

OLD JAPANESE

PRONOUNS

Bjarke Frellesvig

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1. Main OJ pronouns

The main pronominal forms of OJ are shown here.

	<i>short</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>locational</i>
<i>Personal</i>			
1st	wa, a	ware, are	
2nd	na	nare	
3rd	si	-	
interrogative	ta	tare	
reflexive	ono	(onore)	
<i>Demonstrative</i>			
proximal	ko	kore	koko
non-proximal	so	-	soko
interrogative	idu-	idure	iduku

In addition to these forms, there is an interrogative noun *nani* 'what' which does not form part of any morphological system. There are also a number of alternative terms of address, see below. There is a trace of an earlier proximal demonstrative *i*, lexicalized in *ima* < **i* + *ma* 'space', see further below. Some descriptions include the noun *woto*~*woti* 'distant place or time' as a 'distal' demonstrative, but it is a lexical noun.

1.1 *Short versus long forms.*

A conspicuous feature of the pronominal system is the existence of short and long forms. The original function of the *-re* of the long forms is not known; recently it has been hypothesized to reflect the plural marker *-ra* + case particle *-i*, **ra-i* > *-re* (Vovin 1997). Whatever the original grammatical distinction between short and long forms, it is not systematically reflected in their use and distribution in OJ. In OJ, the two sets of forms are formally in free variation in many environments, but in complementary distribution with respect to some criteria:

(1)	short	long
use in isolation	-	+
use with genitive particles	+	-
use in nominal compounds	+	-

The long forms are used in isolation, i.e. without a following particle, as subject/topic and as emphatic and exclamatory forms, e.g. (1, 2). The short forms are not used in this way, but must be followed by a particle. Conversely, the long forms are not used with genitive particles (apart from a small number of examples of *idure-no*, which has no corresponding independent short form, and of *kore-no*) nor as a modifying first element in a nominal compound. The overwhelming majority of examples of the short forms are with genitive particles, used both attributively and as subordinate subjects: *wa ga kokoro* 'my heart'; *wa ga mure-inaba* 'when I go away' (K 4). The personal pronouns (*a*, *wa*, *na*, *si*, *ta*, *ono*) take *ga* and the demonstratives (*ko*, *so*) take *no*.¹ The contraction involved in forms such as *wagipye* 'my house' suggests that in some cases short form + genitive particle had been univerbated into a possessive pronoun, here *waga* 'my' (see **phonology**). In addition, the short forms (except for *si*, which derives from **so-i*, and *ta*) are used to form compounds, e.g. *a-duma* 'my wife', *wa-dori* 'my (own) bird', *na-dori* 'your bird', *ko-yopi* 'tonight'; usually the second member of the compound undergoes *rendaku*. Note that interrogative *idu-* is found only as a constituent of derived forms and compounds (except for a single example in the meaning 'where' in an AU, M 14.3549), never with a particle, genitive or otherwise.

Thus, use of the short forms is quite restricted, most examples being in compounds or with a genitive particle; this was the only use of the short forms which survived productively into EMJ. In OJ they are, however, also found with other case particles and with focus particles, as relics of an earlier use as free pronouns, e.g. (4). There are even parallel examples with full equivalence between short and long forms, such as song 4 in Kojiki which in a repetitive sequence has ... ***kore*** *pa pusapazu* 'this will not do' (*pusapu* 'befit, be suitable') in the first instance, but ... ***ko*** *mo pusapazu* 'this too will not do' in the second. In contrast with the short forms, the long forms are used quite freely. Note, however, that non-proximal *sore* is not attested in OJ and reflexive *onore* only twice (M 12.3098, 16.3883); 2nd person *nare* is textually rare. All three are widespread in EMJ. Thus, rather than presenting a system with a stable grammatical distinction, such as combining (= short) versus free (= long) forms, the OJ pronominal system was in a state of morphological transition with extended forms replacing older short forms whose use was gradually being circumscribed, regardless of what the original grammatical distinction between them may have been.

¹ There are a very few examples of *ga* used with the demonstrative *so*, but always when it functions as an inanimate 3rd person pronoun, e.g. *so ga pa* 'its leaves' (K 101), which however has *so no pana* 'its flowers' in the next line.

- (2) *wegusi ni ware wepinikyeri* (K 49)
 'I have become drunk on the sake of smiles'
 (3) *idure no sima ni ipori semu, ware* (M 15.3593)
 'I! on which island shall I make my hut (for the night)'
 (4) *a pa mo yo mye ni si areba, na wokite* (= *wo okite*) *wo pa nasi* (K 5)
 'Me, because I am a woman, apart from you I have no man'

2. Personal pronouns.

The personal pronouns form a morphological class by taking *ga*, never *no*, as genitive marker. Furthermore, the personal pronouns, as opposed to nonpronominal terms of address, are not used with plural markers in OJ (supporting Vovin's etymology for the long forms as involving a plural marker). 1st and 2nd person pronouns are used frequently in OJ, much more than in later stages of the language. While the *wa-* forms is used more, there is no discernable systematic difference in meaning between the two first person variants, *wa-* and *a-*; *a* is often thought to be a reduced variant of *wa*, in turn going back to **ba*. The 1st person pronouns can be used reflexively, 'myself'. An eastern dialect form *wanu*, corresponding to central *ware*, is attested in a few cases; *maro*, which in EMJ was used as a 1st person pronoun with some frequency, is attested in a song found in both Kojiki (48) and Nihongi (39) in the phrase *maro ga ti* 'my father'.

3rd person *si* is used both with animate and inanimate reference. *Si* is not used much, however; 3rd person reference is mostly expressed by the non-proximal demonstrative *so*, from which *si* is diachronically derived (explaining why *si* alone among the short forms does not form compounds): **sv-i* > *si*. *Si* is sometimes said to be used for 2nd person reference, but the few examples which may be cited in support of this are not persuasive. *Ono* is sometimes believed to have alternated with an obsolete word *ana* 'self'; *na* is sometimes said originally to have been used for the 1st person and to be a reduced form of *ana*.

2.1 Other terms of address.

In addition to second person pronouns, OJ had a number of terms of address of which the following are the most prominent. Whereas the personal pronouns proper do not combine with plural markers, some of the alternative terms of address do.

imasi, *masi*, *mimasi* 'you, hon.'; cf. *imasu* 'be, exist, hon.'; *mimasi* is thought to be more honorific than *imasi* and *masi* and to be from *mi-* 'hon.' + *imasi*; another possibility is that it represents a heavily nasalised initial [«]masi.

kimi 'you (my lord), hon.' (mostly F → M; < 'lord, ruler')

namuti 'you' (originally hon., but neutral at the OJ stage; < *na* 'you' + *-muti* 'esteemed person; honorific suffix in names and titles', cf. *mutu-* hon. prefix).

namutati 'you, plur.' (thought to be from *namuti-tati*)

wake 'you, pej.' (also 'I, humble') (< 'lowly person')

ore 'you, pej.'

i 'you, pej.' (only *i-ga* 'you-Genitive')

3. Demonstratives

Most accounts of OJ demonstratives posit a three term 'proximal - mesial - distal' system, built on *ko* - *so* - *ka*. However, there is no evidence within OJ of *ka* being a productive member of the demonstrative system. Two forms are attested in OJ: long *kare* is found once, in M 18.4045, see (9); what may be taken to be short *ka*, as distinct from the adverb *ka* 'this way', is attested at most twice, both in Eastern dialect poems (M 14.3565, 20.4384). While these forms most likely represent the budding of the distal demonstrative which is so frequent in EMJ, they clearly did not form a central part of the OJ system of demonstratives. The other *ka*-based forms often cited are in fact attested only from EMJ.

The description of the semantics of the OJ demonstrative system is due to Hashimoto Shirô (1966) whose study is the first to consider the OJ system on its own merits, rather than in terms of the EMJ system. The *ko*- versus *so*- system is entirely speaker based, with no primary reference to the hearer. **Proximal**, *ko*-, refers to what is within the speaker's domain of direct sensory perception, or experience. **Non-proximal**, *so*-, refers to what is outside of the speaker's domain of direct experience. The facts of the use of the main *ko*- and *so*- forms in OJ are as follows:

(a) The *ko*- forms are almost entirely used deictically, referring to what may be directly experienced by the speaker; the only form used anaphorically is *koko*.

(b) The *so*- forms are mostly used anaphorically, with some examples of reference to something which is implied, but has not been mentioned explicitly; temporal deictic reference to past events is not infrequent. This anaphoric, or conceptual, and temporal deictic reference follows from the definition as being outside the speaker's domain of direct experience. There are no clear examples of spatial deictic use of *so*; also *soko* is mostly used anaphorically, but there are a few examples of spatial deictic use with reference to the hearer.

The ternary 'proximal - mesial - distal' system of EMJ and later arose, Hashimoto argues, through a subdivision of the direct domain into 'close vs far', with the form *ka* being drawn in as an alternant of *ko*. Note that the reference of the single OJ example of *kare*, (9), is within the field of direct visual perception of the speaker. The few examples of *soko* with spatial deictic use form part of the development of the three-term system.

In addition to the three main forms built on the proximal - non-proximal - interrogative/indefinite bases *ko* - *so* - *i* included above, there are a number of other forms, see (5). While these forms show the pervasiveness of the *ko* - *so* - *i*

system - and no trace of a distal *ka* - it is also clear that the system is not as well developed as in EMJ and later stages. Some of what later become derivational morphemes expressing syntactic and/or fairly definite semantic categories, were at this stage apparently semantically vaguer. The designations for the derived categories are those used for later stages of the language; it is not clear that they are entirely appropriate for OJ. Locational *-ko/-ku* is thought to be from an obsolete noun *-ka/-ko/-ku* 'place', cf. e.g. *miyako* 'capital; palace-place'; note, however, the widespread use of short *ko* to mean 'here', as well as the use of *koko* and *soko* without locational meaning. Likewise, *koti* is not particularly directional, but rather meant 'this way, this side'.

(5)	proximal <i>ko(-)</i>	non-prox. <i>so(-)</i>	interr. <i>i-/idu-</i>
short	<i>ko</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>idu-</i>
long, <i>-re</i>	<i>kore</i>	-	<i>idure</i>
locational, <i>-ko/-ku</i>	<i>koko</i>	<i>soko</i>	<i>iduku</i>
directional, <i>-ti</i>	<i>koti</i>	-	<i>iduti</i>
degree, quantity, <i>-kV/-ku</i>	<i>kokV-</i>	<i>sokV-</i>	<i>iku-</i>
manner	<i>ka</i>	<i>sa-te</i>	-
manner, <i>(-ku/)-ka</i>	<i>kaku</i>	<i>sika</i>	<i>ika</i>
time, <i>-tu</i>	-	-	<i>itu</i>

The secondary *-du-* in the interrogatives (of unknown meaning and origin) was reinterpreted as part of the base in what emerged as the productive system; *idu* later changed to the *do* of the well known *ko - so - a - do* system of NJ). Other OJ forms built on *i-du-*: *idura* 'where(abouts)', *idupye* 'which direction' (*pye* 'side'), *idusi* 'id.' (*-si* 'side'). Attested OJ forms built on *i-ku-* 'how much' - *ko-kV-* 'this much' - *so-kV-* 'that much' with the derivational elements *-ra*, *-da*, *-ba* and the adverbializer *-ku*: *ikura*, *ikuda*; *kokoda*, *kok(w)ida*, *kokodaku*, *kok(w)idaku*, *kokoba*, *kokobaku*, *kok(w)ibaku*; *sokoraku*, *sokidaku*, *sokoba*.

- (6) *are pa wasurezi, ko no tatibana wo* (M 18.4058)
'I will never forget it, **this** orange-blossom'
- (7) *wakarekosi so no pi* (M 17.3978)
'**that** day when I left'
- (8) *uwesi ta mo, makisi patake mo asagoto ni sibomikareyuku. So wo mireba*
... (M 18.4122)
'for each morning the planted rice fields and the sowed fields wither and dry out more and more. When I see **that** ...'
- (9) *a ga mopu kimi ga mipune kamo, kare* (M 18.4045)
'is it the boat of my beloved, **that**'

4. Basic pre-OJ pronominal system

Based on the OJ forms, a simple and basic pronominal system may be reconstructed for a stage of pre-OJ, see (10). It is based on consonant alternation among the personal and

demonstrative forms and on vowel alternation between them. 'Speaker', i.e. 1st person and proximal, forms have a grave consonant (*b*, *k*), whereas non-speaker forms (2nd person, interrogative 'who', non-proximal) have an acute consonant (*n*, *t*, *s*). Personal pronouns have *-a* and demonstratives *-o*. Interrogative *i-* does not take part in those relations of alternation; functionally, however, both the personal and the demonstrative pronouns have a three way 'speaker - non-speaker - interrogative/indefinite' distinction.

(10) <i>Personal</i>		
speaker	1st	*ba (> <i>wa</i> , <i>a</i>)
non-speaker	2nd	na
interrogative	'who'	ta
<i>Demonstrative</i>		
speaker	proximal	ko
non-speaker	non-proximal	so
interrogative	'which'	i-
<i>Reflexive</i>		ono

5. Proto-Japanese demonstratives

Although the OJ system of demonstratives clearly is a two way 'speaker - nonspeaker' plus interrogative system, it seems in fact that it goes back to a three way 'proximal - mesial - distal' plus interrogative system, like that found in EMJ and later stages of the language, and like that found in Korean, see (11) and (12), adapted from Frellesvig and Whitman 2004. The system posited for proto-Japanese includes a vestigial proximal **i*, lexicalized in *ima* 'now' < **i* + *ma* 'space' and interrogative **e*. The change between pJ and pre-OJ.a of interrogative **e* > **i* is a result of mid-vowel raising (see phonology 7.1.1.1), resulting in homonymy between proximal and interrogative. This homonymy (between two paradigmatically opposed terms) was resolved by eliminating proximal **i* and reinterpreting **kʷ* and **sʷ* as speech event participant and nonparticipant, respectively, and then in OJ as speaker and non-speaker. Typological pressure then, but only in EMJ, resulted in the system being augmented with a distal *ka*.

(11)	proximal	mesial	distal	interrogative
pJ	*i	*kʷ	*sʷ	*e
	proximal	mesial	distal	interrogative
pre-OJ.a	*i	*kʷ	*sʷ	*i
	participant		nonparticipant	interrogative
pre-OJ.b	*kʷ		*sʷ	*i
	speaker	nonspeaker		interrogative
OJ	ko (~ i)	so		i- ~ idu-
	proximal	mesial	distal	interrogative
EMJ	ko	so	ka	i- ~ idu-

The pJ system is a good phonological *and* semantic fit with the MK system.²

(12)	proximal	mesial	distal	interrogative
MK	<i>i</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>tye</i>	<i>e</i>
pJ	<i>*i</i>	<i>*kʏ</i>	<i>*sʏ</i>	<i>*e</i>

REFERENCES

Yamada 1913:22-97; Saeki 1959, SKD (= Nakada 1983), ZdB; on the demonstratives, in particular: Hashimoto 1966, 1982; Whitman 1999; Takeuchi 180-2 for related forms and a pandialectal view of developments; for etymological speculations, Miller 1971:155-218. Proto-Japanese demonstratives: Frellesvig and Whitman 2004.

² It has long been observed that the MK mesial and distal demonstratives, *ku* and *tye*, respectively, present a good form fit with J proximal and mesial *ko* and *so*, but that the semantics do not fit. The changes between pJ and OJ explain that.