

# TENSE AND ASPECT IN OLD JAPANESE



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# **Abstract**

## **Tense and Aspect in Old Japanese**

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This thesis analyses the nine main tense–aspect constructions in Old Japanese in more detail than ever before, exploiting the research possibilities created by the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese. The commitment to close textual reading and the interpretation of examples in context that is characteristic of traditional Japanese scholarship is combined with a determination to explain the distributional data revealed by the Corpus. Large samples are used to produce quantitative semantic analyses, allowing a new perspective on multifunctional constructions from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. All findings are placed within the wider perspective of cross-linguistic studies of tense and aspect, an approach often missing in Old Japanese scholarship.

This thesis is the most comprehensive analysis of Old Japanese tense and aspect to date. Some traditional conclusions are challenged, and light is shed on many previously unexplained phenomena. Resultative constructions are discovered to be even more pervasive in Japanese than previously thought, with at least five of the nine constructions I look at hypothesized to have begun as resultative constructions. In most cases these constructions have broadened to also denote ongoing activities, another characteristic of Japanese. This thesis thereby contributes to the cross-linguistic understanding of resultative constructions, and to the question of the validity and nature of the distinction between activities and states. It also shows the potential of an exemplar-based model of linguistic storage, which is seen to be a powerful tool for explaining both the multifunctionality of grammatical constructions and semantic change.



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## Abbreviations and conventions

The following abbreviations are used in linguistic glosses:

|       |                        |          |                      |
|-------|------------------------|----------|----------------------|
| 1SG   | First Person Singular  | IPFV     | Imperfective         |
| 2SG   | Second Person Singular | IPRF     | Imperfect            |
| 3SG   | Third Person Singular  | LOC      | Locative             |
| ABL   | Ablative               | NEC      | Necessitive          |
| ACC   | Accusative             | NEG      | Negative             |
| ACOP  | Adjectival Copula      | NEGCONJ  | Negative Conjectural |
| ADN   | Adnominal              | NMLZ     | Nominalizer          |
| ALL   | Allative               | NMNL     | Nominal              |
| AOR   | Aorist                 | NOM      | Nominative           |
| AUD   | Auditory               | NPST     | Nonpast              |
| CAUS  | Causative              | NPSTCONJ | Nonpast Conjectural  |
| CLF   | Classifier             | OPT      | Optative             |
| CNCL  | Conclusive             | PASS     | Passive              |
| CNCS  | Concessive             | PASSPTCP | Passive Participle   |
| COM   | Comitative             | PFV      | Perfective           |
| COMP  | Complementizer         | PL       | Plural               |
| COND  | Conditional            | POL      | Polite               |
| CONJ  | Conjectural            | POS      | Positive             |
| CONT  | Continuative           | PRES     | Present              |
| COP   | Copula                 | PRESPTCP | Present Participle   |
| DAT   | Dative                 | PRET     | Preterite            |
| DEL   | Delimitative           | PROH     | Prohibitive          |
| DES   | Desiderative           | PROV     | Provisional          |
| DUR   | Durative               | PST      | Past                 |
| EMPH  | Emphasis               | Q        | Interrogative        |
| EXCL  | Exclamatory            | RECP     | Reciprocal           |
| FOC   | Focus                  | RESP     | Respect              |
| GEN   | Genitive               | SEM      | Semblative           |
| GER   | Gerund                 | SEMEL    | Semelfactive         |
| HUM   | Humble                 | SG       | Singular             |
| INDIR | Indirective            | STAT     | Stative              |
| INF   | Infinitive             | SUBJ     | Subjunctive          |
| INFER | Inferential            | TOP      | Topic                |
| IMP   | Imperative             | TR       | Transitive           |
| INT   | Interjection           | VIS      | Visual               |
| INTR  | Intransitive           |          |                      |

The following abbreviations are used to identify texts:

|    |                         |     |                         |
|----|-------------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| BS | <i>Bussokuseki-ka</i>   | MYS | <i>Man'yōshū</i>        |
| EN | <i>Engishiki norito</i> | NSK | <i>Nihon shoki kayō</i> |
| KK | <i>Kojiki kayō</i>      | SM  | <i>Senmyō</i>           |

Modern Japanese examples are transliterated according to the revised Hepburn system, except that long vowels are transcribed *aa*, *ii*, *uu*, *ee*, *oo*.



# 1 Introduction

---

## 1.1 Aim and methodology

### 1.1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to give an account of grammatical tense and aspect in Old Japanese, (a) by studying them in more detail than has been done hitherto, and (b) by bringing the findings of modern linguistics to bear on Old Japanese.

#### 1.1.1.1 *OJ tense and aspect*

Old Japanese tense and aspect has been neglected for two reasons. First, study of pre-modern Japanese has tended to focus on Early Middle Japanese (800–1200). This may be because the EMJ material is more plentiful, or because the preserved genres in EMJ (mostly narratives) seem more conducive to study than the preserved genres in OJ (most poems, mostly short).

Second, although there are some book-length grammars of Old Japanese, there have been very few in-depth studies of specific aspects of Old Japanese grammar. Wrona (2008) is the only published example of which I am aware, and Frellesvig, Horn, Russell, and Sells (forthcoming) will be a welcome addition. One thesis has been written on Old Japanese tense and aspect (Watanabe 2008), but it remains unpublished.

Within my area of enquiry, ‘tense and aspect in Old Japanese’, I have had to be selective, however. A complete study of tense and aspect in Old Japanese would include not only the major verbal constructions and lexical aspect, but also minor verbal constructions (e.g. Durative *-ap-* and Durative *ari-*), a wider variety of auxiliary verb

constructions (e.g. *-(i)-pazime-* ‘begin to’ and *-(i)-watar-* ‘continue to’), and adverbial constructions (e.g. *madeni* ‘until’). My focus is the constructions that have long been studied under the heading of tense and aspect (*-yer-*, *-(i)te ar-*, *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*, *-(i)kyer-*, and *-(i)ki*) and some constructions that have usually been given less attention (*-(i)-wor-*, *-(i)tutu ar-*, and *-(i)te wor-*). I also consider the possibility of a zero construction. Since lexical aspect is such a complex topic, I do not undertake a detailed analysis of it in this study.

### **1.1.1.2 Modern linguistics and OJ**

Most work on OJ and EMJ has been done from within a traditional *kokugogaku* (‘study of the national language’) approach, and has not paid much attention to developments in general linguistics. The only thorough modern work on Old Japanese, Vovin (2005, 2009a), is very morphologically driven, and does not properly take into account the vast amount of cross-linguistic work on grammatical meaning that has been undertaken recently. In this study I have taken every opportunity to allow data from other languages to inform our understanding of Old Japanese.

## **1.1.2 Methodology**

### **1.1.2.1 Obtaining data**

The main source of my data has been the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ), a long-term research project that aims to develop a comprehensive annotated digital corpus of all extant texts in Japanese from the Old Japanese period. The texts currently included are described below in 1.2.1.2. As well as an online version of the corpus<sup>1</sup> which includes the original script and a Romanized version of all the texts currently

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<sup>1</sup> <http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/index.html>

included, there is an online lexicon<sup>2</sup> which includes counts of the different forms of all inflecting words and links to the poems in which those words can be found. Complex searches of the XML files of the texts of the corpus can be accomplished with applications such as the Oxygen XML Editor. The digital nature of the Oxford Corpus is an immense step forward in the facilitation of research on Old Japanese.

### ***1.1.2.2 Analysing data***

#### *1.1.2.2.1 Types of data*

The data at my disposal for this investigation was of two types, numerical and literary. The numerical data consists of counts of morphemes in particular forms, combinations, or environments. This data is uncontroversial and all that must be interpreted by the researcher is its significance. On its own, however, such data would not yield much information about Old Japanese tense and aspect, and so the more difficult literary data must also be tackled. The literary data consists of the actual texts of Old Japanese and the meanings of particular tense–aspect constructions in context. These meanings are much harder to identify, and in the next section I will briefly discuss some of the principles involved.

#### *1.1.2.2.2 Interpreting examples*

When trying to identify the function of a tense–aspect construction in context in a language of which one is not a native speaker (and Old Japanese of course has no native speakers), there are several types of evidence that can be taken into consideration.

The best kind of evidence is evidence from other words in the immediate context, especially adverbials, for example:

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<sup>2</sup> <http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/lexicon/lexicon.html>

- (1) 昨日社 年者 極之賀  
**kinopu**=koso tosi=pa **pate-sika**  
**yesterday**=FOC year=TOP **end-PST.EXCL**  
 春霞  
 paru-kasumi  
 spring-mist  
 春日 山尔 速 立尔来  
 kasuga=no yama=*ni* paya tati-*ni-kyeri*  
 Kasuga=COP.ADN mountain=DAT quick rise-PFV-INDIR.CNCL  
 ‘Although the year (only) **ended yesterday**, the spring mist has quickly risen on Mt Kasuga!’ (MYS.10.1843)

The adverbial *kinopu* ‘yesterday’ clearly places the event denoted by *pate-sika* ‘ended’ in the past, and so we can be sure of the past time reference of *pate-sika* here.

A second type of evidence is what the context can tell us about the communicative intent of the poet, for example:

- (2) 安吉加是能 布伎 古吉之家流 波奈能 爾波  
*aki-kaze=no puki kwoki-sik-yeru pana=no nipa*  
 autumn-wind=GEN blow-INF **stroke-spread-STAT.ADN** flower=GEN garden  
 伎欲伎 都久欲仁 美礼杼 安賀奴 香母  
*kijwo-ki tuku-ywo=ni miredo aka-nu kamo*  
 clear-ACOP.ADN moon-night=DAT see.CNCS tire-NEG.ADN EMPH  
 ‘I never tire of looking on a clear moonlit night at the garden where the autumn wind has blown and **has scattered** the flowers.’ (MYS.20.4453)

The first line of the above poem could be translated ‘the garden where the autumn wind blew and **scattered** the flowers’, but the poet seems to be saying that what he never tires of looking at is a moonlit garden full of scattered flowers. In other words, the wind’s scattering the flowers is not stated as a past event in its own right, but as an event that has *current relevance*. This justifies translating *kwoki-sik-yeru* as ‘has scattered’.

Less frequently, the prefaces and postscripts to the poems may provide important interpretive information, or wider cultural or scientific knowledge may be employed.

For example, the fact that wild geese were associated with autumn (Vovin 2009b: 120) may help us to interpret poems such as MYS.10.2194.

### 1.1.2.3 *Functions*

When interpreting tense–aspect constructions,<sup>3</sup> I attempt to determine their *functions*. In this section I explain what is meant by this term.

#### 1.1.2.3.1 *Defining functions*

Constructions in languages often have various senses or uses. For example, the English preposition *to* can be used in at least the following four ways (Haspelmath 2003: 211):

- |     |    |  |               |
|-----|----|--|---------------|
| (3) | a. | <i>Goethe went to Leipzig as a student.</i>        | (direction)   |
|     | b. | <i>Eve gave the apple to Adam.</i>                 | (recipient)   |
|     | c. | <i>This seems outrageous to me.</i>                | (experiencer) |
|     | d. | <i>I left the party early to get home in time.</i> | (purpose)     |

Many theories of linguistic meaning make a distinction between the *senses* and the *uses* of a construction, where *senses* are *conventional meanings* (stored in the brain) and *uses* are *contextual meanings* (not stored in the brain). Even if this distinction is found to be useful, in the preliminary stages of analysing a language it is often desirable not to draw this distinction, and in these cases the term *function* can be used, ambiguously between *sense* and *use* (Haspelmath 2003: 212).

A *function* is defined when at least one pair of languages differs with respect to this function, which is taken as evidence that the two functions are distinct in conceptual space (Haspelmath 2003: 217). For example, English groups *anterior-continuing* together with *current relevance of anterior* in the Perfect construction (*I've lived here*

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<sup>3</sup> I use the term *construction* in the manner of construction grammar (e.g. Croft 2001) to refer to any meaning-bearing element of language, whether mono- or polymorphemic (see Croft and Cruse 2004: 255).

*for five years*), but French groups it together with *present event* in the Present construction (*J'habite ici depuis cinq ans*). Therefore *anterior-continuing* can be treated as a distinct function in universal semantic space. Similarly, English groups *experiential* together with *current relevance of anterior* in the Perfect construction (*I've eaten whale three times*), while Japanese has a dedicated Experiential construction (*Watashi wa kujira o san-kai tabeta koto ga aru*). Therefore *experiential* too can be treated as a distinct function in universal semantic space. I give explanations of various temporal and aspectual functions in 1.3.1.2 and 1.3.2.2.

#### 1.1.2.3.2 *Functions and construal*

In the cognitive linguistic approach that I adopt in this thesis, functions are not simply different kinds of states of affairs in the real world to which constructions *refer*, but are instead different *construals* of states of affairs in the real world. For example, the following two sentences could *refer* to the same real-life event, but they *construe* it in different ways:

- (4) a. *I'm making a scarf for my mum at the moment.*  
 b. *I knit a section every night during the news.*

In (4a) the knitting of the scarf is construed as an ongoing activity, as shown by the Present Progressive construction and the adverbial *at the moment*. In (4b) the knitting of the scarf is construed as a habitual event, as shown by the Simple Present construction and the adverbial *every night*. Thus aspectual functions are not properties of *events*, but of *event construals*. For more on construal generally, see Croft and Cruse (2004: 40–73).

#### 1.1.2.4 *From functions to meaning*

When the functions of a construction have been identified we have a list of functions that each construction expresses, but it seems unlikely that such an

unstructured list is an accurate representation of the meaning of the construction in a language-user's brain. In this section I will consider three ways in which a collection of functions can be analysed, and indicate my preference.

#### 1.1.2.4.1 *Structuralist approaches*

Structuralist analyses such as Thieroff (2000) attempt to find an 'invariant meaning', 'general meaning', or *Gesamtbedeutung* for each construction, which is then modified in context to give the various specific uses of the construction. For example, the general meaning of the English Perfect might be said to be 'anterior', i.e. the time of the event is situated prior to a point of reference (Thieroff 2000: 276). With the appropriate context, the more specific uses of *current relevance of an anterior event*, *experiential*, *anterior-continuing*, etc. are conveyed. A construction has one *meaning* behind its many *uses*.

This is an attractive way of dealing with construction meaning, but it has many problems. First, in many cases the invariant meaning proposed for a construction is so abstract that it is implausible to propose that context alone supplies sufficient information for the hearer to correctly interpret the utterance and determine which use is intended. Haspelmath (2003: 214) cites Van Hoeske's (1996: 31) characterization of the Latin Dative case as an example: 'The dative serves as the limit of the predicate in the sense that it indicates the ultimate term towards which the action or process referred to tends'. Haspelmath comments that 'It seems quite impossible to derive the various functions of the Latin Dative case from such a description, unless one already knows what they are.' Bybee (2010: 54–55) cites the proposed 'not now' general meaning of the English Past, and likewise claims that it is hopelessly uninformative.

Second, the invariant meaning hypothesis is geared entirely towards synchronic description, and cannot easily accommodate semantic change over time. If the contextual interpretations of constructions were not stored somehow in the mind, there

would be no opportunity for them to become conventionalized, and therefore no potential for the meaning of the construction to change. In order for implicatures to be conventionalized, at least the most frequent implicatures must be stored, so that they can influence the future usage of the construction. As Bybee (2010: 187) states:

‘If inference and coercion did not produce incremental changes in meaning representation, grammatical meaning would not change and there would be no grammaticalization process. It is in fact these local changes in meaning that contribute to the overall meaning change in grammaticalization.’

Finally, experimental data has cast doubt on the structuralist model of construction meaning. While this model relies on constructions having a carefully defined meaning which is in principle equally well instantiated in all of its contextualized uses, psycholinguistic investigation has found that members of a category (which in grammar means tokens of use) are judged as being more or less typical of the category (Ross and Makin 1999: 208; Croft and Cruse 2004: 77–81). Such *prototype effects* have given rise to an alternative model of meaning.

#### 1.1.2.4.2 *Prototype approaches*

Prototype accounts such as those of Comrie (1985) and Dahl (1985) propose that constructions, rather than having a general meaning which must capture all the uses of a construction, instead have one or more prototypical uses, other uses being seen as deviations from a prototype. There are more and less sophisticated prototype models, and Dahl (1985) is one of the more sophisticated. He allows a category to have more than one focus (p. 4), and, rather than characterizing the focus of a category in terms of a list of prototypical properties, he allows for some properties to be of more importance in determining the focus (pp. 8–9). He gives the example of perfective constructions, where the focus is characterized by being both *perfective* (temporally bounded) and *past*,

although the *perfective* property is dominant. This means that deviations from the *past* property are more likely than deviations from the *perfective* property.

Prototype models are better than structuralist models at accounting for meaning synchronically, but they are still weak when it comes to explaining diachronic change. A prototype is in principle no less fixed and invariant than a comprehensive definition, and it is unclear in this model how change can occur. If, to use Dahl's (1985) terminology, the focus of a category is to shift over time, the deviations from that focus must somehow be stored in memory in order for them to influence the language-user's representation of that category. The *exemplar model* of linguistic storage proposes a way in which this might occur.

#### 1.1.2.4.3 *Exemplars and purport*

Recent work in cognitive linguistics (and particularly usage-based linguistics: see Bybee and Beckner 2010) has suggested an alternative explanation of prototype effects. The *exemplar model* of linguistic storage, which has gained support in phonology (Bybee 2001; Pierrehumbert 2001) and lexical semantics (Medin and Schaffer 1978; Cruse 2008; see also references in Ross and Makin 1999), is explained by one of its chief proponents as follows:

‘In this model, every token of experience is classified and placed in a vast organizational network as part of the decoding process. The major idea behind exemplar theory is that the matching process has an effect on the representations themselves; new tokens of experience are not decoded and then discarded, but rather they impact memory representations. In particular, a token of linguistic experience that is identical to an existing exemplar is mapped onto that exemplar, strengthening it. Tokens that are similar but not identical [...] to existing exemplars are represented as exemplars themselves and are stored near similar exemplars to constitute clusters or categories. Thus the phonetic shape of a word might consist of a set of phonetic exemplars that are very similar to one another.’ (Bybee 2006: 176)

One of the ways in which exemplar representation has been applied to lexical semantics is the *dynamic construal* model (Croft and Cruse 2004: 92–105; Cruse 2008).

According to this model, words do not have meanings, rather they have *purport*:

‘Each lexical item (word form) is associated with a body of conceptual content that is here given the name **purport**. [...] Purport is some function of previous experiences of (construed) occurrences of the word in specific situations. As such, it is continually developing: every experience of the use of a word modifies the word’s purport to some degree.’ (Croft and Cruse 2004: 100–101)

Cruse (2008: 45) notes that his model is similar to exemplar theory, writing that purport ‘is essentially a record of the range of contextualised interpretations that have been experienced by a speaker’. Note that Croft and Cruse (2004) do not commit themselves to the position where all generalizations over exemplars are made ‘online’, in the process of language production or comprehension. Some of the ‘purport’ of an expression may consist in generalizations that are stored.

Bybee (2010) argues that the exemplar approach is also applicable to grammatical meaning. In this case, Croft and Cruse’s (2004: 98) claim that ‘words do not really have meanings’ is equally applicable to grammatical constructions, which can also be said to form ‘exemplar clusters’. These exemplar clusters can explain both the prototypical function of a construction and its dominant parameters, as differentiated by Dahl (1985: 10–11). The prototypical functions are the most frequent functions of a construction—the functions represented by the most strengthened exemplars of the cluster. The dominant parameters are the elements of meaning most shared between exemplars, bearing in mind that stronger exemplars carry more weight.

#### 1.1.2.4.4 *Representing purport*

In giving an account of the grammatical tense and aspect constructions of Old Japanese, I am therefore attempting to give an account of their *purport*. How should this

be represented? Much as the exemplar cluster for the phonetics of a word is hypothesized to consist of exemplars of all the different phonetic forms that word takes (some exemplars stronger than others), the exemplar cluster for the semantics of a construction can be hypothesized to consist of exemplars of all the different uses that the construction has (some exemplars stronger than others). Assuming that exemplar strength depends on frequency, and that the OJ sources reflect that frequency, I will represent the strength of an exemplar by font size (see 3.3.7.2, 4.3.6.2, and 5.3.5.2 for examples).

Although ideally one would represent every example of the use of a construction, for obvious reasons that is not feasible. It would also leave unrepresented the generalizations over individual exemplars that language-users are hypothesized to make. In the exemplar clusters I produce, the exemplars are what seem to be the main functions of a construction, and therefore represent generalizations. When these functions overlap in a complex way, it is necessary to remove from the representation some information that, according to this model, would have been represented in the speaker's mind. For example, I propose in chapter 5 that Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* could be used with certain verbs to indicate different degrees of *mutativity* and *transitivity*. In the exemplar cluster at the end of the chapter, however, I only represent aspectual meanings. It is not to be expected that a two-dimensional model can accurately represent linguistic storage in the human mind.

## 1.2 Introduction to Old Japanese

For comprehensive introductions to Old Japanese, the reader is referred to Vovin (2005, 2009a) and Frellesvig (2010: 11–154). My concern in this section is only to provide necessary background for this particular study.

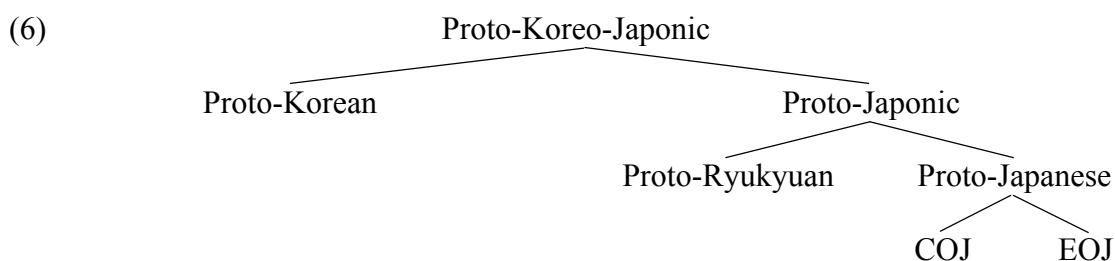
## 1.2.1 What is Old Japanese?

### 1.2.1.1 *Periodization and genetic affiliation*

Old Japanese is the oldest recorded stage of the Japanese language, which is usually divided into the following periods:

- (5) Old Japanese (before 800)
  - Early Middle Japanese (800–1200)
  - Late Middle Japanese (1200–1600)
  - Modern Japanese (after 1600)

Old Japanese is attested in two dialects, Central Old Japanese<sup>4</sup> (COJ) and Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ). They are usually hypothesized as being part of a language family that includes the Ryukyuan languages and the Korean language.<sup>5</sup>



A genetic relationship between Korean and Japanese is not accepted by all linguists (see Vovin 2010).

### 1.2.1.2 *Sources*

The Old Japanese corpus is small. The OCOJ includes all the most important sources, which are as follows:

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<sup>4</sup> Also called ‘Western Old Japanese’, e.g. by Vovin (2005, 2009a).

<sup>5</sup> Note that, unlike Frellesvig and Whitman (2008b), I use the term *Proto-Japonic* (instead of *Proto-Japanese*) to refer to the proposed common ancestor of Central Old Japanese, Eastern Old Japanese, and the Ryukyuan languages, and *Proto-Koreo-Japonic* (instead of *Proto-Korean-Japanese*) to refer to the proposed common ancestor of Korean and the Japonic languages.

- the *Kojiki kayō* (古事記歌謡 ‘Songs from the *Kojiki*’) 112 poems (2,527 words) from the *Kojiki* (古事記 ‘A Record of Ancient Matters’), a history written in *hentai kanbun* and compiled in 712
- the *Nihon shoki kayō* (日本書紀歌謡 ‘Songs from the *Nihon shoki*’) 133 poems (2,444 words) from the *Nihon shoki* (日本書紀 ‘Chronicles of Japan’), a history written in Chinese and compiled in 720
- the *Fudoki kayō* (風土記歌謡 ‘Songs from the *Fudoki*’) 20 poems (271 words) from five topographies (風土記 *fudoki*) written in *hentai kanbun* or Chinese and compiled between 714 and 733
- the *Bussokuseki-ka* (仏足石歌 ‘Poems on the Buddha’s Footprints’), 21 poems (337 words) written on a stone in Nara at some point after 753
- the *Man’yōshū* (万葉集 ‘Collection of a Myriad Leaves’), a collection of 4,685 poems (83,706 words) compiled after 759
- the *Shoku nihongi kayō* (続日本紀歌謡 ‘Songs from the *Shoku nihongi*’) 8 poems (134 words) from the *Shoku nihongi* (続日本紀 ‘The Continued Annals of Japan’), a history written in *hentai kanbun* and completed around 797
- 4 poems (60 words) from the *Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu* (上宮聖徳法王帝説 ‘A Biography of Prince Shōtoku, King of Law’), a biography written in *hentai kanbun* in the Heian period but probably based on seventh-century sources
- 27 liturgical texts (祝詞 *norito*; approximately 6,500 words) from volume eight of the *Engishiki* (延喜式 ‘Procedures of the Engi Era’), a work completed in 927 but preserving these texts in Old Japanese
- 62 imperial edicts (宣命 *senmyō*; approximately 14,000 words) from the *Shoku nihongi*

The final two sources (the *Engishiki norito* and the *Senmyō*) are prose, but all the others are poetry. Although the OCOJ includes the prose texts, at the time I was conducting my research they were not fully tagged for grammatical information, meaning that they could not be included in automatic searches. I have used the prose texts occasionally, but when I give numbers from the OCOJ, they exclude these two texts.

Most of the sources are in Central Old Japanese (COJ), but several poems in books 14 and 20 of the *Man’yōshū* are written in Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ). I do not consider EOJ in this study.

### 1.2.1.3 *Writing and interpretation*

#### 1.2.1.3.1 *Logographic and phonographic writing*

Old Japanese is written in Chinese characters, and it can be written either logographically or phonographically. When OJ is written logographically, characters are used to represent words, although one character may represent several related words.<sup>6</sup> When a character can represent more than one word, which word was intended by the writer is a matter of interpretation, although there are strong traditions. Sometimes included as logographic writing are the cases where a word is not represented orthographically at all, which, especially in the case of grammatical morphemes, is not infrequent. When OJ is written phonographically, characters are used to represent sounds: the source of the sound is either an approximation of the sound the character had in Chinese at a particular time, or the sound of one of the Japanese words it customarily stands for logographically.<sup>7</sup> In these cases there is much less uncertainty about the writer's intentions. In order to ensure the reliability of my data, I have generally only used examples where the tense and aspect constructions I analyse are written phonographically.

#### 1.2.1.3.2 *Textual interpretation*

The texts of Old Japanese exist in many variant forms, and different modern editions are based on different variants. In addition, different modern editions interpret the text differently, especially portions written logographically. The poetic texts in the Oxford Corpus are based on the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (日本古典文学大系 'Survey of Classical Japanese Literature') series. The *Man'yōshū* is published in four volumes as Takagi, Gomi, and Ohno (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962), and the other poetic

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<sup>6</sup> There are various ways of representing words logographically: see Vovin (2009b: 21) for a brief survey.

<sup>7</sup> Characters used phonographically in these ways are called *ongana* and *kungana* respectively.

material as Tsuchihashi and Konishi (1957). While I have used the Oxford Corpus for most searches and to generate morpheme counts, in examples I have preferred the textual interpretations of Kojima, Kinoshita, and Tōno (1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996), or occasionally Omodaka (1982–1984). The edition of the *Senmyō* used is Kitagawa (1982).

### 1.2.1.3.3 Presentation of examples

Old Japanese examples are presented in the following way:

- (7) 金            野乃            美草            苺            葺  
 aki=no        nwo=*no*        mi-kusa        kari        puki  
 autumn=GEN   field=GEN    RESP-grass    cut.INF    use.for.thatch.INF
- 屋杼礼里之            兔道乃        宮子能  
*yador-eri-si*            *udi=no*        *miyakwo=no*  
 stay-STAT-PST.ADN   Udi=GEN    capital=GEN
- 借五百礮                            所念  
*kar[i]-ipo=si*                            [o]mopoyu  
 temporary-dwelling=EMPH   think.PASS.CNCL
- ‘I remember the hut of the Udi capital (i.e. when the court had to stop on the road at Udi) where we **stayed**, having cut the grass of the autumn field and used it for thatch.’ (MYS.1.7)

The original forms of Old Japanese poems comprise short lines, usually of five or seven syllables. In order to preserve paper I have not hesitated to combine lines in my presentation of the poems, but I have not split lines.

The top line in my examples is the original script in the variant I have chosen to use (see 1.2.1.3.2). The second line is a phonemic transcription according to the system of Frellesvig and Whitman (2008a). Phonographic text is written in italics and logographic text in roman. Text with no orthographic representation is underlined.<sup>8</sup> Morphemes

<sup>8</sup> When the Adjectival Copula and certain verb inflections are not represented orthographically, they are not underlined, but appear in roman, as they can be considered to be encompassed by the logographic writing of the verb or adjective to which they attach.

within words are separated by hyphens; a particle hypothesized to be a clitic is separated from its host by an equals sign; reduplication is marked by a tilde. Vowels that may have been deleted in speech are placed in square brackets.<sup>9</sup> The portion of the poem to which the reader's attention is drawn is in bold script. The third line is a linguistic gloss. The abbreviations used are listed at the beginning of this thesis. The glosses of *makura-kotoba* (permanent epithets) and *jo-kotoba* (punning epithets) are placed in round brackets.

At the end of the poem comes an English translation. After the translation the poem's number is given according to the numbering system of the Oxford Corpus. When the whole poem has not been quoted, the example is said to be, for example, 'from MYS.1.7'.

## 1.2.2 Syntax and predicate morphology

### 1.2.2.1 Syntax

The normal word order in Old Japanese is SOV, although this can be varied in order to focus particular constituents. Subject and object drop are both permitted.

### 1.2.2.2 Predicate morphology

#### 1.2.2.2.1 Predicate structure

The structure of predicates in Old Japanese generally accords with the following schema (adapted from Frellesvig 2010: 51):

(8)    0            1            2                            3                            4  
       prefix – stem – auxiliary verbs – auxiliaries – flective

---

<sup>9</sup> This is a feature of Old Japanese textual interpretation that has been neglected for too long. See Appendix I for discussion.

Of these, a stem and a flective are obligatory, and there may be more than one auxiliary verb and auxiliary. The following is a sample verb syntagm:

- (9)    0        1        2        3+4  
          *uti-*    *ide-*    *ko-*    *si*  
          EMPH go.out come PST.ADN  
          ‘came out’

Predicates may also appear with *extensions*: see 1.2.2.2.4.

#### 1.2.2.2.2 *Verb classes and flectives*

Based on the way they inflect, Old Japanese verbs and auxiliaries can be sorted into eight classes: quadrigrade (QD), lower bigrade (LB), upper bigrade (UB), upper monograde (UM), *r*-irregular (*r*-irr), *n*-irregular (*n*-irr), *k*-irregular (*k*-irr), and *s*-irregular (*s*-irr). The *k*-irr and *s*-irr classes have only one member. The QD, *r*-irr, and *n*-irr classes have consonant-final roots, while the LB, UB, UM, *k*-irr, and *s*-irr classes have vowel-final roots. The table on the following page, adapted from Frellesvig (2010: 54), shows the inflected forms of the different predicate classes.<sup>10</sup>

#### 1.2.2.2.3 *Auxiliaries and auxiliary verbs*

An inflecting morpheme attached to a predicate is either only found in that position, in which case it is termed an *auxiliary*, or it is also found as an independent verb, in which case it is termed an *auxiliary verb*. There is a very limited number of auxiliaries, but numerous auxiliary verbs. The Old Japanese auxiliaries are as follows:

- |      |                            |                                    |                              |
|------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (10) | Respect <i>-(a)s-</i>      | Stative <i>-yer-</i>               | Indirective <i>-(i)kyer-</i> |
|      | Passive <i>-(a)ye-</i>     | Perfective <i>-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-</i> | Conjectural <i>-(a)m-</i>    |
|      | Passive <i>-(a)re-</i>     | Negative <i>-(a)zu ~ -(a)n-</i>    | Subjunctive <i>-(a)masi</i>  |
|      | Causative <i>-(a)sime-</i> | Past <i>-(i)ki</i>                 |                              |

<sup>10</sup> There are actually several Optative forms, e.g. *sinana*, *sinane(mo)*, *sinani(mo)*, *sinanamo*, and *sinanamu*. For the sake of simplicity, I only show the first in this table.

|                     | <b>QD</b>                     | <b>LB</b>             | <b>UB</b>              | <b>UM</b>           | <b>r-irr</b>          | <b>n-irr</b>         | <b>k-irr</b>         | <b>s-irr</b>       |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Base</b>         | <i>kak-</i><br>'paint, write' | <i>ake-</i><br>'open' | <i>okwi-</i><br>'rise' | <i>mi-</i><br>'see' | <i>ar-</i><br>'exist' | <i>sin-</i><br>'die' | <i>ko-</i><br>'come' | <i>se-</i><br>'do' |
| <b>Conclusive</b>   | <i>kaku</i>                   | <i>aku</i>            | <i>oku</i>             | <i>mi</i>           | <i>ari</i>            | <i>sinu</i>          | <i>ku</i>            | <i>su</i>          |
| <b>Adnominal</b>    | <i>kaku</i>                   | <i>akuru</i>          | <i>okuru</i>           | <i>miru</i>         | <i>aru</i>            | <i>sinuru</i>        | <i>kuru</i>          | <i>suru</i>        |
| <b>Exclamatory</b>  | <i>kake</i>                   | <i>akure</i>          | <i>okure</i>           | <i>mire</i>         | <i>are</i>            | <i>sinure</i>        | <i>kure</i>          | <i>sure</i>        |
| <b>Imperative</b>   | <i>kakye</i>                  | <i>ake(yo)</i>        | <i>okwi(yo)</i>        | <i>mi(yo)</i>       | <i>are</i>            | <i>sine</i>          | <i>ko</i>            | <i>se(yo)</i>      |
| <b>Neg. Conj.</b>   | <i>kakazi</i>                 | <i>akezi</i>          | <i>okwizi</i>          | <i>mizi</i>         | <i>arazi</i>          | <i>sinazi</i>        | <i>kozi</i>          | <i>sezi</i>        |
| <b>Optative</b>     | <i>kakana</i>                 | <i>akena</i>          | <i>okwina</i>          | <i>mina</i>         | <i>arana</i>          | <i>sinana</i>        | <i>kona</i>          | <i>sena</i>        |
| <b>Infinitive</b>   | <i>kaki</i>                   | <i>ake</i>            | <i>okwi</i>            | <i>mi</i>           | <i>ari</i>            | <i>sini</i>          | <i>ki</i>            | <i>si</i>          |
| <b>Gerund</b>       | <i>kakite</i>                 | <i>akete</i>          | <i>okwite</i>          | <i>mite</i>         | <i>arite</i>          | <i>sinite</i>        | <i>kite</i>          | <i>site</i>        |
| <b>Continuative</b> | <i>kakitutu</i>               | <i>aketutu</i>        | <i>okwitutu</i>        | <i>mitutu</i>       | <i>aritutu</i>        | <i>sinitutu</i>      | <i>kitutu</i>        | <i>situtu</i>      |
| <b>Conditional</b>  | <i>kakaba</i>                 | <i>akeba</i>          | <i>okwiba</i>          | <i>miba</i>         | <i>araba</i>          | <i>sinaba</i>        | <i>koba</i>          | <i>seba</i>        |
| <b>Provisional</b>  | <i>kakeba</i>                 | <i>akureba</i>        | <i>okureba</i>         | <i>mireba</i>       | <i>areba</i>          | <i>sinureba</i>      | <i>kureba</i>        | <i>sureba</i>      |
| <b>Concessive</b>   | <i>kakedo</i>                 | <i>akuredo</i>        | <i>okuredo</i>         | <i>miredo</i>       | <i>aredo</i>          | <i>sinuredo</i>      | <i>kuredo</i>        | <i>suredo</i>      |
| <b>Nominal</b>      | <i>kakaku</i>                 | <i>akuraku</i>        | <i>okuraku</i>         | <i>miraku</i>       | <i>araku</i>          | <i>sinuraku</i>      | <i>kuraku</i>        | <i>suraku</i>      |
| <b>a-stem</b>       | <i>kaka-</i>                  | <i>ake-</i>           | <i>okwi-</i>           | <i>mi-</i>          | <i>ara-</i>           | <i>sina-</i>         | <i>ko-</i>           | <i>se-</i>         |
| <b>i-stem</b>       | <i>kaki-</i>                  | <i>ake-</i>           | <i>okwi-</i>           | <i>mi-</i>          | <i>ari-</i>           | <i>sini-</i>         | <i>ki-</i>           | <i>si-</i>         |

The bracketed letter before the auxiliary indicates which stem it attaches to. Stative *-yer-* attaches directly to the verb root.<sup>11</sup>

In this thesis I will be concerned with those auxiliaries that have temporal and aspectual functions, namely Stative *-yer-*, Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, Past *-(i)ki*, and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*. Although some linguists (e.g. Takeuchi 1999: 91) have claimed that the auxiliary *-(a)m-* is a *future* marker, this has not gained widespread support. Both in OJ and EMJ, *-(a)m-* combines with Past *-(i)ki* in the function of conjecturing about a past event. I follow scholarly consensus and treat *-(a)m-* as a modal marker, calling it *Conjectural*. Although it may well have future *functions*, disentangling these from its modal functions is beyond the scope of this enquiry.

Several auxiliary verbs have aspectual functions, e.g. *-watar-* ‘continue to do’. However, these meanings are usually very specific and already quite well understood, and I have not considered them in this study.

#### 1.2.2.2.4 Extensions

There is also a very limited number of predicate extensions, which Frellesvig (2010: 123) describes as ‘inflecting clitics’. They are attached after the Conclusive form of most verb classes, but after the Adnominal form of UM and *r-irr* verbs. They are as follows:

- (11) Necessitive *be-*
- Negative Potential *masizi-*
- Nonpast Conjectural *ram-*
- Inferential *rasi-*
- Auditory *nar-*

Necessitive *be-* and Negative Potential *masizi-* have modal functions, while Nonpast Conjectural *ram-*, Inferential *rasi-*, and Auditory *nar-* have evidential functions. None

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<sup>11</sup> Some LMJ and NJ flectives and auxiliaries attach to the *onbin* stem, indicated by *-(l)*.

of these extensions can follow Past *-(i)ki*, and when they follow Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, Stative *-yer-*, Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*, or Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* these auxiliaries do not denote past time reference. Of particular importance in later chapters will be Nonpast Conjectural *ram-*, which is used to speculate about a nonpast event (Frellesvig 2010: 124; Vovin 2009a: 813–814).

### 1.2.3 The functions of inflected forms

I will discuss tense–aspect auxiliaries in more detail in following chapters, but here I introduce some of the inflected forms that the predicates of Old Japanese appear in.

#### 1.2.3.1 *Finite forms*

The finite forms of predicates are the Conclusive, the Adnominal, the Exclamatory, the Imperative, the Negative Conjectural, and the Optative. The functions of the Imperative, the Negative Conjectural, and the Optative will be clear from the glosses in the poems in which they appear, and here I will only introduce the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms.

##### 1.2.3.1.1 *The Conclusive*

The Conclusive is used for concluding declarative main clauses, and is also used before extensions (see 1.2.2.2.4) and final particles, and before the concessive conjunctive particle *to(mo)*.

##### 1.2.3.1.2 *The Adnominal*

According to Frellesvig (2010: 53, 55), the Adnominal has three functions. First, its most important function is as the form that a predicate takes when it appears in a relative clause. In Japanese (both Old and Modern), a relative clause appears before a noun without a relative pronoun, for example:

- (12) 奴波多麻能                      欲波                      安気奴                      良之  
*nuba-tama=no*                      *ywo=pa*                      *ake-nu*                      *rasi*  
(black-jewel=COP.ADN) night=TOP dawn-PFV.CNCL INFER.CNCL
- 多麻能                      宇良爾                      安佐里                      須流                      多豆  
*tama=no*                      *ura=ni*                      ***asari***                      ***suru***                      *tadu*  
Tama=COP.ADN bay=DAT **fish.INF** **do.ADN** crane
- 奈伎和多流                      奈里  
*naki-wataru*                      *nari*  
call-cross.over.CNCL AUD.CNCL

‘Day seems to have dawned. I can hear the cranes **that fish** in Tama Bay calling as they cross over.’ (MYS.15.3598)

Although I do not consider them to be relative clauses proper, the Adnominal form is also the form used for the verb of a subordinate clause concluded by some conjunctive particles, e.g. *ni*, *wo*, and those derived from nouns (e.g. *monowo* and *nape(ni)*).

Second, the Adnominal form is used to form headless nominalizations, having meanings such as (i) ‘the one who is fishing’ and (ii) ‘(the fact) that someone is fishing’.

Third, the Adnominal form is used as the predicate in exclamative or interrogative main clauses, often but not always in correlation with a focus or interrogative particle: *so* (or *zo*), *namo* (or *namu*), *ya*, or *ka*. Frellesvig (2010: 247–257) discusses this phenomenon at some length.

#### 1.2.3.1.3 *The Exclamatory*

The Exclamatory form is mainly used to form the predicate of an exclamative main clause, sometimes on its own, but often in correlation with the focus particle *koso*. It can also function as the predicate in a subordinate clause, meaning ‘if’, ‘when’, ‘although’, or ‘because’.

#### 1.2.3.2 *Nonfinite forms*

Old Japanese predicates have up to six nonfinite forms: the Conditional, the Provisional, the Concessive, the Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Continuative. These are

primarily *clause-linking* forms: they conclude one clause, and another clause follows. The last clause in the string is in a finite form. Since the functions of the Conditional, Provisional, and Concessive forms will be apparent from the glosses of the poems in which they appear, in this section I will focus on the Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Continuative.

#### 1.2.3.2.1 *Introduction*

The Old Japanese nonfinite forms can be analysed as *converbs*, although they may also have *medial verb* uses (see Haspelmath 1995). Converbs can have many functions, but here I am concerned with the temporal meanings of the Infinitive, Gerund, and Continuative forms: whether they denote simultaneity, anteriority, or posteriority in relation to the following clause. This is important (a) for determining the aspectual potential of verbs and (b) for determining the original function of auxiliaries and analytic constructions.

#### 1.2.3.2.2 *The Gerund*

The Gerund is the simplest of these three nonfinite verb forms. It denotes anteriority, specifically that the first event (denoted by the Gerund) must have begun before the second event begins.

Vovin (2009a: 893) states: ‘Sometimes the function of *-te* is defined as describing an action that is over before the action of the following predicate starts.’ He perhaps has in mind definitions for Modern Japanese such as that of Kuno (1973: 199), although Ikeda (1980: 213) could also be interpreted this way. Vovin continues, ‘This definition is not precise, because *-te* rather indicates that the first action (marked with *-te*) started to occur earlier than the next action.’ Example (13) below is a case where the traditional definition holds (the first event is over before the second begins) and example (14)

shows that Vovin’s modified definition is necessary (the first event begins before the second event begins):

- (13) 阿斯波良能 志祁志岐 袁夜迹  
*asi-para=no sikyese-ki wo-ya=ni*  
 Asi-plain=GEN humble-ACOP.ADN small-house=DAT  
 須賀多多美 伊夜 佐夜 斯岐弓  
*suga-tatami iya saya sikite*  
 sedge-mat so rustling spread.GER  
 和賀 布多理 泥斯  
*wa=ga puta-ri ne-si*  
 we=GEN two-CLF sleep-PST.ADN

‘**Spreading** rustling sedge mats in a humble little house on Asi Plain, the two of us slept.’ (KK.19)

- (14) 余呂豆余爾 伊麻志多麻比提  
*yorodu-yo=ni imasi-tamapite*  
 ten.thousand-generation=DAT exist.RESP-RESP.GER  
 阿米能 志多 麻乎志多麻波祢  
*ame=no sita mawosi-tamapane*  
 heaven=GEN under report-RESP.OPT  
 美加度 佐良受弓  
*mikadwo sara-zute*  
 capital leave-NEG.GER

‘May you **live** for ten thousand generations and govern all under heaven, not leaving the capital.’ (MYS.5.879)

Vovin (2009a: 894) also gives the following example in an attempt to show that two clauses linked by a Gerund (here, those ending *kika-site* and *kikosite*) can denote simultaneous events. However, the two clauses are in coordination, and restate the *same* event in different words. The poem continues with another coordination (the clauses ending *ari-tata-si* and *ari-kaywopa-se*):

- (15) 故志能 久迹迹  
*kwosi=no kuni=ni*  
 Kwosi=COP.ADN country=DAT

|                      |                              |            |           |                         |
|----------------------|------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| 佐加志                  | 賣遠                           | 阿理         | 登         | 岐加志弓                    |
| <i>sakasi</i>        | <i>mye=wo</i>                | <i>ari</i> | <i>to</i> | <b><i>kika-site</i></b> |
| wise.CNCL            | woman=ACC                    | exist.CNCL | COMP      | <b>hear-RESP.GER</b>    |
|                      |                              |            |           |                         |
| 久波志                  | 賣遠                           | 阿理         | 登         | 伎許志弓                    |
| <i>kupasi</i>        | <i>mye=wo</i>                | <i>ari</i> | <i>to</i> | <b><i>kikosite</i></b>  |
| beautiful.CNCL       | woman=ACC                    | exist.CNCL | COMP      | <b>hear-RESP.GER</b>    |
|                      |                              |            |           |                         |
| 佐用婆比爾                | 阿理多多斯                        |            |           |                         |
| <i>sa-ywobapi=ni</i> | <b><i>ari-tata-si</i></b>    |            |           |                         |
| ?-woo.INF=DAT        | <b>DUR-leave-RESP.INF</b>    |            |           |                         |
|                      |                              |            |           |                         |
| 用婆比迺                 | 阿理加用婆勢                       |            |           |                         |
| <i>ywobapi=ni</i>    | <b><i>ari-kaywopa-se</i></b> |            |           |                         |
| woo.INF=DAT          | <b>DUR-go-RESP.EXCL</b>      |            |           |                         |

‘...**hearing** that there was a wise woman in the land of Kwosi, **hearing** that there was a beautiful woman, he **kept setting out** to woo her, he **kept going** to woo her.’ (from KK.2)

Each coordinated pair describes one event. The first event (denoted by the two Gerund clauses) precedes the second event (denoted by the Infinitive and Exclamatory clauses). This is not an example of the Gerund denoting an event that is simultaneous with another.

The anterior nature of the Gerund is reflected in the analytic constructions it forms:

*ar-* ‘exist’  
*ok-* ‘put’  
*watar-* ‘go across’ (only in MYS.17.4004, following Negative *-(a)zute*)  
*wor-* ‘be sitting, be still’

The examples of *ok-* and *watar-* are negligible (see Vovin 2009a: 1,096–1,098), and the examples of *wor-* are few, but the construction *-(i)te ar-* is a major aspect construction. All of them rely on a sense of anteriority between V1 and V2.

### 1.2.3.2.3 *The Infinitive*

The primary meaning of the Infinitive in OJ seems to be to encode anteriority, for example:

- (16) 伊布 許等 夜美 靈剋 伊乃知 多延奴礼  
*ipu koto yami tama-kiparu inoti taye-nure*  
 speak.ADN NMLZ **stop**.INF jewel-wear.out.ADN life **cease**-PFV.EXCL  
 ‘...he **stopped** speaking, and his worn-out jewel of a life **ceased**.’  
 (from MYS.5.904)

There are some examples, however, where it connects two events that are simultaneous:

- (17) 安伎可是波 比爾 家爾 布伎奴  
*aki-kaze=pa pi=ni kye-ni puki-nu*  
 autumn-wind=TOP day=DAT unusual-COP.INF blow-PFV.CNCL  
 和伎毛故波 伊都 登 加 和礼乎  
*wa-g-imo-kwo=pa itu to ka ware=wo*  
 I-GEN-beloved-girl=TOP when COMP FOC I=ACC  
 伊波比 麻都 良牟  
*ipapi matu ramu*  
**pray**.INF **wait**.CNCL NPSTCONJ.ADN  
 ‘The autumn wind has begun to blow unusually (strongly) these days. My beloved is probably **waiting** for me, **praying**, (thinking) “When?”.’  
 (MYS.15.3659)

The above could be viewed as a compound *ipapi-mat-* ‘wait while praying’. However, in this compound the two events happen simultaneously, and would presumably only be a viable compound if the Infinitive could signal a relation of simultaneity.

Compounds in OJ where V1 is an Infinitive far outnumber compounds where V1 is a Gerund. Frellesvig, Horn, Russell, and Sells (2010) identify 44 candidates for auxiliary verbs that follow the Infinitive:

|                                 |                       |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| -ape- ‘endure’                  | -kapyes- ‘put back’   |
| -e- ‘be able’                   | -kate- ‘prevail’      |
| -idas- ‘remove’                 | -ko- ‘come’           |
| -ide- ‘exit, remove’            | -kose- ‘do for me’    |
| -imas- ‘go, come, exist (RESP)’ | -kwos- ‘put over’     |
| -ir- ‘go in’                    | -kwoye- ‘go over’     |
| -ire- ‘put in’                  | -masar- ‘exceed’      |
| -itadak- ‘receive’              | -matur- ‘serve (HUM)’ |
| -kake- ‘hang’                   | -mi- ‘see’            |
| -kane- ‘fail’                   | -myes- ‘see.RESP’     |
| -kapyer- ‘come back’            | -ok- ‘put’            |

-*pate*- ‘end’  
 -*sake*- ‘separate’  
 -*sik*- ‘spread’  
 -*some*- ‘begin’  
 -*sugus*- ‘put beyond’  
 -*sugwi*- ‘go beyond’  
 -*tamap*- ‘give (RESP)’  
 -*tamape*- ‘receive (HUM)’  
 -*tar*- ‘suffice’  
 -*tat*- ‘stand’  
 -*tate*- ‘make stand’

-*topor*- ‘go through’  
 -*topos*- ‘put through’  
 -*tug*- ‘continue, convey’  
 -*tuge*- ‘continue, convey’  
 -*tuk*- ‘stick’  
 -*tuke*- ‘affix’  
 -*watar*- ‘go across’  
 -*watas*- ‘put across’  
 -*yam*- ‘stop’  
 -*yame*- ‘make stop’  
 -*yuk*- ‘go’

It seems reasonable to conclude that the Infinitive in OJ is more grammaticalized than the Gerund: it can signal simultaneity as well as sequentiality, and it enters into more compounds. We can assume that the expansion of the Infinitive from only coding anteriority to also coding simultaneity was the motivation for the coining of the Gerund, to more clearly (or more expressively) mark anteriority.

#### 1.2.3.2.4 *The Continulative*

As has long been noted by traditional Japanese linguists (e.g. Ikeda 1980), use of the Continulative as a clause-linker signals that the event expressed by the Continulative clause is simultaneous with the event expressed by the matrix clause. It denotes that one event is iterated or continued while another event occurs.

##### 1.2.3.2.4.1 With atelic verbs

If the event denoted by the Continulative clause is construed as atelic, the continuation is straightforward, for example:

(18) 波流 佐礼婆  
*paru sareba*  
 spring arrive.PROV

|             |             |                 |               |             |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|
| 麻豆          | 麻豆          | 耶登能             | 烏梅能           | 波奈          |
| <i>madu</i> | <i>saku</i> | <i>yadwo=no</i> | <i>ume=no</i> | <i>pana</i> |
| first       | bloom.ADN   | house=GEN       | plum=GEN      | flower      |

比等利 美都都 夜 波流比 久良佐武  
*pitori mitutu ya paru-pi kurasa-mu*  
 alone **look.at.CONT** FOC spring-day spend-CONJ.ADN

‘When spring comes, will I spend the spring days **looking** alone at the first plum blossom to bloom at my house?’ (MYS.5.818)

The events *looking at the plum blossom* and *spending the spring days* are simultaneous.

#### 1.2.3.2.4.2 With change of state verbs

However, change of state verbs also have Continuative forms. I have not found any examples where the Continuative form of such verbs denotes the continuation of the change itself, except where it is in combination with Perfective *-(i)n-* (see 5.3.2.3.1). They seem always to denote the continuation of the *result state* of the change, for example:

- (19) 朝戸出 公 足結乎  
*asa-two-de=no kimi=ga ayupi=wo*  
 morning-gate-go.out.INF=COP.ADN lord=GEN leg.sash=ACC
- 閏 露原  
*nurasu tuyu-para*  
 make.wet.ADN dew-plain
- 早 起 出乍 吾毛  
*tuto=ni okwi idetutu ware=mo*  
 early.morning=DAT **get.up.INF go.out.CONT** I=TOP
- 裳下 閏奈  
*mo-suswo nurasana*  
 robe-sleeve make.wet.OPT

‘The dew plain that makes your leg sash wet when you go out in the morning—I want it to make the sleeves of my robe wet **when** I too **have got up and gone out** early in the morning.’ (MYS.11.2357)

It is after *going out* that the *making wet* occurs, but the Continuative is used rather than the Gerund. The following is another example (see also MYS.11.2681):

- (20) 無耳之                      池羊                      蹄恨之  
*miminasi=no*                      *ike=si*                      *uramyesi*  
 Miminasi=COP.ADN    pond=EMPH    reproachful.CNCL
- 吾妹兒之                      來乍                      潛者                      水波                      將涸  
*wa-g-imo-kwo=ga*                      **kitutu**                      *kadukaba*                      *midu=pa*                      *karenamu*  
 I-GEN-beloved-girl=GEN    **come.CONT**                      *dive.COND*                      *water=TOP*                      *dry.up.OPT*
- ‘Damned Miminasi Pond! Would that your water had dried up when my beloved, **having come**, dived into you.’ (MYS.16.3788)

Here too, the *diving* event happens not while the event of *coming* is still continuing, but while the event of *having come* is continuing, i.e. the result state of *ko-* ‘come’.

### 1.2.3.2.5 Summary

To summarize, the Gerund denotes that the first event began before the second event. The Infinitive normally denotes this, but can also denote simultaneity. The Continuative denotes simultaneity, either of an atelic event or of the result state of a telic event. These conclusions have implications both for the identification of the aspectual potential of verbs and for determining the original meaning of auxiliaries and analytic constructions.

## 1.3 Tense and aspect

In this section I will provide some necessary background for the analysis of tense and aspect in this thesis.

### 1.3.1 Temporal reference

#### 1.3.1.1 Introduction

##### 1.3.1.1.1 Definition

Adapting Comrie’s (1985: 9) definition of ‘tense’ and Bertinetto and Delfitto’s (2000: 190) definition of ‘temporal reference’, I consider the *temporal reference* of an utterance to be reference to ‘location in time’. This expression can be obligatory or optional, grammatical or lexical. Defined this way, temporal reference is very broad,

and covers grammatical constructions such as the English Past and lexical constructions such as *yesterday* and *just after she left*.

#### 1.3.1.1.2 *Contributors to the temporal reference of an utterance*

There can be three main contributors to the temporal reference of an utterance: tense constructions, adverbial constructions, and the default interpretations of verbs and aspect constructions. English makes use of the first two, for example:

(21) *Yesterday between three and four I was in my room.*

There are three expressions of temporal reference in the above utterance: the adverbial *yesterday*, the adverbial *between three and four*, and the Past tense verb *was*. The Past situates an event before the moment of speech, while the two adverbials make the temporal reference more specific.

In a tenseless language such as Mandarin Chinese, different types of verb and different aspect constructions have default temporal interpretations. For example, verbs denoting changes of state have a default past interpretation:

(22) *Zhāngsān bǎ wǒ bǎng zài yǐzi shàng*  
Zhangsan ACC I tie in chair on  
'Zhangsan **tied** me in a chair.'

This can be overridden with adverbial expressions, however.

#### 1.3.1.1.3 *Grammatical expression of temporal reference*

While both grammatical and lexical expressions are used to construe the temporal reference of an utterance, and a full study of temporal reference would include both grammatical and lexical constructions, I will restrict myself to *grammatical* expressions of temporal reference. I follow Comrie's (1985: 10–12) definition of 'grammatical',

where a maximally grammatical expression is both obligatory and morphologically bounded, while a maximally lexical expression is both optional and morphologically free. It should be borne in mind that neither obligatory–optional nor bounded–free is a binary opposition, and that they are extremes on continuums (see also Dahl 1985: 22–23). In Old Japanese, however, it is clear that the grammatical expressions of temporal reference are the two auxiliaries *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-*, and possibly also a zero construction. As mentioned in 1.2.2.2.3, Conjectural *-(a)m-* primarily marks mood.

### 1.3.1.2 *Temporal functions*

There are a number of cross-linguistically recognized functions in the semantic domain of tense, of which the following is a simplified representation:

(23)    distant    —    recent    —    present    —    immediate    —    distant  
           past            past            future            future

There are languages where far more distinctions are made in the past (see Comrie 1985: 83–101), but these do not appear to be relevant to Old Japanese. In fact, remoteness distinctions in general do not seem to be relevant to Old Japanese, so I will usually speak of *past* and *future* as undifferentiated functions. Following Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) and Klein (1994), and contrary to Fleischman (1990), I consider the *generic* function to be an aspect within the present tense, rather than a time distinct from present.

I have chosen not to include ‘relative present’, ‘present in the past’, ‘historical present’, etc. as functions in the above diagram, since these phenomena would seem to be best explained by describing how a language uses the tenses at its disposal, rather than by positing distinct functions. In the next two sections I look at these unusual uses of tense constructions.

### 1.3.1.3 *Relative tense*

#### 1.3.1.3.1 *What is relative tense?*

##### 1.3.1.3.1.1 Relative tense in embedded clauses

Tenses do not locate events *calendrically* in the manner of expressions such as *at noon on 13 May 1984*. Instead, they locate events *relative to a moment of reference*. When this moment of reference is the moment of speech, the construction is said to denote *absolute tense*. When this moment of reference is some other moment, the construction is said to denote *relative tense*. Compare the following examples (adapted from Kuno 1973: 261–262):

- (24) a. *Hanako=ga Taroo=o ai shite iru*  
Hanako=NOM Taro=ACC love do.GER exist.NPST  
'Hanako **is in love** with Taro.'
- b. *Taroo=wa Hanako=ga kare=o ai shite iru*  
Taro=TOP Hanako=NOM he=ACC love do.GER exist.NPST  
*koto=o shitta*  
NMLZ=ACC find.out.PST  
'Taro found out that Hanako **was in love** with him.'
- c. *Taroo=wa Hanako=ga kare=o ai shite ita*  
Taro=TOP Hanako=NOM he=ACC love do.GER exist.PST  
*koto=o shitta*  
NMLZ=ACC find.out.PST  
'Taro found out that Hanako **had been in love** with him.'

In (24a) the Nonpast *ai shite iru* denotes absolute tense: the *being in love* is present relative to the moment of speech. In (24b), however, the Nonpast *ai shite iru* denotes relative tense: the *being in love* is present relative to Taro's *finding out*. Note that the English translation needs to use the Past tense here. (24c) shows what meaning is

obtained if the Past *ai shite ita* is used. This is also relative tense: the *being in love* is past relative to Taro's *finding out*, and English must use the Past Perfect.

#### 1.3.1.3.1.2 Relative tense in main clauses

Relative tense is usually considered to be a phenomenon confined to embedded clauses. However, Soga (1983: 208–217) examines examples such as the following:

(25) *Ni-ji=no basu=wa moo de-mashita ka*  
 two-o'clock=COP.ADN bus=TOP already leave-POL.PST Q  
 'Has the two o'clock bus already left?'

(26) a. *Iie, mada de-masen*  
 no yet leave-POL.NEG.NPST  
 b. *\*Iie, mada de-masen deshita*  
 no yet leave-POL.NEG.NPST COP.POL.PST  
 'No, it hasn't left yet.'

While the question uses the Past tense, the answer must use the Nonpast tense. It seems that the tense of the answer is in some sense determined by the tense of the question.

#### 1.3.1.3.2 The analysis of relative tense

There are at least four ways in which constructions that denote relative tense have been explained: (i) the constructions are considered to denote aspect rather than temporal reference, (ii) they are considered to be relative tenses under the scope of matrix tenses, (iii) they are considered to be in completely free variation, or (iv) they are in fairly free variation with some sort of pragmatic limitation. I will look at each of these in turn, focusing on the interpretation of the Modern Japanese Past and Nonpast constructions.

### 1.3.1.3.2.1 Aspect

It has been claimed that the Modern Japanese Past and Nonpast forms are *aspect* constructions rather than *tense* constructions. Soga (1983: 199) uses the terms ‘completive’ and ‘incompletive’ to denote the aspectual functions often claimed for the Past and the Nonpast respectively. Their normal use in embedded clauses supports this. However, examples such as the following (adapted from Soga 1983: 15) make an aspectual interpretation difficult:

- (27) *Kyooto=ni ita toki, Tanaka-san=ni atta*  
Kyoto=DAT exist.PST time Tanaka-RESP=DAT meet.PST  
‘When (I) **was** in Kyoto, I met Mr Tanaka.’

The Nonpast form *iru* would be just as acceptable in the above sentence, but there is no difference in ‘completion’ between the two. The state of *my being in Kyoto* is not ‘completed’ when the event of *my meeting Mr Tanaka* takes place. Kuno (1973), Soga (1983), and Ogihara (1996, 1999) agree that the Japanese Past and Nonpast forms are not aspect forms.

### 1.3.1.3.2.2 Syntactic scope: Ogihara (1996, 1999)

If it is accepted that the Past and Nonpast are not aspect forms, then what governs their interpretation in embedded clauses? Ogihara (1996, 1999) sets out a theory of relative tense intended to explain the Japanese data. In short, he argues that ‘all tense morphemes are interpreted as embedded in the scope of structurally higher tenses’ (Ogihara 1996: 2). Put more technically, ‘every tense morpheme is interpreted in relation to the tense that locally c-commands it’ (Ogihara 1999: 333). In other words, the tense of the matrix clause establishes a *reference time* in relation to which the embedded tense is expressed. This can be illustrated with the following two examples (adapted from Kuno 1973: 261):

- (28) a. *Taroo=wa hon=o kaite iru to itta*  
 Taro=TOP book=ACC write.GER exist.NPST COMP say.PST  
 ‘Taro said that he **was writing** a book.’
- b. *Taroo=wa hon=o kaite ita to itta*  
 Taro=TOP book=ACC write.GER exist.PST COMP say.PST  
 ‘Taro said that he **had been writing** a book.’

In both examples the predicate *itta* ‘said’ establishes a reference time in the *past* relative to which the event of *writing* is expressed. In (28a) the *writing* event is *nonpast* relative to the *saying* event (i.e. when Taro *speaks*, the event of *writing a book* is a *nonpast* (specifically *present*) event). In (28b) the *writing* event is *past* relative to the *saying* event (i.e. when Taro *speaks*, the event of *writing a book* is a *past* event). English, which only uses *absolute* tense, accomplishes this ‘past-in-the-past’ sense with the Past Perfect construction.

However, Ogihara (1999: 333) admits that there are some problems for his relative tense theory. He gives the following two examples:

- (29) *Taroo=wa jibun=ga gan datta to shitte ita*  
 Taro=TOP self=NOM cancer COP.PST COMP find.out.GER exist.PST  
 ‘Taro knew that he **had** cancer.’
- (30) *Taroo=wa Tookyo=ni ita toki apaato=ni sunde ita*  
 Taro=TOP Tokyo=DAT exist.PST time flat=DAT live.GER exist.PST  
 ‘When Taro **was** in Tokyo, he lived in a flat.’

According to Ogihara’s theory, the above sentences should have *pluperfect* meaning, i.e. the event in the embedded clause should be interpreted as prior to that in the matrix clause. As the English glosses show, however, this is not the case. In the first case the event of *having cancer* might have partially preceded the event of *knowing*, but there was a large period of overlap. In the second example the two events are probably

temporally coterminous. It should be noted that the Nonpast can be used in the above examples without appreciably changing the meaning.

Ogihara (1999: 334) notes that if the matrix predicate of (29) above is replaced with *shinjite ita* ‘believed’, the absolute tense interpretation is impossible. (Presumably the interpretation is pluperfect.) He concludes that ‘clauses that are presupposed to be true behave differently’ and are ‘scoped out of the matrix clause’. However, Soga (1983: 80) cites examples such as the following, where factivity does not seem to be a factor:

- (31) *Sensee=ni natta hito=ni atta*  
 teacher=DAT **become.PST** person=DAT meet.PST  
 ‘I met someone who { **had become** / (later) **became** } a teacher.’

In the above sentence, *natta* can be interpreted as a *relative past* ‘had become’ or as an *absolute past* ‘(later) became’. It seems that factivity cannot explain all the exceptions to Ogihara’s theory.

#### 1.3.1.3.2.3 Free variation: Soga (1983)

Soga (1983) documents a huge variety in the embedded use of the Past and Nonpast. In many contexts the speaker can choose to express the tense of an event in an embedded clause *relatively* (relative to the tense of the matrix clause) or *absolutely* (relative to the moment of speech). The previous example showed how the Past can be interpreted as an *absolute past* or as a *relative past* (past-in-the-past). The following example shows similar variation:

- (32) a. *Kyoto=ni iru toki Tanaka-san=ni atta*  
 Kyoto=DAT **exist.NPST** time Tanaka-RESP=DAT meet.PST  
 b. *Kyoto=ni ita toki Tanaka-san=ni atta*  
 Kyoto=DAT **exist.PST** time Tanaka-RESP=DAT meet.PST  
 ‘When (I) **was** in Kyoto, I met Mr Tanaka.’

In (32a) the speaker chooses to construe the event *being in Kyoto* as *nonpast* relative to the event *meeting Mr Tanaka*. In (32b), on the other hand, the speaker chooses to construe the event *being in Kyoto* as *past* relative to the speech time. Soga (1983: 15) explains such variation in terms of a ‘psychological shift of the speech time’. We might prefer to talk of a shift of *reference time* from the time of speech to some other time.

When considering what governs the shift in reference time, Soga (1983: 215) cites the following two sentences:

- (33) a. *Watakushi=wa kare=ga oshiete iru daigaku=o*  
 I=TOP he=NOM teach.GER exist.NPST university=ACC  
*hoomon shita*  
 visit do.PST  
 ‘I visited the university where he **was teaching**.’
- b. *E, dare=ga oshiete ita daigaku=o*  
 INT who=NOM teach.GER exist.PST university=ACC  
*hoomon shi-mashita ka*  
 visit do-POL.PST Q  
 ‘Sorry, you visited the university where *who* **was teaching**?’

In both sentences either *oshiete iru* (Nonpast) or *oshiete ita* (Past) is possible. In the particular combination above, the use of the Past in the second sentence is said to give a flavour of ‘aloofness’: the speaker has chosen to change the reference time from the time of the visit to the time of speech. Soga implies that such perspective shift is always available.

#### 1.3.1.3.2.4 Pragmatic limitation: Kuno (1973)

Soga’s (1983) proposal of free variation (with implications of solidarity or aloofness) has the advantage that it can be extended to the question-and-answer situations where relative tense seems to apply but where *syntactic* scope is not relevant. Kuno (1973), however, writing before Soga (1983), criticizes the view that there is more or

less free variation between Past and Nonpast in embedded clauses, noting that there are many cases where the variation is not free.

First, there are cases where an absolute interpretation is ruled out. One of these is when a relative clause ends with an adjective or adjectival noun,<sup>12</sup> for example:

- (34) *Taroo=wa taka-katta kuruma=o katta*  
 Taro=TOP **expensive-ACOP.PST** car=ACC buy.PST  
 ‘Taro bought a car that **had been expensive.**’

The above example cannot mean that the car was expensive at the time that Taro bought it, but only that it had been expensive at some point before that and that it was no longer expensive when he bought it. Another case is where the two events are logically dependent on each other, for example:

- (35) *Taroo=wa Hanako=ga tsukutta keeki=o tabeta*  
 Taro=TOP Hanako=NOM **make.PST** cake=ACC eat.PST  
 ‘Taro ate the cake Hanako **had made.**’

Since Hanako’s making the cake is a necessary condition for Taro’s eating it, the relative interpretation is the only possible one.

Second, there are cases where a relative interpretation is ruled out. When relative clauses have adverbs that refer to past time, the Nonpast tense cannot be used, for example:

- (36) a. \**Taroo=wa Hanako=ga sono toki yonde iru*  
 Taro=TOP Hanako=NOM **that time read.GER exist.NPST**  
*hon=o toriageta*  
 book=ACC take.away.PST

<sup>12</sup> Kuno (1973: 262) claims that this condition holds when a relative clause ends with ‘a copula or an adjective’, but the example he gives of a copula is actually an adjectival noun (*baka* ‘stupid’). It appears that full nouns are not subject to this condition (e.g. *Taroo wa jibun ga gan datta to shitte ita* ‘Taro knew that he **had** cancer’).

- b. *Taroo=wa Hanako=ga sono toki yonde ita*  
 Taro=TOP Hanako=NOM **that time read.GER exist.PST**  
*hon=o toriageta*  
 book=ACC take.away.PST

‘Taro took away the book that Hanako **was reading at that time.**’

It seems that the inclusion of a past time adverbial in the embedded clause makes use of a relative tense impossible.

#### 1.3.1.3.2.5 Conclusions

It is very possible that different analyses of relative tense are appropriate in different languages. The above survey was designed to provide some basic data to inform our later discussion of the phenomenon in Old Japanese.

### 1.3.1.4 *The historical present*

#### 1.3.1.4.1 *What is the historical present?*

Another case where temporal reference is not straightforward is the technique known as the *historical present* or the *narrative present*, where a nonpast construction is used to refer to some past events in narrative.<sup>13</sup> Soga (1983: 47) exemplifies this with the following example, in which I have highlighted (in bold) the verb forms that are not in direct speech:

- (37) *Boku=ga ‘Sonna koto=o shita no ka’ to*  
 I=NOM such.a thing=ACC do.PST NMLZ Q COMP  
*kare=ni **tsumeyotta** tokoro=ga*  
 he=DAT **press.PST** when=NOM  
*kare=wa ‘Iya shi-na-i’ to yuu.*  
 he=TOP no do-NEG-ACOP.NPST COMP **say.NPST**

<sup>13</sup> Fludernik (2012: 84) distinguishes between the *narrative present* (‘the main tense used to render the story of a novel’) and the *historical present* (‘which occurs in very brief passages and usually serves to heighten the suspense at a particular moment of the story’). I do not make this distinction.

*Boku=wa kare=no yuu koto=o*  
 I=TOP he=GEN say.NPST NMLZ=ACC

*doo rikai shitara ii ka wakara-na-i si,*  
 how interpret do.COND good.NPST Q know-NEG-ACOP.NPST and

*mendoo-ni natta kara,*  
 trouble-COP.INF become.PST because

*tootoo akiramete shimatta.*  
 eventually give.up.GER finish.PST

‘When I **pressed** him, (saying) “Did you do such a thing?”, he **said**, “No, I didn’t do it.” I **didn’t know** how (**best**) to interpret what he **said**, and it **got** awkward, so eventually I **gave up**.’

Soga (1983: 217–224) draws on the work of Hopper (1979), Wolfson (1979), and Brannen (1979), and analyses five further narrative passages. He notes that in a Japanese narrative one of the first sentences tends to give the temporal reference point, either by giving a specific time point or by using the Past tense. Following this, background events (or *subsidiary events*) are narrated in the Nonpast (present relative to a reference time) and foreground events (or *main events*) in the Past (past relative to speech time). In the above example, the first subordinate clause (ending *kare ni tsumeyotta tokoro ga* ‘when I pressed him’) establishes a temporal reference point in the past. The main verb of that sentence (*yuu* ‘says’) is in the Nonpast, but because of the established temporal reference point, it can be interpreted as referring to past time. The next main verb (*wakaranai* ‘don’t know’) is also in the Nonpast, but the last two verbs (*natta* ‘became’ and *akiramete shimatta* ‘gave up’) are in the Past. To summarize: (i) a temporal reference point is established by a subordinate clause with clear past time reference, (ii) the first two main verbs in the Nonpast narrate background events, and (iii) the two final verbs in the Past narrate the climactic moments of the story.

#### 1.3.1.4.2 Analysis of the historical present

Linguists such as Fleischman (1990: 34) treat the use of present tenses in narrative as evidence of their tense-neutrality. Others, however, such as Klein (1994: 133–140),

incorporate these ‘atypical’ functions of tense forms into their definitions of those tenses without employing an ‘unmarked’ analysis. For Klein (1994), for example, the narrative present involves ‘imagining’ the time of the event to be contemporaneous with the time of speech. There are two reasons why I prefer analyses such as Klein’s.

First, the evidence for the tense-neutrality of the present tense is weak. Alongside its use in the narrative present, Fleischman (1990: 34) cites as evidence the use of the English Present to refer to future time (*I **am leaving** for Paris next week*) and its use in contexts that are habitual (*The Dean’s Conference **meets** on Thursdays*), generic (*Dogs **have fleas***), gnomic (*A good man **is** hard to find*), and timeless (*Two plus two **equals** four*). However, its use with future time reference is easily explained if it is said to have *nonpast* time reference, and the other contexts are best analysed as aspectual, not temporal. Habitual aspect, for example, can be expressed either in the present or the past:

- (38) a. *The Dean’s Conference **meets** on Thursdays.*  
b. *The Dean’s Conference **used to meet** on Thursdays.*

In addition, outside a historical present context the English Present cannot appear with past time adverbials:

- (39) a. *I’**m** really tired.*  
b. *\*I’**m** really tired yesterday.*

If it was truly tense-neutral we would expect it to be able to.

The second reason to prefer Klein’s analysis is that it fits better with the cognitive linguistic concept of construal. There is an important distinction to be made between *referring to past events* and *construing events as past or present*. Like aspects, tenses do not simply *refer* to events—they *construe* events. The use of a present tense to refer to

past events does not necessarily mean that those events are construed as being past. I propose that the historical present can be analysed as a way of construing past events as present.

### **1.3.1.5 Tenselessness**

#### *1.3.1.5.1 Tensed and tenseless languages*

It is widely acknowledged that there are tenseless languages, e.g. Mandarin Chinese. In Lin (2012: 670), a *tensed* language is one that ‘requires the presence of a morpheme that locates a situation in time whether or not similar temporal information is conveyed by other temporal expressions’. For example, in the English sentence

(40) *John **cried** yesterday.*

the verb *cry* must be in the Past tense even though the adverbial *yesterday* makes the past time reference clear. In a tenseless language, on the other hand, such grammatical expressions of tense are optional or nonexistent. Lin (2006) explains several ways in which time reference is determined in Mandarin Chinese, including temporal adverbials, modal verbs, aspectual particles, and the aspectual potential of verbs.

#### *1.3.1.5.2 Partially tensed languages*

Lin (2012) seems to propose a binary distinction between tensed and tenseless languages, where all languages without obligatory tense are tenseless. The situation is more complex than this, however. While there are some languages that use tenses to express time reference (e.g. English) and others that use aspects (e.g. Mandarin Chinese), there are some that employ both of these methods. I will argue that Old Japanese is one such language. It has tenses (Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*), but it is not necessary to include one of these auxiliaries in every sentence referring deictically

to past time: tenseless Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* can also be used in this function. Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is not a tense construction, however: it is a tense-neutral aspect construction whose default reference is to past events.

### 1.3.1.6 *Summary*

There are three basic tense functions—past, present, and future—although past and future can be divided further. Constructions with these functions have normal and less normal uses: I have discussed the use of tense constructions in the phenomena of relative tense and historical present. Finally, I have considered tenselessness.

## 1.3.2 **Aspect**

### 1.3.2.1 *Introduction*

#### 1.3.2.1.1 *Definition*

There is a sense in which aspect is an ‘everything else’ category in linguistics: when it comes to how language deals with time, everything except for location in time (temporal reference) falls under the scope of aspect. This includes, among other things, whether events are construed as bounded or unbounded, whether they are construed as dynamic or stative, and whether they are construed as ongoing or habitual. Thus, while tense has to do with whether events are located in the past, present, or future (or subdivisions thereof), aspect has to do with whether events are construed as complete or incomplete, as activities or states, as ongoing or habitual, etc. Thus, the following two sentences do not differ in *temporal reference* (they are both present), but in *aspect*:

- (41) a. *He can't come to the phone: he's **eating** his dinner.*  
b. *He **eats** with friends on Fridays.*

In (41a) the *eating* event is construed (in the Present Progressive) as an *ongoing activity*, while in (41b) it is construed (in the Simple Present) as a *habitual event*. This is one of the distinctions with which aspect is concerned.

#### 1.3.2.1.2 Contributors to the aspectual meaning of an utterance

One aim of aspectology is to determine how different parts of an utterance contribute to the aspectual meaning the speaker wishes to convey. Sasse (2002: 262–263) notes that the following seven strands have to be taken into account in any comprehensive treatment of aspect:

- (i) the inherent tempo-aspectual characteristics of the (simple or complex) situation-denoting lexical units that enter the sentence
- (ii) the tempo-aspectual nuances of meaning brought in by overt morphological systems ('aspect operators' or 'aspect grams')
- (iii) the bounding potential of determinational and quantificational characteristics of arguments
- (iv) the bounding potential of adverbials
- (v) the contribution of other types of phase markers such as *begin*, *continue*, *finish*, *stop*, etc. to bounding
- (vi) the relational structure of the sentence such as diathesis, causativity, thematic roles, etc.
- (vii) interclausal relations between predicates in terms of 'taxis'

I will explain each of these in turn.

Element (i) concerns what is sometimes called *lexical aspect* but which I, following Dahl (1985) and Croft (2012), will call *aspectual potential*. This is that element of the meaning of a verb that can make it have a different meaning from another verb in the same aspectual construction, for example:

- (42) a. *Mado=ga aite iru*  
 window=NOM **open.GER** **exist.NPST**  
 'The window **is open.**' (Modern Japanese)

- b. *Taroo=wa hashitte iru*  
 Taro=TOP run.GER exist.NPST  
 ‘Taro is **running**.’ (Modern Japanese)

Example (42a) is a result state, but (42b) is an ongoing activity. A verb’s aspectual potential can also make it incompatible with a particular aspectual construction:

- (43) a. *I’m eating.*  
 b. \**I’m knowing that.*

Lexical aspectual potential has been defined in many ways. I outline my approach in 1.3.2.3.

Element (ii) is demonstrated by the example in the previous section, where it is the Present Progressive and Simple Present constructions that seem to determine the aspectual difference between the two utterances.

Element (iii), the bounding potential of determinational and quantificational characteristics of arguments, is that which makes, for example, *met people* behave differently from *met him*:

- (44) a. *I met people all afternoon.*  
 b. \**I met him all afternoon.*

It appears that the plural object *people* in (44a) allows the verb *meet* to be used with a durative adverbial such as *all afternoon*, while the singular object *him* in (44b) makes this difficult.

Element (iv), the bounding potential of adverbials, concerns the difference between sentences such as the following:

- (45) a. *I cleaned the bathroom in thirty minutes (and it was spotless).*  
 b. *I cleaned the bathroom for thirty minutes (but it was still dirty).*

It seems that the container adverbial *in thirty minutes* in (45a) construes *cleaning the bathroom* as an event that changes the bathroom from one state (dirty) into another (clean), while the durative adverbial *for thirty minutes* in (45b) construes *cleaning the bathroom* as an event with no particular endpoint.

Element (v), the contribution of phase markers, concerns explicitly inceptive, continuative, and terminative constructions:

- (46) a. *He **began to sing**.*  
 b. *He **kept singing**.*  
 c. *He **stopped singing**.*

Some (me included) would not wish to separate this element from the sorts of constructions covered by element (ii).

Element (vi), the relational structure of the sentence, concerns differences such as the following:

- (47) a. *John **ran** for fifteen seconds.*  
 b. *\*John **ran** in fifteen seconds.*

- (48) a. *John **ran a hundred metres** in fifteen seconds.*  
 b. *\*John **ran a hundred metres** for fifteen seconds.*

The addition of an object (*a hundred metres*) to the verb *run* changes the adverbials with which it is compatible: without an object it is compatible with durative adverbials, but with an object it is compatible with container adverbials.

Element (vii), interclausal relations, concerns how the clauses before or after a clause may affect its aspectual interpretation, as in these two Dutch examples (from Boogaart 1995: 231–233):

- (49) a. *Piet **schreef** een brief*  
 Piet **write.PST** a letter

*en Marie las een boek*  
and Marie read.PST a book

‘Piet **was writing** a letter and Marie was reading a book.’

‘Piet **wrote** a letter and Marie read a book.’

b. *Piet schreef een brief*  
Piet write.PST a letter

*en deed hem dezelfde avond op de bus*  
and do.PST it the.same night in the postbox

‘Piet **wrote** a letter and put it in the postbox the same night.’

The Dutch Past is aspectually neutral, permitting both bounded and unbounded construals. Boogaart (1995: 231–232) points out that, on its own, the clause *Piet schreef een brief* is ambiguous between ‘Piet wrote a letter’ and ‘Piet was writing a letter’. In (49a) both interpretations are available, but in (49b) it is only possible to interpret the phrase as bounded. In both cases it is the nature of the event portrayed in the second clause that determines what aspectual interpretations of the first clause are permissible.

#### 1.3.2.1.3 Grammatical expression of aspect

A complete study of aspect in any language would take into account all of the above seven contributors to aspectual meaning, but I am interested in the *grammatical* expression of aspect. This relates primarily to the second of Sasse’s contributors: aspect constructions, i.e. morphological or analytic constructions one of whose meanings is to express an aspectual function. I consider the other contributors only insofar as they elucidate the meaning of these aspect constructions. One specific way in which, for example, the aspectual potential of predicates might be relevant is if an aspect construction requires a particular type of input (see Croft 2012: 101; Michaelis 2004), or expresses different functions with different types of verb.

### 1.3.2.1.4 Aspect as a category

#### 1.3.2.1.4.1 Problems

Talk of aspect as a category suggests that it comprises a set of mutually exclusive values, as can be assumed for categories such as tense and number. Just as the semantic domain of tense can be said to include the mutually exclusive values of *remote past*, *recent past*, *present*, *immediate future*, and *distant future*, which can be combined in expression (e.g. the English Past combines *remote past* and *recent past*) but not applied to each other (one cannot have a *past present* construction), so aspect comprises values such as *habitual*, *generic*, *temporally bounded*, *ongoing activity*, etc., which can be combined in expression (e.g. English combines *habitual* and *generic* in the Present tense) but not applied to each other.

However, some of the values claimed to be part of the domain of aspect *can* be applied to each other. For example, Bulgarian has both a derivational *material boundedness* distinction<sup>14</sup> (Perfective and Imperfective) and an inflectional *temporal boundedness* distinction (Aorist and Imperfect, both with past time reference). One can combine these values in four ways, including the following two less usual combinations (the first from Lindstedt 1995: 96; the second from Bertinetto and Delfitto 2000: 215):

(50) Imperfective Aorist

*Toj pisa pisma*  
he.NOM write.IPFV.AOR.3SG letters  
'He wrote (some) letters.'

(51) Perfective Imperfect

*Štom napiše-še pismo*  
as.soon.as write.PFV-IPRF.2SG letter

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<sup>14</sup> Viewed as a whole, the derivational Perfective constructions in Bulgarian denote material boundedness (also called qualitative boundedness), but semelfactive events are expressed differently from transformative events (changes of state).

*toj ti otgovarja-še*  
 he.NOM you.DAT answer.IPFV-IPRF.3SG

‘As soon as you **wrote** a letter, he would answer you.’

In the Imperfective Aorist, the Imperfective verb form denotes that the event is *materially unbounded* (writing letters has no inherent endpoint), while the Aorist (which here has no morphological expression) denotes that the event is *temporally bounded* (he wrote letters for a limited period of time). In the Perfective Imperfect, the Perfective verb form denotes that the event is *materially bounded* (writing a letter has an inherent endpoint), while the Imperfect denotes that the event is *temporally unbounded* (here interpreted as habitual).

Another case of aspectual values applying to each other is found in the past tense forms of the Spanish Progressive (Squartini 1998: 35–70). The Progressive denotes an ongoing activity (Squartini (1998) analyses it as denoting *durativity*), and it can combine both with the Preterite (which denotes temporal boundedness in the past) and the Imperfect (which denotes temporal unboundedness in the past), for example:

(52) Progressive Imperfect

*Cuando entr-é María est-ab-a escribiendo*  
 when go.in-PRET.1SG María be-IPRF-3SG write.PRESPTCP

‘When I went in, María **was writing**.’

(53) Progressive Preterite

*Estuv-o escribiendo hasta después del alba*  
 be.PRET-3SG write.PRESPTCP till after of.the dawn

‘He **was writing** till after dawn.’

In both constructions the Progressive denotes that the event is an *ongoing activity*. In the Progressive Imperfect the Imperfect denotes that the event is *temporally unbounded*, while in the Progressive Preterite the Preterite denotes that the event is *temporally*

*bounded*. Denoting that an event is an ongoing activity is therefore in principle compatible with denoting it as temporally bounded or unbounded.

#### 1.3.2.1.4.2 Aspect as two categories

It is clear from the above cases that aspect is not a category in the same sense in which *tense* or *number* can be considered to be categories, i.e. sets of mutually exclusive values. For this reason some approaches define aspect as a *set of categories*. The question is: how many?

A common approach is to divide aspect into two, so that it comprises two distinct types of event construal. This is the approach taken by Bertinetto and Delfitto (2000), who split aspect as we have defined it into the two categories *aspect* and *actionality*. They define aspect as ‘the specific perspective adopted by the speaker/writer’ and actionality as ‘the type of event, specified according to a limited number of relevant properties’ (p. 190). For them, *aspect* comprises a fundamental distinction between *perfective* and *imperfective*, the former being divided further into *aorist* and *perfect*, and the latter into *progressive* and *habitual*. They note that this list is not exhaustive. *Actionality*, on the other hand, comprises the four classes *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments*, and *achievements*, defined in terms of the oppositions *punctual–durative*, *telic–atelic*, and *static–dynamic*. They claim that these distinctions are usually part of the lexical meaning of a predicate, but that they have been grammaticalized in some languages, e.g. in some Slavic ones. Under this approach, in the Bulgarian examples above, the Aorist–Imperfect distinction can be seen as one of *aspect*, and the Perfective–Imperfective distinction as one of *actionality*. Similarly, in the Spanish examples, the Progressive can be said to be an *actional* construction, while the Preterite and Imperfect are *aspectual* constructions.

#### 1.3.2.1.4.3 Aspect as more than two categories

It is not clear, however, that two categories is enough. Aspectual derivation in Russian such as the following (from Janda 2007: 621) suggests that more are necessary:

- (54) *ščipat'* 'pinch, pluck'  
*poščipat'* 'pinch, pluck (for a while)'  
*poščipyvat'* 'pinch, pluck (for a while) repeatedly'

The simple verb *ščipat'* 'pinch, pluck' has an Imperfective root, and denotes an unbounded atelic event (an activity). Second, in the verb *poščipat'* 'pinch, pluck (for a while)', the Delimitative prefix *po-* construes the event as *temporally bounded*. Finally, in the verb *poščipyvat'* 'pinch, pluck (for a while) repeatedly', the change to an Imperfective root construes the event as *temporally unbounded*, what Janda (2007: 621) refers to as a 'derived iterative Activity'. This *temporal unboundedness*, though, does not cancel out the *temporal boundedness* coded by *po-* (*poščipyvat'* is not synonymous with *ščipat'*); rather, the two types of boundedness are combined: *poščipyvat'* 'pinch, pluck (for a while) repeatedly' denotes the habitual occurrence of a temporally bounded event. Both of these aspectual functions (temporal boundedness and habitual) are said by Bertinetto and Delfitto (2000) to belong to the aspectual domain (see also Bertinetto and Lenci 2012), but since they can be applied to each other that domain cannot be a set of mutually exclusive values.

Because of scenarios like this, several linguists have abandoned aspect as a useful term, placing aspect categories alongside other categories in a larger semantic domain. Thieroff and Budde (1995) and Thieroff (1994, 1995, 2000) include various aspect categories (anteriority, perfectivity, progressivity) alongside tense and mood categories as 'inherent categorizations of verbs' (see Anderson 1985: 172, 189–191). Similarly, Dixon (2012: 1–44) includes various aspect categories (completion, temporal extent,

degree or frequency) alongside tense, mood, and evidentiality categories as ‘parameters of non-spatial setting’. These approaches begin to take aspectual variety seriously, acknowledging that constructions traditionally called ‘aspectual’ construe events in many very different ways, and that many of these construals are not mutually exclusive. If the notion ‘category’ is applicable to aspect, then aspect must comprise many categories.

However, I suspect that even these accounts do not capture the true variety of the field of aspect. Thieroff and Budde (1995) and Thieroff (1994, 1995, 2000) only consider European languages, and Dixon (2012: 6) admits that he does not include all possible parameters within the field of ‘non-spatial setting’. Since the structure of the conceptual space of aspect is largely irrelevant to my analysis, I will remain ambivalent as to its internal organization and will consider only the functions that appear in this space.

### **1.3.2.2 *Aspectual functions***

In this section I introduce some aspectual functions that have been observed cross-linguistically and which have proved relevant to my study of Old Japanese.

#### **1.3.2.2.1 *Continuative***

Bybee et al. (1994: 127) define an aspectual function that they call ‘continuative’. According to their definition, a continuative construction specifies ‘that a dynamic situation is ongoing’ and ‘that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going’. They propose the English equivalents ‘keep on doing’ and ‘continue to do’. I would question the inclusion of agentivity in this definition, citing examples such as the following:

(55) *I think it's going to **keep on raining**.*

I will take the core meaning of *continuative* to be the continuation of an event *from the past into the future*, i.e. the continuation of an *already occurring* event.

#### 1.3.2.2.2 *Ongoing activity (directed and undirected)*

One function that is often distinguished in individual languages is that of an *ongoing activity*, as opposed to a simple state. For example, in English, ongoing activities are coded by the Progressive (*I'm eating my lunch*) while ongoing (simple) states are coded by the Simple Present (*I love you*).

There are two types of ongoing activity: *undirected activities* and *directed activities*. Undirected activities are activities that do not tend towards a natural conclusion, e.g. *He's playing football*. Directed activities are activities that do tend towards a natural conclusion, e.g. *He's making a cake*. The English Progressive construction permits both types of activities, while the Old Japanese Stative constructions appear only to permit undirected activities.

#### 1.3.2.2.3 *Habitual*

An utterance construing an event as *habitual* construes it as 'customarily repeated on different occasions' (Bybee et al. 1994: 127), for example:

(56) *We go to France every year.*

In English this is one of the functions of the Simple Present. Constructions that combine past time reference and habitual aspect are quite common (Bybee et al. 1994: 151). Carlson (2012: 842–843) mentions some languages with more than one habitual marker, i.e. that make semantic distinctions within habituality, but this is not relevant for Old Japanese.

#### 1.3.2.2.4 Ongoing (simple) state<sup>15</sup>

Some ongoing atelic events in English are usually expressed in the Simple Present:

- (57) a. *\*I'm loving you.*  
b. *I love you.*

while others are usually expressed in the Present Progressive:

- (58) a. *\*Tell him I can't come to the phone: I cook.*  
b. *Tell him I can't come to the phone: I'm cooking.*

To explain this, it is usually hypothesized that English distinguishes between two types of atelic event: *activities* and *states*. Behaviour with a progressive construction is usually used as a test: verbs that can appear with a progressive construction denote activities, while verbs that cannot appear with a progressive construction denote states (Chung and Timberlake 1985: 215).

However, Chung and Timberlake (1985: 216) describe conditions under which verbs that normally denote states can be used to denote activities. The first is if the event involves change, for example:

- (59) a. *I understand this problem.*  
b. *I'm understanding my problems more clearly every day.*

The second is if the event involves agency, for example:

- (60) a. *You're obnoxious.*  
b. *You're being obnoxious.*

The third is if the event is construed as temporary, for example:

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<sup>15</sup> Simple state as opposed to *result* state.

- (61) a. *I live in Oxford.*  
b. *I'm living in Oxford at the moment.*

The first case denotes a directed activity, and the other two denote undirected activities. In a limited cross-linguistic study, Tatevosov (2002: 349) finds that all 'state' verbs he examined could express activities if one of these conditions was met. I would like to suggest that the difference between states and activities is not binary, but gradient. Some verbs will combine freely with progressive constructions, others will combine less freely, and some may not combine at all. When I want to refer to ongoing undirected activities and ongoing states without differentiating them, I will talk of *ongoing atelic events*.

#### 1.3.2.2.5 *Result state (subjective, objective, and possessive)*

Drawing on Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988) and Kozinsky (1988), I define a result state as 'a state implying a previous event and trivially related to it'. Defining result states as *implying a previous event* distinguishes them from simple states (see 1.3.2.2.4). We will say that a previous event is implied if the construction uses a verb that has the potential to denote the *change of state* that brings about the result state. So in English, we can contrast the following two utterances:

- (62) a. *The fish are dead.*  
b. *The fish have died.*

The first uses the adjective *dead*, which denotes a state, while the second uses the verb *die* in the Perfect construction. Since the verb *die* has the potential to denote the *change of state* that produces the state of *being dead* (as in, for example, *The fish died last night*), (62b) can be interpreted as denoting a result state. The adjective *dead*, on the other hand, denotes a state only, and although a change of state is necessarily part of the

semantic frame of this adjective, this change of state is less in profile than it is when the verb *die* is used. Strictly speaking, therefore, implication is a gradient phenomenon, and a previous event can be more or less implied. For our purposes, it will suffice to say that a result state is denoted when a previous event is *strongly implied*.

Defining result states as *trivially related* to a previous event distinguishes them from current relevance (see 1.3.2.2.6). To say that a state is trivially related to a previous event means that the nature of the state is predictable from the verb alone, without other context coming into consideration. As Kozinsky (1988: 499) puts it, ‘The inevitable [= trivial] result of a murder is that someone is dead, but a fair-sized detective novel may be written to describe various non-trivial results of this regrettable event.’ Result states are concerned with trivial results, while current relevance is concerned with non-trivial results.

Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988) distinguish three basic types of resultative: *objective resultative*, *subjective resultative*, and *possessive resultative*. An *objective resultative* is an intransitive construction in which the ‘underlying object’ of the verb is the subject of the resultative construction, for example:

- (63) *Doa=ga akete aru*  
 door=NOM **open**(TR).GER **exist**.NPST  
 ‘The door **has been opened**.’ (Modern Japanese)

A *subjective resultative* is an intransitive construction in which the ‘underlying subject’ of the verb is the also the subject of the resultative construction, for example:

- (64) *Doa=ga aite iru*  
 door=NOM **open**(INTR).GER **exist**.NPST  
 ‘The door **is open**.’ (Modern Japanese)

A *possessive resultative* is a transitive construction in which the verbal diathesis does not change and the subject has some relation of possession to the object, for example:

(65) *He has the picture hung in his room.*

Although the English construction uses a verb of possession, this is not necessary in all languages.

#### 1.3.2.2.6 *Current relevance of an anterior event*

This is the function often called *perfect of result* when coded by a construction called ‘perfect’.<sup>16</sup> It denotes that some result of a past event exists at reference time. This comprises, but is far broader than, the narrow result state denoted by a resultative (see Kozinsky 1988: 499–500; Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988: 14). Pragmatic considerations play a large part in determining the exact result denoted (Ritz 2012: 894–899). Thus in different contexts the result denoted by the sentence *Jane’s read that book* could be that Jane knows about its contents, or that Jane does not want to read it again.

Result states in the narrow sense can only be expressed with verbs that denote a change of state. Current relevance, however, can be expressed of any event. Constructions whose main purpose is to denote this function are usually called ‘perfect’, e.g. the English Perfect. However, Comrie (1976: 58) notes that in languages without a distinct perfect, a past or past perfective construction is used for this meaning. To determine if such a construction can denote ‘current relevance’, we must identify examples where it is not used ‘to describe a specific past event for its own sake’ (Anderson 1982: 230) but rather to indicate that an event is relevant to the current situation. Dahl and Hedin (2000: 394) note that past time specifications (e.g. *yesterday*)

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<sup>16</sup> Terms for this use of a perfect construction are *stative perfect* (McCawley 1971), *perfect of result* (Comrie 1976), *current relevance perfect* (Lindstedt 2000), and *resultative perfect* (Dahl and Hedin 2000).

are incompatible with current relevance meaning, which helps to rule out some examples.

#### 1.3.2.2.7 *Anterior-continuing*

The *anterior-continuing* function denotes an event that began in the past and has continued through time until the present.<sup>17</sup> Some languages (e.g. English and Portuguese) express this function with the same construction used for *current relevance of anterior event*, but most express it with the construction used for *present event*. Compare the following French example (using the Present) with its English translation (using the Perfect, in two variants):

- (66) *J'habite ici depuis cinq ans*  
I.**live.PRES** here since five years  
'I've **lived** here for five years.'  
'I've **been living** here for five years.'

#### 1.3.2.2.8 *Experiential*

This function denotes that an event has occurred at least once in the past. It is also called 'existential' (McCawley 1971). While in some languages (e.g. English) this function is coded by the same construction as *current relevance of anterior event* (the Present Perfect), in others (e.g. Japanese and Mandarin Chinese) it has a devoted construction:

- (67) a. *I've never eaten whale.*  
b. *Kujira=o tabeta koto=ga na-i*  
whale=ACC eat.PST NMLZ=NOM not.exist-ACOP.NPST  
'(I)'ve never eaten whale.' (Modern Japanese)

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<sup>17</sup> The term *anterior-continuing* is from Anderson (1982); other terms are *universal perfect* (McCawley 1971), *perfect of persistent situation* (Comrie 1976), and *inclusive perfect* (Squartini and Bertinetto 2000).

### 1.3.2.2.9 Temporal boundedness

It is very common for languages to code *temporal boundedness*. This is the function coded by constructions called *perfective* in Western European languages, although in these languages always in combination with *past tense*.<sup>18</sup> Various types of event may be construed as temporally bounded, e.g. those which tend towards a natural endpoint:

- (68) *Murió*            *el año pasado*  
**die.PRET.3SG** the year past  
'He **died** last year.' (Spanish)

and those that do not, but which have limited temporal duration:

- (69) *Rein-ó*            *en Jerusalén cincuenta y dos años*  
**reign-PRET.3SG** in Jerusalem fifty            and two years  
'He **reigned** in Jerusalem for fifty-two years.' (Spanish)

Is it possible for *temporal boundedness* to be expressed apart from tense? This seems to be possible in both tensed languages and tenseless languages. Russian is a tensed language, and Croft (2012: 117) describes three Russian 'Perfective' prefixes that have this function: Delimitative *po-* as in *poplačet* 'cry for a while', Perdurative *pro-* as in *prorabotat* 'work for a certain duration', and *ot-* (he gives it no name) as in *otrabotat* 'work and stop after a certain duration'. Here is an example of the first:

- (70) *Devočka po-plačet potom zabudet*  
girl            **DEL-cry** then forget  
'The girl will **cry for a while** and then forget.' (Russian)

These prefixes do not make the verbs *transformative* (see 1.3.2.2.10), i.e. they supply no natural endpoint, but they limit them temporally.

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<sup>18</sup> Some (e.g. Croft 2012: 115–125) argue that *temporal boundedness* is also the function of the Perfective in some Slavic languages, e.g. Russian, but others (e.g. Lindstedt 1995; Bertinetto and Delfitto 2000: 209–217) argue that the typical Slavic Perfective (excluding Bulgarian and Macedonian) codes *material* or *qualitative boundedness*.

Mandarin Chinese is a tenseless language (see Lin 2012: 671–677) and has a Perfective marker *-le* which denotes an event that is bounded either materially or temporally. The following (from Li and Thompson 1981: 186) is an example of a temporally bounded atelic event:

- (71) *Tā shuì-le sān-ge zhōngtóu*  
3SG **sleep-PFV** three-CLF hour  
'He **slept** for three hours.' (Mandarin Chinese)

The following (from Li and Thompson 1981: 213) is an example of future use:

- (72) *Míngtiān wǒ jiù kāichú-le tā*  
tomorrow I then **expel-PFV** 3SG  
'I'll **expel** her tomorrow!' (Mandarin Chinese)

Temporal boundedness is often mentioned in distinction with *material* or *qualitative boundedness*, which can be said to cover the following two functions, *transformative* and *semelfactive*.

#### 1.3.2.2.10 *Transformative*

Some languages have constructions that construe events as *transformative*,<sup>19</sup> i.e. as changes of state of either the subject or the object. Some of the Perfective constructions in the Slavic languages have this function. For example, the Imperfective verb *ščipat'* 'pinch, pluck' can be construed as transformative by adding the Perfective prefix *o(b)-* (Janda 2007: 621).

There are two main kinds of transformative event that can be distinguished: directed achievements (as opposed to cyclic achievements, another term for semelfactive events), which are punctual, and accomplishments, which are durative. Furthermore, some

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<sup>19</sup> I have borrowed this term from Johanson (2000: 59–60).

achievements are ingressive, i.e. they denote the beginning of an activity. Sometimes transformative events are included together with semelfactive events as *materially bounded events*.

#### 1.3.2.2.11 *Semelfactive*

Some languages code *semelfactive*, denoting that an event occurs once. For example, the Russian verb *ščipat'* 'pinch, pluck' can be made *semelfactive* by changing the root, forming the verb *ščipnut'* 'pinch, pluck (once)' (Janda 2007: 621).

#### 1.3.2.2.12 *Completive*

Bybee et al. (1994: 57) identify an aspectual function they call *completive*, meaning 'to do something thoroughly and completely'. Dahl (1985: 95) calls this function *conclusive*. Although English does not have a productive completive construction, Bybee et al. (1994: 54) note that *eat up* could be considered a completive form of *eat*. Dahl (1985) considers the Modern Japanese *-(I)te shimaw-* construction to have this aspectual function:

- (73) *Sore=de Oosaka=ni itte shimatta*  
that=COP.GER Osaka=DAT go.GER finish.PST  
'And with that, **off** (he) **went** to Osaka.' (Modern Japanese)

It seems to be the case (by definition) that only events conceived of as *materially bounded* can be construed in completive aspect, since an atelic event which comes to an end is merely *terminated*, not *completed*. It is debatable whether this function is truly aspectual, or whether it would be better described as a kind of emphasis.

#### 1.3.2.3 *The aspectual potential of predicates*

The first of Sasse's (2002) seven contributors to aspectual meaning is 'the inherent tempo-aspectual characteristics of the (simple or complex) situation-denoting lexical

units that enter the sentence'. Although this is not the focus of my research, I will need to refer to the aspectual potential of predicates in order to determine the aspectual functions of grammatical constructions. There is much disagreement about how the 'inherent tempo-aspectual characteristics' of predicates should be represented, and here I will outline the approach that I will take.

#### 1.3.2.3.1 *Why posit aspectual potential?*

In most languages tense constructions appear to determine the temporal reference of an utterance with no contribution from the verb.<sup>20</sup> With aspect constructions, however, the verb often seems to play a role. Two phenomena bring us to this conclusion. The first is that not all verbs can be used in all the grammatical aspect constructions in a language:

- (74) a. *He's reading.*  
b. \**He's knowing the answer.*

In English, the verb *know* cannot be used in the Present Progressive.

Second, the same aspectual construction can have a different aspectual function with different verbs, for example:

- (75) a. *I go to the gym.*  
b. *I know the answer.*

Sentence (75a) denotes a *habitual event*, but (75b) a *simple state*.

Furthermore, if adverbials are taken into consideration, then far more differences become apparent. Croft (2012: 42) gives the following example:

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<sup>20</sup> As I noted above in relation to Mandarin Chinese, in some tenseless languages the verb class plays a role.

- (76) a. *Jane is **often** ill.*  
b. \**Jane is **often** American.*

The predicate *is ill* can be used with the adverbial *often*, but the predicate *is American* cannot.<sup>21</sup> This can be explained by saying that *is ill* denotes a *transitory* state, but *is American* a *permanent* state.

#### 1.3.2.3.2 Aspectual classifications

Predicates are classified according to their compatibility with different grammatical aspectual constructions and with different adverbials, and the aspectual functions that they denote with those constructions and adverbials. The more contributors to aspectual meaning (see 1.3.2.2.2) that are taken into account, and the more phenomena one wants to be able to explain, the more aspectual classes one ends up with. The most limited models (e.g. Bertinetto 1997, Smith 1997, Olsen 1997) tend to posit between four and six classes, intermediate models (e.g. Tatevosov 2002) posit ten or so, and the most detailed (e.g. Taoka 2000) posit forty or more. The existence of subtle differences in aspectual potential among predicates is interpreted by Croft (2012: 92) as reflecting the fact that predicates are not sorted into a small number of classes derived from a small number of primitive features, but instead are used in language according to the speaker's encyclopedic knowledge of the situation types they represent. If this is true, and every verb might have subtly different aspectual potential from every other, then any set of aspectual classes probably consists of verbs of similar, but not identical, aspectual potential.

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<sup>21</sup> Or at least, it cannot be used with the adverbial *often* in its most frequent meaning of 'be of American nationality'. It is possible to conceive of its being used with *often* where it had a meaning such as 'behave like an American'.

### 1.3.2.3.3 *Aspectual classes for Old Japanese*

Because of the limited nature of the OJ corpus, it is difficult to produce a large set of aspectual classes like those of Taoka (2000) or Tatevosov (2002), since a single verb is often not attested in all the environments that are required for determining such a detailed classification. I found in the course of my research that the most useful classification for my purposes comprised four classes, based primarily on the aspectual construals of verbs in the Nonpast construction, although occasionally other factors have been taken into consideration (see 3.3.1.2). The classes, defined according to their major construals in the Nonpast, are as follows:

- (i) *Achievement* verbs denote transformative events.
- (ii) *Accomplishment* verbs denote transformative events or directed activities.
- (iii) *Inceptive state* verbs denote transformative events or simple states.
- (iv) *Atelic* verbs denote ongoing atelic events, some of which may be interpreted as undirected activities and some as simple states.

With appropriate arguments, many atelic verbs can denote transformative events. For example, when *yuk-* ‘go’ has a goal, it is an accomplishment verb. For some purposes achievement and accomplishment verbs can be grouped together as *change of state verbs*, and achievement, accomplishment, and inceptive state verbs as *telic verbs*. Some might wish to place the verbs *ar-* ‘exist’, *wor-* ‘be sitting’, and a few other verbs together with adjectives and the copula in a separate group of *state predicates*, but I have judged that there is not sufficient evidence to do this. Occasionally it is useful to talk about ‘activity verbs’ and ‘state verbs’, by which is meant verbs that usually denote activity-like events and verbs that usually denote state-like events (see 1.3.2.2.4 and 12.5.2.2), but for most purposes I treat them together as *atelic verbs*. A partial and provisional classification of verbs is found in Appendix II.

## 2 Nonpast

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### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I consider the possibility of a zero-marked tense–aspect construction in Old Japanese. In this section I introduce the theory behind zero constructions (2.1.1), outline the scope of the enquiry (2.1.2), and comment briefly on orthography (2.1.3).

#### 2.1.1 Zero coding and absence of coding

##### 2.1.1.1 Zero coding

When the lack of overt marking conveys a particular meaning, that meaning is said to be ‘zero coded’, for example:

- (1) a. *cat-Ø*      b. *cat-s*  
      *cat-SG*      *cat-PL*  
      ‘cat’        ‘cats’

*Singular number* in English is not expressed by any overt morpheme: it is *zero coded*, or coded with a *meaningful zero*. This *zero morpheme* has a meaning: *cat* cannot mean *cats*, i.e. it is not neutral with regard to number. A slightly more complex example can be drawn from German:

- (2) a. *ich spiel-Ø-e*      b. *ich spiel-t-e*  
      I    play-PRES-1SG      I    play-PST-1SG  
      ‘I play’                ‘I played’

*Present tense* in German is zero coded, but once again the *zero morpheme* has a meaning: *spiele* is not neutral with regard to tense.

The above examples are morphological, but the same principle applies to analytic constructions, for example the English Present Progressive:

- (3) a. *I'm **drinking** coffee.*  
b. *I **drink** coffee.*

The Present Progressive has an overt marker, while the Simple Present is zero marked, yet a distinction in *aspect* exists between the two. The Present Progressive denotes *ongoing activities*, while the Simple Present denotes *habitual* events and *simple states*: it cannot denote ongoing activities (*\*I drink coffee right now*).

#### 2.1.1.2 *Absence of coding*

We talk about a zero marker when the lack of a marker has a specific meaning in a particular semantic domain, as in the examples above. There are examples, however, where the lack of a marker allows what Bybee (1994: 239) calls 'open meaning'. For example, English has a Past Habitual construction *used to* (4) and a Simple Past construction (5):

- (4) *She **used to sing** to him every day.*

- (5) a. *She **sang** to him every day.*  
b. *She **sang** to him yesterday.*

The Past Habitual denotes habitual past events only, but the Simple Past can denote both habitual past events (5a) and bounded past events (5b). The Simple Past is neutral with regard to these two functions.

### 2.1.1.3 *Function-specific zeroes*

Bybee (1994) only mentions zero coding in relation to constructions that she describes as having only one function, but it is clear from her discussion that zeroes develop in relation to specific functions of constructions. It appears to be the case in Old Japanese, for example, that the *result state* functions of Stative *-yer-* are in opposition to zero forms, but the *ongoing activity* function is not. We can assume that zeroes develop in relation to specific functions.

### 2.1.1.4 *The development of zero coding*

#### 2.1.1.4.1 *Bybee's (1994) proposal*

Bybee (1994) proposes a way in which zero coding arises (see also Bybee 2010: 177–181). She notes (p. 236) that two aspectual functions are generally available in the present tense for dynamic verbs: *ongoing activity* and *habitual event*.<sup>1</sup> In Old English the Simple Present could denote both of these functions. When the Present Progressive construction arose, it was an optional way of expressing the ongoing activity function, which could still be expressed by the Simple Present. In time, however, the Present Progressive increased in frequency. At some stage the hearer felt entitled to infer that, when the Present Progressive was not used, its meaning was not intended. The Simple Present thus came to be restricted to the other area of the present tense aspectual domain: habitual. Bybee (1994) locates the ‘open meaning’ of the zero marked construction (and optionality of the overtly marked construction) near the beginning of the grammaticalization process, and the specific meaning of the zero marked construction (and obligatoriness of the overtly marked construction) near the end.

From this it should be clear that obligatoriness is a gradient phenomenon, and that therefore a zero construction can be said to exist to a greater or a lesser extent. At the

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<sup>1</sup> Since they are rarely distinguished in languages, Bybee (1994) subsumes *generic* aspect under *habitual*.

beginning of the grammaticalization process there is no zero construction, and at the end there is one, but in between it is coming into existence as the overt construction gradually grows in obligatoriness.

#### 2.1.1.4.2 *The limits of Bybee's (1994) proposal*

This cannot be the way that all zero coding arises, however. It is only applicable to semantic domains where ambiguity does not create serious problems. For example, the zero marker of positive polarity could never have arisen in this way. Even though negative is always formally marked and positive is almost always formally unmarked, this situation cannot have arisen through the gradual grammaticalization of an originally optional negative construction. Polarity ambiguity is unacceptable in language, and as a result we do not see polarity depending on any other grammatical system (Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998: 73). In this chapter the question will arise whether the marking of result states is similar. Is it analogous to ongoing activity and habitual (i.e. the ambiguity is workable), or is it analogous to positive and negative (i.e. the ambiguity is unthinkable)? I will come back to this in 2.4.2.

#### 2.1.1.5 *Zero constructions in Old Japanese*

Some Old Japanese examples clearly ought to be interpreted as zero marking, in a very similar way to the German examples above. Just as in those examples we inserted a zero morpheme between the verb stem and the person ending, in OJ we can insert a zero morpheme between the verb stem and the flective:<sup>2</sup>

- |     |    |                |    |                 |
|-----|----|----------------|----|-----------------|
| (6) | a. | <i>yuk-Ø-u</i> | b. | <i>yuka-z-u</i> |
|     |    | go-POS-CNCL    |    | go-NEG-CNCL     |
|     |    | 'goes'         |    | 'does not go'   |

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<sup>2</sup> The fact that Old Japanese auxiliaries select different stems need not alter the analysis.

The lack of the Negative auxiliary is interpreted as positive: the form *yuku* is not neutral with regard to polarity. This analysis is also possible for the verb forms in Japanese that have no tense or aspect auxiliaries, for example:

- |     |    |  |    |   |
|-----|----|--|----|---|
| (7) | a. | <i>pur-Ø-u</i><br>fall-?-CNCL<br>'falls' | b. | <i>puri-kyer-i</i><br>fall-INDIR-CNCL<br>'fell'   |
| (8) | a. | <i>tir-Ø-u</i><br>fall-?-CNCL<br>'falls' | b. | <i>tir-er-i</i><br>fall-STAT-CNCL<br>'has fallen' |

This allows us to ask if the forms with no auxiliary have any particular tense or aspect functions ruled out and, if so, if it is due to the development of an overt construction.

## 2.1.2 Forms

### 2.1.2.1 Selection of forms

I am investigating the possibility of a 'zero construction' in Old Japanese with some tense or aspect function, and my area of enquiry is the finite forms of verbs with no tense–aspect auxiliaries attached (and not participating in any analytic tense–aspect constructions). Nearly all of the examples will use the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms (see 1.2.3.1 for their syntactic functions). As a shorthand, I will refer to the zero-marked finite forms of verbs as 'zero forms'.

I avoid the nonfinite forms (the Infinitive, the Gerund, the Conditional, the Provisional, and the Concessive) for two reasons: (i) many of the overt tense–aspect constructions do not have Infinitive or Gerund forms, meaning that they cannot be compared, and (ii) because the nonfinite forms are clause-linkers, they often imply the temporal sequencing of two clauses, which could confuse a tense–aspect analysis.

### 2.1.2.2 Numbers

For the sake of completeness, in this section I give the number of attestations of all forms of verbs with no auxiliary that conclude a verb syntagm (i.e. not including the first verb of compounds):<sup>3</sup>

| (9) Form                     | Number | %  | Hypothesized % |
|------------------------------|--------|----|----------------|
| Conclusive                   | 438    | 4  | 12             |
| <i>Conclusive/Adnominal</i>  | 3,526  | 29 |                |
| Adnominal                    | 1,089  | 9  | 30             |
| Exclamatory                  | 188    | 2  | 2              |
| Imperative                   | 272    | 2  | 2              |
| Negative Conjectural         | 136    | 1  | 1              |
| Optative                     | 116    | 1  | 1              |
| Infinitive                   | 2,130  | 18 | 19             |
| <i>Infinitive/Conclusive</i> | 207    | 2  |                |
| Gerund                       | 1,872  | 15 | 15             |
| Continuative                 | 416    | 3  | 3              |
| Conditional                  | 387    | 3  | 3              |
| Provisional                  | 786    | 6  | 6              |
| Concessive                   | 409    | 3  | 3              |
| Nominal                      | 125    | 1  | 1              |
| <b>Total:</b>                | 12,097 |    |                |

If we assume that Conclusive and Adnominal forms occur in the same proportions in the Conclusive/Adnominal group as they do in the rest of the corpus, and that Infinitive and Conclusive forms occur in the same proportions in the Infinitive/Conclusive group as they do in the rest of the corpus, then we can hypothesize form-specific percentages as in the final column.

If the hypothesized numbers are used, the following breakdown emerges:

| (10) Type of form | Number | %  |
|-------------------|--------|----|
| finite forms      | 5,800  | 48 |
| nonfinite forms   | 6,172  | 51 |
| nominal forms     | 125    | 1  |
| <b>Total:</b>     | 12,097 |    |

<sup>3</sup> *Conclusive/Adnominal* refers to the Conclusive and Adnominal forms of quadrigrade verbs, which have the same shape and have not been distinguished in the Oxford Corpus. Similarly, *Infinitive/Conclusive* refers to the Infinitive and Conclusive forms of upper monograde and *r*-irr verbs.

### 2.1.3 Orthography

There are no logographic spellings of the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory flectives. Where possible I will use phonographic examples.

## 2.2 Previous accounts of the zero forms

### 2.2.1 Predication

Traditional Japanese grammar (e.g. Ikeda 1980: 26–27) tends not to consider the possibility of a zero marked tense–aspect construction. Instead, the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms are described in terms of their syntactic functions. Among modern linguists, Frellesvig (2010) and Vovin (2003, 2009a) explicitly claim that the bare Conclusive forms have no tense or aspect functions. Following the sort of theory of markedness advocated by Andersen (1989), Frellesvig (2010: 53) writes: ‘The conclusive form is unspecified for – neutral with regard to – tense, aspect, or mood; thus all auxiliaries, including those expressing tense, aspect, and mood, have a conclusive form. Labels such as “indicative” or “non-past” which are sometimes used about this form in OJ [...] are therefore misleading.’ Frellesvig (2010: 332) dates to Late Middle Japanese the movement of tense and aspect from the auxiliary system to the flective system.

One of the arguments made by Frellesvig (2010) and Vovin (2003, 2009a) against the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory having any tense or aspect meaning is the fact that all tense and aspect auxiliaries also appear in these forms. However, it is not the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms in particular that I am investigating, but a possible *zero morpheme*. There are two relationships that a zero morpheme can have with another morpheme in the same semantic domain: one of *inclusion*, or one of *opposition*. Frellesvig and Vovin are inconsistent in their treatment of semantic domains.

In the domain of polarity (*positive v negative*) they assume that the absence of the Negative auxiliary implies positivity: they do not claim that the auxiliary-less forms are ‘neutral’ with regard to polarity. In effect, they claim that positivity is expressed by a zero morpheme. With tense and aspect, however, they imply that such a relationship is impossible.

### 2.2.2 Imperfective

Takeuchi (1987: 90ff.), discussing EMJ, calls the Conclusive a tenseless imperfective aspect marker. It is unclear if she intends this analysis to apply to Old Japanese. As I show below, however, the zero forms of change of state verbs clearly denote bounded (perfective) events as well as unbounded (imperfective) ones.

### 2.2.3 Nonpast

There are not many Japanese linguists who propose that the zero forms have any tense function, but amongst them are Suzuki (1975) and Watanabe (2008).<sup>4</sup> Amongst Western linguists it is a more widespread view, held by, for example, Muccioli (1970) and Kolpakchi (1956). Kolpakchi’s seems to be the most sophisticated account, as she identifies four functions of these forms: (i) present tense of the moment of speech, (ii) usual present, (iii) historical present, and (iv) future (Kolpakchi 1956: 86). I imagine that ‘usual present’ is what I have called *generic*.<sup>5</sup>

Vovin’s (2003: 197) main criticism of Kolpakchi’s analysis centres on the claim that the historical present (which Kolpakchi calls a ‘stylistic trick’) accounts for 80% of examples, and is therefore no mere ‘stylistic trick’ but a main function of the form. At

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<sup>4</sup> Takeuchi (1999: 95, 97) also refers to ‘non-past *-(r)u*’, but her argument is not developed.

<sup>5</sup> As I do not read Russian, I rely on Vovin (2003: 197–198) for an exposition of Kolpakchi’s view.

this point Vovin is discussing the Conclusive form exclusively, and his figure of 80% is presumably the proportion of Conclusive forms in his texts that he judges to be referring to past time. However, as his sources are all narrative (*Taketori monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, and portions of *Sarashina nikki* and *Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari*) this is to be expected. Written narratives necessarily narrate events from the past, and some languages (e.g. Modern Japanese) prefer to narrate some of the events in a nonpast tense for stylistic reasons. Soga (1983: 219–224) presents five examples of Modern Japanese narrative. One of them narrates everything in the Nonpast tense, while the others use a mixture of Past and Nonpast. Of the 31 Nonpast main clause verbs in the samples, only three (10%) refer to present events, two of which are in direct speech. As explained in 1.3.1.4, I differentiate past time reference and reference to past events. The historical present refers to past events, but it does not constitute past time reference.

Kolpakchi (1956) seems to me to be basically correct, although since she wrote in Russian her work is largely inaccessible both to a Western and to a Japanese readership. By analysing the data in English, I hope to bring her hypothesis to a wider appreciation and criticism.

## **2.3 The functions of the zero forms**

In this section I consider the different tense and aspect functions of the zero forms in Old Japanese. First I look at the temporal reference of these forms, and then I consider whether there are any aspectual limitations on the function of the zero forms.

### **2.3.1 Temporal reference**

#### **2.3.1.1 Present**

Most frequently, the zero forms have present time reference, for example:

- (11) 奈吳能            宇美爾    之保能    波夜非波  
*nagwo=n[o]*      *umi=ni*    *sipo=no*    *paya-pwiba*  
 Nagwo=COP.ADN    sea=DAT    tide=GEN    quick-dry.COND
- 安佐里    之爾            伊泥牟            等    多豆波  
*asari*    *si=ni*            *ide-mu*            *to*    *tadu=pa*  
 fish.INF    do.INF=DAT    go.out-CONJ.CNCL    COMP    crane=TOP
- 伊麻曾    奈久            奈流  
*ima=so*    **naku**            *naru*  
 now=FOC    **call.CNCL**    AUD.ADN
- ‘I can hear the cranes **calling** now, which (say) “When the tide of the Nagwo Sea has quickly gone out, let’s fish.” ’ (MYS.18.4034)

Many more examples appear in 2.3.2.

### 2.3.1.2 *Future and irrealis*

The zero forms are also used with future time reference, although this is rarer:

- (12) 和可礼奈波    宇良我奈之家武  
*wakare-naba*    *ura-ganasi-kye-mu*  
 part-PFV.COND    EMPH-sad-ACOP-CONJ.CNCL
- 安我    許呂母    之多爾乎            伎麻勢  
*a=ga*    *koromo*    *sita=ni=wo*            *ki-mase*  
 I=GEN    garment    under=DAT=EMPH    wear-RESP.IMP
- 多太爾            安布            麻弓爾  
*tada-n[i]*            **apu**            *madeni*  
 direct-COP.INF    **meet.ADN**    until
- ‘When we part, (I) will be sad. Wear my garment under (your clothes) until we (next) **meet** face to face.’ (MYS.15.3584)
- (13) 大伴乃            等保追    可牟於夜能            於久都            奇波  
*opotomo=no*    *topo=tu*    *kam[u]-oya=no*    *oku=tu*            *kwi=pa*  
 ancestors=GEN    far=GEN    god-parent=GEN    inside=GEN    fortress=TOP
- 之流久            之米    多弓            比等能            之流            倍久  
*siru-ku*            *sime*    *tate*            *pito=no*            **siru**            *be-ku*  
 obvious-ACOP.INF    sign    set.up.IMP    people=GEN    **know.CNCL**    NEC-ACOP.INF
- ‘As for the grave of our distant ancestors, set up a sign clearly, so that people will **know** about it.’ (MYS.18.4096)

Future interpretations of unmarked forms are rare, probably because of the prevalence of Conjectural *-(a)m-*, which is usually used for future time reference. Conjectural *-(a)m-* is not, however, used before the conjunction *madeni* ‘until’ or in combination with the modal extensions such as Necessitive *be-*.

### 2.3.1.3 Past

As I discuss again in Chapter 6, there are two phenomena that complicate the area of tense in Old Japanese: *relative tense* and the *historical present*. Although Frellesvig (2010) claims that the zero forms are neutral with regard to tense, all cases where they have past time reference can be explained as one of these two phenomena.

#### 2.3.1.3.1 Incompatibility with past time adverbials

The zero forms are not found with past time adverbials such as *inisipyē ni* ‘in the past’,<sup>6</sup> *kinopu* ‘yesterday’, *kizo (no ywo)* ‘last night’, and *kozo* ‘last year’,<sup>7</sup> which instead occur with Past *-(i)ki*, Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, and Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*. Exceptions are phrases such as *kinopu mo kyepu mo* ‘both yesterday and today’ (e.g. MYS.2.184), but this contains the present time adverbial *kyepu* ‘today’. Expressions such as *inisipyē* ‘the past’ and *kamu-yo* ‘the age of the gods’ with Ablative *ywori ~ ywo ~ yuri ~ yu* appear to be able to modify both events construed as past and events construed as ‘anterior-continuing’, i.e. to mean ‘in’ or ‘since’ (see 6.3.4.4). It is not surprising to find the zero forms in this second function, as anterior-continuing is often expressed with present tenses cross-linguistically.

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<sup>6</sup> In MYS.2.111 and MYS.2.112, *inisipyē* is the object of the bird’s yearning, not the time at which the yearning takes place. In MYS.3.387, the event located in time by *inisipyē ni* is not *yana utu* ‘build a weir’ but *na-kari-seba* ‘if there had not been’.

<sup>7</sup> The word *kozo* in KK.78 must mean ‘tonight’ (Yamaguchi and Kōnoshi 1997: 319; Tsuchihashi and Konishi 1957: 84), and so does not constitute an exception.

### 2.3.1.3.2 Relative tense

Occasionally the unmarked construction is used to refer to past time in relative clauses, where the time reference can be said to be in some sense determined by the tense of the matrix clause:

- (14) 宇奈波良能           意吉 由久 布祢遠 可弊礼 等 加  
*una-para=no           oki   yuku   pune=wo kapyere to ka*  
 (sea-plain=COP.ADN) offing **go.ADN** boat=ACC return.IMP COMP FOC  
 比礼 布良之家武                   麻都良佐欲比壳  
*pire pura-si-kye-mu                   matura-saywo-pimye*  
 scarf wave-RESP-PST-CONJ.ADN Matura-Saywo-Lady

‘(It is) Lady Saywo of Matura, who (presumably) waved her scarf as if to say to the boat that **was going** across the offing, “Come back!” ’ (MYS.5.874)

- (15) 安遠迺 与之                   奈良乎 伎波奈礼  
*awo-ni yo-si                   nara=wo ki-panare*  
 (blue-red good-ACOP.ADN) Nara=ACC come-be.separated.INF  
 阿麻射可流                   比奈爾波                   安礼登  
*ama-zakaru                   pina=ni=pa                   aredo*  
 (heaven-be.parted.ADN) countryside=DAT=TOP exist.CNCS  
 和賀 勢故乎 見都追志           乎礼婆  
*wa=ga sekwo=wo mitutu=si           woreba*  
 I=GEN lover=ACC see.CONT=EMPH be.sitting.PROV  
 於毛比夜流                   許等母 安利之           乎  
**omopiyaru**                   koto=mo ari-si           wo  
**calm.worries.ADN** NMLZ=TOP exist-PST.ADN although

‘although (I) was in the countryside, separated from Nara, because I was seeing my lover it calmed my worries (or it was the case that it **calmed my worries**), but...’ (from MYS.17.4008)

In the English translations, all verbs that refer to past events must be in the Past tense, whether in embedded or matrix clauses. So *oki yuku pune* is ‘the boat that *was going* across the offing’, and *omopiyaru* is ‘it was the case that it *calmed my worries*’. The OJ usage can be understood as relative tense in the same sense as the term is used for Modern Japanese, i.e. the result of an (often optional) operation whereby the event expressed by the embedded clause is described from the time perspective of the matrix

clause. In (14), when *Lady Saywo waved her scarf*, the *boat going across the offing* was in present time; and in (15), when *it was the case*, the speaker's *worries being calmed* was in present time. These examples should be considered examples of relative tense, and not evidence of the free time reference of the unmarked forms.

### 2.3.1.3.3 *The historical present*

A slightly more frequent use of the unmarked forms to refer to past time can be dealt with under the heading 'historical present' or 'present tense narration'. An examination of the long narrative poems of the *Man'yōshū* reveals that they are mostly narrated without tense and aspect marking, using Infinitives and Gerunds to link clauses together. The following poem is unusual in that it has four sentences that end in zero forms:

- (16) 隱口乃                                  泊瀬乃                                  國尔  
 komoriku=no                                  patuse=no                                  kuni=ni  
 (surrounded.place=COP.ADN) Patuse=COP.ADN land=DAT
- 左結婚丹                  吾                  來者  
 sa-ywobapi=ni wa=ga ki-tareba  
 LOC-woo=DAT I=GEN come-arrive.PROV
- 棚雲利                                  雪者                                  零來  
 tana-gumori                                  yuki=pa                                  **puri-ku**  
 shelf-be.cloudy.INF snow=TOP **fall-come.CNCL**
- 左雲理                                  雨者                                  落來  
 sa-gumori                                  ame=pa                                  **puri-ku**  
 LOC-be.cloudy.INF rain=TOP **fall-come.CNCL**
- 野                  鳥                  雉                                  動  
 nwo=tu                  tori                  kigisi=pa                                  **toyomu**  
 field=GEN bird pheasant=TOP **resound.CNCL**
- 家                                  鳥                  可鷄毛                                  鳴  
 ipye=tu                                  tori                  kake=mo                                  **naku**  
 house=GEN bird chicken=TOP **call.CNCL**
- 左夜者                                  明                                  此                                  夜者                                  昶奴  
 sa-ywo=pa                                  ake                                  ko=no                                  ywo=pa                                  ake-nu  
 LOC-night=TOP dawn.INF this=GEN night=TOP dawn-PFV.CNCL

入而 且 将眠  
 irite katu ne-mu  
 enter.GER and sleep-CONJ.CNCL

此 戸 開爲  
 ko=no two piraka-se  
 this=GEN door open-RESP.IMP

‘When I come to the land of Patuse to woo, the sky clouds over and snow **begins to fall**. The sky clouds over and rain **begins to fall**. The bird of the field, the pheasant, **resounds**. The bird of the house, the chicken, **calls**. Dawn breaks—this dawn breaks. Going in, I will sleep. Open this door!’ (MYS.13.3310)

As explained in 1.3.1.4.2, I do not take the use of a nonpast form in narrative as evidence for its tense-neutrality.

#### 2.3.1.4 *Summary*

The zero forms appear not to be freely used with past time reference, although they can refer to past events when under the scope of other tenses (relative tense) and in present tense narration. They are not found with past time adverbials (e.g. *kinopu* ‘yesterday’), except when these are in combination with present time adverbials. I conclude that their time reference is limited to *nonpast*.

### 2.3.2 *Aspectual functions*

In this section I will consider the aspectual functions that the zero forms can denote.

#### 2.3.2.1 *Transformative events*

The zero forms can be used with some verbs to express transformative events. In present tense narration these can be present in time reference, but in other contexts they are future:

- (17) 吾 屋戸之 穗蓼 古幹 採 生之  
 wa=ga yadwo=no po-tade puru-kara tumi oposi  
 I=GEN house=GEN ear-knotweed old-dry pick.INF nurture.INF

實 成 左右二 君乎志 將待  
**mwi=ni naru** madeni kimi=wo=si mata-mu  
**fruit=DAT become.CNCL** until you=ACC=EMPH wait-CONJ.CNCL

‘Picking and nurturing the old and dry sprouting knotweed in my garden, I will wait for you until it **fruits** (i.e. for ever).’ (MYS.11.2759)

- (18) 青丹 吉 寧樂乃 家尔者  
awo-ni yo-si nara=no ipye=ni=pa  
(blue-red good-ACOP.ADN) Nara=GEN house=DAT=TOP  
万代尔 吾母 将通  
yorodu-yo=ni ware=mo kaywopa-mu  
ten.thousand-generation=DAT I=TOP cross-CONJ.CNCL  
忘 跡 念 勿  
**wasuru to [o]mopu na**  
**forget.CNCL COMP think.CNCL PROH**

‘I will go to your house in Nara for ten thousand generations. Do not think that (I) **will forget**.’ (MYS.1.80)

### 2.3.2.2 Directed activities

With some of the verbs with which the zero forms can denote transformative events, they can also denote *directed activities*, where the verb denotes change towards an endpoint, but the endpoint has not yet been achieved:

- (19) 許乃久礼能 之氣伎 乎乃 倍乎  
ko-no-kure=no sige-ki wo=no pe=wo  
tree-GEN-top=GEN thick-ACOP.ADN foot=GEN over=ACC  
保等登芸須 奈伎弓 故由 奈理  
pototogisu nakite **kwoyu nari**  
cuckoo call.GER **cross.CNCL** AUD.CNCL  
伊麻之 久良之 母  
ima=si kurasi mo  
now=EMPH dark.CNCL EMPH

‘I can hear a cuckoo calling as it **crosses** the foot (of the mountain) where the treetops are thick. It is dark now!’ (MYS.20.4305)

- (20) 夜久毛 多都 伊豆毛 夜弊賀岐  
ya-kumwo tatu idumwo ya-pye-gaki  
(eight-cloud rise.ADN) Idumwo eight-layer-fence

都麻碁微爾            夜弊賀岐            都久流  
*tuma-gomwi=ni*        *ya-pye-gaki*            **tukuru**  
 wife-enclose.INF=DAT eight-layer-fence **make.CNCL**

曾能            夜弊賀岐袁  
*so=no*        *ya-pye-gaki=wo*  
 that=GEN eight-layer-fence=ACC

‘The many-layered fence of Idumwo—to enclose my wife (I) **am making** a many-layered fence, that many-layered fence.’ (KK.1)

The *hentai kanbun* introduction to KK.1 suggests that the speaker is building the palace at the time of speaking (Philippi 1968: 91), although it is possible that the form has future reference.

### 2.3.2.3 *Ongoing atelic events*

With other verbs the zero forms can denote *ongoing atelic events*, some which appear to be *undirected activities*:

(21) 保登等芸須 伊麻 奈可受之弓  
*pototogisu ima naka-zusite*  
 cuckoo now call-NEG.GER

安須            古要牟            夜麻爾            奈久            登母  
*asu kwoye-mu yama=ni naku tomo*  
 tomorrow cross-CONJ.ADN mountain=DAT **call.CNCL** CNCS

之流思 安良米            夜 母  
*sirus[i] ara-me ya mo*  
 sign exist-CONJ.EXCL Q EMPH

‘Cuckoo, if, not calling now, you **call** on the mountain we will cross tomorrow, is there any point?’ (MYS.18.4052)

(22) 二上能            乎弓母許能母爾            安美 佐之弓  
*putagami=no wotemo-konomo=ni ami sasite*  
 Putagami=GEN there-here=DAT net lay.GER

安我 麻都            多可乎  
*a=ga matu taka=wo*  
 I=GEN **wait.ADN** falcon=ACC

伊米爾            都氣追            母  
*ime=ni tuge-tu mo*  
 dream=DAT tell-PFV.CNCL EMPH

‘(Someone) told me in a dream about the falcons that I **am waiting for**, laying nets all over Mount Putagami!’ (MYS.17.4013)

and some of which appear to be *simple states*:

- (23) 安乎爾 与之 奈良爾 安流 射毛我  
*awo-ni yo-si nara=n[i] aru imo=ga*  
 (green-red good-ACOP.ADN) Nara=DAT **exist.ADN** beloved=GEN

多可多可爾 間都 良牟 許己呂  
*takataka-ni matu ramu kokoro*  
 impatient-COP.INF wait.CNCL NPSTCONJ.ADN heart

之可爾波 安良司 可  
*sika=ni=p[a] arazi ka*  
 that.way=COP.INF=TOP exist.NEGCONJ FOC

‘May the heart of my beloved, who **is** in Nara waiting impatiently for me, not be that way.’ (MYS.18.4107)

- (24) 多麻之比波 安之多 由布徹尔 多麻布礼杼  
*tamasipi=pa asita yupupye=ni tamapuredo*  
 soul=TOP morning evening=DAT receive.CNCS

安我 牟祢 伊多之 古非能 之氣吉尔  
*a=ga mune ita-si kwopwi=no sige-ki=ni*  
 I=GEN heart **painful-ACOP.CNCL** yearn.INF=GEN thick-ACOP.ADN=COP.INF

‘Although I receive your soul in the morning and the evening, my heart **aches** because of the intensity of my yearning.’ (MYS.15.3767)

- (25) 安万射可流 比奈能 夜都故爾  
*ama-zakaru pina=no yatukwo=ni*  
 (heaven-be.separated.ADN) countryside=GEN servant=DAT

安米比度之 可久 古非 須 良波  
*ame-pito=si kaku kwopwi su raba*  
 heaven-person=EMPH thus yearn.INF do.CNCL NPSTCONJ.TOP<sup>8</sup>

伊家流 思留事 安里  
*ik-yeru sirus[i] ari*  
 live-STAT.ADN reason **exist.CNCL**

‘If the heavenly person (the addressee, a lover) loved her country servant (the speaker), **there would be** a reason to live.’ (MYS.18.4082)

<sup>8</sup> Kojima et al. (1996: 251) propose that *su raba* here is a contraction of *su ramu pa*.

There is no basis here on which to distinguish between activities and states.

#### 2.3.2.4 *Bounded atelic events*

With some of the verbs with which the zero forms can denote ongoing atelic events, they can also denote *bounded atelic events*, for example:

- (26) 和可礼奈波 宇良我奈之家武  
*wakare-naba ura-ganasi-kye-mu*  
 part-PFV.COND EMPH-sad-ACOP-CONJ.CNCL
- 安我 許呂母 之多爾乎 伎麻勢  
*a=ga koromo sita=ni=wo ki-mase*  
 I=GEN garment under=DAT=EMPH wear-RESP.IMP
- 多太爾 安布 麻弓爾  
*tada-n[i] apu madeni*  
 direct-COP.INF meet.ADN until

‘When we part, (I) will be sad. **Wear** my garment under (your clothes) until we (next) meet face to face.’ (MYS.15.3584)

Here the phrase *tada-ni apu madeni* ‘until we meet face to face’ bounds the atelic event denoted by *ki-mase* ‘wear’. Because nonpast bounded atelic events are most likely to be future events, and because most future events in Old Japanese are expressed with Conjectural *-(a)m-*, examples of the zero forms denoting bounded atelic events are rare. It is more common for them to be expressed with Conjectural *-(a)m-*, as in MYS.11.2538.

#### 2.3.2.5 *Habitual and generic events*

Apparently with all types of verb the zero forms can denote habitual and generic events, whether transformative (27) or atelic (28–31):

- (27) 奈美 多底波 奈呉能 宇良未爾 余流 可比乃  
*nami tateba nagwo=no uramwi=ni yoru kapi=no*  
 wave stand.PROV Nagwo=GEN cove=DAT **approach.ADN** shell=COP.INF

末奈伎 孤悲爾曾 等之波 倍爾家流  
*ma-na-ki kwopwi=ni=so tosi=pa pe-ni-kyeru*  
 break-not.exist-ACOP.ADN yearning=DAT=FOC year=TOP pass-PFV-INDIR.ADN

‘Like the shells that (ceaselessly) **come** to Nagwo Cove when the waves are up, years have passed in ceaseless yearning.’ (MYS.18.4033)

- (28) 保登等芸須 奈久 五月爾波  
*pototogisu naku sa-tukwi=ni=pa*  
 cuckoo **call.ADN** five-month=DAT=TOP

波都波奈乎 延太爾 多乎理弓  
*patu-pana=wo yeda=ni ta-worite*  
 first-flowers=ACC branch=DAT hand-bend.GER

乎登女良爾 都刀爾母 夜里美  
*wotomye-ra=ni tutwo=ni=mo yari-mi*  
 woman-PL=DAT present=COP.INF=TOP give-see.CNCL

‘In the fifth month, when the cuckoo **calls**, (people) pick the first flowers from the branches and give them to women as presents.’ (MYS.18.4111)

- (29) 伊爾之敞乎 於母保須 良之 母  
*inisipye=wo omoposu rasi mo*  
 past=ACC think.RESP.CNCL INFER.CNCL EMPH

和期 於保伎美  
*wa=g[o] opo-kimi*  
 I=GEN great-lord

余思努乃 美夜乎 安里我欲比 賣須  
*yosinwo=no miya=wo ari-gaywopi myesu*  
 Yosinwo=GEN palace=ACC DUR-go.back.and.forth.INF **look.RESP.ADN**

‘As for the emperor’s constantly visiting the palace in Yosinwo and **looking around**, it seems as though he is thinking of the past.’ (MYS.18.4099)

- (30) 阿軻娜磨迺 比訶利播 阿利 登 比登播 伊珮耐  
*aka-dama=no pikari=pa ari to pito=pa [i]pedo*  
 red-jewel=GEN shine=TOP **exist.CNCL** COMP people=TOP say.CNCS

企弭我 譽贈比志 多輔妬勾 阿利計利  
*kimi=ga yosopi=si taputwo-k[u] ari-kyeri*  
 you=GEN decoration=EMPH worthy.of.worship-ACOP.INF exist-INDIR.CNCL

‘Although people say **there is** the shine of red jewels, your (natural) decoration is (more) worthy of worship.’ (NSK.6)

### 2.3.2.6 Result states?

#### 2.3.2.6.1 With Inferential *rasi-*

There are a few cases where the zero forms seem to denote result states, but always with Inferential *rasi-*, for example:

- (31) 那賀 美古夜 那毘迹 斯良牟 登  
*na=ga mi-kwo=ya tupi-ni sira-mu to*  
 you=GEN RESP-child=FOC to.the.end-COP.INF rule-CONJ.ADN COMP  
 加理波 古牟 良斯  
*kari=pa kwo-mu rasi*  
 goose=TOP child-give.birth.CNCL INFER.CNCL

‘It seems that the goose **has laid an egg** (as a sign that) your son will rule for ever.’ (KK.73)

- (32) 鶯之 春 成 良思  
 (ugupisu=no) *paru=ni naru rasi*  
 warbler=GEN spring=DAT become.CNCL INFER.CNCL  
 春日山 霞 棚引 夜目 見侶  
*kasuga-yama kasumi tanabiku ywo-me=ni miredomo*  
 Kasuga-mountain mist trail.ADN night-eye=DAT see.CNCS

‘It seems that it **has become** spring, although at night one can see the mist trailing on Mount Kasuga.’ (MYS.10.1845)

- (33) 伊爾之敝由 伊比都芸久 良之  
*inisipyē=yu ipi-tugi-ku rasi*  
 past=ABL say-tell-come.CNCL INFER.CNCL

‘...it seems it **has been said** since long ago.’ (from MYS.17.3973)

Since the zero forms of change of state verbs do not denote result states outside the *rasi-* construction, I propose that it is a function of this specific construction: Inferential *rasi-* sometimes allows change of state verbs to be interpreted as denoting their corresponding result state. This might have to do with the fact that *rasi-* cannot appear after Stative *-yer-* or Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*, the main ways of expressing result states in Old Japanese.

2.3.2.6.2 *Inceptive state verbs*

Another question is how to analyse the state construals of inceptive state verbs, which can also denote transformative events in the Nonpast, for example:

- (34) 梓弓            引津            邊有  
 (adusa-yumi) pikitu=no            pye=naru  
 (Adusa-bow) Pikitu=COP.ADN side=COP.ADN  
 莫告藻之            花            咲            及二            不會            君            蠢  
*nanoriso=no            pana            saku            madeni            apa-nu            kimi            kamo*  
 sargassum=GEN flower **bloom**.ADN till meet-NEG.ADN you EMPH  
 ‘You whom I will not meet until the sargassum flowers **bloom**, which are on the side of Pikitu!’ (MYS.10.1930)

- (35) 波流能            努爾            奈久            夜            于隅比須            奈都氣牟            得  
*paru=no            nwo=ni            naku            ya            ugupisu            natuke-mu            to*  
 spring=GEN field=DAT call.ADN FOC warbler attract-CONJ.CNCL COMP  
 和何弊能            曾能爾            于米何            波奈            佐久  
*wa-ga-pye=no            sono=ni            ume=ga            pana            saku*  
 I-GEN-house=GEN garden=DAT plum=GEN flower **bloom**.CNCL  
 ‘The plum **is blooming** in my garden in order to attract the warblers that call in the spring fields.’ (MYS.5.837)

In (34) *saku* seems to denote a transformative event, and in (35) it denotes a state. Should this state be thought of as a simple state or as a result state? The fact that examples such as the above do not use any of the numerous constructions that exist in Old Japanese for expressing result states (Stative *-yer-*, Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*, Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*) suggests to me that a result state is not being denoted, but rather a simple state. It can be hypothesized that the reason these ‘inceptive state’ verbs exist in Old Japanese is that both the change of state and the state itself are felt to be salient, and so we can say that the state is being denoted *in its own right*, rather than as the result of a change of state which is what the verb ‘really means’. I conclude that the zero forms cannot denote result states.

### 2.3.2.7 *Summary*

The zero forms can be used with all verbs to denote habitual and generic events, but its other aspectual construals generally do not apply to all verbs. With one group it denotes transformative events, with another transformative events and directed activities, with another transformative events and ongoing simple states, and with another ongoing atelic events (undirected activities and simple states). It appears that the zero forms cannot denote result states, and it seems likely that they cannot express current relevance of an anterior event, anterior-continuing, or experiential. It is difficult to determine if they can express continuative, semelfactive, and completive functions: it is possible that these functions could be expressed with the zero forms when supported by appropriate adverbials.

The fact that the zero forms express a variety of different aspectual functions depending on the type of verb they combine with, alongside the fact that they do not denote result states, suggests a scenario whereby an originally aspectually neutral form became partially restricted after the development of a construction that expressed result states. As I explain in 12.4.3, there are several candidates for a resultative construction in pre-OJ. It seems best to characterize the aspectual function of the zero forms as *non-resultative*.

### 2.3.3 **Findings**

It seems that the ‘zero forms’, as I have called the finite forms of verbs outside any overtly marked tense–aspect construction, are not completely temporally and aspectually neutral. First, they rule out past time reference. This does not mean that they cannot refer to past events, as in their relative present and narrative present functions, but

that they do not *construe* events as having past time reference. Thus their temporal function can be described as *nonpast*.

Second, a few aspectual functions cannot be expressed by the zero forms. These include *current relevance of an anterior event*, *experiential*, *anterior-continuing*, and *result state*. Since the aspectual functions it *can* denote are largely dependent on the aspectual potential of the verb, its aspectual function can be described as *non-resultative*. This means that apart from ruling out result states, it has no specific aspectual function. The aspectual construals that verbs have in this construction can be thought of as their default construals. The zero forms are *nonpast* and *non-resultative*, but for ease of reference, I will call them the ‘Nonpast’.

## **2.4 Conclusions**

### **2.4.1 Morphological origins**

I am only interested in the origins of the zero forms insofar as they might have been aspectual. As far as I am aware, aspectual origins have not been proposed for the Imperative, Negative Conjectural, or Optative forms, so I do not discuss them here.

#### **2.4.1.1 Aspectual sources**

Since these proposals have a great deal in common, I will first present them, and then discuss them together.

##### **2.4.1.1.1 Ohno (1978)**

Ohno (1978: 208) proposes that the *-u* Conclusive form derives from the verb *wor-* ‘exist’ attached to the verb root, which formed a progressive construction. He derives the Adnominal from non-aspectual sources (see 2.4.1.2.1).

#### 2.4.1.1.2 Russell (2006)

Russell (2006) derives the Adnominal and Exclamatory forms similarly to the way in which Ohno (1978) derives the Conclusive form. She proposes that a ‘stative’ morpheme *\*-ur-* attached directly to the verb root. To form the Adnominal, it was followed by an ending *\*-o*, and to form the Exclamatory it was followed by an ending *\*-e* (pp. 198–200). Russell (p. 648) derives *\*-ur-* from Proto-Japonic *\*-ɽura-*, which she calls a ‘nonpast stative’, but to which she attributes only nonpast function. According to her, Nonpast Conjectural *ram-* and Inferential *rasi-* also derive from this morpheme. She states (pp. 651, 652) that in these constructions the function of the morpheme *\*-ur-* is ‘to mark the verb as a clause’. Russell derives the Conclusive from non-aspectual sources.

#### 2.4.1.1.3 Serafim (2007, 2008)

Serafim (2007, 2008), building on work by Hattori (1977), suggests that the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms come from a progressive construction formed from the Infinitive form followed by a stative verb, either *\*wir-*, *\*ur-*, or *wor-*. Serafim (2007: 215) provides the following sample derivations, using the verb *kak-* ‘scratch, write’:

- (36) a. Conclusive: *\*kak + i # ur*  
b. Adnominal: *\*kak + i # ur + ro*  
c. Exclamatory: *\*kak + i # ur + re*

He claims (p. 215) that this progressive construction had been subject to ‘complete semantic bleaching’ by Old Japanese, citing Bybee et al. (1994) as evidence that progressive constructions can develop into present constructions.

#### 2.4.1.1.4 *Discussion*

First, Ohno's (1978) and Russell's (2006) accounts end up with one of the three forms (Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory) having at some point had a different aspectual meaning from the other two. For Ohno (1978) the Conclusive form derives from a progressive construction, while for Russell (2006) the Adnominal and the Exclamatory incorporate a 'stative morpheme'. No aspectual differences between the three forms are found in Old Japanese, however.

Second, Russell's (2006) and Serafim's (2007, 2008) accounts also fail to explain the origin of the endings (\*-o and \*-e, or \*-ro and \*-re) that combine with the stative morpheme to form the Adnominal and Exclamatory forms. If these endings already existed, why were the stative constructions created?<sup>9</sup>

Finally, Serafim (2007, 2008) is wrong to assume that the combination of Infinitive with a stative verb would produce a progressive construction. I argue in later chapters that, since the Infinitive marked anteriority in pre-OJ, Stative *-yer-* began as a resultative construction, only later broadening to express ongoing activities. If the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms of change of state verbs derived from Infinitive + stative verb a long time before Stative *-yer-*, we would expect them to denote result states, but this is not what we observe in OJ. The Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms of verbs such as *okwi-* 'rise' do not have *result state* as one of their aspectual functions.

#### 2.4.1.2 *Non-aspectual sources*

Most accounts that do not derive the Conclusive from aspectual sources seem to consider it to have been a marker of finiteness or a sentence-final marker (e.g. Russell 2006), and do not attempt to derive it from lexical sources. I accept this consensus, and

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<sup>9</sup> Martin's (1996) account, which is relatively undeveloped, also has this shortcoming.

in this section I will concentrate on the proposed origins of the Adnominal and Exclamatory forms.

#### 2.4.1.2.1 *Ohno (1978)*

Ohno (1978: 210–211) suggests that the Adnominal derives from what Frellesvig (2008: 190, note 17) calls ‘the obsolete Genitive formant *-rwo-* ~ *-ru-*’ attaching to the verb root. Phonological rules account for the deletion of the *-r-* in some conjugations. However, this analysis is made unattractive by its failure to incorporate an explanation of the Exclamatory form, which seems to be related.

#### 2.4.1.2.2 *Unger (1993)*

Unger (1993) claims that *\*-re(-)* was a realis marker in Proto-Japonic, and that this morpheme is behind both the Adnominal and the Exclamatory forms. According to him, the Conclusive form is the stem for the Exclamatory, e.g. *aku-re* ‘opens’, and the Exclamatory form is the stem for the Adnominal, e.g. *akure-u*. (The final morpheme here is presumably the same as that of the Conclusive form.)

As Whitman (2004) points out, however, the derivational relationships here are odd. Why should the Exclamatory be built on the Conclusive, and why should the Adnominal be built on the Exclamatory? Second, why should the Adnominal and the Exclamatory incorporate a ‘realis’ marker when the Conclusive does not?

#### 2.4.1.2.3 *Whitman (2004)*

Whitman (2004) proposes that the Adnominal and Exclamatory forms both derive from a morpheme *\*-or* that attached directly to the stems of verbs. A series of phonological rules (based on whether the predicates are sentence-final or not) created the Adnominal and Exclamatory forms found in Old Japanese. According to Whitman (p.c.), the original function of this morpheme was a ‘nominalizing (participial) suffix’.

It is unclear how this relates to the functions of the Adnominal and Exclamatory forms. Wrona (2008), for example, claims that the original function of the Adnominal form was to conclude relative clauses.

### **2.4.1.3 Discussion**

As I showed in 2.4.1.1, attempts to derive the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms from aspectual constructions have serious problems. For this reason I find non-aspectual origins for these forms more plausible. Of the above accounts, Whitman's (2004) seems to me to be the most promising, although the original function of the *\*-or* morpheme remains unclear.

## **2.4.2 Semantic development pre-OJ**

If the finite forms originally had no tense–aspect functions, they could have developed nonpast function as a result of the development of Past *-(i)ki*. Although some present tenses evolve from imperfective constructions, Bybee et al. (1994: 144) state that ‘the existence of several cases of zero expression for presents indicate that they also develop as the result of a developing past tense’.

It is unclear whether the aspectual restrictions of the Nonpast developed in the same way. It is possible to imagine that at a very early point in the history of a language all verbs could, with appropriate linguistic and non-linguistic contextual support, denote all aspectual functions necessary for communication. Different verbs would have different default construals. For example, atelic verbs would usually denote ongoing atelic events, while change of state verbs would usually denote completed (past) changes. This is similar in principle to the temporal interpretations of unmarked atelic and telic predicates in Mandarin Chinese, for example (from Lin 2012: 672):

- (37) a. *Zhāngsān hěn máng*  
 Zhangsan very busy  
 ‘Zhangsan is very busy.’
- b. *Zhāngsān bǎ wǒ bǎng zài yǐzi shàng*  
 Zhangsan ACC I tie in chair on  
 ‘Zhangsan tied me in a chair.’

Although there is no tense-marking, the atelic predicate *máng* ‘busy’ in the first example denotes a present atelic event, but the change of state predicate *bǎng* ‘tie’ in the second example denotes a past transformative event. It is easy to imagine how, in the absence of a resultative construction, sentences such as (35b) could be used to convey the message that the state resulting from the event still pertains.

If this picture of originally unrestricted aspectual potential is correct, then the emergence of constructions with specific aspectual functions would have restricted the aspectual functions of the zero forms. The result state function was probably taken over by a resultative construction (cf. OJ Stative *-yer-*), while the current relevance, anterior-continuing, and experiential functions might have been taken over by a past construction (cf. OJ Past *-(i)ki*). Inceptive state verbs (e.g. *sak-* ‘bloom’ and *sir-* ‘know’) could be viewed as remnants of this pre-resultative period. It is perhaps because the state functions of these verbs are particularly salient that they were not taken over by the encroaching resultative construction.

### 2.4.3 Development post-OJ

Several morphological changes occurred to reduce the zero forms to a single form. The Exclamatory form became fossilized in late EMJ, and disappeared in LMJ (Frellesvig 2010: 328). In late EMJ and early LMJ the Conclusive and Adnominal forms merged (Frellesvig 2010: 328–329).

In Modern Japanese the Nonpast is in opposition with *-(I)te i-* both in its result state function and its ongoing activity function, and, unlike the OJ Nonpast, is unable to denote ongoing activities. Takeuchi (1999: 97) links this to the development of the ongoing activity function in stative constructions and to the demise of Conjectural *-(a)m-*. I have shown, however, that Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* could denote ongoing activities, so it is not simply the *ability* of these constructions to denote ongoing activities that caused the semantic change in the Nonpast. It must rather have been the gradual obligatorification of these constructions when expressing ongoing activities that caused the reanalysis of the Nonpast.

Takeuchi does not explain why the demise of Conjectural *-(a)m-*, and presumably therefore the increased use of the Nonpast to refer to future events, would have caused it no longer to be able to denote ongoing activities. The obligatorification of *-(I)te i-* in ongoing activity function is a more satisfactory explanation.

#### **2.4.4 Final remarks**

I have concluded that the zero-marked finite forms of verbs have limits on the temporal and aspectual functions they can denote. They can denote present and future time, but not past time, and they can denote a variety of aspectual functions, but not those that refer in some way to an anterior event. I have characterized them as *nonpast* and *non-resultative*. They are not merely neutral, but play a part in the tense–aspect system of Old Japanese.

## 3 Stative *-yer-*

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### 3.1 Introduction

#### 3.1.1 Orthography

Of the 672 Central Old Japanese attestations of *-yer-* in the Oxford Corpus, there are 218 examples written phonographically, 75 written only partially phonographically, and 379 written logographically or without orthographic representation. When *-yer-* is written partially phonographically this usually means that the core of the morpheme *-(y)e-* is not written, but an inflectional ending (e.g. *-ru*) is written phonographically, for example:

- (1) 開 流  
sak ye ru

Most of the verbs and auxiliaries that *-yer-* attaches to do not have Adnominal forms in *-ru* with which the above could be confused (the exceptions are *se-* ‘do’ and *ko-* ‘come’), but examples such as (1) could be read *saki-taru* (with Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*) or *saki-nuru* (with the Perfective *-(i)n-*). For this reason I have generally avoided partially phonographic attestations in this chapter.

Entirely logographic attestations of *-yer-* must also be considered unreliable. It is often written with the characters 有 and 在, both of which are also used to write Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*. Since part of the purpose of my investigation is to discover

any difference in meaning between *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-*, I must be sure that I am dealing with the right construction in each case.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1.2 Inflection

The auxiliary *-yer-* attaches to the stem of a verb or auxiliary. The shape of this auxiliary is *-er-* after certain consonants. It is attested with the following number of attestations of each of its inflected forms:

| (2) Form             | Shape          | Number | %  |
|----------------------|----------------|--------|----|
| Conclusive           | <i>-yeri</i>   | 78     | 12 |
| Adnominal            | <i>-yeru</i>   | 475    | 71 |
| Exclamatory          | <i>-yere</i>   | 10     | 1  |
| Imperative           | <i>-yere</i>   | 2      | <1 |
| Negative Conjectural | <i>-yerazi</i> | 2      | <1 |
| Conditional          | <i>-yeraba</i> | 7      | 1  |
| Provisional          | <i>-yereba</i> | 24     | 4  |
| Concessive           | <i>-yeredo</i> | 19     | 3  |
| Nominal              | <i>-yeraku</i> | 9      | 1  |
| <i>a</i> -stem       | <i>-yera-</i>  | 7      | 1  |
| <i>i</i> -stem       | <i>-yeri-</i>  | 38     | 6  |
| <b>Total:</b>        |                | 672    |    |

The number of Adnominal attestations is very high (compared, for example, with those of simple verbs: see 2.1.2.2). I will discuss this in 3.4.4.1.

<sup>1</sup> In some poems (e.g. MYS.2.114, MYS.10.2247, MYS.11.2353) it seems as though Stative *-yer-* is written with the character 所, often used to write Passive *-(a)ye-*, Passive *-(a)re-*, and Respect *-(a)s-*. However, this character is often used to mark unaccusative verbs, e.g. *yake-* or *moye-* ‘burn’ in MYS.1.5, *sir-* ‘find out’ in MYS.1.10, and *nure-* ‘get soaked’ in MYS.1.24. (I disagree with Omodaka (1984/1: 122), who proposes that 所 is used to represent the Adnominal form of verbs.) In the examples with *-yer-*, this character should be interpreted as representing part of the meaning of the verb itself, and not *-yer-*, which is not written at all.

### 3.1.3 Combination

#### 3.1.3.1 *With other grammatical constructions*

In a verb syntagm, *-yer-* precedes tense and mood auxiliaries (Past *-(i)ki*, Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, Conjectural *-(a)m-*, and Subjunctive *-(a)masi*). It does not combine with Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* or Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*,<sup>2</sup> and it only very rarely combines with Negative *-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-*.

#### 3.1.3.2 *With predicates*

Stative *-yer-* is not attested with *r*-irr verbs<sup>3</sup> or the small *n*-irr class. It is not attested with bigrade verbs, and is only found combining directly<sup>4</sup> with one monograde verb, *ki-* ‘put on’, with which it combines in the irregular shape *k-yer-*. Its shape is also irregular in combination with *ko-* ‘come’ (*k-yer-*) and *se-* ‘do’ (*s-er-*).<sup>5</sup>

#### 3.1.3.3 *Comparison with the secondary conjugations*

The auxiliary *-yer-* is not attested attaching to any adjectives or copulas. On etymological grounds, Watanabe (2008: 67–70, 85–88) treats the secondary conjugations of Negative *-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-* and some of the secondary conjugations of the Adjectival Copula as variants of *-yer-*, but there are two reasons to doubt this.

First, while *-yer-* is only attested in a contracted shape, the secondary conjugations of the Negative and the Adjectival Copula have two variants:

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<sup>2</sup> There is one apparent example of *-yer-* combining with the Periphrastic Stative (in MYS.15.3772), but the form *ki-tar-* to which it attaches is best analysed as a contraction of *\*ki-itar-* (come-arrive).

<sup>3</sup> Omodaka (1984/19: 103) reads 居有 in MYS.19.4207 as *wor-eru* (be.sitting-STAT.ADN). However, this is not attested elsewhere in Old Japanese, and is unexpected if *wor-* is in origin a stative form (see 9.1.4 and Kinsui 2006). Takagi et al. (1962: 347) and Kojima et al. (1996: 324) read it as *wi-s-eru* (sit-RESP-STAT.ADN), which *is* attested elsewhere (MYS.10.1842) and is not unexpected in any way. I follow this second interpretation.

<sup>4</sup> It twice combines with *wi-* ‘sit’ (see previous note), but the Respect auxiliary *-(a)s-* is interposed.

<sup>5</sup> From a diachronic perspective, all three can be considered to be regular contractions of Infinitive + *ar-*: *k-yer-* ‘be wearing’ < *\*ki-ar-*; *k-yer-* ‘have come’ < *\*ki-ar-*; *s-er-* ‘have done’ < *\*si-ar-* (Frellesvig and Whitman 2008a: 19, note 8).

| (3) | Variant | Negative <i>-(a)zu ~ -(a)n-</i> | Adjectival copula |
|-----|---------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
|     | full    | <i>-zu ar-</i>                  | <i>-ku ar-</i>    |
|     | short   | <i>-zar-</i>                    | <i>-kar-</i>      |

Watanabe (2008: 65–67) suggests that some logographic examples of *-yer-* could instead be read *-(i)-ar-*, thereby supplying it with an uncontracted form, but there are no phonographic examples to back up this speculation.

Second, the synchronic vowel *deletion* seen with the Negative and the Adjectival Copula is different from the diachronic *contraction* seen with *-yer-* (Frellesvig 2008: 175–177). With the Negative and the Adjectival Copula the first vowel is deleted in the short variant, while with *-yer-* the whole form has been contracted, combining the two vowels.

These two differences show that the secondary conjugations of the Negative and the Adjectival Copula should not be equated with *-yer-*, and they will play no further part in this investigation.

## 3.2 Previous accounts of *-yer-*

Previous accounts of *-yer-* tend either to list all of its functions with no attempt at explanation, or to neglect some of the functions in favour of a general meaning. Ikeda (1980) is an example of the first tendency, and the other accounts mentioned in this section are examples of the second.

### 3.2.1 Result state, current relevance, ongoing activity, bounded past event

Ikeda (1980) is basically an EMJ grammar, but since such grammars have often formed the basis of OJ analysis, I include it throughout this thesis as an example of that approach. Ikeda (1980: 100–101) gives three definitions of *-yer-*. First, it ‘shows the continuing effect of a completed action or process’, equivalent to NJ *shite iru*, *shite aru*,

or *shite ita*. In our terms this is where it expresses a *result state* or perhaps the *current relevance of an anterior event*. Second, it ‘shows the action underlying a certain state of affairs’, equivalent to NJ *shite iru*. This is probably where it denotes an *ongoing activity*. Third, it ‘expresses the completion of an action or process’, equivalent to *shita* or *shite shimatta*. This is where it denotes a *temporally bounded past event*.

Ikeda (1980: 100, note 8) also notes that ‘[-yer-] and [-(i)tar-] are very similar, but whereas [-(i)tar-] shows the result of a completed action, [-yer-] implies that the result of [a] completed action is continuing up to the present and may be intermittent’, giving the English gloss *has been going on*. It is unclear what he means by this.

As with most traditional accounts, Ikeda (1980) suffers from a lack of precision: there is no discussion of what sorts of verbs -yer- combines with, and definitions are vague and dominated by NJ equivalents. His identification of the basic functions of -yer- seems to be correct, however.

### 3.2.2 Resultative and weak progressive

Kinsui (1993, 1995) is in part a refinement of the traditional description, distinguishing *resultative*, *weak progressive*, and *strong progressive*. The term *resultative* refers to *result states*. *Weak progressive* is Kinsui’s term for an *undirected activity*, i.e. an atelic ongoing activity, e.g. *He is playing football*. *Strong progressive* is his term for a *directed activity*, i.e. a telic ongoing activity, e.g. *He is flying to Japan (right now)*. They could also be understood as progressives of *atelic* and *accomplishment* verbs respectively.

Kinsui (1995: 18) claims that -yer- in the *Man’yōshū* is only found with *resultative* and *weak progressive* meanings: in other words it cannot denote *directed activities*, or cannot have progressive meaning with accomplishment verbs. Kinsui neglects the *bounded past event* function of -yer-.

### 3.2.3 Imperfective or stative

Watanabe (2008: 54–91) calls *-yer-* an *imperfective*. She claims that it has *result state*, *current relevance*, and *ongoing activity* functions, and possibly simple state and habitual functions. However, she neglects its *bounded past event* function, which is not compatible with her ‘imperfective’ definition. Watanabe (2008) does not consider the possibility that the various uses of *-yer-* might not have a unified aspectual definition, but might rather be linked diachronically. Sandness (1999) and Frellesvig (2010) also focus on meanings such as Watanabe describes, calling *-yer-* ‘stative’. They too neglect its bounded past event function.

### 3.2.4 Progressive

Vovin (2009a: 880–892) calls *-yer-* a *progressive*, and claims that it has two functions: *progressive* and *perfective*, with the progressive functions outnumbering the perfective ones. The examples he gives under the heading ‘perfective’ are mostly *result states*, but there are a few examples of *bounded past events*. Vovin suggests that the resultative function developed from the progressive function.

However, Vovin is only able to claim that the progressive functions of *-yer-* outnumber its resultative functions by using the term ‘progressive’ inappropriately. I discuss the identification of functions in the next section.

### 3.2.5 Summary

Traditional accounts claim a wide variety of uses for *-yer-*, including result state (resultative), ongoing activity (progressive), and bounded past event (past perfective), but they do not usually attempt to show how these functions can exist in one form. Other accounts have often neglected the bounded past event function of *-yer-*, thereby

giving it two basic functions only, result state and ongoing activity. I will attempt to make sense of *-yer-* in all its variety by showing how these meanings might have developed diachronically.

### **3.3 The functions of *-yer-***

After introducing in 3.3.1 the way in which I determine the functions of *-yer-*, in the rest of this section I discuss each of its functions in turn.

#### **3.3.1 Introduction: determining functions**

##### **3.3.1.1 *Well-attested verbs***

###### *3.3.1.1.1 Distinguishing result states and ongoing activities*

When analysing *-yer-*, it is very important to be able to distinguish between *result states* and *ongoing activities*. When verbs are well attested, this is simple. If a verb is an achievement or accomplishment verb, then its function with *-yer-* can be understood as a result state. (There are no cases where a directed activity interpretation with *-yer-* makes sense.) If, on the other hand, it is an atelic verb, then its function with *-yer-* can be understood as an ongoing activity.

If, however, the verb in combination with *-yer-* is an inceptive state verb, it is unclear if it denotes a result state or an ongoing atelic event without any resultative implications. Because of this ambiguity I have placed these verbs in a separate section below, labelling their aspectual function ‘ambiguous’. I argue later that this ambiguity might have been significant in the semantic development of *-yer-*.

###### *3.3.1.1.2 Patterns of distribution of well-attested verbs*

When one compares the number of attestations of atelic verbs in the *-yer-* construction and in the Nonpast construction, one finds that they are always attested far more

often in the Nonpast than with *-yer-*. For example, *omop-* ‘yearn, think’ is attested 284 times in the Nonpast construction and 53 times with *-yer-*. Similarly, *ter-* ‘shine’ is attested 59 times in the Nonpast and 15 times with *-yer-*. With change of state and inceptive state verbs, however, the numbers can be much closer, or even the other way round. For example, *sak-* ‘bloom’ (an inceptive state verb) is attested 47 times in the Nonpast construction and 34 times with *-yer-*, while *mot-* ‘take hold of’ (an achievement verb) is attested 0 times in the Nonpast construction and 17 times with *-yer-*. These patterns can help us identify the likely aspectual potential of less well-attested verbs.

### **3.3.1.2 Less well-attested verbs**

#### *3.3.1.2.1 Verbs attested in stative constructions and nonfinite forms*

A number of verbs are not attested in the Nonpast, and are mostly attested in the Gerund and Infinitive forms and with Stative *-yer-*. Two frequent examples are *mot-* ‘take hold of’ and *pak-* ‘put on’. Some linguists (e.g. Vovin 2009a) appear to assume that these verbs have the same aspectual potential as the English verbs ‘hold’ and ‘wear’. If *mot-* and *pak-* meant ‘hold’ and ‘wear’ we would expect to find Nonpast examples of them with these meanings, but we do not. Instead *mot-* is attested 55 times in the Infinitive, 50 times in the Gerund, and 17 times with Stative *-yer-*; and *pak-* is attested 7 times in the Infinitive, twice in the Gerund, and 4 times with Stative *-yer-*. The most adequate interpretation of these data is that in the (unattested) Nonpast forms *mot-* and *pak-* would denote ‘take hold of’ and ‘put on’ respectively. With Stative *-yer-* they denote result states, and in the Gerund and Infinitive forms the event-sequencing function of those forms allows the result state of ‘taking hold of’ or ‘putting on’ to be implied, for example:

- (4) 麻須良乎等 於毛敞流 母能乎  
*masurawo=to omop-yeru monowo*  
 man=COP.INF think-STAT.ADN although  
 多知 波吉弓  
*tati pakite*  
 sword **put.on.GER**  
 可爾波乃 多為爾 世理會 都美家流  
*kanipa=no tawi=ni seri=so tumi-kyeru*  
 Kanipa=GEN paddy.field=DAT dropwort=FOC pick-INDIR.ADN  
 ‘Although I thought of him as a man, **having put on** a sword (i.e. with his sword on), he picked (me) dropwort in Kanipa field’ (MYS.20.4456)

- (5) 安之比奇能 夜麻治 古延牟 等 須流 君乎  
*asipikwi=no yama-di kwoye-mu to suru kimi=wo*  
 (?=GEN) mountain-road cross-CONJ.CNCL COMP do.ADN you=ACC  
 許許呂爾 毛知弓  
*kokoro=ni motite*  
 heart=DAT **take.hold.of.GER**  
 夜須家伎字母 奈之  
*yasu-kyeku=mo na-si*  
 peaceful-ACOP.NMNL=TOP not.exist-ACOP.ADN  
 ‘**Having taken hold** in my heart **of** (i.e. holding in my heart) you who are going to cross the mountain road, I have no peace.’ (MYS.15.3723)

In the first example the result of putting on the sword (wearing the sword) lasts throughout the next event (picking dropwort), and in the second example the result of taking her lover into her heart (having her lover in her heart) lasts throughout the next event (having no peace). The fact that these verbs are only attested in nonfinite forms is strong evidence that they basically denote punctual events.

Another verb like this is *tagup-* ‘be accompanied’, which only appears with Stative *-yer-* (3 times), Resultative *-(i)te wor-* (once), and in the Gerund form (12 times). This suggests that it is a change of state verb. As there is good evidence that these verbs are change of state verbs, I will assume that they have result state interpretations with *-yer-*.

3.3.1.2.2 *Verbs attested frequently in stative constructions  
and rarely with atelic functions*

Some verbs are only rarely attested outside the *-yer-* construction, such as *nokor-* ‘remain’ and *ik-* ‘live’. The verb *ik-* is attested 34 times with *-yer-*, 4 times with *-(i)te ar-*, once with Conjectural *-(a)m-*, once in the phrase *iki-ko-si*, and once in the Gerund form. The example with Conjectural *-(a)m-* and the *iki-ko-si* example both seem to be atelic:

- (6) 何時左右二 将生 命曾  
 itu=*madeni* **ika-mu** inoti=*so*  
 when=*until* **live-CONJ.ADN** life=*FOC*
- 凡者 戀乍 不有者 死 上有  
 opokata=*pa* kwopwitut[*u*] ara-zupa sinuru masar-eri  
 all.in.all=*TOP* yearn.*CONT* exist-NEG.*COND* die.*ADN* exceed-*STAT.CNCL*
- ‘Till when **will** (I) **live** this life? All in all, it is better to die than to go on yearning.’ (MYS.12.2913)

- (7) 事毛 無 生来之 物乎  
 koto=*mo* na-ku **iki-ko-si** monowo  
 thing=*TOP* not.exist-*ACOP.INF* **live-come-PST.ADN** although
- 老奈美尔 如是 戀尔毛  
 oi-*nami=ni* kakaru kwopwi=*ni=mo*  
 age-wave=*DAT* be.this.way.*ADN* yearning=*DAT=TOP*
- 吾者 遇流 香聞  
 ware=*p[a]* ap-*yeru* *kamo*  
 I=*TOP* meet-*STAT.ADN* *EMPH*

‘Although I **have lived until now** without trouble, in my old age I have met with yearning like this.’ (MYS.4.559)

So should *ik-* be interpreted as an inceptive state verb (with a result state meaning with *-yer-*) or as an atelic verb (with an ongoing activity meaning with *-yer-*)? The problem with designating *ik-* an inceptive state verb is that the transformative sense is nowhere attested, while the problem with calling it an atelic verb is that the atelic sense is hardly attested outside the *-yer-* construction, and never in the Nonpast. However, in 3.3.1.1.2 I

noted that atelic verbs tend to appear far more often in the Nonpast than with Stative *-yer-*. As verbs like *ik-* ‘live’ and *nokor-* ‘remain’ do not have this distribution, I propose that they should be interpreted as inceptive state verbs. In combination with *-yer-* they will be interpreted as aspectually ambiguous.

### 3.3.1.2.3 *Verbs attested only in stative constructions*

In 1.3.2.2.5 I stated that a combination of a verb with a particular construction can only be claimed to denote a result state if evidence can be found that the verb denotes a change of state outside the construction under analysis. In Old Japanese, however, a few verbs (such as *otor-* ‘be inferior’, *sodar-* ‘be sufficient’, and *sasagas-* ‘present’) are attested only in the *-yer-* construction. In some cases we can be reasonably sure of the aspectual potential of the verb because there is no other plausible interpretation. For example, in the case of *sasagas-* ‘present’ it would be difficult to claim that it is anything but a change of state verb. However, in most cases we cannot determine the aspectual potential, and when this is the case I have not included the verb in my analysis.

## 3.3.2 **Result state**

In this section I divide the different uses into three, following the classification of Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988).

### 3.3.2.1 *Subjective result state*

When an intransitive change of state verb is used with *-yer-*, it may denote a *result state* that holds of the *subject*:

- |     |                |               |                        |              |
|-----|----------------|---------------|------------------------|--------------|
| (8) | 比止乃            | 微波            | 衣賀多久                   | 阿礼婆          |
|     | <i>pito=no</i> | <i>mwi=pa</i> | <i>e-gata-ku</i>       | <i>areba</i> |
|     | person=GEN     | body=TOP      | get-difficult-ACOP.INF | be.PROV      |

|                |                         |                         |
|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 乃利乃            | 多能与須加止                  | 奈礼利                     |
| <i>nori=no</i> | <i>ta-no-yosuka=to</i>  | <b><i>nar-eri</i></b>   |
| dharma=GEN     | hand-GEN-refuge=COP.INF | <b>become-STAT.CNCL</b> |
| 都止米            | 毛呂毛呂 須須賣                | 毛呂母呂                    |
| <i>tutwome</i> | <i>moromoro susumye</i> | <i>moromoro</i>         |
| work.hard.IMP  | all go.forward.IMP      | all                     |

‘Since (rebirth in) a human body is difficult to obtain, it **has become** the refuge of the dharma. Work hard, all of you! Go forward, all of you!’ (BS.18)

- (9) 可敞里家流                      比等    伎多礼里                      等  
*kapyeri-k-yeru*                      *pito*    ***ki-tar-eri***                      *to*  
return-come-STAT.ADN    person    **come-arrive-STAT.CNCL**    COMP

伊比之可婆  
*ipi-sikaba*  
say-PST.PROV

|                 |                |                |           |                  |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|------------------|
| 保等保登            | 之爾吉            | 君香             | 登         | 於毛比弓             |
| <i>potopoto</i> | <i>sini-ki</i> | <i>kimi=ka</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>[o]mopite</i> |
| almost          | die-PST.CNCL   | you=FOC        | COMP      | think.GER        |

‘When (they) said that someone who had returned **had arrived**, (I) almost died, thinking it might be you.’ (MYS.15.3772)

In the last example, the result state holds in a *relative present* under the scope of *ipi-sikaba* ‘when they said’.

With the appropriate context, atelic verbs may be treated as change of state verbs:

- (10) 大宮能                      内尔毛                      外尔母  
*opo-miya=no*                      *uti=ni=mo*                      *two=ni=mo*  
great-palace=GEN    inside=DAT=TOP    outside=DAT=TOP  
米都良之久                      布礼留                      大雪  
*medurasi-ku*                      ***pur-eru***                      *opo-yuki*  
unusual-ACOP.INF    **fall-STAT.ADN**    big-snow  
莫踏祢                      乎之  
*na-pumi-sone*                      *wosi*  
PROH-tread-PROH    unfortunate.CNCL

‘As for the unusually large amount of snow that **has fallen** both inside and outside the great palace, do not tread in it! It would be a shame.’ (MYS.19.4285)

In my opinion, uses of *-yer-* with *ap-* ‘meet’ should also be analysed as result states:

- (11) 許能久礼爾                      奈里奴流                      母能乎  
*ko-no-kure=ni*                      *nari-nuru*                      *monowo*  
 tree-GEN-darkness=DAT    become-PFV.ADN    although  
 保等登芸須    奈爾加                      伎奈可奴  
*pototogisu*    *nani=ka*                      *ki-naka-nu*  
 cuckoo                      what=FOC    come-call-NEG.ADN  
 伎美爾    安敞流                      等吉  
*kimi=n[i]* *ap-yeru*                      *toki*  
 you=DAT    **meet-STAT.ADN**    time

‘Although it has become dark under the trees, cuckoo, why do you not come and call when I **have come to see you** (*lit.* ‘**am met** with you’)?’ (MYS.18.4053)

Like most uses of English *meet*, Old Japanese *ap-* ‘meet’ is a punctual verb, and *-yer-* profiles the result state after that punctual event. The result state is that of the speaker *having met* the cuckoo.

### 3.3.2.2 *Objective result state*

When transitive change of state verbs are used with *-yer-*, it is possible that they denote result states of the *object*:

- (12) 阿米都都                      知杼理                      麻斯登登  
*ame-tutu*                      *ti-dori*                      *ma-sitoto*  
 yellow-wagtail    small-bird    true-bunting  
 那杼    佐祁流                      斗米  
*nado* *sak-yeru*                      *two-me*  
 why    **pierce-STAT.ADN**    sharp-eyes

‘Yellow wagtail, small bird, bunting: why the **tattooed** eyes?’ (KK.17)

- (13) 袁登賣爾                      多陀爾                      阿波牟                      登  
*wotomye=ni*    *tada-ni*                      *apa-mu*                      *to*  
 woman=DAT    direct-COP.INF    meet-CONJ.CNCL    COMP  
 和加    佐祁流                      斗米  
*wa=ga* *sak-yeru*                      *two-me*  
 I=GEN    **pierce-STAT.ADN**    sharp-eyes

‘To meet women face to face, my **tattooed** eyes.’ (KK.18)

- (14) 夜麻賀多迹            麻祁流            阿袁那母  
*yama-gata=ni*            *mak-yeru*            *awo-na=mo*  
 mountain-fields=DAT **plant-STAT.ADN** green-vegetable=TOP  
 岐備比登登            等母迹斯            都米婆  
*kibwi-pito=to*            *tomo-ni=si*            *tumeba*  
 Kibwi-person=COM together-COP.INF=EMPH pick.PROV  
 多怒斯久母            阿流            迦  
*tanwosi-ku=m[o]*            *aru*            *ka*  
 enjoyable-ACOP.INF=TOP exist.ADN FOC  
 ‘How enjoyable it is, together with the girl from Kibwi, to pick the green vegetables **planted** in the mountain fields!’ (KK.54)

- (15) 住吉之            遠里小野之            真榛以  
*suminoye=no*            *toposatwowonwo=no*            *ma-pari=moti*  
 Suminoye=GEN Toposatwowonwo=GEN true-needle=with  
 須札流            衣乃  
*sur-eru*            *koromo=no*  
**dye-STAT.ADN** cloth=GEN  
 盛過去  
*sakari-sugwi-yuku*  
 flourish-pass-go.CNCL  
 ‘The colourfulness of the cloth **dyed** with needles from Toposatwowonwo in Suminoye will disappear.’ (MYS.7.1156)

- (16) 美都煩奈須    可札流            身曾            等波            之札札杼母  
*mitubo=nasu*            *kar-eru*            *mwi=so*            *to=pa*            *sir-eredomo*  
 foam=COP.SEM **borrow-STAT.ADN** body=FOC COMP=TOP know-STAT.CNCS  
 奈保之            衲我比都            知等世能            伊乃知乎  
*napo=si*            *negapi-tu*            *ti-tose=no*            *inoti=wo*  
 nevertheless=EMPH hope-PFV.CNCL thousand-year=COP.ADN life=ACC  
 ‘Although I know that (this) is a **borrowed** body, (transient) like foam, nevertheless I hope to live for a thousand years.’ (MYS.20.4470)

Subjects are not mentioned (or implied) in the above examples, making an objective result state reading more natural than a current relevance (perfect) meaning (e.g. ‘a body that (I) have borrowed’). In EMJ *-er-* and *-(i)tar-* can denote objective result states (Suzuki 1992: 81–82), so it is not implausible to interpret the above examples in this way too.

### 3.3.2.3 Possessive result state

There are some possible examples of possessive result states:

- (17) 都奇 麻知弓 伊敞爾波 由可牟  
*tukwi matite ipye=ni=pa yuka-mu*  
 moon wait.GER house=DAT=TOP go-CONJ.CNCL  
 和我 佐世流 安加良多知婆奈 可氣爾 見要都追  
*wa=ga sas-eru akara-tatibana kage=ni mi-yetutu*  
 I=GEN **stick-STAT.ADN** red-tachibana light=COP.INF see-PASS.CONT

‘Waiting for the moon, I will (then) go home, the red tachibana that I **have stuck** (in my hair) being seen in its light.’ (MYS.18.4060)

- (18) 烏梅能 波奈 乎利弓 加射世留 母呂比得波  
*ume=no pana worite kazas-eru moropito=pa*  
 plum=GEN flower break.GER **display-STAT.ADN** people=TOP  
 家布能 阿比太波 多努斯久 阿流 倍斯  
*kyepu=no apida=pa tanwosi-k[u] aru be-si*  
 today=GEN during=TOP enjoyable-ACOP.INF exist.ADN NEC-ACOP.CNCL

‘The people who broke off plum blossom and **have it displayed** (in their hair) must be having an enjoyable day.’ (MYS.5.832)

- (19) 夜都米佐須 伊豆毛多祁流賀 波祁流 多知  
*yatumesasus idumwo-takyeru=ga pak-yeru tati*  
 (?) Idumwo-takyeru=GEN **put.on-STAT.ADN** sword  
 都豆良 佐波 麻岐 佐味 那志爾 阿波禮  
*tudura sapa maki sa-mwi na-si=n[i] apare*  
 vine many wrap.INF ?-blade not.exist-ACOP.CNCL=COP.INF alas

‘As for the sword that Idumwo-takyeru **is wearing** (or ‘has put on’), he has wrapped many vines round it, but there is no blade, alas!’ (KK.23)

- (20) 佐泥牟 登波 阿禮波 意母悶杼  
*sa-ne-mu to=pa are=pa omopedo*  
 LOC-sleep-CONJ.CNCL COMP=TOP I=TOP think.CNCS  
 那賀 祁勢流 意須比能 須蘇爾  
*na=ga kyes-eru osupi=no suswo=ni*  
 you=GEN **put.on.RESP-STAT.ADN** cloak=GEN hem=DAT  
 都紀 多知迺祁理  
*tukwi tati-ni-kyeri*  
 moon stand-PFV-INDIR.CNCL

‘...although I want to sleep with you, the moon has risen on the hem of the cloak you **are wearing** (= I can see that you are on your period).’  
(from KK.27)

- (21) 許乃 河伯爾 安佐 菜 安良布 兒  
*ko=no kapa=ni asa na arapu kwo*  
 this=GEN river=DAT morning vegetables wash.ADN girl  
 奈礼毛 安礼毛 余知乎曾 母弓流  
*nare=mo are=mo yoti=wo=so mot-eru*  
 you=TOP I=TOP child.of.the.same.age=ACC=FOC **take.hold.of-STAT.ADN**  
 伊弓 兒 多婆里爾  
*ide kwo tabari=ni*  
 INT child receive.HUM.INF=DAT

‘Girl who washes vegetables at the river in the morning, you and I **have** children of the same age. I (will go to) receive (your) child (as mine).’ (MYS.14.3440a)

Since in all these examples the subject *possesses* an object as well as having done something with it, these are good candidates for *possessive resultative*, although they could also be interpreted as *perfect* or *perfective past*.

### 3.3.3 Ambiguous aspectual function

When inceptive state verbs are used with *-yer-*, we cannot really tell if *-yer-* is being used to denote the (subjective) result state of the transformative sense, or if it is being used to denote an ongoing atelic event with no ‘resultative’ implications:

- (22) 和我 夜度爾 左加里爾 散家留 宇梅能 波奈  
*wa=ga yadwo=ni sakari-ni sak-yeru ume=no pana*  
 I=GEN house=DAT abundant-COP.INF **bloom-STAT.ADN** plum=GEN flower  
 知流 倍久 奈里奴  
*tiru be-ku nari-nu*  
 fall.CNCL NEC-ACOP.INF become-PFV.CNCL  
 美牟 必登 聞我 母  
*miru pito moga mo*  
 see.ADN person OPT EMPH

‘The plum blossom that **is blooming** abundantly at my house is on the verge of falling. I want someone to see it!’ (MYS.5.851)

- (23) 麻須良乎乃 布美於祁留 阿止波  
*masurawo=no pum[i]-ok-yeru ato=pa*  
 great.man=GEN tread-put-STAT.ADN footprint=TOP  
 伊波乃 宇閑爾 伊麻毛 乃己礼利  
*ipa=no [u]pe=ni ima=mo nokor-eri*  
 rock=GEN top=DAT now=TOP **be.left-STAT.CNCL**  
 美都都 志乃霸 止 奈賀久 志乃霸 止  
*mitutu sinwopye to naga-ku sinwopye to*  
 see.CONT yearn.IMP COMP long-ACOP.INF yearn.IMP COMP  
 ‘The footprints that the great man trod **are left** even now on the rock. Adore him as you look at them! Adore him for ever!’ (BS.7)

- (24) 麻都良河波 可波能 世 比可利  
*matura-gapa kapa=no se pikari*  
 Matura-river river=GEN rapid shine.INF  
 阿由 都流 等 多多勢流 伊毛何  
*ayu turu to tata-s-eru imo=ga*  
 sweetfish catch.CNCL COMP **stand-RESP-STAT.ADN** maiden=GEN  
 毛能 須蘇 奴例奴  
*mo=no suswo nure-nu*  
 skirt=GEN hem get.soaked-PFV.CNCL  
 ‘The rapids of the River Matura are shining, and as for the maidens who **are standing** (there) to catch sweetfish, the hems of their skirts have got soaked.’ (MYS.5.855)

### 3.3.4 Ongoing atelic event

I am using the term ‘ongoing atelic event’ to cover two functions that may or may not be distinct. By ‘ongoing’ I intend to rule out habitual interpretations, and by ‘atelic’ I intend to rule out directed activities.

#### 3.3.4.1 Simple state

There are cases where *-yer-* combines with inceptive state verbs, but there is no ambiguity since a result state interpretation is not an option. In these examples *-yer-* must denote a state that is not the result of any previous event (see also *iro-gyes-eru* in MYS.16.3875):

- (25) 夜麻登波 久爾能 麻本呂婆  
*yamato=pa kuni=no maporoba*  
 Yamato=TOP land=GEN best.place  
 多多那豆久 阿袁加岐 夜麻碁母禮流  
*tatanaduku awo-kaki yama-gomor-eru*  
 be.piled.up.ADN green-fence **mountain-be.shut.up-STAT.ADN**  
 夜麻登志 宇流波斯  
*yamato=si urupasi*  
 Yamato=EMPH beautiful.CNCL

‘Yamato is the best place in the land. Yamato, which **is surrounded** by mountains, piled up (like) green fences, is beautiful.’ (KK.30)

- (26) 波奈礼蘇爾 多弓流 牟漏 能 木  
*panare-swo=ni tat-eru murwo no kwi*  
 separate.INF-rock=DAT **stand-STAT.ADN** juniper COP.ADN tree  
 宇多我多毛 比佐之伎 時乎 須疑爾家流 香母  
*utagatamo pisasi-ki toki=wo sugwi-ni-kyeru kamo*  
 really long-ACOP.ADN time=ACC pass-PFV-INDIR.ADN EMPH

‘The juniper tree **standing** on the solitary rock must have spent a really long time (there)!’ (MYS.15.3600)

Neither example refers to the result state of an event: there was no moment when Yamato became surrounded by mountains, or when the juniper tree stood up on the rock. Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988: 6) describe this function of resultative constructions as *stative*.

### 3.3.4.2 Ongoing undirected activity

When *-yer-* is used with atelic verbs, it usually denotes an ongoing activity:

- (27) 宇泥備夜麻 比流波 久毛 登韋  
*unebwi-yama piru=pa kumwo towi*  
 Unebwi-mountain daytime=TOP cloud roll.INF  
 由布 佐禮婆  
*yupu sareba*  
 night arrive.PROV  
 加是 布加牟 登 曾  
*kaze puka-mu to so*  
 wind blow-CONJ.CNCL COMP FOC

許能波 佐夜牙流  
*ko-no-pa sayag-yeru*  
 tree-GEN-leaf rustle-STAT.ADN

‘On Mt Unebwi in the daytime the clouds roll, and now that it is night, (as if to warn) that the wind is about to blow, the leaves of the trees **are rustling**.’  
 (KK.21)

- (28) 安麻射可流 比奈爾毛 月波 弓礼礼杼母  
*ama-zakaru pina=ni=mo tukwi=pa ter-eredomo*  
 (heaven-be.apart.ADN) countryside=DAT=TOP moon=TOP shine-STAT.CNCS

伊毛曾 等保久波 和可礼伎爾家流  
*imo=so topo-ku=pa wakare-ki-ni-kyeru*  
 beloved=FOC far-ACOP.INF=TOP be.split-come-PFV-INDIR.ADN

‘Although the moon **is** also **shining** in the countryside, my beloved has come to be separated far from me!’ (MYS.15.3698)

- (29) 和礼乃未夜 欲布祢波 許具 登 於毛做礼婆  
*ware=nomwi=ya ywo-pune=pa kogu to omop-yereba*  
 I=EMPH=FOC night-boat=TOP row.ADN COMP think-STAT.PROV

於伎做能 可多爾 可治能 於等 須 奈里  
*oki-pye=no kata=ni kadi=n[o] oto su nari*  
 offing-side=GEN side=DAT rudder=GEN sound do.CNCL AUD.CNCL

‘As I **think**, “Am I alone rowing at night?”, I hear the sound of a rudder in the offing.’ (MYS.15.3624)

In these examples, an *undirected activity* is taking place at reference time. There are no examples of directed activities.

### 3.3.4.3 *Atelic verbs with -yer-*

It is intriguing that some very common atelic verbs such as *nak-* ‘call’ are not found with *-yer-* (or *-(i)te ar-*) denoting ongoing activities. A closer look at the verbs found with *-yer-* in its ongoing activity function reveals that most of them are relatively non-agentive and non-dynamic, i.e. a subject is not deliberately causing an activity to continue. Common verbs are *omop-* ‘yearn’, *op-* ‘bear’ (often a name), and *yador-* ‘lodge’, none of which is very agentive or dynamic.

A possible counter-example is *siki-mas-* ‘rule-RESP’ (e.g. in MYS.18.4094), but this is the only verb in this semantic field that regularly appears with *-yer-*: *sir-* ‘rule’, although much more frequent than *sik-*, only appears with *-yer-* once, while *kikosi-myes-* ‘rule’, *kikosi-wos-* ‘rule’, *myes-* ‘rule’, *usipak-* ‘control’, and *wos-* ‘rule’ do not appear with *-yer-* at all. The reason that *sik-* appears frequently with *-yer-* could have to do with its origin. Some dictionaries include *sik-* ‘spread out’ and *sik-* ‘rule’ in one entry, implying that the ‘rule’ sense may have developed as a metaphorical extension of the ‘spread out’ sense. In this case, *sik-* ‘rule’ may have originated as a change of state verb. The use of *-yer-* with *sik-*, then, could be explained either synchronically (*sik-* ‘rule’ is a change of state verb in OJ) or diachronically (*sik-* ‘rule’ was a change of state verb in pre-OJ, and the *siki-mas-er-* formation is a fossil).

In 3.4 I will discuss possible explanations for the nature of the atelic verbs that combine with *-yer-*.

### 3.3.5 Current relevance of an anterior event

There are some transitive examples that seem to have *current relevance* function, but they are infrequent:

- (30) 安吉加是能      布伎      古吉之家流      波奈能      爾波  
*aki-kaze=no*      *puki*      ***kwoki-sik-yeru***      *pana=no*      *nipa*  
autumn-wind=GEN    blow.INF    **stroke-spread-STAT.ADN**    flower=GEN    garden  
伎欲伎      都久欲仁      美礼杼    安賀奴      香母  
*kiywo-ki*      *tuku-ywo=ni*      *miredo*    *aka-nu*      *kamo*  
clear-ACOP.ADN    moon-night=DAT    see.CNCS    tire-NEG.ADN    EMPH

‘I never tire of looking on a clear moonlit night at the garden where the autumn wind has blown and **has scattered** the flowers.’ (MYS.20.4453)

- (31) 乎遲奈伎      夜    和礼爾    於止礼留  
*wodina-ki*      *ya*    *ware=ni*    *otor-eru*  
weak-ACOP.ADN    FOC    I=DAT    be.inferior-STAT.ADN

比止乎 於保美  
*pito=w[o] opo-mi*  
 person=ACC many-ACOP.INF  
 和多佐牟 多米 止  
*watasa-mu tame to*  
 take.across-CONJ.ADN sake COMP  
 宇都志麻都礼利 都加閑麻都礼利  
*utusi-matur-eri tukape-matur-eri*  
 copy-HUM-STAT.CNCL serve-HUM-STAT.CNCL

‘Since there are many who are worse off than I, who am weak, in order to take them across (= to save them) I **have copied** (the footprints), I **have made the journey**.’<sup>6</sup> (BS.13)

- (32) 真十鏡 可照 月乎  
*maswo-kagami teru be-ki tukwi=wo*  
 (truly.clear-mirror) shine.ADN NEC-ACOP.ADN moon=ACC  
 白妙乃 雲香 隱流  
*sirwo-tape=no kumo=ka kakus-eru*  
 (white-cloth=COP.ADN) clouds=FOC hide-STAT.ADN  
 天津 霧 鴨  
*ama=tu kwiri kamo*  
 heaven=GEN fog EMPH

‘Perhaps it is clouds that **have hidden** the moon that should be shining. Or perhaps it is fog from heaven.’ (MYS.7.1079)

These examples appear to be statements about present states of affairs, but they are not easily interpreted as result states. The verbs are transitive, but objective and possessive result state interpretations do not make sense. It seems instead to be the current relevance of an anterior event which is denoted in each case.

### 3.3.6 Bounded past event

More frequently than denoting *current relevance*, *-yer-* denotes a *bounded past event*. In the examples I found, such events are always bounded both materially and temporally, i.e. there are no examples of temporally bounded atelic past events:

<sup>6</sup> I follow Miller (1975: 135) in this interpretation of *tukape-*.

- (33) 麻須良乎乃  
*masurawo=no*  
 great.man=GEN
- 須須美      佐岐多知      布賣留      阿止乎  
*susumi      saki-tati      pum-yer[u]      ato=wo*  
 go.ahead.INF    ahead-leave.INF    tread-STAT.ADN    footprint=ACC
- 美都都      志乃波牟  
*mitutu      sinwopa-mu*  
 look.CONT    praise-CONJ.CNCL
- 多太爾      阿布      麻弓爾    麻佐爾      阿布      麻弓爾  
*tada-n[i]      apu      madeni    masa-n[i]    apu      madeni*  
 direct-COP.INF    meet.ADN    until      true-COP.INF    meet.ADN    until
- ‘Until we meet (him) directly, until we meet (him) face to face, let us look at and praise the footprints that the great man **trod** as he went ahead and left us.’ (BS.6)

- (34) 安波牟      日能      可多美爾      世与      等  
*apa-mu      pi=no      katami=ni      seyo      to*  
 meet-CONJ.CNCL    day=GEN    keepsake=COP.INF    do.IMP    COMP
- 多和也女能      於毛比美太礼弓      奴做流      許呂母會  
*tawaya-mye=no      omopi-midarete      nup-yeru      koromo=so*  
 weak-woman=GEN    think-be.confused.GER    sew-STAT.ADN    garment=FOC
- ‘(This is) a garment that a weak woman **sewed** while her thoughts were confused, that you may keep it until the day we meet again.’ (MYS.15.3753)

- (35) 久佐麻久良    多比乃      於伎奈等      於母保之天  
*kusa-makura    tabi=no      okina=to      omoposite*  
 (grass-pillow)    journey=GEN    old.person=COP.INF    think.RESP.GER
- 波里會      多麻做流  
*pari=so      tamap-yeru*  
 needle=FOC    give-STAT.ADN
- 奴波牟      物能    毛賀  
*nupa-mu      mono    moga*  
 sew-CONJ.ADN    thing    OPT
- ‘Thinking of (me) as an old man on a journey, you **gave** me needles. (Now) I want something to sew.’ (MYS.18.4128)

- (36) 安可祢    左須    比流波      多    多婢弓  
*akane    sasu    piru=pa      ta    tabite*  
 (?      ?.ADN)    daytime=TOP    field    give.GER

奴婆多麻乃                      欲流乃      伊刀末仁  
*nuba-tama=no*                      *yworu=no*    *itoma=ni*  
 (black-jewel=COP.ADN)    night=GEN    free.time=DAT

都賣流                      芹子                      許礼  
*tum-yeru*                      *seri*                      *kore*  
**pick-STAT.ADN**    watercress    this

‘This is watercress that I **picked** during my free time at night, having been distributing fields in the daytime.’ (MYS.20.4455)

In most of these examples there is a clear reference to past time: the manner in which the action was done in (34) and (35), and the time the action was done in (36). Furthermore, the events are both materially and temporally bounded: the event has an inherent endpoint, and the endpoint is reached.

### 3.3.7 Summary

#### 3.3.7.1 Functions

The auxiliary *-yer-* has at least eight distinguishable functions: *subjective result state*, *objective result state*, *possessive result state*, *simple state*, *ongoing activity*, *current relevance of an anterior event*, and *bounded past event*. Many examples are ambiguous between a result state and a simple state. The following table shows the frequencies of the different functions of *-yer-*, based on an analysis of all the examples written phonographically and logo-phonographically:

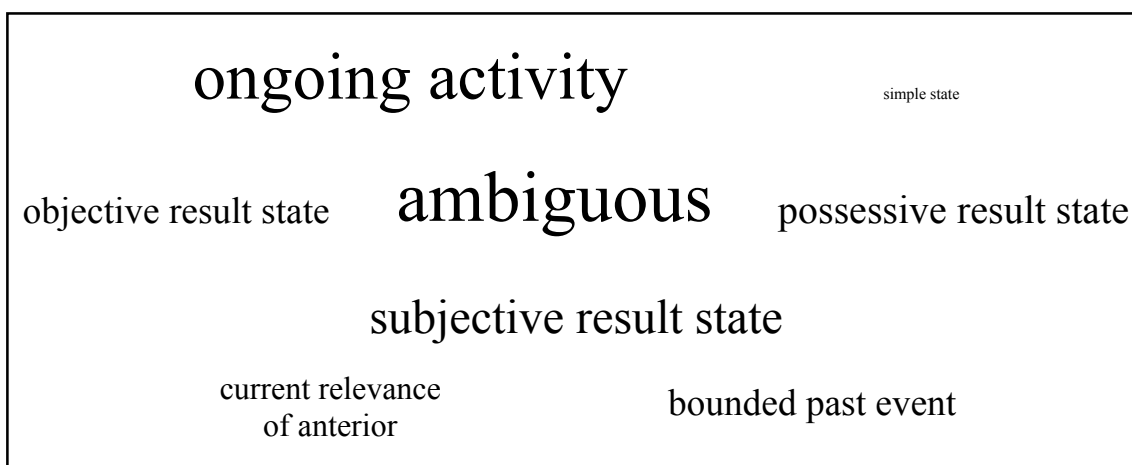
| (37) | Function                | Number | %  |
|------|-------------------------|--------|----|
|      | subjective result state | 32     | 13 |
|      | objective result state  | 18     | 7  |
|      | possessive result state | 21     | 9  |
|      | ambiguous               | 70     | 29 |
|      | simple state            | 4      | 2  |
|      | ongoing activity        | 62     | 26 |
|      | CR of anterior          | 15     | 6  |
|      | bounded past event      | 20     | 8  |
|      | <b>Total:</b>           | 242    |    |

If the three types of result state are taken together, these comprise 29% of the total, the same as the number of ambiguous examples. Ongoing activities are the next most frequent, and the other functions are all fairly infrequent.

It would be possible to combine the result state and the ongoing activity functions into a more abstract function such as ‘durative’, and claim that the aspectual potential of the verb determines the meaning in context. However, this would obscure the different relationships that *-yer-* has with the zero forms of telic verbs and the zero forms of atelic verbs, explored more in 12.2.4.4.3. It would also obscure the fact that the bounded past event function of *-yer-* most likely developed from the result state function, not from the ongoing activity function (see 3.4.2.2). I have therefore chosen to keep these functions distinct.

### 3.3.7.2 *Exemplar cluster*

The functions of *-yer-* can be represented as follows. In these representations, which also occur in the next four chapters, proximity of function labels represents similarity of functions. It is intended to show how different exemplars form a coherent construction, and also what functions may have been derived from others diachronically.



It can be seen in the above diagram that the largest group of exemplars for *-yer-* are aspectually ambiguous, being interpretable either as subjective result states or as ongoing atelic events. Various generalizations can be made over the above exemplar groups. A generalization over the groups *ambiguous*, *objective result state*, *possessive result state*, and *subjective result state* as exemplars where an anterior event is implied may have been behind the development to *current relevance* and *bounded past event* functions.

## 3.4 Conclusion

### 3.4.1 Morphological origin

#### 3.4.1.1 *The shape of -yer-*

The origin of the shape of *-yer-* is widely agreed upon: *-yer-* was formed from the Infinitive of a verb plus the verb *ar-* ‘exist’ (Vovin 2009a: 880; Frellesvig 2010: 68). Vowel contraction produced the shape observed in OJ:

(38) \**saki-ar-* > *sak-yer-*  
 bloom.INF-exist bloom-STAT

Similar vowel contraction is hypothesized for several OJ forms, including *-(i)kyeku* (the Nominal form of Past *-(i)ki*), Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, and the verb *myes-* ‘see.RESP’ (Frellesvig and Whitman 2008a: 19).

#### 3.4.1.2 *Variant constructions?*

It is possible that a functionally equivalent construction *-(i)-imas-*, based on a respectful equivalent of *ar-*, exists in Old Japanese. The full verb *imas-*, from which the auxiliary verb *-imas-* derives, has various functions. Always respectful, its lexical meaning is either ‘exist’, ‘go’, or ‘come’. It can also stand in for *ar-* in the formation of



日經乃 大 御門尔  
 pinotate=*no* opo-ki mi-kadwo=*ni*  
 east=GEN big-ACOP.ADN RESP-gate=DAT  
 春山跡 之美佐備立有  
 paru-yama=*to* **simisabwi-tat-eri**  
 Paru-mountain=COP.INF **be.lush-stand-STAT.CNCL**  
 畝火乃 此 美豆山者  
 unebwi=*no* ko=no midu-yama=*pa*  
 Unebwi=GEN this=GEN Midu-mountain=TOP  
 日緯能 大 御門尔  
 pinoyoko=*no* opo-ki mi-kadwo=*ni*  
 west=GEN big-ACOP.ADN RESP-gate=DAT  
 弥豆山跡 山佐備伊座  
 midu-yama=*to* **yamasabwi-imasu**  
 Midu-mountain=COP.INF **be.mountainous.INF-exist.RESP.CNCL**  
 耳為之 青菅山者  
 miminasi=*no* awosuga-yama=*pa*  
 Miminasi=GEN Awosuga-mountain=TOP  
 背友乃 大 御門尔  
 sotomo=*no* opo-ki mi-kadwo=*ni*  
 north=GEN big-ACOP.ADN RESP-gate=DAT  
 宣名倍 神佐備立有  
 yorosinape **kamusabwi-tat-eri**  
 suitably **be.godlike-stand-STAT.CNCL**  
 名細 吉野乃 山者  
 nagupasi-ki yosinwo=*no* yama=*pa*  
 revered-ACOP.ADN Yosinwo mountain=TOP  
 影友乃 大 御門從  
 kagetomo=*no* opo-ki mi-kadwo=*yu*  
 south=GEN big-ACOP.ADN RESP-gate=ABL  
 雲居尔曾 遠久 有家留  
 kumowi=*ni=so* **topo-ku** **ari-kyeru**  
 distance=DAT=FOC **far-ACOP.INF exist-INDIR.ADN**

‘When he stands at Lake Paniyasu and looks, Mount Kagu of Yamato **is standing lush** like Mount Paru at the great east gate. Mount Midu of Unebwi **is mountainous** like (the other) Mount Midu at the great west gate. Mount Awosuga of Miminasi **is standing** appropriately **godlike** at the great north gate. Revered Mount Yosinwo **is far away** in the distance from the great south gate.’ (from MYS.1.52)

Although *yamasabwi-* ‘be mountainous’ is only attested this once, it seems reasonable to assume that it is an inceptive state verb like other verbs that include the formant *-sabwi-*. In that case *yamasabwi-imasu* would denote a *simple state* (see 3.3.4.1).

The following poem has two examples (see also KK.101):

- (41) 斯賀 波那能 亓理伊麻斯  
*si=ga pana=no teri-imasu*  
 it=GEN flower=GEN **shine-be.RESP.INF**
- 芝賀 波能 比呂理伊麻須波  
*si=ga pa=no pirori-imasu=pa*  
 it=GEN leaf=GEN **spread.out-be.RESP.ADN=TOP**
- 淤富岐美 呂迦母  
*opo-kimi rokamo*  
 great-lord EMPH

‘The **shining** of its flowers and the **being spread out** of its leaves are (like) the great lord.’ (from KK.57)

Here *teri-imasu* can be interpreted as denoting an ongoing activity, and *pirori-imasu* as denoting a subjective result state (difficult to convey in the English gloss). However, *teri-imasu* is an Infinitive, which is unexpected for a tense–aspect construction.

Some other possible examples may be found in MYS.1.29a, MYS.1.52, MYS.3.235b, MYS.3.420, MYS.5.794, and MYS.5.813. The data is inconclusive.

### 3.4.2 Semantic development pre-OJ

#### 3.4.2.1 *Original function*

In Old Japanese Stative *-yer-* has a wide variety of aspectual functions, but there are three pieces of evidence in favour of the original function of *-yer-* having been to denote result states.

#### 3.4.2.1.1 *Crosslinguistic evidence*

In many languages constructions that denote result states are extended to denote the *current relevance of an anterior event* and *bounded past events* (Bybee et al. 1994: 105), and in some languages constructions that denote result states are extended to denote *ongoing activities* (Ebert 1995; Shirai 1998). Changes in the opposite direction are much less likely: constructions that denote past bounded events only rarely come to denote result states (see Croft (2012: 123–124) for an example), and it is unclear if constructions that denote ongoing activities ever extend to denote result states.<sup>8</sup> Given these common grammaticalization paths from resultative to other functions, it is likely that it was part of the original function of *-yer-* to denote result states, rather than a later development.

#### 3.4.2.1.2 *Morphological evidence*

The meanings of constructions that grammaticalize from converbs depend to some extent on the form of the first verb. Constructions formed from anterior converbs tend to have resultative function, and constructions formed from simultaneous converbs tend to have progressive (ongoing activity) function (Haspelmath 1995: 43–44).

While in OJ there are some examples where the Infinitive links two events that are simultaneous, most of the time it indicates anteriority, i.e. it links two events the first of which began before the second (see 1.2.3.2.3). It is usually assumed that at some point in pre-OJ it indicated anteriority only, extending later to denote simultaneity too (see Frellesvig 2010: 57). This direction of change is attested in Japanese for the Gerund, which in LMJ began to be used to link simultaneous as well as sequential events (Ohori 1994: 142–143). If the Infinitive indicated anteriority when *\*(i)-ar-* (> *-yer-*) was first used, we would expect its function to have been resultative, e.g. *\*pana saki-ari* ‘the

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<sup>8</sup> Watanabe (2005) suggests such a development for Newari *cwan-e* (p. 309) and Korean *-ko iss-* (p. 312).

flowers bloomed, and exist (in that new state)'. Therefore the morphological origin of *-yer-* is consistent with an original resultative function.

#### 3.4.2.1.3 *Semantic evidence*

Finally, the sort of atelic verbs *-yer-* combines with are not what we would expect if it had originated as a progressive construction. Bybee et al. (1994: 133–137) suggest that progressives originally denote the active involvement of the subject in an activity, with the agentivity requirement decreasing as grammaticalization proceeds. They note (p. 136) that the progressives in their database are all exemplified with prototypically dynamic verbs. The verbs that *-yer-* appears with are not prototypically agentive or dynamic, and are therefore not compatible with this view of the origins of progressive constructions. It might make more sense to propose a development from resultative to progressive (see below).

#### 3.4.2.2 *Result state to bounded past event*

The semantic shift *resultative* > *perfect* > *past perfective* is well attested cross-linguistically (Bybee et al. 1994: 68–69, 81–87). If *-yer-* was originally a resultative, it would have been limited to denoting the trivial result state of verbs. The nature of the result state is then likely to have broadened to encompass non-trivial result states, creating a *perfect* construction (see 1.3.2.2.5 and 1.3.2.2.6). A perfect construction expresses the *current relevance* of a past event. Gradual relaxation of this requirement (possibly through a desire to present events as currently relevant) results in the construction becoming a *past perfective* or a *past*.

Bybee et al. (1994: 85–86) propose that a perfect develops into a past perfective if there is an imperfective past in the language, but into a simple past if there is no such construction. They consider this prediction borne out, since no languages in their

sample had a non-zero perfective past contrasting with a zero imperfective past (Bybee et al. 1994: 91–92). In other words, a perfective past only develops if there is an imperfective past for it to contrast with. I have proposed that the past function of *-yer-* was exclusively perfective. Was there then an imperfective past in OJ?

The combination of Stative *-yer-* with Past *-(i)ki* was used to express the result state, current relevance, and ongoing activity functions of *-yer-* in the past. It can be used to denote a *past result state*:

- (42) 布敷賣里之      波奈乃      波自米爾      許之      和礼夜  
*pupum-yeri-si*      *pana=no*      *pazime=ni*      *ko-si*      *ware=ya*  
**bud-STAT-PST.ADN**      flower=GEN      beginning=DAT      come-PST.ADN      I=FOC  
 知里奈牟      能知爾      美夜古敞      由可無  
*tiri-na-mu*      *noti=ni*      *miyakwo=pye*      *yuka-mu*  
 fall-PFV-CONJ.ADN      after=DAT      capital=ALL      go-CONJ.ADN  
 ‘Shall we, who came here at the beginning of the flowers that **had budded**, go to the capital after they have fallen?’ (MYS 20.4435)

It can be used to express a *past ongoing activity*:

- (43) 金      野乃      美草      蒯      葺  
*aki=no*      *nwo=no*      *mi-kusa*      *kari*      *puki*  
 autumn=GEN      field=GEN      RESP-grass      cut.INF      use.for.thatch.INF  
 屋杼礼里之      兔道乃      宫子能  
*yador-eri-si*      *udi=no*      *miyakwo=no*  
**stay-STAT-PST.ADN**      Udi=GEN      capital=GEN  
 借五百礮      所念  
*kar[i]-ipo=si*      [o]mopoyu  
 temporary-dwelling=EMPH      think.PASS.CNCL  
 ‘I remember the hut of the Udi capital (i.e. when the court had to stop on the road at Udi) where we **stayed**, having cut the grass of the autumn field and used it for thatch.’ (MYS.1.7)

It can be argued that *-yeri-ki* performed the function of an past imperfective, making *-yer-* develop into a past perfective rather than a simple past.

### 3.4.2.3 *Result state to ongoing activity*

In this section I discuss three ways in which the broadening of meaning from resultative to progressive can be explained.<sup>9</sup>

#### 3.4.2.3.1 *The changing function of converbs*

Since the function of a converb influences the functions of the constructions it forms, one might think that if the function of a converb changed, the meaning of the construction would change. Bertinetto, Ebert, and De Groot (2000: 542–550) consider the Altaic languages Kalmyk and Karachai, which have constructions with both resultative and progressive functions. In both cases, the construction appears to have begun as a resultative construction and broadened its function to progressive. In both cases the construction is formed from a converb with anterior meaning and a following stative verb. Bertinetto et al. (2000: 550) propose that the resultative-progressive constructions in Kalmyk and Karachai can exist because of ‘the weak notion of anteriority associated with the converbs *-ad*, *-ib*, which allows them to be used much like simultaneous forms’. As mentioned above, periphrases formed from anterior converbs usually have resultative function, and periphrases formed from simultaneous converbs usually have progressive function (Haspelmath 1995: 43–44). The Infinitive in Old Japanese can be seen as a converb (cf. Alpatov and Podlesskaya 1995), one that originally had anterior function but which by OJ had expanded to include simultaneous function. Thus, the construction *\*(i)-ar-* could have arisen as a resultative when the Infinitive had strictly anterior function, and then expanded to progressive after the

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<sup>9</sup> I focus on diachronic proposals that could be applied to Old Japanese. Attempts to link resultative and progressive functions synchronically include Kinsui (1993, 1995), Shirai (1998), Kiryu (1999), and Givón (2001/1: 299–300, 352). Sadanobu and Malchukov (2011: 150) have a diachronic proposal for Modern Japanese *-(I)te i-*, but it seems not to be applicable to Old Japanese.

Infinitive acquired simultaneous function and began to form ‘simultaneous’ verbal compounds.

For the meaning of *-yer-* to have changed due to the changing function of the Infinitive, however, the change in the functions of *-yer-* must have occurred while it still had the shape *-(i)-ar-*, i.e. while it was still *analysable* (see Bybee 2010: 45) as an Infinitive-based compound. However, Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* is also attested with progressive meaning, and the Gerund had not yet lost its anterior meaning by OJ. This suggests that the expansion of the meaning of *-(i)te ar-* was not due to the changing function of a converb, but for some other reason. This makes it less attractive to explain the development of *-yer-* in this way.

#### 3.4.2.3.2 *Activity verbs originally achievement verbs*

Ebert’s (1995) first proposal suggests a connection between broadening to progressive and broadening to stative (denoting simple states as well as result states). Much as Modern Japanese *nite iru* ‘resembles’ is interpreted as originally having been the resultative of an achievement verb (see Jacobsen 1992), so phrases like *asonde iru* ‘is playing’ can be interpreted as having originally been the resultatives of achievement verbs. Once in the resultative construction, they were reanalysed as activity verbs in a progressive construction.

For reanalysis to have been triggered under this proposal, however, presumably a large number of activity verbs must have begun as achievement verbs. There is no evidence that such verbs ever existed in Japanese, and such a lexicalization pattern would be very unusual cross-linguistically.

### 3.4.2.3.3 *Ambiguity of verb meaning*

Ebert's (1995) second proposal, which she seems to prefer, is that the aspectual ambiguity of certain verbs allows the reanalysis of a resultative construction as a progressive construction with those verbs. For example, since a verb like Mandarin Chinese *chuān* can mean both 'put on' and 'wear', the resultative (with *-zhe*) of the 'put on' sense could be reanalysed as a progressive of the 'wear' sense. Once this sense is established, it can be extended to atelic verbs, which do not have the option of a resultative interpretation.

This makes good sense in Old Japanese, where there is a large class of inceptive state verbs: 29% of the attestations of *-yer-* are with inceptive state verbs. If it is accepted that the distinction between states and activities is not clear-cut (see 1.3.2.2.4), then the following sort of development is possible:

- (44)
- a. *-yer-* is used to denote the result state of a verb like *nipop-* 'become coloured'.
  - b. Some forms like *nipop-yer-* are interpreted as simple states and *-yer-* (in those cases) as a marker of ongoing atelic events.
  - c. *-yer-* is then applied to atelic verbs, but initially to those that are not very dynamic.

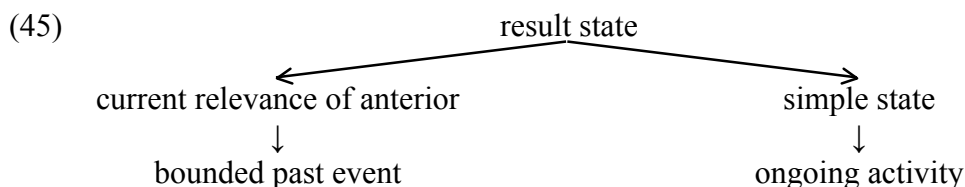
This fits the sorts of atelic verbs with which *-yer-* is attested in Old Japanese: mostly rather non-dynamic, non-agentive events.

Note that we cannot conclude that *-yer-* was reanalysed overall as a marker of ongoing atelic events. It also developed past perfective functions, a development relying on the strengthening of the implication of a previous event in the semantic frame. However, if an exemplar-based model of linguistic storage is assumed, and the combinations of inceptive state verbs with *-yer-* are stored in the brain with all their semantic detail (and all their semantic ambiguity), then they have the potential to form

the basis of both semantic extensions. They can be interpreted as simple states, allowing an extension to ongoing activities, or they can be interpreted as result states, allowing an extension to current relevance and then past bounded events.

#### 3.4.2.4 *Summary*

I propose the following semantic development of *-yer-*:



A large number of the exemplars would have been ambiguous between a result state and a simple state interpretation.

### 3.4.3 **Development post-OJ**

By Early Middle Japanese the shape of *-yer-* had changed to *-er-*. It gradually lost ground to *-(i)tar-*, finally falling out of use in Late Middle Japanese. No significant semantic changes are reported.

### 3.4.4 **Final remarks**

#### 3.4.4.1 *High proportion of Adnominal forms*

The extremely high proportion of Adnominal forms of Stative *-yer-* (mostly in relative clauses) can probably be explained by reference to the functions of *-yer-*. All of its functions except that of denoting *bounded past events* denote ongoing states of affairs, whether states, activities, or current relevance. These are states of affairs commonly considered to be *imperfective*, and imperfectivity is associated with backgrounding (Hopper 1979). Although a simple equation between relative clausehood

and backgrounding must be rejected (Givón 1987: 185; Fox and Thompson 1990: 306), some sort of correlation between the two is usually assumed. As most of the functions of *-yer-* denote *imperfective* events, it can be considered more likely to appear in relative clauses than in main clauses.

#### **3.4.4.2 Exemplar clusters**

According to the theory outlined in 3.4.2, the originally resultative *-yer-* developed in two distinct directions: towards denoting bounded past events on the one hand and towards denoting ongoing activities on the other. This is readily explained by an exemplar model of linguistic storage, but is more difficult to account for under structuralist assumptions. The exemplar model allows all the detail of result state examples of *-yer-* to be retained in the brain, thereby permitting different features of those examples to be developed into new functions: the implication of a past bounded event on the one hand, and an ongoing atelic event on the other. If the semantic content of *-yer-* were stored as an abstract definition with no actual examples, such development would not have been possible.

#### **3.4.4.3 Activities and states**

The proposal whereby inceptive state verbs were reanalysed as denoting ongoing activities with *-yer-* has implications for our understanding of the nature of the distinction between activities and states. If *-yer-* was reanalysed as I have proposed, initially being used with ‘state-like’ activities, then that lends support to the distinction between activities and states being gradient and not binary, as was proposed in 1.3.2.2.4. If *-yer-* could express state-like events as ongoing, however, why is it not reliably attested with *ar-* ‘exist’ and *wor-* ‘be sitting’, arguably the most state-like of all atelic verbs? The reasons could be historical or semantic.

The historical reason why *-yer-* might not combine with these verbs is because they incorporate the same morphological material as *-yer-* (*wor-* and *-yer-* are both derived from *ar-*). However, Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, also derived from *ar-*, combines with both *-yer-* and the verb *ar-*, suggesting that historical reasons for non-combination might not be pervasive in Old Japanese. The semantic reason is that *ar-* and *wor-* are purely stative, and that purely stative verbs do not need to be re-expressed as states. Inceptive state verbs have another interpretation, and activity verbs involve some degree of dynamism, but state verbs are simply states. If atelic verbs are placed on a continuum of dynamism, then *ar-* and *wor-* are at the stative end of that continuum.

#### 3.4.4.4 *The development of progressive constructions*

Bybee et al. (1994: 135–136) propose that progressive constructions are originally used with the most dynamic verbs and only later come to be used with verbs that are less dynamic. They note (p. 133) that ‘in languages without an explicit progressive gram, the same device is usually used for habitual actions, ongoing states, and all other present occurrences’. A progressive construction arises as a device to specify the meaning ‘the subject is located in the midst of doing something’.

The ongoing activity function of Stative *-yer-*, however, did not develop in this way. In Old Japanese *-yer-* is attested with very stative (albeit not totally stative) atelic verbs such as *omop-* ‘think, yearn’ and *ter-* ‘shine’, and presumably only later in the history of the language did its successor constructions (such as Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* and its reflexes) come to be used with more dynamic verbs. This can be attributed to its origins. Unlike a dedicated progressive construction, it did not develop as a device for specifying the most dynamic function of all the functions available in the present tense. Instead it seems to have been a stage in the development of an already grammaticalized construction.

## 4 Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*

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### 4.1 Introduction

#### 4.1.1 Orthography

Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* is found written phonographically, logographically, and with no orthographic representation. The most common logographic spellings are 而有 and 而在, where the first character represents the Gerund flective *-te*, and the second character represents *ar-*. This spelling unambiguously identifies the construction as *-(i)te ar-*, although the inflection of *ar-* is unclear. Sometimes this spelling is interpreted as the short form *-(i)tar-*, based on syllable count. If the Gerund flective *-te* is not represented orthographically but *ar-* is written phonographically, the construction can be reliably identified as *-(i)te ar-* (since *ar-* is not attested as an auxiliary verb attaching to a verbal Infinitive).

When the Gerund flective *-te* is not represented orthographically and *ar-* is written logographically, the construction can only reliably be identified as *-(i)te ar-* when the preceding verb is of one of the classes that do not combine with Stative *-yer-* (see 3.1.3.2). Since these classes contain a disproportionate number of change of state verbs (cf. Whitman 2008), I have not included them in my sample, as they would skew any statistical analysis.

Other logographic spellings are not so reliable, however. Especially in its short version *-(i)tar-* is often written with 有 or 在 alone, both of which are also used to write *-yer-*. When these follow verbs that do not combine with Stative *-yer-*, we can be sure

that they represent *-(i)te ar-*, but in many other cases *-(i)tar-* is hypothesized solely on the basis of syllable count. As Vovin (2009b: 4) points out, there are numerous cases in the poetry of the *Man'yōshū* of hypermetric or hypometric lines, i.e. lines having more or fewer syllables than expected. Therefore syllable count is not a reliable way of determining if a character represents *-yer-* or *-(i)te ar-*.

#### 4.1.2 Inflection

The construction *-(i)te ar-* is formed from the Gerund of a verb followed by the verb *ar-* ‘exist’. Particles (such as *pa*, *mo*, *koso*, and *si*) may intervene between *-te* and *ar-*, but when there is no particle the sequence may be shortened to *-tar-*. It is attested in the following inflected forms:

(1)

| Form             | Full variant     |        | Short variant  |        | %  |
|------------------|------------------|--------|----------------|--------|----|
|                  | Shape            | Number | Shape          | Number |    |
| Conclusive       | <i>-te ari</i>   | 5      | <i>-tari</i>   | 30     | 14 |
| Adnominal        | <i>-te aru</i>   | 15     | <i>-taru</i>   | 131    | 56 |
| Exclamatory      | <i>-te are</i>   | 5      | <i>-tare</i>   | 4      | 3  |
| Conditional      | <i>-te araba</i> | 9      | <i>-taraba</i> | 5      | 5  |
| Provisional      | <i>-te areba</i> | 6      | <i>-tareba</i> | 4      | 4  |
| Concessive       | <i>-te aredo</i> | 6      | <i>-taredo</i> | 9      | 6  |
| Neg. Conjectural | <i>-te arazi</i> | 1      |                |        | <1 |
| <i>a</i> -stem   | <i>-te ara-</i>  | 4      | <i>-tara-</i>  | 1      | 2  |
| <i>i</i> -stem   | <i>-te ari-</i>  | 14     | <i>-tari-</i>  | 10     | 9  |
| <b>Totals:</b>   |                  | 65     |                | 194    |    |

Although I consider them to be the same construction, I gloss these variants differently in examples: the full variant is glossed as the Gerund of a verb followed by the verb *ar-* ‘exist’, while the short variant is glossed ‘STAT’. This reflects the fact that the short form was becoming an auxiliary.

### 4.1.3 Combination

#### 4.1.3.1 *With other grammatical constructions*

The construction *-(i)te ar-* is analytic, and does not fit neatly into a verb syntagm. It follows the Respect, Causative, and Passive auxiliaries, and very occasionally follows the Perfective auxiliary *-(i)n-*. It may be followed by Past *-(i)ki*, Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, and various extensions, and very occasionally by Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* and Negative *-(a)zu ~ -(a)n-*. It is not attested in combination with Stative *-yer-*.

#### 4.1.3.2 *With predicates*

*-(i)te ar-* is attested with most verb classes, but not *r-irr* verbs or the small *n-irr* class.

## 4.2 Previous accounts of *-(i)te ar-*

Most accounts of *-(i)te ar-* neglect some of its functions in an attempt to simplify its semantics.

### 4.2.1 Resultative

The most simplified account of *-(i)te ar-* that I have come across is that of Watanabe (2008), who claims that *-(i)te ar-* is a resultative marker which is developing a perfect function. Noting (p. 168) that it appears with very few activity verbs, none of them among the most frequent activity verbs, she concludes that it cannot denote ongoing activities. She points out (p. 172) that some examples of *-(i)te ar-* used with activity verbs are not progressive (they are instead *perfective past*), but does not mention any of the examples that *must* be interpreted as ongoing activities. Watanabe (2008) attempts to fit *-(i)te ar-* into a neat synchronic tense–aspect system, but in doing so neglects the complexity of the construction.

#### 4.2.2 (Periphrastic) stative

Frellesvig (2010: 69) calls *-(i)te ar-* a ‘periphrastic stative’, claiming that it has the same functions as Stative *-yer-*. This claim is correct, but the functions Frellesvig assigns to *-yer-* are incomplete (see 3.2.3).

#### 4.2.3 Past events and result states

Ikeda (1980) represents a traditional Japanese approach to *-(i)te ar-*. He does not acknowledge the existence of the full form *-(i)te ar-*, referring to *-(i)tar-* throughout. According to Ikeda (1980: 95), *-(i)te ar-* has two functions. First, it ‘shows the completion of an action or process’, equivalent to NJ *shita*. This function seems to be *past*, possibly *past bounded event*. Second, it ‘shows the continuing effect of a completed action or process, as in the English perfect tense’, equivalent to NJ *-(I)te i-* or *-(I)te ar-*. The inclusion of *-(I)te ar-* shows that Ikeda considers *-(i)te ar-* to have had *objective result state* as well as *subjective result state* functions. This approach identifies several of the functions of *-(i)te ar-*, but neglects others, including the ongoing activity function.

#### 4.2.4 Perfective-progressive

Vovin (2009a: 962–973) calls *-(i)te ar-* a *perfective-progressive* marker. His examples show that he subsumes *resultative*, *perfect*, and *perfective past* under the term ‘perfective’. Vovin notes that there are more examples of *-(i)te ar-* with ‘perfective’ functions than with *progressive* function. He is correct about this, but a more detailed analysis is required. As with *-yer-*, many of his ‘progressive’ assignments are inappropriate.

## 4.2.5 Summary

All accounts of *-(i)te ar-* in the literature simplify its meaning, neglecting some of its functions. In this investigation I will discuss all its functions and attempt to explain how they came about.

## 4.3 The functions of *-(i)te ar-*

For a discussion of how functions are determined, see 3.3.1.

### 4.3.1 Result state

#### 4.3.1.1 Subjective result state

When *-(i)te ar-* combines with a change of state verb it may denote a result state that holds of the subject:

- (2) 妹之 紐 解 登 結而  
imo=ga pimo toku to musubite  
(beloved=GEN sash loosen.CNCL COMP tie.GER)  
立田山 今許曾 黃葉始而 有家礼  
tatuta-yama ima=koso momiti-pazimet[e] ari-kyere  
Tatuta-mountain now=FOC go.red-begin.GER exist-INDIR.EXCL  
'Mt Tatuta **has** now **begun** to go red!' (MYS.10.2211)
- (3) 近 在者 加徹利爾太仁母 宇知由吉低  
tika-k[u] araba kapyeri=ni=dani=mo uti-yukite  
near-ACOP.INF exist.COND return=DAT=EMPH=TOP EMPH-go.GER  
妹我 多麻久良 佐之加倍低  
imo=ga ta-makura sasi-kapete  
beloved=GEN arm-pillow reach-do.together.GER  
祢天蒙 許万思 乎  
nete=mo ko-masi wo  
sleep.GER=TOP come-SUBJ.ADN although  
多麻保己乃 路波之 騰保久  
tama-poko=no miti=pa=si topo-ku  
(pearl-pike=COP.INF) road=TOP=EMPH far-ACOP.INF

関左閑爾      敞奈里低                      安礼              許曾  
*seki=sapeni    pyenarit[e]                      are              koso*  
 border=EMPH   **become.a.barrier.GER**   **exist.EXCL**   FOC

‘If (I) were nearby, I would quickly return, stretch out on my beloved’s arm, sleep, and come back here, but the road is long, and a border **has become a barrier** (between us).’ (from MYS.17.3978)

(4) 雪己曾波              春日              消                      良米  
*yuki=koso=pa    paru-pi              kiyu                      rame*  
 snow=FOC=TOP   spring-day   disappear.CNCL   NPSTCONJ.EXCL

心佐閑              消失多列                                      夜  
*kokoro=sape    kiye-use-tare                                      ya*  
 heart=EMPH   **disappear-disappear-STAT.EXCL**   FOC

言母              不往夾  
*koto=mo    kaywopa-nu*  
 word=TOP   go.across-NEG.ADN

‘Snow disappears on a spring day. **Have** (your) feelings **disappeared**? No word comes (from you).’ (MYS.9.1782)

In the following examples, *-(i)te ar-* follows Perfective *-(i)n-* and appears to denote a subjective result state:

(5) 烏梅能      波奈      佐企弓      知理奈波  
*ume=no    pana    sakite      tiri-naba*  
 plum=GEN   flower   bloom.GER   fall-PFV.COND  
 佐久良婆那      都伎弓              佐久              倍久  
*sakura-bana    tugite              saku              be-ku*  
 cherry-flower   pass.on.GER   bloom.CNCL   NEC-ACOP.INF  
 奈利爾弓              阿良受              也  
*nari-nit[e]              ara-zu              ya*  
**become-PFV.GER**   **exist-NEG.CNCL**   Q

‘If the plum blossom has bloomed and fallen, **has it not become** (the time when) the cherry blossom will bloom?’ (MYS.5.829)

(6) 老爾弓              阿留              我      身              上爾  
*oi-nit[e]              aru              a=ga    mwi=no    upe=ni*  
**age-PFV.GER**   **exist.ADN**   I=GEN   body      on=DAT

病遠等                      加弓              阿礼婆  
*yamapi=wo=to    kupapete    areba*  
 illness=ACC=COM   add.GER   be.PROV

‘because illnesses have been added to my body, which **has aged**’  
 (from MYS.5.897)

The role of Perfective *-(i)n-* in the above examples is unclear. It could be considered a redundant marker of transformativity: see also 5.3.2.3.

#### 4.3.1.2 *Objective result state*

With transitive verbs *-(i)te ar-* may be able to denote an objective result state, but there are very few examples. The following is the clearest:

- (7) 故敷 等 伊布波 衣毛 名豆氣多理  
*kwopu to [i]pu=pa e=mo na-duke-tari*  
 love.CNCL COMP say.ADN=TOP well=TOP **name-attach-STAT.CNCL**
- 伊布 須做能 多豆伎母 奈吉波  
*ipu subye=no taduki=mo na-ki=pa*  
 say.ADN way=GEN way=TOP not.exist-ACOP.ADN=TOP
- 安賀 未 奈里家利  
*a=ga mwi nari-kyeri*  
 I=GEN body COP-INDIR.CNCL

‘The thing we call “love” is well **named**. (However,) I am (in such a state that) there is no way to say (what I feel)!’ (MYS.18.4078)

No agent is mentioned, and it seems that *kwopu to ipu pa* ‘the thing we call “love” ’ is the subject of *na-duke-tari* ‘is named’.

#### 4.3.1.3 *Possessive result state*

The following could be interpreted as possessive resultatives. The first example is clearer than the other two:

- (8) 珠爾 奴久  
*tama=ni nuku*  
 pearl=COP.INF thread.ADN
- 安布知乎 宅爾 宇惠多良婆  
*aputi=wo ipye=ni uwe-taraba*  
 chinaberry.tree=ACC house=DAT **plant-STAT.COND**

夜麻霍公鳥 可礼受 許武 可聞  
*yama-pototogisu kare-zu ko-mu kamo*  
 mountain-cuckoo be.parted-NEG.INF come-CONJ.ADN EMPH

‘If I **had** a chinaberry tree, (the berries of) which one threads like pearls, **planted** at my house, the mountain cuckoo would not be parted from me, but would come.’ (MYS.17.3910)

- (9) 吾者毛也 安見兒 得有  
*are=pa=mo=ya yasumi-kwo e-tari*  
 I=TOP=TOP=FOC Yasumi-girl get-STAT.CNCL

皆人乃 得難尔 為 云  
*mwina-pito=no e-kate-ni su to [i]pu*  
 everyone-person=GEN get-be.able-NEG.INF do.CNCL COMP say.ADN

安見兒 衣多利  
*yasumi-kwo e-tari*  
 Yasumi-girl **get-STAT.CNCL**

‘I have got the Yasumi girl! I **have got** the Yasumi girl, who everyone says is hard to get.’ (MYS.2.95)

- (10) 名毛伎 世婆 人 可知 見  
*nageki seba pito siri-nu be-mi*  
 cry.INF do.COND people find.out-PFV.CNCL NEC-ACOP.INF

山川之 瀧 情乎  
*yama-gapa=no tagitu kokoro=wo*  
 mountain-river=COP.INF flow.violently.ADN heart=ACC

塞敢而 有 鴨  
**sekapet[e] aru kamo**  
**hold.back.GER exist.ADN EMPH**

‘If I cried out, people would find out, so I **have held back** my heart, which flows violently like a mountain river.’ (MYS.7.1383)

They are also compatible with *current relevance* or *bounded past event* interpretations, however.

### 4.3.2 Ambiguous aspectual function

When inceptive state verbs are used with *-(i)te ar-*, we cannot really tell if *-(i)te ar-* is being used to denote the (subjective) result state of the transformative sense, or if it is being used to denote an ongoing atelic event with no resultative implications:

- (11) 且今日 々々々 吾 待 君者  
 kyepu kyepu to a=ga matu kimi=pa  
 today today COMP I=GEN wait.ADN lord=TOP  
 石水之 貝尔 交而  
 isi-kapa=no kapi=ni mazirite  
 Isi-river=GEN shell=DAT become.mixed.GER  
 有 登 不言 八 方  
 ari to [i]pa-zu ya mo  
 exist.CNCL COMP say-NEG.CNCL FOC EMPH

‘Do they not say that my lord, for whom I wait, (thinking) “Today? Today?”, is **mixed** with the shells of the River Isi?’ (MYS.2.224a)

- (12) 能許利多流 由棄仁 末自例留 宇梅能 半奈  
 nokori-taru yuki=ni mazir-eru ume=no pana  
 be.left-STAT.ADN snow=DAT be.mixed-STAT.ADN plum=GEN flower  
 半也久 奈知利會  
 paya-ku na-tiri-so  
 quick-ACOP.INF PROH-fall-PROH  
 由吉波 氣奴 等勿  
 yuki=pa ke-nu tomo  
 snow=TOP disappear-PFV.CNCL CNCS

‘Plum blossom mixed in with the **remaining** snow, do not fall quickly, even if the snow disappears.’ (MYS.5.849)

- (13) 烏梅能 波奈 佐吉多留 僧能能 阿遠也疑波  
 ume=no pana saki-taru sono=no awo-yagwi=pa  
 plum=GEN flower bloom-STAT.ADN garden=GEN green-willow=TOP  
 可豆良爾 須 倍久 奈利爾家良受 夜  
 kadura=ni su be-ku nari-ni-kyera-zu ya  
 crown=COP.INF do.CNCL NEC-ACOP.INF become-PFV-INDIR-NEG.CNCL FOC

‘As for the green willow in the garden where the plum blossom **has bloomed**, has it not become (the time when) we should make crowns (with it)?’ (MYS.5.817)

### 4.3.3 Ongoing atelic event

I am using the term ‘ongoing atelic event’ to cover two functions that may or may not be distinct. By ‘ongoing’ I intend to rule out habitual interpretations, and by ‘atelic’ I intend to rule out directed activities.

#### 4.3.3.1 Simple state

Sometimes *-(i)te ar-* is used to express a state that is not the result of a previous event, for example:

- (14) 之麻思久母                      比等利    安里宇流  
*simasi-ku=mo*                      *pitori*    *ari-uru*  
 momentary-ACOP.INF=TOP alone    exist-get.ADN
- 毛能爾                      安礼                      也  
*mono=n[i]*                      *are*                      *ya*  
 person=COP.INF exist.EXCL FOC
- 之麻能                      牟漏能                      木  
*sima=no*                      *murwo=no*                      *kwi*  
 island=GEN juniper=COP.ADN tree
- 波奈礼亘                      安流                      良武  
*panaret[e]*                      *aru*                      *ramu*  
**become.separate.GER exist.ADN NPSTCONJ.CNCL**

‘Am (I) a person who could be alone even for a little while? The juniper tree on the island looks lonely (lit. *separated*).’ (MYS.15.3601)

The juniper tree in this poem has not actually become separated (from the land, from other trees) at any point: it has always been that way. It is a *simple state*, not a *result state*.

#### 4.3.3.2 Ongoing undirected activity

Not many examples of *-(i)te ar-* suggest an ongoing activity interpretation. Vovin (2009a) gives several examples of supposedly ‘progressive’ uses of *-(i)te ar-*. Several of them are clearly examples of telic verbs where a current relevance interpretation seems most natural (e.g. MYS.18.4073) or inceptive state verbs such as *sak-*, which strictly

speaking are ambiguous. The following are some with relatively unambiguous activity interpretations:

- (15) 瀨呼 速見  
 se=*wo* paya-*mi*  
 rapids=ACC fast-ACOP.INF  
 落當知足 白浪尔  
**oti-tagiti-taru** sira-nami=*ni*  
 go.down-flow.violently-STAT.ADN white-wave=DAT  
 河津 鳴 奈里 朝夕每  
 kapadu naku nari asa-yopi-gotoni  
 frog call.CNCL AUD.CNCL morning-night-every  
 ‘Because the rapids are fast, every morning and night I hear the calling frogs in the white waves that **are flowing down violently**.’ (MYS.10.2164)

- (16) 足引之 山毛 野毛  
 asipikwi=no yama=ni=*mo* nwo=ni=*mo*  
 (?=COP.ADN) mountain=DAT=TOP field=DAT=TOP  
 御獵人 得物矢 手挾 散動而 有 所見  
 mi-karibito satuya ta-basami sawakit[e] ari miyu  
 RESP-hunter arrow hand-clasp.INF move.about.GER exist.CNCL VIS  
 ‘I see the hunters on the mountain and in the field, **moving about** clasping arrows in their hands.’ (MYS.6.927)

- (17) 比左可多能 月者 弓利多里  
 pisa-kata=no tukwi=pa **teri-tari**  
 (eternal-hard=COP.ADN) moon=TOP shine-STAT.CNCL  
 伊刀麻 奈久  
 itwoma na-ku  
 pause not.exist-ACOP.INF  
 安麻能 伊射里波 等毛之安敞里 見由  
 ama=no izari=pa tomos[i]-ap-yeri miyu  
 fisher=GEN fishing.light=TOP light-meet-STAT.CNCL VIS  
 ‘The moon **is shining**. I see that the lights of the fishermen are constantly lit together.’ (MYS.15.3672)

#### 4.3.3.3 *Atelic verbs with -(i)te ar-*

As with *-yer-*, the sorts of verbs that appear with *-(i)te ar-* in this function are mostly not particularly dynamic or agentive. They are: *ipori se-* ‘live’, *konom-* ‘enjoy’, *kwopwi-*

‘love, yearn’, *omop-* ‘think’, *omopa-ye-* ‘be thought’, *oti-tagit-* ‘flow down violently’, *pap-* ‘extend’, *tamwi-* ‘wind’, *tapare-* ‘commit adultery’, and *ter-* ‘shine’.

#### 4.3.4 Current relevance of an anterior event

There are very few examples that denote the current relevance of an anterior event, but the following seems to be one:

- (18) 都奇 見礼婆 於奈自 久爾 奈里  
*tukwi mireba onazi kuni nari*  
 moon see.PROV same.CNCL country COP.CNCL  
 夜麻許曾婆 伎美我 安多里乎 敞太豆多里家礼  
*yama=kosoba kimi=ga atari=wo pyedate-tari-kyere*  
 mountain=FOC you=GEN place=ACC **separate-STAT-INDIR.EXCL**

‘Looking at the moon, it is (as though our two lands are) the same land, although the mountain **has separated** where you are (from me)!’ (MYS.18.4073)

Without Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, it would be possible to interpret *-(i)te ar-* here as perfective past, but, as I argue in 6.3.5, the mirative and emphatic functions of *-(i)kyer-* are only used with predicates with nonpast time reference.

#### 4.3.5 Bounded past event

In the following example *-(i)te ar-* seems to denote a bounded past event:

- (19) 和伎母故我 之多爾毛 伎余 等  
*wa-g-imo-kwo=ga sita=ni=mo kiyo to*  
 I-GEN-beloved-girl=GEN under=DAT=TOP wear.IMP COMP  
 於久理多流 許呂母能 比毛乎  
*okuri-taru koromo=no pimo=wo*  
**give-STAT.ADN** garment=GEN cord=ACC  
 安礼 等可米 也 母  
*are toka-me ya mo*  
 I untie-CONJ.EXCL FOC EMPH

‘Would I untie the cord that my beloved **gave** me, (saying) “Wear it under your clothes?”’ (MYS.15.3585)

The phrase *sita ni mo kiyo to* ‘(saying) “Wear it under your clothes” ’ does not modify the result state of the *giving* event, but the *giving* event itself. Therefore *okuri-taru* refers to the past. It is also possible to interpret the following example in this way:

- (20) 者田爲々寸      穗庭      莫出      思而有  
*pada-susuki*      *po=ni=pa*      *na-[i]de-so*      *to*      **omopi-taru**  
 (?-pampas.grass) ear=DAT=TOP      PROH-go.out-PROH      COMP      **think-STAT.ADN**
- 情者      所知  
*kokoro=pa*      *sira-yu*  
 heart=TOP      know-PASS.CNCL
- 我藻      將依  
*ware=mo*      *yorina-mu*  
 I=TOP      approach-PFV-CONJ.CNCL
- ‘My feelings, about which I **thought** “Do not go out”, are known. I too will approach.’ (MYS.16.3800)

Given the context of this poem (an old man challenging young women to consider his words), a bounded past event interpretation of this poem is plausible.

### 4.3.6 Summary

#### 4.3.6.1 Functions

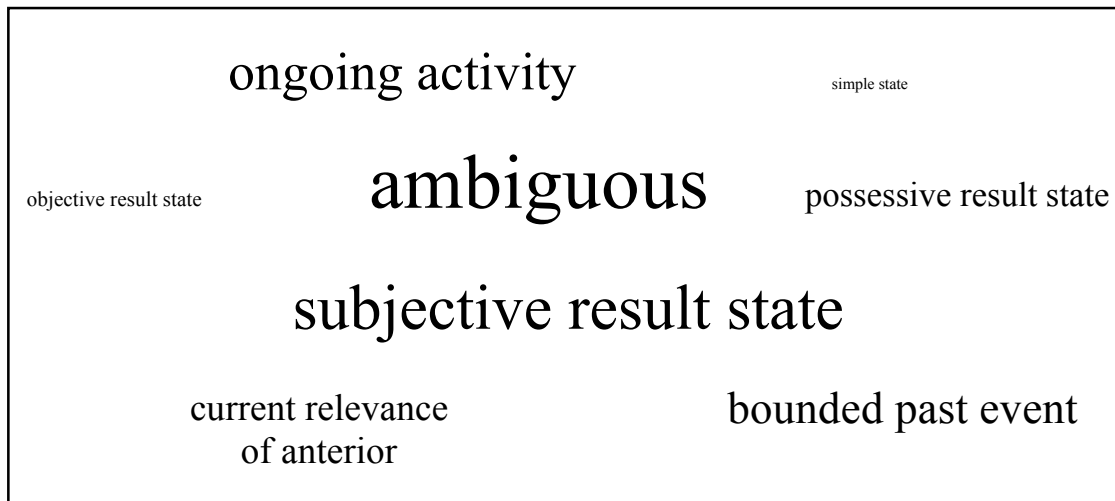
The following table shows the numbers and percentages of the functions of *-(i)te ar-* in phonographic and reliable logographic material, with the numbers and percentages of *-yer-* appended:

| Function                | <i>-(i)te ar-</i> |    | <i>-yer-</i> |    |
|-------------------------|-------------------|----|--------------|----|
|                         | Number            | %  | Number       | %  |
| subjective result state | 18                | 23 | 32           | 13 |
| objective result state  | 2                 | 3  | 18           | 7  |
| possessive result state | 5                 | 6  | 21           | 9  |
| ambiguous               | 26                | 33 | 70           | 29 |
| simple state            | 1                 | 1  | 4            | 2  |
| ongoing activity        | 13                | 16 | 62           | 26 |
| CR of anterior          | 6                 | 8  | 15           | 6  |
| bounded past event      | 9                 | 11 | 20           | 8  |
| <b>Totals:</b>          | 80                |    | 242          |    |

The percentages are fairly similar between *-(i)te ar-* and *-yer-*, but *-(i)te ar-* denotes more subjective result states and fewer ongoing activities than *-yer-*. It should be noted that the data set for *-(i)te ar-* is significantly smaller than for *-yer-*.

#### 4.3.6.2 Exemplar cluster

The exemplar cluster for *-(i)te ar-* is similar to, but also slightly different from, that of *-yer-*:



Once again, the largest group of exemplars is aspectually ambiguous. Compared with *-yer-*, however, *-(i)te ar-* has more construals that imply a previous event, and fewer that are atelic.

## 4.4 Conclusions

### 4.4.1 Morphological origin

The morphological origin of *-(i)te ar-* is transparent: is formed from the Gerund of a verb plus the stative verb *ar-* ‘exist’. The short form *-(i)tar-* is the result of a synchronically productive vowel deletion process in Old Japanese (Frellesvig 2008: 175–176).

## 4.4.2 Semantic development pre-OJ

### 4.4.2.1 *Original function*

The crosslinguistic and semantic evidence for *-(i)te ar-* having begun as a resultative construction are the same as for *-yer-*: see 3.4.2.1.1 and 3.4.2.1.3. The morphological evidence is stronger, however, since in OJ the Gerund is still an anterior converb (see 1.2.3.2.2), unlike the Infinitive, which has become more versatile.

### 4.4.2.2 *Motivation for coinage*

Since *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* seem to have had largely the same functions in Old Japanese, and seem both to have originated as resultative constructions, the question arises of what was the motivation for the coinage of *-(i)te ar-*.

#### 4.4.2.2.1 *The bigrade verbs*

It was proposed by Ohno, Satake, and Maeda (1974: 1,475) that *-(i)te ar-* arose because the older Stative *-yer-* could not combine with the new bigrade verbs. Whitman (2008) and Frellesvig (2008) are among the latest contributions to the consensus that the bigrade conjugations are older, and Frellesvig (2010: 69) subscribes to the view of Ohno et al. (1974) regarding the origin of *-(i)te ar-*.

Sandness (1999: 23) and Watanabe (2008: 167–168), however, reject the thesis that *-(i)te ar-* arose as a resultative construction for bigrade verbs on the grounds that, even in the earliest sources, it is attested combining with more quadrigrade verbs than bigrade verbs. While *-(i)te ar-* is able to combine with bigrade verbs and *-yer-* is not, this does not necessarily mean that *-(i)te ar-* was coined for this purpose.

#### 4.4.2.2.2 *An original semantic distinction*

Another way to explain the coexistence of *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* is to propose an original semantic distinction between the two constructions. Vovin (2009a: 880–892,

962–973) claims that *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* originally had distinct functions (progressive and resultative respectively), although they both came to be able to denote the aspectual function originally denoted by the other construction. In this and the previous chapter I have rejected this explanation and have claimed that both *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* originated as constructions that denoted result states.

#### 4.4.2.2.3 *An original dialect distinction*

One of the possibilities Sandness (1999: 29) raises is that *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* might have been dialectal variants, and that after dialect contact *-(i)te ar-* became more popular because of its greater morphological flexibility. This must certainly be admitted as a possibility.

#### 4.4.2.2.4 *-(i)te ar- as more specific*

Another possibility raised by Sandness (1999: 27–28) is that *-(i)te ar-* arose as a way of specifying the result state function, since *-yer-* had a variety of meanings. This is similar to the proposal by Bybee et al. (1994: 133) that progressive constructions arise to specify one function out of the various functions that can be expressed by a present tense. This seems to me to be the most likely explanation. Stative *-yer-* probably arose before the Gerund existed, and originally denoted result states. Later it expanded to denote ongoing activities as well, and the Gerund arose as an anterior converb. Then *-(i)te ar-* was coined as a new, more specific resultative construction, possibly even before the development of the bigrade conjugations.

#### 4.4.2.3 *Expansion of functions*

What was said in the last chapter about the semantic development of *-yer-* applies also to *-(i)te ar-*, except that the converb explanation (see 3.4.2.3.1) cannot apply to

*-(i)te ar-*. The explanation whereby inceptive state verbs were the locus for the reanalysis of *-yer-* (see 3.4.2.3.3) seems also to be appropriate for *-(i)te ar-*.

#### 4.4.2.4 **Differences from *-yer-***

Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* had all the same functions as *-yer-*, although in slightly different proportions in the data we have. Why could this be? It could be because *-(i)te ar-* is younger and therefore closer to its resultative origins, or it could be because of a more fundamental difference that, had *-yer-* survived, would have seen the two constructions diverge even more.

An explanation that focuses on the relative youth of *-(i)te ar-* encounters the problem that *-(i)te ar-* is attested with proportionally more *bounded past event* construals than *-yer-*, a function that is not among the original functions proposed for either construction. If it had had time to develop this function to this extent, did it not have time similarly to develop the ongoing activity function? If, on the other hand, a more fundamental difference between the two constructions is sought, it may be located in the more iconic shape of *-(i)te ar-* when it comes to ‘anterior’ functions. Once it had contracted to its OJ shape, *-yer-* was etymologically opaque, but in its full shape *-(i)te ar-* still clearly included the Gerund form of the verb, which in OJ only had anterior function. This could have prevented the ongoing activity function (which has no anterior sense) from developing so quickly.

#### 4.4.3 **Development post-OJ**

While *-er-* (the reflex of *-yer-*) gradually fell out of use during EMJ, *-(i)te ar-* ~ *-(i)tar-* did not. This can be attributed to its greater morphological versatility: it could be used with more verb classes than *-er-*.

In Early Middle Japanese the short variant *-(i)tar-* became more common than the full variant *-(i)te ar-*. The full variant continued in use, however, with a wider variety of stative verbs in the position of *ar-*, including *wi-tar-* and *tamaf-er-* (Kinsui 2006: 148). However, already in OJ *wor-* can be seen as standing in for *ar-* (see chapter 11), so it may be that variation was part of the shape of *-(i)te ar-* from its coinage. At some point *-(i)tar-* developed further its *past bounded event* function, and by Late Middle Japanese its reflex *-(I)ta* had become a past marker.

#### 4.4.4 Final remarks

Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* seems to have all the same functions as *-yer-*, but to display them in different proportions. It is particularly interesting that, although it would evolve to become the Modern Japanese Past construction, it is found in Old Japanese with ongoing activity construals. As with *-yer-*, this shows once again that the ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’ grammaticalization pathways of Bybee et al. (1994) are not entirely distinct, and that something like exemplar representation is needed to explain the extensive polysemy of many grammatical constructions.

## 5 Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*

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### 5.1 Introduction

#### 5.1.1 Orthography

##### 5.1.1.1 *-(i)n-*

Of the 951 Central Old Japanese attestations of *-(i)n-* in the Oxford Corpus, there are 610 examples written phonographically, 54 written only partially phonographically, and 287 with no orthographic representation. Except for the numbers in 5.1.2, I have generally used only phonographic examples.

One of the most common ways of writing *-(i)n-* phonographically is with the character 去. This is a *kungana*, being derived from the verb *in-* ‘go away’, which this character is also used to write. Regardless of the etymology of *-(i)n-*, the developers of the Oxford Corpus have judged that synchronically the auxiliary was not associated with the verb, therefore making this orthography phonographic. While with this orthography the identity of the auxiliary is secure, the inflection is often not.

##### 5.1.1.2 *-(i)te-*

Of the 385 Central Old Japanese attestations of *-(i)te-* in the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese, there are 311 examples written phonographically, 9 written only partially phonographically, and 65 with no orthographic representation. Except for the numbers in 5.1.2, I have generally used only phonographic examples. The phonographic attestations of *-(i)te-* present no problems.

### 5.1.2 Inflection

The auxiliaries *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* attach to the *i*-stem of the verb or auxiliary they follow. They are attested with most classes of verb, although not the small *n*-irr class. They are attested with the following number of attestations of each of their inflected forms:

| (1) Form       | <i>-(i)n-</i>  |        |    | <i>-(i)te-</i> |        |    |
|----------------|----------------|--------|----|----------------|--------|----|
|                | Shape          | Number | %  | Shape          | Number | %  |
| Conclusive     | <i>-nu</i>     | 305    | 32 | <i>-tu</i>     | 127    | 33 |
| Adnominal      | <i>-nuru</i>   | 37     | 4  | <i>-turu</i>   | 96     | 25 |
| Exclamatory    | <i>-nure</i>   | 7      | 1  | <i>-ture</i>   | 5      | 1  |
| Imperative     |                |        |    | <i>-teyo</i>   | 3      | 1  |
| Optative       | <i>-nana</i>   | 1      | <1 | <i>-tena</i>   | 9      | 2  |
| Gerund         | <i>-nite</i>   | 7      | 1  |                |        |    |
| Continuative   | <i>-nitutu</i> | 15     | 2  |                |        |    |
| Conditional    | <i>-naba</i>   | 53     | 6  | <i>-teba</i>   | 22     | 6  |
| Provisional    | <i>-nureba</i> | 40     | 4  | <i>-tureba</i> | 4      | 1  |
| Concessive     | <i>-nuredo</i> | 7      | 1  | <i>-turedo</i> | 6      | 2  |
| Nominal        | <i>-nuraku</i> | 2      | <1 | <i>-turaku</i> | 2      | 1  |
| <i>a</i> -stem | <i>-na-</i>    | 98     | 10 | <i>-te-</i>    | 35     | 9  |
| <i>i</i> -stem | <i>-ni-</i>    | 379    | 40 | <i>-te-</i>    | 76     | 20 |
| <b>Totals:</b> |                | 951    |    |                | 385    |    |

Like all tense-aspect constructions in OJ, there is no Infinitive form. It is possible that the Gerund form of verbs (e.g. *sakite* ‘blooming’) is actually (or historically) the combination of a verb and *-(i)te-* (in the Infinitive form), but this is impossible to determine with certainty, and it is usually assumed that this is not the case synchronically. For both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* there are more Conclusive forms than Adnominal forms, while all other tense and aspect auxiliaries have more Adnominal forms than Conclusive forms. Therefore an important role of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* must be to conclude matrix clauses. (There are, however, a lot of examples of Perfective *-(i)n-* + Past *-(i)ki* in relative clauses.)

The only major disparities between the percentages of forms for *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* occur with the Adnominal form (4% for *-(i)n-*, 25% for *-(i)te-*) and the stems (50% for

*-(i)n-*, 29% for *-(i)te-*). The greater proportion of stem use for *-(i)n-* can probably be attributed to its high frequency with Indirective *-(i)kyer-*: 230 attestations, accounting for 24% of the attestations of *-(i)n-*. The greater proportion of Adnominal use for *-(i)te-* is more puzzling. A sample of 40 phonographic attestations of *-(i)te-* in the Adnominal form (two from each book of the *Man'yōshū*) yields 3% in nominalizations, 18% in relative clauses, and 80% in main clauses. By contrast, of the 19 phonographic attestations of *-(i)n-* in the Adnominal form, 26% are in nominalizations, 42% in relative clauses, and 32% in main clauses. This suggests that *-(i)te-* is more likely than *-(i)n-* to conclude main clauses that are subject to *kakari-musubi*. The explanation of this seems to lie in the frequency of the *-(i)ni-kyer-* construction. It appears that an emphatic sentence with *-(i)te-* tends to end *-(i)туру kamo* (43 attestations) rather than *-(i)te-kyeru kamo* (1 attestation), while an emphatic sentence with *-(i)n-* tends to end *-(i)ni-kyeru kamo* (49 attestations) rather than *-(i)nuru kamo* (1 attestation).

### 5.1.3 Combination

#### 5.1.3.1 *With other grammatical constructions*

In a verb syntagm, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* follow respect and voice auxiliaries (Respect *-(a)s-* and Passive *-(a)ye-*) and precede tense and mood auxiliaries (Past *-(i)ki*, Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, Conjectural *-(a)m-*, and Subjunctive *-(a)masi*). They do not occur in the same syntagm with each other or with Stative *-yer-*, or with Negative *-(a)zu ~ -(a)n-* in its usual position. Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* appears following *-(i)n-* and preceding both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*. Negative *-(a)zu ~ -(a)n-* appears once in the combination *-(i)nite ara-zu*, i.e. after the combination of Perfective *-(i)n-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*. The Perfective auxiliaries are not attested with Causative *-(a)sime-* or Passive *-(a)re-* in the sources I use.

The virtual non-occurrence of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* with the Negative has been taken as support of its supposed ‘assertive’ or ‘affirmative’ function (e.g. Frellesvig 2010: 66). However, as Frellesvig (2010: 64–65) notes, the Negative does not usually combine with Stative *-yer-* either, which is not claimed to have assertive or affirmative meaning. Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998: 64) report that many languages have fewer tense and aspect distinctions in negative polarity, and Miestamo and Van der Auwera (2011) find that in most cases it is the semantically and formally simplest form that can be expressed in the negative. This is the case in Old Japanese, where it is the form without Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* that is compatible with the negative. The non-occurrence of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* with the Negative is not evidence of affirmative function.

#### **5.1.3.2 With predicates**

Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is attested overwhelmingly often with change of state verbs, and only infrequently with atelic verbs. It is not attested with adjectives or the copula. The two auxiliaries are also in near-complementary distribution, and it can be argued (e.g. by Washio 2004) that they exhibit a split auxiliary system, *-(i)n-* appearing with unaccusative verbs and *-(i)te-* with transitive and unergative verbs. As in some other split auxiliary systems, some verbs can appear with both auxiliaries and some transitive verbs exceptionally appear with *-(i)n-*. For the time being I assume that they are in an allomorphic relationship, and I postpone a detailed discussion of the distribution of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* until 5.3.6.

## **5.2 Previous accounts of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-***

Previous accounts of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* can be divided into two groups: those that consider them to have distinct functions, and those that consider them to be largely synonymous.

### 5.2.1 Non-synonym theories

Sandness (1999) is the clearest account that claims that the two suffixes are not related, but instead have different meanings. She claims that *-(i)n-* is a marker of punctuality, which can have nuances of inception or attainment, and that *-(i)te-* is a recent past marker.

This proposal has several serious problems, however. First, it makes no attempt to explain the distribution of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, namely that they appear with completely different groups of verbs with very little overlap. With the functions Sandness proposes for the two auxiliaries, this distribution is very hard to explain. The reason she thinks their distribution unremarkable may be because she uses EMJ sources as well as OJ sources, and the split auxiliary system described above seems to have begun to break down in EMJ. Second, this account does not capture the complexity of the functions expressed by *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, which cannot be reduced to something as simple as ‘punctual’ or ‘recent past’. There are examples of *-(i)n-* where it does not denote a punctual event (e.g. MYS.14.3356 and MYS.11.2820) and there are examples of *-(i)te-* where it does not refer to the past (e.g. MYS.2.121 and MYS.18.4040). The supposed ‘recent past’ *-(i)te-* also combines with Past *-(i)ki*, which Sandness designates a ‘remote past’. If *-(i)te-* and *-(i)ki* had these functions we would not expect them to combine.

### 5.2.2 Synonym theories

Theories that consider *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* to be largely synonymous usually either give them an aspectual function or an assertive function.

#### 5.2.2.1 *Aspectual function*

Frellesvig (2010: 66), in common with most modern studies of Old Japanese, states that the primary aspectual function of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* is *perfective*. Like Sandness

(1999), he notes that they can have both *ingressive* (entry into an activity) and *completive* functions. By *completive* he seems to mean *resultative* or *current relevance of anterior event*.

### 5.2.2.2 *Assertive function*

It has often been suggested (Ikeda 1980: 85, 91; Quinn 1987: 324, 340ff.; Frellesvig 2010: 66) that, as well as having aspectual functions, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* are also assertive or affirmative markers. Some (Yokoyama 1950: 26; Yamada 1954 [1913]: 286–287) have claimed that assertion or affirmation is the main function of these auxiliaries. Indeed, Frellesvig (2010: 66) claims that *assertion* or *affirmation* was probably the original function of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, claiming support for this theory from their supposed derivation from the ancestors of the Old Japanese copulas *ni ~ to*. Frellesvig states that in this function they often combine with Conjectural *-(a)m-* or assume a modal form, e.g. the Optative. He cites the following two examples:

(2) 塩 満来奈武  
 sipo **miti-ki-na-mu**  
 tide **rise-come-PFV-CONJ.CNCL**  
 ‘the tide **will surely rise**’ (from MYS.2.121)

(3) 玉藻 芘手名  
 tamamo **kari-tena**  
 seaweed **cut-PFV.OPT**  
 ‘(I) **want to cut** seaweed’ (from MYS.2.121)

However, neither of these examples is inconsistent with a perfective interpretation: the first is an accomplishment and the second a bounded activity. I will consider the possible assertive function of the Perfective in 5.3.4.

### 5.2.3 Summary

The aspectual functions of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* have not been properly studied in detail, and most linguists have not taken seriously the variety of aspectual functions that they exhibit. It will emerge that they have mostly the same functions, but in different proportions, reflecting the different sorts of verbs they combine with. The synonym theories and the non-synonym theories therefore both capture something of the truth.

## 5.3 The functions of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*

In this section I will consider the temporal reference of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* (5.3.1), their boundedness functions (5.3.2), their atelic functions (5.3.3), and their assertive or emphatic functions (5.3.4). After a summary of these functions (5.3.5) I will consider their distribution (5.3.6).

### 5.3.1 Temporal reference

Before I consider the aspectual functions of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, although anticipating my findings, I will establish their lack of fixed time reference, and establish some criteria with which to determine their time reference in particular examples.

#### 5.3.1.1 Past and future/irrealis time reference

Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* has no inherent tense. It can combine with Conjectural *-(a)m-* and other modal expressions, placing the event denoted in the future or in ‘irrealis time’, for example:

- (4) 布勢能            宇良乎            由吉底之            見豆婆  
*puse=n[o]*        *ura=wo*            *yukite=si*            *mi-teba*  
Puse=COP.ADN    cove=ACC        go.GER=EMPH    see-PFV.COND

毛母之綺能                      於保美夜比等爾  
*momo-sikwi=no*                      *opo-miya-pito=ni*  
(thousand-castle=COP.ADN)    great-court-people=DAT

可多利都芸底牟  
*katari-tugi-te-mu*  
**tell-pass.on-PFV-CONJ.CNCL**

‘If I go and see Puse Cove, I **will tell** the courtiers.’ (MYS.18.4040)

There are also some fairly clear examples of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* denoting events in the past relative to the time of narration:

(5) 霍公鳥    今朝之                      旦明尔    鳴都流波  
pototogisu    kyesa=no                      asake=*ni*    **naki-turu=pa**  
cuckoo    this.morning=GEN    dawn=DAT    **call-PFV.ADN=TOP**

君    將聞                      可    朝宿疑                      將寐  
kimi    kiki-kye-mu                      *ka*    asa-i=ka                      ne-kye-mu  
you    hear-PST-CONJ.ADN    FOC    morning-sleep=FOC    sleep-PST-CONJ.ADN

‘When the cuckoo **called** at dawn this morning, did you hear it, or were you still asleep?’ (MYS.10.1949)

### 5.3.1.2 *Present time reference*

Most of the time, however, the time reference of Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is ambiguous, depending (a) on whether a text is viewed as being narrated in the present tense or in the past, and (b) if it is narrated in the present tense, whether Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is tenseless or represents a tense shift (into the past).

#### 5.3.1.2.1 *Use in narrative*

##### 5.3.1.2.1.1 The question

There are very few portions of the OJ corpus that can be considered narrative, but some of the longer poems come under this heading, e.g. KK.2, MYS.2.220, MYS.13.3310, MYS.13.3312, MYS.15.3627, MYS.16.3791, MYS.16.3886, and MYS.17.4011. These poems differ in many ways from the narratives of EMJ, which either have past tense throughout (or at regular intervals) or *frame* narratives with past

tense sentences at the beginning and end (Takeuchi 1987: 17–42). Those sentences not expressed in a past tense appear either unmarked or with a variety of aspectual auxiliaries.

By contrast, the OJ narratives contain minimal use of Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* (if any), and occasional use of Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*. Extensive use is made of clause chaining, with most predicates appearing in the Infinitive, Gerund, and Provisional forms. The question we are faced with is: in a narrative with no past tense marking, should the predicates with Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* attached be interpreted as having past or present time reference? There are three possibilities:

- (a) Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *(i)te-* has past time reference and the unmarked predicates have present time reference: the reference time constantly shifts.
- (b) Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* has past time reference and so do the unmarked predicates, which are tense-neutral.
- (c) Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, which is tense-neutral, has present time reference, and so do the unmarked predicates.

I argued in 2.3.1 that unmarked predicates are not temporally neutral, since they cannot appear with past time adverbials. I therefore reject possibility (b). I consider possibility (a) in 5.3.1.2.1.2 and two variants of possibility (c) in 5.3.1.2.1.3 and 5.3.1.2.1.4.

#### 5.3.1.2.1.2 Past time reference: shifting reference time

Soga (1983: 217–224) analyses the use of the Nonpast and Past forms in Modern Japanese narratives, drawing on the work of Hopper (1979), Wolfson (1979), and Brannen (1979). He concludes that the main events tend to be told in the Past form and subsidiary events in the Nonpast form. Generally, one of the first sentences provides the temporal reference point either by specific identification or by the use of a tense form. This is basically what Takeuchi (1987: 30) proposes for the alternation of ‘tensed’ and ‘tenseless’ predicates in narratives such as the *Ise monogatari* (EMJ). Under this analysis, Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* could be seen as having past time reference, with the

reference time being constantly shifted between the past (where unmarked predicates operate in a relative present) and the present (where *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* refer to the past). The shift to the Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* would signal an important event on the storyline.

However, OJ narratives have a very different structure from the NJ narratives analysed by Soga (1983) and the ‘tensed’ EMJ narratives analysed by Takeuchi (1987). First, the OJ narratives tend not to deictically anchor the narrative in the opening sentences, either by the use of tense constructions or lexical expressions. Second, OJ makes extensive use of *clause chaining* (see Dooley 2010), and since most tense–aspect constructions in OJ appear only rarely in nonfinite forms, they are necessarily rare in narratives constructed in this way. As the OJ use of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* differs so much from the attested cases of shifting reference time in English, NJ, and EMJ, this does not seem to be a plausible analysis.

#### 5.3.1.2.1.3 Present time reference: marking telic events

Takeuchi (1987: 93–94), discussing EMJ, contrasts the use of Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* in ‘tenseless’ narratives with that of unmarked predicates. She claims that Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* signal that one event is over and another can now begin, while unmarked predicates denote open-ended events, allowing for the possibility that the next event overlaps with the previous one. To demonstrate this, she contrasts *wataru* with *watari-nu* in an excerpt from the *Tosa nikki*. Similarly, Takeuchi (1999: 97–98) contrasts Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* with Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* in tenseless narration, claiming that the former is used for events *on* the storyline, while the latter are used for events *off* the storyline. She contrasts the two following English sequences:

- (6) a. The lady raises the blinds. The moon *comes out*. She begins to play her koto.  
 b. The lady raises the blinds. The moon *has come out*. She begins to play her koto.

Takeuchi states that one would expect the middle sentence in (6a) to be expressed as *tukwi ide-nu* ‘moon come.out-PFV.CNCL’, and the middle sentence in (6b) to be expressed as *tukwi ide-tari* ‘moon come.out-STAT.CNCL’. Although she is not explicit about this, under this analysis Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* should probably be interpreted as marking (most) *telic* events in the narrative, while the unmarked predicates tend to mark the *atelic* events. Takeuchi’s (1987, 1999) interpretation of the temporal reference of Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* in narratives bears some similarity to the use of the Czech Perfective Nonpast. This construction usually has future time reference, but in present tense narration it is used to denote completed changes as they unfold on the storyline (Gvozdanović 2012: 793). Atelic events are narrated in the Imperfective Nonpast.

In some OJ poems, this seems to be the case, for example MYS.15.3627. This poem comprises seven sentences. When a sentence concludes with a change of state, it is usually expressed with Perfective *-(i)n-* (although once with Passive *-(a)ye-*), and when it concludes with an atelic event, it is marked with Stative *-yer-* (sentence 2) or is unmarked (sentence 3). The final predicate of sentence 6 probably denotes the beginning of the activity of *crying*, and is therefore *telic*. The ‘spontaneous’ use of Passive *-(a)ye-* here can be seen as inherently *telic*, and so not requiring Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*. Here follows a translation of the whole of MYS.15.3627, with glossed examples from the end of each sentence:

1. When, having waited for the tide, we row the rapids to Minume, which is opposite, piercing the waves with our great rudders in our big boats near the shore of Mitu and (thinking), ‘Let’s cross over to the land of Korea’; since the white waves are high in the offing, we row across from the circumference of the bay, and when night comes Apadi Island *becomes hidden by the clouds* [PFV].

- (7) 和伎毛故爾                      安波治乃                      之麻波  
*wa-g-imo-kwo=ni*                      *apadi=no*                      *sima=pa*  
 (I-GEN-beloved-girl=DAT) Apadi=COP.ADN island=TOP

由布左礼婆                      久毛為可久里奴  
*yupu-sareba*                      ***kumowi-kakuri-nu***  
 night-arrive.PROV **cloud-become.hidden-PFV.CNCL**

‘...when night comes, Apadi Island **becomes hidden by the clouds.**’  
 (from MYS.15.3627)

2. The night deepens, and not knowing where to go we anchor our boats in the bay of Akasi, and when, while sleeping on the waves, we look at the offspring of the sea dragon, fisherwomen are in small boats and *are floating* [STAT] in lines.

- (8) 伊射理 須流      安麻能                      乎等女波  
*izari suru ama=no wotomye=pa*  
 fish.INF do.ADN fisher=COP.ADN woman=TOP

小船                      乘                      都良良爾                      宇家里  
*wo-bune nori tura-ra=ni uk-yeri*  
 small-boat get.on.INF line-PL=DAT **float-STAT.CNCL**

‘...fisherwomen are in small boats and **are floating** in lines.’  
 (from MYS.15.3627)

3. When the tide at dawn becomes full, cranes *are crossing (overhead)* [unmarked] towards the reeds, *calling*.

- (9) 安香等吉能      之保      美知久礼婆  
*akatoki=no sipo miti-kureba*  
 dawn=GEN tide become.full-come.PROV

安之辨爾波                      多豆      奈伎和多流  
*asi-bye=ni=pa tadu naki-wataru*  
 reeds-towards=DAT=TOP crane **call-cross.CNCL**

‘When the tide at dawn becomes full, cranes **are crossing (overhead)** towards the reeds, **calling.**’ (from MYS.15.3627)

4. When we are going to take our boats out in the morning calm, both passengers and seamen are calling loudly with their voices, and as we are drifting like grebes, Ipye Island *appears* [PFV] in the distance.

- (10) 柔保等里能      奈豆左比由気婆  
*nipodori=no nadusapi-yukeba*  
 grebe=COP.INF drift-go.PROV

伊敞之麻婆 久毛為爾 美延奴  
*ipy-e-sima=pa kumowi=ni mi-ye-nu*  
 Ipye-island=TOP distance=DAT see-PASS-PFV.CNCL

‘...as we are drifting like grebes, Ipye Island **appears** in the distance.’  
 (from MYS.15.3627)

5. Thinking, ‘Will it console my longing heart?’ and ‘I want to come to it quickly and see it’, as we are going, rowing the big boats, the waves in the offing *rise* [PFV] high.

(11) 於保夫祢乎 許芸 和我 由氣婆  
*opo-bune=wo kogi wa=ga yukeba*  
 big-boat=ACC row-INF I=GEN go.PROV  
 於伎都 奈美 多可久 多知伎奴  
*oki=tu nami taka-ku tati-ki-nu*  
 offing=GEN wave high-ACOP-INF rise-come-PFV.CNCL

‘...as we are going, rowing the big boats, the waves in the offing **rise** high.’  
 (from MYS.15.3627)

6. So we pass this island, seeing it only in the distance, and after anchoring our boats in the bay of Tama, looking at the rocks of the bay from the beach, I (*suddenly*) *cry* [PASS] like a crying child.

(12) 波麻備欲里 宇良伊蘇乎 見都追  
*pama-bwi=ywori ur[a]-iswo=wo mitutu*  
 beach-side=ABL bay-rock=ACC look.CONT  
 奈久 古奈須 祢能未之 奈可由  
*naku kwo=nasu ne=nomwi=si naka-yu*  
 cry.ADN child=COP.SEM cry=EMPH=EMPH cry-PASS.CNCL

‘...looking at the rocks of the bay from the beach, I (**suddenly**) **cry** like a crying child.’ (from MYS.15.3627)

7. I pick up the sea dragon’s bracelet pearls, intending to give them to my beloved as a souvenir, and put them into my sleeve, but because there is no messenger to take them back, although I have taken hold of them, there is nothing for it but to *put* [PFV] them back.

(13) 可敞之也流 都可比 奈家礼婆  
*kapyesi-yaru tukapi na-kyereba*  
 return-send.ADN messenger not.exist-ACOP.PROV  
 毛弓礼杼毛 之留思乎 奈美等 麻多 於伎都流 可毛  
*mot-eredomo sirusi=wo na-mito mat[a] oki-turu kamo*  
 hold-STAT.CNCS effect=ACC not.exist-ACOP-INF again **put**-PFV.ADN EMPH



此 戸 開爲  
 ko=no two piraka-se  
 this=GEN door open-RESP.IMP

‘When I come to the land of Patuse to woo, the sky clouds over and snow **begins to fall**. The sky clouds over and rain **begins to fall**. The bird of the field, the pheasant, **resounds**. The bird of the house, the chicken, **calls**. Night becomes dawn—this night **becomes dawn**. Going in, I will sleep. Open this door!’ (MYS.13.3310)

The forms *toyomu* ‘resounds’ and *naku* ‘calls’ could also be interpreted as (inceptive) changes of state. In this poem it is only the final event in the sequence (*ake-nu* ‘becomes dawn’) that is marked with Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, and it is not the case that, as Takeuchi (1987, 1999) claims, the unmarked forms always denote unbounded events. It seems instead that bounded events are *usually* marked by Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*. So when is it used and when not?

In a poem such as MYS.13.3310, it could be that Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is used to signal the end of a narrative sequence, drawing attention to the last (climactic) event. This is similar to one of the principles of clause chaining described by Dooley (2010: 14), where ‘the independent clause of the sentence [i.e. the final one] relates the principal event, while the dependent clauses provide preparatory events or other background’. Although MYS.13.3310 is not an example of clause chaining, a similar principle may be at work. It seems likely that Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* in narrative is used to mark *foregrounded* events: events to which the speaker wishes to attract the hearer’s attention. The correlation between foregrounding and perfectivity is well known (see Hopper 1979), so it would not be unusual to find Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* used with this function.

#### 5.3.1.2.2 Use in short poems

If Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is acknowledged to have present time reference in narrative, however, how should its time reference be interpreted in short poems, which

form the bulk of the OJ corpus? These poems usually have no lexical expressions of deictic time (e.g. *kinopu* ‘yesterday’, *kyesa* ‘this morning’), so should they be interpreted as past, present, or future? There are two reasons to suggest that they should usually be interpreted as past.

First, tenseless perfective forms in other languages are usually interpreted as referring to a past event. Mandarin Chinese *-le*, although tenseless, is usually interpreted with past time reference (Lin 2012: 673–674; Li and Thompson 1981: 185–202), and it is also hypothesized that the Proto-Indo-European Aorist was tenseless, yet normally referred to past time (hence its development into a past perfective). Hewson and Bubenik (1997: 351), discussing perfective aspect, state, ‘If there are no tense distinctions, such a representation will normally be used of a past event, since only past events can be materially complete.’

Second, the fact that Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is often used to denote result states suggests that it often denoted temporally bounded past events, since it is as an implication from denoting these events that the result state function must have arisen.

It is likely, then, that most of the time (outside narratives) Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* should be interpreted as referring to past time. We cannot be sure, however, and some shorter poems may well best be understood as mini-narratives narrated in the present tense.

### 5.3.1.3 *Summary*

To summarize, Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* appears to be inherently neutral for tense, appearing with past, present, and future time reference. While in narrative passages it seems to have present time reference, in shorter poems its time reference is unclear. However, various considerations lead me to the conclusion that its time reference should normally be interpreted as past.

### 5.3.2 Bounded events

Events may be bounded in two ways: *materially* (1.3.2.2.10 and 1.3.2.2.11) and *temporally* (see 1.3.2.2.9). Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is found marking events that are both materially and temporally bounded, events that are only temporally bounded, and events that are only materially bounded. I will look at each of these in turn.

#### 5.3.2.1 Doubly (materially and temporally) bounded events

Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* occurs most frequently denoting events that are both materially and temporally bounded.

##### 5.3.2.1.1 Accomplishments

Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* can denote durative transformative events, commonly called *accomplishments*. In the following two examples, the duration of the event is alluded to, in the first directly and in the second indirectly:

- (15) 春之 雨尔 有来 物乎  
 paru=n[o] ame=*ni* ari=*kyeru* monowo  
 spring=GEN rain=COP.INF be-INDIR.ADN although  
 立隠 妹之 家 道尔  
 tati-kakuri imo=*ga* ipye di=*ni*  
 stand-hide.INF beloved=GEN house road=DAT  
 此 日 晚都  
 ko=no pi **kurasi-tu**  
 this=GEN day **spend-PFV.CNCL**

‘Although it was (only) spring rain, I **spent** this (whole) day sheltering on the road to my beloved’s house.’ (MYS.10.1877)

- (16) 不盡能 祢乃 伊夜 等保奈我伎 夜麻治乎毛  
 puzi=*no* ne=*no* iya topo=*naga-ki* yama=*di=wo=mo*  
 Puzi=GEN peak=GEN so far-long-ACOP.ADN mountain-road=ACC=TOP  
 伊母我理 登 倍婆  
 imo=*gari* to peba  
 beloved-towards COMP say.PROV

氣 爾余婆受 吉奴  
*ke niyopa-zu ki-nu*  
 breath groan-NEG.INF **come-PFV.CNCL**

‘(I) **came** on the really long mountain road over the peak of Puzi, not groaning because I said “It is to my beloved”.’ (MYS.14.3356)

In the first example, the period of time that was ‘spent’ (‘today’) is explicitly mentioned, therefore construing the event as durative. In the second example, a second event (‘not groaning’) is described as occurring at the same time as the main event (‘coming’), which also seems to construe the main event as durative.

### 5.3.2.1.2 Directed achievements (non-ingressive)

The following seem to denote instantaneous changes from one state to another:

- (17) 荒野等丹 里者 雖有  
*ara-nwo-ra=ni satwo=pa aredomo*  
 wild-field-PL=DAT village=TOP exist.CNCS
- 大王之 敷座 時者 京師跡 成宿  
*opo-kimi=no sikimasu toki=pa miyakwo=to nari-nu*  
 big-lord=GEN come.ADN time=TOP capital=COP.INF **become-PFV.CNCL**
- ‘Although the village is in wild fields, when the great lord came, it **became** the capital.’ (MYS.6.929)

- (18) 柔保等里能 奈豆左比由氣婆  
*nipodori=no nadusapi-yukeba*  
 grebe=COP.INF drift-go.PROV
- 伊敞之麻婆 久毛為爾 美延奴  
*ipye-sima=pa kumowi=ni mi-ye-nu*  
 Ipye-island=TOP distance=DAT **see-PASS-PFV.CNCL**
- ‘...as we drift like grebes, Ipye Island **appears** in the distance.’  
 (from MYS.15.3627)

- (19) 於保夫祢乎 許芸 和我 由氣婆  
*opo-bune=wo kogi wa=ga yukeba*  
 big-boat=ACC row.INF I=GEN go.PROV

於伎都 奈美 多可久 多知伎奴  
*oki=tu nami taka-ku tati-ki-nu*  
 offing=GEN wave high-ACOP.INF **stand-come-PFV.CNCL**  
 ‘...as (we) row the big boat, the waves in the offing **rise high.**’  
 (from MYS.15.3627)

- (20) 多麻能 宇良能 於伎都 之良多麻 比利儼礼杼  
*tama=n[o] ura=no oki=tu sira-tama pirip-yeredo*  
 Tama=GEN bay=GEN offing=GEN white-pearl pick.up-STAT.CNCS  
 麻多曾 於伎都流  
*mata=so oki-turu*  
 again=FOC **put-PFV.ADN**  
 見流 比等乎 奈美  
*miru pito=wo na-mi*  
 see.ADN person=ACC not.exist-ACOP.INF

‘I picked up white pearls from the offing in Tama Bay, but I **put them back**, because there was no one to see them.’ (MYS.15.3628)

- (21) 加思故美等 能良受 安里思 乎  
*kasikwo-mito nora-zu ari-si wo*  
 to.be.avoided-ACOP.GER say-NEG.INF exist-PST.ADN although  
 美故之治能 多武氣爾 多知弓  
*mi-kwosi-di=no tamuke=ni tatite*  
 RESP-crossing-road mountain.pass=DAT stand.GER  
 伊毛我 名 能里都  
*imo=ga na nori-tu*  
 beloved=GEN name **say-PFV.CNCL**

‘Although, because it is to be avoided, I did not say it (before), standing at the mountain pass on the road across, I **said** my beloved’s name.’ (MYS.15.3730)

- (22) 毛毛可斯母 由加奴 麻都良遲 家布 由伎弓  
*momo-ka=si=mo yuka-nu matura-di kyepu yukite*  
 hundred-day=EMPH=TOP go-NEG.ADN Matura-road today go.GER  
 阿須波 吉奈武 遠  
*asu=pa ki-na-mu wo*  
 tomorrow=TOP **come-PFV-CONJ.ADN** although  
 奈爾可 佐夜礼留  
*nani=ka sayar-eru*  
 what=FOC prevent-STAT.ADN

‘Going today on the road to Matura, which does not take a hundred days, (I) **would come back** tomorrow, so what is preventing me?’ (MYS.5.870)

(23) 吾 以在  
 a=ga mot-eru  
 I=GEN have-STAT.ADN

三相二 搓流 絲 用而  
 mi-t[u]-api=ni yor-eru ito motite  
 three-CLF-meet-INF=DAT spin-STAT.ADN thread have.GER

附手益 物  
**tuke-te-masi** mono  
**attach-PFV-SUBJ.ADN** although

今曾 悔寸  
 ima=so kuyasi-ki  
 now=FOC regretful-ACOP.ADN

‘If only I **could mend** it with the three-strand thread I have! What a pity!’  
 (MYS.4.516)

### 5.3.2.1.3 Directed achievements (ingressive)

Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* seems to be used to denote entry into activities:

(24) 和何 多多勢禮婆  
 wa=ga tata-s-ereba  
 I=GEN stand-RESP-STAT.PROV

阿遠夜麻迹 奴延波 那伎奴  
 awo-yama=ni nuye=pa naki-nu  
 blue-mountain=DAT thrush=TOP **sing-PFV.CNCL**

佐怒都 登理 岐芸斯波 登與牟  
 sa-nwo=tu tori kigisi=pa toyomu  
 ?-field=GEN bird pheasant=TOP resound.CNCL

爾波都 登理 迦祁波 那久  
 nipa=tu tori kakye=pa naku  
 garden=GEN bird cockerel=TOP call.CNCL

宇禮多久母 那久 那留 登理 加  
 ureta-ku=mo naku naru tori ka  
 hateful-ACOP-INF=TOP call.CNCL AUD.ADN bird EMPH

許能 登理母 宇知夜米許世泥  
 ko=no tori=mo uti-yame-kosene  
 this=GEN bird=TOP EMPH-stop-do.for.me.OPT

‘...as I stand (there), on the blue mountain the thrush **begins to sing**. The bird of the field, the pheasant, resounds. The bird of the garden, the cockerel, calls. How hateful, the calling of the birds! I want to make these birds stop.’ (from KK.2)

- (25) 草枕 客之 有者  
 kusa-makura tabi=ni=*si* areba  
 (grass-pillow) journey=COP.INF=EMPH exist.PROV
- 獨 為而 見 知師 無美  
 pitori site miru *sirusi* na-*mi*  
 alone do.GER see.ADN point not.exist-ACOP.INF
- 綿津海乃 手二 卷四而有 珠手次  
 watatumi=*no* te=*ni* maka-*si*-taru tama-*dasuki*  
 (sea.god=COP.ADN hand=DAT roll-RESP-STAT.ADN jewel-sash)
- 懸而 之努櫃 日本嶋根乎  
 kakete *sinwopi-tu* yamato-sima-ne=*wo*  
 hang.GER **yearn**-PFV.CNCL Yamato-island-peak=ACC
- ‘Because there was no point in seeing it, being alone on a journey, I **began to yearn** with my heart for the peak of Yamato Island.’ (from MYS.3.366)

- (26) 我 屋前之 芽子之 若末 長  
 wa=ga yadwo=*no* pagwi=*n*[o] ure naga-*si*  
 I=GEN house=GEN bush.clover=GEN tip.of.branch long-ACOP.CNCL
- 秋風之 吹南 時尔  
 aki-kaze=*no* **puki-na-mu** toki=*ni*  
 autumn-wind=GEN **blow**-PFV-CONJ.ADN time=DAT
- 將開 跡 思手  
 saka-mu to [o]mopite  
 bloom-CONJ.CNCL COMP think.GER
- ‘The tips of the branches of the bush clover at my house are long. I think they will bloom when the autumn wind **begins to blow**.’ (MYS.10.2109)

- (27) 長谷 弓槻 下 吾 隱在 妻  
 patuse=no yutukwi=ga sita=ni wa=ga kakus-eru tuma  
 Patuse=GEN zelkova=GEN under=DAT I=GEN hide-STAT.ADN wife
- 赤根 刺 所光 月夜迹  
*akane* sasi ter-eru tuku-ywo=*ni*  
 (? pierce.INF) shine-STAT.ADN moon-night=DAT
- 人 見點 鴨  
 pito **mi-te-mu** *kamo*  
 people **see**-PFV-CONJ.ADN EMPH
- ‘Perhaps on this moonlit night people **will catch sight of** my wife, whom I have hidden under the zelkova tree in Patuse.’ (MYS.11.2353a)

These examples seem to denote *entry into* activities, not whole activities. For example, (26) states that the bush clover will bloom when the autumn wind *begins to blow*, not

during the interval when the autumn wind blows. (27) states that people will perhaps *catch sight of* his wife, i.e. notice her, not see her for a particular period of time. They are not unambiguous, however, and could be interpreted as bounded activities.

#### 5.3.2.1.4 *Semelfactive events*

Sometimes *-(i)te-* appears to denote a *semelfactive event*. Semelfactive events can be thought of as materially bounded, but they are not transformative. The event has an inherent (material) bound, but no change of state occurs:

- (28) 伊毛乎          於毛比    伊能          祢良延奴          尔  
*imo=wo*          [*o*]*mopi*    *i=no*          *neraye-nu*          *ni*  
 beloved=ACC    yearn.INF    sleep=GEN    sleep.PASS-NEG.ADN    COP.INF
- 安伎乃          野尔          草乎思香    奈伎都  
*aki=no*          *nwo=ni*      *sa-wo-sika*    ***naki-tu***  
 autumn=GEN    field=DAT    ?-male-deer    **cry-PFV.CNCL**
- 追麻    於毛比可祢弓  
*tuma*    [*o*]*mopi-kanete*  
 wife    yearn-be.unable.GER

‘While I was yearning for my beloved and unable to sleep, a male deer **cried** in the autumn field, unable to (bear) yearning for his wife.’ (MYS.15.3678)

- (29) 霞          立          野          上乃          方尔          行之可波  
*kasumi*    *tatu*          *nwo=no*    [*u*]*pe=no*    *kata=ni*      *yuki-sikaba*  
 mist    rise.ADN    field=GEN    top=GEN    direction=DAT    go-PST.PROV
- 鶯          鳴都  
*ugupisu*    ***naki-tu***  
 warbler    **sing-PFV.CNCL**
- 春尔          成          良思  
*paru=ni*      *naru*          *rasi*  
 spring=DAT    become.CNCL    INFER.CNCL

‘When (I) went to the top of the field where mist is rising, a warbler **called**. It seems it has become spring.’ (MYS.8.1443)

These examples are not unambiguous either, however, and could be interpreted as bounded activities or inceptive achievements. They could even be interpreted as unbounded, so that the event marked with *-(i)te-* becomes a background event, e.g.

‘When I went to the top of the field where mist is rising, a warbler **was calling**.’

However, it makes better sense of Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* as a construction to interpret these examples as bounded.

### 5.3.2.2 *Temporally bounded events*

The events described with *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* in this section seem to be bounded only temporally, not materially.

#### 5.3.2.2.1 *Activities*

Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* can denote activities, i.e. events that are not *materially bounded*. These events can be interpreted as being bounded temporally:

- (30) 赤根 刺 晝者 終尔  
*akane sasuru piru=pa simira-ni*  
 (? pierce.ADN) daytime=TOP constantly-COP.INF  
 野干玉之 夜者 須柄尔  
*nuba-tama=no yworu=pa sugara-ni*  
 (black-jewel=COP.ADN) night=TOP constantly-COP.INF  
 此 床乃 比師 跡 鳴 左右  
*ko=no toko=no pisi to naru made*  
 this=GEN floor=GEN creak COMP make.noise.ADN until  
 嘆鶴 鴨  
**nageki-turu kamo**  
**groan-PFV.ADN EMPH**

‘...all day long and all night long I **groaned** so much that this floor creaked.’  
 (MYS.13.3270)

- (31) 馬 並而 三芳野河乎 欲見  
*uma namete mi-yosinwo-gapa=wo mi-maku pori*  
 horse be.lined.up.GER RESP-Yosinwo-river=ACC see-CONJ.NMNL want.INF  
 打越来而曾 瀧尔 遊鶴  
*uti-kwoye-kite=so taki=n[i] aswobi-turu*  
 EMPH-cross-come.GER=FOC waterfall=DAT **play-PFV.ADN**

‘Wanting to go together on horses to see Yosinwo River, we crossed over and **played** in the waterfall.’ (MYS.7.1104)

- (32) 如是谷裳 妹乎 待南  
 kaku=*dani=mo* imo=*wo* **mati-na-mu**  
 thus=EMPH=TOP beloved=ACC **wait-PFV-CONJ.CNCL**
- 左夜 深而 出來 月之 傾 二手荷  
*sa-ywo pukete ide-ko-si tukwi=no katabuku madeni*  
 ?-night deepen.GER exit-come-PST.ADN moon=GEN lean.ADN until
- ‘I **will wait** thus for my beloved, until the night has deepened and the moon that has come out is leaning (= is near the horizon).’ (MYS.11.2820)

These activities all have clear beginnings and endings, and so can be seen as *temporally bounded*. They are not habitual, and they are not presented as unbounded background events during which other events occur.

#### 5.3.2.2.2 States

Most state predicates in OJ are adjectives, with only a handful of verbs, the most frequent being *ar-* ‘exist’, *imas-* ‘exist (RESP)’, and *wor-* ‘be sitting’. The Perfective auxiliaries do not attach to adjectives, leaving very few examples of their combination with this class. The following is the only example I could find (except for combinations with Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*), and it can be interpreted as a bounded state construal:

- (33) 乎登壳良我 伊米爾 都具良久  
*wotomye-ra=ga ime=ni tuguraku*  
 woman-?=GEN dream=DAT tell.NMNL
- 奈我 古敷流 曾能 保追 多加波  
*na=ga kwopuru so=no po=tu taka=pa*  
 you=GEN love.ADN that=GEN prized=GEN falcon=TOP
- 麻追太要乃 波麻 由伎具良之  
*matuda-ye=no pama yuki-gurasi*  
 Matuda-river=GEN beach go-spend.INF
- 都奈之 等流 比美乃 江 過弓  
*tunasi toru pimi=no ye sugwite*  
 shad catch.ADN Pimi=COP.ADN river pass.GER

多古能            之麻    等妣多毛登保里  
*takwo=no*        *sima*    *tobi-tamotopori*  
 Takwo=COP.ADN island fly-go.back.and.forth.INF  
 安之我母乃    須太久            奮江爾  
*asigamo=no*    *sudaku*        *puruye=ni*  
 duck=GEN    be.many.ADN Puruye=DAT  
 乎等都日毛                    伎能敷母        安里追  
*wototupi=mo*                    *kinopu=mo*        ***ari-tu***  
 day.before.yesterday=TOP yesterday=TOP **exist-PFV.CNCL**  
 [...] 伊麻爾        都氣都流  
           *ima=ni*        *tuge-turu*  
           dream=DAT tell-PFV.ADN

‘...the woman said in a trance: “Those prized falcons that you love, they spent (some time) going across the beach of the River Matuda, they passed the River Pimi, where people catch shad, and went round and round Takwo Island, and they **were** in Puruye, where there are many ducks, both the day before yesterday and yesterday.”’ (from MYS.17.4011)

This can be interpreted as a bounded state. The event denoted by *ari-tu* is not used as the background for any other event, making it consistent with a bounded interpretation.

### 5.3.2.3 *Transformative*

In some cases *-(i)n-* is found as part of a predicate that denotes an event that is a change of state, but which is not temporally bounded.

#### 5.3.2.3.1 *Ongoing directed activities*

Perfective *-(i)n-* appears several times in the Continuative form concluding sentences. Omodaka (1983/3: 147–148) and Kojima et al. (1996: 48) claim that this construction is equivalent in meaning to Modern Japanese *-(I)te iku*, which is used to denote ongoing directed activities that will continue into the future, for example:

- (34) *fune=ga*    ***shizunde iku***  
       ship=NOM **sink.GER go.NPST**  
       ‘The ship **is sinking.**’

This interpretation of *-(i)nitutu* fits the meanings of the poems very well. Omodaka (1982–1984) often adds in his glosses a marker of concession (e.g. *ni* ‘although’), and Kojima et al. (1994–1996) often add a marker of emphasis (e.g. *yo*).

In the following poems (see also MYS.3.282, MYS.15.3663, and MYS.10.2076) it appears that one transformative event is progressing:

- (35) 宇具比須波 伊麻波 奈可牟 等 可多麻低婆  
*ugupisu=pa ima=pa naka-mu to kata-mateba*  
 warbler=TOP now=TOP call-CONJ.CNCL COMP side-wait.PROV  
 可須美 多奈妣吉 都奇波 倍爾都追  
*kasumi tanabiki tukwi=pa pe-nitutu*  
 mist trail.INF month=TOP **pass-PFV.CONT**

‘As I wait, (thinking) “Will the warbler call now?”, mist is trailing and the month **is passing**.’ (MYS.17.4030)

- (36) 山 末尔 不知夜經 月乎  
*yama=no pa=ni isaywopu tukwi=wo*  
 mountain=GEN top=DAT linger.ADN moon=ACC  
 何時 母 吾 待将座  
*itu to kamo a=ga mati-wora-mu*  
 when COMP EMPH I=GEN wait-be.sitting-CONJ.CNCL  
 夜者 深去乍  
*ywo=pa puke-nitutu*  
 night=TOP **deepen-PFV.CONT**

‘Will I wait for the moon, which lingers on the mountain top, (thinking) “When (will it appear)?”? The night **is deepening**.’ (MYS.7.1084)

The singing of the Japanese bush warbler was considered one of the signs that spring had begun (see, for example, MYS.5.838). In the above poem the speaker seems to expect that spring will arrive in the current month, but time is running out. Similarly, in MYS.7.1084 the night is deepening during which the speaker wants to see the moon.

The following example is not quite so obviously of the same type as the above examples, but it can be interpreted in the same way:

- (37) 殊落者  
 koto-puraba  
 anyway-fall.COND  
 袖副 沾而 可通  
 swode=sape nurete toporu be-ku  
 sleeve=even soak.GER pass.through.CNCL NEC-ACOP.INF  
 将落 雪之 空尔 消二管  
 puranamu yuki=no swora=ni **ke-nitutu**  
 fall.OPT snow=GEN sky=DAT **vanish-PFV.CONT**

‘The snow that, if it is going to fall anyway, I would like to fall so much that it soaks even through my sleeve, **is vanishing** in the sky.’ (MYS.10.2317)

The vanishing of *all the snow* could be the transformative event that is progressing.

If *-(i)nitutu* denotes an ongoing directed activity, what can we say *-(i)n-* denotes in this combination? We can say that *-(i)n-* denotes the *qualitative boundedness* of the event denoted by the verb. The Continuative form seems to denote the progression of the directed activity into the future.

There are examples in other languages of constructions that denote material boundedness being combined with constructions that denote temporal unboundedness. Comrie (1976: 31) gives the following example of the Bulgarian Perfective Imperfect:

- (38) *štom pukne-še zorata*  
 as.soon.as **break.PFV-IPRF.3SG** dawn  
*izkarva-x ovcite navən*  
 drive.IPFV-IPRF.1SG sheep out

‘As soon as dawn **broke** ( $\approx$  **used to break**), I used to drive the sheep out.’

Comrie (1976: 32) describes this as ‘the imperfective (or, more specifically, the habitual) of a perfective’. The Perfective verb root (*pukne-*), which denotes a change of state, is in the scope of the Imperfect morpheme (*-še*), which denotes temporal unboundedness (in this case, habituality). The result is a form that denotes that a transformative event occurred habitually: a sort of combination of perfective and

imperfective meaning (see also Bertinetto and Delfitto 2000: 215). The examples in this section can be analysed in a similar way.

### 5.3.2.3.2 *Generic events*

In a few cases, *-(i)n-* appears in a predicate that denotes a transformative generic event. Often this is with the adjective *goto-* ‘like’ (see also MYS.3.466, MYS.3.477, and MYS.19.4214):

- (39) 立 霧之 失去 如久  
 tatu kwiri=no **use-nuru** goto-ku  
 rise.ADN fog=GEN **disappear-PFV.ADN** like-ACOP.INF  
 置 露之 消去之 如  
 oku tuyu=no **ke-nuru**=ga goto-ku  
 settle.ADN dew=GEN **vanish-PFV.ADN=GEN** like-ACOP.INF  
 玉藻成 靡 許伊臥  
 tamamo=*nasu* nabiki *koi-pusi*  
 (seaweed=COP.SEM) bow.INF lie.down-lie.down.INF  
 逝 水之 留不得  
 yuku midu=no todome-kane-tu  
 go.ADN water=COP.INF stop-be.unable-PFV.CNCL  
 ‘just as the fog that rises **disappears**, and as the dew that settles **vanishes**,  
 bending over and lying down, like flowing water she could not stop it’  
 (from MYS.19.4214)

The events of *fog disappearing* and *dew vanishing* are generic, but they are also transformative (changes of state).

There are a few examples in other contexts, for example (see also MYS.17.3951):

- (40) 吾妹兒尔 戀乍 不有者  
 wa-g-imo-kwo=*ni* kwopwitung[u] ara-zupa  
 I-GEN-beloved-child=DAT yearn.CONT exist-NEG.COND  
 秋芽之  
 aki-pagwi=no  
 autumn-bush.clover=COP.INF

|           |                     |                   |                  |           |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------|
| 咲而        | 散去流                 | 花尔                | 有猿               | 尾         |
| sakite    | <b>tiri-nuru</b>    | pana= <i>n[i]</i> | ara- <i>masi</i> | <i>wo</i> |
| bloom.GER | <b>fall-PFV.ADN</b> | flower=COP.INF    | exist-SUBJ.ADN   | although  |

‘Instead of yearning for my beloved, I would rather, like the autumn bush clover, be a flower that blooms and **falls**.’ (MYS.2.120)

The *falling* of flowers is generic, but also transformative.

This too is attested in other languages. The Russian Perfective can be used generically when the occurrence of a transformative event is conditional or contingent on another event, either explicitly or implicitly, for example (from Forsyth 1970: 173):

(41) *kto išč-et tot vseгда najd-ët*  
 who seek.IPFV-3SG that.one always **find.PFV-3SG**  
 ‘The one who seeks always **finds**.’

The Perfective here denotes a transformative event, but one presented as generic. Some of the OJ examples show explicit contingency on another event (e.g. the two above) and some do not, but they can all be analysed in this way.

### 5.3.3 Result state, ongoing activity, and current relevance

There is good evidence that *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* can denote result states. It may also be able to denote ongoing activities and the current relevance of an anterior event.

#### 5.3.3.1 Subjective result state

There are many cases where *-(i)n-* seems to denote a present result state pertaining to the subject. The strongest evidence is where it appears with expressions that refer to a durative present event, for example Nonpast Conjectural *ram-* (see also MYS.1.34a, MYS.7.1360, and MYS.17.3916):

- (42) 安伎 左礼婆 於久 都由之毛爾 安倍受之弓  
*aki sareba oku tuyu-simo=ni ape-zusite*  
 autumn arrive.PROV settle.ADN dew-frost=DAT endure-NEG.GER  
 京師乃 山波 伊呂豆伎奴 良牟  
*miyakwo=no yama=pa iro-duki-nu ramu*  
 capital=GEN mountain=TOP colour-attach-PFV.CNCL NPSTCONJ.CNCL  
 ‘As autumn has arrived, not being able to endure the dew and frost that settle,  
 the mountains of the capital **have probably become coloured.**’  
 (MYS.15.3699)

Nonpast Conjectural *ram-* speculates about a present event (see 1.2.2.2.4), and the best interpretation here is that the speaker is speculating about the mountain *having become coloured* (with leaves).

In some clauses there is evidence, in the form of the adverbial *ima* ‘now’, that the result state is *denoted* and not merely *implied*:

- (43) 早 去而 何時 君乎 相見 等  
*paya yukite itu=si=ka kimi=wo api-mi-mu to*  
 quick go.GER when=EMPH=FOC you=ACC RECP-see-CONJ.ADN COMP  
 念之 情 今曾 水葱少熱  
*omopi-si kokoro ima=so nagwi-nuru*  
 yearn-PST.ADN heart now=FOC become.calm-PFV.ADN  
 ‘My heart which was yearning to go quickly and see you soon **has now become calm.**’ (MYS.11.2579)

- (44) 鴈 音者 今者 来鳴沼  
*kari=ga ne=pa ima=pa ki-naki-nu*  
 goose=GEN voice=TOP now=TOP come-call-PFV.CNCL  
 吾 待之 黄葉 早繼  
*a=ga mati-si momiti paya-tugye*  
 I=GEN wait-PST.ADN autumn.leaves fast-pass.on.IMP  
 待者 辛苦 毋  
*mataba kurusi mo*  
 wait.COND painful.CNCL EMPH

‘The voices of the geese **have now come to sing.** Autumn leaves that I have been waiting for, change colour quickly! If I (have to) wait, it will be painful!’  
 (MYS.10.2183)

These examples could be interpreted as present perfectives (‘now becomes calm’ and ‘now come to sing’), but this seems out of place outside a longer narrative such as was discussed in 5.3.1.2.1.

In some examples Perfective *-(i)n-* seems to be parallel with Stative *-yer-*, both constructions denoting result states:

- (45) 痛足河 々浪 立奴  
*anasi-gapa kapa-nami tati-nu*  
 Anasi-river river-wave **stand-PFV.CNCL**
- 卷目之 由槻我 高仁  
*makimuku=no yutukwi=ga take=ni*  
 Makimuku=GEN Yutukwi=GEN peak=DAT
- 雲居 立有 良志  
*kumwowi tat-eru rasi*  
 cloud **stand-STAT.ADN** INFER.CNCL

‘The river waves on the River Anasi **have risen**, and on the peak of Yutukwi in Makimuku clouds **have risen**.’ (MYS.7.1087)

- (46) 冬木成 春 去来者  
*puyu-gomori paru sari-kureba*  
 (winter-be.wrapped.INF) spring arrive-come.PROV
- 不喧有之 鳥毛 来鳴奴  
*naka-zari-si tori=mo ki-naki-nu*  
 sing-NEG-PST.ADN bird=TOP **come-sing-PFV.CNCL**
- 不開有之 花毛 佐家礼抒  
*saka-zari-si pana=mo sak-yeredo*  
 bloom-NEG-PST.ADN flower=TOP **bloom-STAT.CNCS**
- 山乎 茂 入而毛 不取  
*yama=wo si-mi irite=mo tora-zu*  
 mountain=ACC leafy-ACOP.INF enter.GER=TOP take-NEG.INF
- 草 深 執手母 不見  
*kusa puka-mi torite=mo mi-zu*  
 grass deep-ACOP.INF take.GER=TOP see-NEG.CNCL

‘As spring has arrived, the birds that were not singing **have come to sing**. Although the flowers that were not blooming **are in bloom**, the mountain is so leafy that one cannot go in or pick them, and the grass is so deep that one cannot pick them or see them.’ (MYS.1.16)

There are numerous other examples which, although without adverbial or other support, seem also to denote result states, for example:

- (47) 波之家也思 都麻毛 古杼毛母  
*pasikyeyasi tuma=mo kwo-domo=mo*  
 dear.CNCL wife=TOP child-PL=TOP
- 多可多加爾 麻都 良牟 伎美也  
*takataka-ni matu ramu kimi=ya*  
 impatient-COP.INF wait.CNCL NPSTCONJ.ADN lord=FOC
- 之麻我久礼奴流  
*sima-gakure-nuru*  
 island-hide-PFV.ADN
- ‘Is my lord, for whom his wife and children must be waiting impatiently, **hidden** (i.e. buried) **on an island?**’ (MYS.15.3692)
- (48) 大船之 泊流 登麻里能  
*opo-bune=no paturu tomari=no*  
 big-ship=GEN dock.ADN harbour=COP.INF
- 絶多日二 物念 瘦奴  
*tayutapi=ni mono-[o]mopi yase-nu*  
 waver.INF=DAT thing-think.INF **get.thin-PFV.CNCL**
- 人能 兒 故尔  
*pito=no kwo yuweni*  
 person=GEN child because.of
- ‘Wavering like (the water in) a harbour where one docks a big ship, (I) **have grown thin**, because of someone else’s beloved.’ (MYS.2.122)
- (49) 風乎 疾 奥津 白波 高有之  
*kaze=wo ita-mi oki=tu sira-nami taka-karasi*  
 wind=ACC severe-ACOP.INF offing=GEN white-wave high-ACOP.INFER.CNCL
- 海人 釣船 濱 眷奴  
*ama=no turibune pama=ni kapyeri-nu*  
 fisher=GEN fishing.boat beach=DAT **return-PFV.CNCL**
- ‘The waves must be high because of the severity of the wind: the fishing boats **have returned** to the beach.’ (MYS.3.294)

### 5.3.3.2 *Objective result state*

The following can be analysed as objective result states:

- (50) 安之比奇能 夜麻波 奈久 毛我  
*asipikwi=no yama=pa na-ku moga*  
 (?=COP.ADN) mountain=TOP not.exist-ACOP.INF OPT  
 都奇 見礼婆 於奈自伎 佐刀 乎  
*tukwi mireba onazi-ki satwo wo*  
 moon see.PROV same-ACOP.ADN village although  
 許己呂 敞太底都  
*kokoro pyedate-tu*  
 heart **separate-PFV.CNCL**

‘I wish there were no mountain (between us)! Although when (we) look at the moon it is (as though we were in) the same village, (our) hearts **have been separated.**’ (MYS.18.4076)

- (51) 多氣婆 奴礼 多香根者 長寸  
*takeba nure taka-neba naga-ki*  
 put.up.PROV come.loose.INF put.up-NEG.PROV long-ACOP.ADN  
 妹之 髮  
*imo=ga kami*  
 beloved=GEN hair  
 此 来 不見 尔  
*ko=no koro mi-nu ni*  
 this=GEN time see-NEG.ADN COP.INF  
 搔入津 良武 香  
**kaki-re-tu ramu ka**  
**comb-put.in-PFV.CNCL NPSTCONJ.ADN FOC**

‘As for my beloved’s hair, which when she puts it up comes loose and when she does not put it up is long, perhaps during this time when I cannot see it it **has been combed up.**’ (MYS.2.123)

OJ is a pro-drop language and examples such as the above can be interpreted as involving implied subjects. It may be impossible to demonstrate the existence of objective resultatives in OJ.

### 5.3.3.3 Possessive result state

There are some examples with transitive verbs that can be analysed as resultatives.

The following can be analysed as a possessive result state:

- (52) 橘 寺之 長屋尔  
 tatibana=no tera=no naga-ya=*ni*  
 orange=COP.ADN temple=GEN long-room=DAT  
 吾 率宿之 童女波奈理波  
 wa=ga *wi-ne-si* unawipanari=*pa*  
 I=GEN lead-sleep-PST.ADN girl.with.her.hair.down=TOP  
 髮 上都 良武 可  
 kam[i] **age-tu** *ramu* *ka*  
 hair **raise-PFV.CNCL** NPSTCONJ.ADN FOC

‘As for the girl with her hair down who I took to bed in the long room of the Orange Temple, perhaps she **has it put up** (now).’ (MYS.16.3822)

The use of the Nonpast Conjectural *ram-* indicates speculation about a *nonpast* event, suggesting that it is not the *past* event of ‘putting up her hair’ that is being wondered about, but rather a present event, either the girl’s ‘having her hair put up’ (possessive resultative) or the hair’s ‘having been put up’ (objective resultative).

#### 5.3.3.4 Ongoing activity

In a few places it seems as though Perfective *-(i)n-* is used to denote an ongoing activity, for example:

- (53) 奴婆多麻能 欲 安可之母 布祢波 許芸由可奈  
*nuba-tama=no* *ywo* *akasi=mo* *pune=pa* *kogi-yukana*  
 (black-jewel=COP.ADN) night stay.up.INF=TOP boat=TOP row-go.OPT  
 美都能 波麻末都 麻知故非奴 良武  
*mitu=no* *pama-matu* ***mati-kwopwi-nu*** ***ramu***  
 Mitu=GEN beach-pine **wait-yearn-PFV.CNCL** NPSTCONJ.CNCL

‘Even if (we) stay up all night, I want our boats to row out. The beach pines of Mitu **are probably waiting and yearning** (for us).’ (MYS.15.3721)

- (54) 佐韋賀波用 久毛 多知和多理  
*sawi-gapa=ywo* *kumwo* *tati-watari*  
 Sawi-river=ABL cloud stand-cross.INF  
 宇泥備夜麻 許能波 佐夜芸奴  
*unebwi-yama* *ko-no-pa* ***sayagi-nu***  
 Unebwi-mountain tree-GEN-leaf **rustle-PFV.CNCL**

加是 布加牟 登 須  
*kaze puka-mu to su*  
 wind blow-CONJ.CNCL COMP do.CNCL

‘Clouds are rising from the River Sawi, and the leaves of the trees on Mt Unebwi **are rustling**. The wind is about to blow.’ (KK.20)

- (55) 保登等芸須 奈伎低 須疑爾之 乎加備可良  
*pototogisu nakite sugwi-ni-si wokabwi=kara*  
 cuckoo call.GER pass-PFV-PST.ADN hillside=from

秋風 吹奴  
*aki-kaze puki-nu*  
 autumn-wind **blow-PFV.CNCL**

余之母 安良奈久 爾  
*yosi=m[o] ara-naku ni*  
 opportunity=TOP exist-NEG.NMNL COP.INF

‘From the hillside where the cuckoo called and has passed on, the autumn wind **is blowing**. There is no more opportunity (to see my beloved)!’ (MYS.17.3946)

These could be analysed as a kind of result state formed from the inceptive (or ingressive) construal of an activity predicate. (An alternative would be to treat this as emphatic, but this seems opportunistic.) If the distinction between states and activities is not clear-cut in Old Japanese, then just as the use of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* to refer to past bounded events gave rise to result state interpretations, so the use of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* to refer to the inception of activities could have given rise to ongoing activity interpretations.

### 5.3.3.5 *Current relevance of an anterior event*

Current relevance is easier to show with *-(i)te-* than with *-(i)n-*. The following examples are candidates:

- (56) 迹比婆理 都久波袁 須疑豆 伊久用加 泥都流  
*nipibari tukupa sugwite iku-ywo=ka ne-turu*  
 Nipibari Tukupa pass.GER how.many-night=FOC **sleep-PFV.ADN**  
 ‘Since passing Nipibari and Tukupa, how many nights **have (we) slept?**’  
 (KK.25)

- (57) 舸娜紀 都該 阿我 柯賦 古磨播  
*kanakwi take a=ga kapu kwoma=pa*  
 shackles attach.INF I=GEN keep.ADN pony=TOP  
 比枳串 世儒  
*piki-de se-zu*  
 pull-go.out.INF do-NEG.CNCL  
 阿我 柯賦 古磨乎 比騰 瀾都 羅武 箇  
*a=ga kapu kwoma=wo pito mi-tu ramu ka*  
 I=GEN keep.ADN pony=ACC people see-PFV.CNCL NPSTCONJ.ADN FOC  
 ‘Putting shackles on it, I do not take out the pony that I keep. **Have** people **seen** the pony that I keep?’ (NSK.115)

- (58) 石見乃也 高角山之 木際徙  
*ipami=no=ya takatunwo-yama=no ko-no-ma=ywori*  
 Ipami=GEN=FOC Takatunwo-mountain=GEN tree-GEN-between=ABL  
 我 振 袖乎  
*a=ga puru swode=wo*  
 I=GEN wave.ADN sleeve=ACC  
 妹 見都 良武 香  
*imo mi-tu ramu ka*  
 beloved see-PFV.CNCL NPSTCONJ.ADN FOC  
 ‘**Has** my beloved **seen** the sleeve that I wave between the trees on Mt Takatunwo in Ipami?’ (MYS.2.132)

Once again, the presence of the Nonpast Conjectural *ram-* in these last two examples is evidence of their *nonpast* time reference.

### 5.3.4 Assertive or emphatic function

We saw in 5.2.2.2 that Frellesvig’s (2010) examples of an assertive meaning of the Perfective are not incompatible with perfective meaning, and nor are any of the examples I have cited so far. Good support for the claim that that *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* has an assertive function would be given by examples that cannot be interpreted in terms of perfectivity. All change of state verbs can be interpreted as perfective, and all activities can have an inceptive reading. In this section I will look at more difficult examples.

### 5.3.4.1 Auxiliary verbs *-watar-* and *-tug-*

The auxiliary verb *-watar-* ‘continue’ often occurs with Perfective *-(i)n-*, for example:

- (59) 住吉乃            粉濱之            四時美  
 suminoye=*no*    kwo-pama=*no*    *sizimi*  
 Suminoye=GEN Kwo-beach=GEN clam  
 開藻            不見  
 ake=*mo*        mi-zu  
 open.INF=TOP see-NEG.INF  
 隱耳哉            戀度南  
 komorite=*nomwi=ya* **kwopwi-watari-na-mu**  
 hide.GER=EMPH=FOC **yearn-continue-PFV-CONJ.ADN**  
 ‘Like the clams on Kwo beach in Suminoye, not opening up, I **will continue to yearn** in secret.’ (MYS.6.997)

*Continuing to do something* seems to be an inherently open-ended, and therefore imperfective, event. However, the lexical meaning of the auxiliary verb *-watar-* is ‘cross’, and some of its less metaphorical uses as an auxiliary verb retain this meaning, for example:

- (60) 粟嶋尔            許枳将渡            等    思鞞  
 apa-sima=*ni*        **kogi-watara-mu**        *to*    omopedomo  
 Apa-island=DAT **row-cross-CONJ.CNCL** COMP think.CNCS  
 赤石            門            浪    未    佐和来  
 akasi=no        two        nami imada *sawak-yeri*  
 Akasi=GEN channel wave still roar-STAT.CNCL  
 ‘Although I am thinking of **rowing across** to Apa Island, the waves in Akasi Channel are still roaring.’ (MYS.7.1207)

As discussed in 5.1.4, whenever the auxiliary verb *-watar-* occurs with a Perfective auxiliary it selects *-(i)n-*, even where we might expect *-(i)te-*. As I suggest in the Appendix to this chapter, this might be because it still retains part of its lexical meaning of ‘crossing a fixed amount of space (or time)’. If this is the case, then we could propose

that *-watar-* construes an event as an *accomplishment*, i.e. with an endpoint, and therefore not open-ended, and not incompatible with Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*.

This is another example of a verb of continuation being used with *-(i)na-m-*:

- (61) 伊豆乃 宇美爾 多都 思良奈美能  
*idu=n[o] umi=ni tatu sira-nami=no*  
 Idu=GEN sea=DAT stand.ADN white-wave=COP.INF  
 安里都追毛 都芸奈牟 毛能乎  
*aritutu=mo tugi-na-mu monowo*  
 exist.CONT=TOP **continue-PFV-CONJ.ADN** although  
 美太礼志米梅 楊  
*midare-sime-me ya*  
 be.confused-CAUS-CONJ.EXCL FOC

‘Although (our relationship) **will continue**, like the white waves that stand in the Idu Sea, will it (like them) be put into confusion?’ (MYS.14.3360a)

Once again, however, the etymology of the verb *tug-* suggests an explanation. It seems originally to have had the meaning ‘succeed, inherit’, which is a change of state: the ‘continue’ meaning is a broadening of this. Its compatibility with the Perfective could be attributed to its original meaning.

#### 5.3.4.2 Example from the *Senmyō*

There is at least one example from the *Senmyō* which cannot be interpreted as bounded:

- (62) 関母 威岐  
*kake-maku=mo kasikwo-ki*  
 mention-CONJ.NMNL=TOP fearful-ACOP.ADN  
 藤原 宮 御宇  
*pudipara=no miya=ni ame=no sita sira-si-myesi-si*  
 Pudipara-GEN palace=DAT heaven=GEN under rule-RESP-RESP-PST.ADN  
 倭根 子 天皇  
*yamato-ne kwo sumyera-mikoto*  
 Yamato-? child emperor-RESP

丁 西 八月尔  
 pinoto=no tori=no tosi=no pa-dukwi=ni  
 fourth.cycle=GEN tenth.year=GEN year=GEN eight-month=DAT  
 此 食 國 天 下之 業乎  
 ko=no wosu kuni ame=no sita=no waza=wo  
 this=GEN rule.RESP.ADN land heaven=GEN under=GEN work=GEN  
 日並所知 皇太子 之  
 pinamesi=no mi-kwo=no mikoto=no  
 Pinamesi=COP.ADN RESP-child=GEN RESP=GEN  
 嫡 子  
 mukapimye-bara=no mi-kwo  
 true.wife-stomach=GEN RESP-child  
 今 御宇 豆留 天皇尔  
 ima ame=no sita **sira-si-myesi-turu** sumyera-mikoto=*ni*  
 now heaven=GEN under **rule-RESP-RESP-PFV.ADN** emperor-RESP=DAT  
 授賜而 並坐而  
 saduke-tamapite narabi-imasite  
 bestow-RESP.GER line.up-exist.RESP.GER  
 此 天 下乎 治賜比 諧賜岐  
 ko=no ame=no sita=*wo* wosame-tamapi totonope-tamapi-*ki*  
 this=GEN heaven=GEN under=ACC rule-RESP-INF organize-RESP-PST.CNCL

‘In the eighth month of the forty-sixth year the Yamato emperor (too awesome to mention), who ruled the realm from the palace in Pudipara, bestowed the work of the realm, this country that (I) rule, on the emperor who now **rules** the realm, the child of the true wife of Prince Pinamesi, and ruled and organized this realm.’ (from SM.3)

In the above example, *-(i)te-* appears concluding a phrase whose time reference is tied to the present by the adverb *ima* ‘now’. It will be noted that the writing of the verb is rather unusual: the two characters 御宇 are interpreted as standing for the string *ame no sita sira-si-myesi-* ‘rule the realm’. However, it is clear that *-(i)te-* has some kind of present time reference here. I tentatively interpret the function of *-(i)te-* in this example as *emphatic*.

#### 5.3.4.3 With Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*

Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is attested twice following Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*, once with each auxiliary:

- (63) 大夫之 心者 無而  
 masurawo=no kokoro=pa na-kute  
 gentleman=GEN heart=TOP not.exist-ACOP.GER  
 秋芽子之 戀耳八方  
 aki-pagwi=no kwopwi=nomwi=ni=ya=mo  
 autumn-bush.clover=GEN love=EMPH=DAT=FOC=TOP  
 奈積而 有南  
**nadumit[e]** **ari-na-mu**  
**get.bogged.down.GER** **exist-PFV-CONJ.ADN**  
 ‘Lacking the heart of a gentleman, **am I bogged down** in the love of autumn bush clover?’ (MYS.10.2122)

- (64) 多婢奈礼婆 於毛比多要弓毛 安里都礼杼  
 tabi=nareba **omopi-tayete=mo** **ari-turedo**  
 journey=COP.PROV **think-stop.GER=TOP** **exist-PFV.CNCS**  
 伊敞爾 安流 伊毛之 於母比我奈思 母  
 ipye=n[i] aru imo=si omopi-ganasi mo  
 house=DAT exist.ADN beloved=EMPH think-dear.CNCL EMPH  
 ‘Although, because (I) am on a journey, (I) **have stopped being thought of**, (I) think fondly of my beloved who is at home.’ (MYS.15.3686)

Both examples seem to denote present states, but what are the separate contributions of Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* and Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*? One interpretation is that *-(i)te ar-* denotes a result state in both cases, a *subjective* result state with *-(i)n-* and an *objective* result state with *-(i)te-*. In this case the function of Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* must be *emphatic*. Alternatively, *-(i)te ar-* could be interpreted as denoting a temporally bounded past event, with *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* denoting a result state. However, both within Japanese and cross-linguistically it would be unusual for a tense morpheme to precede an aspect morpheme, so I favour the first explanation.

#### 5.3.4.4 Summary

While almost all examples of *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* can be interpreted as *perfective* or *resultative*, in a few cases it seems to have no aspectual function at all. I tentatively label its function in these examples *emphatic*.

### 5.3.5 Summary

Before we look at the different distributions of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* with predicates, we may review what we have discovered so far about their functions.

#### 5.3.5.1 Functions

In the previous two chapters I analysed all the phonographic examples of each construction and produced a table and an exemplar cluster based on those numbers. With *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*, however, that is not feasible: there are 607 phonographic examples of *-(i)n-* and 300 phonographic examples of *-(i)te-*. In addition, *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* combine far more freely than *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* with Conjectural *-(a)m-*, Past *-(i)ki*, and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, making the data set far more complicated.<sup>1</sup>

However, analysis of samples<sup>2</sup> of *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* in various forms and in combination with various auxiliaries suggests something like the following distribution of functions:

| (65) <b>Function</b>                           | <b>%</b>             |                       |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------|
|  | <b><i>-(i)n-</i></b> | <b><i>-(i)te-</i></b> |
| doubly bounded event                           | 36                   | 76                    |
| temporally bounded event                       | 1                    | 6                     |
| materially bounded event                       | 3                    |                       |
| result states, ongoing activities, CR emphatic | 60                   | 12                    |
| optative (in <i>-(i)te-sika (mo)</i> )         | <1                   | <1                    |
|  |                      | 6                     |

<sup>1</sup> I discuss the combinations *-(i)ni-kyer-* and *-(i)te-ki* in detail in 6.3.3.1.2 and 7.3.3.1.7 respectively.

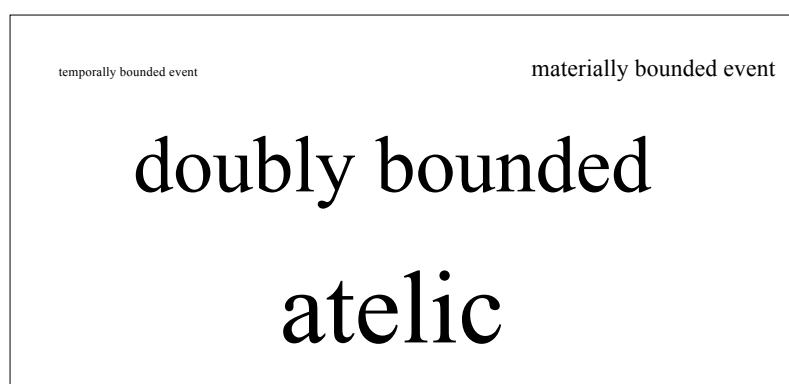
<sup>2</sup> I used all the phonographic attestations of the Adnominal and Continuative forms of *-(i)n-* and of the combinations of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* with Conjectural *-(a)m-*, and limited samples (usually of about 40 phonographic attestations) of the Conclusive forms of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, the Adnominal form of *-(i)te-*, and of the combinations of both with Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*. I then projected the numbers for the Conclusive and Adnominal forms onto the total number of non-combined inflected forms (excluding the Continuative form), the numbers for Conjectural *-(a)m-* onto the total number of combinations with Conjectural *-(a)m-* (excluding *-(i)kye-m-*, which I counted under *-(i)ki*) and Subjunctive *-(a)masi*, and the numbers for Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* onto the total number of combinations with those auxiliaries. In the combinations *-(i)ni-ki* and *-(i)te-ki* (excepting optative examples), *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* was judged always to denote a doubly bounded event (but see 7.3.3.2.2 for a non-compositional analysis of *-(i)ni-ki*). In combination with *-(i)kyer-*, *-(i)n-* was judged always to denote a result state.

It is very clear that *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, despite being in near-complementary distribution and sharing most of the same meanings, are used quite differently in context. In some cases this can be attributed to the sort of verbs they combine with. Many verbs that combine with *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* are members of transitivity clusters. If the oft-cited preference for intransitive expressions said to exist in Modern Japanese (Ikegami 1981; Teramura 1984) applies to Old Japanese, this would explain this distribution. Given the choice between describing a result state as an objective result state with a transitive verb or a subjective result state with an intransitive verb, the preference would be for the subjective result state with the intransitive verb, and therefore for *-(i)n-*.

At first sight the difference between *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* when it comes to events that are doubly bounded is puzzling. If, however, one looks at the numbers rather than the percentages, there is much less of a disparity. Old Japanese speakers did not talk about doubly bounded events more frequently with *-(i)te-* than with *-(i)n-*: in fact, the numbers are fairly similar.

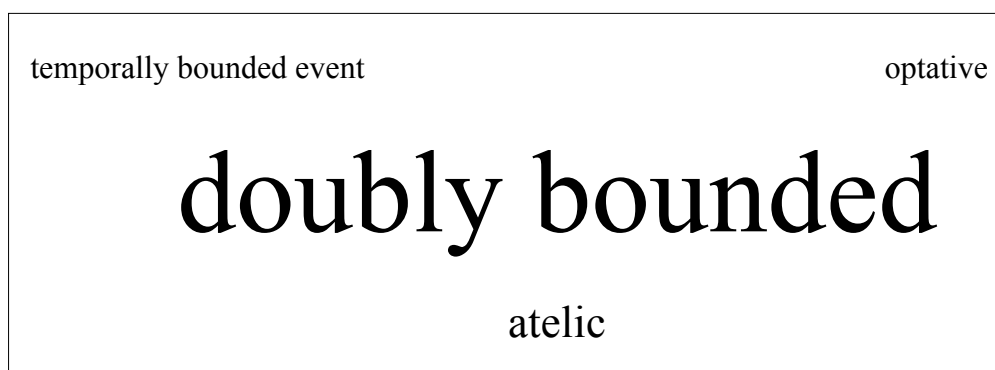
### 5.3.5.2 *Exemplar clusters*

The exemplar cluster for *-(i)n-* can be represented as follows:



I have represented the result state, current relevance, and ongoing activity functions with the one label ‘atelic’. The emphatic exemplar is extremely small, and I have not included it.

The exemplar cluster for  $-(i)te-$  can be represented as follows:



Again, I have represented the result state, current relevance, and ongoing activity functions with the one label ‘atelic’. The emphatic exemplar is again extremely small, and I have not included it. The position of *doubly bounded events* in the centre of each cluster reflects the fact that all the other functions can be derived from this central function.

### 5.3.5.3 *Reducing multifunctionality?*

I have found  $-(i)n- \sim -(i)te-$  occurring as part of predicates that denote both materially and temporally bounded events, as part of predicates that denote only temporally bounded events, and (in the case of  $-(i)n-$ ) as part of predicates that denote only materially bounded events. This makes a unified account of the bounding functions of  $-(i)n- \sim -(i)te-$  difficult. In what follows I discuss three possible ways of explaining away this multifunctionality, and defend my multifunctional approach.

#### 5.3.5.3.1 *Material boundedness examples emphatic*

One solution is to claim that the apparent material boundedness functions of  $-(i)n-$  are not perfective uses of  $-(i)n-$  at all, but rather *emphatic* uses. The material boundedness would come from the verb. However, there is nothing in the poems suggesting that

they are emphatic (use of the particle *kamo*, for example), and this solution seems opportunistic.

#### 5.3.5.3.2 *Temporal boundedness examples emphatic*

Alternatively, the examples that denote events that are temporally but not materially bounded could be interpreted as emphatic. Again, however, in most of these poems there is nothing to suggest that they are emphatic, and in some cases an emphatic interpretation seems inappropriate.

#### 5.3.5.3.3 *Material boundedness examples actually -in- ‘depart’*

Another possibility is that the examples of *-(i)n-* that appear to denote material boundedness (and presumably others in less difficult environments) are actually examples of the auxiliary verb *-in-* ‘depart’, which has 12 attestations in the OCOJ. In five of these examples (MYS.3.351, MYS.9.1718, MYS.9.1771, MYS.9.1778, MYS.12.3151) a more regular syllable count is obtained if the initial *i-* of *-in-* is deleted, in accordance with the phonological rules of Old Japanese (see Appendix I), rendering the sequence indistinguishable from one with *-(i)n-* attached. Is it possible, then, that some of the examples usually interpreted as *-(i)n-* are actually examples of *-in-*?

The full form of *-in-* is attested phonographically in KK.4 (twice), MYS.5.899, MYS.17.4008, and MYS.17.4011, and in all these cases it has the meaning ‘depart’. None of the material boundedness examples would make sense with this non-metaphorical use of *-in-*. Without evidence of a metaphorical use, it seems arbitrary to propose that these difficult cases are examples of *-in-*.

#### 5.3.5.3.4 *Perfective -(i)n- ~ -(i)te- is multifunctional*

If the development of *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* is viewed from an exemplar point of view, we can see how the various meanings could have developed. Whatever the origin of *-(i)n- ~*

*-(i)te-* (see 5.4.1), they probably first combined with prototypically mutative and prototypically transitive verbs respectively. The events thus described would have been both *materially* and *temporally* bounded, leaving the function of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* ambiguous between the two. They might then have been extended in two directions, in some cases denoting *temporal boundedness* only and in other cases denoting *material boundedness* only. Note that we do not have attestations of *-(i)te-* denoting material boundedness distinct from temporal boundedness, so the above may apply to *-(i)n-* only.

### **5.3.6 The distribution of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-***

#### **5.3.6.1 Introduction**

As mentioned in 5.2, the near-complementary distribution of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* suggests that they should be considered lexically conditioned allomorphs of one construction, i.e. they have similar semantic content, which is represented by *-(i)n-* with some verbs and by *-(i)te-* with other verbs. As summarized in 5.3.5, the semantic content of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* is indeed similar, although not identical. If, as their distribution suggests, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* are allomorphs, then it must be possible to explain their distribution, and that is what I will attempt to do in this section.

#### **5.3.6.2 The data**

It has long been observed that *-(i)n-* occurs almost exclusively with intransitive verbs and *-(i)te-* appears both with transitive and intransitive verbs. Furthermore, the set of verbs that select *-(i)n-* and the set of verbs that select *-(i)te-* are almost mutually exclusive. Washio (2004: 197–198) observes that this distribution is similar to those observed in some European languages for auxiliaries meaning *be* and *have* in Perfect constructions, equating *-(i)n-* with *be* and *-(i)te-* with *have*.

Explanations of these systems (see Aranovich 2007) usually assume that all transitive verbs appear with the *have* auxiliary, but in Old Japanese there is a small number of transitive verbs that select *-(i)n-* instead of the expected *-(i)te-* ('exceptional transitives'). There is also a small number of verbs that are attested with both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* ('variable verbs').

### 5.3.6.3 *Attempts at explanation*

#### 5.3.6.3.1 *Semantic parameters and tendencies*

Various attempts have been made to explain the distribution of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* with reference to one semantic parameter or another, for example subjectivity (Yamada 1954 [1913]: 286–287) or volitionality (Ikeda 1980: 85, note 1). Washio (2004: 233) proposes that the set of verbs that select *-(i)n-* can be described as those that denote a (telic) change of position or state of the subject. Sandness (1999: 56–67) and Washio (2004: 201–202) provide many more examples of such proposals. These proposals are never free of exceptions, however, and so fall short of full explanation.

The most successful synchronic descriptions of the distribution of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* express it in terms of tendencies. For example, Martin (1975: 574, note 125) states:

‘There was a tendency to use the auxiliary [*-(i)te-*] for voluntary and/or abrupt events, the auxiliary [*-(i)n-*] for events that were involuntary, spontaneous, and/or slow-moving.’

In these descriptions of tendencies, however, there is no attempt to explain why certain meanings appear together. Why, for example, should *-(i)te-* be associated both with events that have two participants and with events where the subject is acting volitionally? And why should *-(i)n-* be associated both with events that have one participant and with events that are nonvolitional?

### 5.3.6.3.2 *A historical and cognitive analysis*

Shannon's (1988, 1990, 1993, 1995) historical and cognitive analysis of auxiliary selection in European languages provides a basis for a more adequate analysis of the Old Japanese data.

#### 5.3.6.3.2.1 Origin in prototypical environments

Shannon proposes that the events denoted by the *have* and *be* periphrases of European languages cluster around two prototypes which he characterizes as *transitive* and *mutative* respectively. He defines these prototypes as follows (Shannon 1990: 468):

- (66) Prototypical transitive events:
- Transpire in physical space.
  - Involve two entities that are differentiated from each other, from their setting, and from the observer.
  - Involve two entities that participate in an interaction and are asymmetrically related.
  - Describe interactions in which the first participant moves toward and makes contact with the second participant.
  - Describe interactions in which the second participant is affected and reacts externally by changing state or moving.
- (67) Prototypical mutative events:
- Transpire in physical space.
  - Involve only a single entity, differentiated from the setting and from the observer.
  - Describe an event in which the single participant is affected and changes externally by changing state or position.

He expands this (pp. 468–469) by saying that ‘prototypical mutative events involve single-participant, perfective (punctual) predicates denoting the end point (or beginning) of a change which the undergoer (theme or patient) nonvolitionally undergoes and which is not (conceived of as) brought about by another agentlike entity’. Both of Shannon's prototypes have precedent in the literature: his transitive prototype is derived from Rice (1987), and his mutative prototype is similar to the inchoative prototype

proposed by Croft (1991, 1994). Shannon notes that the prototypical mutative event is not simply the negation or opposite of the prototypical transitive event.

These prototypes reflect the environments in which the *have* and *be* constructions originated as resultative constructions. The *have* construction originated as a possessive resultative construction (example from Bybee et al. 1994: 68):

- (68) *Ic hæfde hine gebundenne*  
I **have.PST** him **bind.PASSPTCP.ACC**  
'I **had** him **bound**.'

The verbs that appear in a possessive resultative construction must have a totally affected object, an important ingredient of the transitive prototype. The *be* construction originated as a subjective resultative construction (example from Bybee et al. 1994: 68):

- (69) *He wæs gecumen*  
he **be.PST** **come.PASSPTCP.NOM**  
'He **had** **come**.'

The verbs that appear in a subjective resultative construction must have a totally affected subject, an important ingredient of the mutative prototype. Data from languages such as German (Shannon 1990: 469–471) shows that once these constructions broadened from *resultative* to *perfect* they extended through the lexicon to verbs that were not prototypically transitive or prototypically mutative. This explains the patterns observed in various languages, including Old Japanese.

#### 5.3.6.3.2.2 Use of auxiliaries with transitivity functions

Shannon also proposes a framework for explaining the behaviour of verbs that take both auxiliaries, employing Hopper and Thompson's (1980) parameters of transitivity:

| (70) Parameters of transitivity | High                       | Low                     |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>Participants</b>             | <b>2 or more (A and O)</b> | <b>1 participant</b>    |
| Kinesis                         | action                     | non-action              |
| Aspect                          | telic                      | atelic                  |
| Punctuality                     | punctual                   | non-punctual            |
| <b>Volitionality</b>            | <b>volitional</b>          | <b>nonvolitional</b>    |
| Affirmation                     | affirmative                | negative                |
| Mode                            | realis                     | irrealis                |
| <b>Agency</b>                   | <b>A high in potency</b>   | <b>A low in potency</b> |
| Affectedness                    | O totally affected         | O not affected          |
| Individuation                   | O highly individuated      | O non-individuated      |

He also includes the following values for *high mutativity*, to which I have added values for *low mutativity*:

| (71) Parameters of mutativity | High                    | Low                            |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Participants</b>           | <b>1 participant</b>    | <b>more than 1 participant</b> |
| Kinesis                       | action                  | non-action                     |
| Aspect                        | telic                   | atelic                         |
| Punctuality                   | punctual                | non-punctual                   |
| <b>Volitionality</b>          | <b>non-volitional</b>   | <b>volitional</b>              |
| Affirmation                   | affirmative             | negative                       |
| Mode                          | realis                  | irrealis                       |
| <b>Agency</b>                 | <b>S low in potency</b> | <b>S high in potency</b>       |
| Affectedness                  | S totally affected      | S not affected                 |
| Individuation                 | S highly individuated   | S non-individuated             |

The parameters printed in bold type are those on which the transitive and mutative prototypes differ. Shannon (1990, 1993, 1995) claims that when a verb can appear with both auxiliaries in the same language, the variation can be explained with reference to these parameters.

In some cases when a verb can appear with both auxiliaries the *have* variant is more prototypically transitive and the *be* variant is more prototypically mutative (example from Shannon 1990: 477):

(72) a. *Er hat das Eisen geschmolzen*  
he **has** the iron **melted**  
'He **melted** the iron.' (German)

b. *Das Eisen ist geschmolzen*  
the iron **is** **melted**  
'The iron **melted**.' (German)

The two sentences differ on one of the parameters on which prototypically transitive and prototypically mutative events differ: Participants. In (a) there are two participants, while in (b) there is only one. Here *have* and *be* can be said to signal *high transitivity* and *high mutativity* respectively.

In other cases, however, the difference only appears to be that the *have* variant is less prototypically mutative than the *be* variant (example from Shannon 1990: 478):

(73) a. *Viele Leute haben getanzt*  
many people **have** **danced**  
'Many people **danced**.' (German)

b. *Die Kinder sind nach draußen getanzt*  
the children **are** to outside **danced**  
'The children **danced** outside (= *goal*).' (German)

The two sentences differ on one of the parameters on which prototypically transitive and prototypically mutative events are the same: Affectedness. In (b) the one participant undergoes a change (the children move location), making it prototypically mutative. In (a) there is still only one participant, but it does not undergo a change: this example is no higher in transitivity than the second, but it is less mutative. Here *have* and *be* can be said to signal *low mutativity* and *high mutativity* respectively.

In other words, Shannon concludes that *have* can be used to signal either *high transitivity* or *low mutativity*, but *be* can only be used to signal *high mutativity*. As we will see, this explains the Old Japanese variable verbs very well.

#### 5.3.6.4 *Analysis of -(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*

##### 5.3.6.4.1 *Basic distribution*

The basic distribution of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* in Old Japanese is consistent with their having originated in prototypically mutative and prototypically transitive environments respectively. Prototypically mutative verbs select *-(i)n-* and prototypically transitive verbs select *-(i)te-*. For example, *kapyer-* ‘return’, *ke-* ‘vanish’, and *okure-* ‘be left behind’ all select *-(i)n-*, while *i-* ‘shoot’, *kar-* ‘cut’, and *musub-* ‘tie’ all select *-(i)te-*.

Of the other verbs, some select *-(i)n-*, some select *-(i)te-*, and some select both. Most of the verbs that select *-(i)te-* have two participants (are transitive in a traditional sense) and most of the verbs that select *-(i)n-* have one participant (are intransitive in a traditional sense), but that the number of participants was not the only factor conditioning the spread of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* is shown by the fact that some intransitives select *-(i)te-* and some transitives select *-(i)n-*. The intransitives that select *-(i)te-* generally denote volitional events (e.g. *aswob-* ‘play’) or at least have an animate subject (e.g. *wem-* ‘laugh’). The transitives that select *-(i)n-* are the subject of the next section.

##### 5.3.6.4.2 *Exceptional transitives*

###### 5.3.6.4.2.1 Introduction

Whilst acknowledging a continuum of transitivity based on numerous semantic criteria (see Hopper and Thompson 1980), I will only include in this group those verbs that take *wo*-marked arguments, including verbs with both transitive and intransitive uses that are attested with *-(i)n-* in their transitive uses (e.g. *sugwi-*). The exceptional

transitives that are attested in phonographic material are *sugwi-* ‘pass (something)’, *kwoye-* ‘cross’, *wasure-* ‘forget’, *sir-* ‘know’, *uram-* ‘bear a grudge’, and *tabar-* ‘receive’.<sup>3</sup> Washio (2004) discusses most of these, and argues that they are change of state verbs where the *subject* (rather than the object) is changed by the event. According to the Affectedness parameter, this makes them less prototypically transitive and more prototypically mutative. Shannon (1988: 262) attributes the *be*-taking transitives in Dutch partly to the historical accident of the falling together of case distinctions, but he also admits that the subjects of these verbs is somewhat ‘affected’. In Old Japanese there seems to be no historical accident to which the behaviour of the exceptional transitives can be attributed, and it seems that these verbs were assigned to *-(i)n-* when *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* were spreading through the lexicon beyond their original environments.

#### 5.3.6.4.2.2 *Sugwi-* ‘pass’ and *kwoye-* ‘cross’

The verb *sugwi-* ‘pass’ has both intransitive and transitive uses, while *kwoye-* ‘cross’ is always transitive. The following examples show *kwoye-* and transitive *sugwi-* combining with Perfective *-(i)n-* (see also MYS.1.83 and MYS.15.3600):

- (74) 不欲            惠 八 師  
*yosi*            *we ya si*  
 good.CNCL INT FOC EMPH
- 不戀            登 為杼  
*kwopwizi*        *to suredo*  
 yearn.NEGCONJ COMP do.CNCS
- 木綿間山            越去之            公之  
*yupuma-yama*        ***kwoye-ni-si***        *imo=ga*  
 Yupuma-mountain **cross-PFV-PST.ADN** beloved=GEN
- 所念良國  
*omopoyuraku*        *ni*  
 think.PASS.NMNL COP.INF

<sup>3</sup> Some (e.g. Washio 2004) include *kwopwi-* ‘yearn’ in this group, but there are no clearly transitive uses of it with *-(i)n-*: see 5.3.6.4.2.7.

‘Oh, although I try not to yearn, I think of my beloved who **has crossed** Mount Yupuma!’ (MYS.12.3191)

(75) 我 背兒我 使 埽夾 敷 跡  
 wa=ga sekwo=ga tukapi ko-mu ka to  
 I=GEN lover=GEN messenger come-CONJ.CNCL FOC COMP

出立之 此 松原乎  
 idetati=no ko=no matu-bara=wo  
 Idetati=COP.ADN this=GEN pine-plain=ACC

今日香 過南  
 kyepu=ka **sugwi-na-mu**  
 today=FOC **pass-PFV-CONJ.ADN**

‘Will he **pass** this pine plain of Idetati today, where (I wait, thinking), “Will my lover’s messenger come?”?’ (MYS.9.1674)

The verb *kwoye-* ‘cross’ marks the area crossed with Accusative *wo* and (more rarely) a goal with Dative *ni*. Although it is not case-marked, *yupuma-yama* in the above example seems to be an area crossed. Since it could receive Accusative case marking, I will consider it to be a direct object. Both *kwoye-* ‘cross’ and *sugwi-* ‘pass (tr.)’ denote the change of location of the subject, which is therefore highly affected.

#### 5.3.6.4.2.3 *Wasure-* ‘forget’

The following is an example of *wasure-* ‘forget’ with Perfective *-(i)n-* (see also MYS.11.2591):

(76) 秋山乎 謹 人 懸 勿  
 aki-yama=wo yume pito kaku na  
 Aki-mountain=ACC never people hang.CNCL PROH  
 忘西 其 黄葉乃  
**wasure-ni-si** so=no momitiba=no  
**forget-PFV-PST.ADN** that=GEN autumn.leaves=GEN

所思君  
 omopoyuraku ni  
 think.PASS.NMNL COP.INF

‘People, never speak of Mount Aki, as it makes me think of those autumn leaves that I **had forgotten.**’ (MYS.12.3191)

The verb *wasure-* ‘forget’ is always transitive and never denotes an activity. It too can be thought of as a verb that denotes a change in the subject: a change of mental state.

#### 5.3.6.4.2.4 *Uram-* ‘come to resent’

This occurs in one example in the *Senmyō*:

- (77) 因茲<sub>天</sub>                      天地<sub>乎</sub>                      恨  
 kore=ni    yorite    ame-tuti=*wo*    urami  
 this=DAT    lean.GER    heaven-earth=ACC    come.to.resent.INF  
 君臣<sub>乎</sub>毛                      怨奴  
 kimi-omi=*wo=mo*    **urami-nu**  
 lord-subject=ACC=TOP    **come.to.resent-PFV.CNCL**

‘So (they) came to resent heaven and earth, and **came to resent** the lords and subjects too.’ (from SM.45)

Washio (2004: 244) analyses the verb *uram-* as denoting a change of (mental) state in the subject, which seems plausible in this example. There are not enough attestations to determine if it is an inceptive state verb.

#### 5.3.6.4.2.5 *Sir-* ‘know’

Washio (2004) uses the following example:

- (78) 阿麻陀牟                      加流乃                      袁登賣  
 ama-damu                      karu=*no*                      wotomye  
 (heaven-fly.ADN)    Karu=GEN    woman  
 伊多    那加婆    比登    斯理奴                      倍志  
 ita    nakaba    pito    **siri-nu**                      be-si  
 loudly    cry.COND    people    **find.out-PFV.CNCL**    NEC-ACOP.CNCL  
 波佐能                      夜麻能                      波斗能  
 pasa=*no*                      yama=*no*                      patwo=*no*  
 Pasa=COP.ADN    mountain=GEN    pigeon=COP.INF  
 斯多那岐爾                      那久  
 sita-naki=*ni*                      naku  
 under-cry.INF=DAT    cry.CNCL

‘Karu woman, if (I) cried loudly, people would **find out**. I cry in secret like the pigeons on Mount Pasa.’ (KK.83)

It is clear from other examples that *sir-* ‘know’ can mean both ‘know’ and ‘find out’: in other words it is an *inceptive state* verb. Since in finding something out the mental state of the subject changes, here too the subject can be considered to be affected.

#### 5.3.6.4.2.6 *Tabar-* ‘receive (HUM)’

There is only one example where the verb *tabar-* ‘receive (HUM)’ combines with a Perfective auxiliary:

- (79) 波里夫久路 己礼波 多婆利奴  
*pari-bukurwo kore=pa tabari-nu*  
 needle-bag I=TOP receive.HUM-PFV.CNCL
- 須理夫久路 伊麻波 衣天之可  
*suri-bukurwo ima=pa e-te-sika*  
 bamboo-bag now=TOP get-PFV-PST.EXCL
- 於吉奈佐備 勢牟  
*okinabwi se-mu*  
 tremble.like.an.old.man.INF do-CONJ.CNCL

‘I **have received** the needle bag. Now I want a bamboo bag. Let’s tremble like old men.’ (MYS.18.4133)

Although in OJ the object of *tabar-* ‘receive (HUM)’ is never marked with Accusative *wo* or any other case marker, semantically this is a clear example of a transitive verb, and no other case-marking would seem appropriate. (It is also a very rare verb, being attested only ten times.) Following Washio’s (2004) proposals, this could perhaps be explained as a construal of the act of receiving as a *change of state* of the subject (i.e. from non-possession to possession).

#### 5.3.6.4.2.7 *Kwopwi-* ‘yearn’?

Washio (2004) includes *kwopwi-* ‘yearn’ in his list of transitive verbs that select *-(i)n-*, but he admits that its transitive status is questionable (pp. 252–253, note 27). When the event denoted by *kwopwi-* includes a second participant, this participant is most commonly marked with Dative *ni*, and the only two reliable examples of a *wo-*

marked object are in MYS.11.2449 and MYS.15.3669. Importantly for this discussion, in none of the cases where *kwopwi-* combines with Perfective *-(i)n-* is there a *wo*-marked object. Washio (2004: 244) cites the following as a transitive example of *kwopwi-* + *-(i)n-*:

- (80) 不聽 跡 雖云 強流 志斐能我 強語  
 ina to [i]pedo sipuru sipwino=ga sipwi-katari  
 no COMP say.CNCS force.ADN forceful.person=GEN force.INF-talk.INF  
 比 者 不聞而  
 ko=no koro kika-zute  
 this=GEN time hear-NEG.GER  
 朕 戀尔家里  
 are **kwopwi-ni-kyeri**  
 I **yearn-PFV-INDIR.CNCL**  
 ‘Now that I do not hear the chatter that (you) force on me even though I say  
 “No!”, I **yearn** for it!’ (MYS.3.236)

However, it is difficult to prove that *kwopwi-* has an object here, since there is no Accusative or Dative marking in the poem. It seems likely that the object of *kwopwi-ni-kyeri* ‘yearn for’ is *sipwi-katari* ‘chatter’, but since *kwopwi-* usually has a *ni*-marked object rather than a *wo*-marked object, it is unwise to assume that this example is transitive in the sense in which that term is used here. *Kwopwi-* ‘yearn’ need not be considered an exceptional transitive.

#### 5.3.6.4.2.8 Summary

Washio’s (2004) description of the semantics of exceptional transitives stands up to the data: all of the exceptional transitives can be understood as change of state verbs where the *subject* undergoes a change of state. In one case (*sir-* ‘know’), the verb is an inceptive state verb, but in its combination with *-(i)n-* it is used as a change of state verb. Presumably when *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* were spreading through the lexicon, these verbs were

seen as having more in common with the mutative prototype than with the transitive prototype, and so they were combined with *-(i)n-*.

### 5.3.6.4.3 Variable verbs

#### 5.3.6.4.3.1 Introduction

Those where the auxiliary is written phonographically and where the choice of auxiliary cannot be attributed to a grammatical construction (see Appendix to this chapter) are *mi-ye-* ‘see-PASS’, *ko-* ‘come’, *ne-* ‘sleep’, *nak-* ‘cry’, *ok-* ‘settle, put’, *sinwop-* ‘be moved, think of’, and *pur-* ‘fall’.<sup>4</sup>

#### 5.3.6.4.3.2 *Mi-ye-* ‘see-PASS’

Washio (2004: 212–215) argues that in the few examples where *mi-ye-* ‘see-PASS’ takes *-(i)te-* it is semantically a *reflexive causative* verb ‘show oneself/itself’. The following are typical examples with *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* respectively:

- (81) 柔保等里能 奈豆左比由氣婆  
*nipodori=no nadusapi-yukeba*  
 grebe=COP.INF drift-go.PROV  
 伊敞之麻婆 久毛為爾 美延奴  
*ipye-sima=pa kumowi=ni mi-ye-nu*  
 Ipye-island=TOP distance=DAT see-PASS-PFV.CNCL  
 ‘as we drift like grebes, Ipye Island **appears** in the distance’  
 (from MYS.15.3627)

- (82) 吾 戀 君曾 伎賊乃 夜  
*wa=ga kwopuru kimi=so kizo=no ywo*  
 I=GEN yearn.ADN lord=FOC yesterday=GEN night  
 夢 所見鶴  
*ime=ni mi-ye-turu*  
 dream=DAT see-PASS-PFV.ADN

<sup>4</sup> The verbs *ok-* ‘settle, put’ and *sinwop-* ‘be moved, think of’ are not always included in this class (e.g. by Washio 2004), since they have distinctive transitive and intransitive uses and may be considered pairs of distinct verbs. However, since there is no derivational relationship between the members of the pair, I consider them to be single verbs with transitive and intransitive uses.

‘last night, my lord whom I yearn for **showed himself** in a dream’  
 (from MYS.2.150)

In the example with *-(i)n-*, the subject is nonvolitional, while in the example with *-(i)te-* it can be considered to be volitional. In most of the examples of *mi-ye-te-* (MYS.2.150, MYS.4.581, MYS.12.3117, and MYS.15.3639), it is a volitional agent who ‘shows him- or herself’. In MYS.10.2009 and MYS.13.3243 it is an action performed by a volitional agent that ‘shows itself’, for example:

- (83) 汝            戀            妹            命者  
 na=ga      kwopuru      imo=no      mikoto=pa  
 you=GEN    yearn.ADN    beloved=GEN    RESP=TOP  
 飽足尔                                      袖      振            所見都  
 aki-dara-*ni*                                      swode    puru            **mi-ye-tu**  
 be.satisfied-suffice-NEG.INF    sleeve    wave.ADN    **see-PASS-PFV.CNCL**  
 及雲隱  
 kumo-gakuru                                      made  
 cloud-become.hidden.ADN    until  
 ‘As for your beloved for whom you yearn, the persistent waving of her sleeve **showed itself** until it was hidden by the clouds.’ (MYS.10.2009)

Washio (2004: 215) suggests that *mi-ye-* has a semantic structure [(*x* intend) [*x* become visible]], where the ‘*x* intend’ component is optional. In other words, *mi-ye-* selects *-(i)n-* when there is one participant, and *-(i)te-* when there are two. However, in OJ there is never an overt object in a *mi-ye-* clause. It begs fewer questions to attribute the variation of *mi-ye-* to the parameter of Volitionality or, in some cases, Agency. Since the parameters of Volitionality and Agency are parameters on which the transitive and mutative prototypes differ, with this verb we can say that *-(i)n-* denotes high mutativity and *-(i)te-* denotes high transitivity.

5.3.6.4.3.3 *Ko-* ‘come’

Washio (2004: 215–216) concludes that *ko-* ‘come’ only appears with *-(i)te-* when it denotes a ‘strongly intentional act’. The following are typical examples of *ko-* ‘come’ with *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* respectively:

- (84) 多麻久之氣      敷多我美也麻爾      鳴      鳥能  
*tama-kusige*      *putagami-yama=ni*      *naku*      *tori=no*  
(jewel-comb.box) Putagami-mountain=DAT call.ADN bird=GEN  
許惠乃      孤悲思吉      登岐波      伎爾家里  
*kowe=no*      *kwopwisi-ki*      *toki=pa*      ***ki-ni-kyeri***  
voice=GEN reminiscent-ACOP.ADN time=TOP **come-PFV-INDIR.CNCL**

‘The time **has come** when the voices of the birds that call on Mount Putagami make one sentimental.’ (MYS.17.3987)

- (85) 孫星      嘆須      嬭  
*pikwoposi=pa*      *nageka-su*      *tuma=ni*  
cowherd=TOP weep-RESP.ADN wife=DAT  
事谷毛      告尔叙      来鶴  
*koto=dani=mo*      *tuge=ni=zo*      ***ki-turu***  
word=EMPH=TOP tell=DAT=FOC **come-PFV.ADN**  
見者      苦弥  
*mireba*      *kurusi-mi*  
see.PROV painful-ACOP.INF

‘The cowherd **came** to tell a word to his weeping wife, because it was painful to look at her.’ (MYS.10.2006)

In the second example (and in the other examples in MYS.4.629 and MYS.8.1574), there is a purpose clause. The examples could be said to differ on the parameters of Volitionality and Agency, with *-(i)n-* denoting high mutativity and *-(i)te-* denoting high transitivity. Shannon (1990: 479) notes a case of the Middle High German equivalent of *ko-* used with *have* when a purpose clause is involved.

The following example is slightly different, however:

- (86) 伊敞之麻波      奈      爾許曾      安里家礼  
*ipy-e-sima=pa      na      ni=kos[o]      ari-kyere*  
 Ipye-island=TOP name COP.INF=FOC exist-INDIR.EXCL  
 宇奈波良乎      安我      古非      伎都流  
*una-bara=wo      a=ga      kwopwi      ki-turu*  
 sea-plain=ACC I=GEN yearn.INF **come-PFV.ADN**  
 伊毛母      安良奈久爾  
*imo=m[o]      ara-naku=ni*  
 beloved=TOP exist-NEG.NMNL=COP.INF

‘Ipye [‘home’] Island is (just) a name, because my beloved, yearning for whom I **came** over the sea plain, is not here!’ (MYS.15.3718)

There are two reasons that could be proposed for why *ko-* ‘come’ selects *-(i)te-* in this example. It could select *-(i)te-* because the focus here is on the *durative* part of the event (the subject moving, during which he is *yearning*) rather than its completion (the subject having moved). The parameters involved might be Telicity and Punctuality, which are parameters on which the transitive and mutative prototypes do not differ. In this case *-(i)te-* here would denote low mutativity (see Shannon 1990: 479 for a similar example from Dutch). On the other hand, *ko-* could select *-(i)te-* here because the traversal object (marked by Accusative *wo*) makes it a two-participant verb. The parameter involved would be Participants, and *-(i)te-* would denote high transitivity.

#### 5.3.6.4.3.4 *Ne-* ‘sleep’

Washio (2004: 216) discusses the traditional claim that *ne-* ‘sleep’ takes *-(i)n-* when it is a solitary act and *-(i)te-* when it is sexual, for example:

- (87) 奥山之                      眞木乃                      板戸乎  
*oku-yama=no                      makwi=no                      ita-two=wo*  
 (Oku-mountain=GEN) cypress=COP.ADN plank-door=ACC  
 音      速見  
*oto      paya-mi*  
 sound violent-ACOP.INF

妹之            當乃            霜            上尔            宿奴  
 imo=ga        atari=no        simo=no        [u]pe=ni        **ne-nu**  
 beloved=GEN   nearby=GEN   frost=GEN   top=DAT   **sleep-PFV.CNCL**

‘Because a cypress plank door is noisy (to knock on), I **slept** on the frost near my beloved’s house.’ (MYS.11.2616)

(88) 宇流波斯            登            佐泥斯            佐泥豆婆  
*urupasi*            *to*            *sa-ne=si*            ***sa-ne-teba***  
 beautiful.CNCL   COMP   LOC-sleep=EMPH   **LOC-sleep-PFV.COND**

加理許母能            美陀禮婆            美陀禮  
*karikomo=no*        *midareba*            *midare*  
 cut.grass=COP.INF   be.scattered.COND   be.scattered.INF

佐泥斯            佐泥豆婆  
*sa-ne=si*            ***sa-ne-teba***  
 LOC-sleep=EMPH   **LOC-sleep-PFV.COND**

‘If (we) **sleep** together beautifully, then if we are to be scattered like cut grass, let us be scattered—if (we) **sleep** together.’ (KK.80)

Sleeping as a sexual act could be seen as more *volitional* than solitary sleeping (i.e. more transitive). Alternatively, if solitary sleeping is thought of as *falling asleep* (a change of state in the subject), then sleeping with someone sexually could be seen as less *telic* (i.e. less mutative). The distinction could also be considered a matter of the *number of participants*, since the act of sleeping with someone necessarily involves another participant (marked with Comitative *to* when overt). In this case too, sleeping with someone would be more transitive.

There is one example where the sleeping is not sexual, but where *ne-* selects *-(i)te-*:

(89) 迓比婆理    都久波袁    須疑豆  
*nipibari*        *tukupa=wo*    *sugwite*  
 Nipibari        Tukupa=ACC    pass.GER

伊久用加            泥都流  
*iku-ywo=ka*            ***ne-turu***  
 how.many-night=FOC   **sleep-PFV.ADN**

‘How many nights **have** we **slept** since passing Nipibari and Tukupa?’ (KK.25)

Washio (2004: 216) suggests that *ne-* in this example should be thought of as transitive, equivalent to *sugos-* ‘spend (time)’. If this is correct, then the *number of participants* makes this example *more transitive* than it would otherwise be. However, MYS.8.1424 has a similar structure, and there *ne-* need not be interpreted as having a direct object.

There is one example which seems to be sexual, but where *ne-* selects *-(i)n-*:

- (90) 名草目而      今夜者      寐南  
*nagusamete*    *koyopi=pa*    **ne-na-mu**  
 set.at.ease.GER    tonight=TOP    **sleep-PFV-CONJ.CNCL**
- 從明日波              戀鴨              行武  
*asu=ywori=pa*        *kwopwi=kamo*    *yuka-mu*  
 tomorrow=ABL=TOP    yearn.INF=EMPH    go-CONJ.ADN
- 從此      間別者  
*ko=yu*    *wakare-naba*  
 this=ABL    be.parted-PFV.COND

‘Setting each other at ease, **let’s sleep together** tonight. From tomorrow we will yearn, once we are parted.’ (MYS.9.1728)

However, we can say that *-(i)te-* was used when a speaker wanted to *construe* the event as more transitive (or less mutative): it does not necessarily relate to the actual facts of the event in the real world.

The exact factors that cause the variation of *ne-* are unclear. The above example with *-(i)te-* is the only one where *ne-* is not in a compound, which does not provide strong grounds for a generalization.<sup>5</sup> The variation may be determined by Volitionality, Telicity, or Participants, with *-(i)n-* denoting high mutativity and *-(i)te-* denoting high transitivity or low mutativity.

<sup>5</sup> In FK.11 and KK.79 *ne-* is part of the compound *wi-ne-* ‘take to bed’, which may be considered a different verb, probably a transitive one. I do not count MYS.12.3092 and MYS.13.3269, where *-(i)te-* is selected by *-kane-* ‘be unable’, or MYS.8.1520b, where *-(i)te-* is part of the optative construction *-(i)te-sika (mo)*.

### 5.3.6.4.3.5 *Nak-* ‘cry, call’

Washio (2004: 216–217) notes that when *nak-* ‘cry, call’ denotes a person crying it always takes *-(i)te-*, but when it denotes an animal calling it can take *-(i)te-* or *-(i)n-*. He argues that an animal can be construed as acting either volitionally or nonvolitionally, and that this is the source of the variation. This can be considered to relate to the parameters of Volitionality and Agency.

Alternatively, there is a possibility that *-(i)te-* is used more for *semelfactive events* (MYS.8.1443, MYS.10.1819), and *-(i)n-* for *inceptive achievements* (KK.2, MYS.15.3655).<sup>6</sup> Under this interpretation, *-(i)te-* would denote *low mutativity*. However, the correctness of these aspectual interpretations is difficult to prove for any particular poem.

### 5.3.6.4.3.6 *Ok-* ‘settle, put’ and *sinwop-* ‘be moved, yearn for’

There are four variable verbs that Washio (2004) does not discuss. The first two are *ok-* ‘settle, put’ and *sinwop-* ‘be moved, yearn for’, which have distinct transitive and intransitive uses. When *ok-* is intransitive it means ‘settle’ and when it is transitive it means ‘put’. In its intransitive use it selects *-(i)n-* and in its transitive use it selects *-(i)te-*:

- (91) 待君                      常    庭耳                      居者  
 kimi    matu                      to    nipa=nomwi    woreba  
 you    wait.CNCL    COMP    garden=EMPH    be.sitting.PROV  
 打靡                      吾                      黑髮尔                      霜曾                      置尔家留  
 utinabiku    wa=ga    kurwo-kami=*ni*    simo=*s[o]*    **oki-ni-kyeru**  
 hang.ADN    I=GEN    black-hair=DAT    frost=FOC    **settle-PFV-INDIR.ADN**

‘While sitting in the garden waiting for you, frost **has settled** on my hanging black hair!’ (MYS.12.3044a)

<sup>6</sup> Kojima et al. (1995a: 301) claim that *naki-n-* denotes events that are durative (繼續的 *keezokuteki*) or habitual (習慣的 *shuukanteki*), while *naki-te-* denotes events that are instantaneous (即時的 *sokujiteki*) or momentary (瞬間的 *shunkanteki*).

- (92) 多麻能 宇良能 於伎都 之良多麻 比利敵礼杼  
*tama=n[o] ura=no oki=tu sira-tama pirip-yeredo*  
 Tama=GEN bay=GEN offing=GEN white-pearl pick.up-STAT.CNCS  
 麻多曾 於伎都流  
*mata=so oki-turu*  
 again=FOC **put-PFV.ADN**  
 見流 比等乎 奈美  
*miru pito=wo na-mi*  
 see.ADN person=ACC not.exist-ACOP.INF

‘I picked up white pearls from the offing in Tama Bay, but I **put** them **back**, because there was no one to see them.’ (MYS.15.3628)

When *sinwop-* is intransitive it means ‘be moved’ and when it is transitive it means ‘think of, yearn for’. Like *ok-*, in its intransitive use it selects *-(i)n-* and in its transitive use it selects *-(i)te-*:

- (93) 伊爾之敵欲 之怒比爾家礼婆  
*inisipye=ywo sinwopi-ni-kyereba*  
 past=ABL **be.moved-PFV-INDIR.PROV**  
 保等登伎須 奈久 許惠 伎吉弓 古非之吉 物乃乎  
*pototogisu naku kowe kikite kwopwisi-ki monowo*  
 cuckoo call.ADN voice hear.GER nostalgic-ACOP.ADN although  
 ‘Because in the past (people) **were moved**, hearing the voice of the calling cuckoo is nostalgic.’ (MYS.18.4119)

- (94) 山吹乃 花 執持而  
*yamabuki=no pana tori-motite*  
 mountain.rose=GEN flower take-take.hold.of.GER  
 都礼毛 奈久  
*ture=mo na-ku*  
 reason=TOP not.exist-ACOP.INF  
 可礼尔之 妹乎 之努比都流 可毛  
*kare-ni-si imo=wo sinwopi-turu kamo*  
 be.parted-PFV-PST.ADN beloved=ACC **yearn-PFV.ADN** EMPH

‘Holding a mountain rose, for no reason I **began to yearn** for my parted beloved.’ (MYS.19.4184)

The behaviour of these two verbs is very clearly based on Participants. The verb *ok-* ‘settle, put’, is also *volitional* in its transitive uses. It seems that *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* here denote high transitivity and high mutativity respectively.

#### 5.3.6.4.3.7 *Pur-* ‘fall’

Another verb that shows some variability is *pur-* ‘fall’, which has three attestations with *-(i)n-* (two phonographic: MYS.8.1593 and MYS.12.3214) and one attestation with *-(i)te-*. When *pur-* selects *-(i)n-* it has no overt object, for example:

- (95) 隱口乃 始瀬 山者  
komori-ku=*no* patuse=no yama=*pa*  
(be.hidden.INF-place=COP.ADN) Patuse=COP.ADN mountain=TOP  
色附奴  
iro-duki-*nu*  
colour-change-PFV.CNCL  
鍾礼乃 雨者 零尔家良思 母  
*signature=no* ame=*pa* **puri-ni-kyerasi** *mo*  
shower=COP.ADN rain=TOP **fall-PFV-INDIR.INFER.CNCL** EMPH  
‘Mount Patuse has changed colour. **It seems** the showers **have fallen** (on it).’  
(MYS.8.1593)

The example with *-(i)te-*, however, marks with Dative *ni* the object on which the snow falls:

- (96) 吾 袖尔 零鶴 雪毛  
wa=ga swode=*ni* **puri-turu** yuki=*mo*  
I=GEN sleeve=DAT **fall-PFV.ADN** snow=TOP  
流去而 妹之 手本 伊行觸糰  
nagar[e]-ikite imo=*ga* tamoto=ni i-yuki-pure-*nu* *ka*  
flow-go.GER beloved=GEN arm=DAT DAT-go-touch-NEG.ADN FOC  
‘Will the snow that **has fallen** on my sleeve not flow away and go and touch my beloved’s arm?’ (MYS.10.2320)

Kojima et al. (1995b: 152–153) claim, in relation to this example, that *-(i)te-* can exceptionally be used with intransitive verbs to denote short duration. They provide no

evidence for this claim, however. Instead, it could be that, in this poem, the falling of the snow is being construed as something that the snow *has done* rather than something that *happened*. In other words, it could be related to Volitionality.

#### 5.3.6.4.3.8 Summary

With the variable verbs, Shannon's method allows us to analyse *-(i)n-* as denoting high mutativity, and *-(i)te-* as denoting high transitivity or low mutativity. The parameters that appear to be relevant are Volitionality, Agency, Telicity, Punctuality, and Participants.

#### 5.3.6.5 Conclusion

Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* can be analysed as a split auxiliary system, with *-(i)n-* used in clauses clustering around a *mutative* prototype, and *-(i)te-* used in clauses clustering around a *transitive* prototype. The exceptional transitives can be said to select *-(i)n-* because they denote events that are close to the mutative prototype. The behaviour of variable verbs can be explained by reference to these prototypes, with *-(i)te-* being used to denote high transitivity or low mutativity, and *-(i)n-* used to denote high mutativity. Whenever in these examples a clause is lower in transitivity it is also higher in mutativity, so there is no evidence that *-(i)n-* can be used to denote low transitivity. The behaviour of *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* is compatible with semantic, but not purely syntactic, accounts of *split intransitivity*. In the next section I discuss how this system might have arisen.

## 5.4 Conclusions

### 5.4.1 Morphological and semantic origins

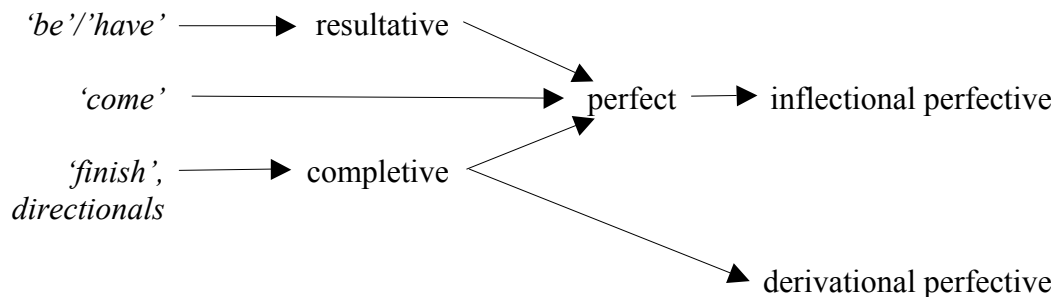
#### 5.4.1.1 Introduction

##### 5.4.1.1.1 What is to be explained

I concluded in 5.3.5 that *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* have (tenseless) perfective, (present) resultative, and (present) emphatic functions. I also concluded in 5.3.6 that their distribution is very similar to that of *be* and *have* in the Perfect constructions of various European languages. Such distribution is only known to have arisen when one of the constructions (the *be* periphrasis) originated with prototypically mutative verbs and the other (the *have* periphrasis) with prototypically transitive verbs (see 5.3.6.3.2.1). Any theory as to the origin of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* must be compatible (a) with their functions in OJ and (b) with their probable origin with prototypically mutative and transitive verbs respectively.

##### 5.4.1.1.2 Cross-linguistic evidence

Bybee et al. (1994: 105) propose the following grammaticalization pathways leading to two types of perfective:<sup>7</sup>



The two types of perfective have the following features (Bybee et al. 1994: 88–90):

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<sup>7</sup> I have retained the terminology of Bybee et al. (1994), except for their term *anterior*, for which I have substituted the more universally understood *perfect*.

| <b>Inflectional perfectives</b>  | <b>Derivational perfectives</b>   |
|--|---|
| <i>inflectional:</i><br><i>lexically general</i><br><i>one or two markers</i><br><i>only aspectual meaning</i> | <i>derivational:</i><br><i>lexically idiosyncratic</i><br><i>various markers</i><br><i>add other meanings</i> |
| <i>focus on ‘whole event’</i>  | <i>focus on ‘limit reached’</i>   |
| <i>usually restricted to past</i>  | <i>not restricted to past</i>   |
| <i>may be zero (imperfective always overt)</i>   | <i>overt marker (imperfective may be zero)</i>  |

The features of the OJ Perfective are italicized in the above table. It can be seen that it does not sit within the confines of either type, and it may be that it is a third type not yet attested in other languages. However, I believe that the unrestricted nature of its time reference is crucial for determining its origin. According to Bybee et al. (1994), perfectives with unrestricted time reference often derive from completive constructions. Furthermore, in Japanese, perfective constructions that have developed from resultative constructions are always restricted to the past (e.g. the past perfective uses of Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* and its Modern Japanese reflex Past *-(I)ta*). Since *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* are not restricted to past time reference, theories that derive them from completive constructions should be preferred over those that derive them from resultative constructions.

#### 5.4.1.2 Theories

There are three major theories concerning the origins of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*: that of Akiba-Reynolds (1984), that of Frellesvig (2001), and the traditional theory.

##### 5.4.1.2.1 From a pre-OJ verb \*n- ‘be at’

This proposal of Akiba-Reynolds (1984) has not received much support. She proposes that the *n-* copula, the particle *ni*, and Perfective *-(i)n-* all derive from a pre-OJ verb \*n- ‘be at’. In some of its uses this verb would have functioned much like Mandarin Chinese *zài*. She proposes that it was the second member of serial verb

constructions which were later reanalysed as perfects. For example, (97) was reanalysed as (98):

- (97) *Yatupasi to ipu tokoro=ni itari nu*  
 Yatupasi COMP say.ADN place=DAT arrive.INF be.at.CNCL  
 ‘(He) **arrived** at a place called Yatupasi and (he) **is** (there).’
- (98) *Yatupasi to ipu tokoro=ni itari-nu*  
 Yatupasi COMP say.ADN place=DAT arrive-PFV.CNCL  
 ‘(He) **has arrived** at a place called Yatupasi.’

This proposal effectively claims that Perfective *-(i)n-* developed from a resultative construction of the form *\*-(i) n-*. This fits well the sorts of verb that *-(i)n-* is attested with in Old Japanese.

Akiba-Reynolds (1984) also proposes that *-(i)te-* was one of the first of a new generation of aspect markers in pre-OJ, preceding the development of *-(i)n-*, but she does not speculate as to its source, or attempt to explain its distribution in Old Japanese. This is the biggest weakness in her theory: she fails to explain how *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* came to be in near-complementary distribution and with similar functions.

#### 5.4.1.2.2 From pre-OJ copulas *\*n-* and *\*t-*

Frellesvig (2001) proposes that the Perfective auxiliaries derive from two postulated pre-OJ copulas *\*n-* and *\*t-*. This proposal is just one of a series of proposals he makes relating Old Japanese forms in *n-* and *t-* to pre-OJ copulas. Frellesvig (2010: 123) points out that there are several function parallels between forms in *t-* and forms in *n-*:

|      |                                |               |                 |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (99) | Copula                         | <i>to, tu</i> | <i>ni, no</i>   |
|      | Case and conjunctive particles | <i>to</i>     | <i>ni, nite</i> |
|      | Genitive particle              | <i>tu</i>     | <i>no</i>       |
|      | Perfective                     | <i>-te-</i>   | <i>-n-</i>      |

He proposes that all of the above forms derive from the pre-OJ copulas *\*t-* and *\*n-*. Frellesvig (2001: 14) cites one example from the *Norito* showing the sort of construction he proposes developed into the Perfective construction:

- (100) 大神等能                      乞賜比能                      任尔  
 opo-kami-tati=*no*    **kopa-si-tamapi=*no***                      manima=*ni*  
 great-god-PL=GEN    **desire-RESP-RESP-INF=COP.ADN**    will=COP.INF  
 ‘according to what (you) the sovereign deities **desire**’ (from EN.2)

Frellesvig (2001: 14) thinks that the original function of Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* was ‘to assert the state of affairs expressed by the verb’ and states that this function ‘fits well a development from or relation to a copula’. As I showed above, however, very few examples of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* need to be interpreted as *emphatic*, and Bybee et al. (1994) do not report *emphatic* as a source for perfective constructions. It is possible to imagine, however, that *\*n-* and *\*t-* could have followed a verbal Infinitive (a form with anterior meaning) to form a *completive* construction, which could later have developed into a perfective.

However, this proposal cannot easily explain the distribution of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* in Old Japanese, which suggests that they arose with prototypically mutative and prototypically transitive verbs respectively. In Modern Japanese *ni* and *to* have been called the ‘objective essive’ and ‘subjective essive’ respectively (Martin 1975: 44, note 4), *objective* meaning ‘that which is independently judged (or intersubjectively verifiable)’ and *subjective* meaning ‘what is subject to variations in individual perception rather than judgment’.<sup>8</sup> If such a distinction in meaning existed in pre-Old

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<sup>8</sup> At first sight this seems to resemble the *conjunct/disjunct* systems in Tibetan languages (DeLancey 1992), the *subjective/objective* perspective systems in some Mongolic languages (Georg 2003; Slater 2003; Wu 2003), and similar systems in other languages (Creissels 2008), but in fact they are quite different.

Japanese, it is difficult to see why *\*n-* would favour mutative verbs and *\*t-* transitive verbs in forming a completive construction.

#### 5.4.1.2.3 From the verbs *in-* ‘go away’ and *ute-* ‘throw away’

The traditional Japanese etymology derives *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* from the verbs *in-* ‘go away’ and *ute-* ‘throw away’ respectively. If *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* derive from constructions *\*-(i)-in-* and *\*-(i)-ute-*, then the initial vowel of each verb must have been deleted. Although this contradicts the synchronic rules of vowel deletion (see Appendix I), some kind of grammaticalization-induced reduction (see Bybee 2010: 37–44) does not seem unreasonable. Vovin (2009a: 949) calls this derivation of *-(i)n-* ‘a strong possibility’, noting that *-(i)n-* shares an unusual conjugation class with *in-*, and that the character 去 is often used to write the auxiliary, a character also used for the verb *in-*. Since Bybee et al. (1994: 56) mention words meaning ‘go’, ‘away’, and ‘throw away’ as lexical sources for completives, it seems likely that, if they are derived from *-in-* and *-ute-*, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* arose as completives. But how can the distribution of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* be explained in this model? We need (a) a semantic reason why the original construction would have favoured prototypically mutative and prototypically transitive verbs, and (b) a grammatical reason why the two verb types would have formed different constructions.

Resultative constructions favour prototypically mutative and prototypically transitive verbs because these have clearly defined result states. However, the unrestricted time reference of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* speaks against a resultative origin. There is reason to believe that completive constructions too favour prototypically mutative and prototypically transitive verbs. Although Bybee et al. (1994) do not comment on the types of verbs that appear with completives, their definition ‘to do something thoroughly and completely’ suggests that they occur with verbs that denote events that have a clearly defined endpoint, like the mutative and transitive prototypes. Therefore

there would have been a motivation to develop a completive construction with these two types of verb.

To explain the use of two auxiliaries, Washio (2004: 225–232) suggests that because of cooccurrence restrictions *-in-* ‘go away’ attached to unaccusative verbs and *-ute-* ‘throw away’ to transitive verbs. The Transitivity Harmony cline of Frellesvig et al. (2010: 42) shows that in Old Japanese ‘like combines best with like’. Thus it is likely that transitive verbs would have preferred a transitive auxiliary and unaccusative verbs an unaccusative auxiliary. During their time as completive auxiliaries, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* developed associations with prototypical mutativity and prototypical transitivity respectively, much as the *be* and *have* perfects in European languages did during their time as resultative auxiliaries. After the meaning of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* generalized to *perfective* (i.e. they could appear with atelic verbs denoting temporal boundedness as well as with telic verbs denoting double boundedness), *-(i)te-* spread to unergative verbs, and both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* could be used to make implications about the transitivity or mutativity of a clause.

#### 5.4.2 Semantic development pre-OJ

Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* developed several other functions, but they are mostly independent of each other and therefore difficult to date. These developments are as follows:

- (a) The ‘completive’ function was bleached.
- (b) They came to denote temporally bounded events.
- (c) They developed limited emphatic functions.
- (d) They developed current relevance functions and result state functions, and *-(i)n-* developed limited ongoing activity functions.

In this section I will discuss possible motivations for these developments.

#### 5.4.2.1 *Boundedness (material or double)*

The semantic development whereby a completive construction becomes a derivational perfective construction involves the bleaching of meaning: from denoting that something is done ‘thoroughly and to completion’, a construction comes simply to denote ‘completeness’ or material boundedness. Both as a completive construction and after its meaning had been bleached, most of the time *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* probably denoted events that were both materially and temporally bounded. In principle, though, the material boundedness function could be denoted on its own. It may be at this point that *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* came to be used with ingressive function (see 5.3.2.1.3).

#### 5.4.2.2 *Temporal boundedness*

As stated above, *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* would have appeared most of the time denoting events that were both materially and temporally bounded. It seems reasonable to suggest that an extension of meaning might then have taken place whereby *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* could also express temporal boundedness alone. Such a semantic development might have taken place with Russian Delimitative *po-* (see Dickey 2007). Note that if the Russian Perfective constructions are taken to be in some sense one construction (as the traditional dichotomous Perfective–Imperfective terminology suggests), then there is cross-linguistic precedent for a construction that can denote both material and temporal boundedness independently.

#### 5.4.2.3 *Emphasis*

I have also claimed that *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* are occasionally used for emphasis. Bybee et al. (1994: 57, 59) mention ‘emphasis’ as one of the meanings associated with completive constructions. Therefore emphasis could have been part of the meaning of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* from their origins. If enough exemplars of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* denoting doubly

bounded events included a sense of emphasis, this could have been used itself as a function of the construction. I propose that the emphatic function of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* derives from its function of denoting materially and temporally bounded events.

#### 5.4.2.4 *Result state, ongoing activity, and current relevance*

Both Croft (2012: 123–124) and Dahl and Hedin (2000: 393–394) have noted that the Past Perfective in Russian can denote subjective result states. This can be seen as a conventionalization of the implicature of a present result state when a temporally bounded past event is referred to. Although *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is not solely a *past* perfective, its default time reference is to the past, and so it is natural that it should have developed result state functions. The extension of this to ongoing activities could be attributed to the same mechanisms as were proposed for Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*.

The use of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* to denote current relevance can also be seen as a natural development of a past perfective. Comrie (1976: 58) states that languages that do not have distinct perfect constructions tend to use past tenses for expressing ‘perfect of result’ (current relevance) meaning. Old Japanese did not have a devoted perfect construction (current relevance is only a minor function of Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*), so *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* was a natural choice for expressing that function.

#### 5.4.2.5 *Summary*

All of the functions of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* are compatible with a completive origin, and most of them probably developed directly from this original function. The use of *-(i)n-* to denote ongoing activities probably developed from the result state function.

### 5.4.3 Development post-OJ

In Early Middle Japanese the meanings of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* diverged, and consequently their near-complementary distribution broke down. According to Takeuchi (1987), *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* continued to be used as perfectives in ‘sequenced narration’, but in ‘embeddings’ *-(i)te-* came to mean ‘recent past’ and *-(i)n-* ‘limited control’, i.e. the accomplishment of an event ‘with (considerable) difficulty *or* unintentionally’ on the part of the agentive subject. Presumably this semantic development of *-(i)n-* was the result of its pragmatic implications being interpreted as part of the meaning of the construction. The interpretation of *-(i)te-* as *recent past* in embeddings need not represent any development in meaning, as the default interpretation of *-(i)te-* in OJ was already *past perfective*. In Late Middle Japanese the Perfective auxiliaries were lost.

### 5.4.4 Final remarks

I have been treating *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* as lexically conditioned allomorphs of one construction, much as *be* and *have* are treated in the European Perfect constructions. How can this be the case, though, if (a) the uses in context of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* are rather different (see 5.3.6.1 and 5.3.6.2) and (b) there are some verbs that can be used with both auxiliaries, apparently with differences in meaning? This is another case where the exemplar model provides a very useful explanatory framework.

#### 5.4.4.1 *Constructions and allomorphs in a usage-based exemplar model*

One interpretation of the exemplar model of linguistic storage would have it that grammatical constructions do not exist as discrete linguistic structures in the brain, but instead are generalizations over concrete exemplars. Bybee (2001: 22) is equivocal

about whether these ‘generalizations’ are independently represented in linguistic knowledge:

‘[...] generalizations about linguistic units are discovered by speakers as they categorize items for storage. [...] it is not necessarily the case that these [generalizations] have a cognitive representation independent of the forms that participate in them.’

Bybee and Beckner (2010: 843), on the other hand, state that

‘[...] in an exemplar model constructions are not abstract grammatical patterns but rather they are sets of experienced exemplars arranged in cognitive space to reflect their similarity in form and meaning.’

I will follow this second, more explicit conception of constructions as in principle temporary generalizations over exemplars that are grouped together as being *similar*. *Similarity* is a gradient property, and exemplars can be more or less *similar*, or *similar* on different dimensions.

#### 5.4.4.2 *One tense–aspect construction*

We can say that *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* form one construction from the point of view of tense–aspect. Old Japanese *-(i)n-* probably originally gave a completive sense to prototypically mutative verbs, and *-(i)te-* probably originally gave a completive sense to prototypically transitive verbs. At this stage the meanings of the constructions were fairly distinct: *-(i)n-* denoted something happening to the subject, and *-(i)te-* denoted something happening to the object. Then the meanings of both constructions broadened, coming to denote (amongst other things) temporally bounded events. In this development *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* became semantically *more similar*: they both came to refer more to a whole event, and less to one of its participants (subject or object). Both constructions combined with a wider and wider variety of verbs until they ‘met in the middle’: all the verbs in Old Japanese had a customary auxiliary. The meanings of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* were sufficiently similar for there to be no motivation to extend either

construction into the territory of the other, and so an allomorphic relationship was formed.

#### **5.4.4.3 Two transitivity constructions**

As, however, *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* was not stored as an abstract schema, but rather as exemplars, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* were free to acquire distinct semantic nuances. Where these nuances, which have to do with transitivity, are concerned, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* are two distinct constructions with distinct meanings.

#### **5.4.4.4 The case of result states**

Although in Old Japanese *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* have largely the same tempo-aspectual functions, those functions are used in very different proportions, particularly the result state function of *-(i)n-*. As *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* in practice have very different functions, should we not expect the allomorphic relationship to break down? The only significant disparity between *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* is the proportion of examples used with result state function. It may be that this was not felt as a disparity because of the lack of desire to express result states with transitive verbs (see 5.3.6.1).

#### **5.4.4.5 Conclusion**

The auxiliaries *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* seem to form one construction for the purpose of tempo-aspectual functions in Old Japanese. In this use they are allomorphs and occur in near-complementary distribution. Alongside these uses, however, they have developed functions relating to transitivity, and these functions are distinct. When used with these functions they are not allomorphs, and may appear with the same verb with different semantic nuances.

## **Appendix: Behaviour with auxiliaries, auxiliary verbs, and analytic constructions**

### **1. Background**

In this section I will analyse the way *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* behave with auxiliaries, auxiliary verbs, and verbal periphrases to see if they are selected by the main verb or by the combination of main verb and construction. Frellesvig et al. (2010: 44) claim that ‘Variation in the type of perfective auxiliary that a V2 takes is a clear indication that the argument structure of the compound is determined by V1.’ However, as I have argued above, the behaviour of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)e-* cannot be explained simply by ‘argument structure’ (transitivity in a traditional sense), but instead depends on broader notions of transitivity and mutativity.

### **2. Data**

There are several grammatical constructions that can precede Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, including auxiliaries, auxiliary verbs, and one verbal periphrasis. Some constructions select a Perfective auxiliary and some constructions do not, the main verb instead selecting the auxiliary. The non-selecting constructions are attested with both auxiliaries, the auxiliary being selected by whichever main verb it appears with. The selecting constructions are attested with only one auxiliary unless the construction is itself variable. To show that the auxiliary is selected by the grammatical construction, there must be at least one example where the Perfective auxiliary is not the one usually selected by the main verb.

The following table shows the attestations in the COJ portion of the Oxford Corpus of (a) constructions that do not select a Perfective auxiliary and (b) constructions that do:<sup>9</sup>

| (101) | Construction                                  | Perfective auxiliary | Attestations |                 |
|-------|---|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|
|       |   |                      | -(i)n-       | -(i)te-         |
| a.    | Respect <i>-(a)s-</i>                         | both                 | 5            | 1               |
|       | <i>-imas-</i> ‘come, go (RESP)’ <sup>10</sup> | both                 | 6            | 1               |
|       | <i>-some-</i> ‘begin’                         | both                 | 2            | 3               |
|       | <i>-tug-</i> ‘continue, convey’               | both                 | 2            | 2               |
|       | <i>-yuk-</i> ‘go’                             | both                 | 1            | 1 <sup>11</sup> |
|       | Periphrastic Stative <i>-(i)te ar-</i>        | both                 | 1            | 1               |
| b.    | Passive <i>-(a)ye-</i>                        | -(i)n-               | 6            | (6)             |
|       | <i>-watar-</i> ‘go across’                    | -(i)n-               | 17           |                 |
|       | <i>-kane-</i> ‘fail’                          | -(i)te-              |              | 39              |
|       | <i>-ko-</i> ‘come’                            | both                 | 31           | 1 <sup>12</sup> |

The constructions in (b) can be divided into three subgroups: (i) those that select *-(i)n-*, (ii) those that select *-(i)te-*, and (iii) those that are variable.

### 3. Details of difficult cases

#### 3.1 Passive *-(a)ye-*

Although Passive *-(a)ye-* appears six times with *-(i)n-* and six times with *-(i)te-*, I have concluded that it basically selects *-(i)n-*. With *-(i)n-* it appears with *ip-* ‘say’, *mi-* ‘see’, *nuras-* ‘get wet (*tr*)’, *tor-* ‘take’, and *wasur-* ‘forget’. The verbs *ip-* ‘say’, *nuras-* ‘get wet (*tr*)’, and *tor-* ‘take’ usually take *-(i)te-*, so *-(a)ye-* appears to be determining the choice of auxiliary. With *-(i)te-*, the only verb it appears with is *mi-* ‘see’, and

<sup>9</sup> Frellesvig et al. (2010: 44) cite *-tamap-* as an auxiliary verb that appears with both auxiliaries. However, *-tamap-* does not appear with both Perfective auxiliaries in the Oxford Corpus, to which I limit this part of my enquiry.

<sup>10</sup> As noted in 3.4.1.2, the auxiliary verb *-imas-* is a respectful equivalent of the auxiliaries *-ko-* ‘come’ and *-yuk-* ‘go’, and possibly also a respectful equivalent of Stative *-yer-*.

<sup>11</sup> It is unclear if this example (*kiri-yuki-tu* from MYS.3.391) is actually a compound. I have treated it as such.

<sup>12</sup> There is another possible candidate: *kwopwi ki-turu* in MYS.15.3718. If this is a compound (and I do not think it is), it is a very different kind of compound from the others with *-ko-*, and I do not count it here.

Washio (2004: 212–215) argues that in these cases the combination *mi-ye-* is a volitional verb meaning ‘show oneself’.<sup>13</sup>

### 3.2 -ko- ‘come’

The auxiliary verb *-ko-* ‘come’ appears with *-(i)n-* most of the time, and most of the verbs it appears with are typical *-(i)n-* verbs, such as *nar-* ‘become’ and *kwoye-* ‘cross’. However, it appears with *-(i)n-* following *tadune-* ‘visit’, which is a transitive verb (sometimes marking its object with Accusative *wo*) attested elsewhere taking *-(i)te-*.<sup>14</sup> *-ko-* only appears with *-(i)te-* once: with the verb *ta-motopor-* ‘go back and forth’, which also appears in the combination *ta-motopori-ki-nu*, but is not attested with the Perfective elsewhere.

What are we to make of these data? The default assumption (made by Frellesvig et al. 2010: 44) is that an auxiliary verb that combines with both Perfective auxiliaries must have the auxiliary selected by the host verb. In one case, however (that of *tadune-* ‘visit’), *-ko-* does not appear with the auxiliary that we would expect its host verb to select. There are two possible explanations for this: (i) the main verb selects the Perfective auxiliary, and the verb *tadune-* ‘visit’ is variable in the Perfective auxiliary it selects, or (ii) the auxiliary verb *-ko-* ‘come’ selects the Perfective auxiliary for its compounds, but is variable in this selection.

It is possible that *tadune-* is variable according to volitionality (like *ko-* ‘come’). On the other hand, the nature of the variability of the lexical verb *ko-* ‘come’ fits the data for its variability with the Perfective auxiliaries. The lexical verb *ko-* ‘come’ only

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<sup>13</sup> There is also one case (in NSK.82) of a lexicalized passive (*kikoye-* ‘be heard of’) appearing with *-(i)te-*, but Tsuchihashi and Konishi (1957: 211) argue on the basis of the version of the Optative form used (*-na* rather than *-ne*) that the subject is the speaker, and that *kikoye-* in this instance is a transitive verb meaning ‘tell’. In this case its appearance with *-(i)te-* is entirely expected.

<sup>14</sup> *-ko-* ‘come’ is also attested in MYS.17.4003 in the combination *ari-ki-ni-kyereba*, but in my judgement this *ari-* is the Durative prefix *ari-* (see Vovin 2009a: 579–581) and not the verb *ar-* ‘be’.

appears with *-(i)te-* when there is an overtly expressed ‘aim phrase’ (e.g. *nani su to ka* ‘why’ in MYS.4.629), and the only time the auxiliary verb *-ko-* ‘come’ appears with *-(i)te-* (in MYS.8.1574) there is also an overtly expressed aim phrase (*kimi-ni apa-mu to* ‘to meet you’). I propose that *-ko-* determines the Perfective auxiliary, which is usually *-(i)n-*, but may sometimes be *-(i)te-*.

#### 4. Analysis

It appears that the grammatical constructions that select a Perfective auxiliary affect the transitivity or mutativity of the verb. Passive *-(a)ye-* reduces the number of participants, thereby reducing transitivity and increasing mutativity on the Participants parameter. This is denoted by *-(i)n-*.

The case of *-kane-* ‘fail’ selecting *-(i)te-* is reminiscent of Shannon’s (1990, 1993, 1995) observations regarding a tendency for *be*-taking verbs to select *have* in irrealis moods and negative polarity. By placing the clause in negative polarity, *-kane-* reduces its mutativity on the Mode parameter, and *-(i)te-* is selected to denote this low mutativity.

The auxiliary verbs *-watar-* ‘cross’ and *-ko-* ‘come’ could be said to carry their meaning of the change of location of the subject through to their use as auxiliary verbs, in the case of *-ko-* mostly still concrete (moving through space), but in the case of *-watar-* metaphorical (crossing through the future to some unspecified point). This increases the mutativity of the clause on the Affectedness parameter.

## 6 Indirective *-(i)kyer-*

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### 6.1 Introduction

#### 6.1.1 Orthography

Of the 420 Central Old Japanese attestations of *-(i)kyer-* in the Oxford Corpus, there are 359 examples written phonographically, 2 examples written only partially phonographically, and 59 examples written logographically or with no orthographic representation. For this chapter I have also made use of the 28 examples in the *Senmyō*, all of which are written phonographically.

When *-(i)kyer-* is written logographically it is often written with 在. This spelling allows confusion with various other words and constructions, so with the exception of the numbers in this introduction I have limited myself to the phonographic examples of *-(i)kyer-*. Many of the phonographic spellings of *-(i)kyer-* are *ongana* and pose no problems. However, *kungana* are also frequent, particularly 来在 or 来, reading both as the Stative form of the verb *ko-* ‘come’ (*k-yer-*). When *kungana* spellings are used for *-(i)kyer-*, the inflection can sometimes be unclear. Another potential problem with *-(i)kyer-* is that it is homophonous with *-(i)-k-yer-*, the combination of the auxiliary verb *-ko-* ‘come’ and the Stative auxiliary *-yer-*. I will discuss this further in 6.3.4.5.

#### 6.1.2 Inflection

The auxiliary *-(i)kyer-* attaches to the *i*-stem of verbs, auxiliaries, and the secondary conjugations of the *n-* copula and the adjectival copula. It is attested with the following

number of attestations of each of its inflected forms, in the main Oxford Corpus and in the *Senmyō*:

(1)

| Form           | Shape    | Main OCOJ |    | <i>Senmyō</i> |
|----------------|----------|-----------|----|---------------|
|                |          | Number    | %  | Number        |
| Conclusive     | -kyeri   | 177       | 42 | 17            |
| Adnominal      | -kyeru   | 204       | 49 | 7             |
| Exclamatory    | -kyere   | 17        | 4  |               |
| Infinitive     | -kyeri   |           |    | 1             |
| Provisional    | -kyereba | 1         | <1 |               |
| Concessive     | -kyeredo | 2         | <1 | 1             |
| Nominal        | -kyeraku | 3         | 1  | 2             |
| a-stem         | -kyera-  | 4         | 1  |               |
| <b>Totals:</b> |          | 420       |    | 28            |

As can be seen, *-(i)kyer-* lacks a Conditional form (and possibly an Infinitive<sup>1</sup>), and is very infrequently used in the Provisional and Concessive forms. Although the numbers of Conclusive and Adnominal forms are quite similar, *-(i)kyer-* is far more frequent in matrix clauses than in embeddings. For example, of the 79 phonographically written Adnominal forms where *-(i)kyer-* attaches directly to the verb, only 28 (35%) occur in relative clauses and other embeddings.<sup>2</sup>

### 6.1.3 Combination

#### 6.1.3.1 *With other grammatical constructions*

In a verb syntagm, *-(i)kyer-* follows aspect auxiliaries and constructions (Stative *-yer*, Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*) and may follow or precede Negative *-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-*. Examples of *-(i)kyer-* combining with the Negative are very rare: there are 8 examples of *-(i)kyer-* following the Infinitive *-zu-*, and 4

<sup>1</sup> The only Infinitive example is written 来, and so may be considered unreliable.

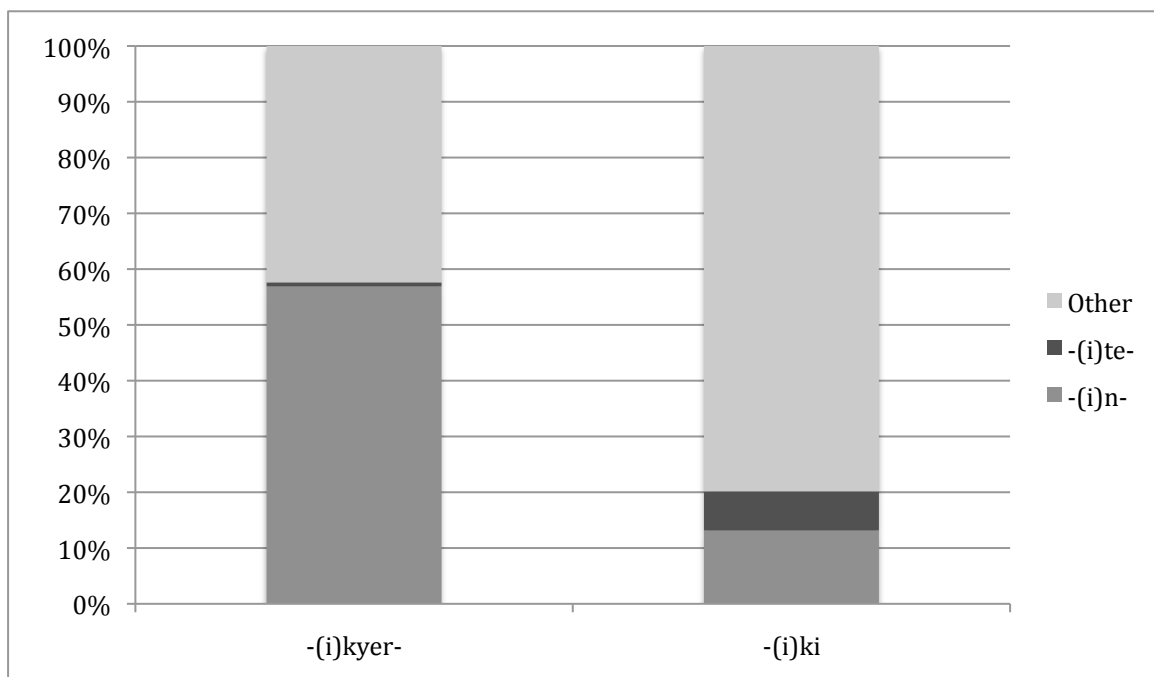
<sup>2</sup> Clauses followed by conjunctions that select the Adnominal form of a predicate, e.g. *wo* and *monowo*, are not treated as embeddings.

examples of *-(i)kyer-* preceding the Conclusive *-zu*.<sup>3</sup> It does not combine with modal auxiliaries (Conjectural *-(a)m-* and Subjunctive *-(a)masi*), or with Past *-(i)ki*. Of the predicate extensions, it only combines with Inferential *rasi-*.

The combination of *-(i)kyer-* with Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is interesting for two reasons. First, as a proportion of the total attestations of *-(i)kyer-* and *-(i)ki*, Perfective *-(i)n-* is much more frequent with *-(i)kyer-* than with *-(i)ki*: the combination *-(i)ni-kyer-* (Perfective *-(i)n-* followed by *-(i)kyer-*) accounts for 57% of the attestations of *-(i)kyer-*, while the combination *-(i)ni-ki* accounts for only 13% of the attestations of *-(i)ki*.<sup>4</sup> The numbers are presented in the table and the percentages in the graph:

(2)

|                  | Attestations with <i>-(i)n-</i> | Attestations with <i>-(i)te-</i> | Other Attestations | Total Attestations |
|------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>-(i)kyer-</i> | 239                             | 3                                | 178                | 420                |
| <i>-(i)ki</i>    | 137                             | 73                               | 832                | 1,042              |



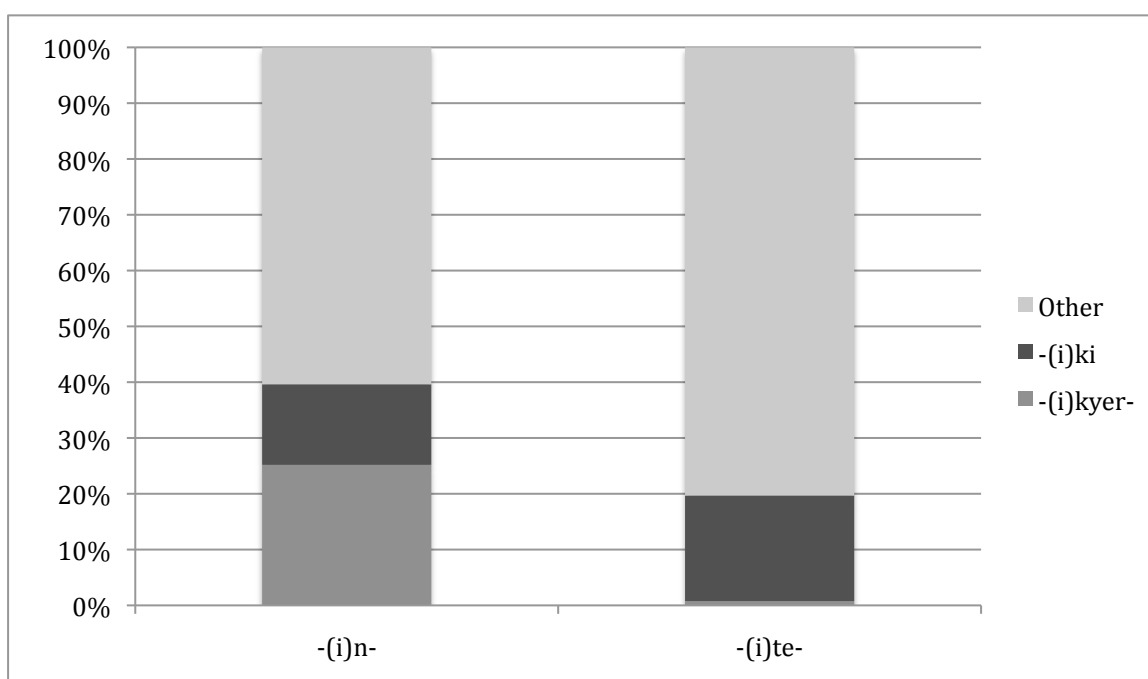
<sup>3</sup> The examples where *-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-* precedes *-(i)kyer-* are all emphatic, while the examples where *-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-* follows *-(i)kyer-* are all rhetorical questions.

<sup>4</sup> The numbers in this section are based on the attestations in the Oxford Corpus only.

Second, as a proportion of the total attestations of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, *-(i)kyer-* is much more frequent with *-(i)n-* than with *-(i)te-*: *-(i)ni-kyer-* accounts for 25% of the attestations of *-(i)n-*, while *-(i)te-kyer-* accounts for only 1% of the attestations of *-(i)te-*.<sup>5</sup> The numbers are presented in the table and the percentages in the graph:

(3)

|                | Attestations<br>with <i>-(i)kyer-</i> | Attestations<br>with <i>-(i)ki-</i> | Other<br>Attestations | Total<br>Attestations |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>-(i)n-</i>  | 239                                   | 137                                 | 710                   | 949                   |
| <i>-(i)te-</i> | 3                                     | 73                                  | 383                   | 386                   |



### 6.1.3.2 With predicates

The auxiliary *-(i)kyer-* is attested with all morphological classes of verb, and also with adjectives. It only occurs with *ko-* ‘come’ when there is another auxiliary (Perfective *-(i)n-* or Negative *-(a)zu ~ -(a)n-*) in between, perhaps for euphonic reasons.

The distributions of *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* differ in various ways. On a token frequency analysis, 89% of the attestations of *-(i)kyer-* in the Oxford Corpus are with intransitive

<sup>5</sup> The relatively large number of attestations of *-(i)te-ki* can be attributed to the optative construction *-(i)te-sika (mo)* (see chapter 7).

verbs and 11% with transitive verbs. On a type frequency analysis, 80% are with intransitive verbs and 20% with transitive. For *-(i)ki*, however, the proportions are 57% intransitive and 43% transitive (token frequency) or 59% intransitive and 41% transitive (type frequency).<sup>6</sup>

## 6.2 Previous accounts of *-(i)kyer-*

### 6.2.1 Non-firsthand past and mirative

I have taken Ikeda (1980) to be a representative of mainstream opinion on *-(i)kyer-*. He gives two definitions (p. 108). First, it ‘expresses the recollection or the retelling of a past event’, equivalent to English ‘it is said that ... happened’ or Modern Japanese *shita*, *shita soo da*, or *shita to yuu koto da*. Ikeda (1980: 108, note 2) adds, ‘Whereas [*-(i)ki*] deals with something which has been directly experienced, [*-(i)kyer-*] recollects something which has been experienced indirectly; for instance, something which one has heard from another person.’ Following the terminology of Aikhenvald (2004), this function could be called *non-firsthand past*. Second, when *-(i)kyer-* is ‘attached to words expressing a condition or state it shows a sense of exclamation and implies a feeling of surprise or emotion that one has just realized something for the first time’, equivalent to Modern Japanese *shite iru koto yo* or *shita no da naa*. This function could be called *mirative*.

Ikeda (1980: 108, note 2) notes further, ‘Although the meaning of [*-(i)kyer-*] has been divided for the purposes of explanation into recollection and exclamation, these meanings overlap and one should always think of both meanings as being present together.’ However, almost all examples of *mirative* usage have present time reference,

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<sup>6</sup> The figures for *-(i)kyer-* are not entirely due to the frequency of *-(i)ni-kyer-*. If *-(i)ni-kyer-* and *-(i)te-kyer-* are removed from the analysis, the token frequency of intransitive to transitive verbs changes to 85% : 15%, and the type frequency to 76% : 24%.

and there are many examples of *past* usage where it is difficult to perceive a mirative meaning (e.g. MYS.3.308). The two meanings are not always (and, actually, not usually) present together.

As we will see, Ikeda's identification of the two meanings of *-(i)kyer-* is largely correct, although he emphasizes 'hearsay' too much, neglecting 'inference', and misses out *emphasis*. In addition, his recommendation that 'one should always think of both meanings as being present together' is puzzling, and is not argued or demonstrated.

## 6.2.2 Modal past

### 6.2.2.1 *Speaker commitment*

Frellesvig (2010) defines *-(i)kyer-* as a past tense with a modal component, and he calls this modal component 'speaker commitment', imparting a sense of 'I tell you'. He also uses the terms 'speaker involvement' and 'subjectivity', which seem to denote two aspects of 'speaker commitment'.

The first way Frellesvig uses the term 'speaker commitment' is based on the use of *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* in the *Senmyō* and *Norito*: in the *Senmyō* both auxiliaries are found, whereas in the *Norito* only *-(i)ki* is used. Frellesvig (2010: 77) proposes that the reason for this is that the *Norito* are addresses *to* the spirits, and are 'addressee-focused'. Because of this, there is less scope for 'speaker commitment'. Discussing the *Senmyō*, Frellesvig (2010: 78) states that 'the simple past [*-(i)ki*] 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 [*-(i)kyer-*] expresses speaker involvement and commitment'. Here Frellesvig is *not* using the term 'speaker commitment' in an epistemic sense (commitment to the truth of a proposition), but rather to denote *subjectivity* in the sense of Nuyts (2001), which the latter contrasts with

*intersubjectivity*.<sup>7</sup> Nuyts (2001: 393) states: ‘[the pole of *subjectivity*] involves the speaker’s indication that (s)he alone knows (or has access to) the evidence and draws conclusions from it; [the pole of *intersubjectivity*] involves his/her indication that the evidence is known to (or accessible by) a larger group of people who share the same conclusion based on it.’ Using Nuyts’ terminology, *-(i)kyer-* is a *subjective* past and *-(i)ki* is an *intersubjective* past. Frellesvig suggests that *-(i)ki* can be used to *construe* events *intersubjectively*, but makes no such claims for *-(i)kyer-*.

Frellesvig also occasionally uses the term ‘speaker involvement’ about *-(i)kyer-*, whereby *-(i)ki* is said to report neutrally and *-(i)kyer-* with ‘speaker involvement’. He compares this aspect of the meaning of *-(i)kyer-* (more fully in Frellesvig 2007: 251) to Durst-Andersen’s (2004: 8) account of the Italian *passato remoto* and *passato prossimo*. Here ‘speaker involvement’ seems to be a more appropriate term than ‘subjectivity’ as defined above, since the involvement in question is an *emotional* involvement.

#### 6.2.2.2 *Present time reference*

To explain the frequent cases where *-(i)kyer-* does not have past time reference, Frellesvig (2010: 76) claims that sometimes the modal element of the auxiliary’s meaning can override the past element. Comrie (1985: 20) notes that in Norwegian ‘it is possible to use the past tense to express a present surprise or other affective connotation’, and Frellesvig gives the following example:

- (4) *så fin jeg var nå!*  
 so fine I **was** now  
 ‘How nice I **look!**’

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<sup>7</sup> Although Nuyts (2001: 384) explicitly distinguishes his term ‘subjectivity’ from the concept of ‘speaker commitment’, he defines ‘speaker commitment’ differently from Frellesvig (2010).

However, the Norwegian construction is fundamentally different from the Old Japanese one. The former is a simple past tense that loses its past time reference in a few very specific ‘exclamatory’ contexts, whereas *-(i)kyer-* appears to be one of a pair of past tenses, and moreover one whose nonpast uses outnumber its past uses two to one.

### 6.2.2.3 Conclusion

Frellesvig’s (2010) account of *-(i)kyer-* fits the examples, but that is because the modal component he suggests (‘speaker commitment’) is so broad. Of course, modal values are difficult to demonstrate, especially for a dead language, but almost any utterance could be said to express either ‘subjectivity’ or ‘speaker involvement’. It does not, however, fit the distribution of *-(i)kyer-* with Perfective *-(i)n-*. An explanation of the non-TA function of *-(i)kyer-* in terms of *mirativity* explains this.

Furthermore, it is possible to interpret the use of *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* in the *Senmyō* another way. All the uses of *-(i)kyer-* (and there are only 28) can be interpreted as *non-firsthand past* (including the semantic extension to ‘abnormal events’), *mirative*, or *emphatic*: *-(i)ki* can then be understood as a neutral past tense. The non-occurrence of *-(i)kyer-* in the *Norito* could then be because there is no place for these functions of *-(i)kyer-* in liturgical texts.

### 6.2.3 Marker of non-integrated information

Shinzato (1991) attempts to account for the disparate meanings attributed to *-(i)kyer-* by comparing *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* with Turkish *-di* and *-miş*, relying on the analysis by Slobin and Aksu (1982).<sup>8</sup> She notes that two main distinctions have been

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<sup>8</sup> Numerous studies on evidentiality in Turkish have appeared since Shinzato (1991). In particular, Johanson (2000, 2003) has criticized Slobin and Aksu (1982) for confounding the ‘indirective suffix’ *-miş*, which attaches to verbs, and the ‘indirective copula’ *-(y)mış*, which attaches to nouns and adjectives. The former appears to have mainly *perfect* (including ‘hot news perfect’) and *non-firsthand past* uses, while the latter seems to have (tenseless) *non-firsthand* and *mirative* uses.

made between *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-*: evidential and aspectual.<sup>9</sup> Evidentially, *-(i)ki* is said to refer to directly experienced events, while *-(i)kyer-* is said to refer to hearsay or events inferred from evidence. Aspectually, *-(i)ki* is said to be perfective, while *-(i)kyer-* is said to be perfect or imperfective. According to Shinzato (1991), neither evidential nor aspectual accounts of the distinction between *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* can explain why *-(i)ki* is used for historical accounts or why *-(i)kyer-* is used to express surprise. Similarly to Slobin and Aksu (1982), Shinzato (1991) proposes that what unites the functions of *hearsay*, *inference*, and *surprise* synchronically is the epistemic notion of *non-integrated information*.<sup>10</sup> She also proposes links between *perfect* and *non-integrated information* (pp. 48–52).

Shinzato's (1991) approach has a few shortcomings. First, the aspectual values she attributes to *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* do not stand up to analysis. As I show later, the evidence suggests that *-(i)kyer-* does not have a widespread 'perfect' use, while on the other hand *-(i)ki* can be used with perfective, imperfective, and perfect meaning. Second, she omits the emphatic uses of *-(i)kyer-*, in many of which *non-integrated information* does not seem to fit. Third, she assumes that all the uses of *-(i)kyer-* must necessarily be united psychologically in what Haspelmath (2003) calls a 'monosemist' account. As Anderson (1982: 232) and Croft (1998) point out, however, if such a claim is not supported by psycholinguistic evidence, it is an unwarranted assumption. Shinzato's (1991) main contribution is to have rescued *-(i)kyer-* from the confines of Japanese linguistics and looked at it from a cross-linguistic perspective. Although Turkish *-di* and *-miş* differ

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<sup>9</sup> Shinzato (1991) uses the term 'temporal' to refer to the domain of tense and aspect, but she has little to say about tense, so here I use the term 'aspectual'.

<sup>10</sup> In a less-detailed study, Sandness (1999: 49–54) proposes that a subjective notion expressing the meaning 'This is how I perceive it' is what unites the functions of *-(i)kyer-*. This is similar to Johanson's (2000, 2003) concept of *indirectivity*.

from Old Japanese *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* in various ways, Shinzato (1991) opened up the possibility of comparing *-(i)kyer-* with similar forms in other languages.

## 6.2.4 Summary

Traditional accounts of *-(i)kyer-* (e.g. Ikeda 1980) have tended to list the uses of *-(i)kyer-* and have not managed to show how they fit together. Some linguists (e.g. Frellesvig 2010) have reacted against these traditional accounts, but their theories fail to explain some uses of *-(i)kyer-*. Recently, some (e.g. Shinzato 1991, Sandness 1999) have attempted to unite the functions of *-(i)kyer-* cognitively, but these accounts lack detail. What is needed is an approach that takes into account the combinatorial facts of *-(i)kyer-* and its various uses, and shows how these uses might have arisen in one form.

## 6.3 The functions of *-(i)kyer-*

### 6.3.1 Introduction

#### 6.3.1.1 *Evidentiality, mirativity, and emphasis*

Here I introduce some non-tempo-aspectual concepts I will use to analyse the functions of *-(i)kyer-*.

##### 6.3.1.1.1 *Evidentiality*

In her cross-linguistic study, Aikhenvald (2004: 63–64) identifies six major meanings within the category of evidentiality:

- (5) I. VISUAL: covers information acquired through seeing.
- II. NON-VISUAL SENSORY: covers information acquired through hearing, and is typically extended to smell and taste, and sometimes also to touch.
- III. INFERENCE: based on visible or tangible evidence, or result.
- IV. ASSUMPTION: based on evidence other than visible results: this may include logical reasoning, assumption, or simply general knowledge.

- V. HEARSAY: for reported information with no reference to those it was reported by.
- VI. QUOTATIVE: for reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source.

Cornillie (2009) argues that *conjecture* should be considered a further evidential meaning:

- VII. CONJECTURE: for speculation based on no explicit evidence.

These major meanings may be further divided in the evidentiality systems of particular languages.

Aikhenvald (2004) also uses the term *non-firsthand* to refer to an evidential construction in two-term evidentiality systems that denotes that information was not obtained through direct perception. The major divisions within *non-firsthand* refer to information known by *hearsay* (i.e. by report), by *inference*, and by *assumption*.<sup>11,12</sup>

Squartini (2008) and Cornillie (2009) argue for the importance of the distinction between the *mode of knowing* and the *source of knowledge*. While the above seven types are *modes of knowing*, the *source of knowledge* can be *internal* (to a person) or *external*. Of the above, *assumption* and *conjecture* are *internal*, while the others are *external*.

#### 6.3.1.1.2 *Mirativity*

DeLancey (1997) popularized the use of the term *mirative* for the meanings of ‘surprise’ and ‘sudden realization’. Aikhenvald (2012: 473–474) defines the semantic domain of mirativity as the ‘expectation of knowledge’ or the ‘status of knowledge’. She argues that mirativity should not be considered as a value (analogous to, for

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<sup>11</sup> *Inference* is sometimes used as a cover term for *inference* and *assumption*, and sometimes (e.g. by Cornillie 2009) for *conjecture* as well. *Inference* (from results) may then be called *circumstantial inference* or *specific inference*, and *assumption* may be called *generic inference*.

<sup>12</sup> For further complexities of non-firsthand constructions, see Aikhenvald (2004: 174–179).

example, *past tense*), but as a category (analogous to, for example, *tense*) within which various values may be expressed. She identifies five major meanings within the category of mirativity, although she does not explain them in detail (p. 473):

- (6) I. SUDDEN DISCOVERY, SUDDEN REALIZATION, OR REVELATION
- II. SURPRISE
- III. UNPREPARED MIND
- IV. COUNTER-EXPECTATION
- V. NEW INFORMATION

Each of these values may be expressed with reference to (a) the speaker, (b) the audience or addressee, or (c) the main character.

Some mirative constructions (like constructions in other semantic domains) may be extended to related (but non-mirative) meanings, such as various emotional values. Mirative constructions may also have narrative functions.

#### 6.3.1.1.3 *Emphasis*

Emphasis can be expressed at several levels, e.g. *so* in *It was so much fun!* can be thought of as an emphatic marker, but it emphasizes the adverb *much* only. We are concerned with emphasis at the speech act or sentence level. Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 66) describe *emphasis* at the speech act level as ‘the result of the Speaker’s intensification of a Discourse Act’. They give an example from Spanish:

- (7) *¡Que no me gusta nada esa película!*  
EMPH NEG me please.3SG nothing that film  
‘I don’t like that movie **at all!**’

In declarative sentences this ‘intensification’ is a matter of emotional intensification. If *-(i)kyer-* was found to mark various emotions other than surprise, in these uses it could be called an *emphatic* marker.

### 6.3.1.2 The range of meaning of *-(i)kyer-*

Before attempting a deeper analysis, I will first present some relatively unambiguous examples of each of the meanings that has been proposed for *-(i)kyer-*, in order to demonstrate the semantic range of this morpheme.

There is no doubt that sometimes *-(i)kyer-* has past time reference, and in most of these cases it refers to something that the speaker did not witness firsthand:

- (8) 不盡 嶺尔 零置 雪者  
*puzi=no ne=ni puri-oku yuki=pa*  
 Puzi=GEN peak=DAT fall-settle.ADN snow=TOP  
 六月 十五日 消者  
*mina-dukwi=no moti=ni ke-nureba*  
 sixth-month=GEN fifteenth.day=DAT disappear-PFV.PROV  
 其 夜 布里家利  
*so=no ywo puri-kyeri*  
 that=GEN night fall-INDIR.CNCL

‘As the snow that had fallen on Puzi’s peak disappeared on the fifteenth day of the sixth month, it **must have fallen** again that night.’ (MYS.3.320)

Whatever the first half of the poem is taken to mean, it is clear from the expression *so no ywo* ‘that night’ that the time reference of *puri-kyeri* is to the past. I have interpreted *-(i)kyer-* in this example as an *inferential past*. There are also examples of *hearsay pasts*.

In many cases *-(i)kyer-* has present time reference, for example:

- (9) 妹之 紐 解 登 結而  
*imo=ga pimo toku to musubite*  
 (beloved=GEN sash loosen.CNCL COMP tie.GER)  
 立田山 今許曾 黃葉始而 有家礼  
*tatuta-yama ima=koso momiti-pazimet[e] ari-kyere*  
 Tatuta-mountain now=FOC go.red-begin.GER exist-INDIR.EXCL

‘Mt Tatuta **has** now **begun** to go red!’ (MYS.10.2211)

The presence of the adverb *ima* ‘now’ clearly places this example in the present. I have interpreted *-(i)kyer-* in this example as a *mirative*, the speaker expressing surprise at the present state denoted by the Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*.

There are also present examples where *-(i)kyer-* cannot be interpreted as expressing surprise or any other reaction related to the ‘status of knowledge’, for example:

- (10) 治賜    慈賜實利  
 wosame-tamapi                          **utukusibwi-tamapi-kyeri**  
 set.things.right-RESP.INF      **honour-RESP-INDIR.CNCL**  
 ‘I set things right and honour you!’ (from SM.2)

The above is a performative utterance, and so the surprise of the speaker is not appropriate. I tentatively interpret *-(i)kyer-* in the above example as *emphatic*.

To summarize, there are clear examples of *-(i)kyer-* with *past* time reference and with *present* time reference. In the *past* examples, most denote events that the speaker did not witness firsthand, but there are some exceptions. In the present examples, many are consistent with an interpretation in terms of the *surprise* of the speaker, but some cannot be interpreted this way.

### 6.3.1.3 Difficulties of analysis

Unfortunately, most of the examples of *-(i)kyer-* are ambiguous between two or more meanings. The following is typical:

- (11) 去年                  春      伊許自而                  殖之  
 kozo=no              paru    *i-kozite*                  uwe-*si*  
 last.year=GEN    spring    LOC-dig.out.GER    plant-PST.ADN  
 吾      屋外之      若樹                                  梅者  
 wa=ga    yadwo=no    waka-kwi    no                  ume=pa  
 I=GEN    house=GEN    young-tree    COP.ADN    plum=TOP  
 花                  咲尔家里  
 pana              **saki-ni-kyeri**  
 flower            **bloom-PFV-INDIR.CNCL**

- a. ‘The young plum tree at my house, which I dug out and planted last spring, **has blossomed!**’
- b. ‘The young plum tree at my house, which I dug out and planted last spring, **has (just) blossomed!**’
- c. ‘The young plum tree at my house, which I dug out and planted last spring, **has blossomed.**’
- d. ‘**(It appears that)** the young plum tree at my house, which I dug out and planted last spring, **blossomed.**’ (MYS.8.1423)

In this example, there are four plausible interpretations of *pana saki-ni-kyeri*. It could (a) be a mirative ‘has blossomed!’ denoting the speaker’s surprise or delight. It could (b) be a hot news perfect ‘has (just) blossomed!’ denoting a new situation. It could (c) be a simple resultative ‘has blossomed’, with no further implications. Or it could (d) be an inferential past ‘blossomed’, denoting the past event of the tree’s *coming into bloom*, which the speaker infers from its visible results.

#### 6.3.1.4 *A model: Indirective*

With so many ambiguous examples, how do we get a picture of *-(i)kyer-* that is more explanatory than a mere list of possible meanings? The approach I will adopt is to develop a model of its meaning that incorporates all the attested meanings, and which is *typologically plausible*. I believe that the following model (a) best explains the data and (b) is most typologically plausible.

As I will demonstrate at greater length below, *-(i)kyer-* expresses mainly *inferential past*, *hearsay past*, and *mirative* meanings, with some *emphatic* uses. As shown by Lazard (1999) and Johanson and Utas (2000), many languages exist in which there is a form that combines these meanings. Lazard (1999) uses the term *mediative* to refer to this cluster of uses, while Johanson (2000, 2003) uses the term *indirective*. I will adopt Johanson’s term here.<sup>13</sup> Both Lazard and Johanson attempt to unify their concepts of

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<sup>13</sup> A slight disadvantage of the term ‘mediative’ is that its French counterpart *médiatif* is the normal word for *evidential* in linguistics written in that language.

*indirectivity* and *mediativity* around a ‘basic meaning’: Lazard (1999: 96) states that mediatives ‘interpose an unspecified reference to the origin of the information between the speaker and his discourse’, while Johanson (2000: 71) states that the basic function of indirectives is ‘to express the establishment of the event through the awareness of a conscious mind’. I do not commit myself to either analysis.

Both Lazard and Johanson note that each language has its own peculiarities, so we should not expect Old Japanese to behave exactly like any other language, but it appears to fall into the general ‘indirective’ pattern. This model is the best explanation for a form with so many *past* and *present* examples, where the past examples are almost exclusively *non-firsthand*, and where the present examples can all be interpreted as mirative or emphatic. Unlike the *modal past* meaning Frellesvig (2010) proposes, the complex of meanings I propose has cross-linguistic correlates.

In the rest of this section I will present the evidence from Old Japanese, and in the conclusion I will suggest how this combination of meanings might have come about.

### **6.3.2 Non-firsthand past**

In almost all the cases where *-(i)kyer-* is used with past time reference, it refers to events that the speaker did not witness firsthand. These denote information obtained either through *inference* or through *hearsay*. In addition, one can observe a semantic extension to *abnormal experience*.

#### **6.3.2.1 Inference**

The first type of non-firsthand past expressed by *-(i)kyer-* is that of *inference*. This first example, which contrasts Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, is instructive:

- (12) 許能 美岐袁 迦美祁牟 比登波  
*ko=no mi-ki=wo kami-kye-mu pito=pa*  
 this=GEN RESP-cup=ACC **chew-PST-CONJ.ADN** person=TOP
- 曾能 都豆美 宇須 迹 多弓弓  
*so=no tudumi usu ni tatete*  
 that=GEN drum mortar COP.INF stand.GER
- 宇多比都都 迦美祁禮 加母  
*utapitutu kami-kyere kamo*  
 sing.CONT **chew-INDIR.EXCL** EMPH
- 麻<sup>14</sup>比都都 迦美祁禮 加母  
*mapitutu kami-kyere kamo*  
 dance.CONT **chew-INDIR.EXCL** EMPH
- 許能 美岐能 美岐能  
*ko=no mi-ki=no mi-ki=no*  
 this=GEN RESP-cup=GEN RESP-cup=GEN
- 阿夜迹 宇多陀怒斯 佐佐  
*aya-ni uta-danwosi asa*  
 so-COP.INF very-enjoyable.ACOP.CNCL INT

‘The people who (**I assume**) **chewed** (the rice for) this wine, standing that drum up like a mortar, **must have chewed** it while singing! They **must have chewed** it while dancing! This wine is so very enjoyable!’ (KK.40)

The phrase *kami-kye-mu pito* ‘the people who (I assume) chewed’ includes Past *-(i)ki* and Conjectural *-(a)m-*, since the fact that people chewed the rice for the wine is a logical assumption: wine does not exist without people having prepared it. The two instances of *kami-kyere* are different, however. In these cases the speaker is *inferring* from the taste of the wine how the wine was made.

All the examples of *-(i)kyerasi* (Indirective *-(i)kyer-* + Inferential *rasi-*) are *inferential*, for example:<sup>15</sup>

- (13) 阿米都知能 等母爾 比佐斯久 伊比都夏 都  
*ame-tuti=no tomo-ni pisasi-ku ipi-tuge to*  
 heaven-earth=GEN together-COP.INF long-ACOP.INF say-tell.IMP COMP

<sup>14</sup> This is a simplified version of the original character, which is not supported on computers.

<sup>15</sup> In common with some other predicates whose Adnominal forms end in *-ru*, when *-(i)kyer-* combines with Inferential *rasi-*, the resulting form is *-kyerasi-*. It is usually assumed that this is for euphonic reasons, but Vovin (2009a: 682–683) offers an alternative analysis.

許能 久斯美多麻 志可志家良斯 母  
*ko=no kusimi-tama sika-si-kyerasi mo*  
 this=GEN mysterious-stone **place-RESP-INDIR.INFER.CNCL** EMPH

‘**It looks as though** (she) **laid** these mysterious stones (as if to say), “Tell of it as long as heaven and earth (endure)!” ’ (MYS.5.814)

- (14) 後 代之 聞繼 人毛  
*noti=no yo=no kiki-tugu pito=mo*  
 afterwards=GEN generation=GEN hear-transmit.ADN people=TOP
- 伊也 遠尔 思努比尔 勢餘 等  
*iya topo-ni sinwopi=ni seyoto to*  
 more.and.more far-COP.INF think.INF=DAT do.IMP COMP
- 黃楊小櫛 之賀 左志家良之  
*tuge-wo-gusi sika sasi-kyerasi*  
 boxwood-small-comb that.way **place-INDIR.INFER.CNCL**
- 生而 靡有  
*opwite nabik-yeri*  
 grow.GER grow.thick-STAT.CNCL
- ‘(As if to say) to people of later generations, “Always remember this”, **it seems** (they) **placed** a small boxwood comb (there). It has grown and is leafy.’  
 (from MYS.19.4211)

In (13) the evidence is the stones which are portrayed as being before the speaker’s eyes.

In (14) the evidence is the tree that grew from the comb. The fact that Inferential *rasi-* was frequently used with *-(i)kyer-* in this meaning is perhaps evidence that the default past meaning of *-(i)kyer-* had come to be *hearsay*, and that inference had to be specially signalled.

It seems that *-(i)kyer-* is not used to express *assumption*, this instead being one of the functions of *-(i)kye-m-* (Past *-(i)ki* + Conjectural *-(a)m-*). See 6.3.6.1.2 for examples.

### 6.3.2.2 *Hearsay*

Second, there are many examples that describe past events which the speaker heard about from other people, for example:

- (15) 吾妻乃 國尔 古昔尔 有家留 事  
*aduma=no kuni=ni inisipye=ni ari-kyeru koto*  
 Aduma=GEN country=DAT past=DAT **exist-INDIR.ADN** thing  
 ‘a thing that **happened** in the past in the land of Aduma’ (from MYS.9.1807)
- (16) 葦原能 美豆保 國乎  
*asi-para=no midupo=no kuni=wo*  
 reed-plain=GEN paddy.field=GEN country=ACC  
 安麻久太利 之良志賣之家流  
*ama-kudari sira-si-myesi-kyeru*  
 heaven-descend.INF **rule-RESP-RESP-INDIR.ADN**  
 須賣呂伎能 神乃 美許等能 御代 可佐祢  
*sumyeroki=no kamwi=no mikoto=no mi-yo kasane*  
 emperor=COP.ADN god=GEN RESP=GEN RESP-generation pile.up.INF  
 ‘for generations of the honourable divine emperors, who came down from heaven and **ruled** this country of paddy fields in reed plains’  
 (from MYS.18.4094)
- (17) 山守之 有家留 不知尔  
*yamamori=no ari-kyeru sira-ni*  
 mountain.ranger=GEN **exist-INDIR.ADN** know-NEG.INF  
 其 山尔 標 結立而  
*so=no yama=ni sime yupi-tatete*  
 that=GEN mountain=DAT sign tie-put.up.GER  
 結之 辱 為都  
*yupi=no padi si-tu*  
 tie.INF=GEN shame do-PFV.CNCL  
 ‘Not knowing that **there was** a mountain ranger (i.e. another suitor), I staked a claim to that mountain (i.e. that woman), and suffered the shame of claiming it.’ (MYS.3.401)
- (18) 知努乎登古 宇奈比壯子乃  
*tinu-wotokwo unapi-wotokwo=no*  
 Tinu-man Unapi-man=GEN  
 宇都勢美能 名乎 競争 登  
*utusemi=no na=wo araswopu to [...]*  
 world=GEN name=ACC fight.CNCL COMP  
 壽毛 須底豆 相争尔 孀問 為家留  
*inoti=mo sutete araswopi=ni tuma-dopi si-kyeru*  
 life=TOP discard.GER **fight.INF=COP.INF** **wife-seek.INF** **do-INDIR.ADN**

孀等之            聞者            悲左  
 wotomyera=ga kikeba      kanasi-sa  
 woman=GEN    hear.PROV    sad-ACOP.EXCL

‘It is pitiful when one hears about the woman that the man Tinu and the man Unapi, in order to win a name for themselves, having abandoned their lives, were vying to win.’ (from MYS.19.4211)

(19) 書            作<sub>豆</sub>            朝庭乃            咎            計<sub>豆</sub>  
 pumi          tukurite      mikadwo=no toga      kazwopete  
 document    make.GER    emperor-GEN    mistake    count.GER

將進                            等            謀家利  
 tatematura-mu            to      pakari-kyeri  
 give.HUM-CONJ.CNCL    COMP    plan-INDIR.CNCL

‘(They) **planned** to make a document, counting the emperor’s mistakes, and give it (to him).’ (from SM.30)

Watanabe (2008) and Vovin (2009a) claim that most of these events are *imperfective*, but in fact the number of unbounded events is not significantly large.

### 6.3.2.3 *Abnormal experience*

There are a few examples of *-(i)kyer-* used about directly experienced past events, but they always denote something the speaker did not experience in a normal way, or an event that was somehow strange. Example (20) is about the speaker’s direct experience, but since he was asleep, he has to *infer* what actually happened:

(20) 春            野尔  
 paru=no      nwo=*ni*  
 spring=GEN    field=DAT  
 須美礼 採尔            等            来師            吾曾  
 sumire tumi=*ni*      to      ko-si            ware=*so*  
 violet    pick.INF=DAT    COMP    come-PST.ADN    I=FOC  
 野乎            奈都可之美            一夜            宿二来  
 nwo=*wo*    natukasi-mi            pito-ywo    **ne-ni-kyeru**  
 field=ACC    lovely-ACOP.INF    one-night    **sleep-PFV-INDIR.ADN**

‘(It seems that) I, who came to the spring field to pick violets, **slept** (here) for one night because the field is lovely.’ (MYS.8.1424)

Example (21) denotes something that the speaker experienced in a dream:

- (21) 幾許            思異目                    鴨  
 ika=bakari    omopi-*kye-me*            *kamo*  
 how=EMPH    yearn-PST-CONJ.EXCL    EMPH
- 敷細之                            枕            片去  
 sikitape=no                    makura    kata-saru  
 (sleeping.mat=COP.ADN)    pillow    one.side-go.ADN
- 夢                    所見來  
 ime=ni            **mi-ye-kyeru**  
 dream=DAT    **see-PASS-INDIR.ADN**

‘Perhaps it is because you were fervently yearning for me, that **you appeared** in my dream as I slept on one side of my pillow.’ (MYS.4.633)<sup>16</sup>

Finally, example (22) describes an apparition of the Buddha (see also SM.5, SM.6, and SM.41):

- (22) 去年            九月            天地                    貺  
 kozo=no            naga-tukwi    ame-tuti=no            tamap-yeru  
 last.year=GEN    ninth-month    heaven-earth=GEN    give-STAT.ADN
- 大                    瑞                    物            顯來理  
 opo-ki                    sirusi=no            mono    **arapare-kyeri**  
 great-ACOP.ADN    sign=COP.ADN    thing    **appear-INDIR.CNCL**

‘In the ninth month of last year, a great sign **appeared** which heaven and earth gave.’ (from SM.5)

Slobin and Aksu (1982: 187) report that the Turkish Indirective *-miş* is also used to narrate myths, folktales, dreams, and jokes, which they group together as ‘accounts of unreal events outside the regular experience of the speech community’. Aikhenvald (2004: 344–347) gives examples both of languages that use firsthand evidentials for dreams, and languages that use non-firsthand evidentials. It seems that OJ uses *-(i)kyer-* for what I have called ‘abnormal experience’.

<sup>16</sup> This poem exists in an alternative version (see Omodaka 1983/4: 369) where the final predicate is *mi-ye-ko-si* ‘see-PASS-come-PST.ADN’. Takagi et al. (1957) and Kojima et al. (1994) use the version with *-(i)kyer-*.

#### 6.3.2.4 Summary

The auxiliary *-(i)kyer-* is used to describe past events that the speaker knows about through inference or hearsay, or, occasionally, events whose experience was somehow abnormal. It seems that *-(i)kyer-* is not used for *assumption*. In Aikhenvald's (2004) classification, the past uses of *-(i)kyer-* are *non-firsthand*, with a semantic extension to *abnormal experience*.

#### 6.3.3 Mirative and emphatic

About two thirds of the time *-(i)kyer-* appears in clauses with present time reference, attached to verbs whose aspectual interpretation it appears not to affect. Evidently the contribution of *-(i)kyer-* in these cases has nothing to do with tense or aspect. These examples are best interpreted as *mirative* or *emphatic*.

##### 6.3.3.1 Mirative

###### 6.3.3.1.1 Without Perfective *-(i)n-*

The mirative uses of *-(i)kyer-* denote *sudden discovery* or *sudden realization* of a pre-existing state, often with concomitant *surprise*. Sometimes this is due to sense perception:

- (23) 妹之            紐    解            登    結而  
imo=ga        pimo toku        to    musubite  
(beloved=GEN sash loosen.CNCL COMP tie.GER)  
立田山            今許曾    黃葉始而            有家礼  
tatuta-yama    ima=koso    **momiti-pazimet[e]**    **ari-kyere**  
Tatuta-mountain now=FOC **go.red-begin.GER**    **exist-INDIR.EXCL**  
'Mt Tatuta **has** now **begun** to go red!' (MYS.10.2211)

- (24) 奈泥之故波    秋            咲            物乎  
nadesikwo=pa    aki        saku        monowo  
large.pink=TOP autumn bloom.ADN although

君宅之雪巖尔  
 kimi=g[a] ipye=no yuki=no ipapo=ni  
 you=GEN house=GEN snow=GEN rock=DAT  
 左家理家流 可母  
*sak-yeri-kyeru kamo*  
**bloom-STAT-INDIR.ADN EMPH**

‘Although large pinks bloom in autumn, they **are blooming** (now) among the rocks of snow at your house!’ (MYS.19.4231)

And sometimes the realization process is more internal:

(25) 如是耳 有家類 物乎  
 kaku=nomwi=**ni** **ari-kyeru** monowo  
 thus=EMPH=COP.INF **exist-INDIR.ADN** although  
 芽子 花 咲而 有 哉 跡  
 pagwi=no pana sakite ari ya to  
 bush.clover=GEN flower bloom.GER exist.CNCL Q COMP  
 問之 君波母  
 twopi-si kimi=*pa=mo*  
 ask-PST.ADN lord=TOP=TOP

‘(It is) my lord, who although (**I now remember**)<sup>17</sup> he is like this, used to ask me if the bush clover was in bloom.’ (MYS.3.455)

(26) 遊士尔 吾者 有家里  
 miyabwiwo=**ni** ware=pa **ari-kyeri**  
 gentleman=COP.INF I=TOP **exist-INDIR.CNCL**  
 屋戸 不借 令還 吾曾  
 yadwo kasa-zu kapyesi-si ware=so  
 house lend-NEG.INF send.back-PST.ADN I=FOC  
 風流士者 有  
 miyabwiwo=**ni**=p[a] aru  
 gentleman=COP.INF=TOP exist.ADN

‘(**It turns out**) I **am** a gentleman! I who did not have her to stay over but sent her back—I am a gentleman.’ (MYS.2.127)

<sup>17</sup> The phrase *kaku nomwi ni ari-kyeru (monowo)* appears in several poems (MYS.3.455, MYS.3.470, and MYS.16.3804), where it always refers to a dead partner. Takagi et al. (1957: 214) interpret this (and similar examples) as the speaker’s sudden recollection that his or her partner is dead (translating it into Modern Japanese as *ima omoeba ... no datta* ‘now I think about it, (I remember that) it was...’).

In all of these cases, though, the state was in existence beforehand, and the mirative marks the speaker's *discovery* or *realization* of it.

#### 6.3.3.1.2 *With Perfective -(i)n-*

The behaviour of *-(i)kyer-* with Perfective *-(i)n-* constitutes important evidence for its mirative meaning, and also for the result state function of *-(i)n-*. As explained in 6.1.3.1, (i) a very high proportion of the examples of *-(i)kyer-* occur in combination with a Perfective auxiliary, and (ii) almost all of these are with *-(i)n-* rather than *-(i)te-*. In my view these facts are best explained by positing *mirative* as a central function of *-(i)kyer-*.

The auxiliaries *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* differ in two ways: in the verbs they combine with, and in their semantic range. The difference in combination can be seen in terms of a classic split auxiliary system: *-(i)n-* combines with unaccusative verbs (and a few exceptional transitives), while *-(i)te-* combines with transitive and unergative verbs. The difference in semantic range is a result of their combinatorial differences. The verbs *-(i)n-* combines with tend to denote a change of state undergone by the subject, and *-(i)n-* has developed to denote subjective result states, which it does so very frequently. The verbs *-(i)te-* combines with either do not denote a change of state, or denote a change of state undergone by the object, and while *-(i)te-* has developed to denote objective and possessive result states, it only does so rarely.

Designating *-(i)kyer-* a 'subjective modal' (Sandness 1999) or a 'modal past' (Frellesvig 2010) does not explain why it combines with 25% of the attestations of *-(i)n-* but with only 1% of the attestations of *-(i)te-*. There is no reason to believe that unaccusative verbs (which select *-(i)n-*) are more likely to require *subjective* expression than transitive and unergative verbs (which select *-(i)te-*). However, if *mirative* is considered to be one of the central meanings of *-(i)kyer-*, its distribution with *-(i)n-* and

*-(i)te-* is explained. In languages where one marker has both evidential and mirative uses, the evidential use tends to occur in past contexts and the mirative use in present ones (see DeLancey 1997, 2001; Hengeveld and Olbertz 2012). I propose that *-(i)kyer-* occurs so often with *-(i)n-* because *-(i)n-* frequently expresses present result states while *-(i)te-* does not.

The frequent occurrence with *-(i)n-* also suggests that the primary nonpast value of *-(i)kyer-* is *mirative*, not *emphatic*. There seems to be no reason why result states should be especially picked out for emphasis in a language, while, on the other hand, they are obviously a natural environment for miratives.

The majority of examples of *-(i)ni-kyer-* can be interpreted as denoting a reaction of *surprise* following the *sudden discovery* or *sudden realization* of a result state:

- (27) 昔 見之 象乃 小河乎 今 見者  
 mukasi mi-si kiza=no wogapa=wo ima mireba  
 past see-PST.ADN Kiza=GEN stream=ACC now see.PROV  
 弥 清 成尔来 鴨  
 iyoyo sayake-ku **nari-ni-kyeru** kamo  
 more clear-ACOP.INF **become-PFV-INDIR.ADN** EMPH

‘When (I) now see Kiza stream that I saw in the past, it **has become** even clearer!’ (MYS.3.316)

- (28) 手寸十名相 殖之久 知久 出見者  
 taki-swonapi uwe-siku siru-ku ide-mireba  
 work-prepare.INF plant-PST.NMNL clear-ACOP.INF go.out-see.PROV  
 屋前之 早芽子 咲尔家類 香聞  
 yadwo=no patu-pagwi **saki-ni-kyeru** kamo  
 house=GEN first-bush.clover **bloom-PFV-INDIR.ADN** EMPH

‘Preparing and planting having been worth it, when I go out to see, the first bush clover **have bloomed!**’ (MYS.10.2113)

- (29) 今者 吾羽 和備曾 四二結類  
 ima=pa a=pa **wabwi=so** **si-ni-kyeru**  
 now=TOP I=TOP **become.dismayed.INF=FOC** **do-PFV-INDIR.ADN**

氣乃 緒尔 念師 君乎  
 iki=*no* wo=*ni* omopi-*si* kimi=*wo*  
 life=GEN thread=COP.INF think-PST.ADN you=ACC  
 縦左久 思者  
 yurusaku mopeba  
 slacken.NMNL think.PROV

‘Now I **am dismayed**, when I think of letting you go, whom I thought of as my lifeline.’ (MYS.4.644)

- (30) 情者 不忘 物乎  
 kokoro=ni=pa wasure-nu monowo  
 heart=DAT=TOP forget-NEG.ADN although  
 儻 不見 日 數多  
 tamasaka=ni mi-nu pi sa mane-ku  
 accident=DAT see-NEG.ADN day so many-ACOP.INF  
 月曾 經去來  
 tukwi=*so* **pe-ni-kyeru**  
 month=FOC **pass-PFV-INDIR.ADN**

‘Although (I) do not forget (you) in my heart, I have not bumped into you for so many days, and (**it turns out**) a month **has passed!**’ (MYS.4.653)

In some of the examples, the ‘surprise’ could alternatively be interpreted as *emphasis*:

- (31) 枳美可 由伎 気 那我久 奈理奴  
 kimi=*ga* yuki ke naga-ku nari-nu  
 you=GEN go.INF day long-ACOP.INF become-PFV.CNCL  
 奈良遲那留 志満乃 己太知母  
 nara-di=*naru* sima=*no* kodati=*mo*  
 Nara-road=DAT.exist.ADN garden=GEN grove=TOP  
 可牟佐飛仁家里  
**kamusabwi-ni-kyeri**  
**become.godlike-PFV-INDIR.CNCL**

‘Many days have passed since you left. Even the grove in your garden on the Nara road **has become like an aged god!**’ (MYS.5.867)

Most of the examples of *-(i)ni-kyer-*, however, seem to denote surprise at or sudden realization of a result state. Since *-(i)n-* occasionally denotes ongoing activities, sometimes *-(i)ni-kyer-* denotes surprise at (or emphasis of) an ongoing activity (see also MYS.15.3697 and MYS.15.3716):

- (82) 珠洲能 宇美爾 安佐妣良伎 之弓 許芸久礼婆  
*susu=n[o] umi=ni asabiraki site kogi-kureba*  
 Susu=GEN sea=DAT morning.departure do.GER row-come.PROV  
 奈我波麻能 宇良爾 都奇 低理爾家里  
*nagapama=no ura=ni tukwi **teri-ni-kyeri***  
 Nagapama=GEN cove=DAT moon **shine-PFV-INDIR.CNCL**  
 ‘When we row out in the morning in the Susu Sea, the moon **is shining** in Nagapama Cove!’ (MYS 17.4029)

It is possible that the many examples of *kwopwi-ni-kyer-* should be interpreted this way too.

### 6.3.3.2 *Emphatic*

#### 6.3.3.2.1 *Emotional emphasis*

Many examples of *-(i)kyer-* seem only to intensify emotions, and not to denote any sense of surprise or sudden realization, for example (see also MYS.4.769 and MYS.7.1074):

- (32) 人毛 奈吉 空 家者  
*pito=mo na-ki munasi-ki ipye=pa*  
 people=TOP not.exist-ACOP.ADN empty-ACOP.ADN house=TOP  
 草枕 旅尔 益而 辛苦有家里  
*kusa-makura tabi=ni masarite **kurusi-kari-kyeri***  
 (grass-pillow) journey=DAT exceed.GER **painful-ACOP-INDIR.CNCL**  
 ‘An empty house with no one in it **is more painful** than going on a journey!’ (MYS.3.451)

- (33) 待難尔 余 為 月者  
*mati-gate-ni wa=ga suru tukwi=pa*  
 wait-continue-COP.INF I=GEN do.ADN moon=TOP  
 妹之 著 三笠 山尔  
*imo=ga kiru mikasa=no yama=ni*  
 (beloved=GEN wear.ADN) Mikasa=COP.ADN mountain=DAT  
 隱而 有来  
**komorit[e] ari-kyeri**  
**be.shut.up.GER exist-INDIR.CNCL**

‘The moon that I continue to wait for **is hidden** behind Mt Mikasa!’  
(MYS.6.987)

- (34) 又 難波 大宮  
mata nanipa=no opo-miya=ni  
also Nanipa=GEN great-court=DAT
- 御宇  
ame=no sita sira-si-myesi-si  
heaven=GEN under rule-RESP-RESP-PST.ADN
- 掛母 畏支 天皇命乃  
kake-maku=mo kasikwo-ki sumyera-mikoto=*no*  
mention-CONJ.NMNL=TOP fearful-ACOP.ADN emperor-RESP=GEN
- 汝 父 藤原大臣乃  
mimasi=no titi pudipara-no-opoomi=*no*  
you=GEN father Pudipara-GEN-Opoomi=GEN
- 仕奉<sub>賈流</sub> 状乎婆  
tukape-maturi-*kyeru* sama=*woba*  
serve-RESP-INDIR.ADN way=ACC
- 建内宿祢 命乃 仕奉<sub>賈流</sub> 事止  
takeuchi-no-sukune=no mikoto=*no* tukape-maturi-*kyeru* koto=*to*  
Takeuchi-no-Sukune=GEN RESP=GEN serve-RESP-INDIR.ADN NMLZ=COM
- 同 事叙 止 勅而  
oyazi koto=*zo* to nori-tamapite  
same.ADN NMLZ=FOC COMP say.RESP.GER
- 治賜 慈賜<sub>賈利</sub>  
wosame-tamapi **utukusibwi-tamapi-*kyeri***  
set.things.right-RESP-INF **honour-RESP-INDIR.CNCL**

‘Also, proclaiming that the way your father Pudipara no Opoomi served the emperor (too awesome to mention), who ruled all under heaven in the great court in Nanipa, is the same (= as good) as the way Takeuchi no Sukune served, (I) set things right and **honour** (you)!’ (from SM.2)

It is difficult to interpret these examples, particularly (32), as expressing surprise or sudden realization. This last is *performative*, a use also found in Georgian (see Boeder 2000: 307–308).

#### 6.3.3.2.2 Use in comparisons

There are some interesting examples where *-(i)kyer-* is used in comparisons, for example:

- (35) 久須理師波                      都祢乃母                      阿礼等  
*kusurisi=pa*                      *tune-no=mo*                      *aredo*  
 medicine.master=TOP usual-COP.ADN=TOP exist.CNCS  
 麻良比止乃                      伊麻乃                      久須理師  
*marapito=no*                      *ima=no*                      *kusurisi*  
 foreigner=COP.ADN now=GEN medicine.master  
 多布止可理家利    米太志加利鷄利  
*taputwo-kari-kyeri*    *medasi-kari-kyeri*  
**worthy.of.worship-ACOP-INDIR.CNCL**    **worthy.of.praise-ACOP-INDIR.CNCL**  
 ‘Even though there are also the usual medicine masters, this foreign medicine master **is (more) worthy of worship, is (more) worthy of praise!**’ (BS.15)

Miller (1975: 137–145) argues that this poem is a comment on the introduction of Buddhism to Japan, the ‘usual medicine masters’ being the native Shinto *kami*, and the ‘foreign medicine master’ being the Buddha. Miller (1975: 140–141) also argues that this is an example of a rhetorical device that he calls ‘laudatory comparison’, which ‘singles out an individual item for praise by setting it off against other similar items, but the resulting demonstration of superiority does not imply or necessarily entail the inferiority of the remaining items.’ An exactly parallel example of this construction is KK.7 (with *-(i)kyer-*), and there are similar examples (without *-(i)kyer-*) in MYS.1.2, MYS.6.992, and MYS.14.3350. The example from KK.7:

- (36) 阿加陀麻波                      袁佐閑                      比迦禮杼  
*aka-dama=pa*                      *wo=sape*                      *pikaredo*  
 red-jewel=TOP thread=even shine.CNCS  
 斯良多麻能    岐美何                      余曾比斯  
*sira-tama=no*    *kimi=ga*                      *yosopi=si*  
 white-jewel=COP.ADN you=GEN decoration=EMPH  
 多布斗久    阿理祁理  
*taputwo-k[u]*    *ari-kyeri*  
**worthy.of.worship-ACOP-INF**    **exist-INDIR.CNCL**  
 ‘With red jewels even the thread shines, but the (natural) adornment of you who are a white jewel **is (more) worthy of worship!**’ (KK.7)

In this construction the speaker presents something generally accepted to be good (the Shinto *kami*, red jewels) and then presents something even better (the Buddha, the beauty of the addressee). These examples clearly have nothing to do with surprise in a normal sense, and I have classified them as broadly *emphatic*.

### 6.3.3.3 Summary

These meanings of *-(i)kyer-* can be described as ‘mirative’ and ‘emphatic’. In terms of Aikhenvald’s (2012) classification of mirative meanings, those expressed by *-(i)kyer-* seem to be a combination of Ia (surprise of the speaker) and Ia (sudden discovery, sudden revelation, or sudden realization by the speaker). The meaning of *-(i)kyer-* can be broader than this, however. There are numerous examples where *-(i)kyer-* appears to be *emphatic*, adding some sort of emotional force (unconnected with surprise) to the utterance.

## 6.3.4 Result state and anterior-continuing

It has been claimed that *-(i)kyer-* has ‘perfect’ functions. The particular functions relevant to the interpretation of *-(i)kyer-* are *result state* and *anterior-continuing*.

### 6.3.4.1 Result state or mirative?

In most cases where *-(i)kyer-* appears in a predicate that denotes a result state, it is in combination with Perfective *-(i)n-*, for example:

- (38) 情者                      不忘                      物乎  
kokoro=ni=pa    wasure-nu                      monowo  
heart=DAT=TOP    forget-NEG.ADN    although  
儻                      不見                      日                      數多  
tamasaka=ni    mi-nu                      pi    sa    mane-ku  
accident=DAT    see-NEG.ADN    day    so    many-ACOP.INF

月曾 經去來  
 tukwi=so **pe-ni-kyeru**  
 month=FOC **pass-PFV-INDIR.ADN**

‘Although (I) do not forget (you) in my heart, I have not bumped into you for so many days, and (**it turns out**) a month **has passed!**’ (MYS.4.653)

However, it is not *-(i)kyer-* that denotes the result state. I propose that, in examples such as the above, *-(i)n-* denotes the result state, and *-(i)kyer-* has a mirative or emphatic function. In other words, the ‘perfect’ meaning comes from the result state use of Perfective *-(i)n-*, and *-(i)kyer-* denotes surprise or sudden realization of the result state, or emphasis.

#### 6.3.4.2 Result state

There are, however, a few examples of *-(i)kyer-* attaching directly to change of state verbs where the *result state* of the verb appears to be profiled:

- (39) 應還 時者 成來  
 kapyeru be-ku toki=pa **nari-kyeri**  
 return.CNCL NEC-ACOP.INF time=TOP **become-INDIR.CNCL**  
 京師尔而  
 miyakwo=*nite*  
 capital=DAT  
 誰 手本乎可 吾 將枕  
 ta=ga tamoto=*wo=ka* a=ga makuraka-mu  
 who=GEN arm=ACC=FOC I=GEN make.into.pillow-CONJ.ADN

‘It **has become** the time when (I) must return. In the capital, whose arm will I use as a pillow?’ (MYS.3.439)

- (40) 山守之 里邊 通 山道曾  
 yamamori=no satwo-pye=ni kaywopu yama-miti=*so*  
 mountain.ranger=GEN village-direction=DAT go.ADN mountain-road=FOC  
 茂 成來 忘來下  
**sige-ku** **nari-kyeru** wasure-*kyerasi* *mo*  
**overgrown-ACOP.INF** **become-INDIR.ADN** forget-INDIR.INFER.CNCL EMPH

‘The mountain road on which the mountain ranger comes to the village **has become overgrown**. It seems he forgot (to come).’ (MYS.7.1261)

These seem to denote result states, and reasonably concrete ones (based on the meaning of the verb). However, I have not been able to find any other comparable examples. It seems likely that these are marginal *result state* uses of *-(i)kyer-*, similar to the result state uses of the Russian Perfective mentioned by Dahl and Hedin (2000).

### 6.3.4.3 *Anterior-continuing or past tense?*

Examples that are plausibly interpreted as *anterior-continuing* often include a word meaning ‘long ago’ (*inisipye*, *kamwi-yo*, *kamu-yo*) followed by an Ablative particle (*ywori*, *ywo*, *yuri*, *yu*). This combination is usually interpreted as ‘since long ago’, necessitating an anterior-continuing interpretation for the *-kyer-* string, for example:

- (41) 從古 言續來口  
 inisipye=yu **ipi-tugi-kyeraku**  
 past=ABL **say-transmit-INDIR.NMNL**  
 ‘Since long ago it **has been said**: ...’ (from MYS.13.3255)

However, phrases such as *inisipye yu* do not always mean ‘from long ago (and continuing until the present)’ but can also mean simply ‘long ago’. In this case the *-kyer-* string must be interpreted as past, for example:

- (42) 許已 見礼婆  
*koko mireba*  
 here look.PROV  
 宇倍之 神代由 波自米家良思 母  
*ube=si kamwi-yo=yu pazime-kyerasi mo*  
 really=EMPH god-age=ABL **begin-INDIR.INFER.CNCL** EMPH  
 ‘If you look around here, **you see that** (they) really **began** it in the age of the gods.’ (from MYS.20.4360)

Therefore it is possible to interpret examples like this with the string *-kyer-* (e.g. MYS.6.1034, MYS.13.3255) as denoting either past tense or anterior-continuing. One

example where an anterior-continuing interpretation is very likely comes from MYS.5.894:

- (43) 神代欲理            云伝久良久  
 kamwi-yo=ywori    ipi-tute-kuraku            [...]  
 god-age=ABL        say-transmit-come.NMNL
- 倭                    國者  
 yamato=no        kuni=pa            [...]  
 Yamato=GEN    country=TOP
- 言靈能                佐吉播布    國            等  
 koto-dama=no    sakipapu    kuni        to  
 word-spirit=GEN    bless.ADN    country    COMP
- 加多利繼            伊比都賀比計理  
 katari-tugi        *ipi-tug-api-k-yeri*  
 tell-pass.on.INF    **say-pass.on-DUR-come-STAT.CNCL**

‘It has been recounted since the age of the gods: **it has been told and (continually) said** that this land of Yamato is a land blessed by the spirit of words.’ (from MYS.5.894)

Here the Durative auxiliary *-ap-* following the auxiliary verb *-tug-* ‘pass on’ indicates that the event of ‘passing on’ lasted a period of time. As I explain in the next section, however, there is good evidence that the above example contains *-(i)-k-yer-* and not *-(i)kyer-*.

#### 6.3.4.4 *-(i)kyer-* or *-(i)-k-yer-*?

Frellesvig (2010: 74–76) argues that the ‘perfect’ uses of *-(i)kyer-* are actually instances of a homophonous expression *-(i)-k-yer-*, the combination of the auxiliary verb *-ko-* ‘come’ and Stative *-yer-*. Many commentaries interpret the string *-(i)-k-yer-* in this way where movement through space is involved, for example:

- (44) 大夫之            高圓山尔                    迫有者  
 masurawo=no    takamatwo-yama=ni        seme-tareba  
 warrior=GEN    Takamatwo-mountain=DAT    trap-STAT.PROV

|                  |                              |                     |      |
|------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|------|
| 里尔               | 下来流                          | 牟射佐毗曾               | 此    |
| satwo= <i>ni</i> | <b>ori-k-yeru</b>            | <i>muzasabi=so</i>  | kore |
| village=DAT      | <b>descend-come-STAT.ADN</b> | flying.squirrel=FOC | this |

‘This is a flying squirrel that, being trapped on Mount Takamatwo by the warriors, **has come down** to the village.’ (MYS.6.1028)

Frellesvig (2010) proposes that *-(i)-k-yer-* can also denote the result of moving through time. He cites the following as evidence:

(43) 神代欲理 云伝久良久  
 kamwi-yo=*ywori* **ipi-tute-kuraku** [...]
   
 god-age=ABL **say-transmit-come.NMNL**

|                   |             |       |  |
|-------------------|-------------|-------|--|
| 倭                 | 國者          |       |  |
| yamato= <u>no</u> | kuni=pa     | [...] |  |
| Yamato=GEN        | country=TOP |       |  |

|                      |                 |         |           |
|----------------------|-----------------|---------|-----------|
| 言靈能                  | 佐吉播布            | 國       | 等         |
| koto-dama= <i>no</i> | <i>sakipapu</i> | kuni    | <i>to</i> |
| word-spirit=GEN      | bless.ADN       | country | COMP      |

|                    |                                       |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 加多利繼               | 伊比都賀比計理                               |
| <i>katari-tugi</i> | <b>ipi-tug-api-k-yeri</b>             |
| tell-pass.on.INF   | <b>say-pass.on-DUR-come-STAT.CNCL</b> |

‘It **has been recounted** since the age of the gods: it **has been told and (continually) said** that this land of Yamato is a land blessed by the spirit of words.’ (from MYS.5.894)

Frellesvig (2010) points out that this seems to be an example of the framing construction whereby reported speech is not only followed by a complementizer and a verb of reporting, but is also introduced by the same, or a similar, verb in the Nominal form, according to the following schema:

(46) ...*ipaku* ‘reported speech’ *to* *ip-*  
 say.NMNL COMP say

Frellesvig (2010: 76) notes that, since Stative *-yer-* does not combine with Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, in cases where *-kyer-* follows a Perfective auxiliary it must be *-(i)kyer-*

and not *-(i)-k-yer-*. While Frellesvig’s proposal is plausible, I have shown in the previous sections that there are very few examples to which it could be applied.

#### 6.3.4.5 Conclusion

I have found very few examples of the string *-kyer-* with ‘perfect’ meanings: some might have *result-state* meanings and some might have *anterior-continuing* meanings.

The example from MYS.5.894 is almost certainly an example of *-(i)-k-yer-*, because of the framing construction it forms a part of. The other possible anterior-continuing examples are less clear, but I tentatively interpret them as past uses of *-(i)kyer-*. The two result-state examples are also difficult to judge. The verb *nar-* ‘become’ is attested with *-ko-* ‘come’ in MYS.6.942 and MYS.15.3761, where the latter has temporal meaning, so the combination is possible. However, I see no problem with positing these as marginal current relevance uses of *-(i)kyer-*. I find little evidence to suggest that a current relevance use of *-(i)-k-yer-* is widespread.

#### 6.3.5 Past mirative?

Many short poems in Old Japanese are narrated in the present tense, for example:

- (47) 宇梅能 波奈 乎理 加射之都都  
*ume=no pana wori kazasitutu*  
 plum=GEN flower break.off.INF display.CONT  
 毛呂比登能 阿蘇夫遠 美礼婆  
*moro-pito=no aswobu=wo mireba*  
 all-people=GEN play.ADN=ACC see.PROV  
 弥夜古之叙 毛布  
*miyakwo=si=zo mopu*  
 capital=EMPH=FOC think.ADN

‘When (I) see everyone playing, breaking off plum blossom and displaying it (in their hair), I **think** of the capital.’ (MYS.5.843)

Similarly, the following examples with *-(i)kyer-* (see also MYS.10.2113 and MYS.17.4029) can also be interpreted as being narrated entirely in the present tense:

- (48) 多可之伎能 母美知乎 見礼婆  
*takasiki=no momidi=wo mireba*  
 Takasiki=GEN autumn.leaves=ACC see.PROV  
 和芸毛故我 麻多牟 等 伊比之  
*wagimokwo=ga mata-mu to ipi-si*  
 my.beloved=GEN wait-CONJ.CNCL COMP say-PST.ADN  
 等伎曾 伎爾家流  
*toki=so ki-ni-kyeru*  
 time=FOC **come-PFV-INDIR.ADN**

‘When I see the autumn leaves of Takasiki, (**I notice that**) the time **has come** when my beloved said she would wait for me.’ (MYS.15.3701)

- (49) 乎之能 須牟 伎美我 許乃 之麻 家布 美礼婆  
*wosi=no sumu kimi=ga ko=no sima kyepu mireba*  
 mandarin.duck=GEN live.ADN you=GEN this=GEN garden today see.PROV  
 安之婢乃 波奈毛 左伎爾家流 可母  
*asibi=no pana=mo saki-ni-kyeru kamo*  
 Japanese.andromeda=GEN flower=TOP **bloom-PFV-INDIR.ADN** EMPH

‘When today I see this your garden where the mandarin ducks live, (**I notice that**) the andromeda flowers **have bloomed**.’ (MYS.20.4511)

Another possibility would be to treat *-(i)kyer-* as referring to the past, but since the Provisional clause in both examples is not in the past tense, we would have to view *-(i)kyer-* as having scope over the Provisional clause as well. Frellesvig, Horn, Russell, and Sells (2012) show that, in cases such as these, aspect (and many other) markers do not take scope over the Provisional predicate. In my opinion a better explanation is to view these as being narrated in the present tense, the function of *-(i)kyer-* being *mirative*. *-(i)kyer-* expresses surprise at the result state denoted by Perfective *-(i)n-*. In the first example this result state is that of *the time having come*, while in the second it is that of *the flowers having bloomed*.

### 6.3.6 Relationship with other evidential constructions

In this section I briefly consider the relationship of *-(i)kyer-* with other evidential constructions in Old Japanese. I postpone the question of its relationship with *-(i)ki* until the next chapter.

#### 6.3.6.1 *The other evidentials in Old Japanese*

Old Japanese has four other markers that have evidential functions: the final particle *miyu* (visual), the extension *nar-* (auditory,<sup>18</sup> hearsay), the extension *rasi-* (inference), and the auxiliary *-(a)m-* (conjecture, assumption). Since my purpose is to assess the relationship between *-(i)kyer-* and other evidential constructions, I will only consider in detail those that can be used with past time reference.

##### 6.3.6.1.1 *Inferential rasi-*

The extension *rasi-* marks information that one has *inferred* on the basis of sensory evidence (cf. Vovin 2009a: 679). When *rasi-* is used to signal inference of a past event, it is used with *-(i)kyer-* in the form *-(i)kyerasi-* (see examples in 6.3.2.1). It is not attested with Perfective *-(i)te-* or Past *-(i)ki*, and it only appears with Perfective *-(i)n-* when the latter is used as a resultative (i.e. with present time reference).

##### 6.3.6.1.2 *Conjectural -(a)m-*

The auxiliary *-(a)m-* has several functions, which can be described as *volition*, *future*, *conjecture*, and *assumption* (cf. Vovin 2009a: 794–803; Frellesvig 2010: 78). The last two of these can be considered *evidential*. It is used with Past *-(i)ki* (in the two uses of *conjecture* and *assumption*) but not with Indirective *-(i)kyer-*.

It is often hard to tell if a particular example contains *conjecture* or *assumption*. However, when *-(a)m-* appears with the focus particle *ka* it seems always to denote

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<sup>18</sup> This can be seen as a subtype of *non-visual sensory*: see 6.3.1.1.1.

conjecture, and when it appears in embeddings it seems always to denote assumption.

The following seems to be *conjecture*:

- (53) 母父尔                      眞名子                      尔可                      有六  
 omo-titi=*ni*                      *managwo*                      *ni=k[a]*                      *ara-mu*  
 mother-father=DAT beloved.child COP.INF=FOC exist-CONJ.ADN  
 若尊之                                      妻香                      有異六  
 waka-kusa=no                      tuma=*ka*                      **ari-kye-mu**  
 (young-grass=COP.ADN) wife=FOC **exist-PST-CONJ.ADN**  
 ‘Perhaps (he) is the beloved child of a mother and father. **Perhaps he had a wife.**’ (from MYS.13.3336)

The above is speculation about a dead man found on a beach, and seems to be pure *conjecture*, with no evidential basis. All uses of *-(i)kye-m-* in questions are probably also best analysed as conjectures.

On the other hand, examples of *-(i)kye-m-* in relative clauses seem to be *assumption*:

- (54) 与伎                      比止乃                      麻佐米爾                      美祁牟  
*yo-ki*                      *pito=no*                      *masame-ni*                      ***mi-kye-mu***  
 good-ACOP.ADN people=GEN with.one’s.own.eyes-COP.INF **see-PST-CONJ.ADN**  
 美阿止須良乎                                      和礼波                      衣美須弓  
*mi-ato=sura=wo*                                      *ware=pa*                      *e-mi-zute*  
 RESP-footprints=EMPH=ACC we=TOP can-see-NEG.GER  
 伊波爾                      惠利都久                      多麻爾                      惠利都久  
*ipa=ni*                      *weri-tuku*                      *tama=ni*                      *weri-tuku*  
 rock=DAT carve-attach.CNCL jewel=DAT carve-attach.CNCL  
 ‘Since we have not been able to see the holy footprints that the noble men **must have seen** with their own eyes, carve them on rock, carve them on jewels.’  
 (BS.3)

The proposition that the noble men saw the footprints is not arrived at by *inference* (there is no sensible trace of their seeing them) but, rather, *assumption*.

The following has one example of each use:

- (55) 古尔 有險 人母 如吾 等架  
 inisipye=*ni* **ari-kye-mu** pito=*mo* wa=*ga* goto=*ka*  
 past=DAT **exist-PST-CONJ.ADN** people=TOP I=GEN like=FOC  
 弥和乃 桧原尔 挿頭 折兼  
 miwa=*no* pibara=*ni* kazasi **wori-kye-mu**  
 Miwa=GEN Pibara=DAT display.INF **break.off-PST-CONJ.ADN**

‘Perhaps the people who **lived** in the past too, like us, **used to break off** (twigs) and display them (in their hair) at Pibara in Miwa.’ (MYS.7.1118)

In the relative clause it is *assumed* (from general knowledge) that there were people in the past. In the matrix clause, it is *conjectured* that those people too use to adorn themselves with twigs.

### 6.3.6.2 Evidentiality in the past tense in Old Japanese

Old Japanese has what Aikhenvald (2004: 80–82) calls ‘scattered evidentiality’, i.e. the different expressions of evidentiality are scattered throughout the grammar and do not form one unified system. There seem to be three ways of marking evidentiality in the past tense in Old Japanese: Indirective *-(i)kyer-* (inference, hearsay), Indirective *-(i)kyer-* + Inferential *rasi-* (inference), and Past *-(i)ki* + Conjectural *-(a)m-* (assumption, conjecture). Anticipating the findings of the next chapter, I classify Past *-(i)ki* as evidentially neutral.

These data can be interpreted in the following way:

- (56) The evidential system of Old Japanese

|                | EXTERNAL    |             |                  |              | INTERNAL          |            |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------|
|                | visual      | auditory    | hearsay          | inference    | assumption        | conjecture |
| <b>nonpast</b> | <i>miyu</i> | <i>nar-</i> |                  | <i>rasi-</i> | <i>-(a)m-</i>     |            |
| <b>past</b>    | —           |             | <i>-(i)kyer-</i> |              | <i>-(i)kye-m-</i> |            |

Indirective *-(i)kyer-* is always past (in its evidential functions), while Visual *miyu* and Auditory *nar-* are always nonpast. Inferential *rasi-* can be used for past events when

attached to Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, and Conjectural *-(a)m-* can be used for past events when attached to Past *-(i)ki*. None of the evidential constructions used for nonpast events can be used for past events without modification. There is a clear distinction between *external* and *internal* sources of knowledge, with Indirective *-(i)kyer-* not used for *internal* evidentiality.

### 6.3.7 Summary

I have shown that *-(i)kyer-* has three major uses: *non-firsthand past*, *mirative*, and *emphatic*. If the data is analysed according to this model, about 61% of the phonographic examples of *-(i)kyer-* are mirative or emphatic, and about 39% are non-firsthand past. The *non-firsthand* use includes *inference* and *hearsay*, but not *assumption*, i.e. it is restricted to *external* sources of knowledge. I have chosen to call *-(i)kyer-* ‘Indirective’, following Johanson’s (2000, 2003) terminology for Turkic languages. Analysis of samples of *-(i)kyer-*<sup>19</sup> suggests the following distribution of these functions:

| (57) | <b>Function</b>       | <b>Number</b> | <b>%</b> |
|------|-----------------------|---------------|----------|
|      | non-firsthand past    | 72            | 17       |
|      | mirative and emphatic | 348           | 83       |
|      | <b>Total:</b>         | 420           |          |

As I discuss below, there is reason to believe that the poetic genre has skewed these numbers somewhat, and I do not present an exemplar cluster for this construction.

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<sup>19</sup> All the phonographic examples without *-(i)n-*, all the phonographic examples with *-(i)te-*, and a sample of about a quarter of the examples with *-(i)n-*.

## 6.4 Conclusions

In this section I show how my theory of the meaning of *-(i)kyer-* fits into a diachronic and a cross-linguistic context.

### 6.4.1 Morphological origin

Here I assess the two main theories regarding the origin of *-(i)kyer-*.

#### 6.4.1.1 From *ko-* ‘come’ + *ar-* ‘exist’

This theory holds that *-(i)kyer-* is a contraction of the verb *ko-* ‘come’ in the Infinitive form (*ki-*) and the verb *ar-* ‘exist’ (Vovin 2009a: 977–978). This theory is unproblematic as far as the shape of the morpheme is concerned, since *k-yer-*, the contracted form of *ki-* + *ar-*, is attested in Old Japanese. This etymology is also consistent with an original meaning of *resultative* or *perfect*.

#### 6.4.1.2 From Past *-(i)ki* + *ar-* ‘exist’

This theory holds that *-(i)kyer-* is a combination of Past *-(i)ki* and the verb *ar-* ‘exist’ (Frellesvig 2010: 121). Vovin (2009a: 977–978) disagrees with the etymology from Past *-(i)ki* + *ar-* on two grounds. First, he argues that it is implausible because *-(i)kyer-* has no necessary connection with the past. Second, he argues that we would expect *ar-* to follow the Infinitive form rather than the Conclusive form of *-(i)ki*. Both criticisms are unfounded.

First, even if *-(i)kyer-* had no connection with the past, aspect forms with present time reference in many languages derive from a non-finite form with past (or anterior) time reference plus a finite form with present time reference, e.g. the English Present Perfect. Indeed, I claim in 6.4.2 that *-(i)kyer-* initially had present time reference (as a resultative or perfect), and later developed past meaning.

Second, Vovin is wrong to claim that this etymology requires that *ar-* follow the Conclusive form of *-(i)ki*. It is true that the Infinitive of *-(i)ki* is not attested in OJ, but it is possible to reconstruct it. Vovin himself (p. 919) accepts that the forms *-kye-m-* (Past + Conjectural) and *-kyeba* (Past, Conditional form) originated as contractions of *\*-ki-am-* and *\*-ki-aba* respectively:

- (57) a. *\*-ki-am-* > *-kyem-*  
 PST.STEM-CONJ PST.CONJ
- b. *\*-ki-aba* > *-kyeba*  
 PST.STEM-COND PST.COND

This is the sort of analysis usually proposed for the origin of some irregular forms of upper monograde verbs in OJ (see Frellesvig 2008: 176–177), for example:

- (58) *\*ki-as-* > *kyes-*  
 wear.STEM-RESP wear.RESP

For upper monograde verbs the basic stem is the same as the Infinitive. If the same is assumed for Past *-(i)ki*, then its Infinitive can be reconstructed as *\*-ki*. If its Infinitive was *\*-ki*, then this is the form to which *ar-* ‘be’ would attach. The combination *\*-ki-ar-* could be expected to contract to *-kyer-*, just as is seen for *ki-* ‘wear’:

- (59) a. *\*ki-ar-* > *kyer-*  
 wear.INF-STAT wear.STAT
- b. *\*-ki-ar-* > *-kyer-*  
 PST.INF-STAT PST.STAT

There is no semantic or morphological reason to reject the etymology from Past *-(i)ki* + *ar-* ‘exist’. This etymology too is consistent with an original meaning of *resultative* or *perfect*. Interestingly, the building of *-(i)kyer-* off *-(i)ki* bears some

similarities to the development of the Perfect Middle in Late Proto-Indo-European. The Perfect (originally resultative) was becoming a past tense, but it was used as a stem for the new Perfect Middle, which functioned as the Perfect had done before its semantic shift (Jasanoff 1978: 15–16). If Past *-(i)ki* began as a resultative (see 12.3.2.3) but was becoming a past when *-(i)kyer-* was coined, then the two developments are very alike.

#### 6.4.1.3 *Conclusion*

There is nothing to choose between the two etymologies on morphological or semantic grounds. The fact that *-(i)kyer-* does not combine with *-(i)ki* may make the etymology from Past *-(i)ki* more likely.

### 6.4.2 **Semantic development pre-OJ**

#### 6.4.2.1 *Development of non-firsthand past function*

It has been well established that *perfect* constructions (at least those derived from resultative constructions) can develop into *non-firsthand past* constructions. Aikhenvald (2004: 279–281) cites examples from Balkan Slavic languages, Turkic languages, Iranian languages, Finno-Ugric languages, and Algonquian languages. It is a typologically widespread tendency (see Bybee et al. 1994: 95–97; Comrie 1976: 109–110; and Dahl 1985: 153).

The first step is a change from *resultative/perfect* to *inferential past*. This is a case of reanalysis: a construction that is used to refer to the present results of a past event (*resultative/perfect*) is reanalysed and used to infer that a past event occurred on the basis of its present results (*inferential past*). The second step is a broadening of meaning from *inferential past* to *non-firsthand past*.

There is a complication in the Japanese data, however. While *-(i)kyer-* is used for *inference* and *hearsay*, it does not appear to be used for *assumption*, which is instead

expressed by *-(i)kye-m-* (Past *-(i)ki* + Conjectural *-(a)m-*). Aikhenvald (2004: 28–29) describes some non-firsthand constructions that do not express hearsay, which is expressed by a separate grammatical subsystem. I suggest that, in a similar way, *-(i)kye-m-* was already in use when *-(i)kyer-* began developing evidential meaning, and that the latter did not impinge on the territory of the former.

#### 6.4.2.2 *Development of mirative function*

Aikhenvald (2004: 195–209; 2012: 465–471) gives examples of miratives that have developed from non-firsthand evidentials. Non-firsthand evidential constructions with mirative extensions exist in many languages with small systems, including Abkhaz, Northern Khanty, Turkish, Mansi, Tajik, Nepali, Albanian, and several Balkan Slavic languages. In bigger systems (those with three or four evidentials) mirative overtones are likely to be associated with either the *inferred* or the *reported* term. DeLancey (2001: 378) makes the more specific claim that mirative meanings can develop from *inferential* past forms, and according to Aikhenvald (2004: 207) this is slightly more likely than their developing from *reported* forms. This too can be seen as a case of reanalysis, but a reanalysis that results in an addition of meaning. A construction that is used to refer to a past event by inference is used so often with connotations of surprise, that surprise is taken to be one of its meanings. This meaning can then be used with present events.

On the other hand, Hengeveld and Olbertz (2012: 498–500) consider the possibility that mirative meaning can develop directly from *resultative* or *perfect* (specifically *perfect of result*) meaning. They present various arguments for this proposal, but no good evidence from languages.<sup>20</sup> However, Mandarin Chinese sentential *le* (as opposed

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<sup>20</sup> They cite an example from Ecuadorian Highland Spanish of a perfect construction used as a mirative. However, Olbertz (2009: 70) notes that it is through contact with Quechua that the mirative has been

to verbal *-le*) may be an example of this. Li and Thompson (1981: 244–263) demonstrate that a major function of *le* is to denote a change of state (resultative or perfect). They also note (p. 250) that *le* is used with adjectives ‘to imply that the state is new or newly noticed’. While classifying the mirative uses under ‘change of state’ alongside numerous resultative and perfect uses, they acknowledge that sometimes ‘the change is simply a realization on the part of the speaker, though not necessarily a change in the objective situation’ (p. 259). These uses seem to be mirative. This, then, seems to be a case of a perfect form that has developed mirative meaning without developing evidential meaning. Anderson (1982, 1986) accordingly includes a grammaticalization path from *perfect* to *mirative*. More specifically, he proposes that the use *current relevance of a new situation* (‘hot news perfect’) develops into *unexpected* (‘mirative’) (Anderson 1982: 240). I tentatively suggest that the mirative and emphatic functions of *-(i)kyer-* arose directly from the perfect uses.

#### 6.4.2.3 *Development of emphatic function*

Aikhenvald (2012) notes that mirative forms in some languages can develop extensions into related domains. For example, the miratives of numerous languages have emotional values (p. 473). Lazard (1999: 100) mentions that the mirative in Albanian is required when one makes ‘endopathetic’ statements such as ‘It hurts’, ‘I’m sorry’, or ‘I’m hungry’. He explains this usage by saying, ‘The speaker pretends to be discovering his own feeling, to be surprised by it, which gives particular intensity to its expression.’ (According to the definition I proposed in 6.3.1.1.3, *intensification* is the function of *emphasis*.) Some miratives develop narrative functions, e.g. the mirative in !Xun (Kx’a family) marks the main point of the story in a narrative, while the mirative in Magar (Sino-Tibetan) can be used to mark the surprising and focal points of

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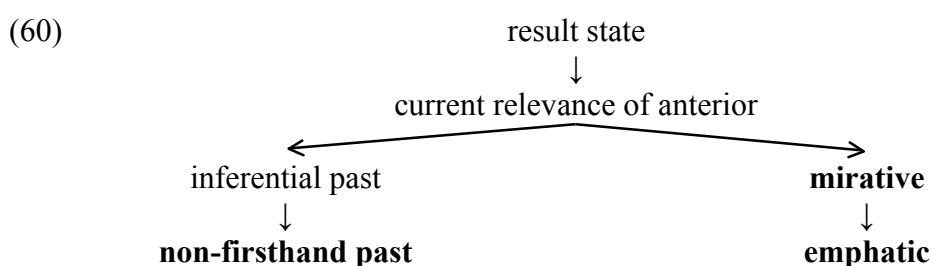
introduced into Andean Spanish, so this construction is not evidence that perfects can develop directly into miratives without language contact.

a narrative (Aikhenvald 2012: 474). Anderson (1982: 234) suggests that *emphasis* can develop from *surprise*, and that it has done for Mandarin Chinese sentence-final *le*.

Given that miratives in various languages have developed beyond marking ‘surprise’ and ‘new information’, I consider it reasonable to propose that in Old Japanese too the emphatic uses of *-(i)kyer-* developed from its mirative uses.

#### 6.4.2.4 Summary

In summary, I propose the following paths of development for *-(i)kyer-*:



The meanings in bold are those attested in Old Japanese. The change *inferential past* > *non-firsthand past* is a broadening of meaning: there is no evidence to suggest that *inferential past* remained a psychologically distinct use. The change *mirative* > *emphatic* could be considered the same way, but in my judgement the number of *mirative* examples is disproportionately large, suggesting that *mirative* was still a major meaning of the construction distinct from *emphatic*.

#### 6.4.3 Development post-OJ

I found that about 62% of the phonographic examples of *-(i)kyer-* are mirative or emphatic, and about 38% are past. In EMJ there seem to be more past uses attested (Vovin 2003). I suggest that this is due to the predominant genres in the surviving OJ and EMJ texts. The OJ sources are mostly short poems, many expressing very emotional occurrences where miratives are appropriate. The EMJ sources, on the other

hand, are mostly narratives, in which one would perhaps expect more non-firsthand past uses than mirative uses. No changes are reported that are inconsistent with what I have proposed for *-(i)kyer-* in OJ.

#### **6.4.4 Final remarks**

##### **6.4.4.1 *Typological correlates***

The three main uses of *-(i)kyer-* in OJ are *non-firsthand past*, *mirative*, and *emphatic*. The combination of *non-firsthand past* and *mirative* is widely attested cross-linguistically, and there are other languages where *mirative* meaning has developed into *emphatic* meaning. The probable origins of *-(i)kyer-* in a resultative construction are consistent with these meanings.

##### **6.4.4.2 *Combination with other grammatical constructions***

My model provides natural explanations for most of the combinatorial and distributional behaviour of *-(i)kyer-*. The lack of a Conditional form is explained by the cross-linguistic tendency for evidentials not to be expressed in non-indicative modalities (Aikhenvald 2004: 270). The non-appearance in questions (except rhetorical questions) is not unusual, since some languages neutralize evidentiality in questions (Aikhenvald 2004: 342). These facts could be explained semantically along the lines of Johanson (2000: 71), explaining indirective meaning as a ‘predication over a proposition’.

The lack of occurrence with Conjectural *-(a)m-* could be attributed to their being members of an evidentiality paradigm (see 6.3.6.2). On the other hand, it could be attributed to the inability of past tenses to combine with modal auxiliaries in Old Japanese: neither *-(i)ki* nor *-(i)kyer-* combines with Subjunctive *-(a)masi*. Negative *-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-* also combines infrequently with both of the past tenses. Cross-

linguistically, it is common for grammatical distinctions to be lost in the negative (Miestamo and Van der Auwera 2011).

The extremely high occurrence with Perfective *-(i)n-* is because resultative is a key environment for miratives. The extremely low occurrence with Perfective *-(i)te* is because *-(i)n-*, but not *-(i)te-*, is frequently used to express resultative meaning. The lack of combination with Past *-(i)ki* could be attributed either to the (possible) etymological relation between the two, or to opposition resulting from the *past* uses of *-(i)kyer-*.

#### **6.4.4.3 *Low occurrence in dependent clauses***

The high incidence of *-(i)kyer-* in main clauses as opposed to dependent clauses is expected from its mirative and evidential functions. Although Olbertz (2009) argues that miratives can in principle appear in non-restrictive relative clauses, they cannot appear in restrictive relative clauses, which already reduces their frequency. Aikhenvald (2004: 253–256) reports that, in many languages, evidentials cannot be expressed in dependent clauses, and dependent clauses never have more evidentiality choices than main clauses. Although she does not compare the frequency of evidentials in dependent and main clauses in the languages that allow them in both, the above observation might be expected to translate into a lower frequency of evidentials in embedded clauses.

#### **6.4.4.4 *Transitivity***

In 6.1.3.2 I noted a dramatic difference between *-(i)kyer-* and *-(i)ki* as regards the transitivity of the phrases they occur in: while *-(i)ki* appears in intransitive phrases about 60% of the time, *-(i)kyer-* appears in intransitive phrases about 90% of the time. Although there is some evidence for a connection between evidentiality and intransitivity (see Kittilä and Sandman 2011), a count of a sample of non-firsthand past uses of *-(i)kyer-* reveals only slightly more intransitives than transitives (similar to

-(i)ki). The bias towards intransitivity must therefore be attributed to the mirative and emphatic uses of -(i)kyer-.

Hengeveld and Olbertz (2012: 500) suggest that, in languages where a resultative form develops independently both into a non-firsthand past and a mirative, ‘the evidential meaning preferably arises in dynamic predications, while the mirative meaning preferably arises in stative predications’. They give examples from various languages of links between mirativity and stativity. In the context of mirative extensions of evidentials, Aikhenvald (2004: 208) notes, ‘Verbs particularly susceptible to mirative extensions cover mental and physical states, or resulting states which the speaker cannot control.’

It has been claimed (e.g. Croft 1990, 1991, 1994) that the prototypical stative event is intransitive, as shown by the cross-linguistically recurring category of *adjective*. Furthermore, cross-linguistically most resultative constructions are intransitive (Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988: 14; Bybee et al. 1994: 67–68). Therefore, while there is not a direct connection between mirativity and intransitivity, they are linked insofar as (some) mirative constructions favour states, and states are often expressed with intransitive constructions.

#### **6.4.4.5 Conclusion**

The model I have proposed for understanding -(i)kyer- accords with the facts of its usage and is typologically plausible, all of the meaning relations that I have proposed being attested in several languages. However, it is unlikely that I have identified all the nuances of its usage, since, as shown by Lazard (1999), Johanson (2000), and others, such forms vary widely in their particular manifestations in languages.

## 7 Past *-(i)ki*

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### 7.1 Introduction

#### 7.1.1 Orthography

Of the 1,041 Central Old Japanese attestations of *-(i)ki* in the Oxford Corpus, there are 817 examples written phonographically, 11 examples written only partially phonographically, and 213 examples without orthographic representation. I have generally used only phonographic examples.

#### 7.1.2 Inflection

The auxiliary *-(i)ki* attaches to the *i*-stem of a verb or auxiliary, or of the secondary conjugation of the adjectival copula *-kar-*. It is attested with the following number of attestations of each of its inflected forms:

| (1) | Form           | Shape                 | Number | %  |
|-----|----------------|-----------------------|--------|----|
|     | Conclusive     | <i>-ki</i>            | 48     | 5  |
|     | Adnominal      | <i>-si</i>            | 754    | 74 |
|     | Exclamatory    | <i>-sika</i>          | 4      | <1 |
|     | Conditional    | <i>-seba ~ -kyeba</i> | 35     | 3  |
|     | Provisional    | <i>-sikaba</i>        | 22     | 2  |
|     | Concessive     | <i>-sikado</i>        | 7      | 1  |
|     | Nominal        | <i>-siku ~ -kyeku</i> | 13     | 1  |
|     | <i>a</i> -stem | <i>-kye-</i>          | 141    | 14 |
|     | <b>Total:</b>  |                       | 1,041  |    |

The Conditional and Nominal forms in *k-* had been superseded by the *s-* forms by Early Middle Japanese (Frellesvig 2010: 72).

As can be seen, there are far more Adnominal forms than Conclusive forms: a very different proportion from that seen with other tense and aspect auxiliaries. While some of these are in sentence-final position (participating in *kakari-musubi*), many are in adnominal position, which may tell us something about the discourse function of *-(i)ki*.

### 7.1.3 Combination

#### 7.1.3.1 *With other grammatical constructions*

In a verb syntagm, *-(i)ki* follows aspect and negation auxiliaries (Stative *-yer-*, Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, and Negative *-(a)zu* ~ *-(a)n-*). Examples of *-(i)ki* combining with the Negative are very rare (23 examples). It precedes Conjectural *-(a)m-*, which is the only modal auxiliary with which it combines. The auxiliary *-(i)ki* does not occur with predicate extensions.

#### 7.1.3.2 *With predicates*

The auxiliary *-(i)ki* occurs with all morphological classes of verb, but only occurs very infrequently with adjectives, and mostly with *na-* ‘not exist’, which functions as the negative of *ar-* ‘exist’.

## 7.2 Previous accounts of *-(i)ki*

### 7.2.1 Remote past

Sandness (1999) argues that *-(i)ki* forms a ‘functional pair’ with *-(i)te-*, the former denoting *remote past* and the latter *recent past*. She argues that there is not a strict division between the two, but that it is a matter of construal (pp. 86–88). This being the case, isolated examples of *-(i)ki* referring to recent past time and *-(i)te-* referring to remote past time cannot disprove her theory.

The biggest problem with Sandness's proposal is that the auxiliary *-(i)te-* is not a recent past (see chapter 5). Although it usually refers to past time, it is also used with future time reference. It is in near-complementary distribution with *-(i)n-*, and the most adequate analysis of their function is *perfective*. On the other hand, it may be that, in its past uses, *-(i)te-* is used primarily for recent past events, and so it is possible that Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* has the function of a 'recent past' (amongst other functions) and that *-(i)ki* is consequentially limited to the remote past (see 2.1.1.4 for how this could come about). In the French of the seventeenth century the Perfect (*passé composé*) had become a hodiernal past, turning the Aorist (*passé simple*) into a pre-hodiernal past (Bybee et al. 1994: 101), and in some varieties of modern Spanish the Perfect is preferred over the Preterite for hodiernal contexts (Squartini and Bertinetto 2000: 414–416).

On the other hand, there is much to suggest that *-(i)ki* and *-(i)te-* do not denote different degrees of remoteness. First, *-(i)te-* and *-(i)ki* combine with each other, which would not be expected if they denoted different degrees of remoteness. Since past remoteness constructions do not always appear in paradigms (Bybee et al. 1994: 100–101), one of them could still indicate a degree of remoteness, but it is unlikely that they both have remoteness values. Second, *-(i)ki* and *-(i)te-* have very different distributions with regard to the clauses they conclude: *-(i)ki* mostly appears in relative clauses, while *-(i)te-* mostly appears in main clauses. This is consistent with *-(i)te-* being a perfective (Hopper 1979). It is unclear what it suggests for *-(i)ki*.

### 7.2.2 Firsthand past

Traditionally, the auxiliary *-(i)ki* is defined in opposition to *-(i)kyer-*, whereby they both cover different portions of the *past* domain (and *-(i)kyer-* has further non-past

meanings). For example, Ikeda (1980: 104) describes *-(i)ki* as expressing ‘either the recollection of something directly experienced in the past or the recollection of something known to be a fact’. The auxiliary *-(i)kyer-*, on the other hand, is said to recollect ‘something which has been experienced indirectly as hearsay’. In practice, this means that *-(i)ki* is used to refer to events that the speaker experienced himself, and to historical narratives that are common knowledge. Shinzato (1991) suggests that these meanings are united by the notion of ‘integrated information’.

There are a few examples, however, which seem to qualify as non-historical ‘indirect experience’:

- (2) 奴那波久理      波閤祁久      斯良迹  
*nunapa-kuri*      *pape-kyeku*      *sira-ni*  
 brasenia-reel.INF    stretch-PST.NMNL    know-NEG.INF  
 ‘not knowing that he **had stretched out** the brasenia’ (from KK.44)

The speaker did not know what had been done, so he had no direct experience of the event. The auxiliary *-(i)ki* is also used with Conjectural *-(a)m-* and in questions, to describe events of which the speaker has had no experience. I will propose instead that *-(i)ki* is neutral with regard to evidentiality, although in context it is often interpreted as *a firsthand past*.

### 7.2.3 Past perfective

The auxiliaries *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* are sometimes opposed on aspectual grounds: Hashimoto (1969) calls them respectively *aorist* and *imperfect*, while Yoshida (1973) calls them *instantaneous* and *durative*. Suzuki (1986) also calls *-(i)ki* an *aorist*. These three accounts all seem to label *-(i)ki* a *past perfective*. There are three problems with these accounts.

First, there is nothing particularly *perfective* about the aspectual meanings denoted by *-(i)ki*: it has a wide variety of aspectual uses, including uses usually thought of as imperfective. For example, it can be used to denote unbounded states and habitual events in the past. Second, *-(i)kyer-* is not a *past imperfective* (see 6.3.2.2). Bybee et al. (1994: 91) predict that past perfectives always contrast with past imperfectives. Third, the function of *-(i)ki* in narratives is not typical of a perfective. Important events are often expressed by Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*, with *-(i)ki* used rather to give background information in relative clauses.

#### 7.2.4 (Simple) past

Frellesvig (2010) and Vovin (2009a) define *-(i)ki* simply as ‘past’ or ‘simple past’, without giving any further qualifications. For Frellesvig (2010) *-(i)kyer-* is a modally marked past tense while *-(i)ki* is unmarked, and for Vovin (2009a) *-(i)kyer-* is something else entirely. I believe that this is basically correct as regards the meaning of *-(i)ki*, although its relationship with *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* on the one hand and *-(i)kyer-* on the other need further consideration.

### 7.3 The functions of *-(i)ki*

In this section I will demonstrate that *-(i)ki* is a simple past, used for a variety of aspectual construals, some perfective and some imperfective. However, it also has *current relevance* uses. I will also discuss its relationships with Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*.

### 7.3.1 Past

Unlike a *past perfective* or a *past imperfective*, a simple *past* tense is not restricted aspectually. Past *-(i)ki* allows both temporally bounded (perfective) and temporally unbounded (imperfective) aspectual construals.

#### 7.3.1.1 Temporally bounded events

Past *-(i)ki* can express temporally bounded events, many of them instantaneous (achievements):

- (3) 可敞里家流                      比等    伎多礼里                      等    伊比之可婆  
*kapyeri-k-yeru*                      *pito*    *ki-tar-eri*                      *to*    *ipi-sikaba*  
return-come-STAT.ADN    person    come-arrive-STAT.CNCL    COMP    say-PST.PROV  
保等保登    之爾吉                      君香    登    於毛比弓  
*potopoto*    ***sini-ki***                      *kimi=ka*    *to*    *[o]mopite*  
almost    **die-PST.CNCL**    you=FOC    COMP    think.GER

‘When (they) said that someone who had returned had arrived, (I) almost **died**, thinking it might be you.’ (MYS.15.3772)

- (4) 月    立之                      日欲里    乎伎都追    敲自努比  
*tukwi*    ***tati-si***                      *pi=ywori*    *wokitutu*    *uti-zinwopi*  
month    **begin-PST.ADN**    day=ABL    invite.CONT    EMPH-yearn.INF  
麻泥騰    伎奈可奴                      霍公鳥    可母  
*matedo*    *ki-naka-nu*                      *pototogisu*    *kamo*  
wait.CNCS    come-sing-NEG.ADN    cuckoo    EMPH

‘(It is) the cuckoo, who does not come and sing although (I) wait for him, inviting and yearning for him since the day the month **began**.’ (MYS.19.4196)

- (5) 昨日社                      年者    極之賀  
*kinopu=koso*    *tosi=pa*    ***pate-sika***  
yesterday=FOC    year=TOP    **end-PST.EXCL**  
春霞  
*paru-kasumi*  
spring-mist  
春日                      山尔                      速    立尔来  
*kasuga=no*                      *yama=ni*                      *paya*    *tati-ni-kyeri*  
*Kasuga=COP.ADN*    *mountain=DAT*    quick    rise-PFV-INDIR.CNCL

‘(Although) the year (only) **ended** yesterday, the spring mist has quickly risen on Mt Kasuga!’ (MYS.10.1843)

It can also express durative temporally bounded events (accomplishments):

- (6) 多都多夜麻 見都都 古要許之 佐久良波奈  
*tatuta-yama mitutu kwoye-ko-si sakura-pana*  
 Tatuta-mountain look.CONT **cross-come-PST.ADN** cherry-blossom

知利加 須疑奈牟  
*tiri=ka sugwi-na-mu*  
 fall.INF=FOC pass-PFV-CONJ.CNCL

和我 可做流 刀爾  
*wa=ga kapyeru twoni*  
 I=GEN return.ADN when

‘Perhaps the cherry blossom on Mt Tatuta that I **crossed over here** looking at will have fallen and passed when I return.’ (MYS.20.4395)

- (7) 足日木笑 山從 來世波  
*asipikwi=no yama=ywori ki-seba*  
 (?=COP.ADN) mountain=ABL **come-PST.COND**

左小壯鹿之 妻 呼 音 聞益 物乎  
*sa-wo-sika=no tuma ywobu kowe=wo kika-masi monowo*  
 ?-male-deer=GEN wife call.ADN voice=ACC hear-SUBJ.ADN although

‘**If** (you) **had come** via the mountain, you would have heard the voice of the male deer calling for his mate.’ (MYS.10.2148)<sup>1</sup>

Both *crossing over* and *coming* are telic events, but their duration is evoked by the description in (6) of another event (*mitutu* ‘looking at’) that occurs during the telic event, and in (7) of the route taken.

### 7.3.1.2 *Temporally unbounded events*

Past *-(i)ki* can also denote temporally unbounded events, including many states:

<sup>1</sup> For the interpretation of *yama ywori* as ‘via the mountain’ or ‘on the mountain road’, see Kojima et al. (1995b: 111).

- (8) 真木柱 太 心者 有之香杼  
 ma-kwi-basira putwo-ki kokoro=pa **ari-sikado**  
 (true-tree-pillar) fat-ACOP.ADN heart=TOP **exist-PST.CNCS**  
 此 吾 心 鎮目金津 毛  
 ko=no a=ga kokoro sidume-kane-tu mo  
 this=GEN I=GEN heart make.quiet-be.unable-PFV.CNCL EMPH  
 ‘Although I **used to have** a solid heart, (now) I cannot make this heart of mine quiet!’ (MYS.2.190)
- (9) 伊喻 之之乎 都那遇 舸播杯能 倭柯矩娑能  
 i-yu sisi=wo tunagu kapapye=no waka-kusa=no  
 shoot-PASS.CNCL boar=ACC track.ADN riverside=GEN young-grass=COP.INF  
 倭柯俱 阿利岐 騰 阿我 謨婆儼俱爾  
**waka-ku ari-ki to a=ga mopa-naku=ni**  
**young-ACOP.INF exist-PST.CNCL COMP I=GEN think-NEG.NMNL=COP.INF**  
 ‘I did not think that (he) **was young** like the young grass at the riverside where one tracks a boar that has been shot.’ (NSK.117)
- (10) 高光 吾 日 皇子乃 伊座世者  
 taka-pikaru wa=ga pi=no mi-kwo=no **imasi-seba**  
 high-shine.ADN I=GEN sun=GEN RESP-child=GEN **exist.RESP-PST.COND**  
 嶋 御門者 不荒有益 乎  
 sima=no mikadwo=pa are-zara-masi wo  
 island=GEN capital=TOP become.overgrown-NEG-SUBJ.CNCL INT  
 ‘If our prince **had been** (here), the island capital would not have become overgrown.’ (MYS.2.173)
- (11) 多遲比怒迓 泥牟 登 斯理勢波  
 tadipi-nwo=ni ne-mu to **siri-seba**  
 Tadipi-field=DAT sleep-CONJ.CNCL COMP **know-PST.COND**  
 多都碁母母 母知豆 許麻志 母能  
 tatugomo=mo motite ko-masi mono  
 windbreak=TOP hold.GER come-SUBJ.ADN although  
 泥牟 登 斯理勢波  
 ne-mu to **siri-seba**  
 sleep-CONJ.CNCL COMP **know-PST.COND**  
 ‘If (I) **had known** that I would be sleeping in Tadipi field, I would have brought a windbreak—if I **had known**.’ (KK.75)

It can denote habitual events:

- (12) 今耳之            行事庭            不有  
 ima=nomwi=no    waza=ni=pa            ara-zu  
 now=only=GEN    thing=COP.INF=TOP    exist-NEG.INF
- 古            人曾            益而            哭左倍            鳴四  
 inisipye=no    pito=so            masarite            ne=ni=sape            **naki-si**  
 past=GEN        people=FOC    exceed.GER    cry=DAT=even    **cry-PST.ADN**
- ‘It is not just a modern-day thing: people in the past **used to cry** even more.’  
 (MYS.4.498)

It can denote activities, often presenting them as background to other events:

- (13) 珠匣            見諸戶山矣            行之鹿齒  
 tamakusige        mimorotwo-yama=wo            **yuki-sikaba**  
 (jewelled.comb)    Mimorotwo-mountain=ACC    **walk-PST.PROV**
- 面白            四手    古昔    所念  
 omosirwo-ku        site        inisipye    [o]mopoyu  
 uplifting-ACOP.INF    do.GER    past        think.PASS.CNCL
- ‘**As (I) was walking** on Mt Mimorotwo, because it was uplifting I remembered the past.’ (MYS.7.1240)

- (14) 於伎都        加是 伊多久            布伎勢波  
 oki=tu        kaze ita-ku            **puki-seba**  
 offing=GEN    wind    severe-ACOP.INF    **blow-PST.COND**
- 和伎毛故我            奈氣伎能            奇里爾  
 wa-g-imo-kwo=ga        nageki=no            kwiri=ni  
 I-GEN-beloved-girl=GEN    lament=GEN    fog=DAT
- 安可麻之            母能乎  
 aka-masi            monowo  
 be.satisfied-SUBJ.ADN    although
- ‘If the wind from the offing **had been blowing** severely, I would have been content with the fog of my beloved’s lament.’ (MYS.15.3616)

In all the examples in this section *-(i)ki* seems to denote unbounded events.

### 7.3.1.3 Summary

To summarize, *-(i)ki* is attested denoting bounded and unbounded events in the past, and so seems to have no aspectual function.

## 7.3.2 Other functions

### 7.3.2.1 Subjective result state or current relevance

There are some examples where a subjective result state or current relevance interpretation seems appropriate:

(15) 泊瀬川

*patuse-gapa*  
Patuse-river

|                             |                     |                |                    |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 白木綿花尔                       | 墮多藝都                | 瀬              | 清跡                 |
| <i>sira-yupu-bana=ni</i>    | <i>oti-tagitu</i>   | <i>se=wo</i>   | <i>sayake-mito</i> |
| white-cotton-flower=COP.INF | fall-flow.fast.ADN  | rapids=ACC     | clear-ACOP.INF     |
| 見尔                          | 来之                  | 吾乎             |                    |
| <i>mi=ni</i>                | <b>ko-si</b>        | <i>ware=wo</i> |                    |
| see.INF=DAT                 | <b>come-PST.ADN</b> | I=ACC          |                    |

‘I, who, because they are clear, **have come** to see the rapids of the River Patuse, which flow down fast like white cotton flowers!’ (MYS.7.1107)

The surrounding poems (MYS.7.1106 and MYS.7.1108) suggest that the author is at the river when he is composing MYS.7.1107, and so a result state interpretation ‘have come’ is appropriate. Examples like this are rare, however.

### 7.3.2.2 Objective result state

Sometimes *-(i)ki* seems to denote an objective result state (see also KK.12):

(16) 弊都 那美 曾迓 奴棄宇豆  
*pye=tu nami so=ni nuki-ute*  
beach=GEN wave that=DAT take.off-discard.INF

夜麻賀多爾 麻岐斯 阿多弓 都岐  
*yamagata=ni maki-si atane tuki*  
mountain.field=DAT **plant-PST.ADN** madder pound.INF

曾米紀賀 斯流迓 斯米許呂母遠  
*some-kwi=ga siru=ni sime-koromo=wo*  
dye.INF-tree=GEN juice=DAT soak-clothes=ACC

麻都夫佐迓 登理與曾比  
*ma-tubusa-ni tori-yosopi*  
true-polite-COP.INF take-dress.INF

‘Taking it off like the waves of the beach, I politely take and put on the clothes dyed with juice pounded out of madder **planted** in the mountain fields...’  
(from KK.4)

The planting of the madder is irrelevant, as is the person who planted it, and the best interpretation seems to be that of an objective result state ‘madder (which has been) planted in the mountain fields’.

### 7.3.2.3 *Anterior-continuing*

Some examples of *-(i)ki* seem to have anterior-continuing function, for example:

- (17) 未通女等之 袖 振 山乃 水垣之  
 wotomye-ra=ga swode puru yama=no midu-kaki=no  
 woman-PL=GEN sleeve wave.ADN mountain=GEN water-fence=COP.INF  
 久 時從 憶寸 吾者  
 pisasi-ki toki=yu **omopi-ki** are=pa  
 long-ACOP.ADN time=ABL **yearn-PST.CNCL** I=TOP

‘Like the (old) fence on the mountain where women wave their sleeves, I **have been yearning** for a long time, I have.’ (MYS.4.501)

### 7.3.2.4 *Experiential*

Some examples seem to have experiential function, for example:

- (18) 多良志比壳 可尾能 美許等能 奈 都良須 等  
 tarasi-pimye kamwi=no mikoto=no na tura-su to  
 Tarasi-lady god=GEN RESP=GEN fish catch-RESP.CNCL COMP  
 美多多志 世利斯 伊志遠 多礼 美吉  
 mi-tata-si s-eri-si isi=wo tare **mi-ki**  
 RESP-stand-RESP.INF do-STAT-PST.ADN stone=ACC who **see-PST.CNCL**

‘Who **has seen** the stone on which Lady Tarasi stood to catch fish?’  
(MYS.5.869a)

The poem asks if anyone has had the experience of seeing the stone, and expresses the speaker’s desire to be someone who has (Omodaka 1983/5: 201). The poem is not asking if someone *saw* the stone at a particular time. Examples like this are also rare.

### 7.3.2.5 Conclusions

I tentatively conclude that Past *-(i)ki* can denote *subjective result state*, *objective result state*, *current relevance of anterior event*, and *experiential*, but only occasionally.

My attribution of result state meanings to *-(i)ki* may be questioned. Croft (2012: 123–124) and Ogihara (2004: 562) take *simple state*, as opposed to *result state*, readings as proof that the constructions they discuss (the Russian Perfective and Modern Japanese *-(I)ta*, respectively) denote current states. While these can be found for Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*, they cannot for Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* or Past *-(i)ki* (or the combinations *-(i)ni-ki* and *-(i)te-ki*). In chapter 5 I used coordination with Stative *-yer-* and the cooccurrence of Nonpast Conjectural *ram-* and the adverbial *ima* ‘now’ as evidence that Perfective *-(i)n-* can denote subjective result states, but with *-(i)ki* this evidence is not forthcoming either. However, if the result state interpretation of Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* arose as an implication of its function of denoting bounded past events (as happened with the Russian Perfective), it is not improbable that other constructions that denote these events could develop similarly. I stand by my conclusion that, in some cases, Past *-(i)ki* denotes result states.

### 7.3.3 Relationship with Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*

#### 7.3.3.1 The functions of *-(i)ni-ki* and *-(i)te-ki*

The combinations *-(i)ni-ki* (Perfective *-(i)n-* + Past *-(i)ki*) and *-(i)te-ki* (Perfective *-(i)te-* + Past *-(i)ki*) are most often found in the adnominal position, concluding relative clauses. Less frequently, they conclude main clauses and subordinate clauses, and combine with Conjectural *-(a)m-*.

7.3.3.1.1 Temporally bounded past events

The combinations *-(i)ni-ki* and *-(i)te-ki* can denote temporally bounded past events, for example:

- (19) 春霞 立尔之 日從 至今日  
 paru-kasumi **tati-ni-si** pi=ywori kyepu=madeni  
 spring-mist **rise-PFV-PST.ADN** day=ABL today=until

吾 戀不止  
 wa=ga kwopwi-yama-zu  
 I=GEN yearn-stop-NEG.CNCL

本之 繁家波  
 moto=no sige-kyeba  
 root=GEN flourishing-ACOP.PROV

‘From the day the spring mist **rose** until today I have not stopped yearning, because the root (of my affection) is flourishing.’ (MYS.10.1910a)

- (20) 印 結而 我 定義之  
 sime yupite wa=ga **sadame-te-si**  
 sign tie.GER I=GEN **conquer-PFV-PST.ADN**

住吉乃 濱乃 小松者  
 suminoye=no pama=no kwo-matu=pa  
 Suminoye=GEN beach=GEN small-pine=TOP

後毛 吾 松  
 noti=mo a=ga matu  
 after=TOP I=GEN pine

‘The small pine on Suminoye beach that, tying a sign to, I **took** (will be) my pine after this.’ (MYS.3.394)

- (21) 日本之 室原乃 毛桃 本 繁  
 yamato=no murwopu=no kemomo moto sige-ku  
 Yamato=GEN Murwopu=GEN peach root flourishing-ACOP.INF

言大王 物乎  
**ipi-te-si** monowo  
**say-PFV-PST.ADN** although

不成 不止  
 nara-zupa yamazi  
 become-NEG.COND stop.NEGCONJ

‘(I) **said** it out of (a heart) that flourishes like the peaches of Murwopu in Yamato, and may it not be prevented from happening!’ (MYS.11.2834)

- (22) 御苑布能            竹                    林尔  
*mi-sonopu=no*        *take=no*                *payasi=ni*  
 RESP-grounds=GEN bamboo=COP.ADN wood=DAT  
 鶯波                之波奈吉尔之                乎  
*ugupisu=pa*        *siba-naki-ni-si*                *wo*  
 warbler=TOP **constantly-call-PFV-PST.ADN** INT  
 雪波                布利都都  
*yuki=pa*        *puritutu*  
 snow=TOP fall.CONT

‘The warblers **called constantly** in the bamboo wood in the grounds, the snow falling!’ (MYS.19.4286)

Examples (19)–(21) are achievements, and example (22) could be interpreted as a bounded activity.

Some of the examples of *-(i)ni-kye-m- ~ -(i)te-kye-m-* may be in this category. Since *-(i)na-m-* and *-(i)te-m-* tend to refer to the future, in order to make the time reference clear when forming conjectures or questions about temporally bounded past events denoted by *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*, Past *-(i)ki* must be affixed. The following is an example:

- (23) 何處者                鳴毛                思仁家武  
*iduku=ni=pa*        *naki=mo*                *si-ni-kye-mu*  
 where=DAT=TOP **call.INF=TOP** **do-PFV-PST-CONJ.CNCL**  
 霍公鳥        吾家乃                里尔                今日耳曾                鳴  
*pototogisu*        *wa-g-ipye=no*        *satwo=ni*        *kyepu=nomwi=so*        *naku*  
 cuckoo        I-GEN-house=GEN village=DAT today=EMPH=FOC call.ADN

‘Perhaps it **called** somewhere else (before). Today the cuckoo is calling in the village where my house is.’ (MYS.8.1488)

### 7.3.3.1.2 Subjective result state

The combination *-(i)ni-ki*, especially in relative clauses, often seems to denote a subjective result state, for example:

- (24) 朝入        為流        海未通女等之  
*asari*        *suru*        *ama-wotomye-ra=ga*  
 fish.INF do.ADN fisher-woman-PL=GEN

袖 通 沾西 衣  
 swode topori **nure-ni-si** koromo  
 sleeve go.through.INF **get.wet-PFV-PST.ADN** clothes

雖干跡 不乾  
 posedo kawaka-zu  
 hang.out.CNCS get.dry-NEG.CNCL

‘Even if you hung out the clothes of the fishing women, which **are soaked** right through the sleeves, they would not get dry.’ (MYS.7.1186)

- (25) 宇具比須乃 許惠波 須疑奴 等 於毛倍杼母  
*ugupisu=no kowe=pa sugwi-nu to omopedomo*  
 warbler=GEN voice=TOP pass-PFV.CNCL COMP think.CNCS

之美爾之 許己呂 奈保 古非爾家里  
**simi-ni-si** kokoro napo kwopwi-ni-kyeri  
**soak-PFV-PST.ADN** heart still yearn-PFV-INDIR.CNCL

‘Although the voices of the warblers have passed, my **soaked** (= besotted) heart still yearns.’ (MYS.20.4445)

There are also a few examples in main clauses, for example:

- (26) 暮 相而 朝 面 羞  
*yopi=n[i] apite asita omo na-mi*  
 (night=DAT meet.GER morning face not.exist-ACOP.INF)

隱野乃 芽子者 散去寸  
*nabari-nwo=no pagwi=pa tiri-ni-ki*  
 Nabari-field=GEN bush.clover=TOP **fall-PFV-PST.CNCL**

黃葉 早 續也  
*momiti paya tugye*  
 autumn.leaves quick follow.IMP

‘The bush clover in Nabari Field **has fallen**. Autumn leaves, quickly follow on!’ (MYS.8.1536)

- (27) 今更 雪 零目 八 方  
*imasara-ni yuki pura-me ya mo*  
 now-COP.INF snow fall-CONJ.EXCL FOC EMPH

蜻火之 燎留 春部 常  
*kagirwopwi=no moyuru parupye to*  
 heat.haze=GEN burn.ADN spring COP.INF

成西 物乎  
**nari-ni-si** monowo  
**become-PFV-PST.ADN** although

‘Is snow falling *now*, although it **has become** spring, when the heat haze burns?!’ (MYS.10.1835)

There are a few examples where the combination *-(i)ni-kye-m-* seems to denote a subjective result state, for example:

- (28) 足利思代 榜行 舟薄  
*adomopite* kog[i]-ini-si pune=*pa*  
 lead.GER row-go.out-PST.ADN boat=TOP  
 高嶋之 足速之 水門尔  
 takasima=no adwo=no minatwo=*ni*  
 Takasima=GEN Adwo=COP.ADN harbour=DAT  
 極尔監 鴨  
**pate-*ni-kye-mu*** *kamo*  
**dock-PFV-PST-CONJ.ADN** EMPH

‘Perhaps the boat that rowed out in the lead **has docked** in Adwo harbour in Takasima.’ (MYS.9.1718)

### 7.3.3.1.3 Objective result state

There are no unambiguous examples of *-(i)te-ki* denoting an objective result state, but the following are candidates:

- (29) 為我 登  
 a=ga tame *to*  
 I=GEN sake COMP  
 織 女之  
 tanabata=tu mye=no  
 loom=GEN woman=GEN  
 其 屋戸尔 織 白布  
 so=no yadwo=*ni* oru sirwo-tape=pa  
 that=GEN house=DAT weave.ADN white-cloth=TOP  
 織弓兼 鴨  
**ori-*te-kye-mu*** *kamo*  
**weave-PFV-PST-CONJ.ADN** EMPH

‘Is the white cloth that the weaver woman is weaving in her house, (saying) that it is for me, **woven?**’ (MYS.10.2027)

- (30) 大 海之 底乎 深目而 結義之  
 opo-k[i] umi=no soko=wo pukamete **musubi-te-si**  
 big-ACOP.ADN sea=GEN bottom=ACC make.deep.GER **tie-PFV-PST.ADN**  
 妹 心者  
 imo=ga kokoro=pa  
 beloved=GEN heart=TOP  
 疑毛 無  
 utagapi=*mo* na-si  
 doubt=TOP not.exist-ACOP.CNCL  
 ‘As for the heart of my beloved, which **is tied** (to mine) as deep down as the bottom of the great sea, I have no doubts.’ (MYS.12.3028)

In the first example, since the Topic marking on *sirwo-tape* is not actually represented orthographically, however, this might denote *current relevance* rather than an objective result state (if *sirwo-tape* is actually the object of *ori-te-kye-mu*). Similarly, in the second example it is possible that there is an unexpressed subject of *musubi-te-si*, making a past or a current relevance interpretation more appropriate.

#### 7.3.3.1.4 Current relevance of an anterior event

The following can be interpreted as denoting the current relevance of an anterior event:

- (31) 於吉都 奈美 多可久 多都 日爾  
 oki=tu nami taka-ku tatu pi=ni  
 offing=GEN wave high-ACOP.INF rise.ADN day=DAT  
 安敞利伎 等  
 ap-yeri-ki to  
 meet-STAT-PST.CNCL COMP  
 美夜古能 比等波 伎吉弓家牟 可母  
 miyakwo=no pito=pa **kiki-te-kye-mu** kamo  
 capital=GEN people=TOP **hear-PFV-PST-CONJ.ADN** EMPH  
 ‘**Perhaps** the people in the capital **have heard** that we met on a day when the waves in the offing were rising high.’ (MYS.15.3675)

As with *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*, however, current relevance examples are extremely scarce, and hard to demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt.

### 7.3.3.1.5 Anterior-continuing

In the following poem, *-(i)te-si* seems to have anterior-continuing function:

- (32) 荒玉乃                      年              緒              長久  
 ara-tama=*no*                      tosi=no      wo              naga-ku  
 (rough-pearl=COP.INF) year=GEN thread long-ACOP.INF  
 相見氏之                      彼              心引  
**api-mi-te-si**                      so=no      kokorobiki  
**RECP-see-PFV-PST.ADN** that=GEN affection  
 将忘                              也      毛  
 wasura-ye-me                      ya      mo  
 forget-PASS-CONJ.EXCL FOC EMPH  
 ‘Will the affection that we **have seen in each other** for many years be forgotten?’ (MYS.19.4248)

According to the poem’s introduction it was written for a time of parting between lovers, and so it is appropriate to interpret *api-mi-te-si* as referring to an event continuing up to the present.

### 7.3.3.1.6 Past result state?

Washio (2004: 220) translates part of the following poem as ‘the autumn leaves which I had forgotten’, but in the context of the whole poem this is not appropriate:

- (33) 秋山乎                      謹      人              懸                      勿  
 aki-yama=*wo*                      yume      pito              kaku                      na  
 Aki-mountain=ACC PROH person mention.CNCL PROH  
 忘西                              其              黄葉乃  
**wasure-ni-si**                      so=no      momitiba=*no*  
**forget-PFV-PST.ADN** that=GEN autumn.leaves=GEN  
 所思君  
 omopoyuraku      ni  
 think.PASS.NMNL COP.INF  
 ‘No one mention Mount Aki, so that I think of its autumn leaves that I **have forgotten.**’ (MYS.10.2184)

I have found no examples where *-(i)ni-ki* or *-(i)te-ki* has past resultative or past perfect meaning.

### 7.3.3.1.7 Optative

The string *-(i)te-sika (mo)* often expresses *desire* (Vovin 2009a: 1,243–1,245), for example:

- (34) 多都能            馬母            伊麻勿    愛弓之可  
*tatu=no*            *ma=mo*            *ima=mo*    ***e-te-sika***  
 dragon=COP.ADN horse=TOP now=TOP **get-PFV-PST.EXCL**
- 阿遠爾    与志                    奈良乃            美夜古爾  
*awo-ni*    *yo-si*                    *nara=no*            *miyakwo=ni*  
 (green-red good-ACOP.ADN) Nara=COP.ADN capital=DAT
- 由吉帝 己牟                    丹米  
*yukite*    *ko-mu*                    *tame*  
 go.GER come-CONJ.ADN in.order.to

‘**I wish I had** a winged horse now, in order to go to the capital, Nara, and come back!’ (MYS.5.806)

This string is often analysed as Perfective *-(i)te-* + Past *-(i)ki* (in the Adnominal form) + Emphatic *ka(mo)*. However, Vovin (2009a: 1,243) notes that it is only in this construction that the particle *kamo* frequently appears in the abbreviated form *ka*. This suggests an alternative analysis, whereby *sika* is Past *-(i)ki* in the Exclamatory form, and *mo* is an emphatic particle (as attested elsewhere).

In MYS.3.343 the string *nari-ni-te-sika mo* appears, although *ni* is not orthographically represented. This is unusual since it appears to show *-(i)te-* in combination with *-(i)n-*. One commentary (Kojima et al. 1994: 208) describes *tesika(mo)* in this and other examples as a final particle, but final particles are not otherwise attested following the Infinitives of predicates, so this analysis should be viewed with suspicion. If the example from MYS.3.343 is admitted, then this might be evidence that the string *-(i)tesika(mo)* was being reanalysed as a flective.

The observation that past tenses may convey modal meanings has been widely documented cross-linguistically (see James 1982, Fleischman 1989, Thieroff 1999). The most common explanation for the connection is based on a metaphorical link between past time and epistemic distance (e.g. James 1982, Fleischman 1989), although there have been other proposals (see Patard 2011). To discuss the applicability of these theories to Old Japanese is beyond the scope of this enquiry.

### 7.3.3.2 Discussion

#### 7.3.3.2.1 Introduction

The combinations *-(i)ni-ki* and *-(i)te-ki* are both used to denote *past bounded events*. The combination *-(i)ni-ki* is also found denoting *subjective result states*, and *-(i)te-ki* can be analysed as also denoting *objective result states*, the *current relevance of anterior events*, *anterior-continuing*, and *optative*. The combinations *-(i)ni-ki* and *-(i)te-ki* share many of the functions of Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* and of Past *-(i)ki*, but the following facts must be explained:

- (a) *-(i)ki* and non-optative *-(i)te-ki* usually denote past events, but *-(i)ni-ki* usually denotes subjective result states or current relevance.
- (b) *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* frequently conclude main clauses and rarely conclude relative clauses.<sup>2</sup>
- (c) *-(i)ki* rarely concludes main clauses and frequently concludes relative clauses.<sup>3</sup>
- (d) *-(i)ni-ki* and *-(i)te-ki* (excluding the optative function of *-(i)te-ki*) rarely conclude main clauses and frequently conclude relative clauses.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For *-(i)n-*, about 69% of its predicate-final attestations conclude main clauses and about 3% conclude relative clauses. For *-(i)te-*, about 81% of its predicate-final attestations conclude main clauses and about 14% conclude relative clauses. This is based on the total numbers of Conclusive, Exclamatory, Imperative, and Optative forms, and either the total number (for *-(i)n-*) or a sample (for *-(i)te-*) of 40 phonographic Adnominal forms. I have only used predicate-final attestations in order to avoid the results being skewed by the high frequency of the *-(i)ni-kyer-* construction.

<sup>3</sup> About 69% of its predicate-final attestations conclude relative clauses, while about 28% conclude main clauses. This is based on the total numbers of Conclusive and Exclamatory forms, and a sample of 40 phonographic Adnominal forms.

There are two things that can explain these facts: the non-compositionality of *-(i)ni-ki*, and the discourse functions of *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* and *-(i)ki*.

### 7.3.3.2.2 *The non-compositionality of -(i)ni-ki*

The most frequent function of *-(i)ni-ki* (subjective result state) is not predictable from the functions of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)ki*, whose most frequent functions are *subjective result state* and *past* respectively. Instead, the subjective result state function of *-(i)ni-ki* must have arisen as a conventionalization of the implicatures drawn from a *past bounded event* function (*-(i)n-* denoting a doubly bounded event and *-(i)ki* denoting past) with the sorts of verbs that *-(i)n-* combines with. This requires *-(i)ni-ki* to have lost compositionality (see Bybee 2010: 44–45). On the other hand, with the verbs that *-(i)te-ki* combines with such implicatures would have been drawn more rarely, and it mostly continued to denote past bounded events.

### 7.3.3.2.3 *The discourse functions of -(i)n- ~ -(i)te- and -(i)ki*

But even so, why was *-(i)n-* used for subjective result states in main clauses but *-(i)ni-ki* in relative clauses? And why was *-(i)te-* used for bounded past events in main clauses but *-(i)te-ki* in relative clauses? This can be explained by assuming that *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* had acquired *foregrounding* functions and *-(i)ki* had acquired *backgrounding* functions.

There is evidence that in OJ *-(i)ki* and *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* had these roles. Past *-(i)ki* is generally not used to narrate the main events in narrative, this role falling to the Gerund, the Infinitive, and Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*. When *-(i)ki* and *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* appear together, *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* usually denotes the important events in a narrative, while Past

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<sup>4</sup> For *-(i)ni-ki*, about 63% of the predicate-final attestations conclude relative clauses and about 11% conclude main clauses. For non-optative *-(i)te-ki*, about 60% of the predicate-final attestations conclude relative clauses and about 13% conclude main clauses. This is based on all the phonographic attestations (75 for *-(i)ni-ki* and 40 for *-(i)te-ki*).

-(i)ki usually appears in relative clauses, denoting events that are not part of the main storyline. A typical example is as follows:

- (35) 今敷者 見目 屋 跡 念之  
imasiku=pa mi-me ya to [o]mopi-si  
now=TOP see-CONJ.EXCL FOC COMP think-PST.ADN  
三芳野之 大川余杼乎 今日 見鶴 鴨  
mi-yosinwo=no opo-kapa-yodo=wo kyepu mi-turu kamo  
RESP-Yosinwo=COP.ADN big-river-pool=ACC today see-PFV.ADN EMPH  
‘Today (I) **saw** the pool of the big Yosinwo River, of which I **had thought**  
‘Will I see it (again) as I do now?’!’ (MYS.7.1103)

The main event is narrated with Perfective -(i)te-, with an event off the main storyline denoted by Past -(i)ki.

Perfective forms across languages frequently have foregrounding functions (Hopper 1979), which can be understood as the result of bounded events frequently being the key events in narratives. As -(i)n- ~ -(i)te- increased in frequency, -(i)ki would have been used less and less for foregrounded events, and may have acquired an association with backgrounding. This explains the frequent occurrence of -(i)n- ~ -(i)te- in main clauses and the frequent occurrence of -(i)ki in relative clauses.

What of -(i)ni-ki ~ -(i)te-ki, however? I propose that these combinations appeared after the foregrounding and backgrounding implications of -(i)n- ~ -(i)te- and -(i)ki had developed, and were seen as ways of specifying the boundedness of backgrounded events. Therefore, from the beginning they were used mainly in relative clauses, a naturally backgrounded location.

#### 7.3.3.2.4 Conclusion

I tentatively propose that the strange distribution of -(i)ki, -(i)n- ~ -(i)te-, and -(i)ni-ki ~ -(i)te-ki across main clauses and relative clauses can be explained by reference to the distinct discourse functions acquired by -(i)n- ~ -(i)te- and -(i)ki.

This scenario suggests that *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* encroached on the territory of *-(i)ki*, and this is supported by evidence that Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is newer than Past *-(i)ki*. First, Past *-(i)ki* is (mostly) obligatory, while Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is not. Second, the paradigm of *-(i)ki* shows signs of being older than those of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*: it shows suppletion and irregularity. Third, past morphemes are usually older than perfective morphemes (Bybee et al. 1994: 104–105). If Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* was at some point an innovative way to refer to bounded events, it could gradually have taken over some of the functions of *-(i)ki* and led to the strange distribution seen in Old Japanese.

### 7.3.4 Relationship with Indirective *-(i)kyer-*

While the mirative and emphatic uses of *-(i)kyer-* are an important part of its function, in this section I will discuss only its past uses.

#### 7.3.4.1 Possibilities

The relationship between the past uses of *-(i)kyer-* and the past uses of *-(i)ki* could be either of two extreme positions, or any point between them. It could be what Aikhenvald (2004: 26–31) calls an A1 system (*firsthand* v *non-firsthand*) or an A2 system (*non-firsthand* v *neutral*),<sup>5</sup> or it could be somewhere between these two. An A1 system has an opposition between two terms: use of the *firsthand* term means that the event was witnessed firsthand, and use of the *non-firsthand* term means that it was not. In A2 systems, however, the *non-firsthand* term is marked and the *neutral* term is unmarked: use of the *non-firsthand* term means that the event was not witnessed firsthand, but use of the other term is neutral with regard to evidentiality. Aikhenvald (2004: 40) notes that A2 systems tend to develop into A1 systems, presumably through

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<sup>5</sup> Aikhenvald (2004) uses the term ‘everything else’ instead of ‘neutral’, but explains that she uses the term ‘everything else’ to mean ‘evidentiality-neutral’. For this reason, I substitute the more readily understandable term ‘neutral’ for her ‘everything else’.

mechanisms similar to those described by Bybee (1994). Throughout this transition, the evidentiality-neutral uses of the *neutral* term would gradually diminish, as it came to be used exclusively for firsthand past.

If OJ has an A1 evidentiality system, then *-(i)ki* is firsthand past and *-(i)kyer-* is non-firsthand past. Much as I have considered the use of *-(i)kyer-* for the narration of dreams as a semantic extension of its non-firsthand past meaning, the use of *-(i)ki* for historical events could be considered to be a semantic extension of a firsthand past meaning. This is basically in accordance with Slobin and Aksu (1982) and Shinzato (1991), who propose an opposition between the two past tenses in Turkish and OJ respectively. However, Johanson (2003) argues convincingly that the use of Turkish *-di* (and similar forms in other languages) to refer to historical events is due to its *neutrality*, and is not an epistemic extension from a firsthand evidential meaning. Indeed, Aikhenvald (2004: 155–159) reports very few semantic extensions for firsthand evidentials. I will show below that use for historical events is not the only use of *-(i)ki* for events that the speaker did not witness.

I will not make use of any grammatical environments where *-(i)kyer-* cannot appear. In many languages evidential specifications are neutralized in certain environments, e.g. in non-declarative clauses or in non-indicative modalities. Here languages may use no evidentials at all, or they may employ one evidential as a neutral term (as in Jarawara; see Aikhenvald 2004: 71–72). The use of *-(i)ki* in grammatical environments where *-(i)kyer-* cannot appear is not evidence for the neutrality of *-(i)ki* in general, only that it is the preferred term in environments where evidentiality cannot be expressed.

#### **7.3.4.2 Evidence for the neutrality of *-(i)ki***

As is well known, there are many examples of *-(i)ki* used to refer to historical occurrences that the speaker did not witness, for example:

- (36) 今耳之            行事庭            不有  
 ima=*nomwi*=no    waza=*ni*=pa            ara-zu  
 now=only=GEN    thing=COP.INF=TOP    exist-NEG.INF
- 古            人曾            益而            哭左倍            鳴四  
 inisipye=*no*    pito=*so*            masarite            ne=*ni*=*sape*            **naki-si**  
 past=GEN        people-FOC    exceed.GER    cry=DAT=EMPH    **cry-PST.ADN**
- ‘It is not only a present-day thing: the people of the past **used to cry** even more!’  
 (MYS.4.498)

As already mentioned, this use of a neutral past tense is found in historical narratives in Turkish and other languages.

There are other examples of *-(i)ki* being used neutrally besides historical events, however:

- (37) 余佐美能    伊空气能    韋具比宇知賀  
*yosami=no*    *ike=no*            *wigupi-uti=ga*  
 Yosami=GEN    pond=GEN    dam.post-hit.INF=GEN
- 佐斯祁流            斯良迓  
*sasi-kyeru*            *sira-ni*  
 stick.in-INDIR.ADN    know-NEG.INF
- 奴那波久理    波閑祁久            斯良迓  
*nunapa-kuri*            ***pape-kyeku***            *sira-ni*  
 brasenia-reel.INF    **stretch-PST.NMNL**    know-NEG.INF
- ‘not knowing that the one who stakes out the dam posts in Yosami Pond had stuck them in, not knowing that he **had stretched out** the brasenia’<sup>6</sup>  
 (from KK.44)

Both of the events referred to (the sticking in of the dam posts and the stretching out of the brasenia) were previously unknown to the speaker, so we can assume that he did not witness them. The first event is expressed with *-(i)kyer-* and the second with *-(i)ki*. It seems unlikely that the speaker is using a semantic extension of *-(i)ki* to imply something different about the second event, and it is best interpreted as neutral.

The following is another example:

<sup>6</sup> Extending the stems is part of the cultivation of the water plant *Brasenia schreberi* (Tsuchihashi and Konishi 1957: 65–66).

- (38) 眞珠者 緒絶 爲尔伎 登  
 sira-tama=pa wo-daye si-ni-ki to  
 white-pearl=TOP thread-be.cut.INF do-PFV-PST.CNCL COMP  
 聞之 故尔  
 kiki-si yuweni  
 hear-PST.ADN because  
 其 緒 復 貫 吾 玉尔 將爲  
 so=no wo mata nuki wa=ga tama=ni se-mu  
 that=GEN thread again poke.INF I=GEN pearl=COP.INF do-CONJ.CNCL  
 ‘(I) have heard that the white pearl **has been cut from the thread**, so I want to  
 poke that thread through again and make it my pearl.’ (MYS.16.3814)

Here the writer states specifically that he only *heard* about the ‘cutting of the thread’ (i.e. the divorcing of a girl he desires), he did not witness it firsthand; yet it is expressed with *-(i)ki*.

These examples show that, even in environments where it is possible to use *-(i)kyer-*, OJ writers sometimes chose to use *-(i)ki*, with no discernible evidential or epistemic implications.

### 7.3.4.3 Conclusion

Even in environments where *-(i)kyer-* can be used, *-(i)ki* is sometimes used instead to express events that the speaker did not witness. This is clear evidence that its evidentiality status is neutral. I conclude that *-(i)ki* is fundamentally an evidentiality-neutral term, albeit used to denote *firsthand* events much of the time. In Aikhenvald’s (2004) terminology, Old Japanese has an A2 evidentiality system.

### 7.3.5 Summary

When Past *-(i)ki* occurs on its own (i.e. without Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*) it almost always denotes past events, either bounded or unbounded. Very occasionally it is used

with *subjective result state*, *current relevance*, *objective result state*, *anterior-continuing*, or *experiential function*.

When *-(i)ki* combines with *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, however, the picture is quite different:

| (39) <b>Function</b>          | %                       |                         |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|                               | <b><i>-(i)ni-ki</i></b> | <b><i>-(i)te-ki</i></b> |
| bounded past event            | 25                      | 48                      |
| subjective result state or CR | 75                      | 3                       |
| objective result state        |                         | 15                      |
| anterior-continuing           |                         | 5                       |
| optative                      |                         | 30                      |

The combinations *-(i)ni-ki* ~ *-(i)te-ki* have very different distributions of meanings from *-(i)ki* on its own. I discussed possible reasons for this in 7.3.3.2.

## 7.4 Conclusions

### 7.4.1 Morphological origin

There are various theories as to the morphological origins of Past *-(i)ki*. Frellesvig (2010: 121) pays particular attention to the *s* ~ *k* alternation in the *-(i)ki* paradigm, and draws connections with the similar alternation in the paradigm of the Adjectival Copula. He proposes that the inflected forms of *-(i)ki* derive from two pre-OJ copulas *\*k-* and *\*s-*. Vovin (2009a: 936) proposes that the ancestors of Adnominal *-si* and Exclamatory *-sika* existed in Proto-Japanese, but that Conclusive *-ki* was borrowed into pre-COJ from Old Korean and is cognate with a Middle Korean perfective suffix. Whitman (1985: 228–229) suggests that *-(i)ki* is cognate with the Middle Korean deverbial nominalizing suffix *-ki*.

It is very hard to choose between these theories, since *-(i)ki* is clearly one of the older grammatical morphemes in Old Japanese. Vovin's and Frellesvig's theories are

probably to be preferred to Whitman's, since they offer explanations for both the *k*- and the *s*- portions of the paradigm.

## 7.4.2 Semantic development pre-OJ

### 7.4.2.1 *Original function*

There are several candidates for the original function of Past *-(i)ki*. In the grammaticalization literature, past tenses are most frequently traced back to resultative constructions: this seems to be the case, for example, with Modern Japanese Past *-(I)ta* (< OJ Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*). The grammaticalization path is *resultative* > *perfect* > *past* (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 105).

Alternatively they can be traced to tenseless perfectives: this is usually hypothesized to have been the case with the Indo-European Aorist, and may have been happening to Perfective *-(i)te-* in EMJ. I will come back to this discussion in 12.4.3.1.

### 7.4.2.2 *Comparison with Perfective -(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*

I noted above that the narrative function of *-(i)ki* is not perfective, and that it appears mostly in adnominal position (or in combination with Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*) in matrix position. I propose that *-(i)ki* is older than *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*, and that the newer auxiliaries took over some of the functions of *-(i)ki*, resulting in the strange distribution seen in OJ. This is like the 'doughnut' pattern described by Croft, Shyldkrot, and Kemmer (1987: 190), formed when a new construction takes over some of the territory of an older one. The specific function that *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* can be said to have taken over is the *discourse* function associated with perfective constructions, i.e. the function of narrating important events in main clauses.

### 7.4.2.3 ‘Perfect’ functions

In 7.3.2 I suggested that sometimes *-(i)ki* might have subjective result state, current relevance, or experiential interpretations. The use of a construction with past perfective functions to denote subjective result states or current relevance was discussed in chapter 4 with relation to Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* and I will not repeat that discussion here. If *-(i)ki* is thought to have begun as a resultative construction, then the persistence of these functions at a late stage of grammaticalization would not be unusual.

The use of a past tense to denote experiential aspect is also attested. Dahl and Hedin (2000: 388) give an example of the Russian Past Imperfective with experiential function, contrasting it with a Past Perfective:

- (40) a. *Ivan morga-l?*  
Ivan **wink**.IPFV-PST  
‘Has Ivan winked?’
- b. *Ivan morg-nu-l?*  
Ivan **wink**-SEMEL-PST  
‘Did Ivan wink?’

Lindstedt (2000: 369) describes the experiential as ‘more tense-like’ than current relevance, and calls it an ‘indefinite past tense’. Dahl (1985: 142) notes that ‘it appears that the occurrence of [experiential] is favoured by non-affirmative contexts, i.e. questions and negated sentences. [...] This is natural, since this is where we find non-specific reference to generic events.’

### 7.4.3 Development post-OJ

According to Frellesvig (2010: 236), the function of *-(i)ki* remained largely unchanged in EMJ, although it was replaced by *-(i)tar-* during LMJ. This can be

compared with the newer formerly perfect tenses replacing the older aorists in Romance languages (Squartini and Bertinetto 2000).

#### 7.4.4 Final remarks

At first sight *-(i)ki* is a simple past tense, and this is indeed its main function. However, its distribution in different types of clause is unusual, and poses a challenge for any account that aims to be comprehensive. Morphological, semantic, and distributional considerations suggest that *-(i)ki* is the oldest overt tense–aspect construction in Old Japanese, and various other constructions seem to have encroached on its territory. Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* seems to have taken over some of the discourse functions of *-(i)ki*, and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* is almost always used to refer to non-firsthand past events in preference to *-(i)ki*. It is the only tense–aspect construction in OJ for which no convincing source, morphological or semantic, has been proposed. I will come back to the question of its original function in 12.4.3.1.

## 8 *-(i)-wi-*

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### 8.1 Introduction

#### 8.1.1 Orthography

Of the 57 examples of an Infinitive followed by *wi-*, only 13 are written phonographically. The most common characters used to write *wi-* logographically are 居 and 座, but these characters are also used for *wor-* ‘be sitting, be still’ and *suwe-* ‘put, make sit’. Since a construction *-(i)-wor-* is also attested, examples written logographically with these characters should ideally be treated with caution, but since there are so few examples, I will have to use the logographically written examples if I am to make any meaningful study of this construction. I will attempt, however, not to rely on them.

#### 8.1.2 Inflection

The construction *-(i)-wi-* is formed from the Infinitive of a verb followed by the verb *wi-* ‘sit’. In the construction *-(i)-wi-*, the verb *wi-* is attested in the following inflected forms:<sup>1</sup>

| (1) | Form          | Shape         | Number | %  |
|-----|---------------|---------------|--------|----|
|     | Adnominal     | <i>wiru</i>   | 1      | 2  |
|     | Infinitive    | <i>wi</i>     | 5      | 9  |
|     | Gerund        | <i>wite</i>   | 43     | 78 |
|     | Continuative  | <i>witutu</i> | 5      | 9  |
|     | Conditional   | <i>wiba</i>   | 1      | 2  |
|     | <b>Total:</b> |               | 55     |    |

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<sup>1</sup> I have omitted two examples with *pus-* ‘lie down’, which some consider instances of *-(i)-wi-*: see 8.2.2.

Although there are no attestations in OJ of an upper monograde verb in simple conclusive function (Frellesvig 2010: 107), *-(i)-wi-* does not appear in conclusive function at all: there are no uses of the Conclusive, Adnominal, or Exclamatory in predicative position. If it is a tense–aspect construction, it is also the only one that regularly appears in the Gerund form.

### 8.1.3 Combination

The construction *-(i)-wi-* is not attested in combination with any auxiliaries or periphrastic constructions. It is found mostly with verbs that are telic and intransitive.

### 8.1.4 The verb *wi-*

#### 8.1.4.1 *Kinsui (2006)*

According to Kinsui (2006: 50–54), in Old Japanese *wi-* is a change of state verb that functions as the antonym of *tat-* ‘stand up, start moving’. It has meanings such as ‘sit down’, ‘become low’, ‘stop moving’, and ‘perch’. Its subject need not be animate, and it is not a stative verb. The following two examples show *tat-* and *wi-* in opposition:

- (2) 佐射礼奈美 多知弓毛 為弓母  
*sazare-nami tatite=mo wite=mo*  
 (small-wave) **stand.GER=TOP sit.GER=TOP**
- 己芸米具利 美礼登母 安可受  
*kogi-meguri miredomo aka-zu*  
 row-move.around.INF look.CNCS tire-NEG.CNCL
- ‘...one could not tire of rowing around and looking at them, whether **having stood up** or **having sat down**...’ (from MYS.17.3993)
- (3) 多知低 為弓 見礼登毛 安夜之  
*tatite wite miredomo ayasi*  
**stand.GER sit.GER** look.CNCS strange.CNCL
- ‘Whether one looks at it **having stood up** or **having sat down**, it is strange.’  
 (from MYS.17.4003)

Although a more natural English translation would say ‘whether standing or sitting’, I have used the Perfect in the glosses above to try to convey that *tat-* and *wi-* denote changes of state here, and that they are interpreted as stative only because of the temporal sequencing implied by the Gerund form (see 1.2.3.2.2 and 3.3.1.2.1). According to Kinsui, the stative form of *wi-* was *wor-*, which can be seen in opposition to *tat-er-* in examples such as the following:

- (4) 立礼杼毛                      居礼杼毛                      登母爾                      戲礼  
**tat-eredomo**                      **woredomo**                      *tomo-ni*                      *tapabure*  
**stand.up-STAT.CNCS**                      **be.sitting.CNCS**                      together-COP.INF                      play.EXCL  
‘**whether standing or sitting**, he used to play with us’ (from MYS.5.904)

In summary, according to Kinsui (2006) both *tat-* ‘stand’ and *wi-* ‘sit’ are straightforward change of state (probably achievement) verbs.

#### 8.1.4.2 *Tat- as an inceptive state verb*

However, there is some evidence that *tat-*, as well as having change of state uses, also has stative uses. This is especially apparent in compounds with atelic verbs:

- (5) 妹等許                      今木乃                      嶺                      茂立  
*imo-ra-gari*                      *imakwi=no*                      *mine=no*                      **sigeri-tatu**  
(beloved-PL-place)                      Imakwi=GEN                      peak=GEN                      **flourish-stand.ADN**  
孀待                      木者  
*tuma-matu=no*                      *kwi=pa*  
wife-pine=COP.ADN                      tree=TOP  
古人                      見祁牟  
*puru-pito*                      *mi-kye-mu*  
old-people                      see-PST-CONJ.CNCL

‘Perhaps the people of old saw the pine trees that **stand flourishing** on the peak of Imakwi.’ (MYS.9.1795)

Here the compound *sigeri-tat-* denotes an atelic event: *sigeri-* in some sense denotes the *manner* in which the trees are standing. A similar example can be found in KK.74 (see

8.3.1.1). Therefore I tentatively classify *tat-* as an inceptive state verb, i.e. one that has the potential to be construed in the Nonpast as either a change of state or a state.

#### 8.1.4.3 *Wi- as an inceptive state verb*

As *tat-* appears in some contexts to be the antonym of *wi-*, this raises the question: is *wi-* an inceptive state verb? This is rather more difficult to determine for *wi-* than it is for *tat-*. Although both verbs have very few phonographic attestations, the logographic attestations of *wi-* are far more problematic than those of *tat-*, often allowing confusion with the verb *wor-* ‘be sitting’. The only phonographic example of *wi-* in a finite form is in MYS.14.3357, and it allows multiple interpretations.

Logographic attestations furnish a few examples where, if the traditional reading as *wi-* is accepted, it must be interpreted as denoting a state:

- (6) 春日山            朝            居            雲乃  
kasuga-yama      asa            **wiru**      kumo=*no*  
Kasuga-mountain morning **sit.ADN** cloud=COP.INF  
鬱                    不知                    人尔毛  
opoposi-ku        sira-nu                pito=*ni=mo*  
unclear-ACOP.INF know-NEG.ADN people=DAT=TOP  
戀            物            香聞  
kwopuru    mono        *kamo*  
yearn.ADN although EMPH

‘I yearn for someone I know only hazily like the clouds that **sit** in the morning on Mount Kasuga.’ (MYS.4.677)

This poem is not about the clouds *settling* on the mountain in the morning, but about them *being* on the mountain in the morning, and making it look hazy and vague. However, the character 居 could of course be read *woru*.

Inceptive state verbs are not infrequent in Old Japanese, and are drawn from a variety of inflectional classes. Although the evidence of stative uses is slight, I will

assume that *wi-* ‘sit’ is an inceptive state verb like *tat-* ‘stand’. It will be seen that this allows for a satisfactory explanation of the *-(i)-wi-* construction.

## 8.2 Previous accounts of *-(i)-wi-*

### 8.2.1 Resultative

Although their terminology is not always clear, both Sakakura (1977) and Kinsui (2006) seem to consider *-(i)-wi-* to be a resultative construction, contrasting it with *-(i)-wor-*, which they seem to treat as a progressive construction.

### 8.2.2 Lexical and resultative

Watanabe (2008: 178) claims that *-(i)-wi-* has two uses: first as a lexical compound, and second as an aspect construction. She appears to believe that the lexical examples are very few, only giving the following:

- (7) 爾保鳥能 布多利 那良毘為 可多良比斯  
*nipodori=no puta-ri narabi-wi katar-api-si*  
 grebe=COP.INF two-CLF **line.up-sit.INF** talk-RECP-PST.ADN  
 許許呂 曾牟企弓 伊弊社可利摩須  
*kokoro so-mukite ipye-zakar[i]-imasu*  
 feelings back-turn.GER house-become.separate-exist.RESP.CNCL

‘Turning your back on the feelings that we spoke to each other, **sitting lined up** like grebes, you have left the house.’ (from MYS.5.794)

A lexical interpretation is certainly possible here, as I will argue is possible for all the examples of *-(i)-wi-*.

As evidence for her claim that *-(i)-wi-* is a resultative construction, Watanabe (2008: 179) gives the following example of a sentence where she claims a lexical interpretation is not possible:

- (8) 晝波毛 日之 盡  
 piru=*pa=mo* pi=no kotogoto  
 daytime=TOP=TOP day=GEN all
- 夜羽毛 夜之 盡  
 yworu=*pa=mo* ywo=no kotogoto  
 night.time=TOP=TOP night=GEN all
- 臥 居 雖嘆 飽不足 香裳  
**pusi wi** nagekedo aki-dara-nu *kamo*  
**lie.down.INF sit.INF** weep.CNCS satisfy-be.enough-NEG.ADN EMPH
- ‘All day and all night, **lying and sitting**, (I) weep, but it is not enough!’  
 (from MYS.2.204)

Watanabe notes that commentaries (e.g. Takagi et al. 1957: 113; Omodaka 1983/2: 420; Kojima et al. 1994: 137) usually interpret the above example as meaning ‘(alternately) lying and sitting’, but she suggests that this meaning would have been expressed with *pusite wite*, after the pattern of *tatite wite* ‘(alternately) standing and sitting’. She prefers to interpret *pusi wi* as denoting the result state of ‘lying down’: ‘All day and all night, lying down I weep, but it is not enough!’. However, the juxtaposition of two times (*all day and all night*) with two actions (*lying and sitting*) is attractive, and has a very similar parallel in MYS.3.372:

- (9) 片戀耳二  
 katakwopwi=*nomwi=ni*  
 unrequited.love=EMPH=COP.INF
- 晝者毛 日之 盡  
 piru=*pa=mo* pi=no kotogoto  
 daytime=TOP=TOP day=GEN all
- 夜者毛 夜之 盡  
 yworu=*pa=mo* ywo=no kotogoto  
 night.time=TOP=TOP night=GEN all
- 立而 居而 念曾 吾 為流  
**tatite wite** [o]mopi=*so* a=**ga** *suru*  
**stand.GER sit.GER** yearn.INF=FOC I=GEN do.ADN
- 不相 兒 故荷  
 apa-nu kwo yuwe=*ni*  
 meet-NEG.ADN girl reason=COP.INF

‘...through unrequited love, all day and all night, **standing and sitting**, I yearn, because of a girl who will not meet with me.’ (from MYS.3.372)

In my judgement there is no reason to reject the traditional interpretation that takes *pusi wi* to be a sequence of two verbs.

Watanabe (2008: 179–180) concludes from the prevalence of telic verbs in the *-(i)-wi-* construction that it is a resultative construction. She does not have an explanation for the strange distribution of forms in which *-(i)-wi-* is found, totally unlike all tense–aspect constructions in Old Japanese. Watanabe also claims that *-(i)-wi-* was expanding its meaning to include progressive functions. Her evidence for this comes from her interpretations of the examples of *-(i)-wi-* in the Continuative form, interpretations with which I disagree.

### 8.2.3 Summary

It has been noticed by several linguists that *-(i)-wi-* mostly appears with change of state verbs and seems in some way to denote the result states of those verbs. However, there are two problems with theories that call *-(i)-wi-* a resultative construction. First, some of the verbs *-(i)-wi-* appears with are not change of state verbs, and *-(i)-wi-* cannot be interpreted as denoting a result state. Second, *-(i)-wi-* is almost always found in the Gerund form: a very different pattern from that of other resultative constructions (e.g. Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*) in Old Japanese. This is not explained by any of the previous accounts.

## 8.3 The functions of *-(i)-wi-*

If *wi-* ‘sit’ is the antonym of *tat-* ‘stand’, it might be expected that the *-(i)-wi-* construction is the antonym of the *-(i)-tat-* construction. First I will introduce the *-(i)-*

*tat-* construction and its functions, and then I will attempt to demonstrate that *-(i)-wi-* has three functions analogous to those of *-(i)-tat-*.

### 8.3.1 The functions of *-(i)-tat-*

The *-(i)-tat-* construction mostly appears with telic verbs, but it also appears with a few atelic ones, e.g. *kipop-* ‘fight’, and *mukap-* ‘face’. It appears to have three functions.

#### 8.3.1.1 ‘Stand doing’

One of the functions of *-(i)-tat-* is to denote ‘standing while doing something’, for example:

- (10) 加良怒袁      志本爾      夜岐  
*karanwo=wo sipo=ni yaki*  
 Karanwo=ACC salt=DAT burn.INF
- 斯賀    阿麻里    許登爾    都久理  
*si=ga amari koto=ni tukuri*  
 it=GEN remains lute=DAT make.INF
- 加岐比久      夜  
*kaki-piku ya*  
 EMPH-pluck.ADN FOC
- 由良能      斗能      斗那加能      伊久理爾  
*yura=no two=no two-naka=no ikuri=ni*  
 Yura=GEN channel=GEN channel-inside=GEN underwater.rock=DAT
- 布禮多都      那豆能      紀能      佐夜佐夜  
*pure-tatu nadu=no kwi=no sayasaya*  
**wave-stand.ADN** seaweed=COP.ADN tree=COP.INF *sayasaya*

‘They burnt Karanwo [a ship] for salt, they made the remains into a lute, and they pluck it. (It goes) *sayasaya*, like the seaweed trees that **stand waving** on the rocks in Yura Channel.’ (KK.74)

When *-(i)-tat-* has this function, V1 is atelic, and the two events (in this case, *waving* and *standing*) take place at the same time.

### 8.3.1.2 ‘Stand having done’

When the V1 is a change of state verb, *-(i)-tat-* can denote ‘standing having done something’, for example:

- (11) 多可麻刀能      秋野乃              宇倍能      安佐疑里爾  
*takamatwo=no      aki-nwo=no              upe=no      asa-gwiri=ni*  
 Takamatwo=GEN    autumn-field=GEN    on=GEN    morning-mist=DAT  
 都麻    欲夫      乎之可      伊泥多都              良武              可  
*tuma    ywobu      wo-sika      ide-tatu              ramu              ka*  
 wife    call.ADN    male-deer    **go.out-stand.CNCL**    NPSTCONJ.ADN    FOC

‘Perhaps the male deer, which call for their mates, **are standing out there** in the morning mist in the autumn fields of Takamatwo.’ (MYS.20.4319)

- (12) 牽牛者              織              女等  
*pikwoposi=pa    tanabata=tu    mye=to*  
 cowherd=TOP    loom=GEN    woman=COM  
 天地之              別              時由  
*ame-tuti=no              wakare-si              toki=yu*  
 heaven-earth=GEN    be.separated-PST.ADN    time=ABL  
 伊奈牟之呂    河              向立  
*ina-musiro    kapa=ni    muki-tati*  
 (rice-mat)    river-DAT    **turn-stand.INF**  
 思              空              不安久尔  
*omopu    swora    yasu-kye-naku=ni*  
 yearn.ADN    heart    comfortable-ACOP-NEG.NMNL=COP.INF  
 嘆              空              不安久尔  
*nageku    swora    yasu-kye-naku=ni*  
 weep.ADN    heart    comfortable-ACOP-NEG.NMNL=COP.INF  
 青浪尔              望者              多要奴  
*awo-nami=ni    nozomi=pa    taye-nu*  
 blue-wave=DAT    wish=GER    be.cut.off-PFV.CNCL

‘Since heaven and earth were separated, the cowherd and the weaver **have been standing facing** the river, but their yearning hearts not being comforted, their weeping hearts not being comforted, their desire is cut off by the blue waves.’ (from MYS.8.1520)

In the first poem *ide-tat-* appears to mean ‘stand having gone out’ and in the second poem *muki-tat-* appears to mean ‘stand having turned’. My English translations do not use change of state verbs.

### 8.3.1.3 *The beginning of movement*

Sometimes *-(i)-tat-* is attached to a verb of movement, and appears to denote the inception of that movement:

- (13) 世間乎  
yo-no-naka=wo  
world-GEN-inside=ACC
- |                   |           |                |           |                  |
|-------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|------------------|
| 宇之                | 等         | 夜佐之            | 等         | 於母倍杼母            |
| <i>u-si</i>       | <i>to</i> | <i>yasa-si</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>omopedomo</i> |
| painful-ACOP.CNCL | COMP      | hard-ACOP.CNCL | COMP      | think.CNCS       |
- 飛立可祢都  
**tobi-tati-kane-tu**  
**fly-stand-cannot-PFV.CNCL**
- |                     |                 |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 鳥爾之                 | 安良祢婆            |
| <i>tori=ni=s[i]</i> | <i>ara-neba</i> |
| bird=COP.INF=EMPH   | exist-NEG.PROV  |
- ‘Although (I) think that the world is painful and hard, I **cannot fly away**, because I am not a bird.’ (MYS.5.893)

All the verbs with which *-(i)-tat-* can be interpreted as inceptive are verbs of motion (mostly *ide-* ‘go out’). If *-(i)-tat-* were a broader inceptive construction we would expect to see it with activity verbs denoting the inception of an activity, but we do not.

#### 8.3.1.4 *Summary*

I have identified three functions of *-(i)-tat-*: (i) to denote *standing while doing*, (ii) to denote *standing having done*, and (iii) to denote the beginning of movement. In the next three sections I will show that *-(i)-wi-* has three parallel functions: (i) to denote *sitting while doing*, (ii) to denote *sitting having done*, and (iii) to denote the stopping of movement.

### 8.3.2 ‘Sit while doing’

The compound *-(i)-wi-* only occasionally appears with atelic verbs, where it seems to denote ‘sitting while doing something’. The following is the clearest example:

- (14) 波之太爾母            和多之弓    安良波  
*pasi=dani=mo            watasite    araba*  
 bridge=EMPH=TOP    cross.GER    exist.COND
- 曾乃            倍由母            伊由伎和多良之  
*so=no            pe=yu=mo            i-yuki-watara-si*  
 that=GEN    over=ABL=TOP    LOC-go-cross-RESP.INF
- 多豆佐波利            宇奈我既里為弓  
*tadusapari            unagakeri-wite*  
 hold.hands.INF    **caress.necks-sit.GER**
- 於毛保之吉            許登母            加多良比  
*omoposi-ki            koto=mo            katarapi*  
 longing-ACOP.ADN    thing=TOP    speak.INF
- 奈具左牟流            許己呂波            安良牟            乎  
*nagusamuru            kokoro=p[a]            ara-mu            wo*  
 calm.down.ADN    heart=TOP            exist-CONJ.ADN    although

‘If a bridge were placed across, they would cross over it and, holding hands and **sitting caressing each other’s necks**, they would speak of their longing, and their hearts would be calm, but...’ (from MYS.8.4125)

It is not certain what the verb *unagaker-* means, but ‘caress each other’s necks’ is the consensus view (e.g. Kojima et al. 1995a: 278). It seems that *wi-* here denotes the state of *sitting*, which occurs at the same time as the activity of *caressing each other’s necks*.

There are two examples with *mukap-* ‘face’ (MYS.4.665 and MYS.15.3756), which in both cases seems to be an atelic verb meaning ‘face each other’:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In my opinion this is likely to be an elided version (see Appendix I) of *muk-* ‘turn’ + Reciprocal *-(i)-ap-* (see Vovin 2009a: 1,055–1,057), and I gloss it as such. Most cases of *mukap-*, however, appear to be *muk-* ‘turn’ + Durative *-ap-* (see Vovin 2009a: 820–828). Although elision of a vowel in Reciprocal *-(i)-ap-* is not usually acknowledged, it is a regular application of the vowel deletion rules (see Appendix I). Assuming such deletion in some examples gives a more regular syllable count, e.g. *ka-yor[i]-apaba* in MYS.4.512, *tati-yor[i]-api* in MYS.15.3658, *tomos[i]-ap-yeri* in MYS.15.3672, and *tonogumor[i]-apite* in MYS.18.4122.

- (15) 牟可比為弓 一日毛 於知受 見之可杼母  
*muk-api-wite* pito-pi=*mo* oti-zu mi-sikadomo  
**face-RECP-sit.GER** one-day=TOP fall-NEG.INF see-PST.CNCS  
 伊等波奴 伊毛乎  
*itopa-nu imo=wo*  
 hate-NEG.ADN beloved=ACC  
 都奇 和多流 麻弓  
*tukwi wataru made*  
 moon cross.ADN until

‘Until (many) months pass (I will not be able to see) my beloved, whom I do not hate although I looked at her every day as (we) **sat facing each other.**’  
 (MYS.15.3756)

- (16) 向座而 雖見 不飽 吾妹子二  
**muk-api-wite** miredomo aka-nu wa-g-imo-kwo=*ni*  
**face-RECP-sit.GER** see.CNCS tire-NEG.ADN I-GEN-beloved-girl=DAT  
 立離往六 田付 不知 毛  
*tati-panar[e]-ika-mu taduki sira-zu mo*  
 leave-become.separated-go-CONJ.ADN way know-NEG.CNCL EMPH

‘(I) do not know how to leave my beloved, whom I do not tire of looking at as (we) **sit facing each other.**’ (MYS.4.665)

It is possible, however, to interpret *muk-ap-* as a change of state verb, in which case these examples would belong in 8.3.3.

### 8.3.3 ‘Sit having done’

The compound *-(i)-wi-* can have this function when it combines with change of state verbs. It is the most frequent function observed.

#### 8.3.3.1 *In the Adnominal form*

The one finite example of *-(i)-wi-*<sup>3</sup> appears to have this function:

<sup>3</sup> Another possible example is in MYS.9.1809, but both Omodaka (1983/9: 255) and Kojima et al. (1995a: 449) interpret the characters 並居 as *narabi-woru*, the same as in MYS.7.1210. This makes the poem an unproblematic example of the stative function of *-(i)-wor-*.

- (17) 舉騰我彌爾 枳謂屢 箇皚必謎  
*koto-gami=ni ki-wiru kage-pimye*  
 (lute-head=DAT **come-sit.ADN**) Kage-princess  
 柁摩儼羅磨  
*tama=naraba*  
 pearl=COP.COND  
 婀我 褒屢 柁摩能 婀波寐之羅陀魔  
*a=ga poru tama=no apabi-sira-tama*  
 I=GEN want.ADN pearl=COP.ADN abalone-white-pearl  
 ‘If Princess Kage were a pearl, she would be the white pearl of the abalone,  
 which I love.’ (NSK.92)

According to Tsuchihashi and Konishi (1957: 186), *koto-gami ni ki-wiru* in NSK.92 is a *jo-kotoba* for *kage-pimye*. Taking *kage* as meaning ‘form’, it refers to the belief that the sound of the lute could attract a god to come and take form at the head of the lute. The *jo-kotoba* taken alone, then, is as follows:

- (18) 舉騰我彌爾 枳謂屢 箇皚  
*koto-gami=ni ki-wiru kage*  
 lute-head=DAT **come-sit.ADN** form  
 ‘the forms (of the gods) that **come and sit** at the head of the lute’  
 (from NSK.92)

A less idiomatic, but more accurate, translation, might read ‘the forms that **sit having come** to the head of the lute’. This use of *-wi-* could be stative; or, since this refers to what the gods habitually do, it is possible to interpret this as a habitual *sitting down*, i.e. using the change of state sense of the verb *wi-*.

### 8.3.3.2 *In the Infinitive and Gerund forms*

Most of the examples of *-(i)-wi-* with this function are in the Infinitive or Gerund forms:

- (19) 若草之 都麻母 古騰母毛  
 waka-kusa=no tuma=mo kwo-domo=mo  
 (young-grass=COP.ADN) wife=TOP child-PL=TOP  
 乎知己知爾 左波爾 可久美為  
 woti-koti=ni sapa-ni **kakumi-wi**  
 there-here=DAT many-COP.INF **be.surrounded-sit.INF**  
 春鳥乃 己惠乃 佐麻欲比  
 paru-tori=no kowe=no sa-maywopi  
 spring-bird=COP.INF voice=GEN ?-wail.INF  
 ‘As for my wife and my children, **sitting surrounded** far and near by many (people) their voices wail like spring birds...’ (from MYS.20.4408)

- (20) 於久礼為弓 古非波 久流思 母  
**okure-wite** kwopwiba kurusi mo  
**be.left.behind-sit.GER** love.COND be.painful.CNCL EMPH  
 安佐我里能 伎美我 由美爾母  
 asa-gari=no kimi=ga yumi=ni=mo  
 morning-hunt.INF=GEN you=GEN bow=DAT=TOP  
 奈良麻思 物能乎  
 nara-masi monowo  
 become-SUBJ.ADN although  
 ‘If, **sitting behind**, I yearn, it will be painful! If only I could become the bow that you take on your morning hunting.’ (MYS.14.3568)

- (21) 秋 去者  
 aki sareba  
 autumn arrive.PROV  
 川霧 立 天川  
 kapa-gwiri tat-eru ama-no-gapa  
 river-fog stand-STAT.ADN heaven-GEN-river  
 河 向居而 戀 夜 多  
 kapa=ni **muki-wite** kwopuru ywo=s[o] opo-ki  
 river=DAT **turn-sit.GER** yearn.ADN night=FOC many-ACOP.ADN  
 ‘When autumn comes, there are many nights when I yearn **sitting facing** the river, the heavenly river where the river fog stands.’ (MYS.10.2026)

Because of the temporal sequencing functions of the Infinitive and Gerund forms, it is possible to interpret *-wi-* in these compounds as either a change of state verb or a stative verb. For example, *muki-wite* could mean ‘sitting down (change of state), having turned’

or ‘sitting (state), having turned’. I generally favour the change of state interpretation, as Kinsui’s (2006) conclusions suggest that the change of state interpretation of *wi-* is more common in OJ than the state interpretation.

### 8.3.3.3 *In the Continuative form*

The examples of *-(i)-wi-* in the Continuative form also have this function. As I demonstrated in 1.2.3.2.4, the Continuative form connects two clauses where the event denoted by the Continuative clause continues throughout the duration of the event denoted by the main clause. When the verb in the Continuative form is a change of state verb, the event whose continuation is expressed is a *result state*. Therefore, as with the Infinitive and Gerund examples, *-wi-* in the Continuative examples can be interpreted either as a change of state or as a stative verb:

- (22) 吾 衣 於君 令服与 登  
 wa=ga kinu=wo kimi=ni kiseyo to  
 I=GEN robe=ACC you=DAT put.on.IMP COMP  
 霍公鳥 吾乎 領  
 pototogisu ware=wo unagasu  
 cuckoo I=ACC urge.CNCL  
 袖尔 来居管  
 swode=ni **ki-witutu**  
 sleeve=DAT **come-sit.CONT**

‘The cuckoo urges me to put my robe on you, **sitting here** on my sleeve.’<sup>4</sup>  
 (MYS.10.1961)

- (23) 蟋蟀之 吾 床 隔尔 鳴乍 本名  
 koporogi=no a=ga toko=no pye=ni nakitutu motona  
 cricket=GEN I=GEN floor=GEN by=DAT call.CONT aimlessly  
 起居管  
**okwi-witutu**  
**get.up-sit.CONT**

<sup>4</sup> In this example the Continuative clause is right-dislocated, occurring after the main clause.

君尔 戀尔 宿不勝尔  
 kimi=*ni* kwopuru=*ni* i-ne-kate-naku=*ni*  
 you=DAT love.ADN=DAT sleep-sleep-be.able-NEG.NMNL=COP.INF

‘A cricket is calling aimlessly by my bed. I **am sitting out of bed** and unable to sleep because of yearning after you.’ (MYS.10.2310)

- (24) 時 風 吹飯乃 濱尔  
 toki=tu kaze pukepi=*no* pama=*ni*  
 (time=GEN wind) Pukepi=COP.ADN beach=DAT

出居乍 贖 命者  
**ide-witutu** akapu inoti=*pa*  
**go.out-sit.CONT** ablute.ADN life=TOP

妹之 為社  
 imo=*ga* tame=*koso*  
 beloved=GEN sake=FOC

‘(This) life of abluting, **sitting out** on Pukepi Beach, is for the sake of my beloved.’ (MYS.12.3201)

The following examples have plural subjects, and so could be interpreted as denoting a durative event comprising many small punctual events, but I prefer to interpret them in a similar way to the above three examples:

- (25) 朝日 弓流 佐太乃 岡邊尔 群居乍  
 asa-pi *teru* sada=*no* woka-pye=*ni* **mure-witutu**  
 morning-sun shine.ADN Sada=COP.ADN hill-by=DAT **gather-sit.CONT**

吾等 哭 淚 息 時毛 無  
 wa=*ga* naku namita yamu toki=*mo* na-si  
 I=GEN cry.ADN tear stop.ADN time=TOP not.exist-ACOP.CNCL

‘(The people) **sitting gathered** at Sada Hill where the morning sun shines, the tears I cry will not stop.’ (MYS.2.177)

- (26) 布奈芸保布 保利江乃 可波乃 美奈伎波爾  
 puna-gipopu poriyе=*no* kapa=*no* minakipa=*ni*  
 boat-fight.ADN Poriye=COP.ADN river=GEN waterside=DAT

伎為都都 奈久波 美夜故杼里 香蒙  
**ki-witutu** naku=*pa* miyakwo-dori kamo  
**come-sit.CONT** call.ADN=TOP capital-bird EMPH

‘The ones that call, **having landed here** on the edges of the River Poriye, where the boats jostle, are black-headed gulls.’ (MYS.20.4462)

As noted in 8.2.2, Watanabe (2008: 180–182) interprets these examples as evidence of the expansion of *-(i)-wi-* to denote ongoing activities. However, the ‘ongoing’ nature of the events in these examples should be attributed to the Continuative form, not to the *-(i)-wi-* construction itself.

### 8.3.4 The stopping of movement

Similarly to *-(i)-tat-*, which sometimes denotes the beginning of movement, there are some examples where *-(i)-wi-* appears to denote the stopping of movement.

- (27) 安之我 知流 難波爾 伎為弓  
*asi=ga tiru nanipa=ni ki-wite*  
 (reed=GEN fall.ADN) Nanipa=DAT **come-sit.GER**
- 由布之保爾 船乎 宇氣須惠  
*yupu-sipo=ni pune=wo uke-suwe*  
 night-tide=DAT boat=ACC float-make.sit.INF
- 安佐奈芸爾 倍牟氣 許我牟 等 佐毛良布  
*asa-nagi=ni pe-muke koga-mu to samorapu*  
 morning-calm=DAT helm-point.INF row-CONJ.CNCL COMP wait.CNCL
- ‘...**coming** to Nanipa, I wait to launch the boat on the night tide, point the helm in the morning calm, and row...’ (from MYS.20.4398)

This could be interpreted as ‘sitting, having come’, however. Other possible examples are those with *ide-* ‘go out’ (MYS.9.1740, MYS.12.3201, MYS.13.3274, and MYS.13.3329), *ori-* ‘go down’ (MYS.2.188), and *pus-* ‘lie down’ (MYS.2.204 and MYS.10.1924). The following example is particularly interesting:

- (28) 爲 須部乃 田付叨 不知  
*se-mu subye=no taduki=wo sira-ni*  
 do-CONJ.ADN way=GEN way=ACC know-NEG.INF
- 石 根乃 興凝敷 道乎  
*ipa=ga ne=no kogosi-ki miti=wo*  
 rock=GEN root=GEN rugged-ACOP.ADN road=ACC

|                       |                          |                  |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 石床笑                   | 根延                       | 門叨               |
| ipa-toko= <i>no</i>   | ne-bap- <u>yeru</u>      | kadwo= <i>wo</i> |
| rock-room=GEN         | root-spread.out-STAT.ADN | gate=ACC         |
| 朝庭                    | 出居而                      | 嘆                |
| asita= <i>ni=pa</i>   | <b>ide-wite</b>          | nageki           |
| morning=DAT=TOP       | <b>go.out-sit.GER</b>    | weep.INF         |
| 夕庭                    | 入居而                      | 思                |
| yupupyē= <i>ni=pa</i> | <b>iri-wite</b>          | sinwopi          |
| evening=DAT=TOP       | <b>go.in-sit.GER</b>     | yearn.INF        |

‘Not knowing what to do, in the morning on the road rugged with rocks I **go out** and weep, and in the evening through the gate where the rock hut spreads its roots I **come in** and yearn...’ (from MYS.13.3274)

Kojima et al. (1995b: 414) analyse *ipa ga ne no kogosi-ki miti wo* as paired with *asita ni pa ide-wite nageki*, and *ipatoko no ne-bap-yeru kadwo wo* as paired with *yupupyē ni pa iri-wite sinwopi*, and I have reflected this in my translation, assuming that *wo* is being used to mark a path, similarly to the examples described by Wrona and Frellesvig (2010: 570).<sup>5</sup> It is clear that the case marking is not due to *-wi-* (a strictly intransitive verb), which is evidence for a different function from those exemplified in 8.3.2 and 8.3.3. I will come back to this in 8.3.5.

### 8.3.5 Summary

I have presented evidence that *-(i)-wi-* is a lexical compound like *-(i)-tat-*, with a similar set of functions. Like *tat-*, in the function ‘sit while doing’ *-wi-* appears to have stative meaning, in the function ‘stop moving’ it appears to have a change of state sense, and in the function ‘sit having done’ it is ambiguous.

My interpretation of *-(i)-wi-* provides a natural explanation for a curious element of the behaviour of the verb *okure-* ‘be left behind’. This verb occurs four times concluding a clause in the Gerund form (and twice in the *-(i)te wor-* construction), and

<sup>5</sup> None of the commentaries I use comments on the unusual function of Accusative *wo* in this poem, but *ir-* ‘enter’ also marks an argument with *wo* in MYS.2.186.

twelve times in the *-(i)-wi-* construction. The following is typical of one of the plain Gerund examples:

- (29) 白銅鏡            手二            取持而            見常            不足  
 maswo-kagami    te=*ni*            tori-motite            mired[o]    aka-nu  
 (true-mirror)    hand=DAT    take-take.hold.of.GER    see.CNCS    tire-NEG.ADN  
 君尔            所贈而  
 kimi=*ni*    **okurete**  
 you=DAT    **be.left.behind.GER**  
 生                    跡            文            無  
 ik-yeri            *to*            *mo*            na-si  
 live-STAT.CNCL    COMP    TOP    not.exist-ACOP.CNCL

‘**Having been left behind** by you, whom I could not tire of looking at while holding your hand, I cannot think of living.’ (MYS.12.3185)

The four plain Gerund examples are all part of the phrase *kimi ni okurete* ‘having been left behind by you’, while the twelve *okure-wite* examples do not indicate by whom or what the subject of *okure-* has been left behind. If *okure-wite* is interpreted as ‘sitting (left) behind’, it becomes apparent why *kimi* is not mentioned: *okurete* is about a *leaving behind* event, while *okure-wite* is about a *sitting (left) behind* event.

This could be extended further to the example given at the end of the previous section, where *ide-wite* and *iri-wite* appear to take arguments determined by *ide-* ‘go out’ and *ir-* ‘enter’ rather than *wi-* ‘sit’. It could be the case that, in the ‘stopping of movement’ function of *-(i)-wi-*, the V1 is in some sense the ‘head’ of the compound, while in the ‘sit while doing’ and ‘sit having done’ functions *-wi-* is the ‘head’.<sup>6</sup> In other words, in the ‘sit while doing’ and ‘sit having done’ functions, the compound denotes a type of ‘sitting’, but in the ‘stopping of movement’ function the compound denotes a type of movement.

<sup>6</sup> See Croft (2001: 254–259) for a semantic definition of ‘head’.

## 8.4 Conclusions

### 8.4.1 Origin and semantic development pre-OJ

Both the ‘sit having done’ function and the ‘ceasing of movement’ function of *-(i)-wi-* probably arose from the grammaticalization of a serial verb construction. If a change of state verb was placed in the Infinitive before the verb *wi-* ‘sit’, two implications would have been drawn: first, that the result of the change of state still held during the *sitting* event, and, second, that the event denoted by the first verb was complete before the event denoted by the second verb occurred. The first implication must have given rise to the ‘sit having done’ function, and the second to the ‘ceasing of movement’ function. Once the serial verb construction was reanalysed as a compound with the function ‘sit having done’, analogy with other compounds would have allowed it to be used with atelic verbs, leading to its developing the function ‘sit while doing’.

### 8.4.2 Development post-OJ

According to Watanabe (2008: 208), *-(i)-wi-* becomes more common in EMJ (based on her research on the *Genji monogatari*), and expands its meaning to become a *continuous* marker, which she defines as *resultative* plus *progressive*. It is beyond the scope of this enquiry to investigate these claims.

### 8.4.3 Final remarks

Since *wi-* ‘sit’ is (in some sense) the ancestor of modern *i-* ‘be’, which forms part of the common *-(I)te i-* construction in Modern Japanese, many linguists have assumed that Old Japanese *-(i)-wi-* must be an aspectual construction of some kind. However, the preponderance of nonfinite forms makes this unlikely. The *-(i)-wi-* construction is best thought of as the antonym of the *-(i)-tat-* construction.

## 9 Progressive *-(i)-wor-*

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### 9.1 Introduction

#### 9.1.1 Orthography

I found 23 examples of *-(i)-wor-* written phonographically and 33 examples written logographically. When *wor-* is written logographically it is usually written with 居, but 座 is also sometimes used. Both of these characters are also used for *wi-* ‘sit, stop moving’ and *suwe-* ‘put, make sit’, and 座 is further used for *imas-* ‘exist (RESP)’. However, due to the small number of examples, I will have to use logographic examples in my analysis.

#### 9.1.2 Inflection

The construction *-(i)-wor-* is formed from the Infinitive of a verb and the verb *wor-* ‘be sitting’. In the *-(i)-wor-* construction *-wor-* is attested in the following inflected forms, with the following number of attestations:

| (1) | Form           | Shape          | Number | %  |
|-----|----------------|----------------|--------|----|
|     | Conclusive     | <i>-wori</i>   | 8      | 14 |
|     | Adnominal      | <i>-woru</i>   | 13     | 23 |
|     | Exclamatory    | <i>-wore</i>   | 1      | 2  |
|     | Gerund         | <i>-worite</i> | 2      | 4  |
|     | Provisional    | <i>-woreba</i> | 13     | 23 |
|     | Concessive     | <i>-woredo</i> | 1      | 2  |
|     | Nominal        | <i>-woraku</i> | 1      | 2  |
|     | <i>a</i> -stem | <i>-wora-</i>  | 17     | 30 |
|     | <b>Total:</b>  |                | 56     |    |

### 9.1.3 Combination

#### 9.1.3.1 *With other grammatical constructions*

The only auxiliary that combines with *-(i)-wor-* is Conjectural *-(a)m-*, which attaches after the construction. Nonpast Conjectural *ram-* is also attested with this construction. There is one (phonographic) attestation of *-(a)zu wor-* (in MYS.20.4400). I have taken this to be a sequence of two verbs, and not an instance of *-(i)-wor-*.

#### 9.1.3.2 *With predicates*

The construction *-(i)-wor-* is attested with quadrigrade, upper bigrade, lower bigrade, and *k-irr* verbs. It is not attested with upper monograde, *s-irr*, *n-irr*, or *r-irr* verbs. It appears with change of state verbs, inceptive state verbs, and atelic verbs.

### 9.1.4 The verb *wor-*

According to Kinsui (2006: 146–147), *wor-* is an old stative form of *wi-* ‘sit down, stop moving’, formed either from *\*wo + ar-* or *\*wu + ar-* (i.e. an old root, not the Infinitive). It means ‘be sitting’ or ‘be still’, and functions as the antonym of *tat-er-* ‘be standing, be moving’, the regular (morphological) Stative of *tat-* ‘stand up, start moving’. That is, it is a stative verb that can have specific (‘be sitting’) or more general (‘be still’) meaning. Frellesvig (2010: 351) interprets Kinsui as meaning that *wor-* did not have simple existential meaning in Old Japanese, and suggests that the use of *wor-* in aspect constructions formed the basis for its reinterpretation as an existential verb.

## 9.2 Previous accounts of *-(i)-wor-*

### 9.2.1 Progressive

Among linguists who acknowledge *-(i)-wor-* as a construction, it is usually called *progressive*, i.e. it is seen as attaching to activity verbs much like the English *-ing* Progressive. With slight differences in terminology, this is the approach taken by Kinsui (2006), Watanabe (2008), Vovin (2009a), and Frellesvig (2010). There are some examples, however, where ‘progressive’ does not seem an appropriate designation of the role of *-(i)-wor-*, e.g. where it attaches to change of state verbs and is best interpreted non-lexically. Vovin (2009a) and Frellesvig (2010) do not comment on these examples, but Watanabe (2008) and Kinsui (2006) do.

### 9.2.2 *-(i)-wor-* with change of state verbs

#### 9.2.2.1 *Lexical*

According to Watanabe (2008: 187), where change of state verbs appear with *wor-*, *wor-* has lexical meaning and is not part of an aspectual construction. For this to be the case, the verbs must be understood either as sequences or as lexical compounds, e.g. *iri wori* ‘entered and is sitting’ or *iri-wori* ‘is sitting inside’. This sort of interpretation works well for some examples, but not for all.

#### 9.2.2.2 *Coercion*

Kinsui (2006) claims that in Old Japanese *wi-* is a change of state verb meaning ‘sit down’ or ‘stop moving’ (but see 8.1.4), and *wor-* is a state verb meaning ‘be sitting’ or ‘be still’. According to him, both verbs enter into aspect constructions with preceding verbal Infinitives. Kinsui (2006: 145–146) analyses the verbs that appear with *-wi-* only (Group A), those that appear with *-wor-* only (Group B), and those that appear with both (Group C):

(2) Verbs that combine with *-wi-* and *-wor-*

| Group A (just <i>-wi-</i> )          | Group B (just <i>-wor-</i> )       | Group C (both)                        |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>ide-</i> ‘exit’                   | <i>iki-duk-</i> ‘groan’            | <i>ir-</i> ‘enter’                    |
| <i>kakum-</i> ‘surround’             | <i>i-swobap-</i> ‘frolic’          | (-) <i>kakur-</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘hide’ |
| <i>kapyer-</i> ‘return’              | <i>i-swop-</i> ‘be next to’        | <i>komor-</i> ‘be secluded’           |
| <i>ko-</i> ‘come’                    | <i>i-tugar-</i> ‘be fastened’      | <i>mukap-</i> ‘face’                  |
| <i>muk-</i> ‘face’                   | <i>kamusabwi-</i> ‘appear godlike’ | <i>narab-</i> ‘line up’               |
| <i>mure-</i> ‘gather’                | <i>katarap-</i> ‘speak’            | <i>uk-</i> ‘float’                    |
| <i>okure-</i> ‘be left behind’       | <i>komorap-</i> ‘be secluded’      |                                       |
| <i>okure-nam-</i> ‘be left lined up’ | <i>kwopwi-</i> ‘yearn’             |                                       |
| <i>okwi-</i> ‘get up’                | <i>mat-</i> ‘wait’                 |                                       |
| <i>ori-</i> ‘go down’                | <i>nodoyop-</i> ‘whimper’          |                                       |
| <i>panare-</i> ‘be separated’        | <i>omop-</i> ‘yearn, think’        |                                       |
| <i>pus-</i> ‘lie down’               | <i>sok-</i> ‘be parted’            |                                       |
| <i>sakar-</i> ‘be separated’         | <i>tagap-</i> ‘differ’             |                                       |
| <i>tadusapar-</i> ‘hold hands’       | <i>tomos-</i> ‘light’              |                                       |
| <i>tomar-</i> ‘stay’                 | <i>urabure-</i> ‘be miserable’     |                                       |
| <i>unagaker-</i> ‘caress neck’       | <i>uragwopwi-</i> ‘yearn deeply’   |                                       |
| <i>uzusumar-</i> ‘bow low’           | <i>uranake-</i> ‘weep’             |                                       |
|                                      | <i>wabwi-</i> ‘be miserable’       |                                       |

Kinsui observes that Group A verbs denote actions with visible results, while Group B verbs denote an extended period centred on a mental or linguistic action. (These could be called *change of state* and *atelic* verbs respectively.) He states that the Group C verbs are aspectually the same as those that appear with *-wi-* (i.e. change of state verbs), but appears to claim that they can be construed either as result states (with *-wi-*) or as ongoing activities (with *-wor-*). Giving the following two examples, he considers *komor-* ‘be secluded’ to be a member of this class:

- (3) 伊泥多多武                      知加良乎      奈美等  
*ide-tata-mu*                      *tikara=wo*      *na-mito*  
 go.out-stand.up-CONJ.ADN    power=ACC    not.exist-ACOP.INF  
 許母里為弓  
***komori-wite***  
**be.secluded-sit.down.GER**

<sup>1</sup> This appears as *kakur-* ‘hide’ and *iswo-gakur-* ‘hide in a rock’ with *-wi-*, and as *ura-gakur-* ‘hide in a cove’ with *-wor-*.

伎弥爾 故布流爾 許己呂度母 奈思  
*kimi=ni kwopuru=ni kokorodwo=mo na-si*  
 you=DAT yearn.ADN=DAT emotional.strength=TOP not.exist-ACOP.CNCL

‘(I) **sit secluded** because I do not have the strength to go out, and through my yearning for you I have no emotional strength.’ (MYS.17.3972)

- (4) 麻都我 延乃 都知爾 都久 麻泥  
*matu=ga ye=no tuti=ni tuku made*  
 pine=GEN branch=GEN ground=DAT reach.ADN until  
 布流 由伎乎 美受豆 也 伊毛我  
*puru yuki=wo mi-zute ya imo=ga*  
 fall.ADN snow=ACC look-NEG.GER FOC beloved=GEN  
 許母里乎流 良牟  
*komori-woru ramu*  
**be.secluded-be.sitting.ADN NPSTCONJ.ADN**

‘My beloved **is** probably **shut up inside** not looking at the snow that is falling so much that the branches of the pines are touching the ground.’ (MYS.20.4439)

To summarize, Kinsui (2006) believes that each verb belongs to one aspectual class, but that sometimes a verb can be coerced into behaving as if it were in another aspectual class. He believes that *-(i)-wi-* is always resultative, and *-(i)-wor-* is always progressive.

However, some of the verbs that appear with *-(i)-wor-* do not have the variable aspectual potential Kinsui attributes to them. An inceptive state verb like *kakur-* ‘hide’ can denote the state ‘be hidden’ in its bare finite forms (with no aspect auxiliaries attached), but several of the verbs that appear with *-(i)-wor-* are change of state verbs and cannot plausibly be given ongoing activity interpretations.

### 9.3 The functions of *-(i)-wor-*

I will introduce the *-(i)-tat-er-* construction here as a point of comparison for any lexical interpretation of *-(i)-wor-*.

### 9.3.1 The functions of *-(i)-tat-er-*

#### 9.3.1.1 Introduction

In chapter 8 I argued that the *-(i)-wi-* construction is simply the antonym of the *-(i)-tat-* construction. Both constructions are reasonably frequent for lexical constructions, there being 55 attestations of *-(i)-wi-* and 87 attestations of *-(i)-tat-*. We might expect the *-(i)-wor-* construction to be the antonym of the *-(i)-tat-er-* construction, but there is a huge disparity in attestations: while *-(i)-wor-* has 55 attestations, *-(i)-tat-er-* has only 4. Since this is so different from the ratio seen with *-(i)-wi-* and *-(i)-tat-*, this suggests that the relationship between *-(i)-wor-* and *-(i)-tat-er-* is not simply one of antonymy, and that *-(i)-wor-* has additional functions.

#### 9.3.1.2 Examples

Although none of them are written phonographically, there are four examples of the *-(i)-tat-er-* construction: *simisabwi-tat-eri* and *kamusabwi-tat-eri* in MYS.1.52, *ide-tat-eru* in MYS.3.319, and *urabure-tat-eri* in MYS.7.1119. The latter two are the clearest:

- (5) 往 川之  
yuku kapa=no  
(go.ADN river=COP.INF)
- 過去 人之 手不折者  
sugwi-ni-si pito=no ta-wora-neba  
pass-PFV-PST.ADN person=GEN hand-bend-NEG.PROV
- 裏觸立  
***urabure-tat-eri***  
**become.forlorn-stand-STAT.CNCL**
- 三和之 桧原者  
miwa=no pibara=pa  
Miwa=GEN cypress=TOP

‘Because the people who have passed away no longer break off (branches), it **stands withered**, the cypress of Miwa.’ (MYS.7.1119)

- (6) 奈麻余美乃 甲斐乃 國  
*namayomi=no kapwi=no kuni*  
 (?=COP.ADN) Kapwi=COP.ADN land
- 打縁流 駿河能 國与  
*uti-yosuru suruga=no kuni=to*  
 (EMPH-draw.near.ADN) Suruga=COP.ADN land=COM
- 己知其智乃 國之 三中從  
*kotigoti=no kuni=no mi-naka=yu*  
 here.and.there=GEN land=GEN RESP-middle=ABL
- 出立有 不盡能 高嶺者  
**ide-tat-eru** *puzi=no takane=pa*  
**go.out-stand-STAT.ADN** Puzi=GEN peak=TOP
- ‘As for the peak of Puzi, which **stands towering** between the land of Kapwi and the land of Suruga...’ (from MYS.3.319)

The example in MYS.7.1119 denotes ‘standing having withered’ and the example in MYS.3.319 denotes ‘standing having gone out’ (having gone out of the land into the sky between the two lands).

The examples in MYS.1.52 are less clear:

- (7) 埴安乃 堤 上尔  
*paniyasu=no tutumi=no upe=ni*  
 Paniyasu=GEN lake=GEN top=DAT
- 在立之 見之賜者  
*ari-tata-si myesi-tamapeba*  
 DUR-stand-RESP-INF look.RESP-RESP.PROV
- 日本乃 青香具山者  
*yamato=no awo-kagu-yama=pa*  
 Yamato=GEN green-Kagu-mountain=TOP
- 日經乃 大 御門尔  
*pinotate=no opo-ki mi-kadwo=ni*  
 east=GEN big-ACOP.ADN RESP-gate=DAT
- 春山跡 之美佐備立有  
*paru-yama=to simisabwi-tat-eri*  
 Paru-mountain=COP-INF **be.lush-stand-STAT.CNCL**
- 畝火乃 此 美豆山者  
*unebwi=no ko=no midu-yama=pa*  
 Unebwi=GEN this=GEN Midu-mountain=TOP

|                       |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 日緯能                   | 大                                 | 御門尔                             |
| pinoyoko= <i>no</i>   | opo-ki                            | mi-kadwo= <i>ni</i>             |
| west=GEN              | big-ACOP.ADN                      | RESP-gate=DAT                   |
| 弥豆山跡                  |                                   | 山佐備伊座                           |
| <i>midu-yama=to</i>   |                                   | <i>yamasabwi-imasu</i>          |
| Midu-mountain=COP.INF |                                   | be.mountainous.INF-be.RESP.CNCL |
| 耳為之                   | 青菅山者                              |                                 |
| <i>miminasi=no</i>    | <i>awosuga-yama=pa</i>            |                                 |
| Miminasi=GEN          | Awosuga-mountain=TOP              |                                 |
| 背友乃                   | 大                                 | 御門尔                             |
| <i>sotomo=no</i>      | opo-ki                            | mi-kadwo= <i>ni</i>             |
| north=GEN             | big-ACOP.ADN                      | RESP-gate=DAT                   |
| 宣名倍                   | 神佐備立有                             |                                 |
| <i>yorosinape</i>     | <b>kamusabwi-tat-eri</b>          |                                 |
| suitably              | <b>be.godlike-stand-STAT.CNCL</b> |                                 |
| 名細                    | 吉野乃                               | 山者                              |
| <i>nagupasi-ki</i>    | <i>yosinwo=no</i>                 | <i>yama=pa</i>                  |
| revered-ACOP.ADN      | Yosinwo=COP.ADN                   | mountain=TOP                    |
| 影友乃                   | 大                                 | 御門從                             |
| <i>kagetomo=no</i>    | opo-ki                            | mi-kadwo= <i>yu</i>             |
| south=GEN             | big-ACOP.ADN                      | RESP-gate=ABL                   |
| 雲居尔曾                  | 遠久                                | 有家留                             |
| <i>kumowi=ni=so</i>   | <i>topo-ku</i>                    | <i>ari-kyeru</i>                |
| distance=DAT=FOC      | far-ACOP.INF                      | exist-INDIR.ADN                 |

‘When he stands at Lake Paniyasu and looks, Mount Kagu of Yamato **is standing lush** like Mount Paru at the great east gate. Mount Midu of Unebwi is mountainous like (the other) Mount Midu at the great west gate. Mount Awosuga of Miminasi **is standing** appropriately **godlike** at the great north gate. Revered Mount Yosinwo is far away in the distance from the great south gate.’ (from MYS.1.52)

Since most bigrade verbs have change of state construals (Whitman 2008: 164–165, 169), it is plausible to propose that *simisabwi-* and *kamusabwi-* are inceptive state or change of state verbs. Whitman (2008: 165) describes the verb *sabwi-* ‘behave quietly’ as an inchoative derived from the adjective *sabu-* ‘lonely’, and the verbal formant *-sabwi-* seems to have the same source.

### 9.3.1.3 Conclusions

It seems that the main function of *-(i)-tat-er-* is to denote that something is standing while in a certain state. There is no discernible aspectual meaning. All examples are with verbs that seem to have change of state construals. By contrast, *-(i)-wor-* is found with many activity verbs.

### 9.3.2 *-(i)-wor-* with activity verbs

#### 9.3.2.1 Verbs

In my judgement, the following verbs that *-(i)-wor-* appears with are activity verbs:

| (8) | Verb                             | Number |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------|
|     | <i>[i]-mukap-</i> ‘face’         | 2      |
|     | <i>i-swobap-</i> ‘fool around’   | 1      |
|     | <i>ikiduk-</i> ‘sigh’            | 1      |
|     | <i>katarap-</i> ‘talk’           | 1      |
|     | <i>komorap-</i> ‘be shut up’     | 1      |
|     | <i>kwopwi-</i> ‘yearn, love’     | 19     |
|     | <i>mat-</i> ‘wait’               | 4      |
|     | <i>nodoyop-</i> ‘whimper’        | 1      |
|     | <i>omop-</i> ‘think, yearn’      | 1      |
|     | <i>uragwopwi-</i> ‘yearn deeply’ | 1      |
|     | <i>uramat-</i> ‘wait anxiously’  | 1      |
|     | <i>uranake-</i> ‘sob’            | 2      |
|     | <b>Total:</b>                    | 35     |

All of these verbs are reliably designated atelic on semantic grounds.<sup>2</sup> None of them seem to have a change of state sense.

<sup>2</sup> Three of these verbs (*mukap-* ‘face’, *katarap-* ‘tell’, and *komorap-* ‘be shut up’) could be interpreted as incorporating either the derivational morpheme Durative *-ap-* (Russell 2006: 131–134) or the inflectional morpheme Durative *-ap-* (Russell 2006: 167–168). In addition, the attestation of *mukap-* in KK.42 could be interpreted as including Reciprocal *-(i)-ap-*, with elision of the Infinitive flective. In this case it could be considered a change of state verb.



百重山                      越弓              須疑由伎  
 momo-pye-yama            kwoyete    sugwi-yuki  
 hundred-layer-mountain    cross.GER    pass-go.INF

伊都斯可母              京師乎              美武              等              意母比都 ㄷ  
 itu=si=ka=mo              miyakwo=wo    mi-mu              to              omopitutu  
 when=EMPH=FOC=TOP    capital=ACC    see-CONJ.ADN    COMP    think.CONT

迦多良比遠礼騰

**katar-api-woredo**  
**talk-DUR-be.sitting.CNCS**

意乃何    身志              伊多波斯計礼婆  
 ono=ga    mwi=si              itapasi-kyereba  
 own=GEN    body=EMPH    painful-ACOP.PROV

玉粹乃                      道乃              久麻尾爾  
 tama-poko=no              miti=no              kumamwi=ni  
 (jewel-spear=COP.INF)    road=GEN    bend=DAT

久佐    太袁利              志婆    刀利志伎提  
 kusa    ta-wori              siba    twori-sikite  
 grass    hand-break.INF    grass    take-lay.GER

等許自母能    宇知許伊布志提  
 toko-zimono    uti-kopi-pusite  
 bed-like              EMPH-lie.down-lie.down.GER

‘Although (I) **am talking** (to myself), thinking “When will I see the capital?”, having left my mother’s arms and crossed over and passed through usually unknown interiors of lands and hundreds of mountains to go to the capital; because my body is painful, picking some grass and laying it down at a bend in the road, I lie down on a bed-like thing...’ (from MYS.5.886)

This poem recounts the speaker’s experiences on a journey. ‘Sitting’ seems to be irrelevant at the point in the poem where *-(i)-wor-* appears, so I am inclined to interpret *-(i)-wor-* as denoting an ongoing activity here.

As mentioned above, all the other examples of *-(i)-wor-* with activity verbs can be interpreted either aspectually or lexically, for example:

- (11) 吉哉  
 yosi=we=ya=si  
 good.CNCL=INT=FOC=EMPH  
 雖不直  
 tada-nara-zu              tomo  
 direct-COP-NEG.CNCL    CNCS

奴延鳥                      浦嘆居  
*nuye-dori=no*                *uranake-wori*                *to*  
 thrush-bird=COP.INF    **sob-be.sitting.CNCL**    COMP

告                      子                      鴨  
*tuge-mu*                *kwo*                *moga mo*  
 tell-CONJ.ADN    person    OPT                EMPH

‘Oh, even if it is not face to face, if only there were someone to tell (him) that (she) is (**sitting**) **sobbing** like a thrush!’ (MYS.10.2031)

- (12) 秋風爾                      伊麻香                伊麻可                等  
*aki-kaze=ni*                *ima=ka*                *ima=ka*                *to*  
 autumn-wind=DAT    now=FOC    now=FOC    COMP

比母 等伎弓                      宇良麻知乎流                      爾  
*pimo tokite*                      *uramati-woru*                      *ni*  
 sash    become undone.GER    **wait.anxiously-be.sitting.ADN**    while

月                可多夫伎奴  
*tukwi katabuki-nu*  
 moon    lean-PFV.CNCL

‘While (**sitting**) **anxiously waiting** in the autumn wind with my sash undone, (thinking) “Now? Now?”, the moon has sunk (i.e. it has got late).’ (MYS.20.4311)

- (13) 安波牟                      日乎                      其                      日                      等                      之良受  
*apa-mu*                      *pi=wo*                      *so=no*                      *pi*                      *to*                      *sira-zu*  
 meet-CONJ.ADN    day=ACC    that=GEN    day    COMP    know-NEG.INF

等許也未爾                      伊豆礼能                      日麻弓  
*toko-yamwi=ni*                      *idure=no*                      *pi=made*  
 eternal-darkness=DAT    which=GEN    day=till

安礼    古非乎良牟  
*are kwopwi-wora-mu*  
 I                **yearn-be.sitting-CONJ.CNCL**

‘Till which day **will I be yearning** (or **sit yearning**) in the eternal darkness, not knowing if the day we will meet is that day?’ (MYS.15.3742)

It is questionable, however, whether a sense of ‘sitting’ is really conveyed by these poems.

### 9.3.2.3 Summary

Some instances of *-(i)-wor-* with activity verbs are likely to denote ongoing activities, while others are likely to be lexical compounds. Many are ambiguous. I conclude that *-(i)-wor-* with activity verbs can either be a grammatical construction denoting an ongoing activity, or a lexical compound denoting ‘sit while doing’.

### 9.3.3 *-(i)-wor-* with change of state verbs

#### 9.3.3.1 Verbs

The change of state verbs that *-(i)-wor-* appears with are as follows:

| (14) | Verb                          | Number         |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------|
|      | <i>ir-</i> ‘enter’            | 2              |
|      | <i>i-tugar-</i> ‘be fastened’ | 1              |
|      | <i>ki-ir-</i> ‘come in’       | 2              |
|      | <i>sok-</i> ‘be parted’       | 2              |
|      | <i>tagap-</i> ‘differ’        | 1              |
|      | <i>uk-</i> ‘float’            | 1 <sup>3</sup> |
|      | <b>Total:</b>                 | 9              |

The change of state status of some of these verbs is obvious, e.g. *ir-* ‘enter’ and *ki-ir-* ‘come in’. The others however, are more or less ambiguous.

The verb *sok-* ‘come to be parted’ is not attested in a form where a state reading is necessary, and nor is the compound *topo-sok-* ‘come to be far away’. The same is true of the verbs *tugar-* ‘become fastened’ and *tagap-* ‘differ’. All these verbs are more frequently found in the Gerund or Infinitive forms, or with Perfective *-(i)n-*, than in the Nonpast. This is typical of change of state verbs. Moreover, when they are in combination with Perfective *-(i)n-* they denote result states (see *sok-* in MYS.14.3389 and MYS.19.4258, and *tagap-* in MYS.2.176 and MYS.19.4236).

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<sup>3</sup> This example appears in MYS.14.3401, which Vovin (2012: 91) classifies as EOJ based on a possible Ainu loanword. I follow scholarly consensus and treat this poem as COJ.

The verb *uk-* ‘float’ might seem a very strange candidate for inclusion in this class, but it too is never attested in the Conclusive, Adnominal, or Exclamatory forms denoting the state of ‘floating’. It is thus possible that it too is a change of state verb with the meaning ‘come to be floating’. It is also attested with *-(i)te wor-*, which seems only to appear with verbs with change of state senses (see chapter 11).

### 9.3.3.2 *Functions*

With change of state verbs, *-(i)-wor-* seems to be either a lexical compound or to denote a result state.

#### 9.3.3.2.1 *Lexical*

Most examples of *-(i)-wor-* with change of state verbs make perfect sense when interpreted lexically. Some of them make sense when *-wor-* is interpreted as having the meaning ‘be sitting’, for example:

- (15) 意佐加能 意富牟盧夜爾  
*osaka=no opo-murwo-ya=ni*  
 Osaka=GEN big-pit-dwelling=DAT
- 比登 佐波爾 岐伊理袁理  
*pito sapa-ni ki-iri-wori*  
 people many-COP.INF come-enter-be.sitting.CNCL
- 比登 佐波爾 伊理袁理 登母  
*pito sapa-ni iri-wori tomo*  
 people many-COP.INF enter-be.sitting.CNCL CNCS
- 美都美都斯 久米能 古賀  
*mitumitusi kume=no kwo=ga*  
 gallant.CNCL Kume=GEN child=GEN
- 久夫都都伊 伊斯都都伊 母知  
*kubututui isitutui moti*  
 club.headed.sword stone.(club.headed.)sword hold.INF
- 宇知弓斯 夜麻牟  
*utite=si yama-mu*  
 hit.GER=EMPH stop-CONJ.CNCL

‘Many people **are sitting in** the big pit dwelling of Osaka. Although many people **are in there**, the gallant Kume boys will hit them with their club-headed swords and stone-headed swords, and stop them.’ (KK.10)

Alexander Vovin (p.c.) points out that the Classical Chinese introduction to the poem states that the men in the pit dwelling were to be given a banquet, and that therefore they were likely to be sitting.<sup>4</sup>

In the following two poems *-wor-* could be interpreted as ‘be sitting’ or ‘be still’:

- (16) 夜麻登弊迹      爾斯      布岐阿宜弓      玖毛婆那禮  
*yamato-pye=ni      nisi      puki-agete      kumwo-banare*  
 Yamato-side=DAT west.wind blow-go.up.GER cloud-be.separated.INF

曾岐袁理                      登母 和禮 和須禮米      夜  
*soki-wori                      tomo ware wasure-me      ya*  
**be.parted-be.sitting.CNCL** CNCS I forget-CONJ.EXCL FOC

‘Up towards Yamato the west wind blows and the clouds separate; although (we too) **will be apart**, will I forget (you)?’ (KK.55)

- (17) 夜麻等弊爾      加是      布企阿義天      久母婆奈礼  
*yamato-pye=ni      kaze      puki-agete      kumo-banare*  
 Yamato-side=DAT wind blow-go.up.GER cloud-be.separated.INF

所企遠理                      等母 与 和遠 和須良須      奈  
*soki-wori                      tomo yo wa=wo wasura-su      na*  
**be.parted-be.sitting.CNCL** CNCS INT I=ACC forget-RESP.CNCL PROH

‘Up towards Yamato the wind blows and the clouds separate; although (we too) **will be apart**, do not forget me.’ (FK.13)

In the above poems people are being compared to clouds, and the noun *kum(w)o* frequently appears with the verb *wi-* ‘sit’ in OJ. If *-wor-* is taken to refer more to the people, it could be interpreted as ‘be sitting’, but if it is taken to refer more to the clouds, it could be interpreted as ‘be still’. I prefer to interpret it as referring more to the clouds

<sup>4</sup> As the subject of *ki-iri-wori* and *iri-wori* is plural, these examples could be interpreted as ongoing directed activities: ‘many people are entering the big pit dwelling’. However, the *hentai kanbun* text preceding this poem states ‘When [Kamu-yamatō-ipare-biko-nō-mikōtō] arrived at the great pit dwelling of OSAKA, there were eighty mighty men with tails, of the TUTI-GUMO, waiting inside the pit dwelling with great clamor’ (Philippi 1968: 174). The way that the poem continues also indicates that the people *have come into* the big pit dwelling. Further, a directed activity interpretation would contradict Kinsui’s (1995: 18) observation that stative constructions in Old Japanese always denote result states with accomplishment verbs, never directed activities.

being still after the event of ‘being parted’ than to the people sitting, but the ambiguity may have been intended by the author.

The role of *-wor-* in the following poem is unclear:

- (18) 何 爲 迹 違 將居  
 nani su to **tagapi=pa** **wora-mu**  
 what do.CNCL COMP **differ.INF=TOP** **be.sitting-CONJ.CNCL**
- 否藻 諾藻  
 ina=*mo* wo=*mo*  
 no=TOP yes=TOP
- 友之 波々 我裳 將依  
 tomo=no *nami-nami* ware=*mo* yori-na-mu  
 friend=GEN line.up.INF-line.up.INF I=TOP approach-PFV-CONJ.CONJ
- ‘Why **would I differ** (from the other girls)? Yes or no, I too will approach with my friends.’ (MYS.16.3798)

In this poem sequence (MYS.16.3792–3801) an old man is attempting to seduce nine young women. The girls must decide whether to refuse (and stay) or accept (and go with him). This, the song of the fifth girl, rejects the thought of staying behind, and instead opts to go with the other girls. A lexical interpretation ‘be still’ is possible here.

#### 9.3.3.2.2 *Result state*

There are no examples of *-(i)-wor-* with change of state verbs that are completely infelicitous when interpreted lexically. There is one example where a result state interpretation seems to make more sense, however:

- (19) 豊國乃 加波流波 吾宅  
 toyokuni=*no* *kaparu=pa* wa-g-ipye  
 Toyokuni=GEN Kaparu=TOP I-GEN-house
- 紐 兒尔 伊都我里座者  
 pimo=no kwo=*ni* ***i-tugari-woreba***  
 sash=GEN girl=DAT **LOC-become.fastened-be.sitting.PROV**
- 革流波 吾家  
*kaparu=pa* wa-g-ipye  
 Kaparu=TOP I-GEN-house

‘Kaparū in Toyokuni is my home. Because (I) **am attached** to my sash girl, Kaparū is my home.’ (MYS.9.1767)

A lexical interpretation is possible here, but in my judgement an aspectual interpretation is preferable.

### 9.3.4 With inceptive state verbs

While *-(i)-wor-* appears with many inceptive state verbs, the selection of verbs is very different from those that appear with Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*. For example, the verb *sak-* ‘bloom’, which is very frequent with the two stative constructions, is absent. This suggests that *-(i)-wor-* is not simply the same as either of these two constructions.

#### 9.3.4.1 Verbs

The inceptive state verbs that *-(i)-wor-* appears with are as follows:

| (20) | Verb                                   | Number |
|------|--|--------|
|      | <i>i-swop-</i> ‘be next to’            | 1      |
|      | <i>kamusabwi-</i> ‘be evocative’       | 1      |
|      | <i>komor-</i> ‘be shut up’             | 2      |
|      | <i>narab-</i> ‘be lined up’            | 1      |
|      | <i>sinaye-urabure-</i> ‘be forlorn’    | 1      |
|      | <i>tomos-</i> ‘light, burn’            | 1      |
|      | <i>urabure-</i> ‘get downhearted’      | 3      |
|      | <i>ura-gakur-</i> ‘be hidden in a bay’ | 1      |
|      | <i>wabwi-</i> ‘be miserable’           | 1      |
|      | <b>Total:</b>                          | 12     |

For a verb to be an inceptive state verb it must be capable of being construed both as a state and as the change that results in that state. Evidence of these verbs’ construal as states is most reliably found in their uses with present time reference in the Conclusive, Adnominal, and Exclamatory forms. Evidence of their construal as changes of state is most reliably found in their uses with Perfective *-(i)n-* and Stative *-yer-*. Most of the

above are relatively safe assignments, but some (e.g. *i-swop*- ‘be next to’ and *tomos*- ‘light, burn’) are very tentative.

### 9.3.4.2 Functions

#### 9.3.4.2.1 Lexical

Many of the examples make sense when interpreted lexically, but the reference to sitting always sounds a little unnatural, for example:

- (21) 麻都我 延乃 都知爾 都久 麻泥  
*matu=ga ye=no tuti=ni tuku made*  
 pine=GEN branch=GEN ground=DAT attach.ADN till  
 布流 由伎乎 美受弓 也 伊毛我  
*puru yuki=wo mi-zute ya imo=ga*  
 fall.ADN snow=ACC see-NEG.GER FOC beloved=GEN  
 許母里乎流 良牟  
*komori-woru ramu*  
**be.shut.up-be.sitting.ADN NPSTCONJ.ADN**

‘My beloved **is** probably (**sitting**) **shut up indoors** not seeing the snow that falls so much that the branches of the pines touch the ground.’ (MYS.20.4439)

I found no examples with inceptive state verbs that are completely felicitous with a lexical interpretation.

#### 9.3.4.2.2 Ambiguous

As when inceptive state verbs combine with Stative *-yer-* or Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*, strictly speaking their aspectual function with *-(i)-wor-* is ambiguous between denoting a result state (based on the change of state reading of these verbs) and denoting an ongoing atelic event (activity or state, based on the atelic reading of these verbs). The following is an example:

- (22) 比等母祢能 宇良夫禮遠留 爾  
*pito-mone=no urabure-woru ni*  
 person-?all=GEN **get.downhearted-be.sitting.ADN** although

|                          |              |                    |
|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 多都多夜麻                    | 美麻           | 知可豆加婆              |
| <i>tatuta-yama</i>       | <i>mi-ma</i> | <i>tika-dukaba</i> |
| Tatuta-mountain          | RESP-horse   | near-arrive.COND   |
| 和周良志奈牟                   | 迦            |                    |
| <i>wasura-si-na-mu</i>   | <i>ka</i>    |                    |
| forget-RESP-PFV-CONJ.ADN | FOC          |                    |

‘Although everyone **is downhearted**, will you forget us when your horse approaches Mount Tatuta?’ (MYS.5.877)

This example does not require a reference to ‘sitting’ or ‘being still’, and *-wor-* can be interpreted as denoting some kind of aspectual function. On the other hand, it is not clear if the focus is on the people *being downhearted* or *having got downhearted*.

### 9.3.5 Summary

Because of the enormous difference in the frequency of attestations between *-(i)-wor-* and *-(i)-tat-er-* (when compared to that between *-(i)-wi-* and *-(i)-tat-*), and because *-(i)-tat-er-* is only attested with verbs with a change of state construal while *-(i)-wor-* is attested with several activity verbs, it seems unlikely that *-(i)-wor-* is simply the antonym of *-(i)-tat-er-* ‘stand having done’. Both with verbs with activity construals and with verbs with change of state construals, some examples of *-(i)-wor-* resist a lexical interpretation. With activity verbs such examples are best interpreted as denoting ongoing activities and with change of state verbs such examples are best interpreted as denoting result states. With inceptive state verbs such examples are ambiguous between result state and ‘ongoing atelic event’ interpretations. Many of these examples could also be interpreted lexically, however.

Since it is so difficult to determine if lexical interpretations are intended, I have not attempted to state definitively in which cases they are appropriate. The functions of *-(i)-wor-* are attested in the following proportions:

| (23) | Function                    | Number | %  |
|------|-----------------------------|--------|----|
|      | ongoing activity or lexical | 35     | 63 |
|      | result state or lexical     | 9      | 16 |
|      | ambiguous or lexical        | 12     | 21 |

Although *-(i)-wor-* has three of the same functions as *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-*, their proportions are very different. Most of the examples of *-(i)-wor-* denote ongoing activities (if interpreted aspectually), while *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* both have more result state attestations.

## 9.4 Conclusion

### 9.4.1 Origin and semantic development pre-OJ

Although *-(i)-wor-* is formally similar to Stative *-yer-* in that they both originated as analytic constructions comprising a verbal Infinitive and a stative verb, the *-(i)-wor-* construction is found with a much higher proportion of ongoing activity construals than Stative *-yer-*. There are two ways to explain this.

First, one could propose that *-(i)-wor-* arose at a different time from Stative *-yer-*, perhaps later, once the Infinitive had broadened from being an anterior converb to incorporate simultaneous functions. In this case, from the very beginning of its use as an aspectual construction it would have denoted both ongoing activities and result states. In this case its coinage would have to be attributed to a desire for expressivity, since constructions that denoted result states and ongoing activities already existed. According to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 73), finding new ways to say things ‘serves the dual function of improving informativeness for the hearer and at the same time allowing the speaker to convey attitudes towards the situation, including the speech situation’.

Alternatively one could propose that *-(i)-wor-* was originally a variant form of *-yer-*, as *-(i)-imas-* might also have been (see 3.4.1.2). Since *-(i)-wor-* did not contract as *-yer-*

did, it was still analysable as a compound. Once the Infinitive had broadened to be able to denote simultaneous events, many compounds would have denoted simultaneous events too. This might have been the stimulus for activity verbs to be used with *-(i)-wor-* (cf. 3.4.2.3.1). Because of the prevalence of the ongoing activity function, however, by OJ *-(i)-wor-* was most likely no longer felt to be a variant of *-yer-*, but rather a construction in its own right.

#### 9.4.2 Development post-OJ

The *-(i)-wor-* construction continued in use in EMJ, although according to Watanabe (2008: 209) less frequently. Watanabe also claims that in EMJ *-(i)-wor-* appears with Past auxiliaries (e.g. Indirective *-(i)ker-*), whereas in OJ this had not been the case. Frellesvig (2010: 351) states that from EMJ progressives were also formed with *wi-tar-*, usually on the Infinitive but sometimes on the Gerund. More rarely, progressives were formed with *pus-er-* ‘be lying down’ (from *pus-* ‘lie down’ and Stative *-er-*) or *tat-er-* ‘be standing’ (from *tat-* ‘stand’ and Stative *-er-*). This seems to be part of a wider process whereby alternatives to *wor-* were coined. According to Kinsui (2006), during the first period of EMJ (800–950) *wor-* gradually lost ground to *wi-tar-* in its function as the stative form of *wi-*, and *wor-* acquired derogatory meaning.

Since scholarship has so far neglected the resultative uses of *-(i)-wor-* in Old Japanese, it seems likely that its later reflexes were solely *progressive* in meaning. This is also the case for its reflexes in dialects of the modern language.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Many western dialects of Modern Japanese (see Martin 1975: 454–455) have a formal distinction between the progressive and the perfect/resultative, using an Infinitive-derived form for the former (e.g. West Central Kinki *-(i)-yor-*; Kōchi *-(i)-yuu, -yuu*) and a Gerund-derived form for the latter (e.g. West Central Kinki *-(I)tor-*; Kōchi *-(I)chuu, -juu*).

### 9.4.3 Final remarks

It seems that *-(i)-wor-* is slightly more complex than has usually been claimed. It has some of the same functions as Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*, but in very different proportions. Most of the time it denotes ongoing activities. I have suggested two scenarios for the origin of *-(i)-wor-*, but have found no solid grounds on which to choose between them. According to the first theory, *-(i)-wor-* was coined out of a desire for expressivity, as an alternative to the standard Stative *-yer-* or Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*. According to the second theory, *-(i)-wor-* was originally a variant of *-yer-* (< *\*-(i)-ar-*) but diverged when it was affected by changes to the function of the Infinitive and the nature of verbal compounds. I leave further investigation to future research.

## 10 Continuative *-(i)tutu ar-*

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### 10.1 Introduction

#### 10.1.1 Orthography

The only logographic spelling of the Continuative flective *-(i)tutu* is the character 𠄎, which is not used to represent anything else. Logographic spellings are therefore as reliable as phonographic ones.

In many cases the concluding stative verb is written logographically, often with a character that can denote other stative verbs, or *wi-*. However, since *wi-* is not attested following the Continuative form, and the various stative verbs appear to be synonymous in this construction, there is no problem with admitting logographic examples.

#### 10.1.2 Variation, inflection, and elision

##### 10.1.2.1 Variation

Although I call this construction *-(i)tutu ar-*, it also appears as *-(i)tutu wor-* and *-(i)tutu imas-*. I found 46 attestations (61%) with *ar-* ‘exist’, 28 (36%) with *wor-* ‘be sitting, be still’, and 2 (3%) with *imas-* ‘exist (RESP)’. I have not found any distinctions in aspectual meaning among the variants, although *-(i)tutu imas-* can be expected to carry respectful meaning.

##### 10.1.2.2 Inflection

The construction is found in the following inflected forms:

| (1) Form       | Number     |             |              |       | %  |
|----------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------|----|
|                | <i>ar-</i> | <i>wor-</i> | <i>imas-</i> | Total |    |
| Conclusive     | 2          |             |              | 2     | 3  |
| Adnominal      | 7          | 9           |              | 16    | 21 |
| Exclamatory    |            | 1           |              | 1     | 1  |
| Infinitive     | 5          | 1           | 1            | 7     | 9  |
| Gerund         | 1          |             | 1            | 2     | 3  |
| Provisional    | 2          | 7           |              | 9     | 12 |
| Concessive     |            | 1           |              | 1     | 1  |
| Nominal        | 1          |             |              | 1     | 1  |
| <i>a</i> -stem | 28         | 9           |              | 37    | 49 |
| <b>Total:</b>  |            |             |              | 76    |    |

The two environments in which the *a*-stem appears are before Negative *-(a)zu* and before Conjectural *-(a)m-*. The Infinitive is found before the auxiliary verb *-kate-* ‘be able’ and the auxiliaries Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*.

### 10.1.2.3 Elision

The Continuative form (without a following stative verb) often appears to conclude main clauses, as in this example:

- (2) 烏梅能 波奈 知良久波 伊豆久  
*ume=no pana tiraku=pa iduku*  
 plum=GEN flower fall.NMNL=TOP where  
 志可 須 我爾  
*sika su gani*  
 thus do.CNCL as.if  
 許能 紀能 夜麻爾 由企波 布理都 ㄷ  
*ko=no kwi=no yama=ni yuki=pa puritutu*  
 this=GEN Kwi=COP.ADN mountain=DAT snow=TOP **fall.CONT**  
 ‘Where will the falling of the plum blossom be? As if it were thus, snow is **falling** on this Mt Kwi.’ (MYS.5.823)

Vovin (2009a: 909) interprets this as an ellipsis of a following stative verb *ar-* ‘exist’ or *wor-* ‘be sitting, be still’. However, one must be careful not to confuse an elided sentence-final *-(i)tutu ar-* with a right-dislocated Continuative phrase. I will not consider elided examples in this chapter.

### 10.1.3 Combination

#### 10.1.3.1 *With other grammatical constructions*

The only grammatical constructions attested with *-(i)tutu ar-* are Conjectural *-(a)m-* and Negative *-(a)n ~ -(a)zu*.

#### 10.1.3.2 *With predicates*

The following table shows the number of attestations of all the verbs found in this construction:

| (3) Verb                         | Number     |             |              | Total |
|----------------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------|
|                                  | <i>ar-</i> | <i>wor-</i> | <i>imas-</i> |       |
| <i>kwopwi-</i> ‘yearn, love’     | 29         | 18          |              | 47    |
| <i>mi-</i> ‘see, look’           | 5          | 1           | 1            | 7     |
| <i>mat-</i> ‘wait’               | 3          | 1           |              | 4     |
| <i>omop-</i> ‘think, yearn’      | 3          | 1           |              | 4     |
| <i>kik-</i> ‘listen’             |            | 2           |              | 2     |
| <i>moye-</i> ‘burn’              |            | 2           |              | 2     |
| <i>nak-</i> ‘call’               | 1          | 1           |              | 2     |
| <i>sinwop-</i> ‘be moved, yearn’ | 2          |             |              | 2     |
| <i>ip-</i> ‘say’                 | 1          |             |              | 1     |
| <i>muse-</i> ‘get sad’           | 1          |             |              | 1     |
| <i>ne-</i> ‘sleep’               | 1          |             |              | 1     |
| <i>nure-</i> ‘get wet’           |            | 1           |              | 1     |
| <i>sabwi-</i> ‘be excited’       |            | 1           |              | 1     |
| <i>se-</i> ‘do’                  | 1          |             |              | 1     |
| <i>sumap-</i> ‘reside’           |            |             | 1            | 1     |

Most of the verbs in the above list are atelic verbs, but there are two exceptions: *muse-* ‘get sad’ (MYS.4.546) and *nure-* ‘get wet’ (in MYS.8.1573), the former appearing to be an achievement verb (although it has very few attestations) and the latter an inceptive state verb. Both of these examples are with *wor-*, which should probably be interpreted as lexical.

## 10.2 Previous accounts of *-(i)tutu ar-*

This construction has been neglected in most studies. I have found only two linguists who consider it.

### 10.2.1 (Periphrastic) stative

Frellesvig (2010: 69) considers *-(i)tutu ar-* to have been a variant of Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*. However, *-(i)tutu ar-* appears almost exclusively with atelic verbs, while *-(i)te ar-* appears mostly with change of state and inceptive state verbs. Accordingly *-(i)tutu ar-* lacks some of the functions of *-(i)te ar-* (e.g. result state and bounded past event).

### 10.2.2 Continuative

Vovin (2009a: 908–916) describes *-(i)tutu ar-* as denoting ‘a habitual or continuous action’ (p. 909), and he translates examples with expressions such as *constantly*, *continuously*, *keep doing*, or *continue to do*. Despite his use of the term ‘habitual’, he seems to interpret *-(i)tutu ar-* as having a *continuative* function in the way in which I defined it in 1.3.2.2.1. In this chapter I will provide further support for this position.

## 10.3 The functions of *-(i)tutu ar-*

In 10.3.1 I will consider the evidence for *-(i)tutu ar-* having continuative function, and in 10.3.2 I will compare it with *-(i)-wor-*.

### 10.3.1 Continuation of an activity

In chapter 5 I considered cases where *-(i)nitutu* (Perfective *-(i)n-* in the Continuative form) concludes a sentence. I interpreted them as ongoing directed activities with the implication that the event would continue into the future. The *-(i)tutu ar-* construction

can be interpreted in a similar way, but expressing *undirected* rather than directed activities.

In seventeen cases *-(i)tutu ar-* appears as part of the phrase *kwopwitungu ara-zupa*, for example:

- (4) 如此許 戀乍 不有者  
 kaku=bakari kwopwitung[u] ara-zupa  
 thus=EMPH yearn.CONT exist-NEG.COND  
 高山之 磐根四 卷手 死奈麻死 物呼  
 takayama=no ipane=si makite sina-masi monowo  
 Takayama=GEN peak=EMPH make.pillow.GER die-SUBJ.ADN although  
 ‘Instead of continuing to yearn thus, (I) would rather die, making the peak of Mount Takayama my pillow.’ (MYS.2.86)

Since Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) it has been common to interpret at least some examples of *-(a)zupa* as meaning ‘instead of’. This tradition is followed by Takagi et al. (1957: 62–63, 339), Omodaka (1983/2: 16–18), and Kojima et al. (1994: 80). This works very well for the examples of *kwopwitungu ara-zupa*, and leads us to a particular interpretation of the function of *-(i)tutu ar-*. If Norinaga’s analysis of *-(a)zupa* is correct, then the poet is expressing his desire that a current state of affairs should not continue into the future, and that some other state of affairs should take its place. This *continuative* interpretation of *-(i)tutu ar-* is also applicable to its other occurrences:

- (5) 不往 吾 來 跡 可 夜  
 yuka-nu wa=wo ko-mu to ka yworu=mo  
 go-NEG.ADN I=ACC come-CONJ.CNCL COMP FOC night=TOP  
 門 不閉  
 kadwo sasa-zu  
 gate shut-NEG.INF  
 阿<sup>1</sup>怜 吾妹子 待筒 在  
 apare wa-g-imo-kwo matitut[u] aru ramu  
 oh I-GEN-beloved-girl wait.CONT exist.ADN NPSTCONJ.ADN

<sup>1</sup> This is a different version of the original character, which is not supported on computers.

‘On (this) night when (she perhaps thinks) that I, who am not going, will come, oh, perhaps my beloved **is continuing to wait**, not shutting the gate.’  
(MYS.11.2594)

- (6) 不念 尔  
omopa-nu ni  
think-NEG.ADN COP.INF
- 妹之 咲舞<sup>2</sup>乎 夢 見而  
imo=ga wemapi=wo ime=ni mite  
beloved=GEN smiling.face=ACC dream=DAT see.GER
- 心 中二 燎管曾 呼留  
kokoro=no uti=ni moyetutu=so woru  
heart=GEN inside=DAT burn.CONT=FOC be.sitting.ADN

‘Having unexpectedly seen my beloved’s smiling face in a dream, (I) **continue to burn** in my heart.’ (MYS.4.718)

- (7) 多妣爾 安礼杼  
tabi=n[i] aredo  
journey=COP.INF exist.CNCS
- 欲流波 火 等毛之乎流 和礼乎  
yworu=pa pwi tomosi-woru ware=wo  
night=TOP fire light/burn-be.sitting.ADN I=ACC
- 也未爾也 伊毛我 古非都追 安流 良牟  
yamwi=ni=ya imo=ga kwopwitung[u] aru ramu  
darkness=DAT=FOC beloved=GEN yearn.CONT exist.ADN NPSTCONJ.ADN

‘Although (I am) on a journey, perhaps my beloved **continues to yearn** in the darkness for me who have a fire lit tonight?’ (MYS.15.3669)

- (8) 如 是為管 在久乎 好 叙  
kaku situtu araku=wo yo-mi zo  
thus do.CONT exist.NMNL=ACC good-ACOP.INF FOC
- 靈剋 短 命乎  
tama-kiparu mizika-k[i] inoti=wo  
(jewel-wear.out.ADN) short-ACOP.ADN life=ACC
- 長 欲 為流  
naga-ku pori suru  
long-ACOP.INF want.INF do.ADN

‘Because it would be good **to continue to do this**, I want my short life to be long.’ (MYS.6.975)

<sup>2</sup> This is a simplified version of the original character, which is not supported on computers.

In example (5) the speaker is wondering if his beloved will *keep waiting* for him even though he will not come. In (6), the speaker's heart is *still burning* from having seen his beloved's face. In (7), the speaker is wondering if his beloved *continues to yearn* for him, even though he has been gone for a long time. In (8), the speaker wants to *carry on doing* what he is currently doing. In each poem there is a sense of *continuation*, always from the past, and usually explicitly into the future.

### 10.3.2 Comparison with *-(i)-wor-*

Progressive *-(i)-wor-* could also be used to indicate continuation of an event into the future. Compare example (9) with *-(i)-wor-* with example (10) with *-(i)tutu ar-*:

- (9) 璞之                      年              緒              永                      何時左右鹿  
 aratama=no                  tosi=no          wo          naga-ku                  itu=made=*ka*  
 (rough.jewel=COP.ADN) year=GEN thread long-ACOP.INF when=till=FOC  
 我          戀將居                                  壽          不知而  
 wa=ga **kwopwi-wora-mu**                  inoti sira-zute  
 I=GEN **yearn-be.sitting-CONJ.ADN** life know-NEG.GER  
 ‘Till when **will I be yearning** through long years, not knowing life?’  
 (MYS.12.2935)

- (10) 鴈                  鳴之                  来喧牟                  日及  
 kari=ga          ne=no          ki-naka-*mu*                  pi=made  
 goose=GEN voice=GEN come-call-CONJ.ADN day=till  
 見乍          将有                  此                  芽子原尔  
**mitut[u]** **ara-mu**                  ko=no          pagwi-para=*ni*  
**see.CONT** **exist-CONJ.ADN** this=GEN bush.clover-plain=DAT  
 雨          勿零根  
 ame na-puri-sone  
 rain PROH-fall-PROH

‘Rain, do not fall on this bush clover plain that I **want to continue looking at** until the day when the geese come and call.’ (MYS.10.2097)

However, for *-(i)-wor-* this is just one of the contexts in which it is found, whereas for *-(i)tutu ar-* all the examples can be interpreted in this way. The following two examples

illustrate well the typical difference between the two constructions when they appear with Conjectural *-(a)m-*:

- (11) 年之 戀 今夜 盡而  
 tosi=no kwopwi koyopi tukusite  
 year=GEN yearning tonight use.up.GER  
 明日從者  
 asu=ywori=pa  
 tomorrow=from=TOP  
 如常哉 吾 戀居牟  
 tune=no gotoku=ya wa=ga **kwopwi-wora-mu**  
 always=GEN like.INF=FOC I=GEN **yearn-be.sitting-CONJ.ADN**  
 ‘Using up a year of yearning tonight, from tomorrow I **will be yearning** as always.’ (MYS.10.2037)

- (12) 真十鏡 見不飽 君尔 所贈 哉  
 maswo-kagami mi-aka-nu kimi=ni okurete ya  
 (true-mirror) see-tire-NEG.ADN you=DAT be.left.GER INT  
 旦夕尔 左備乍 将居  
 asita-yupupye=ni **sabwitutu** **wora-mu**  
 morning-night=DAT **mourn.CONT** **be.sitting-CONJ.CNCL**  
 ‘Having been separated from you whom I never tire of seeing, I **will continue to mourn** morning and night.’ (MYS.4.572)

Example (11) with *-(i)-wora-mu* denotes an activity that will take place in the future (‘from tomorrow’). Example (12) with *-(i)tutu wora-mu* denotes an activity that has already begun and will continue into the future. Continuative *-(i)tutu ar-* expresses one of the functions that can also be expressed by Progressive *-(i)-wor-*, but because it specializes in this function presumably it expresses it with more emphasis.

### 10.3.3 Summary

The *-(i)tutu ar-* construction seems to denote the continuation of an ongoing (undirected) activity. Although *-(i)-wor-* can also express this function, it appears to be the only function expressed by *-(i)tutu ar-*.

## 10.4 Conclusions

### 10.4.1 Origin

#### 10.4.1.1 *The Continuative flective -(i)tutu*

Some traditional grammars (e.g. Ikeda 1980: 87) propose that *-(i)tutu* is a reduplication of the Conclusive form of the Perfective auxiliary *-(i)te-*. Frellesvig (2010: 123) proposes that both Perfective *-(i)te-* and Continuative *-(i)tutu* are derived from a pre-OJ copula *\*t-*. Since no cognate of *-(i)tutu* is attested in Ryukyuan languages (Vovin 2009a: 916), it seems to be an innovation in proto-Japanese (the ancestor of COJ and EOJ), and therefore newer than the Infinitive and Gerund, which can be reconstructed for Proto-Japonic (Vovin 2009a: 716, 908).

The apparently reduplicated shape of the *-(i)tutu* converb (whatever the origin of the original reduplicated element) suggests an original iterative function (Bybee et al. 1994: 166–174). We can postulate a time in pre-OJ when the Infinitive expressed the anteriority of an event and the Continuative expressed the iteration of an event. This may fairly soon have generalized to continuative through extension to different types of verb (Bybee et al. 1994: 165). By Old Japanese, *-(i)tutu* seems to have denoted not continuative in the aspectual sense, but merely simultaneity. Either during the extension to continuative or the semantic bleaching to simultaneity it was extended to encompass result states (see 1.2.3.2.4.2).

#### 10.4.1.2 *The construction -(i)tutu ar-*

Since *-(i)tutu ar-* appears to have *continuative* function, it seems likely that it was coined after *-(i)tutu* extended from iterative to continuative, but before it came to denote simultaneity only. If the Continuative form had denoted simply simultaneity when *-(i)tutu ar-* was coined, we would expect the construction to denote ongoing activities without any continuative nuances.

## 10.4.2 Development post-OJ

In his Classical Japanese grammar, Vovin (2003) does not mention *-(i)tutu ar-* at all, although he discusses the Continuative form at some length. It is possible that the construction fell out of use in EMJ.

## 10.4.3 Final remarks

*-(i)tutu ar-* is the only aspectual construction in Old Japanese built not on the Infinitive or Gerund but on the Continuative form. According to Frellesvig (2010: 327), the Continuative form became unproductive in LMJ, but the *-(i)tutu ar-* construction seems to have fallen out of the language before this. It would be very interesting to discover if this construction survived into EMJ, and, if it did, what semantic development it underwent.

## 11 Resultative *-(i)te wor-*

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### 11.1 Introduction

#### 11.1.1 Orthography

Of the fifteen attestations of *-(i)te wor-*, only in four is the verb *wor-* written phonographically. It is most commonly written logographically with the character 居, although it is sometimes written with 座. Both of these can also be used to write *wi-*. However, *-(i)te wi-* is not attested as an aspectual construction in Old Japanese. Apart from one attestation with *pate-* ‘end’ in NSK.123 (where it is unclear what the sequence means), the only verbs that appear in the Gerund form before *wi-* are *tat-* ‘stand’ and *yuk-* ‘go’. The examples with *tat-* are best interpreted as denoting alternative events, for example:

- (1) 多知低 為弓 見礼登毛 安夜之  
*tatite wite miredomo ayasi*  
**stand.GER sit.GER** look.CNCS strange.CNCL  
‘Whether one looks at it **standing** or **sitting**, it is strange.’ (from MYS.17.4003)

The examples with *yuk-* are best interpreted as sequential events, for example:

- (2) 保登等芸須 安不知能 枝爾 由吉底 居者  
*pototogisu aputi=no ye=ni yukite wiba*  
cuckoo china.tree=GEN branch=DAT **go.GER sit.COND**  
花波 知良牟 奈  
*pana=pa tira-mu na*  
flower=TOP fall-CONJ.CNCL EMPH

|                 |         |       |
|-----------------|---------|-------|
| 珠登              | 見流      | 麻泥    |
| tama= <i>to</i> | miru    | made  |
| jewel=COP.INF   | see.ADN | until |

‘If the cuckoo **goes and perches** on the branch of the china tree, its flowers will fall so much that they look like jewels!’ (MYS.17.3913)

Since *-(i)te wi-* is not an aspectual construction, its functions are easily distinguishable from the functions of *-(i)te wor-*. Therefore I will include the logographic examples of *-(i)te wor-* in my analysis.

### 11.1.2 Inflection

The *-(i)te wor-* construction is formed from the Gerund of a verb plus the verb *wor-* ‘be sitting, be still’. In this construction the verb *wor-* is attested in the following inflected forms:

| (3) | Form           | Shape         | Number | %  |
|-----|----------------|---------------|--------|----|
|     | Adnominal      | <i>woru</i>   | 1      | 7  |
|     | Exclamatory    | <i>wore</i>   | 1      | 7  |
|     | Provisional    | <i>woreba</i> | 5      | 33 |
|     | Concessive     | <i>woredo</i> | 1      | 7  |
|     | <i>a</i> -stem | <i>wora-</i>  | 7      | 47 |
|     | <b>Total:</b>  |               | 15     |    |

For the lexical meaning of *wor-*, see 9.1.4.

### 11.1.3 Combination

#### 11.1.3.1 *With other grammatical constructions*

The *-(i)te wor-* construction is attested in combination with Conjectural *-(a)m-*, but no other auxiliaries, extensions, or analytic constructions.

### 11.1.3.2 *With predicates*

I found fifteen examples of a verb Gerund followed by *wor-*, including examples where the subject intervenes between the Gerund and *wor-*:

| (4) | <b>Verb</b>                    | <b>Number</b> |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------|
|     | <i>nipop-</i> ‘be colourful’   | 2             |
|     | <i>okure-</i> ‘be left behind’ | 2             |
|     | <i>i-mure-</i> ‘gather’        | 1             |
|     | <i>kamake-</i> ‘be impressed’  | 1             |
|     | <i>kare-</i> ‘be separated’    | 1             |
|     | <i>komor-</i> ‘be shut up’     | 1             |
|     | <i>nabike-</i> ‘have long’     | 1             |
|     | <i>namar-</i> ‘be hidden’      | 1             |
|     | <i>ne-same-</i> ‘wake up’      | 1             |
|     | <i>nora-ye-</i> ‘be scolded’   | 1             |
|     | <i>osi-nabe-</i> ‘subdue’      | 1             |
|     | <i>tagup-</i> ‘accompany’      | 1             |
|     | <i>uk-</i> ‘float’             | 1             |
|     | <b>Total:</b>                  | 15            |

All but *nora-ye-* ‘be scolded’ seem to be change of state or inceptive state verbs.

## 11.2 Previous accounts of *-(i)te wor-*

The construction *-(i)te wor-* is very rare and has not received much attention in the literature.

### 11.2.1 Resultative-progressive

Vovin (2009a: 904) mentions *-(i)te wor-*, and states that it has ‘continuative’ aspect. Judging by the way he translates his examples, this comprises both the expression of result states and the expression of ongoing activities. However, his examples of ongoing activities are better interpreted as result states, for example:

|     |              |                 |                   |
|-----|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (5) | 新            | 年               | 始尔                |
|     | aratasi-ki   | tosi= <u>no</u> | pazime= <i>ni</i> |
|     | new-ACOP.ADN | year=GEN        | start=DAT         |

|                      |                 |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 思共                   | 伊牟礼氏            | 乎礼婆             |
| omopu-dwoti          | <i>i-murete</i> | <i>woreba</i>   |
| think.ADN-companion  | LOC-gather.GER  | be.sitting.PROV |
| 宇礼之久母                | 安流              | 可               |
| <i>uresi-ku=m[o]</i> | <i>aru</i>      | <i>ka</i>       |
| happy-ACOP.INF=TOP   | exist.ADN       | FOC             |

‘When friends **are gathered together** at the start of a new year, it is a happy occasion!’ (MYS.19.4284)

Vovin instead translates this ‘When friends are gathering...’, as if *-(i)te wor-* denotes a directed activity. It makes more sense to interpret it as a result state: it is when friends *are gathered* together that one is happy, not when they are still gathering. The same applies to his other examples of ongoing activities.

### 11.2.2 Resultative

Watanabe (2008: 188) finds nine examples of *-(i)te wor-* in the *Man’yōshū*. She claims that the main function of this construction was lexical, not aspectual. She also states that it was only used for first-person or non-human subjects, because the meaning of *wor-* was pejorative. However, Kinsui (2006: 153) concludes that the pejorative use of *wor-* did not arise until late EMJ.

According to Watanabe, the aspectual function of *-(i)te wor-* was to denote *result states*. My analysis will show that this is largely correct, although I will examine *-(i)te wor-* in slightly more detail.

### 11.3 The functions of *-(i)te wor-*

The *-(i)te wor-* construction appears to have at least four functions in Old Japanese, although some of these are supported by only one, often ambiguous, example.

### 11.3.1 Lexical

Some examples of *-(i)te wor-* seem to be lexical, i.e. it is a sequence of two verbs, and *wor-* retains its meaning of ‘sitting’ or ‘being’ somewhere:

- (6) 人毛 無 國母 有粳  
 pito=*mo* na-ki kuni=*mo* ara-*nu* *ka*  
 people=TOP not.exist-ACOP.ADN land=TOP exist-NEG.ADN FOC  
 吾妹子与 携行而  
 wa-g-imo-kwo=to tadasapi-yukite  
 I-GEN-beloved-child=COM hold.hands-go.GER  
 副而 将座  
**tagupite wora-mu**  
**be.accompanied.GER be.sitting-CONJ.CNCL**

‘If only there were a land with no people! I would go there holding hands with my beloved, and (we would) **be there together**.’ (MYS.4.728)

- (7) 家爾底母 多由多敷 命  
 ipye=*nite=mo* tayutapu inoti  
 house=DAT=TOP be.unsteady.ADN life  
 浪乃 宇倍爾 宇伎低之 乎礼波  
 nami=*no* [u]pe=*ni ukite=si woreba*  
 wave=GEN on=DAT float.GER=EMPH be.sitting.PROV  
 於久香 之良受 母  
 oku-ka sira-zu mo  
 inside-place know-NEG.INF EMPH

‘Even at home it is an unstable life, but when **floating** on the waves, that is without limit!’ (MYS.17.3896)<sup>1</sup>

In my opinion, the first of these is likely to be lexical, but the second could very well denote a *subjective result state*.

### 11.3.2 Result state

#### 11.3.2.1 Subjective result state

Some examples of *-(i)te wor-* seem to denote *subjective result states*:

<sup>1</sup> Omodaka (1984/17: 18) prefers a different textual tradition, reading *omopi si woreba* in place of *ukite si woreba*.

- (8) 葦屋之 菟名負處女之  
 asiya=no unapi-wotomye=no  
 Asiya=GEN loose.hair-woman=GEN
- 八年兒之 片生之 時從  
 ya-tose-kwo=no kat[a]opi=no toki=yu  
 eight-year-child=GEN immaturity=COP.ADN time=ABL
- 小放尔 髮 多久 麻弓尔  
 wobanari=ni kami taku madeni  
 unmarried.hairstyle=COP.INF hair comb.up.ADN until
- 並居 家尔毛 不所見  
 narabi-woru ipye=ni=mo mi-ye-zu  
 be.lined.up-be.sitting.ADN house=DAT=TOP see.PASS-NEG.INF
- 虛木綿乃 牢而 座在者  
 utuyupu=no komorite woreba  
 (?=GEN) be.hidden.GER be.sitting.PROV

‘As for the woman with loose hair from Asiya, because from the age of eight until they combed her hair up she **was hidden**, not being seen by the neighbours...’ (from MYS.9.1809)

The poem describes a situation where a girl’s parents have kept her hidden away until she is of marriageable age. The gloss could be rephrased ‘As for the woman with loose hair from Asiya, because from the age of eight until they combed her hair up she was *sitting hidden*, not being seen by the neighbours...’, but the act of sitting is irrelevant to the rest of the poem. This can be interpreted as a *subjective result state*. There is a similar example in MYS.16.3886.

The following examples are more ambiguous between *subjective result states* and lexical interpretations (see also MYS.12.3211 and MYS.17.3896):

- (9) 君我 牟多 由可麻之 毛能乎  
 kimi=ga muta yuka-masi monowo  
 you=GEN together go-SUBJ.ADN although
- 於奈自 許等  
 onazi koto  
 same.CNCL thing
- 於久礼豆 乎礼杼  
 okurete wordo  
 be.left.behind.GER be.sitting.CNCS

与伎 許等毛 奈之  
*yo-ki koto=mo na-si*  
 good-ACOP.ADN thing=TOP not.exist-ACOP.CNCL

‘Would that (I) could go together with you! (Our pain) is the same. Although (I) **am left behind**, it is no good.’ (MYS.15.3773)

- (10) 夜具多知尔 寐覺而 居者  
*ywo-gutati=ni ne-samete woreba*  
 night-end.INF=DAT sleep-wake.GER be.sitting.PROV

河瀨 尋  
*kapa-se tome*  
 river-rapids seek.INF

情毛 之努尔 鳴 知等理 賀毛  
*kokoro=mo sinwo-ni naku tidori kamo*  
 heart=TOP heavy-COP.INF call.ADN plover EMPH

‘As I **sit awake** at the end of the night, (I hear) the plovers that seek the river rapids, calling so that (people’s) hearts become heavy.’ (MYS.19.4146)

The following two examples seem to question *subjective result states*:

- (11) 端寸八爲 老夫之 哥丹  
*pasikiyasi okina=no uta=ni*  
 lovely.CNCL old.man=GEN song=DAT

大欲寸 九 兒等哉  
*opoposi-ki kokono=no kwo-ra=ya*  
 rude-ACOP.ADN nine=GEN girl-PL=FOC

蚊間毛而 將居  
**kamakete wora-mu**  
**be.impressed.GER be.sitting-CONJ.ADN**

‘Shall we nine rude girls **be impressed** at this lovely old man’s song?’ (MYS.16.3794)

- (12) 墨之江之 岸野之 榛丹 々穗所經迹  
*suminoye=no kwisi-nwo=no pari=ni nipopuredo*  
 Suminoye=GEN Kwisi-field=GEN needle=DAT be.colourful.CNCS

丹穗葉寐 我八 丹穗水而 將居  
*nipopa-nu ware=ya nipopite wora-mu*  
 be.colourful-NEG.ADN I=FOC **be.colourful.GER be.sitting-CONJ.CNCL**

‘Shall I, who do not become colourful even if dyed with needles from Kwisi Field in Suminoye, **be colourful**?’ (MYS.16.3801)

Although the English glosses are ambiguous, I believe that these examples should be interpreted as questioning *result states*, not changes of state.

In the following poem it is not clear if *karete ... wora-me* denotes two events, or if it is an instance of *-(i)te wor-*:

- (13) 於毛布 惠爾 安布 毛能 奈良婆  
*omopu weni apu mono naraba*  
 think.ADN because meet.ADN NMLZ COP.COND  
 之末思久毛 伊母我 目 可礼豆  
*simasi-ku=mo imo=ga me karete*  
 for.a.moment-ACOP.INF=TOP beloved=GEN eye **be.partitioned.GER**  
 安礼 乎良米 也 母  
*are wora-me ya mo*  
 I **be.sitting-CONJ.EXCL** FOC EMPH  
 ‘If we met because I love you, **would I be parted** from my beloved’s eyes even for a moment?’ (MYS.15.3731)

I have preferred to interpret it as a *subjective result state*.

The following seems to be a subjective resultative but is difficult to interpret:

- (14) 事更尔 衣者 不措  
*kotosara-ni koromo=pa surazi*  
 deliberate-COP.INF garment=TOP dye.NEGCONJ  
 佳人部為 咲野之 芽子尔  
*wominapyesi saki-nwo=no pagwi=ni*  
 (small.pink) Saki-field=GEN bush.clover=DAT  
 丹穗日而 將居  
*nipopite wora-mu*  
**be.colourful.GER be.sitting-CONJ.CNCL**  
 ‘I will not deliberately dye my garment. It will **have been made colourful** by the bush clover in Saki Field.’ (MYS.10.2107)

I have chosen to interpret it as a future *result state*. A lexical interpretation would make no sense here.

### 11.3.2.2 Possessive result state

In some examples *-(i)te wor-* can be interpreted as denoting a possessive result state:

- (15) 凡者  
 opokata=pa  
 normality=TOP
- 誰 將見 鴨  
 ta=ga mi-mu to ka mo  
 who=GEN see-CONJ.ADN COMP FOC TOP
- 黒玉乃 我 玄髮乎  
 nuba-tama=*no* wa=ga kurwo-kami=*wo*  
 (black-jewel=COP.ADN) I=GEN black-hair=ACC
- 靡而 將居  
**nabikete wora-mu**  
**let.down.GER be.sitting-CONJ.ADN**
- ‘If (my feelings for you were) normal, for who to see it would I **have** my black hair **let down**?’ (MYS.11.2532)

It is equally acceptable, however, to translate *-(i)te wor-* lexically: ‘...for who to see it would I *be sitting here with* my black hair *let down*?’.

The following example is ambiguous between a possessive result state and the current relevance of an anterior event. I have translated it as a possessive result state:

- (16) 虚見津 山跡乃 國者  
 swora-mitu yamato=*no* kuni=pa  
 (sky-fill.ADN) Yamato=COP.ADN country=TOP
- 押奈戸手 吾許曾 居  
**osi-nabete ware=koso wore**  
**push-make.bow.GER I=FOC be.sitting.EXCL**
- 師吉名倍手 吾己曾 座  
 siki-nabete ware=koso imase  
 rule-make.bow.GER I=FOC exist.RESP.EXCL
- ‘As for this country of Yamato, I **have it subdued**, I have it controlled.’  
 (from MYS.1.1)

Judging by its other attestations, *osi-nabe-* ‘make bow, push down’ seems to be a transitive change of state verb, often used when dew *pushes down* the leaves of a plant

(see MYS.8.1577 and MYS.10.2172). Although there is no hint in the poem that the emperor (the speaker) has recently *pushed down* (or *subdued*) Yamato, the idea of *having it subdued* could be seen as a metaphor for ‘ruling forcefully’. It seems most appropriate to interpret *-(i)te wor-* here as denoting either a possessive result state or the current relevance of an anterior event.

In this poem it also seems that *wor-* is replaced by an respectful synonym *imas-* at its second occurrence. If, like *osi-nabe-*, the verb *siki-nabe-* is treated as a transitive change of state verb, this too is ambiguous between a possessive result state and a current relevance interpretation.

### 11.3.3 Current relevance of an anterior event

The following example could be interpreted as denoting the current relevance of an anterior event:

- (17) 於能礼故            所詈而            居者  
*onore=yuwe*        **nora-yete**        **woreba**  
 you=because.of    **scold-PASS.GER** **be.sitting.PROV**  
 駿馬之            面高夫馱尔  
*awo-uma=no*        *omodaka-buda=ni*  
 blue-horse=GEN    proud-male.workhorse=DAT  
 乘而            應来                            哉  
*norite*    *ku*                    *be-si*                    *ya*  
 ride.GER    come.CNCL    NEC-ACOP.CNCL    INT

‘As (I) **have been scolded** because of you, should (you) come riding on a proud male workhorse?’ (MYS.12.3098)

Alternatively it could be interpreted as an ongoing (undirected) activity (‘I am being scolded’) or as a bounded past event (‘I was scolded’).

### 11.3.4 Summary

The construction *-(i)te wor-* appears to have some lexical uses, as well as denoting *subjective result states*, *possessive result states*, and the *current relevance of an anterior event*. Many of these assignments are tentative, however.

## 11.4 Conclusions

### 11.4.1 Origin

#### 11.4.1.1 Morphological origin

The morphological origin of *-(i)te wor-* is transparent, and fits perfectly the development of a resultative construction. As mentioned in 1.2.3.2.2, the Gerund is a nonfinite form used to link sequential events (an anterior converb), and such forms often combine with stative verbs to form resultative constructions (Haspelmath 1995: 43–44).

#### 11.4.1.2 A variant of *-(i)te ar-*?

*-(i)te wor-* is formally similar to *-(i)te ar-* and shares some of the same functions. They are both formed from a verbal Gerund and a following stative verb, and they both centre round *result state* functions. It seems reasonable to suggest that they are in some way variants of one construction. It is common in the early stages of grammaticalization for constructions from similar lexical sources to exist side by side. For example, in the early stages of the French Negative periphrasis (now *ne ... pas*), various nouns could stand where only *pas* (or, emphatically, *point*) may stand now (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 117). It is possible that in pre-OJ both *ar-* ‘exist’ and *wor-* ‘be sitting’ were employed as the stative verb in a resultative construction (maybe along with *imas-*). It seems likely, though, that because of its greater specificity of meaning, *wor-* was always less frequent than *ar-* in this construction.

### 11.4.1.3 Differences from *-(i)te ar-*

Despite their similarities, *-(i)te wor-* is attested with fewer aspectual functions than *-(i)te ar-*. Why might this be? It may simply be an accident of attestation: since *-(i)te wor-* is much rarer than *-(i)te ar-*, it could have all the functions that *-(i)te ar-* has, but they are missing from the textual record.

Alternatively, assuming that *-(i)te wor-* was always less frequent than *-(i)te ar-*, it might have failed to develop as much as *-(i)te ar-*. The process whereby the number of formal choices to express a meaning reduces as grammaticalization proceeds is called *specialization* by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 116–118).

## 11.4.2 Development post-OJ

According to Watanabe (2008), the function of *-(i)te wor-* did not change significantly in EMJ, although it appears with much less frequency. Kinsui (2006: 148) reports that *wi-tar-* was among the verbs used after the Gerund in EMJ. Since the lexical verb *wi-tar-* replaced the lexical verb *wor-* in this period as a stative form of *wi-* ‘sit’, it seems likely that this was behind the decline of *-(i)te wor-* and the rise of *-(i)te wi-tar-*.

## 11.4.3 Final remarks

The origin and meaning of *-(i)te wor-* seem to be similar to those of *-(i)te ar-*. I suggest that *-(i)te ar-* and *-(i)te wor-* were at some point variants of one construction. They probably had no significant distinction in meaning, bearing in mind that *wor-* was not a humble or disdainful verb in OJ and early EMJ (Kinsui 2006: 153). By OJ, however, *-(i)te ar-* appears to have embarked along a grammaticalization path that *-(i)te wor-* was not to take.

## 12 Conclusion

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### 12.1 Summary of findings

#### 12.1.1 Introduction

In the previous ten chapters I have analysed the functions of the Old Japanese tense–aspect constructions, both on their own and in combination with other constructions. In accordance with the exemplar theory of linguistic representation, I have not attempted to find an invariant meaning or one or more prototypical meanings for each construction, but instead where practical and informative I have recorded the frequency with which each tense–aspect function occurs in the Corpus. It was hypothesized that these functions would be generalized from the exemplar clusters recorded by OJ speakers. In this chapter I summarize the findings of the last ten chapters (12.1.2), consider how these constructions might work as a system in Old Japanese (12.2), look at my findings from cross-linguistic (12.3) and diachronic (12.4) perspectives, and sum up (12.5).

#### 12.1.2 The tense–aspect constructions of Old Japanese

I concluded that nine of the ten constructions I looked at were tense–aspect constructions in Old Japanese, the exception being *-(i)-wi-* (chapter 8).

##### 12.1.2.1 *The Nonpast*

I concluded that the absence of all TA marking on a verb can be considered a zero construction which I called the Nonpast. It denotes both nonpast time reference and (for

appropriate verbs) non-resultative aspect. I did not do a frequency analysis of the Nonpast, but it seems mostly to denote present events, with some future examples.

#### **12.1.2.2 Stative -yer- and Periphrastic Stative -(i)te ar-**

Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* are very similar, although different functions appear in different proportions in the two constructions. Both *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* mostly denote result states (mostly subjective, but also objective and possessive) and ongoing activities, and also denote simple states, the current relevance of anterior events, and bounded past events. The biggest single group of examples, however, is aspectually ambiguous between result state and simple state. Both constructions seem originally to have denoted result states.

#### **12.1.2.3 Perfective -(i)n- ~ -(i)te-**

Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* is tense-neutral, but seems mostly to denote past events. Aspectually speaking, it often denotes events that are both temporally and materially bounded, but it seems able also to denote events that are only temporally bounded or only materially bounded (specifically, transformative). Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* can also denote result states, but *-(i)n-* is far more frequent in this function than *-(i)te-*: so much so that *result state* is the most frequent function of *-(i)n-* in the sources we have.

The two auxiliaries are in largely complementary distribution, but the behaviour of exceptional transitives and verbs that can take both auxiliaries suggests that *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* might carry nuances related to the concepts of high/low mutativity and high/low transitivity.

#### **12.1.2.4 Indirective -(i)kyer-**

Indirective *-(i)kyer-* has two main functions: non-firsthand past and mirative or emphatic. The mirative/emphatic function is the most frequent, but I speculated that this

might be because of the genre of the sources: in EMJ its past uses seem to be more frequent.

#### **12.1.2.5 Past -(i)ki**

Past *-(i)ki* denotes past events, with no aspectual denotation. It normally denotes firsthand events, but is sometimes neutral with regard to evidentiality. In the Exclamatory form it combines with Perfective *-(i)te-* to form the optative construction *-(i)te-sika (mo)*.

#### **12.1.2.6 Progressive -(i)-wor-**

Progressive *-(i)-wor-* denotes both ongoing activities and result states, but mostly ongoing activities. Some examples of verbal Infinitives followed by *-wor-* are probably best interpreted lexically.

#### **12.1.2.7 Continuative -(i)tutu ar-**

Continuative *-(i)tutu ar-* has continuative function, denoting the continuation of an event from the past into the future.

#### **12.1.2.8 Resultative -(i)te wor-**

Resultative *-(i)te wor-* denotes result states. It is a very rare construction, and I suggested that it began as a variant of *-(i)te ar-*.

## **12.2 The organization of tense and aspect in Old Japanese**

### **12.2.1 Introduction**

So far I have discussed the grammatical tense–aspect constructions of Old Japanese largely in isolation from each other, although with discussions in individual chapters about the relationships between particular constructions (see 4.3.1.1, 5.3.2.3, 6.3.3.1.2,

7.3.3, 7.3.4). In this section I will consider how these constructions fit together overall.

There are two opposing views of how semantic fields such as tense and aspect are organized in language. The first is structuralist, and emphasizes the *system*:

‘The verbal system of a language typically shows [...] balanced and coherent patterning [...]. [...] The notion of system is of fundamental importance. A language is not an atomistic nomenclature, an unordered list, lacking in coherence, for things and events in the real world.’ (Hewson 2012: 509, 515)

The second is dynamic, and emphasizes the individual *constructions*:

‘[...] we do not expect each language to have a unique system of contrasts that display economy and symmetry. Rather we expect to find that language-specific grams have inherent semantic content (derived from their original lexical content), and that grams are polysemous in predictable ways, that is, that they span contiguous areas of a grammaticization path.’ (Bybee et al. 1994: 300)

These two viewpoints derive from radically different conceptions of meaning, namely the structuralist and exemplar models discussed in 1.1.2.2. As I explained there, my preference is for the exemplar model of linguistic knowledge, but the weakness of construction-focused models is that they can be so focused on uncovering the complexity and variety of individual constructions that they fail to draw attention to the wider patterns that can be observed when a set of constructions is analysed as a system.

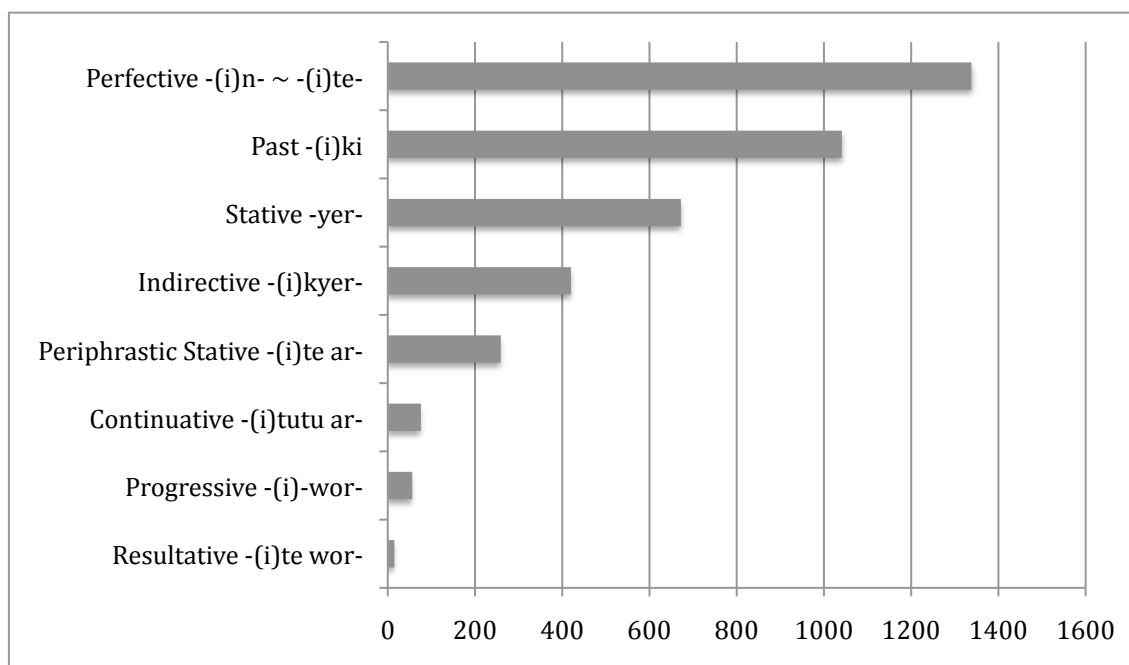
In this section I will look at the tense–aspect constructions of Old Japanese in three ways: in 12.2.2 I will consider the relative frequency of the different overt constructions, in 12.2.3 I will consider the morphological organization of the most frequent constructions, and in 12.2.4 I will consider the semantic organization of the tense–aspect functions expressed by the most frequent constructions. In 12.2.5 I will sum up.

## 12.2.2 Frequency

The tense–aspect constructions that I have analysed have very different frequencies in the OJ corpus. The token frequency of the overt Old Japanese tense–aspect constructions is as follows:

| (1) Construction                          | Attestations in OCOJ                               |
|---|--|
| Perfective <i>-(i)n-</i> ~ <i>-(i)te-</i> | 1,338 ( <i>-(i)n-</i> = 952; <i>-(i)te-</i> = 386) |
| Past <i>-(i)ki</i>                        | 1,041  |
| Stative <i>-yer-</i>                      | 672  |
| Indirective <i>-(i)kyer-</i>              | 420  |
| Periphrastic Stative <i>-(i)te ar-</i>    | 259  |
| Continuative <i>-(i)tutu ar-</i>          | 76   |
| Progressive <i>-(i)-wor-</i>              | 56   |
| Resultative <i>-(i)te wor-</i>            | 15   |

It can be seen from the following chart that there is no obvious division between two groups of ‘frequent’ and ‘infrequent’ constructions:



Frellesvig (2010: 64–65) treats Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-*, Past *-(i)ki*, Stative *-yer-*, and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* as the ‘core’ tense–aspect constructions of Old Japanese. Others might wish to include Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*, but it is clear that Continuative

*-(i)tutu ar-*, Progressive *-(i)-wor-*, and Resultative *-(i)te wor-* are somewhat marginal. A construction may be low in frequency for several reasons. Continuative *-(i)tutu ar-*, for example, may be infrequent simply because its function is quite specialized and the desire to express it does not arise very often. On the other hand, Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* is probably less frequent than Stative *-yer-* because it is a newer construction. Progressive *-(i)-wor-* and Resultative *-(i)te wor-* are a little more complicated. It may be that they were always less frequent variants of *-yer-* (< \**-(i)-ar-*) and *-(i)te ar-* respectively (see 9.4.1 and 11.4.1.2), and that in OJ they were on their way out of the language.

For our investigation, infrequent constructions are problematic because with very few attestations we cannot be sure what combinations with other constructions are permitted and what combinations are excluded: the absence of a combination in a small corpus might simply be an accident of attestation. For that reason, in the following discussion I will focus on Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te*, Past *-(i)ki*, Stative *-yer-*, and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*.

### 12.2.3 Morphological organization

The four most frequently attested overt constructions can be arranged in two paradigms based on their combinatorial possibilities (adapted from Frellesvig 2010: 64–65):

| <b>Aspect</b>  | <b>Tense</b>                                       |
|--|--|
| Perfective <i>-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-</i><br>Stative <i>-yer-</i> | Past <i>-(i)ki</i><br>Indirective <i>-(i)kyer-</i> |

The members of each paradigm cannot combine with each other, but they can combine with members of the other paradigm.

They do not all combine equally freely, however:

| (2)                       | Past <i>-(i)ki</i> | Indirective <i>-(i)kyer-</i> |
|---------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Perfective <i>-(i)n-</i>  | 137                | 239                          |
| Perfective <i>-(i)te-</i> | 73                 | 3                            |
| Stative <i>-yer-</i>      | 33                 | 5                            |

Two of the combinations (*-(i)te-kyer-* and *-yeri-kyer-*) are extremely rare. This cannot be explained without reference to the *functions* of the constructions in question.

## 12.2.4 Semantic organization

### 12.2.4.1 Introduction

The morphological analysis on its own is not very informative: it tells us what *overt morphemes* can combine, but it does not tell us which *functions* can combine, if there are any ‘autonomous’ combinations, and what, if anything, is indicated by the absence of a construction. In this section I investigate these questions.

### 12.2.4.2 Combinable functions

In 12.2.3 I discussed what morphemes can combine, but I did not discuss what functions they have when they combine. Not all functions are available in all combinations.

#### 12.2.4.2.1 Stative *-yer-* and the past auxiliaries

Stative *-yer-* can combine with Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, but when it does so it always denotes *result state* or *ongoing activity* rather than *past bounded event*. (The other functions of *-yer-* are very poorly attested, and I do not take them into consideration here.) In combination with *-yer-*, *-(i)ki* denotes past and *-(i)kyer-* denotes non-firsthand past or mirative.

#### 12.2.4.2.2 *Perfective -(i)n- ~ -(i)te- and the past auxiliaries*

Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* can combine with Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*. When *-(i)n-* combines with Past *-(i)ki* it seems always to denote a bounded event, and *-(i)ki* denotes *result state* or (more rarely) *past*. When *-(i)te-* combines with Past *-(i)ki* it seems always to denote a bounded event, and *-(i)ki* denotes *past* or (more rarely) *result state*. When Past *-(i)ki* is in the Exclamatory form the combination can also have optative function (see 12.2.4.2). When *-(i)n-* combines with Indirective *-(i)kyer-* it seems always to denote a result state, and *-(i)kyer-* denotes mirative or emphasis. The combination of *-(i)te-* with *-(i)kyer-* is so rare that it is difficult to come to any conclusions.

#### 12.2.4.3 *Autonomous constructions*

Bybee (2010: 44–45) discusses the loss of compositionality in constructions that have been reanalysed as ‘chunks’: the meaning of the whole is no longer predictable from the meanings of the component parts. This must be the case for *-(i)te-sika (mo)*. It is impossible to derive the optative meaning of this combination directly from any of the functions of Perfective *-(i)te-* or Past *-(i)ki*. In 7.3.3.2.2 I proposed that *-(i)ni-ki* too has lost compositionality.

#### 12.2.4.4 *Zero constructions*

##### 12.2.4.4.1 *Introduction*

One way in which constructions form a ‘system’ is in the contrasts that can exist between overt constructions and zero forms. The two paradigms in the previous section tell us nothing about the denotation of verbs without these auxiliaries attached. Frellesvig (2010: 59) states:

‘[...] a simple verb form, without an auxiliary, is *unmarked* (unspecified) with regard to the categories expressed by auxiliaries. For example, a simple

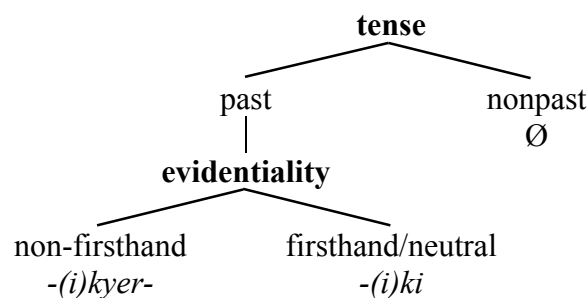
verb form is unmarked with regard to tense and can well refer to deictic past time.’

As discussed in chapter 2, however, I have found that in context the zero forms are not completely neutral with regard to tense and aspect: with regard to tense they are *nonpast* and with regard to aspect they are *non-resultative*. In this section I will investigate more relationships of this kind between the overt constructions and possible zero forms.

#### 12.2.4.4.2 Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-*

Insofar as Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* denote past time reference (they both have other functions besides this) they can be considered in opposition to a zero construction. As I noted in chapter 2, the zero forms participating in no overt tense–aspect constructions cannot denote past time reference.

The relationship between Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* was discussed in 7.3.4, where I concluded that, while non-firsthand past events are almost always expressed by *-(i)kyer-*, they are occasionally expressed by *-(i)ki*, and so *-(i)kyer-* cannot be considered entirely obligatory in its evidential function. This suggests the following analysis:<sup>1</sup>



The *past* functions of Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* can be seen as together contrasting with the zero forms: *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* represent *past* time reference, and

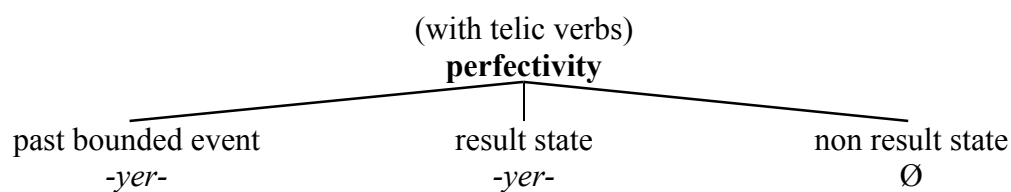
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<sup>1</sup> The diagrams in this section are inspired by those of Thieroff (1994, 1995, 2000). In my version, categories (in the sense of sets of mutually exclusive functions) are in bold type and functions are in roman.

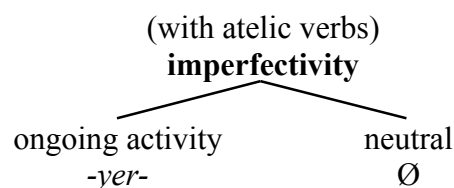
the zero forms represent *nonpast* time reference. Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* form an evidentiality paradigm, where *-(i)kyer-* is not quite obligatory as *non-firsthand* and *-(i)ki* therefore does not always represent *firsthand* but is sometimes neutral. However, *-(i)ki* represents *firsthand* frequently enough for us to suspect that obligatorification is underway. Note that this diagram ignores some of the minor functions of *-(i)ki* (result state, current relevance) and the mirative/emphatic function of *-(i)kyer-*.

#### 12.2.4.4.3 Stative *-yer-*

With telic verbs (achievement, accomplishment, and inceptive state verbs) Stative *-yer-* can denote a *past bounded event* or a *result state*. The absence of *-yer-* denotes a *non result state*, permitting transformative, directed activity, and habitual/generic interpretations:

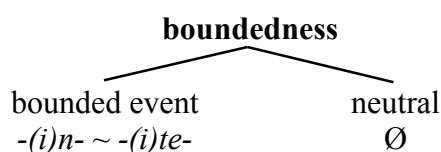


With atelic verbs Stative *-yer-* denotes an *ongoing activity*. The absence of *-yer-* is aspectually neutral, permitting ongoing activity interpretations along with habitual/generic and bounded atelic event interpretations:

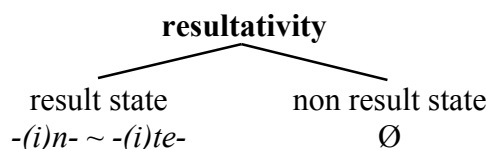


#### 12.2.4.4.4 Perfective $-(i)n-$ ~ $-(i)te-$

Perfective  $-(i)n-$  ~  $-(i)te-$  is the most complex construction of all when it comes to determining if there are zero forms that contrast with it. First, Perfective  $-(i)n-$  ~  $-(i)te-$  has the function of *bounding* events in various ways. However, achievement, accomplishment, and inceptive state verbs can all denote transformative events without Perfective  $-(i)n-$  ~  $-(i)te-$ : present or future ones in the Nonpast (see 2.3.2.1 and 2.3.2.6) and past ones with Past  $-(i)ki$  (7.3.1.1), Indirective  $-(i)kyer-$  (6.3.2), and Stative  $-yer-$  (3.3.6). With appropriate adverbial support, it seems that even atelic verbs can denote bounded events in some circumstances (see 2.3.2.4). Perfective  $-(i)n-$  ~  $-(i)te-$  therefore does not seem to be obligatory for the expression of bounded events:

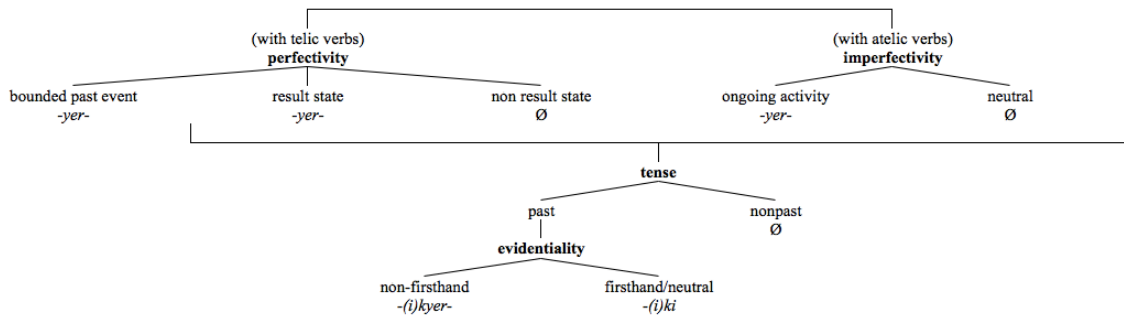


Second, when it comes to the result state function of Perfective  $-(i)n-$  ~  $-(i)te-$  (but especially of  $-(i)n-$ ), we can say that it contrasts with the zero forms of achievement, accomplishment, and inceptive state verbs. This can be represented as follows:



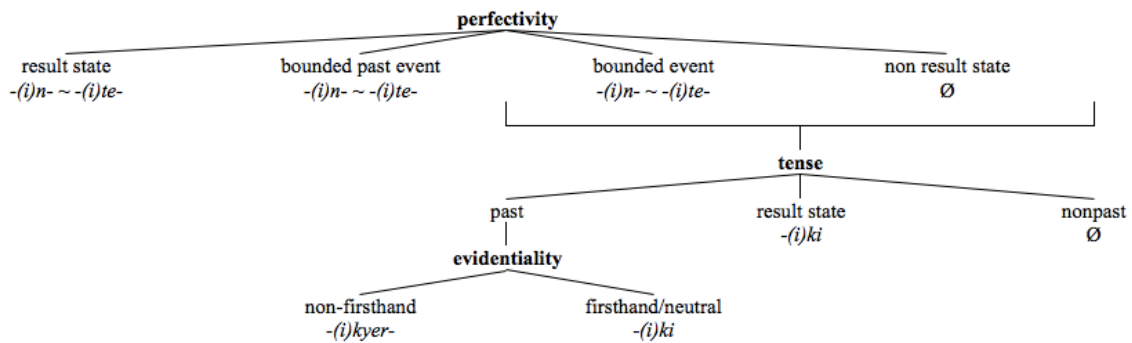
#### 12.2.4.5 Conclusion

The individual relationships portrayed in the last two sections cannot easily be combined into one diagram. The following is a way of representing the relationships between the functions of  $-yer-$  and the temporal functions of  $-(i)ki$  and  $-(i)kyer-$ :



The choices available with *-yer-* depend on the type of verb: with telic verbs there are three choices (*bounded past event*, *result state*, and *non result state*), and with atelic verbs there are two (*ongoing activity* and *neutral*). Four of the choices that can be made at this stage allow a further tense choice to be made. If *past* is chosen, then there are two evidentiality choices.

Similarly, the relationships between the functions of *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* and the temporal functions of *-(i)ki* and *-(i)kyer-* could be represented as follows:



There are four choices: *result state*, *bounded past event*, *bounded event*, and *non result state*. Two of the choices at this stage allow a further ‘tense’ choice to be made between *past*, *result state*, and *nonpast*. If *past* is chosen, then there are two evidentiality choices.

These diagrams are inevitably partial in two ways: (i) they represent only the most frequent tense–aspect functions (plus evidentiality) of the most frequent tense–aspect constructions in Old Japanese, and (ii) they do not integrate *-yer-* and *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*.

This is because a speaker's knowledge of his or her language is highly complex, as I explain in the next section.

### 12.2.5 Summary

According to the dynamic exemplar view of language structure, the tense–aspect constructions of Old Japanese are in a complex network of relationships. The way tense and aspect ‘work’ in Old Japanese encompasses all the relationships, functions, and frequencies discussed in the previous ten chapters, and more. It is not without order, but the order cannot be easily schematized.

First, the meanings of constructions are not simple and invariant. As I mentioned in 1.1.2.4.3, the term ‘purport’ may be a more appropriate term: a potential for usage based on the analysis of previously heard exemplars of a construction in context. This purport may be very wide-ranging: it may span several portions of one or more grammaticalization paths.

Second, the combinations constructions enter into are not all equally frequent. This reflects the fact that the combination of constructions does not just depend on the compatibility or otherwise of their ‘basic meanings’, but instead is strongly influenced by the examples of language that a speaker hears: if someone hears a particular combination only rarely, he is likely to reproduce it only rarely. The storage of exemplars means that a speaker has access to this kind of information.

Third, different functions appear in different combinations. For example, Perfective *-(i)n-* does not denote result states when it combines with Past *-(i)ki*, but it does when it combines with Indirective *-(i)kyer-* (which then has mirative function). In an exemplar approach the meaning of a combination is at first derived from the exemplars of the individual components that make up the combination (the hearer constructing the

meaning most appropriate for the context from his knowledge of its component parts), but with repetition a combination may lose compositionality and develop autonomy. An extreme case is *-(i)te-sika (mo)*, but it may have been the case with several other OJ combinations, e.g. *-(i)ni-ki*.

Fourth, the absence of an overt construction may indicate the negation of one of the functions of the overt construction to a greater or a lesser extent, and it may behave differently with different functions of the same construction. For example, as far as *mirativity* and *emphasis* are concerned, Indirective *-(i)kyer-* can be said to be in opposition to a zero construction which does not convey these meanings. On the other hand, as far as *non-firsthand past* is concerned it can be said to be in partial opposition to Past *-(i)ki*, which usually denotes firsthand events, but sometimes also denotes non-firsthand ones.

In this way the Old Japanese speaker's knowledge of tense and aspect constructions can be said to be encyclopedic: taking into account uses in context, frequency of combination, and more. It is constantly being modified in reaction to new input. This is why language resists simple schematization (it is 'irregular') and is also what allows language to change.

## **12.3 Tense and aspect in Old Japanese from a cross-linguistic perspective**

Tense–aspect systems can be compared cross-linguistically with regard to (i) what sorts of constructions they use and (ii) what the systems are based on.

### **12.3.1 Similar constructions in other languages**

Some of the Old Japanese tense–aspect constructions are very similar to constructions in other languages. In chapter 6 I compared Indirective *-(i)kyer-* with similar con-

structions in languages such as Turkish. Past *-(i)ki* is also fairly similar to many past tenses in its functions, although its distribution (mainly in relative clauses) is unusual.

Some of the constructions have less obvious cross-linguistic equivalents, however. Stative *-yer-* and Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* are like the constructions reported by Ebert (1995) in that they denote both result states and ongoing activities. However, such constructions in other languages do not usually also denote past bounded events. This shows that *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* are not simply *imperfective*, as has been claimed by Watanabe (2008). If Bybee et al. (1994) are correct in identifying two main grammaticalization pathways in tense and aspect, then *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* seem to be on the *perfective* pathway, not the *imperfective* pathway. They have made a deviation towards *progressive*, but they begin at *resultative* and end at *past*.

Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-* is rather unusual. The closest parallel I can find seems to be in some Slavic Perfective constructions, for example Russian. If the Russian Perfective constructions are viewed as one construction (as they often are in traditional analyses), then it has all the tense–aspect functions that I have identified for Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*. The emphatic function does not seem to occur in the Slavic construction, however, and because there is no split auxiliary system, the mutative and transitive nuances are absent.

Finally, the Nonpast seems fairly typical for a language with no obligatory progressive construction and no obligatory perfective construction: it can denote both ongoing activities and terminative events in present tense narration. It is not an imperfective. It does, however, denote only nonpast time reference: past time reference must be indicated by Past *-(i)ki*, Indirective *-(i)kyer-*, Perfective *-(i)n- ~ -(i)te-*, Stative *-yer-*, or Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*.

## 12.3.2 The basis of the system

### 12.3.2.1 *Ways to analyse ‘basis’*

I have found two approaches in the literature that explicitly compare tense–aspect systems: that of John Hewson and that of Östen Dahl.

#### 12.3.2.1.1 *John Hewson*

Hewson’s approach (Hewson and Bubenik 1997; Hewson 2012), is a very idiosyncratic account of the tense–aspect systems of a variety of languages. It is based on morphology, but it claims to reflect faithfully how different languages conceive of time. For example, Hewson (2012: 515–519) distinguishes between languages with a basic Perfective–Imperfective distinction and languages with a basic Progressive–Performative distinction. Thus, the morphology of a language is thought to reveal quite accurately its speakers’ conceptualization of time.

However, Hewson’s temporal categories appear to be a little too clear-cut. For example, the Czech Perfective is found in some of the functions (e.g. ‘instant present’ or narrative present) that Hewson rules out for a perfective construction (Gvozdanović 2012: 792–794), but it is not a performative construction either. Similarly, in Old Japanese the relationship between unmarked forms and other TA constructions does not correspond either to Hewson’s perfective–imperfective relationship or his performative–progressive relationship.

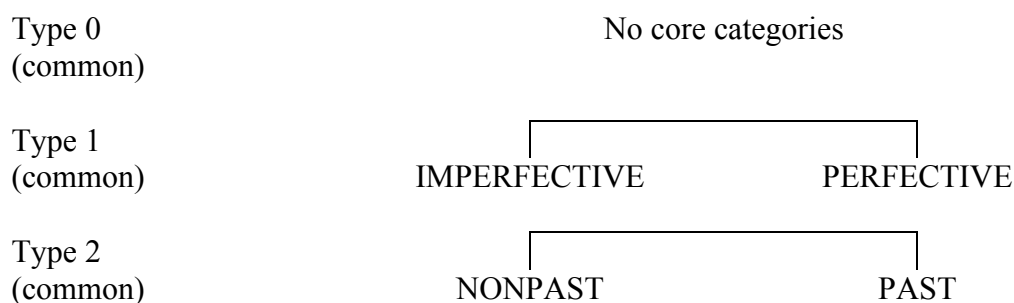
A more fundamental problem with applying Hewson’s approach to Old Japanese is that the basic verbal forms of OJ appear not to be temporal or aspectual at all (cf. Frellesvig 2010: 53). Unlike English, where one can claim that the Infinitive (e.g. *go*), the Present Participle (e.g. *going*), and the Past Participle (e.g. *gone*) are the three basic forms of the verb (Hewson and Bubenik 1997: 5; Hewson 2012: 520–521), in Old Japanese the forms that have greater claim to be ‘basic’ are the Infinitive (e.g. *yuki*) and

the Conclusive (e.g. *yuku*), which are syntactic in function. All the OJ tense–aspect auxiliaries originally attached to the Infinitive (Stative *-yer-* has undergone contraction).

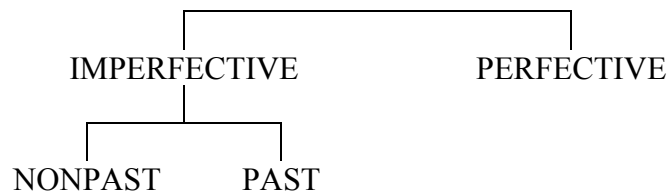
### 12.3.2.1.2 Östen Dahl

Dahl’s approach (Dahl 1985, 2000) is based on an investigation of how languages manifest what Dahl calls ‘cross-linguistic gram types’. Dahl (2000: 15) distinguishes between ‘core gram types’ and ‘peripheral gram types’, the former being more grammaticalized (usually morphologically bound and obligatory) and the latter less grammaticalized. According to his analysis, cross-linguistically speaking imperfective, perfective, past, and future are core gram types, while habitual, iterative, progressive, resultative, and perfect are peripheral gram types, although presumably this may be different in individual languages. For Dahl, cross-linguistic gram types are prototype categories whose functions differ from language to language, but which are similar enough for cross-linguistic comparison. Bybee et al. (1994: 300) describe these gram types as ‘the focal areas of semantic domains that come to have grammatical expression’. They reflect ‘the most frequently occurring discourse and interactional functions in these semantic domains’ (p. 302).

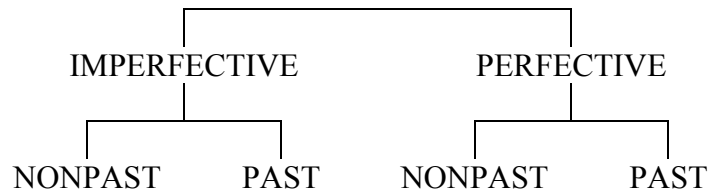
Dahl (2000: 17) gives the following five combinations of ‘core gram types’ that are ‘generally found’, describing Types 0 to 3 as ‘common’ and Type 4 as ‘less common’:



Type 3  
(common)

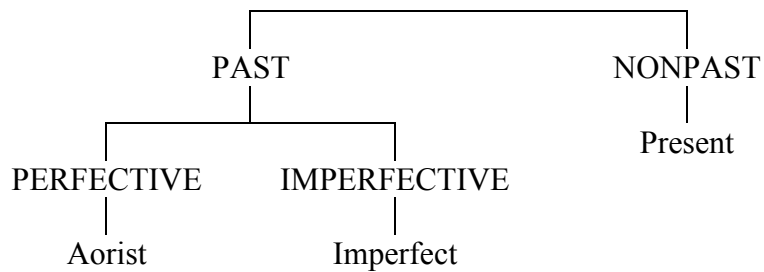


Type 4  
(less common)



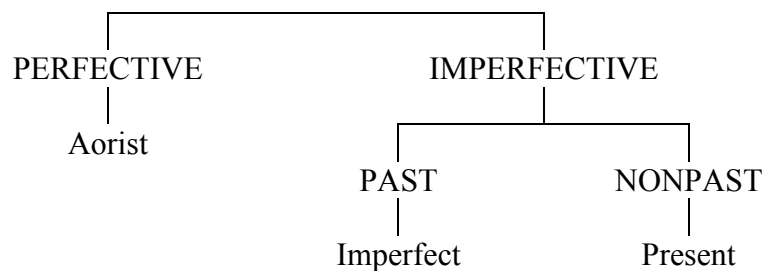
How are the hierarchical relationships in these systems decided upon? From Dahl's (1985: 81–84) discussion of how to analyse the 'classical' Indo-European tripartite system (Aorist, Imperfect, Present), it seems that morphology plays an important role. Comrie (1976) analyses this system semantically in the following way:

Comrie (1976)



However, Dahl (1985) argues that the morphology suggests a different relationship. There is no common marker of pastness shared by the Aorist and the Imperfect, and instead the Present and the Imperfect share a stem. Dahl proposes the following analysis:

Dahl (1985)



Thus Dahl's system is in some sense *historical*: searching for the 'basis' of a system involves finding the earliest extant distinction made in the tense–aspect morphology of the language.

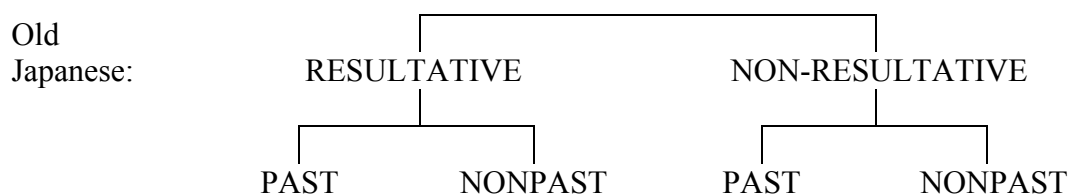
But how applicable is this to Old Japanese? The Old Japanese tense–aspect system cannot be said to involve tense–aspect 'stems' in quite the same way: as I mentioned above, the most basic verb forms in Old Japanese appear to be the Infinitive and the Conclusive, and all the tense–aspect auxiliaries originally attached to the Infinitive. If, however, we are not looking for the basis of the entire verbal system but only of the tense–aspect morphology, then can morphemes that appear closer to the verb stem be considered 'stems' for those that follow them? Bybee and Dahl (1989: 85) draw this conclusion, stating that the marking of aspect closer to the verb 'suggests that if perfective / imperfective and past / non-past are hierarchized, it is the aspectual distinction that is more basic'. I will assume this in the discussion that follows.

#### **12.3.2.2 Old Japanese**

All of Dahl's types (except for type 0) are based either on a perfective–imperfective distinction or a past–nonpast distinction, but Old Japanese appears to be based on neither of these distinctions. Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* is not fully obligatory in what seems to be its primary function, since many verbs appear with bounded interpretations without Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* attached. Past *-(i)ki* and Indirective *-(i)kyer-* appear after aspect morphology in a verb syntagm, meaning that they do not provide the 'base' for other morphology.

The obligatory tense–aspect construction closest to the verb stem appears to be Stative *-yer-*, which is obligatory insofar as it denotes its primary function of *result states*. Both *resultative* and *non-resultative* may then be expressed in the past or the

nonpast. I therefore propose that the Old Japanese tense–aspect system is built on a *resultative–non-resultative* distinction as follows:



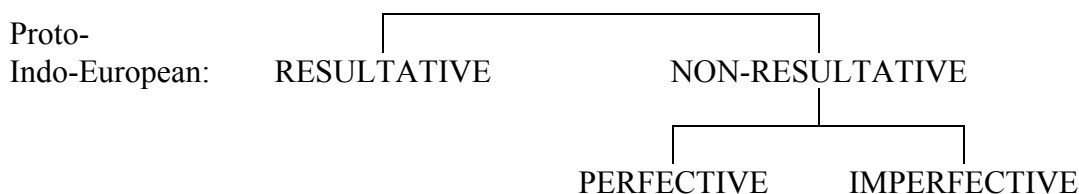
*Resultative* refers to *-yer-* (specifically to its *result state* functions), and *non-resultative* to the absence of *-yer-*. *Past* refers to *-(i)ki* and *nonpast* to the absence of *-(i)ki*. Indirective *-(i)kyer-* could be introduced as a third option alongside *past* and *nonpast*. Note that it is not the older morphemes that are basic: I have proposed that Past *-(i)ki* is older than Stative *-yer-*. I suggest an explanation for this in 12.4.3.

### 12.3.2.3 *Cross-linguistic comparison*

The OJ system as I have analysed it is a typologically unusual system in that it appears to be based on a resultative/non-resultative distinction: Dahl (1985, 2000) identifies a perfective/imperfective distinction to be more usual, and relegates resultative to his ‘peripheral gram types’. However, Proto-Indo-European is often reconstructed as having had a basic resultative–non-resultative distinction, called *stative–dynamic* by Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988: 22), *stative–active* or *perfect–active* by Drinka (2003; following Neu 1976, 1985, 1989), and *perfect–eventive* by Clackson (2007: 138).<sup>2</sup> The ‘perfect’ or ‘stative’ is usually assumed to have been a resultative construction in origin, denoting the result states of change-of-state verbs (Jasanoff 1978: 14–16; Jasanoff 2003: 30; Drinka 2003: 82). Therefore a possible reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European aspect system is as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> Sihler (1995: 445) too acknowledges a basic morphological distinction *stative–eventive*, but he does not identify the stative forms as former resultatives (p. 566).

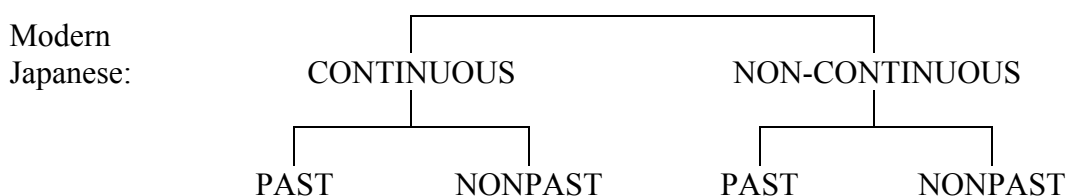


Here, *resultative* refers to what is usually called the ‘Perfect’, *imperfective* to the ‘Present’, and *perfective* to the ‘Aorist’. It is the non-resultative side of the system that in some languages develops into Dahl’s Type 3 system.

## 12.4 Tense and aspect in Japanese from a diachronic perspective

### 12.4.1 Modern Japanese

Similarly to the Old Japanese system, the Modern Japanese (NJ) system could be analysed as follows:



*Continuous* refers to the *-(I)te i-* construction and *past* to *-(I)ta*. *Non-continuous* and *nonpast* refer to the absence of these constructions.

This is different from the OJ system in two important ways. First, in NJ the ongoing activity function of *-(I)te i-* has fully grammaticalized, leading some (e.g. Kiryu 1999; Watanabe 2005) to call the construction ‘continuous’.<sup>3</sup> Second, as Kinsui (1995) points out, OJ Stative *-yer-* differs from NJ Continuous *-(I)te i-* in two respects: (a) Stative

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<sup>3</sup> This is slightly different from ‘continuous’ as used by Comrie (1976) and Bybee et al. (1994). Others (e.g. Shirai 1998, 2000) call the Modern Japanese construction ‘imperfective’. Both names fail to capture its past perfective function (see Ogihara 1999; Sadanobu and Malchukov 2011), but this function can be considered marginal.

*-yer-*, but not Continuous *-(I)te i-*, can denote *objective* result states as well as subjective result states; and (b) Continuous *-(I)te i-*, but not Stative *-yer-*, can denote *directed* activities as well as undirected activities. Kinsui (1995: 15–16) calls the OJ system a *semantic* aspect system and the NJ system a *syntactic* aspect system. Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988: 21) regard ‘the frequent use of one form both for the subjective and objective resultative’ (seen in OJ) as ‘a manifestation of syntactic ergativity’, and note that it seems to be the most common case across languages. Nivkh (Nedjalkov and Otaina 1988) and Chinese (Jaxontov 1988) have combined resultative/progressive constructions.

Despite these differences, however, the Modern Japanese system is remarkably similar to the Old Japanese system. Even though the constructions that form the basis of the NJ system (Continuous *-(I)te i-* and Past *-(I)ta*) are different from those that form the basis of the OJ system (Stative *-yer-* and Past *-(i)ki*), since the denotation of a *result state* remains a key function of Continuous *-(I)te i-*, the underlying system has remained largely the same.

#### **12.4.2 Between Old Japanese and Modern Japanese**

Several changes in basic tense–aspect constructions took place between Old Japanese and Modern Japanese, but the system seems to have remained largely the same. First, by LMJ Stative *-(I)tar-* (the reflex of OJ Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-*) had replaced Stative *-er-* (the reflex of OJ Stative *-yer-*). Over approximately the same period its functions changed from mostly stative (result state, ongoing activity) to mostly past. Meanwhile alternative stative constructions had arisen in EMJ, among them *-(i)te wi-tar-*. Kinsui (2006: 57–63) suggests that the Modern Japanese stative verb

*i-* derives from *wi-tar-*, and is not a direct descendent of the OJ verb *wi-* ‘sit down’. In this case *-(i)te wi-tar-* is the direct descendent of modern *-(I)te i-*.

At some point during this period a change occurred leading to the modern differentiation between *-(I)te i-* and *-(I)te ar-*, whereby the former is used for subjective result states and the latter for objective result states. The motivation for this change remains largely uninvestigated, but it could derive from the differentiation in subject animacy that developed between *i-* and *ar-*. Objective result states will usually be expressed about inanimate referents, making *ar-* the natural choice. It is unclear whether the ability of *-(I)te i-* to denote ongoing directed activities is related to the differentiation between subjective and objective resultative constructions, or to the obligatorification of the *-(I)te i-* construction in its ongoing activity function.

### 12.4.3 Before Old Japanese

#### 12.4.3.1 *The original function of -(i)ki revisited*

There is evidence that the replenishment of resultative constructions took place before Old Japanese as well. I have proposed that *-(i)te ar-*, *-yer-*, and *-(i)kyer-* all arose as constructions that denoted result states. Periphrastic Stative *-(i)te ar-* seems to have arisen because *-yer-* had acquired a variety of functions, and *-yer-* could have arisen because *-(i)kyer-* had evolved into an indirective (non-firsthand past and mirative). Could *-(i)ki* have begun as a resultative construction too?

There is evidence that it did. First, the resultative–non-resultative distinction seems to be basic and persistent in Japanese. Every stage of the language has had at least one resultative or continuous construction, and when these have changed their function or have otherwise become unusable, new resultative constructions have been coined to replace them.

Second, there is cross-linguistic precedent for resultative–non-resultative being the first aspectual distinction made by a language: it has been proposed as the first aspectual distinction made in Indo-European, the world’s best-documented language family.

Third, ‘non-resultative’ is a good characterization of the aspectual behaviour of the unmarked verb forms in Old Japanese. They are not ‘imperfective’ (in opposition to a perfective construction) and they are not ‘performative’ (in opposition to a progressive construction). If *-(i)ki* had begun as a tenseless perfective construction, we might expect the unmarked forms in Old Japanese to behave more like imperfectives.

#### 12.4.3.2 *A chronology*

Assuming that *-(i)ki* began as a resultative, the following is a very speculative proposal of some developmental stages before Old Japanese:

- (3) Stage I. (unmarked) – Resultative *-(i)ki*
- Stage II. (unmarked) – Past *-(i)ki* – Resultative *-(i)kyer-*
- Stage III. (unmarked) – Past *-(i)ki* – Indirective *-(i)kyer-* – Resultative *-yer-*

As is proposed by many for Proto-Indo-European, the first distinction made in the Japanese aspect system can be considered to have been between *resultative* and *non-resultative*. Resultative *-(i)ki* was then reanalysed as a past, and *-(i)kyer-* was coined as a resultative. Next Resultative *-(i)kyer-* was reanalysed as an indirective (non-firsthand past and mirative), and *-yer-* was coined as a resultative. Finally, after OJ *-(i)tar-*, originally an alternative to *-yer-*, also developed into a past tense and in the modern period *-(I)te i-* was coined as a resultative.

## **12.5 Implications and directions for future research**

### **12.5.1 Linguistic theory**

In this thesis the assumptions of the exemplar model have proved fruitful both in describing synchrony and in explaining many diachronic developments both before and after Old Japanese. As far as I am aware, this has been the first attempt to put the exemplar approach into practice on an actual language, and the first attempt to draw exemplar clusters on a semantic (rather than a phonological or morphological) basis. The exemplar model may be even more profitably applied to a living language, but this study should provide pointers as to its potential use in future research.

### **12.5.2 Linguistic typology**

#### ***12.5.2.1 Resultative constructions***

I hope to have raised the profile of resultative constructions, which have received very little attention since the magisterial volume by Nedjalkov (1988). They are not mentioned at all in Binnick (2012), one of the most recent surveys of tense and aspect. The location of resultative constructions at the crossroads between aspect and diathesis (see Comrie 1981) makes them extremely interesting, but perhaps also allows them to be overlooked both by those researching aspect and by those researching argument realization.

Bybee et al. (1994) showed that resultatives are among the most primitive of tense–aspect constructions, incorporating lexical material and occurring near the beginning of grammaticalization chains. They give rise to many other constructions, among them perfects and pasts. Japanese is unusual, however, in that it has consistently replaced its resultative constructions as they have developed other meanings. Further research may

reveal that it is not alone, and that there are other characteristics of a language that correlate with this tendency.

#### 12.5.2.2 *Activities and states*

Another question raised by this thesis is the nature of the distinction between activities and states, which I first mentioned in 1.3.2.2.4. It is often assumed that the distinction between activities and states is absolute, even though there is evidence that the boundary is more porous (Chung and Timberlake 1985: 216). Old Japanese provides further evidence for a less clear-cut distinction. First, no phenomena that I have found in Old Japanese require a binary distinction between activities and states in order to explain them. Second, the distribution of *-yer-* and *-(i)te ar-* (with relatively non-dynamic, non-agentive events) suggests a historical development from result states to ongoing activities (see 3.4.2.3.3), a development that requires that the distinction not be clear-cut. Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* also seems to have undergone a similar development (see 5.3.3.4). Could it be that the distinction between activities and states is seen as so basic because the study of lexical aspect arose in a language with an obligatory progressive construction (namely, English)?

It might be preferable to analyse activities and states as prototypical event construals rather than as discrete aspectual categories. Chung and Timberlake's (1985: 214–216) description suggests that a prototypical activity is *dynamic*, *agentive*, and *temporary*, and a prototypical state is *stative*, *non-agentive*, and *permanent*, but further research must be done to confirm or modify this. If progressive constructions generally emerge with prototypical activities (as suggested by Bybee et al. 1994: 133–137), then they could be employed to signal *high activity* or *low stativity*, in the same way that, according to Shannon (1988, 1990, 1993, 1995), split auxiliary constructions can signal *transitivity* and *mutativity* values.

### 12.5.3 Old Japanese

Finally, this study is important for Old Japanese. Unlike most previous analyses, this one takes seriously the distinction between Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese, and it is the first study of Old Japanese tense and aspect to use more texts than just the *Man'yōshū*. It is informed by a much wider variety of general linguistic material, both theoretical and empirical, than is usually the case for work on pre-modern Japanese, allowing Old Japanese to be placed in the context of world languages rather than situating it within the narrow interests of Japan-centric research. It is hoped that it will prompt similar studies of other aspects of Old Japanese semantics, for example mood.

As far as I am aware, this is the first study that has analysed the *-(i)tutu ar-* construction closely, and it has looked at every other construction in more detail than ever before. Old Japanese has been revealed to have a complex layering of constructions of different ages, with most functions able to be expressed by more than one construction. I have confirmed the traditional view of some constructions (e.g. Indirective *-(i)kyer-*) and challenged the prevailing view of others (e.g. the Nonpast). Interesting parallels have been demonstrated between Perfective *-(i)n-* ~ *-(i)te-* and split auxiliary systems in other languages, and the expression of result states and ongoing activities by the same construction has been shown to be ubiquitous in Old Japanese. I have proposed new original functions for many tense–aspect constructions, and have suggested that the history of tense and aspect in Japanese has the constant renewal of resultative constructions at its heart. I hope that further research on this fascinating language and its literature will answer some of the questions I have had to leave unresolved.

## Appendix I: Vowel deletion

### 1. The rule

Unger (1993: 41) observes that, in Old Japanese, when two vowels occur consecutively in one phonological word (always at a morpheme boundary), one of them is deleted. This behaviour can be summarized as follows:

- (1) The first vowel is deleted, unless the first morpheme is monosyllabic and the second is polysyllabic, in which case the second vowel is deleted.

The exception for monosyllabic words makes good functional sense, since reducing a monosyllabic word by half could make identification of the word difficult.

### 2. Particles

Particles appear sometimes to be treated as enclitics (parts of polysyllabic words) and sometimes as full words. This creates doublets such as the following:

- (2) a. 和岐 弊  
*wa=g ipye*  
I=GEN house  
'my house' (from KK.32)
  
- b. 和 何 弊  
*wa ga pye*  
I GEN house  
'my house' (from MYS.5.837)
  
- (3) a. 由久智 布  
*yuku=t ipu*  
go.CNCL=COMP say.ADN  
'who say they will go' (from MYS.5.800)

- b. 多麻毛 可流 登 布  
*tamamo karu to pu*  
 seaweed cut.CNCL COMP say.ADN

‘who say they will cut seaweed’ (from MYS.15.3638)

In (2a) and (3a) the particle appears to be an enclitic, forming a polysyllabic word with the morpheme before it. When it combines with the following word to form a larger phonological word, the first vowel is deleted. In (2b) and (3b) the particle appears to be a word, since when it combines with the following word to form a phonological word, the second vowel is deleted.

According to Unger (1993: 42–43), while *pa*, *ka*, and *ya* are always treated as full words (retaining their vowel), *ni*, *no*, *ga*, and *to* are usually treated as enclitics (losing their vowel) but may also be treated as words. However, when analysing *to* he seems to conflate the Infinitive of the *t*- copula and the complementizer *to*. While the copula usually behaves like an enclitic, the complementizer usually behaves like a word. Furthermore, his conclusions on *pa*, *ka*, and *ya* are based on very few examples, and the later sound change of *pa* (from [pa] to [wa]) suggests that it was an enclitic (see Frellesvig 2010: 202–203). When hypothesizing vowel deletions not indicated in the text, I have assumed that most particles and the copula are enclitics. There is evidence that extensions and conjunctions were also clitics, but for ease of reading I have not notated them as such.

### 3. Conventionalized elided shapes

In some cases an elided form of a word seems to have acquired an independent status of its own, e.g. *pe* from *upe* ‘above’, *pu* from *ipu* ‘say’, and *mop-* from *omop-* ‘think, yearn’. For example, the verb *omop-* ‘think, yearn’ sometimes appears as *mop-* even when the preceding word is polysyllabic:

- (4) 美也備多流                      波奈 等 阿例 母布  
*miyabwi-taru*                      *pana to are mopu*  
 become.elegant-STAT.ADN flower COMP we think.CNCL  
 ‘We think (we) are elegant flowers.’ (from MYS.5.852a)

Similarly, *pe* ‘above’ appears far more frequently than we would expect given that the particles that usually appear before it (*ga* and *no*) are, according to Unger (1993), usually treated as enclitics. I assume that the elided forms of these three words are conventionalized as variant forms. This might also be the case with *mas-* ‘exist (RESP)’ (from *imas-*) and *de-* ‘go out’ (from *ide-*).

#### 4. Variation

Finally, as Russell (2003: 515) notes, both elided and non-elided forms are found in Old Japanese, e.g. both *imo ga ipye* and *imo ga pye* are found. There are cases where vowel deletion produces a regular syllable count:

- (5) a. 伊母我                      陞迹  
*imo=ga*                      *pye=ni*  
 beloved=GEN house=DAT  
 ‘to my beloved’s house’ (from MYS.5.844)

and cases where non-deletion produces a regular syllable count:

- b. 妹之                      家道尔  
*imo=ga*                      *ipye-di=ni*  
 beloved=GEN house-road=DAT  
 ‘on the road to my beloved’s house’ (from MYS.10.1877)

It seems that *imo=ga pye ni* forms a phonological word in (5a), but not in (5b). I have only proposed vowel deletion where it would produce a regular syllable count. I have also generally kept the different components of examples like (5a) distinct rather than presenting them as phonological words, since this would make them difficult to read.

## Appendix II: Verb classes

The following is a partial and provisional list of verbs according to aspectual class. Atelic verbs are fairly easy to identify, but the designation of a verb as an achievement verb relies crucially on negative evidence. If one of the verbs here classified as an achievement verb can be found denoting a directed activity in the Nonpast, it should be reclassified as an accomplishment verb, and if one can be found denoting an ongoing simple state in the Nonpast, it should be reclassified as an inceptive state verb.

### Achievement verbs

|                                   |                                    |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>age-</i> ‘raise’               | <i>okwi-</i> ‘get up’              |
| <i>ake-</i> ‘become dawn’         | <i>oti-</i> ‘fall’                 |
| <i>ap-</i> ‘meet’                 | <i>pak-</i> ‘put on’               |
| <i>arapare-</i> ‘appear’          | <i>panare-</i> ‘get separated’     |
| <i>e-</i> ‘get’                   | <i>par-</i> ‘stick on’             |
| <i>ide-</i> ‘go out’              | <i>pate-</i> ‘end’                 |
| <i>ir-</i> ‘enter’                | <i>pazime-</i> ‘start (TR)’        |
| <i>iro-duk-</i> ‘become coloured’ | <i>pirip-</i> ‘pick up’            |
| <i>kakum-</i> ‘be surrounded’     | <i>pum-</i> ‘tread’                |
| <i>kakus-</i> ‘hide’              | <i>pupum-</i> ‘bud’                |
| <i>kam-</i> ‘brew’                | <i>pyedat-</i> ‘get separated’     |
| <i>kamake-</i> ‘be impressed’     | <i>pyedate-</i> ‘separate (TR)’    |
| <i>kapyes-</i> ‘return (TR)’      | <i>pyenar-</i> ‘become a barrier’  |
| <i>kar-</i> ‘borrow’              | <i>sadame-</i> ‘conquer’           |
| <i>kasum-</i> ‘get misty’         | <i>sak-</i> ‘pierce’               |
| <i>kazas-</i> ‘display’           | <i>sakar-</i> ‘go away’            |
| <i>kadurak-</i> ‘use as crown’    | <i>sar-</i> ‘leave’                |
| <i>ke-</i> ‘disappear’            | <i>sas-</i> ‘place’                |
| <i>ki-</i> ‘put on’               | <i>sayar-</i> ‘restrain’           |
| <i>ki-nak-</i> ‘come and sing’    | <i>sekape-</i> ‘hold back (water)’ |
| <i>ki-tar-</i> ‘arrive’           | <i>sik-</i> ‘spread’               |
| <i>kiye-</i> ‘disappear’          | <i>sim-</i> ‘become permeated’     |
| <i>koyas-</i> ‘lie down (RESP)’   | <i>sin-</i> ‘die’                  |
| <i>kyes-</i> ‘put on (RESP)’      | <i>sok-</i> ‘be parted’            |
| <i>mot-</i> ‘hold’                | <i>sum-</i> ‘become clear’         |
| <i>muk-</i> ‘turn’                | <i>tabar-</i> ‘receive’            |
| <i>mure-</i> ‘gather’             | <i>tadusapar-</i> ‘hold hands’     |
| <i>muse-</i> ‘get sad’            | <i>tagap-</i> ‘differ’             |
| <i>na-duke-</i> ‘name’            | <i>tagup-</i> ‘get together’       |
| <i>nagwi-</i> ‘become calm’       | <i>tamap-</i> ‘give’               |
| <i>nam-</i> ‘line up’             | <i>tanabik-</i> ‘trail’            |
| <i>namar-</i> ‘be hidden’         | <i>taye-</i> ‘disappear’           |
| <i>nar-</i> ‘become’              | <i>tomar-</i> ‘stop’               |
| <i>narabe-</i> ‘line up’          | <i>tug-</i> ‘pass on’              |
| <i>ne-same-</i> ‘wake up’         | <i>tugar-</i> ‘be fastened’        |
| <i>nuk-</i> ‘pull out’            | <i>tuke-</i> ‘attach’              |
| <i>okos-</i> ‘raise’              | <i>uk-</i> ‘float’                 |
| <i>okur-</i> ‘give’               | <i>um-</i> ‘give birth’            |
| <i>okure-</i> ‘be left behind’    | <i>unag-</i> ‘put on the neck’     |

*unagaker-* ‘caress the neck’  
*use-* ‘get lost’  
*uwe-* ‘plant’

*wasur-* ‘forget’  
*yor-* ‘approach’

### Accomplishment verbs

*itar-* ‘go, arrive’  
*kapyer-* ‘return (INTR)’  
*kirap-* ‘get foggy’  
*ko-* ‘come’  
*kudar-* ‘descend’  
*kuras-* ‘spend (time)’  
*kwos-* ‘cross’  
*kwoye-* ‘cross’  
*mak-* ‘plant’  
*mas-* ‘increase’  
*masar-* ‘increase’  
*matur-* ‘give’  
*musub-* ‘tie’  
*nagas-* ‘drain’  
*nas-* ‘make happen’  
*nigor-* ‘become cloudy’  
*nor-* ‘say, tell’  
*nup-* ‘sew’

*nur-* ‘paint’  
*oi-* ‘age’  
*opwi-* ‘grow’  
*or-* ‘weave’  
*ori-* ‘go down, get off’  
*pe-* ‘(time) pass’  
*puke-* ‘(night) deepen’  
*sik-* ‘spread’  
*sugwi-* ‘pass’  
*sur-* ‘rub’  
*tir-* ‘fall, scatter’  
*tirap-* ‘scatter’  
*topos-* ‘go through’  
*tukur-* ‘make’  
*tum-* ‘gather’  
*tuma-dop-* ‘look for a wife’  
*watas-* ‘put across’  
*yase-* ‘get thin’

### Atelic verbs

*ar-* ‘exist’  
*aswob-* ‘play’  
*ikiduk-* ‘sigh’  
*ipor-* ‘lodge’  
*kam-* ‘chew’  
*katarap-* ‘talk’  
*kawor-* ‘emit scent’  
*kaywop-* ‘frequent’  
*kik-* ‘listen, hear’  
*komorap-* ‘be shut up’  
*kwopwi-* ‘yearn, love’  
*mak-* ‘hold’  
*mat-* ‘wait’  
*matwop-* ‘worry’  
*megur-* ‘go around’  
*mi-* ‘see’  
*mop-* ‘think’  
*moye-* ‘burn’  
*mukap-* ‘face’  
*nabik-* ‘bow’  
*nagek-* ‘groan’

*nak-* ‘cry’  
*nar-* ‘live’  
*nas-* ‘do’  
*ne-* ‘sleep’  
*nodoyop-* ‘whimper’  
*omop-* ‘think, yearn’  
*op-* ‘bear’  
*otitagit-* ‘flow down’  
*pap-* ‘crawl’  
*puk-* ‘blow’  
*pur-* ‘fall’  
*pure-* ‘wave’  
*pus-* ‘be lying down’  
*sabwi-* ‘be excited’  
*sawag- ~ sawak-* ‘move about, rustle’  
*sayag-* ‘rustle’  
*se-* ‘do’  
*siger-* ‘flourish’  
*sik-* ‘rule’  
*sinwop-* ‘be moved, yearn’  
*sudak-* ‘be many’

*sumap-* ‘reside’  
*swobap-* ‘fool around’  
*tagit-* ‘flow violently’  
*ter-* ‘shine’  
*tukape-* ‘serve’

*uranake-* ‘sob’  
*wor-* ‘be sitting, be still’  
*yador-* ‘lodge’  
*yuk-* ‘go’

### **Inceptive state verbs**

*akar-* ‘be red’  
*ik-* ‘live’  
*kakur-* ‘be hidden’  
*kakure-* ‘be hidden’  
*kamusabwi-* ‘be godlike’  
*kare-* ‘be parted’  
*katabuk-* ‘lean’  
*komor-* ‘be shut up’  
*mazir-* ‘be mixed’  
*midare-* ‘be confused’  
*mi-ye-* ‘be visible’  
*mit-* ‘be full’  
*momit-* ‘(leaves) be red’  
*nadum-* ‘be stuck’  
*nagwi-* ‘be calm’  
*narab-* ‘be lined up’

*nipop-* ‘be red, colourful’  
*nokor-* ‘remain’  
*nor-* ‘ride’  
*nure-* ‘be wet’  
*ok-* ‘put, settle’  
*sagar-* ‘hang down’  
*sak-* ‘bloom’  
*sir-* ‘know’  
*sop- ~ swop-* ‘be next to’  
*tat-* ‘stand’  
*tomos-* ‘light, burn’  
*urabure-* ‘be downhearted’  
*wabwi-* ‘be miserable’  
*wi-* ‘sit’  
*yodom-* ‘be stagnant’

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