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A Historical Study of Old Japanese Syntax

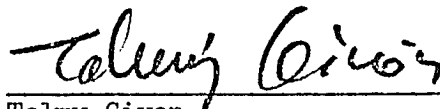
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in Linguistics

by

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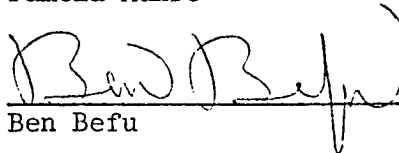
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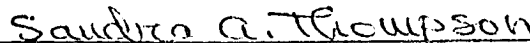
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1978



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- Akiba, K.      Conjunction to and postposition to in Japanese.  
1977      Papers from the Thirteenth Regional Meeting, Chicago  
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- Akiba, K.      A non-relative analysis of so-called relative clauses.  
1978      Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of Berkeley  
Linguistics Society.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Historical Study of Old Japanese Syntax

by

Katsue Akiba

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1978

Professor Sandra A. Thompson, Chairman

The present study carefully examines and discusses the grammar of Old Japanese in its historical perspective in view of what is known about syntactic changes. The first two chapters are intended to be an introduction to the grammar which is required for a full understanding of the arguments in later chapters.

In Chapter III, it is shown that Old Japanese did not formally differentiate nominal clauses, relative clauses, complement clauses, etc. The URU-clause, which was used for various purposes of subordination, is exemplified and discussed in detail, its grammatical status and its interpretations.

Chapter IV explores the case marking system of Old Japanese and concludes that case roles of nominals were not as distinctly marked in Old Japanese as in Modern Japanese: the subject was left unmarked; the direct object was optionally marked; oblique cases were not distinct from each other, and so forth.

Chapter V examines various conjunction constructions, zero-conjunctions, conjunctions with conjunctive particles, and so on, and suggests that there was a period when Japanese had no conjunctive particle (the



period of zero-conjunctions only) and then a period when clauses were more typically conjoined with conjunctive particles (the period of particle conjunctions). It is shown that Modern Japanese conjunction words such as naraba 'if' and keredomo 'although' are the results of reinterpretation of more than one morpheme as a single morpheme.

Chapter VI examines the nature of Old Japanese BE-verbs and their historical development and shows that the change from existential BE to auxiliary BE took place over and over again in Japanese.

Chapter VII proposes to reconstruct \*nu, a pre-Japanese locative verb 'to be at', as the common source for the locative case particle, the copula particle, the auxiliary denoting "perfect" and the associative particle. It is shown (i) that the case particle developed from the Conjunctive form of \*nu via serialization, (ii) the copula particle is a residue of an older copula which was derived from \*nu by semantic bleaching, (iii) the perfect auxiliary was in fact the serialized \*nu, and (iv) the associative particle may have been the Nominal form of \*nu.

In the final section of Chapter VII, the direction in which the language has been moving as a whole is considered (Japanese has been considerably increasing its expressibility) and, as a conclusion of the thesis, a hypothesis that Japanese had pidgin in its history is advanced.

## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Objectives

During the years since Saussure a rather sharp distinction between synchrony and diachrony has been made by most linguists, particularly by American structuralists. Such a position is well exemplified by the following remark:

In order to describe a language, one needs no historical knowledge whatsoever; in fact, the observer who allows such knowledge to affect his description, is bound to distort his data. (Bloomfield, 1933:19)

Early generative transformationalists accepted this dichotomy and touched upon historical problems only in a marginal fashion. The idea was predominant that the relationship between historical linguistics and general descriptive linguistics was one-sided. That is, it was historical linguistics that would gain from assimilating theoretical or methodological refinements in synchronic descriptions. Later, however, linguists came to use historical data in their synchronic discussions as strong evidence. Kiparsky (1968), for instance, concludes his discussion of abstractness in phonological analysis with the following.

the alternation condition eliminates an area of arbitrariness inherent in the present theory of generative phonology. There appear to be no cases where much generality is lost because of the alternation condition. But even if there were such cases, the historical evidence which supports this condition strikes me as sufficiently strong to establish it even in the face of all synchronic considerations. (46. Emphasis is mine.)

In Givón (1971) historical facts are even more positively used in synchronic arguments. He proposes that "in order to understand current morphologies and morphotactics of a language, one must construct

specific hypotheses about some earlier stage of its historical development." Such a change of the view of historical evidence was conterminous with a number of demonstrations of how language change ought to be handled within the framework of generative transformational grammar (e.g., King, 1969). The result turned out to be unsatisfactory for those who were interested in traditional historical questions such as: Why does language change to begin with? What causes language changes? How does language change? Does language change in certain directions? If so, in which directions? "Rule loss", "rule simplifications", etc. do not answer any of such questions. Some linguists attempted to tackle these questions without deviating radically from the basis of the generative transformational grammar (e.g., Kiparsky (1971)). Such attempts were again criticized as mere "restatements" of traditional notions of analogy, analogical prevention, and so forth (see Anttila, 1974b). At present, the validity of basic assumptions on human language and the objectives of linguistic study that were stated in generative transformational theories are being questioned. At the same time newly proposed theories have not been refined or concretized enough to provide any more reliable foundations for historical study of language.

Many studies of syntactic change have in fact been done fruitfully with little commitment to any formal grammatical model. Taking the idea from Greenberg's (1966) universals, Lehman (1972) reconstructed the syntax of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Germanic. Vennemann (1974) attempted to construct a universal theory of word order change, which was empirically examined and criticized by others (e.g., Li and Thompson (1974) and Hawkins (1979)). Examples of various types of

syntactic changes from non-Indo-European languages have been reported. To cite just a few, changes from independent pronouns to subject- or object-agreements in Bantu languages were discussed by Givón (1974b), changes from serialized verbs to grammatical particles in Mandarin by Li and Thompson (1973a,b), similar changes in Niger-Congo by Givón (1975a) changes from verb of saying to complementizer in Kwa languages and others by Lord (1976), a change from existential verb to copula in Mojave by Munro (1976), and various types of reanalyses in Uto-Aztecan family of American Indian languages by Langacker (1976). These works are in motivation theoretical and universal although they discuss specific syntactic categories in specific languages.

The Japanese language has been quite well documented historically for more than one thousand years. The earliest extant documents of any length are Kojiki and Man'yōshū, both of which are estimated to be of the eighth century. These old texts have been constantly studied by numerous Japanese scholars since the eighteenth century (concerning the history of grammatical studies by native grammarians, see Bedell, 1968), and thus historical changes that Japanese underwent during the past millennium are fairly well understood. Curiously, however, the genetic relationship of Japanese to other languages has not been established yet in spite of strenuous efforts by Japanese and non-Japanese linguists. Its resemblance to the Altaic languages such as Manchu-Tungs, Mongolian and Turkic families in the basic word order (e.g. Sub-Obj-Verb and Modifying-Modified) led many linguists to the assumption that Japanese was historically derived from Proto-Altaic. However, some lexical correspondences and phonological resemblances have been pointed out between Japanese and other East Asian languages (e.g. Malayo-

Polynesian, Tibeto-Burmese, Austro-Asiatic, etc.).

In the present thesis, we will examine and discuss the grammar of Old Japanese (to be defined below) in its historical perspective in view of what is known about syntactic changes. Although we do not find any dramatic syntactic changes such as word order change in the history of the language, we do find several large scale syntactic changes which are interesting and worth investigating. We will be mainly concerned with case particles, subordination, conjunction constructions and BE-verbs. These areas of the grammar bear significant historical relations to one another, though they may synchronically appear to be unrelated. We will show that some case particles developed into conjunctive particles (particles conjoining clauses) and that some of the case particles are reflexes of an old 'be' verb, for example. Chapter I and II are intended to be an introduction to the grammar which is required for a full understanding of the arguments in later chapters. They are therefore sketchy and contain a number of problems to be more carefully examined and expounded. In Chapter VII, we summarize and integrate the findings in the present study and attempt to reconstruct part of the earlier history of the language.

No particular grammatical model will be systematically employed in the analyses for the reason discussed above, but descriptive devices (e.g. tree diagrams and bracketing) and some prevailing hypothetical notions (e.g. "underlying structure" and "embedding") will be used wherever we consider them helpful to make rather complicated data as perspicuous as possible to the reader who may not be familiar with this language.

## 1.2 Text

The Japanese language is often divided into stages corresponding

to periods which are usually distinguished by historians in terms of the location of the capital or the government. The following chronological table shows partially such divisions and major written records in respective periods.

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>A.D.</u>	<u>WRITTEN RECORD</u>
NARA	708	<u>Kojiki</u> 'Record of Ancient Japan' (completed in 712) <u>Nihongi</u> 'Chronicles of Japan' (completed in 720) <u>The Manyo</u> 'Collection of Myriad Leaves' (An anthology of Japanese verse compiled in 759)
HEIAN	787	<u>Taketori Monogatari</u> 'Tale of the Old Bamboo Wicker-Worker' (811?) <u>Ise Monogatari</u> 'Tale of Ise' (904?) <u>Kokinshu</u> (An anthology of verse dated 905) <u>Genji Monogatari</u> 'Tale of Genji' (1006?) <u>Tsutsumi-Chunagon Monogatari</u> 'Tale of Tsutsumi-Chunagon' (An omnibus of short stories perhaps by several writers at the earliest after 1047)
KAMAKURA	1186	<u>Otogi Zooshi</u>

Table-1 Chronology of written records

The present study focuses on the language of the early Heian Period, when Taketori Monogatari and Genji Monogatari (Taketori and Genji, henceforth) were written and refers to the language of this period as Old Japanese.

It has been said that "the contact of the Chinese script and the Japanese language dates back as far as the third century" (Miller, 1967:107), but it was only after the sixth century that serious attempts to apply the Chinese script to writing Japanese were made. The

earliest records, such as Kojiki and Nihongi, were still by and large in Chinese. Thus, most of the studies on the language of the Nara Period depends upon the Manyō, in which poems are written in pure Japanese using phonetically applied Chinese characters. (How this was done is discussed in some detail in Sansom, 1928, and Miller, 1967.) Since the correspondence between Japanese syllables and Chinese characters was not one-to-one, but several Chinese characters were employed for the same syllable, phonetic interpretation of those poems has been a difficult and important task for Japanese scholars, to say nothing of semantic interpretation. There are many points where scholars have not agreed on pronunciation. This problem is not unrelated to the problems of syntactic analyses as will be seen later.

The Heian Period abounds in literary works written in Japanese, such as, tales, diaries, essays, etc. in addition to anthologies of verse. It is reported that there are twenty-seven works which are the same kind as, and contemporaneous with, Taketori.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that it was the invention of the kana syllabary that made it possible for the Japanese to express themselves in their own language with much freedom. Most of the examples used in the following chapters are from tales of Taketori, Ise, Genji, and Tsutsumichunagon, all of which are generally considered to represent classical Japanese prose "in its purest form" (Sansom, 1928). Taketori is particularly valuable to understanding the earlier form of the Heian grammar. It is the first work of prose in Japanese. Although Chinese influence is far less than may be expected of a work that came immediately after the period of sinicization, it is not completely uninfluenced.<sup>2</sup> Tale of Ise, being

excessively embellished with poems, is not as useful. The other two are of almost the same value as Taketori, but, because they were written much later than Taketori, they possibly exhibit some syntactic features which developed more recently. Examples cited by Japanese grammarians in their works are also used here with the names of the authors following the titles of the texts.

### 1.3 Transcription, symbols and abbreviations

Examples are transcribed throughout according to the Japanese system of romanization as shown in the following inventory (see next page, Table 2).

In Modern Japanese, kana letters do not necessarily represent actual pronunciations. For example, the Modern Japanese topic marker is pronounced as wa but is written は reflecting the older pronunciation ha. It is assumed in this study that there was no such discrepancy between kana letters and actual pronunciations in Old Japanese. Thus, the letter は in the Old Japanese text is always transcribed as ha.

The source of each example is indicated in parentheses, the title and the page in that order. The titles are abbreviated as follows:

T: Taketori Monogatari

G: Genji Monogatari

Ise: Ise Monogatari

TC: Tsutsumi Chunagaon Monogatari

M: Manyoshu

Otogi: Otogi Zoshi

If the example is not directly cited from the text, the name of the author who cited the example in his article is given instead of the



page of the text. For example. (G, Yamada (b)) means that the example is cited from Genji by Yamada in his The Historical Grammar of the Heian Period. Examples from the Manyoshu are given serial numbers instead of pages.

あ	か	さ	た	な	は	ま	や	ら	わ	ん
a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa	n
い	き	し	ち	に	ひ	み		り	ゐ	
i	ki	si	ti	ni	hi	mi		ri	wi	
う	く	す	つ	ぬ	ふ	む	ゆ	る		
u	ku	su	tu	nu	hu	mu	yu	ru		
え	け	せ	て	ね	へ	め		れ	ゑ	
e	ke	se	te	ne	he	me		re	we	
お	こ	そ	と	の	ほ	も	よ	ろ	を	
o	ko	so	to	no	ho	mo	yo	ro	wo	
が	ざ	だ		ば						
ga	za	da		ba						
ぎ	じ	ぢ		び						
gi	zi	di		bi						
ぐ	ず	づ		ぶ						
gu	zu	du		bu						
げ	ぜ	で		べ						
ge	ze	de		be						
ご	ぞ	ど		ぼ						
go	zo	do		bo						
きゃ	しゃ	ちゃ		ひゃ		ぎゃ	じゃ	びゃ		
kya	sya	tya		hya		gya	zya	bya		
きゅ	しゅ	ちゅ		ひゅ		ぎゅ	じゅ	びゅ		
kyu	syu	tyu		hyu		gyu	zyu	byu		
きょ	しよ	ちよ		ひょ		ぎょ	じょ	びょ		
kyo	syo	tyo		hyo		gyo	zyo	byo		

Table-2 Syllabary

The following symbols and abbreviations are extensively used in the English gloss.

PL: plural  
EMPH: emphatic  
HON: honorific  
Q: interrogative  
IMP: imperative  
COMP: complementizer  
NEG: negative  
PERF: perfective  
PAST: past  
CONJECT: conjectural  
INFER: inferrel  
OBLIG: obligative  
NEG+OBL: negative obligative  
NEG+CONJ: negative conjectural  
CAUS: causative  
PASS: passive  
NT: neutral tense  
TOP: topic  
SUB: subject  
DO: direct object  
OBL: oblique case  
ASS: associative  
SFP: sentence final particle  
TOP (SUB): topicalized subject

TOP (DO):    topicalized object  
CL:           classifier  
SS:           same subject marker  
DS:           different subject marker

Underlined capital letters (e.g. A, I, etc.) which are similar to actual Japanese forms are used for conjugate suffixes. Certain grammatical morphemes are also glossed in a similar way (e.g. BA, TE, etc.) either because there is no corresponding English morpheme or because the analysis of such morphemes is being questioned.

The hyphen '-' is used in Japanese examples between two agglutinated morphemes:

- a.    mi- tukah=i  
      HON messenger  
  
      'a messenger'
- b.    tasuk=e-tamah=u  
      help=I- HON= U  
  
      '(he) helped'

The symbol '=' is used in Japanese examples to separate the stem from the conjugational suffix. In the example a. above i is the Conjunctive suffix used for nominalization. In the example b. the main verb is connected to an honorific auxiliary verb by the mediation of the conjunctive suffix e. Conjugational suffixes will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II. The plus sign '+' is used in the English gloss when more than one English morphemes correspond with a single Japanese morpheme as in c., or when the corresponding Japanese morphemes are inseparable because of phonetic fusion as in d.

c. mukasi  
long+ago

d. yoker= e- ba  
good+be=TE-DS

When HON is attached to an English morpheme by '+', it means that the Japanese morpheme has the same meaning as the English morpheme except that it has an honorific value.

## Footnotes to Chapter I

1. "Of the monogatari--thing-telling--stories, or narratives, or miscellanies, which are considered classical, twenty-seven (inclusive of the Taketori) are mentioned, with brief but accurate analyses, in the Gunsho ichiran ('Complete View of the Host of Writings') by Ozaki Masayoshi (died 1828), the preface to which is dated 1801." (Dickins, 1906, 319-320)
2. There are some scholars who object to this view. They argue that it contains expressions peculiar to Sinico-Japanese, a special written style developed among Japanese based on Chinese and that it contains more than one hundred Chinese lexical items. Their arguments, however, are not very conclusive. Some of the expressions they consider as Sinico-Japanese expressions are very rare (e.g. simu, a causative auxiliary verb, gotoku 'like (preposition)'). Discourse conjunctions like sikaredomo, which they consider non-Japanese, seem to be quite Japanese to me in that they had developed from Japanese phrases or clauses. sikaredomo, for example, has the internal structure sik-ar-e-domo: so-be-E- 'although', which consists of Japanese morphemes arranged according to the Old Japanese syntax. We find similar conjunctive expressions in Modern Japanese. For example, sore-wa-soo-da-keredomo: it-TOP=SUB-so-be-although 'although it is so' and da-keredomo: be-although 'although (it) is (so)'. No one would say such expressions are non-Japanese. If a language without any discourse conjunction needs to develop discourse conjunctions, reduced adverbial clauses like sikaredomo or dakeredomo seem to be the most natural source for them. Furthermore, it has been pointed out by Sakakura, Taikei, 1957, in the introduction to Taketori in Iwanami Koten Bungaku, that Taketori contains a significant number of expressions that are never found in more apparently Sinico-Japanese writings. It would be fair to say that the language may not have been exactly like the spoken one during the period and it contained some Sinico-Japanese expressions which had been well assimilated into Japanese but may not have been used in every day conversation, but that it represents the language used in storytelling and in prose to such a degree as to provide a sound basis for characterizing the earlier forms of the language.

## Chapter II

### STRUCTURE OF CLAUSE

#### 2.1 Word Order

One of the serious problems with a basic word order typology such as that of Greenberg's (1966) may be how to determine the basic word order for languages in which more than one order occurs without producing significant variation in meaning. Thompson (1978) has proposed a typological parameter which would avoid this problem. According to her, there are two ways in which languages can utilize the linear order of predicates and their arguments--pragmatically and grammatically--and there are languages in which both a pragmatic and a grammatical principle interact in determining word order in addition to languages which use predicate-argument order either pragmatically or grammatically. Japanese seems to be such a medial language.

There are two principles which seem to be grammatically motivated. the principle that the predicate always occurs in clause final position and the principle that a modifier always precedes a (modified) noun. Since Old Japanese had no subject- or object-agreement on the verb, no relative pronoun and no complementizer (except for direct quotations), as will be seen, the predicate gave an important clue to the structural analysis, signaling clause boundaries. The modifier-noun order principle had also an important grammatical function designating that the modifier is in constituent with the following one, not with the preceding one. Without this principle, a sequence like [Noun - Modifier - Noun - X] would be ambiguous between [[Noun - Modifier] - Noun - X] and [Noun - [Modifier - Noun] - X].

The order among nominal arguments, on the other hand, was not rigid. The subject was often preceded by the direct object or an oblique nominal. This is because arguments are arranged according to the pragmatic properties such as definite-indefinite, known-unknown, and new-old, although word order is not the only device for expressing such pragmatic relations. The so-called zero-pronominalization (i.e. deletion of an anaphoric noun) deleted the most topical nominal (the one which is unambiguously understood from the context by the hearer). Also, some postpositional particles (e.g. ha marking the topic and mo roughly corresponding to the English also) are relevant for pragmatic information such as "topicality" and "definiteness". Exactly how nominal arguments are arranged, then, can be more precisely stated when all these related areas are studied together, but we will not pursue this line of investigation in the present thesis.

## 2.2 Elements of a Clause

Before discussing each element in detail, we would like to establish certain terminological conventions for our descriptive purposes.

"Sentence" and "clause" are often used interchangeably, but, in our discussion, they are distinguished as follows: A sentence is "an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form" (Bloomfield, 1933:170) and a clause is a linguistic form which basically consists of a grammatical unit which we call "predicate" (see 2.2.2 below) and its associated nominal(s). Further, for the reason that will become clear later, we discern three types of clauses: final clauses, nominal clauses and conjunctive clauses. A "final clause" is the clause that occurs at the

end of a sentence. If a sentence consists of a single clause, the sentence itself is a final clause. A "nominal clause" is a clause that functions as an argument of another clause. Noun modifying clauses that correspond to English relative clauses, noun complement clauses, etc. are also analyzed as nominal in this study (Chapter III). A "conjunctive clause" is a nonfinal clause in a conjunction construction (i.e.  $S_1, S_2, \dots$  or  $S_{n-1}$  in  $[S_1 \& S_2 \& \dots \& S_n]_{S_0}$ ).

The only obligatory element of an Old Japanese surface clause is the predicate. However, since every predicate entails at least one nominal (an agent nominal for the predicate meaning 'to run' and an agent nominal and an object nominal for the predicate meaning 'to hit'), we assume that a clause consists of one or more nominals and a predicate.

### 2.2.1 Nominal

A nominal may simply be a noun, a pronoun or a demonstrative, or it may have its internal structure such as:

- i. Demonstrative - Noun
- ii. Noun - (ASS) - Noun (i.e. associative construction)
- iii. Adjective - Noun (e.g. wakaki otoko: young man)
- iv. Clause - Noun (e.g. gosiki ni hikaru tama: five+colors OBL  
shine jewel 'jewel that shines in five colors')

This section treats mainly simple nominals (i.e. nouns, pronouns and demonstratives) and associative constructions.

#### 2.2.1.1 Noun

In Old Japanese, as well as in Modern Japanese, nouns were morphologically the simplest of all major grammatical categories.



There were two kinds of affixes used with nouns: honorific prefixes and plural suffixes. An honorific prefix (on or mi) was attached to a noun referring to a "respectable" person or to something or someone that belonged to such a person. (Who was a respectable person and whether there was a general rule for choosing on or mi are not our present concern.) Plurality was expressed, if necessary, by plural suffixes, tati for human nouns, ra for animate nouns, domo for both human and nonhuman nouns, and so forth. Here are some examples of nouns with an honorific prefix and/or a plural suffix.

(2.1) HON-NOUN

- a. mi-tukah=i: HON-messenger 'messenger'
- b. on-kaher=i-goto: HON-reply 'reply'

(2.2) NOUN-PL

- a. takum=i-ra: craftsman-PL 'craftsmen'
- b. ki-domo: tree-PL 'trees'

(2.3) HON-NOUN-PL

- a. mi-ko-tati: HON-child-PL 'princes'

Some plural nouns were formed by duplicating the singular noun stem as follows:

- (2.4) a. hito-bito: person-person 'persons/people'
- b. on-kata-gata: HON-lady-lady 'ladies'
- c. toki-doki: time-time 'times/sometimes'
- d. kuni-guni: country-country 'countries'
- e. iro-iro: color-color 'various color'

This type of pluralization seems to imply 'a large mass' rather than 'more than one'. Also notice that the initial consonant of the

duplicated noun stem is voiced.

There were two kinds of derived nominals, one being the "I-form" (refer ahead for this form) of the verb and the other the adjective stem plus sa. Here are some examples of each of the derived nominals.

(2.5) I-form of the verb

- a. inor=i:        pray=I        'praying/prayer'
- b. yorokob=i:    rejoice(V)=I    'joy'
- c. hikar=i:       light(V)=I       'light (N)'
- d. kagir=i:       limit(V)=I       'limit (N)'
- e. kazi=tor=i:    steer=take=I    'steersman'

(2.6) Adjective stem plus sa

- a. huka=sa:        deep=SA        'depth'
- b. kiyoraka=sa:   pure=SA        'pureness'
- c. kura=sa:        dark=SA        'darkness'
- d. kanasi=sa:      sad=SA        'sadness'
- e. kurusi=sa:      painful=SA    'painfulness'

2.2.1.2 Case particles and emphatic particles

Nouns are often followed by case markers, which we call "case particles" in order to distinguish them from noun affixes we discussed above. Only a very rough sketch of case particles and the motivation for this distinction will be given here, whereas the detailed treatment of each case particle will appear in Chapter IV.

The most frequently used case particles are wo the direct object (DO), ni the indirect object and other oblique cases (OBL), and no/ga marking the associative (ASS). Here are some sentences with these case particles.

- (2.7) tama no eda wo tukur=i-tamah=u. (T, 36)  
jewel ASS spray DO make=I- HON=U

'(He) made a jewel spray.'

(Verbal suffixes i, e, etc. will be introduced shortly.

Parentheses are used in the English translation to show that the parenthesized element is not expressed in the Japanese sentence in the text.)

- (2.8) Waukei ni kogane wo tor=a- s=u. (T, 41-2)  
Waukei OBL money DO take=A-CAUS=U

'(He) gave (some) money to Waukei.'

'(Lit: (He) made Waukei take (some) money.)

Subjects are very frequently omitted, and, if expressed, it is not case-marked as in the following example.

- (2.9) Okina take wo tor=u... (T, 29)  
Okina bamboo DO take=URU

'Okina takes bamboos.'

(The dots indicate that this clause is not final. The reason the verbal suffix u is glossed here as URU will become clear soon.)

The direct object marker wo can be suppressed under certain conditions, which will be discussed and exemplified in Chapter IV.

- (2.10) koyasu no kai tor=i- tar=u ka. (T, 50)  
cowry ASS shell take=I-PERF=URU Q

'Have (you) taken a cowry shell?'

In addition to these particles indicating cases, there are quite a few particles that were to add some sorts of emphatic meanings. For example, ha is quite similar to the Modern Japanese topic marker wa, but in many cases it seems to be more appropriate to call it an emphatic particle. The nature of mo is even more obscure than ha. The English

adverb 'even' or 'also' represents the meaning of mo in most cases but not always. We may gloss these particles simply as EMPH or HA/MO when a better analysis is not available.

Emphatic particles koso namu and zo/so are used to form a special emphatic construction called "Kakari-Musubi" which will be briefly discussed in Chapter III. Some of these emphatic particles also appear in sentence final position for various performative purposes. They are treated in this study as sentence final particles (SFP). Although the question of what functions these particles exactly had is of great interest, we do not go into detail of these particles in the present study.

Case particles and emphatic particles are different from noun affixes such as honorific prefixes and plural suffixes although the distinction is not always manifested. The difference is that a particle is appended to any nominal, simple, complex or clausal, while a noun affix is attached only to a noun. This difference is clearly seen where a case particle is attached to a nominal clause which lacks a lexical head noun. A headless nominal clause is not uncommon in Old Japanese as will be discussed in Chapter III. Consider the following.

(2.11) kokoro tasika nar=u wo erab=i- te... (T, 41)  
mind steady COP=URU DO select=I-SS

'(He) chose (those) (whose) minds were steady, and...'

(te is a conjunctive marker that conjoins clauses with the same subject. See Chapter V for more detailed discussion.)

A noun suffix (i.e. a plural suffix) can never occur without being actually attached to a lexical noun.

### 2.2.1.3 Pronouns and demonstratives

It has been noted (e.g. Lees, 1960) that English pronouns are not always anaphorically used. For example, one may say "Look at him!" pointing at a stranger (e.g., a man who is talking loudly to himself) even though the man is brought into the speaker's consciousness for the first time. This distinction between "anaphoric" pronouns and "demonstrative (nonanaphoric)" pronouns is especially relevant for Japanese. Kuroda (1965) has convincingly shown that English pronominalization (i.e. anaphoric use of pronouns) corresponds with deletion of repeated nouns (i.e. zero-pronominalization) in Modern Japanese. The same holds for Old Japanese. Expressed pronouns are never anaphoric in Old Japanese.

Semantically, non-anaphoric pronouns are more like demonstratives (e.g. this, that, etc.), which are deictic in the sense that in their typical use they refer to things that are in the speech situation and can be pointed at. First-person and second-person pronouns are inherently deictic; they refer to the speaker and the hearer who are necessarily in the situation. It is only third-person pronouns that can be used either anaphorically or demonstratively. The primary function of English third-person pronouns, however, may be anaphoric rather than demonstrative. It is more natural in Japanese to use his or her proper name or a demonstrative expression (e.g. 'this person', and 'that woman') referring to a third person. There is, as will be discussed, a special case in which demonstratives are used as emphatic pronouns. It is not surprising that no third person pronoun is attested in Old Japanese since pronouns were not anaphoric. The following pronouns and demonstratives are found in the literature of Old Japanese.

First Person	Second Person	Demonstrative		
		Near	Middle	Distant
(a/are)	(na/nare)	ko/kore	(si, sa)	ka/kare
wa/ware			so/sore	a/are

Table-3 Pronouns and Demonstratives

Parentheses indicate that the form was commonly used in the Nara Period, but became obsolete in the Heian Period. Pairs such as a/are 'I' and na/nare 'you' are interchangeable to a certain degree but monosyllabic pronouns and demonstratives (i.e. a, wa, ko, so, ka) were more limited in use than bisyllabic ones. They (i.e. monosyllabic ones) never occurred independently but were typically followed by associative ga or no. For example, a-ga 'my', na-ga 'your', ko-no 'of this', etc. The first person a and wa and second person na were always used with ga (thus, \*a-no 'my', \*wa-no 'my', and \*na-no 'your') but the demonstrative ko, so, a, on the contrary, were used usually, but not always, with no. (An account for this restriction will be given in connection with the difference between no and ga in Chapter IV.) The monosyllabic ones could also be directly followed by other independent nouns without the associative-genitive particle. Thus, ko, so, a, combining with ko 'place', formed locative pronouns ko=ko 'here', so=ko 'there' and a=so=ko 'over there'. (Why both a and so occurred in the last case is not understood.) Bisyllabic pronouns and demonstratives occurred by themselves freely in nominal positions such as the subject and object positions with or without case particles.

Old Japanese, as well as Modern Japanese, lacked a special morpheme for definitization. The associative forms of demonstratives ko=no

'this', so=no 'that', and ka=no were frequently used as if they were definite articles. Examples will be easily found in the following chapters.

In later periods, a number of first and second person pronouns with various honorific connotations developed: mi, midomo, watakusi, ore, etc. referring to the speaker and onmi, sonata, onusi, anata, omae, etc. referring to the hearer. In Old Japanese, however, only a few such pronouns are found (e.g. second person pronouns nandi and kindi).

wono and wono=re may be considered to be reflexive pronouns.

(2.12) aruhi ha           wono ga ihe   ni komor=i-w=i... (T, 43)  
           some TOP(SUB) own   ASS house OBL lock=up=I-be=I

'Some (people) were shutting (themselves) up in (their)  
 own house, and...'

Curiously, these words were never used to refer to "respectable" persons, and they took on a derogatory connotation when used to refer to the second person. For example, a bamboo-wicker worker is addressed to as onore 'own' by the king of the Moonland who blames the worker for his ungratefulness and reminds him of his original unrespectable status.

(2.13) Kaguyahime ha ...   kaku iyasi=ki onore ga moto ni  
           Jagytagune TOP (SUB) such base=Kl   own   ASS place OBL  
           sibasi ohas=i t=uru   nar=i.  
           a+while be+HON=I-PERF=URU COP=U

'It is that Kaguyahime has been in the place of such a  
 base person (i.e. your own self).'

(The adjectival suffix Kl will be introduced in 1.2.2.2.)

For the purpose of expressing the social gap between the king and the bamboo-wicker worker, nandi, which indicates that the addresser is higher than the addressee in the ranking, would suffice. However, in

the situation in which sentence (2.13) was uttered, it did not meet the king's need of disparaging the bamboo-wicker worker, and thus the reflexive wonore was called for.

#### 2.2.1.4 Associative Construction

Old Japanese had two types of associative constructions, those with the associative particle no (which sometimes alternates with ga) as in (2.14) and those without as in (2.15). The latter, being historically older than the former, is somewhat limited in use.

- (2.14) a. wo no waraha: male ASS child 'boy'  
b. ani no Dainagon: big+brother ASS Chief+Councillor  
'the Chief Councillor, who is (her) big brother'  
c. saubu no kami: iris ASS paper  
'paper dyed with juice extracted from iris flowers'  
d. Yukihiro no musume no hara: Yukihiro ASS daughter ASS  
abdomen  
'Yukihiro's daughter's own child'
- (2.15) a. onna harakara: woman sibling 'sister'  
b. Udaizin Abe=no=Mimuradi: Right+Minister Abe=no=Mimuradi  
'Abe=no=Mimuradi, who is the Right Minister'  
c. humi hako: letter box  
'box in which letters are kept'  
d. morokosi bune: China boat 'boat from China'

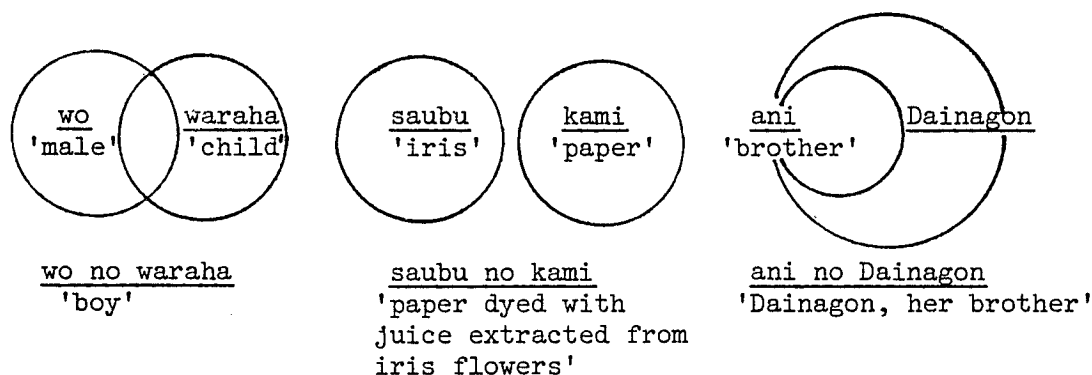
Notice that the relationship between the two nouns is not the same from one example to another. In an attempt to capture various readings of Akan associative constructions by interpretive rules, Boadi (1975) had to introduce such a semantic feature as [+Base] as an inherent feature



of the first noun in associative constructions such as nkate knwan 'groundnut soup'. It seems to be simply impossible to account for all possible meanings of associative constructions with a limited number of interpretive 'rules'. We consider that associative constructions themselves are not signaling anything more than that the first noun is "modifying" the second and that their exact meanings are inferred based on the speaker and hearer's pragmatic knowledge about the two associated nouns and the way the nouns are distributed in the speaker and hearer's concept of the world. Kirsner and Thompson (1973), following García (1975), have distinguished the meaning of a linguistic signal and the message communicated with that meaning. They say, "the message is totality of what is inferred from the use of the meanings in a given utterance in a particular context" and "typically, the message communicated is richer than the meaning signaled". The associative construction under consideration seems to be one of the areas in the grammar of Old Japanese (perhaps in any grammar) where pragmatic inference plays a crucial role in the semantic interpretation. The lexical meanings of the two associated nouns only provide clues to more exact interpretations of associative constructions.

The ways in which the first noun modifies the second noun is of three types depending on the logical relationship between the meanings of the two nouns: The first type, consisting of two nouns whose semantic domains intersect each other, specifies in total the intersection of the meanings of the two nouns; in the second type, the semantic domains of the two nouns being disjoint, specifies a smaller subset of the second noun; and, in the third type, in which the first noun specifies a class

containing the referent of the second noun (usually a proper noun), the function of the first noun is nonrestrictive, i.e., to add an extra piece of information about the second noun, rather than restrictive. The following diagrams represent examples a, b and c, in (2.14), the first, second and third type, respectively.



The exact interpretation of the second type varies from genitive, locational, resultative or some idiosyncratic one which is difficult to name.

The first noun of an associative construction may be a non-referential noun (e.g. color terms and numerals), in which case the first noun plus the associative particle no is semantically the same as an adjective. Examples of such associative constructions will appear in Chapter IV. The difference between the two associative particles no and ga will also be discussed in Chapter IV.

### 2.2.2 Predicate

Predicate are various and complex, involving morphophonemic alternations that interplay with historical morpho-syntactic rules in an extremely intricate manner. Past studies put emphasis on the semantics

and the alternating forms of individual elements of the predicate and did not pay sufficient attention to the total system of the predicate. Distinguishing four types of predicates, verbal predicates, adjectival predicates, nominal-adjectival predicates and nominal predicates, depending on the category of the predicate nucleus (i.e. the lexical element representing the semantic predicate), we will rather concentrate on the structure of each predicate as an integrated whole.

#### 2.2.2.1 Verbal Predicate

A verb may occur by itself in the predicate position as in (2.16) but it is more often followed by one or more auxiliary suffixes denoting tense, aspect, honorification, etc. as in (2.17).

- (2.16) Waukei ...henzi kak=u. (T, 42)  
 Waukei reply write=U

'Waukei wrote a reply.'

- (2.17) a. Sono sato ni onna harakara sum=i- ker=i. (Ise, 111)  
 that village OBL woman sibling live=I-PAST=U

'(There) lived sisters in that village.'

- b. (Genzi)...kaher=i- tamah=i-n=u. (G, 187)  
 return=I-HON=I-PERF=I

'(Genji) has returned.'

- c. Onna...otoko no moto ni ki- tar=i-ker=i. (Ise, 150)  
 woman man ASS place OBL come=I-PERF=I-PAST=U

'The woman had come to the man's place.'

The predicate of sentence (2.16) is a simple verbal predicate, i.e., it consists of a verb alone. (The vowel segmented by the equal sign "=" is not an independent morpheme but it is a "conjugational" suffix, which will be discussed shortly.) Such a predicate does not specify the aspect, the tense, etc. Sentence (2.16) can in fact refer to a presently

occurring action of writing, a habitual action or an action which might occur in the future. The predicates in (2.17), on the other hand, are all complex verbal predicates, i.e., they contain auxiliary suffixes which explicitly indicate various aspects of the event described by the main verb. A complex predicate is a closely knit unit which might be called a word even though each morpheme separated by the hyphen '-' is semantically independent and is easily singled out of the sequence.

What seems to be peculiar to the Old Japanese predicate is that each of the main verb and the auxiliary suffixes is further analyzable into the stem part and the suffixal part as indicated by the equal sign. The suffixal part is considered as a conjugational suffix in traditional grammars, but its nature (what the conjugation is for) is not immediately clear. In some contexts, conjugational suffixes exhibit an aspectual contrast between "realized" and "unrealized", in some others, they seem to have syntactic functions, but in many cases, they are merely enclitic. In order to distinguish these small suffixes (u, i, etc.) from larger auxiliary suffixes (honorific, aspect, tense, etc.), we will call the former MINOR SUFFIX and the latter MAJOR SUFFIX, and, as an explanation for this dual structure of the verbal predicate, we will propose the following historical hypothesis. The minor suffixes are reflexes of older auxiliaries with aspectual implications. However, as the older auxiliary suffixes became less and less independent due to the constant process of phonological attrition, new auxiliaries developed from conjoined predicates. The following diagram depicts the point.

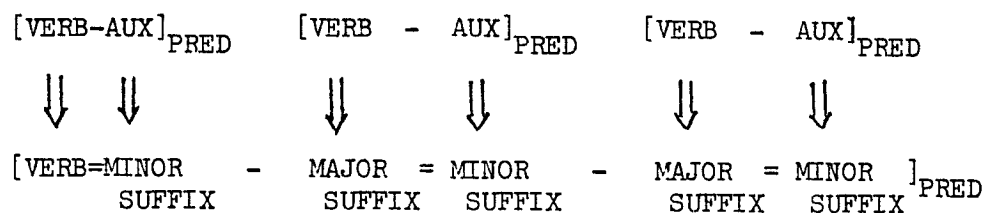


Diagram-2

Examples of this historical process will be given in later chapters in relation to verb serialization.

#### 2.2.1.1 Minor Suffixes of the Verb

In order to understand the function that the minor suffixes used to fulfill, we will exclude the minor suffixes in complex predicates from our consideration and examine the minor suffixes in simple predicates.

There seem to be three factors that were relevant for the choice of a minor suffix where minor suffixes still retained their original functions. They are the clause type, the tense-aspect, and the verb class. We have previously distinguished three clause types, final, nominal and conjunctive clauses. Different minor suffixes appear in these clauses. Consider the following.

(2.18) otoko henzi wo kak=u.  
       man    reply    DO write=U  
       'The man writes a reply.'

(2.19) otoko hati wo sut=u.  
       man    pot    DO throw=U  
       'The man throws away the pot.'

### Nominal Clause

- (2.20) otoko no henzi wo kak=u wo...  
man ASS reply DO write DO

'...that the man writes a reply...'

- (2.21) otoko no hati wo sut=uru wo...  
man ASS pot DO throw+away=URU DO

'...that the man throws away the pot...'

### Conjunctive Clause

- (2.22) otoko henzi wo kak=i,...  
man reply DO write,

'the man writes a reply, (and)...'

- (2.23) otoko hati wo sut=e,...  
man pot DO throw+away

'the man throws away the pot, (and)...'

The two verbs 'to write' and 'to throw away' represent two major verb classes to be discussed in the next section. In the verb 'to write' the same suffix u appears in both final and the nominal clauses. However, we assume that at a certain abstract level the u in (2.20) is different from the u in (2.18) and is represented as URU. That is, verbs have the forms stem=U and stem=URU in the final clause and in the nominal clause respectively but the URU is realized either as u or uru depending on the verb class. In conjunctive clauses, the two verbs take different minor suffixes, i and e, which we assume to be different surface manifestations of the same abstract suffix I. A and E below should be understood similarly. Clauses (2.18)-(2.23) are not marked for any specific tense. They are all neutral with respect to tense. The same holds for conjunctive clauses with conjunctive particle te.

- (2.24) otoko henzi wo kak=i- te, ...  
 man reply DO write=I-SS

'the man writes a reply, and...'

- (2.25) otoko hati wo sut=e- te, ...  
 man pot DO throw+away=I-SS

'the man throws away the pot, and...'

(The same subject marking (SS) conjunctive particle te and a different subject marking (DS) conjunctive particle ba in examples below will be discussed in Chapter V.)

However, in conjunctive clauses with conjunctive particle ba, two minor suffixes alternate producing semantic variation.

- (2.26) a. otoko henzi wo kak=a- ba ...  
 man reply DO write=A-DS

'the man writes a reply, (and)...'  
 'if the man writes a reply, ...'

- b. otoko henzi wo kak=e- ba, ...  
 man reply DO write=E-DS

'the man wrote a reply, (and)...'  
 'since the man wrote a reply, ...'

- (2.27) a. otoko hati wo sut=e- -ba, ...  
 man pot DO throw+away=A-DS

'the man throws away the pot, (and)...'  
 'if the man throws away the pot, ...'

- b. otoko hati wo sut=ure- ba, ...  
 man pot DO throw+away=E-DS

'the man threw away the pot, (and)...'  
 'since the man threw away the pot, ...'

Note that the a-sentence and the b-sentence in each example are exactly the same except for the minor suffix, but they are contrastively different in meaning, the a-sentence being hypothetical and the b-sentence factual. The difference is ascribable to the difference in the minor

suffix form: A (a in kak=a- and e in sut=e-) pertains to the unrealized situation and E (e in kak=e- and ure in sut=ure-) to the realized situation.

To sum, the minor suffix attached to the verb stem denoted neutral, unrealized or realized tense-aspect in conjunctive clauses, but only neutral, tense-aspect in final and nominal clauses. The following five minor suffixes represent respective tense-aspect of each clauses.

- U : neutral in final clause
- URU : neutral tense-aspect in nominal clause
- I : neutral tense-aspect
- A : unrealized tense-aspect in conjunctive clause
- E : realized tense-aspect

The suffixes in conjunctive clauses indicate simultaneity or consecutiveness of conjoined events, actions or states (let "event" stand for action, event and state, hereafter). The neutral tense-aspect is used if the "event" is simultaneous with the "event" referred to by the following clause or if the order is irrelevant, but either the unrealized or realized tense-aspect is used if the events are not simultaneous and the order is relevant: A marks an unrealized "event" prior to another unrealized "event" and E a realized "event" prior to another realized "event". To see this point clearly, let us consider conjunction sentences with two clauses only. The following three combinations of a conjunctive clause and a final clause are possible.

- (a) ...V=I & ...V=U
- (b) ...V=A & ...V=U
- (c) ...V=E & ...V=U



The two clauses in (a) state simultaneously occurring "events" of the past, the present or the future. Both clauses in (b) state future (i.e. unrealized) "events" but the "event" mentioned first is supposed to take place first. In (c), both clauses refer to past "events" but again the "event" mentioned first is the "event" that took place first.

In the older system described above, events of the past and events that are taking place are both expressed as realized and are not distinguished. In the new system, on the other hand, the tense and the aspect are separate categories and by combining different tenses (future, past and neutral) with different aspects (perfect and imperfect), it is possible to express considerably detailed tense-aspect. (A more detailed discussion on the new system will appear in 2.2.2.1.4.) It seems that in Old Japanese both systems are interacting in such an intricate manner that the redundancy is kept to the minimum while various subtle distinctions can be made if necessary.

#### 2.2.2.1.2 Verb Classes

We have looked at two verbs 'to write' and 'to throw away' which behave differently with respect to minor suffixes. There is no simple rule for predicting which pattern a particular verb follows. One must learn that the Conjunctive form of the verb 'to write' is kak=i rather than kak=e, but that the Conjunctive form of the verb 'to throw away' is sut=e not sut=i. In traditional grammars, the paradigmatic arrangement of the five forms we discussed above and the form used in the imperative is given as the "conjugation" and the verbs are classified as in the following table in terms of the conjugation pattern.

	Class-I	Class-II	Class-III	Class-IV	
Unrealized	Stem=a	Stem=e	Stem=i	Stem=∅	<u>A</u>
Conjunctive	Stem=i	Stem=e	Stem=i	Stem=∅	<u>I</u>
Final	Stem=u	Stem=u	Stem=u	(Stem=ru)	<u>U</u>
Nominal	Stem=u	Stem=uru	Stem=uru	Stem=ru	<u>URU</u>
Realized	Stem=e	Stem=ure	Stem=ure	Stem=re	<u>E</u>
Imperative	Stem=e	Stem=e	Stem=i	Stem=∅	IMP

Table-4      Verb Conjugation

Most verbs belong to Class-I, -II or -III. (It is reported in Kokugojiten that Genji contains 5448 main verbs, out of which 3165 belong to Class-I and 1570 to Class-II.) Class IV verbs, the stem of which consists of a single consonant and i, are limited in number. They are wi 'to sit/be', ki 'to wear', ni 'to resemble', ni 'to cook', hi 'to get dry', mi 'to see', and (y)i 'to shoot'. The final form of these verbs is controversial as will be discussed later.

In addition to the above regular verbs, there are some irregular verbs. The following shows the conjugations of the irregular verbs.

	COME	DO	DIE	GO	BE	BE(COPULA)
Unrealized	ko	se	sin=a	ik=a	ar=a	nar=a
Conjunctive	ki	si	sin=i	ik=i	ar=i	nar=i
Final	ku	su	sin=u	ik=u	ar=i	nar=i
Nominal	ku=ru	su=ru	sin=u	in=u	ar=u	nar=u
Realized	ku=re	su=re	sin=e	in=e	ar=e	nar=e
Imperative	ko	se	sin=e	in=e	ar=e	nar=e

Table-5      Irregular Verbs

Notice that these verbs do not completely fit in any of the regular patterns: ku 'to come' is very different from any other verb in the Unrealized and the Imperative forms: su 'to do' has features of both Type I and II; in sinu 'to die' and inu 'to go' also Type I and II are mixed up but differently. Existential ari and copula nari are different from any other verb in the Final form.

#### 2.2.2.1.3 Simplificatory changes in verb morphology

The conjugation of the verb seems to have been in its height of complexity and variety in the Old Japanese period, but the changes towards the elimination of this rather unmotivated variety were already beginning. Although the changes may sometimes appear idiosyncratic and arbitrary, a comparison of Old Japanese and Modern Japanese in conjugation suggests that they were all directed towards more simplification in a sense. Since this simplificatory change in the verb morphology has significant bearing on certain syntactic changes to be discussed, we will outline the change and give an explanation for it.

The conjugation pattern of Class-II and -III have completely disappeared from Modern Japanese. Many of them came to conjugate like Class IV and the others as Class-I. The following illustrates changes that took place in Class-II and -III. Note that the Final form has merged with the Nominal form by adding ru. Also note that the first vowel of the suffix has become e or i in all forms and as a consequence it has been reanalyzed as part of the stem. Thus Class-II and -III verbs came to have the same conjugation as Class IV verbs.

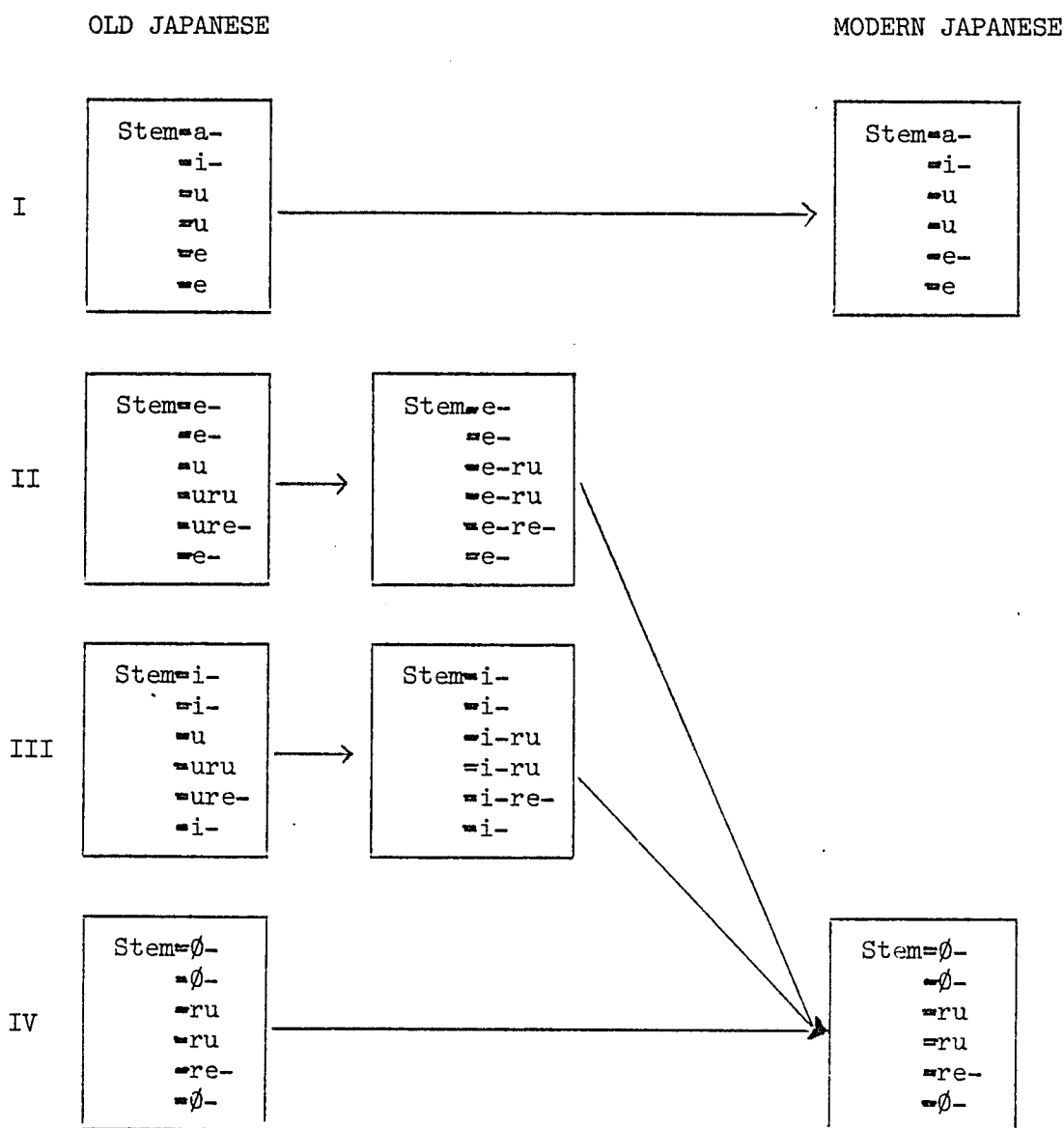


Diagram-3

Recall that the Nominal form had the function of signaling nominalization while it was distinct from the Final form. The formal coalescence of the Nominal and Final forms was therefore equivalent to the elimination of an overt marking of nominalization. It is to be expected, then, that this change in the verb conjugation would affect

syntactic constructions involving nominalization. We will discuss this further in Chapter II.

#### 2.2.2.1.4 Major suffixes

We have already looked at a few examples of complex predicate (i.e. predicate consisting of a main verb and one or more major suffixes). There are in fact quite a number of major suffixes that were commonly used in Old Japanese and, for the appropriate use of these suffixes, one must know (i) the meaning of each suffix, (ii) the order in which these suffixes occur with respect to each other and (iii) the morphophonemic rules that decide the minor suffix.

Instead of describing the meaning of each morpheme in its depth we simply categorize major suffixes as below according to their semantic function. Some of the major suffixes will be discussed more extensively in later chapters.

Voice: Causative (CAUS) (sa)su

Passive (PASS) (ra)ru

(For the parenthesized syllables (sa) and (ra) in the causative and passive suffixes respectively, refer ahead to Section 2.2.2.1.5)

Honorific (HON): tamahu, tatematuru, haberi, etc.

(We are not presently concerned about the semantics of each honorific suffix and thus gloss all honorific suffixes simply as HON irrespective of semantic differences.)

Negative (NEG): zu (nu)

(zu and nu may have different historical origins, but synchronically they are complementary and are considered to be allo-morphs.)

Aspect: Perfect (PERF) ari, nu, tu and tari

The difference among these suffixes will be discussed in Chapter VI.)

Tense: Past (PAST) ki and keri

Modal: Conjectural (CONJECT) mu and masi

Negative Conjectural (NEG+CONJECT) zi

Inferrel (INF) meri, ramu and rasi

Obligative (OBLIG) besi

Negative Obligative (NEG+OBLIG) mazi

Etc.

Morphologically, most of these major suffixes except negatives and some modals behave like verbs although they are irregular in some respects and lack some forms. Observe the conjugation of such major suffixes in the following table.

Except the two cases which will be discussed in 2.2.2.6, the main verb always precedes major suffixes within the same predicate, and, when more than one major suffix are used, they are ordered in certain ways with respect to each other. Excluding negatives and modals from consideration for the moment, the order and the conjugation of predicate elements will be summarized as below.

$$(2.28) \quad MV (=A-VOICE) (=I-HON)(=I-ASPECT)(I-TENS) = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{U} \\ \underline{URU} \\ \underline{I/A/E} \end{array} \right\}$$

	Unrealized	Conjunctive	Final	Relative	Realized	Imperative
Causative	(sa)se	(sa)se	(sa)su	(sa)suru	(sa)sure	(sa)se-
	sime	sime	simu	simuru	simure	sime-
Passive	(ra)re	(ra)re	(ra)ru	(ra)ruru	(ra)rure	(ra)re
Honorific	tamaha	tamahi	tamahu	tamahu	tamahe	tamahe-
	tatematura	tatematuri	tatematuru	tatematuru	tatemature	tatemature
	habera	haberi	haberi	haberu	habere	habere
	te	te	tu	turu	ture	te-
Perfect	na	ni	nu	nuru	nure	ne-
	tara	tari	tari	taru	tare	tare
	(a)ara	(a)ari	(a)ri	(a)ru	(a)re	(a)re
Past	se	--	ki	si	sika	--
	--	--	keri	keru	kere	--

Table-6 Major Suffixes (1)

The elements in parentheses are optional. If none of the optional elements occurs, the predicate is a simple one consisting of a main verb alone. The minor suffix of this main verb is determined, as discussed before, by the syntactic context in which the clause with this predicate occurs; if it is in sentence final position, U is chosen; if it is a nominal clause, URU is attached; and, if it is a conjunctive clause, I, A or E is used depending on the conjunctive particle ( $\emptyset$ , te, ba, etc.). If the predicate is complex, the conjugation of the predicate elements but the last are determined by the elements that follow. (=A-VOICE) in the scheme indicates that suffixes of voice (i.e. causative and passive) require the Unrealized suffix A of the preceding element. By the same token, (=I-HON), (=I-ASPECT) and (=I-TENS) mean that suffixes of honorification, aspect and tense require the Conjunctive I-form of their preceding elements. Let us see these points in actual examples.

- (2.29) Morokosi ni wor=u Waukei ni kogane wo tor=a- s=u. (T, 41-2)  
 China OBL be=URU Waukei OBL gold DO take=A-CAUS=U

'(He) made Waukei, who was in China, take some gold.'

- (2.30) roku ito ohoku tor=a- s=e- tamah=u. (T, 41)  
 reward very much take=A-CAUS=I-HON=U

'(He) made (them) take quite a bit of reward.'

- (2.31) koyasu no kahi tor=i-tar=u ka. (T, 50)  
 cowry ASS shell take=I-PERF=URU Q

'Have (you) taken a cowry shell?'

In (2.29) and (2.30), the main verb 'to take' occurs in the Unrealized A-form because it is followed by a causative major suffix. The causative suffix is in the Final U-form in (2.29) because it is the last element of the predicate and the clause with this predicate is in sentence final position. The causative in (2.30), on the other hand, is in the



Conjunctive I-form because it is further followed by an honorific suffix, which is the last element of the predicate of a final clause and is therefore in the Final U-form. In (2.31), the main verb 'to take' is in the Conjunctive I-form because the element that follows it is a major suffix of aspect. This major suffix of perfective aspect is in the Nominal URU-form reflecting the nominal status of an interrogative sentence. (Interrogative sentences and nominalization will be discussed in Chapter III.)

To sum, the minor suffix of a nonfinal element of complex verbal predicate is determined by the element that immediately follows it, but the predicate final minor suffix is determined by the grammatical status of the clause with that predicate.

#### 2.2.2.1.5 Causative and Passive

It is generally agreed that the monosyllabic causative su and the monosyllabic passive ru are suffixes on the Unrealized form of Class-I verbs (and some irregular verbs) and the corresponding bisyllabic suffixes sasu and raru on the Unrealized form of the other types of verbs. Observe the following examples.

##### Monosyllabic su and ru

- (2.32) hito ni kami wo mot=a- s=e- te, ... (T, 53)  
 person OBL paper DO hold=A- CAUS=I-SS

'(he) had someone hold a piece of paper, and...'

- (2.33) me no onna ni azuk=e- te yasinah=a-s=u. (T, 29)  
 wife ASS woman OBL deposit=I-SS nurture=A-CAUS=U

'(he) deposited (the girl) with his wife and had (the wife) nurture (the girl).'

- (2.34) yurus=a-r=e- nu ni=yorite ... (T, 62)  
allow=A-PASS=A-NEG=URU because

'because (it) has not been allowed...'

- (2.35) Katano=no=Shooshoo ni ha warah=a-r=e- tamah=i-ken  
 Katano=no=Syoosyoo OBL TOP laugh=A-PASS=I-HON=I- PAST=CONJ

kasi.  
 SF

(G, 55)

'(It) must have been laughed at by Katano=no=yoosyoo'

(The sentence final particle kasi has some emphatic connotation.)

#### Bisyllabic sasū and rarū

- (2.36) torah=e-sas=e- mu. (T, 61)  
catch=A-CAUS=A-CONJ=U

'(I) will have (them) catch (it).'

- (2.37) mo no kosi ni yuh=i tuk=e- sas=u. (Ise, 137)  
 dress ASS skirt OBL tie=I attach=A-CAUS=U

'(he) had (her) tie and attach (it) on the skirt of the dress.'

- (2.38) kau uti=sut=e-rar=e- te ... (G, 38)  
 like+this desert=A- PASS=I- SS

'(I) am deserted like this, and...'

- (2.39) kami ha simo ni tasuker=a-r=e, ... (G, 62)  
 high TOP=SUB low OBL help=A- PASS=I-

'the higher (i.e. ruler) is helped by the lower (i.e. ruled)...'

There is an interesting interplay between causativization and passivization by these major suffixes on one hand and transitive and intransitive verbs on the other, but it is presently outside our discussion.

## 2.2.2.2 Adjectival Predicate

The adjective, like the verb, can stand by itself in predicate position, but it differs from the verb with respect to conjugation, complex predicate formation, nominalization, etc. This section discusses these characteristics of the adjective.

### 2.2.2.2.1 Minor suffixes of adjectives

First, consider the following simple adjectival predicates.

- (2.40) katati yo=si. (T, 31)  
shape good=SI

'(her) shape (is) good'

- (2.41) kahes=a- mu koto ito yasu=si.  
return=A-CONJ=URU thing very easy=SI

'That (I) will return (it) (is) very easy.'

(koto 'thing/event/etc.' was becoming a nominalizer.)

- (2.42) mada osana=ki wo ... (G, 105)  
still young=KI DO

'the one who is still young'

'the still young one'

- (2.43) yo=ki kata no kaze ... (T, 48)  
good=KI direction ASS wind

'the wind of a good direction...'

(The argument that noun modifying clauses like yo=ki in this example are nominal as well as headless expressions like mada osana=ki in (2.40) will appear in Chapter III.)

- (2.44) Okina kokoti asi=ku, kurusi=ki toki ... (T, 29)  
Okina feeling bad=KU painful=KI time

'the time when Okina's feeling (was) bad and painful...'

(2.45) sono yama no sama taka=ku uruhasi. (T, 38)  
 that mountain ASS Appearance tall=KU beautiful=SI

'The appearance of the mountain (is/was) tall and beautiful.'

(The final syllable si in uruhasi is part of the stem.)

The forms with SI, KI and KU correspond to the Final, Nominal and Con-  
 junctive (I) forms of the verb. That is, the form with SI appears in a  
 final clause (e.g. (2.40) and (2.41)), the form with KI in a nominal  
 clause (e.g. (2.42) and (2.43)), and that with KU in a conjunctive  
 clause (e.g. (2.44) and (2.45)). However, adjectives do not have the  
 forms that correspond to the Unrealized A-form and the Realized E-form  
 of the verb. Thus, conjunctive particle ba (cf. (2.26) and (2.27)),  
 cuasative major suffixes (cf. 2.2.2.1.5), etc., which are attached to  
 the Unrealized or the Realized forms of the verb, cannot directly follow  
 the adjective. When the need arises for making the unrealized-  
 realized distinction, a type of complex predicate is exploited as will  
 be shown in the following section.

#### 2.2.2.2.2 Adjectival complex predicate

Predicate adjectives also occur being followed by the existential  
 verb ari (not the copula nari) as in the following examples.

(2.46) atari wo hanar=e-n= u kindati, ..., oho=k ar=i. (T,30)  
 neighbor DO leave=A-NEG=URU knight many=KU+be=U

'knights (who) do not leave the area...are many.'

(Due to the phonological rule  $VV \rightarrow V$ , =ku-ar=i and =ku-ar=u  
 are usually realized as =kari and =karu, respectively. But  
 for some unclear reason, =ku-ar=e is realized as =kere  
 not kare.)

Leaving aside subtle meanings that might have been distinguished by absence or presence of the existential ari, the use of ari in these cases is optional. As previously mentioned, however, the use of the existential verb becomes obligatory (i) to indicate realizedness and (ii) to add major suffixes.

Recall that in conditional clauses (i.e. clauses to which a different subject marking conjunctive particle ba is attached) with simple verbal predicates, the Realized and the Unrealized forms exhibited a semantic contrast--hypothetical vs. factual. Since the adjective does not have these minor suffixes, a different strategy was used. Consider the following examples.

- (2.47) ito osana=ker=e- ba, ... (T, 29)  
 very young=KU+be=E- DS

'since (she) was very young, ...'

- (2.48) kohisi=ku-ba ... (Kokin, Yamada (b))  
 longing=for=KU DS

'if (you) are longing for (me), ...'

- (2.49) niku= ku-ar=a-ba (M, Yamada (b))  
 hateful=KU be=A-DS

'if (I) have (her), ...'

Hypothetical conditionals are made by adding ba directly to the conjunctive form of the adjective as in (2.48) or to the conjunctive form of the existential verb which follows the predicative adjective as in (2.49). Factual conditionals, on the other hand, are always in the form of ADJ=kere-ba (> ADJ=ku-ar=e-ba) as in (2.48). In other words, the hypothetical-factual distinction is made only with the aid of the existential ari in adjectival predicates.

The existential ari is also obligatory when major suffixes of aspect and tense are added to the adjective. Consider the following.

- (2.50) ihe no hito-bito ito ohokar=i- ker=u  
house ASS person-person very many=KU+be=I-PAST=URU  
ni ahas=e-te... (T, 61)  
OBL add=I-SS

'adding to the people of the house (who) were many, ...'

- (2.51) utukusi=kar=i-t= uru koto ... (T, 60)  
beautiful=KU+be=I-PERF=URU thing

'that (she) had been beautiful'

- (2.52) niku=kar=a-zu... (T, 58)  
hateful=KU+be=A-NEG=U

'not being hateful'

To add honorific information, honorific existential verbs (e.g. haberi and ohasu) are used instead of suffixing honorific major suffixes (e.g. tamahu, tatematusru) to ari. Here is an example:

- (2.53) koha=ku haber=u mono ... (T, 54)  
stubborn=KU be+HON=URU one

'one (who) is stubborn ...'

Note that the Conjunctive suffix ku remains intact because the honorific existential haberi begins with a consonant and thus the phonological rule VV→V does not apply.

#### 2.2.2.2.3 Adverbial use of conjunctive KU-form

The conjunctive form of the adjective is used as if it were an adverb, namely, modifying the following predicate.

- (2.54) tawayasu=ku mi= ru-maziki mono... (T, 35)  
easy= KU see=URU-NEG-OBLIG=URU thing

'a thing that (one) cannot see easily...'

- (2.55) ito kasiko=ku tabakar=i-te ... (T, 36)  
 very clever=KU devise=I-SS

'(He) devised very cleverly, and ...'

As indicated in the English translation, tahayasu=ku and ito kasiko=ku are not predicates conjoined to the following predicates, but they are manner adverbials modifying the following verbal predicates. In the following examples, the Conjunctive form of the adjective seems to be modifying the entire sentence (i.e. functioning as sentence adverbs).

- (2.56) uresi=ku mo notamah=u mono kana. (T, 32)  
 happy=KU MO say+HON=URU one SFP

'happily, (you) said so!'  
 ('I am pleased with what you have said.')

- (2.57) kataziken=ku kitanage nar=u tokoro ni ... (T, 33)  
 gracious KU dirty=looking COP=URU place

monos=i-tamah=u ...  
 stay= I-HON= URU

'graciously, (you) have been at a dirty place (like this)...'

Why the same form is used for marking the conjunctive clause and the adverb will be explained in Chapter V.

#### 2.2.2.2.4 sa-Nominalization

By adding sa to the adjective stem, nominal form meaning 'the degree of being ADJ' is derived. Compare the Final forms and the forms with sa below.

- (2.58) a. ayahu=si/ayahu=sa 'dangerous/danger'  
 b. itohosi/itohosi=sa 'affectionate/affection'  
 c. uresi/uresi=sa 'joyful/joy'  
 d. wabisi/wabisi=sa 'lonely/loneliness'  
 e. aka=si/aka=sa 'bright/brightness'





Nominal adjectives are like nominals in that they lack conjugation and are predicated of subject nominals by the copula nari. (Recall that adjectives occur with the existential ari but not with the copula nari.) Here are some examples with nominal adjectives.

- (2.60) ada nar=i. (Ise, 122)  
fruitless COP=U

'(They=cherry blossoms) are fruitless.'

- (2.61) takara yutaka ni, ihe hiro=ki hito ... (T, 41)  
treasure abundant Cop=I house large=KI person

'a person whose treasure is abundant and whose house is large...'

- (2.62) ate nar=u hito ... (Ise, 118)  
elegant COP=URU person

'an elegant person'

However, nominal-adjectives cannot occur in typical nominal positions such as subject, object and associative (the first nominal position in the associative construction NOM-ASS-NOM). The nominal-adjective plus the copula is more comparable to the adjective or the adjective plus the existential ari. First, both of them typically occur in predicate or noun-modifying position. Second, nominal-adjectives as well as true adjectives can be modified by ito 'very', as in the following examples.

- (2.63) ito hadukasi. (Ise, 145)  
very embarrassing

'It is very embarrassing.'

- (2.64) ito kataha nar=i. (Ise, 147)  
very disgraceful COP=U

'(It) is very disgraceful.'

Third, the nominal-adjective plus ni, the Conjunctive form of the copula nari, can function as the adverb modifying verbal predicated precisely in the same way as the Conjunctive KU-form of the adjective does. Compare the adjective nominal plus ni in the following example with the KU-form in (2.54) and (2.55).

- (2.65) ito nemugoro ni ih=i- ker=u hito ... (Ise, 128)  
 very kind COP=I say=I-PAST=URU person

'the person who said very kindly...'

To sum, then, nominal adjectives are adjectives which morphologically behave like nominals. The reason why nominal adjectives share morphological properties with nominals is, I suspect, that they developed from abstract nominals which were almost always used as predicate nominals.

#### 2.2.2.4 Negative Suffixes

There are two negative morphemes which have different historical origins but were used complementarily in Old Japanese. Observe the negative suffixes in the following examples.

- (2.66) nani to mo sir= a-zu. (T, 59)  
 what COMP even know=A-NEG=u

'(they) did not know whatever (it is).'

- (2.67) mono mo kuh=a-zu omoh=i-tu=tu, ... (T, 31)  
 thing even eat=A-NEG think=I-PEFET

'thinking (of her) without eating anything...'

(tu=tu is a reduplication of perfective tu and is used to indicate a repeated action or a continuous action. See 3.4.)

(2.68) sir=a- nu kuni ni ... (T, 37)  
 know=A-NEG=URU country OBL

'in a country (I) don't know...'

Note that the same form zu occurs in the final clause in (2.66) and in the conjunctive clause in (2.67). In the relative clause, however, a completely different form nu appears as the negative as in (2.68). In verbal predicates, the negative is ordered after the main verb, the auxiliary of voice, and the honorific auxiliary, but, in adjectival predicates, it comes after the existential verb as mentioned above. The element that immediately precedes the negative takes the Unrealized minor suffix whether it is a verb or a major suffix. Then, negativization of verbal or adjective predicates can be summarized as (2.69).

(2.69)	MV (=A-VOICE) (=I-HON)	}	=A-NEG
	ADJ= <u>ku</u> - <u>ar</u> =		
	NOM-ADJ <u>nar</u> =		

Negative clauses with the negative morpheme in clause final position are neutral with respect to tense. Clauses (2.66)-(2.68) can be interpreted in the past, present or future tense given an appropriate context. In order to add aspect-tense suffixes to the negative, the method that was used to form complex adjectival predicates is used, that is, the existential ari is added onto the negative zu first and then aspect-tense suffixes. The phonological rule VV→V applies also for zu+ari, yielding zari. Consider the following.

(2.70) kik=i-ir=e-zar=i-ker= e-ba, ... (T, 35)  
 listen=to=E-NEG+be=I-PAST=E-DS

'since (she) did not listen to (him), ...'

(2.71) mottomo e- sir= a-zar=i-t= uru. (T, 50)  
 at=all can-know=A-NEG+be=I-PERF=URU

'I did not know at all.'

The hypothetical and factual distinction of negative ba- clauses is made as exemplified below.

(2.72) tatu no kubi no tama tor=i-e- zu ha... (T, 46)  
 dragon ASS head ASS jewel take=I-can=A-NEG DS

'if (you) cannot take the jewel on the dragon's head, ...'

(ba may alternate with ha)

(2.73) kami nar=a-ne- ba, ... (T, 47)  
 god COP=A-NEG-DS

'since (I) am not a god, ...'

In hypothetical conditional, the constant form zu occurs being followed by ha the voiceless version of the conjunctive particle ba. In the factual conditional, on the other hand, a distinct form ne appears being followed by ba as in (2.73), or the complex predicate construction containing the past tense suffix is exploited as in (2.70). The ne in the factual conditional is obviously related to the Nominal form nu. Thus, traditional grammars give the following as the conjugation of the negative suffix.

(2.74)	Unrealized	Conjunctive	Final	Nominal	Realized
	--	<u>zu</u>	<u>zu</u>	<u>nu</u>	<u>ne</u>

Historically, however, these forms are not allo-morphs of the same lexical item. There is another conjunctive form attested in older literature, namely, ni. Also, na that appears as the negative imperative (see 2.2.2.5) is relatable to this negative. From these reflexes, the

following conjugation of the negative morpheme is reconstructable.

(2.75) Unrealized Conjunctive Final Nominal Realized Imperative

(na)            ni            (nu)            nu            ne            na

(The parenthesized forms are hypothetical.)

One can further infer from this that this negative has its origin in a verb while zu may not, since the fact that zu can suffix aspect and tense only by the mediation of the existential ari is an adjectival property.

In conjunctive clauses, de is often used instead of zu.

(2.76) mono mo ih=a- de, ... (T, 36)  
thing even say=A-NEG=I

'without saying a thing,...'

(2.77) Kono tama tor= i-e- de ha (T, 46)  
this jewel take=I-can=A-NEG=I-DS

'if (you) cannot take this jewel,...'

Although it is generally contended that this de is a contracted form of zu, the Conjunctive form of the negative, and te, a conjunctive particle. However, a more phonologically natural account would be ni+te → de, that is, the Conjunctive form ni in (2.75) and the conjunctive particle te. The assimilatory process ni+te → de is universally more natural than zu+te-de and also it is attested in a later period (the Conjunctive form of the copula ni plus the conjunctive particle te yielded de).

#### 2.2.2.5 Modal Suffixes

There are different devices for expressing the mood of a sentence, namely, the attitude of the speaker towards the "event" he is stating.

Imperatives are expressed by the imperative form (see Table-3 and -4) with or without being followed by the imperative particle. Interrogatives involve nominalization and the interrogative particle as will be discussed in Chapter III. The speaker may also express different degrees of certainty or uncertainty about the factual status of what he is saying by a verb, a major suffix or a particle. Major suffixes of modality are different from other suffixes in that they occur only in certain limited contexts and in that they therefore lack most conjugate forms. The following table is a summary of such major suffixes. Categories such as conjectural, inferential and obligative are rather intuitive and arbitrary because such concepts are not semantically contradictory to each other and the meanings expressed by these suffixes often intersect. The categorization is simply for the sake of descriptive convenience. (Unlike main verbs, modality suffixes do not conjugate for the Imperative for the same reason as English modal auxiliaries cannot occur in imperative sentences. (Cf. \*Must study hard! and \*May sleep now!)

In what follows, we will discuss and exemplify the use of each of these modality suffixes.

	Unrealized	Conjunctive	Final	Relative	Realized
Conjectural			mu	mu	me
			masi	masi	masika
Negative Conjectural			zi		
Inferrel			meri	meru	mere
			ramu	ramu	rame
			rasi		
Obligative		beku	besi	beki	
Negative Obligative		maziku	mazi	maziki	

Table-7 Major suffix (2)

#### 2.2.3.5.1 Conjectural mu, masi, kemu and zi

The most commonly used conjectural suffix is mu, which indicates the speaker's belief that something is true but without certainty of the fact. Consider the following examples. (mu is often realized as n.)

- (2.78) kono tabi ha kanarazu ah=a -mu to onna no  
this time TOP without+fail meet=A-CONJECT COMP woman ASS

kokoro ni mo omah=i-wor=i. (T, 43)  
mind OBL also think=I-be=U

'(She) was also thinking in the mind of a woman, "(she)=Kaguyahime) will meet (=marry) this time without fail.'

- (2.79) tomare=kakumare moos= a-mu. (T, 33)  
anyway say+HON=A-CONJECT

'(I) will say anyway'

- (2.80) sore wo tor= i-te tamahar=a-mu. (T, 33)  
that DO take=I-SS give+HON=A-CONJECT

'Please take that and give (it)(to me)'(Lit.: (you will take that and give (it)(to me))

Note that the conjectural suffix takes on a volitional meaning when the subject is the first person as in (2.79) and that the conjectural expression with the second person subject like (2.78) can function as an imperative. There is affinity also between conjecture and futurity. mu is often used as a simple future tense marker.

- (2.81) hune no kaher= a-mu ni tuk= e-te tabi=okur=e. (T,42)  
 boat ASS return=A-CONJECT OBL load=I-SS send= IMP

'Load (it) on a boat which will return and send (it) back.'

In certain contexts, this conjectural suffix is realized as me.

- (2.82) hana no ki ni ar=a-z= ar=a-me domo ...  
 flower ASS tree NI be=A-NEG-be=A-CONJECT although.  
 (Kokin, Yamada (b))  
 'although it may not be a flower tree...'

- (2.83) kono onna wo koso e- me to omoh= u. (Ise,126)  
 this woman DO EMPH obtain=A-CONJECT COMP think=U

'I will obtain this woman'

'It may be this woman that I will obtain'

- (2.84) ...kokoro ware wasur=e-me ya. (Kokin, Yamada (b))  
 heart I forget=A-CONJECT Q

'Will I forget your heart (which...)?'

This form is identified as the Realized form of mu because domo although is suffixed to the Realized form of the verb and the emphatic koso in (2.83) generally agrees with the Realized form of the verb or the major suffix in final position (this agreement between the emphatic form and the verb form will be discussed in Chapter III in the section on the Kakari-Musubi construction).

masi seems to be a compound of some form of mu and si, which appears as the Final suffix of the adjective or as a kind of 'be' verb. It has a much stronger conjectural sense. Thus, it is used to form an optative



sentence, or, more frequently, a counterfactual conditional clause.

- (2.85) Takayama no iwane si mak=i-te sin=a-masi  
Takayama ASS rocky base EMPH cling-I-SS die=A-CONJECT

mono wo (M, Sansom)  
one SFP

'I wish I could die, clinging to the rocky base of  
Takayama!'

(mono 'one' is used as if it were a nominalizer. wo at  
the end of a sentence has the function of emphasizing the  
assertion of the entire sentence.)

- (2.86) tatu wo torah=e-tar=a-masika-ba, ...ware ha gais=e-  
dragon DO catch=I-PERF=A-CONJECT-DS I TOP hurt=A-

rar= e-n= a-masi. (T, 49)  
PASS=I-PERF=A-CONJECT

'If I had caught the dragon, I would have been hurt.'

Note that in (2.86) conjectural masi appears being followed by ka, which  
might be related to dubitative (i.e. interrogative) ka, in the condition-  
al clause. Here is another example of counterfactual masika.

- (2.87) hiru nar=a-masika-ba nozok=i-te mi- tatematur=i-t=  
'day Cop=A-CONJECT-DS peep= I-SS see=I-HON= I-PERF=

e-masi. (G, 93)  
A-CONJECT

'If (it) were daytime, (I) would have peeped and seen (him)!!'

kemu, which is also a compound of the past tense ki and the regular  
conjectural mu, was used to express the speaker's conjecture about past  
"events". Consider the following.

- (2.88) on-sin=i mo ya s=i tamah=i-kemu ... (T, 41)  
HON-die=I even Q do=I-HON= I-CONJECT

'Has (he) probably even died?'

The Realized form keme occurs in conditional clauses and in the koso Kakari-Musubi.

zi is the negative version of mu. It expresses the speaker's negative conjecture meaning 'It is not probable that...'.  
'(You) cannot shoot (them) with bows and arrows.'

- (2.89) yumi=ya si= te i- rar=e- zi. (T, 62)  
bow=arrow do=I- SS shoot=A-PASS=A-NEG+CONJECT

'(You) cannot shoot (them) with bows and arrows.'

- (2.90) oso=ku k=uru yatu=bara wo mat= a-zi (T, 47)  
late=KU come=URU fellow=PL DO wait=A-NEG+CONJECT

'(I) will not wait for the fellows (who) come late.'

#### 2.2.3.5.2 Inferral meri, ramu and rasi

These suffixes are used to express that what the speaker is saying is something that he has inferred based on what he observed. rasi was already obsolete and was used only in poems in Old Japanese. ramu was more often used in poems and meri in prose. Here are some examples of meri and ramu.

- (2.91) tubakurame ko um= a-mu to s= uru toki ha o  
swallow child bear=A-CONJECT COMP do=URU time TOP tail  
  
wo sasag=e-te nana=do megur= i-te namu  
DO put=up=I-SS seven=time go+round=I-SS EMPH  
  
um=i-otos=u-meru. (T, 51)  
bear=I-drop=U-INFER

'(It) seems (that), when a swallow lays a child (i.e. egg), (it) puts up (its) tail, goes around seven times, and then drops (it).'

- (2.92) uguisu dani ... uti=nak=i-te watar=u-  
nightingale even chirp= I-SS fly+over=U  
  
mere-ba ... (Kokin, Asami)  
REFER-DS

'since it seems that even a nightingale...is flying over,...'

- (2.93) koto=dokoro ni Kaguyahime to moos= u hito zo  
different=place OBL Kaguyahime COMP say+HON=URU person EMPH

ohas=u ran. (T, 64)  
be=HON=U INFER

'It seems that there is a person called Kaguyahime in another place.'

- (2.94) ...hana ha tir=u rame, yuki to nomi koso. (Kokin, Asami)  
flower TOP fall=U INFER snow COMP EMPH EMPH

'It seems that flowers are falling like snow.'

(For a prosodic reason, yuki to nomi koso (an adverbial) is placed after the predicate.)

#### 2.2.3.5.3 Obligative besi and mazi

besi is a conjectural but it implies that the speaker's strong belief that what he is saying will take place almost without fail. mazi may be best understood as the negative counterpart of besi. That is, it implies that the speaker strongly believes that what he is saying will not take place.

- (2.95) ima kane go-zyuu ryoo tamahar =u be=si. (T, 42)  
now money fifty ryoo give+HON=URU OBLIG=SI

'(You) must give (me) fifty Ryoo of money.'

(ryoo is a monetary unit.)

- (2.96) kami ot=i- kakar=i-n= u be=si. (T, 47)  
god fall=I-hang=I-PERF=URU OBLIG=SI

'God must fall down upon (us).'

(The perfect nu is sometimes used to emphasize the probability.)

- (2.97) on=kokoro ha sara=ni tat=i=kaher=u be=ku  
HON=heart TOP at+all leave= URU OBLIG=KU

obos=a-r= e- zar=i ker= e-do... (T, 57)  
think+HON=A-HON=A-NEG+be=I-PAST=E-although

'although (his=the emperor's) heart did not think that (he) should ever leave (her)...'

- (2.98) kaku tai=daisi=ku ya ha nar=ah=a=s=u be=ki. (T, 55)  
such insincere=KU Q TOP discipline=URU OBLIG=KI

'Should (you) discipline (her) so insincerely?'

Note that besi conjugates like the adjective, the Final, and Conjunctive forms having adjectival suffixes, si, ki, and ku, respectively. Also, it is often followed by the existential ari like the adjective.

- (2.99) makar=i-n=u- beker=e- ba... (T, 60)  
go=I- PERF=U-OBLIG=KU-be=E-DS

'since (I) must have gone away, ...'

- (2.100) nani ka to ih=u bekar=a- zu. (T, 37)  
what Q COMP say=U OBLIG=KU-be=A-NEG=U

'(she) should not say whatever.'

(be=ku-ar=e:OBLIG=KU-be=E and be=ku-ar=a:OBLIG=KU-be=A are realized as bekere and bekara as in these examples

because of the phonological principle: VV→V.)

The negative mazi also has some adjectival properties: it conjugates like an adjective taking adjectival suffixes KI and KU; and the Conjunctive form mazi=ku plus ar=e (the Realized form of the existential verb) combine to make the Realized form maziker=e as in (2.103).

- (2.101) e- id= e-ohas=u mazi. (T, 64)  
can come=out=I-HON=URU NEG+OBLIG

'(she) should not be able to come out'

- (2.102) ge=ni tah=u mazi=ku nai- tamah=u. (G, Yamada (b))  
really bear=URU NEG+OBLIG=KU cry=I-HON=U

'(She) cried like she would never bear'

- (2.103) e- todom=u mazikere-ba ... (T, 64)  
can-stop=URU NEG+OBLIG+be=E-DS

'since (he) was not to be able to stop (her)...'

#### 2.2.2.6 Verbal Prefixes

There were a couple of auxiliary elements that could occur either preverbally or postverbally. In Modern Japanese, however, all auxiliary elements occur as suffixes.

First, observe the following sentences.

- (2.104) tuki na-m=i- tamah=i so. (T, 59)  
moon NEG-see=I-HON=I EMPH

'Do not look at the moon.'

- (2.105) kaher=i-k=u na. (T, 46)  
return=I-come=U NEG

'Don't come back.'

Both (2.104) and (2.105) are negative imperatives with a negative morpheme na, but the na occurs before the main verb in (2.104) and after the main verb in (2.105). In the section on the negative suffix, we suggested that the na might have been the Imperative form of the negative nu. This contention is based on only the semantic and phonological similarity between this form and other negative forms related to nu. The syntactic and morphological properties of the na, however, do not support this contention. In the first place, na is the only negative morpheme that could occur preverbally. Secondly, it is suffixed to the Final form of the main verb or major suffix while all other negative forms are suffixed to the Unrealized form. In order for the hypothesis that na was the Imperative form of nu to be viable, these syntactic and morphological peculiarities must be accounted for in some way or other.

A modal verb e meaning 'can' or 'to be able to' also occurs in either positions, preverbally or postverbally. Consider the following.

(2.106) e- mituk=e-tatematur=a-zu. (T, 41)  
 can-find= I-HON= A-NEG=U

'(they) could not find (him)'

(2.107) tatu no kubi wo tor=i-e- zu- ba,... (T, 41)  
 dragon ASS head DO get=I-can=A-NEG=I-DS

'if (you) cannot get the dragon's head, ...'

The prefix e always occurs with a negative while the suffix e occurs in various predicates taking on different conjugate forms (e.g. the Relative form uru in ar=i-uru: be=I-can=URU and the Unrealized form e in ar=i-e-mu: be=I-can=A-CONJECT 'may be able to exist'--M, Sansom).

Why did these auxiliary elements occur preverbally in Old Japanese? Should preverbal na/e and postverbal na/e be analyzed as belonging to the same lexical items? If so, is there any semantic difference between sentences with preverbal na/e and those with postverbal na/e? Why are preverbal na/e no longer used in Modern Japanese? These questions all remain to be answered.

#### 2.2.2.7 Imperatives

Imperative sentences are formed by using the Imperative form of the verb which was given in the conjugation paradigm. For some verbs (verbs other than Class-U verbs and some irregular verbs), however, the use of the imperative sentence final particle yo was obligatory.

(2.108) Haya kami ni inor=i- tamah=e. (T, 47)  
 immediately god OBL pray=I-HON=IMP

'Pray for the god immediately.'

(2.109) naho sibasi kokoro=mi- yo. (G, 30)  
 still a+while try= IMP-SFP

'Try still a while.'

(2.110) kaku wari=na=ki mono=utagah=i ha s= e- yo (G, 71)  
such unreasonable=KI suspect=I TOP do=IMP SFP

'Do such unreasonable suspecting.'

## Chapter III

### NOMINALIZATION AND COMPLEMENTATION

#### 3.0 Introduction

Old Japanese did not formally differentiate nominal clauses, relative clauses, complement clauses, etc. Most of the Old Japanese subordinate clauses were either nominalizations or quotations, at least, in their origin. We will first discuss subordinate clauses marked by the minor suffix URU (URU-clause, henceforth) and will show that URU-clauses are generalized as synchronic or historical nominalizations despite their variant appearances. Next, we will briefly look at subordinate clauses marked by I (I-nominalization), which were minor compared with URU-clauses in the grammar of Old Japanese. Then we will discuss clauses marked by the complementizer to and will suggest that all to-marked clauses came from quotations. Finally, we will consider adverbial clauses involving verb reduplication.

#### 3.1 URU-clause

The URU-clause occurs in several different contexts. It occurs (i) in nominal positions such as subject and object, (ii) in noun modifying position, (iii) in emphatic sentences and (iv) in interrogative sentences. It will be shown that URU-clauses in all these contexts are best analyzed as certain nominal clauses which may be illustrated as below:

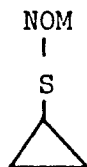


Diagram-4



First consider the URU-clauses (which are set off by square brackets) in the following examples.

- 'It is indeed not likable that the usual inconsiderate one has done such an act and is scolded.'

- '(she) was lamenting that Kaguyahime was unmarried, ...'

Notice that the URU-clause is in subject position in (3.1) and in object position (being marked by the direct object marker wo) in (3.2) and is interpreted as a sentential nominal. The simplest analysis of these URU-clauses will be to say they are actually nominal clauses. Also notice that the subject is marked by the associative particle no (which may alternate with ga), which implies the nominal status of these URU-clauses.

[illegible]

'the one who had a low class man washed his upper robe, and...'

- (3.4) [mukasi kasiko=ki tenziku no hiziri kono kuni ni  
long+ago holy=KI India ASS priest this country OBL  
mot=e-watar=i-ker=u] nisi no yama dera ni ar=i.  
bring=I- PAST=URU west ASS mountain temple OBL be=U  
(T. 12)

'(the one) that a holy Indian priest had brought to this country is in a mountain temple in the west.'

As seen from the English translations, the URU-clauses in these examples have different readings than those in (3.1) and (3.2). The URU-clause in (3.3) and (3.4) are interpreted as a subject nominal and object nominal, i.e., nominals whose semantic heads are the subject and the object respectively. Where do such different readings come from? One thing we note is that the subject or object is missing from these examples and this missing nominal seems to have a bearing on the interpretation of these URU-clauses. However, the missing argument does not ensure a subject or object interpretation of that clause. An URU-clause may warrant a sentential nominal interpretation even when its subject or object is missing as in the following.

(3.5) [tada kaher=a- mu]                      mo    sauzausi.                      (Tsu, 146)  
      just return=A-CONJEC=URU also unsatisfactory

'That (I) just will return is unsatisfactory.'

Also, an URU-clause may lack both the subject and the object and yet it may be interpreted as a subject nominal rather than as an object nominal or vice versa.

(3.6) [omoh=u]    wo ba    omoh=i, ...                      (Ise, 146)  
      love=URU    DO EMPH love=I

'(people) love those who love them, and...'

What seems to be crucial for the interpretation of an URU-clause with missing arguments is how the missing arguments are interpreted.

As previously mentioned, nominals are not obligatory in Old Japanese surface clauses. Clauses consisting of predicates alone are commonly found in the literature. Semantically, however, every predicate is associated with one or more arguments, and, if such arguments are not present

on the surface, they are construed as "anaphoric" (refer back to 2.2.13), "generic" or "unspecified" nominals. Consider the following.

- (3.7) mi-so wo tor=i-id=e-te ki- s=e- mu to s=u.  
HON-dress DO take+out=I-SS wear=I-CAUS=A-CONJECT=U COMP do=U  
(T, 65)

'(They=people from the Moonland) took out the dress, and tried to make (her=Kaguyahime) wear (it=the dress).'

- (3.8) soko wo Yatuhasi to ih=i- ker=u ha ... (Ise, 116)  
that+place DO Yatuhasi COMP call=I-PAST=URU TOP

'that (they=people in general) called that place Yatuhasi ...'

- (3.9) sore ni ha iro=iro=no tama no hasi wataser=i. (T, 38)  
that OBL TOP various jewel ASS bridge build+over+be=U

'There was a bridge of various kinds of jewels over that.'  
(Lit: (Someone) has built a bridge of various jewels over that.)

As indicated in the English translation by parenthesized pronouns, the subject of the first clause and the indirect object (i.e. causee) and the direct object of the second clause in (3.7) are all understood as identical with nominals that have already been mentioned in the previous discourse or within the sentence. The subject of the predicate 'to call' in (3.8) is not identified with any previously mentioned nominal but it is understood as 'people in general'. Example (3.9) is difficult to translate into English. It is an active transitive sentence and the subject (i.e. agent) of the action of building a bridge over the river is intuitively expected. But the speaker is focussing on the situation resulting from that action and considering the person(s) who brought about the situation as being redundant and irrelevant, and therefore, he leaves the subject=agent unspecified.

It may be inferable from an examination of nominal clauses with missing arguments that an URU-clause is to be interpreted as a subject or object nominal if an argument is missing, and if the missing

argument is unspecified as in (3.3) and (3.4). The reason why the URU-clause in (3.5), in which the subject is missing, is not interpreted as a subject nominal will then be because the missing subject is readily interpreted as anaphoric. The URU-clause in (3.6) is understood as a subject nominal because its missing subject is interpreted as unspecified while its missing object is inferred as coreferential to the generic subject of the clause to which this URU-clause is embedded through an extremely complex inferential process. It should be clear that meanings of URU-clauses such as sentential nominal, subject nominal and object nominal, are not the meanings which are signaled by URU-clauses themselves because they are dependent on the interpretations of missing nominals which are purely inferential. Thus, the most realistic account for the URU-clause under discussion should come again from the theory of pragmatic inference (refer back to 2.2.1.4): The URU-clause itself signals only that the clause is nominal, and more detailed and precise meanings such as sentential nominal, subject nominal and object nominal are inferred from the given linguistic and nonlinguistic context.

### 3.1.2 URU-clause in Oblique Nominal Position

URU-clauses also occur in oblique nominal position being interpreted variously as in the following examples.

(3.10) [yoru no hono=bono=to ak=uru] ni nak=u nak=u kaher=i-  
 night ASS gradually break=URU OBL cry=U cry=U return=I-  
 n=i- ker=i. (Ise, 113)  
 PERF=I-PAST=U

- (a) 'when the night was gradually breaking, (he) returned crying.'
- (b) 'Because the night was .....'
- (c) '(He) returned to the place where the night was gradually breaking.'



(a), (b) or (c) taken out of context. Note, however, that these different readings do not affect the truth value of this sentence: If he returned home because the night was breaking, then he returned home when the night was breaking; if he returned home in the place where the night was breaking, he returned home when the night was breaking; and so forth.

It is not really correct to say that these URU-clauses are ambiguous. It does not seem to be the case that the speaker produced the URU-clause plus ni, for example, intending to communicate time, place, reason, etc. It is more likely that the URU-clause plus ni was conceived of as a general circumstance in which the main clause event took place. The URU-clause marked by other oblique case particles (e.g. yori in (3.11) and made in (3.12)) will be understood in like manner.

We may propose thus to characterize URU-clauses as semantically indefinite nominal clauses in the sense that they signaled that they were nominal but they did not specify exactly how they were to be interpreted. Whether they were sentential nominals, subject nominals, object nominals or oblique nominals was left to the speaker-hearer's inference.

### 3.1.3 URU-clause in Copular Sentence

Old Japanese had several grammatical constructions used for various emphatic purposes, foregrounding certain elements or backgrounding some others. The rules for formation of such constructions appear to be quite complex involving the minor suffix URU and emphatic particles. Given the above characterization of an URU-clause, however, they are all reducible, at least historically, to copular sentences.

Before discussing examples of emphatic constructions, let us consider simpler copular sentences. (We have stated in Chapter II that the

copula nari was typically used in copular sentences, i.e., sentences the predicate of which was a nominal or a nominal adjective. Here we are concerned with nominal predicate copular sentences alone.) The following sentences represent all possible surface forms of copular sentences.

- (3.13) Kore ha Hoorai no yama nar=i. (T, 38)  
 this HA Hoorai ASS mountain COP=U

'This is the mountain of Hoorai.'

- (3.14) Wa ga na ha Ukanruri. (T, 38)  
 I ASS name HA Ukanruri

'My name is Ukanruri.'

- (3.15) Maro ha sarani mono ih=a- nu hito zo. (Tsu, 397)  
 I HA ever thing say=A-NEG=URU person SFP

'I am a person who never say a thing (i.e., a person who never repeat to other people what has been said).'

- (3.16) Tuki no miyako no hito nar=i. (T, 59)  
 moon ASS city+royal ASS person COP=U

'(I) am a person from the city royal of Moonland.'

- (3.17) Yo=ki koto nar=i. (T, 47)  
 good=KI thing COP=U

'Good!' ..  
 (Lit: (It) is a good thing.'

- (3.18) Ayasi=ki koto kana. (T, 46)  
 strange=KI thing SFP

'That's strange!'  
 (Lit: (It is) a strange thing!)

Example (3.13) represents the proto-typical Old Japanese copular sentence with the form of:

- (3.19) NOM<sub>1</sub> ha NOM<sub>2</sub> nari 'NOM<sub>1</sub> is NOM<sub>2</sub>'

As we have mentioned previously, particle ha, from which the Modern Japanese topic marker wa originated, was not a topic marker but it was some sort of emphatic particle<sup>1</sup>. The nominal which would be marked by the

topic marker wa in Modern Japanese was in many cases left unmarked in Old Japanese. Curiously, however, the subject of a copular sentence was almost always marked with ha or mo 'even/also'.<sup>2</sup> Examples (3.14), (3.15) and (3.18) show that the copula nari was not an obligatory element for a predicate nominal copular sentence. Sentence final particles with various performative functions (e.g. zo was used to emphasize the truthfulness of the statement and kana to express the speaker's surprise) often replaced the copula nari. The subject of a copula sentence, like any other subject, did not have to be expressed; it may be identical with a previously mentioned or understood nominal (e.g. (3.16)), or it may be the whole situation described or implied in the previous discourse (e.g. (3.17) and (3.18)). We will refer to the subjectless copular sentences of the former type as elliptical copular sentences and those of the latter as subjectless copular sentences.

Copular sentences are different from other sentence types in many respects. Most important for our present discussion is the fact that copular sentences are topic-comment sentences, the subject being the topic and the predicate nominal the comment, except those in which the subject is a WH-word. The subject nominal must be more topical than the predicate nominal in order for a copular sentence to be appropriate. (E.g., \*A philosopher is John is not acceptable as a normal copular sentence [SUBJ - COP - PRED=NOM].) This topic comment contrast of copular sentences seems to be fully exploited to increase the expressibility of Old Japanese.

### 3.1.3.1 Topicalization

Consider the following examples .



(3.20)a. Kono koyasu gahi ha asi=ku tabakar=i-te tor=a- s=e-  
 this cowry shell HA cunning=KU scheme=I- SS take=A-CAUS=I-  
 tamah=u nar=i. (T, 50)  
 HON=URU COP=U

(a) 'As for this cowry shell, (you) should have (them) take it (by) scheming cunningly.'

(b) 'This cowry shell is what (you) should have (them) take (by) scheming cunningly.'

(3.21)a. Kinu ki- s=e- t=uru hito ha kokoro koto ni  
 robe wear=A-CAUS=I-PERF=URU person HA mind different NI  
 nar=u nar=i. (T, 65)  
 become=URU COP=U

(a) 'As for the person whome (you) make wear the robe, her mind will become different.'

(b) 'The person whome (you) make wear the robe is the one whose mind will become different.'

(3.22)a. Hayate mo ryuu no huk=a-s=uru nar=i. (T, 47)  
 storm MO dragon ASS blow=A-CAUS=URU COP=U

(a) 'The storm also, the dragon is making it blow.'

(b) 'The storm also is what the dragon is making blow.'

(The difference between the two readings (a) and (b) will be discussed shortly.) Note that these sentences contain a nominal marked by ha/mo and end with the copula nari attached to a predicate in the URU-form.

Compare these a.-sentences with the following corresponding b.-sentences.

(3.20)b. Asi=ku tabakar=i-te kono koyasu gahi wo tor=a- s=e-  
 cunning=KU scheme=I-SS this cowry shell DO take=A-CAUS=I-  
 tamah=u.  
 HON=U

'(You) should make (them) take this cowry shell (by) scheming cunningly.'

(3.21)b. Kinu ki- s=e- t=uru hito no kokoro koto ni  
 robe wear=A-CAUS=I-PERF=URU person ASS mind different NI  
 nar=u.  
 become=U

(3.22)b. Ryuu hayate wo huk=a- s=u.  
 dragon storm DO blow=A-CAUS=U

'The dragon is making the storm blow.'

The difference between the a.-sentences and the b.-sentences above lies in the topic-comment relation: In a.-sentences, the nominal marked by ha or mo is the topic and the rest is the comment; In b.-sentences, on the other hand, there is no such implication. One may argue that the a.-sentences were derived from the b.-sentences by a transformational rule of topicalization that attaches ha to the topic nominal and adds the copula at the end of the sentence, and so forth. Such a treatment, however, cannot explain why the copula is used for topicalization. Our characterization of URU-clauses permits us to view these topic-comment sentences as copular sentences with the pattern shown in (3,19). For example, sentence (3.20)a. looks like the following.

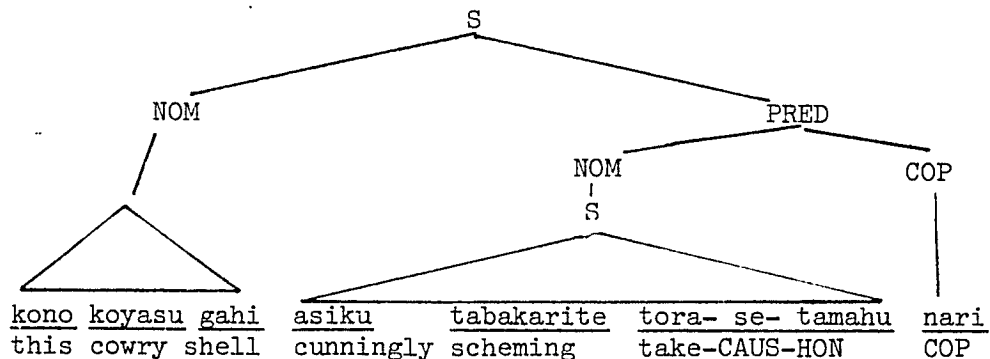


Diagram- 5

A more direct translation of this sentence would then be as in (b) rather than (a). This analysis automatically explains the form (i.e., ...ha... =URU nari) and the topic-comment contrast as the general features of copular sentences.

Sentences like the last one in the following example will be understood as elliptical copular sentences.

- (3.23) Kono huk=u kaze ha yo=ki kata no kaze nar=i.  
 this blow=URU wind HA good=KI direction ASS wind COP=U
- Asi=ki kata no kaze ni ha ar=a-zu. Yo=ki kata  
 bad=KI direction ASS wind NI HA be=A-NEG=U good=KI direction
- ni omomuk=i-te huk=u nar=i. (T, 49)  
 OBL face=I- SS blow=URU COP=U

'This blowing wind is a wind of good direction. (It) is not a wind of bad direction. (It) is what is blowing, facing a good direction.'

The subject of the last sentence (a nominal predicate sentence) is unmistakably inferable as the same as that of the preceding sentences.

When the subject=topic is expressed as in the a.-sentences of (3.20)-(3.22), the topic and the comment compete against each other for prominence, and, as a result, neither of them stands out above the other. If, on the other hand, the subject=topic is not expressed as in the last sentence of (3.23), the comment part seems to become more conspicuous and the sentence as a whole takes on an emphatic connotation.

### 3.1.3.2 Assertive Sentence

In Old Japanese there are two distinct emphatic constructions, to which we refer as "assertive sentences" and "Kakari-Musubi sentences" respectively. The following sentences are examples of the former.

- (3.24) [Kaguyahime teu oho-nusubito no yatu ga hito wo  
 Kaguyahime called big-thief ASS fellow ASS person DO
- koros=a-mu to s=uru nar=i. (T, 49)  
 kill=A- CONJEC COMP do=URU COP=U

'(It) is that the fellow who is a big thief called Kaguyahime attempts to kill people.'

(3.25) [Kore wo mi- tamah=e-ba mono obos=u kesiki  
 this DO see=I-HON=E- DS thing think+HON=URU appearance

ar=u] zo. (T,59)  
 be=URU SFP

'(It) is that (you) seem to worry about things when (you) see this.'

(Lit: (It) is that there is an appearance that (you) think (melancholically) over things when (you) see this.)

These sentences were used to express the speaker's strong conviction that what he is saying is true. They are formally similar to elliptical copular sentences like the last sentence in (3.23), consisting of an URU-clause (indicated by square brackets) and the copula nari or a copula-like sentence final emphatic particle zo. These semantic and morpho-syntactic facts concerning assertive sentences are readily explainable if we say that assertive sentences are in fact copular sentences of the same kind as (3.17) and (3.18), namely, subjectless copular sentences. It is natural that the entire URU-clause is in focus as a whole in an assertive sentence since it is the comment part of a copular sentence. And, as we have noted above, the comment part becomes more prominent when the subject=topic is not present.

### 3.1.3.3 Kakari-Musubi Sentence

Kakari-Musubi sentences are comparable to cleft sentences in English.

(3.26) uta sahe zo hinab=i- tar=i- ker=u. (Ise, 120)  
 poem even EMPH countrify=I-PERF=I-PAST=URU

'Even (her) poem was countrified.'

(3.27) haha nan ate nar=u hito ni kokoro tuk=e-  
 mother EMPH high+class COP=URU person OBL mind attach=I-  
 tar=i- ker=u.  
 PERF=I-PAST=URU

'Mother was attaching (her) mind to a person who was a high class man. (i.e. Mother was thinking of a high class man as the daughter's future husband.)

A Kakari-Musubi sentence contains a focus constituent (the underlined part in the above examples) marked by one of the emphatic particles called "Kakari particle" such as zo, nan and koso and ends with the Nominal URU-form or the Realized E-form depending on which Kakari particle has been chosen: the Nominal URU-form agrees with zo or nan and the Realized E-form with koso. Here we are concerned only with those ending with URU.

Why was the URU-form used in final position of a Kakari-Musubi sentence instead of the Final U-form? Ōno (1964) answers this question by showing how Kakari-Musubi sentences developed. He believes that a.-sentence in (3.28), for example, was formerly derived from a sentence like the b.-sentence by simple inversion of the subject and the predicate.

(3.28)a. teho no hi zo kokoda ter=i- tar=u. (M, 236)  
torch ASS fire EMPH brightly shine=I-PERF=URU

'It is the torch fire that is brightly shining.'

b. Kokoda ter=i- tar=u (ha) teho no hi zo.  
brightly shine=I-PERF=URU HA torch ASS fire EMPH

'What is brightly shining is the torch fire.'

Oono's principle argument is that Kakari particles are either identical with sentence final particles (cf. zo in (3.15)) or they are reconstructable as auxiliary suffixes (nan, a suffix expressing the speaker's polite assertion, for example).<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the position marked by a Kakari particle must have once been sentence final. He also compares the following Modern Japanese expressions with Kakari-Musubi sentences.

(3.29) watashi no hoshii mono ha hon da.  
 I ASS want thing TOP(SUB)book COP=NT

'What I want is a book.'

(3.30) Hon da, watashi no hoshii mono ha.  
 book COP=NT I ASS want thing TOP=SUB

'(It) is a book, what I want.'

In sentence (3. 30), (which is not a standard Modern Japanese sentence and will be accepted only in speech), the predicate hon da is uttered first and the subject watashi no hoshii mono ha is added as 'after-thought' information. Ōno assumes that spontaneous expression of this type became a fixed grammatical pattern Kakari-Musubi in Old Japanese.

This hypothesis of Oono's is very plausible and will be further supported by the fact that Kakari-Musubi sentences in the literature of the Nara period are in most cases reducible to pseudo-cleft sentences like (3.28)a. although those in the literature of later periods are not necessarily so reducible.

Of great interest to us is that this emphatic construction had also developed from the copular construction involving URU-marked nominal clauses.

#### 3.1.3.4 Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences are basically the same either as assertive sentences or as Kakari-Musubi sentences. The URU-clause plus the interrogative particle ka is used when the entire sentence is being questioned as in (3.30), and the Kakari-Musubi construction with the dubitative particle ya in place of the emphatic Kakari particle such as zo and nan is used if only part of the sentence is being in question, as in (3.31).

- (3.31) Koyasu no kahi tor=i- tar=u ka. (T, 50)  
cowry ASS shell take=I-PERF=URU Q

'Have (you) taken a cowry shell-?'

- (3.32) Koko ni ya i= mas=u. (T, 44)  
here OBL Q be=I-HON=URU

'Is (he) here?'

If, however, the focus constituent is a WH-word or-phrase, then that constituent is optionally followed by ka, not ya, and, if ka does not occur, the entire question sentence may be followed by the emphatic particle zo. Thus:

- (3.33) Izure no yama ka ten ni tika=ki. (T, 66)  
which ASS mountain Q heaven OBL close=KI

'Which mountain is close to the heaven?'

(Recall that the KI-form of an adjective corresponds to the URU-form of a verb.)

- (3.34) Nani goto omoh=i- tamah=u zo. (T, 59)  
what thing think=I-HON=URU SFP

'What are (you) thinking (about)?'

- (3.35) On-kokoti ha ikaga obos=a- r=uru. (T, 52)  
HON-feeling TOP how feel+HON=A-PASS=URU

'How is (your) feeling felt?'

Although we do not know exactly how ka and ya differed and what their functions were, there seem to be sufficient correlations between these particles and emphatic particles, and also between interrogative sentences and emphatic sentences, such as assertive sentences and Kakari-Musubi sentences. We suspect that interrogative sentences were also, at least historically, copular sentences.

In sum, topic-comment sentences and assertive sentences are analyz-

able as synchronic copular sentences, as proto-typical copular sentences and subjectless copular sentences, respectively; There is thus no need to postulate topicalization or to give a special treatment to assertive sentences. Kakari-Musubi sentences and interrogative sentences--especially, the former--seem to have undergone historical reanalyses even though they must have originated from copular sentences.

### 3.1.4 Noun Modifying URU-Clause

Noun modifying URU-clauses are translated into English with several different types of subordinate clauses. We will first consider those which are regularly translated into English with relative clauses, to which we may refer as "relative clauses", implying that they are only translation equivalents of English relative clauses.

#### 3.1.4.1 "Relative Clause"

Let us begin our discussion with examples of "subject or object relativization".

- (3.36) [kono kinu ki- t=uru] hito ... (T, 66)  
           this robe wear=I-PERF=URU person  
           'the person who has worn this robe...'

- (3.37) [wa ga motom=uru yama ... (T, 38)  
           I ASS look+for=URU mountain  
           'the mountain that I am looking for ...'

- (3.38) [otoko no ki- tar=i- ker=u] kari ginu ... (Ise, 111)  
           man ASS wear=I-PERF=I-PAST=URU hunt robe  
           'the hunting robe that the man was wearing ...'

A traditional transformational analysis would consider these complex nominals as relative clause constructions and derive them from deep structures such as Diagram-6 by deleting  $NOM_1$  in the embedded S.



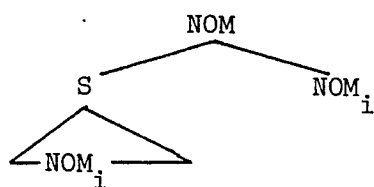


Diagram- 6

The analysis of these noun-modifying URU-clauses that we are proposing here is crucially different from such an analysis. We consider that noun-modifying URU-clauses are the same nominal clauses as those which have been discussed in the foregoing sections and that complex nominals consisting of an URU-clause and a noun modified by it are associative constructions as illustrated in Diagram-7.

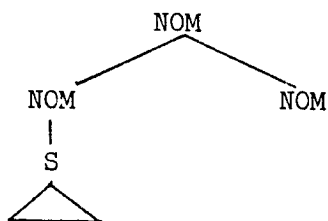


Diagram- 7

In what follows, we would like to show that while this nonrelative analysis make weaker claims about the syntactic configuration of these complex nominals, it is in fact more explanatory and more consistent with other parts of the Old Japanese grammar than the relative analysis.

To begin with, the existence of  $NOM_i$  in the "relative clause" is impossible to prove because it never appears on the surface in any form. One might argue that the "gap" (the term in Givón (1975b)) in the "relative clause" is an indication of the deleted  $NOM_i$ . For example, the subject and the object are missing from (3.34) and (3.35)-(3.36), respectively.

However, to the extent that nominals are missing for the other reasons as we have already looked at (i.e. anaphoric, generic, unspecified), such an argument does not hold.

Second, notice that "relative clause" are identical in form with nominal clauses: in both clauses, the predicate is marked by the suffix URU and the subject, if present, may be marked by the associative no/ga. Our analysis automatically explains why they are exactly the same.

Third, the particular kind of semantic relationship between "the relative clause" and the head nominal need not be captured in terms of the linkage between the head noun and the noun of the "relative clause" coreferential to it, given the semantic theory of associative constructions as discussed in Chapter II. Restrictive "relative clauses" such as (3.34)-(3.36) will easily fall under the first semantic pattern of associative construction. That is, the URU-clause restrictively modifies the following noun by virtue of the fact that the classes specified by the URU-marked nominal and the head noun intersect each other. For example, the complex nominal in (3.34) specifies the intersection of the class of human who have worn this robe (or theserobes) and the class of human members. Thus, this complex nominal has the same effect as the English relative clause the one who has worn this robe except that, since Old Japanese nouns are not marked for definiteness or number, the Old Japanese complex nominal is ambiguous as to whether it refers to any member(s), some particular members or all of the members of such a subclass of hito 'person(s)'. The same applies for "oblique relatives". Compare the a. and the b. in the following examples.

- (3.39)a. [ah=a- de n=uru] yo ... (Ise, 129)  
 meet=A-NEG=I sleep=URU nihgt  
 'the night when (I) sleep without meeting (you) ...'

b. ohon-haburi no yo ... (Ise, 133)  
HON-funeral ASS night

'the night of (his) funeral (i.e. the night when (his) funeral took place )...'

(3.40)a. [wa ga sum=u] sato ... (Ise, 136)  
I ASS live=URU

'the village in which I live ...'

b. kimi ga sato ... (Ise, 124)  
you ASS village

'your village (i.e. the village in which you live) ...'

The URU-clause in (3.40) is a circumstantial nominal clause referring to the circumstance in which the "event" takes place or does not take place, the missing nominals being easily inferable as anaphoric. When such a nominal combines with a temporal noun like yo 'night', it has the same effect as English temporal relative clauses and is best translated into English with a temporal relative clause. By the same token, the URU-clause in (3.40) corresponds to an English locative relative clause.

"Nonrestrictive relatives" such as the following will also be understood in parallel to simpler associative constructions. Consider:

(3.41) [ake kure mi- nar=e- tar=u] Kaguyahime ...  
morning evening see=I accostome=I-PERF-URU Kaguyahime

'Kaguyahime, whom (they) have seen morning and evening and are accostomes to ...'

(T, 61)

It is not the structure but the fact that the proper noun Kaguyahim is contained in the class specified by the URU-clause that leads to the nonrestrictive interpretation.

Fourth, consider the meanings of the complex nominals in the following examples.

(3.42) [nig=e-      te ir=u]      sode      wo torah=e-tamah=e-ba ...  
 run+away=I-SS enter=URU sleeve DO catch=I-HON=E- DS

'(he) caught the sleeve (of the kimono of Kaguyahime) who  
 was running away (from him) and entering (the house), and ...'

(T, 58)

(3.43) [kami      nar=u]      sahagi ni e- kik=a- zar=i- ...(Ise, 114)  
 thunder roll=URU noise OBL can-hear=A-NEG+be=I

'(he) could not hear (her cry) because of the noise which  
 (was made at the time when) the thunder rolled...'

(3.44) [Sikibu=kyoo no himegimi ni asagaho      tatematur=i-  
 Sikibu=kyoo ASS princess OBL morning+glory present+HON=I-

si]      uta ...

(G, 90)

PAST=URU poem

'the poem which (Genzi composed and sent to her together with  
 it at the time when) (he) presented a morning glory to the  
 princess of Sikibu-kyoo...'

Confronted with Modern Japanese examples similar to these, McCawley  
 (1972) suggests that they may be analyzed as relative clause con-  
 structions in which the S (i.e. our URU-clause) is not the relative  
 clause but merely a constituent of it. E.g., complex nominals such as the  
 one in (3.42) would be derived from structures such as Diagram-8 by  
 deleting intermediate relative clauses.

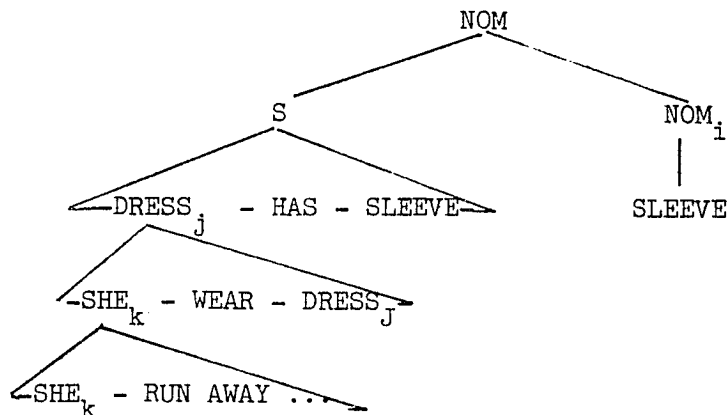


Diagram- 8

However, the possibility of stating the condition on such a radical deletion is extremely tenuous. In our analysis, these complex nominals fall under the second type of associative construction, i.e., the classes specified by the URU-clause and the head noun do not intersect and the exact relationship between such nominals is inferred from the assumptions the speaker and the hearer share about these nominals. For instance, the complex nominal in (3.42) consists of an URU-clause specifying 'ones who run away and enter (the house)' and a noun specifying the set of sleeves, which cannot intersect. Similarly, the way in which the first nominal restricts the second is inferred on such assumptions as "a sleeve is part of a dress", "the one who runs away and enters (the house) is wearing something", and so forth. The interpretation of (3.44) is much more culture-oriented. A sentence like this would be puzzling to the hearer who does not know that composing a poem and sending it together with a flower to a girl was a very sophisticated but commonly practiced means of courtship in Old Japanese society.

Finally, consider the following example.

(3.45) [kiku                      no hana    no uturoher=u]    wo or=i-...  
           chrysanthemum ASS flower ASS fade+PERF=URU    DO pick=I

'(she) picked a chrysanthemum flower which had faded, and...'

(Ise, 122)

Kuroda (1974) has analyzed complex nominals as these as headless ("pivot-independent" in his term) relatives in which the subject kiku no hana 'chrysanthemum flower' functions as the semantic head (i.e. the "pivot"). So viewed, examples like this seems to counter our hypothesis that it is the URU-clauses with an unspecified subject or object that are interpreted as subject or object nominals. Recall that the basic function of no

is to connect two nominals rather than to mark the subject. The bracketed portion in this example is quite reasonably analyzed as an associative construction with the associative particle no connecting kiku no hana 'chrysanthemum flower' and uturoher=u 'faded one'. The meaning of this nominal will then be the intersection of the set of all chrysanthemum flowers and the set of all objects that have faded, a result falling squarely within our analysis.

In sum, the nonrelative analysis of "relative clauses" proposed here not only can capture the particular kind of modifying-modified relationship between the "relative clause" and the head noun but also accounts for various facts which would give rise to difficulties in the relative analysis with no addition to the grammar. There seems to be no reason for postulating abstract deep structures such as Diagram-7 especially for "relative clauses". In the following section, we will show that other noun modifying URU-clauses are to be analyzed as associatives in exactly the same fashion as "relative clauses".

### 3.1.4.2 "Noun Complement Clause"

The following examples contain URU-clauses which semantically resemble English noun complement clauses introduced by the complementizer that.

(3.46) [Kaguyahime katati no yo ni ni- zu medeta=ki]  
 Kaguyahime shape ASS world OBL resemble=A-NEG beautiful=KI

koto wo Mikado kikosimes=i-te ... (T, 53)  
 thing DO Emperor hear+HON=I- SS

'The Emperor has heard the fact that Kaguyahime's shape is beautiful, not resembling the ones of the world, and ...'  
 (i.e. , The Emperor has heard the fact that Kaguyahime looks incomparably beautiful, and ...)

- (3.47) [kaku arigata=ki hito ni taimen s=i- tar=u] yorokobi...  
 such august=KI person OBL interview do=I-PERF=URU joy

(G, 44)

'the joy that (I) have interviewed with such an august person ...'

- (3.48) [hana ni ak=a- nu] nageki ...  
 flower OBL get+satisfy =A-NEG=URU lament

'the lament that (I) never get satisfied with flowers (i.e. cherry blossoms) ...'

Nominals modified by URU-clauses in these examples are characteristically abstract nouns meaning 'event', 'appearance', 'feeling', etc. or nominals derived from transitive verbs that take a sentential object, such as yorokobi 'joy' (>yorokobu 'to rejoice'), omohi 'thought' (>omohu 'to think'), nageki 'lament' (>nageku 'to lament'), etc.<sup>4</sup> When the head noun is such an abstract noun, the modifying URU-clause is more frequently but not always, open to a sentential nominal interpretation and is translated by the English noun complement that-clause.

The noun koto is the most unspecific noun and is very rarely used without being modified by a demonstrative (e.g. kono koto 'this thing'), an adjective (yo=ki koto 'good thing', kata=ki koto 'difficult thing') or an URU-clause. An URU-clause modifying koto may be interpreted as a sentential nominal as in (3.44), or as a subject or object nominal as in the following examples.

- (3.49) [Okina no moos=a- mu ] koto ha kik=i- tamah=i-  
 Okina ASS say+HON=A-CONJEC=URU thing EMPH hear=I-HON=I-  
 t=e- mu ya.  
 PERF=A-CONJEC Q

'Would (you) just listen to the thing that Okina is going to say?'

However, the URU-clause plus koto is often ambiguous between the two

readings, the "relative clause" interpretation and the "complement clause" clause" interpretation.

- (3.50) [Mikado no mes=i- te notamah=a-mu] koto  
 Emperor ASS condescend=I-SS say+HON=A-CONJECT=URU KOTO  
 kasiko=si to mo omoh=a- zu. (T, 54)  
 august=SI COMP even think=A-NEG

- (a) '(I) do not even think that the thing that the Emperor  
 will condescend and say (to me) is august.'  
 (b) '(I) do not even think that the fact that the Emperor  
 will condescend and say (something) (to me) is august.'

Also, the koto often appears to be a nominalizer rather than a noun  
 with some substantive meaning.

- (3.51) [naho medeta=ku obos=a- r=uru] koto sekitom=e-  
 still beautiful=KU think+HON=A-PASS=URU KOTO stop=I-  
 gata=si.  
 difficult=SI

'(His) thinking that (she) was even more beautiful was dif-  
 ficult to stop (i.e. He could not help thinking (her) that  
 she was even more beautiful).'

- (3.52) [shoozoku no kiyora nar=u] koto mono ni mo ni-  
 costume ASS gorgeous COP=URU KOTO thing OBL even resemble-  
 zu. (T, 63)  
 NEG

'that (their) costume is gorgeous does not resemble anything.'

As a matter of fact, the Modern Japanese nominalizer koto is an off-  
 shoot of this koto.

#### 3.1.4.3 "Gerundive"

There are noun modifying URU clauses which are not translated into  
 English either with relative clauses or with complement that-clauses.

- (3.53) [urami wo oh=u] tumori ni ya ar=i-kemu, ... (G, 27)  
 enmity DO incur=URU result NI Q be=I-PAST+CONJEC  
 'Was is perhaps the result of (her) incurring (other ladies')  
 enmity?'



(3.54) [Kaguyahime wo kanarazu ah=a- mu] mauke  
 Kaguyahime DO without+fail meet=A-CONJEC=URU preparation

s=i-te, ... (T, 46)  
 do=I-SS

'(he) did the preparation for meeting (i.e. marrying)  
 Kaguyahime, and ...'

Notice that the URU-clause in these examples does not have exactly the same relationship with the head noun as the "noun complement" although it modifies, like the "noun complement", an abstract deverbal noun (tumori tumoru 'to pile up' and mauke mauku 'to prepare') and that it is usually translated into English by a gerundive nominal.

It seems to be reasonably clear that the complex nominal meanings which are expressed by English relatives, noun complement constructions and gerundive constructions are all expressed in Old Japanese by the same grammatical construction [URU-clause - NOM]. However, on account of the meanings of the lexical elements and the speaker's pragmatic knowledge about them, an URU-clause modifying a noun was given such a unique interpretation as translated into English with a relative clause, with a noun complement that-clause or with a gerundive.

### 3.2 I-Nominal

The I-nominal occurs as a purpose clause as in (3.55) or as the direct object of the verb su 'to do' as in (3.56).

(3.55) [tama no eda tor=i] ni namu makar=a-mu. (T, 35)  
 jewel ASS spray take=I OBL EMPH go=A- CONJECT

'(I) will go to take the jewel spray.'

(3.56) [sake nom=i] s=i- ker=e- ba, ... (Ise, 151)  
 wine drink=I do=I-PAST=E- DS

'(He) did drinking wine, and ...'

These nominals are different from the URU-marked nominals in (i) that no major suffix can occur with the verb, (ii) that the predicate can take at most one-subject argument nominal, and (iii) that the nominal argument, if present, is not marked for the case. The purpose clause, the I-nominal plus the oblique case particle ni is used only when the subject of the purpose clause and the matrix subject are the same. Here are further examples of purpose clauses.

- (3.57) [nani s=i] ni kanasi=ki ni mi- okur=i-tatematur=a-mu.5  
 what do=I OBL sad=KI OBL see=I-send=I-HON=A- CONJEC  
 (T, 64)

'\*To do what, should (I) see (you) off in (my) sadness?'  
 (I.e., Why should (I) ....?'

- (3.58) mukasi otoko .....[kar=i] ni in=i-ker=i. (Ise, 111)  
 long+ago man hunt=I OBL go=I-PAST=U  
 'Long ago, a man went for hunting.'

- (3.59) onna no seuto nihaka=ni [mukah=e] ni ki-tar=i. (Ise, 168)  
 woman ASS brother suddenly pick+up=I OBL come=I-PERF=U  
 'the woman's brother has suddenly come to pick (him) up.'

### 3.3 Complement clause with to

The complementizer to occurs most typically following a quotation which is usually the object complement of utterance verbs (i.e., verbs meaning 'to say', 'to ask', 'to answer', 'to write', etc.) The to-marked complement of an utterance verb could be any type of sentence, declarative (3.60), exclamatory (i.e. emphatic) (3.61), interrogative (3.62), or imperatives (3.63).

- (3.60) hito bito mo "Yo=ki koto nar=i" to ih=e-ba, ...  
 person person even good=KI thing COP=U COMP say=E-DS  
 (T, 33)

'People also said, "(It) is a good thing", and ...'

- (3.61) Okina "Uresi=ku mo notamah=u mono kana" to ih=u. (T, 32)  
 Okina happy=KU EMPH say+HON=U one SFP COMP say=U

'Okina said, "Happily, (you) (are) the one who says so!"

- (3.62) Kono onna "Kaku notamah=u ha tare zo" to toh=u. (T, 38)  
 this woman so say+HON=URU TOP(SUB) who SFP COMP ask=U

'This woman asked, "Who is it that says so?"

- (3.63) "Miyatukomaro, moode-ko!" to ih=u. (T, 63)  
 Miyatukomaro come+out COMP say=U

'(he) said, "Miyatukomaro, come out!"

The complement could also be a chunk of a sentence (3.64) or an interjection (3.65).

- (3.64) "Kata=toki" to notamah=u ni... (T, 64)  
 a+while COMP say+HON=URU OBL

'Since (you) say, "A while", ...'

- (3.65) "Anaya!" to ih=i-ker=e-do, ... (Ise, 114)  
 Oh COMP say=I-PAST=E-although

'although (she) said, "Oh!", ...'

The to-marked complements in these examples are clearly direct quotations except for the one in (3.60), which is a declarative sentence with no sentence final particle (a sentence final particle is a property of a unit larger than a clause--a sentence or an utterance) and is ambiguous between a direct and indirect quotation. There is no case in which the to-marked complement of an utterance verb should be regarded only as an indirect quotation.

The to-marked complement occurs also with cognition verbs (e.g. 'to know) or with su 'to do', the latter of which does not otherwise take a sentential complement.

- (3.66) Nagori na=ku moy=u to sir=i-se- ba ... (T, 44)  
 trace not=KU burn=U COMP know=I-PAST=A-DS

'Had (I) known that (it) would burn without (leaving) any trace behind, ...'

- (3.67) ...kuh=i-kakar=a-mu to s=i- ki. (T, 38)  
eat+up=A- CONJEC COMP do=I-PAST

'(It) was about to eat (me) up.'

- (3.68) Tubakurame ko um=a- mu to s=uru toki ha ... (T, 50)  
swallow child bear=A-CONJEC COMP do=URU time TOP

'At the time when a swallow is about to give a birth to a child, ...'

The complement clauses in these contexts are evidently not direct quotations. It is questionable whether they are quotations at all.

The to-marked complements in the following sentences are even further different from those in (3.60)-(3.65).

- (3.69) Soko wo Yatuhasi to ih=i- ker=u ha ... (Ise, 116)  
there DO Yatuhasi COMP say=I-PAST=URU TOP

'That (they) call the place Yatuhasi is...'

- (3.70) Kore wo ahare to mo mi- de wor=u ... (T, 36)  
this DO pity COMP even see=A-NEG be=URU

'(She) was not even viewing this pitiful ...'

- (3.71) Yo no naka wo u=si to omoh=i-te ... (Ise, 124)  
world ASS inside DO sad=SI COMP think=I-SS

'(She) considered the world to be sad, and ...'

(The semantic range of the verbs ih=u 'to say', mi=ru 'to see', omoh=u 'to think', etc. is much wider than their English counterparts. These verbs are often used to mean, among other things, 'to call/name', 'to view', and 'to consider', respectively.)

Note that the semantic subject of the complement clause is raised to the direct object position of the matrix clause. Curiously, this raising applies only to the subject of an adjectival, nominal-adjectival or nominal predicate<sup>6</sup>.

It is important in understanding the nature of to to know that instances like (3.66)-(3.68) and (3.69)-(3.71) are by far scarcer than

those like (3.60)-(3.65). We may therefore characterize the Old Japanese to as a direct quotation marker which had a few extended uses.

### 3.4 The Origin of to

Where the complementizer to came from is not understood although it is a common assumption among Japanese scholars that it was derived from some major grammatical category, perhaps from a noun or a noun equivalent (demonstrative). Sansom (1928) conjectures that the complementizer to was originally "a demonstrative pronoun corresponding to the English word 'that'" (245). The basis for this contention is (i) the phonological identity between the complementizer to and the demonstrative to surviving in idiomatic expressions such as tokaku 'anyway' (> to-ka-ku:that-this-way), and (ii) the functional similarity between the complementizer to and the English complementizer that, which is clearly related to the demonstrative that. The first argument is worth considering but it is not sufficient by itself. The second argument is not well founded. Sansom (op, cit.) cites the following expressions to show the second point.

- (3.72) Akitukami to oyasima no kuni sirosimer=u sumera ...  
Manifest+God TO many+land ASS country rule=URU sovereign

'the sovereign that is a Manifest God ruling the Land of Many Islands...'

- (3.73) Titi to mas=u hito ... (The source is not indicated.)  
father TO be+HON=URU person

'the person that is a father...'

The English translation given are not the only translations for these Japanese expressions. Examples (3.72) and (3.73) may be translated as 'a sovereign who rules the country of many islands and is called Manifest God ...' and 'the person who is called father ...' respectively. These

latter interpretations are actually more natural in light of the existence of Modern Japanese expressions which directly correspond to those from Old Japanese. Compare the following Modern Japanese examples with the above Old Japanese examples.

- (3.74) Yamada to yuu saikin yuumei=ni nat-ta shoosetsuka ...  
 Yamada COMP say recently famous become-PAST novelist

'A novelist called Yamada who became famous recently ...'

- (3.45) oya to yuu mono ...  
 parent COMP say one

'the one who is to be called parent ...'

If a comparison like this is meaningful at all, the functional similarity between the to in (3.71) -(3.72) and the to yuu in these Modern Japanese examples should have a greater significance.

As an alternative, we propose that the complementizer to was derived from an utterance verb. Specifically, the to was the Conjunctive form of a verb 'to say' or 'to express vocally' occurring in the conjunctive position in a conjunction construction illustrated in (A) below, but, as the conjunction construction was reanalyzed as a subordinate construction illustrated in (B), the to came to be understood as a particle indicating quotations.

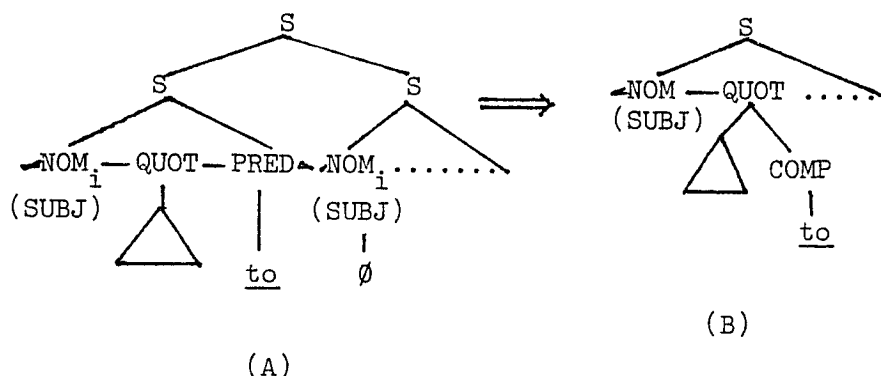


Diagram-9

Although there is no attested verb of saying that can be related to the complementizer to, there is good reason for believing that the complementizer to was once an utterance verb.

First of all, the development of complementizers from utterance verbs is very common in languages. A number of examples of the change from a 'say' verb to complementizer have been presented by Lord (1976).

Secondly, Old Japanese has sentences with "dangling" constituents marked by to such as those in the following examples.

- (3.76) Taketori=no=okina "Kono takumi ga moos=u koto ha  
Taketori=no=okina this craftsman ASS say+HON=URU thing TOP

nani goto zo" to katabuk=i-wor=i. (T, 39)  
what thing SFP COMP tilt+head=I-be=U

'Taketori=no=okina was tilting his head, (saying), "What is that which this craftsman says?"'

- (3.77) "Kono no ha nusu-bito a-nar=u" to-te hi tuk=e- mu  
this field TOP thief be-COP= COMP-SS fire set=I-CONJEC

to s=u. (Ise, 119)  
COMP do=U

'(They) attempted to set fire, (saying), "There is a thief in this field.'

- (3.78) Ima ha to- te ama no ha=goromo ki=ru ori zo ...  
now TOP COMP-SS heaven ASS feather=robe wear=URU time EMPH

(T, 65)

'It is the time when (I) wear the heavenly feather robe, (saying), "Now" that ...'

The to-marked constituent is exactly like those in (3.60)-(3.65) but they do not have any definable grammatical connection with the main verbs (katabuk=i 'to tilt one's head' in (3.76), tuk=e 'to set (fire)' in (3.77) and ki=ru 'to wear' in (3.78)). A further peculiar fact is that the complementizer to marking a dangling constituent is often followed by the conjunctive particle te, which is normally suffixed to the Conjunctive

form of verbs. These facts, however, would not be at all remarkable if to was the Conjunctive form of a verb 'to say'. What appears to be dangling is in fact a clausal conjunct consisting of a quotation and an utterance verb in the Conjunctive form.

Another phenomenon which will be explained by assuming that to was an utterance verb is the adverbial suffix to occurring in a considerably large class of adverbs as exemplified below:

- (3.79)a. ho=ho to warah=u (Ochikubo, Yamada(b))  
                   laugh
- b. goho=goho to nar=u kami (G, 139)  
                   roll=URU thunder
- c. yo=yo to nak=i-tamah=u (G, Yamada (b))  
                   cry=I-HON=U
- d. gisi=gisi to kisim=u (Makura, Yamada(b))  
                   grate=U

These adverbs are all onomatopoetic or mimetic and are difficult to translate into English: ho=ho is an imitation of a little cute sound that a woman is supposed to make when she laughs; goho=goho is that of the thunder; yo=yo is an imitation of a woman's bitter crying; and gisi=gisi is the sound made when a door or a cart grates. Some of the adverbs of this class are not direct imitations of actual sounds but rather are interpretations of visual images in terms of sound. For example:

- (3.80)a. mera=mera to yak=e-nu (T, 44)  
                   burn=I-PERF=U
- b. ture=zure to komor=i- wor=i-ker=i (Ise, 137)  
                   remain+indoors=I-be=I-PAST=U
- c. tawo=tawo to miy=u (G, Yamada (b))  
                   look=U

mera=mera describes a state of vigorously burning fire, tawo=tawo a feminine quality in the movement of a woman who is slender, delicate, etc.,



and ture=zure a languid and lonely state of being. Translated into English, they fail to retain their original visual or accoustic images. Because onomatopoeia is an extreme case of direct quotation, it is reasonable to believe that these onomatopoetic or mimetic adverbs were originally direct quotes plus the quotative complementizer to, and thus the latter in turn derived from the Conjunctive form of an utterance verb. For example, (3.80)a. may have been derived from a conjunction sentence as shown in Diagram-10 by reanalyzing the first clause as an adverb that modifies the main verb of the second clause yak=e 'to burn'.

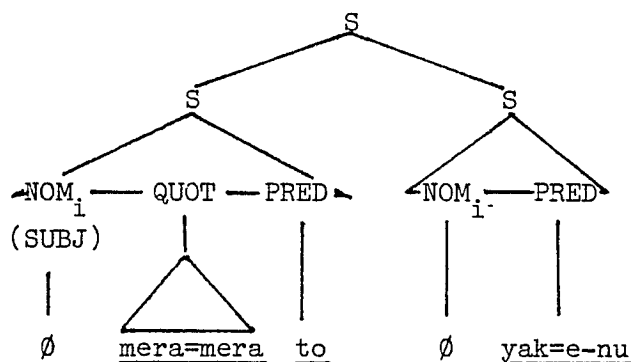


Diagram-10

This phenomenon of clause compression is commonly observed throughout the history of Japanese as will be shown in Chapter V<sup>7</sup>.

To recapitulate, we have suggested that to was the Conjunctive form of an utterance verb but that it was reanalyzed as a quotative complementizer. Once the to was established as a quotative complementizer--a kind of subordinator--it would have been easily extended to similar contexts as Lord (1976) suggests.

### 3.5 Reduplication of Verbs

We have already looked at some examples of plural forms of nouns formed by reduplicating the entire noun. A few examples of reduplicated verbs are also found.

The function of verb reduplication is to indicate that the action took place repeatedly or continuously. Consider the following.

- (3.81) Yuk=i-yuk=i-te Suruga no kuni ni itar=i- nu. (Ise, 117)  
go=I- go=I- SS Suruga ASS country OBL arrive=I-PERF=U

'(He) went on and on and arrived in the country of Suruga.'

- (3.82) "....." nado ih=i- ih=i- te tuhi=ni hoi no gotoku  
etc. say=I-say=I-SS finally wish ASS like

ah=i- n=i- ker=i. (Ise, 126)  
meet=I-PERF=I-PAST=U

'(She) was saying, "....." and so on, and finally married  
(him) as (she) wished.'

In these examples, the Conjunctive I-form of a verb is reduplicated and the same subject marking conjunctive particle te is suffixed to it. (Let us call these reduplications "I-form reduplications".) The grammatical function of reduplication is to intensify the meaning of the verb. More concrete meanings such as continuity and repetition may be inferred, however, from the meaning of the verb and from the context. When the I-form reduplication is combined with te, it may be interpreted as a continuous or repeated action occurring prior to the action described by the following clause.

More difficult to explain is the U-form reduplication as in the following examples.

- (3.83) Taketori nak=u-nak=u maus=u. (T, 61)  
Taketori cry=U-cry=U say+HON=U

'Taketori said (while) crying.'

- (3.84) Miko uta wo kahe=u- gahe=u zuz=i- tamoo-te ...  
 prince poem DO return=U-return=U read+aloud=I-HON=I-SS  
 (Ise, 159)

'The prince read aloud the poem repeatedly, and ...'

The examples we have found are not many in kind and it seems that they were already idiomatic in Old Japanese<sup>8</sup>.

Adverbial clauses with the suffix tutu, which developed from the U-form reduplication of the perfective major suffix tu (refer ahead to Chapter VII) were more commonly used for the same purpose. Consider:

- (3.85) ... mizu no ue ni asob=i-tutu iwo wo kuh=u. (Ise, 117)  
 water ASS top OBL play=I-TUTU fish DO eat=U

'(They=birds) were eating fish while they play on the water.'

- (3.86) Kohisi=sa ni ki- tutu kaher=e-do, ... (Ise, 166)  
 long+for=SA OBL come=I-TUTU return=E-although

'Although (he) did come because of his longing for (her) and return, ...'

- (3.87) Mono mo kuh=a-zu omoh=i-tutu kano ihe ni yuk=i-te  
 thing even eat=A-NEG think=I-TUTU that house OBL go=I- SS  
 tatazum=i arik=i-ker=e-do... (T, 31)  
 stand+still=I walk=I-PAST=E-although

'Although (they) went to that house and stood still and walked around, thinking (of her) without eating anything, ...'

Although most of the tutu-clauses are interpreted into English with adverbial clauses introduced by while, examples like (3.86) show that simultaneity was not a fundamental property of tutu. All we can say with respect to tutu is that it had the function of emphasizing the occurrence of an action indicated by the verb to which it is suffixed.

Recall that the U-form was normally placed at the end of a sentence and signaled sentence boundaries. The question then is: Why did the U-form occur in this nonfinal position when it was reduplicated. It seems



# Footnotes to Chapter III

1. The particle ha could occur with a WH-word in an interrogative sentence as in the following example.

nani ni ka ha s=e- mu. (T, 55)  
 what OBL Q HA do=A-CONJEC  
 'What should (I) do (with it)?'

nani ni is clearly nontopical.

2. The reason why the subject of a nominal predicate sentence is always marked with ha/mo may relate to the need of avoiding the ambiguity between the two possible interpretations of the [NOM - NOM] followed by the copula nari. Since the subject was often deleted and since the [NOM - NOM] could be an associative construction, the [NOM - NOM - nari] would have been taken as 'Subject - Predicate-nominal - COPULA' or as 'ASSOCIATIVE - NOM - COPULA' without ha marking the subject nominal.
3. As to the origin of so/zo, Ōno (1975) and others argue that it developed from an auxiliary with a copular function.
4. The fact that in many languages nouns modified by complement clauses are morphologically related to verbs has been brought to my attention by Prof. Givon, UCLA. He also suggests that the semantic relationship between a noun such as 'belief' and its complement such as 'that he is right' is parallel to that between a verb such as 'to believe' and its sentential complement such as 'that he is right'.
5. It has been demonstrated by Worawut Warutamasintop (UCLA colloquium, 1977) that the WH-word meaning 'why' is historically or synchronically related to a purpose clause meaning 'in order to do what'.
6. When the subject is raised, the copula nari cannot occur with the predicate nominal or nominal-adjective in this pattern. In Modern Japanese, on the other hand, the copula particle da occurs optionally with a predicate nominal but obligatorily with the nominal-adjective.

John wa Mary o baka ø/da to omot-ta.  
 John TOP=SUB Mary DO idiot COP COMP think-PAST  
 'John thought Mary to be an idiot.'

John wa Mary o shinsetsu \*ø/da to omot-ta.  
 John TOP=SUB Mary DO kind COP COMP think-PAST  
 'John thought Mary to be kind.'

7. tshi in SiSwate (a Bantu language spoken in Swaziland) is interesting: It is definitely the main verb meaning 'to say' in the following example (I owe these examples to Lwandle Kunene, UCLA):

(a) u- tsh -e      ngi-silima  
      3 say-PAST 1 -fool  
      'He said that I (=speaker) am a fool'

taking the subject agreement u and the tense element e. (In fact, this sentence is ambiguous; it can be interpreted as 'He said, "I am a fool".) The distribution of this SiSwate verb strikingly resemble that of the Old Japanese to. For example:

(i) The complement of the verb 'to ask', 'to answer', etc. is always introduced by tshi.

(b) John u-but-e      ku- tshi ngi-si-      tshudeni yini.  
      John 3 ask-PAST AGR- say 1- PREF- student Q  
      'John asked, "Are you a student?"'

(ii) It also occurs with another verb of saying sho 'to say'.

(c) u-sho ku-tshi ngi-silima?  
      2-say AGR-say 1- fool  
      'Do you say/mean that I am fool?'

(u- can be either the second or the third person agreement depending on the tone. The two 'say' verbs tshi and sho are different in meaning: tshi refers to the action of producing sound and may be comparable the English verb speak; sho, on the other hand, is closer to 'to mean'. )

(iii) It occurs introducing what Africanists (e.g. Welmers (1973) ideophones.

(d) inja i-      khonkhontsha i- tshi hũw-hũw.  
      dog AGR- bark      AGR-say bow-wow  
      'The dog barks bow-wow.'

(iv) Some ideophones are highly conventionalized and form adverbs combined with tshi.

(e) umfana u-hamb-e wa-tshi nyak-nyak.  
      boy 3 walk-PAST AGR-say ...  
      'The boy walked in a slithery way.'

The -tshi plus an ideophone is exactly like Old Japanese onomatopoeic or memetic adverbs with to.

8. It is actually impossible to decide whether the reduplicated verb is in the Nominal URU-form or in the Final U-form based on the examples we have found; because they are all Class-I verbs, which do not make a distinction between the two forms. However, Yamada (1961) gives some examples from the Mannyoo which indicate that it was the Final form.

## Chapter IV

### CASE MARKING

#### 4.0 Introduction

In Old Japanese, case roles of nominals (e.g. subject, direct object, etc.) were not always overtly marked, but they were almost always unambiguously inferred from various syntactic-pragmatic factors such as relative word order (e.g. Subject-Object), discourse context, and semantics of noun phrases (e.g. definiteness, animacy, topicality, etc.). In the present chapter, we will explore subtle interplays, synchronic or diachronic, between overt case markers and other factors.

Japanese case markers are different in the degree of their cohesiveness with the nominal to which they are attached from inflectional case endings as in most Indo-European languages. They are rather loosely attached to the preceding nominal constituent: They are not affected by phonological forms of the nominal to which they are attached (cf. John's s [z] and Dick's s [s] in English, mor-iig(: horse-DO) and nom-ig(: book-DO) in modern Mongolian); they are not necessarily directly attached to a noun but may occur, for example, after an entire subordinate clause (i.e. after the verb) which has a nominal function in the matrix clause. The traditional term "case particle" seems to be appropriate for such "loosely" attached case markers.

There have been significant changes in the case marking system in the history of the Japanese language. In Old Japanese, case functions were less overtly marked than in Modern Japanese: the subject was left unmarked; the direct object was optionally (but not randomly) marked;

oblique cases were not distinct from each other, and so forth. The following is a rough sketch of differences in the case marking between Old Japanese and Modern Japanese.

	Old Japanese	Modern Japanese
SUBJECT	$\emptyset$	<u>ga</u> /( <u>no</u> )
ASSOCIATIVE	<u>no</u> / <u>ga</u>	no
DIRECT OBJECT	<u>wo</u> / $\emptyset$	o
INDIRECT OBJECT	<u>ni</u>	<u>ni</u>
LOCATIVE-I	<u>ni</u>	<u>ni</u>
LOCATIVE-II	<u>ni</u>	<u>de</u>
REASON	<u>ni</u>	<u>de</u>
INSTRUMENTAL	<u>ni</u>	<u>de</u>
DIRECTIONAL	<u>he</u> / <u>ni</u>	e/( <u>ni</u> )
COMITATIVE	( <u>to</u> )	<u>to</u>
ABLATIVE	<u>yori</u> / <u>kara</u>	<u>kara</u>
ALLATIVE	<u>made</u>	<u>made</u>
STANDARD for COMPARISON	( <u>ni</u> )	<u>yori</u>

(wo and he became o and e due to phonological changes, the weakening of initial w and h. ni as a directional case particle in Modern Japanese is no longer standard. to in Old Japanese was not a special marker for the comitative. The comparative was indicated by verbal constructions using verbs such as sug=i-te: exceed=I-SS and mas=i-te: surpass=I-SS in Old Japanese.) It should be noted that the general tendency is towards a more overt case marking of nominals.



#### 4.1 wo

Since direct object marking was already the primary function of wo in the Nara Period, it is impossible to attest its precise development. This particle was also used for a purely emphatic purpose throughout the Nara and the Heian periods. There are some cases, at least in the Heian literature, where wo marks the direct object and at the same time emphasizes the direct object NP.

Japanese scholars, having noticed that wo was also used for a purely emphatic purpose in the Nara and Heian periods, generally contend that the direct object marker wo developed from the emphatic wo. What is lacking from such traditional discussions is an attempt to explain how and why an emphatic particle could become a direct object marker. In what follows, I will examine the distribution of wo and propose an explanation for this change.

##### 4.1.1 Emphatic wo

In the following examples wo follows another case particle and obviously it is the preceding particle that is more essential for semantic interpretation.

- (4.1) mi(y)=e-        zu to    wo    ih= e-do        (Genji, Yamada(b))  
be+visible=A-NEG COMP EMPH say=E-DO

'(she) said that (it) was not visible, but...'

- (4.2) kasiko he wo    mawir=e.                    (Kagerohu, Yamada(b))  
there to EMPH go= IMP

'Go there.'

Emphatic wo also follows non-nominal elements.

- (4.3) kokoro=yasu=ku wo omoh=i=nas=i-tamah=e. (Genji, Yamada(b))  
friendly= KU EMPH think=I- HON =IMP

'Please feel free.'

- (4.4) hito ni mi-(y)e -de wo makar=e. (Genji, Yamada(b))  
person OBL see-PASS-NEG EMPH come=IMP

'Come without being seen by others.'

More commonly, however, the emphatic wo occurs in sentence final position.

- (4.5) noti kuyasi=ki koto mo ar=u- beki wo. (T, 32)  
later repentful=KI thing even be=URU OBLIG EMPH

'There must be even a repentful thing later!'

'Should I not bitterly repent of it later!'

This emphatic use of wo was no longer common in Old Japanese except in sentence final position. We have found no such example.

#### 4.1.2 Direct object marker wo

Direct object NP's are not necessarily marked by wo in Old Japanese. The choice between wo and  $\emptyset$ , however, is not totally arbitrary but there seem to be two principles governing the choice. The direct object is marked by wo (i) when there is the possibility of causing ambiguity with respect to its grammatical function (i.e., whether it is the direct object or the subject) or (ii) when the nominality of the direct object is not sufficiently marked. A thorough examination of distribution of wo has revealed the following. The direct object is marked by wo:

- (i) if it is an animate noun,
- (ii) if it is a headless sentential nominal, i.e. an URU-marked nominal,
- (iii) if it is a derived nominal, i.e. the Conjunctive I-form of the verb.

To explain why animate objects are in most cases marked by wo is not too difficult, given that the subject noun is never marked in Old Japanese and the subject, particularly the subject of a transitive verb, tends to be animate.<sup>1</sup> If the direct object is animate and if the direct object as well as the subject is unmarked, a sequence as the following will arise.

(4.6)        NOM<sub>1</sub>     -     NOM<sub>2</sub>     - PRED  
               [+animate]   [+animate]

Since the word order is not as crucial in Japanese as in English, and, since there is no subject or object agreement on the verb, both 'NOM<sub>1</sub> and NOM<sub>2</sub> are almost equally strong candidates for the subjects in such a case. If, further, either one of the nominals is missing, which is quite frequent, we have a [NOM - PRED] sequence in which nothing indicates the grammatical relations of this animate nominal except the context and the selectional restriction between the verb and the noun. The simplest solution will be to mark the direct object with wo. Comrie (1976a), who investigated the case marking system in various languages, concluded that differentiating the subject and the object by marking the direct object when it is definite or animate is more widely spread than the opposite, i.e. differentiating the two nominals by marking only the subject. Obviously, it is for the speaker to judge whether ambiguity will arise or not; if he thinks that there are enough clues to an appropriate interpretation, he may leave the animate direct object unmarked. I have found eight exceptional cases such as the following in Taketori.

- (4.7) kono onna mosi tatematur=i-tar=u mono nar=a-ba,...  
 this woman supposedly give+HON=I-PERF=URU NOM COP=A-DS  
 (T, 55)

'If (you) give this woman (to me),...'

(Why URU-clause plus mono nar=a-ba is interpreted as a conditional if-clause will be explained in Chapter V.)

- (4.8) kono zyuugo- niti ha hito bito tamahar=i-te,... (T, 61)  
 this fifteen-day TOP person person give+HON=I-SS

'(the emperor) will give people (to us) on this coming fifteenth day, and...'

In all these exceptional cases, the direct object is easily identified although it is not overtly marked. For one thing, Old Japanese abounds in honorific verbs which indicate the social relationship between the subject, the object and the speaker to a certain degree. For example, tatematuru 'to give' in (4.7) indicates that the subject (giver) is lower in the social ranking than the object (receiver). For another, conjunction te, ba, etc. signal whether the subjects of the two clauses combined by them are the same or different in reference as will be discussed in Chapter V. In addition, discourse information and the pragmatic knowledge that language users have of course play important roles. Example (4.7), for example, could be ambiguous in spite of the honorific verb when it is taken out of the context. One must know that this is an utterance made by the Emperor towards Taketori, a bamboo collector who is the foster father of Kaguyshime (i.e. kono onna 'this woman'). This discourse information narrows down the possible interpretations in conjunction with the meaning of the honorific verb tatematuru to either (a) or (b).

	<u>kono onna</u>	<u>Taketori</u>	<u>The Emperor</u>
(a)	SUBJ	DO	IO
(b)	DO	SUBJ	IO

What enables one finally to choose the appropriate interpretation (b) is the knowledge about the Old Japanese custom that giving a woman to the Emperor was a normal thing to do while giving a bamboo collector to the Emperor was very unusual.

The second restriction that the direct object is marked by wo if the nominal is an URU-clause seems to have a motivation which is quite different in nature from the above (differentiation between the subject and the direct object). Observe the following examples,

- (4.9) kono me no waraha ha tahete miya-zukah=e  
 this female ASS child TOP+SUB ever court-serve=I  
tukoomatur=u be=ku mo ar=a-zu haber=u wo  
 do+HON=U OBLIG=ku even be=A-NEG=I be+HON=URU DO  
 mote=wazurah=i-haber=i. (T, 55)  
 worry=I- HON=U

'(I) have worried that this girl never seems to serve the court.'

- (4.10) "..." to ih=u wo kik=i- te, ... (T, 40)  
 COMP say=URU DO hear=I-SS

'(she) heard (him) saying, "...", and ...

(Lit: '(she) heard that (he) said, "...", and...')

The wo in these examples is marking a sentential direct object, an URU-clause. Recall that the nominal status of URU-clauses was not sufficiently marked, particularly, when the predicate was a Class-I verb like ih=u 'to say' (the Final form of this verb is also ih=u). Also recall that the Nominal and the Final forms were becoming indistinctive in

other verb classes. The direct object marking particle is an effective remedy for this ambiguity because a case particle is always placed after a nominal argument. That is, wo in sentences like (4.9) and (4.10) is functioning as a nominalizer as well as a direct object marker, and therefore, must be expressed.<sup>2</sup>

The reason for the third restriction (i.e., that wo was obligatory if the object was a derived nominal, the I-form of the verb) is similar to the second one. We have seen briefly in Chapter II that the Conjunctive I form was used as if it were a noun.

(4.11) negah=i wo kanah=uru ... (T, 51)  
 wish=I DO fulfill=URU

'that (he) fulfills (my) wish...'

The same form negah=i can be used as a verb in a conjunctive position (e.g. kami ni negah=i, ten ni tika=u: god OBL wish=I heaven OBL swear=URU 'pray to god and swear to the heaven'). One cannot tell whether the I-form is used as a verb or as a noun by looking at the verb form by itself. The case marker wo after the I-form, however, guarantees that it is nominal as well as that it is the direct object. In evidence for this, wo becomes optional if the I-form has an honorific prefix on-, which is sufficient to indicate that this I-form is nominal.

(4.12) on- okur=i s=i-ker=u. (T, 35)  
 HON-see+off=I D=I-PAST=URU

'(they) did the seeing off'

#### 4.1.3 Emphatic wo and Direct Object Marking wo

We have seen two completely unrelated functions of wo, emphatic and case marking functions. If, as suggested by Japanese grammarians, these

two uses are historically related, more specifically, if the case marker wo originated in the emphatic particle wo, how could such a change be possible? We think that there was an intermediate stage where wo was used to emphasize the direct object only. There is a piece of indirect evidence for this intermediate stage. Consider the following examples.

- (4.13) hotoke no mi- isi no hati to ih=u mono ar=i.  
 Buddha ASS HON-stone ASS pot COMP say=URU thing be=U

Sore wo tor=i- te tamah=e. (T, 33)  
 that DO take=I-SS give+HON=IMP

'There is a thing called Buddha's stone pot. Take that and give (it) (to me).'

- (4.14) "... to nonosir=i- ker=i. Kore wo Kaguyahime  
 COMP yell=I- PAST=U this DO Kaguyahime

kik=i-te... (T, 36)  
 hear=I-SS

'(they) yelled, "...". Kaguyahime heard this, and...'

The demonstrative sore/kore in these examples is anaphoric, i.e., it is referring to something that has been introduced in the preceding sentence: the pot that has been mentioned in the first sentence in (4.13) and the entire situation described by the preceding sentence? Why is it that an anaphoric nominal is indicated by a demonstrative here while anaphoric nominals are usually suppressed in Old Japanese sentences? It is because the direct object is "emphasized" (this undefined term will be explicated below). The message communicated by this sentence is closer to "Take that particular pot I just mentioned for me!" rather than to "Take it for me". The fact that this emphasized object sore/kore is always marked by wo (at least in Taketori) is an indirect support for our hypothesis that there was a period in which the principal

function of wo was to emphasize the direct object between the period of general emphatic wo and direct object marking wo. It is also worth mentioning that the emphasized sore/kore marked by wo often precedes the subject if the subject is present as in (4.14).

Assuming that wo once had the function of "emphasizing" the direct object, what kind of emphatic function it was needs to be made more explicit.

It has been noted that the modern Japanese subject marker ga has an emphatic function. Compare the following two sentences by way of illustration of this point.

- (4.15) John wa Karihorunia shussin desu.  
John TOP=SUB California from be

'John is from California.'

- (4.16) John ga Karihorunia shussin desu.  
John SUB California from be

'John is from California.'

In stative sentences like these, the subject is usually marked as the topic and the new-old information distinction is straightforward; the topic-marked subject NP is old and the predicate is new. When the subject is marked by the subject marker, on the other hand, recognition of new and old information is not a simple matter. Sentence (4.16) for instance is more marked than (4.15) in that it sounds strange unless a special context is given. If it is uttered as an answer to a question like: "I heard that one of the students in my class is from California. Who is it?", it is perfectly acceptable. Its meaning is close to that of John is from California pronounced with the primary stress on John or It is John who is from California. Since it is presupposed that there



is someone from California in the speaker's class, the predicate Karihorunia syussin des-u 'is from California' is not new. The identity of John is also known to both the speaker and the hearer, and therefore, is old. But it must contain some new information to be meaningful as an answer. What is new about this sentence is the association of the person called John and someone who is from California. It adds the information that the subject of Karihorunia syussin desu 'is from California' is John.

This interpretation of an "emphatic" use of the modern Japanese subject marker seems to apply for the "emphatic" use of the Old Japanese direct object marker wo (and ga an Old Japanese genitive marker which we will discuss shortly). That is, wo was used to assert that the wo-marked NP is the direct object, not the subject nor the indirect object. In all these cases, what is new and emphasized is the grammatical relation that the already known nominal holds with other element(s) in the sentence. This function of emphasizing the direct-objecthood and the function of differentiating the direct object from the subject are two sides of the same coin. If the direct-objecthood of a nominal is emphasized, the direct object nominal is necessarily differentiated from the subject. If, therefore, we assume that there was a period when wo was an emphatic marker for the direct object between the period when wo was a general emphatic marker and the period when wo came to be used as the nonemphatic direct object case marker, the change from the emphatic wo to the case marking wo will be more naturally explained.

In summary, the direct object marker developed from an emphatic particle will be as follows:

Stage I: wo was an emphatic particle that occurred with any constituent at one time.

Stage II: the use of wo, an emphatic particle, came to be limited to the emphasis of nonsubject nominals.

Stage III: wo became an emphatic marker of the direct object.

Stage IV: wo came to be used to mark the direct object where there was ambiguity between the direct object and the subject.

Stage V: as its emphatic force is weakened after the direct object, wo was grammaticalized as the direct object marker and came to occur obligatorily with the direct object in Modern Japanese, at least, in formal speech.

These stages are not of course discrete. Especially, it is more likely that the second and the third stages were almost concurrent.

#### 4.2 no and ga

The most widely used associative particle in Old Japanese is no. ga which is known as the subject marker in Modern Japanese, was also used as an associative particle although its use was far more limited and its occurrence was much less frequent than no.<sup>3</sup> These two particles have attracted the attention of most Japanese scholars who have worked on Classical Japanese. However, there are many difficult questions to be answered about these particles: Where did they come from to begin with? Was ga ever used as the subject marker in Old Japanese? Was there any functional difference between the associative construction with no and that with ga? In the following sections, we will first characterize the difference between the no-associative and the ga-

associative, and then, will discuss why ga eventually became the subject marking particle.

#### 4.2.1 no and ga as associative particles

Both no and ga occur in the context of [NOM \_\_\_\_ NOM], but the occurrence of ga is considerably more limited than that of no. For example, no is used more than 400 times but ga only 28 times in Taketori. Limiting ourselves to associative constructions in which both nominals are nouns, we have found the following facts. First, personal pronouns occur only with ga. Second, if there is a genitive relationship (the first noun being the possessor of the second) or a partitive relationship (the second being part of the first) between the two nouns, either no or ga occurs; and only no occurs otherwise. Here are some examples.

##### (4.17) only ga

- a) wa ga take: 1st=Person ASS height 'my height' (T)
- b) sa ga kami: 3rd=Person ASS hair 'their hair' (T)
- c) wono ga mi: own ASS body '(my) own body' (T)
- d) nanigasi ga imouto: 1st=Person ASS sister 'my sister' (G)
- e) kimi ga sato: 2nd=Person ASS village 'your village' (Ise)

##### (4.18) either no or ga

- a) so ga kubi: 3rd=Person Ass head 'its head' (T)
- b) so no na-dome: 3rd=Person Ass name-PL 'their names' (T)
- c) Taketori ga ihe: Taketori ASS house 'Taketori's house' (T)
- d) Kaguyahime no ihe: Kaguyahime Ass house 'Kaguyahime's house' (T)

- e) Miyatukomaro ga te: Miyatukomaro ASS hand  
'Miyatukomaro's hand' (T)
- f) Okina no te: Okina ASS hand 'Okina's hand' (T)

(4.19) only no

- a) Taketori no okina: Taketori ASS old+man 'an old man  
called Taketori' (T)
- b) kano kuni no hito: that country ASS person 'people of  
that country/people from that  
country' (T)
- c) higasi no umi: east ASS sea 'a sea in the east' (T)
- d) huzi no kusuri: no+death ASS medicine 'medicine for  
no death (i.e. medicine for eternal  
life)' (T)
- e) hitori no otoka: one+person ASS man 'a man' (Ise)
- f) tada no hito: commonness ASS person 'common person' (G)

One can hardly figure out from these examples alone what the difference between no and ga was. Some Japanese scholars (e.g. Yamada, 1961, drew a conclusion that ga was more emphatic than no and others (e.g. Aoki (1952) argued that the difference was sociological or psychological--no was used to show respect (to who? K.A.) or to keep a psychological distance while ga was used to express friendliness or intimacy, and thus to express contempt, hate, etc (again to who? K.A.).

Recall that there were, in addition to the no-associative and the ga-associative, associatives without an overt associative marker, which was, unfortunately, completely overlooked in the past studies. In order to come to grips of associative constructions and associative particles in Old Japanese, one need include the zero-associative as well.

What seems to be of our particular interest is the fact that the distribution of the zero-associative is almost complementary with that

of the ga-associative. That is, the zero-associative occurs where the ga-associative does not. Thus, the three associativeives are distributed as in the table below in Old Japanese.

Associative Marker	First NOM		
	Pronoun	Possessor	Others
∅	X	X	0
<u>ga</u>	0	0	X
<u>no</u>	X	0	0

Table-8 The Marking of Associatives

From this pattern and the fact that the zero-associative and the ga-associative were much lower in frequency than the no-genitive in Old Japanese and they became less and less common to be completely obsolete in Modern Japanese while the no-associative is quite productive, it would follow that the zero-associative and the ga-associative belong to an older grammatical layer, and, if so, what the ga-associative should first be compared with is the zero-associative rather than the no-associative. Since the zero-associative and the ga-associative are complementary, the difference between them is straightforward: ga was required if the first nominal was the possessor of the second, but ∅ otherwise.

We have excluded deliberately that ga in place names as in (4.20) and the ga in idiomatic expressions as in (4.21) from our generalization above.

- (4.20) a. Takama=ga=hara  
b. Irako=ga=sima  
c. Tuki=ga=se
- (4.21) a. kami ga kami: upper (part) GA upper (part) 'the  
topmost'  
b. simo ga simo: low (part) GA low (part) 'the lowest'  
c. koto ga naka ni: thing GA inside OBL 'among (all)  
things'

Although these are fixed expressions and are not synchronic associative constructions of Old Japanese, it is obvious that they developed from associative constructions. The fact that the first noun in these historical associative constructions is not necessarily the possessor of the second, indicates that the use of ga was wider before the Old Japanese period. However, the examples available are not sufficient to make any further generalization about such a stage.

To summarize, there was a period when there were two associative constructions, [N = Ø - N] and [N - ga - N], which were complementarily used, but later a new associative no came about (we will propose in Chapter VII a hypothesis that no was derived from the Nominal form of a pre-Japanese locative verb) and, as a result, the old associatives became gradually obsolete. In a transitory period, ga dominated no where the first nominal was a personal pronoun for quite a while. The fact that ga took on various sociological or psychological values such as "vulgar", "contemptuous", etc. is also an indication that ga was already a nonstandard associative.

#### 4.2.2 no and ga marking subject

We have previously noted that the subject of an URU-clause was often marked by no or ga. Here are some examples.

- (4.22) tubakurame no motar=u koyasugai... (T, 50)  
swallow ASS have+be=URU cowry+shell

'a cowry shell which a sparrow has...'

- (4.23) nandi ga mot=i- te haber=u Kaguyahime... (T, 55)  
you ASS have=I-SS be+HON=URU Kaguyahime

'Kaguyahime, who you possess...'

- (4.24) oya no notamah=u koto... (T, 37)  
parent ASS say+HON=URU thing

'the thing that the parent says...'

- (4.25) kono takumi ga moos=u koto... (T, 39)  
this craftsman ASS say+HON=URU thing

'the thing that this craftsman says...'

The marking of the subject of URU-clauses with no/ga had an important function of differentiating the matrix subject and the constituent subject. Since the subject was the first element both in matrix clauses and in URU-clauses, if neither of the subjects were marked, two unmarked nominals would have occurred next to each other, and, if either of the subjects was missing as was often the case, it would have been difficult to decide whether the remaining unmarked subject belonged to the matrix clause or to the URU-clause. This ambiguity was successfully avoided by marking the subject of the constituent subject, the subject of the URU-clause. Since the subject marking by no/ga had such a perceptual motivation, it was not a special property of URU-clauses alone. There are some URU-clauses which have unmarked subjects although not many in number. There are, conversely, conjunctive clauses and to-clauses which

have the subject marked by no/ga. The marking of the subject with no/ga, being motivated by the speaker's desire for ambiguity avoidance, is determined on the basis of the pragmatic-semantic bracketing of clauses, not by the morpho-syntactic categorization of clauses, such as nominal clauses, conjunctive clauses, and quotation clauses. URU-clauses are typical subordinate clauses but some of them may be analyzed as conjunctive clauses and behave accordingly. Conjunctive clauses are generally analyzed as coordinately conjoined clauses but some of them are understood as subordinate clauses such as clauses of time, reason, condition, etc. and behave like subordinate clauses in certain respects. Here lies the possibility of diachronic changes from subordinate to conjunctive and from conjunctive to subordinate, which we will discuss in Chapter V.

The next question is: Where did the subject marking no/ga come from? Most Japanese grammarians assume that the no/ga in the associative construction [NOM - ASS - NOM] is basic (historically or synchronically? K.A.) and the subject marking no/ga as derived from it. Asami (1956), for example, considers the "relation" illustrated in (A) as starting point to move towards a new "relation" (B).



In (A) the no is the first nominal of an associative construction associated with a complex nominal URU-clause plus a head nominal. In (B), on the other hand, the NOM marked by no is the subject of an URU-clause modifying the following NOM. This is what we may call the reanalysis of the associative as the subject. The pivot of this reanalysis is the existence of examples which are analyzable as (A) or (B).



Consider the following.

- (4.26) otoko no ki- tar=i ker=u kari- ginu... (Ise, 111)  
 man ASS wear=I-PERF=I-PAST=URU hunting-robe  
(NOM no)- (... = URU )-(NOM)  
 (a) 'the man's hunting robe which (he) was wearing...'  
 (b) 'the hunting robe which the man was wearing...'

According to Asami, the two readings (a) and (b) are possible for this example depending on how the sequence [NOM-no-...=URU-NOM] is analyzed, (A) or (B). If it is analyzed as (A), otoko no is exactly the same as otoko no in a more clearly associative construction such as otoko no kari ginu: man ASS hunting robe 'the man's hunting robe.' Because of this possibility of multi-analysis, he continues, the [NOM no] in this position eventually came to be taken as the subject, reanalyzing the no as the subject marker, and once this analysis had taken place, the no could occur with the subject of headless URU-clauses, as well.

The hypothesis summarized above appears quite plausible but it is not totally convincing. Why did [NOM no] have to be misunderstood as the subject to begin with? Since no was an indicator of the associative and the subject was as a rule unmarked, there should not have been ambiguity between the associative and the subject. Why did the reanalysis happen, then? The nature of this reanalysis seems to become much clearer when the motivation for marking the subordinate clause subject that we previously discussed in this section is taken into account. There was the need for differentiating the subordinate clause subject from the matrix subject and marking the subordinate clause subject with the associative no/ga was the best available solution. The associative no/ga was safer than the direct object wo or the oblique ni, for one

thing. (Marking the subject with wo or ni was out of the question because to keep the subject from the direct object and oblique nominals within the subordinate clause was essential.) For another, there was a similarity between the associative and the subject of an URU-clause: both the associative and the subordinate clause subject were in the first position of a larger nominal unit. Thus, analogical extension was easy between these two nominals.

In summary, the use of the associative marker no/ga was teleological; it was motivated by the desire to avoid the ambiguity between the matrix subject and the subordinate clause subject. The existence of examples like (4.26) in which the [NOM no] is analyzable either as the associative or as the subject may have been one of the factors in the choice of the associative no/ga for this purpose but it should not have been the cause of the reanalysis since there was no morphological ambiguity between the associative and the subject. Although it is not possible to prove the correctness of our analysis in terms of the data, it is undeniable that the ambiguity between subject nominals would have been more impairing than the ambiguity between nominals with different case functions (e.g. between the subject and the direct object) and therefore had to be avoided. I also suspect that the no/ga was not really reanalyzed as the subject marker, but it was conceived of as the associative particle utilized to mark the subordinate subject for the reason to be discussed in the following section.

#### 4.2.3 Later development of no and ga

The ga and no marking the subject were considerably different in frequency and distribution. The occurrence of ga was extremely

infrequent as seen from the table in

	Taketori	Ise	Genji
<u>ga</u>	6	10	5
<u>no</u>	45	100	152

Table-7 Frequency of subject marking no and ga

In all the cases of ga, the subject nominal is human while the subject marked by no is not so limited. This discrepancy, however, is quite parallel to that between the no and ga in associative constructions and therefore, should not be surprising at all granting that subject marking no and ga are essentially the same as associative no and ga.

Later, however, the two functions, marking the associative and marking the subordinate subject, which were fulfilled by no and ga in Old Japanese, came to be specialized by no and ga, respectively. The subject marking no is almost archaic<sup>4</sup> and the associative ga is no longer acceptable in the standard speech of Modern Japanese. The subject marking ga, on the other hand, has expanded its domain and occurs in final clauses as well. This functional split is depicted in the following diagram.



Diagram-11

This phenomenon of functional split itself is quite natural, being in

conformity with the principle of "one meaning - one form" (Anttila 1972a,b and 1974). Given a situation as (A), the learner of this language tends to impose a more optimal analysis on these morphemes. The question is: Why was it ga rather than no that was eventually chosen as the subject marker. The restriction on the use of ga, that is, ga could be used to associate two nominals only when there was a possessor-possessed or whole-part relationship between the two nominals suggests an answer in conjunction with recent findings on the nature of the subject. Keenan (1976) characterized the notion of subject as a cluster of certain properties: The subject of some sentence types may have more of such subject properties than others, and "so being a subject is a more or less thing, not an all or nothing one". The relevant properties here are:

1. Subjects of b-sentences (basic sentences) are absolutely referential. (1. in Keenan)
2. The referent(s) of a subject NP are usually known to the speaker and much more likely to be known to both speaker and hearer than the referent(s) of nonsubjects. (4. in Keenan)

These properties are shared by genitives, too. In order for the associative to receive a genitive interpretation, it must be at least referential. It is hardly possible to interpret an associative construction such as kogane no tama ( gold ASS ball ) as having a possessor-possessed relationship. An associative construction in which the first nominal is definite (known and referential), on the other hand, will automatically be assigned a possessor-possessed or whole-part interpretation. Then, it was quite natural that ga, the genitive-associative became the subject if either ga or no were to be chosen.

There is no doubt about the change from the genitive ga to the subject marker ga because it was used at one time mainly as the genitive-associative but now it is used only as the subject marker (we are not considering ga as a conjunctive particle here). However, it is not so clear whether we should say that no and ga were reanalyzed as subject markers at the stage where no and ga were still used to mark associatives more frequently than to mark the subject of subordinate clauses. The no and ga marking the subordinate clause subject may have still been conceived as the same morphemes as the no and ga in associative constructions in Old Japanese. It seems that the use of the associative no and ga for subject marking was dependent on the nouniness of subordinate clauses, particularly, URU-clauses. (It is commonly observed in languages that the subject of a nominal clause is in the genitive case. For example, John's in John's talking rudely corresponds to Subject John in a finite sentence John talks rudely.) Later, however, only ga was reanalyzed as the subject marker and came to occur with the subject of an independent clause as well as of a subordinate clause. Therefore, when the nouniness of URU-clauses was lost due to the coalescence of the URU- form and the Final U-form, the subject marking no, which was still an associative marker, lost its ground while ga, having been reanalyzed as the subject marker gained even more ground. (Although both the matrix and the subordinate subjects can be marked by ga, they are usually kept distinct in Modern Japanese by the use of the topic marker wa with the matrix subject only.)

The history of no and ga will then be summarized in the following way: First, the associative was marked by ga or  $\emptyset$ ; then, a new associative marker no came into existence gradually taking over the functional

domain of ga (recall that in Old Japanese no could not be used with personal pronouns but it is not so limited in Modern Japanese); both no and ga were utilized to differentiate the subordinate clause subject from the main clause subject, but only ga, occurring with referential and perhaps definite nominals only, was reanalyzed as the subject marker; as the coalescence of the URU-form and the U-form, the use of no for marking the subordinate subject became infrequent while the opposite was the case with ga, i.e., marking the subject with ga became obligatory.

#### 4.3 ni

There were a variety of uses of ni: ni as a conjunction, ni as the Conjunctive form of the copula, ni as the Conjunctive form of an auxiliary of perfection and as an adverbial suffix, but we will confine ourselves to case particle ni in this Chapter because other uses involve some complex structures that we have not discussed yet. The case particle ni was characteristically unspecific and was quite often ambiguous with respect to the semantic case category. Let us first look at various examples of case particle ni.

##### (i) location

- (4.27) koko ni owas= uru Kaguyahime... (T, 64)  
 here OBL be+HON=URU Kaguyahime

'Kaguyahime who is in here...'

- (4.28) Okina to=guti ni wor= i. (T, 61)  
 Okina door OBL be=U

'Okina was at the door.'

(ii) Temporal

- (4.29) ne no toki bakari ni... (T, 63)  
mouse ASS time about OBL

'at about the time of mouse...'

- (4.30) te ni hirameru mono sawar=u toki ni... (T, 52)  
hand OBL cold thing touch=URU time OBL

'at the time when something cold touched his hand...'

(iii) Direction

- (4.31) kano ihe ni yuk=i-te... (T, 31)  
that house OBL go=I-SS

'(he) went to that house, and...'

- (4.32) Kaguyahime no ihe ni mot=e=k=i-te... (T, 34)  
Kaguyahime ASS house OBL bring=I-SS

'(he) brought (it) to Kaguyahime's house, and...'

(iv) Dative

- (4.33) Kaguyahime ni ih=u. (T, 31)  
Kaguyahime OBL say=U

'(he) says to Kaguyahime'

- (4.34) Woukei ni kane wo toras=u. (T, 41~42)  
Woukei OBL money DO give=U

'(he) gave money to Woukei.'

(v) Benefactive

- (4.35) hito ni ha negaw=a-mu koto kanah=e-mu. (T, 45)  
person OBL TOP wish=A-CONJEC thing fulfill=A-CONJEC

'I will fulfill what he will wish for the person who...'

- (4.36) onna ni kahar=i-te (Ise, 174)  
woman OBL substitute=I-SS

'(I) substitute for the woman, and ...'

(vi) Instrumental

- (4.37) Okina no te ni oos=i=tat=e-tar=a-mu mono ... (T, 55)  
Okina ASS hand OBL bring=up=I-PERF=A-CONJEC person

'the one who (Okina) must have brought up with his  
(=Okina's) hand...'

- (4.38) hi ni yak=a-mu ... (T, 44)  
fire OBL burn=A-CONJEC

'(one) will burn (it) with fire'

(vii) Agent

- (4.39) hito ni mot=e=kas=i=zuk-a-r=e- te ... (G, Yamada(b))  
person OBL wait+on=A- PASS=I-SS

'(she) was waited on by people, and ...'

- (4.40) kono otoko ni hodas=a-r=e- te (Ise, 144)  
this man OBL overcome=A-PASS=I-SS

'(I) was overcome by this man, and ...'

(viii) Manner

- (4.41) ka=yoo- ni ... (T, 58)  
this=way OBL

'...this way'

- (4.42) noke=zama ni (T, 52)  
head=down OBL

'with his head down...'

(ix) Reason

- (4.43) hitaburu=ni inab= i=moos=a-mu koto no  
stubbornly refuse=I-HON=A-CONJEC thing ASS

itohosi-sa ni ... (T, 37)  
sorry-NOM OBL

'because (I) being sorry for refusing stubbornly...'

- (4.44) koi ni sin-a-zu ... (Ise, 120)  
love OBL die=A-NEG

'(I) do not die because of love...'



(x) Purpose

- (4.45) on=tome- ni ha wi- te ik=a-zi. (T, 57)  
HON=companion OBL TOP take=I-SS go=A-NEG+CONJ

'(I) will not take (you) for/as (my) companion.'

- (4.46) kazasi ni sas=u. (Ise, 164)  
hair=accessory OBL put=on-U

'(I) put (it) on for/as a hair accessory.'

(xi) Result

- (4.47) aya=orimono ni e wo kak= i-te ... (T, 46)  
patterned=tapestry OBL picture DO write=I-SS

'(he) drew a picture and made patterned tapestry...'

'(he) wove a patterned tapestry...'

- (4.48) yoki hodo nar=u hito ni nar=i-n=ure-ba... (T, 29)  
good degree COP=URU person OBL become=I-PERF=URU-DS

'since (she) has become a person who is as good as  
(anyone)....'

There are cases in which it is difficult to tell what semantic case roles should be assigned. Also there are verbs that take a ni-marked nominal as the object instead of wo-marked nominal.

- (4.49) a. te ni hiram-er-u mono sahar-u (T, 52)  
hand OBL cool-I=be-URU thing touch-URU

'something cool touched (his) hand'

- b. hana ni ak=a- nu ... (Ise, 130)  
flower OBL satiate=A-NEG

'(I) will not be satiated with flowers ...'

- c. otoko wa onna ni ah=u ... (T, 32)  
man TOP=SUB woman OBL meet-URU

'a man meets a woman...'

- d. kore ni sugur=u ha ar=a-zi. (T, 41)  
this OBL exceed=URU TOP=SUB be=A-NEG+CONJEC

'there must not be what exceeds this.'

- e. oose=goto ni sitagah=i-te ... (T, 45)  
 order=HON OBL follow= I-SS

'(she) followed the order, and ...'

The multiple-function of ni and the resulting ambiguity as to the case role were certainly characteristic of Old Japanese ni. Some of the uses of Old Japanese ni have been replaced by other case particles. Particle de (developed some time after the Heian Period) is now used to express

- (i) nonargument locative<sup>5</sup>
- (ii) instrumental, and
- (iii) reason.

For example, locative ni and de are not interchangeable in the following pairs in modern Japanese.

- (4.50) a. John wa Tokyo ni sun- de i-ru.  
 John TOP=SUB Tokyo Loc live-TE be-NT  
 'John is living (=lives) in Tokyo.'
- b. John wa Tokyo de eigo o osie-te i-ru.  
 John TOP=SUB Tokyo Loc English DO teach-TE be-NT  
 'John is teaching English in Tokyo.'
- (4.51) a. John wa gakko ni i-ru.  
 John TOP=SUB school Loc be-NT  
 'John is in school.'
- b. John wa gakkoo de benkyoo si-te i-ru.  
 John TOP=SUB school Loc studying do-TE be-NT  
 'John is studying in school.'

This distinction was not made in Old Japanese. Thus, nonargument locatives were marked by ni as in (4.52)-(4.54) as well as argument locatives.

- (4.52) kono kuni ni mumar=e- n=uru ... (T, 64)  
 this country OBL be+born=I-PERF=URU

'(I) was born in this country...'

- (4.53) tasuk=e-tamah=u-be=ki hito mo na=ki tokoro ni  
 help= I-HON- U-OBLIG=KI person even not=KI place OBL

iroiro=no yamahi wo s= i-te ... (T, 38)  
 various disease DO do=I-SS

'(I) had various sicknesses in places where people who should help (me) were not, and ...'

- (4.54) no ni arik=e-do ... (Ise, al51)  
 field OBL walk=E-DO

'although (he) walked in the field...'

Also compare the following modern Japanese sentences with an instrumental noun or a noun of "reason" with the Old Japanese examples (4.37)-(4.38) and (4.43)-(4.44).

- (4.55) John wa naifu de / \*ni yubi wo kit-ta.  
 John TOP=SUB knife Inst finger DO cut-PAST

'John cut his finger with knife.'

- (4.56) John wa byooki de/\*ni sin-da.  
 John TOP=SUB sick Reason die-PAST

'John died of sickness.'

Another change is that the benefactive meaning is made more explicit in Modern Japanese by using newly developed benefactive suffixes which are tacked on the verb, namely, yaru (if the subject is the giver of the benefit) and morau (if the subject is the receiver of the benefit).

- (4.57) John wa Mary ni hon o yonde-yar=u.  
 John TOP=SUB Mary IO book DO read-GIVE=NT

'John reads a book for Mary.'

There is clearly seen a tendency in these changes towards "more oblique case particles with more specialized functions" so that ni may be saved mainly for the argument locative and the indirect object.

#### 4.4 to

This particle also has several grammatical functions such as marking certain cases, conjoining nominals, indicating quotation or complementation, and introducing an adverbial clause. Sansom (1928) conjectures that to in all these uses came from a demonstrative to 'that' or 'such a thing', which is found in idiomatic expressions such as to=ka=ku: that=this=KU(?) 'anyhow'. The following example from Taketori shows more clearly this pronominal use of to.

(4.58) to ar=i to mo ka= ku ar=i to mo... (T, 56)  
that be=U COMP even this=KU be=U COMP even

'anyway'

(Lit: 'even if (it) is that, even if (it) is this')

Demonstrative to may be relatable to the direct quotation marker to and further to the complementizer to by assuming that a structure (A), where to is a pronoun referring back to the preceding sentence, was reanalyzed as a single sentence with a structure (B).

(A) [...]<sub>S</sub> [TO ih=u]<sub>S</sub>  
that say-U

'...One said that.'

(B) [[...]to ih-u]  
COMP say-U

'One said that...'

However, it is rather difficult to relate the demonstrative to to the case particle to or to the conjunctive particle to. Therefore, we do not attempt to show that the nominal suffix to (i.e. case marking to and nominal conjunction to) has a common origin with to in other uses.

#### 4.4.1 to as a case particle

The Old Japanese to as a case particle was of a very obscure nature: It is rarely found marking the comitative to in the literature. The following is the only example of comitative to that I found in Taketori.

- (4.59) iyasi=ki takumi-ra to morotomo=ni onazi tokoro ni  
low+class=KI craftsman-PL TO together same place OBL  
kakyu=e-wi- tamah=i-te ... (T, 40)  
hide=I- be=I-HON=I- SS  
'(he) was hiding in the same place together with low class  
craftsmen, and...'

No example of comitative to is found in Ise. A verbal expression s=i-te: do=I-SS 'doing' is instead used in the following as if it were a comitative case marker.

- (4.60) tomo to s=uru hito hitori hutari s=i-te  
friend COMP do=URU person one+person two+persons do=I-SS  
yuker=i (Ise, 115, 116)  
go+be=U  
'(he) has gone with one or two persons (whom) (he) was  
considering (his) friends.'

(The verb 'to do', as will be discussed in Chapter VI, has a wider range of meaning than the English do and is translated with English be, do, make, cause, etc.)

The following is an example of comitative to from Genji reported in Yamada (1952).

- (4.61) Goroo=no=kimi to-te zar=e-tar=u wakoodo no  
 Gorco=no=kimi COMP-SS smart=I-PERF=URU youth ASS  
 ar=u to sugoroku ut=i- --tamah=u (G, Yamada(b))  
 be=URU TO backgammon play=I- -HON=U  
 '(he) played at backgammon with a smart youth called  
 Goroo=no=kimi, who was there.'

In the following examples, to appears to be marking some oblique cases other than comitative.

- (4.62) warahabe to haradat=i- tamaher=u ka. (G, 184)  
 child TO get+angry=I-HON+be=URU Q  
 'are you angry with the child?'
- (4.63) moto no katati to nar= i-tamah=i ne. (T, 57)  
 origin ASS shape TO become=I-HON=I SFP  
 'Please become the original shape!'
- (4.64) Yuugaho to otor=a- zi ya. (G, Yamada (b))  
 Yuugaho TO be+inferior=A-NEG=CONJ Q  
 '(she) is not inferior to Yuugaho.'
- (4.65) wa ga onna mi- ko- tati to onazi turi ni  
 I ASS woman HON-child-PL TO same rank OBL  
 omoh=i- kikoe-mu. (G, 46)  
 think=I-HON=A-CONJEC  
 '(I) will think (him) to be the same rank as my princesses.'

In (4.62) warahabe is not a participant in "getting angry" but it is the object of the subject nominal's anger. In Modern Japanese, the object of haradatu 'to get angry' is marked by ni, not to. The to-marked nominal moto no katati 'the original shape' is the result of "becoming" and is not significantly different from the ni-marked nominal in (4.48). Yuugaho in (4.64) and wa ga onna mi-ko-tati in (4.65) are the standard of comparison, and again, could be marked by ni as well.

(4.66) yo no oboye hanayaka nar=u on-kata  
 world ASS reputation remarkable COP=URU HON-lady

ni mo otor=a- zu ... (G, 28)  
 OBL even be+inferior=A-NEG

'(she) is not inferior to a lady whose reputation in the  
 world is remarkable, ...'

It seems that we cannot make any conclusive generalization about the  
 semantic function of to based on these few examples.

#### 4.4.2 Nominal conjunction and to

The most predominant way of conjoining nominals is simply juxta-  
 posing the nominals to be conjoined.

(4.67) a. otoko onna ito kasiko=ku omoh=i=kawas- i-te...  
 man woman very deeply=KU think+each+other=I-SS

(Ise, 124)

'a man and a woman thought deeply of each other, and...'

b. yoru hiru ki- ker=u ... (T, 31-31)  
 night day come=I-past=URU

'(they) came night and day'

c. titi haha ar=i. (T, 60)  
 father mother be=U

'(I) have a father and a mother.'

d. kinu wata zeni nado ... (T, 45)  
 silk cotton money

'silk, cotton, money, etc. ...'

(4.68) a. Okina no inoti kyoo asu to mo sir= a-zu  
 Okina life today tomorrow COMP even know=A-NEG

(T, 33)

'(I=Okina) do not know that (my) life (span) is today  
 or tomorrow.'

'(I=Okina) do not know whether my life span is today  
 or tomorrow.'

b. otor=i masar=i ha sir=a-mu. (T, 32)  
 worse better YOP=DO know=A-CONJEC

'(I) will know the worse(man) or (better (man)).'

Note that juxtaposed nouns in each examples are interpreted as being conjoined either jointly (examples in (4.67)) or disjointly (examples in (4.68)). Since a pair of unmarked nouns could also be interpreted as an associative construction, the first noun modifying the second, a sequence of unmarked nouns was potentially ambiguous in three ways, between the 'and'-interpretation, the 'or'-interpretation and the modifying-modified interpretation. In actual use, however, unmarked nominal series were almost always given unique interpretations by inference based on the meanings of the nouns and the context, and, if there was the possibility of misinterpretation, 'and' conjunctions or associative constructions could be overtly marked with to or no/ga, respectively.

There were several ways of conjoining nouns with to: Both conjuncts may be marked by to as in (4.69)-(4.71), or only the first conjunct or the second conjunct may be marked by to as in (4.72) and (4.73).

(4.69) siro=ki tori no hasi to asi to aka=ki ... (Ise, 117)  
 white=KI bird ASS bill TO foot TO red=KI

'a white bird whose bill and feet are red ...'

(4.70) kono miya to hime=miya to wo zo mi- sas=i- ..  
 this prince TO princess TO DO EMP\_ see=A-CAUS=I-

(G, Yamada (b))

'...make (her) see the prince and princess...'

(4.71) sono hasira to byoobu to no moto ni yor=i- te ..  
 that pillar TO screen TO ASS place OBL approach=I-SS

(G, Yamada (b))

'(he) approached the place between the pillar and the screen, and ...'



- (4.72) uba to kono hito namu ... wasur=e-gata=ku-te ...  
 nurse TO this person EMPH forget=I-difficult=KU-SS

(G, Yamada (b))

'...was difficult for the nurse and this person to forget,  
 and ...'

- (4.73) Monomiguruma=daisyoo Tyuunagon to wo mi- te, ...  
 Monomiguruma=daisyoo Tyuunagon TO DO see=I-SS

(G, Yamada (b))

'...saw Monomiguruma=daisyoo and Tyuunagon, and ...'

In Modern Japanese the last type, in which only the second conjunct is marked, is not acceptable. It is not clear to us whether this to was really a conjunction. We will consider this question in the following section.

#### 4.4.3 Comitative and Conjunction

It has been noticed that there is a semantic similarity between a sentence with conjoined nominals as in (a) and one with a comitative as in (b) below.

(7.74)a. John and Mary went to Tokyo.

b. John went to Tokyo with Mary.

Sentence a. is ambiguous as to whether it involves two separate events, John's going to Tokyo and Mary's going to Tokyo (Meaning<sub>1</sub>) or a single event, John and Mary's going to Tokyo together (Meaning<sub>2</sub>). Sentence b. is semantically equivalent to Meaning<sub>2</sub> of sentence a. Lakoff and Peters (1969) attempted to capture the ambiguity of a. and the similarity between the meaning of sentence b. and Meaning<sub>2</sub> of sentence a. in the following manner. Sentence a. with Meaning<sub>1</sub> is derived from an underlying structure with two clauses 'John went to Tokyo' and 'Mary went to Tokyo' by way of Conjunction Reduction; Sentence a. with Meaning<sub>2</sub> and sentence b. have the

same underlying structure such as Diagram-12.

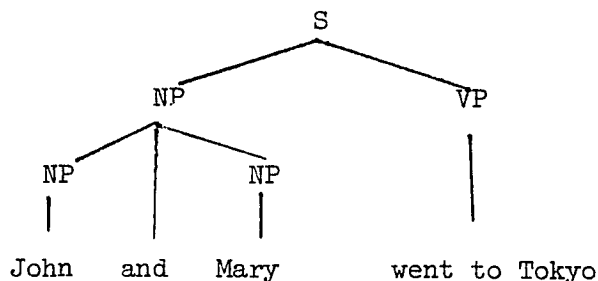


Diagram-12

Putting aside the question of whether this synchronic analysis is realistic or not, no one would disagree that there are some similarities between sentences like a. and b. There are in fact many languages in which the conjunctive morpheme meaning 'and' and the comitative marker meaning 'with' are identical or similar in form; and it is often the case that the morpheme conjoining nominals can be shown to be historically derived from the comitative morpheme. Such changes have been reported, for example, from several Yuman languages (Munro (1975)) and have also been observed in Quechua. This development is quite understandable in languages with SOV word order. A structure like:

[NOM]<sub>(SUBJ)</sub> - [NOM]<sub>(COMIT)</sub> - X - PRED

would be easily reinterpreted as:

[NOM - AND - NOM]<sub>(SUB)</sub> - X - PRED

because both the subject nominal and the comitative nominal are participants of the same action. After this reanalysis is completed, nominal conjunction by means of the ex-comitative marker can spread to the non-subject position. In Cochabamba Quechua such a conjunction can occur in any position, subject, direct object indirect object, etc., but in a

dialect spoken in northern Peru, it is allowed only in subject position according to Hernan Quiñowes, UCLA, who is a native speaker of the dialect.

Returning to the Old Japanese to, the etymological relationship between conjunction to and case marker to is not transparent. There is no telling which was the first if they are related at all. We suspect, however, it may be related to the East Altaic comitative suffix. The Mongolian comitative suffix, for example, is -tai/tei/toi (the vowel harmony variants). Further, in Modern Korean, to occurs as a "delimiter" meaning 'also' (e.g., John to kimuchi-lil mək-Ass-ta: John also kimuchi DO eat-PAST-STATIVE 'John also ate kimuchi'). When this delimiter to occurs in the following construction meaning 'both ... and ...'. it looks exactly like the Old Japanese conjunctions as in (4.69)-(4.71).

(4.75) John-to Mary-to kimuchi-lil mək-Ass-ta.  
John TO Mary TO kimuchi-DO eat-PAST-STATIVE

'Both John and Mary ate kimuchi.'

The striking resemblance of these morphemes, the Mongolian comitative suffix, the Korean delimiter and the Old Japanese to, in both phonological form and meaning, suggests their genetic relationship. If they actually have a common origin, it should be the case that the comitative use was the oldest, considering the general direction in which the Eastern Altaic languages spread from the northwest to the southeast (i.e. towards Japan). It is conceivable that by the time when it reached Japan, the use of the comitative had already been extended and modified to such a degree that the original comitative status was not clear to Japanese speakers. The extremely low frequency of to as a conjunction or as a case marker may be due to the fact that the speakers were ambivalent with respect to the grammatical and semantic status of to. The generalization made by Old



(4.80) saru toki yori namu "Yobai to ha ih=i- ker=u. (T, 30)  
 that time since EMPH wooing COMP HA say=I-PAST=URU

'since that time (they) called (it) "wooing".'

kara: Ablative (kara was used, though very rarely, instead of yori.

Taketori contains no example of kara.)

(4.81) kozo kara yama gomor=i s=i-te ...  
 last+year since mountain stay=I do=I-SS

(Kagerohu, Yamada(b))

'(I) have stayed in a mountain since last year ...'

The purpose of this chapter has been to show that Old Japanese nominals were not as distinctively marked for the case as Modern Japanese nominals: the subject was never marked; the direct object was marked only under certain conditions; and nominals such as datives, locatives, benefactives, etc. were treated all together as oblique nominals. This fact may pose a serious problem to the theory of word order change as of Vennemann's (1974), which is based on the assumption that a verb final language always has a reliable Subject-Object-marking system, because Japanese seems to have been a verb final language as far as the history goes back. We will consider this question in Chapter VII.

# Footnotes to Chapter IV

1. Keenan (1975) discusses that subjects of basic-sentences are absolutely referential. Givón proposes the "topicality hierarchy", a universal implicational principle, in which the subject occupies the highest position. That is, the subject is the most topical. Comrie (1975, 1976) studies a number of languages and shows that definiteness and animacy form a natural class with respect to the definite object marking: If the language does not mark the subject, then in most cases it marks the definite or animate object in order to differentiate the subject and the object. It is mentioned in Fillmore (1968) that the subject of a transitive verb is typically animate.
2. Langdon (1970) has noticed that the addition of ǝ, m and k (case marking suffixes) in Yuman to finite verb forms constitutes a nominalization process; thus the ǝ in xaɬop-ǝ wa.ms 'Coyote went away', in which ǝ is suffixed to the subject noun) and the ǝ in ...wəɬak-ǝ xəma.s '...he lay down and went to sleep', in which ǝ is suffixed to the predicate meaning 'lay down', are considered as manifestations of one single suffix.
3. There were some other (perhaps quite old) particles. For example, tu still occurred in certain limited associative constructions (e.g. mukasi tu hito : ancient+time ASS person 'ancient people', oki tu sira=nami: coast ASS white=waves 'white waves of the coast' and aki tu kata: autumn ASS time 'autumn time').
4. In Modern Japanese no alternates with nominative ga in certain relative clauses with a head nominal and in complement clauses modifying koto 'thing'. Harada (1971) attributes this nominative use of no to the existence of a transformational rule called "GA-NO Conversion". As he points out, however, this optional rule is not very popular among younger generations. It seems that no is going to become a strictly associative marker in the future.
5. The distinction between argument and nonargument locatives is similar to that made by Chomsky (1964). In his model, locatives are derived from two different sources: one is generated by (i) and the other (i.e. argument locative) by (ii).
  - (i) Predicate-Phrase Aux VP (Place) (Time)
  - (ii) VP (NP) (Prep-Phrase) (Prep-Phrase) (Manner)
6. A relationship between this he and the Korean directional e may be worth considering. Here are a couple of examples of Korean directional e.
  - (a) John ka hakkyo-e ka-Ass- ta.  
John SUB school-to go-PAST-STATIVE  
'John has gone to school.'

(b) John-ka kong-lil cha-e tenci-Ass-ta.  
John SUB ball-DO car-to throw-PSAST-STATIVE  
'John threw a ball at the car.'

(from Yang (1972))

## Chapter V

### CONJUNCTION

#### 5.0 Introduction

In Chapter III, we have discussed that Old Japanese nominals were not as distinctly marked for the case function as Modern Japanese nominals and have shown the ways in which some case particles may have developed from morphemes with different functions. The interpretation of case functions of nominals, therefore, was more context-dependent and more pragmatic in Old Japanese than in Modern Japanese. A similar consideration seems to apply for conjunctions. Old Japanese had several morphemes, te, ba, do(mo), to(mo), ni and wo, signaling clause conjunction. They were characteristically monosyllabic (the mo in to(mo) and do(mo) was optional) and carried no specific relational meaning such as 'because', 'if' and 'although'. In later periods, however, larger conjunctive morphemes that could express by themselves relational concepts developed (e.g. nara(ba) 'if', keredo(mo) 'although' and node 'because'). We will distinguish the two types of conjunctive morphemes by calling the former "conjunctive particles" and the latter "conjunctive words". Since conjunctive particles did not convey any particular meaning, the interpretation of Old Japanese conjunctions was left for the speaker's pragmatic inference based on the meanings of conjoined clauses. In the present chapter, we examine Old Japanese conjunctions, their morphology, function and history, and explore the direction in which the language seems to have been changing.



## 5.1 Zero-conjunction

Old Japanese abounds in examples of conjunctionless conjunctions as in the following example.

- (5.1) arui ha hue wo huk=i, arui ha uta wo utah=i,  
 some TOP=SUB flute DO blow=I some TOP=SUB song DO sing=I  
 arui ha sooga wo si, arui ha uso wo huk=i,  
 some TOP=SUB chorus DO do=I some TOP=SUB whistle DO blow=I  
 oogi wo naras=i nado suru ... (T, 33)  
 fan DO hit=I etc. do=URU

'Some played the flute, some sang songs, some did chorus,  
 and some whistled and played with fans...'

Notice that the Conjunctive I-form of the verb occurs in conjunctive position without being followed by any conjunctive particle. In older texts (i.e. the texts in the Nara Period such as the Manyō) conjunctionless conjunction constructions in which nonfinal clauses end with the Realized E suffix are also found. (Nonfinal conjuncts are enclosed by square brackets and final conjuncts by parentheses.)

- (5.2) [hik=i-hanat=u ya no sigeke=ku oho- yuki no  
 pull+off=URU arrow ASS abundant=KU heavy-snow ASS  
 midar=e- te k=i- tar=e] (maturoh=a-zu  
 acatter=I-SS come=I-PERF=E give+in=A-NEG=I  
 tat=i=mukah=i-se) (M, 199)  
 confront=I- PAST=URU

'Arrows that were pulled off came (on us) scatteringly and  
 abundantly like heavy snow, (bu) (we) confronted (with  
 them) without giving in.'

We will call conjunction constructions like these "zero-conjunctions". In zero-conjunctions, nonfinal clauses are morpho-syntactically dependent on the last clause of the construction (the last clause is not necessarily a final clause marked by the Final suffix, U, but it may be

a clause marked by the Nominal suffix URU or a conjunctive clause with a conjunctive particle). Semantically, however, zero-conjunctions are more or less like coordinate conjunctions.

The suffixes I and E that appear in conjunctive position of a zero-conjunction represent two different types of conjunctions, which we will discuss in some detail below.

#### 5.1.1 Zero-conjunction with I

Zero conjunctions with I have the following two correlated characteristics. First, there is no sequential or consecutive relationship among conjunct clauses in a zero-conjunction with I. Second, conjunctive clauses (i.e. nonfinal clauses) cannot take major suffixes of tense or aspect, but they are all understood as in the same tense-aspect as the last clause of the conjunction construction. Thus, zero-conjunctions with I are most typically used for describing sub-events of an event. Sentence (1), for example, describes a main event (i.e. a context in which many young men who wanted to win the most beautiful girl, Kaguyahime, participated) as conjunction of sub-events, some men's playing of the flute, some men's singing of songs, etc. Obviously, these events took place in a certain order, but the order is not relevant and all the sub-events are grasped as components of one main event. Consider some more examples.

- (5.3) [saburah=u hito-bito no nak=i [madoh=i] [uhe mo  
be+HON=URU person-person ASS cry=I wander=I Emperor also  
on- namida no hima=na=ku nagar=e-ohas=i- mas=u] wo  
HON-tear ASS incessantly flow=I-be+HON=I-HON=URU DO

"ayasi" to mi- tatematur=i-tamaher=u. (G, 32)  
 strange COMP see=I-HON=I- HON+be=U

'(the child=Genzi) was viewing (it) strange that people  
 who were there were crying and wandering about and the  
 Emperor's tears also were incessantly flowing down.'

(5.4) ["..." to yo no hito mo kikoy=e] [Nyoogo mo  
 COMP world ASS person also say+HON=I Nyoogo also  
 mi- kokoro ot=i- wi tamah=i-n=u]. (G, 42)  
 HON-mind go+down=I-be=I-HON=I-PERF=U

'People of the world have said that...and as for Nyoogo, her  
 mind also has become calm.'

(5.5) [kami ha simo ni tasuk=e-rar=e] [simo ha  
 upper TOP=SUB lower OBL help=A-PASS=I lower TOP=SUB  
 kami ni nabik=i-te], ... (G, 62)  
 upper OBL obey=I- SS

'the upper (i.e. ruler) is assisted by the lower (the ruled),  
 and the lower obey the upper, and then...'

The conjunct clauses of (5.3), the people's crying, their wandering  
 about and the Emperor's tears flowing down are all sub-events of a sad  
 situation that arose around the child when the child's mother (the  
 Emperor's lady) died. The little child, however, cannot perceive the  
 underlying main theme and feels "strange". The connection between the  
 two clauses in (5.4) is not straightforward, but they both describe  
 people's reactions to the Emperor's attitude towards young Genzi.  
 Sentence (5.5) tells what the relationship between the ruler and the  
 ruled should be like---it should be cooperative, the ruler being assisted  
 by the ruled and the ruled obeying the ruler. Both the ruler's being  
 assisted by the ruled and the ruled obeying the ruler must coexist.  
 Connection between clause conjuncts of a zero-conjunction with I becomes  
 closer when the clauses have the same subject as in the following ex-  
 amples.

(5.6) [wi] [tat=i] [obos=i] [itonam=i-te]... (G, 47)  
 sit=I stand=I think=I make+busy=I-SS

'(the Emperor) sat, stood, thought, and made himself  
 busy, and then...'

(5.7) [kono hito- bito ...his=i] [ogam=i] [te wo sur=i]  
 this person-person bow+down=I pray=I hand DO rub=I

[notamah=e-do]...  
 say+HON=E-DO

'these people bowed down, prayed, rubbed their hands,  
 and said, but...'

Sentence (5.6) describes the Emperor's restlessness which is indicated by his doing all these actions almost simultaneously, and sentence (5.7) young men's importunate proposal--begging Taketori for his beautiful daughter. The zero-conjunction with I serves the purpose of describing such situations as these better than any other construction.

#### 5.1.2 Zero-conjunction and serialization

Serial constructions have been observed in many African languages (see Lord (1973), Givón(1975a), Schachter (1974), Stahlke (1974), etc.) and in some other languages such as Chinese (Li and Thompson (1973)) and Thai (Warutamasintop (1973)). Similar constructions exist in Old Japanese providing historical sources for auxiliary major suffixes, verb affixes, and adverbs. In this section, we will discuss various examples of Old Japanese serial constructions, their synchronic status and historical developments. The Zero-conjunctions we have looked at in the preceding section are made up with two or more clauses describing sub-events of a larger event and are normally translated into English with and-conjunctions (i.e. conjunction sentences with clauses conjoined by and). Zero-conjunctions like (5.8), on the other hand, describe

different aspects of an event which cannot be separated in space or in time and are not equivalents of English and- conjunctions.

(5.8) Okina hasir=i-ir=i- te, ... (T, 36)  
Okina run=I-enter=I-SS

'Okina ran into (the house), and...'  
'Okina entered (the house) running, and...'  
\*'Okina ran and entered (the house), and...'

We will identify zero-conjunctions of this type as serial constructions of Old Japanese and distinguish them from ordinary multi-clause zero-conjunctions. The distinction between the two constructions is semantic and is often indeterminable. For our present purposes, however, we define a serial construction as a grammatical construction which contains two or more main verbs and yet is given a one-clause interpretation. The following diagrams (a) and (b) illustrate serial constructions and multi-clause conjunctions respectively.

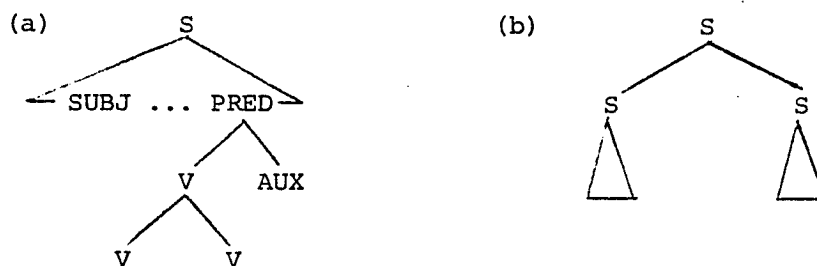


Diagram-13

Serial constructions are distinct from multi-clause zero-conjunctions in (i) that conjuncts (verbs in a wider sense as will be discussed later) of a serial construction is ordered in certain ways and reversing the order cancels serialization (i.e. one-clause interpretation) and thus produces differences in meaning while the order between conjuncts of a multi-clause conjunction is reversible, and in (ii) that one of the verbs

in series tends to be reanalyzed in time as a functional morpheme (e.g. auxiliary major suffix, verb affix, and adverb) while verbs in a multi-clause conjunction are free from such lexical reanalyses. Once one of the verbs in a serial construction is reanalyzed as a functional morpheme, the construction is no longer a serial construction but it is an ordinary clause with one main verb (e.g. if the first verb in a V-V series is reanalyzed as a verb affix, it will now be [Affix-Verb], only the second verb being the main verb and thus the predicate nucleus as will be seen below). However, since changes like this are gradual, there are naturally indeterminate cases between the older V-V analysis and the new analysis with one main verb.

The order among the verbs in a serial construction seems to be determined by the semantic characteristics of the verbs. Let us classify verbs very grossly into DEICTIC, MODAL, DIRECTIONAL, ACTION and NONACTION (later we will add ATTRIBUTIVE). Then the possible order among the serialized verbs may be summarized as follows according to the semantic category.

(5.9) NONACTION - ACTION - DIRECTIONAL - MODAL - DEICTIC

The distinction between adjacent categories is not always straightforward and the same verb may be taken as either of the neighboring categories depending on the situation. We will exemplify and discuss each category below.

DEICTIC verbs are either directional or nondirectional: typical directional deictic verbs are those meaning 'to go' and 'to come' (the semantics of these verbs have been discussed in detail in Fillmore (1966)). These verbs indicate not only a motion but also the direction



of this verb is ki) is correct. There seems to be no relationship between the Future-Conjectural mu and yuku 'to go' (mu is said to be related to the verb miru 'to see'). Notice, however, the yuku in (5.11.b) does not literally mean 'to go' but it focusses on the gradual aspect of the change from night time to day time. Therefore, it does have the tendency towards an aspectual morpheme although not towards a future tense morpheme. There are several verbs in Old Japanese with or without some honorific values. Honorific verbs of giving are highly deictic, implying the giver and the receiver to a certain degree. For example, tamah=u is used when the giver is the Emperor or someone who is comparable to him in social status while tatematuru is used when the receiver is such a person. When an honorific verb of giving occurs in a serial construction, it does not carry a concrete meaning of 'to give' but it functions as an honorific suffix.

- (5.12) a. Kaguyahime no ihe ni ir=i- tamah=u-te... (T, 56)  
 Kaguyahime ASS house PBL enter=I-give+HON=I-SS  
 '(the Emperor) entered Kaguyahime's house, and...'
- b. kokora ohoki=sa made yasinah=i-tatematur=u... (T, 31)  
 hereabout big=SA till raise=I-give+HON=URU  
 '(I) raised (you) till (you) became) about this big...'

The subject of (5.12.b) is the bamboo collector who is much lower in social ranking than Kaguyahime, although he is the person who found Kaguyahime and nurtured her as his daughter, because Kaguyahime is a super-natural being. In examples we used so far, these honorific verbs of giving are glossed simply as HON (i.e. honorific suffix).

The only nondirectional deictic verb that I can think of is the existential verb 'to be'. It is universally observed that existential



verb BE is used as an auxiliary of aspect such as "perfective" and "progressive". Old Japanese BE verbs (there is more than one BE verb in Old Japanese as will be shown in Chapter VI) are not exceptional.

- (5.13) a. nebur=i-wor=i: sleep=I-be=U 'is sleeping' (T)  
 b. id=e-wi- : be+out=I-be=I- 'being out' (T)  
 c. or=i-wi- : descend=I-be=I- 'have descent' (Ise)  
 d. mur=e-wi- : flock+together=I-be=I 'are in flocks' (Ise)

More examples of the auxiliary use of BE verbs and some examples of BE verbs which were actually reanalyzed as aspectual auxiliary suffixes will be presented in Chapter VI.

Deictic verbs are not very many in number but they occur frequently in serial constructions, following other verbs such as NONACTION, ACTION, DIRECTIONAL and/or MODAL but not being followed by them.

MODAL verbs (verbs which take a propositional complement with the subject coreferential to the main subject, i.e. the subject of the modal verb itself--see Givón (1973)) are placed towards the end of the construction but before deictic verbs. Consider:

- (5.14) ...to ih=i- hazim=e-ker=u. (T, 41)  
 COMP say=I-begin=I-PAST=URU

'(they) began to say...'

- (5.15) omoh=i- yam=u toki na=ku... (T, 30)  
 think=I-stop=URU time not=KU

'(there) being no time when (they) stop thinking (of her)'

- (5.16) omoh=i-wab=i- te (Ise, 121)  
 think=I-get+tired+of=I-SS

'(he) got tired of thinking, and...'

- (5.17) kiy=e-                      nokor=i-                      te mo...      (Ise, 140)  
                  distinguish=I-be+left+behind=I-SS even

'even being left behind without distinguishing...'

Notice that the first verb is interpreted as the complement of the modal verb.

DIRECTIONAL verbs are those that pertain to actions with directionality but, unlike directional verbs, they are not towards directions with reference from either the speaker or the hearer. Here are some examples with representative directional verbs.

- (5.18) yaru 'to send (from the subject to someone else)'

- a. tug=e-yar=i- : inform=I-send=I- 'inform (from the subject to someone else)' (T)  
 b. kak=i-yar=i- : write=I-send=I- 'write (from the subject to someone else)' (Ise)

- (5.19) idu 'to get out'

- a. nagar=e-id=e : flow=I-get+out=I- 'flow out' (T)  
 b. suber=i-id=e- : slide=I-get+out=I- 'slide out' (T)  
 c. tukur=i-id=e- : make=I-get+out=I- 'make up' (T)  
 d. kikoy=e-id=e- : say+HON=I-get+out=I- 'speak out' (G)  
 e. tazun=e-id=e- : look+for=I-get+out=I- 'find out' (G)

- (5.20) iru 'to put in' (Transitive)<sup>1</sup>

- a. tor=i-ir=e- : take=I-put+in=I- 'take in' (T)  
 b. sukuh=i-ir=e- : scoop=I-put+in=I- 'scoop in' (T)  
 c. wos=i-ir=e- : push=I-put+in=I- 'push in' (Ise)

- (5.21) iru 'to get in' (Intransitive)

- a. hasir=i-ir=i- : run=I-get+in=I- 'run into' (T)  
 b. kiy=e-ir=i- : disappear=I-get+in=I- 'disappear' (G)

(5.22) agaru 'to rise' (Intransitive)

- a. hah=i-agar=i- : creep=I-rise=I- 'creep up' (T)
- b. tat=i-agar=i- : stand=I-rise=I- 'stand up' (T)
- c. tob=i-agar=u- : fly=I-rise=U- 'fly up/jump up' (Ise)

(5.23) agaru 'to raise' (Transitive)

- a. tur=i-age- : hang=I-raise=I- 'hang up' (T)
- b. hik=i-ag=e- : pull=I-raise=I- 'pull up' (T)

(5.24) kakaru 'to lean'

- a. ih=i-kakar=e-domo : say=I-lean=E-although  
'although (he) said defiantly to...' (T)
- b. kuh=i-kakar=u- : eat=I-lean=U- 'be about to eat up' (T)
- c. ot=i-kakar=u- : fall=I-lean=U- 'drop down on' (T)

In addition, verbs such as kahasu 'to exchange', oku 'to put down', yosu 'to move closer' (Transitive), yoru 'to move closer' (Intransitive), wataru 'to extend/spread', tutahu 'to transmit', mahasu 'to move around' (Transitive), maharu 'to move around' (Intransitive), tuku 'to arrive at', etc. will be classified as directional. Notice that directional verbs in serial constructions are most commonly translated into English with adverbial particles indicating movements into various directions in space.

Some of the directional verbs take on aspectual functions. For example, wataru 'to spread' is used to indicate "continuity". Compare the wataru in (5.25) and (5.26).

- (5.25) a. hikar=i-watar=i- : shine=I-spread=I- 'shine over' (T)
- b. sum=i-watar=i- : clear=I-spread=I- 'clear up (all over)' (G)

(5.26) a. omoh=i-watar=i- : think=I-s!read=I- 'continue to think'  
(G)

b. ar=i-watar=u- : be=I-spread=U- 'continue to stay'  
(Ise, 147)

(The existential verb ari, however, is used in the sense of 'to stay', rather than 'to be'.)

Action verbs pertain to actions which have no directionality.

Typical examples will be those meaning 'to hit', 'to eat', 'to cry', etc. An action verb combined with a motion verb or a deictic verb in a serial construction may be interpreted as an adverbial if the motion verb or the deictic verb is regarded as the main aspect of the event. For example, the action verb hasir=i 'to run' (running is normally accompanied by a motion from one place to another, but the Old Japanese verb hasir=i- (>hasiru) does not necessarily imply directionality) in (5.8) above may be taken as an adverb specifying the manner in which Okina entered the house if Okina's entering the house is considered to be more important than his running. If, however, the action of running is more relevant for the discourse, the motion of entering will become secondary. The two English translations (a) and (b) nicely reflect these two interpretations. Therefore, if a motion verb is to be re-analyzed as a non-main verb, it becomes a verb prefix with the function of modifying the verb to which it is prefixed. For example, the verb ut=i, coming from the verb meaning 'to hit' or 'to throw' adds the feature of suddenness to or intensifies the meaning of the stem verb. Here are some examples.

- (5.27) a. ut=i-tubur=e- : hit=I-crush=I- 'crush to an extreme degree' (T)
- b. ut=i-ir=e- : hit=I-put+in=I- 'thrust into' (T)
- c. ut=i-nagek=i- : hit=I-lament=I- 'lament bitterly' (T)
- d. ut=i-kis=e- : hit=I-dress=I- 'dress (her) quickly' (T)
- e. ut=i-mak=i- " hit=I-cry=I- 'cry bitterly' (T)
- f. ut=i-em=a-r=e-zu: hit=I-smile=A-PASS=A-NEG 'cannot give a big smile' (G)

Below are more examples of verb prefixes that developed from verbs in serial constructions.

sas=i (> sasu) 'to pierce' or 'to stab') adds a feature of sharpness to or intensifies the meaning of the stem verb.

- (5.28) a. sas=i-aog=i- : pierce=I-look+up=I- 'look up (turning one's face skyward)' (T)
- b. sas=i-ir=e- : pierce=I-put+in=I- 'thrust in' (T)
- c. sas=i-hanat=i- : pierce=I-let+go=I- 'let go quickly' (G)
- d. sas=i-kom=e- : pierce=I-shut+up=I- 'shut up hard' (T)

tor=i (> toru 'to pick up' or 'to grab') adds casualness or easiness of the action of the stem verb.

- (5.29) a. tor=i-sut=e- : pick+up=I-discard=I- 'discard' (T)
- b. tor=i-id=e- : pick+up=I-take+out=I- 'take out' (T)
- c. tor=i-tat=e- : pick+up=I-make+stand=I- 'make stand' (T)
- d. tor=i-i- : pick+up=I-bring=I- 'bring' (T)

A symmetric verb ahu 'to meet' occurs either as a prefix or as a suffix in the Old Japanese literature, but it becomes limited later to the suffix position.

- (5.30) a. ah=i-tatakah=a- : meet=I-fight=A- 'fight each (T)  
other'
- b. ah=i-nar=e- : meet=I-be+used+to=I- 'be used to (Ise)  
each other'
- c. ah=i-katarah=i- : meet=I-talk=I- 'talk to (Ise)  
each other'
- d. ah=i-sir=i- : meet=I-get+acquainted=I- (Ise)  
'know each other'
- (5.31) a. sosir=i-ah=i- : accuse=I-meet=I- 'accuse each (T)  
other'
- b. wab=i-ah=i- : feel+lonely=I-meet=I- 'feel lonely (Ise)  
together'
- c. mamor=i-ah=i- : defend=I-meet=I- 'defend each (Ise)  
other'

Nonaction verbs occur very rarely combined with action verbs.

- (5.32) a. yami=i-huser=i- : get+sick=I-lie+be=U- 'have been (T)  
in bed'
- b. koh=i-nak=i- : long+for=I-cry=I- 'cry longing (G)  
for'

(Old Japanese verbs such as yam=u and koh=u are not obviously action verbs and they are not stative verbs, either. Stative versions of these verbs would be yamer=i : get+sick+be=U (the perfective form) and kohisi (the adjective related to koh=u). Some of the nonaction verbs, however, may be interpreted as stative depending on the context.) However, they can be followed by motion verbs and/or deictive verbs as in (5.11.b), (5.15.d), (5.21.b), and (5.22.b). Here are some more examples

- (4.33) a. kik=i-oyob=i- : hear=I-reach=I- 'come to hear' (T)
- b. omoh=i-id=e- : think=I-put+out=I- 'remember' (G)
- c. omoh=i-agar=i- : think=I-rise=I- 'become conceited' (G)
- d. obos=i-yar=i : think=I-send=I- 'think of' (G)

When verbs in series are of the same kind (action, nonaction, etc.) then such semantic subordination does not take place. The sequence of V-V are either taken as two separate events or one event the meaning of which is the union of the meanings of both verbs.

(5.34) kiy-e-us-e- : disappear=I-be=lost 'disappear' (T, 55)

(5.35) a. nak=i-nonosir=u- : cry=I-yell=URU 'howl' (T, 60)

b. oh=i-otoroh=e- : get+old=I-decline=I- 'grow old (T, 62)  
and weak'

c. mamor=i-tatakah=a- : defend=I-fight=A- 'defend (T, 62)  
and fight'

d. otosim=e-sonem=i- : scorn=I-hate=I- 'scorn (G, 27)  
and hate'

e. na=re-mutub=i- : get+accustomed=I-become+friend=I-  
'get acquainted and become friends' (G, 58)

In summary, serial constructions were utilized for a variety of semantic purposes and verbs which frequently occurred in the same position with the same function came to be reanalyzed as function words such as auxiliary and affix. The examples we have looked at above are limited to the cases in which serialized verbs could still be taken as verbs, at least, morphologically. But, we suggested that some auxiliaries might be related to verbs only historically (e.g. the past tense ki and the verb ku 'to come'). The fact that serialization was one of the conspicuous traits of Old Japanese and that there was a strong tendency towards lexical reanalysis of serial verbs provides us with important clues to understanding the language before the Old Japanese period as will be seen in Chapter VI.

### 5.1.3 Adjective and serialization

Lakoff (1966) has argued that English verbs and adjectives are really members of the same major grammatical category. The same applies for Old Japanese adjectives and verbs. In this section we will modify the generalization we have made about serial constructions so that adjectives may be included as a subcategory of the verb.

First, consider the following.

- (5.36) yuk=u saki oho=ku yo mo huk=e- n=i- ker=e-ba...  
go=URU ahead much=KU night also advance=I-PERF=I-PAST=E-DS

'the way to go ahead was long, and the night had also  
advanced, ...' (Ise, 114)

- (5.37) sono yama no sama taka=ku uruhasi. (T, 38)  
that mountain ASS appearance tall=KU beautiful=SI

'the appearance of the mountain was tall and beautiful.'

If we assume that verbs and adjectives belong to the same grammatical category, say, VERB, the difference between verbs and adjectives will only be morphological and semantic. The morphological distinction is quite evident: verbs and adjectives take different conjugational suffixes in the same contexts. This morphological difference generally correlates with the semantic difference, i.e., all adjectives are stative and attributive while most verbs are nonstative and nonattributive. Examples (5.35) and (5.37) will then be analyzed as (a) and (b) respectively.



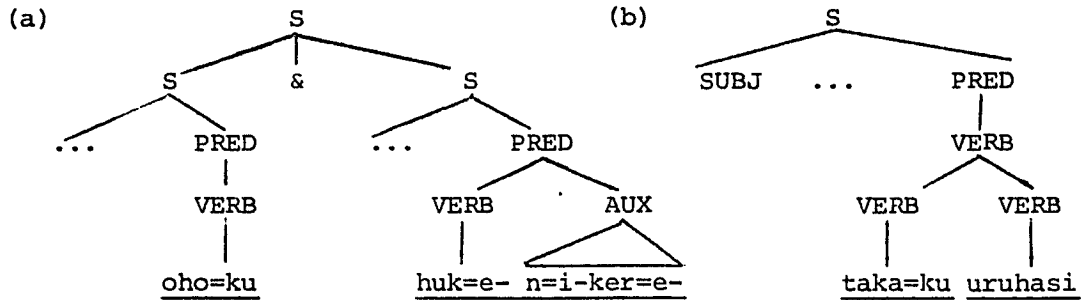


Diagram-14

In Chapter II, we have stated that the KU-form of the adjective is used as an adverb. Given the above analysis, what looks like adverbs will be viewed as adjectives in serial constructions. For example: an example like:

(5.38) leo kasiko=ku tabakar=i-te, ... (T, 36)  
 very clever=KU scheme=I-SS

'(one) schemes very cleverly, and...'

will be considered to be structured as below.

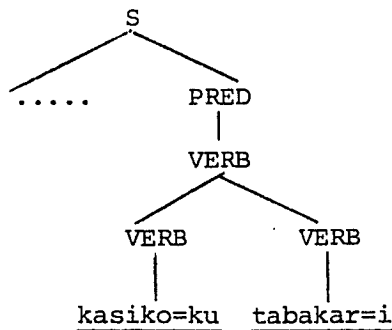


Diagram-15

The KU-form of an adjective in serial construction is interpreted more precisely in relation to the meaning of the following verb. If it occurs with an action verb or a motion verb, it is almost always understood as modifying the verb. When it occurs with another adjective as in

(5.37), it is usually in a coordinate relation with the adjective. When it occurs with the existential verb ari or its honorific version (e.g. haberi), it is interpreted as a modifier of the existential verb only if the existential verb is used meaning 'to stay' rather than 'to be'.

(5.39) kitana=ki tokoro ni ikade ka hisasi=ku ohas=e-mu. (T, 64)  
 dirty=KI place OBL why Q long=KU be+HON=E-CONJ

'How come you are staying long in the dirty place?'

Recall that the existential verb ari was obligatory in the adjectival complex predicate as a linking morpheme between the adjective and auxiliary suffixes and thus it is often treated as an adjectival suffix in traditional grammars. This is because in a serial construction Adj=KU-ari the adjective was always interpreted as the predicate nucleus (i.e. main verb) and the existential ari as an aspectual auxiliary indicating stativity.

The KU-form of an adjective also occurs as the complement of verbs such as oboyu 'to feel', nasu 'to make', and naru 'to become' as in the following examples.

(5.40) ito yowa=ku nar=i-tamah=i-n=i- ker=i. (T, 53)  
 very weak=KU become=I-HON=I-PERF=I-PAST=U

'(he) had become very weak.'

(5.41) uresi=ku oboy=uru nar-i. (T, 52)  
 happy=KU feel=URU COP=U

'(I) do feel happy.'

Grammatically, however, these KU-forms are not different at all from those in (5.38) and (5.39). The difference in interpretation is due to the difference in meaning of these verbs.

The nominal adjective plus ni (the Conjunctive form of the copula nari) can be viewed as parallel to the KU-form of the adjective. The nominal adjective plus ni and the KU-form of the adjective are basically the same in positions and in interpretations. It occurs in final position of a conjunctive clause marking the coordinate (clausal) conjunction as in (5.42) and in serial constructions as in (5.43)-(5.46) being interpreted precisely in the same manner as the KU-form of the adjective.

- (5.42) takara yutaka ni, ihe hiro=ki hito... (T, 41)  
treasure abundant COP=I house large=KI person

'a person (whose) treasure is abundant and (whose) house is large...'

- (5.43) kokorobahe nado ateyaka ni utukusik(u)=ar=i-t=uru... (T, 60)  
heart etc. COP=I beautiful=KU-be=I-PERF=URU

'(her) heart and the like were noble and beautiful...'

- (5.44) Miti no kuni ni suzuro ni yuk=i-... (Ise, 120)  
Miti ASS country OBL aimless COP=I to=

'(he) went to the country of Miti aimlessly, ...'

- (5.45) katati yuu ni ohas=u... (T, 54)  
shape elegant COP=I be+HON=URU

'(her) shape was elegant...'

- (5.46) yutaka ni nar=i-yuk=u. (T, 29)  
abundant COP=I become=I-go=U

'(he) was gradually becoming prosperous.'

In (5.43), ateyaka ni (: graceful COP=I) and utukusi=ku (: beautiful=KU) being of the same kind of VERB (i.e. STATIVE, ATTRIBUTIVE), are forming a complex predicate nucleus; in (5.46), suzuro ni (: aimless COP=I) occurring in construction with a deictic action verb yuk=i (: go=I) functioning as a modifier designating the manner in which the action took place; in (5.45), yuu ni (: elegant COP=I) seems to be the predicate

nucleus and the deictic stative verb ohasu (: be=+HON) functioning as an auxiliary suffix adding an honorific value to the predicate; and in (5.46), yutaka ni (: abundant COP=I) is the complement of the verb nari 'to become'.

There are certain adjectives that occur following verbs as in the following examples.

- (5.47) ah=i- gata=ki onna... (Ise, 141)  
meet=I-difficult=KI woman

'a woman who is difficult to meet...'

- (5.48) tama no tor=i- gata=k(u)-ar=i- si koto... (T, 48-  
jewel ASS take=I-difficult=KU-be=I-PAST=URU fact 49)

'the fact that the jewel is difficult to take...'

- (5.49) kyoo ya sum=i-u=k(u)-ar=i- ken, ... (Ise, 115)  
capital Q live=I-hard=KU-be=I-PAST+CONJEC

'perhaps the capital was hard to live in, ...'

Notice that the verb and the adjective in the VERB - VERB construction in these examples are not in a coordinate conjunction or a modifying-modified relationship but the verb is the complement of the adjective. Although examples of this kind of VERB - VERB constructions are too few in number to permit any generalization with confidence, we suggest one way of explaining this semantic fact and the order of verb-adjective. Recall that the Conjunctive I- form of the verb was also used as a nominalization (3.2). It is possible then to take the verb (with its argument nominals) as the subject of the adjective. For example, the URU-clause in (5.48) might be analyzed as below.

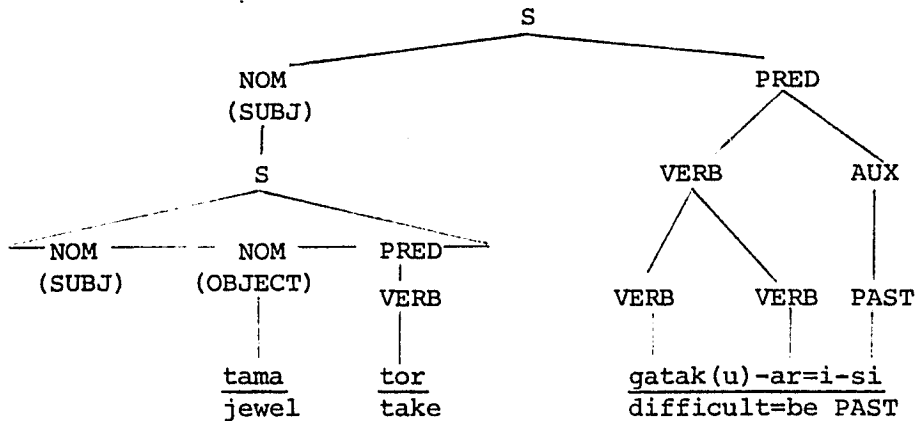


Diagram-16

However, the fact that tama, the logical object of the verb 'to take' is marked by the associative no indicates that it is the grammatical subject of the entire URU-clause (i.e. tama no tor=i-gata=k(u)-ar=i-si: jewel ASS take=I-difficult=KU-be=I-PAST) rather than the grammatical object of the verb 'to take'. (Recall that it is usually the subject that is marked by no in an URU-clause.) Furthermore, it seems to be impossible to insert any particle (case or emphatic) between the verb and the adjective of this type of VERB - VERB series. This may be taken as an indication that the adjective was already a derivational suffix rather than an independent predicate. Taking all these facts into account, it would be reasonable to assume that the VERB - VERB serial in (5.47)-(5.49) is synchronically a single VERB verb plus suffix that developed from such structures as illustrated in Diagram-16 as a result of the reanalysis of the second VERB as a suffix.

In conclusion, assuming that adjective, nominal-adjective and verb belong to the same grammatical category, we can make a stronger generalization about the serial constructions that ~~that~~ we made in the previous

section. That is, VERB's were ordered within a serial construction as (5.50).

(5.50) ATTRIBUTIVE-NONACTION-ACTION-DIRECTION-MODAL-DEICTIC

Although serialized verbs were grammatically in coordination, they were in various semantic relationships, such as modifying-modified and subordinating-subordinated, depending on the combination.

5.1.4 Zero-Conjunction with E

In the writings of the Nara Period, there was a construction which we refer to as the zero-conjunction with E or the asymmetric zero-conjunction in contrast to the zero conjunction with I, which we have discussed above. In this conjunction the Realized form, instead of the Conjunctive form, occurs in the conjunctive position, and indicates the first clause is an event prior to the event of the following clause or a state that was already existing when the event of the following clause takes place. Observe the following examples.

- (5.51) toki no sakar=i-wo todom-i-kan-e sugos- i-yar-  
time GEN prime DO stop- I-cannot let=pass-I-let=go  
i-t- ure, ...kuro-ki kami ni itu=no= ma ni ka simo  
I-PERF-E black=KI hair on when at Q frost  
no hur-i-k-e- mu (M, 804)  
GEN fall=I-PAST-I-CONJ

'(those young girls) had not been able to detain their prime time and let it go, and when did the frost fall on their black hair?'

(5.52) oo=hune wo ara=umi ni kog-i-id- e ya hune tak-e,  
big=boat DO rough=sea to row-I-out=be-E ?/ boat row-E

waga m- i-si ko=ra ga mami wa siru-si mo (M, 1266)  
I-GEN see-I-PAST boy=PL GEN eye TOP clear-SI EXCL

'although (wə) are rowing a big boat out onto the ocean,  
 the eyes of those girls we saw are clearly seen!'

Notice that the last element of the underlined clause of each poem is in the Realized form and that such clauses are often interpreted as clauses of reason ('because') or concession ('although'). Examples like these are rare and are found only in the Nara literature. In later texts (after the Nara Period), the Realized form never occurs without being followed by a conjunctive particle ba or do(mo), (which will be discussed subsequently). Japanese grammarians (e.g. Ōno(1964) ) argue that the Realized form by itself used to have the function of forming a conditional or a concessive clause and that this function was lost through the course of time. Although we do not agree that the Realized E-suffix itself had such a semantic import, we think the fact that these clauses are interpretable as such can be taken as a piece of evidence for the assumption that the zero-conjunction with E was used to conjoin two consecutive events. Such meanings as 'because', 'since', 'when', 'and then', 'although' and 'after' are all inferred without much difficulty on the first clause of coordinate conjunctions, particularly, of asymmetric coordinate conjunctions.

## 5.2 te- Conjunction

Conjunction with te, like the zero-conjunction with E, normally forms asymmetric coordination. The following examples are typical te-conjunction sentences.

- (5.53) kore wo mi- te, hune yori or=i- te, "Yama no  
this DO see=I-SS boat from get+off=I-SS mountain ASS  
  
na wo nan to ka moos=u" to toh=u. (T, 38)  
name DO what COMP Q say+HON=URUCOMP ask=U  
  
'(he) saw this, got off the boat, and asked "what (do you)  
call the name of the mountain?"
- (5.54) hati wo kado ni st=e -te, kono uta no kahesi wo  
pot DO door at throw=away-I-TE this poem GEN reply DO  
  
s= u (T, 35)  
do-U  
  
'(he) threw away the pot at the door, and made an answer  
to this poem.'
- (5.55) otoko k=i- te kaher-u (Ise, 187)  
man come=I-TS return=U  
  
'the man came and returned (home)'
- (5.56) Taketori id=e- te tor=i-ir-e te  
Taketori be+out=I-come=I-TE take=I-put+into=I-TE  
  
Kaguyahime ni mis=u (T, 43)  
Kaguyahime OB-show=U  
  
'Taketori came out, took (it) in, and showed (it) to  
Kaguyahime.'
- (5.57) nagahasi yori or=i- te butoo s=i- tamah=u (G, 49)  
corridor from descend=I-TE dance do=I- HON=U  
  
'(he=Genji) descended and danced'
- (5.58) mina hito kik=i- te warah=i-ker=i (Ise, 147)  
all person hear=I-TE laugh=I-PAST=U  
  
'all the people heard (this) and laughed'
- (5.59) onna ... kiku no hana no uturoh wo  
woman chrysanthemum GEN flower GEN fade+away=I+be=URU DO  
  
or=i- te otoko no moto he yar=u (Ise, 122)  
pluck=I-TE man GEN place to send=U  
  
'the woman plucked a flower of chrysanthemum which was  
fading away and sent it to the man'



In all these cases, the event of the te-suffixed clause obviously precedes the event of the following in the order of occurrence. Yamada (1952, 1954) analyzes the te in examples like these as the Conjunctive form of a perfective auxiliary tu (see 2.2.2.14). However, we have found, in the Heian literature, many examples of te-conjunctions, in which te cannot be viewed as an auxiliary denoting perfected action. It occurs with an adjective as in (5.60)-(5.62) and with ni, the Conjunctive form of the copula nari, as in (5.63)-(5.64).

- (5.60) san- zun bakari nar=u hito utukusi=(k)u-te  
 three-inch about COP=URU person beautiful=KU-SS

wi- tar=i. (T, 29)  
 be=I-PERF=U

'There was a beautiful person who was about three inches tall.'

(Lit: a person who was about three inches tall (was) beautiful and was (there).')

- (5.61) kokoroboso=ku-te owas=i... (G, 46)  
 lonely=KU- SS be+HON=I-

'(she) (was) lonely and was (there)...'

- (5.62) ootonabura tika=ku-te humi domo nado m=i-tamah=u (G, 46)  
 lamp=light near=KU-TE book PL etc. see=I-HON=U

'(he) (was) close to the lamp light and looked at things like books'

- (5.63) titi na nao-bito ni-te haha nan Huziwara  
 father TOP=SUB common-person be=I-TE mother EMPH Huziwara

nar=i-ker=u (Ise, 118)  
 COP=I-PAST=URU

'(her) father was a common person and mother was a Huziwara'

(Huziwara is the family name of the then most prosperous clan.)

- (5.64) tuki no miyako no hito ni- te titi-haha ar=i.  
 moon GEN City Royal GEN person COP=I-TE parents be=U  
 (T, 66)  
 '(I) am a person from the City Royal of moonland and  
 have parents.'

Yamada (op. cit.) explains that, since te is not found in such contexts in the Nara literature, the examples from the Heian literature indicate that te "extended" its use. What Yamada meant by "extension" will be better understood in our terms as "reanalysis": The te-conjunction used to be a zero-conjunction with I in which the last predicate element of the conjunctive clause was te, the Conjunctive I- form of the perfective auxiliary tu. This zero-conjunction was used in place of the zero-conjunction with E to describe a series of events that took place one after another. However, it was reanalyzed as a conjunctive particle because of its frequent occurrence in conjunctive position where there is no overt conjoining morpheme, and perhaps because of the fact that the paradigmatic relationship of te with other conjugational forms of tu was weak (te shares only the first consonant t with other forms, tu, turu, and ture) and it was ready to isolate itself. Conjunctions with te like (5.60)-(5.64) would have been possible only after this reanalysis took place.

Another thing which we consider to be the most important feature of the te-conjunction is that the conjunct clauses of a te-conjunction were understood as having the same subject. We will discuss this switch-reference function in more detail below.

To recapitulate, the conjunction with te was a consecutive conjunction in its inception but it was reanalyzed as a conjunctive particle signaling same subject, and, as a result, it came to be used when there

is no consecutive relationship among conjunct clauses. Thus, the reanalysis of te, the Conjunctive form of tu, as a conjunctive particle resulted in a situation where the domains of the zero-conjunction with I and the te-conjunction partially overlapped. If the conjunct clauses had different subjects (in reference) as in (5.1), the same subject marking conjunctive particle te could not occur. If the subjects were the same, on the other hand, the conjunct clauses could combine with or without te, but, if there was a consecutive relationship among the conjuncts, te was obligatory. That is, te was optional where conjunct clauses had the same subject and there was no sequentiality among the clauses.

#### 5.2.1 Serial constructions with te

Serialization tends to take place when the two or more verbs occur in series, i.e., without any intervening element, being understood as having the same subject. This is exactly the area where the zero-conjunction and the te-conjunction overlap. Thus, we find pairs as follows.

(5.65) a. mot=i-te ki: hold=I-SS come=I '(he) brought' (T)

b. mot=e-ki<sup>2</sup>: hold=I-come=I '(he) brought' (T)

(5.66) a. unazuk=i-te-wor=i: nod=I-SS be=I '(he) was nodding' (T)

b. nebur=i wor=i: sleep=I be=U '(he) was sleeping' (T)

(5.67) a. kak=i-te-yar=e-:write=I-SS send=E- '(they) wrote letters  
and sent (them)' (T)

b. kak=i yar=u: write=I send=U '(he) wrote a letter and  
sent (it)' (Ise)

- (5.68) a. kak=i-te okos=ure-: write=I-SS give (this way)  
'(they) wrote (poems) and sent (them  
this way)'
- b. kak=i okos=u: write=I give (this way)  
'(he) wrote (a letter) and sent (it this  
way)'

The second conjunct in these examples is a highly deictic verb and it adds an aspectual information to the meaning of the first verb. The addition of te does not contribute to the meaning of the Verb-Verb serial to any significant degree. Both expressions are almost equally frequent in the texts we examined. After the Heian Period, however, the Verb-Verb serial seemed to have given way to the Verb-te-Verb serial. In Modern Japanese, only the latter is productively used (verbs that have become suffixes or verb combinations that have been lexicalized as compound verbs still occur in the form of Verb-Verb). Observe the following Modern Japanese expressions. (Since te no longer signals the same subject in Modern Japanese, the te in Modern Japanese examples is glossed TE.)

- (5.69) John ga nemut-te i-ru.  
John SUB sleep-TE be-NT

'John is sleeping.'

- (5.70) Hon ga hirai-te a- ru.  
book SUB open- TE be-NT

'A book is open/there is a book being opened.'

(This sentence is difficult to translate into English. The verb meaning 'to open' is a transitive verb but the subject (i.e. the agent) is not specified. Refer to Chapter VI for more information.)

- (5.71) John ga Mary ni nihongo o oshie-te-yat-ta.  
John SUB Mary IO Japanese+language DO teach-TE GIVE-PAST

'John taught Mary Japanese (for Mary).'

(The yat- in this example does not literally mean 'to give' but rather signals that the ni-marked nominal is benefactive.)

- (5.72) Mary ga John ni hihongo o oshie-te morat-ta.  
Mary SUB John IO Japanese+language DO teach-TE-RECEIVE-PAST

'Mary was taught Japanese by John (for Mary).'

(The morat- expresses that the subject is the person who receives the benefit.)

- (5.73) tori ga ton-de ik=u.  
bird SUB fly-TE go=NT

'A bird is flying/a bird is going while flying.'

(te becomes de after a nasal.)

- (5.74) John ga Mary ni isoi-de denwa=s-ta.  
John SUB Mary to hurry-TE telephone-PAST

'John made a phone call to Mary hurriedly.'

- (5.75) John ga higasi ni mukat-te arui-ta.  
John SUB east to face-TE walk-PAST

'John SUB walked towards the east.'

- (5.76) John ga niwa o toot-te it-ta.  
John SUB yard DO pass- TE go-PAST

'John went through the garden.'

Notice that the second verb in ((5.69) and (5.70) is aspectual, the second verb in (5.71) and (5.72) is benefactive, the first verb in (5.73) and (5.74) is adverbial, and the first in (5.75) and (5.76) is postpositional (i.e., it is more closely related to the preceding nominals and indicates the case function of the nominal). In other words, These verbs are serial verbs. Most of the observations we have made about Verb-Verb serials apply Verb-te-Verb serials in Modern Japanese.

### 5.3 ba-Conjunction

The ba-Conjunction follows the te-conjunction in frequency of appearance in the texts. First, observe some examples.

(5.77) kono ko ito ohoki ni nar=i- n=ure=ba, na wo  
 this child very big OBL become-PERF=E-DS name DO

Mimurodo no Imbe=no=Akita wo yob=i- te tuk=e- sas=u. (T, 30)  
 Mimurodo ASS Imbe=no=Akita DO call=I-SS name=E-CAUS=U

'This child had become very big, and (he) called for Imbe=no=Akita of Mimurodo, and had (him) name (the child).'

(5.78) tuyumo mono sora ni kaker=a-ba huto i- koros=i-  
 EMPH thing sky OBL run=A- DS immediately shoot=I-kill=I-  
 tamah=e. (T, 61)  
 HON=IMP

'If anything ever runs in the sky, shoot and kill (it) immediately.'

The development of ba as a conjunctive particle was almost concurrent with that of te, and it seems to relate to the fact that  $\emptyset$ -conjunction with E was already obsolete in Old Japanese. It occurs most frequently after the Realized suffix E, but it also appears after the Unrealized suffix A, in which case, the ba-conjunction is usually given the hypothetical conditional interpretation as seen in (5.78). In this section, we will attempt to clarify where the conjunctive particle ba came from and what its synchronic function was.

### 5.3.1 From Emphatic Particle to Conjunctive Particle

It is a general contention among Japanese grammarians (e.g. Yamada, Saheki, Imaizumi<sup>3</sup>) that the conjunctive particle ba has the same origin as the emphatic ha, which corresponds to the topic marker wa in Modern Japanese. The emphatic ha becomes ba in certain contexts (e.g., it is always ba after the direct object marker wo) although the condition for the alternation is not understood<sup>4</sup>. I will support this contention and will present a more explicit explanation for the development of the conjunctive ba from the emphatic particle ha/ba.

Recall that zero-conjunctions with E were, like ba-clauses, interpreted as various adverbial clauses in Modern Japanese or English. That is, adverbial clause messages that correspond to English adverbial clauses introduced by conjunctions such as because, since and when were conveyed without ba, as well. Let us assume that before Old Japanese there was a stage where there was no conjunctive morpheme and such sequences of clauses as follows were used as conjunction sentences<sup>5</sup>.

(i) [.....=E]<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub> [.....]<sub>S<sub>2</sub></sub> (zero-conjunction with E)

(ii) [.....=A]<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub> [.....]<sub>S<sub>2</sub></sub> (zero-conjunction with A)

Assume further that, as stated in Chapter II, a zero-conjunction with E was used for expressing a sequence of realized events and a zero-conjunction with A that of unrealized events and that, in both conjunctions, the mentioning order represented the actual order of events. Then, the zero-conjunction with E, signaling 'S<sub>1</sub> took place and the S<sub>2</sub> took place or is taking place', is logically equivalent to 'because S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>', 'since S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>', and so forth; and zero-conjunction with A, signaling 'S<sub>1</sub> may take place and then S<sub>2</sub>', would amount to say 'if S<sub>1</sub>, then S<sub>2</sub>'. The function of the emphatic particle ba added to the S<sub>1</sub> would be to emphasize the occurrence of S<sub>1</sub> (in zero-conjunction with E) or the possibility of the occurrence of S<sub>1</sub> (in zero-conjunction with A) prior to the occurrence or the possible occurrence of S<sub>2</sub>, and it would in effect make closer the logical or temporal sequenciality between S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub>. It seems to be rather natural for the language user to "misunderstand" ba as a conjunctive morpheme<sup>6</sup>.

### 5.3.2 Switch Reference<sup>7</sup>

The phenomenon of "switch reference" has been given attention

mainly by American Indian linguists such as W. Jacobsen (1967), W. Winter (1970) and Langdon and Munro (1975). The possibility of finding a similar phenomenon in Old Japanese was suggested in Kuroda (1974). In this section, we will show that te was the 'same subject' marker and ba a 'different' subject' marker (ni and wo, which will be discussed in later sections, are also different subject markers).

The majority of conjunction sentences in the texts readily fall under our generalization for these two conjunctions. Taketori, for example, contains 536 cases of conjunction sentences with the same subject marker te, out of which 506 (94%) clearly signal the same subject. The remaining cases are in clauses the subject of which is not easily identifiable. First of all, expressions of time, distance and natural phenomena are devoid of surface subjects or have subjects which will never be definite (e.g., ame hur=u: rain fall=U 'rain falls/ it rains'). These expressions are unique in most languages in that the status of the subject, expressed or not, is open to question. Langdon and Munro (1975) observe that speakers do not completely agree on the choice of 'same' or 'different' markers in such problematical cases but each speaker has his own principle. In Old Japanese the same subject marker te is preferred in conjoining such a clause to another which may or may not have a distinct subject. For example:

- (5.79) mi- ka bakari ar=i-te, kog=i kaher=i-tamah=i-n=u. (T, 35)  
 three day about be=I-SS row=I return=I-HON=I-PERF=U

'(he) rowed back home in about three days.'  
 (Lit: 'there was about three days, and (he) rowed back home')

- (5.80) umi goto ni aruk=i-tamah=u ni, ito too=ku-te, Tukusi no  
 sea every OBL walk=I-HON=URU OBL very far=KU-SS Tukusi ASS

kata no umi ni kog=i id=e- n=u. (T, 47)  
 area ASS sea OBL row=I be+out=I-PERF=U



'(he) went to every sea, and (it) was very far, and (he) rowed out as far as the area of Tukusi.'

- (5.81) sukosi hikar=i-te kaze ha naho haya=ku huk=u. (T, 48)  
a little flash=I-SS wind TOP=SUB still fast=KU blow=U

'(the lightening) flashed a little, and the wind blew still faster.'

- (5.82) asita yori kumor=i- te hiru har=e- tar=i. (Ise, 147)  
morning from become+cloudy=I-SS noon clear=I-PERF=U

'It became cloudy in the morning and cleared up at noon.'

- (5.83) otoko suzuro nar=u tokoro ni yuk=i-te yo ak=e- te  
man indecent COP=URU place OBL go=I- SS night break=I-SS

kaher=u ni ... (Ise, 184)  
return=URU NI

'the man went to an indecent place, and the night broke, and (he) returned ...'

Secondly, idiomatic expressions as in (5.84) do not have an overt subject (perhaps it is unspecified) and are treated similarly.

- (5.84) oya wo hazim=e-te nan to mo sir=a-zu. (T, 59)  
parent DO begin=I-SS what COMP even know=A-NEG

'Including (her) parents, nobody knew what (it) was.'  
(Lit: 'Beginning from (her) parents, ...')

Thirdly, in a so-called multiple subject construction<sup>8</sup>, it is the first subject that is responsible for the choice of 'same' or 'different' markers.

- (5.85) on-me ha siro=me ni- te hus=i- tamaher=i.  
HON eye TOP=SUB white=eye COP=I-SS lie+down=I-HON+PERF=U

(T, 52)

'(his<sub>1</sub>) eyes were white eyes, and (he<sub>1</sub>) was lying down.'

As indicated by the subscripts in the English translation, it is understood that on-me 'eye' is inalienably possessed by the same person as the person of the subject in the second clause.

Seemingly exceptional cases with the different subject marker ba

(10/120 in Taketori and 12/460) in Genji) are not random, either. Most of them involve copular constructions consisting of an URU-clause and copula nari. Consider:

- (5.86) wono ga nas=a-nu ko nar=e-ba kokoro ni mo  
own ASS bear=A-NEG=URU child COP=E-DS intention OBL even

sitagah=a-zu namu ar=u. (T, 31)  
obey=A- NEG=I EMPH be=URU

'(she) is not a child (we) ourselves gave birth to, and (she) is not obeying (our) intention.'

- (5.87) koyasu gahi wo huto nigir=i motar=e- ba uresi=ku  
cowry shell DO hard grasp=I hold+be=E-DS happy=KU

oboy=uru nar=i (T, 52)  
feel=URU COP=U

'(I) have grasped the cowry shell hard, and (I) feel happy.'

- (5.88) Kaguyahime ha tumi wo tukur=i-tamaher=i-ker=e- ba  
Kaguyahime TOP=SUB crime DO make=I-HON+PERF=I-PAST=E-DS

.....wonore ga moto ni ohas=i- t= uru nar=i. (T, 63)  
own ASS place OBL be+HON=I-PERF=URU COP=U

'Kaguyahime have comitted a crime, ... and (she) has stayed in (your) own place.'

Notice that the first clause of (5.86) and the second clause of (5.87) and (5.88) are copular sentences with an URU-clause as argument. Whatever the subject of such a copular sentence may be, it is unlikely that the subject is identical to the subject of the preceding or following clause. That is, these examples are not true counterexamples of our hypothesis<sup>9</sup>. Thus, it is not unreasonable to infer that the conjunctive ba had as its main characteristics the function of signaling that the subjects of the conjunct clauses were different. Why the emphatic particle ha/ba took on a switch-reference function is not clear although it seems to have to do with the fact that the emphatic particle had the effect of making the contrast of the emphasized constituent to the un-

emphasized constituent more striking. The difference in the switch-reference function between te and ba explains why serialization took place with the Verb-te-Verb construction but not with the Verb-ba-Verb construction. In the latter, the actors of the two verbs are always different and thus the two events were more easily perceived as distinct while in the former the two actions expressed by the two verbs were performed by the same actor and were prone to be grasped together.

### 5.3.3 Chain Construction

The characteristic of te and ba that they are asymmetric coordinate conjunctions marking at the same time the 'same' or a 'different' subject is seen most clearly in a construction which we will call "chain construction"<sup>10</sup> Observe the following examples of chain constructions.

- (5.89) ["Mube, Kaguyahime no konomosigar=i-tamah=u ni koso ar=i-  
I see Kaguyahime ASS want+to+have=I-HON=URU NI EMPH be=I  
ker=e!" to notamah=u\*-te] ["Ana kasiko!" to -te] [hako ni  
PAST=E COMP say+HON=U-SS Thank God COMP-SS bos OBL  
ir=e- tamah-i-te] [mono no eda ni tuk=e- te]  
put+into=I-HON=I- SS thing ASS spray OBL attach=I-SS  
[on- mi no kesoo ito ita=ku s=i-te] ["Yagate  
HON-body ASS make+up very elegantly do=I-SS sooner=or later  
tomar=i-n=a- mu mono zo to obos-i- te] [uta yom=i-  
stay=I-PERF=A-CONJEC one EMPH COMP think=I-SS poem compose=I-  
kuwah=e-te] [mot=i-te] [i= mas=i-tar=i.] (T, 43)  
add=I- SS hold=I-SS be=I-HON=I-PERF=U  
'[Ø said, "I see. 'Tis surely what Kaguyahime wanted!"]  
[Ø said "Thank God!"] [Ø put (it) into a box] [Ø fastened  
it to a spray] [Ø dressed up very elegantly] [Ø thought, "(I  
am) sure (I) will be the one who will stay (with her) sooner  
or later"] [Ø composed a poem] [Ø added (it)] [and Ø was  
holding (it).]

(te is usually suffixed to the Conjunctive I-form, but there are some exceptions as notamah=u-te in the first te-clause

with \*. This may be an analogical extension of the rule  
Adj=ku--Adj=u in conjunctive position with or without being  
followed by the conjunctive particle te.)

This chain construction consists of eight te-clauses and a final clause,  
none of which has an overt subject. However, because te signals retention  
of the same subject, it is understood that the subjects of all these  
eight clauses are the same, and the exact referent of this subject is  
inferred from the previous discourse. Here is another example of chain  
construction.

(5.90) [Kaguyahime ni "Haya kano mi-tukah=i ni taimen  
Kaguyahime OBL quickly that messenger OBL interview

s=i- tamah=e" to ih=e-ba] [Kaguyahime "Yo=ki katati ni  
do=I-HON= IMP COMP say=E-DS Kaguyahime good=KI look NI

mo ar=a-de ikade mi-y=u- be=ki" to ih=e-ba]  
even be=A-NEG=I how see-PASS=U-OBLIG COMP say=E-DS

["Utatemo notamah=u kana. Mikado no mi-tukah=i wo  
bad+thing say+HON=URU SFP emperor ASS HON-messenger DO

ba ikade oroka=ni s=e-mu " to ih=e-ba] [Kaguyahime  
EMPH how unimportant do=A-COMJEC COMP say=E-DS Kaguyahime

kotah=uru yoo "Mikado no mes=i- te notamah=a- mu  
answer=URU way emperor ASS condescend=I-SS say+HON=A-CONJEC

koto kasiko=si to mo omoh=a-zu" to ih=i-te] [sara=ni  
thing august=SI COMP even think=A-NEG COMP say=I-SS ever

mi- y=u- be=ku mo ar=a-zu.] (T, 54)  
see=A-PASS=U-OBLIG even be=A-NEG

'[∅ said to Kaguyahime, "Please meet the messenger quickly"]  
[Kaguyahime said, "(I) am not pretty at all. Why should (I)  
be seen?"] [∅ said, "You say a bad thing! How could you be-  
little the Emperor's messenger?"] [Kaguyahime said, as an  
answer, "(I) do not even think august what the Emperor may  
condecend and say"] [and (Kaguyahime) did not appear to  
meet the messenger.]

(kotah=uru\*yoo\* is difficult to analyze or translate into  
English. If the following direct quotation is not followed  
further by to ih=i-te:COMP say=I-SS, its more literal trans-  
lation would be something like 'the way Kaguyahime answered  
was ".....".)

This construction is made up of three ba-clauses, one te-clause and a final clause. The deleted subject of the first ba-clause is easily understood as Okina, Kaguyahime's foster father, from the previous discourse. The first ba-clause thus established the situation that Okina and Kaguyahime are talking to each other. Given this situational setting and the switch-reference functions of conjunctive particles ba and te, the following deleted subjects are easily inferable. The English translations for (5.89) and (5.90) reflects our assumption that te and ba are coordinate conjunctions rather than subordinating conjunctions as the Japanese traditional grammarians often assume. In schematization, (3.89) and (3.90) may look like (A) and (B) below.

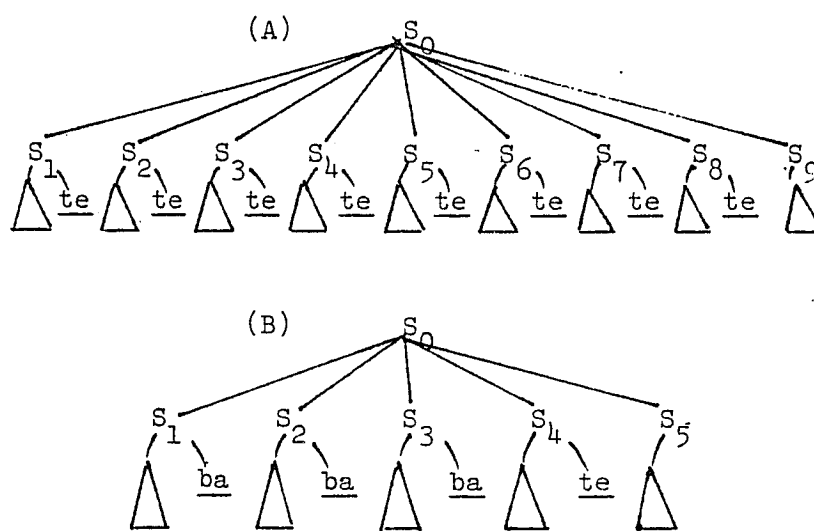


Diagram-17

Chain constructions like these are not peculiar only to Old Japanese. Langdon and Munro (1975) have observed that such long stretches of texts are common in Yuman languages. A Quechua instructor also mentioned the possibility of having multiple conjunction sentences. E. Murane (1974) reports that coordinate sentences in her Daga (a non-Austronesian language

spoken by Papuans) data can consist of nine clauses. In D. West's (1973) description of Wojokeso (an Ampale language of the Anga language stock), a number of coordinate conjunction sentences consisting of more than ten clauses are given. Interestingly, all of these languages are alike in that (i) the basic word order is SOV, (ii) morphology is highly agglutinate, and (iii) conjoining morphemes have the function of marking switch or non-switch of the subject. Although it is not clear to me what the correlation is between the chain construction and these features, it is hoped that further typological studies will clarify the relationship in the future<sup>11</sup>.

#### 5.3.4 Interpretations of ba-Conjunction

Schmerling (1975) has examined various asymmetric and-conjunctions in English and has come up with the following points: (i) in each of the asymmetric and-conjunctions. the first conjunct has some sort of priority over the second, (ii) the reason for this priority is that, in conversation, we first lay a ground-work for what we are going to say next, and (iii) in many cases, the meanings of the specific conjuncts involved and our knowledge of the world will enable us to infer a more precise relationship such as causation. The first two points, however, are not adequate. For one thing, the and-conjunction does not necessarily consists of only two clauses, the first clause and the second clause. In order to find properties that and-conjunctions generally have, we need to look at multiple coordination also. For another, she seems to be implying that the clause expressing cause has a priority over the clause expressing effect or conclusion (from (i) and (iii)). If the reason for the cause clause coming before the conclusion clause in

and-conjunction is (ii), why in a sentence like I don't like Mexican food because it is too hot does the clause of cause come after the clause of conclusion? Such a reason as (ii), being psychological, must apply for complex sentences other than the and-conjunction as well. We characterize asymmetric conjunctions in the following way: an asymmetric coordinate conjunction with no or little semantic specification can sequence clauses only in a temporary or logically natural order. When an asymmetric conjunction consists of more than two clauses, all the clauses are more likely to be understood as events taking place in succession as in (5.89) and (5.90). In order for a conjunction sentence to be interpreted as having a logical sequence such as cause-effect, it must have two clauses (not more), a clause of cause and a clause of effect. Otherwise, it must be divided into two parts by bracketing some clauses together. Consider the following English sentences as an example.

- (5.91) a. Mary nagged at John and John threw the pie at the mirror.  
 b. Mary nagged at John, John threw the pie at the mirror,  
 and Tom broke the glasses.  
 c. Mary nagged at John, John threw the pie at the mirror,  
 Tom broke the glasses, and Susie ran out of the house crying.

Sentence a. has three possible readings: (i) both events took place at the same time, (ii) the two events occurred in succession, or (iii) the first event caused the second event. Sentence b. has at least five interpretations: (i) all the events are simultaneous, (ii) all the events took place consecutively, (iii) because Mary nagged at John, John threw the pie at the mirror and Tom broke the glasses, (iv) because John threw the pie at the mirror because Mary nagged at him, Tom broke the glasses,

or (v) because Mary nagged at John and John threw the pie at the mirror, Tom (getting angry with both) broke glasses. If another conjunct is added, however, assignment of a reading of cause-effect would be beyond our cognitive limitations. A sentence like c. is taken as a description of simultaneously or consecutively occurring events, and, even if one perceives some causal relationship between one event and the event following it, what the sentence asserts as a whole cannot be such a relationship. Let us look at various Old Japanese asymmetric conjunctions and consider what factors are relevant for the interpretation of asymmetric conjunctions.

The first factor seems to have a bearing on the nature of conjunctive particles themselves. Consider the following examples, each of which contains one ba-clause and one or more te-clauses.

- (5.92) go-nin no hito bito mo "Yo=ki koto nar=i" to ih=e-  
 five-CL ASS person person also good=KI thing COP=U COMP say=E-  
ba Okina ir=i- te ih=u. (T, 33)  
DS Okina enter=I-SS say=U

(a) 'the five people also said, "(It) is a good thing",  
 Okina entered (the house) and said.'

(b) since the five people said, "(It) is a good thing",  
 Okina entered (the house) and said.'

- (5.93) kari s-i- arik=i- ker=u ni ik=i-ah=i- te miti ni-te  
 hunting do=I walk=I-PAST=URU OBL come+across=I-SS road OBL-SS  
 muma no kuti wo tor=i-te, "Kau-kau namu omoh=u" to  
 horse ASS mouth DO take=I-SS such-such EMPH think=U COMP  
 ih=i- ker=e-ba aharegar=i- te, ki- te, ne- ni-  
 say=I-PAST=E-DS sumpathize=I-SS come=I-SS sleep=I-PERF=I-  
 ker=i. (Ise, 145)  
 PAST=U



(a) '(he<sub>i</sub>) met (him<sub>j</sub>) who was wandering about and hunting, took the bridle of (his<sub>j</sub>) horse, said, "(she) thinks (of you) in such and such way", and (he<sub>j</sub>) sympathized with (her), came (to her) and slept (with her).'

(b) (he<sub>i</sub>) met (him<sub>j</sub>) ....., and therefore (he<sub>j</sub>) sympathized with (her) and .....

In a case like these, a sentence is usually divided into cause and effect at the point after the ba.

The second factor has to do with the kind of predicate found in the conjunct clauses. If the ba-clause and/or the clause following it are nonvolitional, the ba-clause is usually understood as a clause of cause or reason. Observe the following examples.

(5.94) mi-ko mutu ni nar=i-tamah=u tosi nar=e-ba, kono tabi ha  
HON-child six NI COP=I-HON=URU year COP=E-DS this time TOP

obos=i-sir=i-te koh=i nak=i-tamah=u. (G, 43)  
understand=I-SS long+for=I cry=I-HON=U

'Because (it) was the year (when) the child was six, (he) understood (it) and longed for (her) and cried this time.'

(5.95) sadaka=ni tukar=a-s=e- tar=u mono to kik=i-t-ure-ba  
apparently make=A-CAUS=I-PERF=URU one COMP hear=I-PERF=E-DS

kahes=a-mu koto ito yasusi. (T, 40)  
return=A-CONJEC thing very easy

'Because (we) have heard that (this) is the thing that (he) had (them) make, it is easy to return (it).'

(5.96) tatu wo koros=a-mu to motom=e-tamahe=e-ba ar=u-nar=i.  
dragon DO kill=A-CONJEC COMP seek=I-HON=E- DS be=URU-COP=U

(T, 47)

'(It) is because (you) seek to kill the dragon that here is (a storm).'

(5.97) Kyoo ni ha mi- y=e- nu tori nar=e-ba, mina  
capital OBL TOP see=A-PASS=I-NEG=URU bird COP=E-DS all

hito mi- sir=a-zu. (Ise, 117)  
person know=A- NEG

'Because (it) was a bird which is not seen in the capital, nobody knew (what bird it was).'

The ba-clause in (5.94) is a copular sentence; the latter clause of (5.95) is an adjectival predicate; in (5.96) the ba-clause is followed by a very short predicate ar=u, the subject 'sorm' being deleted, and both the ba-clause and ar=u are embedded to the final copula nar=i (i.e., an assertive sentence); and in (5.97) both the ba-clause and the following clause are stative. The temporary-ordered-event interpretation is impossible for sentences like these, and the cause-effect relations is assigned to them.

The ba-conjunctions in the following examples are interesting, being different from those expressing consecutive events or cause-effect events.

- (5.98) kakaru yosi no kaher=i-goto wo moos=i-tar=e- ba kik=i-  
 such point ASS reply DO say+HON=I-PERF=E-DS hear=I-  
 tamah=i-te ... (T, 50)  
 HON=I- SS

'(They) told a reply to such an effect, and (he) listened to this, and ...'

- (5.99) kaha goromo wo mi=re- ba konzyoo no iro nar=i. (T, 43)  
 fur robe DO see=E- DS dark+blue ASS color COP=U

'(I) saw the fur robe, and (it) was dark blue.'

The two actions of telling a reply and listening to the reply are not two separate events but reciprocal in the sense that a person A's telling something to another person B is always accompanied by the person B's listening to the person A. Although such an expression may sound redundant, it is not uncommon in Old Japanese. The ba-clause in this expression seems to be considered to have a priority over the following clause because B's listening to A never occurs unless A tells B something while A's telling something can take place independently of B's intention of listening to A. Thus, the two conjuncts in this sentence cannot

be reversed without changing the meaning. Sentences like (5.99) are often encountered in Old Japanese texts and have been named by Japanese scholars (e.g. Matsushita (1930)) "incidental factual condition" (偶然確定). The ba-clause is difficult to interpret into English by subordinate conjunctions such as 'when...', and 'because...' but it is a condition, because the fact that the robe is blue was registered as such for the first time in her mind only after 'I' had seen it.

### 5.3.5 Conditionals

If the final verbal element of the ba-clause is in the Unrealized A-form, then the ba-clause is understood as the condition upon which the realization of the event or state of the clause following it hinges. The condition may be (simple or hypothetical) future condition, hypothetical present condition or counterfactual condition (present or past). It seems that the distinction between various conditions was not structurally made in Old Japanese. The same ba-clause can be interpreted either as a simple future condition, a hypothetical condition or a counterfactual condition depending on the meaning of the main clause and/or the context. Compare the following examples.

- (5.100) mosi            sahihahi=ni kami no    tasuk=e ar=a-ba, minami no  
supposedly fortunately god ASS help    be=A-DS    south ASS

umi ni    huk=a-r=e-    owas=i-    n=u    be=si.    (T, 47)  
sea OBL blow=A-PASS=I-be+HON=I-PERF=U-OBLIG

'if, fortunately, there has been God's help, (he) must have been blown to the south sea and be alive (there).'

- (5.101) mada    yo    ni    ar=a-ba    hakana=ki    yo    ni    zo  
still world OBL be=A-DS uninteresting world OBL EMPH

sasurah=u-ramu.    (G, 80)  
wander=U-INFER

'If (she) is still in this world, (she) must be wandering in an uninteresting world.'

(5.102) ono ga mi ha kono kuni ni umar=e-te-  
own ASS body TOP=SUB this countryOBL be+born=I-SS

haber=a-ba koso tukah=i-tamah=a-me. (T, 56-7)  
be+HON=A-DS EMPH use=I- HON=A-CONJEC

'If I had been born in this country, (you) would use (i.e. hire) (me) (but I was not actually born in this country and I must go back to the moon land, and therefore, you cannot hire me).

The main clause in (5.100) and (5.101) is the speaker's conjecture about the present state supposing that the hypothetical condition of the ba-clause is met. The ba-clause in (102) is interpreted as a counterfactual condition although the form of the verb does not specify such a meaning. The use of the emphatic particle koso (in addition to the ex-emphatic particle ba) may be contributing to the counterfactual interpretation together with the context information.

To make a conditional clause with an adjectival predicate, either the ba was attached to the Conjunctive KU-form of the adjective as in (5.103) or by the mediation of ar=a the Unrealized form of the existential ari as in (5.104).

(5.103) uguisu no tani yori iz=uru koe na=ku-ba  
nightingale ASS valley from get+out=URU voice not=KU-DS

haru k=uru koto wo tare ka sir=a-masi. (Kokin, Yamada)  
spring come=URU thing DO who Q know=A-CONJEC

(5.104) tika=ku-ar=a=ba, ... (M, Yamada)  
near=KU-be-A-DS

'If (it) is close, ...'

In a factual conditional clause (i.e. because/since-clause), on the other hand, the assistance of ar=e- (the Realized form of the existential ari) was obligatory and thus =ku-ar=e- underwent a phonetic fusion and became =ker=e, which is often referred to as the Realized suffix of the adjective/ Below is an example of the factual conditional clause with

with Adj=kere=ba.

(5.105) waka=kere-ba, ...  
young=KU-be=A-DS

(Ise, 173)

'because (he) was young, ...'

This is because the adjective lacks the tense forms, the Realized and the Unrealized. The opposition between the factual and the hypothetical conditionals corresponds to the grammatical opposition made by the tense-neutral KU-form vs. the Realized E-form. The reason that the existential verb is optional in a hypothetical conditional is because the tense-neutral KU-form is sufficient to distinguish itself from the factual conditionals which are always expressed by the Realized E-form of the existential verb.

The point to be emphasized is that ba itself did not signal the conditional meaning 'if' but it simply emphasized the connection between clauses.

#### 5.3.6 Conditional naraba

The Old Japanese conditional clause is rather synthetic in that the meaning of 'condition' was not carried by an independent morpheme but it was mostly expressed by a conjugated form (i.e. the Unrealized A-form) of the verb. In Modern Japanese, on the other hand, the conditional clause formation is quite analytical. The Modern Japanese translation of the ba-clause of (5.101), for example, may be as follows.

(5.106) mada yo ni a=ru naraba, ...  
still world in be-NT if

'if (she) is still in this world, ...'

Note that the neutral tense form (earstwhile URU-form), instead of the Unrealized A-form, is used and the meaning of 'if' is explicitly conveyed

by the subordinate conjunction nara(ba)(ba is often dropped).

The Modern Japanese conjunction nara(ba) is apparently related to nar=a-ba (COP=A-DS) in Old Japanese. That is, the Unrealized form of the Old Japanese copula nari plus a different subject marker ba was reanalyzed as a single unit and became a conditional conjunction word meaning 'if'. The change is depicted below.

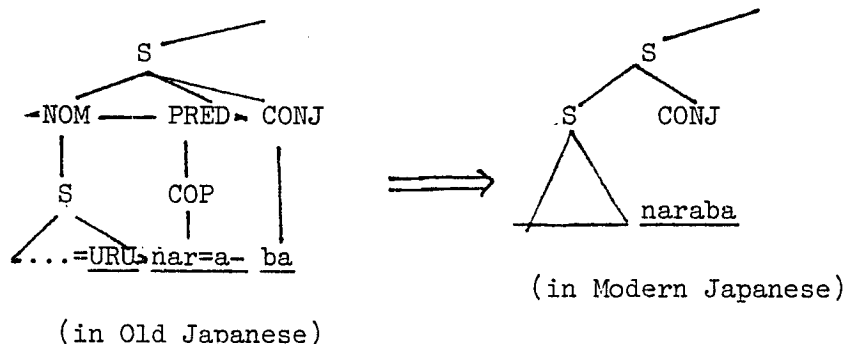


Diagram-18

The  $[[\dots = \text{URU}]_{\text{NOM}} - \text{nar}=\text{a}]$  is structurally the same as the assertive sentence discussed in 3.1.4, but it is different in function. Recall that the copula in an assertive sentence had the function of reinforcing the truthfulness of the URU-clause. The  $[[\dots = \text{URU}]_{\text{NOM}} - \text{nar}=\text{a}]$  does not have such an assertive connotation. It is because of the fact that this URU-clause plus the copula is a conjunctive clause (i.e. non-final) and because of the Unrealized aspect that the minor suffix a carries. What is the function of this nar=a, then? Why was this complex construction used for conditionals in addition to a simpler construction such as those in (5.100)-(5.107)? There is a fact which seems to be at least one of the motivations. In other words, the distinction between the Unrealized A and the Realized E was not sufficient on the surface. The Unrealized suffix of the Class-II verbs was e, which is the same not only

with the tense neutral Conjunctive suffix of the same verb but also with the Realized suffix of Class-I verbs. Compare the ba-clauses of a Class-I verb yuku 'to go' and those of a Class-II verb sutu 'to throw away'.

	Class-I	Class-II
Unrealized (hypothetical)	yuk=a-ba	sut=e-ba
Realized (factual)	yuk=e-ba	sut=ure-ba

The same form e serves as an unrealized tense marker in Class-II verbs but as a realized tense marker in Class-I verbs. This situation is not ideal from the conceptual point of view. (How this bad situation came about is an interesting historical question but it is beyond the scope of the present study.) It is natural, therefore, that [...=URU-nar=a-ba] was preferred despite its structural complexity, for nar=a-ba contains the minor suffix a, which is characteristic of the Unrealized form of Class-I verbs (recall that Class-I verbs outnumbered any other type of verbs). The more frequently this complex construction [...=URU-nar=a-ba] was used, the stronger the association between the meaning 'if' and the form naraba must have become, and naraba eventually came to be identified as the symbol for the meaning 'if'. In Modern Japanese, a simpler construction [...=A-ba] is completely obsolete.

To recapitulate, the conjunctive particle, coming from the emphatic particle ha/ba attached to conjunctive clauses, did not have specific conjunctive meanings such as 'because' and 'if'. The main function of ba was to reinforce the connection between clauses and to mark a different subject. Thus, a clause connected by ba were essentially in a coordinate conjunction relationship like clauses in zero-conjunctions. However,

because of the emphatic nature of ba, the two clauses connected by ba were interpreted as having a strong logical (i.e. cause-effect) relationship. The most typical inferred meanings of ba-clauses were 'because/since' and 'if' depending on the form of the minor suffix in clause final position; it was 'because/since' if the minor suffix was the Realized E and 'if' if the minor suffix was the Unrealized A. We also have shown that the Modern Japanese conjunction word naraba came about by the reanalysis of nar=a-ba (COP=A-DS) used optionally to ensure the unrealized aspect of the ba-clause as a morpheme meaning 'if'. It should also be worth mentioning that this reanalysis was consistent with the general trend towards more overt marking of various conjunctive meanings such as 'when...', 'while...', 'because...', 'although...', etc.

#### 5.4 Conjunctions of Concession

There are two conjunctions that appear with concessive clauses, do(mo) and to(mo) (the reason mo is in parentheses will become clear soon) as exemplified below.

- (5.107) sasikom=e-te mamor=i- tatakah=u be=ki sitakumi wo  
 lock+up=I-SS defend=I fight=U-OBLIG=KI preparation DO  
 s=i- tar=i- tomo ano kuni no hito wo e- tatakah=a-  
 do=I-PERF=U even-if that country ASS person DO can-fight=A-  
 nu nar=i. (T, 62)  
 NEG=URU COP=U

'even if (you) lock up (the house) and make the preparation for defending and fighting, (you) cannot fight against the people of that country.'

- (5.108) humi wo kak=i-te yar=e- dome kaher=i-goto s=e-zu.  
 letter DO write=I-SS send=E-although reply do=A-NEG  
 (T, 31)  
 'although (they) wrote letters and sent (them to her), (she) did not do replying.'



These two morphemes are apparently different in the following two respects. First, to(mo) is suffixed to the Final U-form but do(mo) to the Realized E-form of the verb<sup>12</sup>. Second, to is almost always accompanied by mo while do occurs by itself quite frequently. The questions that immediately arise are (i) "What is the mo?", (ii) "Why was it almost obligatory only with to?" and (iii) "What is the difference between to(mo) and do(mo) if there is any significant difference?" Japanese grammarians (e.g. Yamada (1961)) were mostly concerned with the last question and answered it by characterizing to(mo) and do(mo) as hypothetical and factual concessive conjunctions, respectively. The mo in to(mo) and do(mo) seems to be assumed in their discussions to be historically related to the emphatic particle mo 'even/also'. We will support the latter assumption and will show that adverbial morphemes meaning 'even/also' tend to become concessive conjunctions in other languages also. However, we will propose to modify the former generalization (i.e. to(mo) is a hypothetical concessive conjunction and do(mo) a factual concessive conjunction) as follows. In pre-Japanese period, to(mo) was a general concessive conjunction used for both hypothetical and factual concessives but do(mo) was limited to factual concessives: In later periods, to(mo) came to be specialized as a hypothetical concessive conjunction. We will further hypothesize that do in do(mo) is a cognate of the Korean to 'even/also/although'. As for the origin of the to in to(mo), we suggest two possible sources for it, the demonstrative to or the complementizer to, which we consider to have developed from the verb of saying.

#### 5.4.1 mo 'even/also'

In English, concessive hypothetical conditionals are distinguished

from non-concessive hypothetical conditionals by the existence of even added before the subordinate conjunction if. Compare the following.

(5.109) a. If I am busy, I will not go to the party.

b. Even if I am busy, I will go to the party.

It is not only in English that the adverbial morpheme meaning 'even' contributes to the concessive conditional interpretation. In Panjabi (an Indo-Aryan spoken in Pakistan and northern India), vi 'even' added to taṅ makes a concessive conditional as seen in the examples below.

(5.110) a. ó (pānveṅ) məynun sədde, taṅ vi mayṅ nəiṅ.jaṅa.  
he although me invite then even I not go+FUTURE

'Even if he invites me, I will not go.'

b. (je) məyn óder javaṅ, taṅ ónun zerūr mylaṅga.  
if I there go then him certainly meet+FUTURE

'If I go there, I will certainly meet him.'

(panveṅ 'although' and je 'if' are optional, perhaps because they are adverbs like Old Japanese mosi 'supposedly', which is optionally added to a hypothetical conditionals.)

In Khāmti, a Tai language spoken by the Khāmtis in Sadiya, Burma, an adverb kaw 'also/even' is used by itself as a conjunction meaning 'although'.

(5.111) a. kau nu kaw yu ka.  
I deer also shoot PAST

'I shot a deer also/I shot even a deer.'

b. kau thau si u kaw kheo kau n' mang.  
I old be PAST although teeth my not broken

'Although I am old, my teeth are not broken.'

Similarly, Korean to 'also' is used as a conjunction meaning 'although'.

(5.112) a. na nIn sasim to sso-Ass- ta  
I TOP deer also shoot-PAST-PAST

'I shot a deer also.'

b. na nIn nIk to i nIn tIntIn ha-ta.  
 I TOP old although teeth TOP healthy be-INDICATIVE

'Although I am old, my teeth are healthy.'

There seems to be good reason for believing that the mo that occurs with to and do in concessive conditional clauses is the same morpheme as the mo in examples like:

(5.113) kusuri mo kuh=a-zu ... (T, 66)  
 medicine even eat=A-NEG

'(he) did not eat even medicine ...'

#### 5.4.2 to(mo)

There are a significant number of to(mo)-clauses which are interpreted as factual concessives, contrary to the traditional generalization. Most of such examples are from the Nara period literature. (Since the Nara period literature is all written in Chinese characters and the reading of Chinese characters will be questioned below, examples from the Nara literature are accompanied by the original writing.)

(5.114) Takamado no Onouhe no miya ha ar=e- nu  
 Takamado ASS Onouhe ASS palace TOP=SUB devastate=I-PERF=U  
tomo tatas=i-si kimi no mi-na wasur=e- me ya.  
TOMO stand=I-PAST=URU you ASS HON-name forget=A-CONJEC SFP

(M, 4507)

'Even though the palace of Onouhe of Takamada has been devastated, will (I) forget the name of you, who stood there?'

多加麻刀能努乃宇倍能美世波安禮奴  
 ta ka ma do no o no u he no mi ya ha a re nu  
 等母  
 to mo

多志伎美能美奈和須礼米世  
 ta ta si si ki mi no mi na wa su re me ya

(5.115) sasa no ha ha mi-yama mo saya=ni midar=u  
bamboo ASS leaf TOP(SUB) HON-mountain MO uneasily disturb=U

tomo, ware ha imo omoh=u wakar=e ki- n=ure- ba.  
TOMO I TOP(SUB) lover think=U part=Ieome=I-PERF=E-DS

(M, 133)

'Even though bamboo leaves in the mountain are moving as if they were uneasily disturbed, I am thinking of my lover, from whom I have parted.'

小竹之葉者三山毛清介乱友  
sa sa no ha ha mi yama mo saya ni midaru tomo

吾者妹思別来禮婆  
ware ha imo omohu wakare ki nure ba

(5.116) hage no hito to ih=u tomo onna no mi mot=i-  
miracle ASS person COMP say=U TOMO woman ASS body have=I-

tamaher=i. (T, 32)  
HON+PERF-U

'Although (they) say that (you) are a person of miracle (i.e. a supernatural person), (you) have the body of a woman.'

In a poem written on the same occasion as (5.114) was composed, there is a phrase that describes the fact that the palace has been devastated and thus it is obvious that the fact was accepted by all the people who attended this poem composing party. And yet, the clause describing the fact is followed by tomo in this poem. The given factual concession interpretation seems to be more appropriate than the hypothetical concession interpretation (i.e. 'even if the palace were devastated, ...'). Example (5.115) is usually interpreted as if it was composed by the poet who was looking at bamboo leaves. That is, the tomo-clause describes a scene that the poet is actually observing with his own eyes. Sentence (5.116) is what Okina said to his foster daughter who is a supernatural person (she was found in a bamboo tree) after he had revealed to her in what a miraculous fashion she came to this world. It is not a hypo-

thesis but the truth to him that she is a supernatural person.

It is not that no Japanese grammarians was aware of these counter-examples. It is reported in a footnote of the Iwanami edition of the *Mannyoo* that Umetomo Saheki had named this exceptional use of tomo "rhetorical hypothesis" in the sense that it is an expression of "fait accompli" as described as if it were not factual in order to emphasize the condition. The same footnote further adds that this rhetorical hypothesis is normally accompanied by a rhetorical question or a conjectural expression. It should be seen from the examples above that this explanation does not generally apply. It is only in sentence (5.114) that a rhetoric question as well as a conjectural expression is used. Another thing we want to note is that sentence (5.116) is a direct quotation in a tale and is supposed to be a normal conversational expression rather than a formal expression where rhetorical devices may be more commonly used. The claim that these tomo-clauses are rhetoric hypotheses seems to be groundless. What these examples show is that to(mo) could occur with factual concessives as well as hypothetical concessives.

A further piece of evidence that to(mo) was a conjunction for both hypothetical and factual concessives is difficult to present in a simple fashion. Some background information about how Chinese characters were borrowed is first in order.

The poems in *Mannyoo* (and other texts of the Nara period) were originally written exclusively in Chinese characters which were mostly phonetically applied for Japanese syllables (see Sansom (1928) for a fuller discussion). For example, 米 and 夜 mean 'rice' and 'night' and were pronounced [miei] and [ia] in Chinese, but they used to represent Japanese syllables me and ya which roughly correspond to 米 and 夜 in

pronunciation. In the copies of the Mannyoo made after the invention of kana (Japanese syllabic alphabet) writing system, pronunciation of grammatical morphemes, which were often missing in the original writing, came to be indicated by kana, and after the Kamakura period, to the right of the column of Chinese characters--Japanese is written conventionally from the top to the bottom--was appended full kana transliteration into Japanese. Most of the grammatical studies of Mannyoo poems are based on transliterated versions. What we would like to point to is the fact that deciphering of Mannyoo poems written all in Chinese characters was a matter of guesswork to a certain degree and transliterations are at variance at various points.

Returning to to(mo), let us compare the following pairs. (Transliteration is romanized in the examples.)

- (5.117) a. 與 杼 六 友  
 yo do mu tomo (M, 31)
- yodom=u tomo  
 stagnate=U TOMO
- 'although (the river) is stagnant'

- b. 寸 巨 勢 友  
 ki ko se domo
- kikos=e- domo (M 3289)  
 say+HON=E-DOMO
- 'although (I) said'

- (5.118) a. 斯 農 等 母  
 si nu to mo (M, 889)
- sin=u tomo  
 die=U TOMO
- 'even if (I) die'

b. 阿 蘇 倍 等 母  
       a       so       be       do       mo

(M, 836)

asob=e-domo

play=E-DOMO

'although (they) played'

Notice that the same character(s) is transliterated as tomo in a. but as domo in b. There is no basis for assigning different readings to these characters. It is true that the correspondence between Chinese characters and Japanese syllables was not one-to-one; it was more common that more than one Chinese character with similar pronunciations represented the same Japanese syllable. For instance, different Chinese characters such as 美, 見, 未, 彌, etc. were used to represent the Japanese syllable mi. However, the reverse situation, i.e., a Chinese character for more than one Japanese syllable, was not common, and it is more reasonable to assume that the same symbol represented the same syllable unless there is strong evidence against it. Thus, we assume that 友, 等母, etc. all represented tomo and that tomo could suffix to the E-form as well as to the Final U-form of the verb.

#### 5.4.3 do(mo)

A careful examination of Chinese characters illuminates another fact. The character 杦, unlike 等, 止, etc., occurred only after the Realized form and thus was always transliterated as do, and it was rarely followed by mo. There are two possible interpretations of this distributional gap: it can be taken as a mere accident, or as a manifestation of a significant difference between 杦 and 等, 止, etc. We take the latter position and assume that 杦 was a morpheme marking factual concessive conditionals, i.e., 'although'-clauses and was pronounced differ-

rently from 等, 止, etc. Here are some examples from the Mannyoo.

(5.119) 多麻之比波安之多由布敬尔  
ta ma si hi ha a si ta yu hu be ni

多麻布禮梯  
ta ma hu re do ...

(M, 3767)

tamasihi ha asita yuhube ni tamahur=e-do, ...  
heart TOP morning evening OBL give+HON=E-DO

'although (I) am given your heart, morning and evening, ...'

(5.120) 馬醉木乎手折目梯

a si bi wo ta wora me do, ...

(M, 166)

asibi wo tawor=a-me- do, ...  
ASIBI DO pick=A-CONJEC=E-DO

'although (I) would like to pick some asibi, ...'

(asibi is a plant.)

Our analysis then will be summarized as the following.

	FORM	INTERPRETATION
STAGE I	?	if
	zero-Conjunction with <u>E</u>	{because/since although
	?	even if
STAGE II	.....= <u>A-ba</u>	if
	.....= <u>E-ba</u>	because/since
	.....= <u>E-do</u> (mo) }	although
	.....= <u>E-to</u> (mo) }	
	.....= <u>U-to</u> (mo)	even if
STAGE III	.....= <u>A-ba</u>	if
	.....= <u>E-ba</u>	because/since
	.....= <u>E-do</u> (mo)	although
	.....= <u>U-to</u> (mo)	even if

Table-10 A Historical Summary of Conditionals



Old Japanese seems to be at the end of Stage II. Thus, we still find some examples of [.....=U-to(mo)] used in the sense of 'although' (e.g. (5.116)). Notice that the change from Stage II to Stage III brought about a more ideal situation in which forms and meanings correspond in a one-to-one fashion. This is another example of linguistic change governed by the principle we discussed in 4.2.3, namely, the "one form, one meaning" principle.

#### 5.4.4 The origin of do(mo) and to(mo)

The origin of to(mo) is not clear. Sansom (1928) contends that the to in to(mo) is a cognate of the noun to meaning 'time' as in the following example.

(5.121) haya kaher=i- mas=e koh=i- sin=a-n=u to ni ...  
 quickly return=I-HON=IMP long+for=I die=A-NEG=URU time OBL  
 (M, 15)

'Please come back quickly before I die from longing for you.'  
 (Lit: Please come back at the time when I do not die from  
 longing for you.)

This hypothesis, however, runs into trouble facing the question: Why is to(mo) attached to the Final U-form, not the Nominal URU-form? (Notice that the to 'time' in (5.121) is modified by an URU-clause.) It seems to be morphologically more natural to relate the to in to(mo) to the demonstrative to or the complementizer to discussed in 3.3.4. In the former case, the change from the demonstrative to to the concessive conjunction to will be illustrated as below.

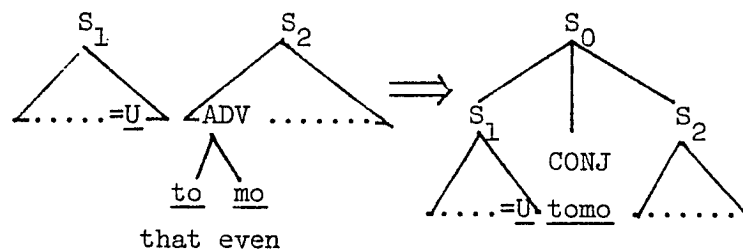


Diagram-19

For example, one may say something like 'John is clever. Even so, he makes mistakes', in which so in the second sentence is referring back to the preceding sentence as a whole. If this pattern is used repeatedly, the two independent sentences may be reanalyzed as parts of one larger sentence by losing boundaries. In this process, mo 'even/also' plays an important role as we have already seen above. The latter hypothesis (i.e. the to in to(mo) is related to the complementizer to) is equally plausible: 'Even saying, "John is clever", he makes mistakes' does not seem to be too distant from 'Even though he is clever, he makes mistakes'. In brief, there is not conclusive evidence for either of these hypotheses.

As for do, S.E. Martin (1966) has reconstructed do as a Proto-Korean-Japanese form meaning 'although'. That is, the Korean to in (145)b. and the Japanese do in do(mo) were derived from the common source. The do either had long existed in the Japanese language before the Nara period as an optionally used concessive conjunction or it was borrowed from Korean and came to be suffixed to zero-conjunction with E to distinguish concessives from nonconcessive conditionals ('because/since'). Borrowing a clausal conjunction seems to be quite frequent among languages of the world. For instance, Persian ya 'and' was borrow-

ed from Arabic, and Quechua i 'and' and pero 'but' from Spanish. In view of the historical fact that writers of various records and instructors of Chinese characters were mostly Korean scholars, it is quite conceivable that do was borrowed from Korean.

To sum, we have corroborated the traditional assumption that the mo in to(mo) and do(mo) was at least historically related to the emphatic mo 'even/also' and have proposed a synchronic and historical analysis of to(mo) and do(mo) which is more consistent with the data than the traditional analysis. The answer to the question 'Why was mo almost obligatory only with to?' is suggested in our discussion on the origin of to(mo) and do(mo): do, having come from the Korean or Proto-Korean-Japanese morpheme meaning 'even/also/although', had the concessive force by itself to a certain degree and thus did not require the Old Japanese contemporary 'even/also' mo; to, on the other hand, developed from a morpheme which had nothing to do with the meaning 'even/also' had to be accompanied by mo in order to function as a concessive conjunction.

#### 5.4.5 keredomo

In 5.3.6 we have seen how Modern Japanese conditional naraba-clause developed and stated that the naraba-clause is more analytical than the Old Japanese ba-clause in the sense that the conjunction naraba has a special meaning 'if' while the Old Japanese conjunctive particle ba did not have such a semantic import. ba-Clauses were interpreted as 'if'-clauses, 'because'-clauses or conjunctive clauses coordinately conjoined to the following clauses depending on the clause final suffix (E or A), the tense-aspect of the main clause, and the context. The Modern Japanese concessive conjunction keredomo can be said to be more analytical than

the Old Japanese concessive do(mo) by the same token. It was derived from the Realized form of the past tense major suffix plus do(mo). This process will be illustrated as below.

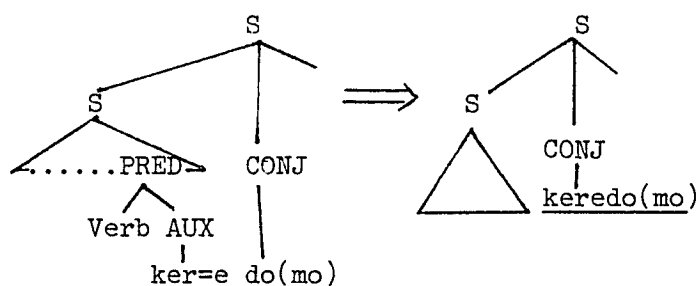


Diagram-20

That the past tense ker=e- was incorporated as part of the conjunction is obvious from the fact that the past tense keri and its conjugational forms have completely disappeared from MODern Japanese except in this conjunction and the fact that keredomo can occur as a discourse conjunction like English however without being suffixed to a verb as seen in the following Modern Japanese examples.

- (5.122) a. tegami o kai-te- yat- ta- keredo(mo) henji ga nai.  
letter DO write-TE-send-PAST although reply SUB not

'Although I wrote a letter and sent it, there is no reply.'

- b. tegami o kai-te- yat-ta. Keredomo sappari henji ga  
letter DO write-TE sent=PAST however at+all reply SUB

ko- nai.  
come not

'(I) wrote a letter and sent it. However, there is no reply at all.'

How and why did the reanalysis of ker=e-do(mo) (PAST=E-DO(MO)) as keredomo 'although' take place? One thing that manifests itself is that there must have been a period in which ker=e occurred frequently enough

to be "misunderstood" as a necessary element for a factual concessive clause. We find no example of ker=e-do(mo) in Taketori. It starts to appear almost as frequently as Verv=E-do(mo) in Genji. This tendency has some correlations with the fact that Realized suffix E was gradually losing its function of signaling realizedness and yet the realizedness indicated by E was partially responsible for the factual-hypothetical distinction of concessive clauses. There was a need for devising some countermeasures against the blurring of the clues to distinguishing factual concessives from hypothetical concessives. The increasing use of the past tense in concessive clauses will be understood, therefore, as one of the measures.

Although we do not document this process, it is certain that the reanalysis of ker=e-do(mo) (PAST=E-DO(MO)) as keredomo 'although' was completed at a certain point of time between the Old Japanese period and the Modern Japanese period. The Modern Japanese keredo(mo) occurs with any type of predicate: It occurs even after the past tense morpheme ta, which developed from the Old Japanese perfective major suffix tari.

It should be pointed out again that this reanalysis of ker=e-do(mo) as keredomo 'although' is in effect a change from synthetic to analytic. There is no morphophonemic rule that applies to the predicate of the concessive clause triggered by the use of the conjunction keredo(mo). tegami o kai-te-yat-ta (letter DO write-TE send-PAST) '(I) wrote a letter and sent (it)' in (5.122) a., for example, can occur as an independent sentence with no modification.

## 5.5 Conjunctive Particle ni and wo

It is a general agreement among Japanese grammarians that ni and wo

being attached to the URU-form of a verb or a major suffix, as those underlined in the following examples, are conjunctive particles.

- (5.123) Kuratukomaro moos=u      yau wo uk=e- te megur=u      ni  
 Kuratukomaro say+HON=URU way tail float=I-SS go+around=URU NI

arako ni hito wo nobos=e- te tur=i ag=e- sas=e-te  
 basket OBL person DO make+ride=I-SS hand=I lift=A-CAUS=I-SS

tubakurame no su ni te wo sas=i-ir=e-sas=e-te  
 swallow ASS nest OBL hand DO stick+in=A-CAUS=I-SS

sagur=u      ni "Môno mo na=si" to moos=u      ni ...  
 search=URU NI thing even not=SI COMP say+HON=URU NI

'(the swallow) went around as Kuratukomaro said; (he) had someone ride a basket and had someone (also) lift (it) up and had (him) search (it); but (he) said, "There is nothing", and ....'

- (5.124) mi- wi- tar=i-si      wo e- tat=i-tomar=a-nu  
 see=I-be=I-PERF=I-PAST=URU WO can-stay=A-      NEG=URU

koto ar=i-te iz=uru      wo narah=i- ker=e-ba ...(Tsu, 373)  
 thing be=I-SS go+out=URU DO accostom=I-PAST=E-DS

'(the child) was looking at (him), but (the father) had something (for which) he could not say and went out, but (the child) was accostomed to (being with the father) ...'

It is also agreed upon that these conjunctive particles were historically derived from case particles ni and wo. When it comes to the synchronic description of conjunctive particles ni and wo, there is much that is not understood. Yamada (1961) describes ni and wo as conjunctive particles that indicates the coexistence of two events expressed by the two clauses connected by them and adds that wo was used when the first clause was considered to be primary and ni when the emphasis was reverse. Many grammarians characterizes wo as some sort of adversative conjunction. Tsukahara (1958), for example, states that wo expresses "disharmony or incongruity" between the two propositions. Sansom (1928) argues, however, that "Any adversative meaning which they appear to convey is incidental,

and depends upon the meaning of the components when placed side by side" and emphasizes that "formally their purpose is to co-ordinate two sentences, and not to subordinate one to another". Below, we will discuss how case particles possibly became conjunctive particles and propose that the function of ni and wo was to mark switch reference.

#### 5.5.1 Switch Reference Function of ni and wo

It is difficult to give evidence of wo and ni as different subject markers in terms of figures. It is often the case we cannot tell whether the [...=URU-wo/ni] is a nominal clause which is the direct object or an oblique nominal of another clause or a clause conjoined to the following clause. However, this indeterminacy is not important at this point. We have found only one counterexample for ni and none for wo in Taketori. In Genji, five cases (out of 175) and two (out of 89) seem to be counterexamples of different subject marking ni and wo, respectively. Consider examples of (5.123) and (5.124) applying the view that conjunctive particles ni and wo indicated the switching of the subject.

#### 5.5.2 From Case Particle to Conjunctive Particle

Assuming that conjunctive particles ni and wo developed from case particles ni and wo, how can we explain the mechanism of this change? Consider the following sentence, first.

- (5.125) kono kaha ha morokosi ni mo na=kar=i ker=u wo  
 this fur TOP(SUB)China OBL even not=KU+be=I-PAST=URU WO
- karauzite motom=e- tazun=e- tar=u nar=i. (T, 44)  
 with+difficulty search+I-look+for-I-PERF=URU COP=U
- (a) '(I) found this fur, which was not even in China, with difficulty.'
- (b) 'this fur was not (found) even in China, but (I) have found (it) with difficulty.'

The underlined part can be taken either as the direct object of motom=e-tazun=e-tar=u 'to have found' or as a clause coordinately conjoined with the following clause by the conjunctive particle wo, as shown by the English translation (a) and (b) respectively. The two analyses are depicted in the following diagrams, leaving aside the sentence final copula.

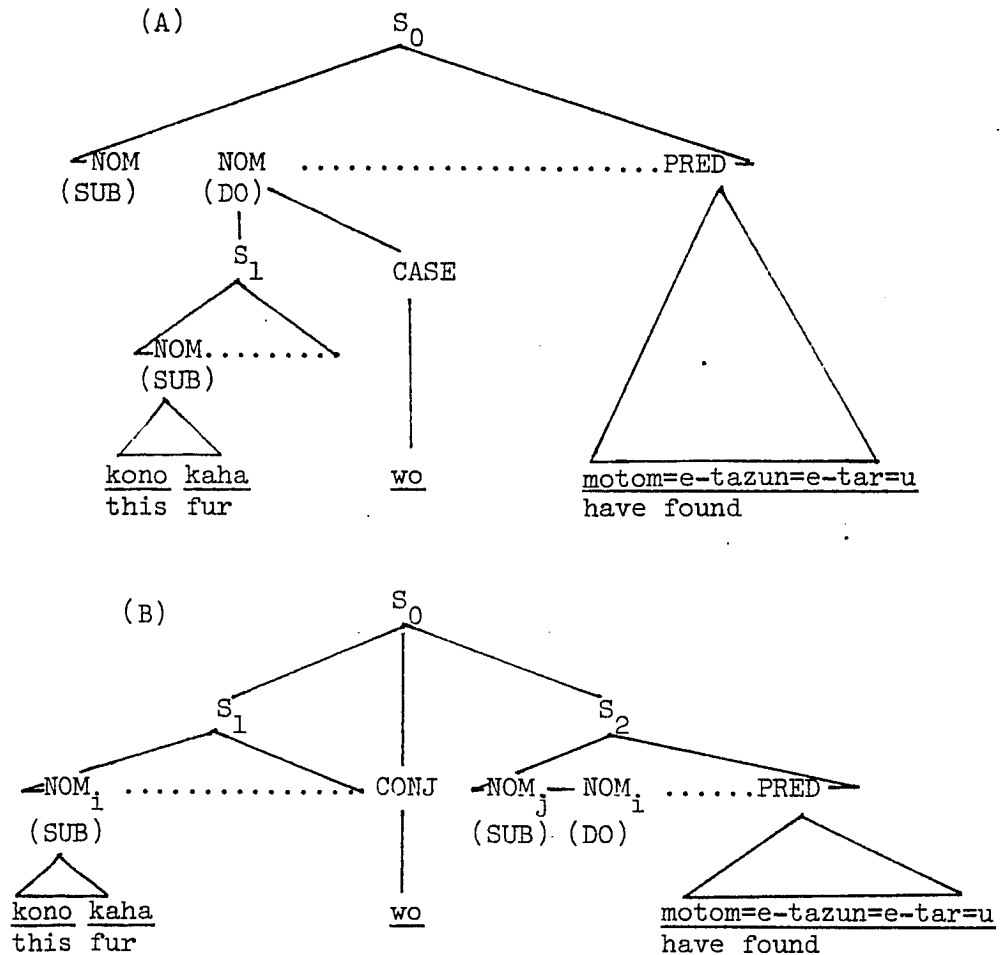


Diagram-21

In (A) the subject of  $S_1$  is the semantic head of the URU-marked nominal clause and it is at the same time the direct object of the matrix  $S_0$ . The conjunction analysis (B) assumes that the direct object of the  $S_2$  is



identical in reference with the subject of  $S_1$ . This possibility of multi-analysis seems to be crucial for the development of different subject marking wo and ni. Suppose that a speaker utters sentence (5.125) intending (A), which his hearer may interpret as (B). It is likely thus that the latter person soon starts to use a sentence like (5.126), which is analyzable as in (B) but not as in (A).

(5.126) Kaguyahime "....." to ih=i- te imiziku nak=u wo  
 Kaguyahime COMP say=I-SS bitterly cry=URU WO

Okina "....." to ih=i- te, ... (T, 60)  
 Okina COMP say=I-SS

'Kaguyahime said, "....." and cried bitterly, and (then)  
 Okina said, "....." and ...'

Notice that the ex- direct object marker is now simply conjoining two sentences with different subjects. The crux of this reanalysis lies in the following facts. First, the URU-form of the verb that occurs in final position of a nominal clause had a nominalizing force and enabled a case marker to attach to it. However, as was previously mentioned, this form was not actually distinct from the Final-form in Class-I verbs, and the two forms--the Nominal URU-form and the Final U-form--were gradually changing towards the complete merger in other verbs also. Since the case particle status of ni and wo was dependent on the nominal status of the URU-clauses, the case particle status of wo and ni became less evident in this position as the nominal status of URU-clauses was weakened. Second, what was understood as the semantic head of an URU-marked clauses was, in the majority of cases, the subject of the clause if the clause was not given a sentential nominal interpretation. Since a nonsubject nominal is normally different from the subject nominal in reference, the subject of the matrix sentence and that of the URU-clause marked by the direct

object marker wo or the oblique marker ni are also different. Thus, when an URU-clause embedded in the direct object or an oblique nominal position was reanalyzed as a clause coordinately conjoined to the ex-matrix clause, the result was a coordinate conjunction construction consisting of clauses with different subjects.

Like ba, conjunctive particle wo and ni occur in chain constructions in which their switch reference function is most characteristically exhibited. (Refer back to examples (5.123) and (5.124) again.) The occurrence of ni and wo as conjunctive particles marking different subjects in chain constructions may give a rough idea when the reanalysis took place. In Taketori, the earliest text, the ni and wo following an URU-clause are almost always analyzable as case particles and there is no chain construction in which ni or wo occurs as conjunctive particles. That is, the conjunctive status of these particles had not been established yet. In Genji, about a century later, ni occurs quite frequently as a conjunctive particle in chain constructions but wo does not. In Tsutsumi-Chuunagon, the latest among the three, wo as a conjunctive particle occurs in chain constructions as frequently as ni. In other words, wo was reanalyzed as a switch-reference marker later than ni.

The claim that a reanalysis has taken place does not entail that wo and ni after the URU-clause were always conjunctions. In sentences like (5.127), where one clause is placed within another forming a nested construction, the case particle analysis may be more appropriate.

(5.127) onna ha kono hito no omoh=u- ran koto sahe ...  
 woman TOP=SUB this person ASS think=U-INFER thing even  
 warina=ki ni nagar=uru made ase ni nar=i- te ...  
 bitter=KI NI flow=URU till perspiration OBL become=I-SS  
 (G, 96)

'the woman perspired till (sweat) poured down because even what this person might think ... was so bitter ...'

Either analysis is possible if there is no blending of two clauses.

(5.128) Okina kotawari ni omoh=u ni, "....." nado ih=i-  
Okina reasonable COP=I think=URU NI etc. say=I-

wi- tar=i. (T, 37)  
be=I-PERF=U

(a) '(he) was saying "....." and so forth to Okina, who thought (it) reasonable.'

(b) 'Okina thought (it) reasonable, but (he≠Okina) was saying "....." and so forth.'

And the coordinate conjunction analysis may be more realistic for a chain construction because it seems to be impossible to comprehend a self-embedding construction with several clauses stacked one after another.

In conclusion, we characterize conjunctive particle ni and wo as morphemes that were used to coordinate clauses with different subjects. Like ba-clauses, clauses conjoined by ni or wo with the following clauses were given various interpretations such as 'although...', 'while...', 'when...'. 'because...', etc. depending on the meanings of the two clauses and the speaker's pragmatic knowledge about them.

The addition of conjunctive particle ni and wo to the Old Japanese grammar, then, resulted in a purposeless variety and, as predicted by the principle of 'one form, one meaning', they did not survive very long. neither ni or wo is used as a conjunctive particle in Modern Japanese.

## 5.6 Summary

We have suggested that there was a period when there was no conjunctive particle and zero-conjunctions were the main devices for clause conjunction. Then, we have shown how conjunctive particles may have come into existence in the Old Japanese grammar and how Modern Japanese con-

junction words developed by the process which may be comparable to what Antilla (1974a) calls "symbolic fusion" (e.g. ker=e-do(mo):PAST=E-DO(MO) --keredomo 'although'). It is characteristic of conjunctive particles that they do not specify relational concepts such as condition and concession but they leave such meanings to the speaker's pragmatic inference. Modern Japanese conjunction words, on the other hand, carry specific meanings: keredomo 'although', naraba 'if', node 'because' etc.<sup>13</sup> A further difference between the Old Japanese conjunctive particle and the Modern Japanese conjunction words is that the former were mostly attached to a nonfinal form of the predicate while the latter follow a clause that can occur as an independent sentence. In other words, conjoining clauses by a conjunctive particle involved some morphophonemic adjustments of the predicate to which the conjunctive particle was to be attached while conjoining clauses by a conjunction word requires no adjustment of the clauses to be conjoined. The general tendency of the changes that took place in the area of conjunction constructions may well be said, as we mentioned before, that they were directed towards more analyticity.<sup>14</sup> The history of the Japanese conjunction seems to be divided into the period of zero-conjunctions, the period of particle conjunctions, and the period of analytic conjunctions although the development was so gradual that the three stages are not clear-cut.

# Footnotes to Chapter V

1. There are quite a number of verbs like iru 'to inter/to make enter' which are the same in the Final form but are different in other conjugational forms. Below are some examples of such verbs. (Only the Conjunctive and the Final forms are given.)

TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE
a. ir=e 'make enter/put into' ir=u	ir=i 'enter/go in' ir=u
b. tuk=e 'attach' tuk=u	tuk=i 'attach' tuk=u
c. tudoh=e 'gather' tudoh=u	tudoh=i 'gather/get together' tudoh=u
d. muk=e 'face' muk=u	muk=i 'face' muk=u
e. soh=e 'add' soh=u	soh=i 'add' soh=u
f. sitagahe 'make follow' sitagah=u	sitagah=i 'follow' sitagah=u
g. sizum=e 'make sink/quiet' sizum=u	sizum=i 'sink' sizum=u
h. uk=e 'make float' uk=u	uk=i 'float' uk=u

These forms are actually used in Taketori. There are pairs like these in Japanese of later periods that were developed later, perhaps by analogy.

2. mot=e-ku 'to bring' is usually analyzed as derived from the Conjunctive form of motu 'to hold' plus the verb 'to come'. However, other conjugational forms of motu follows the class-Iverb pattern. Consider

Unrealized	mot=a
Conjunctive	
Final	mot=u
Nominal	mot=u
Realized	mot=e

If this verb was a Class I verb, the expected Conjunctive form would be mot=i rather than mot=e. It is likely that mot=e-ku was actually

the Realized form plus ku 'to come'. Then, this serial construction may be taken as a reflex of the zero-conjunction with E and an indication that the zero-conjunction with E also developed serial construction.

3. Yamada (1961), Saheki, (1936), Yuzawa (1940), Imaizumi (1939), Hayashi (1961), etc.
4. There is a hypothesis that the ba was derived from m-ha, the m being part of the Unrealized suffix (e.g. Hayashi and Ōno in the Mannyoo-shuu Taisei, Gengo-hen) and that the m-ha became ba as a result of phonological change. This implies that the conjunctive ba developed only in hypothetical conditional clauses at first and that it extended its domain to factual conditionals later. This analysis, however, is not convincing: It cannot answer the question of why the emphatic particle was always ba after the direct object marker wo. There is no reason for a direct object to be marked by m.
5. There are some Japanese grammarians who have expressed this possibility. (E.g., Hayasi (1961))
6. Although the nature of the emphatic particle ha is not clear as we have stated before, the wa( ha) in the following Modern Japanese example show that this particle still has the function of emphasizing the connection between the two proposition when it is used after a clausal conjunct.
  - a. John wa tabako o sut- te shika-rare-ta.  
 John TOP(SUB) cigaret DO smoke-TE scold-PASS-PAST  
 'John smoked cigarettes and was scolded.'
  - b. John wa tabako o sut- te-wa shika-rare-ta.  
 John TOP(SUB) cigaret DO smoke-TE-WA scold-PASS-PAST  
 'John was scolded every time when he smoked

The wa attached to sut-te in b. is responsible for the interpretation 'every time when...'. What the wa does here is to enforce the causal relationship between the cause clause 'John smoked cigarettes' and the effect clause 'John was scolded'.
7. Also see Akiba (1976a) for this phenomenon in Old Japanese.
8. See Kuno (1973), II Particles.
9. The following may be one of the few true counterexample.

hazime yo=ku goranz=i-t=ure-ba medeta=ku oboy=e-sas=e-  
 at+first well see+HON=I-PERF=E-DS dearly feel=A-CAUS=I-

tamah=i-te ...  
 HON=I- SS

(T, 56)

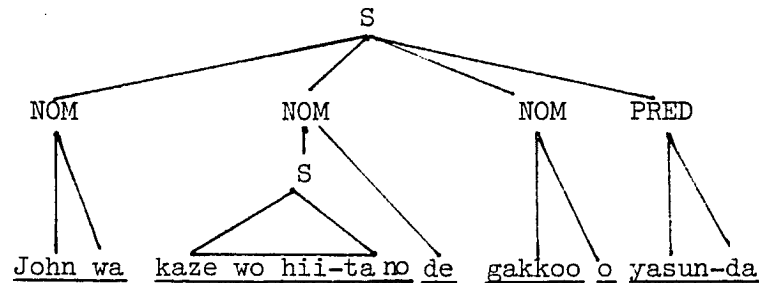
(the Emperor) looked at (her) well at first, and (he) felt  
 (her) dearly, ...'

10. We noticed Tsukahara's article entitled "Chain Construction (鎖型構文)" (1956). However, his "chain construction" refers to a completely different construction than the construction we are discussing.
11. It was suggested by Prof. Thompson, UCLA, (in personal communication) that the chain construction may be comparable to an English narrative with many repeated subject pronouns. The difference may be only superficial: In chain constructions, nonfinal conjunct clauses are morphologically dependent on the following clauses, while, in a multiple conjunction construction like the English and-conjunction with many conjunct clauses, conjunct clauses are morphologically independent in that they can occur as independent sentences.
12. node 'because' was derived from the nominalizer no, which may have a historical relationship with the associative no, plus the non-argument oblique marker de (> ni-te). For instance, a sentence like:

John wa kaze o hii- ta node gakkoo o yasun-da.  
 John TOP(SUB) cold DO catch-PAST because school DO absent-PAST

'John was absent from school because he caught a cold.'

must have formerly been as shown below.



Similarly, noni 'despite' in sentences like:

John wa kaze o hii- te-i- ru noni gakkoo e it-ta.  
 John TOP(SUB) cold DO catch-TE-be-NT despite school to go-PAST

'John went to school despite the fact that he had a cold.'

was derived from the nominalizer no plus the argument oblique case particle ni. Some complex conjunctions involve the quotative to. Below are some such examples:

(i) to=wa=ie (>to ha ih=e: COMP TOP say=E) 'even though'

toshirori da to=wa=ie, damat-te-i-nai.  
 aged COP even+though sut+up-TE-be-not

'even though (I) am aged, (I) will not be shutting up.'

(ii) to=shi=te=mo (>to s=i-te mo: COMP do=I-TE-MO) 'even if'

hito=ban=juu hatarai-ta to=shi=te=mo, owar=a-nai daroo.  
 all+night work- PAST even+if end=A- not CONJEC

'even if (I) worked all night, (I) will not be through with (it).'

(iii) to=sure=ba (>to s=ure=ba: COMP do=E-DS) 'if'

kinoo tat-ta to=sure=ba, ima goro wa tui-te-  
 yesterday leave-PAST if now about TOP arrive-TE-

i- ru hazu-da.  
 be-NT OBLIG

'if (they) left (there) yesterday, (they) should be arriving by now.'

14. Modern Japanese contains a conjunctive particle which is still in full use, namely, ga as in the following examples.

(a) John wa America-jin da ga, nihongo o  
 John TOP(SUB) America-person COP GA Japanese+language DO

totemo joozuni hanas-u.  
 very well speak- NT

'John is an American, but (he) speaks Japanese very well.'

(b) Yamada wa Tokyo Daigaku no gakusei da ga rainen  
 Yamada TOP(SUB) Tokyo University ASS student COP GA next year

Amerika e ik-u rashii.  
 America to go-NT

'It seems that Yamada, who is a student of Tokyo University, will go to America next year.'



(c) John kara kii-ta no da ga, Mary ga chika=jika kekkon  
John from hear-PAST NOM COP GA Mary SUB shortly marriage

s-uru soo-da.  
do-NT REPORTIVE

'(I) have heard from John that Mary will marry shortly.'

Note that the clauses followed by the conjunctive particle ga are given various interpretations depending on the relationship between the two conjuncts. Of interest to us is that this particle came from the subject marker ga, which developed in turn from the Old Japanese associative ga.

## CHAPTER VI

### BE-VERB<sup>1</sup>

#### 6.0 Introduction

It is universally known that the verb 'to be' has various meanings and functions. Taking examples from English, the verb be can be used not only as a main verb meaning 'to exist' or 'to locate' but also as a linking verb (i.e. as a copula), as an auxiliary in a progressive or passive sentence, and so on. Historically, such auxiliary uses of the verb 'to be' are often derived from the verb 'to be' as a main verb. It is fairly well established that the various conjugated forms of English be came from different verbs with meanings such as 'to stay', 'to remain', 'to grow', etc. We also know that the be-passive as found in Modern English developed towards the Old English period and that the use of be in the progressive is a relatively recent phenomenon, being found very rarely in Old English (Traugott (1972)): The various auxiliary uses of English be have arisen as a consequence of bleaching certain semantic features that the verb be used to carry as a main verb. Although verbs 'to be' in languages other than English do not exactly correspond in meaning and function with the English be, there are a considerable number of properties shared by verbs 'to be' among different languages (Verhaar (1967)-(1972)).

In this chapter, we will examine the nature of Old Japanese verbs 'to be' (we may refer to translation equivalents of English be as BE-verbs irrespective of their grammatical categories, main verb or auxiliary) and their historical development. We will show, in particular,

that reanalysis of a main verb 'to be' as an aspectual auxiliary suffix via rialization occurred repeatedly in Japanese throughout its history.

### 6.1 Existential Verb ari, wiru and wori

In Old Japanese there are three BE-verbs used with the substantial meaning of 'to locate' or 'to exist' apart from honorific BE-verbs<sup>2</sup>.

They are ari, wiru and wori as in the following examples.

- (6.1) Hati no naka ni humi ar=i. (T, 34)  
pot ASS inside OBL letter be=U

'There was a letter in the pot.'

- (6.2) Wa ga wi=ru yama ... (Ise, 123)  
I ASS be=URU mountain

'the mountain in which I am ...'

- (6.3) Otoko ... toguti ni wor=i. (Ise, 114)  
man door OBL be=U

'The man ... was at the door.'

(wiru is actually the Nominal form, but it is used as the citation form of this verb because its Final form is not attested.)

We will refer to these verbs as "existential verbs" or "existential BE-verbs" as opposed to "locative BE-verbs (verbs meaning 'to be at') and "auxiliary BE-verbs" to facilitate our discussion. (Locative verbs will not be discussed untill Chapter VII.)

Among the three existential verbs, ari clearly differs from the other two. First of all, while wiru and wori were used pertaining to the existence of an animate object, ari was not so constrained. (Cf. (6.1) and (6.4) below.) Secondly, ari often occurred without any specific locative noun. Thus, sentences like the following repeatedly occur in the opening of a tale.

- (6.4) Mukasi otoko ar=i-ker=i.  
 long+ago man be=I-PAST=U

'Long ago (=once upon a time) there was a man.'

Thirdly, ari was also used in the sense of possession<sup>3</sup>.

- (6.5) Mukasi otoko ito uruhasi=ki tomo ar=i-ker=i. (Ise, 138)  
 long+ago man very dear=KI friend be=I-PAST=U

'Long ago, a man had a very dear friend.'

- (6.6) Tuki no miyako no hito ni- te titi haha ar=i.  
 moon ASS city+royal ASS person COP-SS father mother be=U

(T, 60)

'(I) am a person from the city royal of Moonland and have a father and a mother.'

The difference between wiru and wori is not clear. They are not distinguishable in terms of their semantic features; nor are they always interchangeable. Some Japanese grammarians (e.g. Ōtuki (1932-37)) speculate that wori came from wi-ari. One possible objection to this would be that it is unusual for two BE-verbs to occur one after another within a clause. Furthermore, a BE-verb denoting aspectual meaning such as progressive and perfect does not occur with a typical stative verb 'to be'. Nevertheless we will support this traditional hypothesis. There are some few instances in which wi, the Conjunctive form of wiru, is used as a main verb meaning 'to sit' in contradistinction to 'to stand'. Observe the following examples.

- (6.7) tat=i- te mi wi- te mi, ... (Ise, 113)  
 stand=I-SS see=I sit=I-SS see=I

'(she) saw (while) standing, and (then) saw (while) sitting...'

- (6.8) Miko ha tat=u mo hasita wi=ru mo  
 prince TOP=SUB stand=URU also uncomfortable sit=URU also  
 hasita ni-te ... (T, 40)  
 uncomfortable COP-SS

'The prince was uncomfortable, standing or sitting, ...'

If this meaning 'to sit' was the original meaning of wiru 'to be', then the sequence of wi-ari falls in the regular pattern of non-stative verb plus auxiliary ari, and the traditional hypothesis about the origin of wori 'to be' gains support. This etymology of wiru and wori will account for the selectional restriction on the subject nominal of wiru and wori. It is because the restriction between the verb 'to sit' and its subject nominal was retained over to these BE-verbs. That is, wiru 'to be' (+ANIMATE)' developed from wiru 'to be' from wi-ari 'to be sitting' by a complex process of phonetic fusion and semantic bleaching. The extension of the verb 'to sit' to the verb 'to be' is logically natural, 'to sit' being 'to be in a certain manner (e.g. resting the weight of the body upon the buttocks and the back of the thighs)' and it is not uncommon in languages (e.g. irikkuka in Malayalam and lakq in Dyola, a West-Atlantic)<sup>4</sup>. The relevant question then becomes: Why did there develop two animate existential verbs simultaneously? We think an answer is suggested in the following table.

Unrealized		wora (8)
Conjunctive	wi (26)	wori (2)
Final		wori (8)
Nominal	wiru (6)	woru (2)
Realized		wore (3)

Table-11 Distribution of wiru and wori in Taketori and Ise.

Note that the wiru is completely devoid of the Final, Unrealized and

Realized forms. We suspect that the use of wori (> wi-ari) was originally motivated as a means of complementing morphological defect of wiru. We should not perhaps attempt to make a distinction between wiru and wori in terms of meaning or sociological values at least in the grammar of Old Japanese. Later, however, wiru was completely renovated as a class-III verb replete with all necessary forms (the Nominal form wiru came to be used as the Final form as well (recall that the Nominal form and the Final form merged in all verbs); the newly developed negative suffix nai came to occur with wi and the Realized form wire was developed on the basis of the new Final form wiru) and thus made wori redundant. As is often the case with such a redundant morpheme, wori took on an honorific value and came to be used only to humiliate the subject.

In summary, we may generalize that ari was the most widely used existential verb of Old Japanese and wiru/wori was an animate existential verb from which the lexical meaning 'to sit' was not completely bleached out.

## 6.2 Auxiliary BE-Verb

It is one of the most common phenomena in languages that BE-verbs are used also as aspectual auxiliaries, denoting 'progressive' and 'perfect' aspects<sup>5</sup>, and Japanese is no exception in this respect. As we have seen in Chapter V, an existential verb that occurs as the second verb in the Verb-Verb serial tends to take on an aspectual function and is in time reanalyzed as an auxiliary suffix. In what follows, we will exemplify several attested cases of such analyses.

### 6.2.1 Perfect (a)ri

This auxiliary is evidently related to the existential ari: in fact

it is possible to analyze it as a main verb 'to be' in many cases. For an example, consider the following.

(6.9) Hito tate=i. (Ise, 151)  
 person stand=I+PERF=U

(a) 'A person stood (in the past) and (he) is (there).'

(b) 'A person has been standing (there).'

The two interpretations (a) and (b) are practically equivalent, and it may appear that there is no reason for considering the ari in this sentence as distinct from the existential verb ari. However, when it occurs after an honorific suffix as in the following example, it cannot be taken as the existential verb meaning 'to exist':

(6.10) Genzi tuk=i- tamaher=i. (G, 49)  
 Genzi arrive=I-HON=I+PERF=U

'Genzi has arrived.'

because nonhonorific ari and honorific predicate tuk=i-tamah=i could not occur in coordination. The two predicates of the same subject must be consistent with respect to the honorific value. The ari in this example should therefore be treated as an auxiliary suffix of aspect. Thus understood, it fits nicely under the generalization we have made in 2.2.2.1.4. that auxiliaries of aspect were placed after honorific suffixes.

The function of the auxiliary (a)ri can be understood as that of the Perfect as defined by Comrie (1976). That is, it expresses the continuing relevance of a previous situation as "perfect of result", "perfect of persistent situation" and "perfect of recent past". Here are some examples.

(6.11) Kuramoti=no=kiko ha udonge no hana mot=i-te  
 Kuramoti=no=miko TOP=SUB plantine ASS flower hold=I-SS  
 nobor=i-tamaher=i. (T, 36)  
 come+up=I-HON=I+PERF=U

'Kuramoti=no=miko has come up holding plantine flowers.'

- (6.12) Yuki ito sirou hurer=i. (Ise, 117)  
snow very white=KU fall=I+PERF=U

'Very white snow has fallen/has been falling.'  
(Lit: Snow has fallen/has been falling very whitely.)

- (6.13) ... norer=u otoko ... (Ise, 134)  
ride=I+PERF=URU man

'the man wh<sup>o</sup> has ridden (the carriage)...'  
(i.e. the man who is on the cariage...)

The Perfect in the following examples are different from ordinary perfect sentences found in languages such as English.

- (6.14) Sono onna yo hito ni ha masarer=i- ker=i.  
that woman world person OBL TOP exceed=I+PERF=I-PAST=U  
(Ise, 111)

'The woman was better than ordinary people.'  
(Lit: The woman was exceeding the people of the world.)

- (6.15) ito yo=ku ni- tamaher=i. (G, 46)  
very good=KU resemble=I-HON=I+PERF=U

'(He) was very much like (her).'  
(Lit: He was very much resembling her.)

Notice that these sentences are translated into English not as the perfect but rather as the stative. This is owing to the differences between the two languages in how each conceptualizes a state of "being alike" or "being better". English expresses it as a state without mentioning overtly how the state came about while Japanese captures it as a state resulting from a previous process of "becoming alike" or "exceeding"<sup>6</sup>.

There are perfect sentences of a very peculiar type which are difficult to translate into English. Consider:



(6.16) Kusa=kusa=no urahasi=ki ruri wo iroh=e-te  
 various beautiful=KI emerald DO mix+color=I-SS

tukurer=i. (T, 43)  
 make=I+PERF=U

'(The box) was made, color-mixed of various beautiful emeralds' (i.e. (The box) was made of beautiful emeralds of various colors mixed.)

The main verb tukuru 'to make' in this example is a transitive action verb whose subject (i.e. the agent) is left unspecified. Sentences like this describe situations where the agent of the action is not known or not of the speaker's concern. Sentences of this type, to which we may refer as "impersonal (perfect) sentences", are characteristically in the ari Perfect and have a strong stative connotation. In the Modern Japanese counterpart of the impersonal perfect, the direct object of the main verb is marked as the surface subject (with ga). In Old Japanese, on the other hand, one cannot tell whether the logical object of the main verb was ever conceived of as the surface subject or whether it remained as the object since both the subject and the direct object were often left unmarked. We have not found any example of impersonal perfect in which the direct object of the main verb is overtly marked with wo.

The use of Perfect ari was already quite limited in Old Japanese. It occurred mostly with Type I verb in the period of Taketori and Ise, and then later only with certain verbs of Type I. According to Endo (1969), Perfect ari was no longer used in spoken Japanese in the Kamakura period (about the 12th century). It seems that the Perfect ari gave way to a new auxiliary tari, which will be discussed shortly. A text counting of Perfect ari and tari clearly indicates this shift:

	<u>tari</u>	<u>ari</u>			
		Total	<u>tamaheri</u>	<u>yomeri</u>	Others
Taketori	68	48	(20)		21
Ise Monogatari	75	78	(4)	26	48
Genji Monogatari	208	86	(125)		61
Tsutsumi-Chuunagon	130	48	(42)		6

Table-12 Frequency of tari and (a)ri

The figures in parentheses are occurrences of ari suffixed to honorific tamahu, forming tamaheri, which occurred frequently even after the Perfect ari generally became obsolete. Ise-Monogatari contains very few tamaheri, but does contain quite a number of (26 in the table) yomer(i) (compose=I + Perf =U) because it often cites short poems in tales introduced by phrases meaning 'composed at ...' and '... and has composed the following'. Apart from yomer(i) and tamaher(i), the figures at the right side of the table may be significant. Notice that the ratio of ari to the new auxiliary tari slightly from Taketori and Ise to Genji and dramatically decreased from Genji to Tsutsumi.

The reason why ari did not survive as a Perfect auxiliary is complex. As seen from the examples given above, when ari was suffixed to the Conjunctive form of a verb, the application of the phonological rule [i+a→e] had become obligatory by the time of Old Japanese. For example, tat=i-ar=i (stand=I-Perf=U), tamah=i-ar=i (HON=I-Perf=U) and kak=i-ar=i (write=I-Perf=U) were always realized as tateri, tamaheri and kakeri. This fusion of the Conjunctive suffix and the initial vowel of the ari gave rise to problems. First of all, the suffix-

ation of ari obscured the transitive-intransitive opposition of quite a number of verbs. In a footnote to Chapter V, we have given some examples of verbs where the transitive-intransitive distinction was made in terms of the conjugation, the transitive having the Class-II conjugation and the intransitive the Class-I conjugation. When the Perfect ari was added to the Stem=e-, the Conjunctive form of the transitive, and the Stem=i-, the Conjunctive form of the intransitive, both would have become the same form, the Stem=eri. Also recall that there were some few mono-syllabic verbs and that they were all semantically 'basic' (e.g., 'to cook', 'to see', 'to wear', 'to sleep', 'to stay', 'to get', etc.). Since the Conjunctive form of a mono-syllabic verb was actually the stem itself, addition of ari to it would have resulted in a conceptually undesirable situation. That ari occurred only with Class-I verbs in Old Japanese is understandable considering these consequences. Another and more substantial reason is that the rule of Perfect sentence formation became very difficult to learn. Notice that the initial vowel a of the ari never surfaced in Old Japanese, having been completely assimilated by the preceding minor suffix. Given the surface form Verb=eri, there are at least two possible analyses, one concrete, the other abstract, which the Old Japanese speaker could come up with. In the concrete analysis only, ri would be taken as the Perfect auxiliary and it would be attached to the E-form, not the I-form of the preceding verbal element. In this case there would be no need for phonological modifications. In the abstract analysis, on the other hand, one would still consider the Perfect predicate as derived from Verb=I-ari by applying the rule [i+a→e]. The abstract

analysis should not be dismissed in this particular case because the abstract form Verb=I-ari was not impossible to recover from the general principle of suffixation (2.29), which we repeat below in (6.17), and the general rule [i+a→e].

$$(6.17) \text{ MV } (=A\text{-VOICE}) \quad (=I\text{-HON}) \quad (=I\text{-ASPECT}) \quad (=I\text{-TENS}) = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{U} \\ \underline{URU} \\ \underline{I/A/E} \end{array} \right\}$$

Given that aspect auxiliaries were suffixed to the I-form and e was often the result of the fusion of i and a, one could infer the abstract form. This analysis, which is obviously a burden for the speaker, is not necessarily more costly than the concrete analysis because the concrete analysis violates the principle of suffixation in (6.17) and must make an exception of the Perfect ri in that this aspectual auxiliary was exceptionally attached to the E-form. The speaker would rather avoid this problematic auxiliary in the presence of alternatives. The new serial construction, the one with conjunctive particle te between the two verbs, provided an ideal alternative and developed a new Perfect auxiliary tari, which will be discussed immediately below.

#### 6.2.2 Perfect tari

The new Perfect auxiliary tari, developing from conjunctive particle te plus the existential verb ari, had basically the same semantic function as ari. Observe the following examples.

(6.18) Uta wo yom=i-te kak=i-tuk=e-te wokus-e-tar=i.  
poem DO compose=I-SS write+down=I-SS send=I-PERF=U

(Ise, 168)

'(He) has composed, written it down and sent it (here).'

(6.19) Sono sawa ni kakitubata ito omosiro=ku sak=i-tar=u...  
that swamp OBL iris very interesting=KU bloom=I-PERF=U

(Ise, 116)

'Some iris flowers were blooming interestingly in the swamp.'

- (6.20) Kono kaha goromo ir=e- tar=u hako wo mi=re-ba ... (T,43)  
this fur robe put+in=I-PERF=URU box DO see=E-DS

'(He) looked at the box in which there was a fur robe  
put in ...'

The original form te-ari still appeared, though not often.

- (6.21) ... yama ni ir=i- te zo ar=i-ker=u. (Ise, 144)  
mountain OBL enter=I-SS EMPH be=I-PAST=U

'(She) had entered a mountain.'

Here, the fusion of te and ari is blocked by the intervening Kakari  
particle zo.

This new auxiliary tari, being much less susceptible to phonetic  
fusion than ari because of the initial consonant t, established its  
status as an auxiliary and remained such for quite a long period. How-  
ever, with the decline of the past tense auxiliary keri, it came to  
occur more frequently in sentence final position and became subject to  
phonetic erosion, which typically affects the sentence final material.  
The change from tari to ta was accompanied by a semantic change. In  
Modern Japanese, the basic function of ta is to mark the past tense  
though it is still used with a Perfect sense in nonfinal positions.

### 6.2.3 wiru/wori in Serial Construction

The animate existential verbs wiru and wori were still more like  
main verbs although functionally they often approximated aspectual aux-  
iliaries. For example, the wi in examples like:

- (6.22) kakur=e-wi-tamah=i-te, ... (T, 40)  
hide=I-be=I-HON=I- SS

'(he) was hiding, and ...'

(Lit: (he) hid (himself) and was (there), and ...)

should be analyzed syntactically as a main verb in a serial construction with the preceding verb rather than as an auxiliary suffix of aspect because an aspectual auxiliary suffix would not generally occur followed by an honorific suffix. Semantically, however, it expresses the perfect of persistent situation. Following are more examples of wiru/wori with similar functions.

- (6.23) ... tudoh=i- wi- tar=u nar=u be=si. (G, 90)  
 get+together=I-be=I-PERF=URU COP=URU OBLIG=U

'(It) was that ladies have been together (there).'

- (6.24) Hito bito watadono yori id=e- tar=u izumi ni  
 person person passage form get+out=I-PERF=URU fountain OBL  
 nozok=i-wi- sake nom=u. (G, 89)  
 command=I-be=I-SS wine drink=U

'People drank wine while commanding from the passage the fountain which was flowing out.'

- (6.25) ... nak=i-wor=i. (T, 64)  
 cry=I-be=U

''(She) was crying.'

- (6.26) yohi ha aob=i-wor=i-te, ... (Ise, 137)  
 early+evening TOP play=I-be=I-SS

'(they) were playing (the funeral music) in the early evening, ..., and ...'

- (6.27) ... hara=dat=i-wor=u. (T, 62)  
 get+angry=I-be=URU

'(He) was angry.'

Unlike Perfect auxiliaries ari and tari, wiru/wori in serial construction are always given the "persistent situation" interpretation, and are never given the "recent past" interpretation.

In the following examples, conjunctive particle te appears between the two serialized verbs.

- (6.28) onna idak=i-te-wi- tar=u Kaguyahime (T, 64)  
 woman hug=I- SS-be=I- PERF=URU Kaguyahime

'Kaguyahime, whom the woman was hugging...'

- (6.29) kaho uti=akam=e-te-wi- tar=i. (G, 102)  
 face redden=I- SS-be=I- PERF=U

'(he) has blushed over his face.'  
 (Lit: (he) was reddening (his) face.'

- (6.30) yorokob=i-te-wi- tar=i. (t, 44)  
 rejoice=I- SS-be=I- PERF=U

'(he) was glad.'

It is parenthetically noted that the Perfect tari occurring with the Perfect-like verb wi- functions almost like a past tense marker. Here we see the seeds of tari's development into the past tense marker towards the Modern Japanese period.

Examples such as the following are noteworthy.

- (6.31) ito utukusiu- te-wi- tar=i. (T, 29)  
 very beautiful=KU- SS-be=I- PERF=U

'(she) was beautiful.'  
 (Lit: (she) was (there) (being) beautiful.'

- (6.32) yamome ni- te-wi- te ... (Tsu, 410)  
 unmarried+one COP=I- SS-be=I- SS

'(she) was an unmarried one, and ...'  
 (Lit: (she) was (there), being an unmarried one, and...)

The wi forms a serial construction with a stative predicate with an adjective in (6.31) and with a nominal predicate in (6.32). The function of the wi in these expressions is not clear. It may be morphological: it enables the Perfect auxiliary tari to modify the adjective or

the nominal predicate, which could not directly suffix to tari for some historical reason. Or, it could be semantic: it may emphasize the temporary nature of the state expressed by the adjective or the predicate nominal.

In sum, there are strong reasons for believing that the change from the existential BE-verb wiru/wori to the auxiliary iru (> wiru) had already begun in Old Japanese although it was still in its infancy.

#### 6.2.4 Modern Japanese BE-verbs iru and aru

Modern Japanese has two BE-verbs, iru and aru, which developed from Old Japanese wiru and ari respectively through morphological and semantic adjustments (see 2.2.2.13).<sup>8</sup> Both iru and aru have auxiliary functions denoting various aspectual meanings as well as the main verb function. Existential iru and aru are quite distinct from auxiliary iru and aru in terms of the animacy restriction. The main verb 'to be' strictly corresponds to the animacy of the subject nominal, iru to an animate subject and aru to an inanimate subject. That is, aru unlike Old Japanese ari, can no longer occur with an animate subject. Thus,

- (6.33) Toguchi ni John ga {i- ru  
\*a-ru}.

door        at John SUB be-NT  
'There is John at the door/John is at the door.'

- (6.34) Toguchi ni hako ga  $\begin{Bmatrix} *i- & ru \\ a- & ru \end{Bmatrix}$ .

door at box SUB be- NT  
'There is a box at the door.'

The choice between auxiliary iru and aru, on the other hand, has little to do with the subject. Either iru or aru may occur in exactly the same sentences if the main verb is transitive.



- (6.35) a. John ga sake o kat-ta.  
 John SUB wine DO buy-PAST  
 'John bought wine.'
- b. John ga sake o kat-te-i- ru.  
 John SUB wine DO buy-TE-be-Nt  
 'John is buying wine.'
- c. John ga sake o kat-te-a- ru.  
 John SUB wine DO buy-TE-be-NT  
 'John has bought wine.'

As seen from the English translations, auxiliary iru (in transitive sentences) marks the progressive aspect and aru the perfect of result. In intransitive sentences, however, these two meanings are both expressed by iru.

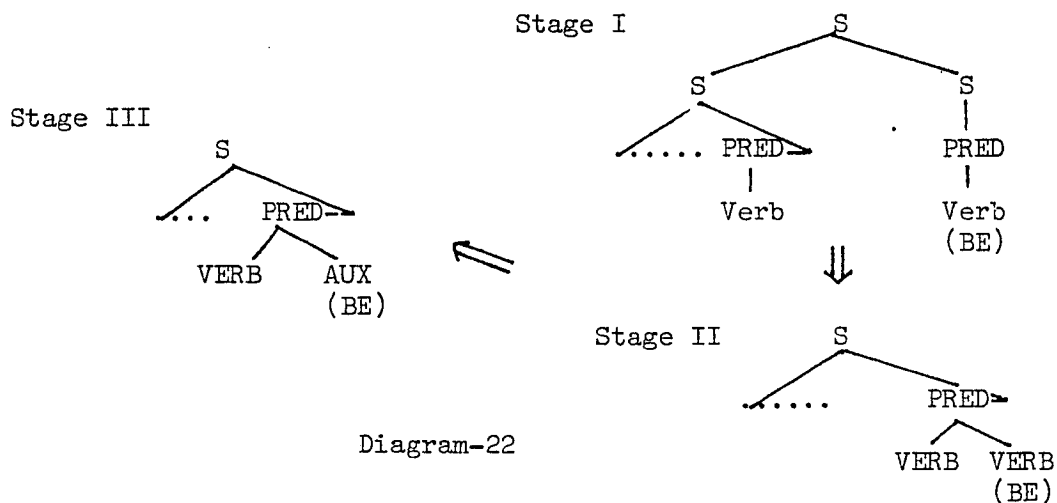
- (6.36) a. John ga hashit-ta.  
 John SUB run- PAST  
 'John ran.'
- b. John ga hashit-te-i- ru.  
 John SUB run- TE-be-NT  
 'John is running.'
- c. ?John ga hashit-te-a- ru.  
 John SUB run- TE-be-NT  
 'John has run.'
- (6.37) a. John ga amerika e it-ta.  
 John SUB America to go-PAST  
 'John went to America.'
- b. John ga amerika e it-te-i-ru.  
 John SUB America to go-TE-be-NT  
 'John has gone to America.'
- c. ?John ga amerika e it-te-a- ru.  
 John SUB America to go-TE-be-NT  
 'John has been to America.'
- (6.38) a. Yuka ga nure-ta.  
 floor SUB get+wet-PAST  
 'the floor got wet.'
- b. Yuka ga nure-te-i-ru.  
 floor SUB get+wet-TE-be-NT  
 'The floor is wet.'

- c. \*Yuka ga nure-te-a- ru.  
 Yuka SUB get+wet-be-NT  
 'The floor has gotten wet.'
- (6.39) a. Ko no ha ga chit-ta.  
 tree ASS leaf SUB fall-PAST  
 'Tree leaves fell.'
- b. Ko no ha ga chit-te-i- ru.  
 tree ASS leaf SUB fall- TE-be-NT  
 'Tree leaves are falling.'
- c. \*Ko no ha ga chit-te-a- ru.  
 tree ASS leaf SUB fall-TE-be-NT  
 'Tree leaves have fallen.'

The c.-sentences in (6.36) and (6.37), in which the subject is animate, may be acceptable to some speakers but such sentences require a very special discourse context in order to be appropriate.<sup>9</sup> For example, (6.36)c. may be used when John is expected to run a certain number of miles in the sense that John has already fulfilled that task. Such meanings are not the standard ones expressed by the Perfect. Examples (6.38) and (6.39) clearly show that auxiliary BE-verbs do not agree with the subject in terms of animacy. We may generalize then that progressive and perfect of result are distinctively marked in transitive sentences by iru and aru respectively, but are neutralized in intransitive sentences where both are expressed by iru.

That the animate BE and the inanimate BE have become the auxiliary suffixes denoting progressive and perfect respectively is understandable. More remarkable is the fact that the animate iru came to mark either progressive or the perfect of result of intransitive sentences. How could it happen? Before discussing this question, let us briefly review our general assumptions about the process through which existential BE's become auxiliary BE's in Japanese.

In the very beginning (Stage I) the BE which is functionally closest to an auxiliary BE appears after a nonexistential verb. The two verbs, nonexistential and existential, represent two separate predicates. At this stage the form [... Verb-BE] is a clausal conjunction. Later (Stage II), the nonexistential verb and the existential verb together came to be understood as forming a single predicate. (We have discussed sentences with two main verbs as serial construction in Chapter V.) Finally (Stage III), the BE verb became an aspectual auxiliary, and thus renders the form [... Verb-BE] a regular sentence with a complex predicate. Diagrammatically, the process will be shown as follows:



At Stage I, the speaker perceives the two events expressed by the non-existential predicate and the existential predicate as being separate and conceives of the subject of the existential verb even though it does not surface because it is anaphoric to an argument nominal of the first verb. At Stage II, the distinction between the two events is eroded and the speaker perceives the two events expressed by the two

verbs as sub-events of a larger event or as two aspects of the same event. At Stage III, the bleaching process of the existential meaning proceeds to the extent that it is taken as a mere aspectual marker.

In considering the development of Modern Japanese auxiliary BE's, there are other factors to be considered. First, there was the animacy agreement between the subject nominals and the existential BE's from which auxiliary BE's were derived. Second, the conjunctive particle te no longer has the function of signaling the same subject. Applying these specific facts for the general pattern of the development of auxiliary BE's, we can reasonably infer the following about the choice of iru and aru. In Stage I, the speaker conceptualizes the subject of the BE-verb, although it is not expressed and the BE-verb is thus chosen according to the animacy of the subject. In Stage II, the BE-verb does not have its own subject but indirectly pertains to the existence of either the subject or the direct object of the nonexistential verb. If the nonexistential verb is intransitive, what is "BE-ing" is automatically understood as coreferential to the subject of the intransitive verb and the BE will be chosen in accordance with the animacy of this nominal. As for the case in which the nonexistential verb is transitive, we propose that the choice is made according to which nominal of the subject and the direct object the BE pertains to rather than the animacy of the noun which is "BE-ing". Since the subject is almost always animate and the direct object is typically inanimate, both analyses may be equally adequate as far as the synchronic description is concerned. However, it is only our analysis that can answer the question why the Modern Japanese situation in which the BE in [... Verb

(Intr.)-BE] is always iru. Suppose that there were two different standards for the choice between iru and aru for the BE in [...Verb-BE], which may be very informally stated as follows:

- (6.40) i. If the VERB in the [... VERB-BE] is transitive, choose iru or aru depending on which nominal, the subject or the direct object, of the transitive verb the BE pertains to: if it pertains to the subject nominal, choose iru, but if it pertains to the direct object, choose aru.
- ii. If the VERB is intransitive, choose iru or aru according to the animacy of the subject; iru if the subject is animate but aru if it is inanimate.

That is, there were two different standards for the choice of iru and aru according to the transitivity of the main verb. It seems that the change from this stage to the next, i.e., Modern Japanese, is a generalization of these rules so that the choice will be made based on the same standard irrespective of the transitivity of the main verb. The new rule will be:

- (6.41) Choose iru or aru for the BE in [...VERB-BE] depending on which nominal, the subject or the object, of the VERB the BE pertains to.

This rule permits only iru to occur with an intransitive verb. Consequently, Modern Japanese can have only three combinations of the main verb and the auxiliary BE shown in (6.42).

- (6.42) i. VERB (Tr.)-iru  
ii. VERB (Tr.)-aru  
iii. VERB (Intr.)-iru

In transitive sentences the two BE's, iru and aru, denote the progressive aspect and the perfect of result respectively, as we have already seen. In intransitive sentences, however, both aspects are expressed

by iru.

The Old Japanese auxiliary tari was already becoming archaic in the Heian period and a new auxiliary tari was taking over the function that ari formerly fulfilled. Towards the Modern Japanese period, tari has been replaced by new BE-verbs iru and aru. It is difficult to predict what exactly will happen to iru and aru in the future although we are quite certain that they will not remain as they are at present. Auxiliary iru is still young and particularly ari is still in its transitory stage from existential to auxiliary.

There is still a strong psychological emphasis on the existence of the direct object of the main verb in Japanese perfect sentences like (6.35)c. This semantic characteristic of the Perfect ari will be more clearly seen when a locative nominal is added to a Perfect sentence. Consider the following, first.

- (6.43) John ga daidokoro ni sake o kat-te-a-ru.  
John SUB kitchen in wine DO buy-TE-be-NT  
'There is wine in the kitchen which John has bought.'

Recall that Modern Japanese makes use of two case particles to mark locative nominals, de and ni, de for non-argument locatives and ni for argument locatives. That is, daidokoro 'kitchen' in (6.43) must be associated with a verb requiring a locative, which the transitive verb kat- 'to buy' obviously is not. daidokoro is understood as the place where the direct object of the transitive verb presently exists. The meaning of this sentence is therefore logically the same as a conjunction sentence:

- (6.44) John ga sake o kat-te, sono sake ga daidokoro ni a-ru.  
John SUB wine DO buy-TE that wine SUB kitchen in be-NT  
'John bought some wine, and the wine is in the kitchen.'

However, (6.43) is not obtained by simple deletion of the equi-subject sono sake 'the wine' of the second existential clause of (6.44). Notice that the ni-marked locative daidokori occurs between the subject and the direct object of the transitive verb in (6.43). Therefore, one would have to stipulate a very unusual rule which moves an element of one of the conjunct into the other conjunct if (6.43) is to be analyzed as a syntactic conjunction. In short, neither of the analyses, the one-predicate analysis (i.e., the one that views the aru as an auxiliary suffixed to the transitive verb), or the conjunction analysis, can capture sentence (6.43): the former analysis may be more natural in explaining the word order but it fails to explain why the ni-marked locative is interpreted as such; the latter analysis, on the other hand, runs into difficulty in accounting for the syntactic position of the ni-marked locative although it may capture the meaning. The same kind of difficulty arises as to the analysis of impersonal Perfect sentences such as the following:

- (6.45) Daidokoro ni sake ga kat-te-a- ru.  
           kitchen in wine SUB buy-TE-be-NT  
           'There is wine in the kitchen which has been bought.'

This sentence is similar to (6.43) except that it has no specified subject of the transitive verb kat- 'to buy'. The logical direct object of this verb is marked as the surface subject by ga. The conjunction analysis of this sentence is even more problematic than that of (6.43) because conjunction sentences like:

- (6.46) \*Kat-te, daidokoro ni sake ga a- ru.  
           buy-TE kitchen in wine SUB be-NT  
           '\*(Someone) bought it<sub>i</sub>, and there is wine<sub>i</sub> in the kitchen.'

are not acceptable. The auxiliary analysis is inappropriate for the

same reason as that of (6.43). There are, however, some impersonal perfect sentences for which the auxiliary analysis is appropriate while the conjunction analysis is not. Consider:

- (6.47) (\*Kyooshitsu ni) kokuban no ji ga keshi-te-a-ru.  
classroom in blackboard ASS letter SUB erase-TE-be-NT  
'The letters on the blackboard have been erased.'

The conjunction interpretation 'Someone erased the letters on the blackboard and the letters of the blackboard exist' is pragmatically impossible. That such sentences as this do not permit a locative indicates that they are not conjunction sentences. In sum, the aru suffixed to a transitive verb behaves like an existential BE in some respects but like an auxiliary BE in others. As a result, any attempt to write a strictly autonomous synchronic grammar of Modern Japanese would be confronted with difficulties in treating this auxiliary-like aru. In our view, problems such as this are not embarrassing at all; languages are constantly and gradually changing. Therefore, it is rather natural that, at any stage of development, a language contains constructions that are in the process of reanalysis from A to A'. For such constructions, both the old and the new analyses may be equally adequate or inadequate.

### 6.3. Summary

We have shown several instances of the change from existential BE to auxiliary BE that took place or is taking place in Japanese. In all cases the basic pattern of reanalysis is the same, i.e., the existential BE in conjunction sentences of the form [[...Verb] & [BE]] developing into the auxiliary in one-predicate sentences of the form



[..... Verb-Aux] via serialization. The following depicts the chronology of most of the changes discussed in this chapter.

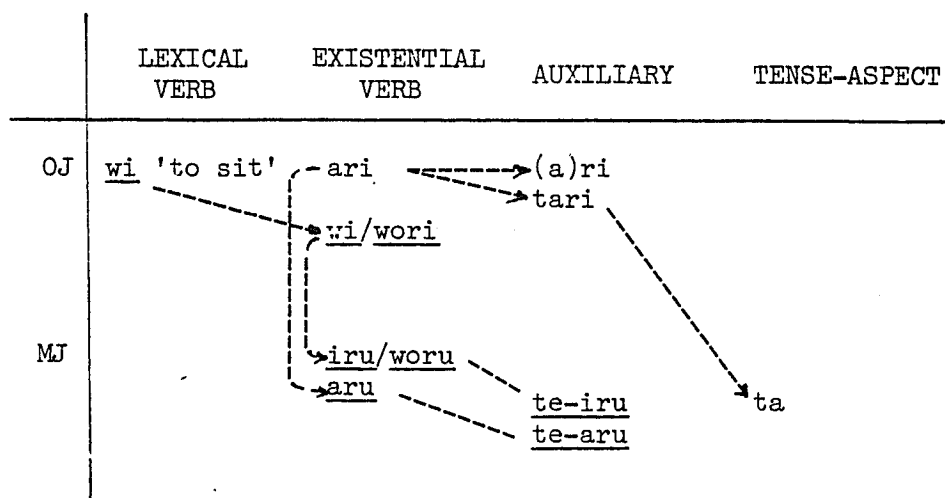


Table-13 A History of BE-Verbs

(Underlined items are still in use in Modern Japanese.)

The changes from lexical verbs to existential BE's and from existential BE's to auxiliary BE's are not unusual but are widespread in languages. The changes in the grammatical constructions that accompany such lexical reanalyses (e.g., from conjunction sentences to one-predicate sentences) may also be common in languages of a certain type, perhaps in languages that tend to develop serial constructions.

# FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. I owe many insights to Prof. Munro, who gave a seminar on BE verbs at UCLA, Winter, 1976.
2. For example, haberi 'to be+HUMBLE', ohasu 'to be+HON' imasogari 'to be+HON', and saburau 'to be+HUMBLE'.
3. This is not a special feature of the Old Japanese existential verb ari. Lyons (1968), for example, has pointed to the fact that relatively few languages have distinct lexical items for 'to be' and 'to have'. Possession and existence are not semantically different: possession being a special case of existence. The existential and possessive meanings are automatically inferred from the animacy of the locative nominal.
4. The Malayalan example and the Dyola example are from Asher (1968) and Givón (1975a), respectively.
5. According to Comrie (1976b), the term "perfective" is used to denote a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency (e.g., He read the book), and the term "perfect" refers to a result of a past event (e.g., His arm has been broken). What is usually expressed by an aspectual auxiliary is the latter. In languages, detailed aspectual meanings are not necessarily grammaticalized and from language to language, grammaticalization of aspectual meanings is not exactly the same. Comrie (1976b) adopts a policy of using an initial capital for the names of language particular categories while not using initial capital for language-independent semantic distinctions. This policy is followed in this study. For example, "Old Japanese Perfect" refers to Old Japanese constructions which contain various perfective auxiliaries conveying various meanings of the "perfect".
6. Ancient Greek, Swahili, Fante, Kpelle are like Japanese in this respect in Comrie, 1976b.
7. Compare the following sentences in Modern Japanese:
  - a. Syatu ga yabuke-ta.  
shirt SUB tear- PAST  
'The shirt got torn.'
  - b. Syatu ga yabuke-te-i- ru.  
shirt SUB tear- TE- be-NT  
'The shirt is torn.'

These sentences are clearly different in aspect and tense-aspect. The ta in a. has no implication about the present state of the shirt. Thus, the following sentence is perfectly acceptable:

Kinoo shatu ga yabuke-ta keredo Mary ga tukurot-te-kure-ta.  
 Yesterday shirt SUB tear-PAST- but Mary SUB mend- TE-BENEF-PAST  
 'My shirt tore yesterday, but Mary mended it for me.'

In relative clauses, however, this opposition is obscured. The following two expressions may be used in the same situation.

c. yabuke-te-i- ru syatu ...  
 tear- TE- be-NT shirt  
 'the shirt which is torn/ (Lit.) the shirt which is being torn.'

d. yabuke-ta syatu ...  
 tear- PAST shirt  
 'the shirt which is torn (Lit.) the shirt which got torn.'

It is not impossible for the relative clause as in e. to occur referring to an event in the past.

e. kinoo yabuketa syatu wa Mary ga tukurot-te-kure-ta.  
 Yesterday tear-PAST shirt TOP Mary SUB mend- TE-BENEF-PAST  
 'the shirt that got torn yesterday, Mary mended it for me.'

This situation may be dealt with synchronically as a tense-aspect neutralization. The reason for such a neutralization, however, is historical: The past tense ta, which came from the perfective auxiliary tari, retains the older function only when it occurs with a certain type of verb (i.e., process verbs) in a relative clause.

8. Due to the merger of the Nominal and the Final forms of the verb, the Final form ari was simply replaced by the Nominal form aru. The animate existential wi, lacking the Final form, the Nominal form wiru (>iru) filled in this gap. woru (>wi+aru), which used to be complementary to wi in Old Japanese; it is now superfluous but still survives as a stylistic variant with a self-effacing feature.
9. The reason sentence (6.36)c. is not totally disused may relate to the possibility of viewing the verb hashiru 'to run' as a transitive verb. The sentence becomes perfectly acceptable when an object-like element is added.

John ga san- mairu hashit- te-a-ru.  
 John SUB three mile run TE-be-NT  
 'John has run three miles.'

Sentence (6.37)c. may be marginally used in the sense 'John has an experience of going to America.'

The use of aru/iru also differs from dialect to dialect. In some areas near Kyoto (e.g., Wakayama Prefecture) aru as a main verb is still used for both animate and inanimate nominals. (I owe this information to Prof. Jijuu, Wakayama University.)

## CHAPTER VII

### RECONSTRUCTION OF \*nu

#### 7.0 Introduction

We have looked at various examples of syntactic changes which occurred in Japanese and have described them in terms of the notion of reanalysis, except those involving borrowing (we have suggested that the concessive conjunctive particle do and the nominal conjunction to may have been borrowed from Korean). In this final chapter, we point to several important unexplained phenomena in Old Japanese and propose to reconstruct a pre-Japanese<sup>1</sup> locative BE (what we mean by "locative BE" will become clear shortly) as an explanation for them. We will first present, as a preliminary to the reconstruction, the facts relating to the oblique case particle ni, the particle-like ni in copula predicates, the perfect auxiliary nu and the associative nu. Next, we will explore our hypothesis in some detail, including the nature of \*nu and the subsequent changes. Finally, we will briefly review the history of Japanese from its origin.

#### 7.1 Preliminaries

##### 7.1.1 Case Particle ni

In chapter IV, we have furnished various examples of oblique nominals marked by particle ni. A peculiar fact about this ni is that its occurrence is followed by the conjunctive particle te when the oblique nominal is not the argument (i.e., complement) nominal (see 4.3) as seen in the following examples:

(7.1) Mukasi yama ni-te mituk=e-tar=u. (T, 56)  
 long+ago mountain OBL-SS find=I-PERF=URU  
 '(She) (is) what (I) have found a long time on the  
 mountain.'

(7.2) Mine ni-te s=u be=ki yau osih=e-tamah=u. (T, 67)  
 mountain+peak OBL=SS do=U OBLIC=KI way teach=I-HON=U  
 '(He) taught (them) the way (they) should do at the  
 mountain peak.'

Why is it that the conjunctive particle, which was otherwise suffixed to the Conjunctive form of a verb (we have discussed another exception, the te suffixed to the complementizer to in Chapter III), occurred with the case particle? We suspect that it was because the case particle ni was once the Conjunctive form of a verb.

#### 7.1.2 Copula ni

Examples of copular sentences with the copula nari have been presented in Chapter II and III. Here are some more:

(7.3) kehahi ahare nar=i. (G, 43)  
 appearance pitiful COP=U  
 'The appearance was pitiful (i.e., It appeared to be pitiful).'

(7.4) ito kata=ki akinahi nar=i. (T, 38)  
 very difficult=KI trade COP=U  
 '(It) is a very difficult trade.'

It is well established that the copula nari arose through a standard fusional process [ia→a]. This is evidenced by the fact that ni appears unchanged in honorific copular sentences or in emphatic sentences in which the fusion did not occur. This may be seen in the following examples:

(7.5) Sama mo yo=ki hito ni ohas=u. (T, 37)  
 appearance also good=KI person NI be+HON=U  
 '(he) is a person whose appearance also is good.'

- (7.6) Kata=ki koto-domo ni koso a(=ru)-nar=e. (T, 33)  
 difficult=KI thing-PL NI EMPH be=URU COP=E  
 '(They) are difficult things.'
- (7.7) Tama no eda ni zo ar=i-ker=u. (T, 40)  
 jewel ASS spray NI EMPH be=I-PAST=URU  
 '(It) is the jewelled spray!'
- (7.8) Tada bito ni ha ar=a-zar=i- ker=i. (T, 57)  
 common person NI EMPH be=A-NEG+be=I-PAST=U  
 '(She) was not a common person!'

There is no doubt about the change ni-ari→nari. The relationship between this ari and the existential verb ari is also manifestly evident. What is of greater interest is the ni. What is it? Where did it come from? In the conjunctive position, the ni alone appears as the copula followed by the conjunctive particle te as in the following example:

- (7.9) tuki no muyako no hito ni-te titi nana ar=i (T, 60)  
 moon City=Royal person COP=I-te father mother be=U  
 '(I) am a person from the City Royal of Moonland, and have a father and a mother.'
- (7.10) titi ha haho=bito ni-te haha nan Hudihara  
 father TOP=SUB common=person COP=I-TE mother EMPH Hudihara  
 nar-i-ker- u. (Ise, 118)  
 be- I-PAST-URU  
 '(Her) father was a common person, and (her) mother was a Hudihara.'

Most Japanese grammarians contend that it is the case particle ni (e.g., Yamada (1952), and Matsumura (1971)). However, this hypothesis has not been accompanied by any argument or evidence save that this ni is exactly the same in phonological form as the case particle ni. The identity of these two forms certainly calls for an explanation unless we dismiss it as a mere accident, but it is difficult to understand why the predicate nominal was regularly marked as an oblique nominal.<sup>2</sup> The explanation may be historical: The ni that appears in copular predi-

cates, to which we may refer as the copula particle ni, is another reflex of the same verb that gave rise to the case particle ni.

### 7.1.3 Auxiliary nu

Another morpheme which should be taken into account together with the locative case ni and the copula ni is the perfect auxiliary nu. In addition to ari and tari, nu and tu were used as perfect auxiliaries in Old Japanese, perhaps more extensively than ari but less so than tari. They conjugated like Class-I verbs while ari and tari were irregular although some of the conjugation forms are absent. Observe the following examples.

#### Unrealized

- (7.9) sar=i- na- mu koto no kanasi=ku .... (T, 62)  
leave=I-PERF=A-CONJEC=URU thing ASS sad=KU  
'That (I) will have left (you) is sad, and ...'
- (7.10) kubi no tama ha tor=i- te- mu. (T, 47)  
head ASS jewel TOP take=I-PERF=A-CONJEC=U  
'(I) will have taken the jewel of (its) head.'

#### Conjunctive

- (7.11) ito yowa=ku nar=i- tanah=i-ni- ker=i. (T, 53)  
very weak=KU become=I-HON=I-PERF=I-PAST=U  
'(He) had become very weak.'
- (7.12) Oho=ku nō hito koros=i-te- ker=u kokoro ... (T, 55)  
many=KU ASS person kill=I-PERF=I-PAST=URU heart  
'(It) is the heart (with which) (she) had killed many people ...'

#### Final

- (7.13) Yatuhasi to ih u tokoro ni itar=i- n=u. (Ise, 116)  
Yatuhasi COMP say URU place to arrive=I-PERF=U  
'(He) has arrived at a place called Yatuhasi.'
- (7.14) Akita Nayotake=no=Kaguyahime to tuk=e-t= u. (T, 30)  
Akita Nayotake=no=Kaguyahime COMP name=I-PERF=U  
'Akita has named (her) Nayotake=no=Kaguyahime.'

### Nominal

- (7.15) ihe ni ir=i- n=uru wo ikade kik=i-kem=u ...  
house OBL enter=I-PERF=URU DO how hear=I-PAST=CONJEC=U  
(T, 48)  
'How may (they) have heard that (he) had entered the  
house ...?'
- (7.16) sabakari katarah=i-t= uru ga ... (T, 41)  
like+that talk=I- PERF=URU ASS  
'the one who had been talking like that ...'

### Realized

- (7.17) hi kur=e- n=ure- ba ... (T, 51)  
day become+dark=I-PERF=E-DS  
'the day had become dark, and ...'
- (7.18) sadaka=ni tukur=a-s=e- tar=u mono to kik=I-t=ure- ba...  
obviously make=A-CAUS=I-PERF=URU one COMP hear=I-PERF=E-DS  
'(I) have heard that (this) is obviously what (he) had some-  
one make, ...'

### Imperative

- (7.19) Hitori hitori ni ah=i- tatematur=i-tamah=i-n=e.  
one+person one+person OBL see=I-HON=I- HON=I- PERF=IMP  
(T, 32)  
'Do meet each man, please!'
- (7.20) Ima ha oros=i-t=e- yo. (T, 52)  
now TOP put+down=PERF=IMP SFP  
'Do put me down now!'
- (The Imperative form of a perfect auxiliary is used to  
emphasize the speaker's wish that something should be carried o  
out immediately.)

Although (exactly) how these two perfect auxiliaries differed  
from each other is not totally clear, some subtle semantic difference  
suggests itself in the distributional pattern; note the following:

- (i) Causative predicates (derived or lexical) take only tu and  
passives (i.e., Verb=A-(ra)ru) take nu with some exceptions.



- (ii) Typical action verbs (e.g. kudaku 'crash', nugu 'to undress', huru 'to shake', musubu 'to tie', etc.) take only tu and nonaction verbs (e.g. aku '(the day) to break', aru 'to become devastated', kohu 'to be in love with', saku 'to bloom', sugu '(time) to pass', siru 'to come to know', etc.) only nu.

It seems that tu is used when an agent animate subject is involved expressing "perfect of recent past" or sometimes simple past while nu is less restricted as to the subject and expressed "perfect of result" or "perfect of persistent situation".

The etymology of these auxiliaries is much less clear. It is generally contended among Japanese grammarians (Matsumura (1971)) that nu and tu came from verbs inu 'to go away' and utu 'to throw away' respectively. Ide (1969) objects to this and suggests that there were main verbs nu 'to go away' and tu 'to throw away', which formed inu and utu compounded with i and u. However, these conjectures have no support except for formal and semantic resemblances between auxiliary nu/tu and attested verbs inu/utu.

We call attention to a fact which has so far been completely overlooked, i.e., the formal identity of the Conjunctive form of the auxiliary nu with the two particles we just discussed. This gives us an important clue to understanding the history of this perfect auxiliary as well as that of the copula particle and the case particle ni. (As for tu, we have an hypothesis which is quite different from any of the existing ones, but, since the evidence supporting it is not conclusive, we will not explore it in the present thesis.) as will be discussed shortly.

#### 7.1.4 Associative Particle no

Another form which we consider to have a historical affiliation with the oblique case particle ni, the copula ni and the auxiliary suffix nu is the associative no.

We have stated in Chapter IV that no is the associative particle introduced into Japanese more recently than other associative particles, but we have not discussed its origin. As is the case with other particles (recall that Old Japanese had more than a dozen particles whose functions are not necessarily understood), there is no clue to the genetic origin of no. We propose below an explanation for all the questions we have raised above that the oblique case particle ni, the copula ni, the auxiliary nu and the associative no were all derived from \*nu 'to be at.'

#### 7.2 \*nu

In order to answer the questions asked above, we stipulate that there was a locative BE \*nu at a certain stage of pre-Japanese. By locative BE we mean a verb which takes an unmarked locative nominal as one of the arguments. The following Twi sentence depicts a locative sentence with such a BE verb (the sentence is taken from Ellis and Boadi (1969)).

- (7.21) sukuu    wɔ       Kumase.  
         school be+at    Kumase  
         'The school is at Kumase.'

The locative nominal Kumase is not particularly marked as such but the meaning of the verb wɔ signals that Kumase is a locative nominal. Locative verbs like wɔ are not rare in languages. Clark (1970) mentions

several languages including Syrian Arabic, Eskimo and Kurukh, as having such verbs.<sup>3</sup>

We postulate that there existed a locative BE verb \*nu in pre-Japanese and the case particle ni, the copula particle ni, and the associative particle no and the perfect auxiliary nu were all derived from it. Further, we make the assumption that the case particle ni and the copula particle ni were derived from the Conjunctive form of \*nu and the associative particle no from the Nominal form. The Old Japanese data to be considered will then be summarized as below:

	PERFECT	COPULA	OBLIQUE	ASSOCIATIVE
Unrealized	na			
Conjunctive	ni	ni	ni	
Final	nu			
Nominal	nuru			no
Realized	nure			
Imperative	ne			

Table- 14 Old Japanese Reflexes of \*nu

Although the conjugation of the perfect auxiliary nu is irregular, most of the forms are those of the Class-I verb. It is likely that the nu originally conjugated as a class-I verb, but the Nominal and the Realized forms underwent a change in the process of becoming an auxiliary suffix. There are two factors which may have been relevant. Compare the conjugation of the reconstructed verb \*nu with those of the auxiliary tu and the negative zu to see the points.

	<u>*nu</u>	tu	nu	zu
Unrealized	<u>*na</u>	te	na	
Conjunctive	<u>*ni</u>	te	ni	zu
Final	<u>*nu</u>	tu	nu	zu
Nominal	<u>*nu</u>	turu	nuru	nu
Realized	<u>*ne</u>	ture	nure	ne
Imperative	<u>*ne</u>	te	ne	

Table-15 Conjugation of \*nu, tu, nu and zu

Note that the perfect auxiliary nu would have merged with the negative suffixes in two forms in question if it had remained unchanged. Thus, there was a good motivation for these two forms to change. Note also that the two forms of perfect nu after the change renders the same pattern of conjugation as those of another perfect auxiliary tu. It may have been an analogical change that took place on the basis of the semantic similarity between the two perfect auxiliaries.

Below we will show how naturally the development of the case particle ni, the copula nari, the perfect auxiliary nu and the associative no could be derived from \*nu 'to be at'.

#### 7.2.1 From Locative BE to Locative Case Particle

A number of examples of the change from verbs to case markers via serialization have been presented in recent studies (E.g., Lord (1973, 1976), Li and Thompson (1973a. and b.) and Givon (1975a.)). Given \*nu 'to be at' (the locative BE verb may be semantically closer to the at than to the be in English locative sentences), the development of the



ker, losing the specification. Thus, it appears marking nominals of direction, reason, benefactive, etc., in Old Japanese (refer back to Chapter IV).

Understanding the development of the oblique case particle ni this way, the occurrence of the conjunctive particle te suffixed to the case particle ni would not be surprising. It must have occurred in the period when the ni was still the Conjunctive form of the locative BE. The reason that the te could suffix to ni only when the ni was marking a non-argument nominal will be the following. Verbs such as 'to be/exist' and 'to live' have a strong implication of a location where the 'being' or 'living' takes place and they are rarely used without expressing or implying a locative nominal. The locative nominal occurring with such a verb has more semantic prominence than the verb itself. It is very rare that being or living itself is asserted. Verbs such as 'to cry' and 'to kill' on the other hand, have more focus on the action of 'crying' or 'killing' itself or the object that is affected by such an action than the place where it takes place although it does occur somewhere. Let us distinguish these two types of verbs for our purposes and refer to the former as "locative verbs" and to the latter as "non-locative verbs". Argument and nonargument locative nominals will then be defined as locative nominals that are in construction with a locative verb or a non-locative verb, respectively. Supposing that pre-Japanese had no locative case marker and the conjunction construction such as the one shown in (A) in Diagram- was the regular way of expressing location, it is likely that the change from the Conjunctive form of the locative BE to the locative case particle took place first

where the verb of the second conjunct was a locative verb, for locative verbs almost always cooccur with the locative nominal. In other words, the compression of conjunction sentences such as ((OKINA DOOR AT) & (OKINA EXIST)) occurred earlier than that of conjunction sentences such as ((OKINA MOUNTAIN AT) & (OKINA CHILD FIND)). Thus, the conjunctive particle, which developed around this time, could suffix to the ni marking the location of a nonlocative verb because it was still verbal but it could not suffix to the ni marking the location of a locative verb because it was no longer a verb. Sometime later after the Old Japanese period, however, the ni-te together was reanalyzed as the marker for the nonargument oblique case and underwent a series of phonological changes: nite < n-te < nde < n-te < de. Thus, Modern Japanese distinguished the argument oblique and the nonargument oblique by marking the former with ni and the latter with de as we have mentioned before.

The following is the summary of the changes discussed in this section and the order in which we think they occurred.

- (7.25)
- i. The reanalysis of the Conjunctive form of the locative verb, ni, as the argument locative marker.
  - ii. The reanalysis of te, the Conjunctive form of the perfect auxiliary tu, as the conjunctive particle.
  - iii. The reanalysis of the Conjunctive form of the locative verb (ni) plus the conjunctive particle te as the nonargument locative case marker.
  - iv. The phonological changes: nite < de.

#### 7.2.2 From Locative BE to Copula

Given that the \*nu was two-place predicate taking subject and the locative nominals, this change is quite easy to understand: by

bleaching out its locative sense, its most specific semantic feature that one of the arguments is locative, \*nu should have been able to become a copula without affecting the surface at all. Also, the semantic distinction between the locative sentence 'NOM is at NOM' and the copula sentence 'NOM is NOM' is sometimes very slight. A copula sentence like:

(7.26) Mr. Jones is the chairman of the department.

can be paraphrased as a locative sentence like:

(7.27) Mr. Jones is in the position of the chairman of the department.

It is possible that the locative sentence pattern was used for certain copular expressions and the locative verb in such sentences gradually lost the feature [+Locative]. Such a bleaching process is one of the most common types of semantic changes.

The reason this copula is found only in the Conjunctive form is not clear. It may have developed only in the Conjunctive position from the outset (recall that predicate nominal sentences 'NOM<sub>1</sub> is NOM<sub>2</sub>' did not necessarily require a BE verb in sentence final position in Old Japanese), or other forms became obsolete long before the Old Japanese period.

### 7.2.3 From Locative BE to Auxiliary BE

The locative BE \*nu and the existential BE ari were different, for one thing, with respect to the number of the terms that they took. The difference will be shown as below:

- (7.25) i. NOM<sub>1</sub> - NOM<sub>2</sub> - \*nu      'NOM<sub>1</sub> is at NOM<sub>2</sub>'  
          ii. NOM - ari                'NOM exists/there is NOM'



However, since nominals are not obligatory for a Japanese surface clause, the difference is very little in actuality. If the locative nominal  $NOM_2$  of the locative sentence is anaphoric to a nominal previously mentioned, the locative sentence approximates the existential sentence, and a conjunction sentence meaning ((SNOW FALL) & (IT IS THERE)) would become a one-predicate sentence meaning (SNOW HAS FALLEN) through the same process as perfect sentences with ari, tari or aru/iru developed. These semantic characteristics of auxiliary nu vis-a-vis tu also suggests that it had more BE verb quality than tu. If either of nu or tu did develop from a BE verb, it must have been nu.

#### 7.2.4 From Locative BE to Associative Particle

In Old Japanese the associative nominal (i.e., the  $NOM_1$  in [ $NOM_1 - NOM_2$ ] $NOM$ ) was obligatorily marked by no (or ga if the nominal was a personal pronoun) when it was the possessor of the head nominal, but it was otherwise optional (see 4.2.1). In Modern Japanese, however, associative constructions with ga and zero-associatives are obsolete. Associatives are regularly marked by no. We may infer from this that the no first developed as the possessive marker and then later became a general associative marker. Then, possessive nominal constructions such as (A) will be analyzed as having derived from complex nominal constructions such as (B), given our reconstruction. Recall that Old Japanese, like many other languages, did not have a possessive predicate equivalent to the English have. Locative expressions meaning 'there is something at/with someone' were used in the sense of 'someone has something' or 'something belongs to someone'.

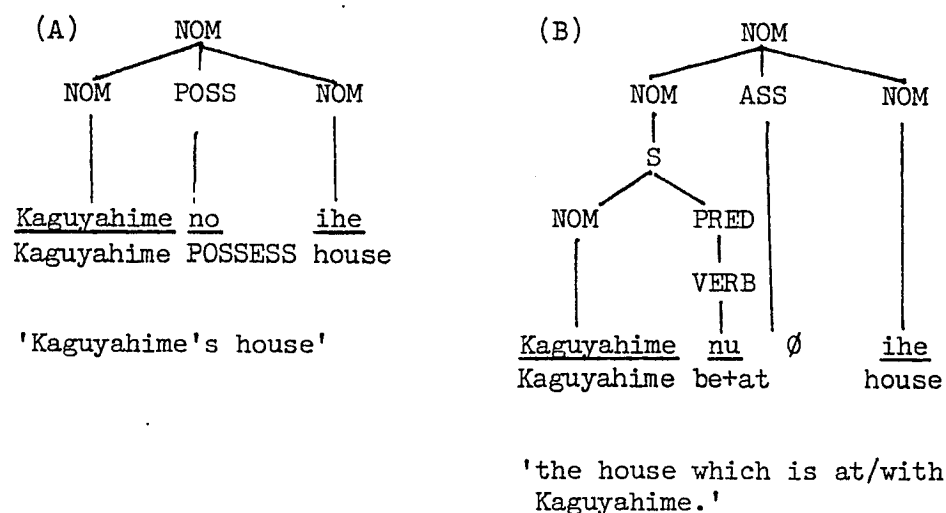


Diagram-24

A difficult thing to explain is the formal discrepancy between the attested form no and the reconstructed form nu. Yamada (1961) conjectures, based on the fact that the Ryukyuan (a language spoken in the Ryukyus, a group of islands south of Japan) nu corresponds in function with the Japanese no, that the associative no was previously nu. If this is really the case, we need no further explanation: the nu, which was reanalyzed as the possessive marker underwent a phonological change whatever may be the cause, and became no. However, Yamada's hypothesis is not warranted because there is no guarantee that the Ryukyuan nu remained unchanged. Hōjō (1970), criticizing Yamada, claims that it was the Ryukyuan nu, not the Japanese no, that changed by the general rule [o→u/Ryukyuan]. This brings us back to the starting point: Why was the associative particle different from the Nominal form of any verb if it really came from the Nominal form of the locative BE?

It is worthwhile to call attention at this point to an important

but an intractably difficult historical question, namely, the question of how the conjugation of the verb and the adjective developed, for it seems to have to do with the problem of no~nu we have been discussing. Although reconstruction of conjugational suffixes is outside the scope of our study, there are certain points to be made in relation to the history of no.

We have seen in Chapter II that the Unrealized and the Realized suffixes carried some tense-aspect implications and have suggested that they may be residues of an older tense-aspect system. The function of the Conjunctive, the Nominal and the Final suffixes, on the other hand, seem to have been syntactic, signaling grammatical relations of the clause in which they occurred. It is unlikely that all these conjugational suffixes with different functions developed simultaneously. Some of them may have long been in use before others developed.

Let us suppose that the stem of the locative BE was no and other forms of the locative BE developed later by the addition of functional morphemes such as tense-aspect auxiliaries (e.g., na > no-a and ni > no-i) and that the stem form was used for nominalization also. Then, the stem form no would have appeared where the Nominal form of the verb came to occur in later periods. Suppose further that the reanalysis of the no as the possessive marker took place before the development of the Nominal form. Then, the no, which was no longer a verb, would not have been affected by this process. We suspect that the development of the possessive no was at least earlier than the development of the Nominal form, perhaps at the stage where there was no verb conjugation.

Whatever may be the reason for it, the fact that the no does not exactly match the tentatively reconstructed Nominal form \*nu does not prevent us from believing that the Old Japanese associative particle no was derived from the pre-Japanese locative BE. The development of a locative BE into a possessive marker and then into a general associative marker seems to be logically a most natural process. There are other languages which have genitival constructions derived from historical relative clause constructions involving locative verb. Taking one of the examples that have been brought to our attention, the following Hebrew possessive nominal construction is a historically a relative clause construction.<sup>4</sup>

(7.26) ha-bayit    she-l-i  
           the-house    that-to-me  
           'my house.'

The preposition l was derived from a locative verb \*?al 'to mount (somewhere)' or 'to go up (somewhere)'.

We hope we have justified the reconstruction of \*nu 'to be at' by providing the most reasonable and coherent account for the facts pointed out in the preliminaries.<sup>5</sup>

### 7.3 From Pre-Japanese to Modern Japanese

Despite the past attempts by a number of scholars, the genetic relationship of Japanese to other languages is yet to be established. Japanese is similar to Malayo-Polynesian languages in the phonological pattern (in particular in the CVCV syllabic structure) and in the basic vocabulary such as names of body parts, but it is like Altaic languages (e.g., Mongolian and Tungus) in the basic word order (e.g., Sub-

ject-Object-Verb and Modifying-Modified) (see Ōno (1970) for more details). In concluding the present thesis, we would like to consider the genetic question in relation to the changes we have reconstructed.

As stated in Chapter II, there was no significant change in the basic (or dominant) word order or in the agglutinative nature of morphology throughout its history. It has always been a rigid verb-final agglutinative language. That is, all the changes discussed above occurred within the same typological framework, verb-final and agglutinative. However, we should not consider these changes to be minor. The syntax of Japanese has considerably changed since the time of Old Japanese and the language has been moving in a certain direction when looked at as a whole. It has considerably increased case distinctions of nominals and added functionally specialized subordinations (see the summary sections of Chapters III and IV). Since such a direction must be continuous unless it is interrupted by some strong external factors such as culture contact or political enforcement, it provides an important clue to the language state of prehistoric ages. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that Japanese had even fewer case markers and less subordination in early stages of pre-Japanese.

We have seen in Chapter IV that wo was still in the process of changing from some sort of emphatic particle to a direct object marker in Old Japanese. There is no indication that there was a direct object marker before this change. We have stipulated that the locative case particle ni was derived from the Conjunctive form of a locative BE. We find no traces of older locative nominals, either. We may conclude that the direct object and locative nominals were unmarked like subject

nominals in early stages of pre-Japanese. As for associative particles, they seem to have existed long before the Old Japanese period. For there are associative particles which are obviously older than no/ga. For example, tu was still used as an associative particle in certain fixed expressions and poems of Old Japanese (see Footnote 3, Chapter IV). Since even the contemporary associative particle no seems to have evolved earlier than most of the other case particles, it must have been in a very early stage that these old associatives were regularly used. In Chapter III, we have seen that Old Japanese had no subordinate construction except those involving the quotative to and nominalization with the suffix URU. If the to was really derived from a verb 'to say' as we have suggested, and if the development of the Nominals form of the verb was relatively late as we speculated in an earlier section of the present chapter, there should have been a period when Japanese had no syntactic subordination and paratactic arrangement of simple propositions, i.e., zero-conjunction, was the only device for expressing semantically complex propositions. Such a language, a verb-final agglutinative language which has no marker for the major case categories and no subordination, is extremely rare in natural languages if it exists at all, and strikes us as being like what is known as a pidgin-creole rather than a fully developed natural language.<sup>6</sup>

Slobin (1977) has convincingly shown that there are four basic ground rules which a communicative system must adhere to if it is to function as a full-fledged human language. They are: (1) Be clear. (2) Be humanly processible, in ongoing time. (3) Be quick and easy. (4) Be expressive. Slobin further states:

Language is always under competing pressure to conform to all four of these charges. Because the pressures are inherently competitory, languages are constantly changing, and universals, except those which are principles of change itself, always refer to idealized static language situations. (188)

A pidgin, a contact vernacular used between speakers of different native languages for specialized communication, fulfills only the first one or two charges. A pidgin may undergo changes increasing vocabulary and grammatical complexity and become a native language (a creole) which serves all communicative purposes though its expressibility may still be limited. If a creole expands to the extent that it can carry out a full range of linguistic needs, it becomes a complete human language. The changes from pidgin to creole or from creole to natural language are different in detail from case to case depending on source languages and the circumstance in which the process of pidgin-creole proceeds, but they are definable to a significant degree. The way Japanese seems to have increased its expressibility remarkably resemble this process of pidgin-creole. First of all, the first two case markers that develop in a pidgin are the genitive (i.e., associative) and the generalized locative (i.e., oblique).<sup>7</sup> This is exactly the order in which the associative tu/ga/no and the oblique case ni were introduced into Japanese. Second, the older tense-aspect system reflected by the function of the minor suffixes of the verb (see Chapter II) seems to match Bickerton's (1975) claim that a creole tense-aspect system measures events with relation to one another instead of making a specific past-nonpast distinction.

Bickerton (personal communication, 1975) has suggested that there had been a shift in Japanese from one tense-aspect system (a creole

tense-aspect system) to another (past-nonpast system). Third, we have suggested that zero-conjunction was the oldest device for expressing connections between clauses. They could signal at most a sequential or a simultaneous relationship between events. Then, conjunctive particles, te, ba, and do/to, were introduced to differentiate more relationships. It is important to note that the information signaled by these particles was very little and semantically vague compared with conjunctive words developed towards Modern Japanese. Recall also that Old Japanese had no subordinator except the quotative to. No conjunction and no subordination are also characteristic of pidgions.

With this picture of language evolution in mind, we can partially answer why reanalyses took place in such ways as they did in Japanese. The language was in need at least of an effective but economical case system and a set of subordinators necessary to be fully expressive in various communicative situations.

Ōno's contention about the origin of Japanese based on findings in archeological and anthropological studies also corroborates our view. He believes that the language spoken by the first inhabitants of Japan was a "southern" language (a language spoken in the south of Japan) and it had a phonological system like that of Polynesian; then, the language of South Korea having the Altaic grammar and vowel harmony began to be introduced into the country. Japanese was a new language emerged from such a situation, taking certain features from the Altaic language and certain others from the "southern" language. However, his conclusion that Japanese should be considered to be an Altaic with the phonological system and some vocabulary taken from the "southern" language



is not justified because this conclusion is based on his assumption that the syntactic system of pre-Japanese was not significantly different from that of Old Japanese or Modern Japanese, which is not the case, as we have shown.

The pidgin-creole origin of an existing natural language is not an abrupt claim at all. Some pidginists (e.g., Hymes (1971)) believe that many languages of the world (including Germanic) in fact originated through the pidgin-creole process. It seems that such a direction as from a verb-final language with no case system to a verb-final language with a rich case system is best explained by assuming that the language had pidgin in its history.

The genetic hypothesis advanced here is, of course, tentative and must be further substantiated. Future studies on pidgin-creole, child language acquisition, psycholinguistics, etc., as well as historical linguistics may provide more sound principles for language evolution and closer examinations of a wider range of Old Japanese texts may reveal more facts about the language in pre-historic periods.

## Footnotes to Chapter VII

1. The term "pre-Japanese" does not refer to a single stage in the history of Japanese, but to a long stretch of time since the evolution of the language to the time of the earliest record of the language.
2. It was brought to my attention by Prof. Munro (UCLA) that in one of the Irish copula predicates the predicate nominal occurs as the object of the locative preposition. However, this locative copula sentence semantically contrasts with the regular copula sentence in which the predicate nominal is unmarked. Compare:

- a. Is fear e (\*anois)  
be man he now  
'He is a man.'
- b. Ta se ina fhear (anois).  
be he in-his man (now)  
'He is a man (now).'

The regular copula sentence a. means 'He is a member of the set' "man" not of the set "woman" while the locative copula sentence b. means 'He is in the state of a man (now as opposed to a child'. Although sentences like b. are still locative sentences in an abstract sense, they have the potential of becoming copular sentences.

3. Prof. Thompson (UCLA) reminded me of the Mandarin locative verb zai, as another example. Also, SiSwate se in ngi se Honolulu: 1 be+at Honolulu 'I am in Honolulu' seems to be another example
4. I owe this example and its historical analysis to Prof. Givon, UCLA.
5. The hypothesis that there was a verb \*nu in pre-Japanese is not totally new. As far back as 1928, Sansom penetrated the historical relationship between the particle ni (it is not clear in his discussion whether he had in mind only the copula particle ni or both the copula particle and the case particle), associative particle no and auxiliary nu and conjectured that these are all vestiges of an extinct verb.

However, since he assumed that this verb was a copulative verb and does not give a thought to the possibility that the copulative verb itself may have been derived from a more fully lexical verb, he failed to give a full account for the changes from \*nu to these Old Japanese elements. For example, he even did not attempt to show how the case particle ni could be related to \*nu while he alluded to the relationship between the case particle ni and the copula particle ni. As for the associative no, he states, "It is certain-

ly difficult to understand the sense development of no from the Nominal form of the copulative BE---K.A.) if it was originally a genitive particle...." (234) and concluded that the Conjunctive form first became an attributive marker (e.g., the no in omosiro no monogatari: interesting ASS story 'a story of interest' and Yamato no kuni: Yamato ASS country 'the country of/called Yamato') and that only later it came to be used as a genitive marker also. As we have pointed out, however, the Old Japanese data indicates an opposite direction of extension, i.e., from genitive to general associative. The development from copula to perfective auxiliary is also unusual. The function of a copula is purely grammatical: it does not add any meaning to the predicate. A perfective auxiliary, on the other hand, carries a subtle but nontribial meaning. Thus, the change from copula to perfective auxiliary, would be an opposite phenomenon to the so-called bleaching. Such a change is extremely rare in languages, if there is any at all.

Sansom was insightful and went beyond most of the other grammarians in his attempt to resolve such difficult questions as we discussed by reconstructing a BE verb. However, from our present viewpoint, half a century later, his hypothesis is not adequate and the notion of "sense development" he constantly resorted to is too undefined.

6. A contact language used between speakers of different native languages is called a pidgin. Its characteristic is that none of the speakers has acquired it as a first language. A pidgin with native speakers is called a creole. As a creole developed further, it results in a new and complete human language.
7. Kay and Sankoff (1974) states:

Given the hypothesis that there is a certain basic (and small) set of underlying semantic notions which are always grammatically marked, even in the most reduced contact vernaculars, and that as communicative functions increase, other markers are introduced, it is possible that in the development of contact vernaculars there exists an ordering in the introduction of such additional markers. For example, prepositions may be ordered such that when a pidgin has only two, one marks genitive and the other has a generalized locative function, ..... (69).

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