referential human common nouns, demonstratives, lexically exalted nouns, and all other nouns, including non-human and inanimate nouns. Overall, we may make the generalization that the use of *ga* is severely restricted, it is used for lexically referential humans (except for lexically exalted humans), while *no* is used for everything else. Furthermore, in general, the nominal hierarchy of genitive variation in OJ is ordered by the lexical features of nominals, where categories on the left are [+human] and [+lexically referential], and those on the right are [-human] and [-lexically referential]. The only exceptions are demonstrative pronouns used for third-person personal reference and lexically exalted human nouns, which appear on the right side of the hierarchy. (2) and (3) in Figure 8.1 represent a small number of instances of *ga*-marked nouns that cannot be accounted for by the system in (1). (2) includes examples of *ga* used with non-human nouns that are likely due to dialectal variation or age variation of the text or the expression. (3) presents a full list of *ga*-marked nouns whose distribution is rather ambivalent, which could be due to individual speaker variation, usages based on poetic convention, or other types of noise.

Cases where *no*/*ga* is used to adjoin a clause to a noun or a predicate have largely been left out in past studies of these two particles. The distribution of *no* and *ga* marking a clause is summarised in (4), where they are determined by syntactic criteria associated with the inflectional form of the verb at the end of the genitive-marked clause. Regardless of the syntactic functions of the genitive-marked clause, we observe a complementary distribution:

ga is used to mark clauses with the verb ending in the adnominal form, while *no* is used to mark clauses with the verb ending in the nominal form.

The synchronic description and investigation from §4 to §6 have laid a solid foundation for the subsequent diachronic analyses. The main aim of the diachronic investigation is to infer the distribution of *no* and *ga* in the pre-OJ period based on their distribution in OJ. I argued that it is primarily the contexts where the use of *ga* cannot be accounted for by the lexical-based productive system (i.e., (2) and (3) in Figure 8.1) that provide valuable diachronic insights. I proposed that *ga* could have been the sole genitive marker before genitive *no* was reanalysed from *no* as an adnominal form of the copula. While *no*, the newer, incoming variant, gained currency and became generalized in the language, *ga*, the older, outgoing variant, was gradually replaced. Over time, a lexical-based system governing the distribution of the two genitives emerged, with *no* continuing to spread into categories that were once marked by *ga*. The distribution of *no* and *ga* found in OJ represents the final stages of the stabilization of the systematic distribution between the two particles, where only a few instances fall outside the productive system. The generalization of genitive *no* completed in late-LMJ, where it became the sole productive genitive particle.

My study could provide a valuable foundation for future research. The drastic change of *ga* from a severely restricted genitive particle to nominative case particle in late-LMJ is a matter which continues to attract attention. Building on my investigation of *no* and *ga* in OJ, one could pursue diachronic projects to study their development and changes from OJ through to EMJ and LMJ, with a more comprehensive understanding of their uses from the earliest attested stage of Japanese. Furthermore, in standard contemporary NJ, *ga* is the nominative case particle while *no* is the genitive case particle. However, dialects such as those in Kyushu (e.g., the Kumamoto and Kagoshima dialects) and languages such as those in the Ryukyu Islands (e.g., the Miyakoan language) exhibit variation between genitive *no* and *ga* as

adnominalizers and subject markers. It has been proposed that genitive variation observed in these dialects and languages may be governed by properties of genitive-marked nouns, such as animacy, agentivity, and honorification/socio-linguistic differentiation, which are highly comparable to what we find in OJ (e.g., Sakai (2018); Uchima (2008); Shimoji (2018)). In particular, in Ōgami Ryukyuan, we observe a similar kind of lexical-based genitive variation where the use of *ka* (:: *ga* OJ) is very narrowly defined, marking personal and demonstrative pronouns and terms of address, whereas *nu* (:: OJ *no*) marks all other nouns, including other humans, animate nouns, and inanimate nouns (Pellard 2009). While we certainly should not derive all dialects and Japonic languages directly from OJ, the present study can be informative for comparative projects investigating the phenomenon of genitive variation observed in pre-modern Japan as well as in contemporary Japonic languages and NJ dialects.

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10. APPENDIXES [105]

APPENDIX A. ALL EXAMPLES OF *NO/GA* IN NOUN-MODIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS

Appendix A.1. All examples of *no* in noun-modifying constructions

Dependent	Meaning	Gen	Head	Meaning	Source
a	leg, foot	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.14.3387
aba	Aba	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.7.1404
abe	Abe	*no*	*itidi*	road	MYS.3.284
abe	Abe	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.3.359
abe	Abe	*no*	*tanomo*	rice field	MYS.14.3523
abetatibana	Abe tachibana	*no*	*koke*	moss	MYS.11.2750
aburapwi	oil fire	*no*	*pikari*	shine	MYS.18.4086
ada	Ada	*no*	*oponwo*	Ōno	MYS.10.2096
adatara	Adatara	*no*	*ne*	peak	MYS.14.3428
adikama	Ajikama	*no*	*kakye*	Kake	MYS.14.3553
adikama	Ajikama	*no*	*kata*	tidal flat	MYS.14.3551
adimasa	areca nut palm (Areca catechu)	*no*	*sima*	island	KK.53
adipu	Ajifu	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.6.928
aduma	east	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.18.4094a
aduma	east	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.9.1807
adumadi	eastern road	*no*	*tegwo*	young girl, maiden	MYS.14.3442
adumadi	eastern road	*no*	*tegwo*	young girl, maiden	MYS.14.3477
adumakuni	eastern land	*no*	*pitodomo*	people	SM.45
adumawotokwo	eastern young man	*no*	*tuma*	spouse	MYS.20.4333
aga	Aga	*no*	*matubara*	pine plain	MYS.6.1030
agata	land for cultivating imperial food	*no*	*tone*	chief	EN.4
agwo	Ago	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.13.3243
agwo	Ago	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.13.3244
agwo	Ago	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.7.1157
agwo	Ago	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.15.3610a
agwo	Ago	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.4.662
agwone	Agone	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.1.12a
akadama	red jewel	*no*	*pikari*	shine	NSK.6

[105] The definitions provided are based on the ONCOJ.

akamo	skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.15.3610a
akamo	skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.17.3969
akasi	Akashi	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.15.3627
aki	autumn	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.15.3678
aki	autumn	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.20.4318
aki	autumn	*no*	*pa*	leaf	MYS.17.3985
aki	autumn	*no*	*pagwi*	bush clover (any flowering plant of genus Lespedeza)	MYS.17.3957
aki	autumn	*no*	*tukuywo*	moonlight	MYS.2.211
aki	autumn	*no*	*tuyu*	dew	MYS.8.1543
aki	autumn	*no*	*tuyusimo*	dew and frost	MYS.10.2253
aki	autumn	*no*	*yupubye*	night time	MYS.20.4444
aki	autumn	*no*	*ywo*	night	MYS.17.3945
akidu	Akizu	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.6.911
akidu	Akizu	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.6.907
akidu	Akizu	*no*	*nwopye*	vicinity of a field	MYS.1.36
akidu	Akizu	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	MYS.12.3065
akidunowonwo	Akizu-no-ono	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.6.926
akidunwo	Akizuno	*no*	*kakitupata*	iris, [MK for niturap, Saki]	MYS.7.1345
akikaze	autumn wind	*no*	*suwe*	tip, end	MYS.20.4515
akina	Akina	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.14.3431
akinwo	autumn field	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.20.4319
akipagwi	autumn bush-clover	*no*	*sitaba*	low leaf	MYS.10.2205
akipagwi	autumn bush-clover	*no*	*so no patupana*	that first flower	MYS.10.2273
akipagwi	autumn bush-clover	*no*	*urewawaraba*	[unknown; loose and disheveled leaves?]	MYS.8.1618
akipagwi	autumn bush-clover	*no*	*yeda*	branch	MYS.8.1595
ama	heaven	*no*	*gapa*	river	MYS.18.4126
ama	heaven	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.20.4308
ama	heaven	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.20.4310
ama	heaven	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.15.3662
ama	heaven	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.18.4125
ama	heaven	*no*	*pitugi*	Imperial throne	MYS.18.4089
ama	heaven	*no*	*pitugi*	Imperial throne	MYS.18.4094a
ama	heaven	*no*	*pitugi*	Imperial throne	MYS.18.4094b
ama	heaven	*no*	*pitugi*	Imperial throne	MYS.18.4098
ama	heaven	*no*	*pitugi*	Imperial throne	MYS.20.4465

ama	sky	*no*	*sirakumo*	white cloud	MYS.15.3602
ama	sky	*no*	*sirakumo*	white cloud	MYS.18.4122
ama	heaven	*no*	*two*	entrance, passage	MYS.20.4465
ama	heaven	*no*	*yaswokage*	broad shadow	NSK.102
ama	diver	*no*	*izari*	lights	MYS.15.3672
ama	diver	*no*	*pudikoromo*	robe woven with wisteria fiber	MYS.12.2971
ama	diver	*no*	*pune*	boat	MYS.6.934
ama	diver	*no*	*sipoyaki kinu*	clothes worn when burning salt	MYS.6.947
ama	diver	*no*	*tomosibwi*	covet, lamplight	MYS.15.3623
ama	diver	*no*	*turibune*	fishing boat	MYS.18.4044
ama	diver	*no*	*turibune*	fishing boat	MYS.7.1245
ama	diver	*no*	*turibune*	fishing boat	MYS.15.3609a
ama	diver	*no*	*turibune*	fishing boat	MYS.15.3609b
ama	diver	*no*	*turipune*	fishing boat	MYS.17.3892
ama	diver	*no*	*wobune*	small boat	MYS.17.4006
amabune	fisherman boat	*no*	*kadi*	oar	MYS.11.2746
amakumo	heavenly cloud	*no*	*yuki*	depart, leave	MYS.13.3344
amaterasuopomikamwi	the Great deity Amaterau	*no*	*opomapye*	front	EN.1
amaterasuopomikamwi	the Great deity Amaterau	*no*	*opomapye*	front	EN.7
amatuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.18.4094a
amatuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.18.4094b
amatuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.18.4106
ame	sky, heaven	*no*	*pwi*	fire	MYS.15.3724
ame	sky, heaven	*no*	*sita*	below	EN.3
ame	sky, heaven	*no*	*sita*	below	MYS.18.4122
ame	sky, heaven	*no*	*sita*	below	MYS.20.4360
ame	sky, heaven	*no*	*sita*	below	MYS.20.4465
ame	sky, heaven	*no*	*sita*	below	MYS.5.879
ame	sky, heaven	*no*	*tadumura*	flock of egret	MYS.9.1791
ame	heaven	*no*	*mikage*	light	EN.2
ame	heaven	*no*	*mikage*	light	EN.5
ame	heaven	*no*	*mikage*	light	EN.6
ame	heaven	*no*	*mikage*	light	EN.7
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kami*	god	MYS.20.4374
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.13.3306
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.15.3682
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.15.3740
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.20.4426
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.20.4499

ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.3.443
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi*	god	SM.4
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi-tati*	god	SM.42
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kamwi-tati*	god	SM.43
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	SM.13
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*mikokoro*	honourable will, heart	SM.42
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*opomikamwi-tati*	great deities (plural)	MYS.5.894
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*sakasima*	treason	SM.44
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*sakipapi*	prosperity, good fortune; happiness	SM.45
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*sakipapi*	prosperity, good fortune; happiness	SM.45
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*sokopi*	bottom, limit	MYS.15.3750
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*tomo*	together	MYS.5.814
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*yoriapi*	approach each other	MYS.6.1047
anase	Anase	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.4.643
anasi	Anashi	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.12.3126
apa	Awa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.6.998
apadi	Awaji	*no*	*nwosima*	Noshima	MYS.6.933
apadi	Awaji	*no*	*nwosima*	Noshima	MYS.6.942
apadi	Awaji	*no*	*nwosimagasaki*	Noshima-ga-saki	MYS.3.251
apawo-ro	the Awa hill	*no*	*worota*	field on the hills	MYS.14.3501
apidune	Aizune	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.14.3426
apine	Aine	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	KK.87
apumi	Ōmi	*no*	*okime*	Okime	KK.112
apumi	Ōmi	*no*	*okime*	Okime	NSK.86
apumi	Ōmi	*no*	*opotu*	Ōtsu	SM.40
apumidi	Ōmi-ji; the road to Ōmi Province	*no*	*apusakayama*	Mt. Afusaka	MYS.13.3240
apumidi	Ōmi-ji; the road to Ōmi Province	*no*	*tokwonoyama*	Toko-no-yama; Mt. Toko	MYS.4.487
apuminokuni	Ōmi-no-kuni; Ōmi Province	*no*	*sasanami*	Sasanami	MYS.1.29a
apuminokuni	Ōmi-no-kuni; Ōmi Province	*no*	*sasanami*	Sasanami	MYS.1.29b
aputi	melia azedarach (deciduous tree of the mahogany family)	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.10.1973
aputi	melia azedarach (deciduous tree	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.798

	of the mahogany family)				
aputi	melia azedarach (deciduous tree of the mahogany family)	*no*	*ye*	branch	MYS.17.3913
aratayo	new generation	*no*	*koto*	thing	MYS.6.1047
aratu	Aratsu	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.15.3660
aratu	Aratsu	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.17.3891
ariake	dawn(ing) while the moon is still visible in the sky	*no*	*tukuywo*	moonlight	MYS.10.2300
ariswo	barren rocky shore	*no*	*nami*	wave	MYS.17.3959
ariswo	barren rocky shore	*no*	*tamamo*	beautiful seaweed	MYS.12.3206
ariswo	barren rocky shore	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.2.131a
ariswo	barren rocky shore	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.2.131b
ariwo	tall, prominent hill	*no*	*upe*	surface	NSK.76
asaame	morning rain	*no*	*kwiri*	mist, fog	KK.4
asaduma	Asazuma	*no*	*pika*	Hika	NSK.50
asaka	Asaka	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.2.121
asake	dawn, daybreak	*no*	*kanatwode*	metal door	MYS.14.3569
asanwo	Asano	*no*	*kigisi*	green pheasant (Phasianus versicolor); Japanese pheasant	MYS.3.388
asanwo	Asano, field with short grass	*no*	*kigisi*	green pheasant (Phasianus versicolor); Japanese pheasant	NSK.110
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.19
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.27
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.27
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.3
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.4
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.7
asi	reed	*no*	*pa*	leaf	MYS.14.3570
asibi	Japanese andromeda tree	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.10.1868
asibi	Japanese andromeda tree	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4511

asibi	Japanese andromeda tree	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4512
asigara	Ashigara	*no*	*mine*	peak	MYS.20.4421
asigara	Ashigara	*no*	*misaka*	slope, hill	MYS.14.3371
asigara	Ashigara	*no*	*misaka*	slope, hill	MYS.20.4423
asigara	Ashigara	*no*	*pakwone*	Hakone	MYS.14.3364a
asigara	Ashigara	*no*	*pakwone*	Hakone	MYS.14.3364b
asigara	Ashigara	*no*	*pakwone*	Hakone	MYS.7.1175
asigara	Ashigara	*no*	*wotemo*	that side; the far side	MYS.14.3361
asigara	Ashigara	*no*	*yapyeyama*	many layered mountains	MYS.20.4440
asigarayama	Ashigara Ashigara-yama; Ashigara Mountains	*no*	*konoma*	spaces between trees	MYS.14.3363
asigari	Ashigari	*no*	*akina*	Akina	MYS.14.3431
asigari	Ashigari	*no*	*mama*	cliff; precipice	MYS.14.3369
asigari	Ashigari	*no*	*pakwone*	Hakone	MYS.14.3370
asigari	Ashigari	*no*	*twopi*	Toi	MYS.14.3368
asikaki	reed fence	*no*	*kumatwo*	dark corner	MYS.20.4357
asikaki	reed fence	*no*	*poka*	other side; outer side	MYS.17.3977
asikara	Ashikara	*no*	*misaka*	slope, hill	MYS.20.4372
asikita	Ashikita	*no*	*nwosaka*	Nosaka	MYS.3.246
asikwi	Ashiki	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.8.1531
asipara	reed plain	*no*	*midupo*	fresh rice-ear	MYS.13.3227
asipara	reed plain	*no*	*midupo*	fresh rice-ear	MYS.9.1804
asita	morning	*no*	*mike*	honourable food	EN.8
asiya	Ashiya	*no*	*unapiwotomye*	young woman in Unai county	MYS.9.1801
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.2.194a
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.2.194b
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.2.196a
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.2.196b
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.4.626a
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*kiywomiparanomiya*	Kiyomihara-no-miya	MYS.2.162
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*makamwinopara*	Makami-no-hara	MYS.2.199a
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*makamwinopara*	Makami-no-hara	MYS.2.199b
asuka	Asuka	*no*	*puruki miyakwo*	old capital	MYS.3.324
asukanokapa	Asuka-no-kawa; Asuka River	*no*	*kami*	up	MYS.2.196a
asukanokapa	Asuka-no-kawa; Asuka River	*no*	*kami*	up	MYS.2.196b
asukanokapa	Asuka-no-kawa; Asuka River	*no*	*miwo*	waterway, channel	MYS.13.3227

asukanokapa	Asuka-no-kawa; Asuka River	*no*	*payaki se*	fast rapids	MYS.13.3266
asupa	Asuwa	*no*	*kami*	spirit, god	MYS.20.4350
aswo	Aso	*no*	*kapara*	river flats	MYS.14.3425
aswo	Aso	*no*	*maswomura*	flock of excellent hemp	MYS.14.3404
atari	vicinity	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.11.2838
atari	vicinity	*no*	*simo*	frost	MYS.11.2616
atonusi	owner of the footprint	*no*	*tama*	spirit	BS.16
atwo	foot of the bed	*no*	*kata*	side, direction	MYS.5.892
awo	Ao	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.18.4093
awoba	green leaves	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.8.1543
awomi	blue sea	*no*	*para*	field, plain	EN.1
awomi	blue sea	*no*	*para*	field, plain	EN.7
awoyagwi	green willow	*no*	*potuye*	upper branches	MYS.19.4289
awoyagwi	green willow	*no*	*yeda*	branch	MYS.15.3603
awoyama	green mountain	*no*	*soko*	bottom	MYS.6.942
ayakaki	fabric fence	*no*	*pupaya*	fluffiness	KK.5
ayupi	cord used to tie a hakama (formal skirt) to one's legs	*no*	*kwosuzu*	small bell	KK.82
ayupi	cord used to tie a hakama (formal skirt) to one's legs	*no*	*kwosuzu*	small bell	NSK.73
aze	Aze	*no*	*kwomatu*	small pine	FK.7
azikumayama	Mt. Ajikuma	*no*	*yudurupa*	leaves of the yuzuri	MYS.14.3572
azu	cliff	*no*	*upye*	surface	MYS.14.3539
bosati	Buddha	*no*	*gyau*	law	SM.41
bosati	Buddha	*no*	*imikoto*	rituallty prohibited behaviour	SM.38
bosati	Bodhisattva	*no*	*zyaukai*	pure ordination	SM.28
ideiri	Ideiri	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.7.1191
idemasi	imperial outing	*no*	*kui*	regret	NSK.124
idemasi	imperial outing	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.3.315
idemasi	imperial outing	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.1.5
idu	Izu	*no*	*takane*	high peak	MYS.14.3358b
idu	Izu	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.14.3360a
iduminokapa	Izumi-no-kawa; Izumi River	*no*	*kami*	up	MYS.17.3907
iduminokapa	Izumi-no-kawa; Izumi River	*no*	*miwo*	waterway, channel	MYS.17.3908

iduminokapa	Izumi-no-kawa; Izumi River	*no*	*payaki se*	fast rapidds	MYS.13.3240
idute	Izu-made	*no*	*pune*	boat	MYS.20.4460
ikaduti	thunder	*no*	*pikari*	shine	BS.20
ikapo	Ikao	*no*	*ne-ro*	peak	MYS.14.3423
ikapo	Ikao	*no*	*numa*	swamp	MYS.14.3415
ikapo-ro	Mt.Ikao	*no*	*swopi*	beside, place alongside smth.	MYS.14.3410
ikapo-ro	Mt.Ikao	*no*	*swopi*	beside, place alongside smth.	MYS.14.3435
ikapo-ro	Mt.Ikao	*no*	*wide*	weir	MYS.14.3414
ikapo-ro	Mt.Ikao	*no*	*yasaka*	many feet in length	MYS.14.3413
ikaruga	Ikaruga	*no*	*ko no kakiyama*	this Mt.Kaki	JSHT.4
ikaruga	Ikaruga	*no*	*ko no kakiyama*	this Mt.Kaki	JSHT.4
ikaruga	Ikaruga	*no*	*tomi*	Tomi	JSHT.1
ikaruga	Ikaruga	*no*	*tomi*	Tomi	JSHT.2
ike	pond	*no*	*siranami*	white wave	MYS.20.4503
ike	pond	*no*	*uwo*	fish	NSK.97
ikuri	Ikuri	*no*	*mori*	thickly grown forest	MYS.17.3952
ikusima	Ikushima	*no*	*mikamunagi*	shrine maiden	EN.1
ikusima	Ikushima	*no*	*mikamunagi*	shrine maiden	EN.7
ikwoma	Ikoma	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.15.3590
imakwi	Imaki	*no*	*mine*	peak	MYS.9.1795
imakwi	Imaki	*no*	*uti*	inside	NSK.119
imasi	thou; term of address	*no*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	SM.29
imasi-tati	thou (plural)	*no*	*oya-domo*	parents	SM.13
ime	Ime (only found in Ime-no-wada)	*no*	*wada*	inlet, bend in the land	MYS.7.1132
imibe	Imibe (clan name)	*no*	*imuwono*	axe (used for building palaces and shrines)	EN.8
imibe	Imibe (clan name)	*no*	*yowakata*	weak shoulders	EN.1
imibe	Imibe (clan name)	*no*	*yowakata*	weak shoulders	EN.14
imibe	Imibe (clan name)	*no*	*yowakata*	weak shoulders	EN.7
imo	Imo	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.13.3318
imose	Imose	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.4.544
imose	Imose	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.4.544
imose	Imose	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.7.1195
imose	Imose	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.7.1247
inami	Inabi	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.12.3198

inami	Inabi	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.3.303
inaminwo	Inabino	*no*	*akaragasipa*	red oak	MYS.20.4301
inaminwo	Inabino	*no*	*akipagwi*	autumn bush-clover	MYS.9.1772
inaminwo	Inabino	*no*	*asadi*	low cogongrass	MYS.6.940
inaminwo	Inabino	*no*	*asadi*	low cogongrass	MYS.7.1179
inaminwo	Inabino	*no*	*opumi*	grand sea	MYS.6.938
inara	Inara	*no*	*numa*	swamp	MYS.14.3417
inasa	Inasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	KK.14
inasa	Inasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	NSK.12
ipa	stone	*no*	*pe*	top	MYS.14.3518
ipa	stone	*no*	*pe*	top	NSK.107
ipa	stone	*no*	*upe*	surface	BS.5
ipa	stone	*no*	*upe*	surface	BS.7
ipa	house	*no*	*imo-ro*	little sister, beloved	MYS.20.4427
ip	house	*no*	*pimye*	girl	NSK.56
ipami	Iwami	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.2.131a
ipami	Iwami	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.2.131b
ipane	bare rocks, rock	*no*	*kipami*	extent, limit	EN.8
ipapo	great rock	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.3.420
ipapo	great rock	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.3.421
ipapo-ro	Iwao	*no*	*swopi*	beside, place alongside smth.	MYS.14.3495
ipare	Iware	*no*	*ike*	pond	NSK.97
ipase	Iwase	*no*	*mori*	thickly grown forest	MYS.8.1419
ipasiro	Iwashiro	*no*	*kwisi*	bank, shore	MYS.2.143
ipasiro	Iwashiro	*no*	*kwomatu*	small pine	MYS.2.146
ipasiro	Iwashiro	*no*	*nwonaka*	center of a field	MYS.2.144
ipasiro	Iwashiro	*no*	*pamamatu*	shore pine; pine at the shore	MYS.2.141
ipasiro	Iwashiro	*no*	*woka*	hill	MYS.1.10
ipata	Iwata	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	MYS.9.1730
ipatoko	stone bed	*no*	*nebapyeru kadwo*	root-spreaded gate	MYS.13.3274
ipopara	Iohara	*no*	*kiywominosaki*	Kiyomi-no-saki	MYS.3.296
iposaki	Iosaki	*no*	*sumidagapara*	Sumida plain	MYS.3.298
ipye	house	*no*	*atari*	vicinity	KK.76
ipye	house	*no*	*atari*	vicinity	MYS.14.3423
ipye	house	*no*	*atari*	vicinity	MYS.14.3542
ipye	house	*no*	*atari*	vicinity	MYS.15.3608a
ipye	house	*no*	*ike*	pond	MYS.20.4503
ipye	house	*no*	*ike*	pond	MYS.4.726

ipye	house	*no*	*imu*	little sister, beloved	MYS.20.4364
ipye	house	*no*	*kakitu*	fenced in area; area inside the fence	MYS.8.1503
ipye	house	*no*	*kwo-ra*	child	MYS.14.3534
ipye	house	*no*	*kwo-ro*	child	MYS.14.3532
ipye	house	*no*	*kwodomo*	children	MYS.5.900
ipye	house	*no*	*mo*	little sister, beloved	MYS.20.4388
ipye	house	*no*	*momitiba*	maple leaf	MYS.10.2217
ipye	house	*no*	*panatatibana*	flowering tachibana	MYS.8.1492
ipye	house	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.3.509
ipyebito	family member	*no*	*ipape*	purification rites	MYS.20.4409
iragwonosima	Irago-no-shima	*no*	*tamamo*	beautiful seaweed, beautiful skirt	MYS.1.23
iragwonosima	Irago-no-shima	*no*	*tamamo*	beautiful seaweed, beautiful skirt	MYS.1.24
irimadi	road in Irima	*no*	*opoya*	Ōya	MYS.14.3378
irinwo	Irino	*no*	*oku*	future	MYS.14.3403
irinwo	Irino	*no*	*susuki*	Japanese pampas grass (Miscanthus sinensis)	MYS.10.2277
iriye	inlet; small bay	*no*	*komorinu*	swamp without an exit stream	MYS.14.3547
iriye	inlet; small bay	*no*	*patisu*	lotus	KK.95
iriye	inlet; small bay	*no*	*sirasuge*	a type of sedge tree, perhaps with white leaves	MYS.11.2768
iriye	inlet; small bay	*no*	*sudori*	sandbar bird	MYS.15.3578
ise	Ise	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.11.2798
ise	Ise	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	NSK.78
ise	Ise	*no*	*pamawogwi*	beach reed (Phragmites australis)	MYS.4.500
ise	Ise	*no*	*watarapi*	Watarai	EN.20
isenoumi	Ise-no-umi; Ise bay	*no*	*opoisi*	big stone	NSK.8
isenoumi	Ise-no-umi; Ise bay	*no*	*opwisi*	big stone	KK.13
isi	stone	*no*	*pibiki*	reverbration	BS.1
isi	Ishi	*no*	*miwi*	honorable well	MYS.13.3235
isi	Ishi	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.13.3234

isiwi	Isii	*no*	*tegwo*	young girl, maiden	MYS.14.3398
isuzu	Isuzu river	*no*	*kapakami*	upriver	EN.16
isuzu	Isuzu river	*no*	*kapakami*	upriver	EN.18
isuzu	Isuzu river	*no*	*kapakami*	upriver	EN.19
isuzu	Isuzu river	*no*	*kapakami*	upriver	EN.22
iswo	rock	*no*	*ma*	interval	MYS.15.3619
iswo	rock	*no*	*wakame*	seaweed	MYS.14.3563
itada	Itada	*no*	*pasi*	bridge, ladder	MYS.11.2644
iti	market	*no*	*tukasa*	official	KK.101
itipitu	Ichiitsu	*no*	*pibasi*	bridge made hinoki	MYS.16.3824
itipiwi	Ichiii	*no*	*wanisa*	along the way/vicinity of Wani	KK.42
itumo	dense waterweed	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.4.491
itupata	Itsuhata	*no*	*saka*	slope, hill	MYS.18.4055
iyo	Iyo	*no*	*takane*	high peak	MYS.3.322
iyukiapi	Meet on Road	*no*	*saka*	slope, hill	MYS.9.1752
izami	Izami	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.1.44
izanaki	Izanaki	*no*	*pimanakwo*	beloved imperial child	EN.27
izanipa	Izaniwa	*no*	*woka*	hill	MYS.3.322
ka	that	*no*	*kwo-ro*	child	MYS.14.3565
kada	Kada	*no*	*oposima*	Ōsima	MYS.15.3634
kadi	oar	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.15.3624
kadi	oar	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.15.3641
kadi	oar	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.15.3664
kadi	oar	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.17.4006
kadi	oar	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.18.4065
kadi	oar	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.20.4459
kadisima	Kadi Island	*no*	*iswo kamwo no*	rock	MYS.9.1729
kaduraki	Kazuraki	*no*	*kamunabwi*	Kamo shrine	EN.27
kadurakwi	Kazuraki	*no*	*takama*	Takama	MYS.7.1337
kadusika	Katsushika	*no*	*mama*	Mama	MYS.14.3349
kadusika	Katsushika	*no*	*mama*	Mama	MYS.14.3384
kadusika	Katsushika	*no*	*mama*	Mama	MYS.14.3385
kadusika	Katsushika	*no*	*mama*	Mama	MYS.3.431
kadusika	Katsushika	*no*	*mama*	Mama	MYS.3.432
kadusika	Katsushika	*no*	*mama*	Mama	MYS.3.433
kadwo	gate	*no*	*asadi*	low cogongrass	MYS.10.2186
kadwo	gate	*no*	*katayamatubaki*	common camellia	MYS.20.4418

				growing on moutain slopes	
kagaminoyama	Kagami-no-yama	*no*	*ipatwo*	stone passage, entrance	MYS.3.418
kaguyama	Mt. Kaguyama	*no*	*purinisi satwo*	old village	MYS.3.334
kai	oar	*no*	*tiri*	dust	MYS.10.2052
kakine	fence	*no*	*unopana*	deutzia crenata	MYS.10.1988
kakitu	fenced in area	*no*	*sakurabana*	cherry blossoms	MYS.18.4077
kakitu	fenced in area	*no*	*sayuribana*	lily flower, [MK for yuri]	MYS.8.1503
kakitu	fenced in area	*no*	*tani*	valley	MYS.19.4207
kakwo	boatman	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.15.3622
kakwo	Kako	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.3.253a
kakwo	Kako	*no*	*mitwo*	port, harbour	MYS.3.253b
kakye	Kake	*no*	*minatwo*	harbor	MYS.14.3553
kakye	chicken	*no*	*tariwo*	trailing tail (feathers)	MYS.7.1413
kakyeyama	Mt.Kake	*no*	*kadu*	paper mulberry tree	MYS.14.3432
kamakura	Kamakura	*no*	*migwosi*	Migoshi	MYS.14.3365
kamakura	Kamakura	*no*	*minanosegapa*	Minanosegapa	MYS.14.3366
kami	god	*no*	*misaka*	slope, hill	MYS.20.4402
kami	god	*no*	*opomiyo*	great reign	MYS.18.4111
kamiwoka	Kamioka	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.2.159
kamo	wild duck	*no*	*pa*	feather	MYS.8.1451
kamopa	duck feathers	*no*	*iro*	colour	MYS.20.4494
kamu	spirit, god	*no*	*ne*	peak	MYS.14.3516
kamunipe	Festival of the Divine First Fruits Banquet	*no*	*opomitegura*	great offerings	EN.20
kamunipe	Festival of the Divine First Fruits Banquet	*no*	*opomitegura*	great offerings	EN.21
kamuoya	ancestral deities	*no*	*okutukwi*	grave	MYS.18.4096
kamuoya	ancestral deities	*no*	*so no na*	their names	MYS.18.4094a
kamuoya	ancestral deities	*no*	*so no na*	their names	MYS.18.4094b
kamusida	Kamushida	*no*	*tono*	palace	MYS.14.3438a
kamwi	god	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	MYS.5.904
kamwi	god	*no*	*maturi*	festival	SM.45
kamwi	god	*no*	*mikokoro*	honourable will, heart	EN.4
kamwi	god	*no*	*mikokoro*	honourable will, heart	EN.4
kamwi	god	*no*	*mikwo*	child of a god, an emperor/empres	SM.1

				s, or a high noble	
kamwi	god	*no*	*miomo*	honorable face	MYS.2.220
kamwi	god	*no*	*misake*	honourable wine	FK.6
kamwi	god	*no*	*mite*	honorable hand	KK.96
kamwi	god	*no*	*miyapito*	palace retainer	KK.94
kamwi	god	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.1.38a
kamwi	god	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.1.38b
kamwi	god	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.18.4111
kamwi	god	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.18.4125
kamwi	god	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.20.4465
kamwi	god	*no*	*pumoto*	the foot of a mountain	MYS.16.3884
kamwi	god	*no*	*wiyaziro*	gift	EN.27
kamwi	god	*no*	*wobama*	small beach	MYS.6.1023
kamwi	god	*no*	*yasiro*	shrine	MYS.3.404
kamwisima	god island	*no*	*iswomwi*	vincinity of rock	MYS.15.3599
kanipa	Kaniwa	*no*	*tawi*	paddy	MYS.20.4456
kapa	river	*no*	*kapakuma*	river bend	MYS.1.79
kapa	river	*no*	*kapayodo*	river meander	MYS.3.375
kapa	river	*no*	*kumaguma*	many bends	NSK.56
kapa	river	*no*	*minakipa*	water edge	MYS.20.4462
kapa	river	*no*	*pe*	top	KK.57
kapa	river	*no*	*sazaresi*	pebble	MYS.14.3400
kapa	river	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.17.4002
kapa	river	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.18.4061
kapa	river	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.18.4062
kapa	river	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.5.855
kapa	river	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.5.861
kapa	river	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.6.1052
kapa	river	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.6.1059
kapa	river	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.17.3953
kapa	river	*no*	*watarize*	fording rapids	MYS.17.4024
kapabwi	vincinity of the river	*no*	*nikwogusa*	soft grass	MYS.20.4309
kapadu	river harbor	*no*	*sasarawogwi*	small common reed (Miscanthus sacchariflorus)	MYS.14.3446
kapakami	upriver	*no*	*nezirwotakagaya*	root-whitened tall-sedge	MYS.14.3497

kapakami	upriver	*no*	*simo*	under	EN.16
kapakuma	river bend	*no*	*kuswobuna*	shit crucian carp	MYS.16.3828
kapamataye	crotch of the river	*no*	*pisigara*	water-chestnut shell	NSK.36
kapanope	upriver	*no*	*turaturatubaki*	waves and waves of common camellia	MYS.1.56
kapapye	river shore	*no*	*wakakusa*	young grass	NSK.117
kapara	river flats	*no*	*arigaywopu ide*	always go across port	MYS.10.2089
kapara	river flats	*no*	*tidori*	plover (bird)	MYS.3.371
kapaswopi	beside the river	*no*	*wokapye*	hill side	MYS.9.1751
kapatwo	river narrows	*no*	*se*	rapids	MYS.4.528
kapigwo	egg	*no*	*naka*	middle, relationship	MYS.9.1755
kaputi	flat basin around a river	*no*	*opomiyatokoro*	grand palace	MYS.6.921
kaputi	flat basin around a river	*no*	*tagitu*	flow fast (of water)	MYS.6.908
kapwi	Kai	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.3.319
kapwi	Kai	*no*	*kurwokwoma*	black colt	NSK.81a
kapwi	Kai	*no*	*kurwokwoma*	black colt	NSK.81a
kapwi	Kai	*no*	*kurwokwoma*	black colt	NSK.81b
kapwi	Kai	*no*	*kurwokwoma*	black colt	NSK.81b
kapyerumwi	vicinity of Kaeru	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.18.4055
kara	Kara	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.2.135a
kara	Kara	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.2.135a
kara	Kara	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.2.135b
kara	Korea; China	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.15.3642
karaawi	plumed cockscomb (celosia argentea)	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.10.2278
karakadi	Korea rudder	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.14.3555
karakuni	Korea	*no*	*twora*	tiger	MYS.16.3885
karani	Karani	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.6.942
karapito	Karahito	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.9.1689
kari	wild goose	*no*	*kwo*	child	MYS.2.182
karidi	Kariji	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	MYS.3.239
karitaka	Karitaka	*no*	*takamatwoyama*	Takamato-yama; Mt. Takamato	MYS.6.981
karu	Karu	*no*	*wotomye*	young woman	KK.83
karu	Karu	*no*	*yasiro*	shrine	MYS.11.2656
kasa	Kasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.374

kasima	Kashima	*no*	*kami*	god	MYS.20.4370
kasimane	Kashimane	*no*	*tukuwe*	Tsukue	MYS.16.3880
kasipara	Kashihara	*no*	*piziri*	sage emperor	MYS.1.29a
kasipara	Kashihara	*no*	*piziri*	sage emperor	MYS.1.29b
kasipara	Kashihara	*no*	*unebwi*	Unebi	MYS.20.4465
kasipi	Kashii	*no*	*kata*	tidal flat	MYS.6.957
kasuga	Kasuga	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	NSK.96
kasuga	Kasuga	*no*	*mikasa*	Mikasa	EN.2
kasuga	Kasuga	*no*	*nwopye*	vicinity of a field	MYS.3.404
kasuga	Kasuga	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	MYS.12.3042
kasuganoyama	Kasuga-no-yama	*no*	*takakurano mikasanoyama*	Yasu-no-no; Yasu plain	MYS.3.372
kasuganwo	Kasuga-no; Kasuga plain	*no*	*wobana*	Japanese pampas grass (lit. 'tail flower') (Miscanthus sinensis)	MYS.16.3819
kata	shoulder	*no*	*maywopi*	a frayed place on clothing	MYS.7.1265
katakapi	Katakai	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.17.4002
katasipagapa	Katashiwa river	*no*	*saninuri*	painted red	MYS.9.1742
katayama	Mt.Kata	*no*	*momu*	[unknown]	MYS.16.3886
katinwo	Kachino	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.3.275
katori	Katori	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.7.1172
katusika	Katsushika	*no*	*mama*	Mama	MYS.9.1807
katworiwotomye	young woman in Katori	*no*	*yupisi pimo*	binded cords	MYS.14.3427
kaya	grasses used for thatching	*no*	*tuka*	handful [measure]	MYS.2.110
kaya	Kaya	*no*	*yamapye*	mountain area	MYS.15.3674
kazanasi	Kazanashi	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.9.1673a
kazanasi	Kazanashi	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.9.1673b
kazapaya	Kazahaya	*no*	*mipo*	Miho	MYS.3.434a
kazapaya	Kazahaya	*no*	*mipo*	Miho	MYS.3.434b
kazapaya	Kazahaya	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.15.3615
kazasi	adorn	*no*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	MYS.8.1429
kaze	wind	*no*	*muta*	as, like	MYS.15.3661a
kaze	wind	*no*	*muta*	as, like	MYS.15.3661b
kaze	wind	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.19.4291
kaze	wind	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.6.1042
kaze	wind	*no*	*to*	sound	MYS.14.3453
kena	Kena	*no*	*wakugwo*	youth, young man	NSK.98
kepi	Kehi	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.15.3609b

kepi	Kehi	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.12.3200
kepu	today	*no*	*asapi*	morning sun	EN.4
kepu	today	*no*	*pi*	sun, daytime	MYS.20.4330
kibwi	Kibi	*no*	*kwosima*	small island, Koshima	MYS.6.967
kibwi	Kibi	*no*	*sake*	rice wine	MYS.4.554
kiku	Kiku	*no*	*ike*	pond	MYS.16.3876
kimi	my lord	*no*	*kwodomo*	children	SM.13
kimi	my lord	*no*	*mina*	great name	MYS.20.4507
kimi	my lord	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.18.4094a
kimi	my lord	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.18.4094b
kimi	my lord	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.20.4506
kimi	my lord	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	SM.13
kimi	my lord	*no*	*miyomiyo*	generations and generations	MYS.20.4465
kimi	my lord	*no*	*tonokadwo*	building door	SM.13
kimi	my lord	*no*	*yatukwo*	slave	SM.28
kipatuku	Kiwatsuku	*no*	*woka*	hill	MYS.14.3444
kipe	Kie?, Kibe?	*no*	*payasi*	forest, arboretum	MYS.14.3353
kipepito	people in Kie?, Kibe?	*no*	*madarabusuma*	multicolored bedding	MYS.14.3354
kitijauten	Kichijōten (Japanese female deity)	*no*	*kekwa*	repentance rite	SM.42
kiywomi	Kiyomi	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.3.296
kiywomi	Kiyomi	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.3.296
kiywominokapa	Kiyomi-no-kawa	*no*	*kapakwisi*	river bank	MYS.3.437
kiywominosaki	Kiyomi-no-saki	*no*	*mipo*	Miho	MYS.3.296
kiywomipara	Kiyomihara	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.2.162
kiywomipara	Kiyomihara	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.2.162
ko	this (one)	*no*	*a ga uma*	my horse	MYS.17.4022
ko	this (one)	*no*	*ama tu pitugi*	imperial hier	SM.3
ko	this (one)	*no*	*ama tu pitugi*	imperial hier	SM.48
ko	this (one)	*no*	*ama tu pitugi*	imperial hier	SM.5
ko	this (one)	*no*	*ama tu takamikura*	heavenly throne	EN.8
ko	this (one)	*no*	*apida*	time	SM.7
ko	this (one)	*no*	*ipye*	house	SM.25
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kamwi*	god	EN.4
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kani*	crab	KK.42

ko	this (one)	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.14.3440a
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.14.3440b
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kata*	side, direction (spatial and temporal)	MYS.13.3299b
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	EN.12
ko	this (one)	*no*	*koro*	time	MYS.14.3506
ko	this (one)	*no*	*koro*	time	MYS.15.3726
ko	this (one)	*no*	*koro*	time	MYS.15.3768
ko	this (one)	*no*	*koto*	word	NSK.75a
ko	this (one)	*no*	*koto*	word	NSK.75b
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kurawi*	rank	SM.33
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kurawi kagapuri*	cap and rank	SM.41
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kure*	grow dark, dark(ness)	MYS.14.3355
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kuresige*	dark, dense grove of trees	MYS.18.4051
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kuresige*	dark, dense grove of trees	MYS.3.257
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kusige*	comb box	MYS.9.1740
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kusimitama*	mysterious spirit, soul	MYS.5.814
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kwinoyama*	Kii-no-yama; Mt. Kii	MYS.5.823
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kwo*	child	MYS.14.3373
ko	this (one)	*no*	*kwo*	child	NSK.23
ko	this (one)	*no*	*mapi*	offering	SM.9
ko	this (one)	*no*	*mapi*	offering	SNK.2
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miato*	honourable foot print	BS.16
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miato*	honourable foot print	BS.4
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miato*	honourable foot print	BS.8
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miki*	honourable wine	KK.39
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miki*	honourable wine	KK.40
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miki*	honourable wine	KK.40
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miki*	honourable wine	NSK.15
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miki*	honourable wine	NSK.32
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miki*	honourable wine	NSK.33
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miki*	honourable wine	NSK.33
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.14.3571
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.9.1801
ko	this (one)	*no*	*miyuru ama no sirakumo*	heavenly clouds which are seen	MYS.18.4122

ko	this (one)	*no*	*motoyama*	low mountain at the foot of a higher mountain	MYS.14.3488
ko	this (one)	*no*	*muka*	opposite side	MYS.14.3448
ko	this (one)	*no*	*mutose no uti*	in these six years	SM.7
ko	this (one)	*no*	*na*	name	MYS.15.3638
ko	this (one)	*no*	*ne*	root	KK.100
ko	this (one)	*no*	*nipa*	surface of the sea	MYS.20.4452
ko	this (one)	*no*	*opomaturigoto no opomaye tu kimi*	First Minister of the Great Council of State	SM.36
ko	this (one)	*no*	*opomiya*	grand palace	MYS.18.4098
ko	this (one)	*no*	*oponipe*	Great Thanksgiving Festival	SM.38
ko	this (one)	*no*	*popogasipa*	magnolia hypoleuca	MYS.19.4205
ko	this (one)	*no*	*puse*	offering	MYS.19.4187
ko	this (one)	*no*	*sigure*	passing rain of autumn	MYS.19.4222
ko	this (one)	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.20.4511
ko	this (one)	*no*	*sumyegamwi*	(regional) deity	EN.3
ko	this (one)	*no*	*sumyegamwi*	(regional) deity	EN.4
ko	this (one)	*no*	*takakwi*	high fortress	NSK.84
ko	this (one)	*no*	*take*	peak	MYS.5.873
ko	this (one)	*no*	*taketi*	market located in a high place	KK.101
ko	this (one)	*no*	*tati kusa*	standing grass	EN.8
ko	this (one)	*no*	*tatibana*	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana), Tachibana	MYS.18.4058
ko	this (one)	*no*	*tatibana*	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana), Tachibana	MYS.18.4063
ko	this (one)	*no*	*terasu pitukwi*	shiny days and nights	MYS.5.800
ko	this (one)	*no*	*tokoro*	place	EN.5
ko	this (one)	*no*	*tokoro*	place	EN.6
ko	this (one)	*no*	*tori*	bird	KK.2
ko	this (one)	*no*	*tosi*	year(s), time	SM.28
ko	this (one)	*no*	*toyomiki*	abundant wine	SNK.3

ko	this (one)	*no*	*two*	entrance, passage	MYS.14.3460
ko	this (one)	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.4
ko	this (one)	*no*	*wa ga satwo*	my village	MYS.17.3984
ko	this (one)	*no*	*wa ga yadwo*	my house	MYS.11.2527
ko	this (one)	*no*	*woka*	hill	MYS.1.1
ko	this (one)	*no*	*wosukuni*	ruled land	SM.1
ko	this (one)	*no*	*wosukuni*	ruled land	SM.6
ko	this (one)	*no*	*ya*	house	MYS.14.3460
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yadwo*	house	MYS.17.3920
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.5.872
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yamabuki*	mountain kerria, yamabuki rose	MYS.17.3976
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yamamiti*	mountain road	MYS.15.3728
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yamato*	Yamato	MYS.1.35
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yo*	generation, reign	BS.14
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yo*	generation, reign	SM.41
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yuki*	depart, leave	MYS.19.4287
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yupubye*	night time	MYS.19.4291
ko	this (one)	*no*	*yupukage*	moonlight	MYS.19.4290
ko	this (one)	*no*	*ywo*	night	MYS.20.4394
koga	Koga	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	MYS.14.3555
kokoro	heart	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	SM.45
kokoro	heart	*no*	*subye*	means, manner, remedy, recourse	MYS.18.4106
kokoro	heart	*no*	*subye*	means, manner, remedy, recourse	MYS.5.796
kokoro	heart	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.19.4154
kokoro	heart	*no*	*woro*	cord, strap, long continuous linik, life	MYS.14.3466
komoridu	hidden place	*no*	*sita*	below	KK.56
komoriye	hidden inlet	*no*	*pune*	boat	MYS.3.249
konumi	Konumi	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.12.3195
konure	tree top	*no*	*poyo*	mistletoe	MYS.18.4136
konure	new growth of a tree	*no*	*sige*	lushness	MYS.8.1494
kopata	Kohata	*no*	*miti*	road	KK.42
kopata	Kohata	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.2.148
kopori	County	*no*	*tisikizi*	Chishiki Temple	SM.15
kopori	county	*no*	*toyuke*	Toyuke shrine	SM.42
kore	this (one)	*no*	*midusima*	Mizushima	MYS.3.245
kore	this (one)	*no*	*mwi*	body, life	BS.20

kore	this (one)	*no*	*paru*	needle	MYS.20.4420
kore	this (one)	*no*	*yo*	generation, reign	BS.10
koromo	robe, garment	*no*	*kapyeru swode*	folding sleeve	MYS.10.2063
koromo	robe, garment	*no*	*nupime*	seam	MYS.12.2967
koromo	robe, garment	*no*	*pimo*	cord	MYS.15.3585
koromo	robe, garment	*no*	*pimo*	cord	MYS.15.3715
koromo	robe, garment	*no*	*swode*	sleeve	MYS.14.3449
koromo	robe, garment	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.1.79
kose	Kose	*no*	*parunwo*	spring field	MYS.1.54
kose	Kose	*no*	*parunwo*	spring field	MYS.1.56
kose	Kose	*no*	*wogurwo*	black person	MYS.16.3844
koseyama	Kose-yama; Mt. Kose	*no*	*turaturatubaki*	waves and waves of common camellia	MYS.1.54
koso	Koso [unknown]	*no*	*satwobito*	village person	MYS.14.3559
koti	this side, this direction	*no*	*yama*	mountain	KK.91
kotigoti	here and there	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.3.319
kotigoti	here and there	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.9.1749
kotigoti	here and there	*no*	*yama*	mountain	KK.91
kotigoti	here and there	*no*	*ye*	branch	MYS.2.210a
kotigoti	here and there	*no*	*ye*	branch	MYS.2.210b
kot	thing	*no*	*sirusi*	mark	EN.27
koto1	thing	*no*	*sirusi*	mark	EN.27
kotosi	this year	*no*	*minaduki*	sixth month	EN.7
kotowari	principle; way (of the world)	*no*	*goto*	be like	SM.28
koyopi	tonight	*no*	*akatoki*	dawn	MYS.10.2269
koyopi	tonight	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.8.1652
koyopi	tonight	*no*	*tukuywo*	moonlight	MYS.1.15
koyopi	tonight	*no*	*tukuywo*	moonlight	MYS.20.4489
kozo	last year, last night	*no*	*aki*	autumn	MYS.18.4117
kuda	tube	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.2.199a
kudaranwo	Kudarano	*no*	*pagwi*	bush clover (any flowering plant of genus Lespedeza)	MYS.8.1431
kumakasi	large evergreen oak, bear oak	*no*	*pa*	leaf	KK.31
kumaki	Kumaki (in Noto peninsula)	*no*	*yara*	[unknown; seabed? swamp, marsh?]	MYS.16.3878
kume	Kume (clan name)	*no*	*wakugwo*	youth, young man	MYS.3.307a

kume	Kume (clan name)	*no*	*wakugwo*	youth, young man	MYS.3.307b
kume	Kume (clan name)	*no*	*wakugwo*	youth, young man	MYS.3.435
kumo	cloud	*no*	*isaywopi*	waver	MYS.14.3511
kumo	cloud	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.14.3522
kumo	spider	*no*	*su*	nest	MYS.5.892
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*amawotomye araburu*	diver girl	MYS.5.865
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*kamwidomo*	nefarious deities	EN.25
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*imosenoyama*	Imose-no-yama; Mt. Imose	MYS.4.544
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*iswonokami*	Iswo-no-kami, [MK for puru]	MYS.9.1787
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*kimi*	my lord	SM.29
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*kokisi*	king	SM.57
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*koto*	thing	MYS.17.4008
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*makwi*	excellent tree	MYS.2.199a
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*makwi*	excellent tree	MYS.2.199b
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*mapora*	excellent place	MYS.18.4089
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*maporama*	excellent place	NSK.22
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*maporoba*	excellent place	KK.30
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*miikusa*	honourable soldier	MYS.2.199a
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*mitinoku*	Michinoku	MYS.18.4094a
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*mitinoku*	Michinoku	MYS.18.4094b
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*mitinoku*	Michinoku	MYS.18.4094b
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*miyakwo*	capital	MYS.3.475
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*miyakwo*	capital	MYS.4.768
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*miyakwo*	capital	MYS.6.1037
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*miyakwo*	capital	MYS.6.1059
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*miyakwo*	capital	MYS.6.1060
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*miyakwo*	capital	MYS.8.1631
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*nagapito*	long-lived person	NSK.62
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*okuka*	distant place; deep place	MYS.5.886a
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*okuka*	distant place; deep place	MYS.5.886b
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	EN.19
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	EN.22
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*patate*	extent, limit	MYS.8.1429
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*pimukasi*	east	SM.13
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*po*	peak	KK.41
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*po*	peak	NSK.34
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*sidume*	quiet	MYS.3.319

kuni	place of origin	*no*	*sidume*	quiet	SM.31
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*taduki*	clue	MYS.16.3850
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*tosi*	year(s), time	MYS.18.4116
kuni	place of origin	*no*	*woda*	small field	SM.13
kuniguni	various lands	*no*	*sakimori*	border guard	MYS.20.4381
kuniguni	various lands	*no*	*yasiro*	shrine	MYS.20.4391
kunipye	country side	*no*	*tuyusimo*	dew and frost	MYS.15.3691
kura	saddle	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.16.3838
kurapasi	Kurahashi	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.9.1763
kure	Kure	*no*	*masapi*	pure sword	NSK.103
kurusu	Kurusu	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	MYS.6.970
kurwopo	Kuroho	*no*	*ne-ro*	peak	MYS.14.3412
kurwousi	Kuroushi	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.7.1218
kusa	grass	*no*	*kakipa*	a single leaf	EN.4
kusa	grass	*no*	*kakipa*	a single leaf	EN.4
kusa	grass	*no*	*kakipa*	a single leaf	EN.8
kusakabye	Kusaka place	*no*	*koti no yama*	moutain on this side	KK.91
kusakaye	Kusaka place	*no*	*iriye*	inlet; small bay	KK.95
kusakaye	Kusaka place	*no*	*iriye*	inlet; small bay	MYS.4.575
kuse	Kuse	*no*	*sagisaka*	Sagisaka	MYS.9.1707
kusi	wine	*no*	*kami*	chief	KK.39
kusi	wine	*no*	*kami*	chief	NSK.32
kwi	tree	*no*	*mitama*	spirit	EN.8
kwi	tree	*no*	*sayasaya*	chafe-chafe	KK.74
kwi	tree	*no*	*sayasaya*	chafe-chafe	NSK.41
kwi	tree	*no*	*swora*	state of mind	JSHT.4
kwi	tree	*no*	*tosi*	year(s), time	MYS.6.990
kwi	tree	*no*	*yeda*	branch	KK.98
kwi	Kii	*no*	*sekimori*	border guard	MYS.4.545
kwi	Kii	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.5.823
kwi	fortress, crypt	*no*	*pe*	top; above; surface	NSK.100
kwi	fortress, crypt	*no*	*pe*	top; above; surface	NSK.101
kwinokuni	Kii-no-kuni; Kii Province	*no*	*mukasi*	(in) olden times; (in) the ancient past	MYS.9.1678
kwisi	bank, shore	*no*	*kwomatu*	small pine	MYS.10.2313
kwisi	bank, shore	*no*	*panipu*	clay patch	MYS.6.1002
kwisi	bank, shore	*no*	*panipu*	clay patch	MYS.6.932
kwisi	bank, shore	*no*	*panipu*	clay patch	MYS.7.1146
kwisi	bank, shore	*no*	*panipu*	clay patch	MYS.7.1148
kwisi	bank, shore	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.11.2735

kwisi	bank, shore	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.7.1144
kwo	child	*no*	*yapye karakaki*	many layered Chinese fence	NSK.88
kwo	child	*no*	*yapye no sibakaki*	many layered fence	KK.107
kwo	child	*no*	*yapye ya karakaki*	many layered Chinese fence	NSK.91b
kwo	silkworm pupa	*no*	*maywo*	(silkworm) cocooon	MYS.12.2991
kwoba	Koba	*no*	*panari*	young girl (with hair like that)	MYS.14.3496
kwogata	Kogata	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.12.3166
kwogata	Kogata	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.16.3870
kwoma	pony, horse	*no*	*kuti*	mouth	MYS.14.3532
kwona	Kona	*no*	*sirane*	white peak	MYS.14.3478
kwopu	Kofu	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.5.813
kwosi	Koshi	*no*	*kimira*	my lord (plural)	MYS.18.4071
kwosi	Koshi	*no*	*naka*	middle, relationship	MYS.17.4000
kwosi	Koshi	*no*	*opoyama*	grand mountain	MYS.12.3153
kwosi	Koshi	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.17.3959
kwosi	Koshi	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.17.4020
kwosinoumi	Koshi-no-umi	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.17.3959
kwosinoumi	Koshi-no-umi	*no*	*kwogata*	Kogata	MYS.12.3166
kwosinoumi	Koshi-no-umi	*no*	*sinanwo*	Shinano (or possibly Shinanu, following Vovin)	MYS.17.4020
kwosinoumi	Koshi-no-umi	*no*	*tayupigaura*	Tayui-ga-ura; tayui bay	MYS.3.367
kwosuge-ro	small sedge	*no*	*ura*	end leaf	MYS.14.3564
kwoyade	small branch	*no*	*api*	[reciprocal], meeting	MYS.14.3493a
kyepu	today	*no*	*arwozi*	master	MYS.20.4498
kyepu	today	*no*	*aswobi*	playing, game	MYS.5.835
kyepu	today	*no*	*pi*	sun, daytime	MYS.18.4047
kyepu	today	*no*	*tamabapaki*	jewel broom	MYS.20.4493
kyesa	this morning	*no*	*asake*	dawn, daybreak	MYS.17.3947
kyesa	this morning	*no*	*asake*	dawn, daybreak	MYS.8.1540
ma	interval	*no*	*konure*	new growth of a tree	MYS.6.924
magaki	(a kind of) fence	*no*	*sugata*	figure, attitude	MYS.4.778
mageipo	small bended hut	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.5.892
makiki	Makiki	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.10.2187

makura	pillow	*no*	*kata*	side, direction (spatial and temporal)	MYS.5.892
makuraga	Makuraga	*no*	*koga*	Koga	MYS.14.3555
makurapye	pillow place	*no*	*atari*	vicinity	MYS.1.72
makwi	excellent tree	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.8.1659
mama	Mama	*no*	*iriye*	inlet; small bay	MYS.3.433
mama	Mama	*no*	*tegwona*	maiden, young girl	MYS.14.3384
mama	Mama	*no*	*tegwona*	maiden, young girl	MYS.14.3384
mama	Mama	*no*	*tegwona*	maiden, young girl	MYS.14.3385
mama	Mama	*no*	*tegwona*	maiden, young girl	MYS.3.431
mama	Mama	*no*	*tegwona*	maiden, young girl	MYS.3.432
mama	Mama	*no*	*tegwona*	maiden, young girl	MYS.9.1807
mama	Mama	*no*	*tugipasi*	extending brige	MYS.14.3387
mama	Mama	*no*	*wi*	well	MYS.9.1808
mama	cliff; precipice	*no*	*kwosuge*	small sedge	MYS.14.3369
mama	cliff; precipice	*no*	*osupi*	rocky shore	MYS.14.3385
mama	cliff; precipice	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.14.3349
managa	Managa	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.9.1733
manwo	Mano	*no*	*kayapara*	reed plain	MYS.3.396
manwo	Mano	*no*	*paripara*	alder plain	MYS.3.280
manwo	Mano	*no*	*paripara*	alder plain	MYS.3.281
manwo	Mano	*no*	*paripara*	alder plain	MYS.3.281
manwo	Mano	*no*	*paripara*	alder plain	MYS.7.1354
manwonoura	Mano-no-ura	*no*	*yodo*	meander	MYS.4.490
maripu	Marifu	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.15.3630
maripu	Marifu	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.15.3632
maripu	Marifu	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.15.3635
masopo	cinnabar	*no*	*iro*	colour	MYS.14.3560
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*kiywoki so no na*	pure name	MYS.18.4094a
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*kiywoki so no na*	pure name	MYS.18.4094b
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.17.3962
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.18.4095a
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.18.4095b
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.20.4331
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*piki*	pull	MYS.19.4220
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*tomo*	fellows, guys [pluralizing noun]	MYS.17.4011

masurawo	brave man	*no*	*tomo*	fellows, guys [pluralizing noun]	MYS.20.4465
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*wotwokwosabwi*	be manlike	MYS.5.804a
masurawo	brave man	*no*	*yuki*	departure	MYS.9.1800
matu	pine	*no*	*pa*	leaf	MYS.15.3747
matu	pine	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.17.3942
matu	pine	*no*	*sayeda*	branch	MYS.20.4501
matudaye	Matsudae	*no*	*nagapama*	long beach	MYS.17.3991
matura	Matsura	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.5.858
matura	Matsura	*no*	*tamasima*	Tamashima	MYS.5.862
matura	Matsura	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.5.865
maturanokapa	Matsura-no-kawa; Matsura River	*no*	*kapanami*	the appearance of a river, waves on a river	MYS.5.858
maturigoto	politics	*no*	*moto*	handle	SM.28
matuura	Pine inlet	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.15.3685
mede	love	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.5.894
miagata	land for cultivating imperial food	*no*	*tone*	chief	EN.3
miagata	land for cultivating imperial food	*no*	*yama*	mountain	EN.3
midu	water	*no*	*tagiti*	splash(ing)	MYS.3.319
midunoye	Mizunoe	*no*	*urasima*	Urashima	FK.15
midura	name of a male hairstyle	*no*	*naka*	middle	MYS.20.4377
migwosi	Migoshi	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.14.3365
mika	Mika (only found in Mika-no-hara)	*no*	*para*	field, plain	EN.1
mika	Mika (only found in Mika-no-hara)	*no*	*para*	field, plain	EN.3
mika	Mika (only found in Mika-no-hara)	*no*	*para*	field, plain	EN.6
mika	honourable wine	*no*	*pe*	top	EN.3
mika	honourable wine	*no*	*pe*	top	EN.3
mika	honourable wine	*no*	*pe*	top	EN.4
mika	honourable wine	*no*	*pe*	top	EN.4
mika	honourable wine	*no*	*pe*	top	EN.5
mika	honourable wine	*no*	*pe*	top	EN.6
mikadwo	honorable gate	*no*	*ikipopi*	power	SM.28
mikadwo	honorable gate	*no*	*mamori*	guard	MYS.18.4094a

mikadwo	honorable gate	*no*	*mamori*	guard	MYS.18.4094b
mikadwo	honorable gate	*no*	*mamori*	guard	SM.37
mikadwo	honorable gate	*no*	*miisawo*	merit	SM.47
mikadwo	honorable gate	*no*	*mikamunagi*	shrine maiden	EN.1
mikadwo	honorable gate	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.2.199a
mikadwo	honorable gate	*no*	*sabape nasu sawaku toneri*	attendents who are noisy like a fly	MYS.3.478
mikage	palace	*no*	*midu*	water	MYS.1.52
mikaki	Mikaki	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.9.1761
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*payasi*	forest, arboretum	MYS.16.3885
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.10.1861
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.10.1887
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.12.3066
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.12.3209
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.372
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.372
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.6.980
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.7.1295
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.8.1554
mikasa	Mikasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.8.1554
mikasanoyama	Mikasa-no-yama; Mt. Mikasa	*no*	*momitiba*	maple leaf	MYS.8.1554
mikata	Imagine of (Rushana) Buddha	*no*	*opomapye*	front	SM.12
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*ame no mi-araka*	heavenly emperor's residence	EN.25
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*asamike*	morning food	EN.1
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*koromode*	garment sleeve	MYS.18.4101
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*koto*	word	MYS.9.1774
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*miaraka*	Emperor's residence	EN.8
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*midu miaraka*	prosperous residence	EN.10
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*midu miaraka*	prosperous residence	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*midu no miaraka*	prosperous residence	EN.1
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*midu no miaraka*	prosperous residence	EN.1

mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*mitama*	spirit	EN.27
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*mitama*	spirit	EN.27
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*mitama*	spirit	EN.27
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	EN.8
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.18.4094a
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.18.4094b
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*onazi opotono*	the same palace	EN.8
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*opomikoto*	great words	EN.24
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*opomikoto*	great words	EN.26
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*opomiya*	grand palace	MYS.1.29a
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*opomiya*	grand palace	MYS.1.29b
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*saki*	happiness, good luck	MYS.18.4094a
mikot	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*saki*	happiness, good luck	MYS.18.4094b
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*saki*	happiness, good luck	MYS.18.4095a
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*saki*	happiness, good luck	MYS.18.4095b
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*tanaga no opo-miyo*	eternal reign	EN.27
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*tanaga no opomiyo*	eternal reign	EN.27
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.1
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.1
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.1
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.1
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.1
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.1
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.1

mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.14
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.3
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.3
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.4
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.4
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*udu no mitegura*	august offerings	EN.7
mikoto	order, instruction	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	MYS.20.4331
mikwo	child of a god, an emperor/empress, or a high noble	*no*	*enmidaigyaku*	great treasonous crime	SM.54
mikwo	child of a god, an emperor/empress, or a high noble	*no*	*mikadwo*	honourable gate	MYS.2.168
mikwo	child of a god, an emperor/empress, or a high noble	*no*	*na*	name	SM.30
mikwo	child of a god, an emperor/empress, or a high noble	*no*	*na*	name	SM.30
mikwo	child of a god, an	*no*	*sibakaki*	brushwood fence	KK.109

mikwo	emperor/empress, or a high noble child of a god, an emperor/empress, or a high noble	*no*	*yopapi*	age	SM.5
mikwosidi	the honourable road to Koshi Province	*no*	*tamuke*	make offerings, nan, Tamuke	MYS.15.3730
mimaya	Honorable stable, barn	*no*	*two*	outside, outer	MYS.15.3776
mimo	Honourable skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.20.4408
mimoro	Mimoro river	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.13.3227
mimoro	Mimoro river	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.9.1770
minabye	Minabe	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.9.1669
minatwo	harbor	*no*	*asi*	reed	MYS.14.3445
minatwo	harbor	*no*	*sudori*	sandbar bird	MYS.17.3993
minatwo	harbor	*no*	*usipo*	tide	NSK.120
mine	peak	*no*	*sirakumo*	white cloud	MYS.3.377
minume	Minume	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.3.389
minume	Minume	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.3.449
minumyenoura	Minume-no-ura; Minume Coast	*no*	*okipye*	offing side	MYS.6.946
mipo	Miho	*no*	*ipaya*	stone house	MYS.3.307a
mipo	Miho	*no*	*ipaya*	stone house	MYS.3.307b
mipo	Miho	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.3.434a
mipo	Miho	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.3.434b
mipo	Miho	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.7.1228
mipune	Mifune	*no*	*kadikara*	oar handle	MYS.8.1455
mipune	Mifune	*no*	*tomari*	stop	MYS.3.247
mipune	Mifune	*no*	*tuna*	rope	MYS.15.3656
mipune	Mifune	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.6.907
mipye	Mie	*no*	*kapara*	river flats	MYS.9.1735
mipye	Mie	*no*	*kwo*	child	KK.100
misome	Misome [unknown]	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.8.1560
misonopu	honorable garden	*no*	*momokwi*	maple leaf	MYS.17.3906
misonopu	honorable garden	*no*	*take*	bamboo	MYS.19.4286
misonopu	honorable garden	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.5.864
misumaru	pearl necklace or bracelet	*no*	*anatama*	holed jewel	NSK.2

mitama	dead person's spirit or soul	*no*	*uminokwo*	descendants	SM.34
mitaya	small hut in an estate belonging to a shinto shrine	*no*	*kaki*	wall	MYS.13.3223
miti	road	*no*	*apida*	time	MYS.14.3571
miti	road	*no*	*kagupasi panatatibana*	fragrant flowering tachibana	KK.43
miti	road	*no*	*kamwi-tati*	god (plural)	MYS.17.4009
miti	road	*no*	*kumamwi*	vincinity of river bend	MYS.5.886a
miti	road	*no*	*kumamwi*	vincinity of river bend	MYS.5.886b
miti	road	*no*	*naka*	middle	MYS.17.3930
miti	road	*no*	*pe*	place, direction	MYS.20.4352
miti	road	*no*	*sworadi*	halfway	MYS.15.3694
miti	road	*no*	*yaswokuma*	many bends	MYS.2.131a
miti	road	*no*	*yaswokuma*	many bends	MYS.2.131b
mitinoku	Michinoku	*no*	*adatara*	Adatara	MYS.14.3437
mitinoku	Michinoku	*no*	*woda*	small field	MYS.18.4094a
mitinoku	Michinoku	*no*	*woda*	small field	MYS.18.4094b
mitinoku	Michinoku	*no*	*woda*	small field	MYS.18.4094b
mitu	Mitsu	*no*	*pamabwi*	by the beach, next to the beach	MYS.15.3627
mitu	Mitsu	*no*	*pamamatu*	shore pine; pine at the shore	MYS.15.3721
mitu	Mitsu	*no*	*pamapye*	beach, vicinity of beach	MYS.4.509
mitu	Mitsu	*no*	*panipu*	clay patch	MYS.11.2725
mitu	Mitsu	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.3.249
mitukapa	Mitsukawa; Mitsukawa River	*no*	*puti*	deep, quiet water; deep pool	MYS.9.1717
miwa	Miwa	*no*	*papuri*	priest	MYS.8.1517
miwa	Miwa	*no*	*pipara*	grove of cypress trees; plain with cypress trees	MYS.7.1118
miwa	Miwa	*no*	*tono*	palace	NSK.16
miwa	Miwa	*no*	*tono*	palace	NSK.16
miwa	Miwa	*no*	*tono*	palace	NSK.17
miwa	Miwa	*no*	*tonotwo*	building door	NSK.17
miwori	Miori	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.20.4341
miya	palace	*no*	*negwi*	pray	SM.42
miya	palace	*no*	*sekapa*	Se River	MYS.14.3505

miya	palace	*no*	*suswomwi*	vicinity of the foot of a mountain	MYS.20.4316
miya	palace	*no*	*tukasa*	official	SM.11
miya	palace	*no*	*upe*	surface	SM.42
miya	palace	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.9.1740
miyake	Miyake	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.13.3295
miyakedi	road to Miyake	*no*	*natunwo*	summer field	MYS.13.3296
miyakwo	capital	*no*	*kariipo*	temporary hut, dwelling	MYS.1.7
miyakwo	capital	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.15.3675
miyakwo	capital	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.20.4473
miyakwo	capital	*no*	*teburi*	custom, practice	MYS.5.880
miyapito	palace retainer	*no*	*ayupi*	cord used to tie a hakama (formal skirt) to one's legs	KK.82
miyapito	palace retainer	*no*	*ayupi*	cord used to tie a hakama (formal skirt) to one's legs	NSK.73
miyapito	palace retainer	*no*	*swodetukegoromo*	sleeved garment	MYS.20.4315
miyaziro	Miyajiro	*no*	*su*	sand, sandbar	MYS.14.3575
miyesinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*womurwo*	small temple juniper	KK.97
miyesinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*yesinwo*	Yoshino	NSK.126
miyo	generation, world, court	*no*	*na*	name	SM.5
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*akidu*	Akizu	MYS.6.911
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*akidunowonwo*	Akizu-no-ono	MYS.6.926
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*ipamoto*	base of stone	MYS.10.2161
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*kaputi*	flat basin around a river	MYS.6.910
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*kisayama*	Kisa-yama; Mt.Kisa	MYS.6.924
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*kiywoki kaputi*	pure flat basin around a river	MYS.6.908
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*mimiga*	Mimiga	MYS.1.25
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*mimiga*	Mimiga	MYS.1.26
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*mipunenoyama*	Mifune-no-yama	MYS.3.244
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*tagitu*	flow fast (of water)	MYS.6.921
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*taki*	waterfall	MYS.13.3232
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*taki*	waterfall	MYS.6.910
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*taki*	waterfall	MYS.6.912

miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*taki*	waterfall	MYS.6.922
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*tamamatu*	jewel, pearl, beautiful pine	MYS.2.113
miyosinwo	Miyoshino	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.1.74
miyu	hot spring	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.3.322
miyuki	imperial outing	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	MYS.4.543
mo	skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.15.3661a
mo	skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.15.3661b
mo	skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.15.3691
mo	skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.5.855
mo	skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.5.861
momitiba	maple leaves	*no*	*tirinomagapi*	scatter	MYS.15.3700
momokwi	various trees	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.17.3906
momotori	many birds	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.5.834
mono	thing	*no*	*sita*	below	EN.7
monosiribito-domo	knowledgeable people (plural)	*no*	*uragoto*	divination	EN.4
monosiribito-domo	knowledgeable people (plural)	*no*	*uragoto*	divination	EN.4
mopakitu	Mohakitsu	*no*	*so no tu*	that port	MYS.9.1759
mori	thickly grown forest	*no*	*pototogisu*	lesser cuckoo (Cuculus poliocephalus)	MYS.8.1470
mori	thickly grown forest	*no*	*pudi*	wisteria	MYS.17.3952
moropito	everyone	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	SM.28
moropito	everyone	*no*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	BS.1
moto	beginning	*no*	*yuki*	snow	MYS.10.2316
motoyama	low mountain at the foot of a higher mountain	*no*	*masiba*	outstanding branch	MYS.14.3488
mukwo	Muko	*no*	*tomari*	stop	MYS.3.283
mukwo	Muko	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.15.3609a
mukwo	Muko	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.14.3576
mukwo	Muko	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.15.3590
mukwo	Muko	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	MYS.17.3895
murwogaya	Murogaya	*no*	*turu*	Tsuru	MYS.14.3543
murwopu	Murō	*no*	*kemomo*	a kind of peach which is small and furry (hairy)	MYS.11.2834
mututa	Mutsuta	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.9.1723
muzasinwo	Musashi field	*no*	*kusapa*	leaves of grass	MYS.14.3377
muzasinwo	Musashi field	*no*	*ukyera*	Atractylodes japonica	MYS.14.3376a

muzasinwo	Musashi field	*no*	*ukyera*	Atractylodes japonica	MYS.14.3376b
muzasinwo	Musashi field	*no*	*woguki*	steep mountain or ravine	MYS.14.3375
mwina	all	*no*	*koto*	word	MYS.14.3398
mwinapito	everyone	*no*	*inoti*	life	MYS.6.922
myekwo	wife	*no*	*nari*	work	MYS.16.3865
myepi	Mehi	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.17.4016
nabari	Nabari	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.1.43
nabarinwo	Nabari field	*no*	*pagwi*	bush clover (any flowering plant of genus Lespedeza)	MYS.8.1536
nadesikwo	pink, carnation (flower of the Caryophyllaceae family)	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.8.1496
nagapama	long beach	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.17.4029
nagatukwi	ninth month	*no*	*momiti*	maple	MYS.15.3716
nagatukwi	ninth month	*no*	*sigure*	passing rain of autumn	MYS.10.2180
nagatukwi	ninth month	*no*	*sigure*	passing rain of autumn	MYS.13.3223
nagatukwi	ninth month	*no*	*sigure*	passing rain of autumn	MYS.13.3324a
nagatukwi	ninth month	*no*	*sigure*	passing rain of autumn	MYS.13.3324b
nagatukwi	ninth month	*no*	*sigure*	passing rain of autumn	MYS.3.423a
nagatwo	Nagato	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.15.3621
nagwi	a kind of water hyacinth (Monochoria vaginaliz)	*no*	*moto*	stem	NSK.126
nagwo	Nago	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.17.3956
nagwo	Nago	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.17.4017
nagwo	Nago	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.18.4033
nagwo	Nago	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.19.4213
nagwonoumi	Nago-no-umi	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.17.3989
nagwonoumi	Nago-no-umi	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.18.4106
nagwoye	Nago-e	*no*	*suge*	sedge	MYS.18.4116
naka	middle	*no*	*kurawi*	rank	SM.41
naka	middle	*no*	*kurawi kagapuri*	cap and rank	SM.41
naka	middle	*no*	*subye naki mono*	unavoidable things	MYS.5.804a
naka	middle	*no*	*subye naki mono*	unavoidable things	MYS.5.804b

naka	middle	*no*	*tune*	normalcy, eternity	MYS.17.3969
naka	Naka	*no*	*minatwo*	harbor	MYS.2.220
naka	middle	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.5.892
nakapazu	[unknown; bowstring?]	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.1.3
nakapazu	[unknown; bowstring?]	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.1.3
nakatomi	Nakatomi (clan)	*no*	*putwonoritogoto*	words of prayer	MYS.17.4031
nakisumi	Nakisumi	*no*	*punase*	Funase	MYS.6.935
nakisumi	Nakisumi	*no*	*punase*	Funase	MYS.6.937
nami	wave	*no*	*ma*	interval	MYS.20.4331
nami	wave	*no*	*muta*	as, like	MYS.2.131a
nami	wave	*no*	*muta*	as, like	MYS.2.131b
nami	wave	*no*	*siposawi*	rushing of the ebb tide	MYS.11.2731
nami	wave	*no*	*to*	sound	FK.14
nami	wave	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.15.3609a
nami	wave	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.15.3639
nami	wave	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.15.3691
nami	wave	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.17.3896
namisiba	Namishiba	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.10.2190
nanase	seven rapids	*no*	*yodo*	meander	MYS.5.860
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.20.4360
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*mitu*	Mitsu	MYS.20.4331
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.6.1062
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.6.1063
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.6.933
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	KK.53
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.13.3300
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	NSK.48
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*suge*	sedge	MYS.4.619
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*tu*	harbor	MYS.20.4365
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.20.4361
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.6.977
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*woye*	small inlet, bay	MYS.16.3886
nanipa	Naniwa	*no*	*woye*	small inlet, bay	MYS.16.3886
nanipawotokwo	Naniwa man	*no*	*te*	hand	MYS.4.577
napa	Nawa	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.3.354
napasiro	seedling bed	*no*	*kwonagwi*	water leek	MYS.14.3576
nara	Nara	*no*	*ipye*	house	MYS.1.80
nara	Nara	*no*	*miya*	palace	SM.14
nara	Nara	*no*	*opoti*	big road	MYS.15.3728
nara	Nara	*no*	*pasama*	(narrow) valley	NSK.95

nara	Nara	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.6.952
naranomiyakwo	Nara-no-miyako	*no*	*sapogapa*	Sao-gawa; Sao River	MYS.1.79
naranoyama	Nara-no-yama; Mt. Nara	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.1.17
narasi	Narasi	*no*	*woka*	hill	MYS.8.1506
narayama	Nara-yama; Mt. Nara	*no*	*mine*	peak	MYS.10.2316
narayama	Nara-yama; Mt. Nara	*no*	*mine*	peak	MYS.8.1585
narutwo	Naruto	*no*	*udusipo*	tidal whirlpool; spiralling, whirling current	MYS.15.3638
nasaka	Nasaka	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.14.3397
natakanoura	Nataka-no-ura	*no*	*nanoriso*	gulfweed	MYS.7.1396
natu	summer	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.18.4113
natu	summer	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.17.4011
natu	summer	*no*	*ywo*	night	MYS.18.4062
natumusi	summer insect	*no*	*pimusi*	moth (from silkworm)	NSK.49
natumwi	Natsumi	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.11.2727
natunwo	summer field	*no*	*kusa*	when coming, grass, material	MYS.10.1983
ne-ro	peak	*no*	*kuzupagata*	kudzu-leaf vine	MYS.14.3412
ne-ro	peak	*no*	*sasapa*	bamboo-grass leaf	MYS.14.3382
nikitadu	Nikitazu	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.2.131a
nikitadu	Nikitazu	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.2.131b
nikitadu	Nikitazu	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.2.138
ninden	man kind and heavenly beings	*no*	*syauraku*	victoriou pleasure	SM.45
nipa	surface of the sea	*no*	*nadesikwo*	pink, carnation (flower of the Caryophyllaceae family)	MYS.3.464
nipe	Nie	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.20.4324
nipikapa	Niikawa	*no*	*so no tatiyama*	that Mt.Tachi	MYS.17.4000
nipimurwo	newly built house	*no*	*kodoki*	prayer	MYS.14.3506
nipinape	Grand Banquet; offering (and tasting) of the first fruits	*no*	*naporapi*	feast	SM.46
nisi	westwind	*no*	*mimaya*	honorable stable	MYS.15.3776
nisi	westwind	*no*	*miyakwo*	capital	SNK.6
nisiki	cloth woven with multi-coloured yarn	*no*	*pimo*	cord	NSK.66

noko	Noko	*no*	*tomari*	stop	MYS.15.3673
noko	Noko	*no*	*uranami*	inlet waves	MYS.15.3670
nori	dharma, law, custom	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	SM.43
nori	dharma, law, custom	*no*	*ta*	purpose, benefit, sake	BS.18
noto	Noto	*no*	*simayama*	Mt.Shima	MYS.17.4026
notose	Notose	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.12.3018
nu	field, small plain	*no*	*kwonotekasipa*	Platycladus orientalis [unknown; a type of vine, creeper]	MYS.20.4387
numa	swamp	*no*	*ipawitura*	bulrush grass	MYS.14.3416
numa	swamp	*no*	*opowigusa*	bulrush grass	MYS.14.3417
nusi	master	*no*	*mitama*	spirit	MYS.5.882
nusi	master	*no*	*tonodwo*	building door	MYS.18.4132
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*asadi*	low cogongrass	MYS.10.2331
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*asadi*	low cogongrass	MYS.8.1578
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*mikusa*	water weed	MYS.1.7
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*sayuri*	little lily	MYS.18.4113
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*sayuri*	little lily	MYS.18.4116
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*sitakusa*	underbrush	MYS.16.3802
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*soki*	far edge	MYS.6.971
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*susuki*	Japanese pampas grass	MYS.17.4016
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.20.4506
nwo	field, small plain	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.20.4507
nwobye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*nadesikwo*	pink, carnation	MYS.10.1970
nwopye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*akipagwi*	autumn bush-clover	MYS.10.2106
nwopye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*akipagwi*	autumn bush-clover	MYS.2.233
nwopye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*akipagwi*	autumn bush-clover	MYS.8.1598
nwopye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*akipagwi*	autumn bush-clover	MYS.8.1605
nwopye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*asadi*	low cogongrass	MYS.8.1540
nwopye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*kapobana*	kao flower	MYS.8.1630
nwopye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*patuwopana*	first Japanese pampas grass	MYS.15.3691
nwopye	vicinity of a field	*no*	*tubosumire*	viola arcuata Blume (aka Viola verecunda A. Gray)	MYS.8.1444

nwosaka	Nosaka	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.3.246
nwosima	Noshima	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.6.933
nwosima	Noshima	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.6.934
nwosimagasaki	Noshima-ga-saki	*no*	*pamakaze*	shore wind	MYS.3.251
okipye	offing side	*no*	*kata*	tidal flat	MYS.15.3624
okiswo	Okiso	*no*	*kaze*	wind	MYS.5.799
okuyama	deep mountain	*no*	*makwi*	excellent tree	MYS.14.3467
okuyama	deep mountain	*no*	*sakakwi*	sakaki (cleyera japonica)	MYS.3.379
okuyama	deep mountain	*no*	*sikimi*	Japanese star anise (Illicium anisatum)	MYS.20.4476
omi	palace servant	*no*	*wiyaziro*	gift	EN.27
omi no mye	lady-in-waiting	*no*	*kusige*	comb box	MYS.4.509
omi-tati	palace servants (plural)	*no*	*naka*	middle	SM.16
omote	face	*no*	*irokatati*	colour/ countenance	SM.44
omote	front	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.5.804a
omowa	facial features, looks	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.19.4192
opokapara	great river flats	*no*	*uwegusa*	sprouting grass	KK.36
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*asatwo*	morning door	KK.104
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*aswobasisi sisi*	animal for entertainment	NSK.76
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*katami*	memento	MYS.2.196a
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*katami*	memento	MYS.2.196b
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	KK.107
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*kumikaki*	assembled fence	NSK.90
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*make*	drive away	MYS.17.3957
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*make*	drive away	MYS.17.3962
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*make*	drive away	MYS.17.3969
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*make*	drive away	MYS.18.4098
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*make*	drive away	MYS.20.4408
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*maki*	drive away	MYS.18.4116
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*miinoti*	life	MYS.2.147
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*mikadwo*	honourable gate	MYS.18.4094a
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*mikadwo*	honourable gate	MYS.18.4094b
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*mina*	great name	JSHT.2
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*miobi*	gird on, belt	NSK.93
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*pye*	place, direction	MYS.18.4094a
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*pye*	place, direction	MYS.18.4094b
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*pye*	place, direction	SM.13
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*pye*	place, direction	SNK.5

opokimi	great lord	*no*	*topono mikadwo*	eternal reign	MYS.15.3668
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*topono mikadwo*	eternal reign	MYS.17.4011
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*topono mikadwo*	eternal reign	MYS.18.4113
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*topono mikadwo*	eternal reign	MYS.5.794
opokimi-tati	great lords (plural)	*no*	*naka*	middle	SM.47
opokura	Ōkura	*no*	*iriye*	inlet; small bay	MYS.9.1699
opokwi	Ōki	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.8.1474
opomikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*goto*	be like	SM.11
opomima	the great imperial horse	*no*	*kuti*	mouth	MYS.3.478
opomiwa	the great Miwa	*no*	*wogakwi*	hungry ghost (preta)	MYS.16.3840
opomiya	great palace	*no*	*mina*	great name	SM.13
opomiya	great palace	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.17.3926
opomiya	great palace	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.19.4285
opomiya	great palace	*no*	*utito*	inside and outside	EN.27
oponipe	Great Thanksgiving Festival	*no*	*maturigoto*	words of prayer	SM.37
oponipe	Great Thanksgiving Festival	*no*	*naporapi*	feast	SM.38
oponoura	Ōno-ura	*no*	*so no nagapama*	that long beach	MYS.8.1615
opopara	Ōhara	*no*	*purinisi satwo*	old village	MYS.2.103
opopune	big boat	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.17.3898
oposaki	Ōsaki	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.6.1023
opotera	grand temple	*no*	*daipopusi-tati*	great priests (plural)	SM.42
opotomo	Ōtomo	*no*	*takasi*	Takashi	MYS.1.66
opotomonomitu	Ōtomo-no-mitsu	*no*	*siranami*	white wave	MYS.11.2737
opotomonomitu	Ōtomo-no-mitsu	*no*	*tomari*	stop	MYS.15.3722
opotono	great palace	*no*	*uti*	inside	EN.8
opotu	Ōtsu	*no*	*miya*	palace	SM.61
opoumi	great sea	*no*	*okuka*	distant place	MYS.17.3897
opowada	grand inlet	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.6.1067
opoye	Ōe	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.12.3071
opumi	grand sea	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.6.938
osaka	Osaka	*no*	*opomurwoya*	big temple juniper	KK.10
osaka	Osaka	*no*	*opomurwoya*	big temple juniper	NSK.9
osi	Oshi	*no*	*pirose*	wide rapids	NSK.106
osinumi	Oshinumi	*no*	*ko no takakwi*	this high fortress	NSK.84

osupi	cloak	*no*	*suswo*	hem	KK.27
osupi	cloak	*no*	*suswo*	hem	KK.28
ounoumi	Ou-no-umi	*no*	*kapara*	river flats	MYS.3.371
oya	ancestor; parent	*no*	*kadwo*	gate	SM.31
oya	ancestor; parent	*no*	*kadwo*	gate	SM.59
oya	ancestor; parent	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	SM.13
oya	ancestor; parent	*no*	*kwodomo*	children	MYS.18.4094a
oya	ancestor; parent	*no*	*kwodomo*	children	MYS.18.4094b
oya	ancestor; parent	*no*	*me*	eye	MYS.5.885
oya	ancestor; parent	*no*	*na*	name	SM.28
oya	ancestor; parent	*no*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	SM.61
pagapi	Hagai	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.2.210a
pagapi	Hagai	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.2.210b
pagwi	bush clover	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4444
pagwi	bush clover	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4515
pagwi	bush clover	*no*	*sitaba*	low leaf	MYS.10.2182
pagwi	bush clover	*no*	*sitaba*	low leaf	MYS.20.4296
pagwi	bush clover	*no*	*sitaba*	low leaf	MYS.8.1628
pagwi	bush clover	*no*	*ye*	branch	MYS.6.1047
pakupi	Hakui	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.17.4025
pakwone	Hakone	*no*	*ne-ro*	peak	MYS.14.3370
pakwone	Hakone	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.14.3364a
pakwone	Hakone	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.14.3364b
pakwoya	Hakoya	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.16.3851
pama	beach, shore	*no*	*kakigapi*	oyster shell	KK.87
pama	beach, shore	*no*	*kwomatu*	small pine	MYS.3.394
pama	beach, shore	*no*	*managwo*	powdery soil	MYS.14.3372
pama	beach, shore	*no*	*matu*	pine	MYS.1.66
pana	flower	*no*	*iro*	colour	MYS.6.1061
pana	flower	*no*	*na*	name	MYS.20.4476
pana	flower	*no*	*nipopi*	fragrance	MYS.8.1429
pana	flower	*no*	*pazime*	begin	MYS.20.4435
pana	flower	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.17.3993
pana	flower	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.17.4008
pana	flower	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.20.4304
pananwo	field of flowers	*no*	*susuki*	Japanese pampas grass (Miscanthus sinensis)	MYS.10.2285
panisina	Hanishina	*no*	*isiwi*	stone well	MYS.14.3398
paniyasu	Haniyasu	*no*	*ike*	pond	MYS.2.201
paniyasu	Haniyasu	*no*	*mikadwo*	honourable gate	MYS.2.199a
paniyasu	Haniyasu	*no*	*mikadwo*	honourable gate	MYS.2.199b

paniyasu	Haniyasu	*no*	*tutumi*	dam	MYS.1.52
para	field, plain	*no*	*ipawitura*	[unknown; a type of vine, creeper]	MYS.14.3378
para	field, plain	*no*	*mono*	thing	EN.2
para	field, plain	*no*	*mono*	thing	EN.5
para	field, plain	*no*	*mono*	thing	EN.6
para	field, plain	*no*	*simo*	under	EN.17
para	field, plain	*no*	*tubosumire*	viola arcuata Blume (aka Viola verecunda A. Gray)	MYS.8.1449
pari	Japanese alder (Alnus japonica)	*no*	*sayeda*	branch	MYS.19.4207
paru	spring	*no*	*kasumi*	mist	MYS.20.4400
paru	spring	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.14.3532
paru	spring	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.17.3969
paru	spring	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.5.837
paru	spring	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.5.839
paru	spring	*no*	*oponwo*	Ōno	MYS.7.1336
paru	spring	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.17.3965
paru	spring	*no*	*pazime*	begin	MYS.18.4137
paru	spring	*no*	*pi*	sun, daytime	MYS.15.3752
paru	spring	*no*	*sikemi*	overgrown flora	MYS.17.3969
paru	spring	*no*	*yanagwi*	willow	MYS.5.826
parupana	spring flower	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.18.4106
parupana	spring flower	*no*	*tirinomagapi*	scatter	MYS.17.3963
parutori	spring bird	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.20.4408
pasa	Hasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	KK.83
pasa	Hasa	*no*	*yama*	mountain	NSK.71
pasiduma	dear wife	*no*	*koto*	word	MYS.8.1521b
patupagwi	the bushclover when it first comes into bloom	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.8.1541
patusenokapa	Hatsuse-no-kawa; Hatsuse River	*no*	*kami*	up, upstream	KK.90
patusenoyama	Hatsuse-no-yama; Mt. Hatsuse	*no*	*opowo*	grand hill	KK.89
patwo	pigeon	*no*	*sitanaki*	grieving	KK.83
payabusawake	Hayabusawake (personal name)	*no*	*miosupigane*	cloak	KK.67
payabusawake	Hayabusawake (personal name)	*no*	*miosupigane*	cloak	NSK.59

payakapa	rapid river	*no*	*se*	rapids	EN.10
payapito	placename of a region in southern Kyushu	*no*	*satuma*	Satsuma	MYS.3.248
payapito	placename of a region in southern Kyushu	*no*	*setwo*	Seto	MYS.6.960
pe	top; above; surface	*no*	*yutuipamura*	cluster of sacred rocks	MYS.1.22
pe	place, direction	*no*	*umara*	thorn	MYS.20.4352
peswokata	Esokata	*no*	*payasi*	forest, arboretum	MYS.1.19
pi	sun	*no*	*kake*	shade	MYS.20.4469
pi	day, daytime	*no*	*katami*	memento, keepsake	MYS.15.3753
pi	day, daytime	*no*	*kipami*	extent, limit	MYS.17.3957
pi	day, daytime	*no*	*kipami*	extent, limit	MYS.17.3978
pi	sun	*no*	*mamori*	guard	EN.1
pi	sun	*no*	*mamori*	guard	EN.7
pi	sun	*no*	*mikage*	light	EN.2
pi	sun	*no*	*mikage*	light	EN.5
pi	sun	*no*	*mikage*	light	EN.6
pi	sun	*no*	*mikage*	light	EN.7
pi	sun	*no*	*mikwo*	child of a god, an emperor/empress, or a high noble	MYS.3.239
pi	day, daytime	*no*	*ywo*	night	SM.19
pida	Hida	*no*	*opogurwo*	big black thing/ person	MYS.16.3844
pidikwi	Hijiki	*no*	*nada*	open sea	MYS.17.3893
pige	beard	*no*	*sorikupi*	(beard) stubble	MYS.16.3846
pika	Hika	*no*	*wosaka*	rice wine	NSK.50
piketa	Hiketa	*no*	*wakakurusubara*	young Kurusu plain	KK.93
pikide	Hikide	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.2.212
pimi	Himi	*no*	*ye*	branch	MYS.17.4011
pimo	cord	*no*	*wo*	cord, strap	MYS.18.4106
pimugasi	east	*no*	*opoki mikadwo*	grand gate	MYS.2.186
pimugasi	east	*no*	*tagi*	waterfall	MYS.2.184
pimuka	Hyūga	*no*	*kwoma*	horse	NSK.103
pina	countryside	*no*	*nagadi*	distant road	MYS.15.3608a
pina	countryside	*no*	*nagadi*	distant road	MYS.15.3608b

pina	countryside	*no*	*yatukwo*	slave	MYS.18.4082
pinotate	east	*no*	*opomikadwo*	grand gate (palace)	MYS.1.52
pinoyoko	west	*no*	*opomikadwo*	grand gate (palace)	MYS.1.52
pirose	Hirose	*no*	*kapapi*	confluence	EN.3
pitagata	tidal flat	*no*	*iswo*	rock	MYS.14.3563
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*erabi*	choice	EN.8
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*kadwo*	gate	SM.25
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*kwo*	child	MYS.2.122
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*maywobiki*	eyebrow, appearance of eye(s), eyeline	MYS.6.994
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*mwi*	body; life	BS.18
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*nageki*	sigh	MYS.15.3691
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*omote*	front	NSK.111
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*piza*	knee	MYS.5.810
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.14.3571
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*so no na*	their names	MYS.9.1792
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*ta*	purpose, benefit, sake	MYS.5.808
pito	one, other than self	*no*	*titipapa*	father and mother	MYS.5.892
pitokuniyama	Mt. Hitokuni	*no*	*akidunwo*	Akizuno	MYS.7.1345
pitoyo	one stem	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.8.1456
pitoyo	one stem	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.8.1457
pitugi	Imperial throne	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.13
pitukwi	days and months	*no*	*kipami*	extent, limit	MYS.20.4486
pitukwi	days and months	*no*	*sita*	below	MYS.5.800
piza	knee	*no*	*pe*	top	MYS.5.810
piziri	sage emperor	*no*	*minori*	law	SM.41
piziri	sage emperor	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.1.29b
piziri	sage emperor	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.1.29a
pomuta	Homuta	*no*	*pinomikwo*	[address form for the emperor]	KK.47
poriye	Naniwa canal	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.20.4462
posoye	narrow, deep inlet	*no*	*miwotukusi*	channel pylon, [MK for tukus]	MYS.14.3429

potoke	image of the Buddha	*no*	*midesi*	disciple	SM.38
potoke	image of the Buddha	*no*	*mikyesa*	robe	SM.28
potoke	image of the Buddha	*no*	*minori*	law	SM.28
potoke	image of the Buddha	*no*	*minori*	law	SM.38
potoke	image of the Buddha	*no*	*minori*	law	SM.41
potute	skilful person	*no*	*urapye*	divination place	MYS.15.3694
pu	mesh	*no*	*ma*	interval	MYS.14.3524
pudi	wisteria	*no*	*uraba*	end leaf	MYS.14.3504
pudinami	wave of wisteria	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.19.4192
pudinami	wave of wisteria	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.19.4193a
pudinami	wave of wisteria	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.19.4193b
pudinami	wave of wisteria	*no*	*sigeri*	flourish	MYS.19.4210
pudiwi	Fujii	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.6.938
pukaye	deep inlet	*no*	*unakami*	sea bluffs	MYS.5.813
pukepi	Fukei	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.12.3201
puna	boat	*no*	*pe*	bow (of a boat)	EN.1
pune	boat	*no*	*kadi*	oar	MYS.17.3961
pune	boat	*no*	*kadi*	oar	MYS.17.4027
pune	boat	*no*	*kadi*	oar	MYS.2.220
pune	boat	*no*	*kadi*	oar	MYS.7.1221
pune	boat	*no*	*kadima*	between the oars	MYS.17.3894
pune	boat	*no*	*kaditukume*	oar	MYS.20.4460
pune	boat	*no*	*kasi*	oak, mooring post	MYS.20.4313
pune	boat	*no*	*nipopi*	fragrance	MYS.15.3704
pune	boat	*no*	*punabito*	boatman	MYS.14.3349
pune	boat	*no*	*taduki*	clue	MYS.20.4384
pune	boat	*no*	*tomari*	stop	MYS.15.3612
pupa	Fuwa	*no*	*seki*	border	MYS.20.4372
puru	Furu	*no*	*kamusugwi*	divine cedar	MYS.10.1927
puru	Furu	*no*	*wasada*	early rice paddy	MYS.7.1353
puru	Furu	*no*	*wasada*	early rice paddy	MYS.9.1768
puru	Furu	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.422
puse	Fuse	*no*	*miduumi*	lake	MYS.17.3993
puse	Fuse	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.17.3991
puse	Fuse	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.17.3992
puse	Fuse	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.18.4038
puse	Fuse	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.19.4187
puse	Fuse	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.19.4187
puse	Fuse	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.18.4036

puse	Fuse	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.18.4039
puse	Fuse	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.18.4040
puse	Fuse	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.18.4043a
puse	Fuse	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.18.4043b
putagi	Futagi	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.6.1050
putagi	Futagi	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.6.1053
putagi	Futagi	*no*	*nwopye*	vicinity of a field	MYS.6.1051a
putagi	Futagi	*no*	*nwopye*	vicinity of a field	MYS.6.1051b
putagi	Futagi	*no*	*para*	field, plain	MYS.6.1050
putami	Futami	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.3.276a
putami	Futami	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.3.276b
puyu	winter	*no*	*payasi*	forest, arboretum	MYS.2.199a
puyukwi	winter tree	*no*	*sukara*	trunk of a bare tree (from which the leaves have fallen)	KK.47
puyukwi	winter tree	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.8.1645
puzi	Fuji	*no*	*sibayama*	brushwood mountain	MYS.14.3355
puzinone	Fuji-no-ne; Mt. Fuji	*no*	*iya toponagaki yamadi*	very distant moutain roads	MYS.14.3358a
puzinotakane	Fuji-no-takane; Mt. Fuji	*no*	*naru sapa*	make sound swamp, mountain stream narrow, deep	MYS.14.3358a
pwida	Hida	*no*	*posoye*	inlet	MYS.12.3092
pye	place, direction	*no*	*isi*	Ishi	MYS.13.3234
pye	place, direction	*no*	*isi*	Ishi	MYS.13.3235
pye	place, direction	*no*	*itusibapara*	dense brushwood plain	MYS.11.2770
pye	place, direction	*no*	*matu*	pine	MYS.8.1650
pye	place, direction	*no*	*miwi*	honorable well	MYS.1.81
pyeguri	Heguri	*no*	*yama*	mountain	KK.31
pyeguri	Heguri	*no*	*yama*	mountain	KK.91
pyeguri	Heguri	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.16.3885
pyeguri	Heguri	*no*	*yama*	mountain	NSK.23
sada	Sada	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.11.2732
sada	Sada	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.12.3029
sada	Sada	*no*	*wokabye*	hill side	MYS.2.177
sada	Sada	*no*	*wokabye*	hill side	MYS.2.187
sada	Sada	*no*	*wokapye*	hill side	MYS.2.179
sade	fish trap	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.4.662
sagamu	Sagamu	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	KK.24

sagamudi	road to Sagamu	*no*	*yoroki*	Yoroki	MYS.14.3372
sagarakayama	Sagaraka-yama; Mt. Sagaraka	*no*	*yama no ma*	in between the mountains	MYS.3.481
sagoromo	sa garment	*no*	*ko no pimo*	this cord	MYS.12.2866
saisyou waugyau	Sutra of the Most Victorious Kings	*no*	*waibopusauronbo n*	Correct Law of the King	SM.45
saka	Sakyamuni	*no*	*miato*	honourable foot print	BS.14
saka	Sakyamuni	*no*	*miato*	honourable foot print	BS.9
sakaduki	liquor cup	*no*	*pe*	top; above; surface	MYS.5.840
saki	front, ahead, tip, before	*no*	*sanwopari*	alder	MYS.1.19
saki	cape, border	*no*	*akipagwi*	autumn bush-clover	MYS.8.1560
saki	cape, border	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.17.3985
saki	cape, border	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.17.3986
saki	cape, border	*no*	*ipaputi*	pool with boulders	MYS.11.2715
sak	cape, border	*no*	*kasasima*	Kasa island	MYS.12.3192a
saki3	cape, border	*no*	*narabipama*	be in line beach shore	NSK.48
sakita	Sakita	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.19.4156
sakitama	Sakitama	*no*	*tu*	harbor	MYS.14.3380
sakura	cherry	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.10.1867
sama	way, means, reason	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	SM.28
samubou	Three Treasures	*no*	*minori*	law	SM.45
sanatura	Sanatsura	*no*	*woka*	hill	MYS.14.3451
sanbou	Three Treasures	*no*	*mapye*	front	SM.12
sanbou	Three Treasures	*no*	*yatukwo*	slave	SM.12
sanukata	Sanukata	*no*	*nwopye*	vicinity of a field	MYS.10.2106
sanwo	Sano	*no*	*kukutati*	turnip seedlings	MYS.14.3406
sanwo	Sano	*no*	*punapasi*	boat bridge	MYS.14.3420
sanwo	Sano	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	MYS.3.265
sanwoda	Sanoda	*no*	*nape*	seedling	MYS.14.3418
sapo	Sao	*no*	*kapase*	river rapids	MYS.4.526
sapo	Sao	*no*	*kapatwo*	river narrows	MYS.4.528
sapo	Sao	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.17.3957
sapo	Sao	*no*	*uti*	inside	MYS.6.949
sapo	Sao	*no*	*yamapye*	mountain area	MYS.10.1828
sapo	Sao	*no*	*yamapye*	mountain area	MYS.3.460
sapo	Sao	*no*	*yamapye*	mountain area	MYS.8.1477

sapodi	road to Sao	*no*	*awoyagwi*	green willow	MYS.8.1432
sapogapa	Sao-gawa; Sao River	*no*	*kapadu*	frog	MYS.6.1004
sapogapa	Sao-gawa; Sao River	*no*	*kwisi*	bank, shore	MYS.4.529
sapogapa	Sao-gawa; Sao River	*no*	*kwoisi*	small stone	MYS.4.525
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.1.33
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*namikurayama*	Namikura-yama	MYS.7.1170
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*opotu no miya*	Ōtsu palace	MYS.1.29a
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*opotu no miya*	Ōtsu palace	MYS.1.29b
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*opoyamamori*	great mountain guard	MYS.2.154
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*puruki miyakwo*	old capital	MYS.1.32
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*puruki miyakwo*	old capital	MYS.3.305
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*siga*	Shiga	MYS.1.30
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*siga*	Shiga	MYS.1.31a
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*siga*	Shiga	MYS.1.31b
sasanami	Sasanami	*no*	*siga*	Shiga	MYS.13.3240
sasapa	bamboo-grass leaf	*no*	*tuyusimo*	dew and frost	MYS.14.3382
sasara	Sasara	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	MYS.16.3887
sasara	Sasara	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	MYS.3.420
satukwi	5th month	*no*	*ayamyegusa*	iris grass	MYS.18.4101
satukwi	5th month	*no*	*ayamyegusa*	iris grass	MYS.18.4116
satuma	Satsuma	*no*	*setwo*	Seto	MYS.3.248
satuwo	hunter	*no*	*nerapi*	aim	MYS.10.2149
satwo	village	*no*	*kapatwo*	river narrows	MYS.5.859
satwo	village	*no*	*kimi*	my lord	MYS.6.986
satwo	village	*no*	*minaka*	inside	MYS.14.3463
satwo	village	*no*	*pototogisu*	lesser cuckoo (Cuculus poliocephalus)	MYS.8.1473
satwo	village	*no*	*simamatu*	island pine	MYS.6.952
sawosika	buck	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.10.2146
sawosika	buck	*no*	*pagwi*	bush clover (any flowering plant of genus Lespedeza)	MYS.8.1547
sayamada	mountain field	*no*	*wodi*	old man	MYS.17.4014
sayuri	lily	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.18.4116
sayuru	lily	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4369
saywopimye	Sayohime; Matura Sayohime	*no*	*kwo*	child	MYS.5.868
se	rapids	*no*	*midu*	water	MYS.6.1054

se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.1.35
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.13.3318
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.285a
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.285b
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.286
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.291
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.7.1193
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.7.1208
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.7.1209
se	Se	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.7.1210
sekapa	rapid river	*no*	*kapobana*	kao flower	MYS.14.3505
seken	world	*no*	*yaupuku*	prosperity and good fortunes	SM.45
semi	cicada	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.15.3617
seri	Java dropwort (Oenanthe javanica)	*no*	*moto*	stem	NSK.126
seta	Seta	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	NSK.30
seta	Seta	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	NSK.31
setwo	Seto	*no*	*ipapo*	great rock	MYS.6.960
setwo	Seto	*no*	*wakame*	seaweed	MYS.16.3871
siba	Shiba	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.10.1919
sibatuki	Shibatsuki	*no*	*miurasaki*	Miura Cape	MYS.14.3508
sibi	tuna (Thunnus)	*no*	*wakugwo*	youth	NSK.95
sibutani	Shibutani	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.17.3993
sibutani	Shibutani	*no*	*putagamiyama*	Futagami-yama; Mt. Futagami	MYS.16.3882
sibutani	Shibutani	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.17.3985
sibutani	Shibutani	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.17.3986
sibutani	Shibutani	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.17.3991
sida	Shida	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.14.3430
sidaitenwau	Four Great Heavenly Kings	*no*	*pukasigi wizin*	incredible power	SM.19
sidaitenwau	Four Great Heavenly Kings	*no*	*pukasigi wizin*	incredible power	SM.43
side	Side	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.6.1031
siga	Shiga	*no*	*karasaki*	Kara-saki; Kara-saki Cape	MYS.1.30
siga	Shiga	*no*	*karasaki*	Kara-saki; Kara-saki Cape	MYS.13.3240
siga	Shiga	*no*	*karasaki*	Kara-saki; Kara-saki Cape	MYS.2.152
siga	Shiga	*no*	*opotu*	Ōtsu	MYS.3.288
siga	Shiga	*no*	*opowada*	grand inlet	MYS.1.31a
siga	Shiga	*no*	*opowada*	grand inlet	MYS.1.31b

sigatu	Shigatsu	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.7.1253
sigure	passing rain of autumn	*no*	*tune*	normalcy, eternity	MYS.19.4259
sika	Shika	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.11.2622
sika	Shika	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.12.3170
sika	Shika	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.12.3177
sika	Shika	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.15.3652
sika	Shika	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.16.3863
sika	Shika	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.7.1245
sika	Shika	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.7.1246
sika	Shika	*no*	*arawo*	rough man	MYS.16.3869
sika	Shika	*no*	*pamapye*	beach, vicinity of beach	MYS.4.566
sikwisima	Shikishima	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.19.4280
sima	island	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.11.2733
sima	island	*no*	*ariswoomo*	surface of rocky shore	MYS.2.220
sima	island	*no*	*kodati*	copse	MYS.5.867
sima	island	*no*	*kwomatubara*	small pine field	MYS.15.3621
sima	island	*no*	*murwo*	temple juniper	MYS.15.3601
sima	island	*no*	*sakizaki*	various capes	KK.5
sima	island	*no*	*sakizaki*	various capes	MYS.6.1020
sima	island	*no*	*sakizaki*	various capes	MYS.6.942
sima	island	*no*	*sima no ma*	between the islands	MYS.6.942
sima	island	*no*	*sitadami*	[unknown] small shellfish?	MYS.16.3880
sim	island	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.4.551
sima	island	*no*	*yabupara*	scrub plain	NSK.109
sima	Shima	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.6.1033
sima	Shima	*no*	*mikadwo*	honourable gate	MYS.2.189
sinanwo	Shinano	*no*	*mayumi*	arrow (made from the mayumi tree)	MYS.2.96
sinanwo	Shinano	*no*	*mayumi*	arrow (made from the mayumi tree)	MYS.2.97
sinanwo	Shinano	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.17.4020
sinwopara	bamboo plain, Shinohara	*no*	*otopimye*	younger princess	FK.11
sipatu	Shihatsu [unknown]	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.6.999
sipi	Chinquapin oak	*no*	*kwoyade*	small branch	MYS.14.3493a
sipi	Chinquapin oak	*no*	*sayeda*	branch	MYS.14.3493b
sipopune	tide boat	*no*	*pye*	place, direction	MYS.20.4389

sipopwi	low tide, ebb tide	*no*	*kwomatu*	small pine	MYS.11.2486b
sipopwi	low tide, ebb tide	*no*	*muta*	as, like	MYS.6.1062
sipopwi	low tide, ebb tide	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.16.3849
sipose	tidal rapids	*no*	*nawori*	waves piled high	KK.108
sipose	tidal rapids	*no*	*nawori*	waves piled high	NSK.87a
sirakumo	white cloud	*no*	*tipye*	myriad layers	MYS.17.4003
sirakwi	Shiraki (Shilla)	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.3.460
sirapige	white beard	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.20.4408
siripye	rear side	*no*	*momoyogusa*	multi-age grass	MYS.20.4326
sirupa	Shiruwa	*no*	*iswo*	rock	MYS.20.4324
sirusi	mark	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	SM.42
sirusi	mark	*no*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	EN.27
sirwotori	white bird	*no*	*pa*	feather	FK.9
sisi	meat, flesh, game animal	*no*	*utaki*	roar	NSK.76
sisida	game animal field	*no*	*ine*	rice	MYS.16.3848
sita	below	*no*	*ita*	plank	KK.104
sita	below	*no*	*kaya*	grasses used for thatching	MYS.1.11
sita	below	*no*	*koto*	thing	SM.7
sita	below	*no*	*kuniguni*	various lands	SM.13
sita	below	*no*	*kuniguni*	various lands	SM.28
sita	below	*no*	*maturigoto*	words of prayer	SM.28
sita	below	*no*	*maturigoto*	words of prayer	SM.42
sita	below	*no*	*maturigoto*	words of prayer	SM.43
sita	below	*no*	*maturigoto*	words of prayer	SM.45
sita	below	*no*	*maturigoto*	words of prayer	SM.5
sita	below	*no*	*opomikakara*	great treature	SM.45
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	EN.3
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	EN.4
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	EN.4
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	EN.4
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	EN.4
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	EN.4
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	SM.1
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	SM.13
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	SM.14
sita	below	*no*	*opomitakara*	great treausures	SM.38
sita	below	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	SM.28

sita	below	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.13
sitapye	below	*no*	*tukapi*	messenger	MYS.5.905
situ	Shitsu	*no*	*ipaya*	stone house	MYS.3.355
situmaki	upholstered stool	*no*	*agwora*	leg seat	NSK.75b
so	that	*no*	*amu*	horse-fly	KK.97
so	that	*no*	*amu*	horse-fly	NSK.75a
so	that	*no*	*amu*	horse-fly	NSK.75b
so	that	*no*	*kage*	light	MYS.18.4054
so	that	*no*	*kanasiki*	sadness	MYS.14.3386
so	that	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.17.3953
so	that	*no*	*kapo*	looks	MYS.14.3411
so	that	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.18.4070
so	that	*no*	*kwo*	child	KK.31
so	that	*no*	*kwo*	child	NSK.48
so	that	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.20.4469
so	that	*no*	*na*	name	MYS.18.4094a
so	that	*no*	*na*	name	MYS.18.4094b
so	that	*no*	*na*	name	MYS.20.4467
so	that	*no*	*naka*	middle, relationship	KK.42
so	that	*no*	*naripapi*	crops; farm products	MYS.18.4122
so	that	*no*	*ne*	root	NSK.83
so	that	*no*	*omopiduma*	beloved spouse	KK.91
so	that	*no*	*pana*	flower	KK.101
so	that	*no*	*panaduma*	beautiful spouse	MYS.18.4113
so	that	*no*	*pe*	top	MYS.18.4125
so	that	*no*	*pe*	top	MYS.18.4126
so	that	*no*	*pi*	sun, daytime	MYS.17.3978
so	that	*no*	*potutaka*	magnificent falcon	MYS.17.4011
so	that	*no*	*pune*	boat	NSK.51
so	that	*no*	*takakwi*	high fortress	KK.60
so	that	*no*	*tapito*	traveler	NSK.104
so	that	*no*	*tapito*	traveler	NSK.104
so	that	*no*	*tati*	sword	KK.33
so	that	*no*	*tatiyama*	Tachi-yama	MYS.17.4000
so	that	*no*	*tudumi*	drum	KK.40
so	that	*no*	*tudumi*	drum	NSK.33
so	that	*no*	*tukwi*	month	MYS.15.3586
so	that	*no*	*tuma*	spouse	MYS.18.4106
so	that	*no*	*yapyegaki*	multifold fence	KK.1
so	that	*no*	*yapyegaki*	multifold fence	NSK.1

sokipye	faraway area	*no*	*kipami*	extent, limit	MYS.19.4247
sokipye	faraway area	*no*	*kipami*	extent, limit	MYS.4.553
sokopi	bottom	*no*	*ura*	inside	MYS.15.3750
sokupye	far off place	*no*	*kipami*	extent, limit	MYS.3.420
sono	garden	*no*	*awoyagwi*	green willow	MYS.5.817
sono	garden	*no*	*awoyagwi*	green willow	MYS.5.825
sono	garden	*no*	*karaawi*	plumed cockscomb (celosia argentea)	MYS.10.2278
sono	garden	*no*	*take*	peak	MYS.5.824
sopobune	red boat; boat painted with red clay	*no*	*tomo*	stern (of a boat)	MYS.10.2089
sore	that (one)	*no*	*tukasa*	official	EN.5
sore	that (one)	*no*	*tukasa*	official	EN.6
subye	means	*no*	*tadoki*	clue	MYS.12.2881a
subye	means	*no*	*tadoki*	clue	MYS.12.2881b
subye	means	*no*	*tadoki*	clue	MYS.12.2892
subye	means	*no*	*tadoki*	clue	MYS.17.3962
subye	means	*no*	*tadoki*	clue	MYS.17.3969
subye	means	*no*	*tadoki*	clue	MYS.17.4011
subye	means	*no*	*taduki*	clue	MYS.13.3261a
subye	means	*no*	*taduki*	clue	MYS.13.3261b
subye	means	*no*	*taduki*	clue	MYS.13.3274
subye	means	*no*	*taduki*	clue	MYS.13.3276
subye	means	*no*	*taduki*	clue	MYS.18.4078
subye	means	*no*	*tadwoki*	clue	MYS.15.3777
subye	means	*no*	*tadwoki*	clue	MYS.5.904
suga	Suga	*no*	*arano*	rough field	MYS.14.3352
suga	Suga	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.17.4015
sugapara	sedge plain, Sugawara	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.20.4491
sugwi	cedar (Cryptomeria japonica)	*no*	*konoma*	spaces between trees	MYS.14.3363
sukunabikwona	the male god Sukuna	*no*	*kamwiyo*	deity generation	MYS.18.4106
suma	Suma	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.3.413
suma	Suma	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.6.947
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*arapitogamwi*	vigorous deity	MYS.6.1020.1021
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*asakanoura*	Asaka-no-ura; Asaka Inlet	MYS.2.121
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*enatu*	Enatsu	MYS.3.283
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*kwisi*	bank, shore	MYS.11.2735

suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*kwisi*	bank, shore	MYS.12.3197
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*kwisi*	bank, shore	MYS.6.1002
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*kwisi*	bank, shore	MYS.6.932
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*kwopama*	Kohama	MYS.6.997
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*mitu*	Mitsu	MYS.19.4245
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*nwokwi*	tree growing in field	MYS.3.295
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*otopi*	younger sibling	MYS.1.65
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.3.394
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.6.931
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*pamamatu*	shore pine; pine at the shore	MYS.20.4457
suminoye	Suminoe	*no*	*tumori*	harbor guard	MYS.11.2646
sumisaka	Sumisaka Hill	*no*	*ipyedi*	road to house	MYS.4.504
sumyegami-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegami-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegami-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegami-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegami-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegami-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.7
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*koto*	word	EN.4
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.4
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.4
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.4
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.4
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*mi-tosiro*	a rice field attached to a shrine	EN.3
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*migokoro*	heart	EN.3
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*mikokoro*	honourable will, heart	EN.4
sumyegamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*mina*	great name	EN.3
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.1

sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.7
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.7
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.7
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.7
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.7
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mapye*	front	EN.7
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*mikokoro*	honourable will, heart	EN.25
sumyegamwi-tati	(regional) deity (plural)	*no*	*piromapye*	front	EN.2
sumyekamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*itukusiki kuni*	majestic land	MYS.5.894
sumyekamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*suswomwi*	vicinity of the foot of a mountain	MYS.17.3985
sumyemikamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*piromapye*	front	EN.6
sumyemima	imperial scion	*no*	*midu miaraka*	prosperous residence	EN.7
sumyeopomikami	(regional) deity	*no*	*opomapye*	front	EN.1
sumyeopomikamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*opomapye*	front	EN.16
sumyeopomikamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*opomapye*	front	EN.18
sumyeopomikamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*opomapye*	front	EN.20
sumyeopomikamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*opomapye*	front	EN.22
sumyeopomikamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*opomapye*	front	EN.7
sumyeopomikamwi	(regional) deity	*no*	*piromapye*	front	EN.5
sumyeramikoto	emperor, imperial highness	*no*	*opomiyo*	great reign	EN.27
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*mitama*	spirit	MYS.18.4094a
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*mitama*	spirit	MYS.18.4094b
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.18.4097
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	MYS.19.4267
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*topoki miyo*	eternal reign	MYS.20.4360

sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*topomiyo*	eternal reign	MYS.19.4205
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*topono mikadwo*	eternal reign	MYS.15.3689
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*topono mikadwo*	eternal reign	MYS.20.4331
suruga	Suruga	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.3.319
suruga	Suruga	*no*	*ne-ra*	peak	MYS.20.4345
suruga	Suruga	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.14.3359a
suruga	Suruga	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.14.3359b
susa	Susa	*no*	*iriye*	inlet; small bay	MYS.11.2751
susa	Susa	*no*	*iriye*	inlet; small bay	MYS.14.3547
susu	Susu	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.18.4101
susu	Susu	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.17.4029
suswomwi	vicinity of the foot of a mountain	*no*	*nwodukasa*	small elevation in a field	MYS.20.4316
suswomwi	vicinity of the foot of a mountain	*no*	*tawi*	paddy	MYS.9.1758
suswomwi	vicinity of the foot of a mountain	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.17.3985
suwe	Suwe	*no*	*tamana*	Tamana	MYS.9.1738
suwe	tip, top, end	*no*	*taduki*	clue	MYS.12.2985b
swoga	Soga (clan)	*no*	*kapara*	river flats	MYS.12.3087
swopi	side	*no*	*paripara*	alder plain	MYS.14.3410
swopi	side	*no*	*paripara*	alder plain	MYS.14.3435
swopi	side	*no*	*wakamatu*	young pine	MYS.14.3495
ta	purpose, benefit, sake	*no*	*yosuka*	refuge	BS.18
ta	field	*no*	*ike*	pond	MYS.13.3223
ta	field	*no*	*inagara*	riceplant stem	KK.34
ta	field	*no*	*pomuki*	ripe ears of rice hanging down to one side	MYS.17.3943
tabasamiyama	Tabasamiyama	*no*	*adikage*	[unknown]	JSHT.3
tabi	travel	*no*	*marune*	sleeping without undressing (wrapped up)	MYS.20.4420
tabi	travel	*no*	*sirusi*	mark	MYS.1.57
tabuse	hut	*no*	*moto*	stem	MYS.16.3817
tabwi	torch	*no*	*pikari*	shine	MYS.2.230
tadu	egret	*no*	*akatoki no kowe*	cries at dawn	MYS.6.1000
tagi	waterfall	*no*	*mikadwo*	honourable gate	MYS.2.184
tagi	waterfall	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.6.1035

tagi	waterfall	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.9.1722
taginoupe	Taginoue	*no*	*mipunenoyama*	Mifune-no-yama	MYS.6.907
taginoupe	Taginoue	*no*	*mipunenoyama*	Mifune-no-yama	MYS.6.914
taginoupe	Taginoue	*no*	*mipunenoyama*	Mifune-no-yama	MYS.9.1713
tagwo	Tago	*no*	*irinwo*	Irino	MYS.14.3400
tagwo	Tago	*no*	*ne*	peak	MYS.14.3411
tagwonoura	Tago-no-ura	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.12.3205
takakwi	Takaki	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.3.353
takama	Plains of high heaven	*no*	*kamumioya*	ancestral deities	EN.27
takama	Takama	*no*	*para*	field, plain	EN.7
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*akinwo*	autumn field	MYS.20.4319
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.20.4315
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.20.4316
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.20.4297
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.20.4506
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.20.4507
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*nwopye*	vicinity of a field	MYS.20.4508
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*pagwi*	bush clover	MYS.20.4296
takamatwo	Takamato	*no*	*wobana*	Japanese pampas grass (lit. 'tail flower') (Miscanthus sinensis)	MYS.20.4295
takamatwonoyama	Takamato-no-yama; Mt. Takamato	*no*	*sakura*	cherry	MYS.8.1440
takamikura	high throne	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.13
takamikura	high throne	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.14
takamikura	high throne	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.14
takamikura	high throne	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.14
takamikura	high throne	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.14
takamikura	high throne	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.23
takamikura	high throne	*no*	*waza*	job, work	SM.23
takanwopara	Takanohara	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.1.84
takapama	steep shore	*no*	*sitakaze*	low wind	FK.5
takasi	Takashi	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.1.66
takasiki	Takashiki	*no*	*momiti*	maple	MYS.15.3701
takasiki	Takashiki	*no*	*momiti*	maple	MYS.15.3702
takasiki	Takashiki	*no*	*tamamo*	beautiful seaweed	MYS.15.3705
takasiki	Takashiki	*no*	*upyekatayama*	Mt. Uekata	MYS.15.3703
takasima	Takashima	*no*	*atwo*	foot of the bed	MYS.7.1238
takasima	Takashima	*no*	*katinwo*	Kachino	MYS.3.275

takatipo	Takachiho	*no*	*take*	peak	MYS.20.4465
takayama	high mountain	*no*	*ipapo*	great rock	MYS.20.4454
takayama	high mountain	*no*	*ipapo*	great rock	MYS.3.420
takayama	high mountain	*no*	*ipapo*	great rock	MYS.3.421
take	bamboo	*no*	*ne*	root	KK.100
taki	waterfall	*no*	*minawa*	bubbles, foam	MYS.6.912
taki	waterfall	*no*	*siranami*	white wave	MYS.3.313
taki	waterfall	*no*	*tokipa*	immutable stone	MYS.6.922
tama	Tama	*no*	*yokoyama*	horizontal mountains	MYS.20.4417
tamade	Tamade	*no*	*ipye*	house	NSK.124
tamade	Tamade	*no*	*ipye*	house	NSK.124
tamaki	bracelet	*no*	*tama*	jewel, pearl, beautiful	MYS.15.3627
tamamo	beautiful seaweed,	*no*	*pusi*	joint	MYS.19.4211
tamamo	beautiful seaweed	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.3.390
tamamo	beautiful skirt	*no*	*suswo*	hem	MYS.15.3610b
tamanoura	Tama-no-ura	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.15.3628
tamasima	Tamashima	*no*	*kono kapakami*	this upriver	MYS.5.854
tamasima	Tamashima	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.5.863
tamoto	wrist, cuff	*no*	*kudari*	sleeve seam	MYS.14.3453
tamuke	Tamuke	*no*	*kamwi*	spirit, god	MYS.17.4008
tamuke	Tamuke	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.12.3151
tanabata	the Weaver	*no*	*kumo no koromo*	garment made of cloud	MYS.10.2063
tanakura	Tanakura	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.19.4257
tarupimye	Taruhime	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.18.4046
tarupimye	Taruhime	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.18.4047
tarupimye	Taruhime	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.18.4048
tati	stand	*no*	*sawaki*	rustle, noisy	MYS.20.4354
tatibana	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana)	*no*	*kage*	shadow	MYS.2.125
tatibana	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana)	*no*	*kwoba*	Koba	MYS.14.3496
tatibana	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana)	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.18.4092
tatibana	tachibana (inedible citrus,	*no*	*sita*	below	MYS.20.4371

	Citrus tachibana) tachibana (inedible citrus,				
tatibana	Citrus tachibana)	*no*	*tama*	jewel, pearl, beautiful	MYS.17.3912
tatibana	Tachibana (Personal name)	*no*	*tono*	palace	MYS.18.4064
tatinwo	Tachino	*no*	*wonwo*	(small) field	EN.4
tatisoba	standing buckwheat	*no*	*mwi*	fruit, substance	KK.9
tatisoba	standing buckwheat	*no*	*mwi*	fruit, substance	NSK.7
tatiyama	Tachi-yama	*no*	*yuki*	snow	MYS.17.4024
tatuta	Tatsuta (in Tatsutahiko), Tatsuta	*no*	*tatinwo*	Tachi Field	EN.4
tawayamye	weak woman	*no*	*matwopi*	get lost	MYS.6.1019
tawayamye	weak woman	*no*	*osupi*	cloak	MYS.3.379
tayuraki	Tayuraki	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.9.1776
tegwo	young girl, maiden	*no*	*ywobisaka*	callling-slope	MYS.14.3384
tegwo	young girl, maiden	*no*	*ywobisaka*	Yobi hill	MYS.14.3442
tegwo	young girl, maiden	*no*	*ywobisaka*	callling-slope	MYS.14.3442
tegwo	young girl, maiden	*no*	*ywobisaka*	Yobi hill	MYS.14.3477
tera	temple	*no*	*mapye*	front	SNK.8
tera	temple	*no*	*nisi*	westwind	SNK.8
teradera	various temples	*no*	*si*	teacher, master	SM.48
tiba	Chiba	*no*	*nu*	field, small plain	MYS.20.4387
tiguma	Chiguma	*no*	*kapa*	river	MYS.14.3400
tinu	Chinu	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.7.1145
tipye	myriad layers	*no*	*pitopye*	one layer	MYS.13.3272
tipye	myriad layers	*no*	*pitopye*	one layer	MYS.4.509
tisa	Japanese snowbell tree (styrax japonica)	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.18.4106
tiyo	thousand generation	*no*	*tumi*	sin	BS.17
toba	Toba	*no*	*apumi*	freshwater lake	MYS.9.1757
toba	Toba	*no*	*matubara*	pine plain	MYS.13.3346
toki	time	*no*	*mukape*	welcome	MYS.15.3770
toki	time	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.18.4106
toki	time	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.5.804a
toki	time	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak	MYS.5.804b

toki	time	*no*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	MYS.15.3774
toko	bed	*no*	*atari*	vicinity	MYS.14.3554
toko	bed	*no*	*bye*	place, direction	KK.33
toko	bed	*no*	*pye*	place, direction	MYS.17.3927
toko	bed	*no*	*pye*	place, direction	MYS.5.904
toko	bed	*no*	*pyedasi*	separation	MYS.14.3445
tokoro	place	*no*	*soko*	bottom	EN.5
tokoro	place	*no*	*soko*	bottom	EN.6
tomi	Tomi	*no*	*wi*	well	JSHT.1
tomi	Tomi	*no*	*wi*	well	JSHT.1
tomi	Tomi	*no*	*wogapa*	small river	JSHT.2
tomi	Tomi	*no*	*wokapye*	hill side	MYS.8.1549
tomo	bracer (armguard)	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.1.76
tomosipwi	lamp fire	*no*	*pikari*	shine	MYS.18.4087
tono	palace	*no*	*asatwo*	morning door	NSK.16
tono	palace	*no*	*asatwo*	morning door	NSK.17
tono	palace	*no*	*nakati*	second son	MYS.14.3438a
tono	palace	*no*	*siripye*	rear side	MYS.20.4326
tono	palace	*no*	*tatibana*	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana), Tachibana	MYS.18.4064
tono	palace	*no*	*wakugwo*	youth, young man	MYS.14.3438b
tono	palace	*no*	*wakugwo*	youth, young man	MYS.14.3459
tori	Tori	*no*	*wokadi*	hilly road	MYS.14.3458
tori	bird	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.17.3987
tosi	time	*no*	*kagiri*	limit, extent	MYS.5.881
tosi	time	*no*	*pa*	end	MYS.16.3787
tosi	time	*no*	*pa*	end	MYS.17.3992
tosi	time	*no*	*pa*	end	MYS.18.4125
tosi	time	*no*	*pa*	end	MYS.19.4187
tosi	time	*no*	*pa*	end	MYS.5.833
tosi	time	*no*	*pazime*	begin	MYS.17.3925
tosi	time	*no*	*pazime*	begin	MYS.20.4516
towokamarinanuka	the seventeenth day	*no*	*asapi*	morning sun	EN.19
toya	Toya	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.14.3529
toyokuni	Toyokuni; Toyo Province	*no*	*kagaminoyama*	Kagami-no-yama	MYS.3.417
toyokuni	Toyokuni; Toyo Province	*no*	*kagaminoyama*	Kagami-no-yama	MYS.3.418

toyokuni	Toyokuni; Toyo Province	*no*	*kaparu*	Kawaru	MYS.9.1767
toyokuni	Toyokuni; Toyo Province	*no*	*kiku*	Kiku	MYS.12.3219
toyokuni	Toyokuni; Toyo Province	*no*	*kiku*	Kiku	MYS.12.3220
toyokuni	Toyokuni; Toyo Province	*no*	*kiku*	Kiku	MYS.16.3876
toyokuni	Toyokuni; Toyo Province	*no*	*miti*	road	SM.15
tu	harbor	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.9.1759
tu	harbor	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.2.138
tubasa	pair of wings	*no*	*opopiba*	covered feathers	MYS.10.2238
tuda	Tsuda	*no*	*posoye*	narrow, deep inlet	MYS.6.945
tuganwopye	Tsugano side	*no*	*sinapinebu*	supple silk tree (Albizia julibrissin)	MYS.11.2752
tugite	sequence, order	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	EN.27
tukasa	official	*no*	*manima*	just as it is	MYS.18.4113
tukupa	Tsukuba	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.9.1759
tukupane	Tsukuba Tsukubane; Mt. Tsukuba	*no*	*ipa*	stone	MYS.14.3392
tukupane	Tsukuba Tsukubane; Mt. Tsukuba	*no*	*ne-ro*	peak	MYS.14.3388
tukupane	Tsukuba Tsukubane; Mt. Tsukuba	*no*	*nipigupamaywo*	new silkworm cocoons	MYS.14.3350a
tukupane	Tsukuba Tsukubane; Mt. Tsukuba	*no*	*sayuru*	little lily	MYS.20.4369
tukupane	Tsukuba Tsukubane; Mt. Tsukuba	*no*	*suswomwi*	vicinity of the foot of a mountain	MYS.9.1758
tukupane	Tsukuba	*no*	*wotemo*	the far side	MYS.14.3393
tukusi	Tsukushi	*no*	*kata*	tidal flat	MYS.12.3218
tukusi	Tsukushi	*no*	*kwosima*	small island, Koshima, Koshima	MYS.6.967
tukusi	Tsukushi	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.20.4372
tukusi	Tsukushi	*no*	*wata*	cotton	MYS.3.336
tukusidi	Tsukushi-ji; The Road to Tsukushi	*no*	*kada*	Kada	MYS.15.3634
tukuwe	Tsukue	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.16.3880
tukuyomi	(the) moon	*no*	*pikari*	shine	MYS.15.3599
tukuyomi	(the) moon	*no*	*pikari*	shine	MYS.15.3622
tukwi	moon	*no*	*pikari*	shine	MYS.3.290
tukwi	moon	*no*	*pikari*	shine	MYS.3.317

tumadwopi	marriage	*no*	*ywo*	night	MYS.18.4127
tume	foot (head) of bridge	*no*	*aswobi*	playing	NSK.124
tunokuni	Tsu-no-kuni	*no*	*umi*	sea	MYS.20.4383
tunuga	Tsunuga	*no*	*kani*	crab	KK.42
tunusasi	Tsunusashi	*no*	*miya*	palace	NSK.84
tunwo	Tsuno	*no*	*matubara*	pine plain	MYS.17.3899
tunwo	Tsuno	*no*	*tuka*	handful [measure], grip, handle	MYS.4.502
tunwo	Tsuno	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.2.131a
tunwo	Tsuno	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.2.131b
tunwoga	Tsunoga	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.3.366
tunwosima	Tsunoshima	*no*	*setwo*	Seto	MYS.16.3871
turibune	fishing boat	*no*	*tuna*	rope	MYS.7.1245
turu	Tsuru	*no*	*tutumi*	dam	MYS.14.3543
tusima	Tsushima	*no*	*asadiyama*	Mt. Asaji	MYS.15.3697
tusima	Tsushima	*no*	*ne*	peak	MYS.14.3516
tusima	Tsushima	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	MYS.1.62
tuti	soil	*no*	*kamwi*	god	MYS.13.3287
tutukwi	Tsutsuki	*no*	*miya*	palace	KK.62
tutukwi	Tsutsuki	*no*	*miya*	palace	NSK.55
tutumiwi	dammed up well	*no*	*midu*	water	MYS.14.3439
tuwo	Tsuo	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.3.352
twomibito	wealthy person	*no*	*ipye*	house	MYS.5.900
twonaka	strait	*no*	*ikuri*	reef	KK.74
twonaka	strait	*no*	*ikuri*	reef	NSK.41
twonami	Tonami	*no*	*seki*	border	MYS.18.4085
twonari	nearby; next-door	*no*	*kinu*	garment	MYS.14.3472
twonegapa	Tone River	*no*	*kapase*	river rapids	MYS.14.3413
twopi	Toi	*no*	*kaputi*	flat basin around a river	MYS.14.3368
uda	Uda	*no*	*mapani*	pure clay	MYS.7.1376
uda	Uda	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.8.1609
uda	Uda	*no*	*oponwo*	Ōno	MYS.2.191
uda	Uda	*no*	*takakwi*	high fortress	KK.9
uda	Uda	*no*	*takakwi*	high fortress	NSK.7
udi	Uji	*no*	*isuzu no kapa*	Isuzu river	EN.16
udi	Uji	*no*	*isuzu no kapa*	Isuzu river	EN.18
udi	Uji	*no*	*isuzu no kapa*	Isuzu river	EN.19
udi	Uji	*no*	*isuzu no kapa*	Isuzu river	EN.22
udi	Uji	*no*	*miyakwo*	capital	MYS.1.7
udi	Uji	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	KK.50

udi	Uji	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	KK.51
udi	Uji	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	MYS.13.3236
udi	Uji	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	NSK.42
udi	Uji	*no*	*watari*	port, harbor	NSK.43
ugupisu	Japanese nightingale (Cettia diphone)	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.17.3915
ugupisu	Japanese nightingale (Cettia diphone)	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.17.3971
ugupisu	Japanese nightingale (Cettia diphone)	*no*	*kowe*	voice	MYS.20.4445
ugupisu	Japanese nightingale (Cettia diphone)	*no*	*oto*	sound	MYS.5.841
ugupisu	Japanese nightingale (Cettia diphone)	*no*	*utusimakwo*	actual child	MYS.19.4166
uka	uka [food, colloquial name for ine (rice ear)]	*no*	*mitama*	spirit	EN.8
uke	float (for fishing)	*no*	*wo*	cord, strap	MYS.11.2646
uma	horse	*no*	*agaki*	gallop(ing)	MYS.17.4022
uma	horse	*no*	*tume*	hoard, nail	MYS.18.4122
umaguta	Umaguta	*no*	*ne-ro*	peak	MYS.14.3382
umaguta	Umaguta	*no*	*ne-ro*	peak	MYS.14.3383
umapito	noble person	*no*	*kwo*	child	MYS.5.853
umaya	barn	*no*	*tutumiwi*	dammed up well	MYS.14.3439
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.17.3901
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.17.3902
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.17.3903
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.17.3904
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.18.4041
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.18.4134
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4497
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4500
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4502
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.816
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.817
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.818
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.819
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.820
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.821

ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.822
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.823
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.824
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.825
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.828
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.829
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.830
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.831
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.832
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.834
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.835
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.836
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.838
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.839
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.840
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.841
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.843
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.844
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.846
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.849
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.850
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.851
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.852a
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.852b
ume	plum	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.5.864
ume	plum	*no*	*siduye*	lower branches	MYS.5.842
umi	sea	*no*	*karanosaki*	Kara-no-saki; Kara-no-saki Cape	MYS.2.135a
umi	sea	*no*	*karanosaki*	Kara-no-saki; Kara-no-saki Cape	MYS.2.135b
umi	sea	*no*	*minasoko*	bottom of the water	MYS.20.4491
umi	sea	*no*	*nagisa*	water's edge	MYS.20.4383
umi	sea	*no*	*nipa*	surface of the sea	MYS.15.3609a
umi	sea	*no*	*nipa*	surface of the sea	MYS.15.3609b
umi	sea	*no*	*nipa*	surface of the sea	MYS.3.256a
umi	sea	*no*	*oki*	offing	MYS.17.3992
umi	sea	*no*	*pamamo*	gulfweed	NSK.68
umi	sea	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.12.3166

umi	sea	*no*	*tamamo*	beautiful seaweed	MYS.14.3397
umi	sea	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.18.4038
umibye	seaside	*no*	*yado*	house	MYS.15.3580
umo	potato	*no*	*pa*	leaf	MYS.16.3826
unakami	Unakami	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.7.1176
unakamigata	Unakami-gata	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.14.3348
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*kasikwoki no miti*	awesome road	MYS.20.4408
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.11.2367
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*neyaparakwosuge*	small sedge with soft roots	MYS.14.3498
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.5.874
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*okipye*	offing side	MYS.15.3648
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.20.4335
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*yaswosima*	many islands	MYS.15.3651
unapiwotomye	young woman in Unai	*no*	*okutukwi*	grave	MYS.9.1801
unapiwotomye	young woman in Unai	*no*	*okutukwi*	grave	MYS.9.1802
unate	Unate	*no*	*mori*	thickly grown forest	MYS.12.3100
unebwi	Unebi	*no*	*kono miduyama*	this Mt.Mizu	MYS.1.52
unebwi	Unebi	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.20.4465
unebwinoyama	Unebi-no-yama	*no*	*kasipara*	Kashihara	MYS.1.29a
unebwinoyama	Unebi-no-yama	*no*	*kasipara*	Kashihara	MYS.1.29b
unemye	lady-in-waiting	*no*	*swode*	sleeve	MYS.1.51
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*tomo*	together	MYS.18.4091
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*tomo*	together	MYS.8.1472
upe	surface	*no*	*asagwiri*	morning fog	MYS.20.4319
upe	surface	*no*	*asanwo*	Asano, field with short grass	MYS.3.388
upe	surface	*no*	*asibi*	Japanese andromeda tree	MYS.10.1868
upe	surface	*no*	*kasa*	wen, bump	MYS.16.3838
upe	surface	*no*	*katakagwo*	Asian fawnlily (Erythronium japonicum)	MYS.19.4143
upe	surface	*no*	*komura*	tree flock	MYS.3.322
upe	surface	*no*	*kusa*	grass	MYS.10.2191
upe	surface	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.20.4506
upe	surface	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.20.4507
upe	surface	*no*	*nadesikwo*	pink, carnation (flower of the Caryophyllaceae family)	MYS.8.1610

upe	surface	*no*	*pari*	Japanese alder (Alnus japonica)	NSK.76
upe	surface	*no*	*sawarabi*	small bracken, fern (Pteridium aquilinum)	MYS.8.1418
upe	surface	*no*	*siratuyu*	white dew	MYS.10.2169a
upe	surface	*no*	*siratuyu*	white dew	MYS.10.2169b
upe	surface	*no*	*sirayuki*	white snow	MYS.8.1654
upe	surface	*no*	*tuga*	southern Japanese hemlock	MYS.19.4266
upe	surface	*no*	*unopana*	deutzia crenata	MYS.8.1501
ura	inlet	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.11.2743a
ura	inlet	*no*	*ariswo*	rocky shore	MYS.18.4049
ura	inlet	*no*	*iriye*	inlet; small bay	MYS.15.3578
ura	inlet	*no*	*kotogoto*	everything	MYS.6.942
ura	inlet	*no*	*nanoriso*	gulfweed	MYS.12.3076
ura	inlet	*no*	*okipye*	offing side	MYS.15.3615
ura	inlet	*no*	*pamayupu*	giant crinum lily (Crinum asiaticum)	MYS.4.496
ura	inlet	*no*	*sipopwi*	low tide, ebb tide	MYS.15.3595
ura	inlet	*no*	*tama*	jewel	MYS.1.12a
ura	inlet	*no*	*tama*	jewel	MYS.1.12b
ura	inlet	*no*	*tam*	jewel	MYS.1.15
ura	inlet	*no*	*tama*	jewel	MYS.1.15
uramwi	around the inlet	*no*	*ipatutuzi*	stone azalea	MYS.2.185
uramwi	around the inlet	*no*	*kotumi*	flotsam, junk	MYS.11.2724
uramwi	around the inlet	*no*	*managwo*	powdery soil	MYS.9.1799
uramwi	around the inlet	*no*	*momiti*	maple	MYS.15.3702
uramwi	around the inlet	*no*	*pudinami*	wave of wisteria	MYS.18.4043a
uramwi	around the inlet	*no*	*pudinami*	wave of wisteria	MYS.18.4043b
uranwo	Urano	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.14.3565
urasima	Urashima	*no*	*kwo*	child	FK.12
urasima	Urashima	*no*	*kwo*	child	FK.15
urasu	inlet sandbar	*no*	*tori*	bird	KK.3
ure	tip	*no*	*siratuyu*	white dew	MYS.16.3819
usi	cow	*no*	*kura*	saddle, [unknown], dark, storehouse, seat	MYS.16.3838
usipo	tide	*no*	*kudari*	downward	NSK.120
usupi	Usui	*no*	*saka*	slope, hill	MYS.20.4407
uti	inside	*no*	*pimukasi*	east	SM.12

uti	inside	*no*	*pimukasi*	east	SM.4
uti	Uchi	*no*	*oponwo*	Ōno	MYS.1.4
uti	Uchi	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.17.3957
utimwi	Uchimi	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.4.589
utipasi	pile bridge	*no*	*tume*	foot (head) of bridge	NSK.124
utito	inside and outside	*no*	*mikadwo*	honourable gate	EN.9
utusemi	ephemeral world	*no*	*kareru mwi*	ephemeral life	MYS.3.466
utusemi	ephemeral world	*no*	*na*	name	MYS.19.4211
utusemi	ephemeral world	*no*	*tune*	normalcy, eternity	MYS.12.2961
utusemi	ephemeral world	*no*	*utusigokoro*	sanity, sensibility	MYS.12.2960
utusemi	ephemeral world	*no*	*yaswokoto*	many things/words	MYS.14.3456
utusomi	ephemeral world	*no*	*yaswotomonowo*	many male companions	MYS.19.4214
uwedake	planted bamboo	*no*	*moto*	stem	MYS.14.3474
uwekwi	planted tree	*no*	*koma*	between the trees	MYS.20.4495
wagapye	my house	*no*	*sono*	garden	MYS.5.816
wagapye	my house	*no*	*sono*	garden	MYS.5.837
wagipye	my house	*no*	*atari*	vicinity	KK.58
wagipye	my house	*no*	*atari*	vicinity	NSK.54
wagipye	my house	*no*	*kata*	side, direction (spatial and temporal)	KK.32
wagipye	my house	*no*	*kata*	side, direction (spatial and temporal)	NSK.21
wagipye	my house	*no*	*kemomo*	a kind of peach which is small and furry (hairy)	MYS.7.1358
wagipye	my house	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.5.859
wagipye	my house	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.8.1488
wagipye	my house	*no*	*sono*	garden	MYS.5.841
wagipye	my house	*no*	*sono*	garden	MYS.8.1441
wakakwi	young tree	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.4.792
wakasadi	Wakasaji	*no*	*notisenoyama*	Nochise-no-yama; Mt. Nochise	MYS.4.737
wana	trap	*no*	*kanarumasidumi*	[unknown]	MYS.14.3361
wanisa	vincinity of Wani	*no*	*ni*	soil	KK.42
wata	sea	*no*	*soko*	bottom	MYS.5.813

watarapi	Watarai	*no*	*itukinomiya*	place for worshipping the spirits; used about the Shrine of Ise	MYS.2.199a
watarapi	Watarai	*no*	*itukinomiya*	place for worshipping the spirits; used about the Shrine of Ise	MYS.2.199b
watarapi	Watarai	*no*	*udi*	Uji (place name)	EN.16
watarapi	Watarai	*no*	*udi*	Uji (place name)	EN.18
watarapi	Watarai	*no*	*udi*	Uji (place name)	EN.19
watarapi	Watarai	*no*	*udi*	Uji (place name)	EN.22
watarapi	Watarai	*no*	*yamada no para*	Yamada plain	EN.17
watarapi	Watarai	*no*	*yamada no para*	Yamada plain	EN.21
watari	Watari	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.2.135a
watari	Watari	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.2.135b
watari	go across	*no*	*sikinami*	continuous waves	MYS.13.3339
watari	port, harbor	*no*	*karakadi*	Korea rudder	MYS.14.3555
watari	port, harbor	*no*	*tagitu se*	fast flowing rapids	MYS.13.3240
watatumi	sea	*no*	*kasikwoki miti*	awesome road	MYS.15.3694
watatumi	sea	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.15.3597
watatumi	sea	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.15.3614
watatumi	sea	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.15.3663
watatumi	sea	*no*	*oki*	offing, depths	MYS.3.327
watatumi	sea	*no*	*okipye*	offing side	MYS.15.3627
watatumi	sea deity	*no*	*tamaki*	bracelet	MYS.15.3627
watatumi	sea deity	*no*	*te*	hand	MYS.3.366
watatumi	sea	*no*	*toyopatakumo*	abundant flag-like clouds	MYS.1.15
wazami	Wazami	*no*	*mine*	peak	MYS.10.2348
wazamigapara	Wazami-ga-hara	*no*	*karimiya*	temporary palace	MYS.2.199a
wazamigapara	Wazami-ga-hara	*no*	*karimiya*	temporary palace	MYS.2.199b
wemapi	smile	*no*	*nipopi*	colourfulness, fragrance	MYS.18.4114
wi	well	*no*	*midu*	water	JSHT.1
wi	well	*no*	*midu*	water	JSHT.1
wi	boar	*no*	*kwo*	child	NSK.95
wikapi	Ikai	*no*	*woka*	hill	MYS.2.203
wikasuri	Ikasuri	*no*	*mikamunagi*	shrine maiden	EN.1
wikasuri	Ikasuri	*no*	*mikamunagi*	shrine maiden	EN.7

wina	hinterlands, Ina	*no*	*uramwi*	around the inlet	MYS.7.1140b
winabye	hinterlands side	*no*	*takumi*	craftsperson	NSK.80
wo	ridge, peak, hill	*no*	*pizi*	sandbank	MYS.14.3448
wo	ridge, peak, hill	*no*	*sipi*	Chinquapin oak (Castaneoideae, cuspidata or sieboldii)	MYS.14.3493a
wo	ridge, peak, hill	*no*	*sipi*	Chinquapin oak (Castaneoideae, cuspidata or sieboldii)	MYS.14.3493b
wo	ridge, peak, hill	*no*	*tubaki*	common camellia (Camellia japonica)	MYS.19.4152
wo	ridge, peak, hill	*no*	*tubaki*	common camellia (Camellia japonica)	MYS.20.4481
wo	ridge, peak, hill	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.19.4266
wo	ridge, peak, hill	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.8.1501
wo	Ono	*no*	*tadori*	Tadori	MYS.14.3405b
wo	Ono	*no*	*wona*	Ona	MYS.14.3448
wobatuseyama	Mt.Obasute	*no*	*ipakwi*	rock enclosure	FK.1
wodukupa	Ozukuba; Little Tsukuba	*no*	*ne-ro*	peak	MYS.14.3395
wodukupa-nero	Ozukuba; Little Tsukuba	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.14.3394
wodwo	Odo	*no*	*tadori*	Tadori	MYS.14.3405a
woka	hill	*no*	*kukumira*	long-stemmed leek	MYS.14.3444
woka	hill	*no*	*kusane*	grass, herbs	MYS.1.10
woka	hill	*no*	*kuzupa*	arrowroot leaves	MYS.10.2208
woka	hill	*no*	*kuzupa*	arrowroot leaves	MYS.12.3068
woka	hill	*no*	*okami*	water god	MYS.2.104
woka	hill	*no*	*pototogisu*	lesser cuckoo (Cuculus poliocephalus)	MYS.8.1506
woka	hill	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.20.4408
wokamo	small wild duck	*no*	*mokoro*	like, similar to	MYS.14.3527
wokapye	hill side	*no*	*miti*	road	MYS.6.971
wome	Ome	*no*	*sasaba*	bamboo-grass leaf	FK.10
wome	Ome	*no*	*sasapa*	bamboo-grass leaf	FK.10
womura	Omura	*no*	*take*	peak	NSK.75a
womura	Omura	*no*	*take*	peak	NSK.75b

wona	Ona	*no*	*wo*	hill	MYS.14.3448
wonope	mountain peak	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4397
wonope	mountain peak	*no*	*sakurabana*	cherry blossoms	MYS.9.1776
wonwo	(small) field	*no*	*akikaze*	autumn wind	MYS.8.1468
wonwo	(small) field	*no*	*kusa*	grass	MYS.20.4457
wopatuseyama	Hatsuse-yama; Mt. Hatsuse	*no*	*ipakwi*	rock enclosure	MYS.16.3806
	compound				
wopu	hemp lawn	*no*	*sitakusa*	underbrush	MYS.12.3049
wopu	Ou	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.17.3993
wopu	Ou	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.18.4037a
wopu	Ou	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.18.4037b
wopu	Ou	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.18.4049
wopu	Ou	*no*	*ura*	inlet	MYS.19.4187
wosaki	Osaki	*no*	*numa*	swamp	MYS.9.1744
wosirwo	Oshiro	*no*	*kwo*	child	NSK.82
wosute	Osute	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.7.1214
woti	Ochi	*no*	*kwosuge*	small sedge	MYS.13.3323
woti	Ochi	*no*	*kwosuge*	small sedge	MYS.13.3323
woti	Ochi	*no*	*sugapara*	sedge plain, Sugawara	MYS.7.1341
wotokwowomina	young man and young woman	*no*	*pananipopi*	beautiful sight	MYS.20.4317
wotomye	young woman	*no*	*toko*	bed	KK.33
wotu	Otsu	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	KK.29
woyamada	small mountain field	*no*	*ike*	pond	MYS.14.3492
woye	small bay, inlet	*no*	*patutari*	first filtering of salt water	MYS.16.3886
ya	house	*no*	*kata*	shape, pattern	MYS.16.3820
ya	house	*no*	*two*	entrance, passage	MYS.14.3460
yabase	Yabase	*no*	*sinwo*	thin-culmed dwarf bamboo	MYS.7.1350
yabunami	Yabunami	*no*	*satwo*	village	MYS.18.4138
yadwo	house	*no*	*aki no pagwi*	autumn bush-clover	MYS.8.1622
yadwo	house	*no*	*aki no pagwipara*	autumn field of bushclover	MYS.10.2213
yadwo	house	*no*	*akipagwi*	autumn bush-clover	MYS.15.3681
yadwo	house	*no*	*isasa*	[unknown; holy bamboo?]	MYS.19.4291
yadwo	house	*no*	*kimi*	my lord	MYS.6.1041
yadwo	house	*no*	*magaki*	(a kind of) fence	MYS.4.777
yadwo	house	*no*	*matu*	pine	MYS.15.3747

yadwo	house	*no*	*momitiba*	maple leaf	MYS.19.4259
yadwo	house	*no*	*nadesikwo*	pink, carnation (flower of the Caryophyllaceae family)	MYS.20.4442
yadwo	house	*no*	*nadesikwo*	pink, carnation (flower of the Caryophyllaceae family)	MYS.20.4450
yadwo	house	*no*	*nadesikwo*	pink, carnation (flower of the Caryophyllaceae family)	MYS.8.1616
yadwo	house	*no*	*pagwi*	bush clover (any flowering plant of genus Lespedeza)	MYS.19.4224
yadwo	house	*no*	*panatatibana*	flowering tachibana	MYS.10.1954
yadwo	house	*no*	*panatatibana*	flowering tachibana	MYS.15.3779
yadwo	house	*no*	*panatatibana*	flowering tachibana	MYS.17.3998
yadwo	house	*no*	*panatatibana*	flowering tachibana	MYS.8.1481
yadwo	house	*no*	*panatatibana*	flowering tachibana	MYS.8.1493
yadwo	house	*no*	*pitomurapagwi*	one flock of bush clover	MYS.8.1565
yadwo	house	*no*	*sudare*	curtain	MYS.8.1606
yadwo	house	*no*	*tatibana*	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana), Tachibana	MYS.8.1483
yadwo	house	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.20.4496
yadwo	house	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.5.818
yadwo	house	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.5.826
yadwo	house	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.5.842
yadwo	house	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.6.1011
yadwo	house	*no*	*uwekwitatibana*	planted Tachibana	MYS.19.4207
yadwo	house	*no*	*wobana*	Japanese pampas grass (lit. 'tail flower') (Miscanthus sinensis)	MYS.8.1572
yadwo	house	*no*	*yamabuki*	mountain kerria, yamabuki rose	MYS.20.4303

yakami	Yakami (Only in Yakamiyama)	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.2.135a
yakami	Yakami (Only in Yakamiyama)	*no*	*yama*	mountain	MYS.2.135b
yakitati	heat-hardened sword	*no*	*takami*	hilt	MYS.9.1809
yama	mountain	*no*	*arasi*	storm	MYS.1.74
yama	mountain	*no*	*kapi*	vale, glen	KK.91
yama	mountain	*no*	*kapi*	vale, glen	MYS.17.3924
yama	mountain	*no*	*konoma*	spaces between trees	KK.14
yama	mountain	*no*	*konoma*	spaces between trees	MYS.2.139
yama	mountain	*no*	*konoma*	spaces between trees	NSK.12
yama	mountain	*no*	*konure*	new growth of a tree	MYS.17.3957
yama	mountain	*no*	*konure*	new growth of a tree	MYS.18.4111
yama	mountain	*no*	*kotigoti*	here and there	KK.91
yama	mountain	*no*	*kumakasi*	large evergreen oak, bear oak	KK.31
yama	mountain	*no*	*kumoma*	between the clouds	MYS.2.135a
yama	mountain	*no*	*kumoma*	between the clouds	MYS.2.135b
yama	mountain	*no*	*kuti*	entrance	EN.7
yama	mountain	*no*	*midukaki*	fresh, young fence	MYS.4.501
yama	mountain	*no*	*na*	name	MYS.5.871
yama	mountain	*no*	*na*	name	MYS.5.872
yama	mountain	*no*	*pa*	end	MYS.15.3623
yama	mountain	*no*	*patwo*	pigeon	NSK.71
yama	mountain	*no*	*pe*	top	MYS.5.872
yama	mountain	*no*	*pototogisu*	lesser cuckoo (Cuculus poliocephalus)	MYS.17.4008
yama	mountain	*no*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS.14.3394
yama	mountain	*no*	*satuwo*	village	MYS.3.267
yama	mountain	*no*	*sibutani*	Shibutani	MYS.17.3985
yama	mountain	*no*	*siduku*	droplet	MYS.2.107
yama	mountain	*no*	*siduku*	droplet	MYS.2.107
yama	mountain	*no*	*simo*	under	EN.2
yama	mountain	*no*	*sirakasi*	white oak	NSK.23
yama	mountain	*no*	*sirakumo*	white cloud	MYS.4.668
yama	mountain	*no*	*soki*	far edge	MYS.6.971

yama	mountain	*no*	*tawori*	saddle (mountain pass)	MYS.19.4169
yamabito	mountain person	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.20.4294
yamabuki	mountain kerria, yamabuki rose	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4304
yamabuki	mountain kerria, yamabuki rose	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.8.1435
yamadisa	Japanese snowbell tree (styrax japonica); same as tisa	*no*	*pana*	flower	MYS.7.1360
yamadori	mountain bird	*no*	*woro*	life	MYS.14.3468
yamagapa	mountains and rivers	*no*	*kiywoki tokoro*	clean place	EN.25
yamakapa	mountains and rivers	*no*	*piroku kiywoki tokoro*	spacious clean place	EN.25
yamakapa	mountains and rivers	*no*	*sokipye*	faraway area	MYS.17.3964
yamanobye	Yamanobe	*no*	*kwosimakwo*	Koshimako	NSK.79
yamanwo	fields and mountains	*no*	*mono*	thing	EN.5
yamanwo	fields and mountains	*no*	*mono*	thing	EN.6
yamasina	Yamashina	*no*	*ipata*	Iwata	MYS.9.1730
yamasina	Yamashina	*no*	*ipata*	Iwata	MYS.9.1731
yamasina	Yamashina	*no*	*kagaminoyama*	Kagami-no-yama	MYS.2.155
yamasiro	Yamashiro	*no*	*kaseyama*	Kase-yama; Mt. Kase	MYS.6.1050
yamasiro	Yamashiro	*no*	*sagarakayama*	Sagaraka-yama; Mt. Sagaraka	MYS.3.481
yamasiro	Yamashiro	*no*	*tutukwi*	Tsutsuki	KK.62
yamasiro	Yamashiro	*no*	*tutukwi*	Tsutsuki	NSK.55
yamato	Yamato	*no*	*awokaguyama*	Mt. Aokagu	MYS.1.52
yamato	Yamato	*no*	*ko no taketi*	this market located in a high place	KK.101
yamato	Yamato	*no*	*kuni*	place of origin	MYS.13.3249
yamato	Yamato	*no*	*osi*	Oshi	NSK.106
yamato	Yamato	*no*	*pitomotosusuki*	one lone Japanese pampas grass	KK.4
yamato	Yamato	*no*	*takasazinwo*	Takasajino	KK.15
yamato	Yamato	*no*	*womura*	Omura	NSK.75a
yamato	Yamato	*no*	*womura*	Omura	NSK.75b
yamatodi	road to Yamato	*no*	*kibwi*	Kibi	MYS.6.967

yamatomye	woman in Yamato	*no*	*piza*	knee	MYS.14.3457
yamayama	mountain	*no*	*kuti*	entrance	EN.3
yamisisi	wounded game animal	*no*	*utaki*	roar	KK.98
yanagwi	willow	*no*	*maywo*	(silkworm) cocooon	MYS.10.1853
yanagwi	willow	*no*	*ure*	tip	MYS.10.1819
yara	Yara, [unknown; seabed? swamp, marsh?]	*no*	*sakimori*	border guard	MYS.16.3866
yasiro	shrine	*no*	*kami*	spirit, god	MYS.20.4391
yasiro	shrine	*no*	*kamwi-tati*	spirit, god (plural)	SM.38
yasu	Yasu	*no*	*kapara*	river flats	MYS.10.2089
yaswosima	many islands	*no*	*upe*	surface	MYS.15.3651
yaswoudikapa	Yasouji-kawa	*no*	*azirwokwi*	wooden stake for fishing weir	MYS.3.264
yata	Yata	*no*	*nwo*	field, small plain	MYS.10.2331
yata	Yata	*no*	*pitomotosuge*	one lone sedge	KK.64
yata	Yata	*no*	*pitomotosuge*	one lone sedge	KK.65
ye	branch	*no*	*paru no pa*	spring leaves	MYS.2.210a
ye	branch	*no*	*paru no pa*	spring leaves	MYS.2.210b
ye	branch	*no*	*uraba*	end leaf	KK.100
ye	branch	*no*	*uraba*	end leaf	KK.100
ye	branch	*no*	*uraba*	end leaf	KK.100
yesinwo	Yoshino	*no*	*ayu*	sweetfish	NSK.126
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*apida*	time	MYS.17.3994
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*kagiri*	limit, extent	MYS.20.4441
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*katari*	tell	MYS.9.1801
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*koto*	thing	MYS.5.805
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*kotogoto*	everything	KK.8
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*kotogoto*	everything	NSK.5
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*kotowari*	way (of the world)	MYS.18.4106
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*kotowari*	way (of the world)	MYS.19.4220
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*nagapito*	long-lived person	KK.71
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*nagapito*	long-lived person	KK.72

yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*naka*	middle, relationship	MYS.17.3969
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.14.3491
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.15.3625
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.17.3962
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.20.4408
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.5.894
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	BS.10
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	BS.10
yo	generation, world, court	*no*	*topopito*	long-lived person	NSK.62
yodo	meander	*no*	*tugipasi*	extending brige	MYS.4.490
yokoyamapyero	mountains connected in an even way	*no*	*sisi*	game animal	MYS.14.3531
yonabari	Yonabari	*no*	*namisiba*	Namishiba	MYS.10.2190
yonabari	Yonabari	*no*	*nwogwi*	tree growing in field	MYS.10.2339
yonabari	Yonabari	*no*	*wikapi*	Ikai	MYS.8.1561
yononaka	human existence	*no*	*pito*	one, other than self	MYS.15.3691
yononaka	human existence	*no*	*tune*	normalcy, eternity	MYS.15.3761
yoroduyo	ten thousand generations	*no*	*katarapigusa*	conversation topic	MYS.17.4000
yoroki	Yoroki	*no*	*pama*	beach, shore	MYS.14.3372
yosami	Yosami	*no*	*ike*	pond	KK.44
yosami	Yosami	*no*	*ike*	pond	NSK.36
yosinwo	Yoshino	*no*	*miya*	palace	MYS.3.315
yosinwo	Yoshino	*no*	*tagi*	waterfall	MYS.6.960
yosinwonokapa	Yoshino-no-kawa	*no*	*kwiri*	mist, fog	MYS.6.916
yuki	snow	*no*	*iro*	colour	MYS.5.850
yuki	snow	*no*	*pikari*	shine	MYS.17.3923
yuki	snow	*no*	*upe*	surface, area	MYS.18.4134
yuki	Yuki	*no*	*ama*	diver	MYS.15.3694
yuki	Yuki	*no*	*sima*	island	MYS.15.3696
yumi	bow	*no*	*mita*	together with	MYS.20.4394
yumi	bow	*no*	*nakapazu*	[unknown; bowstring?]	MYS.1.3

yumi	bow	*no*	*nakapazu*	[unknown; bowstring?]	MYS.1.3
yumi	bow	*no*	*yutuka*	bow grip	MYS.14.3567
yupazu	notch of a bow	*no*	*sawaki*	rustle, noisy	MYS.2.199a
yupazu	notch of a bow	*no*	*sawaki*	rustle, noisy	MYS.2.199b
yupu	evening	*no*	*mamori*	guard	MYS.18.4094a
yupu	evening	*no*	*mamori*	guard	MYS.18.4094b
yupube	evening side	*no*	*mike*	honourable food	EN.8
yupubye	evening side	*no*	*monomopi*	person longing	MYS.12.2878
yura	Yura	*no*	*two*	strait	KK.74
yura	Yura	*no*	*two*	strait	NSK.41
ywo	night	*no*	*ame*	rain	MYS.17.3916
ywo	night	*no*	*ime*	dream	MYS.15.3735
ywo	night	*no*	*mamori*	guard	EN.1
ywo	night	*no*	*mamori*	guard	EN.7
ywo	night	*no*	*nagori*	remnants	MYS.12.2945
ywo	night	*no*	*tukuywo*	moonlight	MYS.4.702
ywo	night	*no*	*ume*	plum	MYS.3.392
ywora	Yora	*no*	*yamapye*	mountain area	MYS.14.3489
yworu	night	*no*	*ime*	dream	MYS.5.807
yworu	night	*no*	*itwoma*	free time	MYS.20.4455
yworu	night	*no*	*pimo*	cord	MYS.17.3938
ywotwode	going out at night	*no*	*sugata*	figure, attitude	MYS.12.2950
zenzi	Zen monk	*no*	*okonapi*	conduct	SM.28

Appendix A.2. All examples of *ga* in noun-modifying constructions

Dependent	Meaning	Gen	Head	Meaning	Source
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*katakwopi*	one-sided yearning	MYS 17.3929
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kimi*	my lord	MYS 19.4169
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS 14.3526
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS 15.3627
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.15.3627
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	NSK.36
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*koromo*	robe, garment	MYS 15.3584
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*koromode*	garment sleeve	MYS 15.3778
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwo*	child	MYS 19.4220
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwo*	child	MYS 5.904
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwoma*	horse	MYS 14.3441a
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwoma*	horse	MYS 14.3441b
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwopi*	yearning	MYS 14. 3422

a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwopi*	yearning	MYS 14.3403
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwopi*	yearning	MYS 15.3781
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwopi*	yearning	MYS 20.4366
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*matubara*	Plain of pines	MYS 17.3890
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mote*	face	MYS 20.4367
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mune*	chest	MYS 15.3767
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 15.3757
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 18.4078
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 19.4220
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 20.4505
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 5.848
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*nusi*	master	MYS 5.882
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*okuduma*	beloved wife	MYS 17.3978
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*omo*	face	MYS 14.3515
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokuninusi*	great land master	KK.5
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokurwo*	big blackie (big, black falcon) [de-adjectival noun]	MYS 17.4011
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*pasiduma*	dear wife	KK.59
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	KK.62
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sitabape*	deep thoughts	MYS 14.3371
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sitagoromo*	under garment	MYS 15.3751
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sumyekamwi*	(regional) deity	MYS 20.4408
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	MYS 5.892
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	MYS 5.892
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS 14.3459
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS 20.4420
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*toko*	bed	MYS 17.3927
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*uma*	horse	MYS 17.4022
a	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*wakaki kwo*	young child	NSK.121
akagwoma	red colt	*ga*	*agaki*	gallop(ing)	MYS 14.3540
amawotomye -ra	diver girls	*ga*	*mo*	skirt	MYS 15.3661a
amo	mother	*ga*	*me*	eye	MYS 20.4383
asadi	low cogongrass	*ga*	*uraba*	end leaf	MYS 10.2186
asi	reed	*ga*	*naka*	middle	MYS 14.3445
aso	courtier	*ga*	*kubututi*	[unknown; only in kubututi, kubututui; the 'head' of a weapon?] hammer, mallet	NSK.29
aso	courtier	*ga*	*pana*	nose	MYS 16.3841

aso	courtier	*ga*	*pana*	nose	MYS 16.3843
aso	courtier	*ga*	*para*	field, plain	MYS 20.4449
aso	courtier	*ga*	*wakikusa*	armpit grass	MYS 16.3842
awone	Aone	*ga*	*mine*	peak	MYS 7.1120
daipopusi	great priests of the Law	*ga*	*naka*	middle	SM.41
imasi-ra	you (plural)	*ga*	*tumi*	sin	SM.35
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*atari*	vicinity	MYS 15.3651
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*ipye*	house	MYS 14.3423
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*ipye*	house	MYS 14.3542
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*ipye*	house	MYS 17.3952
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*ipyedi*	road to house	MYS 15 3635
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*kadwo*	gate	MYS 14.3389
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*kakima*	between the fences	MYS 10.1899
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS 5.796
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*koromo*	robe, garment	MYS 15.3667
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*me*	eye	MYS 15. 3589
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*me*	eye	MYS 15.3731
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*mo*	skirt	MYS 5.855
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*na*	name	MYS 14.3362a
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*na*	name	MYS 14.3488
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*na*	name	MYS 15.3730
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*pye*	house	MYS 14.3441
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*pye*	house	MYS 14.3441a
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*pye*	house	MYS 14.3441b
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*pye*	house	MYS 5.844
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*sugata*	figure, attitude	MYS 18.4135
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*swode*	sleeve	MYS 15. 3604
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*tadate*	direct hands	MYS 14.3439
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*tamakura*	arm pillow	MYS 14.3480
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*tamakura*	arm pillow	MYS 17.3978
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*tamakura*	arm pillow	MYS 20.4432
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	MYS 17.3993
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*tamoto*	wrist, cuff	MYS 2.131b
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*tamoto*	wrist, cuff	MYS 5.857
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*te*	hand	FK.19
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*te*	hand	NSK.96
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*wemapi*	smile	MYS 11.2642
imo	little sister, beloved	*ga*	*wodoko*	small bed	MYS 14.3354
ipa	stone	*ga*	*ne*	root	MYS 15.3688
ipa	stone	*ga*	*ne*	root	MYS 3.301
ipa	stone	*ga*	*ne*	root	MYS 7.1332

itipi	Quercus gilva (red-bark oak)	*ga*	*moto*	stem	MYS 16.3885
itukasi	sacred oak	*ga*	*moto*	stem	KK.92
itukasi	sacred oak	*ga*	*moto*	stem	MYS 1.9
ituki	place of worship	*ga*	*upe*	surface	NSK.60
kamo	wild duck	*ga*	*ne*	sound	MYS 14.3570
kamwi	god	*ga*	*two*	entrance, passage	MYS 7.1216
kapo	face, looks	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 14.3575
kapoya	Kaoya	*ga*	*numa*	swamp	MYS 14.3416
kapwiya	hut to have a fire to ward off beasts	*ga*	*sita*	below	MYS 16.3818
kari	wild goose	*ga*	*ne*	sound	MYS 15.3665
kari	wild goose	*ga*	*ne*	sound	MYS 15.3687
kari	wild goose	*ga*	*ne*	sound	MYS 15.3691
kari	wild goose	*ga*	*ne*	sound	MYS 17.3953
kasi	oak	*ga*	*moto*	stem, lower part	KK.92
kaye	grass	*ga*	*muta*	as, like	MYS 20.4321
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*atari*	vicinity	MYS 18.4073
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*ipye*	house	MYS 20.4503
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*ipyedi*	road to house	MYS 13.3343
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS 18.4116
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS 20.4482
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kono sima*	this island	MYS 20.4511
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*manima*	just as it is	MYS 14.3377
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*manima*	just as it is	MYS 17.3993
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*manima*	just as it is	MYS 20.4505
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*me*	eye	MYS 15.3587
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*me*	eye	MYS 17.3934
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*me*	eye	NSK.123
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*me*	eye	NSK.123
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*mikyesi*	honorable garment	MYS 14.3350a
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*mikyesi*	honorable garment	MYS 14.3350b
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*mipune*	boat	MYS 15.3656
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*mipune*	boat	MYS 15.3705
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*mipune*	Mifune	MYS 18.4045
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*miyadesiribu ri*	sight from behind of leaving for the palace	MYS 18.4108
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*muta*	as, like	MYS 15.3773
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*na*	name	MYS 14.3362b
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*na*	name	MYS 14.3374
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*sugata*	figure, attitude	MYS 11.2684
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*sugata*	figure, attitude	MYS 18.4121b

kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*sugata*	figure, attitude	MYS 20.4441
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*tadaka*	[unknown; person in the flesh?]	MYS 17.4008
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS 17.3968
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*tukapi*	messenger	MYS 18.4041
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*tukapi*	messenger	MYS 4.542
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*uma*	horse	MYS 11.2512
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*upe*	surface	MYS 20.4474a
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*upe*	surface	MYS 20.4474b
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*yo*	generation, world, court	MYS 14.3448
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*yosopi*	attire	KK.7
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*yosopi*	attire	NSK.6
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*yumi*	bow	MYS 14. 3568
kipe	Kie?, Kibe?	*ga*	*takagaki*	bamboo fence	MYS 11.2530
kisima	Kishima	*ga*	*take*	peak	FK.19
konure	new growth of a tree	*ga*	*sita*	below	MYS 13.3221
kwisimi	Kishimi	*ga*	*take*	peak	MYS 3.385
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	MYS 5.845
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*ipyedi*	road to house	MYS 5.856
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*makaridi*	road to afterworld	MYS 2.218a
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*makaridi*	road to afterworld	MYS 2.218b
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS 10.1815
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*tumadwopi*	spouse-requesting	MYS 18.4127
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*yoti*	same-age child	MYS 16.3791
kwo-ro	my beloved	*ga*	*kanatwo*	metal door	MYS 14.3530
kwo-ro	my beloved	*ga*	*osoki*	garment	MYS 14.3509
kwo-ro	my beloved	*ga*	*pada*	skin	MYS 20.4431
kwo-ro	my beloved	*ga*	*upe*	surface	MYS 14.3525
kwonagwi	water leek	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 14.3576
makwo	excellent child	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS 20.4414
maro	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*ti*	father	KK.48
maro	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*ti*	father	NSK.39
matu	pine	*ga*	*ura*	inlet	MYS 14.3552
matu	pine	*ga*	*ye*	branch	MYS 20.4439
miguma	wanter bend	*ga*	*suge*	sedge	MYS 11.2837
mimasi	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	SM.45
mimoro	Mimoro	*ga*	*upe*	surface	NSK.97
murazi	Muraji	*ga*	*iswo*	rock	MYS 20.4338
na	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*kata*	side	NSK.75a

na	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS 14.3425
na	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*manima*	just as it is	MYS 5.812
na	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*me*	eye	MYS 14.3383
na	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*mikwo*	child of a god, an emperor/empress, or a high noble	KK.73
na	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*na*	name	MYS 5.800
na	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words, commands, instructions	SM.14
na	2nd person pronoun	*ga*	*papa*	mother	MYS 14.3519
nadesikwo	pink, carnation	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 18.4114
nadesikwo	pink, carnation	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 20.4447
nadesikwo	pink, carnation	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 20.4449
nadesikwo	pink, carnation	*ga*	*so no panaduma*	that beautiful spouse	MYS 18.4113
nagwoya	softness	*ga*	*sita*	below	MYS 4.524
nakamaro	Nakamaro	*ga*	*ipye*	house	SM.30
nakamaro	Nakamaro	*ga*	*itupari*	deceit	SM.28
nakamaro	Nakamaro	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	SM.28
naramaro	Nakamaro	*ga*	*ikusa*	soldier	SM.21
naramaro-ra	Naramaro (plural)	*ga*	*mupon*	treachery	SM.34
nikwoya	softness	*ga*	*sita*	below	KK.5
nwosima	Noshima	*ga*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS 15.3606a
nwosima	Noshima	*ga*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS 15.3606b
nwosima	Noshima	*ga*	*saki*	cape, border	MYS 3.250b
omotiti	mother and father	*ga*	*tame*	purpose, benefit, sake	MYS 20.4402
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*atari*	vicinity	MYS 8.1446
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*kapo*	looks	MYS 16.3791
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	SM.33
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	SM.34
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	SM.44
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*kuti*	mouth	SM.45
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*mukimuki*	when everyone acts according to their own whims	MYS 9.1804
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 5.886a
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 5.886b
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*na*	name	MYS 18.4106
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*oya*	parent	SM.34
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*topotu oya*	distant ancesters	SM.28
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*udikadwo*	household	SM.59
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*wakugwo*	youth, young man	SM.3

ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*wo*	life	KK.22
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*wo*	life	MYS 14.3535
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*wo*	life	NSK.18a
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*yedayeda*	branch	NSK.125
opowikwo	Ōiko	*ga*	*para*	field, plain	KK.60
opowikwo	big boar	*ga*	*para*	stomach	KK.60
opoya	Ōya	*ga*	*para*	field, plain	MYS 14.3378
pamamatu	shore pine	*ga*	*ne*	root	MYS 20.4457
papa	mother	*ga*	*kata*	side	SM.39
papa	mother	*ga*	*me*	eye	MYS 20.4331
papa	mother	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS 5.886a
papa	mother	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS 5.886b
pari	Japanese alder (Alnus japonica)	*ga*	*yeda*	branch	NSK.76
popukun	Hōkun	*ga*	*na*	name	SM.44
pudipara	Fujiwara	*ga*	*upe*	surface	MYS 1.50
pudiwi	Fuji	*ga*	*para*	field, plain	MYS 1.52
punado	Funado	*ga*	*ani*	older brother	SM.28
pupaya	fluffiness	*ga*	*sita*	below	KK.5
pusimi	Fushimi	*ga*	*tawi*	paddy	MYS 9.1699
pwimo	strap, cord	*ga*	*wo*	life	MYS 20.4404
sasa	sasa (broad-leaf bamboo)	*ga*	*ne*	sound	NSK.65
sasa	sasa (broad-leaf bamboo), minutely divided	*ga*	*pa*	leaf	MYS 20.4431
satwowosa	village chief	*ga*	*kowe*	voice	MYS 5.892
sayagu	rustle	*ga*	*sita*	below	KK.5
sekwo	beloved man, child	*ga*	*purupye*	old home	MYS 3.424
sekwo	beloved man, child	*ga*	*sirwotapekoromo*	white barken garment	MYS 10.2192
sekwo	beloved man, child	*ga*	*so no na*	that name	MYS 11.2531
sekwo	beloved man, child	*ga*	*tabiyukigoromo*	travel garment	MYS 13.3315
sekwo	beloved man, child	*ga*	*tukapi*	messenger	MYS 9.1674
sekwo	beloved man, child	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 19.4259
sena	beloved man, child	*ga*	*koromo*	robe, garment	MYS 20.4424
senano	beloved man, child	*ga*	*swode*	sleeve	MYS 14.3402
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*amari*	remainder, leftover	KK.74
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*amari*	remainder, leftover	NSK.41
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*ane*	sister	SM.44
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*iroiro*	colours	MYS 19.4254
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*na*	name	SM.44
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*na*	name	SM.44
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*na*	name	SM.44

si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*pana*	flower	KK.58
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*pana*	flower	KK.59
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*pata*	fin	MYS 19.4191
si	3rd person pronoun	*ga*	*sita*	below	KK.57
sibi	tuna (Thunnus)	*ga*	*patade*	fin	KK.108
sibi	tuna (Thunnus)	*ga*	*patade*	fin	NSK.87a
sibi	tuna (Thunnus)	*ga*	*patade*	fin	NSK.87b
sikimi	Japanese star anise (Illicium anisatum)	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS.20.4476
simatu	Shimatsu	*ga*	*apabitama*	abalone jewel	MYS.7.1322
sipoyaki	Shioyaki	*ga*	*kwo*	child	SM.43
sirakasi	white oak	*ga*	*ye*	branch	NSK.23
sitapi	redness (maples)	*ga*	*sita*	below	MYS.10.2239
so	that	*ga*	*pa*	leaf	KK.101
so-ne	that-SFX	*ga*	*moto*	stem	KK.11
so-no	that-SFX	*ga*	*moto*	stem	NSK.13
somekwi	dye tree	*ga*	*siru*	sap, juice	KK.4
sore-ra	that (one)	*ga*	*matwppyeru kokoro*	astrayed heart	SM.35
sore-ra	that (one)	*ga*	*nekabane*	Kabane	SM.43
sukara	trunk of a bare tree (from which the leaves have fallen)	*ga*	*sitakwi*	low tree	KK.47
sukune	Sukune	*ga*	*kanatwo kage*	metal door light	KK.81
sukune	Sukune	*ga*	*kanatwokage*	metal door light	NSK.72
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*mi-tama*	spirit	SM.42
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*mikadwo*	honorable gate	N.10
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*mikadwo*	honorable gate	N.15
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*mikadwo*	honorable gate	N.2
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*mikadwo*	honorable gate	N.2
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*mikadwo*	honorable gate	N.5
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*mikadwo*	honorable gate	N.6
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	N.5
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	N.6
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	SM.40

sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*miyo*	generation, world, court	SM.5
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	SM.61
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.12
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.13
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.14
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.15
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.32
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.40
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.41
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.41
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.41
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.42
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.42
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.42
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.43
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.44
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.45
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.45
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.45
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.56
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.59
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	SM.59
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	N.16
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	N.17
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	N.19

sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	N.21
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	N.22
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	N.3
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	*ga*	*opomikoto*	great words	N.6
suzu	jingle	*ga*	*ne*	noise	MYS.14.3439
suzu	jingle	*ga*	*oto*	sound	MYS.14.3438a
suzu	jingle	*ga*	*oto*	sound	MYS.14.3438b
ta	who	*ga*	*koto*	words	FK.2
ta	who	*ga*	*kwo*	child	MYS.16.3791
ta	who	*ga*	*kye*	container	MYS.14.3424
ta	who	*ga*	*sakwide*	chapped hands	NSK.108
ta	who	*ga*	*se*	man, child	MYS.20.4425
ta	who	*ga*	*tame*	sake	MYS.17.4031
ta	who	*ga*	*tane*	material	KK.66
ta	who	*ga*	*tuma*	spouse	KK.56
ta	who	*ga*	*tuma*	spouse	MYS.20.4397
tadori	Tadori	*ga*	*kapadi*	road to river	MYS.14.3405a
tayupi	Tayui	*ga*	*ura*	inlet	MYS 3.366
tayupi	Tayui	*ga*	*ura*	inlet	MYS 3.367
tegwo	young girl, maiden	*ga*	*koto*	word	MYS 14.3398
titipapa	father and mother	*ga*	*nasi*	upbringing	MYS 9.1804
titipapa	father and mother	*ga*	*tono*	palace	MYS 20.4326
tobupwi	Tobuhi	*ga*	*take*	peak	MYS 6.1047
tori	bird	*ga*	*ne*	sound	MYS.6.1050
tori	bird	*ga*	*su*	nest	MYS 14.3526
tukwi	zelkova tree	*ga*	*ye*	branch	KK.100
tuma	spouse	*ga*	*ipye*	house	KK.76
ukapi	cormorant fisher	*ga*	*tomo*	companions	KK.14
ukapi	cormorant fisher	*ga*	*tomo*	companions	MYS 17.4011
ukapi	cormorant fisher	*ga*	*tomo*	companions	NSK.12
ukyera	Atractylodes japonica	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 14.3376a
ukyera	Atractylodes japonica	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 14.3376b
ukyera	Atractylodes japonica	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 14.3379
ukyera	Atractylodes japonica	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 14.3503
ume	plum	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS 5.837
ume	plum	*ga*	*pana*	flower	MYS. 5.845
ume	plum	*ga*	*siduye*	lower branches	MYS 5.827
ume	plum	*ga*	*ye*	branch	MYS 8.1436
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*ame no saki no mikadwo*	heavenly previous emperor	SM.29
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*imokwo*	beloved	MYS 20.4405

wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*inoti*	life	MYS 15.3621
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*inoti*	life	NSK.78
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*iparo*	little house	MYS 20.4406
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kadura*	headgear	MYS 18.4098
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kadwo*	gate	MYS 20.4418
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kadwo*	gate	MYS 20.4463
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kinu*	garment	MYS 14.3435
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	KK.3
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kokoro*	heart	KK.44
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*koromode*	garment sleeve	MYS 11.2690
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*koromode*	garment sleeve	MYS 15.3712
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*kwo*	child	SM.45
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*meduma*	beloved spouse	MYS 14.3502
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mi*	wife	MYS 20.4343
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*miki*	honorable wine	KK.39
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*miki*	honorable wine	NSK.15
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*miki*	honorable wine	NSK.32
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mo*	skirt	MYS 15.3656
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mokwo*	little sister, beloved	NSK.42
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*mwokwo*	ally, partner	KK.50
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*na*	name	KK.85
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*naka*	middle	MYS 5.904
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	JSHT.2
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	JSHT.3
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	KK.104
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	KK.28
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	KK.66
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	KK.97
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	KK.98
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	MYS 18. 4059
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	MYS 20.4508
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	NSK.63
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	NSK.76
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*opokimi*	great lord	NSK.97
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*osipekoto*	teachings	SM.45
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*papa*	mother	MYS 20.4356
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*pe*	top	MYS 14. 3421
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*pune*	boat	MYS 15.3629
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*pune*	boat	MYS 20.4412
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sakari*	peak	MYS 5.847
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sakwide*	chapped hands	NSK.108
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*satwo*	village	MYS 17.3984

wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 1.19
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 14.3399
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 14.3457
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 14.3460
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 15.3688
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 17.3898
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 17.3973
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 17.4006
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 17.4010
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 18.4121a
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 19.4245
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	MYS 20.4443
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*se*	dear, beloved	NSK.55
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 10.2192
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 11.2531
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 13.3315
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 14.3363
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 14.3379
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 14.3445
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 14.3455
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 15.3725
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 15.3751
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 15.3774
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 15.3778
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.3890
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.3940
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.3942
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.3943
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.3975
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.3990

wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.3996
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.3997
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.4007
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.4008
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 17.4011
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 18.4077
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 19. 4207
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 19.4153
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 19.4178
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 19.4179
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 19.4189
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 19.4190
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 19.4223
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 19.4259
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4303
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4442
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4444
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4448
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4450
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4499
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4504
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 3.247
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 3.268
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 5.822
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	MYS 9.1674

wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sekwo*	beloved man, child	NSK.65
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sena*	beloved man, child	MYS 14. 3483
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sena*	beloved man, child	MYS 14.3469
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sena*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4422
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sena*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4426
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sena*	beloved man, child	MYS 20.4428
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sono*	garden	MYS 5.822
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*sono*	garden	MYS 5.824
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*swode*	sleeve	MYS 15.3711
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tabi*	travel	MYS 15.3667
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tatami*	Tatami	KK.86
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tatami*	Tatami	NSK.70
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tati*	sword	MYS 9.1801
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*te*	hand	KK.69
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS 20.4418
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*te*	hand	NSK.102
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*te*	hand	NSK.108
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*te*	hand	NSK.96
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*titipapa*	father and mother	MYS 20.4344
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tuma*	spouse	KK.86
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tuma*	spouse	MYS 20.4322
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tuma*	spouse	MYS 20.4327
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*tuma*	spouse	NSK.70
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*wo*	life	MYS 15.3625
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 15.3681
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 15.3747
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 15.3779
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 17.3998
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 19.4291
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 20.4446
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 20.4490
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 5.826
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 5.842
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yadwo*	house	MYS 5.851
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yo*	generation, world, court	BS.14
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yo*	generation, world, court	MYS 5.886b
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yuki*	departure	MYS 20.4421

wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yuwe*	cause, reason	MYS 15.3586
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yuwe*	cause, reason	MYS 15.3615
wa	1st person pronoun	*ga*	*yuwe*	cause, reason	MYS 15.3745
wagimoko	my beloved	*ga*	*ipegoto*	words (news, communication) from home	MYS 20.4353
wagimoko	my beloved	*ga*	*ipye*	house	MYS 11.2609
wagimoko	my beloved	*ga*	*ipye*	house	MYS 9.1775
wagimoko	my beloved	*ga*	*katami*	memento, keepsake	MYS 15.3596
wagimoko	my beloved	*ga*	*katami*	memento, keepsake	MYS 15.3733
wagimoko	my beloved	*ga*	*tokiarapigoromo*	unsewn garment	MYS 15.3666
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*nageki*	sigh	MYS 15.3616
wakidukwi	armrest	*ga*	*sita*	below	KK.104
wakugwo	youth, young man	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 16.3791
warapa	child	*ga*	*mwi*	life	MYS 16.3791
wazaimi	Wazami	*ga*	*para*	field, plain	MYS 2.199a
wazaimi	Wazami	*ga*	*para*	field, plain	MYS 2.199b
wobana	Japanese pampas grass (lit. 'tail flower') (Miscanthus sinensis)	*ga*	*sita*	below	MYS 10.2270
wobana	Japanese pampas grass (lit. 'tail flower') (Miscanthus sinensis)	*ga*	*ure*	tip	MYS 10.2167
wobana	Japanese pampas grass (lit. 'tail flower') (Miscanthus sinensis)	*ga*	*ure*	tip	MYS 8.1577
woguki	little ravine	*ga*	*kigisi*	green pheasant	MYS 14.3375
womure	Omure	*ga*	*upe*	surface	NSK.116
womurwo	temple junipers	*ga*	*take*	peak	KK.97
wotomye	young woman	*ga*	*mo*	skirt	MYS 15.3661b
wotomye-ra	young woman (plural)	*ga*	*akamo*	red skirt	MYS 15.3610a
wotomye-ra	young woman (plural)	*ga*	*oku*	future	MYS 9.1801
wotomye-ra	young woman (plural)	*ga*	*tamamo*	beautiful skirt	MYS 15.3610b
wotomye-ra	young woman (plural)	*ga*	*wemapi*	smile	MYS 18.4114
yutukwi	Yutsuki	*ga*	*take*	peak	MYS 10.1816
yutukwi	Yutsuki	*ga*	*take*	peak	MYS 7.1087

APPENDIX B. ALL EXAMPLES OF *NO/GA-MARKED SUBJECT NOUNS*[106]

Appendix B.1. All examples of *no*-marked subject nouns

Subject noun	Meaning	Gen	Predicate	Meaning	Source
akipagwi	autumn bush-clover	*no*	*tirisugwinikyeru*	scatter and vanish	MYS.8.1599
awokumu	blue cloud	*no*	*tonobiku*	stretch out	MYS.20.4403
i	sleep	*no*	*nerayenu*	[passive or potential form of sleep]	MYS.15.3665
i	sleep	*no*	*nerayenu*	[passive or potential form of sleep]	MYS.15.3678
i	sleep	*no*	*nerayenu*	[passive or potential form of sleep]	MYS.15.3680
i	sleep	*no*	*nerayenu*	[passive or potential form of sleep]	MYS.15.3684
idetati	going out and standing	*no*	*yorosiki*	good	NSK.77
kaze	wind	*no*	*miyenu*	be seen	MYS.19.4160
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*sigeki*	abundant	MYS.15.3767
pomuki	ripe ears of rice hanging down to one side	*no*	*yoreru*	approach	MYS.2.114
sugata	figure	*no*	*ime ni si miyuru*	be seen	MYS.12.2937
yamabito	mountain person	*no*	*ware ni esimesi*	obtain	MYS.20.4293
ye	branch	*no*	*tuti ni tuku*	adhere; arrive	MYS.20.4439
yuki	travelling	*no*	*ikidukusikaba*	sad, regretful	MYS.20.4421
adapito	person from Ada	*no*	*yana utiwatasu*	make go across	MYS.11.2699
adi	duck	*no*	*sumu*	live at	MYS.11.2751
adi	duck	*no*	*sumu*	live at	MYS.14.3547
adisawi	hydrangea	*no*	*yapye saku*	bloom	MYS.20.4448

[106] For examples like *awayuki no nipa ni purisiki* 'the foam snow, falling and piling up in the garden…' (MYS.8.1663), where the predicate (in this case, *purisik-* 'fall and pile up') does not immediately follow the *no*-marked subject noun (in this case, *awayuki* 'foam snow'), I provide the full content that precedes the predicate and follows the genitive-marked subject noun, but list only the meaning of the predicate in the table. For particularly lengthy examples, I use '…' to omit the content in between the genitive-marked subject noun and the predicate.

akagwoma	red colt	*no*	*iyukipabakaru*	go and be hampered	NSK.128
aki	autumn	*no*	*suguraku*	pass	MYS.8.1601
akikaze	autumn wind	*no*	*suwe puki*	blow	MYS.20.4515
akikaze	autumn wind	*no*	*pukamu*	blow	MYS.15.3586
akikaze	autumn wind	*no*	*puki*	blow	MYS.20.4453
akikaze	autumn wind	*no*	*pukikuru*	blow and come	MYS.10.2089
akikaze	autumn wind	*no*	*pukinisi*	blow	MYS.10.2083
akikaze	autumn wind	*no*	*samuki*	cold	MYS.3.361
akipagwi	autumn bush-clover	*no*	*tiraperu*	scatter	MYS.15.3691
akisa	seaduck	*no*	*yukite*	go	MYS.7.1122
ama	diver	*no*	*turi suru*	fish	MYS.17.3956
ama	diver	*no*	*kaduki*	dive	MYS.19.4169
ama	diver	*no*	*keburi yakitatete*	make burn	MYS.11.2742
ama	diver	*no*	*kugutu moti*	hold	MYS.3.293
ama	diver	*no*	*oki tu mikamwi ni iwatarite*	go across	MYS.18.4101
ama	diver	*no*	*pitopi mo otizu ya ku*	roast	MYS.15.3652
ama	diver	*no*	*turi si*	fish	MYS.12.3170
ama	diver	*no*	*turi suru*	fish	MYS.17.4017
ama	diver	*no*	*wata no soko oki tu ikuri ni apa bitama sapani ka dukide*	dive	MYS.6.933
amakumo	heavenly cloud	*no*	*mukabusu*	spread	MYS.5.800
amatuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*katamesi*	harden	MYS.20.4487
ame	sky	*no*	*kaki tatu*	standing like a tall wall	EN.1
ame	sky	*no*	*kaki tatu*	standing like a tall wall	EN.7
ame	rain	*no*	*manaki ga goto kuma mo otizu omopitutu so kosi*	come	MYS.1.25
ame	rain	*no*	*puru*	fall	MYS.17.4011
amepito	heavenly person	*no*	*tumadopu*	spouse requesting	MYS.10.2090
ametuti	heaven and earth	*no*	*itareru*	arrive, reach	MYS.3.420

arasi	storm; fierce wind	*no*	*pukeba*	blow	MYS.13.3280
arasi	storm; fierce wind	*no*	*pukeba*	blow	MYS.13.3281
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*pideru*	(sun) shines	KK.100
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*pimukapu*	shine towards	EN.4
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.1
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.19
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.27
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.27
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.3
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.4
asapi	morning sun	*no*	*toyosakanobori*	rise fulgent	EN.7
asatwode	going out in morning	*no*	*kanasiki*	sad	MYS.20.4408
asibi	Japanese andromeda tree	*no*	*tiramaku*	scatter	MYS.20.4513
asigamo	reed duck	*no*	*sudaku*	be many	MYS.17.4011
asipara	reed plain	*no*	*sikyesiki*	dilapidated	KK.19
asitadu	reed crane	*no*	*sawaku*	be noisy	MYS.11.2768
ato	footprint	*no*	*tomosisa*	rare	BS.12
awayuki	foam snow	*no*	*nipa ni purisiki*	rain hard	MYS.8.1663
awayuki	foam snow	*no*	*ko no koro tugite*	[continuative], keep doing	MYS.8.1651
awo kumo	cloud	*no*	*tanabiku*	stretch out	EN.1
awo kumo	cloud	*no*	*tanabiku*	stretch out	EN.7
awo kumo	cloud	*no*	*tanabiku*	stretch out	EN.8
awokumo	blue cloud	*no*	*tanabiku*	stretch out	MYS.16.3883a
awokumo	blue cloud	*no*	*tanabiku*	stretch out	MYS.16.3883b
awoyagwi	willow	*no*	*pararwo*	stretch	MYS.14.3546
awoyagwi	willow	*no*	*parite*	stretch	MYS.14.3443
ayakaki	fabric fence	*no*	*pupaya*	fluffiness	KK.5
baramon	Brahman	*no*	*tukureru*	make	MYS.16.3856
i	sleep	*no*	*nerayenu*	[passive or potential form of sleep]	MYS.8.1484
ikasi yakupaye	flourishing plants	*no*	*gotoku*	like	EN.2

ikasi yakupaye	flourishing plants	*no*	*gotoku*	like	EN.5
ikasi yakupaye	flourishing plants	*no*	*gotoku*	like	EN.6
imibe	Imbe (clan)	*no*	*imimono wo motite*	hold	EN.8
inoti	life	*no*	*ikyeramu*	live	MYS.13.3250
inoti	life	*no*	*matakyemu*	complete; safe	KK.31
inoti	life	*no*	*matsokyemu*	correct?, straight?	NSK.23
ipa	stone	*no*	*kamusabwi*	appear godlike	MYS.17.4003
ipabito	family member	*no*	*ware wo miokuru*	see off	MYS.20.4375
ipagane	giant rock	*no*	*araki*	rough	MYS.15.3688
ipagane	giant rock	*no*	*kogosiki*	rugged and steep	MYS.13.3274
ipapune	rock boat	*no*	*patesi*	dock (of a boat)	MYS.3.292
ipyebito	family member	*no*	*idura to ware wo topaba*	ask	MYS.15.3689
ipyebito	family member	*no*	*ipapimatane*	wait chaste	MYS.15.3688
ipyebito	family member	*no*	*matikwopu ramu*	wait and long for	MYS.15.3653
ipyebito	family member	*no*	*maturamu*	wait	MYS.13.3341
iswokage	shore reflection	*no*	*miyuru*	be seen	MYS.20.4513
itakyeku	painful	*no*	*pinikyeni maseba*	excel	MYS.17.3969
ito	thread	*no*	*kupasisa*	beautiful	MYS.10.1851
ka	fragrance	*no*	*yosa*	good	MYS.10.2233
kagekusa	shadow grass	*no*	*opwitaru*	grow	MYS.10.2159
kagirwopwi	shimmer of hot air	*no*	*moyuru*	burn	MYS.10.1835
kagirwopwi	shimmer of hot air	*no*	*mwoyuru*	burn	KK.76
kake	mentioning	*no*	*yorosiku*	good	MYS.1.5
kami	hair	*no*	*pitite*	get drenched	MYS.2.118
kamo	wild duck	*no*	*papo*	crawl	MYS.14.3525
kamunabwi	Kamunabi	*no*	*kiywoki*	pure	MYS.13.3223
kamuoya	ancestral god	*no*	*o no na woba opokume nusi to opimotite*	bear and hold	MYS.18.4094a
kamuoya	ancestral god	*no*	*o no na woba opokume nusi to opimotite*	bear and hold	MYS.18.4094b

kamurwomi mikoto	Highness, Honorable (in names, titles or appelations)	*no*	*sadametamapikyeru*	to rule	SM.19
kamwi	god	*no*	*ipamu*	say	EN.9
kamwi	god	*no*	*kopitamapisi*	request	EN.6
kamwi	god	*no*	*obaseru*	gird on	MYS.9.1770
kamwi	god	*no*	*utukusibwitamapi*	to bless	SM.19
kamwi-tati	god	*no*	*isurokapi arebimasu*	to compete and riot	EN.8
kamwi-tati	god	*no*	*mamoritasukematurituru*	protect and assist	SM.43
kapa	river	*no*	*kiywoki*	clear, pure, refreshing	MYS.17.4011
kapa	river	*no*	*tayeba*	cease	MYS.6.1005
kapa	river	*no*	*tayuru*	cease	MYS.18.4098
kapanami	the appearance of a river	*no*	*kiywoki*	pure	MYS.6.923
kapodori	kao bird	*no*	*manaku sibanaku*	cry often	MYS.3.372
kapotori	kao bird	*no*	*manaku sibanaku*	cry often	MYS.17.3973
karakuni	Korea	*no*	*karaku*	salty	MYS.15.3695
kari	wild goose	*no*	*samuki*	cold	MYS.8.1575
kari	wild goose	*no*	*yukite*	go	MYS.8.1567
karigane	wild goose	*no*	*tuma ywobu*	call	MYS.8.1562
karigane	wild goose	*no*	*kikoyuru*	be heard	MYS.10.2224
karigane	wild goose	*no*	*kinakisi*	turn up singing	MYS.10.2194
karigari	wild geese	*no*	*kurapu*	eat and drink	NSK.122
karigari	wild geese	*no*	*kurapu*	eat and drink	NSK.122
karigari	wild geese	*no*	*kurapu*	eat and drink	NSK.122
katakapigapa	Katakai-gawa; Katakai River	*no*	*kiywoki*	clear	MYS.17.4000
katakapigapa	Katakai-gawa; Katakai River	*no*	*tayenu*	cease	MYS.17.4005
katakwopwi	one-sided love	*no*	*sikekyereba*	abundant	MYS.17.3929
katworiwotomye	woman in Katori	*no*	*yupisi*	tie	MYS.14.3427
kaya	reed	*no*	*sosoki*	go out of order	EN.8
kaze	wind	*no*	*kagupasiki*	fragrant	MYS.20.4371
kaze	wind	*no*	*miyenu*	be seen	MYS.15.3625

kaze	wind	*no*	*pitori woru wa ga koromode ni asayopi ni kapyerapinureba*	return	MYS.1.5
kaze	wind	*no*	*puku*	blow	MYS.13.3221
ke	fur	*no*	*ara*	rough	EN.13
ke	fur	*no*	*ara*	rough	EN.25
ke	fur	*no*	*ara*	rough	EN.4
ke	fur	*no*	*araki*	rough	EN.3
ke	day	*no*	*nagakyemu*	long	MYS.17.4006
ke	tree	*no*	*namitaru*	bow, lie down	MYS.20.4375
ke	fur	*no*	*niko*	soft	EN.13
ke	fur	*no*	*niko*	soft	EN.25
ke	fur	*no*	*niko*	soft	EN.4
ke	fur	*no*	*nikwoki*	soft	EN.3
kigisi	green pheasant (Phasianus versicolor); Japanese pheasant	*no*	*tumagwopwi*	spouse requesting	MYS.8.1446
kiki	listen?	*no*	*kanasi*	sad	MYS.18.4089
kimi	you, my lord	*no*	*imasiseba*	exist	MYS.3.454
kokoro	heart	*no*	*sakasima ni*	rebellious	SM.28
kokorodwo	spirit, resolve	*no*	*ikyeru*	live	MYS.11.2525
kokorodwo	spirit, resolve	*no*	*naguru*	become calm	MYS.19.4173
*kono**no**kure*	darkness under trees	*no*	*kaku naru*	become	MYS.8.1487
konokure	darkness under trees	*no*	*sigeki*	abundant	MYS.19.4192
konokure	darkness under trees	*no*	*sigeki*	abundant	MYS.20.4305
*kono**no**pa*	leaves of trees	*no*	*uturinaba*	change	MYS.8.1516
konure	tree top	*no*	*sakiyuku*	bloom	MYS.8.1422
konure	tree top	*no*	*sakiyuku*	bloom	MYS.10.1865
koromo	garment	*no*	*akaduku*	be tainted	MYS.15.3667
koromo	garment	*no*	*sakari*	be at peak and pass	MYS.7.1156
koromode	garment sleeve	*no*	*puru*	dry	MYS.10.1994
koromode	garment sleeve	*no*	*wakaresi*	be split	MYS.18.4101
koromode	garment sleeve	*no*	*waku*	distinguish	MYS.4.508

koto	thing	*no*	*gotoku*	like	EN.27
koto	word	*no*	*moreotimu*	to omit	EN.8
koto	word	*no*	*sigekyeku*	abundant	MYS.12.3078
koto	word	*no*	*yorosisa*	good	MYS.3.339
kotodama	word spirit	*no*	*sakipapu*	prosper	MYS.5.894
kotodopi	asking	*no*	*tomosiki*	poor, scarce, few	MYS.18.4125
kotu	detritus	*no*	*yosu*	draw close	MYS.14.3548
kowe	voice	*no*	*kwopwisiki*	longing for	MYS.17.3987
kowe	voice	*no*	*tomosiku*	scarce	MYS.8.1562
koyopi	tonight	*no*	*nagasa*	long	MYS.6.985
koyopi	tonight	*no*	*obotukanaki*	dim, unclear	MYS.10.1952
kumo	cloud	*no*	*kakusapu besi*	hide	MYS.1.17
kumo	spider	*no*	*okonapi*	handle	NSK.65
kumo	cloud	*no*	*tateba*	stand	MYS.11.2675
kumo	cloud	*no*	*tuku*	adhere	MYS.14.3514
kuni	land	*no*	*soki tatu*	standing like a distant wall	EN.1
kuni	land	*no*	*soki tatu*	standing like a distant wall	EN.7
kuni	land	*no*	*tatematureru*	offer	EN.2
kuni	land	*no*	*topokaba*	distant	MYS.14.3383
kurwokami	black hair	*no*	*masiraga ni narin amu*	become	MYS.3.481
kusane	grass, herbs	*no*	*karemaku*	wither	MYS.3.435
kwo	child	*no*	*iya tugitugini*	again and again	MYS.20.4465
kwo	child	*no*	*kanasikye*	sad	MYS.14.3533
kwo	child	*no*	*kokoda kanasiki*	sad	MYS.14.3373
kwo	child	*no*	*sakipapi wo kagapuramaku*	receive	SM.61
kwo	child	*no*	*uraganasikye*	deeply sad	MYS.14.3500
kwo	child	*no*	*wazapapi wo sari*	to avoid	SM.25
kwo	child	*no*	*yapye no pimo tok u pitopye dani im ada tokaneba*	untie	NSK.127
kwo	child	*no*	*naku*	cry	MYS.3.481
kwodomo	children	*no*	*kiru*	wear	MYS.5.900
kwoma	horse	*no*	*wosikyeku*	precious, dear	MYS.14.3533
kwoma	horse	*no*	*yukwo*	go	MYS.14.3541
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*iro ni idenikyeru*	go out	MYS.12.3035
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*masaraba*	excel	MYS.11.2702
kwopwi	yearning	*no*	*masareba*	excel	MYS.4.494
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*masarinamu*	excel	MYS.12.3135
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*sigeki*	abundant	MYS.11.2366

kwopwi	longing	*no*	*sigeki*	abundant	MYS.8.1450
kwopwi	yearning	*no*	*sigeki*	abundant	MYS.4.507
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*sigekyeku*	abundant	MYS.10.1984
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*sigekyeku*	abundant	MYS.8.1655
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*sikeki*	abundant	MYS.17.3931
kwopwi	longing	*no*	*yodomyeru*	stagnate	MYS.11.2721
madwo	window	*no*	*kikapi*	to cross over	EN.8
makwi	excellent tree	*no*	*tatu*	stand	MYS.3.241
mapye tu kimi-tati	Great Minister	*no*	*twopikomu*	ask	SM.6
masurawo	great man	*no*	*kisopi kari suru*	hunt	MYS.17.3921
masurawo	fine man	*no*	*omopitakyebwite*	think about and be fierce	MYS.11.2354b
masurawo	fine man	*no*	*pumiokyeru*	tread and put	BS.7
masurawo	fine man	*no*	*satuya tabasami*	clutch	FK.20
masurawo	fine man	*no*	*susumi*	advance	BS.6
masurawo	fine man	*no*	*yuki toriopite*	take and bear	MYS.20.4332
masurawo	fine man	*no*	*ywobitatesikaba*	call and stand	MYS.20.4320
masurawonokwo	fine man	*no*	*konokure <u>no</u> sigeki omopi wo miakirame kokoro yaramu to pusenoumi ni wobune turanam e*	line up	MYS.19.4187
matukage	pine shadow	*no*	*kiywoki*	pure	MYS.19.4271
maturigoto	governance	*no*	*itaseru*	to excel	SM.6
maturigoto	management and governance of the realm	*no*	*nagusiku*	peaceful	SM.51
me	eye	*no*	*kwoposiki*	longing for	NSK.123
mi	view	*no*	*sayakeki*	clear	MYS.17.3991
mi	seeing	*no*	*sayakeku*	pure	MYS.20.4360
mi	seeing	*no*	*tomosiku*	evoking desire	MYS.20.4360
midorikwo	infant child	*no*	*kopinaku*	seek/pray and cry	MYS.2.210a
midorikwo	infant child	*no*	*kopinaku*	seek and cry	MYS.2.210b
midorikwo	infant child	*no*	*naku*	cry	MYS.3.481
midorikwo	infant child	*no*	*ti kopu*	seek	MYS.18.4122
midu	water	*no*	*kapyeranu*	return	MYS.15.3625
midu	water	*no*	*tama <u>ni</u> nitaru*	resemble	MYS.16.3837
midu	water	*no*	*tayuru*	cease	MYS.17.4002
midu	water	*no*	*tomaranu*	stop	MYS.19.4160

midu	water	*no*	*yodo ni ka arama si*	exist	MYS.2.197b
midutori	water bird	*no*	*sudaku*	be many	MYS.19.4261
mikamunagi	witch	*no*	*mawosaku*	speak	EN.1
mikamunagi	witch	*no*	*mawosaku*	speak	EN.1
mikamunagi	witch	*no*	*mawosaku*	speak	EN.1
mikamwi	god	*no*	*kopasitamapi*	request	EN.5
mikamwi	god	*no*	*sirosimyesamu*	rule	EN.27
mikamwi	god	*no*	*urasabwite*	lament	MYS.1.33
mikari	hunting	*no*	*tawamito*	lecherous?	NSK.122
miki	wine	*no*	*ayani utadanwosi*	enjoyable	KK.40
miki	wine	*no*	*ayani utadanwosi*	enjoyable	NSK.33
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*uma namete*	line up	MYS.1.49
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*ame no sita sirasimyesiseba*	rule	MYS.2.167a
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*ame no sita sirasimyesiseba*	rule	MYS.2.167b
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*are woba mo ikan i seyo to ka nipod orino putari nara biwi katarapisi ko koro somukite*	turn back on	MYS.5.794
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*arigaywopi*	move across	MYS.3.479
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*ayu turu*	fish	MYS.5.869b
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*kasikwoku mo paz imetamapite*	start	MYS.18.4098
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*kikosiwosu*	rule	MYS.18.4089
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*mikusige ni takup apiokite*	lay up store and leave	MYS.19.4220
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*miyo kasane*	pile up	MYS.18.4094a
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*na turasu*	fish	MYS.5.869a
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*sikimaseru*	rule	MYS.3.322
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*takasirasu*	build high	MYS.6.1053
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*tori*	take	SNK.3
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*yukurayukura*	shaking (?)	MYS.17.3962
mikwo	honourable child	*no*	*pimo toku*	untie	NSK.127
mimi	ear	*no*	*iya taka ni*	high	EN.27

mina	name	*no*	*kokodaku taki mo todoroni*	rumbling [onomatopoeia]	MYS.11.2840
miobi	cord	*no*	*musubitare*	bind	NSK.97
mitama	spirit	*no*	*tasuketamapi*	to assist	SM.42
mitama	spirit	*no*	*yurusitamapazu*	to allow	SM.45
mitama-tati	spirit	*no*	*arapasi*	make appear	SM.13
mitama-tati	spirit	*no*	*kitanaki yatukwo wo kirapitamapi*	to despise	SM.19
miti	road	*no*	*kapa ni areba*	exist	MYS.8.1546
miti	road	*no*	*topokyeba*	distant	MYS.17.3969
miyapito	palace retainer	*no*	*yasui mo nezute*	sleep	MYS.15.3771
miyuka	bed	*no*	*sayagi*	rustle	EN.8
momiti	maple	*no*	*tiramaku*	scatter	MYS.8.1517
momitiba	colored leaf	*no*	*tirinamu*	scatter	MYS.15.3693
momitiba	colored leaf	*no*	*tiritobu*	scatter and fly	MYS.4.543
momitiba	colored leaf	*no*	*omopoyuraku*	be thought	MYS.10.2184
momitiba	colored leaf	*no*	*sugwimaku*	pass	MYS.8.1591
momitiba	colored leaf	*no*	*tirapu*	scatter	MYS.15.3704
momopunapito	boatman	*no*	*sadametesi*	decide	MYS.6.1065
momopune	many boats	*no*	*paturu*	dock (of a boat)	MYS.15.3697
momotori	many birds	*no*	*ki*	come	MYS.18.4089
momoywo	many night	*no*	*nagasa*	long	MYS.4.546
mono	thing	*no*	*atumareru*	collect	BS.19
moropito	everyone	*no*	*aswobu*	play	MYS.5.843
musasabi	Japanese giant flying squirrel	*no*	*tori matu*	wait	MYS.7.1367
mwi	fruit	*no*	*nakyeku*	non-existent	KK.9
mwi	fruit	*no*	*nakyeku*	non-existent	NSK.7
mwi	fruit	*no*	*opokyeku*	plentiful	KK.9
mwi	fruit	*no*	*opokyeku*	plentiful	NSK.7
mwina	everyone	*no*	*kaku matwopyereba*	get lost	MYS.9.1738
mwina	everyone	*no*	*mi*	see	MYS.5.862
mwina	everyone	*no*	*omopiyasumite*	think and rest	MYS.6.928
mwinapito	everyone	*no*	*egateni su to pu*	say	MYS.2.95
mye	young woman	*no*	*iwatarasu*	go across	NSK.3
myepikapa	Mehi-gawa; Mehi River	*no*	*payaki*	fast	MYS.17.4023
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*ikasi*	to make alive	EN.3
nageki	sighing	*no*	*kwiri ni akamasi*	be fed up	MYS.15.3616

naka	middle	*no*	*umareidetaru*	be born and come out	MYS.5.904
namitati	line up and stand	*no*	*migaposi*	want to see	MYS.3.382
naranomiyakwo	Nara-no-miyako; Heijōkyō	*no*	*aruraku*	exist	MYS.8.1604
natumusi	summer insect	*no*	*pwi ni iru*	enter	MYS.9.1807
ne	root	*no*	*nebapu*	spread roots	KK.100
ne	root	*no*	*nedaru*	be rooted	KK.100
nitutuzi	azalea (with red flowers)	*no*	*nipopamu*	fragrant	MYS.6.971
nwozi	rainbow	*no*	*araparwo*	become clear	MYS.14.3414
okina	old man	*no*	*koto dani mo war e ni pa tugezu*	tell	MYS.17.4011
omo	face	*no*	*wasuremu*	forget	MYS.14.3515
omokata	face appearance	*no*	*wasuremu*	forget	MYS.14.3520
opisoya	quivered arrow	*no*	*soyoto naru*	make sound	MYS.20.4398
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*mawositamapaku*	say	EN.27
opobune	big boat	*no*	*tayutapu*	be unsettled by movement	MYS.11.2738
opogamwi-tati	great gods	*no*	*kopasitamapi*	request	EN.2
opokamwi	great god	*no*	*sidumuru*	sink	MYS.19.4264
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*tugite*	keep doing	MYS.20.4510
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*ame no sita wosametamapeba*	rule	MYS.19.4254
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*arigaywopu*	move across	MYS.6.1062
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*asatwo ni pa iyori*	approach and stand	KK.104
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*asita ni pa tori*	take	MYS.1.3
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*aswobasisi*	do [respect]	KK.98
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*aswobasisi*	do [respect]	NSK.76
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*kamunagara omo posi*	think	MYS.19.4266
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*kikosimyesu*	rule	MYS.2.199a
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*kikosimyesu*	rule	MYS.2.199b
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*moropito wo izan apitamapi*	invite	MYS.18.4094a
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*moropito wo izan apitamapi*	invite	MYS.18.4094b
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*myesisi*	see [respect]	MYS.20.4509
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*obaseru*	gird on	NSK.97
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*orosu*	weave [respect]	KK.66

opokimi	great lord	*no*	*sikimaseru*	rule	MYS.3.329
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*sisi matu to agura ni imasi*	exist	KK.97
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*takasikasu*	rule augustly	MYS.6.1047
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*takasirasu*	build high	MYS.6.923
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*tataseba*	stand	MYS.2.196a
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*tataseba*	stand	MYS.2.196b
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*tukapasu rasiki*	use	NSK.103
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*utinabiku paru no pazime pa yatikusa ni pana sakinipopi yama mireba*	see	MYS.20.4360
opokimi	great lord	*no*	*wosu*	rule	MYS.6.956
opomapye tu kimi	Great Minister	*no*	*akaku kiywoki kokoro wo motite*	hold	SM.26
opomapye tu kimi	Great Minister	*no*	*tukapematurikosi*	to serve	SM.52
opomapye tu kimi	Great Minister	*no*	*tukapematuru*	to serve	SM.52
opomitakara	citizens	*no*	*toritukureru*	cultivate	EN.3
opomitakara	citizens	*no*	*toritukuru*	cultivate	EN.3
opomitakara	citizens	*no*	*tukuri*	make	EN.4
opomitakara	citizens	*no*	*tukuri*	make	EN.4
opomitakara	citizens	*no*	*tukuri*	make	EN.4
opomitakara	citizens	*no*	*tukuru*	make	EN.4
opomiyapito	palace person	*no*	*ipye to sumu*	live at	MYS.6.955
opomiyapito	palace person	*no*	*makaridete*	withdraw [humble]	MYS.3.257
opomiyapito	palace person	*no*	*makaridete*	withdraw [humble]	MYS.3.260
opomiyapito	palace person	*no*	*opomiyapito*	move across	MYS.6.1047
opomiyapito	palace person	*no*	*uturopinureba*	change	MYS.6.1060
opomononusi	Opomononusi	*no*	*kamisi*	brew	NSK.15
opotomo	Ōtomo clan	*no*	*topotu kamuoya no so no na woba opokume nusi to opimotite*	bear and hold	MYS.18.4094a
opowosodori	Eurasian bullfinch	*no*	*masadeni mo kim asanu*	come	MYS.14.3521
orokapito	ignorant people	*no*	*wagimokwo ni tug ete*	tell	MYS.9.1740
osoki	garment	*no*	*arwo*	exist	MYS.14.3509
oto	sound	*no*	*kaswokeki*	faint	MYS.19.4291

oto	sound	*no*	*parukesa*	distant	MYS.10.1952
oto	sound	*no*	*sawaku*	rustle	MYS.9.1807
oto	sound	*no*	*sayakesa*	clear	MYS.7.1102
ototanabata	young and beautiful Weaver	*no*	*unagaseru*	hang round neck	KK.6
ototanabata	young and beautiful Weaver	*no*	*unagaseru*	hang round neck	NSK.2
oya	parent	*no*	*ono ga wakugwo wo pidasu*	to raise	SM.3
oya	ancesters	*no*	*taturu*	erect	MYS.18.4094a
oya	ancesters	*no*	*taturu*	erect	MYS.18.4094b
oya sumyera mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*pazime kono opokisaki wo ware ni tamapyeru*	to present	SM.7
oya-domo	ancester	*no*	*ipikuraku*	always say	SM.13
pa	leaf	*no*	*momitapu*	change colour	MYS.19.4187
pa	leaf	*no*	*piroriimasu*	spead out	KK.57
pa	leaf	*no*	*sayagu*	rustle	MYS.20.4431
pa	leaf	*no*	*sinapu*	be supple	MYS.3.291
pa	leaf	*no*	*nipopyeru*	fragrant	MYS.17.3985
padare	light and scattered falling of snow	*no*	*imada nokoritaru*	remain	MYS.19.4140
pagwi	bush clover	*no*	*tiramaku*	scatter	MYS.10.2098
pama	beach	*no*	*sayakesa*	pure	FK.20
pamamo	gulfweed	*no*	*yoru*	approach	NSK.68
pana	blossom	*no*	*tireru*	scatter	MYS.8.1459
pana	blossom	*no*	*ayenu*	fall off	MYS.10.2272
pana	blossom	*no*	*kaku naru*	become	MYS.10.1902
pana	blossom	*no*	*miyu beku*	be seen	MYS.10.1887
pana	blossom	*no*	*sakide*	bloom and come	MYS.20.4323
pana	blossom	*no*	*tirinuru*	scatter	MYS.3.477
pana	blossom	*no*	*tiriyuku*	scatter and go	MYS.8.1514
pana	blossom	*no*	*tuti ni otime*	fall down	MYS.8.1653
pana	blossom	*no*	*wemapasiki*	(which) makes you smile	MYS.18.4086
pana	blossom	*no*	*fragrant*	nipopu	MYS.3.328
pana	blossom	*no*	*teriimasi*	shine	KK.57
pana	blossom	*no*	*teriimasu*	shine	KK.101
panatatibana	flowering tachibana	*no*	*itu si ka mo tama ni*	become	MYS.8.1478

			nuku beku so no mwi narinamu		
panatatibana	flowering tachibana	*no*	*nipopu*	fragrant	MYS.17.3920
panatatibana	flowering tachibana	*no*	*tuti ni otimu*	fall	MYS.10.1954
papa	mother	*no*	*swode moti*	hold	MYS.20.4356
paru	spring	*no*	*nagaki*	long	MYS.20.4502
paru	spring	*no*	*kitaraba*	come	MYS.5.815
paru	spring	*no*	*kitaraba*	come	MYS.5.833
parupana	spring flower	*no*	*sakyeru*	bloom	MYS.17.3969
parupana	spring flower	*no*	*sakyeru*	bloom	MYS.17.3985
parupana	spring flower	*no*	*uturopu*	change	MYS.17.3978
parupana	spring flower	*no*	*uturwopu*	change	MYS.17.3982
parupi	spring day	*no*	*kurenikyeru*	grow dark	MYS.1.5
parupi	spring day	*no*	*kwireru*	be misty	MYS.1.29a
parusame	spring rain	*no*	*puru*	fall down	MYS.8.1440
parusame	spring rain	*no*	*yokuredo ware w o nurasaku*	soak	MYS.9.1697
paruyama	spring mountain	*no*	*obotukanaku*	dim, unclear	MYS.8.1451
pata	fin	*no*	*piro*	wide	EN.1
pata	fin	*no*	*piro*	wide	EN.13
pata	fin	*no*	*piro*	wide	EN.2
pata	fin	*no*	*piro*	wide	EN.4
pata	fin	*no*	*piro*	wide	EN.5
pata	fin	*no*	*piro*	wide	EN.6
pata	fin	*no*	*piroki*	wide	EN.3
pata	fin	*no*	*sa*	narrow	EN.1
pata	fin	*no*	*sa*	narrow	EN.13
pata	fin	*no*	*sa*	narrow	EN.2
pata	fin	*no*	*sa*	narrow	EN.4
pata	fin	*no*	*sa*	narrow	EN.5
pata	fin	*no*	*sa*	narrow	EN.6
pata	fin	*no*	*saki*	narrow	EN.3
pe	prow; bow	*no*	*itaritodomaru*	reach and stop	EN.1
pe	prow; bow	*no*	*itaritodomaru*	reach and stop	EN.7
pi	sun, day	*no*	*kasanareba*	increase	MYS.18.4122
pi	sun, day	*no*	*kureyukeba*	grow dark and go	MYS.17.3895
pi	sun, day	*no*	*kureyuku*	vanish	MYS.2.207a
pi	sun, day	*no*	*kureyuku*	vanish	MYS.2.207b

pi	sun, day	*no*	*kururu*	come	MYS.4.485
pi	sun, day	*no*	*tikadukeba*	approach	MYS.4.570
pidapito	person from Hida	*no*	*utu*	hit	MYS.11.2648
pigurasi	evening cicada (tanna japonensis)	*no*	*monomopu toki ni nakitutu*	cry	MYS.10.1964
pigurasi	evening cicada	*no*	*nakinuru*	cry	MYS.17.3951
pigurasi	evening cicada	*no*	*naku*	cry	MYS.15.3620
pigurasi	evening cicada	*no*	*naku naru*	cry	MYS.10.2231
pikari	light	*no*	*gotoki*	like	BS.20
pimo	cord	*no*	*tokuraku*	untie	MYS.11.2558
pimo	cord	*no*	*tokuraku*	come untied	MYS.20.4427
pimo	cord	*no*	*wa ga sena ni api yoru*	approach	MYS.14.3483
pinomikwo	[address form for the emperor]	*no*	*uma namete*	line up	MYS.3.239
pinomikwo	[address form for the emperor]	*no*	*imasiseba*	exist	MYS.2.173
pinomikwo	[address form for the emperor]	*no*	*yoroduyo ni kuni sirasamasi*	rule	MYS.2.171
pirakutuma	flat hunchback	*no*	*tukureru*	make	NSK.122
pisigara	water-chestnut shell	*no*	*sasikyeku*	shine	NSK.36
pito	people	*no*	*ipu*	say	MYS.9.1807
pito	people	*no*	*tomosisa*	envious	MYS.5.863
pito	people	*no*	*imasu*	exist	BS.8
pito	people	*no*	*inisi*	depart; die	BS.17
pito	people	*no*	*ipu*	say	MYS.18.4135
pito	people	*no*	*kanasi*	sad	MYS.15.3693
pito	people	*no*	*kanasisa*	sad	MYS.13.3337
pito	people	*no*	*kanasisa*	sad	MYS.13.3340
pito	people	*no*	*kataritugitete*	tell	MYS.20.4465
pito	people	*no*	*kitateba*	come	MYS.9.1739
pito	people	*no*	*kotodopu*	speak	MYS.4.602
pito	people	*no*	*kwopwi ni sinamu*	die	MYS.14.3491

pito	people	*no*	*masameni mikyemu*	see	BS.3
pito	people	*no*	*miru*	see	MYS.5.839
pito	people	*no*	*nakariseba*	non-existent	MYS.3.387
pito	people	*no*	*naku*	cry	MYS.2.230
pito	people	*no*	*omopitutu*	long for	MYS.3.423a
pito	people	*no*	*omopitutu*	long for	MYS.3.423b
pito	people	*no*	*opobuneno omopitanomite*	think and rely on	MYS.2.167b
pito	people	*no*	*opobuneno omopitanomite*	think and rely on	MYS.2.167a
pito	people	*no*	*pumisi*	tread	BS.2
pito	people	*no*	*sireraku*	know how to	MYS.10.2268
pito	people	*no*	*siru beku*	know	MYS.17.3935
pito	people	*no*	*sirubeku*	know	MYS.18.4096
pito	people	*no*	*mawosisi*	speak	JSHT.3
pito	people	*no*	*sureba*	do	MYS.6.1062
pito	people	*no*	*tatitomari*	stand and stop	MYS.13.3276
pito	people	*no*	*taturu*	erect	MYS.18.4106
pito	people	*no*	*topu*	ask, say	MYS.18.4075
pito	people	*no*	*umugasiki*	excellent	SM.7
pito	people	*no*	*uuru*	plant	MYS.15.3746
pito	people	*no*	*wa wo kotonasamu*	gossip	MYS.7.1376
pito	people	*no*	*wataru*	go across	MYS.3.319
pito	people	*no*	*yosi to yoku mite yosi to ipisi*	say	MYS.1.27
pito-domo	people	*no*	*nikwomi*	peaceful	SM.56
pito-domo	people	*no*	*tune mo tatematuru*	offer	EN.19
pito-domo	people	*no*	*tune mo tatematuru*	offer	EN.22
pitogoto	gossip	*no*	*sikeki*	abundant	MYS.14.3464
pitogoto	gossip	*no*	*sigeki*	abundant	MYS.4.630
pitomone	people (mone unknown)	*no*	*urabureworu*	wither	MYS.5.877
pitotuma	another's spouse	*no*	*yuku*	go	MYS.13.3314
pudinami	wave of wisteria	*no*	*kage nasu*	make	MYS.19.4199
pudinami	wave of wisteria	*no*	*sakiyuku*	bloom	MYS.18.4042
punanope	prow	*no*	*ipaturu*	dock (of a boat)	MYS.18.4122
pune	boat	*no*	*itu si ka mo tukapyematurite*	wait upon	MYS.20.4359

pune	boat	*no*	*kogidenaba*	row out	MYS.14.3401
purupito	people of ancient times	*no*	*tamapesimetaru*	receive [hum]	MYS.4.554
saki	good luck	*no*	*kikeba taputwomi*	valuable	MYS.18.4094a
saki	good luck	*no*	*taputwoku*	valuable	MYS.18.4095b
sakimori	border guard	*no*	*poriye kogiduru*	row out	MYS.20.4336
sakipapi	happiness	*no*	*atuki*	deep	BS.12
satwo	village	*no*	*aruraku*	exist, live	MYS.6.1059
satwo	village	*no*	*kakuraku*	be hidden	MYS.7.1205
satwobito	village person	*no*	*are ni tuguraku*	tell	MYS.17.3973
satwobito	village person	*no*	*miru*	see	MYS.18.4108
sawarabi	bracken, fern	*no*	*moyeiduru*	sprout	MYS.8.1418
sawobune	small boat	*no*	*iyukite*	go	MYS.10.2091
sawosika	buck	*no*	*pusu*	lie prone	MYS.14.3530
sawosika	buck	*no*	*tuma ywobu*	call	MYS.6.1053
sawosika	buck	*no*	*ki*	come	MYS.16.3885
sawosika	buck	*no*	*tuyu wake*	split	MYS.20.4297
sayeda	small branch	*no*	*nagarekoba*	flow and come	MYS.3.386
se	rapids	*no*	*naru*	make sound	MYS.9.1700
se	river rapids	*no*	*kiywoki*	pure	MYS.6.920
sibutani	Shibutani	*no*	*kiywoki*	pure	MYS.17.3954
sidaizinzenzi	Great Minister and Meditation Monk	*no*	*mamoritabi*	protect	SM.36
sidaizinzenzi	Great Minister and Meditation Monk	*no*	*noritamapaku*	proclaim	SM.35
sigure	passing rain of autumn	*no*	*nagarapu*	flow	MYS.1.82
sigure	passing rain of autumn	*no*	*pureba*	fall	MYS.13.3223
sigure	passing rain of autumn	*no*	*puru*	fall down, settle	MYS.10.2237
sika	deer	*no*	*pusu ramu*	lie prone	MYS.16.3884
sikinami	wave	*no*	*yosuru*	draw close	MYS.13.3339
simo	frost	*no*	*ketutu*	vanish	MYS.10.1908
simo	frost	*no*	*oku*	(dew) settles	MYS.2.87

simo	frost	*no*	*puraku*	fall down	MYS.10.2135
simo	frost	*no*	*purikyemu*	fall down	MYS.5.804a
simo	frost	*no*	*purikyemu*	fall down	MYS.5.804b
sinwodawotokwo	Shinoda man	*no*	*tumadopisi*	spouse requesting	MYS.9.1802
sipo	tide	*no*	*iya masi*	excel	MYS.17.3985
sipo	tide	*no*	*paya pwiba*	drain	MYS.18.4034
sipo	salt	*no*	*yapoapi ni masu*	exist	EN.10
sipo	salt	*no*	*yapoapi ni masu*	exist	EN.10
sipobune	tide boat	*no*	*okareba*	leave	MYS.14.3556
siponawa	wave foam	*no*	*todomaru*	stop	EN.1
siponawa	wave foam	*no*	*todomaru*	stop	EN.7
sirakumo	white cloud	*no*	*tanabiku*	stretch out	MYS.17.4006
sirakumo	white cloud	*no*	*tanabiku*	(snow, fog) form a layer	MYS.3.287
sirakumo	white cloud	*no*	*tayetutu*	cease	MYS.14.3360b
sirakumo	white cloud	*no*	*tipye ni pyedateru*	be apart, be separated	MYS.5.866
sirakumo	white cloud	*no*	*tanabiku*	(snow, fog) form a layer	MYS.4.574
siranami	white wave	*no*	*aritutu*	exist	MYS.14.3360a
siranami	white wave	*no*	*isakimegureru*	blossom and move around	MYS.6.931
siranami	white wave	*no*	*takaki*	tall	MYS.8.1453
siranami	white wave	*no*	*yosekuru*	appraoch	MYS.17.3994
siranami	white wave	*no*	*yosuru*	appraoch	MYS.17.3961
siranami	white wave	*no*	*yapyeworu*	waves roll in eight layers	MYS.20.4360
siranami	white wave	*no*	*yosoru*	approach	MYS.20.4379
sirasagi	heron	*no*	*poko kupimotite*	hold in mouth	MYS.16.3831
siratadu	egret	*no*	*tuma ywobu*	call	MYS.6.1064
siratuyu	white dew	*no*	*okamaku*	remain	MYS.10.2099
siratuyu	white dew	*no*	*oku*	remain	MYS.8.1552
siratuyu	white dew	*no*	*okyeru*	remain	MYS.8.1579
sirayamakaze	wind from Shirayama	*no*	*nenapyedomo*	sleep	MYS.14.3509
sirayuki	white snow	*no*	*purisiku*	fall and thicken	MYS.19.4281
siro kumo	cloud	*no*	*oriwi*	stretching down	EN.1
sirwo kumo	cloud	*no*	*mukabusu*	stretching down	EN.7
sisi	game animal	*no*	*aritutu*	exist	MYS.14.3428
sitadami	[unknown; small shellfish?]	*no*	*ipapimotopori*	stretch and go back	NSK.8

subye	means	*no*	*nasa*	non-existent	MYS.17.3928
sukunamikamwi	Sukunamikami	*no*	*toyopoki poki*	pray	NSK.32
sukunapikwona	Sukunahikona	*no*	*imasikyemu*	exist	MYS.3.355
sumapito	people in Suma	*no*	*umibye tune sarazu*	move on	MYS.17.3932
sumyegamwi	regional deities ancestral deities	*no*	*miparukasimasu*	to survey (a landscape)	EN.7
sumyegamwi	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*nasi*	do	EN.3
sumyegamwi	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*nasi*	do	EN.4
sumyegamwi	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*sikimasu*	rule	EN.7
sumyegamwi	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*sikimasu*	rule	EN.7
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*miparukasimasu*	to survey (a landscape)	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*sikimasu*	rule	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*sikimasu*	rule	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*yosasimaturaba*	to entrust, to give	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*yosasimaturaba*	to entrust, to give	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*yosasimaturamu*	to entrust, to give	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*yosasimaturamu*	to entrust, to give	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*yosasimaturamu*	to entrust, to give	EN.1
sumyegamwi-tati	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*yosasimaturamu*	to entrust, to give	EN.7

sumyekamwi	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*tugite*	keep doing	MYS.1.77
sumyekamwi	regional /ancestral deities	*no*	*usipakiimasu*	control	MYS.17.4000
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*kikosimesu*	partake	EN.4
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*kikosimesu*	partake	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*...kikosimesu*	partake	EN.7
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*mamorimaturi*	protect	EN.8
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*mikadwo wo padimete*	start	EN.10
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*oponipe kikosimyesamu*	partake	EN.14
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*sidumarimasamu*	rule	EN.27
mikadwo	court	*no*	*tatetamapyeru*	to build	SM.61
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*pazimetamapi*	start	SM.10
sumyera mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*...ipapimaturi*	protect	EN.27
sumyera mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*...site*	do	SM.10
sumyera mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*noritamapi*	proclaim	SM.3
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*sikimasu*	rule	MYS.18.4122
sumyeroki	male imperial ancestor	*no*	*wosu*	rule	MYS.17.4006
suswo	hem (of a garment)	*no*	*parusame ni nipo pipi*	get fragrant	MYS.17.3969
suwepito	pottery-maker	*no*	*tukureru*	make	MYS.16.3886
swode	sleeve	*no*	*narenisi*	become familiar and habitual	MYS.12.2952
tabi	travelling	*no*	*kenagami*	long days	MYS.6.942
tadugane	egret's call; egret	*no*	*kanasiki*	sad	MYS.20.4399
tadugane	egret's call; egret	*no*	*kanasiku nakeba*	cry	MYS.20.4398
tadugane	egret's call; egret	*no*	*kikoyemu*	be heard	KK.85

tadugane	egret's call; egret	*no*	*kyesa naku*	cry	MYS.10.2138
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*tukapematurikyeru*	to serve	SM.2
taniguku	toad	*no*	*sawataru*	go across	EN.1
taniguku	toad	*no*	*sawataru*	go across	EN.7
taniguku	toad	*no*	*sawataru*	go across	MYS.5.800
taniguku	toad	*no*	*sawataru*	go across	MYS.6.971
tatibana	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana)	*no*	*nareru*	become	MYS.18.4111
tatibana	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana)	*no*	*nipopyeru*	fragrant	MYS.17.3916
tatibana	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana)	*no*	*nipopyeru*	fragrant	MYS.17.3918
tatibana	tachibana (inedible citrus, Citrus tachibana)	*no*	*sitaderu*	come out	MYS.18.4059
tatutanoyama	Tatsuta-no-yama; Mt. Tatsuta	*no*	*tuyusimo ni irodu ku*	turn colour	MYS.6.971
tawayamye	weak woman	*no*	*omopimidarete*	think about and be confused	MYS.15.3753
tidori	many birds	*no*	*nakisi*	cry	MYS.20.4477
to	sound	*no*	*sigeki*	abundant	MYS.2.220
to	sound	*no*	*topoki*	distant	MYS.14.3453
toki	time	*no*	*peyukeba*	elapse and go	MYS.15.3713
toko	bed	*no*	*naru*	make sound	MYS.13.3270
tokonamye	mossy banks (of a river)	*no*	*tayuru*	cease	MYS.1.37
tosi	year	*no*	*penu ramu*	elapse	MYS.1.34a
tosi	year	*no*	*penuraku*	elapse	MYS.15.3719
tosi	year	*no*	*penureba*	elapse	MYS.19.4189
tositukwi	months and years	*no*	*yukikaparu*	change	MYS.11.2792

towinami	rolling wave	*no*	*kasikwoki*	awesome	MYS.13.3339
tukapi	messenger	*no*	*miredo akazaramu*	fed up	MYS.4.499
tukapi	messenger	*no*	*komu*	come	MYS.18.4106
tukapi	messenger	*no*	*kyereba*	come	MYS.17.3957
tukapi	messenger	*no*	*maneku kaywopeba*	move across	MYS.4.787
tukapi	messenger	*no*	*taworikyeru*	bend	MYS.10.2111
tuku	moon	*no*	*nwoganapyeyukyeba*	flow and depart	MYS.14.3476a
tuku	moon	*no*	*nwoganapyeyukyeba*	flow and depart	MYS.14.3476b
tukupane	Tsukuba-ne; Mt. Tsukuba	*no*	*yokyeku*	good	MYS.9.1757
tukuywo	moonlit night	*no*	*mireba kanasisa*	sad	MYS.6.982
tukuywomi	(the) moon spirit	*no*	*moteru*	hold	MYS.13.3245
tukwi	moon	*no*	*idekonu*	come out	MYS.6.980
tukwi	moon	*no*	*idemu*	come out	MYS.6.1008
tukwi	moon	*no*	*iramaku*	enter	MYS.9.1712
tukwi	moon	*no*	*kumogakuru*	be hidden by clouds	MYS.2.207a
tukwi	moon	*no*	*kumogakuru*	be hidden by clouds	MYS.2.207b
tukwi	moon	*no*	*osoku teru ramu*	shine	MYS.6.981
tukwi	moon	*no*	*penu ramu*	elapse	MYS.9.1793
tuname	rope hole	*no*	*yurubi*	get loose	EN.8
tunepito	ordinary person	*no*	*kwopu to ipu*	say	MYS.18.4080
tutumi	dam	*no*	*narinu*	become	MYS.14.3543
tuyu	dew	*no*	*kenaba*	vanish	MYS.8.1595
tuyusimo	dew and frost	*no*	*kenuru*	vanish	MYS.3.466
tuyusimo	dew and frost	*no*	*samuki*	cold	MYS.10.2189
ugupisu	bush warbler	*no*	*kinaku*	turn up singing	MYS.6.1053
ugupisu	bush warbler	*no*	*matikateni*	be able to wait	MYS.5.845
ugupisu	bush warbler	*no*	*kinaku*	come	MYS.17.3968
ugupisu	bush warbler	*no*	*kodutapi*	flit branch to branch	MYS.19.4277
ugupisu	bush warbler	*no*	*nakamu*	cry	MYS.20.4488

ugupisu	bush warbler	*no*	*nakisi*	cry	MYS.19.4287
ugupisu	bush warbler	*no*	*nakitirasu*	cry and scatter	MYS.17.3966
ugupisu	bush warbler	*no*	*naku*	cry	MYS.17.3941
umapito	noble person	*no*	*taturu*	erect	NSK.46
umase	stall, corral	*no*	*musubitesi*	bind	MYS.4.530
ume	plum	*no*	*tirisuguru*	scatter and pass time	MYS.20.4496
ume	plum	*no*	*tiru*	scatter	MYS.17.3906
ume	plum	*no*	*tiru ramu*	scatter	MYS.10.1856
ume	plum	*no*	*uturopeba*	change	MYS.10.1854
umi tu di	sea	*no*	*nagwinamu*	become calm	MYS.9.1781
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*kasikwoki*	awesome	MYS.20.4408
unapara	sea plain	*no*	*yutakeki*	calm	MYS.20.4362
unapiwotokwo	Unai man	*no*	*puseyataku*	fight hard	MYS.9.1809
unapiwotokwo	man from Unai	*no*	*utusemi no na wo araswopu*	fight	MYS.19.4211
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*nipopyeru*	fragrant	MYS.17.3978
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*sakitaru*	bloom	MYS.9.1755
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*saku*	bloom	MYS.18.4089
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*saku*	bloom	MYS.18.4066
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*saki*	bloom	MYS.10.1976
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*sakitaru*	bloom	MYS.10.1942
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*sugwiba*	pass	MYS.8.1491
unopana	deutzia crenata	*no*	*tiramaku*	scatter	MYS.10.1957
ura	inlet	*no*	*yutakeki*	calm	MYS.3.296
usipo	tide	*no*	*kudari*	go down	MYS.20.4430
uti	inside	*no*	*tanwosiki*	enjoyable	MYS.17.3905
uwekwi	planted tree	*no*	*kodaru*	grow lush	MYS.3.310
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*mawositamapite*	say	EN.10
mikoto	Highness, Honorable	*no*	*sirosimyesu*	rule	EN.10
wakakapyerute	young maple	*no*	*momitu*	(leaves) turn autumn color	MYS.14.3494
wakame	seaweed	*no*	*tatimidaye*	stand and be confused	MYS.14.3563

wakugwo	infant child	*no*	*komoraserikyemu*	be wrapped	NSK.105
wasiride	place close to the entrance	*no*	*yorosiki*	good	NSK.77+G684
wo	man	*no*	*iwosa dapasami*	clutch	MYS.20.4430
wo	strap	*no*	*toketutu*	come untied	MYS.11.2611
wo	strap	*no*	*yupu*	bind	MYS.12.3183
wodukupa	Ozukuba; Little Tsukuba	*no*	*sikeki*	abundant	MYS.14.3396
wogapa	small river	*no*	*tayeba*	cease	JSHT.2
wonoto	sound of an axe cutting a tree	*no*	*topokadomo*	distant	MYS.14.3473
wosi	mandarin duck	*no*	*sumu*	live at	MYS.20.4511
wosidori	mandarin duck	*no*	*wosiki*	precious, dear	MYS.20.4505
wotomye	young woman	*no*	*ikakuru*	hide	KK.99
wotomye	young woman	*no*	*nasu*	sleep [respect]	KK.2
yama	mountain	*no*	*iroduku*	turn color	MYS.8.1543
yama	mountain	*no*	*iya tugitugini*	again and again	MYS.18.4098
yama	mountain	*no*	*obi ni seru*	do	MYS.13.3266
yama	mountain	*no*	*pyenarereba*	be between	MYS.8.1464
yama	mountain	*no*	*tukwiba*	be used up	MYS.6.1005
yama	mountain	*no*	*ywobu*	call	MYS.10.1822
yamabikwo	mountain god	*no*	*apitoyomu*	(re)sound	MYS.10.1937
yamabikwo	mountain god	*no*	*apitoyomu*	(re)sound	MYS.8.1602
yamabikwo	mountain god	*no*	*kotapemu*	reply	MYS.6.971
yamagapa	mountains and rivers	*no*	*kiywoki*	clear	EN.25
yamagapa	mountains and rivers	*no*	*kiywoki*	clear	MYS.15.3618
yamakapa	mountain and river	*no*	*piroku*	wide	EN.25
yamakapa	mountain river	*no*	*pyenarite*	be between	MYS.17.3957
yamakapa	mountain and river	*no*	*sayakeki*	clear	MYS.20.4468
yamapye	mountain area	*no*	*sigyekaku*	abundant	MYS.14.3489

yamasiromye	young woman in Yamasiro	*no*	*kokupa moti*	hold	KK.63
yamasiromye	young woman in Yamasiro	*no*	*kokupa moti*	hold	NSK.57
yamato	yamato	*no*	*miyenu*	be seen	MYS.1.44
yamatumi	mountain god, mountain spirit	*no*	*maturu*	serve	MYS.1.38a
yamatumi	mountain god, mountain spirit	*no*	*maturu*	serve	MYS.1.38b
yaswotomonowo	many male companions	*no*	*simayama ni akaru tatibana uzu ni sasi*	pierce	MYS.19.4266
yaswotomonowo	many male companions	*no*	*utipapete omopyerisiku*	think	MYS.6.1047
yaswoudipito	clan's person	*no*	*tamukesuru*	make offerings	MYS.6.1022
ye	branch	*no*	*pupogomori*	contain	NSK.35
yeda	branch	*no*	*iroduku*	turn color	MYS.10.2202
yo	world	*no*	*kataritugu beku*	tell	MYS.19.4164
yokosimakaze	evil crosswind	*no*	*nipubukani opopi kitareba*	cover and come	MYS.5.904
yome	night time	*no*	*isusuki*	get scared	EN.8
yononaka	the world; human existence	*no*	*ukyeku*	sad	MYS.5.897
yosi	means	*no*	*naki*	non-existent	MYS.15.3734a
yosi	means	*no*	*naki*	non-existent	MYS.15.3734b
yosi	origin; means	*no*	*nakyereba*	non-existent	MYS.4.546
yosi	means	*no*	*nakyereba*	non-existent	MYS.6.935
yosi	means, reason	*no*	*oko ni nakyereba*	non-existent	MYS.17.4011
yu	hot water	*no*	*yo ni mo taywora ni*	cease, stop	MYS.14.3368
yudurupa	leaves of the yuzuri (Daphniphyllum macropodum)	*no*	*pupumaru*	(buds) swell	MYS.14.3572
yuki	snow	*no*	*kenaba*	vanish	MYS.3.299
yuki	snow	*no*	*nagarekuru*	flow and come	MYS.5.822

yuki	snow	*no*	*purereba*	fall	MYS.17.3924
yuki	snow	*no*	*purereba*	fall down	MYS.8.1426
yuki	snow	*no*	*pureru*	fall	MYS.17.3925
yuki	snow	*no*	*puri*	fall down	MYS.6.1010
yuki	snow	*no*	*tokonatu ni kezute*	vanish	MYS.17.4004
yupu kaze	evening wind	*no*	*pukiparapu*	blow away	EN.10
yupupi	evening sun	*no*	*kudati*	set, go down	EN.10
yupupi	evening sun	*no*	*pigakeru*	[unknown];only attested in KK 100 as *pigakeru*; JDB lists this verb as *pikageru*	KK.100
yupupi	evening sun	*no*	*pikageru*	shadow	EN.4
yutu ipa mura	stone group	*no*	*gotoku*	like	EN.1
yutu ipa mura	stone group	*no*	*gotoku*	like	EN.7
ywo	night	*no*	*akemu*	dawn	MYS.10.1873
ywo	night	*no*	*akemu*	dawn	MYS.3.388
ywo	night	*no*	*ikuda mo araneba*	exist	MYS.5.804a
ywo	night	*no*	*ikuda mo araneba*	exist	MYS.5.804b
ywo	night	*no*	*nagaki*	long	MYS.8.1631
ywo	night	*no*	*opoki*	plentiful	MYS.12.2945
ywo	night	*no*	*pukuraku*	grow late	MYS.7.1414
ywo	night	*no*	*pureba*	elapse	MYS.6.1029

Appendix B.2. All examples of *ga*-marked subject nouns

Subject noun	Meaning	Gen	Predicate	Meaning	Source
a	1st person	*ga*	*misi*	see	KK.42
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	KK.90
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	KK.90
a	1st person	*ga*	*sitapapesi*	think to oneself	MYS.14.3381
a	1st person	*ga*	*semu*	do	MYS.14.3404
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopanaku*	long for	MYS.14.3482a
a	1st person	*ga*	*suru*	do	MYS.14.3524
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.14.3542
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopuraku*	long for	MYS.14.3560
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopwisinaba*	die from longing	MYS.14.3566
a	1st person	*ga*	*tati*	stand	MYS.15.3580
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopanaku*	long for	MYS.15.3588

a	1st person	*ga*	*kuru*	come	MYS.15.3589
a	1st person	*ga*	*kuru*	come	MYS.15.3590
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopwiyamame*	stop loving	MYS.15.3605
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopyeru*	long for	MYS.15.3627
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.15.3650
a	1st person	*ga*	*kyeru*	wear	MYS.15.3667
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopwimaku*	long for	MYS.15.3683
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopwiyukamu*	long for	MYS.15.3690
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopwikituru*	long for	MYS.15.3718
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.15.3729
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.15.3740
a	1st person	*ga*	*gotoku*	like	MYS.15.3750
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.15.3755
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopanaku*	long for	MYS.15.3775
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.15.3785
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopwi woramu*	long for continuously	MYS.17.3936
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopwi woramu*	long for continuously	MYS.17.3938
a	1st person	*ga*	*mati*	wait	MYS.17.3957
a	1st person	*ga*	*matanaku*	wait	MYS.17.3960
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.17.3974
a	1st person	*ga*	*nuku*	pluck, poke	MYS.17.3998
a	1st person	*ga*	*kopinomaku*	beseech	MYS.17.4008
a	1st person	*ga*	*omopu*	long for	MYS.17.4009
a	1st person	*ga*	*matu*	wait	MYS.17.4011
a	1st person	*ga*	*matu*	wait	MYS.17.4013
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.18.4045
a	1st person	*ga*	*matu*	wait	MYS.18.4116
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.20.4299
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.20.4301
a	1st person	*ga*	*semu*	do	MYS.20.4329
a	1st person	*ga*	*kwopi sunamu*	long for	MYS.20.4391
a	1st person	*ga*	*kuru*	come	MYS.20.4430
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.20.4451
a	1st person	*ga*	*miru*	see	MYS.20.4457
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	MYS.20.4504
a	1st person	*ga*	*semu*	do	MYS.5.795
a	1st person	*ga*	*wakararamu*	be split	MYS.5.887
a	1st person	*ga*	*wakarenamu*	be split	MYS.5.891a
a	1st person	*ga*	*kapu*	rear (animals)	NSK.115
a	1st person	*ga*	*kapu*	rear (animals)	NSK.115
a	1st person	*ga*	*mopanaku*	long for	NSK.117

a	1st person	*ga*	*mopu*	long for	NSK.52
a	1st person	*ga*	*poru*	desire	NSK.92
akagwoma	red colt	*ga*	*kadwode wo situtu*	do	MYS.14.3534
amawotomye-ra	diver girls	*ga*	*yaku*	burn	MYS.1.5
arawo-ra	rough man	*ga*	*yukinisi*	go	MYS.16.3863
asi	reed	*ga*	*tiru*	fall	MYS.20.4331
asi	reed	*ga*	*tiru*	fall	MYS.20.4362
asi	reed	*ga*	*tiru*	fall	MYS.20.4398
asukawotokwo	Asuka man	*ga*	*nagame imi nupisi*	sew	MYS.16.3791
daipopusi-tati	great priest of law	*ga*	*kotowari no gotoku tutwomete*	to work on; to expound	SM.42
idumo takyeru	Takeru (personal name) of Izumo	*ga*	*pakyeru*	string, wear	NSK.20
idumwotakyeru	Takeru (personal name) of Izumo	*ga*	*pakyeru*	string, wear	KK.23
imitama tukuri-ra	people who make the pure sacred jewel	*ga*	*motiyamapari motikiyomapari tukuri tukapematureru*	make	EN.8
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*nagekamu*	sigh, weep	MYS.14.3357
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*nuru*	sleep	MYS.14.3554
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*ipapaba*	say	MYS.15.3583
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*kisetesi*	dress	MYS.15.3625
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*te ni maku*	twist	MYS.15.3627
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*matu ramu*	wait	MYS.15.3663
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*kwopwitutu*	long for	MYS.15.3669
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*matu beki*	wait	MYS.15.3685
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*posu beku*	dry, drain	MYS.15.3712
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*kanasisa*	sad	MYS.15.3727
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*miyezaranaku*	be seen	MYS.15.3735

imo	my beloved	*ga*	*itu si ka mo tukapi no kom u to matasu ramu*	wait	MYS.18.4106
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*takatakani matu ramu*	wait	MYS.18.4107
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*papi nite maseba*	turn into ash	MYS.2.213
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*kuyu beki*	regret	MYS.3.437
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*misi*	see	MYS.5.798
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*kanasisa*	sad	MYS.20.4391
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*kwopisiku*	long for	MYS.20.4407
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*ipisi*	say	MYS.20.4429
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*komori woru ramu*	be secluded; wrapped	MYS.20.4439
imo	my beloved	*ga*	*mata sakidekonu*	bloom	NSK.114
imo-na-ro	my beloved	*ga*	*tukapu*	use	MYS.14.3446
imokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*inupi ni seyo*	do	MYS.20.4405
imu	my beloved	*ga*	*naru beki*	become	MYS.20.4364
inakiwomina	young woman in inaki	*ga*	*tumadopu to ware ni ok osesi*	offer	MYS.16.3791
kari	wild goose	*ga*	*kinakamu*	turn up singing	MYS.17.3947
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kuyu beki*	regret	MYS.14.3365
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kimasanu*	come	MYS.14.3495
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*miyenu*	see	MYS.14.3506
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*yuku*	go	MYS.15.3724
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kapyerikomu*	return and come	MYS.15.3770
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kapyerikomu*	come back	MYS.17.3937
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*narinaba*	become	MYS.17.3939
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*yori*	approach	MYS.17.3977
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*misemu*	show	MYS.18.4036

kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*topasu*	say	MYS.18.4037b
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kimasaba*	come	MYS.18.4050
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kuite*	regret	MYS.18.4057a
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kuite*	regret	MYS.18.4057b
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*wopari kapyerimakarite*	return and recede	MYS.18.4116
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*imasaba*	exist	MYS.19.4280
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*oposeru*	cultivate	MYS.20.4447
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*matukage ni pimo toki*	untie	MYS.20.4464
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kimasanu*	come	MYS.20.4497
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*momitiba no uturiiyuke ba*	change	MYS.3.459
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*miyenu*	cannot see	MYS.4.518
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*yuki*	depart	MYS.5.867
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*matutiyama kwoyu ramu*	pass over	MYS.9.1680
kimi	you, my lord	*ga*	*kwoyeinaba*	cross over and go	MYS.9.1778
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*tamakusige akezu*	to open	FK.15
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*yaswosimakakuri*	be hidden amongst islands	FK.8
kwo	young fellow	*ga*	*kubututui isitutui moti*	hold some sword	KK.10
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*sasagaseru*	raise; give	KK.100
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*sasagaseru*	raise; give	KK.100
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*aratamano tosinowo nagaku omopikosi*	come to long for	MYS.10.2089
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*ayani kanasisa*	sad	MYS.14.3462
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*natukusa no omopisinay ete*	long for and wither	MYS.2.138
kwo	my beloved	*ga*	*pire purisi*	shake	MYS.5.868
kwo	young fellow	*ga*	*kakimoto ni uwesi*	plant	NSK.14

kwo	young fellow	*ga*	*kubututui isitutui moti*	hold some sword	NSK.9
kwo-ra	young fellow	*ga*	*kubututui isitutui moti*	hold some sword	KK.10
kwo-ra	young fellow	*ga*	*kakimoto ni uwesi*	to plant	KK.12
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*utu*	hit	MYS.16.3791
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*asatuyu no goto*	like morning dew	MYS.2.217
kwo-ra	my beloved	*ga*	*musubyeru*	tie	MYS.20.4334
kwo-ro	my beloved	*ga*	*ninwo posaru*	dry, drain	MYS.14.3351
kwo-ro	my beloved	*ga*	*ipanaku*	say	MYS.14.3368
kwonami	first wife	*ga*	*na kopasaba*	seek for veg	KK.9
kwonami	first wife	*ga*	*na kopasaba*	seek for	NSK.7
kworo	my beloved	*ga*	*omo ni miyeturu*	be seen	MYS.14.3473
masupito-ra	excellent people	*ga*	*ayamati wokasikyemu*	do commit sins	EN.10
mo	my beloved	*ga*	*kisesi*	dress	MYS.20.4388
myedori	Medori (personal name)	*ga*	*oru*	weave	NSK.59
na	2nd person	*ga*	*kyeseru*	wear (respect)	KK.27
na	2nd person	*ga*	*nakasamaku*	cry	KK.4
na	2nd person	*ga*	*ipyese*	say (respect)	KK.63
na	2nd person	*ga*	*ipaba*	say	MYS.14.3433
na	2nd person	*ga*	*nakeba*	cry	MYS.15.3785
na	2nd person	*ga*	*kwopuru*	long for	MYS.17.4011
na	2nd person	*ga*	*pakeru*	string (bow), wear	MYS.20.4347
na	2nd person	*ga*	*ku*	come	MYS.4.528
na	2nd person	*ga*	*ipyese*	say	NSK.57
nanoriso	gulfweed	*ga*	*nado ka mo imo ni norazu*	speak	MYS.4.509
naramaro	Naramaro	*ga*	*ikusa okosu ni*	raise	SM.21
naramaro-ra	Naramaro (plural)	*ga*	*mupon no koto okorite*	raise	SM.34
nawi	earthquake	*ga*	*yorikoba*	approach and come	NSK.91a
nawi	earthquake	*ga*	*yorikoba*	approach and come	NSK.91b
nipisakimori	new guard	*ga*	*punade suru*	embark	MYS.20.4335

omi-ra	courtier	*ga*	*topotu kamwi ame no popi no mikoto wo kunigatami ni tukapasisi*	dispatch	EN.27
omo	mother	*ga*	*kwopisusu*	long for	MYS.20.4386
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*opyeru*	bear	MYS.18.4098
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*posiki*	desire	SM.28
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*esi*	obtain	SM.31
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*tukurite*	make	SM.44
ono	reflexive pronoun	*ga*	*wosipe*	teach	SM.59
pa	feather	*ga*	*tutumi wo tutumu*	wrap	FK.9
panari	hairdo of young girls	*ga*	*omopu namu*	long for	MYS.14.3496
papa	mother	*ga*	*twopasaba*	ask, say	MYS.11.2364
papa	mother	*ga*	*kapu*	feed	MYS.12.2991
papa	mother	*ga*	*twori*	hold	MYS.5.889a
papa	mother	*ga*	*twori*	hold	MYS.5.889b
papa	mother	*ga*	*kanasisa*	sad	MYS.5.890b
papuri	priest	*ga*	*ipapu*	pray, keep pure	MYS.4.712
papuri	priest	*ga*	*ituku*	worship the spirits; perform acts of worship	MYS.7.1403
patakwo-ra	[unknown; person working in the field?]	*ga*	*yworu piru to ipazu*	speak	MYS.2.193
pi	sun	*ga*	*kakuraba*	be hidden	KK.3
pi	sun	*ga*	*tworeba*	shine	MYS.14.3561
pimye	girl	*ga*	*oporokani kikosanu*	say	NSK.56
pito-ra	people	*ga*	*mawosaku*	say	SM.42
saburukwo	my beloved Saburu	*ga*	*itukisi*	worship the spirits; perform acts of worship	MYS.18.4110
satwowosa	village chief	*ga*	*etukwi pataraba*	levy	MYS.16.3847
saywopimye	Sayohime	*ga*	*ko no yama no pe ni pir e wo purikyemu*	shake	MYS.5.872
saywopimye	Sayohime	*ga*	*pire puriki*	shake	MYS.5.883

sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*uwesi*	plant	MYS.10.2119
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*kapyerikimasamu*	return	MYS.15.3774
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*tumisi*	pluck	MYS.17.3940
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*omopyeranaku*	long for	MYS.17.3942
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*pusa taworikyeru*	bend	MYS.17.3943
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*kuni pye masinaba*	come, go (respect)	MYS.17.3996
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*koto toru*	take	MYS.18.4135
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*sasagete moteru*	hold	MYS.19.4204
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*simekyemu*	mark as one's possession by a sign	MYS.19.4223
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*kyeru*	wear	MYS.6.979
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*mi ramu*	see	MYS.8.1432
sekwo	my dear man	*ga*	*ku beki*	come	NSK.65
sena	my dear man	*ga*	*marune seba*	do	MYS.20.4416
sero	my dear man	*ga*	*wagari kaywopamu*	move across	MYS.14.3549
sero	my dear man	*ga*	*makikomu*	[unknown; return home after retreating?]	MYS.20.4413
si	3rd person	*ga*	*areba*	be barren; be overgrown	KK.110
si	3rd person	*ga*	*negapu*	hope	MYS.18.4094a
si	3rd person	*ga*	*negapu*	hope	MYS.18.4094b
si	3rd person	*ga*	*talk continuously, often*	speak	MYS.5.904
si	3rd person	*ga*	*tukuru*	be used up	NSK.78
si	3rd person	*ga*	*nakyeba*	non-existent	NSK.80
si	3rd person	*ga*	*tukapematuru*	serve	SM.24
si	3rd person	*ga*	*gotoku*	like	SM.38
si	3rd person	*ga*	*tukapematuru*	serve	SM.48
si	3rd person	*ga*	*tukapematuru*	serve	SM.61
siwa	wrinkle	*ga*	*kitarisi*	come	MYS.5.804a
sore-ra	they	*ga*	*kitanaku pakarite*	conspire	SM.43
sumye-ra	imperial highness	*ga*	*mikadwo wo tapirakeku yasurakeku*	to keep, to protect	EN.2

			tarasi miyo no ikasi miyo ni ipapimaturi		
susukori	Susukori	*ga*	*kamisi*	brew	KK.49
tadu	egret	*ga*	*naku*	cry	MYS.18.4116
tadu	egret	*ga*	*naku*	cry	MYS.20.4400
tegwona	young girl	*ga*	*arisikaba*	exist	MYS.14.3385
tegwona	young girl	*ga*	*asaginu ni awokubi tuke*	attach	MYS.9.1807
terusadu	[unknown]	*ga*	*te ni maki*	twist	MYS.7.1326
titi	father	*ga*	*kakusima ni are to omopite*	think	SM.13
titipapa	father and mother	*ga*	*kasira kakinade saku ar e te ipisi*	say	MYS.20.4346
tori	bird	*ga*	*naku*	cry	MYS.18.4131
tosi	year(s); time	*ga*	*kipureba*	come and elapse	KK.28
tukasa-domo	Bureau of Ceremonial	*ga*	*mawosaku*	say	SM.42
upanari	second wife	*ga*	*na kopasaba*	seek for veg	KK.9
upanari	second wife	*ga*	*na kopasaba*	seek for	NSK.7
wa	1st person	*ga*	*woreba*	be sitting	FK.14
wa	1st person	*ga*	*nemu*	sleep	FK.3
wa	1st person	*ga*	*wepinikyemu*	get drunk	FK.6
wa	1st person	*ga*	*sakyeru*	split	KK.18
wa	1st person	*ga*	*putari nesi*	to sleep	KK.19
wa	1st person	*ga*	*tatasereba*	stand	KK.2
wa	1st person	*ga*	*tatasereba*	stand	KK.2
wa	1st person	*ga*	*kyeseru*	wear (respect)	KK.28
wa	1st person	*ga*	*okisi*	put	KK.33
wa	1st person	*ga*	*mureinaba*	be together and depart	KK.4
wa	1st person	*ga*	*pikeinaba*	be pulled and depart	KK.4
wa	1st person	*ga*	*imaseba*	be, come, go (respect)	KK.42
wa	1st person	*ga*	*misi*	see	KK.42
wa	1st person	*ga*	*yuku*	go	KK.43
wa	1st person	*ga*	*kunimireba*	survey the land	KK.53
wa	1st person	*ga*	*noboreba*	climb	KK.5
wa	1st person	*ga*	*migaposi*	desirable to see	KK.58
wa	1st person	*ga*	*noboreba*	climb	KK.58

wa	1st person	*ga*	*tati*	stand	KK.76
wa	1st person	*ga*	*twopu*	propose marriage	KK.78
wa	1st person	*ga*	*winesi*	sleep with someone	KK.8
wa	1st person	*ga*	*matu*	wait	KK.9
wa	1st person	*ga*	*nige*	flee	KK.98
wa	1st person	*ga*	*kwopuraku*	long for	MYS.11.2612
wa	1st person	*ga*	*kinaba*	come	MYS.14.3357
wa	1st person	*ga*	*omopanaku*	think	MYS.14.3392
wa	1st person	*ga*	*yuku*	go	MYS.14.3443
wa	1st person	*ga*	*pirakamu*	open	MYS.14.3467
wa	1st person	*ga*	*karu*	harvest	MYS.14.3499
wa	1st person	*ga*	*mopanaku*	think	MYS.14.3507
wa	1st person	*ga*	*suru*	do	MYS.14.3539
wa	1st person	*ga*	*mopo*	long for	MYS.14.3552
wa	1st person	*ga*	*yukeba*	go	MYS.15.3627
wa	1st person	*ga*	*woreba*	be sitting	MYS.15.3707
wa	1st person	*ga*	*sumu*	live at	MYS.15.3782
wa	1st person	*ga*	*sumu*	live at	MYS.15.3783
wa	1st person	*ga*	*winesi*	sleep with someone	MYS.16.3823
wa	1st person	*ga*	*kogiyukeba*	going by boat	MYS.17.3993
wa	1st person	*ga*	*tati*	stand	MYS.17.4006
wa	1st person	*ga*	*utiyukaba*	go	MYS.18.4044
wa	1st person	*ga*	*saseru*	pierce	MYS.18.4060
wa	1st person	*ga*	*porisi*	want	MYS.18.4124
wa	1st person	*ga*	*kitaru*	come	MYS.20.4326
wa	1st person	*ga*	*misi*	seek	MYS.20.4345
wa	1st person	*ga*	*suru*	do	MYS.20.4382
wa	1st person	*ga*	*kapyeru*	return	MYS.20.4395
wa	1st person	*ga*	*woru*	be sitting	MYS.20.4398
wa	1st person	*ga*	*kuru*	come	MYS.20.4408
wa	1st person	*ga*	*tati*	stand	MYS.20.4408
wa	1st person	*ga*	*omopanaku*	long for	MYS.20.4478
wa	1st person	*ga*	*omopanaku*	long for	MYS.3.242
wa	1st person	*ga*	*yuku*	go	MYS.3.263
wa	1st person	*ga*	*naku*	cry	MYS.5.798
wa	1st person	*ga*	*nageku*	sigh, weep	MYS.5.799
wa	1st person	*ga*	*makurakamu*	use as pillow	MYS.5.810
wa	1st person	*ga*	*yuku*	go	NSK.35
wa	1st person	*ga*	*winesi*	sleep with someone	NSK.5
wa	1st person	*ga*	*noboreba*	climb	NSK.53

wa	1st person	*ga*	*migaposi*	desirable to see	NSK.54
wa	1st person	*ga*	*noboreba*	climb	NSK.54
wa	1st person	*ga*	*meduru*	love	NSK.67
wa	1st person	*ga*	*matu*	say	NSK.7
wa	1st person	*ga*	*imaseba*	exist	NSK.75a
wa	1st person	*ga*	*tataseba*	stand	NSK.75a
wa	1st person	*ga*	*imaseba*	exist	NSK.75b
wa	1st person	*ga*	*tataseba*	stand	NSK.75b
wa	1st person	*ga*	*nige*	flee	NSK.76
wa	1st person	*ga*	*miseba*	see	NSK.97
wa	1st person	*ga*	*pitugi no mikwo to imasisi*	exist	SM.41
wa	1st person	*ga*	*uyamapi mukui maturu*	requite (good actions)	SM.41
wa	1st person	*ga*	*adumabito ni tati wo sadukete*	confer	SM.45
wa	1st person	*ga*	*itadaki ni uketamaparite*	humbly receive	SM.45
wa	1st person	*ga*	*taputwobwi worogami dokuzyu si maturu*	serve	SM.45
wa	1st person	*ga*	*tatete*	stand	SM.45
wagimo	my beloved	*ga*	*kisesi*	dress	MYS.14.3453
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*sita ni mo kiyo*	wear	MYS.15.3585
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*ikani omope*	long for	MYS.15.3647
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*matamu*	wait	MYS.15.3701
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*matamu*	wait	MYS.15.3713
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*musubisi*	tie	MYS.15.3717
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*katamigatera to kurena wi no yasipo ni somete*	dye	MYS.19.4156
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*swode mo sipoponi naki si*	cry	MYS.20.4357
wagimokwo	my beloved	*ga*	*tukesi*	tie	MYS.20.4404
wakugwo	young man	*ga*	*torite*	hold in hand	MYS.14.3459
wakugwo	young man	*ga*	*imasikyeru*	be, come, go (respect)	MYS.3.307a
wakugwo	young man	*ga*	*imasikyemu*	be, come, go (respect)	MYS.3.307b
wakugwo	young man	*ga*	*ipurekyemu*	hitting, striking	MYS.3.435

wigupi uti	dam-pile hitting; stake, post, stump	*ga*	*sasikyeru*	pierce	KK.44
wodi	old man	*ga*	*so no pi ni motomeapazukyemu*	seek	MYS.17.4014
wotomye	young woman	*ga*	*ponokikite ware ni okosesi mipanada no kinu no obi wo pikiobi nasu karaobi ni torasi*	take	MYS.16.3791
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ga*	*paruna tumasu*	pluck	MYS.17.3969
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ga*	*ime ni tuguraku*	tell	MYS.17.4011
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ga*	*tama nuku*	pluck	MYS.19.4166
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ga*	*te ni tori*	take	MYS.19.4192
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ga*	*tamamo suswobiku*	trail or drag the end of a long skirt or dress along the ground behind you	MYS.20.4452
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ga*	*sanasu*	sleep (respect)	MYS.5.804a
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ga*	*wotomyesabwi su*	be womanlike	MYS.5.804a
wotomye-ra	young woman	*ga*	*sanasu*	sleep (respect)	MYS.5.804b

APPENDIX C. LEXICAL ITEMS EXCLUSIVELY MARKED BY *GA*

Appendix C.1. Lexical items exclusively marked by *ga* in noun-modifying constructions

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
a	1st person pronoun	40
akagwoma	red colt	1
amawotomye-ra	diver girls	1
amo	mother	1
asadi	low cogongrass	1
aso	courtier	5
awone	Aone	1
daipopusi	great priests of the Law	1
imasi-ra	you	1
imo	little sister, beloved	32
itipi	Quercus gilva (red-bark oak)	1
itukasi	sacred oak	2
ituki	place of worship	1
kapo	face, looks	1
kapoya	Kaoya	1
kapwiya	hut to have a fire to ward off beasts	1
kari	wild goose	4
kasi	oak	1
kaye	reed, grasses used for thatching	1
kisima	Kishima	1
kwisimi	Kishimi	1
kwo-ra	beloved	6
kwo-ro	beloved	4
kwonagwi	water leek	1
makwo	lovely maiden/wife	1
maro	1st person pronoun	2
miguma	wanter bend	1
mimasi	you, respectful	1
murazi	Muraji	1
na	2nd person pronoun	8
nagwoya	softness	1
nakamaro	Nakamaro	3
nanigasi	somebody	1
naramaro	Naramaro	1
naramaro-ra	Naramaro	1
ne	root	1
nikwoya	softness	1

omotiti	mother and father	1
ono	reflexive pronoun	18
opowikwo	big boar	1
opowikwo	Ōiko	1
opoya	Ōya	1
pamamatu	shore pine; pine at the shore	1
papa	mother	4
popukun	Ōukun	1
pudipara	Fujiwara	1
pudiwi	Fuji	1
punado	Funado	1
pupaya	fluffiness	1
pusimi	Fushimi	1
pwimo	strap, cord	1
sasa	sasa (broad-leaf bamboo)	2
satwowosa	village chief	1
sekwo	beloved man	6
sena	beloved man	1
senano	man	1
si	3rd person pronoun	11
sikimi	Japanese star anise (Illicium anisatum)	1
simatu	Shimatsu	1
sipoyaki	Shioyaki	1
sirakasi	white oak	1
sitapi	redness (maples)	1
so-no	that-SFX	1
somekwi	dye tree	1
sore-ra	those	1
soregasi	someone	1
sukara	trunk of a bare tree (from which the leaves have fallen)	1
sukune	Sukune	2
sumyera	emperor, imperial highness	32
suzu	jingle	3
ta	interrogative personal pronoun	8
tadori	Tadori	1
tayupi	Tayui	2
tegwo	young girl, maiden	1
titipapa	father and mother	2
tobupwi	Tobuhi	1
tori	bird	2
tukwi	zelkova tree	1
tuma	spouse	1

ukapi	cormorant fisher	3
ukyera	Atractylodes japonica	4
wa	1st person pronoun	139
wagimoko	my love	6
waguki	little ravine	1
wakugwo	youth, young man	1
warapa	child	1
wazaimi	Wazami	2
wobana	Japanese pampas grass (lit. 'tail flower') (Miscanthus sinensis)	3
womure	Omure	1
womurwo	temple junipers	1
wotomye-ra	young woman	5
yutukwi	Yutsuki	2

Appendix C.2. Lexical items exclusively marked by *ga* in subject marking

Noun	Meaning	Frequency
a	1st person	55
amawotomye-ra	diver girls	1
arawo-ra	rough man	1
asi	reed	3
asukawotokwo	Asuka man	1
daipopusi-tati	great priest of law	1
idumo takyeru	Takeru (personal name) of Izumo	1
imitama tukuri-ra	people who make the pure sacred jewel	1
imo	my beloved	21
imo-na-ro	my beloved	1
imokwo	my beloved	1
imu	my beloved	1
inakiwomina	young woman in inaki	1
ipanopimye	Iha no hime	1
kari	wild goose	1
kwo-ra	my beloved	5
kwo-ro	my beloved	3
kwonami	first wife	2
masupito-ra	excellent man	1
mo	my beloved	1
myedori	Medori	1
na	2nd person	9
naramaro	Naramaro	1
naramaro-ra	Naramaro	1
nawi	earthquake	2

nipisakimori	new guard	1
omi-ra	courtier	1
omo	mother	1
ono	reflexive pronoun	5
pa	feather	1
panari	hairdo of young girls	1
papuri	priest	2
patakwo-ra	[unknown; person working in the field?]	1
pimye	girl	1
pito-ra	Abe no Asomi Azumabito and others	1
saburukwo	my beloved Saburu	1
satwowosa	village chief	1
sayamada no wodi	old man sayamada	1
saywopimye	Sayohime	2
sekwo	my dear man	12
sena	my dear man	1
sero	my dear man	2
si	3rd person	10
siwa	winkle	1
sore-ra	they	1
sumye-ra	imperial highness	1
susukori	Susukori	1
tadu	egret	2
tegwona	young girl	2
terusadu	[unknown; person working in the field?]	1
titi	father	1
titipapa	bird	1
tori	bird	1
tukasa-domo	Bureau of Ceremonial	1
upanari	second wife	2
wa	1st person	75
wagimo	my beloved	1
wagimokwo	my beloved	8
wigupi uti	post, stump	1
wodi	old man	1
wotomyera	young woman	8

APPENDIX D. ALL EXAMPLES OF *GA/NO* MARKING A CLAUSE

Appendix D.1. All examples of *no* marking a clause ending in the nominal form

Predicate of the genitive-marked clause	Meaning	Gen	Predicate	Meaning	Source
itakyeku	painful	*no*	*pi ni kyeni maseba*	exceed; grow	MYS.17.3969
topamaku	ask	*no*	*posiki*	desire	MYS.9.1742
kakemaku	mention	*no*	*yuyusikasikwoki*	holy, sacrosanct	MYS.19.4245
mimaku	see	*no*	*posiki*	desire	MYS.11.2554
mimaku	see	*no*	*posiki*	desire	MYS.20.4449
mimaku	see	*no*	*posiki*	desire	MYS.12.2992
mimaku	see	*no*	*posiki*	desire	MYS.11.2554
kwopwisiku	love	*no*	*opokaru*	plentiful	MYS.20.4475
tateraku	stand	*no*	*taduki*	means	MYS.13.3272
woraku	sit	*no*	*okuka*	future	MYS.13.3272

Appendix D.2. All examples of *no* marking a clause ending in the adnominal form

Predicate of the genitive-marked clause	Meaning	Gen	Head noun	Meaning	Source
kakaramu	be this way	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.2.151
tayemu	cease	*no*	*kokoro*	heart	MYS.12.3071
nenapye	not sleep	*no*	*kara ni*	because	MYS.14.3482b

Appendix D.3. All examples of *ga* marking a clause ending in the adnominal form

Predicate of the genitive-marked clause	Meaning	Gen	Predicate/Formal noun	Meaning	Source
topoki	distant	*ga*	*goto*	like	MYS.6.933
nagaki	long	*ga*	*goto*	like	MYS.6.934
mikyemu	see	*ga*	*goto*	like	MYS.9.1807
ipu	say	*ga*	*gotoku*	like	MYS.5.897
miyenu	can't be seen	*ga*	*gotoku*	like	MYS.15.3625
kopu	beg	*ga*	*gotoku*	like	MYS.18.4122
miyenu	can't be seen	*ga*	*gotoku*	like	MYS.19.4160
omoposite aru	just as I thought	*ga*	*gotoku*	like	SM.44

omopite aru	as I thought	*ga*	*gotoku*	like	SM.45
yuku	go	*ga*	*kanasisa*	sad	MYS.20.4338
kwoyuru	cross over	*ga*	*karani*	because	MYS.6.1038
wemasu	smile	*ga*	*karani*	because	MYS.14.3535
naki	non-exist	*ga*	*sabusisa*	regrettable; sad	MYS.13.3226
naki	non-exist	*ga*	*sabusisa*	regrettable; sad	MYS.15.3734a
naki	non-exist	*ga*	*sabusisa*	regrettable; sad	MYS.15.3734b
miru	see	*ga*	*sayakesa*	clear, refreshing, pure	MYS.9.1737
mamoru	protect	*ga*	*ta ni*	sake	SM.13
sanasamu	open eyes	*ga*	*tameni*	sake	BS.21
misemu	show	*ga*	*tameni*	sake	MYS.19.4222
miru	see	*ga*	*tomosisa*	envious	MYS.15.3658
miru	see	*ga*	*tomosisa*	envious	MYS.20.4425
omoposu	think	*ga*	*yuwe ni*	because	SM.26
sirosimyesu	rule	*ga*	*yuwe ni*	because	EN.1
sirosimyesu	rule	*ga*	*yuwe ni*	because	EN.7
omoposu	think	*ga*	*yuwe ni*	because	SM.26
aru	exist	*ga*	*yuwe ni*	because	SM.39
nuru	sleep	*ga*	*pe ni*	in addition to	MYS.14.3465
karisokeapasu	cut down and meet	*ga*	*pe*	in addition to	MYS.14.3479

Appendix D.4. All examples of *ga* marking a headless or internally headed relative clause

Clause	Meaning	Gen	Head noun	Meaning	Source
ayakaki no pupaya	the fluffiness of the fabric fence	*ga*	*sita ni*	below	KK.5
musibusuma nikwoya	the softness of the musi bedding	*ga*	*sita ni*	below	KK.5
takubusuma sayagu	the rustling of the bark-fabric bedding	*ga*	*sita ni*	below	KK.5
siranami no yapyeworu	white wave that roll in many layers	*ga*	*upe ni*	above	MYS.20.4360
ume no pana sakanu	plum blossoms that are not blooming	*ga*	*siro ni*	equivalent, collateral	MYS.8.1642
kanasiki	my beloved	*ga*	*kwoma*	horse	MYS.14.3451

kanasiki	my beloved	*ga*	*te*	hand	MYS.7.1259