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On the phonological reduction and diffusion of the nominative case particle
No in Old Japanese

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0 Introduction

This study will examine the earlier analyses (e.g. Kuroda 1974, Kondou 1981) of the head-internal relative constructions in Old Japanese (henceforth OJ) and aim to make such analysis accord with the descriptions of the diffusion of the nominative case particles by traditional grammarians.

We will postulate that Old Japanese has partial head-initial constructions, which is contrary to the common view for Modern Japanese (henceforth ModJ) that all constructions have universal head-final orders. The process of development of nominative case marking is very interesting from the viewpoint of the theory of linearity.

Roberts and Roussou (2003) argued that grammaticalization involves phonological reduction. The nominative case particle *no* lost its own accentual tone via phonological reduction from a grammatical word to a clitic. This reduction occurred along with the reanalysis of the DP structure in OJ.

The constraints on nominative case marking show that conclusive form predicates were not able to take nominative DPs or NPs. Thus it can be assumed that the use of non-conclusive form predicates increased as complex sentences increased. The development of written language is considered to be a prerequisite for the increase of nominative case marking.

1 Diachronic Diffusion

The term 'diffusion' is often used to represent the regional spreading of certain elements in studies of linguistic typology. However, it can also be used for diachronic studies of language.

When changes occur in a language, the lags between the beginning point of linguistic change and the point when the change prevails can be observed. Thus we should distinguish change itself from the point after the change prevails. I agree to the terminology in Hale (2007: 35-47).

Nominative case markers in OJ appear in the oldest philological documents of the *Nara* period (710-794). However, their use continued during the *Heian* (794-1192) and the *Kamakura* (1192-1333) periods which followed the *Nara* period. Thus this study will analyze the diffusion of *no* in relation to the development of head-internal relative clause constructions in OJ.

2 Immediate Ancestor of Nominative Case Markers in OJ

Many traditional grammarians have regarded *ga* in OJ as the immediate ancestor of *ga* in ModJ. However, there are some reasons not to agree with this view. The first reason is that the use of *no* was more pervasive than the use

of *ga*. It took a much longer time for *ga* to generally be used as a nominative case marker after Middle Japanese (henceforth MidJ). The second reason is that the nominative *ga* was preceded by the predicates which took attributive forms or *rentai-kei* in the *Heian* period.

The predominant use of nominative *no* preceded that of *ga* after MidJ. The nominative *ga* took the place of *no* after the constraints perished, the changes of which are illustrated in Table 1 below:

Table1. Constraints on Nominative Case Marking in Japanese

Nominative Particle		Old J	Late Old J	Early Mid J	Late Mid J	Early Mod J	Mod J
ga	M.C.	!*	!*	*			
	S.C.						
	A.C.						
no	M.C.	!*	!*		*	*	!*
	S.C.				*	*	!*
	A.C.						*

Abbreviations   M.C.: Main Clause; S.C.: Subordinate Clause; A.C.: Attributive Clause

3   Headless Relative Clauses in Old Japanese

Kondou (1981) argued that the constructions such as (1) and (2) with semantic head DPs before relative clauses are similar to left-headed relative clause constructions. The following examples (1) and (2) (see below) are from Kondou.[1]

Traditional grammarians (e.g. Yuzawa 1940, Konoshima 1973) analyzed the particle *no* in such a construction as (1) in OJ as a genitive case marker, because the DP which is attached to the second *no* in (2) is the object of the predicate 'kashiduku (bring up).'

(1)   [ashi ninafi-taru wotoko-no   [katafi-no yaunaru sugata-naru]],   kono kuruma-no
       [reeds carry-PREF man-GEN [beggar-GEN   like figure-being]],   this coach-GEN
       mafe-yori iki-keri
       front-ABL go-PAST   (*Yamato*: 128, around 10C)
       'The man who carried reeds, who is like the figure of a beggar, went from the front of the coach.'

(2)   [fito-no   musume-no   [kashiduku]], ikade kono wotoko-ni mono ifa-mu   to
       [the man-GEN daughter-GEN [bring up]],   how   this man-DAT   things tell-VOL COMP
       omofi-keri.
       think-PAST   (Ise: 45, around 11C)
       'The daughter of the man, who was brought up, thought how to propose to this man. '

We will analyze the left-headed relative construction in the DP Hypothesis in the following sections.

4   Reanalysis of the Particle *No* in Head- Internal Relative Constructions in OJ

Kuroda (1974, reprinted in Kuroda 1992) called the head internal relative construction a 'pivot-independent relative clause.' The following examples are from Kuroda.
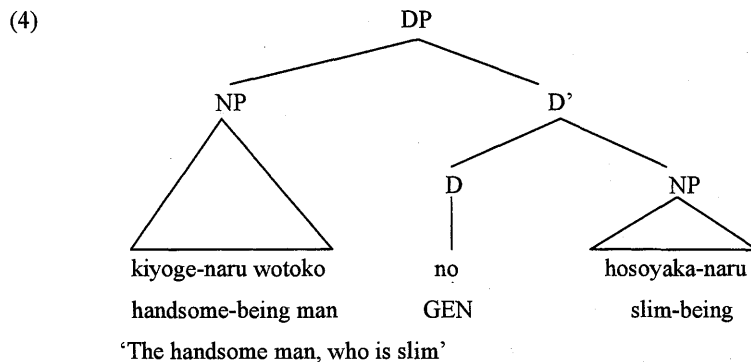
(3) ... [[kiyoge   naru wotoko-no hosoyaka naru]-ga ,   tatebumi   moti-te isogi

       handsome be-GER man-NOM slim being-NOM   letter   bring   hurry

       iku]-koso,   iduti   naran-to   miyuru.   (*Makura*, 11C Mid.)

       go-GER-EMP where be-FUT-COMP   seem-PRES

       'I wonder where a handsome man would hurry to bring a folded letter.'

According to Kuroda's analysis, the particle *no* in (3) is a nominative case marker, and the particle *ga* is also a nominative case marker. It should be noted that *no* and *ga* in OJ were used for both nominative and genitive case markers. In contrast, *no* is used only as a genitive marker and *ga* is used only as a nominative case marker in ModJ.
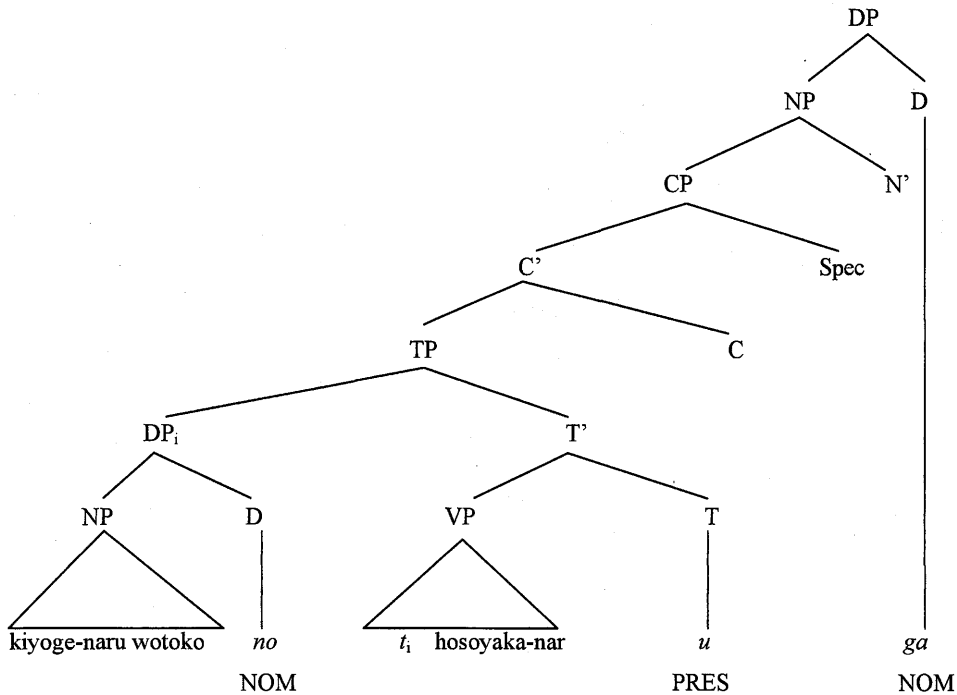
5   Structural Change of Head-Internal Relative Constructions in OJ

According to Takezawa and Whitman (1998), the particle *no* in DP of ModJ goes to the head position of DP and the nominal expression that precedes *no* goes to the Spec position of DP. The critical point for their argument is that *no* is not directly dominated by the same node with the nominal expression that immediately precedes it. This analysis is based on the LCA hypothesis.

We will apply their analysis to the left-headed relative constructions in OJ. A head-internal relative construction such as (3) should be assumed to develop from a left-headed relative construction such as (4).[2]

(4)

```
                              DP
                    _____
                  NP                       D'
                 /  \                   _____
                /____\                  D            NP
                                        |           /  \
          kiyoge-naru wotoko            no         /____\
                                                hosoyaka-naru
          handsome-being man           GEN       slim-being
         'The handsome man, who is slim'
```

(5)

DP
├─ NP
│ ├─ CP
│ │ ├─ C'
│ │ │ ├─ TP
│ │ │ │ ├─ DP$_i$
│ │ │ │ │ ├─ NP
│ │ │ │ │ │ └─ kiyoge-naru wotoko
│ │ │ │ │ └─ D
│ │ │ │ │   └─ no
│ │ │ │ │   NOM
│ │ │ │ └─ T'
│ │ │ │   ├─ VP
│ │ │ │   │ └─ t_i hosoyaka-nar
│ │ │ │   └─ T
│ │ │ │   └─ u
│ │ │ │   PRES
│ │ │ └─ C
│ │ └─ Spec
│ └─ N'
└─ D
   └─ ga
      NOM

If *no* in (5) is reanalyzed as a nominative case marker, this structure will be changed into a structure such as (6).The whole structure of (5) will be DP, and the Tense Marker *u* will be moved to N' position and take the adnominal form on the Spell-Out stage. We illustrate the reanalysis of (4) into (5) as below:

(6)   [$_{DP}$[$_{NP}$][$_{D'}$ [*no*... [   ] ...]   →   [$_{DP}$ $_{TP}$[[$_{DPi}$ *no*][$_{T'}$ t_i ...]] ...]

In (6), the position of *no* in the left side PM is the initial of D' element, in contrast to *no* in the right PM, which is the final DP element that precedes the T' element, from which *no* is supposed to move and constitute the new DP with the NP that precedes it.[3]

Kuroda proposed the pivot initial constraint to show that no constituents appear before the initial DPs in HIRC constructions such as (3). If this construction was developed by a reanalysis such as the one in (6), his constraint can be deduced from the consequence of this reanalysis.

This reanalysis includes the issue of the head position of the structure, i.e., whether OJ should be analyzed as a head-initial language or a head-final one. According to the LCA, all languages should have head-initial structures. Thus OJ had been subject to this conjecture, at least partly, until the reanalysis occurred. Although the linearization of the structure that includes *no* has not changed overtly, the order of the head position of OJ has changed.

6   Phonological Reduction along with Structural Change: A Reflection of the Development of *No*

In ModJ the auxiliary verbs and particles, rather than lacking their own accents, instead show accentual tone patterns which depend on preceding words' tone patterns. In contrast to ModJ, in OJ most auxiliary verbs and particles showed their own accentual patterns (Kindaichi 2002: 259-260).

For example, the particles *ga* and *fa(ha)* were always pronounced in a high accentual tone. *No* was thought to be pronounced in the same tone as the words that preceded it and combine with them, however, it seems to have sometimes displayed an accentual tone.

No showed its own accentual tone in the datum of the previous studies (Akinaga 1991: 150-153, Hayata 1987, Tsukishima 1951), while *no* in the OJ datum for accentual patterns often showed a tone pattern in unifying the accentual word with the words preceding it, as in ModJ. The tone of *no* changed its tone owing to its semantic and syntactic properties of unifying the elements with which it interfered.

This accentual change of *no* can be recognized as a phonological reduction of tone accent. Phonological reduction is argued for from the viewpoint of grammaticalization by Roberts and Roussou (2003: 224-229). They argue that it occurs along with 'cline of grammaticality' of the following type:

(7)   content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix   (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 7)

The phonological reduction of *no* is considered to be similar to the change from a grammatical word to a clitic.

7   Syntactic Change and the PLD

Linguistic changes are thought to occur through language acquisition. If we assume that the use of case particles is preferred in the written language rather than the colloquial one, the diffusion of case marking in OJ should have evolved through generations by education.   Generally, children will be exposed to written language after the critical period of language acquisition.

The earlier generation would acquire the written language as a kind of second language; however, later generations would be exposed to the language used by their parents' generation as the primary linguistic data or PLD (e.g.   Lightfoot 1999). Thus the developing of linguistic change which should be supposed to occur mainly in complex sentences would gradually predominate in later generations.

8   Conclusion

The reanalysis of *no* which occurred along with the development of head-internal relative constructions in OJ means that covert word order change should also have occurred. OJ seems to be a mixed language as far as head complement order is concerned, and further studies are needed.

Notes

1. The original examples are written in *Kana* characters. There are some differences from the standard way of transcription for contemporary Japanese according to the phonology of OJ.

2. The whole DP structure in (5) contains a head-final construction in a head-initial construction. In relation to this, no such head-final relative clause containing HIRC has been found in OJ (Harada 1975). The FOFC (e.g. Biberauer, T., Holmberg, A., and Roberts, I. 2007) seems to partially hold inside the DP structure of OJ.

3. This change seems to adjust the left-headed relative clause construction to the FOFC.

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