

Old Japanese verb morphology

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It is characteristic of the new mathematical approach that the emphasis has been shifted from identity to DISTRIBUTION... This is perhaps the chief discovery made by modern linguistics: that it is possible to find relationships between linguistic items by studying their distribution.

(Einar Haugen, presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America, 1950; Haugen 1951:216)

1. Introduction.

This paper is a synchronic description of the inflectional verb morphology of Old Japanese (henceforth OJ), the earliest attested stage of the Japanese language (mainly the 8th century, see §2). The phonology of OJ is much studied and in large measure agreed upon,¹ but its grammar is in some respects not well described. In the past decade, the study of OJ syntax has gained momentum (see for example Kinsui forthcoming and Kuroda forthcoming; Miyagawa & Ekida 2003, Vovin 1997, Watanabe 2002, Wrona 2005, forthcoming a, c, Yanagida 2006), but the morphology of OJ is usually described by projecting backwards the categories set up to account for Middle Japanese (henceforth MJ) or Classical Japanese, itself not a very satisfactory system for MJ, and even less so for OJ. An immanent, synchronic description of OJ verb morphology is important, in its own right and as a starting point for tracing the development of Japanese in its later historical stages.

Traditionally, Japanese inflectional morphology is described in terms of the well-known Japanese school grammar system, with its six *katuyookei* ('inflected forms/stems'²) and rules for combining grammatical suffixes with them.³ The *katuyookei* system is an impressive early attempt to account for main forms of verbs and at the same time for the formation of other forms; it thus to some extent has the same functions as the principal parts of Latin verbs (e.g. *amo* 'I love', *amare* 'to love', *amavi* 'I have loved', *amatum* 'loved') from which other inflected verb forms can be formed.⁴ Although inconsistent (mixing up morphology and morphophonology) and constrained by the *kana* writing, the *katuyookei* system remains useful as a list of some basic, main verb forms and for a surface description of the formation of many verb forms. However, it is not at all helpful

¹ I follow the phonological descriptions of OJ in Frellesvig 1995 and Frellesvig & Whitman (forthcoming b); cf. Miyake 2003 for different interpretations on some points.

² Namely, *mizenkei* ('irrealis'), *ren'yookei* ('adverbial'), *syuusikei* ('conclusive'), *rentaikei* ('adnominal'), *izenkei* ('realis'), *meireikei* ('imperative'). For example, 'stand' *tata, tati, tatu, tatu, tate, tate*; 'erect' *tate, tate, tatu, taturu, tature, tateyo*; or 'fall' *oti, oti, otu, oturu, oture, otiyo*.

³ Such as, 'the negative auxiliary *-zu* follows (takes) the *mizenkei* of the verb it attaches to'.

⁴ The *katuyookei* framework evolved slowly in the work of *kokugogaku* scholars through the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) and only found its current form early in the 19th century. It is therefore possible that the formulation of the framework was inspired in some oblique way by Latin grammar (made available in Japan by Jesuit publications from as early as 1580). If so, this influence was unacknowledged, and all expositions of the history of the *katuyookei* system maintain that it is an indigenous, independent development. See for example Wenck 1987 [1954] and KggD '*Katuyoo*' (pp.159-63) and '*Katuyookei*' (pp.163f).

when thinking about the morphological categories of the language. For this purpose it is necessary to consider actual *inflected word forms*. This is common practice in the description of other languages, but it is a point of view which has been absent from most studies of earlier Japanese morphology, which have been preoccupied with the scrutiny of individual grammatical morphemes, at the expense of studying the structure of words (and larger verbal syntagms).⁵

Furthermore, and probably following from this, most earlier descriptions are atomistic and have focused on a positive identification of the value (meaning) of individual grammatical morphemes in isolation, instead of viewing them as taking part in a (number of) system(s) and explaining their positions and relations within those systems. This has served to obscure important features of Japanese morphology.⁶ The point expressed in the extract from Haugen's presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America in 1950 cited at the start of this paper has never fully come to inform Japanese historical linguistics, and it has had little, if any, impact on descriptions of earlier Japanese morphology.⁷ This is surprising for it is a matter of course in studies of most other languages, and it underlies explicitly for example the widely adopted description of Modern Japanese (henceforth NJ, for 'New Japanese') morphology in Bloch (1970 [1946]).

Haugen's pronouncement, like Bloch's work, appeared in the heyday of 'American Structuralism', which even today to some linguists evokes a dark age of mechanical 'discovery procedures' and of reductive, behaviourist approaches to the study of language, but whose rich and diverse body of scholarship in fact has much to offer. Taking distribution as the basis for description is of course not exclusive to American Structuralism, where it received its most widely publicized formalization.⁸ This is quite simply the keystone of the entire structuralist project whose heritage constitutes the foundation of contemporary linguistics in all its shapes and forms. Thus, the general functional properties of the two main aspects of distribution, (paradigmatic) *selection* and (syntagmatic) *combination*, are clearly and lastingly explained by Jakobson (e.g. 1971 [1956]). Particulars, especially with regard to morphology and morphophonology, refined in terms of the distinctions of Peircean semiotics, are concisely set out in Andersen (1980).

While distribution and distributional facts are not the be-all and end-all of linguistics, in the way some hard-core practitioners of 'American Structuralism' envisaged, they are in fact the begin-all of any linguistic description and analysis. In this paper I describe the basics of OJ verbal word morphology from the point of view of

⁵ This is reflected, for example, in the fact that the Japanese school grammar classification of parts of speech is not a classification into classes of words, but into types of morphemes.

⁶ This is not limited to scholarship explicitly couched within the Japanese school grammar framework. For example, two fairly recent books on OJ grammar (Bentley 2001) and earlier Japanese tense and aspect (Sandness 1999), both in various ways valuable contributions to our understanding of earlier Japanese, are in these respects representative expositions of the traditional approach.

⁷ An interesting exception is Yokoyama (1950), which however has other serious shortcomings: it focuses on individual grammatical morphemes, rather than inflected word forms and the relations holding between them; it ignores important phonological distinctions in the language; and it derives much of its data from the reading tradition of logographically written text (*cf.* §2. immediately below).

⁸ Distribution was, for example, as strictly employed in Hjelmslev's glossematics as anywhere (Hjelmslev 1963 [1943]; see Fischer-Jørgensen (1975:114-43) for a more accessible overview).

distribution, setting out inflectional paradigms (obligatory categories) and the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations which hold between auxiliaries (optional categories). §2 outlines some background about OJ sources and writing. §3 introduces the verb classes of OJ and §4 describes the structure of OJ verb forms in a segmentational model. §5 describes the simple, paradigmatically opposed inflectional categories for which any lexical verb inflects. §6 introduces auxiliaries, inflecting bound grammatical suffixes, and their inflected forms. In §7 the basic morphological systems of auxiliaries expressing aspect, negation, tense, and mood are described. The following sections look in more detail at some particulars of the Perfective (§8), Stative (§9), Negative (§10), and Past Tense (§11) auxiliaries.

2. Old Japanese sources and writing

OJ is the earliest attested stage of Japanese, primarily the language of the 8th century, corresponding to the Nara period of Japanese history, 710-784.⁹ The main sources fall in two groups. The larger consists of poetry, primarily the more than 4,500 poems in the anthology *Man'yōshū* (compiled after 759, but including also pre-8th century texts), and the songs or poems in the *Kojiki* ('Record of ancient matters; compiled 712) and *Nihon Shoki* ('Chronicles of Japan; compiled 720). The second, smaller group consists of two sets of highly ritualistic prose texts: 62 *Senmyō* (imperial edicts; recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi* ('Chronicles of Japan, II'), compiled 797) and 27 *Norito* (liturgies: prayers and blessings; recorded in the *Engi-Shiki* ('Procedures of the Engi Era', completed 927). The description and analysis in this paper are based on inspection of the entire OJ text corpus.

Apart from its modest size the OJ corpus has some limitations. First, poetry, the major part, is not ideal for the study of syntax. Second, most OJ texts are written in a mixture of logographic and phonographic writing, in varying proportions. It goes without saying that it is the phonographically recorded texts or text portions which are the most important for the study of the language. No argument about the phonology or morphology of Old Japanese can be based on the traditional readings of logographic passages. They can provide clues in matters of syntax, but here also extreme caution must be exercised, and they are of limited use for any detailed study of syntax. This is in some ways a quite obvious point, but it is important to emphasize it, for all too often statements about OJ grammar are based on traditional readings of logographically written text portions. The following example of OJ writing, the opening lines of the first poem in the *Man'yōshū*, (1), illustrates some of the difficulties in deciphering OJ texts. The passage has 5 verb forms, which are underlined: (a) *moti*, (b) MOTI, (c) TUMASu, (d) *kikana*, (e) NORAsane. In this example plain SMALL CAPITALS are used for logographically written text portions (following reading tradition), and *small italics* for phonographic writing; in the remainder of the paper, cited text examples are transcribed in small letters, with logographic text portions in plain type and phonographically written text in *italic* type.

⁹ The subsequent history of Japanese is usually divided into the following periods: Early Middle Japanese (EMJ), 800 – 1200 (corresponding to the Heian period, 794-1185), Late Middle Japanese (LMJ), 1200 – 1600 (Kamakura, 1185-1333, and Muromachi, 1336-1573, periods), and Modern Japanese (NJ (for 'new' Japanese), from 1600.

(1) *Man'yōshū* 1.1

Text: 籠毛與美籠母乳布久思毛與美夫君志持此岳尔菜採須兒家吉閑名告紗根

Interpretation:

籠	毛	與	美	籠	母	乳	布	久	思	毛	與	美	夫	君	志	持
KWO	<i>mo yo</i>		<i>mi-</i>	KWO	<i>moti</i>		<i>pukusi</i>	<i>mo yo</i>		<i>mi-bukusi</i>		<u>MOTI</u>				
basket	Foc	Emph	Hon-	basket	hold.	Inf	shovel	Foc	Emph	Hon-	shovel	hold.	Inf			

此	岳	尔	菜	採	須	兒	家	吉	閑	名	告	紗	根
KO	NO	WOKA	<i>ni</i>	NA	<u>TUMA-su</u>	KWO	IPYE	<i>kikana</i>		NORA-	<u>sane</u>		
this	Gen	hill	Dat	greens	pinch-Hon.	Adn	child	home	ask.	Opt	tell-Hon.	Opt	

'Girl with your basket, with your pretty basket, with your shovel, with your pretty shovel, gathering shoots on the hillside here, I want to ask your home. Tell me your name!' (Levy 1981)

We see, thus, in (1) that it is only (a) and (d) which are fully spelled out. (c) and (e) have the final part of the verb form spelled out, but, although there is no reason to suspect that reading tradition has got it wrong, we can in each case strictly speaking only know the general meaning of the verb stem, not its actual shape. For (b), we can only know that this represents some form of a verb meaning 'hold' or the like: We cannot know that this is the verb *mot-* (although the occurrence of that verb in the previous clause makes this likely), nor can we know that it is the Infinitive (*moti*), rather than for example the Adnominal (*motu*) which syntactically would be just as good. Note finally that the 'Tell me your name!' of Levy's translation on the face of it seems to have interpreted the character 名 as a logogram for a word meaning 'name', although it is in fact here used phonographically for the syllable /na/ in the Optative verb form *kikana* 'I want to ask'.¹⁰ Hopefully it will be clear that only solidly phonographically attested forms can form the basis for a description of morphology and many points of syntax.

2.1 Attestation and exemplification

Thus, the facts and state of attestation are of paramount importance when inferring the morphological system of a dead language like OJ. They are, however, of little relevance when explaining or exemplifying the system. In this paper, full paradigms of OJ verb forms are exemplified, with no regard to whether all forms of the verbs used for exemplification happen to be attested in the OJ text corpus. On the other hand, systematic restrictions on the formation of forms for classes of verbs or inflecting grammatical morphemes are important facts about the language which will be noted and discussed.

¹⁰ This is not a criticism of this particular translation, for such an interpretation may, especially because the word 'name' occurs explicitly in the second half of the poem in a similar context, have been intended, both in the sound texture of the poem (use of an inflected form ending in the syllable /na/, homophonous with the word for 'name') and in its writing (use of the *kungana* 名 to write that syllable /na/). However, such considerations are of no immediate relevance when using the text of this poem as a specimen of linguistic data for grammatical analysis.

3. OJ verb classes

From a synchronic, morphophonological point of view, OJ has eight verb classes (here shown with their usual Japanese names which will be used throughout this paper as proper names).¹¹ They fall in two major groups, consonant-base and vowel-base verbs, each with irregular subclasses, see (2).¹²

(2)

	Class	Base shape		
Consonant base	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Yodan</i>	<i>CVC-</i> 75% of verbs	
	<i>Irregular</i>	Ra-hen	(C)Vr-	
		Na-hen	(CV)n-	
Vowel base	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Simo Nidan</i> (S2)	(CV)Ce- 20% of verbs	
		<i>Kami Nidan</i> (K2)	(CV)Cwi- c.30 verbs	
	<i>Irregular</i>	<i>Kami Itidan</i> (K1)	(C)(w)i-	c.10 verbs
		<i>Sa-hen</i>	se- 'do'.	
<i>Ka-hen</i>		ko- 'come'.		

The two major lexical classes are *Yodan* ('quadrigrade') and *Simo Nidan* (S2, 'lower bigrade') verbs, together accounting for approximately 95% of all lexical verbs in OJ. The basic stem (henceforth *base*) of *Yodan* verbs ends in one of the consonants *-p*, *-t*, *-k*, *-b*, *-g*, *-s*, *-m*, *-r*. S2 verbs have bases which end in *-e* (i.e. 'otu-rui *-e*' (*-e*₂) or neutral *-e* after coronals and glides). The remaining classes have small sets of members. There are around 30 *Kami Nidan* (K2, 'upper bigrade') verbs in OJ;¹³ their basic stems end in *-wi* ('otu-rui *-i*' (*-i*₂) neutralized as (neutral) *-i* after coronals and /w/. *Kami Itidan* (K1, 'upper

¹¹ From a *diachronic* point of view the (*Simo* and *Kami*) *Nidan* verbs are secondary and belong to a younger morphological layer in the language; see Frellesvig (forthcoming).

¹² There are no *Simo Itidan* (S1) verbs in OJ. The sole S1 verb of MJ, *ke-* 'kick', derives from OJ S2 *kuwe-* 'id.'.

¹³ The following K2 verbs are reasonably solidly attested in OJ: *kwopwi-* 'love', *koi-* 'lie down' (/koyi/), *komwi-* 'enclose, put in', *kozi-* 'uproot', *kui-* 'regret' (/kuyi/), *mwi-* 'turn', *nagwi-* 'become calm', *negwi-* 'appease, solace, pray, be sympathetic with', *odi-* 'fear', *oi-* 'age, get old' (/oyi/), *okwi-* 'rise', *opwi-* 'grow/get bigger', *osori-* 'fear, dread, be apprehensive', *oti-* 'fall', *pwi-* 'dry (intr.)', *pwi-* 'sneeze', *pwi-* 'winnow', *porobwi-* 'go to ruin', *puri-* 'get old', *sabwi-* 'get desolate, old, rusty, faded', *sakwi-* '(?)be torn', *sipwi-* 'insist, force', *susabwi-* 'become strong', *sugwi-* 'pass by, exceed, elapse, pass away', *tamwi-* 'go round, turn', *todomwi-* 'stop (tr.)', *tukwi-* 'get exhausted', *wabwi-* 'be embarrassed, disappointed, apologize for', *wi-* 'sit, be', *woti-* 'be rejuvenated', *yodi-* 'grab and pull', *yokwi-* 'avoid, go around'; ...-*bwi-* (deriving verbs from nouns or adjectives, e.g.: *arabwi-* 'go, grow wild' (cf. *ara-* 'be wild'), *manabwi-* 'imitate, learn' ~ *manebwi-* 'imitate' (*mane* 'imitation')); ...-*sabwi-* 'act as / display characteristics appropriate for ...' (deriving verbs from nouns, e.g.: *kamusabwi-* 'act godly, be old' (*kamu-* ~ *kamwi* 'spirit, god'), *yamasabwi-* 'be mountain-like' (*yama* 'mountain')).

unigrade') contains fewer than a dozen verbs;¹⁴ it is not considered an irregular class in the Japanese school grammar system, mainly because of its position in later stages of Japanese, but it is clearly irregular in OJ vis-à-vis the regular vowel-base verbs (S2 and K2), both in the selection and attachment of inflectional endings and in the syntactic use of conjugational forms. K1 verbs have basic stems ending in *-i* ('*koo-rui i*' (*-i₁*) or neutral *i* after coronals and /w/) or *-wi* ('*otu-rui i*' (*-i₂*)). *Na-hen* (irregular *-n*-base verbs) contains two lexical verbs, *sin-* 'die' and *in-* 'depart, pass', and an auxiliary, *-(i)n-* Perfective. Note that there are no regular *n*-base verbs, that is to say, no *n*-bases among the *Yodan* verbs (except for the Negative auxiliary *-(a)n-/(a)zu* whose *-(a)n-* variants follow the *Yodan* conjugation (see §10). The relative stability of the *Na-hen* verb class through the MJ period must be thought to be maintained by the frequent Perfective auxiliary, rather than the two lexical verbs. *Ra-hen* (irregular *-r*-base verbs) contains two existential verbs, *ar-* and *wor-*,¹⁵ and a few grammatical morphemes (thought diachronically to have been built on *ar-*),¹⁶ as well as some contracted forms incorporating *ar-*. *Ka-hen* (irregular *k-* verb) and *Sa-hen* (irregular *s-* verb) are each defined by a single, highly frequent verb with a number of grammatical functions: *ko-* 'come' and *se-* 'do', respectively.

4. Structure of verb forms

In a segmentational model, a Japanese verb form may be described in terms of the following structure, with five main morphemic layers, (3).¹⁷

- (3) 1 2 3 4 5
 root - derivative - auxiliary verb – auxiliary – flective

In this paper I am concerned with word structure. For that reason I do not address clitics,¹⁸ nor light verbs, analytic, or periphrastic constructions (*cf.*, however, §9), which all play important parts in OJ verbal morpho-syntax, but which result in constituents larger than a word. (4)-(6) are examples of OJ verb forms.

¹⁴ OJ K1 verbs are: *i-* 'cast (metal)', *i-* 'shoot', *ki-* 'put on', *mi-* 'see, look', *mwi-* 'turn' (originally K2), *ni-* 'resemble', *ni-* 'boil', *wi-* 'lead, bring along', *wi-* 'sit down' (originally K2). In addition there are a few occurrences of two longer verbs that are otherwise K2 exhibiting an Adnominal form like that of K1 verbs: *arabwi-* 'be wild' is in a few instances found with the Adnominal *arabwiru* as opposed to the regular K2 Adnominal *araburu*; *isati-* 'weep' is in the *Kojiki* spelled out as *isatiru* (as opposed to expected *isatu* or *isaturu*).

¹⁵ As shown by Kinsui (2005), *wor-* originates as a lexicalized Stative form of *wi-* 'sit down'.

¹⁶ *-(i)kyer-* Modal Past, *-yer-* Stative, *nar-* Evidential verb extension.

¹⁷ The only exception to the sequence in (3) that I am aware of is that the Honorific auxiliary verb – *(i)tamap-* (*cf.* §4.3) follows rather than precedes the Honorific auxiliary *-(a)s-* (*cf.* §6.3), *e.g.* *oka-si-tamapite* (MYS 5.813) put-Hon-Hon, although the number of attested examples is very small. I am grateful to Muneto Ozaki for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁸ Verb clitics attach to finite verb forms to form extended verbal syntagms. They include uninflecting *particles* (modal and conjunctive) and inflecting *extensions* (modal, in OJ comprising: *be-* Necessitive, *masizi-* Negative Potential, *ram-* Present Conjectural, *rasi-* Presumptive, *nar-* Evidential, *nar-* Assertive).

- (4) a. *tuku* '(it) attaches'
- b. 1 5
tuk- u
attach- Concl
- (5) a. *tukeme* 'can/will attach it!'
- b. 1 2 4 5
tuk- e- m- e
attach Trans Conj Excl
- (6) a. *maywopikinikyeri* 'had become frayed!'
- b. 1 3 4 4 5
maywopi- ki- ni- kyer- i
fray come Perf ModPast Concl

The central inflectional morphology is expressed by flectives, expressing obligatory inflectional categories for which any verb inflects (§5), and auxiliaries expressing optional categories for which verbs can inflect (§6). As seen in (6), more than one auxiliary can be attached to a verb, in which case the auxiliaries appear in the order given in (12) and (17) below (§6.1 and §7). Of the four layers, or positions, in (3) after the root, only flective has obligatory, real expression,¹⁹ reflecting that any instantiation of a verb appears in an inflected form. The focus in this paper is on inflectional categories and on the role of auxiliaries, but a few remarks are in order, first on citation, notation and segmentation (§4.1), second on the inner morphological layers, derivatives (§4.2) and auxiliary verbs (§4.3).

4.1 Citation, notation, and segmentation.

I am not in this paper concerned with the morphophonology of word forms, but in this section I briefly explain the conventions for citation, notation, and segmentation used in the paper.

The lexical basic stem (henceforth '*base*') of a verb consists of the *root* plus any optional *derivatives*, *i.e.* 1+2 among the morphological layers in (3). The shape of the base reflects verb class membership, for example consonant or vowel base, but in some cases does not uniquely define it. In most dictionaries, the Conclusive (see §5.1) is the verb form used as the citation form,²⁰ but using the base as citation form will identify the conjugation class of a verb in the majority of cases, in particular distinguishing *Yodan* from *Nidan* verbs. For that reason, verbs are here cited in the base; thus: *sak-* 'bloom' (*Yodan*), *ake-* 'dawn' (S2), *okwi-* 'rise' (K2), not Conclusive *saku*, *aku*, *oku*.

¹⁹ See Andersen 1980:3f on the different types of morphological expression (*signantia*).

²⁰ Notable exceptions, which list verbs under their Infinitive, are Ohno's dictionary of pre-modern Japanese (1990) or dictionaries published by the Jesuit missionaries in the early 17th century, *e.g.* Rodriguez 1603-4.

Some suffixes attach directly to the base, but many attach, depending on the class of the host verb, to one of several *derived stems*. Some of these are inflected verb forms which also function as stems for combination, but in addition consonant base verbs have a derived stem ending in /a/ (the so-called '*mizenkei*' of Japanese school grammar), e.g. *saka-* <= *sak-* 'bloom', which is not a word form, but exclusively a conditioned combining stem selected by some suffixes. When citing verbal suffixes I use a morphophonemic notation which shows whether the suffix selects the derived *-a*-stem or the Infinitive (cf. §5.2; e.g. *saki* <= *sak-+i*) when attached to a consonant base verb or auxiliary,²¹ for example: *-(a)n-* Negative, but *-(i)n-* Perfective. This notation does not mean that /a/ or /i/ are part of the (synchronic) phonemic shape of the suffixes;²² in both cases the phonemic shape of the base of the auxiliary is /n/, but they select different stems: *saka-n-* 'not to bloom', *saki-n-* 'to have bloomed'.²³

In examples and grammatical glosses, verb forms will be noted as in (4.b', 5.b', 6.b'), i.e. noting morpheme boundaries between verb stems and auxiliaries, but not between fleective and the immediately preceding verb or auxiliary stem. In the glosses, the inflected form will be noted as part of the gloss for the auxiliary, separated by '.', to show that for example *tuku* is the Conclusive form of the verb *tuk-*, *me* is the Exclamatory form of the auxiliary *-(a)m-*, and *kyeri* is the Conclusive form of *-(i)kyer-*.²⁴ This notation shifts the focus away from individual morphemes to the actual inflected word forms which take part in paradigmatic relations.

(4.b') *tuku*
attach.Concl

(5.b') *tuke-me*
attach-Conj.Excl

(6.b') *maywopi-ki-ni-kyeri*
fray-come-Perf-ModPast.Concl

4.2 Derivatives

A number of pre-OJ verbal derivatives may be reconstructed (cf. Unger 1977:127ff, Martin 1987:790ff), most of which were, however, fully lexicalized and unproductive by the time of OJ. The verbal derivatives shown in (7) may be assumed to have been fairly productive in OJ; they mostly specify or switch transitivity, but also include an

²¹ For the vowel base verbs, all such suffixes simply attach to the base of S2, K2, and K1 verbs (whose base is also used as Infinitive), but with *Ka-hen* and *Sa-hen*, the *-(a)*-suffixes select the base and the *-(i)*-suffixes by and large select the Infinitive.

²² In some cases, /a/ may be thought to have formed part of an earlier shape of the suffix, for example the Negative which is thought to go back to **an-*. Cf. Frellesvig (forthcoming, §4.4).

²³ Suffixes which select the Exclamatory (see §5.1; the traditional '*izenkei*'), may similarly be noted for example *-(e)do* Concessive. Again, /e/ is not part of the phonemic shape of the suffix, but simply shows that the suffix selects the Exclamatory as combining stem.

²⁴ This could also be achieved by noting for example *tuk.u*, *tuke-m.e*, and *maywopi-ki-ni-kyer.i*, but that would have little purpose in a paper which focuses on the morphological categories, not their morphophonological expression.

iterative/continuative formant. In addition there are a number of derivatives which form verbs from other parts of speech, e.g. *-bwi-* and *-sabwi-* mentioned in footnote 13 above.

- (7) *-(a)s-* 'transitive', *-(a)r-* 'intransitive', *-e-* 'transitivity switch', *-(a)p-* 'iterative/continuative'.

4.3 Auxiliary verbs

As mentioned, root + derivative constitute the lexical base. Needless to say, but not shown in (3), more than one lexical base can combine to form a compound. Lexical composition must, however, be distinguished from affixation of auxiliary verbs, which to some extent correspond to, or at least overlap with, what Kageyama terms 'syntactic compounds' (e.g. Kageyama 1999). Grammaticalized auxiliary verbs attach to a main verb, specifying amongst other things various motional, directional and aspectual meanings, but including also expression of social deixis. They are set off from auxiliaries (§6) by generally being used as free lexical verbs in addition to their grammaticalized use as auxiliary verbs.²⁵ The degree of grammaticalization varies and it is therefore difficult in some cases to distinguish between verbs commonly used in lexical compounds and fully grammaticalized auxiliary verbs. Among the fully grammaticalized auxiliary verbs are those in (8).

- (8) *-(i)ko-* [< 'come'] 'come to ...', *-(i)yuk-* [< 'go'] 'continuative, go on ...ing (States); gradually become ... more and more (dynamic verbs)', *-ide-* [< 'emerge'] 'verb out'; *-(i)ap-* [< 'meet'] 'reciprocal'; *-(i)tamap-* [< 'receive'] 'honorific', *-(i)mas-* [< *imas-* 'exist, honorific'] 'honorific'; *-(i)mawos-* [< 'say to/tell the emperor/a superior; ask for permission (of a superior)'] 'humble', *-(i)matur-* [< 'offer to spirit or emperor'] 'humble'.

5. Inflected verb forms; obligatory categories

In the segmentational model given above in (3), inflectional categories are represented by 5, flective. (9) lists the inflected forms of OJ verbs, noting the verb *Base* (basic stem) at the top of each column. These are the paradigmatically opposed forms for which any lexical verb inflects (except that some verbs will not form an Imperative).

²⁵ It is possible that some auxiliaries, too, originate in lexical verbs. That is the traditional, etymological approach in Japanese scholarship, but in many cases the suggested lexical sources are fanciful.

(9)					
	<i>Yodan</i>		<i>Ra-hen</i>		<i>Na-hen</i>
Base	<i>kak-</i> 'write'		<i>ar-</i> 'be'		<i>sin-</i> 'die'
Finite					
Conclusive	<i>kaku</i>		<i>ari</i>		<i>sinu</i>
Adnominal	<i>kaku</i>		<i>aru</i>		<i>sinuru</i>
Exclamatory	<i>kake</i>		<i>are</i>		<i>sinure</i>
Imperative	<i>kakye</i>		<i>are</i>		<i>sine</i>
Neg. conjunct.	<i>kakazi</i>		<i>arazi</i>		<i>sinazi</i>
Optative	<i>kakana</i>		<i>arana</i>		<i>sinana</i>
Prohibitive	<i>na kaki so</i>		<i>na ari so</i>		<i>na sini so</i>
Non-finite					
Infinitive	<i>kaki</i>		<i>ari</i>		<i>sini</i>
Gerund	<i>kakite</i>		<i>arite</i>		<i>sinite</i>
Continuative	<i>kakitutu</i>		<i>aritutu</i>		<i>sinitutu</i>
Conditional	<i>kakaba</i>		<i>araba</i>		<i>sinaba</i>
Provisional	<i>kakeba</i>		<i>areba</i>		<i>sinureba</i>
Concessive	<i>kakedo</i>		<i>aredo</i>		<i>sinuredo</i>
Nominal	<i>kakaku</i>		<i>araku</i>		<i>sinuraku</i>
	<i>S2</i>	<i>K2</i>	<i>K1</i>	<i>Ka-hen</i>	<i>Sa-hen</i>
Base	<i>ake-</i> 'open'	<i>okwi-</i> 'rise'	<i>mi-</i> 'see'	<i>ko-</i> 'come'	<i>se-</i> 'do'
Finite					
Conclusive	<i>aku</i>	<i>oku</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>su</i>
Adnominal	<i>akuru</i>	<i>okuru</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>suru</i>
Exclamatory	<i>akure</i>	<i>okure</i>	<i>mire</i>	<i>kure</i>	<i>sure</i>
Imperative	<i>ake(yo)</i>	<i>okwi(yo)</i>	<i>mi(yo)</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>se(yo)</i>
Neg. conjunct.	<i>akezi</i>	<i>okwizi</i>	<i>mizi</i>	<i>kozi</i>	<i>sezi</i>
Optative	<i>akena</i>	<i>okwina</i>	<i>mina</i>	<i>konamu</i>	<i>senam</i>
Prohibitive	<i>na ake so</i>	<i>na okwi so</i>	<i>na mi so</i>	-	<i>na se so</i>
Non-finite					
Infinitive	<i>ake</i>	<i>okwi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>si</i>
Gerund	<i>akete</i>	<i>okwite</i>	<i>mite</i>	<i>kite</i>	<i>site</i>
Continuative	<i>aketutu</i>	<i>okwitutu</i>	<i>mitutu</i>	<i>kitutu</i>	<i>situtu</i>
Conditional	<i>akeba</i>	<i>okwiba</i>	<i>miba</i>	<i>koba</i>	<i>seba</i>
Provisional	<i>akureba</i>	<i>okureba</i>	<i>mireba</i>	<i>kureba</i>	<i>sureba</i>
Concessive	<i>akuredo</i>	<i>okuredo</i>	<i>miredo</i>	<i>kuredo</i>	<i>suredo</i>
Nominal	<i>akuraku</i>	<i>okuraku</i>	<i>miraku</i>	<i>kuraku</i>	<i>suraku</i>

The first thing to note is that inflection in OJ is almost exclusively for *modal* and *conjunctive* categories (as opposed to NJ which also inflects for example for tense and aspect). The primary distinction is between finite forms, which can conclude a main clause, (§5.1) and non-finite forms, which conclude non-final clauses (§5.2); there is also a Nominal form (§5.3).

5.1 Finite forms

The finite verb forms include four forms which are contained within the traditional *katuyookei* system: The *Conclusive* (*syuusikei*) is the neutral form used for concluding a sentence. That is its only specification in OJ; in particular, it is unspecified for, neutral with regard to, tense, aspect, or mood (*cf.* the fact that all auxiliaries, including those expressing tense, aspect, and mood, have a Conclusive form), and labels such as 'Indicative' or 'Non-past' are simply wrong for OJ. The *Adnominal* (*rentaikei*) is mainly used as the verb in relative clauses, in certain marked main clauses, often in correlation with an interrogative (*ka, ya*) or focus (*so, namo*) particle (*kakari-musubi*), or as a nominalized form; see Wrona (forthcoming a, b) for a detailed description of the synchronic use of the Adnominal in OJ and its reconstructed pre-OJ use. The *Exclamatory* (*izenkei*) is mainly used to form the predicate of a sentence with some additional exclamatory force, sometimes on its own, but often in correlation with the focus particle *koso*; *cf.* Whitman (2004) about the use of the Exclamatory. The Exclamatory also functions as a combining stem, selected by some suffixes. The *Imperative* (*meireikei*) is used as the direct imperative and to form directive clauses when followed by the purposive conjunctive particle *to* ('in order that ...').

The *Negative Conjectural* generally means 'I don't want to, shan't; you shouldn't, mustn't; he probably, surely won't'. It is also often used to form directive clauses when followed by the purposive conjunctive particle *to* ('lest'). Traditionally, the Negative Conjectural has, due to its semantic affinity with the Conjectural auxiliary *-(a)m-* (§§6-7), been regarded as an auxiliary, *-(a)zi*, with the sole form *-zi* functioning as Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory (reflecting the traditionally recognized types of sentence conclusion, neutral and in correlation with a focus or interrogative particle). Nothing at all supports that view, however: the Negative Conjectural is simply an inflected word form.

OJ has three sets of *Optative* forms, see (10), of which only one is shown in (9) above. They express the wish of the speaker, predominantly (but not exclusively) about actions of a 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person, respectively. (1) above illustrates well the use of the two first forms: *kikana* 'I want to ask' and *norasane* 'please tell me'. With the exception of *-(a)namu*, which is used throughout EMJ as a general Optative, these forms disappear from the language in the transition from OJ to EMJ; *-(a)namo* is thought to be the older variant and the source (through mid-vowel raising, see Frellesvig & Whitman forthcoming) of *-(a)namu* which was more frequent already in OJ.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (10) | <i>kakana</i> | 'I would like to write/ let's write' |
| | <i>kakane(mo), kakani(mo)</i> | 'I wish you'd write/ please write' |
| | <i>kakanamo, kakanamu</i> | 'I wish he'd write/ let him write' |

The *Prohibitive* expresses a negative command 'don't ..!'. There are three variants, (11), of which only *na...so* survived into EMJ. The longer forms are less brusque than the short form. The Prohibitive may well be thought to be a construction rather than an inflected word form, and in EMJ longer stretches than a single verb can occur between *na* and *so*, but this does not seem to have been possible in OJ.²⁶ Including the Prohibitive as a word

²⁶ Etymologically, *na* is probably a negative adverb; *so* is thought to reflect **sə* the historical root, used as Imperative, of the verb *se-* 'do'. This finds some support in the long form *na...-sone* which seems to

form allows us to posit a *circumfixal* formant, the only one of its kind in pre-modern Japanese, *na-...-so*, which surrounds the Infinitive used as stem.²⁷

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

5.2 Non-finite forms

All stages of Japanese, including OJ, are characterized by the existence of a number of non-finite verb forms which are differentiated by the type of conjunction that holds between the clause they conclude and a following clause. The non-finite verb forms include one coordinate form, the Infinitive (the *ren'yookei* of the *katuyookei* system), whose main use is to form a non-final (inconclusive, suspensive) predicate coordinate with a following predicate; interestingly (also as a counterexample to claims in the grammaticalization literature about unidirectionality of change from coordination towards subordination), a number of examples point to an earlier stage where the Infinitive was subordinate,²⁸ a function which at the OJ stage had largely been taken over by the Gerund (which is newer in the language). 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, deceit' (*itupar-* 'to lie'); in EMJ and in later periods, the Infinitive and its derived noun are attested with different prosodic shape and this is also thought to have been the case for OJ. The Infinitive is also used as a combining stem, both in composition and selected by some suffixes.

The remaining non-finite verb forms are subordinate: The *Gerund* is a neutral subordinate verb form, unspecified for the type of conjunction that holds between its own and a following higher clause.²⁹ The other subordinate, non-finite forms are specified for some type of conjunction with the higher clause: The *Continuative* expresses continuation, repetition, contemporaneity, or by extension, concession; many of its meanings can be captured by English 'while'. The *Concessive* concludes a concessive subordinate clause 'although, even though'; the Concessive is often followed by the particle *mo* with no discernable difference in meaning. The *Provisional* concludes a provisional, temporal, or causal subordinate clause, most of which can be rendered by English 'as'. The *Conditional* concludes a conditional subordinate clause 'if'.

involve an older fossilized Optative form, *sone* 'I wish you'd do', of the ancestor of OJ *se-*, again involving the older root.

²⁷ With *se-* 'do', the base rather than the Infinitive is used: *na-se-so* 'don't do!'.

²⁸ For example (i) which is found in MYS 2.85, 5.867, K 88:

(i) *kimi ga yuki ke nagaku nari-nu*
 my.lord Gen go.Inf day long.Inf become-Perf.Concl
 'many days have passed since you, my lord, left'

²⁹ The use of the word 'gerund' for such subordinate adverbial verb forms is now customary in the description of many languages, although it is somewhat misleading to those more familiar with the use of 'gerund' to designate a nominalized verb form in for example Latin grammar. For Japanese this nomenclature is found first in the work of the Portuguese Jesuits from the early 17th century (e.g. Rodriguez 1604-8), based, presumably, on the similarity in meaning with the Portuguese *gerúndio*, an adverbial form which historically derives from the ablative of the Latin gerund. Rodriguez, however, also classifies the form as 'participle'.

5.3 Nominal

This form expresses abstract nominalization: 'the act, fact of ...-ing'. It was a very frequent form in OJ, but survived into EMJ only in set phrases with a small number of verbs. See Wrona (forthcoming a) for a detailed description of the Nominal.

6. Auxiliaries; optional categories

Auxiliaries are *inflecting suffixes*. Most auxiliaries belong to and inflect according to one of the eight verbal conjugation classes, but a few have idiosyncratic conjugations; none has the full range of inflected forms exhibited by lexical verbs, see below (§6.2).

Whereas simple inflection (§5) mainly expresses modal and conjunctive categories, auxiliaries express central morphological categories such as voice, tense, aspect, and mood. Thus the two sets of categories complement each other. However, an important difference is that inflection is *obligatory*, whereas the expression of the categories of the auxiliaries is *optional*. That is to say, any OJ verb form expresses one and only one of the set of paradigmatically opposed inflected forms in (9), but no auxiliary needs be present. This means that a simple verb form, without an auxiliary, is *unmarked* (unspecified) with regard to the categories expressed by auxiliaries. For example, a simple verb form is unmarked with regard to tense and can well refer to deictic past time.³⁰ Further, more than one auxiliary can be attached to a verb, in which case they occur in the order given in (12) (from the top down; *cf.* also (17) in §7). This affords the categories expressed by auxiliaries a different position within the morphological system than those expressed, obligatorily, by simple inflection. The combination of auxiliaries is subject to systematic restrictions, reflecting paradigmatic subsystems which are described in §7 (see also §6.3).

6.1 Formation on lexical verbs

(12) shows 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.³¹ As may be seen, there are some systematic restrictions on combinations between lexical verb classes and auxiliaries. The most important is that the *Nidan* verbs (which are diachronically secondary) do not combine with the Honorific, Passive, or Stative auxiliaries; see Frellesvig (forthcoming). Other non-formations concern small classes with few members and may not be significant. It is noteworthy, however, that *Nahen* verbs combine with no aspectual auxiliaries, and that no K1 verb combines with the –(i)n- Perfective. The latter is probably related to the fact that most (original) K1 verbs are pretty transitive; *cf.* §8.1. It is not surprising that *Ra-hen* verbs, which are all semantically stative, do not combine with the Stative auxiliary.

³⁰ This provides a clear exemplification of the asymmetrical, inclusive relationship which is the nature of markedness (*cf.* Andersen 2001).

³¹ Note that the two Perfective auxiliaries generally combine with different verbs (see §8.1); hence *sak-* 'bloom', *tuke-* 'attach', and *yodi-* 'uproot', respectively, have been added to the *Yodan*, S2, and K2 columns. The only K1 verb attested with the Stative auxiliary is *ki-* 'put on', so *kyer-* 'be wearing' is added to the K1 column. *Ka-hen* and *Sa-hen* verbs have limited and partly irregular formations with the Simple Past, using the base rather than the Infinitive for combination with some forms: *ko-si* come-SmplPst.Adn (lacking a Conclusive form with this verb, *i.e.*, no **ko-ki* or **ki-ki*); *se-si* do-SmplPst.Adn, but the Conclusive attaching to the Infinitive as with other verbs: *si-ki* do-SmplPst.Concl.

(12)

	<i>Yodan</i> kak-	<i>Ra-hen</i> ar-	<i>Na-hen</i> sin-		
Honorific	<i>kakas-</i>	-	-		
Voice					
Causative	<i>kakasime-</i>	<i>arasime-</i>	<i>sinasime-</i>		
Passive	<i>kakaye-</i>	<i>araye-</i>	<i>sinaye-</i>		
Passive	<i>kakare-</i>	<i>arare-</i>	<i>sinare-</i>		
Aspect/Negation					
Perfective	<i>kakite-</i>	<i>arite-</i>	-		
Perfective	<i>(sakin-)</i>	<i>arin-</i>	-		
Stative	<i>kakyer-</i>	-	-		
Negative	<i>kakan-</i>	<i>aran-</i>	<i>sinan-</i>		
Negative	<i>kakazu</i>	<i>arazu</i>	<i>sinazu</i>		
Tense/Mood					
Modal Past	<i>kakikyer-</i>	<i>arikyer-</i>	<i>sinikyer-</i>		
Simple Past	<i>kakiki</i>	<i>ariki</i>	<i>siniki</i>		
Conjectural	<i>kakam-</i>	<i>aram-</i>	<i>sinam-</i>		
Subjunctive	<i>kakamasi</i>	<i>aramasi</i>	<i>sinamasi</i>		
	S2 ake-	K2 okwi-	K1 mi-	<i>Ka-hen</i> ko-	<i>Sa-hen</i> se-
Honorific	-	-	<i>myes-</i>	-	<i>ses-</i>
Voice					
Causative	<i>akesime-</i>	<i>okwisime-</i>	<i>misime-</i>	<i>kosime-</i>	<i>sesime-</i>
Passive	-	-	<i>miye-</i>	-	-
Passive	-	-	-	-	-
Aspect/Negation					
Perfective	<i>(tukete-)</i>	<i>(yodite-)</i>	<i>mite-</i>	<i>kite-</i>	<i>site-</i>
Perfective	<i>aken-</i>	<i>okwin-</i>	-	<i>kin-</i>	<i>sin-</i>
Stative	-	-	<i>(kyer-)</i>	<i>kyer-</i>	<i>ser-</i>
Negative	<i>aken-</i>	<i>okwin-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>kon-</i>	<i>sen-</i>
Negative	<i>akezu</i>	<i>okwizu</i>	<i>mizu</i>	<i>kozu</i>	<i>sezu</i>
Tense/Mood					
Modal Past	<i>akekyer-</i>	<i>okwikyer-</i>	<i>mikyer-</i>	<i>kikyer-</i>	<i>siker-</i>
Simple Past	<i>akeki</i>	<i>okwiki</i>	<i>miki</i>	<i>kosi</i>	<i>siki / sesi</i>
Conjectural	<i>akem-</i>	<i>okwim-</i>	<i>mim-</i>	<i>kom-</i>	<i>sem-</i>
Subjunctive	<i>akemasi</i>	<i>okwimasi</i>	<i>mimasi</i>	<i>komasi</i>	<i>semasi</i>

6.2 Inflected forms

The auxiliaries have the inflected forms shown below, with the auxiliaries ordered in four subgroups: Honorific, Voice (Causative and Passive), Aspect/Negation (Perfective, Stative, Negative), and Tense/Mood (Modal Past, Simple Past, Conjectural, Subjunctive). It is significant that the auxiliaries do not have the full range of inflected forms exhibited by verbs. They also differ a great deal amongst themselves with regard to the categories

they inflect for, but note that the differences are greater between the four subgroups than within them.

(13)	Honorific -(a)s-
Conclusive	<i>su</i>
Adnominal	<i>su</i>
Exclamatory	<i>se</i>
Imperative	<i>se</i>
Optative	<i>sane</i>
Prohibitive	<i>na ____ .si so</i>
Infinitive	<i>si</i>
Gerund	<i>site</i>
Conditional	<i>saba</i>
Provisional	<i>seba</i>
Concessive	<i>sedo</i>
Nominalized	<i>saku</i>

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

(15)	Perfective -(i)n-	-(i)te-	Stative -yer-	Negative -(a)zu ~ -(a)n-
Conclusive	<i>nu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>yeri</i>	<i>zu ~ nu</i>
Adnominal	<i>nuru</i>	<i>туру</i>	<i>yeru</i>	<i>nu</i>
Exclamatory	<i>nure</i>	<i>ture</i>	<i>yere</i>	<i>ne</i>
Imperative	-	<i>teyo</i>	<i>yere</i>	-
Optative	<i>nana</i>	<i>tena</i>	-	-
Infinitive	<i>ni-</i>	<i>te-</i>	<i>yeri</i>	<i>zu ~ ni</i>
Gerund	<i>nite</i>	-	-	<i>zute ~ nito</i>
Continuative	<i>nitutu</i>	-	-	-
Conditional	<i>naba</i>	<i>teba</i>	<i>yeraba</i>	<i>zupa</i>
Provisional	<i>nureba</i>	<i>tureba</i>	<i>yereba</i>	<i>neba</i>
Concessive	<i>nuredo</i>	<i>turedo</i>	<i>yeredo</i>	<i>nedo</i>
Nominal	<i>nuraku</i>	<i>turaku</i>	<i>yeraku</i>	<i>naku</i>

(16)

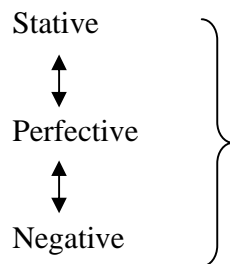
	Modal Past -(i)kyer-	Simple Past -(i)si- ~ -(i)ki-	Conjectural -(a)m-	Subjunctive -(a)masi
Conclusive	<i>kyeri</i>	<i>si ~ ki</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>masi</i>
Adnominal	<i>kyeru</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>masi</i>
Exclamatory	<i>kyere</i>	<i>sika</i>	<i>me</i>	-
Conditional	-	<i>seba ~ kyeba</i>	-	<i>maseba</i>
Provisional	<i>kyereba</i>	<i>sikaba</i>	-	-
Concessive	<i>kyeredo</i>	<i>sikado</i>	<i>medo</i>	-
Nominal	<i>kyeraku</i>	<i>siku ~ kyeku</i>	<i>maku</i>	-

6.3 Honorific and Voice

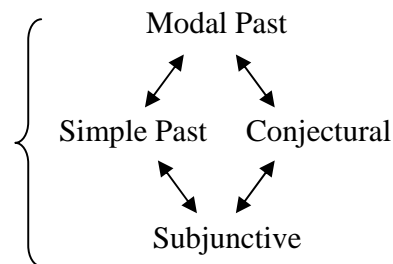
I shall say little here about the Honorific and Voice categories. Note that the Causative and the Passive were paradigmatically opposed in OJ, as opposed to later stages of the language, where they combine. The OJ Causative is used to express causation and subject honorification. It is formed on verbs from all conjugation classes. In EMJ, a Causative *-(a)se-* ~ *-sase* came to be used alongside, and eventually replaced, *-(a)sime-*, but in OJ this new budding Causative is only found in a few examples, all of the shape *-se-*. The OJ Passive functions as a pure passive, a middle 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 small number of lexicalized forms 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. The passive auxiliary variant *-rare-*, attaching to vowel base verbs, does not appear in the language until EMJ and forms no part of OJ (although some grammars, wrongly, include it). Furthermore, an OJ passive auxiliary **-raye-* is traditionally posited, said to attach to *K2* and *S2* and sometimes also to *Sa-hen* and *Ka-hen* verbs. In factual terms this is based exclusively on four occurrences of the set phrase *i no nerayenu* (*i* 'sleep', *no* Genitive) in MYS 15 (3665, 3678, 3680, 3684), whose *nerayenu* is usually analysed as *ne-raye-nu* sleep-Pass-Neg 'not be able to sleep'. The resulting system with *-(a)ye-* (*ad Yodan*, *Na-hen*, *Ra-hen*, and *K1*) ~ **-raye-* (*ad K2*, *S2*, *Sa-hen*, and *Ka-hen*) would then form a parallel to the EMJ and later systems (with the two variants *-(a)re-* ~ *-rare-* in complementary distribution). However, the non-formation of passives on *Nidan* verbs is entirely systematic (see Frellesvig forthcoming) and constitutes a significant fact about the language. The singular form *neraye-* must be explained otherwise, *e.g.* as the Passive of a verb *ner-*,³² or as an idiosyncratic analogical formation; it cannot form the basis for positing a general variant **-raye-* as part of the grammar of OJ.

³² *Ner-* would in turn probably be best understood as a form, *e.g.* a lexicalized Stative, of the root, **nV-*, which diachronically underlies *S2 ne-*. This root is also reflected in the lexicalized honorific verb *nas-* 'deign to sleep', and possibly also in the noun *i* 'sleep' ?< **ni* (*cf.* Whitman 1985:34 about palatalization and loss of **d*, **z*, **n*, **r* before **i*).

(18) **Aspect/Negation**



Tense/Mood



7.1 Aspect and negation

Aspect and negation together form one subsystem with the Perfective as the pivot: the Perfective *-(i)te-* ~ *-(i)n-* forms an opposition with and never combines with the Stative *-(yer-)*. The Perfective is also opposed to and never combines with the Negative *-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-*. Finally, the Negative and the Stative do not combine, but this seems, at least diachronically, to be a secondary opposition (*cf.* §8). See further §8 about the Perfective, §9 about the Stative, and §10 about the Negative.

7.2 Tense and mood

Tense and mood form a more complex second subsystem: the Modal Past, *-(i)kyer-*, is opposed to and never combines with the Simple Past *-(i)ki* or the Conjectural *-(a)m-*. Likewise, the Subjunctive, *-(a)masi*, is opposed to and never combines with the Simple Past or the Conjectural. The Simple Past does, however, combine with the Conjectural *-(a)m-* in the fairly autonomous combined shape *-(i)kyem-*. See §11 for the functions of the past tenses.

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. Note that the combination of the Simple Past and the Conjectural is used only to express conjecture 'probably was, probably did', not volition. Like modals in many languages, the Conjectural can also be used to refer to future time with little or no modal meaning; 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'. The Subjunctive expresses a counterfactual proposition, most often contingent on a counterfactual condition in the frame *VERB₁-(subjunctive.)conditional, VERB₂-subjunctive* 'if it were the case that VERB₁, then it would be the case that VERB₂'.

Note that the Modal Past and the Conjectural, as subjective modals (*cf.* §11), do not form a Conditional, as opposed to the Simple Past and the Subjunctive; see (16) in §6.2. Furthermore, as a counterfactual, the Subjunctive forms no Provisional or Concessive; while its opposition with the Modal Past and the Conjectural reflects that they express different modal categories, the opposition with the Simple Past is based on the inherent a-temporality of a counterfactual.

7.3 Combination

As implied by the illustration of the system in (18), Aspect/Negation combines relatively freely with Tense/Mood, as in the following examples.

(19)			A/N	T/M
	'hear'	<i>kiki-te-kye-mu</i>	Perfective	SimplePast-Conjectural
	'bloom'	<i>saki-ni-kyeri</i>	Perfective	ModalPast
	'meet'	<i>ap-yeri-ki</i>	Stative	SimplePast
	'stand'	<i>tat-era-masi</i>	Stative	Subjunctive
	'be satisfied'	<i>aka-ni-kye-mu</i>	Negative	SimplePast-Conjectural
	'be satisfied'	<i>aka-zu-kyeri</i>	Negative	ModalPast

Note, however, that examples of the Negative with the Past tense auxiliaries are very rare and that the Negative combines with the Conjectural and Subjunctive only in its extended forms with the existential verb *ar-* (cf. §10), and that it thus strictly speaking does not directly combine with those auxiliaries.

8. Perfective *-(i)te-* ~ *-(i)n-*

The Perfective combines two main functions: 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 *ingressive* (inceptive) and *completive* uses are possible, (20). This is the origin of the opposition with the Stative.

- (20) a. *naki-nu* 'begins to sing', *naki-tu* 'begins to sing';
 b. *tiri-nu* 'has fallen', *mi-tu* 'has seen';

The other main function of the Perfective is to *assert or affirm* the state of affairs expressed by the verb. This is the origin of the opposition with the Negative (and with negation in general: the Perfectives do not form a Negative Conjectural). In this function the Perfective often combines with the Conjectural, *-te-m-*, *-na-m-*, (21a), or assumes a modal form, e.g. (21b) with the Perfective in the Optative. Diachronically this seems to be the primary function of *-(i)te-* ~ *-(i)n-*, reflecting the fact that they derive from the ancestors of the OJ copulas *to* ~ *ni*, as argued in Frellesvig (2001:13f).³³ This is also captured in the descriptive heading of the section on the Perfectives in Yamada's OJ grammar (*'tinzyutu no tasikame ni kansuru hukugobi'*, 'suffixes concerning affirmation of the proposition', 1913:286).

- (21) a. *miti-ki-na-mu* (MYS 2.121)
 rise-come-Perf-Conj
 '(the tide) will surely rise'

³³ This is contrary to the traditional account, which diachronically derives *-(i)te-* from the verb *(s)ute-* 'discard, throw away' and *-(i)n-* from *in-* 'disappear, pass, elapse' and accordingly believes that the function of assertion is a secondary development (e.g. Ohno 1990:1473).

- b. kari-*tena* (MYS 2.121)
cut-Perf.Opt
'I want to cut (seaweed)!'

8.1 The distribution of *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-*.

The description of the functions of the Perfective given immediately above is of course predicated upon the assumption that *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* are variants (allomorphs) of one Perfective morpheme. Though rarely explicitly stated in this way, this is in keeping with tradition which has described the distribution of *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* as being complementary, based on the *transitivity of the host verb*:

- (22) *-(i)te-* is used overwhelmingly with transitive verbs
-(i)n- is used mainly with intransitives

There are a fair number of exceptions to this generalization, however, and for that reason some scholars hold that *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* (already) in OJ were distinct morphemes expressing separate grammatical categories (for example Sandness (1999:54ff): *-(i)n-* 'punctuality', *-(i)te-* 'recent past'; for MJ *cf.* also Takeuchi (1987:121ff: *-(i)n-* 'limited control', *-(i)te-* 'recent past')), so it is necessary to take a closer look at this. A number of distributional facts make it clear that *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* do belong closely together in OJ; *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-*:

- (23) a. are mutually exclusive;
b. occupy the same position in a verb syntagm;³⁴
c. do not co-occur with the Stative and with the Negative;
d. exhibit mostly the same inflected forms.

While these facts show that *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* are not simply separate morphemes which express unrelated morphological categories, they do not answer the question of whether *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* are in a relation of variation or of opposition. Are they conditioned variants (allomorphs), or are they different morphemes, members of a paradigm? If the latter, what is the grammatical distinction they express? A first attempt at an answer must be sought in their distribution. On the one hand, there are clearly discernable, strong *tendencies* in the distribution of *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* in terms of syntactico-semantic properties of the host verb, particularly in terms of *split intransitivity* (though appearing for the first time, unattributed, in print in Frellesvig 2001:14, this suggestion is due to John Whitman (p.c.)):

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| (24) | transitives | intransitives | |
| | | unergatives | unaccusatives |
| | <i>-(i)te-</i> | <i>-(i)te-</i> | <i>-(i)n-</i> |

³⁴ This is not the case in MJ where *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* came to be used together with the new auxiliary *-(i)tar-* (see 9.), but combined differently with it: *-tari-te-*, but *-ni-tar-* (*cf.* Takeuchi 1987:123).

On the other hand, there are also exceptions to this generalization, and in particular there are some verbs which occur with both Perfective auxiliaries. First, the following *grammatical* verbs are found with both Perfective auxiliaries: light verbs: *se-* 'do' and *ar-* 'exist'; auxiliary verbs: *-(i)ko-* 'come to ...', *-(i)yuk-* 'continuative'. However, in such cases, the choice of Perfective auxiliary does not depend on the grammatical verb, but rather on the lexical host verb. More importantly, there is a small number of *lexical* verbs which are attested with both suffixes (*cf.* Nomura 1989, Washio 2002), (25).

(25) *ip-* 'say, tell, call', *kakure-* 'hide (oneself); die (honorific)', *ko-* 'come', *mi-* 'see, look', *miye-* 'see.Passive: be visible/seen, seem; come.Hon', *nak-* 'give voice, let out a cry, cry', *ne-* 'lie down, sleep/lie with, sleep', *ori-* 'go down, descend', *pum-* 'step (on), stamp (on); walk', *sinwop-* 'praise, long for', *yuk-* 'go'.

In a strict distributional analysis this would at first sight seem to lead to the conclusion that *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* are different morphemes, with severely restricted distribution, so that the distinction they express is only realized in a small set of verbs. 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), selection based on split intransitivity of Perfect auxiliaries in Germanic and Romance languages 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 Perfect occurs.³⁵ It is, within and across languages, single argument verbs which are low in (or underspecified with regard to) *telicity*, *affectedness*, *agentivity*, and *volitionality* which exhibit variation in the choice of Perfect auxiliary; that is to say, verbs which are in the middle of the hierarchy in (26) (Sorace 2000:863). In particular, agentivity and volitionality seem to be relevant for OJ.

(26)	Affectedness/telicity	change of location change of state continuation of pre-existing state existence of state uncontrolled process controlled process (motional)
	Agentivity/volitionality	controlled process (non-motional)

While this has not been investigated in detail for OJ (in part because a detailed charting of the lexical semantics of OJ verbs is still pending), the verbs in (25) are lexically underspecified (or ambiguous) with regard to agentivity and volitionality, as shown here by the alternative translations provided, and it seems to be correct that *-(i)n-* is associated with a low and *-(i)te-* with a high degree of agentivity and volitionality. Note in this connection that *-(i)te-* forms an Imperative, while *-(i)n-* does not.

Thus, *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* form part of the expression of grammatical distinctions involving agentivity and volitionality. The question of the morphological status of *-(i)te-*

³⁵ Washio (2002) is the first to point out explicitly that selection of Perfect auxiliaries in Germanic and Romance involves similar issues to the selection of Perfective auxiliaries in OJ.

and *-(i)n-* can then be rephrased as one of whether content differences between expressions involving *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* reside in a conditioning environment or in the auxiliaries proper. Or, more precisely, whether content differences are *symbolic* or *indexical* in the terminology of Peircean semiotics (see Andersen 1980). In phonology, Jakobson pointed out some time ago (Jakobson & Halle 1971b:20f) that otherwise allophonic phonetic features under some circumstances can assume distinctive function, namely where they become the only overtly expressed reference to a conditioning distinctive feature which is suppressed. For example, in (by now very) conservative contemporary Japanese, [s] and [ʃ] are allophones of /s/, conditioned by the quality (tonality) of the following vowel;³⁶ when in that variety *suki* 'fond of' and *siki* 'ceremony' are pronounced [ski] and [ʃki], respectively, with the first vowel devoiced and dropped, the phonic difference between [s] and [ʃ] assumes distinctive function in the sense of being the only manifestation of the distinction between /i/ and /u/. In morphophonology matters are in principle no different, although they are complicated by the fact that the conditioning factors to which reference is made often are features of content rather than expression.

In these circumstances it is difficult to agree that OJ *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* should be different morphemes. They are variants, allomorphs, conditioned by syntactico-semantic features of the context in which they occur and to which they indexically point. In most cases the choice of Perfective auxiliary follows from lexical (syntactico-semantic) properties of agentivity and volitionality (or absence thereof) of the host verb, but in some cases these features are ascribed within the verb phrase, clause, or sentence in which the verb occurs, typically when a verb is lexically underspecified.³⁷

9. Stative

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 is known by many different names – e.g. resultative, durative, progressive, perfect, or imperfect – but the term 'stative' adopted here captures the basic meaning well. 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. As is well-known, the morphological Stative form etymologically results from univerbation of a construction consisting of the Infinitive followed by the existential verb *ar-*, with diachronic contraction (see Frellesvig forthcoming, §2.2) of the two contiguous vowels: **saki-ar-* 'bloom-be' > *sakyer-* 'be in bloom'. The Stative auxiliary has a systematically restricted distribution: It 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'), but is not formed on other verb classes.

The Stative is thus not used with the *Nidan* verbs, the secondary, diachronically derived classes. However, a periphrastic stative construction is available for that purpose, also formed with an existential verb, but following the Gerund of the verb, e.g. *panarete ar-* 'be separate' (<=*panare-* 'grow/become separate').³⁸ In OJ, this construction is

³⁶ In less conservative varieties [s] and [ʃ] are now separate phonemes, /s, ʃ/.

³⁷ The lexical specification of a verb can also be constructionally overridden (when a verb is - metaphorically - used in a novel constructional context).

³⁸ A periphrastic Stative can also be formed on the Continuative + *ar-*: VERB-*tutu ar-*.

synonymous with the morphological Stative. It is likely that the periphrastic stative construction arose in complementation of the Stative auxiliary to be used with the secondary verb classes as they emerged and later was generalized to occur with all classes (*cf.* Frellesvig (forthcoming)). In the later part of OJ we find contraction of the periphrastic stative, *e.g.* *nokorite ar-* 'remain' => *nokoritar-* (<= *nokor-* 'be left behind'). The form *-(i)tar-* is a prominent and important auxiliary in MJ; through EMJ it increased dramatically in frequency at the expense of *-yer-* which it eventually replaced in LMJ. However, although *-(i)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 phonological shortening of the periphrastic Stative VERB-*te ar-* => VERB-*tar-*, derived by synchronic phonological rules (*cf.* Frellesvig (forthcoming), §2.1).

10. Negative

The Negative exhibits a *composite* paradigm in OJ, with free variation between two basic variants, *-(a)n-* and *-(a)zu-*, in some forms: Conclusive, Infinitive, and Gerund, (27.a). Conclusive *-nu* is not infrequent in OJ; Infinitive *-ni* and Gerund *-nito* are rare already in OJ. For all three forms, the *-(a)n-* based forms went out of use in the transition from OJ to EMJ, to give the suppletive paradigm in (27.b) (which also includes a new Gerund variant). The OJ paradigm reflects a transitional stage, with the innovative *-(a)zu* based variants (27.d) having replaced and being in the process of replacing some of the forms in an earlier *Yodan* type paradigm (27.c). See Frellesvig (forthcoming, §3.1) for details about the reformation of the paradigm of the Negative.

(27)	(a)	(b)
	OJ (transitional) paradigm	EMJ (suppletive) paradigm
Conclusive	<i>nu ~ zu</i>	<i>zu</i>
Adnominal	<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i>
Exclamatory	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>
Infinitive	<i>ni ~ zu</i>	<i>zu</i>
Gerund	<i>nito ~ zute (~ zuni ~ zusite)</i>	<i>zute ~ de</i>
Concessive	<i>nedo</i>	<i>nedo</i>
Provisional	<i>neba</i>	<i>neba</i>
Conditional	<i>zupa</i>	<i>zupa</i>
Nominalized	<i>naku</i>	<i>naku</i>

	(c) Older <i>-(a)n</i> based forms	(d) Innovative <i>-(a)zu</i> based forms
Conclusive	<i>nu</i>	<i>zu</i>
Adnominal	<i>nu</i>	
Exclamatory	<i>ne</i>	
Infinitive	<i>ni</i>	<i>zu</i>
Gerund	<i>nito</i>	<i>zute</i>
Concessive	<i>nedo</i>	
Provisional	<i>neba</i>	
Conditional	<i>*naba</i>	<i>zupa</i>
Nominalized	<i>naku</i>	

Morphophonologically, the Negative paradigm is interesting. Its two basic variants belong to entirely different conjugational types: *-(a)n-* conjugates like a *yodan* verb (with a notable irregular gerund); note that *-(a)n-* thus is the only *Yodan* type *-n* base in the language. On the other hand, *-(a)zu* is like some of the forms within the adjectival paradigm which are built on the formant *-ku* (cf. Gerund *-kute* and Conditional *-kupa*); note also the variant Gerund *-zuni* and the extended Gerund *-zusite*. Syntactically, *-(a)zu* is like the existential verb *ar-* in using the Infinitive in conclusive function. Like adjectival *-ku*, *-zu* may be extended with *ar-* (and the Negative in fact combines directly only with the Conjectural and the Subjunctive in the *ar-* extended form: VERB-*zu aram-*, VERB-*zu aramasi*). In some cases, VERB-*zu ar-* was contracted to VERB-*zar-* (like adjectival ADJ-*ku ar-* sometimes being contracted to ADJ-*kar-*), giving forms such as VERB-*zaram-*, VERB-*zaramasi*.³⁹

10.1 Negative rhetorical questions

In negative rhetorical questions the Negative could occur at the end of a verb syntagm, rather than in its usual position, taking wide sentential scope (see Wrona forthcoming c, about wide syntactic negative scope in OJ). Thus there are a few examples with the Modal Past *-kyerazu ya*, e.g. (28). In this use, the Negative could even combine with the Perfective, in which case it was attached through an extension with *ar-*, (29).

(28) *kadura ni su beku nari-ni-kyera-zu ya* (MYS 5.817)
 hair-decoration Cop.Inf do.Concl Nec.Inf become-Perf-ModPast-Neg Q
 'shouldn't it have been made into a hair-decoration?'

(29) *saku beku nari-nite ara-zu ya* (MYS 5.829)
 bloom Nec.Inf become-Perf.Ger Exist-Neg Q
 'shouldn't it have started to bloom?'

³⁹ Note that there was no independent secondary negative auxiliary *-(a)zar-* (or secondary adjectival *-kar-*) in OJ. As with the shortened periphrastic Stative, */-tar-/* (§9), OJ instances of */-zar-/* (or */-kar-/*) are simple phonological shortenings of *ar-* extended negative (or adjectival) forms, VERB-*zu ar-* => VERB-*zar-* (or ADJ-*ku ar-* => ADJ-*kar-*). Note that although their integrity increased in and through MJ, *-(a)zar-*, *-kar-*, and *-(i)tar-* remained separable, as *-(a)zu ar-*, *-ku ar-*, and *-(i)te ar-*, in MJ.

11. Simple and Modal Past

The functional difference between the two past tense auxiliaries *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* is a controversial issue. Sometimes the term 'retrospective' is preferred instead of 'past', but an important function of both *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* is to refer to deictic past time. Some scholars (e.g. Sandness 1999:29-54) hold that *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* express entirely different grammatical categories and should not be contrasted, but that view has not won general acceptance. As explained in §7 above, the two past tenses are indeed in a relation of mutual exclusion and are paradigmatically opposed. The Modal Past is quite complex in usage compared with the Simple Past. It is widely acknowledged to involve some modal element, hence the name given it here, but this has proved difficult to pinpoint. Often a general difference is said to be one of directly experienced (*-(i)ki*) versus indirectly experienced, or evidential, past (*-(i)kyer-*). More specifically, the difference is traditionally set out as in (30). The Simple 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: it is 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, is said to have no modal meaning, but rather to resemble a *perfect* 'has/had been ...'.

(30)	OJ	Simple Past <i>-(i)ki</i>	Modal Past <i>-(i)kyer-</i>
		direct experience, historical accounts	hearsay, sudden realization, emphatic or exclamatory force; perfect

On the basis of the traditional description outlined in (30), the Turkish 'direct experience' versus 'indirect experience' past tenses are often cited as a close parallel to the OJ Simple Past versus Modal Past (as in Shinzato 1991), (31).

(31)	OJ Turkish	<i>-(i)ki</i> <i>-DI</i> Direct Past	<i>-(i)kyer-</i> <i>-mİş</i> Indirect Past
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Although this parallelism is fairly commonly accepted (e.g. Takeuchi 1999:101ff), it turns out on closer inspection to be quite general and to consist in some modal distinction among past tenses. In the following, I show, first, that a surface string VERB-*kyer-* may in fact represent one of two homophonous formations, only one of which involves the auxiliary *-(i)kyer-* (§11.1), and second that there is nothing 'indirect' or 'evidential' about the OJ Modal Past *-(i)kyer-*, which instead expresses 'speaker commitment' (§11.2). Both of these findings are based on 'distributional' facts in a broad sense.

11.1 'Perfect'

Examples where *-(i)kyer-* is said to function as a *perfect* on closer inspection turn out to involve an entirely different formation, namely the auxiliary verb *-(i)ko-* 'come to', *cf.* (8), combined with the Stative auxiliary *-yer-* to give *-(i)kyer-* 'has come to', which is homophonous with, but distinct from the Modal Past. This is for example clearly illustrated by (32), part of which is cited in Nakada 1983 as an example of Modal Past *-(i)kyer-* used as a perfect (p. 573, *s.v. ke₁ri*).

- (32) kamwiyo ywori ipi-tute-**kuraku**
god.age Abl say-transmit-come.Nmnl

sworamitu yamato no kuni pa
soaring Yamato Gen land Top

sumyekamwi no itukusiki kuni
ruling.deity Gen august.Adn land

kotodama no saki₁pu kuni to
word.spirit Gen bless.Adn land Comp

katari-tugi ipi-tugapi-kyeri
tell-continue.Inf say-continue-come.Stat.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) (MYS 5.894)

Viewed in its entirety, (32) involves the framing construction where reported speech is not only followed by a complementizer and a verb of reporting, but also introduced by the same, or a similar, verb in the Nominal form, schematically shown in (33) with the verb *ip-* 'say'.

- (33) ... *ipaku* 'reported speech' to *ipu*
say.Nmnl Comp say.Concl

In (32), the verb introducing and concluding the reported speech unambiguously incorporates the auxiliary verb *-(i)ko-* 'come to': *-kuraku* is the Nominal form of the auxiliary verb *-(i)ko-*, and not of the Modal Past *-(i)kyer-*, whose Nominal form is *-kyeraku* (*cf.* (9) and (16)). The form concluding the reported speech therefore also involves *-(i)ko-*, here in combination with the Stative auxiliary. Leaving aside the question of whether the Modal Past is etymologically related to *ko-* 'come', the auxiliary verb *-(i)ko-* and the auxiliary *-(i)kyer-* were clearly different at the OJ stage, both in their relative positions within a verb syntagm, *cf. maywopi-ki-ni-kyeri* ((6) above) which contains both *-(i)ko-* and *-(i)kyer-*, but on different sides of Perfective *-(i)n-*, and in their inflected forms, *cf.* (9) and (16). But the combination of the the auxiliary verb *-(i)ko-* with the Stative auxiliary *-yer-* is homophonous with the Modal Past auxiliary *-(i)kyer-*.

It turns out, then, that what has until now been understood as different uses or functions of one grammatical morpheme, *-(i)kyer-*, in fact are two entirely different formations which are homophonous. One is the auxiliary verb *-(i)ko-* combined with the Stative auxiliary *-yer-*; the other is the Modal Past auxiliary, whose functions will be described in §11.2 immediately below. The main environment where a distinction between the two can be formally made is in combination with a Perfective auxiliary: *-(i)ko-* + *-yer-* => *-(i)kyer-* do not further combine with a Perfective auxiliary (as Stative and Perfective are paradigmatically opposed and do not combine), whereas the Modal Past does combine with both of the Perfective variants: *-(i)te-kyer-* and *-(i)ni-kyer-* unambiguously involve the Modal Past. Clearly, more detailed research is called for in order to chart the differences between these two different formations in other environments and their further history within Japanese. This in turn will inform the interpretation of Old Japanese and possibly later Japanese texts.

11.2 Speaker commitment

There is little or no positive evidence for anything 'indirect' or 'evidential' about the OJ Modal Past *-(i)kyer-*. In particular, there are no good examples of the Modal Past used about *hearsay* in OJ: any sense of reporting in examples where a hearsay interpretation is not simply imposed by translators actually resides in a lexical verb of reporting and not in the auxiliary *-(i)kyer-*. The element which is common to the uses of the Modal Past (captured by 'sudden realization', 'emphasis' in the traditional description), may best be understood as *speaker commitment*,⁴⁰ imparting a sense of 'I tell you', as in examples such as (34) and (35), which clearly have nothing to do with indirect experience. Such a modal use of a past tense is well known from other languages, *e.g.* Norwegian, (36). In both (35) and (36), the past tense component is semantically overridden by the modal component, but that does not make the Norwegian past tense, or the OJ Modal Past, less of a past tense. It simply means that they have modal uses which pragmatically can dominate.

(34) *wegusi ni ware wepi-ni-kyeri* (K 49)
 smiling.sake Dat I get.drunk-Perf-ModPast.Concl
 'I became drunk on the sake of smiles!'

(35) *miyabwiwo ni ware pa ari-kyeri* (MYS 2.127)
 elegantier Cop.Inf I Top Exist-ModPast.Concl
 'what an elegantier I am!'

(36) *så fin jeg var nå!*
 so fine I was now
 'how nice I look!'

By contrast, the Simple Past *-(i)ki* is a neutral, simple preterite which places a situation before the time of speaking, or some other temporal reference point. The distinction between the Simple and Modal Past in OJ is similar to the modal distinction proposed – if not wholly uncontroversially – by Durst-Andersen (1996) for the two past tenses in Italian, see (37) (slightly adapted from Durst-Andersen 1996), with the *passato*

⁴⁰ I am grateful to Yuki Takubo for suggesting this term to me.

prossimo resembling the OJ Modal Past in expressing speaker involvement, in this case for example a lingering feeling of sadness, as opposed to the *passato remoto* which is said simply to report neutrally, like the OJ Simple Past. If Durst-Andersen's proposal is accepted, the OJ past tenses have more in common with the Italian past tenses than with the Turkish past tenses.

(37)	<i>passato remoto</i> no speaker involvement	<i>passato prossimo</i> speaker involvement
	<i>Stéfano morí nel '91</i> 'Stefano died in 91'	<i>Stéfano è morto nel '91</i> 'Stefano died in 91'

Positing explicitly an element of subjectivity as the defining characteristic of the Modal Past is nothing new, *cf. e.g.* Yoshida (1989) or Takeuchi (1999:101ff) who shows that such a basic proposal goes back to the 18th century. Sandness (1999:41ff) makes a good case for speaker subjectivity being an important semantic feature of *-(i)kyer-*, based on EMJ texts, but with no evidence regarding OJ. I would like here to point to two 'distributional' facts, in the widest sense, which underpin and serve to make more precise the interpretative intuition underlying earlier proposals of subjectivity. First, the Modal Past does not, as opposed to the Simple Past, have a Conditional form, *cf.* (16) above. This is a morphological property the Modal Past shares with the Conjectural auxiliary *-(a)m-*; both are subjective modals, and truly subjective modals do not form conditionals (*cf.* Lyons 1977:807, and for more recent references Larm 2005). Second, the difference between the two past tenses is perhaps most clearly brought out by a hitherto unappreciated, striking difference in their distribution in the two sets of OJ prose texts, (38).

(38)	<i>Senmyô</i> (Imperial Edicts) addresser focused: <i>from</i> an emperor/emperor	<i>Norito</i> (Liturgies) addressee focused: <i>to</i> the spirits
Simple Past	+	+
Modal Past	+	-

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 addressee focused, first of all being addresses *to* the deities/spirits; *Senmyô* on the other hand are addresser focused, being addresses *from* an emperor or empress. There is thus little scope for subjectivity and speaker commitment in the *Norito*. In the *Senmyô*, on the other hand, a clear pattern of usage may be observed which utilizes the distinction: the Modal Past is used in direct or indirect speech with some element of speaker commitment, *e.g.* (39)-(40). Conversely, the Simple Past is used in frame descriptions, almost entirely about divine or imperial past action (and with an honorific verb form), *e.g.* (41).

- (39) Sikaredomo, ima *pa* akiraka *ni* Nakamaro *ga* itupari
 However now Top clear Cop.Inf Nakamaro Gen deceit

ni ari-*kyeri* *to* *sirite* ...
 Cop.Inf Exist-ModPast.Concl Comp know.Ger

'However, knowing clearly now that it was Nakamaro's deceit' (S 28)

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

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

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

'However, ruling the land as emperor was laborious and hard!' (S 23)

- (41) Takama *no* *para* *yu* *amori-masi-si* *sumyera*
 high.heaven Gen plain Abl descend-Hon-SmplPast.Adn emperor

'an emperor who descended from the high heavens' (S 2)

The *Senmyō* 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 Simple 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 speaker involvement and commitment. Thus, the distinction between the two OJ past tenses has nothing to do with directness of experience; instead they differ in the expression of speaker commitment.

ABBREVIATIONS

Linguistic periods

EMJ	Early Middle Japanese
LMJ	Late Middle Japanese
MJ	Middle Japanese
NJ	Modern ('New') Japanese
OJ	Old Japanese

Sources

EN	<i>Engi-Shiki Norito</i> ; cited from NKBT 1. Numbers correspond to the unnumbered sequence in that edition, as well as to the numbering in Philippi 1990 [1959].
K	Songs/poems from <i>Kojiki</i> ; cited from NKBT 3.
MYS	Songs/poems from <i>Man'yōshū</i> ; cited from NKBT 4-7.
S	<i>Senmyō</i> ; cited from Kitagawa 1982.

Grammatical glosses

ABL	ablative
AND	adnominal
COMP	complementizer
CONCL	conclusive
CONJ	conjunctural
COP	copula
DAT	dative
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclamatory
EXIST	existential verb
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
HON	honorific
INF	infinitive
MODPAST	modal past
NEC	necessitive
NEG	negative
NMNL	nominal form
OPT	optative
PERF	perfective
Q	interrogative
SMPLPAST	simple past
STAT	stative
TOP	topic
TRANS	transitive

Verb classes

K1	<i>Kami itidan doosi</i> ('upper unigrade verb')
K2	<i>Kami nidan doosi</i> ('upper bigrade verb')
<i>Ka-hen</i>	<i>Kagyoo henkaku doosi</i> ('irregular <i>k-</i> verb')
<i>Na-hen</i>	<i>Nagyoo henkaku doosi</i> ('irregular <i>-n-</i> verb')
<i>Ra-hen</i>	<i>Ragyoo henkaku doosi</i> ('irregular <i>-r-</i> verb')
S1	<i>Simo itidan doosi</i> ('lower unigrade verb')
S2	<i>Simo nidan doosi</i> ('lower bigrade verb')
<i>Sa-hen</i>	<i>Sagyoo henkaku doosi</i> ('irregular <i>s-</i> verb')

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