

OLD JAPANESE VERBALS Bjarke Frellesvig

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Through its history Japanese has had a basic morpho-syntactic distinction between two main lexical word classes: *verbals* which are the inflecting and primarily predicative word classes and *nominals* which are the non-inflecting primarily non-predicative word classes. Verbals hold both verbs and adjectives. Adjectives are sometimes termed 'stative verbs' (perhaps inspired by the terminology used for Korean), but the adjectives in Japanese are morpho-syntactically distinct from verbs.

(1) Japanese lexical word classes:

verbals	nominals
(verbs, adjectives)	
predicative	nonpredicative
inflecting	noninflecting

1. Verbs

A Japanese verb form can be described in terms of the following structure, with six main morphological layers:

- (2) 1 2 3 4 5 6
- {**root-** *derivative*}- *auxiliary*.*verb-* *auxiliary-* **flective-** *extension*

Only Root and Flective have obligatory real expression. Root + Derivative constitute the lexical base, i.e. the word. Extensions are inflecting modal suffixes which follow finite verb forms. Auxiliary verbs specify various motional directional and aspectual meanings, but include also expressions of social deixis.

The central verbal morphology is expressed by Auxiliaries and Flectives. Flectives represent inflected word forms. Inflection is mainly for *syntactic* and *syntactico*-modal categories.

Auxiliaries are inflecting suffixes, expressing a number of central morphological categories, including tense and aspect. Thus, expression of these categories is optional and simple inflected verb forms are unspecified, or unmarked, with regard to for example tense and can well refer to deictic past time. Simple forms thus have a fairly wide scope of interpretation. More than one Aux can be attached to a verb, in which case the Aux appear in the order given in (14) below.

(3)-(6) are examples of verb forms.

- (3) a. *tuku* '(it) attaches'
- b. 1 5
{tuk}.u
 attach.Conclusive
- (4) a. *tukeme* 'can/will attach it!'
- b. 1 2 4 5
{tuk- e}- m.e
 attach Trans Conjectural.Exclamatory
- (5) a. *maywopikinikyeri* 'had become frayed!'
- b. 1 3 4 4 5
{maywopi}-ki-ni- kyer.i
 fray come Perfective ModalPast.Conclusive
- (6) a. *omopoyu besi* 'it may be thought'
- b. 1 4 5 6
{omopo}- y.u be.si
 think Passive.Conclusive Necessitive.Concl

Attestation of forms; paradigms.

In the first chapter of his autobiography, *My Early Life*, Winston Churchill recounts how at the age of seven he was set the task upon arrival at his boarding school, St. James's School, of learning the singular of the noun of the first declension in Latin. He learnt the paradigm by heart and reproduced it to the satisfaction of his teacher, but he did not understand what it meant and asked about it. The following exchange between the future Prime Minister and his teacher about the Latin case system is well known:

'But,' I repeated, 'what does it mean?'
 'Mensa means a table,' he answered.
 'Then why does mensa also mean O table,' I enquired, 'and what does O table mean?'
 'Mensa, O table, is the vocative case,' he replied.
 'But why O table?' I persisted in genuine curiosity.
 'O table,--you would use that in addressing a table, in invoking a table.' And then seeing that he was not carrying me with him, 'You would use it in speaking to a table.'
 'But I never do,' I blurted out in honest amazement.

For this young Winston was promised a sound beating if he insisted on being 'impertinent'. Perhaps not surprisingly, he never acquired an interest in foreign languages.

An inflectional paradigm is a pattern of relations; the concatenation of mutually exclusive inflectional endings with stems of words; or, put differently, the morphologically possible forms of a word. It is likely that no one has ever produced the vocative of *mensa* in actual speech or writing in classical Latin. But if anyone wished to address a table, the vocative case was available for that purpose. Although it may never have been spoken, the vocative form of that noun can be said to have existed in Latin as a systemic possibility. It is not impossible, merely unusual, to address a table.

Old Japanese is a dead language, a closed and limited text corpus. It is not surprising that many specific forms of individual words are not attested in that corpus, even when there is no motivation in terms of unusualness or inappropriateness for their absence. For example, the Imperative of the verb *kog-* 'row' is not attested in the OJ corpus. There is no systematic reason that *kogye* 'row!' should not exist, much less so than for the vocative of Latin *mensa*. The nonoccurrence of *kogye* may be regarded as an accident of attestation. It must be emphasized that when we speak of *attestation* of a word or word form, we mean *phonographic attestation*. Reading tradition of logographic writing is a useful clue to understanding what texts probably mean, but has nothing to do with attestation of words or word forms.

On the other hand there are systematic restrictions on the use of the Imperative of certain types of verbs, e.g. those which signify spontaneous, nonvolitional action. It is debatable whether this is a morphological restriction (that form does not exist) or a syntactic/pragmatic restriction (that form cannot be used, it does not make sense for that form to be used), but it is a grammatical restriction in the language, not an accident of attestation. The facts and state of attestation are of course of enormous importance when inferring the morphological system of a language, but it is of less interest when explaining or exemplifying the system: given the existence of OJ *kogu*, which is amply attested in various forms, we know that its Imperative would be *kogye*.

In the following the forms of OJ verbs are exemplified. Some of the forms of some of the verbs are not attested in OJ, but this is not remarked upon for the regular, open classes of verbs. For the small, irregular classes the situation of attestation may be of significance and is noted. More generally, grammatical restrictions on formation of forms and the distribution of them are discussed.

Citation form; the base.

The Conclusive is the form usually used as citation form, i.e. the form used to cite or talk about verbs, for example in dictionaries; notable exceptions are Ohno's dictionary of pre-modern Japanese (*Iwanami Kogo Jiten*) or the dictionaries published by the Jesuits in the early 17th century, which list verbs under their Infinitive). However, citing verbs in their base (basic stem) will unambiguously identify the conjugation class of the verb in the majority of cases; in particular, this serves to distinguish Yodan from Nidan verbs. For that reason, verbs are here unless otherwise noted cited in the base; thus *sak-* 'bloom' (Yodan), *ake-* 'dawn' (S2), *okwi-* 'arise' (K2), not *kaku*, *aku*, *oku*.

1.1 Derivatives

A number of lexicalized derivatives deriving verbs from other parts of speech may be reconstructed. The main word productive derivatives are the following.

-s- 'transitive' derives a Yodan verb. This derivative is related to the verb *se-* 'do'. It was further grammaticalized into the causative auxiliary *-(a)se-* which was emerging in the OJ period.

(7) *kakus-* 'hide', *okos-* 'raise', *koros-* 'kill'

-r- 'intransitive' derives a Yodan verb. This derivative is most likely related to the existential verb *ar-*. It was further grammaticalized into the innovative passive auxiliary *-(a)re-*.

(8) *kakur-* 'hide', *okor-* 'occur'

-e- 'transitivity switch' derives a S2 verb which has the opposite transitivity as its source.

(9)

Intransitive => Transitive

tuk- 'stick to' + *-e* => *tuke-* 'attach'

ap- 'meet' + *-e* => *ape-* 'join'

yam- 'pause' + *-e* => *yame-* 'stop'

tum- 'pile up' + *-e* => *tume-* 'pile up'

Transitive => Intransitive

tok- 'tie' + *-e* => *toke-* 'be untied'

war- 'break' + *-e* => *ware-* 'be broken'

yak- 'burn' + *-e* => *yake-* 'be burned'

-(a)p- 'iterative/continuative' derives a Yodan verb.
derives a C verb.

1.2 Auxiliary verbs.

Auxiliary verbs are attached to the Infinitive of a main verb. They are used amongst others to specify various motional directional and aspectual meanings, but include also expressions of social deixis. Most are used as free lexical verbs in addition to their grammaticalized use as auxiliary verb. The degree of grammaticalization varies and it is therefore difficult in some cases to draw a line between a verb commonly used in compounds and a fully grammaticalized auxiliary verb. The following auxiliary verbs are among the fully grammaticalized:

(10)

Directional/aspectual:

-ko- 'come to ...', *-yuk-* 'continuative, go on ...ing (States); gradually become ... more and more (dynamic verbs)', *-ide-* 'Verb out; emerge'.

Potential 'be able to':

-e- (rare), *-kate-* (not as full verb).

Reciprocal: *-ap-* '(meet)'.

Social deixis

Honorific:

-tama- '(receive)'; *-mas-* (< *imas-*) 'exist, honorific'.

Humble:

-mawos- '(say to/tell the emperor/a superior; ask for permission (of a superior))'; *-matur-* '(offer to spirit or emperor)'.

1.3 Inflected verb forms

OJ has eight morphophonologically distinct verb classes: Yodan, Shimo Nidan (S2), Kami Nidan (K2), Kami Ichidan (K1), Ra-hen, Na-hen, Sa-hen, Ka-hen. The traditional names for the verb classes are used here; they may be thought of as proper names. See below about the verb classes. The two major lexical classes are Yodan and S2. Table gives an overview of the inflected verb forms of OJ.

	Yodan	Ra-hen	K1	Na-hen
Base	kak-	ar-	mi-	sin-
Finite				
Conclusive	kaku	ari	miru	sinu
Adnominal	kaku	aru	miru	sinuru
Exclamatory	kake	are	mire	sinure
Imperative	kakye	are	mi(yo)	sine(yo)
Neg. conject.	kakazi	arazi	mizi	sinazi
Desiderative	kakana	arana	mina	sinana
"	kakane	arane	mine	sinane
"	kakanamu	aranamu	minamu	sinanamu
Prohibitive	na kaki so	na ari so	na mi so	na sini so
Non-finite				
Infinitive	kaki	ari	mi	sini
Gerund	kakite	arite	mite	sinite
Continuative	kakitutu	aritutu	mitutu	sinitutu
Conditional	kakaba	araba	miba	sinaba
Provisional	kakeba	areba	mireba	sinureba
Concessive	kakedo	aredo	miredo	sinuredo
Nominalized	kakaku	araku	miraku	sinuraku
	S2	K2	Ka-hen	Sa-hen
Base	ake-	okwi-	ko-	se-
Finite				
Conclusive	aku	oku	ku	su
Adnominal	akuru	okuru	kuru	suru
Exclamatory	akure	okure	kure	sure
Imperative	ake(yo)	okwi(yo)	ko	se(yo)
Neg. conject.	akezi	okwizi	kozi	sezi
Desiderative	akena	okwina	kona	sena
"	akene	okwine	kone	sene
"	akenamu	okwinamu	konamu	senamu
Prohibitive	na ake so	na okwi so	-	na se so
Non-finite				
Infinitive	ake	okwi	ki ~ ko	si ~ se
Gerund	akete	okwite	kite	site
Continuative	aketutu	okwitutu	kitutu	situtu
Conditional	akeba	okwiba	koba	seba
Provisional	akureba	okureba	kureba	sureba
Concessive	akuredo	okuredo	kuredo	suredo
Nominalized	akuraku	okuraku	kuraku	suraku

Table. OJ verb forms

1.3.1 Finite verb forms

Conclusive

This is the neutral form used to form the final predicate of a sentence. It is used in nonfinal clauses concluded by the concessive conjunctive particles *to*, *tomo*. It is the form usually given in dictionaries.

Adnominal

This form differs syntactically, but not semantically, from the Conclusive. It has several uses: (a) the basic function, after which the form is named, is to modify a noun, or as the verb of a noun modifying clause: '(someone) dying; who dies'; (b) probably diachronically derived from the former, the Adnominal also functions as a nominalized form: 'the act, fact of dying, the one who dies'; (c) it is also used as the final predicate (i) of otherwise unmarked emphatic sentences '(someone) dies!', or (ii) in correlation with the emphatic or interrogative particles *so*, *namo*, *ya*, *ka* (*kakari-musubi*, see **particles**); (d) finally it is used as the verb of a subordinate clause concluded by some conjunctive particles, e.g. *ni*, *wo*, and those derived from nouns.

Exclamatory

The exclamatory can form the predicate of a sentence with some additional exclamatory force: '(someone) dies indeed'. Most often it is accompanied by the emphatic particle *koso* in this use (*kakari-musubi*, see **particles**). The exclamatory can also function as the predicate in a subordinate clause with a number of conjunctive meanings: 'if, when, although, because'. Usually it is accompanied by some modal or other particle.

Imperative

In addition to being used as the direct imperative, it is also used in purposive clauses followed by the conjunctive particle *to*: *sine to* '(in order) that someone die ..'.

Negative conjectural

The negative conjectural is semantically the negative counterpart of the conjectural auxiliary *-(a)m-* and therefore has the same range of functions. It generally means: 'I don't want to, shan't ...; you shouldn't, mustn't ...; he probably, surely won't ...'. In addition, the negative conjectural is often followed by *to* to form the predicate of a purposive clause: *sinazi to* 'lest someone die, (in order) that someone not die'.¹

Prohibitive

The prohibitive expresses a negative command 'don't ..!'. There are three variants of which only *na...so* survived into EMJ. The longer forms are less brusque than the short form.

- (11) *na-kaki-so* 'don't write!'
na-kaki-sone '(please) don't write!'
na-kaki 'don't write!'

The Prohibitive may well be thought to be a construction rather than a form, but most descriptions regard it as a word form and affectionately posit a *circumfixal* formant, the only one of its kind in Japanese: *na-...-so* which attaches around the Infinitive. In EMJ longer

¹ Traditionally, the Negative Conjectural formant *-(a)zi* is regarded as an auxiliary with the sole form *-(a)zi* functioning as conclusive, adnominal, and exclamatory. Apart from its semantic affinity with *-mu* nothing supports that view.

stretches than a single verb can occur between *na* and *so*, but this does not seem to have been possible in OJ.

Na-...-so is used with the thematic infinitive of *se-* 'do': *na-se-so* 'don't do!'; examples of *na-si-so* appear in LMJ (Muromachi). *Na-...-so* is not found with *ko-* 'come' in OJ; in EMJ it is used with the base: *na-ko-so* 'don't come!'; exx. of *na-ki-so* do not appear until Edo. There are no examples of the short form, *na-...*, with *se-* or *ko-*. Etymologically, *na* is probably a negative adverb, related to other forms in *n* with negative meaning: *nasi* 'does not exist', *-(a)n* 'negative', *-(a)nape-* 'negative' (Eastern); *so* is thought to be the historical root of *se-* 'do'. This finds some support in the long form *na-...-so-ne* which seems to involve the Desiderative form in *ne* 'I wish you'd; please'. It is not clear whether the short form, *na-...*, is a reduction of the longer expressions, *na-...-so(ne)*, or they extensions of *na-...*.

From mid-EMJ *Infinitive-so* is used, without *na-*, to express prohibition. An alternative expression of a negative command uses *na* after the Conclusive (said to, and in EMJ does, follow the Adnominal of Ra-hen, but is not phonographically attested in that position in OJ): *kaku na* 'don't write!'. *Na* is here a final particle. In EMJ Conclusive-*na* is found alongside *na-...-so*, but from LMJ Conclusive-*na* gradually superseded *na-...-so* and eventually replaced it in early NJ. Prohibitive expressions are often reinforced by the adverb *yume* '(not) at all'.

Desiderative

OJ has three sets of forms in *-(a)n-* which express the wish of the speaker, each predominantly (but not exclusively) expressing a wish about actions of a 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person:

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (12) | <i>kakana</i>
<i>kakane(mo)</i> , <i>kakani(mo)</i>
<i>kakanamo</i> , <i>kakanamu</i> |
'I would like to/ let's write'
'I wish you'd/ please write'
'I wish he'd/ let him write' |
|------|---|--|

With the exception of *-namu* which is used throughout EMJ these forms disappear from the language in OJ. *-Namo* is thought to be an older variant and the source of *-namu* which was more frequent already in OJ.

1.3.2 Non-finite verb forms

Infinitive

The Infinitive is the basic nonfinite verb form. Its main use is to form a nonfinal (inconclusive, suspensive) predicate '(someone) dies and ...'. This is usually coordinate with a following predicate, but sometimes subordinate. The infinitive is also used as the main combining form of the verbs, either to form compounds proper, or as a stem for suffixation. Derived from and segmentally identical with the Infinitive is the substantive noun, e.g. *mi-kyesi* 'honourable garment' (*mi-* honorific prefix, *kyes-* 'to wear, honorific'), *itupari* 'lie' (*itupar-* 'to lie'). In EMJ and in later periods, the Infinitive and its derived noun are attested with different prosodic shape; this is also thought to have been the case for OJ.

Gerund

The gerund is a subordinate verb form, an adverbial participle: *sinite* 'dying'. It is unspecified for the type of conjunction that holds between its own and a following higher clause. The use of the word 'gerund' for such subordinate adverbial verb forms is now customary in the description of many languages. It is somewhat misleading for those familiar with the use of 'gerund' to designate a deverbal noun in for example Latin grammar. For Japanese this nomenclature goes back to Rodriguez who however also classifies the form as 'participle'.

Concurrent gerund

Expresses a state which is concurrent with the following clause: *sinitutu* 'while dying'.

Concessive

Concludes a concessive subordinate clause: *sinuredo* 'although, even though someone dies'. The concessive is often followed by the particle *mo* with no discernable difference in meaning: *sinuredo mo* 'although someone dies'.

Provisional

Concludes a provisional, temporal, or causal subordinate clause: *sinureba* 'when, as, because someone dies'.

Conditional

Concludes a conditional clause: *sinaba* 'if someone dies'.

Nominalized

This form expresses abstract nominalization: 'the act, fact of dying, being dead'. It was a very frequent form in OJ, but survived into EMJ only in set phrases with a small number of verbs.

1.4 Derivational inflection; auxiliaries.

Auxiliaries are inflecting suffixes, most of which follow the verbal or adjectival conjugations, but a few have idiosyncratic conjugations. Auxiliaries express central grammatical categories aspect, negation, tense, and some modal categories. There are some systematic restrictions on combinations with some verb classes. Table shows all the OJ Auxiliaries attached to verbs from the eight verb classes. As the Auxiliaries themselves inflect, the resulting forms are shown in the basic stem, not in a word form.

	Yodan <i>kak-</i>	Ra-hen <i>ar-</i>	K1 <i>mi-</i>	Na-hen <i>sin-</i>
Honorific	<i>kakas-</i>	-	<i>myes-</i>	-
Voice				
Causative	<i>kakasime-</i>	<i>arasime-</i>	<i>misime-</i>	<i>sinasime-</i>
Passive	<i>kakaye-</i>	<i>araye-</i>	<i>miye-</i>	<i>sinaye-</i>
Passive	<i>kakare-</i>	<i>arare-</i>	-	<i>sinare-</i>
Aspect/Negation				
Perfective	<i>kakite-</i>	<i>arite-</i>	<i>mite-</i>	-
Perfective	<i>(sakin-)</i>	<i>arin-</i>	<i>min-</i>	-
Stative	<i>kakyer-</i>	-	<i>myer-</i>	-
Negative	<i>kakan-</i>	<i>aran-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>sinan-</i>
Negative	<i>kakazu</i>	<i>arazu</i>	<i>mizu</i>	<i>sinazu</i>
Tense/Mood				
Modal Past	<i>kakikyer-</i>	<i>arikyer-</i>	<i>mikyer-</i>	<i>sinikyer-</i>
Direct Past	<i>kakiki</i>	<i>ariki</i>	<i>miki</i>	<i>siniki</i>
Conjectural	<i>kakam-</i>	<i>aram-</i>	<i>mim-</i>	<i>sinam-</i>
Subjunctive	<i>kakamasi</i>	<i>aramasi</i>	<i>mimasi</i>	<i>sinamasi</i>

	S2 <i>ake-</i>	K2 <i>okwi-</i>	Sa-hen <i>se-</i>	Ka-hen <i>ko-</i>
Honorific	-	-	<i>ses-</i>	-
Voice				
Causative	<i>akesime-</i>	<i>okwisime-</i>	<i>sesime-</i>	<i>kosime-</i>
Passive	-	-	-	-
Passive	-	-	-	-
Aspect/Negation				
Perfective	<i>akete-</i>	<i>(yodite-)</i>	<i>site-</i>	<i>kite-</i>
Perfective	<i>(token-)</i>	<i>okwin-</i>	<i>sin-</i>	<i>kin-</i>
Stative	-	-	<i>ser-</i>	<i>kyer-</i>
Negative	<i>aken-</i>	<i>okwin-</i>	<i>sen-</i>	<i>kon-</i>
Negative	<i>akezu</i>	<i>okwizu</i>	<i>sezu</i>	<i>kozu</i>
Tense/Mood				
Modal Past	<i>akekyer-</i>	<i>okwikyer-</i>	<i>siker-</i>	<i>kikyer-</i>
Direct Past	<i>akeki</i>	<i>okwiki</i>	<i>siki / sesi*</i>	<i>kosi*</i>
Conjectural	<i>akem-</i>	<i>okwim-</i>	<i>sem-</i>	<i>kom-</i>
Subjunctive	<i>akemasi</i>	<i>okwimasi</i>	<i>semasi</i>	<i>komasi</i>

Table OJ Aux attached to verbs; * See below

1.4.1 *Honorific.*

The Honorific belongs to the Yodan conjugation and exhibits the following main forms.

	-(a)s-
Conclusive	-(a)su
Adnominal	-(a)su
Exclamatory	-(a)se
Imperative	-(a)se
Neg. conject.	-(a)sazi
Desiderative	-(a)sane
Infinitive	-(a)si
Gerund	-(a)site
Conditional	-(a)saba
Provisional	-(a)seba
Concessive	-(a)sedo
Nominalized	-(a)saku

The Honorific regularly combines with Yodan and Sa-hen (and according to reading tradition also Ra-hen verbs). There is a small number of lexicalized forms, (a) with K1 verbs, (b) derived from roots underlying Nidan verbs, and finally (c) with slightly irregular formation.

- (a) *myes-* < **mi-as-*; cf. *mi-* 'see'. (Also in the compound *-(a)si-myes-* 'Honorific-Honorific'.)
kyes- < **ki-as-*; cf. *ki-* 'put on'. (Rare, only in the form *kyeseru* (Honorific.Stative.Adnominal 'which you are wearing') and in *mi-kyesi* (deverbal noun; 'honourable garment').)
- (b) *koyas-* < **koyV-as-*; cf. *ko(y)i-* 'lie (down)' (K2).
nas- < **na-as-*; cf. *ne-* 'sleep, lie' (S2) (< **na-i-*).
- (c) *omopos-* <= *omop-* 'think (of), believe'. (Reading tradition also gives the regular form *omopas-*.)
kikos- <= *kik-* 'hear, listen' (The regular form *kikas-* is also attested.)
oros- <= *or-* 'weave'.
siros- <= *sir-* 'rule; know' (cf. *siro-* 'castle'). (There is only one OJ attestation of *siros-*, in the form *sirosi-myes-* (EN 8); *siros-* gained in usage in EMJ. The regular OJ forms are *siras-*, *sirasimyes-*.)

The Honorific is said to be used to express 'subject exaltation'. An example from Man'yôshû (M 1.1) illustrates the basically deictic function:

- (13) ko no woka *ni* na tumasu kwo
 this Gen hill Dat greens pinch-Hon.Adn child
- ipye *kikana* norasane
 home ask.Desid tell-Hon.Desid
- '(You,) girl who gathers shoots on this hillside, I want to ask your home. Please tell me!'

1.4.2 *Voice.*

The Causative and Passive belong to the S2 conjugation and exhibit the following main forms.

Causative

Passive

	<i>-(a)sime-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-(a)re-</i>
Conclusive	<i>(a)simu</i>	<i>(a)yu</i>	<i>(a)ru</i>
Adnominal	<i>(a)simuru</i>	<i>(a)yuru</i>	<i>(a)ruru</i>
Imperative	<i>(a)sime(yo)</i>	-	-
Negative conjectural	-	<i>(a)yezi</i>	<i>(a)rezi</i>
Infinitive	<i>(a)sime</i>	<i>(a)ye</i>	<i>(a)re</i>
Gerund	<i>(a)simete</i>	<i>(a)yete</i>	<i>(a)rete</i>
Continuative	<i>(a)simetutu</i>	<i>(a)yetutu</i>	<i>(a)retutu</i>
Conditional	-	<i>(a)yeba</i>	<i>(a)reba</i>
Nominalized	-	<i>(a)yuraku</i>	<i>(a)ruraku</i>

The OJ Causative is used to express causation and honorification. It is formed on verbs from all conjugation classes. In EMJ, a S2 Causative *-(a)se-* ~ *-sase-* was used alongside, and eventually replaced, *-(a)sime-*. Early formations involving the emerging causative formant *-(a)se-* are found already in OJ, in particular in the following forms:²

- (13) *kise-* <= *ki-* 'wear'; *mise-* <= *mi-* 'see'; *apase-* <= *ap-* 'meet'; *kikase-* <= *kik-* 'hear'; *sirase-* <= *sir-* 'know; rule'; *opose-* <= *op-* 'carry'.

The OJ Passive functioned as a pure passive, a medium voice, and as a potential. OJ has two competing passive markers of which *-(a)ye-* was used rather more frequently than *-(a)re-* (their roles are reversed in EMJ into which *-(a)ye-* only survived in a number of lexicalized forms (*kikoye-*, *miye-*, *omopoye-*) and in reading glosses to Chinese texts). *-(a)ye-* was used with Yodan, Na-hen, Ra-hen and K1 verbs; *-(a)re-* with Yodan, Na-hen, and Ra-hen verbs. Passives were not formed on verbs from other conjugation classes.³ *-(a)ye-* thus had a wider use than *-(a)re-*, both in terms of distribution and in terms of frequency. The straightforward interpretation of these facts is that *-(a)ye-* was the earlier passive marker and was replaced by innovative *-(a)re-*.⁴ There are a few lexicalized passive forms with a slightly irregular formation: *kikoye-* <= *kik-* 'hear'; *omopoye-* <= *omop-* 'think' (found alongside *omopaye-*, but was much more frequent).

Note that the Causative and the Passive were paradigmatically opposed in OJ (could not cooccur in a verb syntagm), as opposed to later stages of the language where they combined.

1.4.3 Aspect, tense, negation, and mood.

² Only the base *-(a)se-* is attested phonographically, in various morpho-syntactic positions; reading tradition also gives Adnominal *-(a)suru* and Exclamatory *-(a)sure*.

³ Four occurrences of the phrase *i no nerayenu* 'not be able to sleep' in M 15 (3665, 3678, 3680, 3684) are usually interpreted to imply the existence of an OJ passive marker **-raye-* attaching to K2 and S2 verbs (and possibly to Sa-hen and Ka-hen), and it is thus often regarded as a mere accident of attestation that we do not find OJ **-raye-* in other contexts. *-(a)ye-* (ad Yodan, Na-hen, Ra-hen and K1) ~ **-raye-* (ad K2, S2, and possibly Sa-hen and Ka-hen) would form a system like that found in EMJ and later, with the two variants *-(a)re-* ~ *-rare-* in complementary distribution. However, the non-formation of passives on Nidan verbs is systematic (see **conjugation classes**) and the singular form *neraye-* is better understood as the Passive of a verb *ner-*, an otherwise unattested extended variant of *ne-*.

⁴ Cf. however the competing imperative particles *yo* ~ *ro*, and the possible implications in terms of dialect influence (cf. also the form *omoparu* (AU)).

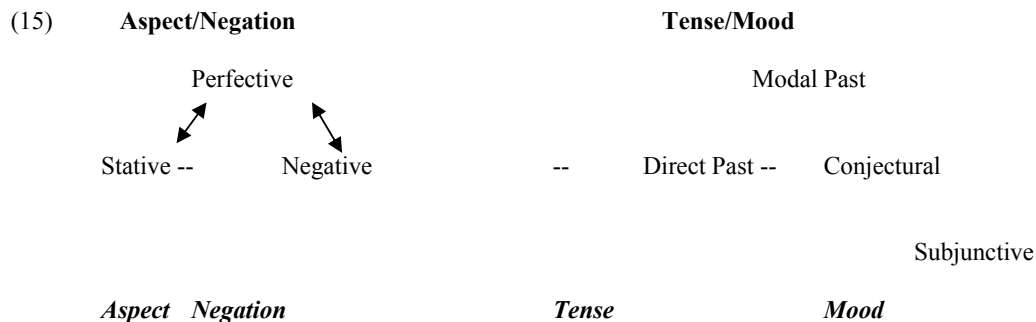
The core aspectual and temporal morphology is expressed by the five auxiliaries *-n-*, *-te-*, *-(ye)r-*, *-ki*, *-kyer-* (usually, an auxiliary *-tar-* is also included, but see below). There is a remarkable lack of agreement about the basic function of each of these auxiliaries, which form part of the core verbal morphology of OJ, or about their mutual relations. Sandness 1999 includes a useful literature review.

One reason for this lack of agreement is that the detailed workings of a tense and aspect system only can be fully studied in passages of extended narrative and prose. The lack of such materials among the Old Japanese sources of necessity means that our understanding of the OJ system of tense and aspect cannot be as profound as we could wish for. Another reason, which is endemic to Japanese historical linguistics, is that Japanese usually is denied a history: few descriptions are limited to OJ, but usually encompass at least EMJ and in many cases all of pre-modern Japanese, conceived of as one. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, most descriptions are atomistic and address individual auxiliaries in isolation and not as forming part of a system.

First of all, it is a fact which is generally overlooked that the morphological system of aspect and tense is inextricably intervoven with that of negation and mood. The full system includes also the Negative *-(a)zu ~ -(a)n-*, the Conjectural *-(a)m-*, and the Subjunctive *-(a)masi*. The system exhibits the following paradigmatic relations within four categories. Thus, only one member from each category can occur in a verb syntagm. If more than one category is present, they occur in the order given here.

- (14)
- | | | | |
|----|----|-----------------|--|
| 1. | a. | Aspect | Perfective <i>-te- ~ -n-</i>
Stative <i>-(ye)r-</i> |
| | b. | Negation | Perfective <i>-te- ~ -n-</i>
Negative <i>-(a)zu ~ -(a)n-</i> |
| 2. | a. | Tense | Modal Past <i>-kyer-</i>
Direct Past <i>-ki</i> |
| | b. | Mood | Modal Past <i>-kyer-</i>
Conjectural <i>-(a)m-</i>
Subjunctive <i>-(a)masi</i> |

As indicated by the occurrence of the Perfective and the Modal Past in two categories each, these four categories combine to form two subsystems which may be illustrated as follows; the horizontal dimension shows combination, the vertical dimension shows selection (mutual exclusion):



Aspect and Negation together form one subsystem with the Perfective as the pivot: the Perfective (*-te-* ~ *-n-*) forms an aspectual opposition with and never combines with the Stative (*-(ye)r-*); further, the Perfective is opposed to and never combines with the Negative (*-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-*). The morphological Stative does not seem to have combined directly with the Negative auxiliary, but the Stative forms a Negative Conjectural and the periphrastic Stative does combine with the Negative, so it seems that the categories of Stative and Negative are not incompatible like Perfective and Negative.

Tense and Mood form a second subsystem with the Modal Past (*-kyer-*) as the pivot: the Modal Past is opposed to and never combines with the Direct Past (*-ki*); further, the Modal Past is opposed to and never combines with the Conjectural (*-(a)m-*) or the Subjunctive (*-(a)masi*). The Direct Past does, however, combine with the Conjectural *-(a)m-*: *-kyem-*. Combinations of Direct Past *ki* with Subjunctive *-(a)masi* are not attested, but that is probably a matter of attestation.

Aspect/Negation combines freely with Tense/Mood, as in the following examples:

(16)	<i>kiki-te-kye-mu</i>	Perfective	DirPast-Conjectural
	<i>saki-ni-kyeri</i>	Perfective	ModPast
	<i>ap-yeri-ki</i>	Stative	DirPast
	<i>aka-ni-kye-mu</i>	Negative	DirPast-Conjectural
	<i>aka-zu-kyeri</i>	Negative	ModPast

1.4.3.1 Aspect and negation.

Perfective: -n- ~ -te-

The **Perfective** has two variants of which *-n-* belongs to the Na-hen conjugation and *-te-* to S2. They exhibit the following main forms.

	-n-	-te-
Conclusive	<i>nu</i>	<i>tu</i>
Adnominal	<i>nuru</i>	<i>turu</i>
Exclamatory	<i>nure</i>	<i>ture</i>
Imperative	-	<i>teyo</i>
Desiderative	<i>nana</i>	<i>tena</i>
Infinitive	<i>ni-</i>	<i>te-</i>
Gerund	<i>nite</i>	-
Continuative	<i>nitutu</i>	-
Conditional	<i>naba</i>	<i>teba</i>
Provisional	<i>nureba</i>	<i>tureba</i>
Concessive	<i>nuredo</i>	<i>turedo</i>
Nominalized	<i>nuraku</i>	<i>turaku</i>

Functions

The Perfective has two overall functions.

(a) Aspectually, a perfective is a verb form that views a situation in its entirety, including beginning, middle, and end. This whole can be looked at from both ends, as it were, so - as with perfectives in other languages - both *completive* and *ingressive* (inceptive) uses are found, (17). In this function, the Perfective is opposed to the Stative.

(b) The other main function of the Perfective is to *assert or affirm* the situation expressed by the verb. In this function, the Perfective is opposed to the Negative (and to negation in general: the Perfectives do not form a Negative Conjectural). The Perfective often combines with the Conjectural in this function: *-te-mu*, *-na-mu*. It is likely that the assertive function is historically primary (reflecting the etymological relation of the Perfectives to the copulas *to* and *ni*), see below. Note that a Perfective is not formed on Na-hen verbs.

- (17) *nakinu* 'begins to sing', *nakitu* 'begins to sing';
tirinu 'has fallen', *mitu* 'has seen';
mitikinamu '(the tide) will surely rise', *karitena* 'I want to cut (seaweed)!'.
(18) *nubatama no ywo pa akenu rasi* (M 15.3598)
(19) *surigoromo kyeri to ime mitu* (M 11.2621)
(20) *okipyē ywori sipomiti kurasi kara no ura ni asari suru tadu nakite sawakinu* (M 15.3642)
(21) *masura-wo no yuzuwe puri-okose ituru ya wo noti mimu pito pa katari-tugu gane* (M 3.364)
(22) *wa ga puru sode wo imo mitu ramu ka* (M 2.132)
(23) *nara no miyako pa purinuredo* (M 17.3919)
(24) *kyesa no asake kari ga ne kikitū* (M 8.1513)

Distribution of the variants

The distribution of the two Perfective auxiliaries has traditionally been described as being based on the transitivity of the host verb:

- (a) *-te-* is used overwhelmingly with transitive verbs
(b) *-n-* is used mainly with intransitives

There is a fair number of exceptions to this generalisation. Because of perceived inadequacies in the definitions of complementary distribution which have been proposed, some scholars hold that *-te-* and *-n-* already in OJ were distinct morphemes expressing separate grammatical categories. However, there are a number of morphological facts which make it clear that *-te-* and *-n-* do belong closely together:

- (25)
(a) *-te-* and *-n-* are mutually exclusive and occupy the same position in a verb syntagm;
(b) both *-te-* and *-n-* do not cooccur with the Stative and with the Negative;
(c) *-te-* and *-n-* exhibit (mostly) the same inflected forms.

On the other hand, the precise details of the differences in use between *-te-* and *-n-* remain unclear. There are clearly discernable, strong tendencies in their distribution in terms of semantico-syntactic properties of the host verb, particularly when refining this in terms of *split intransitivity* (this idea is due to John Whitman, p.c.):

- (26)
- | | | | |
|-------------|--|---------------|---------------|
| transitives | | intransitives | |
| | | unergatives | unaccusatives |
| <i>-te-</i> | | <i>-te-</i> | <i>-n-</i> |

There are exceptions also to this proposal. (In fact one may question whether OJ really had unergative verbs. It is difficult to think of truly unergative verbs, which are not really transitive.) In particular, there is a small number of lexical verbs which are attested with both suffixes, (27). In addition, the following grammatical verbs are found with both Auxiliaries: light verbs: *se-* 'do' and *ar-* 'exist'; auxiliary verbs: *-mawos-* 'humble', *-ko-* 'come to ...', *-yuk-*

'continuative'. However, in such cases, the choice of perfective auxiliary does not depend on the grammatical verb, but on the lexical verb.

- (27) *ip-* 'say, tell, call', *miye-* 'be visible (to), be seen (by), seem; come.Hon', *nak-* 'give voice, let out a cry, cry (animals), cry (humans, in sadness)', *ne-* 'lie down, sleep/lie with, sleep', *ori-* 'go down, descend; fall (of dew, fog)', *pum-* 'step, stamp; step on, stamp on, trample on; walk', *sinwop-* 'praise, long for'.

Now, it should first of all not be overlooked that there may have been variation between OJ speakers in the use of the perfectives and in the definition of criteria for distribution. More importantly, however, as pointed out by Sorace (2000), auxiliary selection based on split intransitivity is not exclusively a matter of invariable lexical properties of host verbs, but proceeds along a hierarchical scale and includes semantic properties deriving from the clauses/predications in which the Perfective occur. It is single argument (intransitive) verbs which have no or a low lexical specification of *telicity*, *affectedness*, *agentivity*, and *volitionality* which exhibit variation in the choice of Perfective auxiliary. In particular, agentivity and volitionality seem to be relevant for OJ.

Stative: -(ye)r- ~ -te ar- ~ -tar-.

The morphological **Stative** belongs to the Ra-hen conjugation and exhibits the following forms.

	-(ye)r-
Conclusive	(ye)ri-
Adnominal	(ye)ru
Exclamatory	(ye)re
Imperative	(ye)re
Negative Conjectural	(ye)razi
Infinitive	(ye)ri-
Conditional	(ye)raba
Provisional	(ye)reba
Concessive	(ye)redo
Nominalized	(ye)raku

Function

The Stative presents a situation as a state. This includes the result of an action, and the Stative is thus in some respects similar to a perfect. The Japanese Stative has been known by many different names, e.g. resultative, durative, progressive, perfect, or imperfect, but the term 'stative' adopted here captures better the basic meaning. A Stative is not formed on Ra-hen verbs, which are inherently stative; in OJ the two lexical Na-hen verbs, *sin-* and *in-*, did not form a Stative.

Morphological Stative: -(ye)r-

The morphological stative marker has a systematically restricted distribution: This form is regularly formed on Yodan, Sa-hen and Ka-hen verbs, and it is also found of the K1 verb *ki-* 'put on' (*kyer-* 'be wearing, have on'). The morphological Stative is thus not used with the main derived classes, the Nidan verbs. Etymologically, this form results from univerbation of an analytic construction consisting of the Infinitive followed by the existential verb *ar-*, with contraction of the two contiguous vowels: **saki-ar-* 'bloom-be' > *sakyer-* 'be in bloom'. The etymology of the form thus well reflects its function.

Periphrastic Stative: -te ar-, -tar-.

Whereas the morphological Stative is not used with all verb classes, a periphrastic stative construction is available for that purpose, also formed with an existential verb, but following the Gerund of the verb:

(28) *panarete ar-*

This construction is synonymous with the morphological Stative. It is likely that the periphrastic stative construction arose in complementation of *-(ye)r-* to be used with the secondary verb classes as they emerged and later was generalized to occur with all classes. The periphrastic Stative is also formed with other existential verbs: e.g. *imasu, haberi, ...*; it can also be formed on the Continuative: *kwopwitutu ar-*. In the later part of OJ we find contraction of the periphrastic stative:

(29) *nokorite ar- => nokoritar-*

-tar- is a prominent and important auxiliary in MJ and NJ; through EMJ it increased dramatically in frequency at the expense of *-(ye)r-* which it eventually replaced in LMJ. However, although *-tar-* is included in most grammars of OJ, there is little positive basis for positing it as an independent grammatical form: OJ *-tar-* is a simple contraction of *-te ar-*.

- (30) *opomiya no wototu patade sumi katabukyeri* (K 105)
(31) *mitubo nasu kareru mi so to pa sireredomo* (M 20.4470)
(32) *tukapi no kyereba* (17.3957)
(33) *sima no muro no kwi panarete aru ramu* (M 15.3601)
(34) *yworu pa pwi tomosi woru ware wo yami ni ya imo ga kwopwitutu aru ramu* (M 15.3669)
(35) *koyopi no tukuywo kasumitaru ramu* (M 20.4489)
(36) *nokoritaru yuki ni mazireru ume no pana* (M 5.849)
'plum blossoms mixed in with the lingering snow'

Analytic progressive

Activity verbs form an analytic *progressive* with the existential verb *wori* used directly after the Infinitive: *tomosi wori* 'be burning (something), be lighting a fire)'.

Negative: -(a)n- ~ -(a)zu.

The **Negative** auxiliary expresses predicate negation. Other negative expressions are the Negative Conjectural, an inflected verb form, and the Negative Potential, a verb extension. The Negative exhibits the following main forms.

	(a)zu ~ (a)n-
Conclusive	(a)zu ~ (a)nu
Adnominal	(a)nu
Exclamatory	(a)ne
Infinitive	(a)zu ~ (a)ni
Gerund	(a)zute (~-(a)zuni ~ -(a)zusite) ~ (a)nito
Concessive	(a)nedo
Provisional	(a)neba
Conditional	(a)zupa
Nominalized	(a)naku

The paradigm involves two basic variants, *-(a)n-* and *-(a)zu*, some forms exhibiting both: Conclusive *-(a)n-* is not infrequent in OJ, but disappears in EMJ; Infinitive *-(a)ni* and Gerund *-(a)nito* are rare already in OJ (found almost exclusively with *sir-* 'know', *ak-* 'be satisfied', and *-kate-* 'be able to', e.g. *akani* 'not being satisfied', *siranito* 'not knowing', *-kateni* 'not being able to'). The Negative combines directly with the Direct Past and the Modal Past; note that both of the Infinitives may be used to combine with the Past tense auxiliaries: *-(a)ni-ki*, *-(a)zu-ki*, *-(a)zu-kyer-*. These forms were rare and disappeared in EMJ.

The Negative paradigm is morphologically interesting. Its two basic variants belong to different conjugational types: *-(a)n-* conjugates like a yodan verb (with a notable irregular gerund), whereas *-(a)zu* is like some of the forms within the adjectival paradigm which are built on the formant *-ku*; note also the variant Gerund *-(a)zuni* and the extended Gerund *-(a)zusite*. Syntactically, *-(a)zu* is like the existential verb *ar-* in extending the use of the Infinitive to predicative function. Like the adjectival *-ku*, *-(a)zu* may be extended with *ar-*. The Negative only combines with the Conjectural and the Subjunctive in the *ar-* extended form: *-(a)zu aram-*, *-(a)zu aramasi*. In some cases, *(a)zu ar-* was contracted to *-(a)zar-*, thus e.g. *-(a)zaramu* and *-(a)zaramasi*. In the extended forms, negation could occur recursively: *miyezaranaku* <= *miye-zu ara-naku* be.seen-Neg Exist-Neg.Nom.

- (37) *ime ni mo imo ga miyezaranaku ni* (M 15.3735)
'although it is not that my beloved is not visible in my dream'

Negative rhetorical questions:

In a negative rhetorical question, the Negative could occur at the end of a verb syntagm, rather than in its usual position, taking wide sentential scope. Thus there are a few examples with the Modal Past *-kyerazu ya*, e.g. (38), and in this use, the Negative could even combine with the Perfective, in which case it was attached through an extension with *ar-*, (39).

- (38) *kadura ni su beku nari-ni-kyera-zu ya* (M 5.817)
'shouldn't it have been made into a hair-decoration'

- (39) *saku beku nari-nite ara-zu ya* (M 5.829)
bloom Necess.Inf become-Perf.Ger exist-Neg

Reformation of the paradigm of the Negative

Already in OJ *-(a)zu* was in the process of replacing some of the variants in *-(a)n-* within the Negative paradigm, cf. the EMJ paradigm which is regularised (but includes a new Gerund), (c). *-(a)n-* conjugates like a yodan verb (with a notable irregular gerund) and we may therefore hypothetically posit a regular Yodan Conditional and a regular Gerund, marked with '*', see (a). The *-(a)zu* forms involve a formant **su* attached to the the Yodan type Infinitive *-(a)ni*, resembling the forms within the adjectival paradigm built on *-ku*, (b); the **su* is usually identified with the Conclusive *su* of the verb 'to do', but that is doubtful given the syntactic and morphological peculiarities of the **su* involved here.

	(a) OJ Yodan <i>-(a)n-</i>	(b) OJ competing forms	(c) EMJ
Concl.	<i>(a)nu</i>	<i>(a)zu</i> < <i>*(a)ni-su</i>	<i>(a)zu</i>
Adn.	<i>(a)nu</i>		<i>(a)nu</i>
Excl.	<i>(a)ne</i>		<i>(a)ne</i>
Inf.	<i>(a)ni</i>	<i>(a)zu</i> < <i>*(a)ni-su</i>	<i>(a)zu</i>
Ger.	<i>(a)nito</i> (<i>*(a)nite</i>)	<i>(a)zute</i> < <i>*(a)ni-su-te</i>	<i>(a)zute</i> ~ <i>(a)de</i>
Conc.	<i>(a)nedo</i>		<i>(a)nedo</i>
Prov.	<i>(a)neba</i>		<i>(a)neba</i>
Cond.	<i>*(a)naba</i>	<i>(a)zupa</i> < <i>*(a)ni-su-pa</i>	<i>(a)zupa</i>
Nom.	<i>(a)naku</i>		<i>(a)naku</i>

In order to understand the motivation for the reformation of the conjugation of the Negative it is revealing to compare the forms of the Negative of Yodan and S2 and K2 verbs with the corresponding forms of the *-n-* Perfective, see (40). We see that with Yodan verbs, the inflected forms of the Perfective and Negative are distinct throughout. However, with the Nidan verbs some of the inflected forms of the Perfective are synonymous with forms of the *-(a)n-* Negative; those forms are underlined. It is clear that it is precisely those forms which were replaced. Thus, the paradigm of the Negative may be thought to have been reformed in order to avoid homonymy between the forms of the Negative and the Perfective in the Nidan conjugations. Recall that the Negative and the Perfective took part in a paradigmatic opposition: it is not tolerable to have widespread homonymy between the forms of two members of a grammatical opposition. The reformation of the Negative paradigm may therefore in one sense be said to have been motivated by the emergence and lexicalization of the Nidan conjugations. This shows that the Nidan conjugations are secondary and of fairly recent origin in OJ, see below.

(40)

	Yodan <i>sak-</i> 'bloom'		
	<i>Perfective</i> <i>-n-</i>	<i>Negative</i> <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>Negative</i> <i>-(a)zu</i>
Conclusive	<i>sakinu</i>	<i>sakanu</i>	<i>sakazu</i>
Adnominal	<i>sakinuru</i>	<i>sakanu</i>	
Exclamatory	<i>sakinure</i>	<i>sakane</i>	
Infinitive	<i>sakini</i>	<i>sakani</i>	<i>sakazu</i>
Gerund	<i>sakinite</i>	<i>sakanito</i>	<i>sakazute</i>
Concessive	<i>sakinuredo</i>	<i>sakanedo</i>	
Provisional	<i>sakinureba</i>	<i>sakaneba</i>	
Conditional	<i>sakinaba</i>	<i>*sakanaba</i>	<i>sakazupa</i>
Nominalized	<i>sakinuraku</i>	<i>sakanaku</i>	

Shimo Nidan *toke-* 'melt (intr.)'

	Perfective -n-	Negative -(a)n-	Negative -(a)zu
Conclusive	<u>tokenu</u>	<u>tokenu</u>	tokezu
Adnominal	tokenuru	tokenu	
Exclamatory	tokenure	tokene	
Infinitive	<u>tokeni</u>	<u>tokeni</u>	tokezu
Gerund	<u>tokenite</u>	<u>tokenito</u>	tokezute
Concessive	tokenuredo	tokenedo	
Provisional	tokenureba	tokeneba	
Conditional	<u>tokenaba</u>	<u>*tokenaba</u>	tokezupa
Nominalized	tokenuraku	tokenaku	

Kami Nidan okwi- 'arise'

	Perfective -n-	Negative -(a)n-	Negative -(a)zu
Conclusive	<u>okwinu</u>	<u>okwinu</u>	okwizu
Adnominal	okwinuru	okwinu	
Exclamatory	okwinure	okwine	
Infinitive	<u>okwini</u>	<u>okwini</u>	okwizu
Gerund	<u>okwinite</u>	<u>okwinito</u>	okwizute
Concessive	okwinuredo	okwinedo	
Provisional	okwinureba	okwineba	
Conditional	<u>okwinaba</u>	<u>*okwinaba</u>	okwizupa
Nominalized	okwinuraku	okwinaku	

1.4.3.2 Tense and mood

Past tense: Direct Past ki and Modal Past kyer-.

The two past tense auxiliaries exhibit the following inflected forms.

	Direct Past si ~ ki	Modal Past kyer-
Conclusive	si ~ ki	kyeri
Adnominal	si	kyeru
Exclamatory	sika	kyere
Conditional	seba ~ kyeba	-
Provisional	sikaba	kyereba
Concessive	sikado	kyeredo
Nominalized	siku ~ kyeku	kyeraku
Conjectural	kyem-	-

The Direct Past exhibits variation between *s-* and *k-* initial forms in the Conclusive, Conditional, and Nominalized form.

Of the competing forms, *-kyeku* and *kyeba* are very rare; the few examples are limited to the early poetry and there are no examples in M. On the other hand, *siku* and *seba* are frequent and survive into EMJ. In EMJ there is a clear syntactic specialization between *ki* (Conclusive) and *si* (Adnominal), but in OJ *si* is also used conclusively. The Direct Past combines with the Conjectural *-(a)m-*: *-kyem-*, whereas the Modal Past does not; nor does it form a Conditional. This difference highlights the basically modal of the Modal Past.

Functions.

The functional difference between *ki* and *kyer-* is a controversial issue. Some scholars even hold that they express entirely different grammatical categories and should not be contrasted, but that view has not won general acceptance. The two past tenses are indeed in a mutually exclusive relation of opposition. Sometimes the term 'retrospective' is preferred instead of 'past', but an important function of *ki* and *kyer-* is to express deictic past time. Most often the difference between *ki* and *kyer-* is described as being one of directly experienced (*ki*) versus indirectly experienced, or evidential, past (*kyer-*), but it is difficult to agree with this. The problem is often discussed in terms of the meaning of *-kyer-* which is quite complex in usage compared with *-ki*.

The *Direct Past* is a simple preterite which places a situation before the time of speaking, or some other temporal reference point. The Direct Past is usually said to refer to something the speaker has experienced himself, but on the other hand it can also be used in historical accounts.

The *Modal Past* has a variety of uses, most of which include a modal element not shared by the direct past: it is traditionally said to be used about *hearsay*, or about *sudden realization*, and also with some more general *emphatic or exclamatory force*, in which case it frequently has no past reference. Another set of uses, however, has no modal meaning, but resembles rather a *perfect* 'has/had been ...'.

(40) Traditional description

Direct Past *-ki*
direct experience,
historical accounts

Modal Past *-kyer-*
hearsay,
sudden realization,
emphatic or exclamatory force;
perfect

On the basis of this traditional description, the Turkish 'direct experience' (*-DI*) versus 'indirect experience' (*-mI*) past tenses are often cited as a close parallel to the OJ Direct Past versus Modal Past (Shinzato 1991). Although this parallelism is fairly commonly accepted, it is in fact quite general and simply consists in an opposition between a modal past tense and a simple past tense. In particular, there is little to support the claim that the OJ Modal Past has much to do with 'indirect experience'. It is difficult to find solid examples of the Modal Past used about hearsay in OJ where the reporting does not reside in the lexical verb.

A number of instantiations of *'-kyer-'* on inspection turn out to be the Stative form of the auxiliary verb *-ko-* 'come to be ...', as in the following example. The framing construction, with a verb in the Nominalized form before a quotation followed by the same or an equivalent verb after the quotation, shows this clearly. These are the cases where *'kyer-'* resembles a perfect.

(41) kamwiyo ywori ipitute-**kuraku**
god.age Abl say-transmit-come.Nom

soramitu yamato no kuni pa
soaring Yamato Gen land Foc

sumyekamwi no itukusiki kuni

ruling.deity Gen august land
kotodama no *sakipapu* kuni to
word.spirit Gen bless.Adn land Complementizer

kataritugi ipitugapi-kyeri
tell-continue.Inf say-continue-come.Stative.Concl

'It has been recounted down through time since the age of the gods: that this land of Yamato is a land of imperial deities' stern majesty, a land blessed by the spirit of words' (Levy 1981) (M 5.894)

The element common to the various uses of the Modal Past proper is best understood as non-specific '*speaker subjectivity*', imparting a sense of 'I tell you'. The distinction is thus one between Indicative Direct Past *-ki* and Subjective Modal Past. This is most explicitly proposed by Sandness (1999:41ff), based mostly on evidence from EMJ texts, but with no evidence regarding OJ. Examples such as (42) and (43) illustrate this meaning well. It seems clear enough that they have little to do with indirect experience.

- (42) *wegusi ni ware wepi-ni-kyeri* (K 49)
smiling.sake Dat I get.drunk-Perf-ModPast.Concl
'I became / have become drunk on the sake of smiles!'
- (43) *miyabwiwo ni ware pa ari-kyeri*
elegantier Cop.Inf I Top Exist-ModPast.Concl
'what an elegantier I am!' (M 2.127)

The difference between the two past tenses is perhaps most clearly brought out by a hitherto unnoticed, or at best unappreciated, striking difference in their use (distribution) in the OJ *prose texts*.

(44)	<i>Norito</i> (Liturgies) addresser impersonal to the spirits	<i>Senmyô</i> (Imperial Edicts) addresser personal from an emperor/emperor
	<i>-ki</i> +	+
	<i>-kyer-</i> -	+

It is highly significant that the Modal Past does not occur in the *Norito* at all, while it is used in the *Senmyô*. In narrative terms, the main difference between these two sets of texts is one of *address*: *Norito* are addresser impersonal, first of all being addresses *to* the deities; *Senmyô* on the other hand are addresser personal, being addresses *from* an emperor or empress. There is thus little scope for speaker subjectivity in the *Norito*. In the *Senmyô*, on the other hand, a clear pattern of usage may be observed which utilizes the possibility of a differentiation: the Modal Past is used in direct or indirect speech with some element of subjectivity, e.g (45)-(46). Conversely, the Direct Past is used in frame descriptions, almost entirely about divine or imperial past action (and with an honorific verb form), e.g (47).

- (45) *Sikaredomo, ima pa akiraka ni Nakamaro ga itupari*
However now Top clear Cop.Inf Nakamaro Gen plan
ni arikyeri to sirite ...
Cop.Inf Exist-ModPast.Concl Comp know.Ger
'However, knowing clearly now that it was Nakamoro's plot' (S 28)

- (46) Sikaredomo, sumyera *to* imasite ame no
 However emperor Cop.Inf Exist.Hon.Ger heaven Gen

sita no maturigoto *wo* kikosimyesu koto *pa*
 bottom Gen ruling Acc perform-Hon.Adn thing Top

itapasiki ikasiki koto *ni* arikyeri
 laborious.Adn hard.Adn thing Cop.Inf Exist-ModPast.Concl

'However, ruling the land as emperor has been laborious and hard.' (S 23)

- (47) Takama no para *yu* amorimasisi sumyera
 high.heaven Gen plain Abl descend-Hon-DirPast.Adn emperor
 'an emperor who descended from the high heavens' (S 2)

The Senmyô are recited texts with several embedded layers of narration and they might thus be said to be all direct speech, but the point is that the Direct Past is used in what is *presented as* frame description, or *asserted* to be part of common knowledge, i.e. shared and generally accepted truth, whereas the Modal Past expresses addresser involvement and subjectivity.

Conjectural and Subjunctive

The **Conjectural** belongs to the Yodan conjugation. The **Subjunctive** has its own conjugation, the few forms of which are like the Direct Past.

	-(a)m-	(a)masi
Conclusive	(a)mu	(a)masi
Adnominal	(a)mu	(a)masi
Exclamatory	(a)me	-
Conditional	-	(a)maseba
Concessive	(a)medo	-
Nominalized	(a)maku	-

The **Conjectural** is the least specific of the modal auxiliaries and is very frequent in the OJ texts. Its uses fall in two overall categories:

- (a) *conjecture*: probability and necessity
- (b) *volition*: intention and wish

Like modals in many languages, the Conjectural can also be used to refer to deictic future time with little or no modal nuance; the Conjectural is therefore sometimes termed a future tense. Followed by the conjunctive particles *to* or *ni* it is used to form purposive adjunct and complement clauses 'that, so that'. Note that the combination of the Direct Past and the Conjectural, **-kyem-**, only has conjectural meanings: 'was probably; probably did'.

The **Subjunctive** expresses a counterfactual proposition, most often contingent on a counterfactual condition in the frame *X-(subjunctive.)conditional*, *Y-subjunctive* 'if it were the case that X, then it would be the case that Y'.

1.5 Verb extensions.

Verb extensions follow a finite verb form to form an extended verb syntagm. They are all *modal* in meaning: **be-** Necessitive, **masizi** Negative Potential, **ram-** Present Conjectural, **rasi** Presumptive, **nar-** Evidential, **nar-** Assertive.

	Yodan	S2	Ra-hen	K1
Pres. Conject.	<i>kaku ram-</i>	<i>aku ram-</i>	<i>aru ram-</i>	<i>mi ram-</i>
Presumptive	<i>kaku rasi</i>	<i>aku rasi</i>	<i>aru rasi ~ arasi</i>	<i>mi rasi</i>
Necessitive	<i>kaku be-</i>	<i>aku be-</i>	<i>aru be-</i>	<i>mi be-</i>
Neg. Potential	<i>kaku masizi</i>	<i>aku masizi</i>	-	-
Evidential	<i>kaku nar-</i>	<i>aku nar-</i>	<i>ari nar-</i>	<i>miru nar-</i>
Assertive	<i>kaku nar-</i>	<i>akuru nar-</i>	<i>aru nar-</i>	<i>miru nar-</i>

Be-, *rasi-*, *ram-*, *masizi-*, *nar-* (Evidential) follow the Conclusive form of verbs from all other conjugation classes than Ra-hen and K1 (*masizi* is, however, not attested with K1 or Ra-hen verbs); note that when *rasi* is used with a Ra-hen verb, a reduction often takes place: *aru-rasi* => *arasi*, *-kyeru-rasi* => *-kyerasi*. *Nar-* Evidential follows that Conclusive of all verb classes (but from EMJ the Adnominal of Ra-hen). *Nar-* (Assertive) follows the Adnominal. The verb extensions exhibit the inflected forms in (48). *Rasi-* and *masizi-* belong to the adjectival Shiku (Jiku) conjugation; *be-* belongs to the adjectival Ku conjugation. *Ram-* belongs to Yodan. Both *nar-* follow the Ra-hen conjugation.

(48)

	be-	masizi-	rasi-
Conclusive	<i>besi</i>	<i>masizi</i>	<i>rasi</i>
Adnominal	<i>beki</i>	<i>masiziki</i>	<i>rasiki</i>
Infinitive-1	<i>beku</i>	-	-
Infinitive-2	<i>bemi</i>	<i>masizimi</i>	-
	ram-	nar-	
Conclusive	<i>ramu</i>	<i>nari</i>	
Adnominal	<i>ramu</i>	<i>naru</i>	
Exclamatory	<i>rame</i>	<i>nare</i>	

Necessitive *be-*: expresses necessity, obligation and strong probability. This is the morphologically most versatile verb extension, mainly due to its Infinitive which forms the basis for extensions with *ar-*. **Negative potential *masizi-***: most commonly found with verb forms involving some expression of ability, giving the meaning 'probably/surely cannot'. *Masizi-* is rare and restricted in use already in OJ; it is not found in EMJ, but is thought to correspond to (to have become) EMJ *mazi*. **Present Conjectural *ram-***: 'apparently, seemingly, probably'; usually relates to the present. **Presumptive *rasi-***: 'presumably'. The Adnominal is very rare (1 example in Man'yooshuu); instead the Conclusive was used in noun modifying function. **Assertive *nar-***: 'indeed'. This is a function of the copula; it is consequently often, as opposed to the Evidential, split up into *ni* and *ar-* with or without intervening matter. **Evidential *nar-***: two main functions: (a) 'it sounds as if somebody does, one can hear somebody do'; (b) 'it is said/reported that somebody does'. (a) was somewhat more frequent than (b) in OJ. The evidential *nar-* may be thought to be a lexicalized contraction from *na* 'sound' + *ar-* 'exist'. It is fully lexicalized and never split up like *ni-ar-*.

2. Adjectives.

Although probably already in OJ a verbal part of speech, adjectives originally derive from nominal roots. Thus the adjective base was used with a fair amount of independence. The bare base could be used exclamatorily, usually reinforced by an interjection, (49), or an interjectional particle, (50).

- (49) *ana omosirwo* (Kogoshûi) 'how wonderful!'
(50) *oso ya*, kono kimi (M 9.1741) 'he is stupid, this man!'

The base was also used attributively and adverbially (a) by *compounding*, (51), (54). (b) By *juxtaposition*, (52), (55); used adverbially, the base could be followed by *mo*. (c) With a form of a *copula*, Infinitive *ni* in (56), adnominal *no*, *tu* in (53); there are no examples of the base of a Shiku adjective adnominalized with *tu*. (52) also exemplify the adjective base forming a nexus with a preceding noun, either as a compound *pa-biro* 'wide-leaved', or as a phrase *yo no topo* 'of old age'. In such cases, the resulting structure was used to modify a following noun.

Attributive

- (51) *yasu-i* 'good, sound sleep' ('safe, sound' - 'sleep')
pasi-duma 'dear, beloved wife' ('dear, beautiful' - 'wife')
(52) *yo no topo pito* (NS 62) 'person of old age'
mi ga posi kuni (K 58) 'the country which I long to see'
pa-biro kumakasi (K 91) 'wide-leaved great oak'
(53) *topo no kuni* (M 15.3688) 'distant country'
ikasi no miyo (EN 27) 'abundant reign'
topo tu pito (M 17.3947) 'distant person'

Adverbial

- (54) *tika-duku* 'approach' ('close, near' - 'touch, stick to') (M 17.3999)
 (55) *paya ko* 'come quickly!' (M 15.3636)
paya mo konu kamo (M 3645) 'won't she / I wish she would come quickly'
 (56) *ko ni kaki* (K 42) 'paint thickly'
iya topo ni kuni wo ki-panare (M 20.4398)
 'get further and further away from the homeland'

2.1 Inflectional forms; adjectival auxiliary.

Adjectives were, however, usually predicated, adnominalized, or adverbialized by means of a verbal auxiliary, attached to the base of adjectives and inflecting for many, but not all of the categories of the verbal inflection, see Table. There are two classes of adjective. Adjectives with base final *-si* have a zero allomorph of the Conclusive formant *-si*, i.e. *kwopwisi* and not **kwopwisisi*. Traditionally the two classes are termed 'Ku-adjectives' and 'Shiku-adjectives' in reference to the Infinitive (although the *si* of the Shiku-adjectives is part of the base and the ending in both cases is *-ku*). Shiku-adjectives involve an adjective formant *-si*, see below. A small subclass of Shiku adjectives had bases in *-zi* rather than *-si*, see below.

		Ku	Shiku
Base		<i>topo</i>	<i>kwopwisi</i>
Finite			
Conclusive	<i>-si</i>	<i>toposi</i>	<i>kwopwisi</i>
Adnominal	<i>-ki</i>	<i>topoki</i>	<i>kwopwisiki</i>
Exclamatory-1	<i>-sa</i>	<i>toposa</i>	<i>kwopwisisa</i>
Exclamatory-2	<i>-kyere</i>	<i>topokyere</i>	<i>kwopwisikyere</i>
Nonfinite			
Infinitive-1	<i>-ku</i>	<i>topoku</i>	<i>kwopwisiku</i>
Infinitive-2	<i>-mi</i>	<i>topomi</i>	<i>kwopwisimi</i>
Gerund-1	<i>-kute</i>	<i>topokute</i>	<i>kwopwisikute</i>
Gerund-2	<i>-mito</i>	<i>topomito</i>	<i>kwopwisimito</i>
Conditional-1	<i>-kyeba</i>	<i>topokyeba</i>	<i>kwopwisikyeba</i>
Conditional-2	<i>-kupa</i>	<i>topokupa</i>	<i>kwopwisikupa</i>
Provisional-1	<i>-kyeba</i>	<i>topokyeba</i>	<i>kwopwisikyeba</i>
Provisional-2	<i>-kyereba</i>	<i>topokyereba</i>	<i>kwopwisikyereba</i>
Concessive-1	<i>-kyedo</i>	<i>topokyedo</i>	<i>kwopwisikyedo</i>
Concessive-2	<i>-kyeredo</i>	<i>topokyeredo</i>	<i>kwopwisikyeredo</i>
Nominalized	<i>-kyeku</i>	<i>topokyeku</i>	<i>kwopwisikyeku</i>
Negative nominalized	<i>-kyenaku</i>	<i>topokyenaku</i>	<i>kwopwisikyenaku</i>
Conjectural	<i>-kyem-</i>	<i>topokyem-</i>	<i>kwopwisikyem-</i>

Table. Inflectional adjective forms in OJ.

In OJ the syntactic specialization between *-si* and *-ki* which is seen from EMJ was not yet firmly established (see **below**), but in addition almost all of the forms exhibit variation between two competing forms, reflecting that one set of forms, the innovative forms in column (b), was replacing another, those in (a); compare with the EMJ forms in column (c).

	(a)	(b) OJ innovative	(c) EMJ
Conclusive	-si		-si
Adnominal	-ki		-ki
Exclamatory	-sa	~ -kyere	-kere
Infinitive	-mi	~ -ku	-ku
Gerund	-mito	~ -kute	-kute
Conditional	-kyeba	~ -kupa	-kupa
Provisional	-kyeba	~ -kyereba	-kereba
Concessive	-kyedo	~ -kyeredo	-keredo
Nominalized	-kyeku		-
Neg. Nom.	-kyenaku	(~ -ku arazu)	[-k(u)arazu]
Conjectural	-kyem-	~ -ku aram-	[-k(u)aram-]

2.2 Core forms.

The following forms were used widely and may be said to constitute the core forms of the adjectival auxiliary.

Conclusive	-si	toposi	kwopwisi
Adnominal	-ki	topoki	kwopwisiki
Exclamatory	-sa	toposa	kwopwisisa
Infinitive-1	-ku	topoku	kwopwisiku
Infinitive-2	-mi	topomi	kwopwisimi
Nominalized	-kyeku	topokyeku	kwopwisikyeku

The remaining forms were not frequent: *-kyere*, is attested once, but in EMJ this form came to be used a great deal, mainly in correlation with the focus particle *koso*. *-kute* was very rare in OJ (only about a dozen wholly or partly phonographically attested examples in M), but common in EMJ. The Conditional, Provisional, and Concessive forms are infrequent in the texts, but the innovative set became widely used in EMJ. There are about a dozen attestations altogether of *-kyeba* and *-kyereba*; there is a single example of *-kyeredo* and a handful of *-kyedo*.

The adjectival auxiliary was not generally used directly with other auxiliaries. The only exception was the Conjectural, *-(a)m-*: *-kyem-*. There are approximately twenty or so attestations in M, comprising different inflected forms of *-(a)m-*, (Conclusive, Adnominal *-kyem-*, Exclamatory *-kyeme*, Nominalized *-kyemaku*). In addition, there are a few examples of the Nominalized form of the Negative *-(a)naku*: *-kyenaku*, indicating that the adjectival auxiliary earlier was used more freely with Negative *-(a)n-*: **-kyen-*. These forms disappeared altogether in the transition to EMJ (and instead came to be formed analytically on *ar-* extensions on the Infinitive-1: *-ku ara-mu* and *-ku ara-zu*, see below).

Conclusive and Adnominal.

The Conclusive and Adnominal are generally associated with those two functions, (57)-(58). Like the verbal Adnominal, the adjectival Adnominal could function as a nominalized form, (63). However, the syntactic specialisation between adjectival Conclusive and Adnominal was not complete by OJ and there was some overlap in usage. There are many examples of

the Conclusive of a Shiku adjective modifying a noun. However, the traditional interpretation (since Yamada (1913:119f)) of such examples is as a compound of adjective base and noun (see Kawabata (1976) for a radically different interpretation involving the focus particle *si*). As the base of a Shiku adjective is identical with its Conclusive, unambiguous examples of a Conclusive rather than a base have to be with Ku adjectives whose base is different from the Conclusive. There is a small number of examples of the Conclusive of Ku adjectives used to modify nouns, e.g. *arasi wo* 'tough man' (*ara-* 'wild, violent, tough') or fully lexicalized *yosi-nwo* 'good moor; Yoshino (place name)' (*yo-* 'good'). (60) is an illustrative pair of examples with *kagurwo-* 'black (of hair)' (< *ka* '?hair' *kurwo-* 'black'). Examples such as these demonstrate that what can unambiguously be identified as a Conclusive distinct from the base of an adjective could be used to modify a noun. On the other hand, it is clear that such examples are rare in the OJ texts. Conversely, the Adnominal may be used predicatively, both correlating with a focus particle as in later stages of the language, (62) (note that *koso* correlates with the Adnominal of adjectives, not the Exclamatory), but also with no focus particle (61).

- (57) *a ga mune itasi* (M 15.3767) 'my heart aches'
- (58) *kurwoki mikiyesi* (K 4) 'black clothes'
yuku kapa no kiywoki se-goto ni (M 17.4011)
 'in each clear rapid of the flowing river'
- (59) *topo-topo-si kosi-no-kuni* (K 2)
 'the far far away land of Koshi'
- (60) *kagurwoki kami* (M 5.804)
kagurwosi kami (M 16.3791)
 'black hair'
- (61) *wa ga koromode no puru toki mo naki* (M 10.1994)
 'there is no (not enough) time for my sleeves to dry'
opomiya wo tukapematureba taputwoku uresiki (M 19.4273)
 'building a temple and serving there fills one with awesome and joyful'
- (62) *aki to ipeba kokoro so itaki* (M 20.4307)
 'when talk is about the autumn, my heart aches'
nwo wo piromi kusa koso sigeki (M 17.4011)
 'with the moor being wide, the grass is abundant indeed'
- (63) *tanwosiki wopeme* (M 5.815)
 'I want to make the most of (lit.: exhaust, end, finish) the pleasure (of it); I want to enjoy it fully'

Nominalized.

The use of the Nominalized form does not differ much from the use of the verbal Nominalized form. Like it, it was an important and frequent form in OJ, but disappeared in the transition to EMJ.

- (64) *yo no naka no ukyeku turakyeku* (M 5.897)
 'the sadness and hardness of this world'
- (65) *kwopwisikyeku ke nagaki mono wo* (M 17.3957)

Exclamatory.

The form in *-sa* which in later stages of the language functioned as a nominalized form was in OJ a predicative, exclamatory form, usually occurring in the frame: *N ga/no A-sa*; if N was a nominalized verb or adjective form, *ga* was usually used. As opposed to the verbal Exclamatory and the rare, innovative Exclamatory-2, the form in *-sa* could only be used independently and not as a stem for extension.

- (66) *wakayu turu imwora wo mi ramu pito no tomosisa* (M5.863)
 '(how) enviable are those who will see the girls fishing young trout!'
- (67) *ware yuwe ni omopiwabu ramu imo ga kanasisa* (M 15.3727)
 '(how) dear is my beloved who will be worrying for my sake!'
- (68) *kogu punabito wo miru ga tomosisa* (M 15.3658)

- (69) '(how) enviable it is to see the rowing boatsman!'
*apu beki yosi no naki ga **sabusisa*** (M 15.3734)
 '(how) lonely it is that there is no means of meeting her'

The Infinitives.

Infinitive-1.

The Infinitive has two main functions: (a) adverbial, modifying a verbal, (70) - (72); (b) nonfinite (73) - (75). In (74), *taputwoku* is the predicate of a nonfinal coordinate clause, whereas *kanasiku* is the first half of a complex predicate. In (75), *tadasiku* is the first half of a complex attribute. The Infinitive is one of the most important of the OJ adjective forms. It is also found in the modern standard language with largely unchanged functions; in the central dialect, however, the form underwent phonological changes in EMJ.

- (70) *minatwokaze **samuku** puku rasi* (17.4018)
 'the wind from the rivermouth seems to blow coldly'
 (71) *topo no kuni ni imada mo tukazu yamato wo mo **topoku** sakarite* (M 15.3688)
 'not yet having reached that distant land and also far separated from Yamato'
 (72) *kimi ga yuki ke **nagaku** narinu* (2.85, 5.867, K 88)
 'many days have passed since you, my lord, left'
 (73) *yamakapa wo naka ni penarite **topoku tomo** kokoro wo **tikaku** omopose wagimo* (15.3764)
 'even if we are far apart, with mountains and rivers between us, think our hearts close to one another, my love'
 (74) *titi-papa wo mireba **taputwoku** mye-kwo mireba **kanasiku** megusi* (18.4106)
 'when one sees one's mother and father, they are awesome; when one sees one's wife and child(ren), they are dear and lovely'
 (75) ***tadasiku** kiywoki kokoro wo motite* (S 29)
 'with a true and pure heart'

Rather than using a predicative form, adjectives may be predicated by means of the existential verb *ar-* following the Infinitive. This periphrastic construction allowed the formation of a number of inflectional forms which would not be formed directly on the primary conjugation of the adjectives (compare the Table with the full range of auxiliaries used with verbs); it also later gave rise to a secondary adjective conjugation, see below.

- (76) *kimi ga yosopi si taputwoku **arikyeri*** (K 7, NS 6)
 'your attire is admirable!'

The Infinitive is also used as the base upon which were built a number of forms: the gerund (*takaku-te*) and an extended gerund (*takaku-site*, usually thought to involve the gerund of *se-* 'do').

The Infinitive also formed the basis for the formation of the innovative Conditional (*takaku-pa*) and it combined with the concessive conjunctive particle (*topoku-tomo*, cf. (73)).

Note that particles such as *pa* followed a finite form of verbs; this is also the case with the concessive particle *tomo* which followed the Conclusive of verbs. Also the evidential final particle *miyu* which followed the Conclusive of verbs, is said to have followed the Infinitive of adjectives, but the few examples of this rely on reading tradition and are not phonographically attested.

Finally, there are a very few examples of a nominal use of the Infinitive, e.g. *tokiziku* adnominalised with *no*: *tokiziku no* 'perennial'; and adverbialised with *ni*: *tokiziku ni* 'perennially'.⁵

Infinitive-2.

The '-mi form' is not usually termed Infinitive. While it is functionally more limited than the verbal Infinitive, those functions which it has are similar to those exhibited by the verbal Infinitive or Gerund. Functionally it often corresponds to the Infinitive-1 in *-ku*. In later stages of the language, *-mi* came to be used as an abstract nominalizer, but this was very rare in OJ, a singular example being *sigemi* 'thicket' (*sige-* 'dense, thickly growing'). In OJ, Infinitive-2 was a subordinate, predicative form, that is, an adverbial, nonfinite form. Its main use was in free adverbial clauses, usually of the form *N (wo) A-mi*. It is often interpreted to mean 'as, because', but the basic meaning is simply 'being'.

- (77) *yama wo taka-mi* (M 1.44)
yama taka-mi (M 324)
yama-daka-mi (K 78)
 'the mountain being high; as, because the mountain is high'

- (78) *opokimi no kokoro wo yurami omi no kwo no yapye no sibakaki iritatazu ari* (K 107)
 'the heart of the great lord being slack, he does not enter the manyfold twig fence of the young Omi'

Infinitive-2 was also used as a complement, i.e. as the predicate in governed adverbial clauses. This use is frequent in Senmyô (and in *kanbun kundoku*), but is found also in the poetry. Used with *omop-* (or a synonym) this means 'find, deem N to be A'. Used with *se-* the meaning is 'treat N as A; find N A'. This pattern was grammaticalized and has over time yielded a number of lexicalizations which survive into the modern language, e.g. *omonzuru/omonziru* 'value, give weight to' (< *omo-mi su*; *omo-* 'heavy'), *karonzuru/karonziru* (< *karo-mi su*; *karo-* 'light') 'make light of'.

- (79) *nesiku wo ... urupasi-mi omopu* (K 46)
 'I think it wonderful that she slept (with me)'
 (80) *ima no masaka mo urupasi-mi sure* (M 18.4088)
 'I find also this very moment lovely'

-mi, -(a)ni, pori.

The formant *-mi* is usually regarded as the Infinitive of a Yodan-type verbal derivational morpheme which is not found outside of that form. Support for this may be had from singular examples such as *kasiko-mi-te* (NS 102) 'reverently, with reverence' (*kasiko-* 'be awe-inspired') which has *-mi* with the verbal gerund formant *-te*, or *yorokobwi yorosimi* 'rejoicing and being glad' (N 26) where the adjectival Infinitive *yorosi-mi* seems to be parallel with the verb Infinitive *yorokobwi*. It should be noted, however, that *-mi* also occurs in morpho-syntactic contexts which are unusual for a verbal infinitive. Interestingly, the morpho-syntax of *-mi* is to a large extent shared by desiderative *pori-*, the Infinitive of a defective verb *por-* 'wish, want, love', and negative *-ani*, the Infinitive of the Negative auxiliary *-(a)n-*. *Pori-* is found mainly in a few fixed expressions. It takes a nominal complement, either a noun (usually *me* 'eye' in the set phrase *N ga me wo pori* 'I want to see N') or a verb in the Nominalized form (usually *V-maku (wo) pori*, i.e. the Nominalized of the Conjectural *-(a)m-* 'I want to V'). Like the Gerund, *-(a)ni* and *pori* may be used as free adverbials and to complement *omopu*.

⁵ The form *tokiziki no* is also found (M 18.4111), but often thought to be a scribal error for *tokiziku no* (see comments in NKBT; also Zdb s.v.)

- (81) *mimaku pori nisi no mimaya no two ni tateramasi* (M 15.3776)
'wishing to see my beloved I would be standing outside the western stables (Umaryô)'
(82) *wa ga kokoda sinwopaku sirani pototogisu idupye no yama wo naki ka kwoyu ramu* (M 19.4195)
'over which mountain will the cuckoo fly crying, unaware that I long so much'
(83) *mimaku pori omopu* (M 17.3957)
'I am thinking that I want to meet/see you'
(84) *inabinwo mo yuki-sugwi-kate-ni omopyereba* (M 3.253)
'as I was thinking that it is not possible to leave Inabino'

-Mi, pori, and *-(a)ni* may be further adverbialized with *to*, i.e. they form a slightly irregular Gerund in *-to* instead of *-te*.

- (85) *tukapi no kyereba uresi-mi-to* (M 17.3957)
'(being) happy because a messenger had come'
(86) *kurapasi-yama wo sagasi-mi-to* (K 69)
'Mt. Kurahashi being steep'
(87) *naku kowe wo kikamaku pori-to* (M 19.4209)
'wanting to hear the singing voice of the cuckoo'
(88) *aka-ni-to* be.satisfied-NEG-TO (M 17.3991)
'without being satisfied'

-Mi and *pori* are generally not used in other inflected forms. In addition to *kasiko-mi-te* mentioned above, the exceptions, which are very few, include singular instances of Adnominal *poru* (*a ga poru tama* (NS 92) 'the pearl that I want/love') and *pori* with the Adnominal Direct Past (*wa ga pori-si ame pa puri-ki-nu* (M 18.4124) 'the rain I wished/longed for has started to fall'). *Pori* was in other forms predicated by means of *se-*. Also *-(a)ni* could be extended with *se-*, but usually inflected itself (see **negative**). Cf. above about *A-mi-se-*, but note that *se-* with *pori* and *-(a)ni* was a simple predicator with no other meaning or function.⁶ It is noteworthy that the construction in all three cases resulted in univerbation and phonological reduction (see above about *-(a)ni-su* > *-(a)zu* already in OJ; *pori-se-* gave EMJ *poQse-*, but cf. also the coradical Shiku adjective OJ *posi* 'be desirous of' which may have been univerbated from *pori-si*).

- (89) *ono ga inoti wo nagaku pori sure* (M 12.2868)
'I wish for my life to be long'
(90) *kimi pa miredo akani semu* (M 17.3902)
'although you look at it, my lord, you will not be content'

Finally, the *-mi* and *pori* are used with the particle *kamo* (otherwise used with the Adnominal of verbs), expressing doubt or exclamation (*-(a)n-*, however, uses the Adnominal with *kamo*, cf. (55).

- (91) *pototogisu naku oto parukesi satwodopomi kamo* (M 17.3988)
'the sound of the cuckoo crying is distant, maybe because the village is far away'
(92) *kokoro so itaki ... mimaku pori kamo* (M 20.4307)
'my heart aches, maybe because I want to see you'

2.3 Ku versus Shiku adjectives.

There are a number of points concerning the Shiku adjectives, especially their origin, which remain controversial. Preliminarily, it is important to note that Shiku and Ku adjectives

⁶ The only example with *pori* written phonographically before *su* is in M 14.3383, but cf. the use in EMJ etc.

cannot be formally distinguished on the basis of the Conclusive; it is only in other forms that the base final *si* of the Shiku conjugation surfaces unambiguously, allowing a definite identification of conjugational class (cf. Conclusive *yosi* 'good' and *asi* 'bad', but Adnominal *yoki* and *asiki*). Unger and Tomita (1983) point out that on the criterion of phonographic attestation of a form other than the Conclusive/base the conjugational class of approximately one third of all OJ adjectives cannot formally be determined; that is to say, approximately one third of OJ adjectives are only attested phonographically in a form ending in *si*. For purposes of discerning original or basic properties of Shiku adjectives, the conjugational class in EMJ or later should not be projected back into OJ and any discussion should therefore be limited to those adjectives whose conjugational class has been unambiguously determined. Two tendencies in the semantic and morphological properties of the members of each class are notable:

Semantic specialisation.

Semantically, most Shiku adjectives are 'psych' adjectives, referring to subjective emotional states, whereas the Ku adjectives typically express more objective qualities. This was originally observed by Yamamoto (1955). On his calculations there are approximately 20 percent exceptions to this tendency in OJ (12% for Ku, 26% for Shiku) and more exceptions in later stages. The table below gives for each class a larger group conforming to the tendency and a smaller group of exceptions.

Morphological derivation.

Morphologically, the Shiku adjectives may generally be thought to involve a formant *-si* (or possibly *-Vsi*). It should be noted, however, that in not a few cases it is not possible to isolate a base for the derivation which may be identified with an otherwise known morpheme. It is thus possible that some Shiku adjectives have simple bases which happen to end in *si*; for example, *asi*- 'bad' or *wosi*- 'dear' could well be simple bases. On the other hand, there are no Ku adjectives with base final */-i/*, and it remains likely that all adjective bases ending in */si/* are in fact derived.

It has been noted that a large group of Shiku adjectives are transparent deverbal derivatives (Yamazaki (1992)); this is shown in (c) which also gives the verbs that Yamazaki posits as derivational base for such adjectives. This relation is quite different from that holding between some Ku adjectives and coradical verbs, e.g. *aka*- 'bright, red', *ake*- (S2) 'become bright', *akas*- (4) 'make bright'; *ara*- 'rough', *are*- (S2) 'rage; get ruined', *aras*- (4) 'damage, ruin', where the verbs and the adjective originate in a common (nominal) root. It is on the other hand clear that not all Shiku adjectives are deverbal.

There is no consensus about the origin or morphological status or function of the formant *-si*. Some scholars (including Yamamoto (1955), Yamazaki (1992)) believe that it reflects a derivational formant *-si* (or *-Vsi*) etymologically different from the Conclusive formant *-si*; varying degrees of functional specificity are posited (adjective formant, psych adjective formant, deverbal psych adjective formant). The other main point of view, represented by e.g. Mabuchi (1968) or Kawabata (1976) is that *-si* is etymologically identical with the Conclusive formant of the Ku adjectives and that this *-si* in the course of the formation of the adjective inflection was resegmented as a part of some adjectives (Shiku), but not of others (Ku). On that view the semantic specialisation between Ku and Shiku adjectives and the function of *-si* as a derivational formant are secondary and would be a result of a further reanalysis of the Shiku adjectives as consisting of a base and a derivational suffix.

Regardless of its etymology, it seems that the synchronic function of OJ *-si* was simply to derive adjectives from other parts of speech, without any semantic specification. It may be viewed as having arisen in the course of the establishment of adjectives as an independent part of speech.

Identifying *-(V)si* as the carrier of the psychological meaning of the Shiku adjectives is problematic. First, there is the not insignificant number of exceptions (26%). Second, the psychological meaning may in many cases be seen to reside in the lexical semantics of the verbal base. Third, there may well have been a tendency for adjectives derived by means of *-si* to specialise semantically without that being a feature of the meaning of *-si*: adnominalising or adverbialising verbs or nouns was morphologically unproblematical and a derived adjective would therefore only be derived if some special aspect of or perspective on the semantics of the base was required.

Reduplication.

A final point about Shiku adjectives: traditionally, reduplicated adjectives are said to belong to Shiku, cf. *tagitagisi-* (**tagi-* '?') and perhaps *yuyusi-* (**yu-* '?'); this is certainly the case from EMJ onwards. While this was in all likelihood also the case in OJ, it should be noted that OJ reduplicated adjectives with identifiable bases only are attested in the Conclusive, making it impossible to determine whether they really are Shiku adjectives, e.g. *naganagasi* 'very long' (*naga-* 'long'; EMJ *naganagasi-*), *topotoposi* 'very far, far far away' (*topo-* 'distant'; EMJ *topodoposi-*), *wowosi* 'gallant' (*wo* 'male'; EMJ *wowosi-*).

Ku adjectives

- (a) *aka-* 'bright, red', *ara-* 'rough', *asa-* 'shallow', *kata-* 'hard, firm', *kurwo-* 'black', *mane-* 'frequent', *na-* 'non-existent, no', *naga-* 'long', *nuru-* 'tepid', *opo-* 'many', *paya-* 'fast', *puru-* 'old', *putwo-* 'thick, sturdy', *sirwo-* 'white', *siru-* 'obvious, as may be expected', *tika-* 'near', *topo-* 'distant', *usu-* 'thin, weak', *waka-* 'young', *yasu-* 'peaceful, easy', *yo-* 'good'.
- (b) *ita-* 'painful', *niku-* 'disagreeable', *kasikwo-* 'fearsome, awesome', *tayu-* 'exhausted', *u-* 'sad'.

Shiku adjectives

- (c) *asi-* 'bad, evil'; *atarasi-* 'precious, regrettable, dear' (*atar-* 'touch'); *kanasi-* 'dear, sad' (*kane-* 'be unable to'); *kyesi-* 'strange, unusual'; *kwopwisi-/kwoposi-* 'dear, beloved' (*kwopwi-* 'love'); *kokidasi-* 'grave, serious'; *kuyasi-* 'regrettable, vexing' (*ku(y)i-* 'regret'); *natukasi-* 'dear, yearned for' (*natuk-* 'become familiar with, be fond of'); *opoposi-* 'dim, gloomy'; *pasi-* 'beloved'; *posi-* 'desirable' (cf. *por-* 'want', see above); *sabusi-/sabisi-* 'sad, lonely' (*sabwi-* 'get desolate'); *tagitagisi-* 'uneven'; *tomosi-* 'sparse, enviable, poor'; *uramyasi-* 'regrettable' (**urami-*⁷ 'regret, resent'); *uresi-* 'joyous'; *urupasi-* 'beautiful' (*urup-* 'get wet'); *wabwisi-* 'lonely' (*wabwi-* 'be embarrassed'); *wemapasi-* 'likeable, smile-provoking' (*wemap-* 'keep smiling' <=*wem-* 'smile'); *wosi-* 'dear'; *yorosi-* 'suitable' (*yor-* 'approach'); *yuyusi-* 'awesome'.
- (d) *ikasi-* 'plentiful, vigorous', *iyasi-* 'lowly', *munasi-* 'empty', *pisasi-* 'long-lasting', *sagasi-* 'steep'.

Table. Ku and Shiku adjectives.

Jiku adjectives.

The 'Jiku' adjectives are usually regarded as a subclass of Shiku adjectives. It is a very small closed class. Table is a full list of Jiku adjectives. With the exception of *masizi-*, the OJ Jiku adjectives are fairly transparent denominal derivatives with a formant *-zi* and have the meaning 'like N, typical of N'. It may be noted that *kono ipyeziku mo* 'also like this house' (S 25, the only attestation of *ipyezi-*) has the NP *kono ipye* as the derivational base for *-zi*.

⁷ *urami-* is not phonographically attested in OJ. This verb was K2 in EMJ, but may have been *ura-mi-* (K1) 'heart-see' in OJ.

ipyezi 'like (this) house' (*ipye* 'house'); *masizi* 'Negative Potential'; *omozi* 'close (as if from same mother)' (*omo* 'mother'); *onazi* ~ *oyazi* 'same, similar' (cf. *ono* 'self'); *tokizi* 'timeless, eternal, constant; untimely' (cf. *toki* 'time'); *warezi* 'like me' (*ware* 'I').

From EMJ: *imizi* and *susamazi* (~ *susamasi*)

Table. Jiku adjectives

Note in this connection the OJ construction N-*zi mono* 'like (a) N, typical of (a) N, as befits (a) N' (e.g. *uma-zi mono* 'like a horse'), built on animate or concrete nouns (in addition to a single example with the base of a Ku adjective: *kasikwo-zi mono* (S 14) 'reverently' (*kasikwo*- 'fearsome, awesome'). The construction is attested with the following nouns: *inu* 'dog', *i* 'cormorant', *uma* 'horse', *kakwo* 'fawn', *kamwo* 'duck', *sisi* 'wild animal', *toko* 'bed', *tori* 'bird', *yuki* 'snow', *wotokwo* 'man'.

The Jiku adjectives and this construction involve a derivational suffix *-zi* < **-nVsi*, see **copula grammaticalization**. Further, *masizi* and *tokizi* 'untimely, timeless' are usually said to involve a different derivational *-zi* which is negative in meaning and possibly related to the verb suffixes *-(a)zu* Negative, *-(a)zi* Negative Conjectural.

References.

Much factual information may be found in: the various handbooks, SKD, NBD, NCBS, ZdB, JLTT, IKJ, Lewin, Miller, Unger, Yokoyama, Yoshida, Man'yôshû Taisei vol. 6 (gengohen), Man'yôshû handobukku, Mabuchi 1968, Shirafuji 1987. In addition, the OJ texts are easily accessible through the available indices. In particular, the outstanding index to the Man'yôshû (Masamune 1929-31) is an invaluable research tool for the grammar of OJ. Tense and aspect: Nomura 1989, Sandness 1999, Washio; about the Modal Past: Shinzato 1991; Takeuchi 1999:101ff.

Adjectives

Martin 1968, 1987:801ff.; Unger and Tomita 1983; Yamazaki 1992; Kawabata 1976; Yoshida. *-mi*: JLTT:804-6, Yamada:125-34, Yoshida:91-5; Shirafuji 1987:158f. pre-history (including -Ku vs -Shiku): Yamazaki 1992; Kawabata 1976, Yamamoto 1955; Ohno 1978:81-98; Mabuchi 1968:231-45; Unger & Tomita 1983.